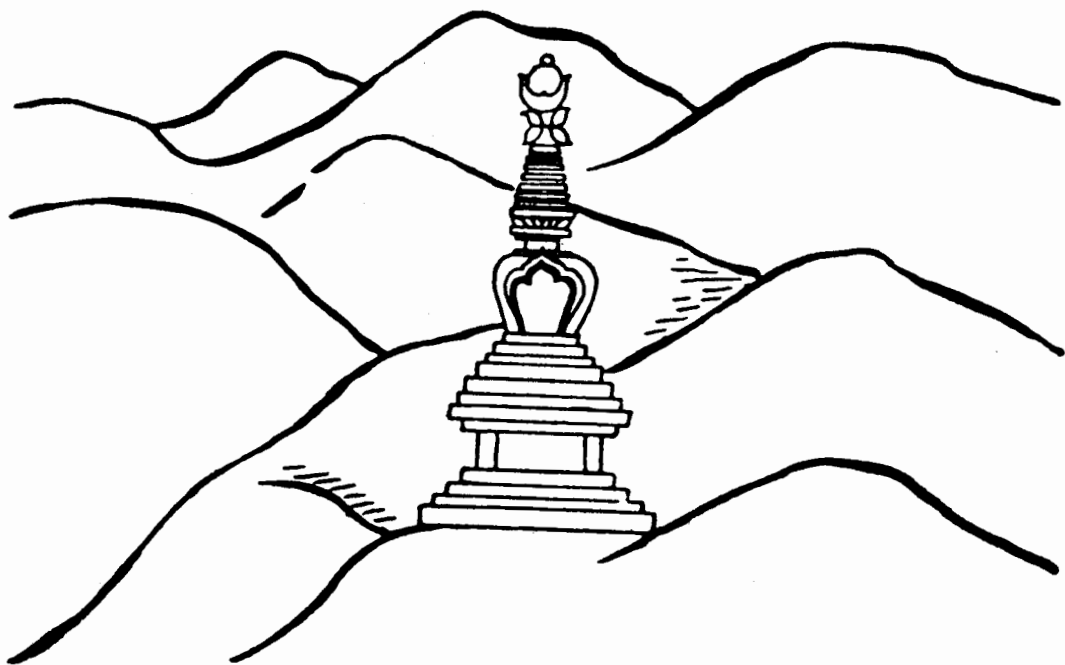


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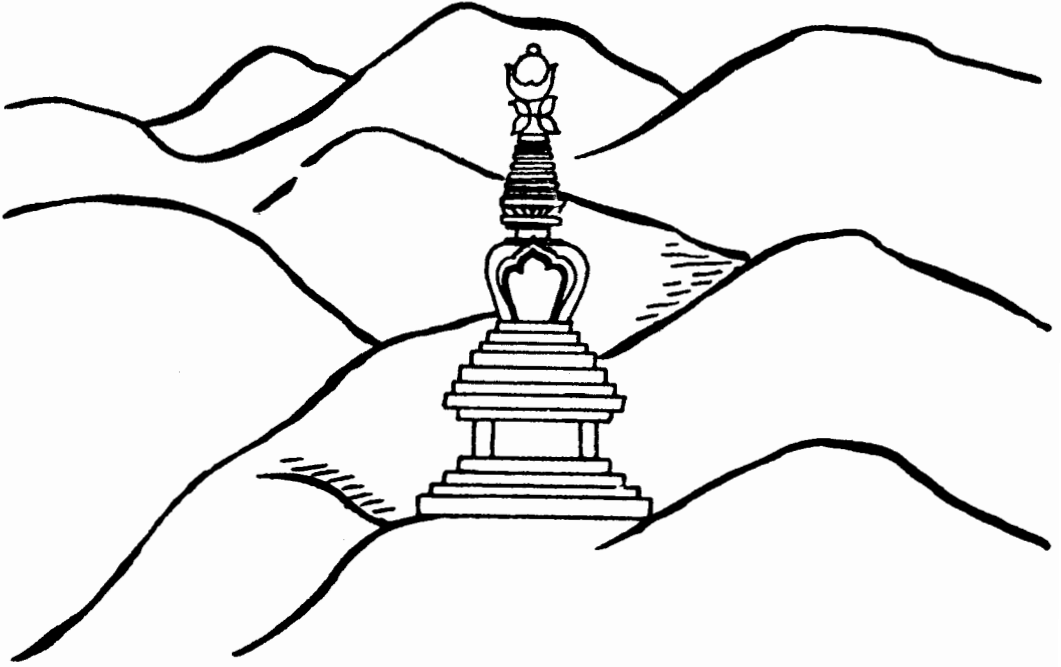
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EDITORS

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BHAJAGOVINDA GHOSH**

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MAKING OF DHARMARAJA

– Nirmal C. Sinha

Recently (1989) the Bi-centenary of the French Revolution was celebrated in France—and all over the world where ever Republic, Secular State, and other such institutions are honoured. An important item for celebration was the theory of Social Contract accounting for the origin of state. The traditional theory of the state as a divinely ordained institution has been the norm both in the east and the west through the recorded past. Monarchy or Kingship was, in consequence, all through the past considered as of divine origin; even if divine right was not associated with Monarchy in some countries, the King as the head of the church or as the joint head of the church was taken for granted in such countries.

It is interesting to point out that around 500 B. C. as rather revolutionary theory for the origin of state and particularly of the origin of Monarchy was propounded in the Indo-Gangetic plains. This was in fact the earliest speculation about mundane (non-divine) origins of state in the history of civilization. Gautama Buddha Sakyamuni discoursed about the beginnings of human community while he was once staying near Sravasti. This discourse is recorded in Digha Nikaya, Agganna Suttanta. Known as the Buddhist Book of Genesis, an authentic English translation of the original is found in *Dialogues of the Buddha* by Rhys Davids.

The narrative goes on like this. In the beginning when greed and other evil propensities did not arise in man's mind there was no need for any individual or individuals to look after law and order. But when evil had completely overtaken men then the hitherto happy beings had to find one. Buddha spoke on this event to Vasettha as follows :

“Then those beings, Vasettha, gathered themselves and bewailed this, saying : Evil customs, sirs, have appeared among man. For in the past, we were made of mind, we fed on rapture, self-luminous, we traversed the air in abiding loveliness; long long the period we so remained. For us sooner or later, after a long long while the savoury earth had arisen over the water. Colour it had, an odour and taste. We set to work to make the earth into lumps, and feast on it. As we did so our self-luminance vanished away. When it was gone, moon and sun became manifest, [91] star-shapes and constellation, night and day, the months and half-months, the seasons and the years. We enjoying the

savoury earth, feeding on it, nourished by it, continued so for a long long while. But since evil and immoral customs became rife among us, the savoury earth disappeared. When it had ceased outgrowths of the soil became manifest, clothed with colour, odour and taste. Then we began to enjoy; and fed and nourished thereby, we continued so for a long long while. But when evil and immoral customs arose among us, these outgrowths disappeared. When they had vanished, creepers appeared clothed with colour, odour and taste. Then we turned to enjoy; and fed and nourished thereby we continued so for a long long while. But since evil and immoral custom became prevalent among us, the creepers, also disappeared. When they had ceased rice appeared, ripening in open spaces, without powder, without husk, pure, fragrant and clean grained. Where we plucked and took away for the evening meal every evening, there next morning it had grown ripe again. Where we plucked and took away for the morning meal, there in the evening it had grown ripe again. There was no break visible. Enjoying this rice, feeding on it, nourished by it, we have so continued a long long while. But from evil and immoral customs becoming manifest among us, powder has enveloped the clean grain, husk too has enveloped the clean grain, and where we have reaped is no re-growth; a break has come, and the rice-stubble stands in [92] clumps. Come now, let us divide of the rice fields and set boundaries thereto. And so they divided off the rice and set up boundaries round it.

