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—The Bulletin of Tibetology seeks to serve the specialist as well as the general reader with an interest in this field of study. The motif portraying the Stupa on the mountains suggests the dimensions of the field—

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NAGARJUNA’S EXPOSITION OF TWELVE
CAUSAL LINKS

—N. AIYASWAMI SASTRI

Introductory

The Pratitya-Samutpada-Hrdaya-Karika along with its comment is one of the several treatises composed by Acarya Nagarjuna, the founder of the Madhyamaka school of Buddhism. His authorship of this short tract has been attested more than once by Candrakirti (v. Prasangika, pp. 428, 551) and Prajnakaramati (v. Panjika, pp. 355, 350). Its composition in a catechetical form further confirms its antiquity. The text consists of originally 5 verses in Arya metre and two Anustubh verses in its Chinese and Tibetan versions. Of his several metrical compositions we have only two texts in Arya metre, viz. the present text and the Vijnanavartini.

The explanatory portion of this text is also fathered upon Nagarjuna by the Chinese and Tibetan translators. This fact does not appear improbable when we consider the statement made by Chandrakirti: “Acarya (Nagarjuna) while composing a short comment on the Vijnanavartini does not employ any prayoga, a sentence embodying any logical proposition” (Prasangika, p. 251.6.). This confirms the fact the author could be credited also with some prose compositions. Of such compositions the Maha-prajnaparamita-Sastra preserved in its Chinese translation ranks the foremost (v. Prof. Et. Lamotte’s French Translation with copious annotations; the first two volumes published so far). We may next notice a small tract both in verse and prose viz., Vijnanavartini also preserved in Chinese translation (v. the present writer’s rendering it into Sanskrit in the Visvabharati Annals, Vol. VI) claiming him as its author; a claim which has fairly been justified by Chi-tsang (v. my Introductory Note, op. cit). The same Chinese authority attributes to Cheng-mu the prose portion of the Madhyamaka Sastra. Thus the authorship of the commentary known as Akutobhaya as attributed to Naga by the Tibetan authorities becomes uncertain.

Of his metrical compositions the most important is 1) the Madhyamaka Sastra; it has been meritoriously edited by Prof. Luis de Vallee Poussin. 2) The Vigrahavyayrtani with its comment has been discovered and published by Rahul Sankritiyayana (Bihar Research Society, 1950). 3) The Ratnavali and 4) the Catustava have been edited in part by Dr. G. Tucci. 5) The Yuktisastikarika, 6) Sunyata-Saptati and 7) Suhrlleka.
are not available to us in their original Sanskrit. Nos. 5 and 7 are translated by Schaeffer and H. Wenzal respectively. (v. my Bibliography in the Sal sutra). No. 6 is known only in quotations, V. Dvadasamu-kha, p.24. a verse pleading for a fundamental tenet of the author, viz. अजातिवाद non—origination— theory. Two verses are cited from the text in Bodhicarepan:-

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

2. What comes into being due to causes does not exist p.500; the same in Madh. vrtti. p.413.

3. One more line from Yukti is found in Madh.vrtti. p.9: What is produced on account of such and such causes originates not in its nature. This cited in full in the Madh.avat.p.288.

To draw parallels to the ideas of Madh-Sastra Candrakirti cites more frequently verses from the Ratnavali (R. hereafter). Since they bear out true marks of Nagarjuna’s way of thinking we may acquaint ourselves with their gist on this occasion:

1. To the idea of the Sutra: Those who view things as existent and those who do so as non-existent, both of them do not perceive the quietude प्राच of things-(M. Sastra V,8) R. has: the heterodox reaches the hell and the orthodox the heaven; but the man situated in Non-dualism अद्वय reaches Release, Moksa, because of his realising the truth बस्मूल v. M. Vr.p.135.

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

3. Non-dualism अद्वय is possible only in Madhyamaka System (XV. II); R. confirms the same in 2 verses; Approach anyone of the Sankhya, Vaisesika, Nirgrantha, or the advocate of Pudgala or Skandhas, and see whether they say anything beyond the existence or non-existence; therefore understand that the Buddha’s dispensation alone is too deep and goes beyond the existence or non-existence (p. 275).
4. The negation of soul intended even in the empirical plane in XVIII, 1. is echoed in R. 4 vv. One’s own image is reflected in the mirror, but the image cannot be stated to be either the same with or different from the face; likewise the notion of “I” arises on the basis of aggregates, but it is not identical with the later. The reflection of one’s image does not arise in the absence of mirror; likewise the ‘I’ notion is not in the absence of the aggregates. Listening to this characteristic Dharma venerable Ananda obtained Dharma-Eye; this fact he himself declared to his fellow monks now and then (p.345).

5. Candrakirti says: In the wake of realizing the Soul-non-substantiality, non-substantiality of things pertaining to the soul is also realized. The same is confirmed in R. 2 vv. The aggregates are born from the I-notion which is false in truth; one who thinks the seed as false, how could its sprout be true for him? In the wake of the aggregate being viewed as false the I-notion is extinguished; at the extinction of I-notion the aggregate arise no longer (p.346). They are cited again on page 458 to confirm the idea of auspicious or inauspicious as false as it is based on the false background.

6. The fact that Buddha preached neither Soul nor non-Soul (XVIII-6) is corroborated in R. 2 vv:- Neither soul nor non-soul is asserted in truth. The great sage shunned from us the two views caused by the soul and non-soul. He declared what is seen and what is heard are neither true nor false. If there is a thesis, then there will be an antithesis; so both are not admissible in fact (p.359).

7. Again 3 vv. from R. to show that the Buddha preached differently to different pupils. A grammarian would teach even the alphabet; likewise the Buddha preached his pupils (विनेष) dharma according to their capacities. He preached to some the law in order to deter them from wrong deeds, to some a dualistic law in order to increase merits, to some a deep non-dualistic law which intimidates the timid person, and to some the Bodhi-factor embodied in voidness and compassion (p.359-60)

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

10. As to Nagarjuna's conception of Nirvana R. says - When Nirvana is not a non-entity, how can it be an entity? What is Nirvana is an end of both entity and non-entity (p.524).

Candrakirti has made only 4 citations from the Catustava:

1. The world resembles an echo, and is neither identified with nor different from its cause. You (Buddha) have comprehended what is beyond continuity and discontinuity. (p.215, Catus.I. 13).

2. Heretics consider the misery created either by self, other or both or causeless; but you have preached it as dependently originated (p.55- Catus.II, 19).

3. You have stated: In case a definition is different from the defined, the latter would be devoid of the former; in case they are identical, they would become non-entity (p.64-C.II, 11)

4. Things that are produced from the causes are non-existent as the latter itself is a non-entity. Is it not plain then that they are similar to reflections? (p.413=C.II, 4 Bodh.p.583).

The Catustava is more favourite with Prajnakaramati who refers to it more frequently on the following subjects :-

1. Teaching of voidness-nectar is for removal of all wrong conceptions पुष्कल शून्यत धैर्य pp.359-415=C.II.21).

2. Supreme truth falls not within the cognizance of senses (p.365 = C.III.18).

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

4. The action and its agent are (admissible) in the worldly talk; there is neither agent nor enjoyer in truth. Merit and demerits are dependently produced, and hence unborn (p.476 = C.II.8-9)
5. Buddha has no Sattva-idea (in himself) but has it towards the down-trodden due to compassion (p.489 = C.I, 8).

6. Things are desireless, non-substantial, dependently originated and void. (p.489 = C.II. 22).

7. Things are beginningless and endless; hence आदिशान्त व calm from the outset (p.528 = C.III. 27).

8. Dependent origination = सृण्यता = सद्भं = तथागत (p.528 = C.II, 20, III.28).

9. तत्व = परमायं = तथाता = भूत; Buddha is because of realizing this (p.528 = C.III. 39).

