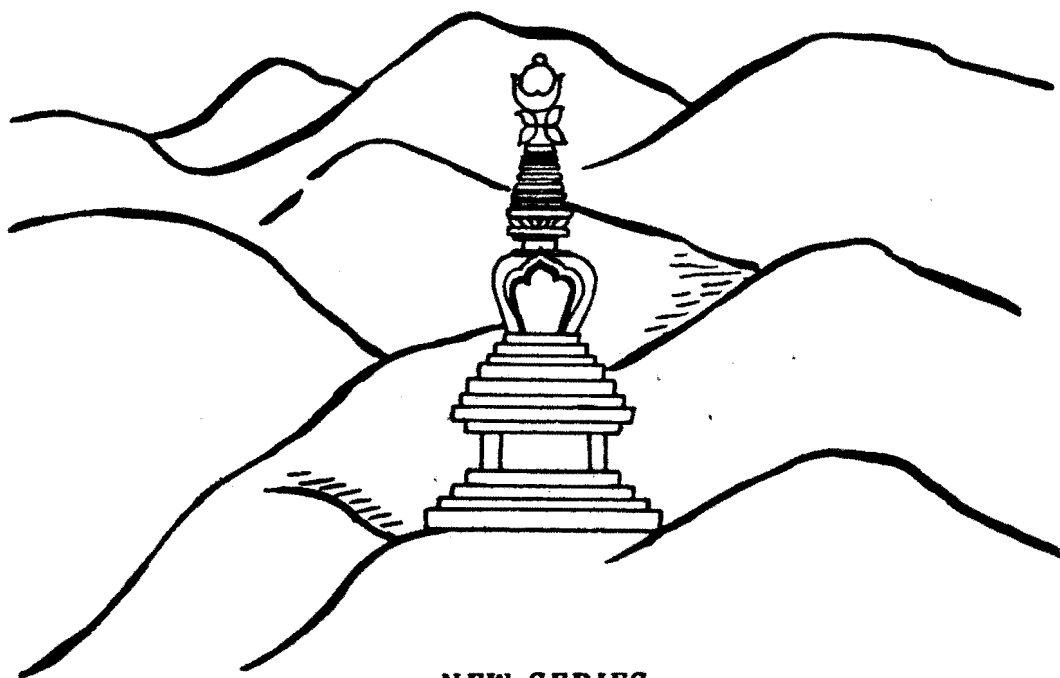


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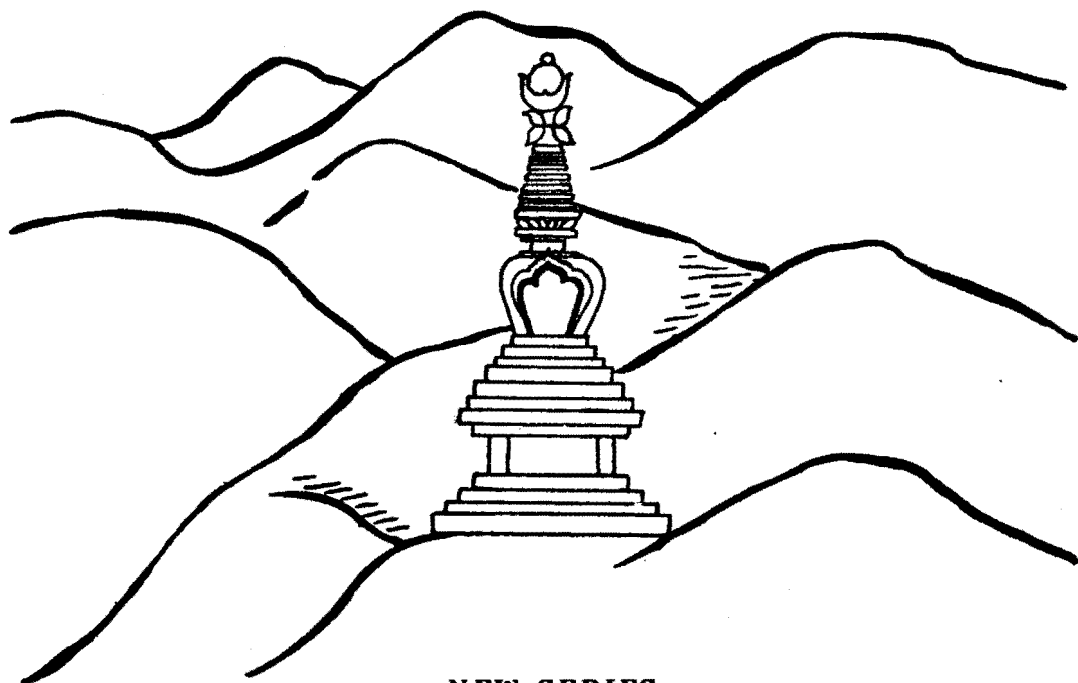
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GANGTOK, INDIA**

- *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
NIRMAL C. SINHA
JAMPAL K. RECHUNG

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EARLY TIBETAN INSCRIPTIONS: SOME RECENT DISCOVERIES

— H. E. RICHARDSON

Inscriptions on stone from the eighth and ninth centuries are among the best sources of information about the early history, social conditions and religion of the Tibetans and also about the state of the language at that time. Not long after I had completed an edition of all those I was able to collect in Central Tibet two hitherto unrecorded inscriptions and additional material on one other have come to light. One of the new discoveries was made by Geshe Pema Tshering of Bomm on a visit to his homeland in East Tibet. On a free-standing pinnacle of rock, known as Brag Lhamo, in the district of Ldan-khog he discovered a short inscription of obvious antiquity with a group of Buddhist images in low relief alongside it. He has referred to his discovery briefly in *Zentralasiatische Studien* of the University of Bonn, vol. 16, where there is also an illustration of the rock; and in collaboration with Dr. Helmut Eimer he is preparing a full analysis and description which it is to be hoped will soon be published. In the meantime he has very kindly sent me a photograph of the inscription and valuable information about the site and has generously allowed me to mention it in advance of his detailed study.

From the photograph it can be seen that the inscription, though badly damaged, is of considerable interest not only for its contents but also as showing that such documents are still to be found. Tibetan writers in the past did not generally attach sufficient importance to these relics of their past to record them in full. Exceptions were the Karmapa historian Dpa'-bo Gsug-lag phreng-ba (1504-1566) and the great Ka-thog scholar Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang nor-bu (1696-1755). The discovery of this inscription by Geshe Pema Tsering and of those at Lho-brag, to be mentioned later, shows that a new generation of Tibetan scholars is aware of the value of such documents; and it is to be hoped that the greater freedom of travel in Tibet may lead to further discoveries.

Previously known inscriptions from Central Tibet are carved on stately pillars of dressed stone but this one at Ldan-khog, like that from Rkong-po, is on a natural rock face, perhaps implying either an absence of suitable stone or a less affluent milieu; and owing to the nature of the surface the lettering lacks the precision and regularity of that on the stone pillars and tends more to the character of some of the eighth and ninth century manuscripts from Dunhuang.

What has survived places the inscription in the reign of Khri Srong-lde brtsan (755-c.800) and most probably within its last ten or fifteen years.

It is remarkable for its strong emphasis on the devotion of the *btsan-po* to Buddhism. Other inscribed pillars of his time and the Chronicle from Dunhuang certainly record his acceptance of the faith, his vow to maintain it, and the foundation by him of the great temple of Bsam-yas; but in the commemorative inscription near the royal burial mounds at 'Phyongs-rgyas he figures as combining devotion to Buddhism with responsibility and regard for the old religious practices. In the first part of that inscription he is described as maintaining the wisdom of the gods—*lha'i gtsug lag*—and acting in accordance with the religion of sky and earth—*gnam sa'i chos*—after the customs of his ancestors; at the end he is seen as a convert to Buddhism—*'jig-rten las 'das pa'i chos bzang-po brnyes nas*. But even in that last paragraph the title accorded to him—*'phrul-gyi lha byang chub chen po*, "Great enlightened supernaturally wise divinity"—brings together elements from both the old faith and the new.

By contrast, in the Brag Lhamo inscription Khri Srong-lde-brtsan is known from the start by the purely Buddhist epithet, *Byang-cub-sems-dpa'*, "of perfect spiritual enlightenment". In the damaged line that follows, it seems possible to detect references to the traditional qualities of royalty reflecting his glory, *byin*, and military might, *dbu-rmog brtsan*; but there does not seem to be any mention of the old religion; and the inscription is unique in referring to the correct translation of Mahāyāna sutras—(*theḡ-pa chen po mdo*) *sde mang-mo zhig gtan la bab par bsgyur to*. The text seems to go on to state that by that merit, the *Chos rgyal*—a title by which Khri Srong-lde-brtsan is designated in the 'Phyongs-rgyas inscription—and many hundreds of thousands of others entered into deliverance. He is credited also with the extensive foundation of temples. Certainty on these readings and interpretations must, however, await the result of Geshe Pema Tsering's study.