“Now some being, Vasettha, of greedy disposition, watching over his own plot, stole another plot and made use of it. They took him and holding him fast said : Truly, good being, thou hast wrought evil in that, while watching thine own plot, thou hast stolen another plot and made use of it. See, good being, that thou do not such a thing again ! Ay, sirs, he replied. And a second time he did so. And yet a third. And again they took him and admonished him. Some smote him with the hand, some with clods, some with sticks. With such a beginning. Vasettha, did stealing appear, and censure and lying and punishment became know.

“Now those beings Vasettha, gathered themselves together, and bewailed these things saying : From our evil deeds, sirs, becoming manifest, inasmuch as stealing, censure, lying, punishment have become known, what if we were to select a certain being, who should be wrathful when indignation is right, who should censure that which should rightly be censured and should banish him who deserves to be banished ? But we will give him in return a proportion of the rice.

“Then, Vasettha, those beings went to the being among them who was the handsomest, the best favoured, the most attractive, the most

capable and said to him : Come now, good being, be indignant at that whereat one should rightly be indignant, censure that which should rightly be censured, banish him who deserves to be banished. And we will contribute to thee a proportion of our rice.

“And he consented, and did so, and they gave him a proportion of their rice.

“Chosen by the whole people, Vasettha, is what is meant by Maha Sammata : so Maha Sammata (the Great Elect) was the first standing phrase to arise (for such an one). Lord of the Fields is what is ment by Khattiya; so Khattiya (Noble) was the next expression to arise. He charms the others by the Norm—by what ought (to charm)—is that is meant by Raja ; so this was the third standing phrase to arise.

“Thus then, Vasettha, was the origin of this social circle of the Nobles, according to the ancient primordial phrases by which they were known). Their origin was from among those very beings, and no others; like unto themselves, not unlike; and it took place according to the Norm (according what ought to be justly), not unfittingly.”

As in the above extract the King was first called Maha Sammata and later Raja who ‘charms the others by the Dhamma’ as may be derived par etymology in the original text. And much later; several centuries after Sakyamuni passed away the ideal king for a Buddhist state came to be designated as Dharma Raja, an epithet originally used for the Buddha. Later Buddhaghosha described Dharma Raja thus ‘Dhammena rajjan lavitva raja jato ti’. Rhys Davids (Pali Dictionary) renders Buddhaghosha’s definition in English thus : ‘a King who gained the throne legitimately.’

II

Buddha in his discourse on the origins of kingship ruled out or ignored any role of God. Buddhas as is well-known was Silent on the question of God : Buddha spoke of the gods’ as a species of animate beings superior to men but not too high for men. Buddha is celebrated as DEVA MANUSHYANAM SASTA, that is Teacher of gods and men. In his speculation about origins of state and kingship Buddha would not and did not speak of any role of Devas (gods). In no way any divine beings were involved in the origination of state of kingship.

The role of men, that is people was, on the other hand emphasized by Buddha and the first king ‘chosen by the whole people’ was called Maha Sammata or Great Elect. This elected person came from the class

(caste) called, Kshatriya (Noble) and the second designation for this elected person was Kshatriya (Noble) . The title which eventually became common for the King in Buddhism was Raja.

A Raja 'who gained the throne legitimately' was called Dharmaraja as in Buddhaghosha's definition. The relevant point for us today is that in Buddhist thought legitimate of a king was not due to divine grace but founded on the goodwill of the people. So more than divine right people's choice was the ground for political organisation as also for the title to reign in Buddhism. Asoka Priyadarsin called himself Raja of Magadha and Devanampriya, 'dear to gods' or 'beloved of gods'. Later tradition described Asoka as Dharmaraja.

Edicts of Asoka inscribed on rocks and pillars bear out that Asoka indeed was Dharmaraja though he himself never claimed this title. Asoka's righteous acts, particularly his concern for welfare of all men great or small and his propagation of ethics of Buddhism are well known and need no description here. Only an epigraphic testimony on Asoka, Dharmaraja par excellence, is noted here.

Whether designated Raja Maharaja or Dharmaraja, as Buddhist king was to submit to the Three Jewels as was not above any one of the Three Jewels. Asoka affirmed thus in the opening lines of Bairat (Bhabru) Rock Edict, 'The Magadha king Priyadarsin having saluted the Sangha, hopes they are both well and comfortable. It is known to you, Sirs, how great is my reverence and faith in the Buddha, the Dharma, and the Sangha' (Eng. tr. Hultzsch). Asoka's submission to the Sangha, was not a mere formality. Either persuaded by the Sangha or on his own, Asoka gave up hunting and other pleasure tours and undertook Dharma tours to Bodhgaya and such pilgrimage sites. The tour programmes included visits and gifts to Brahmanas and Sramanas, visits and charities to the old people and Dharma dialogues with the rural population' (Rock Edict VIII).

Asoka's submission to the Sangha, that is, Sthaviras and Sramanas is elaborated in the Ceylonese chronicle Mahavamsa. The young monk Nigrodha, who converted Asoka was invited to the royal presence and sat on the royal throne with Asoka supporting the monk with his own hand. This was not certainly in conformity with the protocol of the palace. Asoka went further, in public view, to express his reverence to a Sthavira. Mahavamsa relates how Asoka received Tissa Moggaliputta by descending into knee deep waters of the river and extending his hand to help Tissa to disembark from the boat. The royal guards and others in-charge of security lost their temper and would cut

off the head of this There, if not dissuaded by the king, according to Mahavamsa, Asoka's submission to the Sangha in such manner was undoubtedly a rupture with the past tradition. In his pilgrimage tour, as borne out by Rock Edict VIII, Asoka came much closer to the common men and in fact the king as a Deva on his own right as Kshatriya mixed with the persons other than Brahmanas and Sramanas.

The Minor Rock Edict found at Rupnath (Madhya Pradesh), Sahasram (Bihar), Brahmagiri (Mysore), Gavimath (Hyderabad), and Maski (Hyderabad) has a very interesting information that the gods and the men in Jambudvipa were mingled due to Asoka's efforts. The text of the Edict at Gavimath as translated into English by A. C. Sen is appended at the end of this article. The respect of gods and men being mingled as in Rupnath, Sahesram and Brahmagiri is made here from the English translation of Hultzsch. Rupnath Edict says, 'Those gods who during that time had been unmingled (with men) in Jambudvipa have now been made (by me) mingled (with them)'. Sahasram Edict says, 'And men in Jambudvipa, being during that time unmingled with the gods, have (now) being made (by me) mingled with the gods'. Brahmagiri Edict says, 'But men in Jambudvipa being during that time unmingled (are now) mingled with the gods. Rupnath, Sahasram and Brahmagiri Edicts were found and deciphered by the end of the 19th century and the texts were deeply studied by leading Orientalists of Europe in the first decade of the current century.

Sylvain Levi of Serbonne read the report about mingling of gods and men as the mingling of kings and subjects (Journal Asiatique 1911). Levi's argument was that there could be no question of Hindu or Buddhist Devas being brought down to earth and made to mix with the Manushas. A Kshatriya was entitled to be called Deva and the Raja was no doubt a Deva indeed. Sylvain Levi's reading was criticized by most Western scholars. Indian scholars like D. R. Bhandarkar and A. C. Sen offered an alternative interpretation. Such Indian scholars agreed that Asoka did not claim to have brought down celestial beings to the earth to mingle with the mortals of Jambudvipa, Bhandarkar and Sen interpreted the mingling of men and gods as that Asoka's efforts had made his subjects god-like in character. It is relevant to remember that Buddha admitted the existence of gods as superior to men. Buddha himself was celebrated as the 'teacher of men and gods'. Another French scholar, J. Filliozat wrote, (Journal Asiatique 1949) in full support of Sylvain Levi and the present writer is in complete agreement with the theory of Sylvain Levi that Asoka had made solemn departure from the protocol of his predecessor and came into closer contact not only with all holy men but

also with the rest of public even thrown to much lesser degree than with the holy men. When the king could break the protocol and mixed with the people the lesser Devas like the members of royalty and men in high position would have to follow suit.