10. Origination is similar to magic. The world is caused by a constructive thought परिकल्प; hence no beginning and no end. Neither permanent thing transmigrates nor impermanent thing. So transmigration resembles a dream (p.533 = C.II, 16-18).

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

12. The same as No. 4 of M.Vrtti above stated (p.583 = C.II.4).

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

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

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

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

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

3. Release is (secured) because of voidness-vision शून्यता-द्वित्तिक; for this purpose the contemplation of everything as void (Bodh. p.438).
4. The whole theory of causation (operates) in the empirical plane (Bodh. p. 475).

THE PRESENT TEXT

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

नापनेयमतं किष्ठित्व प्रक्षेपिं नापि किष्ठितं ।
द्वियं मृत्तो मृतं यद्वश्रमं यथा न यतं ॥
अनुभविकल्पनं विक्षयं हि वधयते ।
तमेव विश्वं परदम्यं मूलं: परिवर्धते ।

The ideas of these stanzas are made into one in the Ratnagotra-vibhaga thus: नापनेयमतं किष्ठित्वपनेयं न किष्ठितं ।
द्वियं मृत्तो मृतं मूलं मूलदर्शी विमुख्यते ॥

It is again cited in the Charyāṇītikācārika p. 32 with this difference प्रक्षेपिं न किष्ठितं । as though it is from the Madh. Sastra. It is not, therefore, unlikely that the last two verses of the text were added by a later writer who was perhaps inclined towards the yogacara standpoint. The vision of यथासूत्र as a factor of Release is also acceptable to Nagarjuna (v.R. cited above No. 1) though its import may be different for him.

The purpose of this composition is, according to the introductory remark made at the outset of the comment, to expound in brief the twelve causal links preached by the Master to an intelligent disciple who approaches Nagarjuna with a request to that effect. He asks: How are the twelve links grouped? The author replies: They are grouped into three categories: 1) Defilement, 2) Action and 3) Suffering.
The first-category consists of the causal links Nos. 1, 8 and 9 = ignorance, thirst and clinging respectively. The second is formed of Nos. 2 and 10 = formation and becoming; the other links are included in the third category. From the first category arises second and from the latter the third arises. The disciple asks: Who is the over lord above all and what is His function towards them? The author replies: The Universe is an interplay of series of causes and effects and there is no overlord of any kind. Question: Who is then that travels from this world to the next one. Reply: There does not exist even a subtle particle that travels from this world to the next one. Nevertheless the void things are produced from the void things. From the five causes, i.e. defilement and action which are void, i.e. devoid of the soul and anything pertaining to the soul are produced seven results, i.e. Suffering that are void, etc. The following examples are cited to make the point clear: Mouth-to-Mouth preaching श्लोक, lamp, seal, mirror, sound, sun-stone and seed, etc. It is argued that if what is uttered by the teacher reaches the pupil, then the passage uttered by the teacher would be devoid of the latter. The passage uttered by the pupil does not come from any other source because the other source cannot be its cause. It could hardly be possible to determine whether the passage uttered by the pupil and the passage uttered by the teacher are identical or different. Likewise the rebirth-mind of the future life is produced on the basis of the death-moment-mind and the former cannot be said to be either identical with or different from the latter.

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

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

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

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

य आज्ञेन्द्रियवृत्तिः व्याधाय प्रतीत्य वा। सोद्भवितस्थारणश्च निर्विविषयकं धिख्यते ॥

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

The Arya verses of this text and its commentary upto 3rd verse are adopted from Dr. V. V. Gokhale's paper published in Studia Indologica, 1955, pp.10-106. Luis de Vallee Poussin first translated into French the text कारिका in his Theories des Douze causes. p. 122-24. An English translation of the whole text from its Chinese version has also been published by me in 1940.

The Tibetan texts that are published here are copied from Tanjur, Mdo, gi.f.266, 4 ff, and collated with the same texts in Mdo. thsa, f. 166, ff. noting their important differences in a separate page.
प्रतीत्यसमुद्भाद्वद्यकारिका

नागार्जुनकुट

ह्रादश येवक्षिणेपार मुत्रिनोहित्या: प्रतीत्यसम्भूताः।
ते कलेशकर्मुः-सेवु सहस्योतत्त्विन्भु यथाचतुः। १ ॥

आदाधमनवमा: स्यु: कलेशा: कर्म वित्तयदसमौ च।
शेषा: सत्स च दुर्खं निसर्गहाथा ब्राह्मण तु धर्मा:। २ ॥

हित्यो भवति इन्द्रः इन्द्रालभोरत्नित सत्स सत्स्मूः।
तय उद्भवति बृहस्तवेव [तु] भवति भवचक्रम:। ३ ॥

हेतुसूक्ष्म: [ति] सर्वं जगद्यो नास्ति कामिनिधि सत्त्र:।
शुभेच्छ एवं शुभा धर्मा: प्रभवलित धर्मन्यः। ४ ॥

स्वाध्यायदीपमाद्यस्पर्षमःप्राकल्पात्मकः।
स्तन्धश्रीहस्त्वयासङ्ग्रहम: विभवेन्द्रस्वाथायः। ५ ॥

ब उज्ज्वेदं प्रक्वलयत्यकुमारेऽपि वस्तुति।
प्रतीत्यसम्भवस्यायांस्वत्त्वः स न पाः। ६ ॥

नापनेयति: किश्वल्ल प्रक्ष्ययं नापि किश्वल।
द्रष्टवः सूतीतो भूतं मूलदार्शी विमुच्यते। ७ ॥

प्रतीत्यसमुद्भाद्वद्यकारिका
आचार्यनागार्जुनकुटा
समासः।

13
प्रतीत्यसमुपादहःद्द्यन्यायायायाम्
अध्यात्मानागाजुनकतम

इह कथित् शुपुरुपमानः अथमः अपवर्णचारणोऽहोहोऽहस्तिकास्यम्: शिष्य
अध्यात्मयाय पाद [ मूळ ] माधयम तथागतशास्त्रसमार्थय एवं पृथ्वानु—मगवनु अनल

द्वादश येज्ज्विशेषता मूलनोद्धिता: प्रतीत्यसमूता: ।

क तेवा नामहृ 3 इति श्रोतर्मृ श्चापि:। इति।
तस्य तेवा धार्मिका तत्तवः 4 शृंगस्यमेत्य आचार्य इदममुखवान्

ते वेयेषकर्मं हृषेय सङ्ग्रहस्तितिलिपि [ यथावन् ] ॥ १ ॥

तव दशा च दौरे च द्वादशा। अहृतावेय विशेषय अहृदिशेयः। रघुज्ञवदन्नभाव
उच्चः। कायवाक्यमोमो 5 नामस्।। तेन मूलनोद्धिता: कथिता: प्रक्षाकान् इतिपवयाः।

ते च 4 प्रवृति-नियत्ति-पूर्व-परायन-पन्थम्-संख्यक-काल-शब्दाव-प्रणेच्छा-प्रज्ञापति-
विद्युत्तराधिकारणपूत्ता:। कि ताहि प्रतीत्यसमूहः।। ते द्वादशाभिषेकः बलेसकर्मं हृषेय
अन्योन्यः प्रतीत्य 7 नसकलापयोगन्तलिपि यथावत् संस्कारः:। 8 यथाविवर्तिति
अन्योन्येणस्यः ॥ २ ॥

पृष्ठचित्त। के पुनर्च बलेश:। किं कर्म:। किं दुःखस्म येदु इति प्रत्ययविशेषाः
सङ्ग्रहः हृष्टचित्त।

