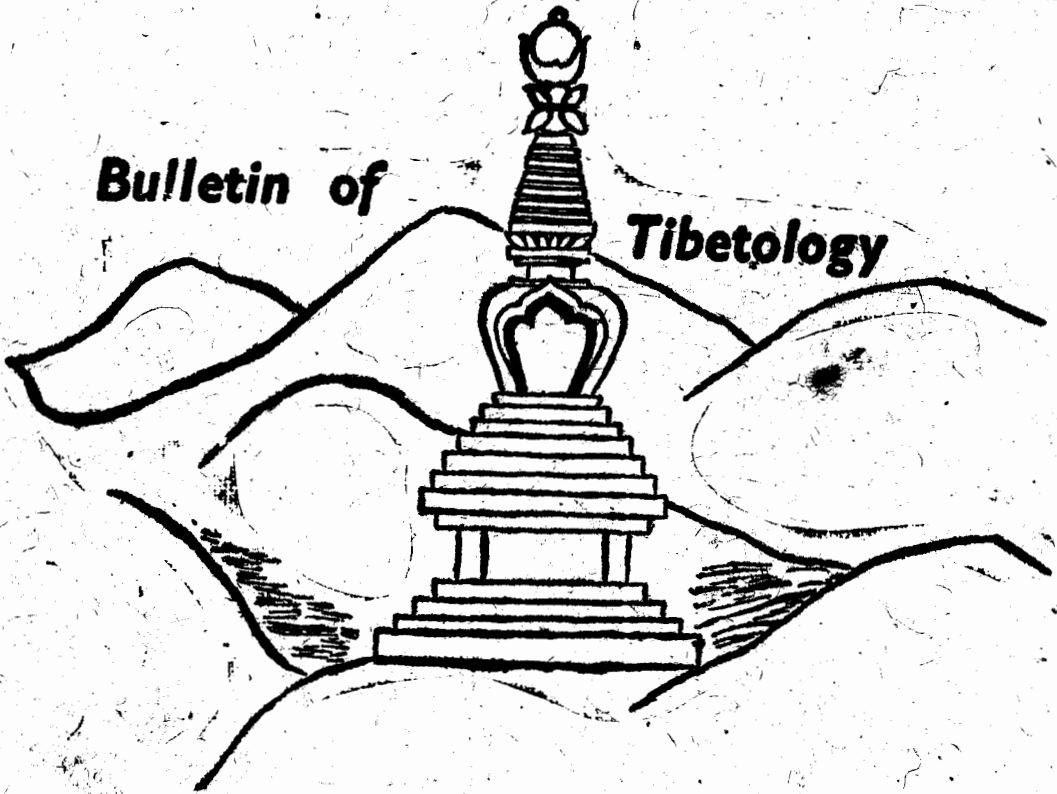


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—The Bulletin of Tibetology seeks to serve the specialist as well as the general reader with an interest in this field of study. The motif portraying the Stupa on the mountains suggests the dimensions of the field—

EDITORS

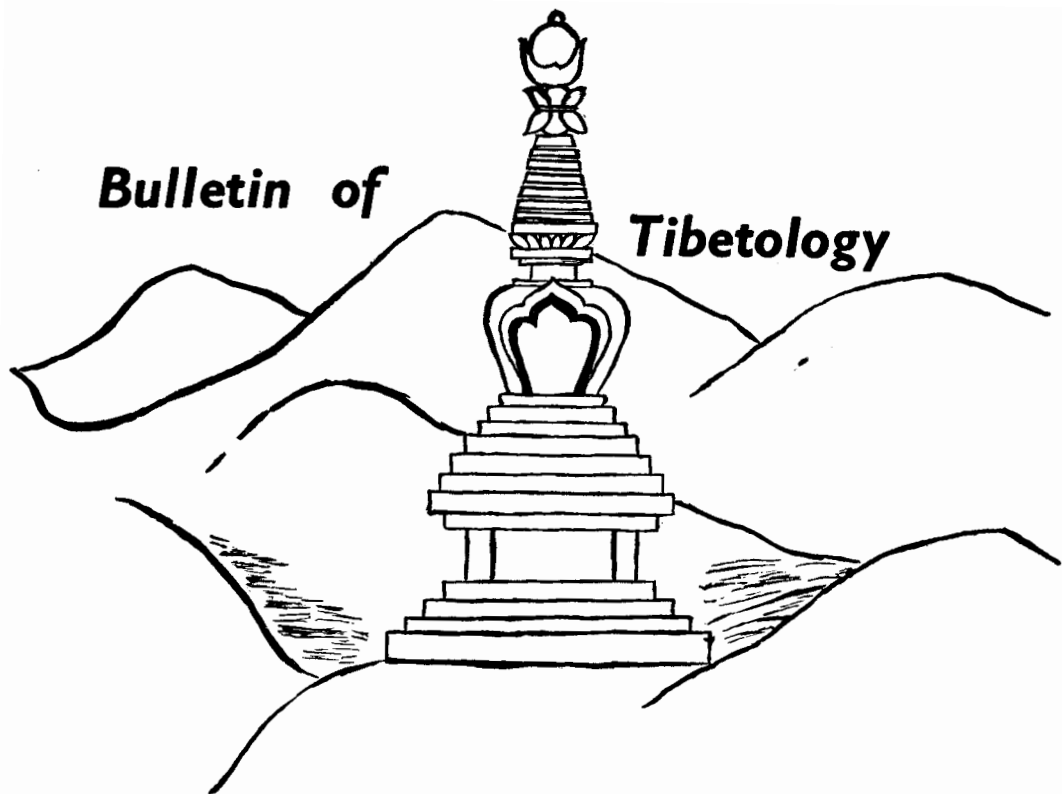
GYALMO HOPE NAMGYAL

T. SHERAB GYALTSHEN

NIRMAL C. SINHA

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CONTRIBUTORS IN THIS ISSUE—

N. AIYASWAMI SASTRI Formerly Adhyapaka in Visvabharati; leading scholar on Mahayana literature and author of publications on Tibetan and Chinese translations and commentaries.

NIRMAL C. SINHA Director: Namgyal Institute of Tibetology; formerly teacher of history, University of Calcutta and editor, National Archives of India.

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NAGARJUNA'S EXPOSITION OF TWELVE CAUSAL LINKS

—N. AIYASWAMI SASTRI

Introductory

The *Pratitya-Samutpada-Hrdaya-Karika* प्रतीत्यसमुत्पादहृदयकारिका 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. प्रसन्नपदा, 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 विग्रहव्यावर्तनी. 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 : विग्रहव्यावर्तन्या वृत्तिं कुर्वताऽप्याचार्येण प्रयोगवाक्यानभिधानात् । “Acarya (Nagarjuna) while composing a short comment on the विग्रहव्यावर्तनी does not employ any *prayoga*, a sentence embodying any logical proposition” प्रसन्नपदा p.25 l.6.). This confirms the fact the author could be credited also with some prose compositions. Of such compositions the *Maha-prajnaparamita-Sastra* महाप्रज्ञापारमिताशास्त्र 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., द्वादशमुखशास्त्र 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 पिङ्गलाक्ष 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 Sankrityayana (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) *Suhrilleka*

are not available to us in their original Sanskrit. Nos. 5 and 7 are translated by Schacffer and H. Wenzal respectively. (v. my Bibliography in the Sal. sutra). No. 6 is known only in quotations, V. *Dvadasamukha*, 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 Bodhicarpan :-

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 शिव 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 यथाभूत 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 **सम्ब्रूत्या** 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 **स्कन्ध**, 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 **आत्मनैरात्म्य** non-substantiality of things pertaining to the soul **आत्मीयनैरात्म्य** is also realized. The same is confirmed in R.-2 vv. The aggregates are born from the I-notion **अहंकार** 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 is false as it is based on the false background **मिथ्याश्रय**
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 (**विनेय**) *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 wisdom and compassion, **शून्यता-करुणा-गर्भ** (p.359-60)
8. The object like the blue, etc, (**नीलादि**) are non-existent even in the empirical plane. The same is in R.: Ether is only a nominal because of its being devoid of colour, **रूप** In the absence of the great elements where is the colour, **रूप?** (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 अवीचि hell (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-nector is for removal of all wrong conceptions सङ्कल्प 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.1,8)
6. Things are desireless, non-substantial, dependently originated and void. (p.489 = C.II.22).
7. Things are beginningless and endless; hence आदिशान्त calm from the outset (p.528 = C.III.27).
8. Dependent origination = शून्यता = सद्धर्म = तथागत (p.528 = C.II, 20, III.28).
9. तत्त्व = परमार्थ = तथता = 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-दृष्टि; 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 **यथाभूत-दर्शन** 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 :

नापनेयमतः किञ्चित् प्रक्षेप्यं नापि किञ्चन ।
द्रष्टव्यं भूततो भूतं यादृशञ्च यथा च यत् ॥
अभूतपरिकल्पेन विषयस्य हि वधयते ।
तमेव विषयं पश्यन् भूततः परिमुच्यते ।

The ideas of these stanzas are made into one in the *Ratnagotravibhaga* thus: नापनेयमतः किञ्चिदुपनेयं न किञ्चन ।

द्रष्टव्यं भूततो भूतं भूतदर्शी विमुच्यते ॥ I, 154, p .76.