More substance is added to these significant passages by the edicts of Khri Srong-lde-brtsan preserved in vol *ja* of the *Chos-'byung* of Dpa'-bo gtsug-lag which I have described elsewhere as embodying the first Tibetan *Chos-'byung* and which can be dated between 779 and 782 A.D. They show that even at that time, generally regarded as the early years of the flowering of Buddhism in Tibet, there were centres of Buddhist practice not only at Lhasa, Bsam-yas and Khra-'brug but also in Bru-zha (Gilgit), Zhang-zhung territory in the north west, and Mdo-smad in East Tibet.

The inscription and group of Buddhist carvings at Brag Lhamo suggest that there was an early religious foundation in the vicinity, Teichman who visited "Dengko" in 1918 mentions "the celebrated Drolma Lhakhang" which had been seen earlier by A.K. that redoubtable pandit of the Survey of India. The temple is said to have contained a famous image of Drolma (Sgrol-ma) which is supposed to have flown there from Peking. Dr. Eimer has pointed out that the Sgrol-ma Lha-khang of Ldan-khog, not far from Brag Lhamo is claimed—in spite of differences in the orthography in several writers—to be one of the temples founded by Srong-brtsan sgam-po to

dominate the frontiers. The name might reflect some tradition about his Chinese bride who was deemed to be a goddess; but it cannot be overlooked that there is a possible later connection with A-phyi Chos kyi Sgrol-ma, the protecting deity of the 'Bri-khung sect whose founder came from the Skyu-ra Dru Rgyal family which was all powerful in that region.

Whatever may be made of these confused traditions, the inscription clearly shows the influence of Khri Srong-lde-btsan in that region. Whether the Buddhist carvings are contemporary with the inscription is a matter for consideration. The Bodhisattva figure, the only one of which I have seen a photograph, appears to be the supporter on the left side of a central figure within a circular aureole in a group which Pema Tsering has identified as Amitāyus, Avalokiteśvara and Vajrapāṇi. It recalls drawings in manuscripts of the eighth or ninth century from Dunhuang and some paintings in cave temples there of which the style seems to show more Central Asian than Chinese characteristics. Dr. Eimer has pointed out that an adjustment to the end of the first line of the text shows that the inscription was made after the carving; but the impression, to me, is that both are part of a single devotional exercise.

It would be tempting to see the carving as a rare example of early Tibetan art. Ldan-khog was former territory of the Sum-pa or Mi-nyag which was conquered by the Tibetans in stages between the seventh and early eighth centuries and there is no suggestion that the Chinese had any presence or influence there during the Tang dynasty. But especially after the Tibetan conquest of the border cities of China's north-west there was a good deal of coming and going between the two countries. Chinese religious teachers visited Central Tibet and a Chinese craftsman cast the great bell of Bsam-yas. Chinese workmen and artists are traditionally, and credibly, said to have taken part in the building of Bsam-yas; and it is possible that the carvings at Brag Lhamo were the work of the Chinese or of the non-Chinese people who, as documents from Dunhuang show, were employed in many capacities in that region.

Dr. Eimer has informed me of a short Chinese inscription at Ldan-khog which might have a bearing on the matter; it appears to refer to a "heavenly woman" or "women" but neither its meaning nor date is clear.

It may be remembered that Ldan-khog was among the many border territories conquered by Chao Erh-feng in 1908. He planned to establish a district headquarters there and, although his death and subsequent Tibetan successes frustrated that design, Teichman found a Chinese yamen there in 1918 and it continued side by side with a Tibetan official until at least 1932.

Elucidation of that and many other questions awaits Geshe Pema Tsering's forthcoming work. In the meantime I am grateful that he has permitted me to bring his important discovery and some of its problems and implications to the notice of students of Tibetan epigraphy and history.

The second discovery is described in Bod Ljongs Zhib 'Jug (2) 1982 in

two articles by Pa-sangs dbang-'dus, one in Tibetan, the other in Chinese. For an understanding of the latter I am greatly indebted to Professor South Coblin of the University of Iowa who has translated relevant passages and given me valuable advice.

It appears that there are two inscriptions, similar in meaning, on rock faces in Lho-brag near the headquarters town of Do-ba rdzong (Towa) now known as La cha. There is some confusion about the exact sites as the position of one of them is given in the Tibetan text as near the village of 'Dus-byung 50 *le-bar* to the west (*chu lha'i phyogs*) of the district town of Lho-brag Hsien, while the Chinese version indicates that the distance is 5km. north-west of the same place. The position of the other is more easily determined being to the north-east (*dbang phyogs*) of the same place, at the junction of the Lho-brag nub-chu and the Sman-thang Chu. The Chinese version agrees generally except that it gives the direction as east of the country seat of Lo cha. The Sman-thang Chu can be identified with the Mandong Chu of the Survey of India map, 1925, which though approximate in that area, shows it a short distance to the east of Towa. If the two inscriptions are similar and relate to the estates and privileges of the same family it seems probable that they would not be very far apart and the distance of 5 km. for the 'Dus-byung site is the more acceptable. In the Tibetan text 50, *lnga-bcu* may be an error for *bco-linga*.

The Tibetan article (T.) states that out of more than 150 *tshig rkang*, only eighteen or nineteen survive in an obscure condition (*gsal la mi gsal*). Each article contains a copy of what can be read at one of the sites—it is not specified which. In each the number of syllables is about 140. According to Tibetan dictionaries *tshig rkang* means *śloka, gāthā*; but in the Chinese article (C.) it is rendered as "syllable or word"—i.e. a single Chinese character. In classical Tibetan usage, as I am informed by Mr. Ngawang Thondup Narkyid a scholar with a special interest in Tibetan linguistics, *tshig-'bru* is a syllable and *tshig* a complete word—e.g. *btsan* and *po* are *tshig-'bru* and *btsan-po* is a *tshig*; so it appears that Pa-sangs dbang-'dus has treated *tshig-rkang* as the equivalent of *tshig-'bru*. The number of lacunae is marked in T. as 18; in C. it is apparently 34. C. may have tried to show single effaced letters while in T. the same author may have estimated missing words.

Such differences and many other points could be elucidated if there were a photographic record but it appears there is none and it must be assumed that both copies come from field-notes of an eye-copy or eye-copies by the same person from the same original. It is, therefore, surprising that there are so many differences between the two versions and perhaps more surprising that in most instances the roman transcription in C is preferable to the Tibetan text in T. Some of the differences are in presentation: T shows the reversed *ki gu* and writes *dang*—rather badly—with the *d* above the *ng*. In C. a number of words are improbably run together, e.g. *nyenye*, *skudang* and so on; and there is no punctuation, which is indicated in a

few—probably by no means all—instances in T. These are of less significance than fifteen differences in the readings. In nine of these C is clearly preferable; and it is unacceptable in only two but there are also two omissions and one printer's error. One difference is debatable as will be mentioned later. In the last line of both T. and C. comparison with other inscriptions shows that *sgreng bu* is an error for *sgrom*.

Out of this careless confusion I have collated the following text: I have not inserted additional punctuation.

Btsan po lha sras gyi zha sgar lde sman lde'u cung / glo ba nye nye sku'-dang chab srid la dphen pha'i rje blas dka' ba bked byed nas bka's gnang lde'u cung gi pha¹ lo snang gi bu tsha pheld rgyud nam zhar srid g-yung drung dang mtshungs pha dang khol yul las stsogs pha myi dbri myi snyung ba dang / lde'u cung gi mchad gyi/rim gro bla nas mdzadde nam cig dbon sras gang gi ring la ral yang / bla nas stong sdes brtsig phar gnang nge lde'u cung gi pha² lo snang gi bu tsha pheld rgyud x phu nu x x cig yang bka' gyod x gtsigs shan x x x x x x x dbu snyung gnang ba dang rkong kar po lha btsan x x sa x x x x blon po dang bu bzhi zhang lon gi bro bor ba'i gtsigs gyi sgrom³ bu ni phyag sbal du bzung ngo

- Notes: 1. T reads *kha lo snang*, this is discussed later
2. C omits *kha lo snang gi*
3. T and C read *sgreng*

A provisional translation follows:

"Whereas Lde Sman Lde'u cung has been very loyal to the *btsan-po*, the divine son, and has continuously taken trouble in performing the duty of *rje blas* to the benefit of our person and the state, it has been granted by order, that the status in perpetuity, the service tenure lands and so on, of the line of male descendants of Lo-s nang the father of Lde'u-cung shall never be decreased and never diminished, and that the rites for the tomb shall be performed by the higher authority and, for ever, in the time of all our descendants damage to it shall be repaired by the higher authority, the Stong-sde. And if older or younger brothers of the line of male descendants of Lo-s nang the father of Lde'u-cung are involved in an accusation, for one occasion a decree dismissing the imputation shall be given. This has been granted on oath and the casket containing the edict which has been sworn, as witnesses, by Rkong Kar-po Lha-btsan.....and the .. minister and the four Zhang-lon sons has been deposited in the archives".