अह—

अध्यात्ममनवमा: स्यु: बलेशः।

द्वादशाभिषेकः [ मध्य ] आय्या अविच्छ, अध्योत्तूणा, नवममुदानमः
इति लयः: बलेससङ्ग्रहोता: प्रत्यवगत्तथा:। किं कर्मः।

कर्म प्रतीत्यदानमि ।

संस्कारो हितियः सवो द्वामः। [ इमा ] हृ घंहामि कर्मसङ्ग्रहाती वेदितव्यो।

शेषः: सस्त्र च हृशुः

कर्मसङ्ग्रहातीना [ मध्य ] विशेषाणि वे शेषः [ अहृ ] विशेषः: सस्त्र च
ते हृशु [ सङ्ग्रहोता ] वेदितव्यः। तद्यथा विज्ञान नामस्य प्रहात्तनं स्पष्टोऽ

14
वेदना जातिज़ रामरणम्। च शब्दः प्रियवियोगारिणं योगेहि "वालुः वानि सश्रीनोति।

तिसबङ्गाहा द्वादश तु धमान्॥ २॥

अत एते द्वादश धमान्: कर्मेनेषु ज्ञानः [क्रिया] वेदीतमः। [अन्यूता] भिक-ज्ञापनाः भूष्टु शब्दः। एतावत् एवेने सूत्सात्निनिदिः नाव-परमस्तितः परिगणितम्॥ २॥

पृष्ठां लिखितः कदेकधाम दुःखाता [मेयः]कुः किमुत्तम इति व्याख्यातु गार्तये। अहः।

लिख्यो भवति द्रष्टः।
कलेशांस्यम्यस्तिः: कर्माद्विरं द्विक्षतन्ते।
द्वादशभरवति सत्यः
दुःखाया: पूर्वानिनिद्या।

साधनयो।

लयं उद्धवति
कलेशाया:। तेम्प्रितिमय: कलेशोमिरं द्विक्षतन्ते।
सूयगतेव तु अभ्यति भवचक्षम॥ ३॥

वशः: कामेशन्यस्निद्धाधिताः। [ते च] अन्तः वस्थानाथत्सृताः। तेषु पूर्वगतोऽशक्ति एवं पराभ्यति।
तुल्यदेश अन्यत्वान्वितपणाथः। यथा चक्रमनुखर्षी परिभ्रमिताः।
न तथा निम्न भवेतुया पदम्:। [ कि तत्त्व निम्नमो नास्तीता जापयतः॥ ३॥

पृष्ठां लिखितः। अथ सादेवेष्वरः॥ १२ सत्यायां: १३ कताः। ही तथा निम्नमो कीष्टी।
अहः।
हेतुकुलेश हि जगत्।

प्रज्ञां विखाय
अन्यो नास्ति कश्चिद् सत्वः।

परमार्थं: कलितः। कलितग्नि नास्ति। कलितमालवियये (काम) इष्टत्वं सत्व न युज्यते।

पृष्ठां लिखतः। यथोत्स्म, तत्त्व अस्मात्स्मकात् कः परलोकं सद्भामात। अहः।
अस्मात्स्मकात्परलोकं सुभ्योज्जुपपि न सद्भामात। अथ च

15
शून्येय एव शून्या धमः। प्रभवति धमेः। ॥ ४ ॥

आत्मात्मायधिर्हितेऽधमः। क्लेशकामालयेयस्म। पञ्चहृतमः। शून्येय आत्मात्
त्मीयरहिता दुःखतया कविता। फलकलिपता: शून्या: सस धमः। प्रभवतीत्वः।
तथा आत्मात्मायधिरहितास्तु नायोत्यं पुनरात्मा:। अतः च श्रवातोज्ञानाः
धर्मेऽधमः। स्वभावतोज्ञानांधमः। प्रभवति। एवमवनात्मन्विन्धतां नापितम् ॥ ५ ॥

अत श्रवातोज्ञानांधमः एव श्रवातोज्ञानांधमः। प्रभवति इत्यय को
उपदानः। अभीष्टः

स्वा।"यायदीपमुदार्यपरिकार्कार्कात्विज्ञामः।

एत्यो उपदानः। क्लेशधमेऽधमः। श्रवातोज्ञानांधमः परिलक्षोपिद्विधितः।
तथा—"गुरुमुखाटूतचिता यद्विश्यं तद्नायकमित। गुरुप्रविष्टिताल्पितत हाता
अति स्पर्शित न सद्भान्मित। शिष्येण प्रोक्तमित। नायोत्यं। अतेत्तुमात्वः।
यथा गुरुमुखाटूतचिता: तथा मरणागतानिर्विष्टमित। शाश्वत ॥[वच्छ] देव: धातु
परस्पशः न सद्भान्मः। परलोकोपिती नायोती मववति। अजेयतुपस्वतः।
यथा गुरुप्रविष्टिताल्पितत हाता: शिष्येण [श्रैत:] स एव अन्यं वा इति न निरङ्गतं शक्यते।
तथा मरणनितः प्रौढः ॥१८॥ गौपर्ष्येणनिर्विष्टमित तदेव तातोल्यः इति न
वक्तः शक्यते। तथा। यथा प्रदीप्याण्वीः। मुक्तात द्वम्भं प्रतिविष्द्वस्य
मुदात:। प्रतिमुनोपस्तते। अक्षकान्तादिनः। बीजगंधकुर्निशाचिनि॥अगरसाशतः रसकव्यः
शब्दान्वितिः कन्योपस्तते। ते च त एव वा शतोत्यं वा इति न नात्तु
शक्यते। तथा।

स्कन्धार्थः॥सत्यार्थसङ्क्रमः विद्विद्रविवर्तयः॥ ६ ॥

तत्प्रत्ययः रुप्‌येवद्वांशास्त्रांस्कृतविश्वासाः। शत्यः। तेवाः प्रतिसिद्धेऽ
निपितः। १८७तिः फलमभूतत्वः।

अस्मात् लोकार्पणोक्त न कोष्ठिः भाव:। सूक्ष्मोपित। सद्भान्मित। एव चक्रभ्रमणं
प्रतिविष्टिक्यवासनयो समुपवत्तते। अति इति हु विषयं:। ततो निवर्तिति तदस्थोः।
अनित्यु: शुभसाधारामभावाय न नित्यमातानु: यथायुः। अस्ति वामोहे
न रागः। अस्ति रागे न द्वेषः। अस्ति द्वेषे न कर्मः करोति। अस्तिः कर्मणि
नोपवदीयते भाव:। अस्तुपपवः न भवममिन्द्रायः। अस्ति भवे न जाति:।
अस्त्यं जाती न कायाचिंतयोऽदेहं स्वत:। एवमवनात्त तदस्थुप्रकाशान्वस्ते
मुद्यते। अथं मोक्षी वैदितः। एव शाश्वाजेवद्विदुहृतो परिनीतता मववति ॥६॥

16
अल्ले श्लोकों भवतः—

य" "उच्छेर्द प्रकृपयत्वत्सूचिपदेपि कर्तुनि।
प्रतीत्यसमुपत्यवर्धमविभं: स न पश्यति॥ ६ ॥

नापनेयमते: किपिक्रमविन्यां नापि किष्कन।
मूत्रश्रु भूतो द्वा भूतवशर्माः विरुचिष्टेत॥ ७ ॥