This was indeed Dharmaraja's duty to ensure that earthly gods and ordinary mortals should come closer to each other. It is zeal to pay homage to the Sangha, Asoka could not forget that the most king was chosen by the whole people and called Mahasammata. That is why Asoka was all out to gain the affections of men (Kalinga Rock Edict).

In the Minor Edict, after having claimed that Devanampriya could mingle men and gods because of his zeal to do hard work. Asoka makes a more profound statement that 'the great as well as the small are all entitled to zealous endeavours and the small person if truly zealous can attain heaven as much as the great one'. Asoka makes clear that the heights are not for the great alone. The small are as much capable as the great.

The ideal of Dharmaraja had a great impact in Tibet and Mongolia when Buddhism migrated to these countries. That story may be presented separately.

MINOR ROCK EDICT

Gavimath version

Date : *Regnal year 11-12 (?) = c. 257 B. C.*

Subject : *The fruit of zeal in practising Dharma*

The Beloved of the gods spoke (thus) :

It is (now somewhat) more than two and a half years that I have been a lay disciple, but I had not been very zealous (throughout all this time).

It is (now somewhat) more than a year that I joined the Sangha and have been very zealous.

Now the gods who were unmingled with men in Jambudvīpa during this time, have now been made mingled.

This is the fruit of zeal. Not only by the great is this capable indeed of being attained. Even by the small (person), if he is greatly zealous is heaven capable of being attained.

And for this purpose is this proclamation (made). viz. – Let the small and the great be zealous, let (even) the Borderers too know (it), and let (this) zeal be of long duration.

And this matter will increase and it will increase greatly, and it will increase even (to) one and a half times.

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The publication programme of Catalogue Series of all the Buddhist works preserved in the SRIT will be a landmark contribution in the field of documentation and library science. The Institute intends to bring out more issues in the coming years.

A BLACK HAT RITUAL DANCE

– Cathy Cantwell

Tibetan “Black Hat” ritual dances are a central feature of many Tibetan “chams” (ritual dance performances). This paper examines a Black Hat dance at a small Tibetan refugee monastery in northern India, in the light of a consideration of the overall meaning and significance of the Black Hat dance in the Tibetan Buddhist tradition⁽¹⁾.

“BLACK HAT” RITUAL DANCES : ORIGIN AND MEANING

Little historical work has been done on “chams”, and even though ritual dance manuals exist — for example, the Fifth Dalai Lama’s “chams-yig” (Nebesky-Wojkowitz, 1976) — which are clearly dependent on much older written sources, inevitably, in the context of complex ritual performances, much was left to oral instruction and is inaccessible to historical research. Handbooks such as the above-mentioned “chamsyig” were intended as detailed commentaries on and further clarification of an orally transmitted tradition, for the benefit of the ritual practitioners themselves, who would have been familiar with the basics of the tradition as it existed at that time. Thus, for instance, when the Fifth Dalai Lama talks of the Black Hat costume (ibid. : p.114-119), it is difficult to determine how closely it corresponds with the modern version (see below). Nonetheless, ritual forms can be remarkably persistent⁽²⁾, and in the case of ‘chams, there is no doubt that many dance sequences have been preserved exactly for centuries⁽³⁾. The tradition itself claims an Indian Vajrayāna origin for ‘chams, and in the absence of convincing proof otherwise, there would seem little reason to doubt this claim. The Fifth Dalai Lama is clear that the complex Vajrakīlāya dance described by him, much of which is performed by Black Hat dancers, derives from Indian Buddhism. He states (p. 113) that it is connected with the origins of the Tantra, and that moreover, it played a significant role in the establishment of Buddhism in Tibet : Guru Padma performed the dance to prepare the ground at bSam-yas for the first Tibetan monastery.

Both the Fifth Dalai Lama (p. 115) and contemporary Tibetan monks and bla-mas say that the Black Hat costume is that worn by the Vajra Master, and the Black Hat dances display his activities. In some cases - as my example below - such activities consist of relatively simple symbolic demonstrations of the Vajrayāna transmutation of the emotional poisons, but there are innumerable variations. In the “Root” section of the Fifth Dalai Lama’s Vajrakīlāya ‘chams alone (p. 115 ff.), the Black

Hat Vajra Master meditates on and mimes in turn the attributes and activities of all the principal deities of the Vajrakīlāya maṇḍala, and a similar process seems to characterise the Black Hat Vajrakīlāya 'chams at the 'Brug-pa bKa'-rgyud monastery at Tashi Jong, Himachal Pradesh.⁽⁴⁾

There is a further dimension to the symbolic significance of the Black Hat dance in the contemporary Tibetan context. According to Nebesky-Wojkowitz (ibid. : p.1, 80, 93), popular tradition equates the Black Hat costume and dance less with Buddhist India than with the ancient Bon-po priests, and in the mythical⁽⁵⁾ account of dpal gyi rDo-rje, the Buddhist monk appropriates the "black" Bon-po garb while remaining inwardly "white", for the purpose of protecting the Buddhist teaching in Tibet⁽⁶⁾. Nebesky-Wojkowitz is a little ambivalent about the actual origin of the Buddhist Black Hat costume. He mentions this oral tradition without critical comment on the first page of the book, while later (p. 80) arguing that the informants who rather identified the Black Hat dancers with tantrics are more likely to be correct. Yet his justification for this - that the Black Hat dancers have important roles and are often senior bla-mas-relates to the dances' contemporary significance rather than to derivation. Nonetheless, he clearly states (p. 93) that the costume has no particular similarity to the ancient Bon-po dress. It would seem to me that the identification between the Black Hat dancers and Bon-po religious specialists is not a statement of historical fact but rather a symbolic association, in which the Vajra Master brings under control and transforms the most sophisticated indigenous Tibetan powers, through the Vajrayāna ritual activity.

THE BLACK HAT COSTUME

Details of the costume — such as the colours of and designs decorating the robes — may vary, not only from monastery to monastery, but within a single 'chams performance. Thus, at the Tashi Jong 'chams, on the ninth day of the Tibetan month, the Black Hat dancers wore a relatively simple version of the costume, with different coloured robes to correspond to the various directions of the maṇḍala, while on the eleventh day, much more elaborate costumes with robes of intricately patterned silks were worn.

However, the basic elements of the costume are standard. They consist, firstly, of a robe ("phod-ka") reaching to the ankles, with long wide sleeves, a small poncho-shaped brocade garment on top, and high boots. Also necessary is a long black apron, decorated with an embroidery of a three-eyed wrathful face with a border of skulls and

vajras, expressing the presence of the Vajrayāna deity concerned, his wrathful activity, and the identification between the deity and Vajra Master who wears the costume. The apron has tassels at the bottom in the five colours of the five Buddha families. The dancer has black spots on his cheeks, presumably identified with the spots of blood which decorate the wrathful herukas in Tibetan iconography. Beneath the hat is worn a "wig" ("skra-brdzus"); in the Rewalsar case, this was a black headband with long black tassels hanging from it. In this way, a monk, as a "mantra practitioner" ("sngags-pa"), symbolically displays the long hair of a yogi. Usually (Nebesky-Wojkowitz, *ibid.* : p. 94-5), the six bone ornaments and a round breast-plate "mirror" adorn the costume, and the Fifth Dalai Lama lists these as essential attributes (Nebesky-Wojkowitz, *ibid.* : p. 114-115), but they were not represented in Rewalsar.