The language regarding the grant of status and privileges is generally similar to that in the edicts on the north face of the *Zhol-rdo-rings* and those at Zhwa'i Lha-khang and De-mo in Rkong-po. The terms *rje-blas*, *khol-yul*, *dbon sras*, *phu nu* etc. have been studied by several scholars to whose work reference is made in my *Corpus of Early Tibetan Inscriptions*, Royal Asiatic Society, 1985. The passage about overlooking an accusation on one occasion is supplied on the basis of the west inscription at Zhwa'i Lha-khang, 1.40 and

the supposition that the lacuna after *shan* would contain some such word as *brtegs* implying an imputation against someone's character. As in other inscriptions leading persons in the state took part in the royal vow. The first named here is the feudatory ruler—*rgyal phran*—of Rkong-po or a member of his family; other names are lost in the effaced passage and the last—*bu bzhi zhang lon*—which I have taken to refer to four brothers, perhaps local, holding the rank of *zhang lon* which covered the main body of officials, might perhaps be understood as the Bu-bzhi minister although there is no instance of a family holding that name.

The most unusual part of the inscription relates to the provision that the burial rites of Lde'u-cung should be attended to by the Stong-sde, the Governor of the Thousand District, presumably of Lho-brag. The only other record of such a favour is the presentation by Srong-brtsan sgam-po of a stone, on which an oath had been sworn, to be the foundation of the tomb (*mchad*) of a noble minister of the Dbas' clan (Dunhuang Chronicle f. 109).

The recipient of so signal a distinction must have been of very high standing; but there is no mention of Lde Sman Lde'u-cung or any similar name in the *mss* from Dunhuang or in the lists of witnesses to the edicts of Khri Srong Lde-brtsan and Khri Lde-srong-brtsan or to the Sino-Tibetan treaty of 821/822; nor is there any trace in later works which show some knowledge of early records, such as the Bka'-thang-sde-nga and the Chos-'byung of Dpa'-bo gtsug-lag. The question may, therefore, be asked whether the name is that of an office or function and denotes the *Sman* of the royal family, whose patronymic was Lde. Lde'u-cung might imply a cadet member of that family.

Sman immediately suggests a physician and it may be significant that one of the memorials to Lde-smān Lde'u-cung is near Sman-thang—the plain of medicinal plants? There is an extensive later tradition about the introduction of medical science to Tibet which has been examined fully by Professor C. Beckwith in J.A.O.S. 1979. The account in Dpa'-bo gtsug-lag vol *tsa* tells how after a basic medical treatise was brought to Tibet in the seventh century by the Chinese bride of Srong-brtsan sgam-po physicians were invited from India, China and Khrom of Stag-gzigs—"Persian Rome" (Byzantium?). A century later more physicians came from other neighbouring countries, Kashmir, the Turkic lands, and Zhang zhung; and Tibetan physicians were trained, beginning with the famous Gyu-thog Yon-tan Mgon-po. The association of the name of Galenos, the second century Greek physician, with the first group of visitors shows that the tradition is overlaid with legend but that is not to deny that it has some historical basis; and there is evidence of the practice of medicine in the time of the Tibetan kingdom in at least three *mss* from Dunhuang. In one of them, Pelliot Tibetain 1044, the method is attributed to India and is linked with the name of the Lha'i Drang-srong 'Phrul-chan Ha ta na bye thag; another, Pell. T. 1057 is in similar language; and in another, Pell. T. 127 there are references to medical

knowledge from Ta-zig, Dru-gu (the Turks), and Zhang-zhung; but there is no definite mention of a Sman-pa in this connection unless perhaps in 1.160 of Pell. T. 127—*sman ba'i (sman pa'i) yon-tan*.

On the other hand there are numerous references, principally in works on divination, to *sman* of another sort—supramundane beings, many of them female such as the *mu-sman* and *mtsho sman*; others were *sman* of the earth, sky, water, mountains and so on. They have survived in the demonology of Tibetan Buddhism and of Bon as protectors of the faith. In the early times they were associated with other godlings and were especially concerned with the fortunes of the royal family and noble ministers about whose well-being or the opposite, they made prognostications. Many instances, described as *chu sman gyi mchid*, *mu sman gyi zhal nas*, etc. can be seen in *mss* from Dunhuang, e.g. Pell, T 1043 I.O.L. 740.

In order to communicate such messages a medium was needed. Madame A. Macdonald (Spanien) who has made a profound study of those divination *mss* in *Études Tibétaines*, 1971, notes that the *mu-sman* spoke through the mouth of an old woman. Perhaps the persons stated in Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents (F.W. Thomas) II pp. 394, 395 to have been appointed to serve, or petition, (*gsol*) various local deities had a similar function. Madame Macdonald also suggests that some of the beings connected with divination may have been part human and part divine; and it may be possible to see the Lde Sman Lde'u-cung as a forerunner of such present day spirit mediums as the State Oracle of Gnas-chung who in ordinary life is a human being but when possessed by his patron deity becomes a sort of god.

The reference to the performance of *rje* blasphemes that the Lde Sman had some official status. Certainly, the art of astrology, closely allied to divination, had official recognition in the Rtsis-pa Chen-po who is named among the ministers who witnessed the Sino-Tibetan treaty; and the inscription at Skar-cung shows that there were persons who advised the ruler about dreams and omens. The second edict of Khri Srong-lde-brtsan in the Chos-'byung of Dpa'-bo gtsug-lag also refers to interpreters of signs and portents who exerted influence on the royal court.

The debatable reading where the Tibetan text of the inscription has *kha lo snang* and the Chinese has *pha la'o (lo) snang* might have a bearing on the matter. The Tibetan version would be quite out of keeping with normal usage by which either a personal or family name follows that of the clan or family without the particle *gi*, *gyi*, or *kyi*; so, if it is correct, there must be something unusual. *Kha-lo* means "guidance" and *Kha-lo-s nang* might mean a person who gave guidance, perhaps an interpreter of the sayings of a *sman*. But too many problems follow from the speculation and the general reliability of the version in the Chinese article makes the reading *Pha Lo-s nang* the more probable.

Whether Lde Sman Lde'u-cung was a physician or a spirit medium (or, indeed, neither) his services to the *brtsan-po* were such that the privileges

granted to him were extended to future generations of his family. Seemingly he had no son so the grant is made to the other male descendants of his father. Similar grants are seen in the north inscription on the Zhol *rdo-rings* where it is made not only for the direct descendants of Stag-sgra Klu-khong himself but also to other male descendants of his father; and in the Zhwa'i Lha-khang inscriptions where since Myang Ting-nge-'dzin was a celibate monk, his father received the favour.

The name of the *btsan-po* who gave the edict for Lde Sman Lde'u-cung has not survived so the regnal period of the inscription cannot be definitely determined. There is no evidence that the title Btsan-po Lha-sras was used in the time of Khri Lde-gtsug-brtsan but it is applied to Khri Srong-lde-brtsan, Khri Lde-srong-brtsan, and Khri Gtsug-lde-brtsan Ral-pa-can alike.

Orthography may provide the significant clue. The *da drag*, which is found in the Lho-brag inscription, appears in all other surviving inscriptions in varying numbers; but in its extensive use of the archaic *pha* for *pa* that at Lho-brag is comparable only with those on the Zhol *rdo-rings* which are the earliest known and can be dated c.764. In later inscriptions that usage is very rare. Another point in common between the Lho-brag and Zhol inscriptions is that in neither is there any trace of Buddhist influence. It is arguable that the latter date from a time when the revival of Buddhism in the twentieth year of Khri Srong-lde-brtsan—i.e. c.762 A.D. was in its very early stages. The possibility that the Lho-brag inscription reflects popular non-Buddhist religion is not necessarily convincing evidence that it antedates the Buddhist revival, for their memorial inscriptions show that both Khri Srong-lde-brtsan and Khri Lde-srong-brtsan combined respect for the old religion of the gods and worship of earth and heaven with their acceptance of Buddhism; but it certainly does not run counter to the early date suggested by the orthography and allows the Lho-brag inscription to be tentatively assigned to the early years of the reign of Khri Srong-lde-brtsan.

It is to be hoped that Pa-sangs dbang-'dus who has made this valuable discovery, can provide further information which might throw light on the many uncertainties, in particular details of the second inscription and, if possible, photographs or at least a sketch of the lay-out of the texts.