आचार्यनागार्जुनकुटप
प्रतीत्यसमुपत्यवर्धद्वय—
व्याख्यानम समासमु॥

———
SKT. TEXT NOTES

1. Tibetan has literally: अन्वणधारणावगति = अहापोहेः.
2. lit. सड़कोऽह (इति)
3. lit.—अचेये.
4. ‘’—सत्त्वप्रक्षे.
6. प्रकृति = प्रकृति, नियति = नियति, पुरुष = पुरुष, पराजीनक = पराजीनक, ईश्वर = ईश्वर, काल = काल, स्वभाव = स्वभाव, यथेष्ठ्य = यथेष्ठ्य, प्रजापति = प्रजापति, यद्वच्छा = यद्वच्छा?
   Chinese omits = पराजीनक.
7. खुम बुधबुधकुपुरुषय
8. अहापोहेः
10. lit. अधिकार्य व्यवस्थापन
11. अपूर्वदेश्य
12. Here breaks Gokhale’s text.
13. अपूर्वदेश्य
14. स्वाध्याय = स्वाध्याय, दीप = दीप, मुद्रा = मुद्रा, दर्पण = दर्पण, घोष = घोष, अर्ककाल = अर्ककाल, बोध = बोध, अस्त्र = अस्त्र
15. अपूर्वदेश्य
16. मूर्तिकाव्य = मूर्तिकाव्य Popula expression: बिहार
17. अपूर्वदेश्य
18. See Introduction.
བོད་ཡིག་ལས་མཁས་མེད་པར་གྱི་ཞུས་པོ་བཐོོད་

ཐོན་ལོག་འདིང་། ་བཀྲ་ཤིས་བཤེས་པ་ཐོན་ལོག་འདིང་།

བོད་ཡིག་ལས་མཁས་མེད་པར་གྱི་ཞུས་པོ་བཐོད་

ཡིན་པས་། ་བཀྲ་ཤིས་བཤེས་པ་བོད་ཡིག་ལས་མཁས་མེད་པར་གྱི་ཞུས་པོ་བཐོད་

1. གསར་བི་གསར་སུ་མེད་པ་ \(\text{ས་ལ་མ་མ་} \) ་ས་ལ་མ་མ་ \(\text{ས་ལ་མ་མ་} \)

2. གསར་བི་གསར་སུ་མེད་པ་ \(\text{ས་ལ་མ་མ་} \) ་ས་ལ་མ་མ་ \(\text{ས་ལ་མ་མ་} \)

3. གསར་བི་གསར་སུ་མེད་པ་ \(\text{ས་ལ་མ་མ་} \) ་ས་ལ་མ་མ་ \(\text{ས་ལ་མ་མ་} \)

4. གསར་བི་གསར་སུ་མེད་པ་ \(\text{ས་ལ་མ་མ་} \) ་ས་ལ་མ་མ་ \(\text{ས་ལ་མ་མ་} \)

5. གསར་བི་གསར་སུ་མེད་པ་ \(\text{ས་ལ་མ་མ་} \) ་ས་ལ་མ་མ་ \(\text{ས་ལ་མ་མ་} \)

6. གསར་བི་གསར་སུ་མེད་པ་ \(\text{ས་ལ་མ་མ་} \) ་ས་ལ་མ་མ་ \(\text{ས་ལ་མ་མ་} \)

7. གསར་བི་གསར་སུ་མེད་པ་ \(\text{ས་ལ་མ་མ་} \) ་ས་ལ་མ་མ་ \(\text{ས་ལ་མ་མ་} \)

19
FOOT-NOTES

1. Tangur, Mdo. gi No.90, fol. 216a; tsa, No.14 fol. 116a.

2. Tsa: ཊར་བཞི་བཞི་

3. Tsa. ང་རི་probably Supports परिमुक्ति — a reading in Asvaghosa's verse v. Introduction.
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11 Անվճարորեն տարբեր ծառայություններ կարելի է հանգարվել մերկա եկամտի համար

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11 Անվճարորեն տարբեր ծառայություններ կարելի է հանգարվել մերկա եկամտի համար

11 Անվճարորեն տարբեր ծառայություններ կարելի է հանգարվել մերկա եկամտի համար

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FOOT-NOTES

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

2. Tsa: रुपांतर-संबंध

3. =pada-mula

4. Tsa. अ

5. " adds: पुरुष

6. " धे

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

8. Tsa. एकाधित्रिकम्। एकेश्वर

9. " एकेश्वर

10. " एकेश्वर

11. " एकेश्वर

11a. " एक " may be a better reading.

12. Xyll. appears to read ाम
RGYAN-DRUG MCHOG-GNYIS (Six Ornaments and Two Excellents) reproduces ancient scrolls (1670 A.C.) depicting Buddha, Nagarjuna, Aryadeva, Asanga, Vasubandhu, Dinnaga, Dharmakirti, Gunaprabha, and Sakyaprabha; reproductions are as per originals today after 300 years of display and worship with no attempt at restoration or retouching. The exposition in English presents the iconographical niceties and the theme of the paintings, namely, the Mahayana philosophy; the treatment is designed to meet also the needs of the general reader with an interest in Trans-Himalayan art or Mahayana. A glossary in Sanskrit-Tibetan, a key to place names and a note on source material are appended. Illustrated with five colour plates and thirteen monochromes.

April 1962.
THE SKYABS-MGON

—NIRMAL C. SINHA

I

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

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

In Tibet (and Tibetan speaking countries) the Dalai Lama is variously called Gyalwa Rimpoche (rgyal-ba rin-poche, that is, jinaratna or precious conqueror), Kundun (kun-hdus, that is, omnipresence), Gong-sa (one on the highest Bhumi, that is, sovereign), Kyamgon Rimpoche (skyabs-mgon rin-poche, that is, precious lord of refuge) or Kyamgon Buk (skyabs-mgon shug or inmost lord of refuge). The last, that is, Kyamgon appears to be the official designation or lawful title used in State-papers; other titles could be added in official correspondence etc.

British official reports about Tibet during the rule of Dalai Lama XIII speak of two titles, Kyamgon and Gyalwa Rimpoche (1). Charles Bell in enumerating the titles (2) gave priority to "The Precious Protector" (Kyamgon Rimpoche). The English text of the first Tibetan memorandum to the Simla Conference (October 1913) described the Dalai Lama as Precious Protector or Protector (3). In the famous petition (1932) to the Dalai Lama XIII praying for his long life Tibetans addressed him as Kyamgon (4). The present Dalai Lama, that is, Dalai Lama XIV uses the title Kyamgon with prefix Gongsa in the Tibetan text of the Constitution promulgated on 10 March 1963 (5).

All dates are in Christian era.

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

Pronunciation of Tibetan words as in Central dialect.
The terms Lama (bla-ma Skt. guru), Chang-chub-sem pa (byang-chub-sems-dpah Skt. bodhisattva), Chen-re-sik (spyan-ras-gzigs Skt. avalokitesvara) and Kyamgon (skyabs-mgon Skt. not known) are discussed in this paper, the second in the series ‘Prolegomena to Lamaist Polity’. As in the previous paper the bearing of doctrinal terms on secular life is studied.

II

‘Previous to the Lama even the name of the Buddha did not exist’ (6).

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

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

The indispensability of teacher is admitted in the Upanishads. The etymological meaning of the term Upanishad is ‘sitting down near’, that is, sitting down near the teacher. There is an element of esoteric in the Upanishad as there is a process of dialectic therein. Both presume a teacher. This need is so obvious that there may be no need to use the word for teacher even. As in the most famous exhortation for ‘seeking the best teacher’, the actual expression is ‘seeking the best’, Katha I, 3 : 14. Mundaka I, 2 : 12 advises search for a Guru who is learned in the scriptures and has realized the Absolute. In Taittiriya, I, 11 : 2 the pupil on graduation is enjoined to be one to whom the Acharya is the Deva. The concluding verse of Svetasvatara declares that the highest mystery of the Vedanta reveals to the high souled seeker who has the highest devotion for the Deva and for his Guru as for Deva (7). Katha and Taittiriya are admittedly pre-Buddhist. Mundaka is a post-Buddha work. The Svetasvatara, according to Nalinaksha Dutta, ‘is no doubt pre-Buddhist and very likely formed the basis of the teachings of Alara Kalama and Rudraka Ramaputra, the spiritual teachers of Siddhartha Gautama’ (8).