It is again cited in the **चर्यागीतिकोशटीका** p.32 with this difference **प्रक्षेप्तव्यं न किञ्चन ।** 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 **यथाभूत** 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 स्वाध्याय, lamp, seal, mirror, sound, sun-stone and seed, etc. It is argued that the 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 प्रतिसन्धि; nevertheless there is no transmigration, असङ्गम. 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 असङ्गम is common to all schools of Buddhism (v. my. Introduction XII, ff, to भावसङ्क्रान्तिसूत्र) 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, मोक्ष, 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 आजवंजवीभाव उपादाय प्रतीत्य वा । सोऽप्रतीत्यानुपादाय निर्वाणमुपदिश्यते ॥

འོང་བ་དང་ནི་འགོ་བའི་དངོས། བརྟེན་ནས་རྒྱུར་བྱས་གང་ཡིན་པ།
 དེ་ནི་བརྟེན་མིན་རྒྱུར་བྱས་མིན། ལྷ་ངན་འདས་བ་ཡིན་པར་བརྟུན། །

XXV, 9.

(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 अपवृत्तिमालम् 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.206, 4 ff, and collated with the same texts in Mdo. thsa, f. 166, ff. noting their important differences in a separate page.

प्रतीत्यसमुत्पादहृदयकारिका

नागार्जुनकृता

द्वादश येऽङ्गविशेषा मुनिनोद्दिष्टाः प्रतीत्यसम्भूताः ।
ते क्लेशकर्मदुःखेषु सङ्गृहीतास्त्रिषु यथावत् ॥ १ ॥

आद्याष्टमनवमाः स्युः क्लेशाः कर्म द्वितीयदशमौ च ।
शेषाः सप्त च दुःखं लिसङ्ग्रहा द्वादश तु धर्माः ॥ २ ॥

लिभ्यो भवति द्वन्द्वं द्वन्द्वात्प्रभवन्ति सप्त सप्तभ्यः ।
लय उद्भवन्ति भूयस्तदेव [तु] भ्रमति भवचक्रम् ॥ ३ ॥

हेतुफलञ्च [हि] सर्वं जगदन्यो नास्ति कश्चिदिह सत्त्वः ।
शून्येभ्य एव शून्या धर्माः प्रभवन्ति धर्मेभ्यः ॥ ४ ॥

स्वाध्यायदीपमुद्रादर्पणघोषार्ककान्तबीजाम्लैः ।
स्कन्धप्रतिसन्धिरसङ्क्रमश्च विद्वद्भिरवधार्यौ ॥ ५ ॥

य उच्छेदं प्रकल्पयत्यतिसूक्ष्मेऽपि वस्तुनि ।
प्रतीत्यसम्भवस्यार्थमविज्ञः स न पश्यति ॥ ६ ॥

नापनेयमतः किञ्चित् प्रक्षेप्यं नापि किञ्चन ।
द्रष्टव्यं भूततो भूतं भूतदर्शी विमुच्यते ॥ ७ ॥

प्रतीत्यसमुत्पादहृदयकारिका
आचार्यनागार्जुनकृता
समाप्ता ।

प्रतीत्यसमुत्पादहृदयव्याख्यानम्

आचार्यनागार्जुनकृतम्

इह कश्चित् शुश्रूषमाणः श्रमणः श्रवण'धारणोहापोहशक्तिसम्पन्नः शिष्यः
आचार्यस्य पाद [मूल] मागम्य तथागतशासनमारभ्य एवं पृष्ठवान्—भगवन् अल

द्वादश येऽङ्गविशेषा मुनिनोद्दिष्टाः प्रतीत्यसम्भूताः ।

क्व तेषां सङ्ग्रह^२ इति श्रोतुमि^३च्छामि । इति ।
तस्य तेषां धर्माणां तत्त्ववु^४भुत्सामवेत्य आचार्य इदमुक्तवान्

ते क्लेशकर्मदुःखेषु सङ्गृहीतास्त्रिषु [यथावन्] ॥ १ ॥

तल दश च द्वौ च द्वादश । अङ्गान्येव विशेषा अङ्गविशेषाः । रथाङ्गवदङ्गभाव
उक्तः । कायवाङ्मनोमौ^५नान्मुनिः । तेन मुनिनोद्दिष्टाः कथिताः प्रकाशिता इति पर्यायाः ।
ते च न ^६प्रकृति-नियति-पुरुष-पराधीन-कर्म-ईश्वर-काल-स्वभाव-यथेच्छा-प्रजापति-
यदृच्छादिकारणप्रसूताः । किं तर्हि प्रतीत्यसम्भूताः । ते द्वादशाङ्गविशेषाः क्लेशकर्मदुःखा
अन्योन्यं प्रतीत्य ^७नडकलापयोगेन त्रिषु यथावत् संक्षिप्ताः । ^८यथावदिति
अशेषेणेत्यर्थः ॥ १ ॥

पृच्छति । के पुनस्ते क्लेशाः । किं कर्म । किं दुःखम् येषु इमे प्रत्ययविशेषाः
सङ्ग्रहं गच्छन्ति ।

आह—

आद्याष्टमनवमाः स्युः क्लेशाः ।

द्वादशाङ्गविशेषाणां [मध्य] आद्या अविद्या, अष्टमी तृष्णा, नवममुपादानम्
इमे त्रयः क्लेशसङ्गृहीताः प्रत्यवगन्तव्याः । किं कर्म ।

कर्म द्वितीयदशमौ च ।

संस्कारो द्वितीयः भवो दशमः । [इमा] द्वौ धर्मौ कर्मसङ्गृहातौ वेदितव्यौ ।

शेषाः सप्त च दुःखम्

कर्मक्लेशसङ्गृहीताना [मङ्ग] विशेषाणां ये शेषा [अङ्ग] विशेषाः सप्त च
ते दुःख [सङ्गृहीता] वेदितव्याः । तद्यथा विज्ञानं नामरूपं षडायतनं स्पर्शो

वेदना जातिजरामरणम् । च शब्दः प्रियवियोगाप्रियसंयोगेष्टवि १धातदुःखानि सञ्चिनोति ।

लिसङ्ग्रहा द्वादश तु धर्माः ॥ २ ॥

अत एते द्वादश धर्माः कर्मक्लेशदुःखा[ख्या] वेदितव्याः । [अन्यूना] धिक-
ज्ञापना^{१०}र्थस्तु शब्दः । एतावन्त एवेमे सूत्रान्तर्निर्दिष्टा नातःपरमस्तीति
परिगणितम् ॥ २ ॥

पृच्छति । क्लेशकर्मदुःखाना [मेषां]कुतः किमुत्पद्यत इति व्याख्यातुं प्रार्थये ।
आह ।

लिभ्या भवति द्वन्द्वम्,

क्लेशाख्येभ्यस्तिभ्यः कर्माख्यं द्वन्द्वमुत्पद्यते ।

द्वन्द्वात्प्रभवन्ति सप्त

दुःखाख्याः पूर्वनिर्दिष्टाः ।

सप्तभ्यः ।

लय उद्भवन्ति

क्लेशाख्याः । तेभ्यस्तिभ्यः क्लेशेभ्यश्च द्वन्द्वमुत्पद्यते ।

भूयस्तदेव तु भ्रमति भवचक्रम् ॥ ३ ॥

भवाः कामरूपारूप्य[संशब्दिताः । [ते च] अन^{११}वस्थानाच्चक्रभूताः । तेषु पृथग्जनो
लोक एव परिभ्रमति । तुशब्दश्च अनियतज्ञापनार्थः । यथा चक्रमनुपूर्व्या परिभ्रमति ।
न तथा लिषु भवेषूत्पत्तिः । [किं तर्हि] नियमो नास्तीति ज्ञापयति ॥ ३ ॥

पृच्छति । अथ सर्वदेहेश्वरः^{१२} सत्त्वाख्यः^{१३}कर्ता । तेषु तस्य क्रिया कीदृशी ।
आह ।

हेतुफलञ्च हि जगत्

प्रज्ञप्तिं विहाय

अन्यो नास्ति कश्चिदिह सत्त्वः ।

परमार्थतः कल्पितः । कल्पितश्च नास्ति । कल्पितमालविषये (काम)
इष्टद्रव्यं सत् न युज्यते ।

पृच्छति । यद्येवम्, तर्हि अस्माल्लोकात् कः परलोकं सङ्क्रामति । आह ।
अस्माल्लोकात्परलोकं सूक्ष्मोऽणुरपि न सङ्क्रामति । अथ च

शून्येभ्य एव शून्या धर्माः प्रभवन्ति धर्मैभ्यः ॥ ४ ॥

आत्मात्मीयरहितेभ्यो धर्मैभ्यः क्लेशकर्माख्येभ्यः पञ्चहेतुभ्यः शून्येभ्य आत्मा-
त्मीयरहिता दुःखतया कथिताः फलकल्पिताः शून्याः सप्त धर्माः प्रभवन्तीत्यर्थः ।
तद्यथा आत्मात्मीयरहितास्ते नान्योन्यं पुनरात्मीयाः । अथ च स्वभावतोऽनात्म-
धर्मैभ्यः स्वभावतोऽनात्मधर्माः प्रभवन्ति । एवमवगन्तव्यमिति ज्ञापितम् ॥ ४ ॥