The third subject is some important new information about the inscription at the bang-so—the tumulus tomb—of Khri Lde-srong-brtsan at 'Phyongs-rgyas. When Professor Tucci and I visited the place in 1949 only the upper part of the pillar could be seen above ground; the rest was buried in a field-bank which had been built up over the centuries. Some twenty-two lines of the text were immediately visible but, with the help of the monk guardian, a local woman and boy were engaged to dig a narrow trench which allowed a further twenty-five lines to be seen with considerable difficulty and discomfort. Of most of these only fragmentary, and sometimes doubtful, readings could be recorded. My findings were published in J.R.A.S. 1969 (1).

Now the Chinese authorities have had the whole pillar excavated and

enclosed in a small building. Mrs. Tamara Hill of San Francisco, who was able to photograph the pillar, very kindly sent me some colour slides showing that it rests on a stone tortoise and has a carved decoration of snakes and dragons on its east face. It proves to be a monument of even more imposing dimensions than I had surmised.

Subsequently through the kindness of Professor South Coblin I have seen an article in Chinese by Bsod-nams dbang-'dus and Chang Chien-lin in *Wen-wu* 1985 (9) of which Dr. Roderick Whitfield, Professor of Chinese and East Asian Art at the University of London, has generously given me a summary. The article, which describes the excavated pillar is illustrated with rather poorly reproduced photographs and drawings of the remarkable reliefs on the side of the pillar and on the underside of the small stone canopy, also of the stone tortoise which is carved from the upper part of a block of dressed stone over one metre high. The pillar itself is said to be 5.6 metres in height and the monument overall from base to finial to be 7.18 metres.

The article includes twelve lines of the inscription in Tibetan letters with a transcription in roman. They are said to be the last of a total of fifty-nine lines and therefore appear to join up with the fragmentary readings in my article mentioned above. The text is too badly damaged to allow a continuous translation and some of the readings are dubious. For example *snga* has been read three times for what must be *dang* written with the letter *ng* subscribed under the *d* as is frequently seen in other inscriptions. *Srim* in 1.10 is highly improbable and *zhongs* in 1.11 is doubtful. Nevertheless enough survives to show that there are echoes of some passages in the first part of the inscription eulogizing the traditional attributes of royalty—*thugs-sgam bka-brtsan* (1.4)—and the martial prowess of the *btsan-po* in commanding the allegiance of neighbouring rulers (ls. 7 and 9) but what is important is the clear reference to the Buddhist faith which has not been mentioned earlier. That is not really surprising for Khri Lde-srong-brtsan's devotion to Buddhism is attested in his *Skar-cung* inscription and the related edict preserved in the history of Dpa'-bo gtsug-lag, also in the *Sgra-sbyor* of which fragmentary *mss* from Dunhuang survive. Although much damaged, the closing lines on the pillar appear to mention the death of the *btsan-po* and end by ascribing to his *bang-so* the name Rgyal-chen-'phrul by which it is known also to later historians.

The final burial rites of a *btsan-po* customarily took place about two years after his death in a tomb which had probably been prepared while he was still alive. The pillar can therefore be dated between 815, the year in which Khri Lde-srong-brtsan died, and 817 by when the burial would have taken place.

The decoration on the pillar, about which and connected matters I have had much valuable advice from Professor Roderick Whitfield and Mr. Wladimir Zwalf of the British Museum, combines Indian and Chinese motifs with the latter strongly predominating. On the east and west faces

elongated dragons appear to pursue each other in a scattering of Chinese "cloud-heads" above a group of writhing serpents. The cloud design also appears on the underside of the canopy together with flying apsaras or vidhyādhara figures at each corner and the sun in the centre of the east side and the moon on the west. The sun and moon are also carved at the head of the inscription on the pillar itself.

The whole is a substantial example of the progress of glyptic art in Tibet, the earliest survivals of which appear to be two carved doorways in the Jokhang of Lhasa which was founded in the seventh century (see *Liu I-ssu*, *Hsi-tsang fo-chiao i-shu*, pl. 3., and *Siś and Vaniš*, *Der Weg nach Lhasa* pl. 32). These resemble Licchavi work ascribed to the seventh century illustrated in pls. 13-15 of *The Arts of Nepal* by Pratapaditya Pal I, 1974. Their Indian lineage may be seen in many examples from the elaborate 5th century doorway at Deogarh (B. Rowland, *The Art and Architecture of India*, 1967, pl. 77(B)) to Bodh Gaya in the early Pāla period (Asher, *The Art of Eastern India*, pl. 11, pl. 119). There are also in the Jokhang massive wooden pillars, probably of the same period, with carved capitals showing scrolling and flying figures (*Liu I-ssu* op. cit. pl. 6 and *Jisl, Siś and Vaniš*, *Tibetan Art* pl. 17). The antecedents of such work can be seen in carving at Cha Bahil in Nepal and Nālandā (Pal p. op. cit. pls. 79 and 157). The carved lions and grotesque human head on beam-ends in the Jokhang (*Liu I-ssu* op. cit. pl. 5) may also be from the seventh century but while there are similar figures of a later date—e.g. at Samada c.12th century (Tucci, *Transhimalaya*, 1973 pl. 126) there is a lack of earlier examples.

The next survivals are the rock carvings at Brag Lhamo. From the small part I have seen the iconography appears to be of Indian origin—perhaps modified by passage through Central Asia and executed by Chinese trained craftsmen as I have suggested above (p. 5). When a photograph of the whole group is available it may be possible to draw comparisons with groups of a central Buddha accompanied by supporting Bodhisattvas on either side, from Swat to Dunhuang.

Of the same reign are the dragon and lion figures on Khri Srong Lde-brtsan's commemorative pillar at 'Phyongs-rgyas (Richardson, *Early Burial Grounds in Tibet and Tibetan Decorative Art of the VIIIth and IXth Centuries*, C.A.J. 1963 pl. 15). The carving is badly effaced but the appearance of the quite freely drawn lion on the upper part of the pillar is generally similar to that of the lion supporting Manjusri in paintings from Dunhuang, while the traces of dragon figures on the lower part resemble the stylized carvings on the pillar of Khri Lde-srong-brtsan which are in a tradition that can be traced back to the Han dynasty. I have seen nothing closely comparable to the serpent design on the same pillar; it may be inspired by Indian mythology (see e.g. Pal op. cit. pls. 90 and 252). Sun and moon symbols like those on the Khri Lde-srong-brtsan pillar appear on a painting from Dunhuang of Akāśagarbha with an inscription in Tibetan (B.M. Stein 168). The tortoise base is a Chinese symbol of longevity.

Other examples from the reign of Khri Lde-srong-brtsan are the *rdo-rje* thunderbolt and swastika carved on the bases of the Zhwa'i Lha-khang pillars; the former is rather elaborate and not unlike the designs in the paintings from Dunhuang. Of the same reign is the base of the Skar-cung pillar with a bold pattern of mountains in Chinese style; the fluted canopy and elaborate finial also show Chinese influence.

The most notable survival from the reign of Khri Gtsug-Lde-brtsan Ral-pa-can is the rather battered stone lion on the tumulus at 'Phyongs-rgyas. The treatment of the mane and the concealed ears resembles that of the hair of a Garuḍa image in Nepal (Pal op. cit. pl. 100) but there is also a Chinese feature in the depiction of a muscle on the foreleg rather like that in a well-known Tang marble lion (L. Sickman and A. Soper, *Art and Architecture of China*, p. 1. 61b); but the attitude of the latter is quite different. A pair of lion figures of the 8th century from Nepal are rather nearer (Pal, op. cit. pl. 163) but the closest similarity is a lion from Tumshuq illustrated in Von le Coq, Von Land und Leuten in Ost Turkestan) so the artistic origin of the figure is uncertain.

Another recent article in *Wenwu* shows that excavation of the base of the Sino-Tibetan Treaty pillar at the Jo-khang of Lhasa reveals that the pillar rests on a stone tortoise. Further, at 'U-shang (On-cang-do), where Khri Gtsug-lde-brtsan founded a temple, there is an eighteen-foot tall pillar of well dressed stone with an elegant stone capital, but uninscribed, which also stands on a stone tortoise. In the courtyard of the chapel which was said to have been completely restored by the late Dalai Lama, there is another pillar of reddish stone with a rather heavy capital; it is decorated on its sides with the *Bkra-shis rtags-brgyad* and other religious symbols. Although the pillar looks old, the carvings are in such good condition that I was doubtful whether they could be original; nevertheless these symbols are found in drawings from Dunhuang (e.g. *The Silk Route and Diamond Path*, UCLA Art Council 1982, p. 148).