Brihad-devata, a compendium of the deities and myths of the Rig Veda—composed acc. to Arthur Macdonell after 500 B. C. but in style and diction a Vedic workmanship acc. to the same authority—uses both the terms Acharya and Guru and sometimes synonymously (9). Guru is
however an omnibus word connoting any superior while Acharya, unless repugnant to the context, is an intellectual superior like the teacher. It is not relevant to present here the fine distinctions or descriptive classifications of Smriti (like Manu) or Dharmasutra (like Apastamba or Gautama) (10). It is however necessary to notice the steady rise of the priest (Purohita: Brahmana) as a superior (Guru) from early Vedic times. The Purohita was the indispensable authority at the consecration of the king. Horizontal crystallization of society into Varna with Brahmana on the top set the protocol between the priest and the king. Even though the colourful picture of the sacerdotal authority electing the temporal power as drawn by Jayaswal and Coomaraswamy cannot be so faithful to facts (11), the legend of Brahmana as the source of Kshatra was the reflex of social consensus. While the Brihadaranyaka description of the Brahmana as “the womb out of which the Kshatra issued” (12) was no doubt metaphorical, the Purohita of the Vedic consecration was the matrix for the Rajaguru in medieval Hindu Rashtra.

Be it for intellectual or spiritual objective the first stage in striving was to attach oneself to a teacher. It is significant that after renunciation Prince Siddhartha did not immediately make for a retreat in the mountains or forests; he sought teachers and became disciple of Alara Kalama and Rudraka Ramaputra successively. He no doubt rejected their doctrines (13) and through different disciplines and processes forged his own way to Enlightenment. As at the beginning of his quest the Buddha sought teachers so at its end he sought disciples and, before he began his missionary life, converted his quondam associates, the five Brahmana ascetics. “There was no Acharya equal to him” (14) and for nearly half a century he was “the Sasta of all mortals and gods” (15). Sasta like Guru is an omnibus word and would mean ruler (sasana karta/ raja) and parent (pita) as well as a teacher versed in the Sastras. Sasta became the epithet of Buddha in chaste expression. Later, when the Guru (preceptor/teacher) was equated to the Buddha, Guru was a good synonym for Buddha.

In the beginning Bhagavan was the most popular form of addressing the Buddha; Sasta, that is, Guru had an intellectual or academic tone. With the growth of Tantra, grew the cult of spiritual preceptor and Sasta or Guru became a popular form for describing the Buddha, the original preceptor. It is not necessary for the present context to trace the beginnings of Tantra and digress into the several theories which profess to cancel each other. It is sufficient to note that in one form or other Tantra was known to the Indus Civilization (c.3500-1500 B.C.) as also to the Vedic Civilization (- 1500 B.C. - ). Tantra was thus in existence in the Buddha’s time; it is not known in what form and to what degree the Buddha accepted it.
When Buddhism was split into two Vehicles (say in the first century after Christ), Mahayana had fully accepted Tantra. Nagarjuna, the discoverer of Prajnaparamittra, furnished a new philosophy for Tantra by the doctrine of Sunyata; the corpus of legends about Nagarjuna's alchemy and magic cropped up later when the cult of Guru was in full swing. The second great figure, Asanga (c.350), was the founder of Yoga school in Buddhism. Curiously enough Tantra and Guru-cult characterized contemporary Brahmanical religion. There is positive epigraphic evidence on Sêivite hagiolatry. The Mathura Inscription (c.380) speaks of adoration of Guru, lineage of Guru and even the gallery of Guru images(16). The Devi Bhagavata—though its extant texts were composed much later—expresses the sentiments of the age of saint Asanga and scholar Amarasinha as if to corroborate the data from the Mathura Inscription. It says 'The Guru is Brahma, the Guru is Vishnu and the Guru is Mahesvara. Salutation to the Guru who is the real Absolute’(17).

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

"In this world and other worlds there is none better than a Guru through whose kind offices the wise obtain so many perfections’.

"The Guru is Sugata, Buddha and Darmakaya’.

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

Buddhism in Tibet begins its victorious career with Padmasambhava (c.750-800) and significantly in Tibet he is known as Guru Ratna or Mahaguru. Padmasambhava and Santa-rakshita ordained the first 'Lamas'. The Tibetan word Lama corresponded to the Sanskrit word Guru and as the term Guru was not to be indiscriminately applied so the term Lama has been through centuries used in respect of a few categories of monks and priests and even lay scholars.

Tibetan canonical literature based on Indian sources as well as the tracts and treatises composed by Tibetan scholars and priests bear testimony to the paramount position of the Lama. The tract on the Awakening of Supreme Bliss (bde-mchog-byungba) says ‘The Lama is the Buddha, the Lama is the Dharma and likewise the Lama is the Sangha’.
(19). To Nagarjuna is attributed this formula: “Abandon offerings to all others and make your sole offerings to the Lama. When the Lama is pleased you attain the wisdom of the omniscient” (20). Milarepa (1040-1123) begins a song on old age and death thus: “I bow at the feet of the teacher, the Buddha of the three times” (21). An ancient Tibetan proverb affirms that without the auspices of the Lama even the blessings of the Buddha do not operate (22). Sakya Lama Drags-pa-gyal-mtshan (1147-1216) enjoined that the first salutation should be to the feet of the Lama (23).

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

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

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

III

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

A Bodhisattva thus features in Tibetan imagery.

It is neither possible nor necessary to attempt an adequate exposition of the doctrine of Bodhisattva within the limits of this enquiry into political theories and institutions. The stages in the history of the Bodhisattva concept—from the Bodhisattva (singular) of the Jataka to the Bodhisattva (collective) on the eve of Mahayana’s migration to Tibet—with its ever expanding contents and facets belong to the field of religion and philosophy (26). Facts precisely necessary for an understanding of Bodhisattva as an institution in the Samsara are culled here from the Indian context. Etymologically a Bodhisattva is an
Enlightenment-Being, as Gautama himself was in his numerous previous lives (Jataka aspiring for Bodhi). In Mahayana a Bodhisattva could be either celestial or terrestrial and in each category there could be many as in a way all the Bodhisattvas in different categories and grades were phantom or apparitional bodies (Nirmanakaya) of the Absolute (Paramartha or Bodhi).

The concept of Nirmanakaya, the Mahayana thinkers affirmed, was as old as Gautama Buddha and modern scholars do not reject this belief (27). Gopinath Kaviraj, savant and seer, traces the concept to a period anterior to Gautama Buddha; he notices the usage Nirmanachitta by the founder of Samkhya (i.e. Kapila who must have been a few generations earlier than Alara Kalama) and would find the beginnings of the doctrine of 'magical self-multiplicative power of the Supreme' in the Rig Veda (28).

The Saddharma-pundarika (composed in the first century B.C. and elaborated in the third & fourth centuries A.C.), one of the nine basic books of Mahayana and 'the crown jewel of all Sutras', present (29) a glorious pageant of the Bodhisattvas: their might and majesty and their wisdom and compassion. If the book suffers from an ubiquity of Bodhisattvas it does not manipulate barriers between terrestrials and celestials. In fact the total effect of the pageant is to awaken faith in the terrestrial Bodhisattvas. The terrestrial Bodhisattva was imminent with the community of believers while the celestial was transcendental.