अत्र स्वभावतोऽनात्मधर्मैभ्य एव स्वभावतोऽनात्मधर्माः प्रभवन्ति इत्यत्र को
दृष्टान्तः । अन्नोच्यते -

स्वा¹⁴ध्यायदीपमुद्रादर्पणघोषार्कान्तबीजाम्लः ।

एभ्यो दृष्टान्तेभ्यः कल्पितेभ्योऽपि स्वभावतोऽनात्मनश्च परलोकसिद्धिवदितव्या ।
तद्यथा—गुरुमुखादुच्चरिता यदि शिष्यं सङ्क्रामन्ति । गुरुणोच्चरितास्तद्विरहिता
अपि स्युरिति न सङ्क्रामन्ति । शिष्येण प्रोक्तमपि नान्यतोऽस्ति । अहेतुभूतत्वात् ।
यथा गुरुमुखादुच्चरिताः तथा मरणांशिकचित्तमपि । शाश्वत [ख्य] दोषः स्यात्
परलोके न सङ्क्रमः । परलोकोऽपि नान्यतो भवति । अहेतुदोषसत्त्वात् । यथा
गुरुणोच्चरितहेतोः शिष्येणो [च्चरितः] स एव अन्यो वा इति न निर्णेतुं शक्यते ।
तथा मरणचित्तं प्रतीत्य ¹⁵औपपत्त्यंशिकं चित्तमपि तदेव तातोऽन्यद्वा इति न
वक्तुं शक्यते । तथा । यथा प्रदीपात्प्रदीपः, मुखात् दर्पणे प्रतिबिम्बमुत्पद्यते ।
मुद्रातः प्रतिमुद्रोत्पद्यते । अर्ककान्तादग्निः बीजादङ्कुरफलानि¹⁶अम्लरसात् रसवत्पुनः,
शब्दात्प्रतिश्रुत्कश्चोत्पद्यते । ते च त एव वा ततोऽन्ये वा इति न ज्ञातुं
शक्यते । तथा

स्कन्धप्रति¹⁷सन्धिरसङ्क्रमश्च विद्वद्भिरवधार्यौ ॥ ५ ॥

तत्र पञ्चस्कन्धा रूपवेदनासंज्ञासंस्कारविज्ञानाख्याः स्कन्धाः । तेषां प्रतिसन्धि-
निषिद्धः । हेतोर्हि फलमन्यदुत्पद्यते ।

अस्मात् लोकात्परलोकं न कोऽपि भावः सूक्ष्मोऽपि सङ्क्रामति । एव चक्रभ्रमणं
भ्रान्तिविकल्पवासनया समुत्पद्यते । अन्त इति तु विपर्ययः । ततो निवर्तयितव्यम् ।
अनित्यदुःखशून्यानात्मभावान् न नित्यभावान् व्यामुह्यात् । असति व्यामोहे
न रागः । असति रागे न द्वेषः । असति द्वेषे न कर्म करोति । असति कर्मणि
नोपादीयते भावः । असत्युपादाने न भवमभिसंस्करोति । असति भवे न जातिः ।
असत्यां जातौ न कायचित्तयोदुःखं भवेत् । एवमचिन्त्यात् तद्धेतुपञ्चकान्नान्यत्फल-
मुत्पद्यते । अयं मोक्षो वेदितव्यः । एवं शाश्वतोच्छेदादिदुर्दृष्टयोऽपनीता भवन्ति ॥ ५ ॥

अल द्वौ श्लोकौ भवतः—

य¹⁸ उच्छेदं प्रकल्पयत्यतिसूक्ष्मेऽपि वस्तुनि ।
प्रतीत्यसम्भवस्यार्थमविज्ञः स न पश्चति ॥ ६ ॥

नापनेयमतः किञ्चित्प्रक्षेप्यं नापि किञ्चन ।
भूतञ्च भूततो दृष्ट्वा भूतदर्शी विमुच्यते ॥ ७ ॥

आचार्यनागार्जुनकृतं
प्रतीत्यसमुत्पादहृदय—
व्याख्यानं समाप्तम् ।

SKT. TEXT NOTES

1. Tibetan has literally: श्रवणधारणावगति = ऊहापोह—.
2. lit. सङ्ग्रहो दृष्ट (इति)
3. lit.—प्रथये.
4. ,, —तत्त्वप्रश्न.
5. cp. Bodhic. av. IX, 346-7.
6. प्रकृति = रस-वर्णन; नियति = रस-य, पुरुष = श्रेय-यु, पराधीनकर्म = गणन-य
रस-यस-य, ईश्वर = रस-युग, काल = रस, स्वभाव = रस-यु, यथेच्छा = रस-यु, प्रजापति = गणन-श्रेय-यु, यदच्छा = श्रेय ?
Chinese omits = पराधीनकर्म.
7. सन्दृष्टि-कृत-यु
8. सन्द-यु
9. रस-यस-वर्णन-य = cp. Sarat Chandra, Das Dic. p. 829:
रस-यस-वर्णन-य = devoid of religion and intellect.
10. lit. अधिकार्य व्यवच्छेदार्थः
11. = सन्द-यु रस-यु
12. Here breaks Gokhale's text.
13. = सन्द-यु
14. स्वाध्याय = सन्द-यु, दीप = सन्द-यु, मुद्रा = यु, दर्पण = सन्द-यु, घोष = यु,
अर्ककान्त = सन्द-यु, बीज = सन्द-यु, अम्ल = सन्द-यु
15. = श्रेय-यु रस-यु
16. सन्द-यु रस-यु रस-यु Popular expression: जिह्वा.
17. = सन्द-यु रस-यु
18. See Introduction.

༄༅ ། རྟོན་ཅིང་འབྲེལ་པར་འབྱུང་བའི་སྐྱིད་པོ་འི་ཚོགས་
ལེའུར་བྱས་པ་བཞུགས་སོ། །

ཀྱུ་གར་¹སྐད་དུ། བླ་ཉི་ཏུ་ས་སྐྱུ་དྲུད་མི་ད་ཡ་ག་རི་གྲ།
བོད་སྐད་དུ།

རྟོན་ཅིང་འབྲེལ་པར་འབྱུང་བའི་སྐྱིད་པོ་འི་ཚོགས་ལེའུར་བྱས་པ།

༄༅ ། །འངས་དབལ་གཞོན་ཉུང་བྱུང་བ་ལ་ཕྱག་འཚལ་ལོ། །

༡. ཡན་ལག་གྲེ་བྲག་བཅུ་གཉིས་གང་། ཐུབ་ངས་རྟོན་འབྱུང་གསུངས་དེ་དག།
ཉོན་མོངས་ལས་དང་རླུག་བསྐྱལ་དང་། གསུམ་པོ་དག་དུ་ཟེང་བར་འདུས། །

༢. དང་པོ་བརྒྱད་པ་དག་ཉོན་མོངས། གཉིས་དང་བཅུ་པ་ལས་ཡིན་དེ།
རྣམ་མ་བདུན་ཡང་རླུག་བསྐྱལ་ཡིན། བཅུ་གཉིས་ཚོས་ནི་གསུམ་དུ་འདུས། །

༣. གསུམ་པོ་དག་ལས་གཉིས་འབྱུང་སྟེ། གཉིས་ལས་བདུན་འབྱུང་བདུན་ལས་ཀྱང་།
གསུམ་འབྱུང་སྟེ་དེ་འཁོར་ལེ་དེ། ཉིད་ནི་ཡང་དང་ཡང་དུ་འཁོར། །

༤. འབྲོ་ཀུན་རྒྱ་དང་འབྲས་བུ་སྟེ། འདི་ལ་སོམས་ཅན་ཅི་ཡང་མེད།
སྤོང་བ་ཁོ་ནའི་ཚོས་ནམས་ལས། སྤོང་བའི་ཚོས་ནམས་འབྱུང་བ་ཟེང་། །

༥. ཁ་དོན་མར་མེ་མེ་ལོང་རྒྱ། མེ་ཤེལ་ས་བོན་རྒྱུད་དང་རྒྱས།
སྤང་བོ་ཉིང་མཚམས་སྤྱོད་བ་ཡང་། མི་འཕོ་བར་ཡང་མཁས་དོགས་བྱ། །

6. ཤེན་དུ་སྤྲ་བའི་དངོས་ལ་² ཡང་། བཤང་གིས་ཚད་པར་རྣམ་བཏགས་པ།
རྣམ་པར་མི་མཁས་དེ་ཡིས་མི། རྟེན་ལས་བྱུང་བའི་དོན་མི་མཐོང་། །

7. འདི་ལ་བསལ་བྱ་བཤང་ཡང་མེད། བཞག་པར་བྱ་བ་ཅི་ཡང་མེད།
ཡང་དག་ཉིད་ལ་ཡང་དག་བཟླ། ཡང་དག་མཐོང་ན་³ རྣམ་པར་གྲོལ། །

རྟེན་ཅིང་འབྲེལ་པར་འབྱུང་བའི་སྣང་པོ་འི་ཚོག་ལའུར་བྱས་པ། སློབ་དཔོན་
འཕགས་པ་རྒྱ་སྐྱབ་ཀྱིས་མཛད་པ་རྫོགས་སོ།། ॥

FOOT-NOTES

1. Tangur, Mdo. gi No.90, fol. 216a; tsa, No.14 fol. 116a.
2. Tsa: དངོས་ལ་ལ་ཡང་།
3. Tsa. ཡང་དག་ probably Supports परिमुच्यते — a reading in Asvaghosa's verse v. Introduction.

