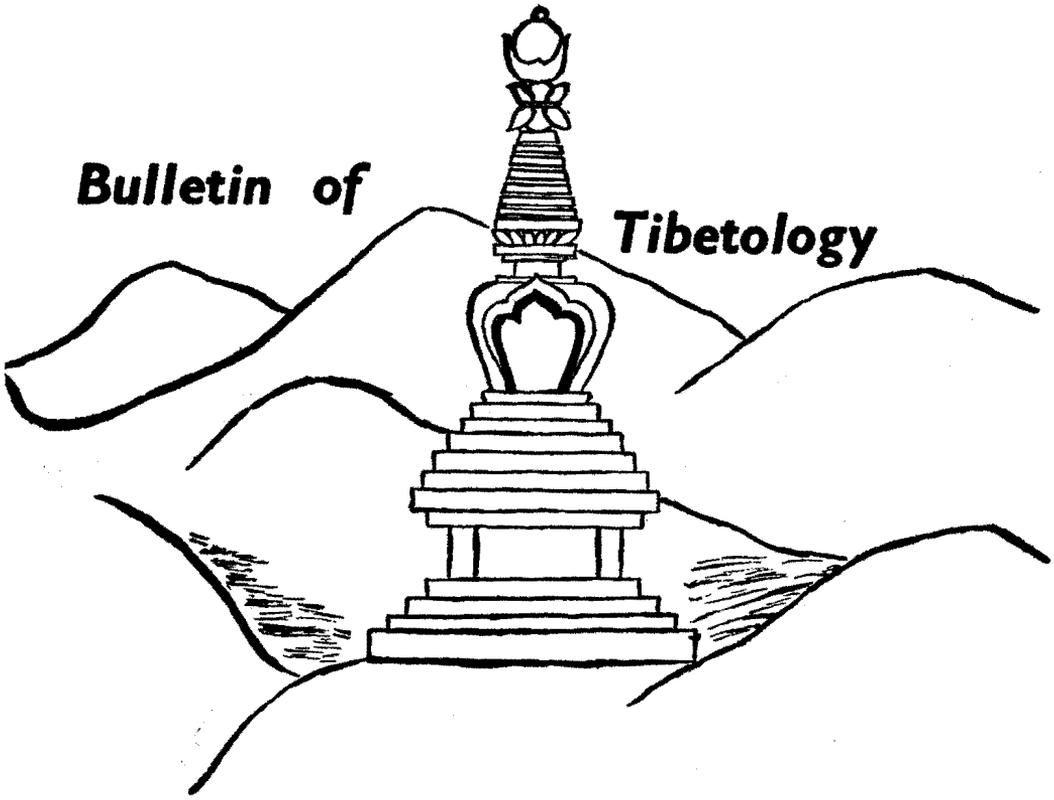


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GANGTOK, SIKKIM

—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

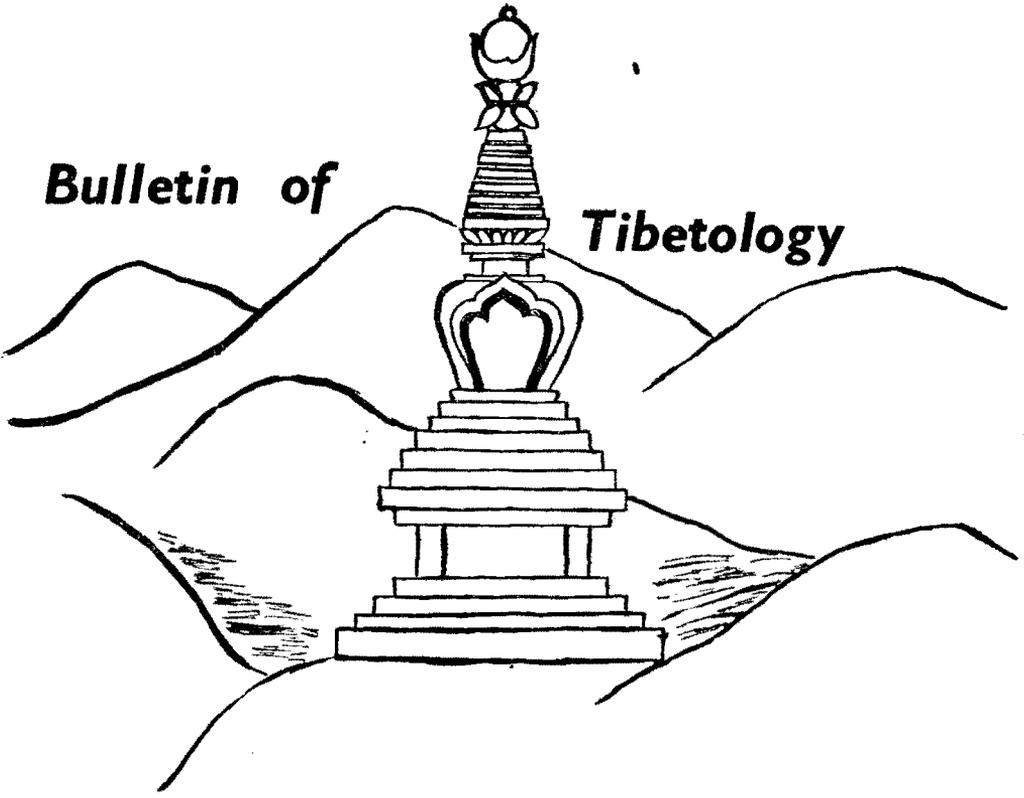
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MASTERS OF HEALING

—TONI SCHMID

I

A set of twelve scrolls illustrating the Art of Healing used to be exposed in the fourth hall of the Yung-ho-kung temple of Peking.¹ Two copies of the set reached the West 1938.² One copy is now in the possession of the University of California; it is complete. The other copy is kept in the Ethnographical Museum of Stockholm; two scrolls are missing. The Californian copy was recently reproduced by Bayer, Leverkusen, in colours, and with an introduction by Ilza Veith.³

Some months ago I had the opportunity to visit the Yung-ho-kung temple of Peking. The hall of the sMan-bla or Medicine-Buddha seemed intact and well kept. There was a set of scrolls of the same pattern but containing only ten scrolls. They were not in good condition.

The scrolls display the human body and its anatomy as well as a number of instruments used in chirurgical operations. In addition they show medicinal plants and foodstuffs, also the way in which they are prepared. There are pictures of cows being milked, butter being churned, curd and cheese being prepared. Each item is provided with an inscription in Tibetan.

At the top of two scrolls, III and VI in Bayer's edition, are rows of holy personages, designed as such by the nimbus around each head. These two scrolls could not be found in Peking.

Already (1910) one scroll practically identical with number III of our set had been published by E. H. C. Walsh who called it an "anatomical chart".⁴ He could consult a Tibetan physician then resident in Darjeeling about it. This physician came from the medical college on the lCags-po-ri near Lhasa. From him Walsh learnt that the original of the chart was the one used in the lCags-po-ri lamasery, and that the students were permitted to have copies made.

Consequently the material now mentioned consists of copies only. As the lCags-po-ri lamasery is said to have been destroyed there is not much hope ever to get access to any original.

Several questions present themselves. When was the original executed? Was the whole set executed at the same time? Where and for whom was the set made? What can we learn about the tradition it represents?

If we compare Walsh's chart with our number III the whole lay-out as well as most details are exactly the same. Some differences exist. The seat of the most conspicuous person, for instance, is much more elaborate in the chart. The backing is similar to some backings in the series of Dalai Lamas and former incarnations of Avalokitesvara in the Ethnographical Museum of Stockholm. Inscriptions, too, show differences so the chart has—correctly—"chad" (measure) while the copy from Peking has "chan". Details in the subscriptions and iconographical details will be dealt with later on. On the whole the chart seems to preserve pictures and inscriptions closer to the original than the copies from Peking. Possibly the chart was copied directly from the original. The Peking Copies were, at best, a copy of a copy.