The Prajnaparamita (Transcendental Wisdom) in its earliest stage was a highly intellectual recipe for nihilism and quite beyond the grasp of the ordinary mind (30). In their endeavour to transform the doctrine for the highbrows and intellectuals into a religion for the masses, the master-thinkers (Acharyas) of Mahayana shifted the emphasis from Prajna (Wisdom) to Sraddha (Faith). Likewise the accent was shifted from the spiritual Conqueror (Jina) to the material Saviour (Boddhisattva). It was more desirable to awaken faith in a Bodhisattva (Manjusri, Avalokitesvara or Samantabhadra) than to meditate on an ethereal/hypothetic Kula (Akshobhya, Amitabha or Vairochana). And between the two Bodhisattvas (celestial and terrestrial) the one near at hand would be naturally more prized.

The Manushi Bodhisattva was in fact "the ideal Man of the Mahayana" as Edward Conze describes him (31). He could be householder or recluse; he could be reborn as a wealthy man or king. Obviously as a Nirmanakaya he could take any shape because his duties and functions would determine the choice. For preaching the Dharma the Bodhisattva would be a recluse or monk (32). The Sangha would therefore be better
described as the Gana of Bodhisattvas; an usage traceable in the Saddharma-pundarika (33).

The altruism of Bodhisattva found its classic exposition in Bodhicharyavatara of Santideva (8th century).—A Bodhisattva feels the joys and sorrows of others as his own; he loves and guards others as he loves and guards himself; he identifies with the poor and the lowly. A Bodhisattva’s resolve is of great use in the Samsara or material world (34).

The Bodhisattvabhumi (Asanga: c. 350) enumerates the acts of common welfare expected of a Bodhisattva; these include supply of material needs of life and provision of refuge. The grant of refuge is further emphasized as one of the five constant duties of a Bodhisattva (35). Santideva’s Siksha-Samuchchaya quotes the Gandavyuha Sutra to say that the resolve of the Bodhisattva is the foundation of all material and moral good, the annihilator of all poverty and the refuge of all beings (36).

Thus for the ordinary man, with ordinary intelligence and ordinary resources, the Bodhisattva could be the patron saint for their material welfare as well. In Tibet “the ideal Man of the Mahayana” became the national ideal. Santarakshita, the joint founder of the first monastery (Samye), is immortalized under the epithet “Bodhisattva as scholar”. The kings propagating the Dharma were recognized as Bodhisattva as well as Nirmanakaya. The element of hero in a Bodhisattva was emphasized in translating the term from Sanskrit into Tibetan; the suffix ‘dpah’ (i.e. ‘daph-bo’ or hero) was added after ‘byang-chubsems’ instead of a simple ‘pa’ as adjectival termination (37). One might be a great man otherwise but his popularity would be assured only if he was called a Byang-chub-sems-dpah. A Guru (Lama) could be one par excellence if he was known to be a Bodhisattva (Byang-chub-sems-dpah). Down to our times a popular honorific for Byang-chub-sems-dpah, in Central Tibet at least, is Sprul-sku (Nirmanakaya). This has been so for the simple reason that a Sprul-sku of a celestial or terrestrial Being was by and large “the ideal Man of the Mahayana”, the Saviour for this world and/or the other world. The Lama as the custodian of the script, the organizer of schools, the master of occult and the adviser of the king could no doubt be the Bodhisattva for the entire community in times of distress. Besides the layman could come very near ‘the house of Lamas’ (bla-brang) as much because of the socio-economic climate of Tibet (38) as for the needs of firm propagation; there was no distance between the monks and common men as was in India or in a Theravada country to-day. Thus in times of distress refuge in the Bodhisattva-gana, the Blamahi-brang, was in the logic of history.
May Lokesvara protect you as he sits,
surrounded by his mass of rays,
on Mount Potalaka, which echoes
with the roar of its deep caves;
who thus is like the moon within the mass of waves
churned in the Sea of Milk by the mountain Mandara,
whirling with heavy roar
and unwavering because of its great speed

Jnasrimitra(39)

This verse composed in Bengal around 1050 could have been a
typical reflex of Tibetan mind in 1650 when the Great Fifth incarnation
of Avalokitesvara (spyan-ras-grzigs) "looked down from on high" the
soaring palace-temple on Marpo Ri (Red Hill) which he called Potala.

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

His compassion is not a passive virtue or static quality; his is an
active personality, full of dynamism; he is "unwavering because of great
speed" to use the words of Jnasrimitra. To the afflicted mortals he
is the jewel of the Bodhisattvas; he is the Sangha (Bodhissattva-Gana)
Raina.

In the early Mahayana eight Bodhisattvas are prominent viz. Manjusri,
Vajrapani, Avalokitesvara, Kshitigarbha, Sarvanivaranaivishkambhin, Akas­
sagarbha, Maitreya and Samantabhadra. These are "a group of equal rank.
Perhaps Manjusri is regarded as primus inter pares. In the later Mahayana
the oligarchy is changed into an absolute monachy. Avalokitesvara is

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first and the rest nowhere. He absorbs all the virtues, powers, functions and prerogatives of the other Bodhisattvas, because he is the Lord of Mercy. He occupies the supreme position in the Universe and reigns without a rival”. Har Dayal(42).

The grandeur of Avalokitesvara is depicted in Avalokitesvara-gunakarnada-vyuha (abbr. Karandayuha): the detailed description of the basket of the qualities of Avalokitesvara. Its first composition dates considerably earlier than the fourth century while the complete extant text (43) perhaps belongs to the seventh century. Its scheme is the glorification of the compassionate and mighty redeemer Avalokitesvara and is punctuated with his many exploits of rescue. The historic value of the Karandayuha however lies in the exposition of the Six Mystic Syllables: OM MANI PADME HUM which Avalokitesvara the creator of the world donated to the world(44).

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

As the begetter of the Tibetan race Spyan-ras-gzigs was naturally thought of as its protecting deity. The first great king Srong-btsan-sgampo (c.605-650) was recognized as the Sprul-sku (Nirmanakaya) of the Father of the People while his scholar-minister Thonmi Sambhota was found to be Hjam-dpal (Manjusri). Only two of the great king’s successors were found to be Sprul-sku of the same. The incarnation of Spyan-ras-gzigs, the topmost of ninety one Byal-g-chub-sem-dpah, could not be a routine affair and his mortal forms were few and far between. The tradition about Spyan-ras-gzigs however grew from strength to strength.

In their adoration for the Founder and Protector, the Tibetans moved towards the summit of monotheism (and not mere henotheism with myriads of Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, Dharmapalas etc) when they described Spyan-ras-gzigs as the Sole God of the Land of Snow(45). Indian reformer Atisa and his Tibetan disciple Hbrom-ston (1003-1064) reckoned with this spirit and enumerated the four Mgon-skyabs (Lords of
Refuge) thus: Gautama Buddha, merciful Avalokitesvara, goddess Tara and guardian of faith Achala(46).

The three royal patrons of Dharma — Srong-btsan-sgam-po, Khri-srong-lde-btsan and Ral-pa-chen — were incarnations of Sypan-ras-gzigs and the next was Hbrom-ston himself. The traditions, recorded in successive centuries, agree on these four names. The next name unanimously agreed in different traditions is that of Sa-chen Kungah-snyingpo (1092-1158). There was no attempt in any particular lineage (monarchical or monastic) to have the incarnation to themselves(47). The followers of Tsong-khapa (1357-1419) made the bold bid and got approval of all Tibetans to fourteen successive Sprul-skus of the Sole God of Tibet: Dge-hdun-grub (1391-1475) to Bstan-hzin Rgya-mtsho (b. 1935).