༄༅། ལྷ་གར་¹ སྐད་དུ། བྱི་རྩ་ས་ལྷ་རྩུབ་མི་ད་ཡ་བྱ་བྱ་ལ་

བའི་སྐད་དུ།

རྩེ་ཅིང་འབྲེལ་བར་འབྱུང་བའི་སྐྱོད་པོ་འི་རྣམ་པར་བཤད་པ།

འཇམ་དཔལ་གཞིན་ཉུང་གུར་པ་ལ་ཕྱག་འཚམ་ལོ། །

འདི་ལ་དག་སྦྱོང་ཉམ་འདོད་པས་སཉམ་པ་དང་། གཟུང་བ་དང་ཁོང་དུ་ཚུད་པར་
བྱ་བ་དང་། ཉོག་² པ་སེལ་ལ་ཉམ་པ་དང་ལྷན་བའི་སྦྱོབ་ས་ཞིག་སྦྱོབ་དཔོན་གྱི་གས་³
དུ་འོངས་ནས་དེ་བཞིན་གཤེགས་པའི་བསྟན་པ་⁴ ལས་བརྩམས་དེ་འདི་སྐད་འདི་ལོ། །

བཙམ་ལྷན་འདས་འདི་ལ།

ཡན་ལག་གྲེ་བྲག་བཅུ་གཉིས་གང་། ཐུབ་པས་ཉེན་འབྱུང་གསུངས་དེ་དག།

གང་དུ་བསྐྱུ་བར་ལྷ་བ་ཐོས་པར་ཕྱག་འཚམ་ལོ། །དེ་ལ་ཚོས་དེ་དག་གི་དེ་ཁོ་ན་
ཉིད་འདི་བར་ཉོག་ནས་སྦྱོབ་དཔོན་གྱིས་འདི་སྐད་དུ།

ཉོན་མོངས་ལས་དང་ཕྱག་བསྐྱེད་དང་། གསུམ་པོ་དག་དུ་བྱེད་པར་འདུས། ། ༡ །

གསལ་ཞིང་ཚུར་ཕྱིན་པའི་ཚོག་འདི་སྐྱུས་སོ། །དེ་ལ་བཅུ་དང་གཉིས་ནི་བཅུ་
གཉིས་སོ། །ཡན་ལག་རྣམས་ཉིད་གྲེ་བྲག་ཡིན་པས་ན་ཡན་ལག་གྲེ་བྲག་སྟེ། ཤིང་དཀྱི་
ཡན་ལག་བཞིན་དུ་ཡན་ལག་དུ་གུར་པ་བསྟན་དོ། །སྐྱུ་དང་གསུང་དང་ཐུགས་ཐུབ་པས་
ཐུབ་པའོ། །ཐུབ་པ་དེས་གསུངས་པ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་ནི་བསྟན་པ་དང་བཤད་པ་ཞེས་བྱ་བའི་
རྣམ་གུངས་སུ་གདོགས་པའོ། །དེ་ཡང་རང་བཞིན་དང་། དེས་པ་དང་། རྩེས་བྱ་

གཞན་ལ་རག་ལས་པ་དང་། དབང་རྒྱུག་དང་། ཏུས་དང་། རོ་པོ་ཉིད་དང་།
 འདོད་རྒྱལ་དང་། གནས་ཀྱིས་བརྟེན་པ་དང་། རྒྱན་ལ་སོགས་པའི་རྒྱུ་ལས་རྒྱུང་བ་
 རི་མ་ཡིན་གྱི། འདི་ནི་རྟེན་ཅིང་འབྲེལ་བར་འབྱུང་བའོ། །ཡན་ལག་བྱེ་བྲག་བཅུ་
 གཉིས་པོ་དེ་དག་ནི་ཉོན་མོངས་པ་དང་། ལས་དང་། རྒྱུག་བསྐྱེལ་ནམས་སྲུ་
 གཅིག་ལ་གཅིག་བརྟེན་པ་མདུང་ཁྲིས་ཚུལ་དུ་གསུམ་པོ་དག་དུ་ཟེར་པར་འདུས་པར
 འགྱུར་པོ། །ཟེར་པར་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་ནི་མ་ལུས་པར་ཞེས་བྱ་བའི་མ་ཚོག་གོ། ༡ ॥

དྲིས་པ། ཉོན་མོངས་པ་ནམས་ནི་གང་། ལས་ནི་གང་། རྒྱུག་བསྐྱེལ་ནི་གང་།
 རྟེན་པའི་བྱེ་བྲག་འདི་དག་གང་དུ་ཟེར་བ་རྒྱུ་བར་འགྱུར།

རྒྱས་པ། དང་པོ་བརྟེན་པ་དྲག་ཉོན་མོངས།

བྱེ་བྲག་བཅུ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་དང་པོ་ནི་མ་རིག་པ། བརྟེན་པ་ནི་མྱེད་པ། དུག་པ་ནི་
 ཡན་པ་ལྟེ། འདི་གསུམ་ནི་ཉོན་མོངས་སྲུ་ཤེས་པར་བྱའོ། །

ལས་དེ་གང་ཞེ་ན།

གཉིས་དང་བཅུ་པ་ལས་ཡིན་དེ།

གཉིས་པ་ནི་འདུ་བྱེད། བཅུ་པ་ནི་མྱེད་པ་ལྟེ། ཚོས་འདི་གཉིས་ནི་ལས་སྲུ་
 བསྐྱེལ་བར་ཤེས་པར་བྱའོ། །རྒྱལ་མ་བདུན་ཡང་རྒྱུག་བསྐྱེལ་ཡིན། ཉོན་མོངས་པ་དང་།

ལས་སྲུ་བསྐྱེལ་བའི་བྱེ་བྲག་དེ་དག་གི་རྒྱལ་མ་བྱེ་བྲག་བདུན་པ་གང་ཡིན་པ་དེ་དག་ནི་
 རྒྱུག་བསྐྱེལ་དུ་ཕྱེས་པར་འབྱུང་བའོ། །འདི་ལྟ་ལྟེ། རྣམ་པར་ཤེས་པ་དང་། མིང་དང་
 གཞུགས་དང་། རྒྱུ་མཚན་དུག་དང་། རིག་པ་དང་། ཚོར་བ་དང་། རྒྱེ་བ་དང་།
 ལྟ་བུ་ནམས་སོ། །ཡང་ཞེས་བྱ་བའི་རྒྱ་ནི་བསྐྱེལ་བ་ལྟེ། རྒྱུག་པ་དང་བྲལ་བ་དང་།
 མི་རྒྱུག་པ་དང་ལྷན་པ་དང་། འདོད་པས་མོངས་པའི་རྒྱུག་བསྐྱེལ་ནམས་བསྐྱེལ་ལྟེ།

བཅུ་གཉིས་ཚེས་ནི་གསུམ་དུ་འདུས། ༩ །

དེའི་ཕྱིར་ཚེས་བཅུ་གཉིས་པོ་འདི་དག་ནི་ལས་དང་ཉེན་མོངས་དང་སྐྱུག་བསྐྱེལ་
ནམས་སུ་གསུངས་པར་བྱའོ། །ནི་ཞེས་བྱ་བའི་སྐྱེས་ནི་རྩལ་མའི་ཚོག་བཅད་པའི་དོན་ཏེ། །
མདོ་ལས་བསྐྱེད་པའི་ཚེས་ནི་འདི་དག་དུ་ཟེར་གྱི། །འདི་ལས་གཞན་ཅི་ཡང་མེད་དོ་
ཞེས་བཅད་པའོ། ། ༩ །

དྲིས་པ། དེ་7 དག་འཚལ་ན་ཉེན་མོངས་པ་དང་ལས་དང་སྐྱུག་བསྐྱེལ་དག་
གང་ལས་གང་འབྱུང་བ་དེ་དག་བསྐྱེད་དུ་གསོལ།

སྐྱེས་པ། གསུམ་པོ་དག་ལས་གཉིས་འབྱུང་ཕྱི།

ཉེན་མོངས་པ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་གསུམ་པོ་དག་ལས། ལས་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་གཉིས་འབྱུང་ངོ་། །

གཉིས་ལས་བདུན་འབྱུང་

སྐྱུག་བསྐྱེལ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་གོང་དུ་བསྐྱེད་པ་ནམས་སོ། །