Conclusions from a limited body of evidence are necessarily speculative. It is known from Chinese records that the Tibetans were highly skilled in fine metalwork and also that they decorated the tombs of their warriors by painting white tigers on them; but nothing of that survives and from the examples considered above it appears that after the initial influence of Indian models, probably by way of Nepal, Chinese influence prevailed. That is not really surprising for after the brief honeymoon period during the reigns of Srong-brtsan sgam-po and Tang Taizong hostilities, which were almost continuous, brought Tibetans into close contact with Chinese frontier towns. Moreover, there was rarely a complete interruption of diplomatic relations. Envoys from each side regularly visited the court of the other and for forty years from 641 to 681 and a further twenty-nine years from 710 to 739 a Chinese princess with her own ministers and retinue lived at the Tibetan capital. But a new closeness of relationship came with the establishment from the decade 776 to 786 of a Tibetan colonial regime in

the Chinese fortress cities of the north-west on the approaches to the Silk Route. There the Tibetans employed Chinese gentry as officials and other local people as translators, scribes and so on; and there they were in contact with Chinese teachers of Buddhism in a tradition which preceded their own conversion. Recent scholarship, notably that of Yoshiro Imaeda and R.A. Stein, has shown the extent to which Tibetan official thought and language were influenced by those of the Chinese classics. Chinese teachers and craftsmen made their appearance in Central Tibet in the later part of the reign of Khri Srong-lde-brtsan and the tradition that Chinese artists as well as Indian and Nepalese, took part in the decoration of Bsam-yas c.779 is not impossible to accept.

Lesser examples of monumental art in the capitals and finials of several inscribed pillars may support that trend. The earliest on the *rdo-rings* at Lhasa Zhol which dates from c.764 before the main influx of Chinese visitors, is small, simple and slightly upcurved; it is surmounted by two stone steps on which rests a small stone dome not unlike the drum of a stupa, crowned by a well-carved finial consisting of three circular ornaments enclosed in a scrolled border. Tibetan observers regarded it as the *Yid-bzhin nor-bu*, the *cintāmaṇi*; in this case perhaps three in one. The canopies of two other pillars of the same reign—that at Bsam-yas dating from c.779-782 and the memorial of the *brtsan-po* about twenty years later—are also plain; the former is surmounted by a gilded ornament symbolizing the sun resting on an upturned quarter moon and topped by a small knob; it can hardly be original and is not an integral part of the pillar. The other supports a dome-shaped stone, like that at Zhol, with a badly weathered cone-shaped finial, possibly a lotus.

Several of the capitals of the next reign beginning c.800, have a more marked Chinese appearance. The canopy of the Skar-cung pillar is handsomely fluted and is topped by an elaborate object which, again, Tibetans described as the *cintāmaṇi*.

The capitals at Zhwa'i lha-khang are absolutely plain and lack finials, having apparently been damaged when the pillars fell down some time after the tenth century. The carving on the underside of the canopy on the pillar at Khri-Lde-srong-brtsan's tomb has already been described; there is also a small scroll decoration round its edge; and the comparatively flat canopy is surmounted by a round lotus bud supported by a beaded collet. From a recent photograph there appears to be some cement at its base suggesting it had been knocked off and replaced since I saw it in 1949.

Of the pillars from the reign of Khri Lde-gtsug-brtsan (815—c.838) that at Lcang-bu has sharply upturned corners and the sides are decorated with a Chinese pattern of clouds. The canopy on the treaty pillar near the Jo-khang is simple and has a decoration of clouds. That on the uninscribed pillar at 'U-shang is slightly upturned and has a simple decoration on its side. Those three and the small pillar in the courtyard at 'U-shang all have conical *cintāmaṇi* finials in slightly different forms and in varying states of preser-

vation. That on the Treaty Pillar is similar to the finials at Skar-cung.

The valuable contributions to the study of early Tibetan art as well as history, social conditions, and language in the three articles examined above give hope that the interest in such matters by Tibetan and Chinese scholars is only the beginning of a continuous search for survivals of Tibet's past. Apart from further possibilities in less well-known parts of central and south-east Tibet, it is probable that the Tibetan empire which extended from Hunza to the north-western frontier of China has left more traces than those discovered by Sir Aurel Stein and Paul Pelliot. Wilhelm Filchner has mentioned in *A Scientist in Tartary*, 1939, p. 144, the finding of small lion figures of heavy stone and many other relics at the site of a Tibetan burial at Tsagan Usu some ninety miles south-west of the Kokonor. The Tibetan scholar Gedun Chopel notes in *The Blue Annals* (Roerich) I, p. 63 that there was near Xining an inscribed stone pillar mentioning the Three Learned Men of Tibet in the late ninth century; and Miss Mildred Cable recorded an old Tibetan temple in a thinly populated area near Dunhuang. The former fortress towns of the Chinese border from Liangzhou to Anxi where there were Tibetan administrative centres in the eighth and ninth centuries might be worth investigating; and so might Bla-brang Bkra-shis dkyil. Further, there are throughout Tibet large numbers of ancient burial mounds, often not recognized as such, and although Tibetan susceptibilities might be offended by the excavation of hallowed places like the bang-so of Srong-brtsan sgam-po, scientific exploration of lesser sites could yield much evidence of the past. There is a series of great conical mounds some 500 feet in circumference seen by the pandit A.K. near the monastery of Jador north of the Gnam-mtsho (Tengri Nor). In one of them there are open passages and nearby there is a large gateway in the rock through which the god Nyenchen Thanglha, the protecting deity of the Tibetan Kings, is said to pass.

Many remains may have been destroyed by time and by man but there is still a chance of some significant discoveries; and it is important that anyone fortunate enough to find some unknown monument, document or artifact should not fail to record it photographically.

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A note from the author is added on the following page.

NOTE

Reference page 11 line 22

Since completing the above I have seen in **The Religions of Tibet** by the late Professor Tucci, pp. 232 and 238, reference to the **lde'u** as a group of diviner-priests possessing a sacred character as protectors of society.

Dr. Michael Aris has drawn my attention to a tradition from Ngang in Bhutan that Khri Srong-lde brtsan had a "beloved natural son" (**thugs nye-ba'i sras zur-pa**) called Lde-chung Don-grub upon whom he conferred the province of Lho-brag. (Michael Aris, **Bhutan**, p. 138). Even though the tradition seems to be distorted it shows that the name of Lde-chung survived in the memories of the Bhutanese who had long connections with Lho-brag.

H.E. Richardson

A PREFACE TO MAHAYANA ICONOGRAPHY

— NIRMAL C SINHA

I

Indian art, particularly iconography, is well-known as idealistic, that is, not realistic. Indian icons are not illustrative of realities or facts of nature. No species of flora or fauna finds exact representation or faithful reproduction in traditional Indian iconography. This is as true of Brahmanical/Hindu images as of Buddhist/Mahayana images.

This tradition is rooted in India's age old belief that the divine being or transcendental entity cannot be defined or described in man's limited vocabulary or in man's limited vision. In India seers of all creeds and schools consider the five senses as led by a sixth sense called "mind". Buddhist as well as Brahmanical saints find even the master sense too little to comprehend the Absolute so as to define or describe it in language or form. An illumined mind can comprehend the Absolute but may not express it. Gautama Buddha chose to be silent.

Krishna tells Arjuna :

But thou canst not see Me
With this same eye of thine own;
I give thee a supernatural eye :
Behold My mystic power as God !

(Bhagavad Gita XI, 8. Eng. Tr. Edgerton)

Oldest Indian scriptures, the Vedic Samhitas, speak of many deities or divinities like Indra or Varuna but are not clear or categorical about RUPA, that is, the form of the deity. On the otherhand images or icons worshipped by the uncivilized or unenlightened people are positively decried. Perhaps these images were gaining popularity with the less advanced among the Vedic community. That is why in the later Vedic works, the Upanishads, we find the seers frequently referring to the Absolute as incomprehensible by the senses and that the likeness of the Absolute 'PRATIMA' was not to be found. Transcending all known expressions and forms the Brahman was known as Transcendental.

Kena Upanishad rules out the sense organs as instruments for comprehending the Brahman. Any material object like stone or wood may be noticed by the eye but the eye cannot notice the Brahman. "That which one sees not with the eye, that by which one sees the eye's seeings, know that indeed to be the Brahman, not this which men follow after here". (I : 6 Eng. Tr. Sri Aurobindo). **Katha Upanishad** elaborates further. "God has not set His body within the ken of seeing, neither does any man with the eye behold Him but to the heart and the mind and the super-mind He is manifest. Who know Him are immortals". (II : 3 : 9

Eng. Tr. Sri Aurobindo). **Svetasvatara Upanishad**, which inter alia speaks of manifested Brahman, lays down: "His form is not to be seen; no one sees him with the eye. Those who through heart and mind know Him as abiding in the heart become immortal". (IV : 20 Eng. Tr. Radhakrishnan). The term RUPA occurs in the Upanishads as in Vedic Samhitas while any concrete representation is decried. Even any visualization within self is not adequate. As **Katha Upanishad** (II ; 3 ; 5) says: "In the self one sees God as in the mirror but as in a dream in the world of the Fathers: and as in water one sees the surface of an object, so one sees Him in the world of the Gandharvas. But He is seen as light and shade in the heaven of the Spirit". (Eng. Tr. Sri Aurobindo).