Twenty four holy men are painted at the top of the two scrolls, twelve in each row. There are no gods or goddesses or other females among them. Each person is provided with an inscription. In the order of the Tibetan alphabet these inscriptions are :

1. skyes pa che 'bum 'chi gsos gco ལྷུ་ལ་ཚེ་འབུམ་འཛེ་གསོལ་གཙོ་
2. khra chan blo mchog rdo rje zabs བླ་རྩ་ཚོ་མོ་གཙོ་ཇི་ལའགས་
3. mkhan chen sakya dban phyug zabs མཁའ་ཚེ་ལ་ཤུག་རབ་དང་ལྷུ་གཤམས་
4. mkhas mchog bsod nams rgyal po'i mchan མཁའ་ལ་མ་ག་
བསོད་ནམས་རྒྱལ་པོའི་མཚན་
5. mkhas dban byar po panchen zabs མཁའ་དབང་བྱུང་པོ་པཎ་ཚེ་ན་ལའགས་
6. gans can mgon gcig thams cad mkhyen གངས་ཚན་གཅིག་གཤམས་ཅད་མཁྱེན་
7. gas 'jin yun bzan dban po'i zabs གཤམ་འཇིག་ཡུན་བཟང་དབང་པོའི་ལའགས་
8. glin stod blo bzan rgya mcho'i dpal ལྷིང་སྟོད་བཟང་རྒྱལ་མཚོའི་དཔལ་
9. snags chan bsod nams rgyal mchan zabs རྩལ་གསལ་འབུམ་
བསོད་ནམས་རྒྱལ་མཚོ་ན་ལའགས་

10. *nams rtogs mna' ba sman sgom pa* རྒྱལ་མཚན་ལུ་མཚན་ལུ་མཚན་ལུ་མཚན་ལུ་
11. *bstan pa'i bdag po sarbajanag* བསྐྱེད་པའི་བདག་པོ་འཇུག་ལུ་
12. *dran sron bstan 'jin rgyal po'i mchan* དང་ལྷོང་བསྐྱེད་པའི་རྒྱལ་པོའི་མཚན་ལུ་
13. *dran sron bstan 'jin rgyal po'i zabs* དང་ལྷོང་བསྐྱེད་པའི་རྒྱལ་པོའི་ལུང་ལུ་
14. *sprul sku gter bdag glin pa'i zabs* ལྷུ་སྐུ་གཏོར་བདག་གླིང་པའི་ལུང་ལུ་
15. *byan nos mkhas dban dar rgyas zabs* བྱང་སོ་མཁའ་འདུལ་ལུ་
16. *man thos zla ba'i dban po'i mchan* མང་ལོ་སྐྱེད་པའི་དབང་པོའི་མཚན་ལུ་
17. *zur khar mnam nid rdo rje'i zabs* ལུང་མཚན་ལུ་མཚན་ལུ་ལུང་ལུ་
18. *zur mkhyen gzon nu don grub zabs* ལུང་མཚན་ལུ་གཞིན་ལུ་རྩིས་ལུ་ལུང་ལུ་
19. *zur chos dbyins sar grol* ལུང་ལུ་མཚན་ལུ་མཚན་ལུ་
20. *zur rigs 'jin nag dban phun chogs chogs mchan* ལུང་ལུ་རྒྱལ་པོའི་མཚན་ལུ་
21. *rin sdins blo bzan rgya mcho'i dpal* རིན་ལྗོངས་ལུ་བཟང་ལུ་མཚན་ལུ་ལུང་ལུ་
22. *rin sdins blo bzan rgyal po'i dpal* རིན་ལྗོངས་ལུ་བཟང་ལུ་མཚན་ལུ་ལུང་ལུ་
23. *gsan chen bstan pa'i rgyal mchan zabs* ཀམ་ཅན་བསྐྱེད་པའི་རྒྱལ་པོའི་མཚན་ལུ་
24. *srid zi'i gcug can thams cad mkhyen* སྤོང་ཟིའི་གཅུག་ཅན་མཚན་ལུ་མཚན་ལུ་མཚན་ལུ་

Also the backings of the seats in scroll H. 5755 in the same museum show this pattern.

In the two rows at the top of the scrolls they are distributed as follows:

chart and scroll III

16 21 12 15 10 2 11 3 4 22 13 8

scroll VI

7 19 6 18 23 9 20 14 24 17 1 5

The differences in the inscriptions between the chart and scroll III are: 2 has "rdo rje'i" instead of "rdo rje", 11 spells "sarvajna" (सर्वज्ञ) instead of "sarbajanag" (सर्वजानग) and 22 has "rgya mcho'i dpal" instead of "rgyal po'i dpal". The chart seems to have the better spelling.⁷

Iconographically there are but a few differences between the chart and scroll III: 11 the much more elaborate seat of the chart, 10 the mudra of the right hand, minor details of the dress for instance 3 and 21, the water jar behind 13 is much more like a water jar in the chart than in the scroll. Preference seems to be due to the chart.

As to the identification of the twenty-four persons the name alone is not always a safe guarantee. There may be several men known by the same name, there may be whole lines of incarnations with the same name reiterated. A life-story (rnam thar) would provide certainty. A title and the place from where he comes may make us reasonably sure.⁸

Two of them, 8 and 19, seem to be recorded in the annals called Re'u-mig.⁹ The first is said to have been born 1589. Glin-stod is one of the two lamaseries into which the older single lamasery Ne'u-thog was divided.¹⁰ The later, 19, is said to have lived 1603-1656. The name given in the annals is certainly the better: Chos-dbyins-ran-grol. "ran" may easily be mistaken for "sar" by a scribe. The former has no books in the chart but several books are seen behind him in the scroll. The later, 19, holds a book in his left hand.

A third name, 3, is found in the so called Blue Annals (Deb-ther snon-po). Here the man is said to have been the venerated teacher of the authour 'Gos-lo, and the pupil of Yon-tan sen-ge, sBa and Rag.¹¹ The chart and scroll III show him at the left side of the central figure. In the chart he is more fully dressed. The mudra is the same. He wears no headgear and carries no attribute.

We may find a fourth name, 17, among the eminent physicians enumerated by Sum-pa mkhan-po in a small chapter of his great work. The chapter is dedicated to the development of the medical science.¹² It is a man from Zur-khar. W. Filchner and W. A. Unkrig mention a lamasery Zur-mkhar in Mongolia famous for its medical studies.¹³ The lama carries no attribute.

A fifth name, 2, may be found in one of the rnam-thar brought from Tibet to Japan by the Japanese monk Ekai Kawaguchi.¹⁴ This person is sitting at the right side of the most conspicuous figure of the whole set, and he

is the only one wearing a red cap shaped like the yellow caps of the three personages with tables in front of them.

One would expect it an easy task to identify the three yellow-capped persons with a lotus and a table each. The white lotus is commonly carried by the bodhisattva Padmapani and his incarnations. The combination white-lotus-yellow-cap is usually the mark of a Dalai Lama who is considered an incarnation of Padmapani and belongs to the Yellow Church. The three pictures 6, 11, and 24 are very much alike, except that only 6 carries a book in his left hand. The subscribed names do, however, not correspond with the known names of Dalai Lamas. The last part of the subscriptions, thams cad mkhyen—sarvajna, is certainly in use for Dalai Lamas, though not exclusively. Even Buston is addressed as “all-knowing”.
(To be continued)

NOTES

1. Cf F. D. LESSING, Yung-ho-kung. REPORTS FROM THE SCIENTIFIC EXPEDITION TO THE NORTH—WESTERN PROVINCES OF CHINA UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF DR. SVEN HEDIN. Publication 18. VIII. Ethnography 1. Stockholm 1942,20.
2. I am indebted to the curator, professor Gosta Montell, Stockholm, for this information.
3. ILZA VEITH, Medizin in Tibet. Bayer, Leverkusen. S.a.
4. E.H.C. WALSH, The Tibetan Anatomical System.—JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY. 1910, 1215 ff. passim. —The lama-physician was residing at the Ghoom lamasery near Darjeeling.
5. Cf T. SCHMID, Saviours of Mankind I. REPORTS FROM THE etc. PUBLICATION 45. Stockholm 1961.—Cf also the picture of the eighth Dalai Lama kept in the Ethnographical Museum, Stockholm.
6. thams cad mkhyen=sarvajna—all knowing.
7. There are differences in the text of the chart and scroll III too; so the chart has correctly “mchad”—measure, where the scroll spells “Mchan”.
8. Neither Walsh nor Veith have tried to identify the persons. Yet Walsh comments on the list. He translates each name. He tells of Rin-sdins as a lamasery near Gyantse. He points out the two lamas of Rin-sdins and the two dran-sron as persons belonging to two lines of incarnations.
9. JOURNAL OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL, LVIII, 1, 74.—Hein-rich Laufer has mentioned Glin-stod-blo-bzan-rgya-mcho'i-dpal; H. LAUFER, Beitrage zur Kenntnis der tibetischen Medizin. Berlin. 1900, 13.

10. Cf G. TUCCI, Tibetan Painted Scrolls.
11. ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL. Monograph Series. Vol.VII. THE BLUE ANNALS, ed. by George N. Roerich. 1949. I, 331, II, 1085.
12. SUM-PA KHAN-PO YE CE PAL JOR, Pag sam jon zang. Ed. by Sri Sarat Chandra Das. Calcutta 1908, 139 ff.
13. R. FILCHNER, Kumbum Dschamba Ling. W. A. UNKRIG, Einführung (C.v.K. KRASINSKI, Tibetische Medizinphilosophi, 1953.)
14. JOURNAL OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL. 1903, 126.—Here the man in question is called: Nan ston khra chan pa blo gros mchog gi rdo rje. The chart as well as the Peking-copy spell the name: khra chan blo mchog rdo rje zabs.—J. SCHUBERT, rine Liste der Apta uon Kembrier. ARTIBUS ASIAE. Vol.IV—4, 220 ff, 222—223; Anm. 23.