The black hat itself (see diagram) is attached onto the head with a strap under the chin. The Fifth Dalai Lama (Nebesky-Wojkowitz, *ibid.* : p. 114-117) explains its shape as a representation of the realms of conditioned existence. The main cupola is like the central mountain (Meru), ornamented with the sun and moon, and threads of the five different colours mark out the eight major and four minor continents. The silk trailer hanging from the back of the hat represents the "tree of paradise" in the god realm. The various shapes above the main cupola symbolise the elements (a triangle for fire, a square for earth, etc.) in the same way as in the symbolism of the stūpa (Govinda, 1976 : p. 84-98; and 1969 : p. 182-186). The elements also correspond to the five Buddhas and their families, and "water", "air", "fire" and "earth" can also represent the four activities ('phrin-las). The text says that the hat's "secret meaning" is that its various emblems "seal the 'sky'" (Nebesky-Wojkowitz has "heaven") "Nam-mkha" means sky or space, and in Vajrayāna imagery, it is the attribute of the female consort, which symbolises the Dharmadhātu, the sphere in which Realisation arises. Thus, the hat both represents Samsāra, and the means, through the Vajrayāna, of its transformation into the display of enlightenment, and it is therefore an appropriate attribute of the Vajra Master. Another explanation of the hat is that it demonstrates "the three worlds", only in reverse order : the formless world where only the mental sense is present is the fur-trimmed brim : the world of form of some of the higher god realms is the crown; while the ornaments and decorations above are the world of desire, as experienced by some gods, people, animals and so on ("Garcham" : p. 20-21). Although rather different from the Fifth Dalai Lama's exposition, the general principle is the same, that all the elements of Samsāra are used in the Path, having been "overturned" or transformed.

The most striking visual adornments of the present day hat are the peacock feathers and the pair of snakes. The Fifth Dalai Lama's text mentions "gdengs-ka", ("hooded snakes" or Nebesky-Wojkowitz has, "snake-shaped ornaments") as a necessary adornment, but it does not discuss its symbolic significance, nor the peacock's feathers. It may be that the exact design of the hat has changed since the Fifth Dalai Lama's time, or that these features were included amongst the additionally listed, "objects possessing spiritual powers". However, in discussing an alternative hat which can be used, "the eye of the peacock's feather, having the roundish shape of a jewel" is included, and, "behind it stand up either five or three snake heads made of silk" (ibid. : p. 116-119). In terms of the explanation of the "Garcham" booklet, the peacock feathers would represent the world of the senses. Presumably, the imagery is related to the Vajrayāna symbolism of the peacock's colourful tail being dependent on the defiled foods it consumes. Again, the snakes could also carry the implication of the Vajrayāna transmutation of the emotional poisons, for the snake is used in Buddhist teaching to represent hatred and aversion⁽⁷⁾. Both the snakes, and the skull which is between the heads of the snakes, are "wrathful" images, indicating the Vajra Master's mastery over life and death, which arises when all attachment to "self" is destroyed.

THE BLACK HAT DANCE IN REWALSAR

There are two annual occasions when the Black Hat dance is performed at the rNying-ma-pa monastery in Rewalsar. The first is the twenty-ninth day of the twelfth Tibetan month, when, as the culmination of the sMad-las ("Lower activity") practice of rDo-rje Gro-lod, in which the accumulated negativity of the old year is expelled, there is a "Casting of the gTor-ma" (gtor-rgyab) ritual, in which the senior monk who casts the gtor-ma, dons the Black Hat costume⁽⁸⁾. Secondly, on the tenth day of the first Tibetan month, a group of monks perform the dance in the context of the "Guru mTshan bryad 'chams" — the "Dance of the Guru's Eight Aspects"⁽⁹⁾. Here, the Black Hat dance serves as the foundation for the arising of Guru Padma's forms and emanations — an invitation through a purification of the outer and inner mental environment. Although, as I have noted above, there are innumerable Black Hat dances, many which are extremely long and complex, in the Rewalsar case, the Black Hat dance on both occasions consists of the same sequence of four dances. When performed as part of the tenth day 'chams, the four dances follow each other consecutively, each merging into the next, while at the end of the twelfth month, the dances are fitted

around the structure of the gtor-rgyab ritual, and also incorporate extra dances necessary for the "Casting".

The first dance is called, "Lam-sgron", "Lighting the Path", and it is followed by "Drag – 'chams", "The Ritual Dance of Wrath". On both the occasions of the twenty-ninth day and the tenth day 'chams, these two dances take place in the courtyard, beginning the 'chams. On the twenty-ninth day,⁽¹⁰⁾ the senior monk who took the part of the Black Hat dancer, emerged from the temple to dance after the "Great Red gTorma" and the weapons to be cast had been carried out and set down on tables, and the other monks had already filed out and taken up their positions in the courtyard. The dance commenced to the sound of all the monks' instruments.

The nine Black Hatted monks who danced on the tenth day, were led into the courtyard by a procession of monks from the nearby 'Bri-khung bKa'-rgyud-pa monastery (the small rNying-ma-pa monastery not having enough monks), who, walking around the courtyard, played all their musical instruments at the same time as the rNying – ma-pa monks sitting alongside the arena, who were to provide the textual and musical accompaniment. The procession halted opposite the temple doorway, and after a couple of minutes of continuous music, the nine dancers filed out and the monks opposite stopped playing their instruments. The "Lam-sgron" dance began to the accompaniment of the beat of the cymbals and music of the horns.

As the dancer circled around the courtyard in a clockwise direction, the procession of monks walked ahead. The "Lam-sgron" dance might more appropriately be described as a graceful walk; with slow steps, the monks moved forward, and every few steps, they turned and made a "mudrā" with the phur-bu (ritual dagger) they held in their right hands, and bhāṇḍa (skull-cup shaped vessel) they held in their left hands. They continued forward, and after the next few steps, turned in the opposite direction, made a mudrā, and so on.

The dance demonstrates the "peaceful" ("zhi-ba") nature of the Enlightened Mind, and the performance of the ritual activity ("phrin-las") of "pacifying" the emotional defilements. The Black Hat Vajrayāna practitioner should be established in meditative equanimity, and their movements are slow and peaceful. The phur-bu and bhāṇḍa, carried throughout the Black Hat dances, are symbols of "upāya" and "prajñā"; more "wrathful" equivalents of the standard vajra and bell. The phur-bu is associated with the piercing quality of clarity ("gsal-ba"), while the bhāṇḍa represents the expanse of the Dharmadhātu. In uniting them,

the monks demonstrate the overcoming of ignorance. The sexual imagery (the phur-bu displaying phallic potency and the bhāṇḍa, the "womb" from which spring all the Buddhas) is explicit in Tibetan thinking and adds to the forcefulness of the symbolism. The transmuted passions are, thus, employed to overturn the emotional defilements.

"Lam-sgron" led into the "Drag-'chams" — "The Ritual Dance of Wrath" — after one circuit of the courtyard had been made. Still to the instrumental accompaniment of horns and cymbals, the dancers began this faster dance which involves hopping and whirling around. This dance is a contrast to the first, displaying the transformation of the peaceful nature of Enlightenment into its wrathful Vajrayāna emanations and the Vajra Master's ritual activity of "destroying" which is necessary to overcome persistent negativities. In the context of the sMad-las ritual, the Black Hat dancer meditates on himself arising as the wrathful form of rDo-rje Gro-lod.

Together, these two dances establish the presence of the Enlightened Mind and its manifestations. Then, the following "gSer-skyems" offering acts as a foundation for the main ritual — in the case of the tenth day 'chams, this is the arising of Guru Padma and his emanations and retinue, while on the twenty-ninth day, this is the Casting ritual. A "gSer-skyems" — "golden drink" offering — is an offering often made in the beginning stages of a ritual, and does not always entail a special dance — usually, when performed in the Rewalsar monastery, the monks chant the offering verses while the Master of Offerings ("mchod-dpon") simply holds up the offering in the appropriate goblet and dish. Frequently made to dharmapālas, particularly local earth deities, a "gSer-skyems" provides the basis for a ritual, by satisfying the local powers, who in return, add their forces to the ritual activity. In this case, the gSer-skyems offering is extracted from the Gro-lod sMad-las text, ⁽¹¹⁾ and it is directed not only to the dharmapālas, but to the, "Vidyādharas ... Root and Lineage Gurus; Sugatas, and peaceful and wrathful deities of the mandala powerful and wrathful deities of the Padma family". Along with their retinues of protectors and local deities, they are requested to accept the offering and generate their "enormous power" ("mthu-dpūng")¹² in the practitioners. This "power" is inwardly activated in the dancers through their meditation on the "offering", which is a giving up of any remaining egocentricity to Enlightenment and its activities. The outer ground and inner mental environment are thus "purified". Having performed the offering on the tenth day, the "invitation" to the Guru and his aspects is complete, while on the twenty-ninth day,

the Black Hat monk, visualising himself as Gro-lod, is prepared for the actual "Casting" of the gtor-ma.