It is now fairly established that the images in stone or wood censured in the Upanishads were infiltrations from the religion of the conquered Dravidian people. Phallic symbols and iconic forms of Siva Pasupati and Yogi from the Indus Valley made inroads into the religion and cult of the conquerors. Thus the sages who composed the Upanishads no doubt spoke only for the elites among the conquering community. Nevertheless Brahmanical images or icons were on the way when Gautama Buddha appeared.

Bhagavad Gita, whether composed before or after Gautama Buddha, is known to be a work of the Upanishad class. It preserves and projects the Upanishadic speculations about RUPA. Arjuna, after having a vision of the Cosmic Form, exclaims "O abode of the world. You are the imperishable, the manifest and the unmanifest, and that which is beyond both". (XI, 37 Eng. Tr. Vireswarananda).

II

Buddhism begins with reservations and inhibitions about form but flowered into countless forms, THOUSAND BUDDHA!

Gautama Buddha came in a milieu when the quest for Brahman, Brahmajijnasa, trod the path of dialectic tending to agnostic thought. The Absolute in such thought could be RUPA (form), ARUPA (formless) or both. Buddha rebelled against the Vedic rituals and sacrifices as did the seers teaching Sankhya and Vedanta. Buddha could not encourage the cult of image or icon; thus he deplored the tendency to adore the Master's Body.

In **Samyutta Nikaya**, also **Majjhima Nikaya**, is related the story of disciple Vakkali who in his deathbed was most eager to see Buddha in person. Buddha came to him and said "O Vakkali why you crave to have look at this body of impure matter. Vakkali one who perceives Dhamma perceives me. One who perceives me perceives Dhamma". In the same Nikayas, Buddha is on record thus "One who perceives Pratityasamutpada, perceives Dharma; one who perceives Dharma, perceives Pratityasamutpada". In short Buddha said that his Teachings were important and not his Kaya (body). It was an injunction against adoration of the Master's image, that is, Buddha Rupa.

Five centuries later sage Nagasena told the Greek king Menander "Who perceives Dharma perceives Bhagavan (Buddha) for Dharma was preached by Bhagavan". Further "Bhagavan can be pointed out in the body of his Dharma for the Dharma was preached by Bhagavan". The Dharmakaya was to be visualised and not the physical body of Buddha who passed away long ago. It was obvious that Buddha Rupa (image of Buddha) was not unknown and worship of such image was not uncommon.

Relics enshrined in Stupa were worshipped after the passing away of the Master. Worship of stupa was an ancient pre-Buddhist custom and the Master had approved of such adoration of his relics after Mahaparinirvana. These stupas came to be decorated with 'sacred symbols' like Asvatha tree or Dharmachakra and 'sacred animals' like elephant, horse, bull or lion. When events of the Master's life came to be depicted by Maurya and Sunga artists, Buddha Rupa in relief and in round was not far off.

In the first century of Christian era Buddha's Rupakaya was popular with the common people who took refuge in Buddha while only the intellectually advanced like Maharaj Milinda would be taught by sages like Nagasena how to visualize Buddha's Dharmakaya through Dharma. A common believer in first century A.D. could have been Hinayana and not necessarily Mahayana. Buddha Rupa in Theravada countries like Sri Lanka or Thailand bears full testimony down to our time. Buddhaghosa the great Theravada saint-scholar of fifth century A.D. describes in **Visuddhimagga** the Two Bodies thus :

"That Bhagava, who is possessed of a beautiful rupakaya, adorned with eighty minor signs and thirty-two major signs of a great man, and possessed of a dhammakaya purified in every way and glorified by sila, samadhi,full of splendour and virtue, incomparable and fully awakened". (Eng. Tr. Nalinaksha Dutt).

Rupakaya in Hinayana/Theravada tradition referred to the reality, that is, the historical Buddha, a human being. Yet this Hinayana tradition was not altogether free from the religious bias of attributing super-human powers and signs extraordinary to Gautama Buddha. The Buddha Rupa in Theravada countries has never been completely realistic. "A beautiful Rupakaya, adorned with 80 minor and 32 major signs" could not inspire a grossly realistic form. In the homeland of Buddhism in the four centuries prior to Buddhaghosa sculptors of different regions—Amaravati, Mathura, Gandhara—produced different styles of Buddha Rupa. Gandhara, under influence of Hellenistic aesthetics, tended to be most realistic and least idealistic ; Gandhara style failed to spread all over Jambudvipa.

Mahayana iconography along with Mahayana doctrine was firmly established all over the country except some places in south and east in Buddhaghosa's time. In the seventh century A.D. Buddhism made its entry into Tibet with a multi-splendoured iconography depicting a multi-splendoured pantheon. The images were not from the imagination of the artists ; the images were from the vision—the meditation—of the saint-scholars, all mystics.

In Mahayana, Rupakaya came to be designated Nirmanakaya and an intermediate Body designated Sambhogakaya emerged. The Trikaya are: Dharmakaya or Cosmic Body which is Absolute Reality; Sambhogakaya or Body of Bliss which in a personal manner blesses the believers; and Nirmanakaya or Mundane Body which appears on earth to teach Dharma. Dharmakaya cannot be adequately depicted and is generally depicted by a skull; for a believer's comprehension Gautama Buddha after Mahaparinirvana or Adi Buddha like Amitabha may be cited. Sambhogakaya is depicted by a divine Bodhisattva like Avalokitesvara or Manjusri. Nirmanakaya or Manusha Buddha is depicted by Gautama Buddha while on earth; Nagarjuna, Padmasambhava, Atisa or a Guru is more often cited as Manusha Buddha, and Gautama Buddha less often since he is in Dharmakaya.

This is a brief and insufficient account of the figures featuring in Trikaya which formed the theme of Mahayana iconography in Tibet and Mongolia. A separate notice of the doctrine of Three Bodies and the diverse forms of the multiple deities will follow.

This notice may be concluded with a quote from **Vajrachhedika** that Dharma and not Rupa is to be visualised.

Those who by my form did see me,
And those who followed me by voice,
Wrong the efforts they engaged in,
Me those people will not see.

From the dharma should one see the Buddhas,
For the dharma-bodies are the guides.
Yet dharma's true nature should not be discerned,
Nor can it, either, be discerned.

(Eng. Tr. Edward Conze)



AVALOKITESVARA CHATURBHUJA

(1)

न तु मां ब्रूयसे द्रष्टुमनेनैव स्वचक्षुषा ।
दिव्यं ब्रूयामि ते चक्षुः पश्य मे योगमैश्वरम् ॥

(2) श्रीमद् भगवद्गीता XI.५.8

यच्चक्षुषा न पश्यति येन चक्षुषि पश्यति ।
तदेव ब्रह्म त्वं विद्धि नेदं यद्विदुमुपासते ॥

(3) कैनोपनिषद् I.6

न संदृशे तिष्ठति रूपमस्य न चक्षुषा पश्यति कश्चनैनम् ।
हृदा मनीषा मनसामिक्षुप्नो य एतद्विदुरमृतास्ते भवन्ति ॥

(4) कठोपनिषद् II.3.9

नैनमुर्ध्वं न तिर्यज्यं न मध्ये परिजग्रभत् ।
न तस्य प्रतिमा अस्ति यस्य नाम महद्व्यङ्गः ॥

(5) श्वेताश्वतरोपनिषद् IV.19

न संदृशे तिष्ठति रूपमस्य न चक्षुषा पश्यति कश्चनैनम् ।
हृदा हृदिष्ठं मनसा व एनमेवं विदुरमृतास्ते भवन्ति ॥

(6) श्वेताश्वतरोपनिषद् IV.20

यथाऽऽदर्शे तथात्मनि यथा स्वप्ने तथा पितृलोके ।
यथाप्सु परिव द्रष्टृशे तथा गन्धर्वलोके द्वाया तपोरिव ब्रह्मलोके ॥

(7) कठोपनिषद् II:3:5

कस्माच्च ते न नमेरन्महात्मन् गरीयसे ब्रह्मणोऽप्यादिकर्त्रे ।
अनन्त देवेश जगन्निवास त्वमक्षरं सदसत्तत्परं यत् ॥

श्रीमद् भगवद्गीता XI, 37

(8)