MAHAYANA BUDDHISM IN SOUTH INDIA—SOME ASPECTS

—K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

Before giving some account of Mahayana centres in the Deccan and South India, a few words may be usefully prefaced regarding the basic differences between Mahayana and the quondam Hinayana Buddhism. The origin of Mahayana is obscure, but very ancient, much more so than is usually held. Its basis is the great idea of Deliverance being pursued not for one's own good as the Arhat did in Hinayana, but for the good of the entire sentient world: superhuman, human, and subhuman. Even Asoka had a glimpse of it when under its potent impulse he dedicated his children Mahinda and Sanghamita to the conversion of Ceylon. Even earlier, we hear, that the elder Buddhism had already created the imaginary type of the great choice between personal escape from liability to rebirth and the rescue of others from the pains and perils of the samsara in the vow of the hermit Sumedha. Far, far back in the days of the Buddha Dipankara he had realised that he might if he pleased then and there cut off the roots of life and cease to be. "But what" he thought to himself, "Would I attain deliverance alone? I will embark on the ocean of existence in a ship that will convey men and devas." By the innate force of such an idea, the welfare of others came to be preferred to individual security, and a new creed with a new discipline of ten *bhumis* was developed in the place of the eight fold path of the original faith. It is not our aim to trace this development of doctrine or the accompanying theology and mythology in detail, but will note as a landmark a beautiful legend about Dinnaga. When he followed the suggestion of the sovereign in whose dominion he was residing, and resolved to devote himself to Arhatship, the Bodhisattva 'Manjusri' himself deigned to remonstrate with him: "Alas! how have you given up your great purpose, and only fixed your mind on your own personal profit, with narrow aims, giving up the purpose of saving all!"

Mahayana proved more popular because of its ultra-altruistic ideology, by its wide range of forms for devotion and worship and above all by the levelling of the quali-

fications for its followers by opening the church alike to the monks as to the householders. By its new ethics, centring around the Boddichitta and the six paramitas (perfect virtues), namely, dana, sila, ksanti, virya, dhyana and prajna and accessibility of Bodhi-sattvahood for all, it struck a tactical victory over Hinayanism. The main difference between Hinayanism and Mahayansim, however, would be the realism of the former and the negativism or idealism of the latter. The philosophy of the creed centred around Sunyavada of which a great exposition had been given in the Madhyamika doctrine of the celebrated southern monk Acharya Nagarjuna of the Mahayana school, who should be historically placed in the middle of the 2nd century A. D. As regards worship, Mahayanists presented offerings to Tara (Prajnaparamita), Manjusri, and Avalokitesvara. The accounts of Fa-hien (c. fifth century A. D.) and Hiuen Tsang (seventh century A. D.), would tend to suggest that Hinayanism in its main schools of Sarvastivadins, Mahisasakas, Theravadins, Sammitiyas and Mahasangikas prevailed for quite some time, along with Mahayana development of the Madhyamika and Yogachara schools, and among the southern centres are named the already famous towns in the Andhra country in the Guntur area like Nagarjunakonda, Goli, Gummididuru, Ghantasala etc., and Kancipura in Tamilnad. It is interesting to note that Aryadeva who succeeded Nagarjuna, as his disciple and one of the four luminaries of India, held charge of Nalanda as its chief Abbot for many years and is said to have retired to Kanchi towards the close of his life and passed away there in the second century A. D. He wrote the treatise *Chatuhsataka*.

Buddhapalita was another Mahayana monk from the South who wrote a commentary on the Mulamadhyamika sutra of Acarya Nagarjuna. Bhava Viveka, again from the south, wrote an independent treatise called *Tarka Jvala* and essentially followed in all his works the method of Svatantrika, (direct reasoning) as different from Buddhapalita's method of Prasangika (reductio-ad-absurdum) on the lines of those of Nagarjuna and Aryadeva, in treating the thesis of Sunyata. Another Chandrakirti, also from the south, was again the Abbot of Nalanda and in his travels in the south he defeated many teachers in the Konkana tract (from where he came) and established many monasteries. Of the Yogacara scholars of Mahayana Buddhism, Vasubandhu is doubtless the most famous and had a very long career at Nalanda and counted among his pupils Dinnaga who was originally

of a Brahmana family from Kanchipuram, and wrote the *Pramanasamuccaya*, *Nyayapravesa* and *Prajnaparamitapindartha*. He lived perhaps towards the end of the fifth century A. D. or slightly later. His own disciple Dharmapala, who was also a native of Kanchi is quoted by Hiuen Tsang and Taranatha. He was also in charge of Nalanda Mahavihara.

In the Pali literature relating to the Mahayana Buddhism, the most significant era may be said to have begun with the oldest Pali grammar namely *Kaccayana Vyakarana* by Kaccayana, who was a successor to Buddhaghosha and Dhammapala. As Kaccayana seems to have utilised Kasika vritti (seventh century A. D.) the upper limit of his age is thus available. The Dipavamsa and Mahavamsa were composed during the later part of this epoch. The commentaries mention Kanchipura, Kaveripattina, Madura, Urugapura and Anuradhapura as well known centres of Pali Buddhism.

In the realm of art, the important Indian centres (leaving aside Gandhara—now in Pakistan) of such activity under the Mahayana dispensation had been around Ajanta and Ellora and Aurangabad, in the Upper Deccan, Ter, Chezarla in the lower Deccan and Lower Krishna basin, Ratnagiri in Kalingadesa and Kaveripattinam and Nagapattinam in the Tamil country. It is important to realise that the architectural forms of the main types of Buddhistic structures whether rock-cut or of brick and mortar, had been more or less alike, and comprise the Stupa, Chaitya and Vihara or Sangharama. While in the rock-cut tradition, inevitably only the facade and interior receive the greatest ornamentation, in the brick tradition, the accent is on exterior ornamentation of even more prolific motifs and elements than would have been possible on the heavier rock medium. In the last mentioned place in the Tamil land, however, the Vihara, which went by the name Chulamani vihara, enjoying the patronage of the overseas Sailendra king of Sri Vijaya (Palembang), Kataha (Kedah), by Sri Vijaya-ottungavarma, whose father's name it was, took the shape almost of a multi-storeyed Dravida temple, but without its minor turrets. This was around the second decade of the 11th century A. D. during the time of Raja Raja I. This monument was razed down by Jesuits for building their institutions in the last century.

AJANTA: This was verily one of the most glorious interludes in Buddhist art under Mahayanism in India, when the

brush and paint of the artist dedicated itself to Buddhist cause and was guided by equally persevering monks of Mahayana order, flourishing in the Vakataka kingdom, whose rainy season hibernation (Vassa-vasa) was located at Ajanta. Mahayanism considered Hinayana Arhatship inadequate and replaced it by Bodhisattvahood where guiding others to salvation is the supreme goal, engendered by a pervasive sense of humanity. Mahayanism did not certainly bother about having to import Hindu gods in its pantheon. Indra, who was already Sakra to Hinayanaism became Satamanya and Vajrapani under Mahayanism, and his world was the Trayas—trimsaloka, i. e., 33rd. Brahma's attributes were transferred to Manjusri (the god of wisdom) and Padmapani; Sarasvati continued to be a consort of the former. Padmapani is a variant of Visnu; Virupaksa, Ganesa, Sapta Tathagatas (seven sages), Mahakala, Aditya etc., were all duly gathered into the Buddhist pantheon. The five skandhas or elements that Buddhists believed in were Rupa, Vedana, Samjna, Samskara, and Vijnana. These are apotheosised into the five Dhyani Buddhas complete with their associative counterparts like Vairocana, Ratnasambhava, Amitabha, Amoghasiddhi and Aksobhya, and portray the vyakhya, varada, dhyana, abhaya and bhumisparsha mudra respectively. They have their Taras also. Maitreya or the future Buddha is in the Tusita heavens and is to descend to earth 4000 years after Gautama Buddha. He usually holds, in Indian sculpture, lotus in right hand or Dharmachakra mudra, while his left has a vase. Avalokitesvara is the Bodhisattva who reigns between the time of Gautama and Maitreya, and is said to take 108 forms all of which have been elaborated in painting in the Macchandar Vahel Vihara at Khatmandu, Nepal. Rhys Davids has remarked that "Mahayana theology is the greatest possible contradiction to the Agnostic Atheism which is the characteristic of Gautama's philosophy!"