The nine Black Hat dancers in the tenth day performance, stopped after the "Drag-'chams", while two young monks from the 'Bri-khung bKa'-rgyud-pa monastery, acting as assistant mchod-dpon, distributed the kind of offering goblets ("phud-skong") usually used for offerings to dharmapālas, to all the dancers in turn. The goblets were then filled with rice grains and black tea, representing the offerings delighting the senses, which are transformed into amṛta. The dancers held the goblets in their right hands and their phur-bus and bhāṇḍas together in their left hands. The monks seated alongside recited the textual instruction to meditate on the offering becoming inexhaustible substances delighting the senses, followed by the syllables of consecration, "Om ĀḤ HŪṀ". After this, the cymbals were played, and they were joined by the horns and drum. The monks who had led the procession also played their instruments. Then, the dance began, while the monks recited the offering verses, very slowly with a drum beat and the cymbals played on each or every second syllable. On the last line of each verse, the cymbals were crashed and joined by the horns and drums, which were played for about half a minute. The dance continued for a while with the cymbals and drums keeping the beat. To make the offering, the dancer holds the goblet in the right hand, and as he whirls around, the offering substances are scattered in all directions. First each dancer performs fairly swift revolutions, on one leg and then on the other, and then the whirling movements gradually become slower for a while. Finally, they speed up, pause, and then begin again. During the course of the dance, the goblets were refilled once, and then at the end, they were collected up, and the Black Hat dancers again took their phur-bus in their right hands for the final Black dance.

In the case of the twenty-ninth day ritual, the sMad-las text instructs that this dance should take place at the site of the Casting; at Rewalsar, it was done both in the courtyard and at the actual "Casting" site. The same procedure was followed in a "gTor-rgyab" ritual described by Nebesky-Wojkowitz (1975: p. 497-498), and it may be that the text was summarising a standard practice. First in the courtyard, the mchod-dpon provided the Black Hat dancer with the goblet filled with tea and grain, and the dance was performed with the textual and musical accompaniment as on the tenth day. The goblet was also similarly refilled. Then, there was a procession to the place where the gtor-ma was to be cast, the Black Hat bla-ma following men carrying the gTor-ma and weapons, and with his right arm stretched out, he pointed ahead with his right hand

in which he held the phur-bu. The other monks and spectators walked behind. Once everyone was assembled on the main road leading from the village, at the place overlooking the cremation grounds, where the cone-shaped "hom-khung" of sticks and grasses had been constructed, the gSer-skyems was repeated.

Another dance was then done, while the monastery' slob-dpon (Master of Ritual) chanted the verses from the sMad-las text (p. 11-11b) in which rDo-rje Gro-lod generates masses of wrathful emanations for the purpose of Casting the gTor-ma. This was followed by various "Weapon dances" ("Zor-'chams") : as each verse was recited, the Black Hat bla-ma danced, holding the appropriate weapon, and then throwing it. After he had cast the main gTor-ma, he remained still, making hand gestures (mudrā), and meditating on the Protection Maṇḍala. He then accompanied the monks to the monastery's main gateway within which an offering to the "Established Ancient Protectresses" ("brTan-ma") was made, followed by the "dance" of subduing ("bro-brdung")⁽¹³⁾. For this, he made subduing madrās with his phur-bu while the usual recitations and ritual activities were performed by the other monks. Finally, as the mchod-dpon went ahead to open the temple doors and the other monks stood by in the courtyard, he danced back to the temple performing the "Dance of Return" ("Log-'chams"), the final dance in the set of four.

On the tenth day, the dancers proceeded quite rapidly around the courtyard for the fourth dance; the movements are not in any way boisterous, but most of the steps lead straight around the arena. The whole dance is performed to the beat of four, played on the cymbals, accompanied by the horns. The basic steps are three sideways steps to the left, with the right leg lifted to the left on the fourth count, and then after swirling around, three sideways steps to the right, with the left leg lifted to the right on the fourth count. They swirl around again and repeat the sideways steps to the left, and then do four hops forward to the same beat. Finally, they lift up and sway their arms together across the front of their bodies. With the fourth movement, they turn and begin the sequence again, with some minor variations each time. As they completed the circuit around the courtyard, one dancer returned to the temple after each sequence of movements. The music and the speed of the movements gradually quickened as the last few dancers moved back to the temple.

The significance of this "Dance of Return" was explained to me as simply representing the "return" to the temple. Certainly, the dance is a return of the temple, or from the meditation perspective, a return to the Dharmadhātu sphere. However, "log" may also signify reversal as well

as returning. In one of bDud-'joms Rin-po-che's texts on rDo-rje Gro-lod,⁽¹⁴⁾ the deity is described as making the postures of a "log-'chams", which could imply that he reverses or inverts the worldly "dance" of the emotions. This idea of reversal would seem to fit the final Black Hat dance, since from my observation of the steps (above), it is clear that it involves turning in one direction, dancing, and then turning around and dancing in the other direction.

CONCLUSION

At the rNying-ma-pa monastery in Rewalsar, the Black Hat dance is made up of four separate dances, which are performed in the same order in the context of two different ritual occasions. In both cases, the first three dances are preparatory to the main ritual which follows — on the twenty-ninth day, the Casting of the gTor-ma, and on the tenth day, the Dance of the Guru's Eight Aspects. Although these rituals are completely different, the Black Hat dances in which the Vajra Master demonstrates the presence of Realisation and the purification of the outer and inner environment, are an equally appropriate foundation. The final dance completes the Black Hatted bla-mas' ritual activities, but on the twenty-ninth day, when the entire Casting ritual is performed by the one Black Hat "Vajra Master", this is only done after the main ritual, while on the tenth day, the main dances of Guru Padma's emanations follow.

The first three dances establish the presence of Enlightenment and generate the power of its activities. The fourth dance both completes the sequence of these foundation dances, and is perhaps also directed at symbolically transforming experience, and in particular in the context of 'chams, perception. All the dances use the sense of perception to invert the normal working of the ordinary confused mind; whereas usually, sight is used to perceive objects of desire, hatred or indifference, here, it is used to engender an experience — if only a glimpse — of the display of the Enlightened Mind⁽¹⁵⁾.

NOTES

- (1) Fieldwork on which this paper is based was conducted from 1981-1983, at Rewalsar in Himachal Pradesh, India, funded by the Social Science Research Council, London. Further information can be found in Cantwell, 1989.
- (2) IND1 = This is a general point which writers from Robertson Smith (1894) to Maurice Bloch (1986) have made — for one example from the Tibetan Buddhist tradition, see Robert Mayer, 1991.