V

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

Dam-chos-padma-dkar-po

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

Each of the roles BLA-MA, BYANG-CHUB-SEMS-DPAH and SPYAN-RAS-GZIGS had sanction for exercise of temporal authority and the three roles combined in the hierarch of Yellow Sect could render him the Rex in Western expression. But the monks of Ganden, Drespung and Sera had the genius to seek the raison d’etre of political power in the fundamentals of the Dharma. They traced this back to the earliest teachings known and accepted over the entire Buddhist world in both Vehicles. They designated their hierarch as SKYABS-
From the very beginning the grant of Skyabs (Skt. Sarana) has been the right as well as the obligation of Mgon (Skt. Natha). As the Tibetan rendering of the Saddharmapundarika quotes a devotee addressing the Buddha: “Mgon-po, Thou art the most excellent Skyabs” (51). The Buddha had offered, as the Sakya Lama (Chos-rgyal-hphags-pa 1235-1280) put it, “Skyabs to one who has no Mgon” (52). Through parables and prophecies the Buddha had promised appearance at the end of the world or in time of distress (53), not unlike that in the Bhagavadgita (54).

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

(Edwin Arnold’s tran. in verse)

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

The kingdom built by Srong-btsan-sgam-po (c.645-650) came to an end with the assassination of the apostate Glang-darma (c.842). A process of slow but steady disintegration set in. There was no central power and the rise and fall of numerous principalities did not make for peace and security for the people. The native chronicles are as confused as the events for three centuries and a half (c.850-1200). Two facts stand out clearly. First, after a period of stagnation the Dharma made full resurgence, a renascence, with Atisa’s propagation (1042-1054). Second, both for their own protection as well as for that of their ‘parish’ the abbots of different sects began building monasteries; two sects, Kargyu and Sakya, did well. In grandeur and authority they soon superseded and replaced the castles of the pastoral and nomadic lords. People oppressed by the decadent aristocrats or the rising brigands came for refuge to their respective monasteries and the abbots did not disappoint them.

The rule of the Sakya Lamas or that of the Kargyu Lamas (and Phag-mo-gru-pas) needs no narration here (55). The Lama rulers of the thirteenth century and following saved Tibet from Mongol atrocities while all countries and peoples from Sarai (Volgograd) to Khanbalyk (Peking) had experienced these. Be it their mastery of occult or the impact of their Dharma on the eclectic Mongol mind, the saviours had proved their statesmanship; the Bodhisattva as statesman became the Rajaguru (Tisri or Bakshi) of the most warlike dynasty on record in Asia and Europe. The Sword of Transcendental Knowledge—the Sakya Lamas were in the lineage of Manjusri—brought down the Sword of
naked power. The Adamantine Thunderbolt—the Kargyu Lamas were in
the lineage of Vajradhara—calmed down the thunder from Altai-Kara­
korum. The Lamas not only saved Tibet from invasions; they made Tibet
a first-class power of the day.

The titles of these Lamas, who organized full refuge from
internal disorder and external aggression, are of direct interest in the
the present discussion. A Lama ruler would *ipso facto* be Chos-rgyal
(Dharmaraja) and was so in fact and form. To the devotees in general
a Lama ruler was Mgon-skyabs (Lord of Refuge) in both temporal and
spiritual sense. These Lamas themselves did not use the epithet Mgon-
skyabs or Skyabs-mgon for reasons not clear today. In oral tradition
down to our day the devotees are known to have called them so. In
 correspondence addressed to the Sakya hierarch down to our day the
title Skyabs-mgon has been customary (56).

Thus when the Yellow Sect rose into political ascendancy, from
the Third Incarnation Bsonam Rgya-rin lotsho onwards, Skyabs-mgon was in
current usage. If the Great Fifth made official use of the title, it was only
appropriate for Spyan-ras-gzig; the Sole God and Protector of Tibet. The
Dalai Lama was indeed the Skyabs-mgon *par excellence* (57).
It is necessary to mention several theories and controversies if only to affirm that these theories do not affect the historicity or sequence of the events as narrated in this paper.

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

*Karandavyuha* was composed between fourth and seventh centuries.

Nagarjuna’s dates range from 58 B.C. to 150 A.C. Asanga is dated between 350 and 450 A.C.; definitely after Nagarjuna as in Tibetan tradition also.

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

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

The treatises *Mani-bkah-hbum* (attributed to seventh century) and *Padma-bkah-thang* (attributed to eighth century) were padded with later events, prophesies etc. till the seventeenth century. (This paper sums up the position till 1650.)

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

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

Rinpoche, Kyamgon Rinpoche or Kundun. My own impression is that during the Regency, when there was no Dalai Lama functioning, the title Gya(l)wa Rinpoche was in greater use. Libing Athing Sonam Tobden confirms this.


4. English translation of the petition and the Dalai Lama’s reply will be found in Bell: op.cit pp 377-382.


Sabdakalpadruma (Radhakanta Deva) quotes Kurnma Purana—


12. भ्रम वा इदम आशीर्वादनेव तदेक सत्स व्यमवत्।
तत्त्वं योरुपमत्यस्वजल
क्षत्र्य यान्येनानि देवता वल्लिनिर्देशो वर्ण: सोमो छः पर्वत्यो योम सुवुरुषांक
दृस्त।
तस्मात् भानुअर्नाति नास्ति तस्मा हराणाद्राण: क्षत्रयथ्यस्वजलपाट राजस्वय शक्ति एव
tथशो दधीति मध्य शालमयो नान्यिर्हृत्वा।

बृहदारण्यक १, ४: ११


13. For the disciplines Gautama learned from Alara Kalama and Rudraka Ramaputra see Dutt: Early Monastic Buddhism, p.88. Radhakrishnan sums up the situation thus: “He possibly learned from them the need for belief, good conduct, and the practice of meditation, though the content of their teaching seemed to him unsound”. The Dhammapada (London 1950-), Introduction, p.7.
14. न मे आचरणो अतिक्षु सदिसो मे न विज्ञति।
सदेवकर्ममं लोककर्मम् नरिम मे पदपुरुपलो।
मजिष्मसनिकायो; धम्मचक्रस्वलतन।

15. देव-मनुष्यारणि शास्ति।

16. The inscription as read by Devadatta Ramakrishna Bhandarkar is reproduced in *Epigraphic Indica*, Vol.XXI.

17. गुह्रचं ह्या गुहर्विघुण्डिय्यदेवेश्वरः।
गुह्रेण परं ब्रह्म तस्मां श्रीगुरुवे नम।।
देवविहारः

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

18. आधारित परतप्रकाशित तौऽलोकेऽ सचराचरे।
यथा असादृत, प्राप्त्येऽ सिद्धवोऽकें पुरुषः।।


नमस्ते श्रीमतार्ग्यं सर्वसंस्कृतवर्डिण।
सर्वज्ञ बालसंपोह शान्तमुल्ल नमोहस्तु ते।।
जगद्धानविस्वेदिहबुद्धत्वार्थे देवक।
धर्मंनेवार्ध्यंभूत बज्जसत्व नमोहस्तु ते।।
सम्भविति सदा नाथ दोधिपित नमोहस्तु ते।।
रहस्यं महायानं व्वत: श्वाबरस्वयम्भर।
सर्वेदितकिमिव सर्व जगद्वीर नमोहस्तु ते।।
विन्तामणिपिरवत्सु जगदिर्द्यविच्छेदये।
शुक्रवाजाकर श्रीमतं बुद्धपुत नमोहस्तु ते।।
जातं सेजुत्यं तवं असादृतं ते गुरुणाय।
वस्थापितं सर्वं प्रसादं कुरु साप्तमम्।।
रहस्यं सर्वबुद्धगम्यं दशितं धर्मंविच्छेद।
यथा श्रीचितवच्छेद तथा नाथ प्रसीदे मे।।
सववात्त्वमुखे त्यस्त्वा नाश्या मे विद्वते गति।।
तस्मातु कुरु दयानाथं सरासरात्तिभिंतैं।।
प्रशोपायविनिश्चयसिद्धं तुतीविर्रिण्देत।

रुपहि िहति स समेतं तत्त्वमत्तमम्।
अन्यथा विज्ञते बाळं चिनक्तिविमोहितं।।

44
Prainopayavinischayasiddhi and Jnanasiddhi are reproduced in Benoytosh Bhattacharyya: Two Vajrayana Works (Gaekwad Oriental Series).