In the Buddhist art at Ajanta, the notable and ubiquitous elements are: the Nagas; Hariti and Panchika; Buddha's meeting of Yasodhara and son Rahula; Temptation Scene of Buddha; river goddesses Ganga and Yamuna; dwarfs; Apsarases and ganas. The Jataka stories are portrayed all over the walls and repeated over and over again in many caves. The most outstanding of these Jataka tales depicted at Ajanta are Sibi Jataka and Mahajanaka Jataka, all in Cave 1 (dateable to early seventh century A.D.), and Nalagiri Jataka, Shaddanta Jataka, Visvantara Jataka, Nigrodhamiga Jataka (in Cave 17).

ELLORA : The Buddhist Caves at Ellora would seem to pertain to a period between the sixth and eighth centuries A.D. This was again an important seat of Mahayana Buddhism and with the resurgent Brahmanism in the seventh century A.D. the activity was apparently shifted to Aurangabad. The litany of Avalokitesvara in Cave No.4 (seventh century A.D.); Bodhisattva Vajrapani and the shrine of Padmapani Avalokitesvara and the sculpture of Mahamanjusri in Cave No 8; the litany of Tara in Cave No.9; the *Raktalokesvara* shrine and sculpture in Cave No.10 and 11—the latter cave also having the three Bodhisattvas Manjusri, Jnanaketu and Padmapani and what is likely to be Prajna-paramita (on the third corridor wall); the Buddha Mandala in cave No.12—the largest Buddhist excavation at Ellora—including such rare forms as *Bhrukuti*, *Chunda* and *Vajrasattva*, the sixth Dhyanī Buddha flanked by Padmapani and Vajrapani, are all the most outstanding elements of Mahayanism and what is clearly the incipient Vajrayana Buddhism at Ellora.

Ter and Chazarla were apparently the extension in Mahayana times of the Buddhist activity already set in motion under the Hinayana votaries in a good many centres in Andhrapatha of the Satakarnis and their successors in lower Krishna, as at Nagarjunakonda. These two places represent perhaps the only two extant vestiges of an almost complete apsidal brick temple which were originally dedicated to Buddhism and which by natural supercession of that creed by nascent Brahmanism, were converted to its use—at least in the case of the latter. They could perhaps be dated to the fifth-sixth centuries A.D. This temple at Chazarla is indeed of the greatest importance from the early architectural view point. The fact that the temple is called Kapotesvara and that Sibi Jataka is sacred to Buddhism makes this old Buddhist chaitya of considerable significance. Its age is supported by an inscription in the temple by Sat-Sabhamalla, the son of Avānitalantavati Mahadevi, the daughter of the king Kandara of the Ananda gotra line. This Kandara line is a rare dynasty and appears to have ruled in the Krishna area around fourth or fifth century A.D.

AURANGABAD CAVES: The Caves here, about 12 in number are, though not as impressive as those of Ajanta or Ellora, form indeed an integral stage in the devolution of the Mahayana pantheon. The litany of Avalokitesvara

and the impressive Dance scene in the Cave No.7 are perhaps the most outstanding examples of its art-expression. There is no doubt that the sculptors of these caves have already attained great control over rock-art and were at the same time caring more for self-expression than for traditional forms. The entire range of caves is dateable perhaps to the late seventh to later eighth centuries A.D. There is a Hinayana Chaitya also (Cave No.4). There is a striking representation of *Mahaparinirvana* of the Buddha in Cave No. 8 and 9.

NAGARJUNAKONDA: A study of the provenance of Buddhist sites in South India would show that there were five main ancient routes which converged in the Vengirastra and led to Kalinga, Dravida, Karnata, Maharastra and to Kosala respectively. Necessarily the lower Krishna Valley was a particularly propitious zone for the proliferation of the Buddhist creed and River Krishna (Maisolos of the Greeks) was the life giving arterial water-way that united together the trading patrons given to far flung voyages and devoted monks who annihilated distance to spread the gospel of the Buddha. The valley of Nagarjunakonda (in Guntur District) was discovered in 1936. Since then systematic salvage excavations for nearly six years from 1954 had to be undertaken to retrieve all that was historically and archaeologically valuable in the valley before leaving it to the rising catchment water level of the giant Nagarjunasagar project; the hundreds of sites of early Buddhist faith, mostly of Mahayana that dotted the valley have revealed an outstanding and new chapter in the history of Andhra Pradesh and of early Buddhism at Vijayapuri, as the city here was anciently called, and at Sri Parvata as the hill range from here to Srisailam was also perhaps called. From the scores of inscriptions that we have here (one of which would seem to be also of the time of Yajna Satakarni) which are mostly of the Ikshvaku (Ikkhaku) dynasty—the successors of the Satavahanas here—we get a glimpse of the remarkable part played by nearly half a dozen distinguished ladies of the royal house and princesses, who though their lords were patrons of Hinduism, themselves promoted the cause of Buddhism. We have names of many viharas of the various denominational sects of early Buddhism like Bahusrutiya Vihara, Mahisasaka Vihara, Chula Dharmagiri Vihara, Aparamahavinaseliya Vihara Purvaseliya Vihara, Kulaha Vihara and Simhala Vihara, not, to mention the Maha chetiya in the centre of the valley which is mentioned as holding in its bosom the corporeal relics of Lord Buddha himself.

Thousands of sculptured panels and friezes in greenish limestone were recovered from the site, giving us a continuous bas-relief narration of the life of the Buddha. The scenes are from both Buddha's life as well as from the Jatakas. Andhra stupas are distinguished by the erection of the five Ayaka pillars on the cardinal directions at the front of the drum, on the pradakshinapatha. It is these which carry inscribed records often. Inscriptions were mostly in Prakrit, but Sanskrit records were also found. One of them belonging to the fourth-fifth centuries A.D. mentions a Dharmakathika or Dharma narrator by profession who is said to have been well versed in horoscope casting and for whom the yellow flag or 'order' furnished amply.

Another inscription from a place called Jaggayyapetta in Krishna District mentions the setting up of an image of Buddha in high relief for universal beatitude, by one Chandraprabha, a pupil of Jayaprabhacharya, who in turn was a pupil of the venerable Nagarjunacharya. This Nagarjuna was obviously the later Tantric guru (Siddha Nagarjuna, who was one of the 84 Siddhas) and not the great founder of the Madhyamika school. This Nagarjuna was perhaps living in the fifth century A.D.

A third record from a place called Gummidodurru, also dateable to the fifth century A.D. which states that for the universal beatitude, has been set up an image of Bhagat (Buddha) by Sramana Rahula, pupil of Acharya Dharmadeva, who in turn was the intimate disciple of Acharya Maudgalyayana. The information on the religious life of Buddhist monks at Nagarjunakonda reveals that the Thera Vada (Vibhyya Vada) school of Ceylonese Buddhism flourished side by side with Mahayana Buddhism in the valley, although the latter was dominant.

Here was a typical stupa at Bhattipulu which is said to have been a Mahastupa enshrining a bone relic of the Master with flowers of gold and pearls in a crystal casket. Andhradesa gained a name for producing Buddhist authors of repute who learned by rote the entire canon and were known as Dharmakosakas; while the Dharmakathakas delivered learned discourses on them.

It is accepted, on all hands, that the Mahayana type became deep-rooted in the soil of central and south India. Hence, those things, associated with the concept of Buddha

as a God also grew side by side. A lofty conception of Buddha was evolved, as typified in one passage in the Nagarjunakonda inscriptions. It says that, "The Supreme Buddha, honoured by the lord of gods; omniscient, compassionate towards all sentient beings; freed from lust, hatred and delusion, which have been conquered by him; the bull and musk elephant among spiritual leaders; perfectly enlightened one, who is absorbed by the best of elements." Yet another record describes him as one, "who has shown the road to welfare and happiness to gods and men and all beings; who has conquered and put down the pride and arrogance of Mara's hosts, called lust, hunger, fear, desire, thirst, delusion and hatred; who, of great power, is possessed of the ten powers; who has set, in motion, the wheel of law pertaining to the eight-fold path; whose graceful and well formed feet are marked with the sign of the wheel; whose splendour is that of the newly risen moon; whose sight is lovely as that of the autumnal moon and who is magnified by the thought of the world."