བདུན་ལས་ཀྱང་།

གསུམ་འབྱུང་

ཉེན་མོངས་པ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་ནམས་སོ། །ཡང་ཉེན་མོངས་པ་གསུམ་པོ་དེ་དག་ལས་
གཉིས་འབྱུང་ཕྱི།

སྔོན་པོའི་འཁོར་ལོ་དེ། ཉིད་ནི་ཡང་དང་ཡང་དུ་འཁོར། ༩ །

སྔོན་པོ་ནི་གསུམ་ཕྱི། འདོད་པ་དང་། གཞུགས་དང་། གཞུགས་མེད་པ་⁸
དག་དུ་མི་སྟོན་པར་འཁོར་ལོ་འི་འཁོར་བ་གྱུར་བ། སོ་སོ་འི་སྐྱེ་བོ་འི་འཛིག་རྟེན་
དག་ཉིད་⁹ ཀྱན་དུ་འཕྱུན་དོ། །ནི་ཞེས་བྱ་བའི་སྐྱེས་ནི་ངེས་པ་མེད་པར་བསྐྱེད་པའི་
དོན་ཏེ། །རྩི་རྩུང་འཁོར་ལོ་རིན་¹⁰ པོ་ཆེ་འཁོར་བ། དེ་རྩུང་སྔོན་པོ་གསུམ་¹¹

དུ་འབྱུང་བ་མ་ཡིན་གྱི། དེས་པ་མེད་པར་བཟུན་ཏེ། ༢ །

འྱིས་པ། འོ་ན་ལྷན་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི་དབང་སྐྱུག་སེམས་ཅན་ཞེས་བཞིན་པ།
དེ་དག་ལས་དེ་ཕྱིད་པ་རྗེ་ལྟ་བུ།

སྐྱེས་པ། འགྲོ་ཀུན་གྱི་དང་འབྲས་བུ་ལྟེ།

བདག་པ་མ་གཏོགས་པར།

འདི་ལ་སེམས་ཅན་ཅི་ཡང་མེད།

འདི་ན་ཡང་དག་པར་བདགས་པ་ལྟེ། བདགས་པ་ཅས་ནི་མ་ཡིན་ནོ། །
བདགས་པ་ཅས་ཀྱི་སྐྱེལ་དུ་འདོད་པ་རྣམས་སུ་ཡོད་མི་བྱང་ངོ། །

འྱིས་པ། གལ་དེ་དེ་ལྟ་ན། འོ་ན་འཇིག་རྟེན་འདི་ནས་པ་རོལ་དུ་སྐྱེ་འཆི།

སྐྱེས་པ། འཇིག་རྟེན་འདི་ནས་པ་རོལ་དུ་རྣལ་པུ་མོ་ཅམ་ཡང་མི་འཕོ་ལྟེ།
འོན་ཀྱང་།

ལྗོངས་ཁོ་ནའི་ཚོས་རྣམས་ལས། ལྗོངས་ཁོ་ནའི་ཚོས་རྣམས་འབྱུང་བར་[༣༥] །། ལ །

བདག་དང་བདག་གི་མེད་པའི་ཚོས་ཉོན་མོངས་པ་དང་། ལས་ཞེས་བུ་བ་གྱུ་གྱུར་
པ་ལྟ་བུ་ལྟོང་རྣམས་ལས་བདག་དང་བདག་གི་མེད་པའི་སྐྱུག་བསྐྱེལ་དུ་བརྗོད་པ་འབྲས་
བུར་བདགས་པའི་ཚོས་ལྗོངས་པ་བདུན་པོ་འབྱུང་བར་འབྱུར་བུ་བའི་ཐ་ཚོག་གོ། །དེ་ནི་
འདི་རྣམས་དུ། བདག་དང་བདག་ [གི་] མེད་པ་དེ་དག་པན་རྒྱན་དུ་ཡང་དང་ཡང་དུ་
བདག་གི་བ་མ་ཡིན་ཏེ། འོན་ཀྱང་རང་བཞིན་གྱིས་བདག་མེད་པའི་ཚོས་རྣམས་ལས་
རང་བཞིན་གྱིས་བདག་མེད་པའི་ཚོས་རྣམས་འབྱུང་བ་དེ་ལྟར་ཁོང་ཚུན་གྱུ་ལོ་ཞེས་བཟུན་
པ་ཡིན་ནོ། ། ལ །

འདྲིར་རང་བཞིན་གྱིས་བདག་མེད་པའི་ཚོས་དེ་ཁོ་ན་དག་ལས་རང་བཞིན་གྱིས་
བདག་མེད་པའི་ཚོས་འབྱུང་བ་དེ་ལ་དཔེ་རི་མཚིས། འདྲིར་རྒྱས་པ།

ཁ་ཉིན་མར་མེ་མེ་ཡོང་གྱ། མེ་ཤེལ་ས་བོན་སྐྱར་དང་སྐྱས།

དཔེ་འདི་ནམས་བདག་ས་ལས་ཀྱང་རང་བཞིན་གྱིས་བདག་མེད་པ་དང་། འཇིག་
རྟེན་པ་རོལ་འབྱུང་བ་ཤེས་པར་བྱའོ། །དཔེར་ན་ལྷ་མའི་ཁ་ནས་བརྗོད་པ་ནམས་སྐྱོབ་
མར་འཕོ་ན་ནི་ལྷ་མས་བརྗོད་པ་དེ་མེད་པར་ཡང་འབྱུར་དས་མི་འཕོ་ལོ། ལྷོབ་མས་
རྒྱས་པ་ཡང་གཞན་ལས་མ་ཡིན་ཏེ། རྒྱ་མིད་ [པར་] འབྱུར་བའི་ཕྱིར་རོ། ཁི་ལྷར་
ལྷ་མའི་ཁ་ནས་བརྗོད་པ་ [དེ་] ལྷར་འཚི་ཀའི་སེམས་ཀྱང་དེ་བཞིན་ཏེ། དྲག་པའི་
སྐྱོན་དུ་འབྱུར་བ་ལ། འཇིག་རྟེན་པ་རོལ་དུ་མི་འགྲོ་ལོ། །འཇིག་རྟེན་པ་རོལ་ཡང་
གཞན་ལས་མི་འབྱུང་ཉེ། རྒྱ་མེད་པའི་སྐྱོན་དུ་འབྱུར་བའི་ཕྱིར་རོ། ཁི་ལྷར་ལྷ་མས་
བརྗོད་པའི་རྒྱ་ལས་སྐྱོབ་མ་དེ་ཉིད་དང་གཞན་ནི་ཞེས་བརྗོད་པར་མི་ལུས་ [དེ་] ལྷར་
འཚི་བའི་སེམས་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས་སྐྱེ་བའི་ཆར་གདོགས་པའི་སེམས་ཀྱང་དེ་བཞིན་ཏེ།
བདག་ཉིད་དང་དེ་ལས་གཞན་ནི་ཞེས་བརྗོད་པར་མི་ལུས་སོ། །དེ་བཞིན་དུ། ཁི་ལྷར་
མར་མེ་ལས་མར་11a མེ་དང་། བཞིན་ལས་མེ་ཡོང་གི་གཞུགས་བརྟན་འབྱུང་བ་དང་།
གྱ་ལས་གྱུརི་བ་དང་། མེ་ཤེལ་ལས་མེ་དང་། ས་བོན་ལས་སྐྱུ་གྱ་དང་། སྤང་དོག་སྐྱར་
པོའི་ཚུ་ལས་འབྲས་ཚུ་ལྷང་བ་དང་། རྒྱ་ལས་འབྲས་ཆ་འབྱུང་བར་འབྱུར་ཞིང་། དེ་དག་
ཀྱང་དེ་ཉིད་དང་དེ་ལས་གཞན་ནི་ཞེས་ཤེས་པར་12 ལུས་པ་མ་ཡིན་པ། དེ་བཞིན་དུ།

སྤང་པོ་ཉིང་མཚམས་སྐྱོར་བ་ཡང་། མི་འཕོ་བར་ཡང་སྐབས་དོགས་བྱ། ༥ ॥

དེ་ལ་སྤང་པོ་ལྷ་ནི་གཞུགས་དང་། ཚོར་བ་དང་། འདུ་ཤེས་དང་། འདུ་བྱེད་
དང་ནམ་པར་ཤེས་པའི་སྤང་པོ་ལོ། །དེ་དག་གི་ཉིང་མཚམས་སྐྱོར་བ་ནི་འགགས་ནས།
རྒྱ་དེ་ལས་འབྲས་བུ་གཞན་དག་འབྱུང་བ་ཉེ། འཇིག་རྟེན་འདི་ནས་འཇིག་རྟེན་པ་རོལ་
དུ་དངོས་པོ་དུལ་སྐྱ་མོ་ཙམ་ཡང་མི་འགྲོ་ལོ། །དེ་ལྷར་ན་བཞོར་བའི་འཁོར་ནི་ནོར་བའི་