रूपं रूपं प्रतिरूपो यमूव ।
इन्द्रो मायाभिः पुरुरूप इयते ॥
ऋग्वेद VI.47.18

(9)
अलम् वक्कलि किम् तै पृतिकाएन द्विट्ठेन । यो खो वक्कलि
धम्मं पस्सति सो मं पस्सति । यो मं पस्सति सो धम्मं पस्सति ।

संयुत/मज्झिमनिकाय
यो पटिच्चसमुप्पादं पस्सति⁽¹⁰⁾ सो धम्मं पस्सति यो धम्मं
पस्सति सो पटिच्चसमुप्पादं पस्सति ।

(11) संयुत/मज्झिमनिकाय
यो धम्मं पस्सति सो भगवन्तं पस्सति, धम्मं हि
महाराज भगवता देसितो ति ।

(12) मिलिन्दपञ्च
धम्मकायेन पन खो महाराज सक्का भगवा निदस्सेतुम्, धम्मो
हि महाराज भगवता देसितो ति ।

(13) मिलिन्दपञ्च
यो पि सो भगवा असीति अनुव्यञ्जनपटिमण्डित-द्वात्तिसमहा-
पुरिसलक्खण-विवित्र-रूपकायो सब्बाकारपरिसुद्धसिलक्ख-
न्दादि-गुणरतनसमिद्धा-धम्मकायो यसमहत्त-पुञ्जमहत्त....
..... अपटिपुग्गलो अरहं सम्मासम्बुद्धो ।

(14) विशुद्धिमग्ग
यो मे पस्सति सद्धमं⁽¹⁴⁾ सो मं पस्सति वक्कलि ।
अपस्समानो सद्धमं मम् पस्से पि न पस्सति ॥

(15) सद्धम्म-संग्रह
ये मां रूपेण चाद्राक्षुर्ये मां घोषेण चान्वयुः।
मिथ्याप्रहाणप्रसूता न मां द्रक्ष्यन्ति ते जनाः॥

धर्मतो बुद्धा द्रष्टव्या धर्मकाया हि नायकाः।
धर्मता च न विजेया न सा शक्या विजानितुम्॥
वज्रच्छेदिका प्रज्ञापारमिता

THE OFFENCES AND RETRIBUTIONS IN THE VINAYAPITAKA

— JAYEETA GANGULY

Offences And Retributions In The Skandhaka (1)

The organization of the Buddhist Order (Saṅgha) developed through a continuous process, as it may be seen in the different versions of the Vinaya texts available to us. After a few centuries from the Mahāparinirvāṇa of Gautama Buddha, the Buddhist Saṅgha was divided into numerous sects (2). Each sect might have possessed a Vinaya-Pitaka of their own, amongst which some texts have come down to us in different languages. The Vinaya-Pitaka is a code of Buddhist monastic discipline. Śākyaputra Gautama came across several unprecedented happenings on which he had to lay down different monastic rules for the maintenance of discipline. These rules have been enumerated in details in the Skandhaka sections of the Vinaya-Pitaka. Often the Group of six monks (3) is said to be responsible for doing certain misdeeds which led Gautama to prescribe such rules. He used to specify the nature of offence (Āpatti) for which punishment was to be inflicted on the monks in every case according to the gravity of the misconduct. The offences likewise received different appellations such as Dukkata, Thullaccaya, etc.

The Saṅgha As A Living Organism

It may appear to be a lofty ideal for those who are conversant with the Science of Organizations. The Buddhist Order basically consists of a group of persons coming from different strata of society and having their distinct mental attitudes and aptitudes. The Buddha claimed that his teachings had been imbued with the eight great characteristics of the ocean (4).

It is well known that there were no restrictions of Vedic caste or social Order among the members of the Saṅgha. But a human being (sattva) always bear an individual outlook on account of their mental conditions and efficacies. Consequently, the Buddha had to face several incidents of resistance, disorderliness and even insubordination amongst the members of his Saṅgha. These incidents prove that the Saṅgha was comparable to a living organism in which the monks were like living cells.

Āpatti (Offence)

According to the monastic rules an offence (āpatti) may be either major (garukāpatti) or minor (Lahukāpatti). A major one, as a potential cause of schism, must be different from all other ecclesiastical minor offences referred to in the canonical texts. In this regard Dr. Biswadeb Mukherji has rightly pointed out: Āpatti can therefore only mean the minor offences which are outside the scope of the seven types of major offences included in the 'vinaya' (5).

Apatti may be derived from a +pad (Pali-English Dictionary by Rhys Davids and Stede). Any transgression of the "sikkhāpadāni" or precepts laid down by the Buddha is considered to be an āpatti. Among the offences enlisted in the Pātimokkha (Skt. Prātimokṣa) the Pārājika and the Saṅghādisesa are said to be included among the Garukāpatti (also known as Adesaṇāgāmini āpatti or Duṭṭhullāpatti) and the remaining are said to be grouped under Lahukāpatti (also known as Desanāgāmini āpatti or aduṭṭhullāpatti). There is also another classification of the apattis viz. sāvasesāpatti and anāvasesāpatti. Among the offences of the Pātimokkha, only the Pārājika is said to belong to the anāvasesāpatti while the remaining are all said to belong to the sāvasesāpatti.

Dukkatāpatti (6)

Dukkaṭa refers to a fault or transgression or a kind of offence on account of "wrong action". All the Sekhiya rules if violated involve the Dukkaṭa offence. The dukkaṭa offence has also been classified into eight groups (7). According to the Dharmaguptaka Vinaya preserved in Chinese, "wrong-doing" has been distinguished under two heads—of body and speech, which are together known as "wrong-doing" (8). Some examples of the infliction of the dukkaṭa offence may be cited from the Skandhaka of the Theravada tradition.

1. After the Buddha had granted the monks the permission to carry out the Uposatha like the other heretic sects, he further enjoined the monks to recite the Pātimokkha rules during the Uposatha assembly. But a few of the monks began to recite the Pātimokkha daily being ignorant of how often the pātimokkha ought to be recited. The matter was reported to the Buddha, whereupon he prescribed that the Pātimokkha ought not to be recited daily but only on the day of the Uposatha. Whoever transgressed this rule, the offence of dukkaṭa would be inflicted upon him.

2. Similarly, the Buddha laid down that the recital of the pātimokkha thrice a fortnight (i.e. on the 8th, 14th and 15th days) would also lead to the infliction of the offence of dukkaṭa and it was permissible to recite the Pātimokkha only on one day, i.e. the fourteenth or the fifteenth (9).

3. The offence of dukkaṭa was also to be inflicted upon the persons who committed the following offences:

- a) Asking questions on the contents of the Vinaya while the assembly is in progress;
- b) Responding to questions on the Vinaya uncalled upon in the midst of the assembly;
- c) Rebuking a monk for an offence without taking his leave;
- d) To perform indisciplinary acts in the midst of the assembly (10).

Many other instances of infliction of the dukkaṭa offence may be cited from other chapters of the Vinaya which require a separate study.

As regards the retribution of the dukkaṭa offence, it may be said that the retributions depended on the gravity of the offences.

The opinion of Rhys Davids & Oldenberg may be cited 'Those slight offences which were not embodied in the pātimokkha are called dukkaṭa offences. They range, as to their gravity, with the Pācittiya offences of the Pātimokkha. For him who had committed a dukkaṭa offence, no further penance was required than a simple confession of his fault' (11).

Dubbhāsītāpatti (12)

(Skt) Durbhāṣita, (Ch) Wu Shuo refers to "An offence of bad speech. It may be against the Buddha, Dharma or Saṅgha or against any person. It is one of the āpattis grouped under Aduṭṭhullāpatti or Lahukāpatti or Desanāgāmini Āpatti (i.e. light offence)" (13).

The Parivāra mentions "Dubbhāsita is that which has been heard according to the truth. Dubbhāsita is bad speech, those words that are impure are termed in this way (dubbhāsita). (14) The dubbhāsita is of rare occurrence as compared to the other offences mentioned. It is clear that all kinds of offensive language or speech used by the monks when speaking to anyone was considered to be an offence of "Dubbhāsita".

As it has been grouped under minor offence, its retribution would therefore evidently correspond to that of other minor offences, viz. a simple confession before any other monk or before the Saṅgha would probably suffice in this case.

Thullaccaya (15)

Thullaccaya is however "A grave offence. Thullaccaya is one of the offences which may be amended for by confessing the "offence" before another monk, it is the most serious one amongst all such offences"..... An offence similar to Pārājika or Saṅghādisesa may be considered as Thullaccaya" (16).

In the parivāra we find the following interpretation of "Thullaccaya" :—

"The Thullaccaya is that which has been heard according to the truth. That which is confessed for one reason, is considered to be (a Thullaccaya). A transgression of which there is no equal, is known as (the Thullaccaya) (17).