- (3) The Guru mTshan brgyad 'chams, for example, derives from the visions of Guru Chos-dbang (1212-70) and has been passed on without any dependence on a dance manual, since that time (see Cantwell, forthcoming).
- (4) Khampa Gar Monastery, District Kangra, H.P. I observed the 'chams which takes place from the ninth to the eleventh days of the second Tibetan month in April 1982. The monastery's booklet, n.d., "Garcham", contains further information.
- (5) Here, I use the word "mythical" in the anthropological sense, to refer not to a false account, but rather one which regardless of historical validity, has an important symbolic value.
- (6) In his account of dPal gyi rDo-rje's assassination of the "anti-Dharma" king Glang Dar-ma (Norbu & Turnbull, 1976 : p. 173-4), Thubten Jigme Norbu is explicit that the King was attending a Black Hat dance in which the Buddhist monk participates in order to disguise himself and his purpose. Thus, he has the opportunity to shoot the King, and on escaping, he turns the black cloak inside out, revealing its white inner colour.
- (7) Wrathful herukas are sometimes depicted with five types of snake adornments, which are said to overcome aversion.
- (8) See C. Cantwell, 1985, or for more detail, 1989 : supplementary paper, "The Ritual which expels all negativities".
- (9) See C. Cantwell, forthcoming. This paper also contains information on the general tradition and meaning of 'chams.
- (10) The following accounts are based on observation in 1982.
- (11) bDud-'joms 'Jigs-bral Ye-shes rDo-rje : "bDud-'dul dbang-drag rdo-rje gro-lod kyi smad-las rdo-rje'i thog-char" : p. 3, line 4 — p. 3b, line 3.
- (12) "mThu" : This word of "power" has the sense of a power of an inherent nature, an innate energy (see Das, 1970, p. 600).
- (13) bDud-'joms 'Jigs-bral Ye-shes rDo-rje, "bDud-'dul dbang-drag rdo-rje gro-lod kyi las-byang dngos-grub 'dod-'jo" : p. 10.
- (14) bDud-'joms 'Jigs-bral Ye-shes rDo-rje : "bDud-'joms khrag-'thung padma'i srog-sgrub zab-mo ithi" : line 2.

- (15) I have written at greater length on the spectator's viewpoint see Cantwell, forthcoming, or 1989, Section 5.2.3.5.

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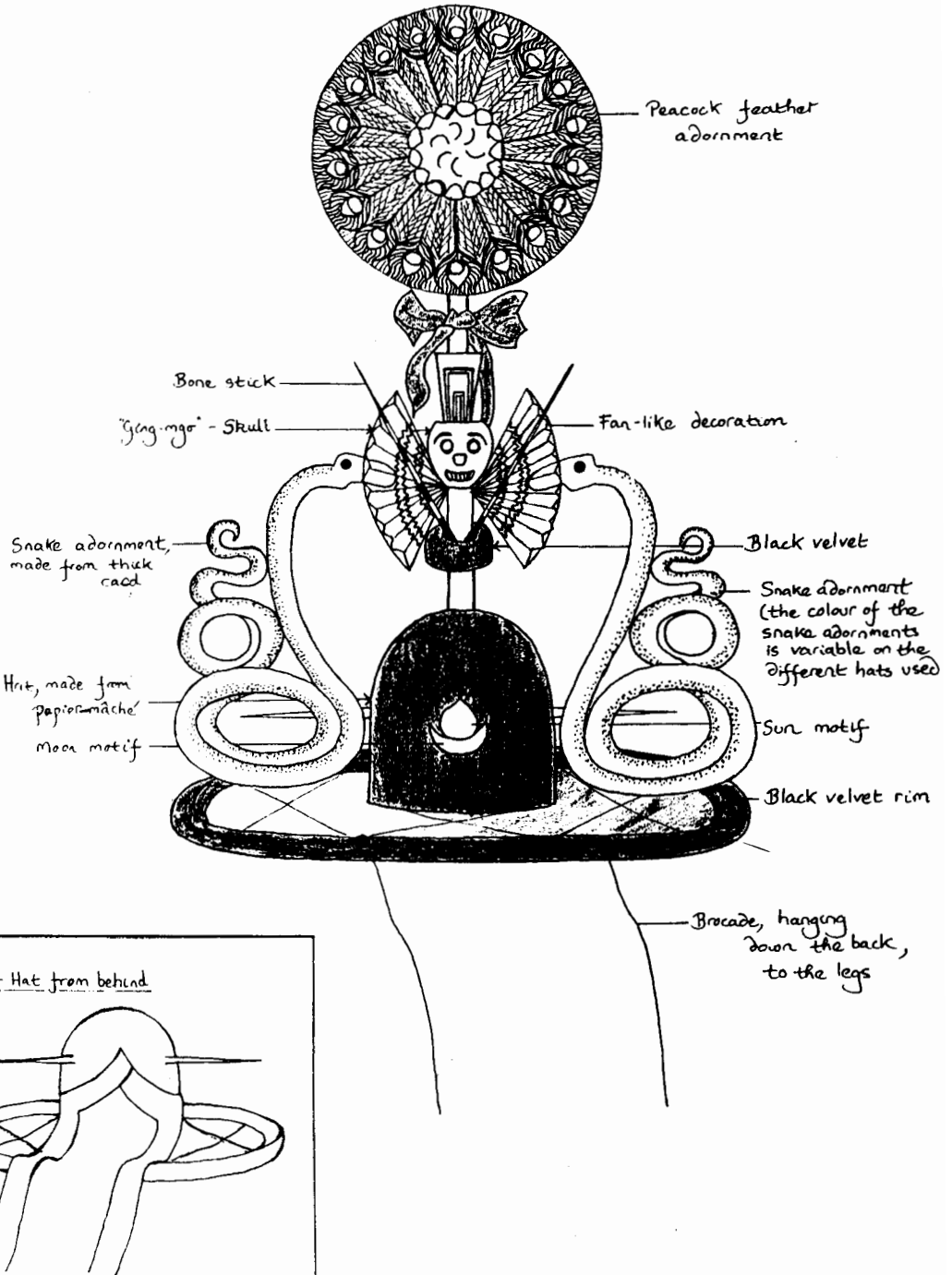
bDud-'jom 'Jigs-bral Ye-shes rDo-rje ; From collected texts on rDo-rje Gro-lod (printed in Manali, H.P., India) :

"bDud-'joms khrag-'thung padma'i srog-sgrub zab-mo ithi".

"bDud-'dul dbang-drag rdo-rje gro-lod kyi smad-las rdo-rje'i thog-char".

"bDud-'dul dbang-drag rdo-rje gro-lod kyi las-byang dngos-grub 'dod-'jo".

A Black Hat (Zhva nag)



OUR THREE MAJOR ART PUBLICATIONS

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ASPECTS OF THE HISTORY OF THE PRAYER WHEEL

– Marianne Winder

The word "prayer wheel" in English is a double misnomer. What is inside are not prayers but mantras. This mistake is due to early Western travellers not having known what mantras were. The use of the word "wheel" is probably due to a literal translation from the Tibetan where 'Khor-lo' means something turning round but not necessarily a wheel. The German word *Gebetmühle* 'prayer mill' approximates its meaning better than the English 'wheel'. Pallas at the turn from the 18th to the 19th century uses *Gebettrommel* 'prayer drum 1) and *Bettrommel* (same meaning) for the large prayer wheel and *Gebetmü(h)le* 'prayer mill' for the hand-held prayer wheel. 2) Klaproth in 1814 uses *Betzylinder*. 3) The English translation uses "prayer wheel". 4) James Bell in 1832 calls it a "Prayer mill". 5)

There are two types of prayer wheels : the large one moved by means of a handle or gently pushing hands, by the wind, water power or hot air, and the small hand-held one which is twirled round and kept in motion by a chain 6) or leather strap with a metal globe or cube at the end which balances the movement in such a way that it continues beyond the original impetus. This chain with its globe is called in Western technology a 'governor'. 7)

The idea for the large prayer wheel is usually thought to go back to a Chinese invention : the octagonal revolving book case to hold all volumes of the *Tripitaka* together. Mention of a revolving octagonal repository for the Chinese Buddhist canon contemporary to the event seems to occur in an inscription on a stele bearing a date/equivalent to January 16, 823 CE, which in 1942 was seen housed at the Pei-lin monastery in Hsi-an. 8). In 836 one such book case is mentioned at the Nan-Chhan Temple in Suchow which had a braking device to stop the rotation. Therefore it is clear it was intended to take volumes out and read them. 9) The evidence for the building of revolving repositories for books in the 8th and 9th centuries is meager. By the 11th century the evidence is abundant. One reason for this may be the printing of the Chinese Buddhist canon between 971 and 983, which placed the whole range of sacred Buddhist literature within the reach of any monastery of importance. (Goodrich, n. 8, l.c., p. 137.) The fact that in modern