རྣམ་པར་རྟོག་པར་བཀ་ཆགས་ཀྱིས་བསྐྱེད་པ་ཡིན་ནོ། །ཐ་མའི་ཡང་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་ནི་རྟོག་
 པ་སྟེ། དེ་ལས་རྫོག་པར་བྱའོ། །དངོས་པོ་རྣམས་ལ་མི་རྟག་པ་དང་། རྟུག་བསྐྱེད་
 པ་དང་། རྫོང་པ་དང་། བདག་མེད་པར་རྟག་ན་དངོས་པོ་རྣམས་ལ་མེད་པར་མི་
 འགྱུར་དོ། །མེད་པ་མེད་ན་མི་ཆགས་སོ། །མི་ཆགས་ན་ཞེ་སྐྱེད་པར་མི་འགྱུར་དོ། །
 ཞེ་སྐྱེད་པར་མེད་ན་ལས་མི་བྱེད་དོ། །ལས་མེད་ན་དངོས་པོ་མི་ཡིན་ནོ། །ཡིན་པ་མེད་ན་
 མི་བྱེད་པ་མངོན་པར་འདུ་མི་བྱེད་དོ། །མི་བྱེད་པ་མེད་ན་མི་རྫུའོ། །མི་རྫུས་ན་ལྷས་དང་
 སེམས་ལ་རྟུག་བསྐྱེད་པ་མི་འགྱུར་ངོ། །དེ་རྣམ་འདྲིར་རྟུག་ལྡེ་པོ་དེ་མ་བསམས་བས་
 འབྲས་བུ་གཞན་དུ་མི་འགྱུར་སྟེ། འདི་ནི་ཐར་པ་ཤེས་བྱའོ། །དེ་རྣམ་ན་རྟག་ཆད་
 ལ་སོགས་པ་ལྟ་བུ་དང་ན་པ་རྣམས་བསལ་བ་ཡིན་ནོ། ། ༥ །

འདི་ལ་ཚོགས་སུ་བཅད་པ་གཉིས་ཡོད་དོ། །

ཤིན་དུ་ལྡེ་བའི་དངོས་ལ་ཡང་། གང་གིས་ཆད་པར་རྣམ་བཏགས་པ།
 རྣམ་པར་མི་སེམས་དེ་ཡིས་ནི། རྟོག་ལས་འགྱུར་བའི་དོན་མི་མཐོང་། ། ༦

འདི་ལ་བསལ་བུ་གང་ཡང་མེད། བཞག་པར་བྱ་བ་ཅི་ཡང་མེད།
 ཡང་དག་ཉིད་ལ་ཡང་དག་བཟ། ཡང་དག་མཐོང་ན་རྣམ་པར་ཤོལ། ། ༧ །

རྟོག་ཅིང་འབྲེལ་པར་འགྱུར་བའི་སྟོང་པོ་འི་རྣམ་པར་བཤད་པ། རྫོག་དཔོན་
 འབགས་པ་རྒྱ་རྒྱུབ་ཀྱིས་མཚན་པ་རྫོགས་སོ། །

FOOT-NOTES

1. Tangur, Mdo. gi, No.91 *fol.* 216*b*—219*a*; Mdo, tsa, No. 15, *fol.* 166*a*—168*b*.
2. Tsa : རྫོག་པ་དང་མེལ་
3. =pada-mula
4. Tsa. ལ་
5. ” adds: བལྟ་བར་
6. ” བུ་རྩེ་
7. There is nothing in Sanskrit corresponding to this phrase.
8. Tsa. མེད་པ་ཞེས་བུ་བ་རྩེ། དེ་དག་ཏུ་
9. ” བདག་ཉིད་
10. ” རིན་གྱི་མ་
11. ” རྣམས་ལུ་
- 11*a*. “ མོད་ ” may be a better reading.
12. Xyll. appears to read ལྷ་བ་

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NAMGYAL INTITUTE OF TIBETOLOGY

༄༅། །རྒྱལ་ལྡན་གཞུག་མཚོ་གཞུག་གི་སྐུ་ལྷོ་སྐུ་ །

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 (tāle 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 sbug 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 (10 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-sempa (byang-chub-sems-dpah Skt. bodhisattva), Chen-re-sik (sryan-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*, 1, 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-Buddhistic. *Mundaka* is a post-Buddha work. The *Svetasvatara*, according to Nalinaksha Dutta, "is no doubt pre-Buddhistic 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 Prajnaparamitra, 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 Sãivite 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 *Prajnopayavinischayasiddhi*.

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

"The Guru is Sugata, Buddha and Dharmakaya".

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

Buddhism in Tibet begins its victorious career with Padmasambhava (c.750-800) 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 Rimpoche, 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 immanent 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 (Bodhisattva). 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 Saddhar-mapundarika(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-chub-sems' 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.

IV

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

Jnanasrimitra(39)

This verse composed in Bengal around 1050 could have been a typical reflex of Tibetan mind in 1650 when the Great Fifth incarnation of Avalokitesvara (snyan-ras-gzigs) "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 chapters, 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 Avalokitesvara. 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 Jnanasrimitra. To the afflicted mortals he is the jewel of the Bodhisattvas: he is the Sangha (Bodhisattva-Gana) Ratna.

In the early Mahayana eight Bodhisattvas are prominent viz. Manjusri, Vajrapani, Avalokitesvara, Kshitigarbha, Sarvanivaranavishkambhin, Akasagarbha, 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 monarchy. Avalokitesvara is

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. *Karandavyuha*): 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 *Karandavyuha* 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 Byang-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-snyngpo (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 *plenitudo potestatis* of the Dalai Lama rested on the popular obedience while the *potestas limitata* of the Heavenly Kingdom (Dgah-Idan-pho-brang) 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, Drepung 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-

MGON. 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.605-650) 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 a full resurgence, a renaissance, 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 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-Karakorum. 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 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-mtsho 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).

NOTES

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

The various dates for *Saddharmapundarika* (chs 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, Rabbyung or Mkhan-po. (The terminology does not affect the role and status of Guru).

The treatises *Mani-bkash-bbum* (attributed to seventh century) and *Padma-bkash-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 *Bkash-gdams-pha-chos* and *Bkash-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.

1. *Military Report on Tibet* (Calcutta 1910) lists (p.115) the titles thus: Kyamgon Rimpoche, Gyalwa Rimpoche, Buk Lama and Kyamgon Buk. *Who's Who in Tibet* (Calcutta 1938) lists (p.1) thus: Gyawa

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

2. Charles Bell: *Portrait of the Dalai Lama* (London 1946), p.34.
3. Reproduced in *The Boundary Question between China and Tibet* (Peking 1940), pp.1-4.
4. English translation of the petition and the Dalai Lama's reply will be found in Bell: op.cit pp 377-382.
5. བོད་ཀྱི་ཙུང་ལྷན་པོ། བོད་ཀྱི་ལོ་ལོ་ ༢༠༧༠
6. ལྷོ་མ་མེད་པའི་གོང་རོལ་ན། ལསངས་རྒྱལ་བུ་བའི་མིང་ཡང་མེད།
འབྲས་པ་རྩོང་གི་ལསངས་རྒྱལ་ཀྱང་། ལྷོ་མ་དགའ་ལ་བཞེན་ནས་བྱུང་།
7. उत्तिष्ठत जाग्रत प्राप्य वरान्निबोधत ।
ध्रुवस्य धारा निशिता दुरत्यया दुर्गं पथस्तत्कवयो वदन्ति ॥
कठ १, ३: १४
परीक्ष्य लोकान् कर्मचितान् ब्राह्मणो निर्वेदमायान्नास्त्यकृतः कृतेन ।
तद्विज्ञानार्थं स गुरुमेवाभिगच्छेत् समित्पाणिः श्रोत्रियं ब्रह्मनिष्ठम् ॥
मुण्डक १, २ १२:
मातृदेवो भव, पितृदेवो भव, आचार्यदेवो भव, अतिथिदेवो भव, यानि अनवद्यानि
कर्माणि तानि सेवितव्यानि, नो इतराणि, यानि अस्माकं सुचरितानि तानि त्वयोपास्यानि,
नो इतराणि ॥
तैत्तिरीय १, ११: २
यस्य देवे परा भक्तिर्यथा देवे तथा गुरौ ।
तस्यैते कथिता ह्यर्थाः, प्रकाशन्ते महात्मनः, प्रकाशन्ते महात्मनः ॥
श्वेताश्वतर ६, २३
8. Nalinaksha Dutt: *Early Monastic Buddhism* (Calcutta 1960), p.24.
9. Arthur Macdonell's edition (Harvard Oriental Series) -
Acharya ii, 132, 136 & 143; iv, 138; v, 39; vi, 9; & viii, 90. Guru
iii, 142; iv, 60; v, 103 & 139; & vi, 35.
10. For Acharya/Upadhaya/Guru (different persons) Kane: *History of Dharmasastra* (Poona 1930-62), Vol II: Pt 1, pp.322-4 and Vol IV, p.24 may be seen.