For similar sentiments in Brahmanical Tantra, John Woodroffe (Arthur Avalon): Principles of Tantra (Madras 1960), chs XIII & XIV and Introduction to Tantra Sastra (Madras 1956), pp 65-67 may be seen.

For the sublime aspects of Guru see also Max Arthur Macauliffe: The Sikh Religion (Oxford 1909).

19. [Scriptural References]

20. [Scriptural References]


28. Gopinath Kaviraj: *Aspects of Indian Thought* (Burdwan University 1966), pp. 137-47. This subject is involved with another 'parallel
development' in Brahmanism and Buddhism: Atman and Tathagatagarbha. Considerations of space forbid any attempt to present the findings of Suzuki, Conze and Gokhale.

29. A standard English translation is by Kern in *The Sacred Books of the East*. Nalinaksha Dutt (and Mironov) edition of the text (Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta) is followed in this paper.


32. *Saddharmapundarika*, ch I, verses 13-43

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

34. बोधिशत्तिविचित्रतय संसारेणि फलं महत।

बोधिशत्तिविचित्र, १; १७

अनाधानांमृतेः नाथः सार्थांकर्म यायिनां।

पारस्परी च नोमृते सेवुः संस्क्रम एवः च॥

बोधिशत्तिविचित्र; २; १७

हीनार्दिश्वात्मानं कृत्वा परवर्मपि चात्मिन।

भावे स्यां च मानं च निदिकल्येत भेतसा॥

बोधिशत्तिविचित्र; ५; १४०

जगद्वा श्राविकानं भैवयायमदित्वमः।

महावाक्यायपापः महाद्रविश्वासपः॥

दुर्गुणयुत्तरः सेवुः सामाघः सर्वेयायिनां।

जगत्त्वेश्वरेश्वरमानं उदितस्वितचन्द्रमः॥

बोधिशत्तिविचित्र; ३; २६-३०

35. अनाधानां च दुःखितानां सृणामप्रतिदिशार्थानां सनायकित्या।

अनाधापु तत्ततु च [दुःखितेषु च] अप्रतिदिशायु सनायकित्या।

बोधिशत्तिविचित्रमुमः।

Nalinaksha Dutt’s edition (Jayaswal Research Institute Series), pp. 194 & 197.

36. *तथायथाध्ययः सुगुणेषु वर्णितं।* बोधिसत्तिनं हि कुलपुरुषं ज्ञेयं सर्वज्ञद्वारमाणं।

शेषसमूहं सर्वं जगत्त्वेश्वरार्थविरहितायः। धरण्यमूः सर्वलोकश्रविशार्थाय
37. "The hero as Bodhisattva" would be the appropriate English form for Tibetan expression Byang-chub-sem-dpah. A Tibetan dissertation on Heroes and Hero-Worship would be on the hero par excellence: Bodhisattva.

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


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

42. Pp. 45-46. Mahavyutpatti lists 91 Bodhisattvas with Avalokitesvara as topmost

His numerous forms (including a set of 108 as in Nepal) and his two popular forms (4-handed as the Jewel of the Sangha and 11-headed as the Great Compassion) express the paramountcy of Avalokitesvara. For these forms see Bhattacharya: op.cit, Walter Clark: Two Lamaistic Pantheons (Harvard 1937/New York 1965) and Alice Getty: Gods of Northern Buddhism (Oxford 1928/Tokyo 1962.)
43. Satyabrata Samasrami ed: Karandavyuha (Calcutta 1873).


45. দৃষ্টিবিন্দু

46. ব্তীতিকিরিত্যাং চ শ্রেষ্ঠত্বম।

47. The different traditions recording the lineage of Spyan-ras-gzigs are found in Bkah-gdams-pha-chos, Lnga-pa-chen-pohi-mdzad-rnam, Klong-rdol gsong hbum etc. Giuseppe Tucci: Tibetan Painted Scrolls, Vol I may be seen.

Sarat Chandra Das in Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow (Calcutta 1893/1965) presents the current (1880-90) Gelugpa version of Atisa having inspired and Hbrom-ston having founded the Grand Hierarchy (i.e. the lineage of the Dalai Lamas).

For a detailed exposition of the lineage of Spyan-ras-gzig down to Dalai Lama VII as in a set of painted scrolls from Peking, see Toni Schmid: Saviours of Mankind (Stockholm 1961).

48. ‘Loyalty to the Dalai Lama’ is the subject matter of an elaborate study shortly. It is not capable of presentation within the limits of this paper. Besides brevity is ruled out when ideas and institutions of one language (Tibetan) are expressed in another (English). For a satisfactory account of “The Dalai Lama: His function, his associates and his birth” Marco Pallis had to resort to Sanskrit, Tibetan, Greek and Latin coinage in his The Way and the Mountain (London 1960).

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

49. This is little recognized by even the Tibetologists. Helmut Hoffmann in The Religions of Tibet (London 1961) is an exception; he makes clear reference to Dalai Lama V’s deep interest in Old Sect teachings, pp. 173-4. I have it on the authority of several trustworthy monks and scholars in Central Tibet that Dalai Lama XIII, in spite of the
puritan Pha-bong-kha, was most deeply tolerant of Old Sect teachings. This is confirmed by Denzong Gyalyum Kunzang Dechen Tshomo, a daughter of the ancient Ragasha House and a considerable scholar herself.

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

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

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

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

The Chinese (Manchu and Republican) drive to the west and consequent expansion of Inner Tibet (Chinese Tibet) were possible because of the Heavenly Kingdom’s loose hold over Kham, where large blocs of Old Sect believers lived. Khampa nationalist reforms programmes involving both Old Sects and Gelug had early support from the Chinese; this made the Chinese Liberation of Khams easy. George Patterson: Tibet in Revolt (London 1960) gives some interesting details.

When the Khampas realized that the Liberation would be completed with the end of their Dharma and Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara, they did not wait for the word from the Heavenly Kingdom. The Khampa revolt (1956-59) was a typical Khampa affair. They crowned their movement with the escorting of the Incarnation into safety (March 1959) and several in the escort party returned to fight and die in typical Khampa fashion.
The Dalai Lama’s Flight is rightly prized as a remarkable feat of bravery and organization. The Khampas did it with “tears, blood and sweat”. Their loyalty to the Dalai Lama was in inverse ratio to their submission to the Heavenly Kingdom.

51. The extract is made from Giuseppe Tucci’s edition (Czechad Oriental Series). Harishadra is dated in the eighth century by Haraprasad Shastri and in the tenth century by Maurice Winternitz.

54. The people of Inner Mongolia called the Dalai Lama Skyab-mgon perhaps to distinguish him from others (like Panchen or Sakya) also called Skyab-mgon.
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