In South India Buddhism lingered even after 1000 A.D. The records of Andhra in the 12th and 13th centuries show that the famous Amaravati stupa was still in good preservation. Provisions were made for perpetual lamps at this stupa as also in another stupa at Dipaladinne by some Brahmins, merchants, ladies and a chief of Keta family, Keta II and his relatives (A.R.E., Madras Govt. 1914-15; pp 16-17 and 104-05). Further, two records from Belgami in Shimoga District and Lakkundi in Dharwar District show the worship of the Buddha and Tara along with some Brahmanical deities and sometimes even of the Jains, in temples. In one such case, the worshipper was no less a person than Akkadevi, the elder sister of Western Chalukya king Jagadekamalla Jayasimha III (1138-1181). Indeed by this time or in a slightly earlier period, Buddha had been included in some regions as one of the avatars of Visnu. But orthodox Buddhists of South India at this stage preferred to migrate north and we have many such instances furnished by the Tibetan Tangyur, of Vajracharyas of South India and Deccan. However, a very large number of images of Mahayana and Vajrayana pantheon dateable to the 11th-12th centuries A. D. found in the Mayurbhanj and Nilgiri tracts of Orissa suggest the continuation of these doctrines in these regions at this time. The best among such sites, though dating slightly earlier, found in Orissa is Ratnagiri.

RATNAGIRI: This site in Orissa, excavated by the archaeological Survey of India, has yielded considerable architectural, iconographic and other material for the reconstruction of the developed Mahayana and Vajrayana Buddhism that was flourishing in Kalinga from around the 8th century A. D., with well-accented Vajrayana cult leanings. Two brick Viharas and a main stupa built in the typical Buddhist form, were exposed, while the monasteries were more based on contemporary Brahmanical temples. These confirm the testimony of Tibetan traditions that Ratnagiri was a great centre of Mahayana and Vajrayana learning and art. One of the monasteries there was multi-storeyed and was in occupation from circa 8th – 13th centuries A. D. The second one had a shrine on the back wall. Images of bronze, stone and terracotta were yielded in profusion by this site, and indeed their exuberance is the chief feature of the site.

TAMILNAD: The two sites of Kaveripattinam ('Kaberis emporion' of Ptolemy and Periplus) and Nagapattinam further down on the coast, have been great centres of later Buddhism. Recent excavations in the former site have revealed what promises to be a part of an apsidal chaitya and a good wing of the attached vihara. Within the structure, amidst stucco carvings of the structure and broken parts of stucco heads and legs of considerable stylistic interest, was also retrieved a small bronze Buddha in seated posture, of solid statuary of rather crude, modelled workmanship with a flat back and rilievo front, although the entire piece is intended to be in the round. It was perhaps a privately worshipped icon of one of the monks living in the monastery there. The age of this bronze image and along with it, that of the structural vestiges with which it was associated would appear to pertain reasonably to the sixth and seventh centuries A.D. if not later still.

The Chulamani Vihara at Nagapattinam was a brick structure erected on the style of overseas Dravidian order of Greater India, rising at least in two storeys. A copper plate record of the 11th century A. D. states that Raja gave the village of Anaimangalam for the maintenance of the Buddhist shrine in this vihara. Dharmapala in his commentary on the *Netti-pakarana* mentions this as *Dharma-soka Vihara* and it was here that he composed this commentary.

Rare Buddhist bronzes have been found in South India. Of these the earliest was found in Buddhapad (Indian Antiquary, 1. p. 153) and Amaravati, both in Andhra Pradesh. These which portray standing Buddha with various types of drapery have been dated from fourth century A.D. to sixth century A.D. on stylistic grounds. A full cache of bronzes was also discovered some years ago from Nagapattinam, some of them inscribed, apparently from the site of old Viharas there. Some of these have been dated to the early period (870-1070 A.D.) and a large number of the rest to the later period (1070-1250 A.D.) It is obvious that it was the bronze casting art that was fostered almost for the first time in Tamilnad by Cholas that gave a fillip to casting of the Buddhist bronze image, as found in such profusion at Nagapattinam. The Vihara here was once and for all lost to us, when it was summarily dismantled to make way for Jesuit activities during the British times. We have lost with it, for ever, a least known chapter of pre-mediaeval Buddhism in Tamilnad.

KANCHIPURA : This was a stronghold of the Buddhists with the Raja Vihara and its hundred monasteries. Many Buddha images have been discovered in the town, particularly around the present Ekamranatha shrine premises. In a 14th century Korean inscription in verse, writing in 1378 A.D. Li Se mentions one Dhyana-bhadra who was born of a princess of Kanchi to the king of Magadha; it is stated that he visited Kanchi and heard a sermon given by a Buddhist preacher there on the *Karanda-vyuha-sutra*.

In spite of the fact that Mahayanism itself continued for quite some time in the early mediaeval period in the deep south, it did not develop any Vajrayana pantheon and creed but continued the Mahayana iconography and hieratic ritual. In the Kalingadesa particularly and in Bengal and Madhyadesa, Vajrayana became incipient even by the 8th-9th centuries A.D. It is probably due to the development of Sakta cults in these northerly regions which were translated into Vajrayana Buddhism also, whereas, such a sakta devloution in iconography did not take place at all in the south. Further, it was perhaps the early adoption of the Buddha into the Visnuite Avataras in the south, as attested by the Pallava inscription in the Adivaraha cave temple at Mahabalipuram, that robbed Buddhism of all individuality and perhaps this, coupled with the high zeal with which

Brahmanical Hinduism was fostered by the Pallavas, the first well-known king of which dynasty dealt with the Buddhist institutions in a most satirical manner (as in his burlesque '*Matta Vilasa*') that was responsible for the exodus of Buddhist acharyas to the north, and even farther to Nepal, Tibet China etc.

KERALA: Srimulavasam on the westcoast near Ambalapuzha had an early Buddhist settlement in the ninth century A. D. We have a very fine seated Buddha discovered at this place and preserved *in situ*.

AN
ART BOOK
FROM
NAMGYAL INSTITUTE OF TIBETOLOGY

ལྷན་ ། རྒྱལ་ལྷན་མཚོན་གཞེས་ །

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. Price: Rupees Twenty Five (India Pakistan, Ceylon, Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim) or Fifty Shillings (other countries).

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THE MISSING CONTEXT OF CHOS

—NIRMAL C. SINHA

Recently Mr. Robert B. Ekvall, a scholar with many years' experience of China and eastern border-lands of Tibet, has made a remarkably original study of "Tibetan religious observances" and "their functional role" (*Religious Observances in Tibet: Patterns and Function*, University of Chicago Press, 1964). Ekvall's novel study has provoked varied reactions among scholars of Mahayana as well as scholars of cultural anthropology. As a student of history—history of ideas and institutions of India and Central Asia, this writer is constrained to point out a basic lacuna in this work.

Either because of his acquaintance with China and Chinese Buddhism or perhaps because of his lack of acquaintance with the home-land of Buddhism, Ekvall often ignores the Indian background and seeks to find in China the meaning of Tibetan religious observances. His "examination and explanation of what the word Chos ("religion") comprehends in the context of Tibetan conceptualization and thought" is an example of this imbalance. He finds that Chos may cover anything from "a scrap of paper" to "knowledge, systems of thought, linguistic usage, and even forms of social organization". "Used in this way" reports Ekvall "it comprehends more of the whole of Tibetan thought and culture and occupies a position of even greater importance than the word *Tao* occupies in the context of Chinese thought and culture" (p.67). Since Taoism or Confucianism does not provide key to this omnibus word, Ekvall quotes from a document of 28 October 1958 (Royal Charter of Incorporation of Namgyal Institute of Tibetology) to expound the wide connotation of Chos. What this scholar fails to notice is that the Lotsavas' acceptance of the Tibetan Chos as the correct equivalent of the Sanskrit Dharma' brought in its train all the diverse meanings of the Indian prototype. For a satisfactory definition of Chos, Ekvall had to hold "long and intensive discussion" with several eminent Tibetan scholars resident in USA (p.104 f.n.) and even resorted to a Chinese dictionary (p.105 f.n.); curiously enough he did not care to consult the traditional lexicons of Tibet. A

look into the modern dictionary of Geshe Choda (དགེ་བཤེས་
 རི་མ་རྒྱུ་གཤམ་པ་), which Ekvall uses on other points, would have
 given him an adequate definition of the word as understood
 in the original medium (Sanskrit), at least the ten meanings
 ascribed to Vasubandhu—ལ་ནི་ཤེས་ཀྱི་ལམ་དང་ནི། ལུང་ལ་འདས་པ་དང་ཡིང་རྒྱ་ལྷན།
 བསོད་ནམས་ཚོ་དང་གསུང་རབ་དང་། འབྱུང་འབྱུར་ཤེས་དང་ཤེས་ལུགས་ལོཾ ། (Lhasa xylograph,
 Vol I; also Peking edition, p.272).