Sabdakalpadruma (Radhakanta Deva) quotes *Kurma Purana-*

गुरुवर्गो यथा,—

उपाध्यायः पिता ज्येष्ठभ्राता चैव महीपतिः ।
मातुलः श्वशुरस्नाता मातामहपितामहौ ॥
बन्धुज्येष्ठः पितृव्यश्च पुंस्येते गुरवः स्मृताः ।
मातामही मातुलानी तथा मातुश्च सोदराः ॥
श्वश्रूः पितामही ज्येष्ठा धाली च गुरवः स्त्रीषु ।
इत्युक्तो गुरुवर्गोऽयं मातुतः पितुतः द्विजाः ॥
गुरूणाञ्चैव सर्वेषां पूज्याः पञ्च विशेषतः ।
तेषामाद्यास्त्वयः श्रेष्ठास्तेषां माता सुपूजिता ॥
यो भावयति या सूते येन विद्योर्पादिश्यते ।
ज्येष्ठभ्राता च भर्ता च पञ्चते गुरवः स्मृताः ॥
नास्ति पितृसमो देवो नास्ति मातृसमो गुरुः ।
तयोः प्रत्युपकारोऽपि न कथञ्चन विद्यते ।
मालुलांश्च पितृव्यांश्च श्वशुरान्कृत्विवजो गुरून् ॥
असावहमिति ब्रूयुः प्रत्युत्थाय यवीयसः ।
कूर्मपुराणे उपविभागे ११ अध्यायः ॥

11. K.P. Jayaswal: *Hindi Polity* (Calcutta 1924 - Bangalore 1943) and A.K. Coomaraswamy : *Spiritual Authority and Temporal Power in the Indian Theory of Government* (New Haven 1942). For an objective view see U.N. Ghoshal: *Studies in Indian History and Culture* (Calcutta 1965) pp 211-236. A description of the ritual is in J.C. Heesterman: *The Ancient Indian Royal Consecration* (The Hague: 1957).

12. ब्रह्म वा इदमग्र आसीदेकमेव तदेकं सन्न व्यभवत् । तच्छ्रेयोरूपमत्यसृजत क्षलं यान्येतानि देवता क्षलाणीन्द्रो वरुणः सोमो रुद्रः पर्यन्त्यो यमो मृत्युरीशान इति । तस्मात् क्षलात्परं नास्ति तस्माद्ब्राह्मणः क्षत्रियमथस्तादुपास्ते राजसूये क्षल एव तद्यशो दधाति संषा क्षलस्य योनिर्यद्ब्रह्म ॥

बृहदारण्यक १, ४: ११

Political ascendancy of the priestly houses can be noticed in Vedic society. Arthur Berriedale Keith: *The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads* (Harvard Oriental Series), pp 223-230 & 289-99. Also Macdonell: *Vedic Index*, entry on Purohita.

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 आचरियो अत्थि, सदिसो मे न विज्जति ।
सदेवकस्मिं लोकस्मिं, नत्थि मे पट्टिपुग्गलो ॥
मज्झिमनिकायो; धम्मचक्रपवत्तन ।
15. देव-मनुष्याणां शास्ता ।

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

17. गुरुर्ब्रह्मा गुरुर्विष्णुर्गुरुर्देवो महेश्वरः ।
गुरुरेव परं ब्रह्म तस्मै श्रीगुरवे नमः ॥ देवीभागवत ।

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. आचार्यात् परतरन्नास्ति ब्रूलोक्ये सचराचरे ।
यस्य प्रसादात् प्राप्यन्ते सिद्धयोऽनेकधा बुधैः ॥

Advayasiddhi cited in Benoytosh
Bhattacharyya : *Sadhanamala* (Gaekwad Oriental Series), Vol II p. lvi fn.

नमस्ते शून्यतागर्भं सर्वसङ्कल्पवर्जित ।
सर्वज्ञं ज्ञानसन्दोहं ज्ञानमूर्त्तं नमोऽस्तु ते ॥ ९ ॥
जगदज्ञानविच्छेदिशुद्धतत्त्वार्थदेशक ।
धर्मनैरात्म्यसम्भूतं वज्रसत्त्वं नमोऽस्तु ते ॥ १० ॥
सम्बुद्धा बोधिसत्त्वाश्च [त्वत्तः] पारमितागुणाः ।
सम्भवन्ति सदा नाथ बोधिचित्तं नमोऽस्तु ते ॥ ११ ॥
रत्नलयं महायानं त्वत्तः स्थावरजङ्गमम् ।
ब्रूलधातुकमिदं सर्वं जगद्दीरं नमोऽस्तु ते ॥ १२ ॥
चिन्तामणिरिवाद्भुतं जगदिष्टार्थसिद्धये ।
सुगताज्ञाकरं श्रीमन् बुद्धपुत्रं नमोऽस्तु ते ॥ १३ ॥
जातं मेऽनुत्तरं तत्त्वं प्रसादात् ते गुणार्णव ।
वज्राभिषेकं सर्वज्ञं प्रसादं कुरु साम्प्रतम् ॥ १४ ॥
रहस्यं सर्वबुद्धानां दर्शितं धर्मवज्रिणा ।
यथा श्रीचित्तवज्रेण तथा नाथ प्रसीद मे ॥ १५ ॥
भवत्पादाम्बुजे त्यक्त्वा नाभ्यां मे विद्यते गतिः ।
तस्मात् कुरु दयानाथ संसारगतिनिर्जित ॥ १६ ॥
प्रज्ञोपायविनिश्चयसिद्धिः; तृतीयपरिच्छेद

गुरुप्रसादो यस्यास्ति स लभेत् तत्त्वमुत्तमम् ।
अन्यथा क्लिश्यते बालः चिरकालविमोहितः ॥ २३ ॥

गुरुर्बुद्धो भवेत् धर्मः सङ्घश्चापि स एव हि ।
 प्रसादात् ज्ञायते तस्य यस्य रत्नत्रयं वरम् ॥ २४ ॥
 अज्ञानतिमिरान्धानामेष मार्गप्रदर्शकः ।
 स भवेत् सर्वसौख्याग्रचः सर्वकामप्रदायकः ॥ २५ ॥
 धर्मगम्भीरनिष्ठात्मा विविक्तकरुणात्मकः ।
 रत्नत्रयप्रतिष्ठार्थी धर्मदाने निरामिषः ॥ २६ ॥
 स गुरुः शिष्यसद्ग्राही सर्वबुद्धापुकारकः ।
 इत्युवाच जगन्नाथो नान्ये वं गुरवः स्मृताः ॥ २७ ॥
 यस्मान्न तत्समो ह्यस्ति पूजनीयो महामुनिः ।
 तस्मात् सर्वप्रयत्न पूजयेद्गुरुवरं व्रती ॥ २८ ॥
 । ज्ञानसिद्धिः, प्रथमपरिच्छेद ।

रत्नत्रयेषु बुद्धात्मा कृपावान् सर्वजन्तुषु ।
 त्यागादिसंयतो धीरः सर्वपुण्यमहोदयः ॥ ६ ॥

बोधिचित्तसमुत्पन्नः प्रसन्नो गुणवान् सुधीः ।
 अक्रोधनो महोत्साहा धर्मगम्भीरनिश्चयः ॥ १० ॥

सयुक्तिकं धर्मदानं निरा[भा]सं सदा मतम् ।
 अल्पेच्छता सदा तस्य सम्भारद्वयसम्भृतः ॥ ११ ॥

गुरुरेष समाख्यातः सर्वबुद्धैः सर्वजिभिः ।
 स एव सर्वसत्त्वानां शासको लोकनायकः ॥ १२ ॥

ज्ञानसिद्धिः, लयोदशपरिच्छेद ।

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 *Intro-*
duction 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. |ज्ञ'स'सदस'सुस'ज्ञ'स'केस| |ज्ञ'स'दये'दनुक'दे'वकि'दे|
 [सग'द'दगु'स। सु'द'दगु'स। स']
20. |सके'द'प'ससस'उद'सुद'कस'के| |ज्ञ'स'सके'द'प'अद'दग'सकु'स|
 |दि'स'के'स'प'क'गु'क'स'के'स'के| |अ'ये'स'सके'स'के'स'के'स'के'स'के|
 [सकु'क'द'गु'स। सु'द। स']

21. Humphrey Clarke : *The Message of Milarepa* (London 1958), p.102.

22. ཉི་མའི་འོད་རླུང་རབ་ཚ་ཡང་། མི་ཤལ་མེད་པར་མི་མི་འབྱུང་།
 ཉི་བཞིན་སངས་རྒྱལ་བྱིན་རླབས་ཀྱང་། ལྷ་མ་མེད་པར་འབྱུང་མི་འབྱུང་།
 [ས་སྐྱ་བཀའ་འབུམ། 9]

23. ལྷོག་མར་ལྷ་མའི་ཞབས་ལ་ཕྱག་འཚལ་ནས། [འཛོམ་འདས་དབྱེར་མེད།]

24. ཉི་ནས་འདི་ཕྱི་ལོགས་ཚོགས་ཅི་སྟེན་པའི། ཉེན་འཇོལ་ལོགས་རང་འགྲུབ་ལས་
 པའི་རྩ་བ་ནི། ལམ་སྟོན་བཤམ་གཉེན་དམ་པ་འབད་པ་ཡིས། ལས་མ་དང་
 ལྷོད་བས་རྩལ་བཞིན་བསྟེན་པ་སྲ། ལམ་འོད་ནས་སྟོག་གི་ཕྱིར་ཡང་མི་གཏོང་བར།
 ལག་འབྱེད་སྐྱབ་པའི་མཚོན་པས་མཉེས་པར་བྱེད།
 [རྗེ་ཙོང་ཁ་པའི་གསུང་འབུམ། 10]

25. དཔའ་པོ་ = དབྱ་སོགས་ལས་འཛིགས་པ་མེད་པ་འཛིག་རྟེན་གྱི་དཔའ་པོ་དང་སྦྱོན་
 དང་རྩལ་གྱིས་སོགས་སྟོད་རྣམས་པ་ཚོས་ཀྱི་དཔའ་པོ་དང་བའི་མཚོག་ལའང་།
 ལྷུ་རྩལ་མེས་པ་དཔའ་ = གཞན་དོན་འཁྲུང་དུ་འབྱེད་པ་པོ།
 [དབྱ་བཤམ་ཚོས་གསུང་།]

26. Nalinaksha Dutt: *Aspects of Mahayana Buddhism and its relation to Hinayana* (London 1930) remains the standard authority on Mahayana as a whole and on several issues.
 Har Dayal: *The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature* (London 1932) covers the subject of Bodhisattva. T.R.V. Murti: *The Central Philosophy of Buddhism* (London 1955) provides an excellent comparative study.