Mongolia certain large prayer cylinders are octagonal suggests that in Central Asia such devices which contain mantras were inspired by the revolving book-cases. 10)

Another pointer in this direction is a legend told by Bunyiu Nanjio in the introduction to his Catalogue : " The plan (in a Japanese edition of the Buddhist canon of 1681 of a large eight-angled book-case made to revolve round a vertical axis) is said to have been invented in A. D. 544 by a celebrated Chinese layman named Fu Hhi (sic), commonly known as Fu Tash (sic) or the *Māhāsattva*. ... He is said to have thought, that if any pious person could touch such a book-case containing the whole of the *Tripitaka*, and make it revolve once, he would have the same merit as if he had read the whole Collection." 11)

It would be interesting to determine from Tibetan records when the large prayer barrels filled with mantras were first mentioned. They seem to be a Tibetan invention which subsequently spread all over the regions of Central Asia wherever Tibetan Buddhism flourished. By the 12th century the Chinese Buddhists seem to have adapted to their use of book-cases the idea of gaining merit by turning cylinders containing sacred writings. According to Yeh Meng-tê who died in 1148, in six or seven out of ten temples one could hear the sound of revolving cases turning. Lynn White 12) concludes that this was not the result of increased scholarly activity but an attempt at what he calls 'mechanised piety'. To the untutored Western mind it may indeed seem unworthy of true religious feeling if prayers or sentences reminding of a spiritual reality are constantly repeated, let alone not by oneself but by a mechanical device. The passage in the New Testament, "But when ye pray use not vain repetitions as the heathen do : for they think that they shall be heard for their much speaking" was assuming that the devotee wanted to emphasise a petitionary prayer expressing a wish by repetition which may perhaps have been the case at the time are circumstance when this injunction came into being. But the Roman Catholic Church later introduced the repetition of the Lord's Prayer and of "Hail Mary" together with the rosary which itself had been a Buddhist meditation aid long before a dream revealed to St. Dominic that it would be useful. Repetition with the help of a rosary needs concentration of mind, and therefore the mind during the practice cannot dwell on trivial everyday things. The purpose of the prayer wheel in any form is that of pulling the mind back to the spiritual sphere of life, even during everyday activities. Even if it is not pushed by a human hand and driven by water, wind or hot air, as we shall see later, it is seen turning by passing pilgrims and people going about their business. A prayer wheel turned by the wind can stand in

quite a lonely place on mountain sides but even if nobody ever sees it, it brings merit to the person who built it. The circular movement in itself is symbolical of the apparent motion of the sun 13) or, in modern terms the circular movement of the earth. It reminds the followers of Buddhism of the first turning of the wheel of the Dharma at the Buddha's first sermon in the Deer Park of Varanasi and the other two turnings initiating the *Mahāyāna* and the *Vajrayāna*. It may also be felt by practitioners to reflect the turning of wheels in the body as taught in Yoga and Tibetan medicine, but the prayer wheel belongs chiefly to the popular sphere of worship like the ceremony of circumambulation which goes back to early times of Buddhism in India and South East Asia. Western psychologists warn that constant repetition of a mantra may lead to self-hypnosis and trance but there are beneficial trances like the *jhānas* gone into after training, and harmful trances where the balance of the mind may be upset. This depends on the capabilities and past experience of individuals and the guidance they receive and accept. In the case of the prayer wheel, the rotation of the long strips of a repeated mantra pasted together, with which a deity is specially associated, is assumed to activate the power of sound 14), a tradition inherited from Hinduism.

Neither the earliest date for the large barrel prayer wheel, some of them 30 to 40 feet high and 15 to 20 feet wide (Zwalf, n. 14, *ibid.*, pp. 86-87) nor the earliest appearance of the hand-held cylinder-shaped prayer wheel have been determined in Western language literature. When are they first depicted on sculptures and in early frescoes or other paintings? When do they appear first in state records or in liturgical or epic literature?

While the revolving book-case may have been one inspiration, the prayer wheel driven by the wind is found in Tibet before the vertical-axle windmill reaches Europe. In Tibet windmills are used only for prayer. The first application of wind-power to prayer cylinders is entirely obscure (to Western research). Windmills are not found in China before the late 13th century and are solely applied to pumping or to hauling canal boats over locksides. 15) It is possible that the idea for using wind power for rotating prayer cylinders was inspired by the use of prayer flags fluttering in the wind and bearing religious messages in areas where shamanism and Bon had been practised at an early time. 16)

In Europe, the first vertical-axle windmill appears as a sketch in the unpublished notebook of the Italian engineer Mariano Jacopo Taccola datable 1438-1450 CE. 17) The European windmill before this was turning round a horizontal axle slightly tipped to one side and was

probably inspired by the geared horizontal-axle watermill. (Lynn White Jr., n. 7, l.c., p.519.) The likelihood that Taccola's device with a vertical axle was in fact of Tibetan origin is confirmed by the appearance in Italian art at the time, of such motifs as the Dance of Death. 18) and the bat's wings of demons and devils from 13th century European paintings onwards. H.I. Horwitz and Berthold Laufer 19) have described Tibetan prayer drums with curved wind-vanes preserved in Western museums. Nowadays, the Savonius S-rotor which provides air conditioning in the form of the twirling ventilators on the roofs of motor-vans and refrigerated railway wagons are the lineal descendants of these.

Horizontal water wheels were also applied to rotate prayer cylinders in Tibet while water power had never been applied to revolving book cases in China. (Joseph Needham, n. 15, l.c., vol. IV, part 2, p. 552). Mongolian nomads in some cases used hot air to turn prayer cylinders in the draught above the fire place in their tents.

As often happens with inventions, the larger item is later followed by a smaller form of it as in the case of the clock and the watch or the cannon and the rifle, and subsequently the rifle and the pistol. The essential innovation in the hand-held prayer cylinder (Lynn White, n. 10, l.c., p. 49) which revolves on a pin stuck loosely into a handle, with a ring of shell or ivory between cylinder and handle (Zwalf, n. 14, l.c., 87) is a heavy ball or cube attached to the side of the cylinder by a chain, a cord or a leather strap which sets up a centrifugal momentum when the cylinder is turned on its axis. This device which maintains the rotation is called a 'governor' in modern technology. In the 1420s in Europe, Western technicians were much concerned with devices for helping mechanical crank motion over the "dead spot". This led to the exploration of possible forms of governors. In the drawing of a compound crank and connecting rod found in the manuscript of the work of an Italian painter and engineer, from between 1482 and 1501, a ball-and-chain governor on exactly the Tibetan model is found. (Lynn White, n. 10, l.c., p. 49). The painter was Francesco di Giorgio Martini (1439-1501) who was also military engineer at the court of Federigo, Duke of Urbino, the most famous condottiere, that is, military and city leader of his age. The manuscript in the Biblioteca Nazionale in Florence 20) is a version of Giorgio's *Trattato de architettura civile a militare* ("Treatise on civil and military architecture") which had formerly been part of the Strozzi Collection, 21) The mechanism in the sketch shows a flywheel with four spokes and four balls (governors) attached to them by short chains tautened by the centrifugal force. It was made use of for such things as,