During his long sojourn in Eastern Tibet Ekvall should
 have noticed that next to the Six Mystic Syllables: Om
 Mani Padme Hum, the most widely spread inscription on
 stupas, temples and monasteries or on prayer wheels, images
 and instruments of rituals is that about *all those things*
springing from cause and liberation thereof. རོ་ལ་རྣམས་ཐམས་ཅད་རྒྱུ་
 ལམ་རྒྱུང་། དེ་རྒྱུ་དེ་བཞིན་གཤེགས་པས་གསུངས། རྒྱུ་ལ་འགོ་གཤེགས་པ་ཡིན་པ། དགེ་རྫོང་རྩེ་རྩེ་བོས་དེ་སྐད་
 གསུང་།, that is, ये धर्माः हेतु प्रभवाः हेतुं तेषां तथागतो ह्यवदत् । तेषां च
 यो निरोधो एवं वादी महाश्रमणः॥ Not unoften one finds the
 Sanskrit original in Uchen, sometimes in the archaic Lantsa.
 The present writer experienced this in the monasteries and
 temples of Central Tibet and is told by Khampa scholars
 that this is also true of Eastern Tibet.

The fact remains that the word Dharma along with its
 native imagery—its diverse meanings and its multiple uses (as
 prefix and suffix) eventually permeated the life and thought
 of the Buddhists in Tibet (and later Mongolia). While the
 numerous meanings of Dharma in Sanskrit literature are cited
 in standard Sanskrit-English dictionaries (e.g. Monier-Williams
 and Apte), the special usages in Buddhist thought are collected
 in *Pali-English Dictionary* (PTS) and *Buddhist Hybrid
 Sanskrit Dictionary* (Edgerton). It is intended to notice here
 the migration of the category Dharma (with all its content)
 to Tibet (and later Mongolia). No attempt can be made
 here to present all the meanings of the Indian term; specialists
 have found the scores of entries in the above four dictionaries
 as only representative and by no means exhaustive. It
 will suffice to say that Dharma in the sense of the Buddha's
 teachings, law, truth, nature of mind, existent things and
 conditions, element or constituent of existence, qualities
 acquired by an adept, or discourses was fully absorbed and
 incorporated into Tibetan Buddhist thought and expression.

A knowledge of the secular aspects and implications of
 Dharma is considered necessary for an understanding of the
 political history of ancient India, and this may perhaps hold

good for some Northern Buddhist countries if we substitute Chos for Dharma. A scholar of ancient Indian polity notices as many as eight different meanings of Dharma: (i) custom, (ii) law of the social order, (iii) norm of social classes, (iv) righteousness in relation to the temporal ruler, (v) virtue as one of the four ends of human existence, (vi) ethics, (vii) righteous edict of king and (viii) solemn affirmation by a party to a suit (Ghoshal: *A History of Indian Political Ideas*, Oxford University Press, 1959). No less than three words from Western terminology, namely, *jus*, *lex* and *recht*, are thus required to express Dharma in secular sense. As a measure of the dimensions of the subject it may be mentioned that an authoritative exposition (in English) of Dharma in the sense of law and administration of justice covers seven tomes running into 6500 pages, that is, Kane: *History of Dharmasastra* (Poona, 1930-62).

The word Dharma is derived from root *dhri* (धृ) which means to nourish, to uphold or to support. The Brihadaranyaka Upanishad, in a section about the creation of the world, says that the Creator was not strong enough even after He created the forms of Brahmanas, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas and Sudras and thus created "the excellent form *dhirma*: the *kshatra* of the *kshatra*; therefore there is nothing higher than the *dhirma*; thenceforth even a weakman rules the stronger by means of the *dhirma* as one does through a king. Verily *dhirma* is *satya* (truth): and when a man speaks *satya* they say he speaks *dhirma* or when he speaks *dhirma* they say he speaks *satya*; thus both are same".

स नैव व्यभवत् तत् श्रेयः रूपम् अत्यसृजत धर्मं तदेतत् क्षत्रस्य क्षत्रं यद् धर्मसु तस्माद् धर्मात् परं नास्ति अथो अबलीयान् दलीयांसम् आर्शांसते धर्मेण यथा राज्ञं वं यो वै स धर्मः सत्यं वै तत् तस्मात् सत्यं वदन्तम् आहूर्धुर्धर्मं वदति इति धर्मं वा वदन्तं सत्यं वदति इति एतद् हि एव एतद् उभयं भवति ॥ The sense of paramountcy of ORDER (moral and physical) in the scheme of universe is traced back to the most ancient Indo-Iranian *rita* (ऋत). A connected narrative of this concept however dates from the time of the Upanishads. The point to note, as in the above passage, is that Dharma and Satya are identical categories and that the political authority (king) is the instrument of Dharma. As a consequence the duty of the king constituted the duty par excellence, 'the royal *religion*' (Rajadharma) and the king discharging such duty became 'the *religious* king (Dharmaraja).

In ancient India Dharmaraja seems to have been a royal title of higher order than Maharaja or Maharajadhiraja. There is some epigraphic evidence of the composite title Dharmamaharaja. Chos-rgyal and Chos-rgyal Chenpo are most perfect renderings of Dharmaraja and Dharmamaharaja doing justice both to Sanskrit etymology and Tibetan syntax.

In Tibetan tradition the kings from Srong-btsan-sgampo to Ral-pa-chen are known as Chos-rgyal. The tradition perhaps cropped up after the final victory of Buddhism, and as Mr. Hugh Richardson points out the sole epigraphic evidence of an early king calling himself Chos-rgyal is that of Khri-srong-lde-btsan². The Tibetan tradition about the epithet Chos-rgyal is not unlike the Indian tradition about Asoka. Asoka called himself Devanampriya (Beloved of the Gods) while later tradition knew him to be a Dharmaraja. In Tibet whoever might have been the first to call himself Chos-rgyal, that is, Dharmaraja, he no doubt extended sanction to two new facts (i) the new Chos called Dharma as the established religion and (ii) the king (rgyalpo) as the instrument of this Chos.

The office of Chos-rgyal acquired a historic significance in Northern Buddhist countries. When the Gelugpa hierarch (Dalai Lama) became the ruler of Tibet he was appropriately addressed as Chos-rgyal as earlier the Sakya hierarch was called Chos-rgyal. A millennium after Srong-btsan-sgampo princes from Mynak (in eastern Tibet) carved out a kingdom in the land of the Lepchas and established Chos as the state religion. Appropriately the first great king of Sikkim, Phuntsog rNam-rgyal, was consecrated by three Lamas as Chos-rgyal (1642).

The point for emphasis is that none but a true follower of Chos could be a Chos-rgyal. Thus while several Mongol Khans were unreservedly called Chos-rgyal³, the Manchu Emperors, though conceded to be some sort of incarnations of hJam-dpal (Manjusri), do not feature in Tibetan records as Chos-rgyal.

The first and greatest Chos-rgyal (Dharmaraja) of Tibetan tradition is Asoka (Mya-ngan-med). Besides as in Indian tradition the epithet Chos-rgyal came to be applied to Sangs-rgyas (Buddha) and gShin-rje (Yama). All these point to the Indian context of the connotation of Chos.

Ekvall is not the only scholar to ignore the Indian context of Tibetan Buddhism or to seek enlightenment from the Chinese context. Buddhism as a distinct religion came to an end in the plains of India and this provides justification to several scholars to underestimate the Indian context. These scholars are obviously ignorant of the fact that the Mahayana which spread over Tibet and Mongolia was nursed and nourished in the Himalayas in a typically Indian climate. [Besides such methodology would warrant study of European Christianity in total ignorance of the Hebrew context.] Secondly, in such methodology Tibet having been from time to time a part of the Chinese Empire the context for Chos has to be traced in China. It is not necessary to comment here on the proposition of Tibet being a part of China for any effective length of time. It is however necessary to say that according to many competent scholars Chinese Buddhism was more Chinese than Buddhist.⁴ Tibetans no doubt felt that way and accepted the exposition of Chos by Kamalasila the Indian in preference to that by Hoshang the Chinese, towards the end of the eighth century after Christ. For Tibet that fixed the context of her Dharma.⁵

The context is writ large in Kanju and Tanjur where a title is first announced "in the language of India" (rgyagar-skad-du). It is confusing to reverse the precedence and say, as Ekvall does (p.232), "Byang-chub sems-dpa, commonly termed Bodhisattva". Certainly the altruistic doctrine of Bodhisattva found better expression in Tibet than in India owing to the more favourable socio-economic climate in Tibet. Yet any account of this altruism has to begin with the Indian Mahayana tradition. Ekvall builds his exposition around the practice of exposure of the corpse for feeding the vultures and finds it "strongly reminiscent of the practices that have persisted in China from earliest times" (p.73). This conjecture about disposal of the dead may be correct but a Tibetan would trace his entire code of altruistic practices and rituals to Bhadrachari (bZang-spyod) or Bodhicharyavatara (Spyod-hjug) or to the root, namely, Prajnaparamita (Shes-rab-kyi pha-rol-tu-phyin-pa). In this novel study of Tibetan Buddhism which has missed the context of Chos, the Indian concepts of Triratna (dKon-mchog-gsum), Trikaya (sKu-gsum) or Tridhatu (Khams-gsum) attain the Sunyata (sTong-pa-nyid) in a special sense.