27. Nalinaksha Dutt: *Aspects of Mahayana etc.*, pp. 96-117. See also Edward Conze: *Buddhist Thought in India* (London 1962), pp. 172 & 232. Lama Anagarika Govinda : *Foundations of Tibetan Mysticism* (London 1959), pp. 216, 221-24 expounds the Tantric approach.

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.

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

31. Edward Conze: *Buddhism Its Essence and Development* (Oxford 1951/53 etc), p 125.

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

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

34. बोधिप्रणिधिचित्तस्य संसारेऽपि फलं महत् ।

बोधिचर्यावितार, १; १७

अनाथानामहं नाथः सार्थवाहश्च यायिनां ।

पारेप्सूनां च नौभूतः सेतुः सङ्क्रम एव च ॥

बोधिचर्यावितार, ३; १७

हीनादिष्वात्मतां कृत्वा परत्वमपि चात्मनि ।

भावयेष्यां च मानं च निर्विकल्प्येन चेतसा ॥

बोधिचर्यावितार, ५; १४०

जगद्व्याधिप्रशमनं भैषज्यमिदमुत्तमं ।

भवाध्वभ्रमणश्रान्तो जगद्विश्रामपादपः ॥

दुर्गत्युत्तरणे सेतुः सामान्यः सर्वयायिनां ।

जगत्क्लेशोष्मशमन उदितश्चित्तचन्द्रमाः ॥

बोधिचर्यावितार, ३; २६-३०

35. अनाथानां च दुःखितानां कृपणानामप्रतिशरणानां सनाथक्रियया ।

अनाथेषु सत्त्वेषु [दुःखितेषु च] अप्रतिशरणेषु सनाथक्रिया ।

बोधिसत्त्वभूमि ।

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

36. तथार्यगण्डव्यूहसूत्रेऽपि वर्णितं । बोधिचित्तं हि कुलपुत्र वाजभूतं सर्वबुद्धचर्याणां ।
क्षेत्रभूतं सर्वजगच्छुक्लृग्मविरोहणतया । धरणिभूतं सर्वलोकप्रतिशरणतया ।

यावत्पितृभूतं सर्वबोधिसत्त्वारक्षणतया "पेयालं ॥ वैश्रवणभूतं सर्वदारि-
द्र्यसंछेदनतया । चिन्तामणिराजभूतं सर्वार्थसंसाधनतया । भद्रघटभूतं सर्वा-
भिप्रायपरिपूरणतया । शक्तिभूतं क्लेशशत्रुविजयाय ।
.. .. इति हि कुलपुत्र
बोधिसत्त्वमेभिश्चान्यैश्चाप्रमाणगुणविशेषैः समन्वागतमिति ॥

शिक्षासमुच्चय ।

Bendall's edition (Bibliotheca Buddhica, Petrograd/The Hague), pp 5-6.

37. "The hero as Bodhisattva" would be the appropriate English form for Tibetan expression Byang-chub-sems-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.

39. English translation is that of Daniel H.H. Ingalls: *An Anthology of Sanskrit Court Poetry* (Harvard Oriental Series), p.64. The original text, read by Kosambi & Gokhale, is in *Subhasitaratnakosa* (Harvard Oriental Series).

अत्युद्गाढरयस्थिराकृतिघनध्वानभ्रमन्मन्दर—

क्षुब्धक्षारधिवीचिसंचयगतप्राणेषपादोपमः ।

श्रीमत्तपोतलके गभीरविवृतिध्वानप्रतिध्वानिते

सान्द्रस्वांशुचयश्रिया वलयितो लोकेश्वरः पातु वः ॥ ३ ॥

लोकेश्वरव्रज्या; ज्ञानश्रीमिल ।

40. Har Dayal: *Bodhisattva Doctrine* (cited under Note 26), p.48 and Edward Conze: *Buddhism* (cited under Note 31), p. 147. Benoytosh Bhattacharyya: *Indian Buddhist Iconography* (Calcutta 1958), p. 143 traces the concept to Asoka's time.

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 Bhattacharyya: 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).
44. Edward J. Thomas: *The History of Buddhist Thought* (London 1951), pp. 187-94 gives a brief account in English.

45. བཀའ་ཚན་ལྷ་བཅུ་གཅིག

46. །ལྷ་ཆེན་ཡེ་ཤེས་སྒྲོལ་མ་དང་། །ལྷ་ཆེན་པོ་མི་གཡོ་བ།
 །སྤྱི་བོར་སྤྲེལ་སྤྲེལ་བཞི། །སྤྱི་བོར་སྤྲེལ་སྤྲེལ་བཞི།
 [བཀའ་བཀའ་མཚན་ལྷ་ཆེན་ ཅ]

47. The different traditions recording the lineage of Spyan-ras-gzigs are found in *Bksh-gdams-pha-chos*, *Lnga-pa-chen-pohi-mdzed-rnam*, *Klong-rdol gsung 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, inspite 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 sojourn 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 Khams were not law abiding. What is not so well known is that they were not loyal or submissive to the Heavenly Kingdom and its agents. While the Khampas had no compunction in robbing the 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 Khams, 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. །མགོན་པོ་ཁྱེད་ལ་རབ་དུ་སྐྱབས་སུ་བཞུགས། [བཀའ་འགྲུབ་མདོ་སྡེ། ༩]

52. །མགོན་མེད་འདི་དག་ལ་ཡིས་བསྐྱབ་པོ་ཞེས། [ས་སྐྱེ་བཀའ་འགྲུབ། ༥]

53. भगवा एतदवोच—“इध, महाराज, तथागतो लोके उप्पज्जति अरहं, सम्मा-सम्बुद्धो, विजाचरणसम्पन्नो, सुगतो, लोकविदू, अनुत्तरो, पुरिसदम्मसारथि, सत्था देवमनुस्सानं, बुद्धो, भगवा । सो इमं लोकं सदेवकं समारकं सब्रह्मकं सस्समणब्राह्मणिं पजं सदेवमनुस्सं सयं अभिञ्जा सच्छिकत्वा पवेदेति । सो धम्मं देसेति आदिकल्याणं मज्जेक्कल्याणं परियोसानकल्याणं सात्थं सब्यठ्जनं, केवलपरिपुणं परिसुद्धं ब्रह्मचरियं पकासेति ।

दीघनिकायो; पणीततरसामञ्जफलं ।

तदनु येन शाक्यमुनितथागतादिरूपेणासंसारं सर्वलोकधातुषु सत्त्वानां समीहितमर्थं समङ्करोत्यसौ कायःप्रबन्धतयाऽनुपरतो नैर्माणिको बुद्धस्य भगवतः सर्वबालजनसाधारण-श्रुतार्थोऽवसातव्यः । तथा चोक्तम् ।

करोति येन चित्राणि हितानि जगतः समम् ।

आभवात्सोऽनुपच्छिन्नः कायो नैर्माणिको मुनेः ॥ ३३ ॥

हरिभद्ररचित अभिसमयालङ्कारालोक । पृ: ५३२

The extract is made from Giuseppe Tucci's edition (Caekwad Oriental Series). Haribhadra is dated in the eighth century by Haraprasad Shastri and in the tenth century by Maurice Winternitz.

54. यदा यदा हि धर्मस्य ग्लानिर्भवति भारत ।

अभ्युत्थानम् अधर्मस्य तदाऽत्मानं सृजाम्यहम् ॥ ७ ॥

परित्राणाय साधूनां विनाशाय च दुष्कृताम् ।

धर्मसंस्थापनार्थाय संभवामि युगे युगे ॥ ८ ॥

भगवद्गीता, चतुर्थअध्याय ।

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

56. See the model letter for Sakya Gongma on page 69 in Tharchin (ed.): *Letter Writers, Kalon Shadra & Kadrong Nornang* (Kalimpong, 1956).

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

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