How did the Tibetan hand-held prayer wheel reach 15th century Italy ? According to Lynn White (n. 10, i.c., p. 50) the answer is to be found in the slave trade which built up a population of thousands of so-called Tartar slaves in every major Italian city and reached its apogee in the middle of the 15th century. In the Italian records of the 15th century and later the word 'Tartar' was used loosely for the inhabitants of Central Asia, and generally for Mongolian invaders of countries to the West of Central Asia. A branch of the Mongolian tribes actually called 'Tartars' came to the Crimea during the Mongol invasion in the 13th century, 22) In the 14th and 15th century two Crimean sea-ports specially were colonies of Genua and Venice respectively; Caffa, later called Feodosiya, and Tana. Tana, at the mouth of the river Don near the modern Azov, was the gateway to the Far East and to the Chinese silk trade. In these cities, though slaves of many nations were being sold, the greatest number of them were from Buddhist Central Asia. Amongst them, the largest number came from the regions bordering Tibet and China on the north. 23) Some had been captured by pirates, some had been prisoners of war and some had been sold by their own families, the way children in Thailand are still being sold by poor families today. They were transported from Central and Western Asia to the Black Sea ports. There were many more women than men amongst them, and the majority ranged from eleven to twenty five years of age. Lynn White says : "Thus they brought with them detailed memories of their distant homeland." But in order that the principle of the hand-held prayer wheel should be transmitted to their Italian owners surely memories would not be sufficient : at least one actual prayerwheel must have been brought by a Mongolian to Italy. If it was true that all of them "came to the slave market almost naked" 24), then they would have been clothed in rags and hardly allowed to carry any possessions with them. However, if they could have carried anything at all one can well imagine that they would have carried the prayer wheel for their protection. Also, some slaves, perhaps sons and daughters of chieftains, may have been taken and sold with good clothes and a few possessions which may have increased their value. While most of them were employed to do domestic work, some became concubines, and some were observed by visitors acting as playmates for the little Florentine merchant princes. 25)

Another possibility is that Marco Polo had brought a prayer wheel to Venice. The fact that this is not mentioned in the account of his travels might be due to the person who wrote down what he told of his adventures not being interested in religious and art objects. In his last will in 1328, Marco Polo decreed that his slave who had been baptised Pietro should be freed and be made a Venetian citizen. It was the custom

with all slaves that their own names were replaced by Christian ones. If Pietro had accompanied Marco Polo from Central Asia he certainly could have brought his prayer wheel with him, and after his death it could have come into the possession of a wealthy Italian like Filippo Strozzi in Florence or the Duke of Urbino who might have kept it in their collections of curios. Seeing it one day could have inspired Francesco di Giorgio Marini's drawing which became seminal for Western technology.

NOTES

1. Peter Simon Pallas, *Sammlungen zur politischen, physikalischen und moralischen Geschichte der mongolischen völkerschaften*, St. Petersburg, vol. 2, p. 304
2. *ibid.* p. 335.
3. Julius von Klaproth, *Reise in den Kaukasus und nach Georgien*, Berlin, Hallisches Waisenhaus, vol. 1, 1812, p. 108.
4. *idem*, *Travels in the Caucasus and Georgia performed in the years 1807 and 1808*, London, Henry Colburn, 1814 translated by F. Shoberl, chapter 8.
5. James Bell, *A system of popular and scientific geography*, Glasgow, Fullerton and Blackie, 1832, vol. 5, p. 403.
6. John Lowry, *Tibetan art*, London, Victoria and Albert Museum, 1973, p. 79 and illus. 34.
7. Lynn White jr., Tibet, India and Malaya as sources of Western Mediaeval technology. *American Historical Review*, 1960, vol. 65, p. 520. I am indebted to Dr. Michael A. Sutton of the Newcastle upon Tyne Polytechnic for having drawn my attention to Lynn White's remarks on the subject.
8. L. C. Goodrich, The revolving book-case in China, *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 1942, vol. 7, p. 133.
9. S. Levi and E. Chavannes, Quelques titres énigmatiques dans la hiérarchie ecclésiastique du Bouddhisme indien. *Journal Asiatique*, 11th series, vi, 1915, p. 308.

10. Lynn White jr., *Mediaeval religion and technology*, University of California Press, 1978, p. 86 quoting L. C. Goodrich, l.c., p. 161, n. 59.
11. Nanjio, *Catalogue of the Chinese translation of the Buddhist Tripitaka*, London, 1883, pp. 131-132, 137.
12. Lynn White jr. *Mediaeval technology and social change*, Oxford University Press, 1964 reprint of 1962 ed, p. 86.
13. William Simpson, *The history of the praying [sic] wheel*, London, Macmillan, 1896, p. 3.
14. W. Zwalf, *Heritage of Tibet*, London, British Museum, 1981, p. 87.
15. Joseph Needham, *Science and civilisation in China*. vol. 1, 1954, p. 245.
16. H. T. Horwitz, Ueber das Aufkommen, die erste Entwicklung und die Verbreitung von Windrädern. *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Technik und Industrie*, Berlin, 1933, vol. 22, p. 99.
17. Arturo Uccelli, *Storia della tecnica*. Milan, 1945, fig. 28. The original manuscript is in the Munich State Library, Cod. lat. 197, fol. 87r.
18. Jurgis Baltrušaitis, *Le Moyen Âge fantastique : antiquités et exotisme dans l'art gothique*, Paris, Armand Colin, 1955, p. 247.
19. Berthold Laufer, "The noria or Persian wheel", in *Oriental studies in honour of Cursetji Erachji Pavey*, ed. A. V. W. Jackson, Oxford, 1933, p. 238.
20. Codice Magliabecchiano, MS II, I, 141, fol. 96r. See Francesco di Giorgio Martini, *Trattato di architettura civile e militare*, edited by Corrado Maltese, Milano, Il Polifilo, 1967, volume II, plate 327, description on pages 501-502.
21. Allen Stuart Weller, *Francesco di Giorgio*, Chicago, 1943, pp. 268 and 271-2.
22. The Crimea Tartars were deported from there in 1944 by the then Soviet Union for alleged collaboration with the Germans who had occupied the Crimea from 1942 to May 1944. The Tartars were exonerated in 1967.

23. V. Lazari, "Del traffico e delle condizione degli schiavi in Venezia nei tempi di mezzo" in *Miscellanea di storia Italiana*, volume 1, 1862, pp. 470-471.
24. Leonard Olschki, "Asiatic exoticism in Italian art of the Early Renaissance. *Art Bulletin*, 1944, vol. 26, p. 105.
25. Iris Origo, "The domestic enemy. The Eastern slaves in Tuscany in the 14th and 15th centuries. *Speculum*, 1955, vol. 30, p. 321.

NOTES & TOPICS

The concept of Dharmaraja has great significance not only in ancient Indian history but also in Tibetan history as they are known as Chos-rgyal. The concept of the phrase has been taken from Brahmanical and Buddhist literature. It was introduced in Tibetan literature through the dissemination of Buddhism and translation of scriptures from Sanskrit in 7th – 8th C. A.D.

In general the word Dharmarāja means the king who protects his subject and rules according to Buddhist tenets/Chos. The recognition of the Chos-rgyal began during the reign of Srong-btsan sgam-po, i.e., 7th century. But even earlier during the period of Thi-ri Nyan-tsen there was no bar on using the phrase Chos-rgyal since the phrase was used in the Kadam Legbum and in the biography of Sonam Chogden written by the Fifth Dalai Lama. But the usage of the phrase was greater during the reign of Srong-btsan sgam-po since Buddhism flourished during this period.

As noted in the famous Tibetan phrase 'Chos-rgyal mid-dbang rnam-gsum' the designation of 'Chos-rgyal' had been put to a regular use from the time of three distinguished rulers of Tibet, i.e., Srong-btsan sgam-po, Thri-srong lde-btsan and Ral-pa-can onwards.

In general the Chos-rgyals are regarded as the reincarnation of Bodhisattvas such as Avalokiteshvara and Samantabhadra, etc. The reason for the Bodhisattvas to be reborn as kings is because of the fact that the Tibetan people greatly respected their kings and as such the position and power of kings was used to propagate the Chos among the subjects. This fact has been reflected also in the Kadam Legbum and other books such as the Blue Annals and the Biography of the IVth Dalai Lama Yonten Gyatso written by the Vth Dalai Lama.

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