NOTES

1. In the first stage of the encounter between Bon and Buddhism the term Chos was good for both religions though Lhai Chos, Nangpai Chos or Sangs-rgyas kyi Chos was more unequivocal for Buddhism. cf. Tucci: *Tibetan Painted Scrolls* (Rome 1949), Vol II and *The Tombs of the Tibetan Kings* (Rome 1950). After the final triumph of Buddhism Chos was as good as Sangs-rgyas kyi Chos. Bon on the otherhand came to be expressed as Bon Chos or simply Bon. See also note 5.
2. "A New Inscription of Khri Srong Lde Brtsan" in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (London), April 1964.
3. hPhags-pa calls Kubilai Chos-rgyal Mi-dbang (འཕགས་པ་མེ་འཕེང་མཚན་མཚོ། Counsel for the King: ལྷོ་མ་ཙམ་གདམས་པའི་རབ་དཔེ།)
[This reference has been promptly traced for me by my pupil Jamyang Kunga Mynak Tulku.] See also note 5.
4. e.g. Arthur Wright (USA) and E. Zurcher (Holland). It is relevant to note that the Indian Sinologist Prabodh Bagchi (d. 1956) was lukewarm about the theory of Buddhist conquest of China, propounded by European Buddhists and acclaimed by Indian scholars who lacked acquaintance with Buddhism in China. China's relationship with Buddhism was a pre-eminently political matter as borne out from history of Tibet and Mongolia. The present writer is engaged in a study of this relationship.
5. Even though "strongly resistant to or inhospitable to loan words" (Ekvall, p.13), Tibet accommodated the Sanskrit word Dharma (धर्म) and eventually transmitted it to Mongolia. A grandson of Kubilai was named Dharmapala. v. Hulan-deb-ther (*The Red Annals*, Sikkim 1961, folio 14b).

Notes & Topics

THE NOBLE FLOWER

[From time to time we have enquiries about the soft chiffon like seeds which the Buddhists of the Himalayas and the Trans-Himalayas offer at the altars and present to honoured friends and visitors. Two notes, one on the legend about its sanctity and the other on its botanical merits, are presented here. —NCS]

I

There is an Indian flower which the Tibetans call Tsampaka; it is also called Metog Zangpo (མེ་རྩོག་བཟང་པོ་) which is the same as Bhadrapuspa in Sanskrit (भद्रपुष्प). The flower is popular all over Tibet and Mongolia; it is held in highest respect by monks and scholars as well as lay people. It is used as offering in rituals and no initiation ceremony (དབང་) is complete without this flower. This flower is a substitute for the holy lotus called Udumbara (cf. Das: *Dictionary*, p 1350). Because in the initiation the Guru presents this flower to the initiate with the Mantra Akhamvirahum (आखँ-वीरहूँ) the flower is also called Akhamvira by many.

The oral tradition about the sanctity of the flower is this. This flower grew in the paradise of Indra where there were many flowers. When Indra visited the garden all flowers bent their heads down in respect. It so happened that one day when Indra came to the garden, while all the flowers bowed, this flower refused to do so. Indra was angry and cursed that the flower should never blossom in the heavens again. The flower then fell to the earth and grew in a city of India which was called Tsampaka.

According to Naronyenjüd Kabum (ར་རྩོག་མེ་རྩོག་བཟང་པོ་ལྟེང་གི་ལོ་ལྷན་པུ་སྐུ་བཟང་པོ་ལྟེང་གི་ལོ་ལྷན་པུ་སྐུ་བཟང་པོ་), the Srutis of Naropa, the volume on crops and medicinal plants (ལུ་རྩོག་མེ་རྩོག་བཟང་པོ་ལྟེང་གི་ལོ་ལྷན་པུ་སྐུ་བཟང་པོ་), the lovely flower Tsampaka descended from the world of gods to the world of men and was offered to the Buddha by a lay

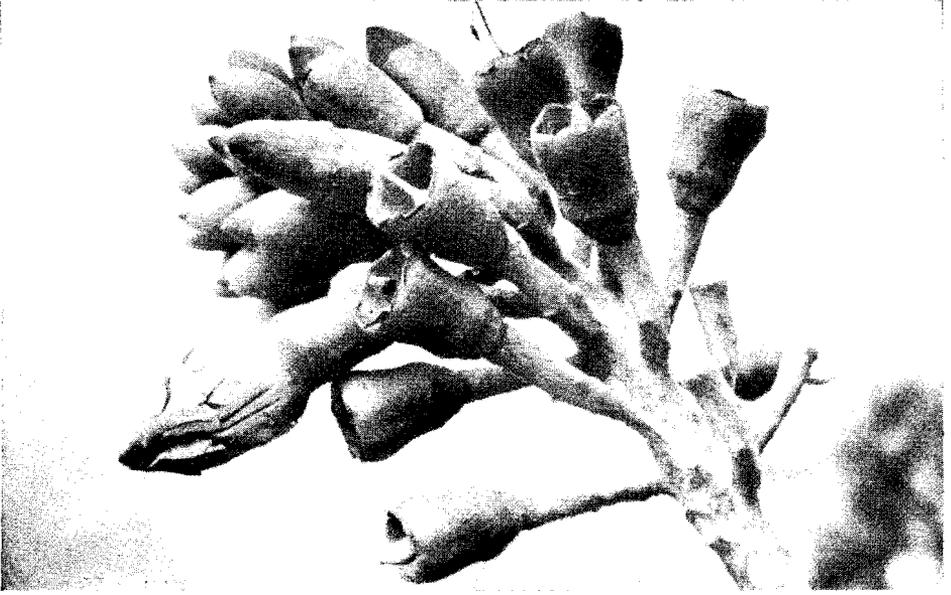


FIG. 1
OROXYLLUM INDICUM: FLOWER BUDS



FIG. 2
BLOOM OF BIG BUD FROM FIG. 1

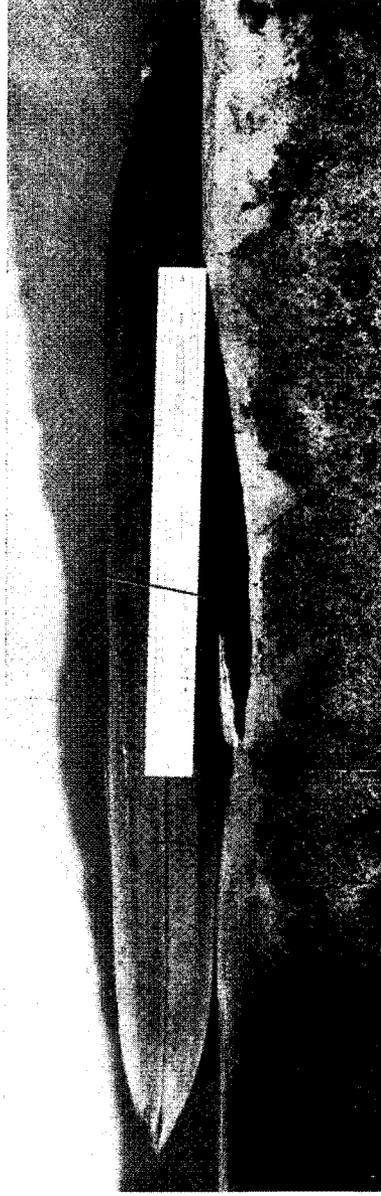


FIG. 3
MATURED POD CONTAINING SEEDS
(Note size from 12" ruler.)



FIG. 4
CHIFFON LIKE SEEDS
(Natural size 2" to 2.5")

Leafless March-April: Flowers. June-July. Fruit. Cold season. Occurs below 3500 feet elevation. Economic use. Root bark. astringent, tonic useful in diarrhoea and dysentery.

Bark made into powder along with haldi (turmeric) is a useful cure for sore-backs of horses; in powder or infusion diaphor useful in acute rheumatism; bitter tonic. Tender fruits—carmin, stomach, seeds—purgative. Stem in scorpion sting. Quoted from Chopra's *Indigenous Drugs of India*, p.518.

The bark and fruit are used in tanning and dyeing and the winged seeds are used to line hats and placed between two layers of wicker work to make umbrellas. Sir Detris Brandis.

The paper like seeds are used by the Lamas in ceremonial worship of the deities and are also enclosed with letters as substitute for scarf.

BHIM BAHADUR PRADHAN

Relon Athing Sonam
Dadul, a Founder Mem-
ber of the Namgyal
Institute of Tibetology,
passed away at the capital
on 10 November 1965.

An obituary will appear
in the next issue of this
Bulletin.

A FRAGMENT FROM TUN HUANG

—H. E. RICHARDSON

My article "How Old Was Srong Brtsan Sgam Po?" in Vol II, No. I of this *Bulletin* refers to a damaged passage at the beginning of the mss of the Tun Huang Annals. The present article publishes, for the first time, a transliteration of the text of that passage together with a suggested reconstruction and a translation. The importance of this fragment and the light it throws on Tibetan chronology have been examined in my earlier article.

The chronology of the early Tibetan Kingdom depends to a great extent on the annals from Tun Huang published in 1946 by Professors J. Bacot, F. W. Thomas, and C. Toussaint in *Documents de Touen Houang relatifs a l' Histoire du Tibet* (THD). There are two mss containing these annals; the longer is in two parts of which the first—and smaller—is in the Bibliotheque Nationale at Paris with the number Pelliot Tibetain 1288 (formerly Pelliot 252); the larger second part is in the India Office Library at London with the number 730 (formerly Stein Tun Huang 103, 19, viii, i). Another mss in the British Museum—Or 8218, 187—overlaps the former record at the year 743 and runs to the year 763 with a lacuna of seven years between 747 and 754. This is a quite separate compilation; it is not just a copy of the manuscript which is divided between Paris and London.

The Paris mss provides an explicit starting point for the year-by-year record of events which it contains. This is the dog year following the death of Srong Brtsan Sgam Po. That event is mentioned in the Chinese T'ang Annals under the first year of Yung Hui which corresponds to 650 A.D. The Tibetan bird year, preceding the dog year, would run from about February/March 649 to February/March 650. Internal evidence in the T'ang Annals suggests that Srong Brtsan Sgam Po died towards the end of that period—between January and March 650. From the dog year beginning in 650 down to the pig year 747 the mss contains a short comment on the events of each year. Before the first of those entries—that for 650—there is a passage in which the events of the preceding nine years are summarised, thus

taking the record back to 641 when the Chinese princess Mun Cheng arrived in Tibet as bride to Srong Brtsan Sgam Po. This date accords with the account in the T'ang Annals.

On p 10 of THD the editors state "La relation commence six annees plus tot"—i.e. six years before 650; this should, in fact, be nine years as stated above. At p. 9 they also comment on the mss, as follows: "Sa partie superieure est laceree sur le cote gauche. On peut constater cependant qu'il ne manque pas necessairement une partie superieure. Les premiers alineas, dont les tetes manquent, ne se terminent pas comme les alineas des annees". Examination of a photographic copy of the mss, kindly made available by the Bibliotheque Nationale, shows that this comment refers to a number of fragmentary lines preceding the passage with which the published version of the mss opens. I offer here a transcription of that unpublished portion, followed by a suggested reconstruction, and a translation. Both the text and its interpretation are greatly clarified by two passages in the Chronicle section of THD which relate to the events mentioned in the unpublished annals fragment and which contain very similar wording. The Chronicle makes little or no attempt at precise dating but gives in some instances a fuller and more popular presentation of certain events which are summarised more systematically in the unpublished fragment which is the subject of this essay.

Transcription

1. 'khus nas/snying drung
2. um pa'a/mtha' dag kyang
3.
4. snang glo ba rings nas/kho na'i
bran pa tsab gyim po/
5. bkyon phab nas bkumo/mkhar sngur ba
bshig go/
6. / btsan po khri srong rtsan gyis/shuld byang
lam du byung ste/ 'a zha dang rgya la'a
7. dang 'a zha gnyis dpya' gcalto/

1. 'khus nas/snying drung
2. myang mang po rje zhang snang gis sum pa'a/
mtha' dag kyang
3. rnal mar bkug go/
4. de nas lo x x na'/myang mang po rje zhang snang glo ba rings
nas/kho na'i. bran pa tsab gyim po
5. 'khuste/myang zhang snang la bkyon phab nas bkumo/mkhar
sngur ba bshig go/
6. de nas lo x x na'/btsan po khri srong rtsan gyis/shuld
byang lam du byung ste/'a zha dang rgya la'
7. dmag drangste/rgya dang 'a zha gnyis dpya' gcalto/
8. de nas lo gsum na'/btsan po gcen srong rtsan dang/
gcung btsan srong gyis nold nas/gcung
9. btsan srong gi zhal ta mkha's sregs 'khuste/mnyal gyi gzen
tu/gcung btsan srong/zhugsu
10. dgung du gshegso/

Notes

1. The line is too fragmentary for anything but guess work. The reference may have been to events related in THD p 111 beginning : "*btsan po srong brtsan sgam po'i ring la / / yab 'bangs ni 'khus*". In that passage the death by poisoning of the father of Srong Brtsan Sgam Po and the revolt of his subjects are mentioned. Snying Drung is a place name—see THD p 31. The Padma Bka' Thang Yig puts it in Snye Mo.
2. and 3. cf THD p 111 lines 1—7 "*ung gi 'og du myang mang po rje zhang gis/sum pa mtha' dag dmagis gdab myi dgos par/..... rnal mar bkug go*" Another reference to the same events is in THD p 101 "*myang mang po rje zhang snang gis/sum kham's tham 'shad' bangs su dgug par bka' stsal to / /*". The annals fragment seems to be closer to the former passage and I have, therefore, taken my reconstruction from there; but "*'bangsu bkug (or dgug) go*" would be a possible alternative.

4. and 5. cf THD p 111 lines 13 sq and specially lines 22—27 : ‘*ung nas zhang snang gi bran/pa tshab gyim po ‘khu ste/zhang snang bkum ste / /*
6. The formula “*de nas lo x x na*” is found at the beginning of each section of the chronological summary with which the published text in THD opens. For the later part of the line see THD p 111 lines 10—11 : “ ‘*ung gi ‘og du btsan po zhabs kyis btsugs ste / byang lam du mu byung ma drangs par / / rgya dang ‘a zhas dpya’ gcal lo /*” It may be noticed that the king’s name is given throughout this fragment as Srong Rtsan. The form Srong Brtsan is used in other parts of THD and also in several inscriptions of the VIIIth century. It is accepted by later Tibetan writers and I use it in the body of this paper.
7. *dmag drangste* is a speculative reconstruction. Some such phrase seems certain. *Dra ma drangste*, a possible alternative, seems to be used more of an attack on a specific place rather than of the launching of a general campaign. On the analogy of THD p 111 lines 10-11 the phrase might have been *dmag ma drangs par*, suggesting that the enemy gave in without the need for a fight, a flattering historical inaccuracy which might not, perhaps be expected in the annals portion of THD.
8. *lo gsum* is suggested after comparing the small remnant of the letter which precedes *na*, with other possible endings: *gnyis* would be the only other possibility but in other sections of the summary the time interval is either three or six years.
9. *Mkha*’s *Sregs* must, I think, be a personal name; and it is no more than a coincidence that it should contain the syllable *sregs* (burn) when Btsan Srong died by fire. *Kha* appears in several other names but I know no other appearance of *mkha*’s; *sregs* is found in e.g. Rgyal Sum Sregs (THD p 35) and Lho ‘Dus Sregs (THD p 41). No surviving Tibetan clan name ends ... *lta*; there is a personal name Rgyal Ta (THD p 63) but on the analogy of the *bran* (subject) Pa Tsab in line 5, *zhal ta* (servant) seems the best suggestion here.

10. The activity described as 'khus, implying disaffection and treachery, is regularly followed by the death of the victim and there can be little doubt that Btsan Srong, of whom no more is heard, died by fire as a result of some such treachery. *Dgung du gshegs* would fit the gap exactly; but if the expression "went to heaven by fire" seems strange, the alternative *tshigs nas bkrongso* (or *gum mo*) would be possible. I prefer *dgung du gshegs* which is the regular usage for the death of royalty.

Translation

Passages based on reconstruction of the text are underlined.

..... Myang Mang Po Rje Zhang brought about the submission of all the Sum pa also. ..turning treacherous; at Snying Drung

Then after x years when Myang Zhang Snang became disloyal, his subject Pa Tsab betrayed him so that Zhang Snang was accused and put to death. Mkharr Sngur Ba was destroyed.

Then after x years the Btsan Po Khri Srong Rtsan set out on the north road and made war on the 'A Zha and China. Both China and the 'A Zha offered tribute.

Then after three years, when the Btsan Po, the elder brother, Srong Rtsan and the younger brother Btsan Srong had been reconciled, Mkha's Sregs, the servant of the younger brother Btsan Srong, betrayed him and the younger brother died in his bed by fire.

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