Some examples may be cited from the Vinaya-Piṭaka (Theravāda) regarding the infliction of the Thullaccaya. In the Uposatha-khandhaka of the Mahāvagga in pāli, it has been recorded that on the day of the Uposatha if four or more resident or guest monks have assembled to carry out the Uposatha and a number of monks either fewer, equal or greater in number arrive during the course of the Uposatha, if the monks already present carry out the Uposatha and recite the Pātimokkha with the intention of creating schism among the Saṅgha, then the offence of Thullaccaya is inflicted upon them (18).

Similarly, on the day of the Uposatha if four or more resident or guest monks have assembled to carry out the Uposatha and having seen or heard signs of the presence of other resident or guest-monks, carry out the Uposatha and recite the Pātimokkha with the intention of creating schism among the Saṅgha, then the offence of Thullaccaya is inflicted on the monks concerned (19).

As regards the retribution of the Thullaccaya offence, it has already been mentioned above that the Thullaccaya is the most serious of the offences that may be amended for by confession.

Duṭṭhullāpatti (20)

The Pārājika and Saṅghādisesa are called Duṭṭhullāpatti. It is also known as Garukāpatti (21). A duṭṭhullāpatti is a grave transgression of the Rules of the Order, viz. the four Pārājikas and the thirteen Saṅghādisesas (22).

“The term duṭṭhullāpatti is used also in the ninth Pācittiya rules, and the Old Commentary (Suttavibhaṅga) there states that by ‘grave offences’ those belonging to the Pārājika and Saṅghādisesa are understood” (23).

In the Pātimokkha, the word duṭṭhullāpatti appears in the ninth and the sixty fourth Pācittiya rules as follows:

Pācittiya 9. “Yo pana bhikkhu bhikkhussa duṭṭhullaṃ āpattim anupasampanna āroceyya aññatra bhikkhu-sammutiyā, Pācittiyam. [Trans.—If a monk tells an unordained (anupasampanna) about the grievous offence (duṭṭhullāpatti) of another monk without his permission, a pācittiya shall be inflicted upon him.]

Pācittiya 64. Yo pana bhikkhu bhikkhussa jānaṃ duṭṭhullaṃ āpattim paṭicchādeyya pācittiyam. [Trans.—If a monk knowing conceals a grievous offence (duṭṭhullāpatti) of another monk—a pācittiya shall be inflicted on him.]

Its retribution may correspond to that of the Pārājika or Saṅghādisesa according to the gravity of the offence committed.

The offences discussed in the present paper are mostly to be found in the Skandhakas. These names have not been used in the Pātimokkha (except Duṭṭhulla) although some of the offences referred to in the Pātimokkha are equivalent to those mentioned in the Skandhakas. Similarly, we find no mention of the offences of the Pātimokkha in the Skandhakas. The reason may be presumably that “the authors of the final recension of the Vinaya” did not consider it reasonable to introduce new names into the Pātimokkha or to the later offences, in order to retain the original character of the Pātimokkha (24).

In the Suttavibhaṅga, consisting of two books—the pārājika and the Pācittiya—the different kinds of offences (āpatti) in the Pātimokkha have been classified in details. The occasion for the offence as given in the pārājika has been quoted, along with the injunctions by the Buddha, followed by the commentary on each of the rules and the different conditions for the perpetration of the offences. Apart from the main offences enumerated in the Pātimokkha, the Thullaccaya dukkaṭa etc. also have been enlisted, among which the offence of dubbhāsita also rarely appears.

As it has been rightly pointed out by I. B. Horner regarding the origin of such rulings, it is probable that some of the rules were prescribed during the lifetime of

Sākyaputra Gautama, and some by his disciples after his parinirvāṇa as and when the need arose. It is also quite likely that some of the offences were actually committed by the monks while other rules were prepared beforehand as a preventive measure for the monks and nuns.

Similarly regarding the authorship of the rules, although all the rules were attributed to the Buddha himself, we cannot be sure that all the rules enunciated in the Skandhaka were prescribed by the Buddha in person. It does not seem probable that each and every rule and sub-rule was framed by the Buddha personally nor that every trivial matter was reported to him. Inconsistencies in the fixing up of the penalties also leave room to hold that the rules were drawn up on different occasions (25). For example, an incident from the "parivāra" may be cited :

"How many offences are associated with theft ? Three offences are associated with it. Pārājika, if it is an article worth five māśas or more, 'Thullaccaya' if it is an article worth more than one 'māśa', but less than five; and 'Dukkata', if it is an article worth one 'māśa or less" (26).

On scrutiny of such offences and retributions, some new light may be thrown on the development of the monastic organization founded by Sākyaputra Gautama in the pre-Christian period in India. In this regard, the Chinese sources help us to make a survey of the growth of the saṅgha from its earliest times and that requires a separate study.

NOTES

2. Skandhaka (P. Khandhaka) refers to the different sections in the Vinaya-Piṭaka dealing with ordination. Uposatha, (monastic observance for self-purification) rainy-season retreat, etc. in Pāli, the Khandhaka includes two books—The Mahāvagga and the Cullavagga. In Chinese it is translated as Fa and in Tibetan as Gshi. Tibetan Gshi suggests "vastu" in Sanskrit, Fa in Chinese means dharmaka.

2. Sthaviravādins (Therāvādins) Vātsīputriya, Dharmottariya, Bhadrāyānikas, Sammitiyas, Mahīśāsakas, Dharmaguptakas, Kāśyapias, Saṅkrāntikas, Uttariyas. Mahāsāṅghikas, Ekavyavahārika, Lokottaravādins, Bahusrutiyas, Prajñaptivādins, Caityakas, Pūrvasēliyas, Aparasēliyas, Sarvāstivādins (Vide Buddhist Sects in India—Nalinaksha Dutt Ch, iv)

3. P. Chavaggiya Bjikkhu (Skt. Sadvargiya Bhikṣu) Ch. Liu Chun Pi Chin. A group of monks who lived during the Buddha's time and are known to have committed different vinaya offences. The names of these monks are Assaji, Punabbasu, Paṇḍuka, Lohitaka, Mettiya and Bhumajja. These monks were all form Sāvattī and are said to have divided into three groups after entering the Buddhist Order. Each group had about five hundred followers. Of them, the followers of Paṇḍuka and Lohitaka were said to be the most virtuous. They accompanied the Buddha on his tours and did not transgress Vinaya rules like the others.

4. Cullavagga (Nālandā Edition) Pāli Publication Board 1958 Ch. IX, Pg. 353 ff. Also Aṅguttaranikāya (Uposathasutta, Paharādasutta).

5. Journal of Research, Visva-Bharati, Vol. I, Part 1 (Humanities and Social Science) Visva-Bharati, Santiniketan, Visva-Bharati Research Publications 1976-77. Article entitled "The Schismatic Matters and the Early Buddhist Literature" by Dr. Biswadeb Mukherji, Pg. 93.

6. Skt. Duṣkṛta Ch. Tu Chi Luo Tib. Nyes Byas, Mahavyutpatti (abbrev Mvy, 9225). The Mulasarvastivadins (Transliteration) hold Satisara bhavati (Gilgit Manuscripts Vol. 3, Pt. 4 Posadhavastu for dukkaṭa (Tib. Hgal chabs can tu Hgyur ro) whereas the Chinese versions record T'u, Chi, Luo in all the cases.

7. A Dictionary of Early Buddhist Monastic terms—C. S. Upasak Pg. 114 (abbrev. D.E.B.M.T)

8. Foxue Ta Tzu Tien—Ting Fu Pao, Pg. 1578, Wrong-doing has been translated in Chinese as Wu Tsuo.

9. Mahāvagga, Nālandā Edition, Ch. II. Uposathakhandhaka. Pg. 107-108.

In the other Vinaya versions, viz. the Dharmaguptaka and the Mahīśāsaka preserved in Chinese, similar incidents have been narrated although the infliction of the dukkaṭa offence has not been mentioned. (Comp. Dh. Vinaya Taisho Vol. 22, Pg. 817c22ff; Mi Vinaya Pg. 121b17ff). However, the point that the Pmk. rules were to be recited only once a fortnight (the fourteenth or the fifteenth) has been emphasized in all the cases.

10. Mahāvagga, Nālandā Edition Pg. 115-116.

It may be noted in this connection that these rules have not been mentioned in any of the other Vinaya versions.

11. Sacred Books of the East, Vol. 13. Part 1. Vinaya Texts. Rhys Davids & Oldenberg Pg. 166 f.n.No. 1

12. Skt. Durbhāṣita. Ch. Wu Shuo

13. D.E.B.M.T. C.S. Upasak. Pg. 115.

14. Parivāra. Nālandā Edition Pg. 263 "Thullacayaṃ ti yaṃ vuttaṃ, taṃ sunohi yathātathaṃ. Ekassa mūle yo deseti, yo ca taṃ paṭigaṇhati. Accayo tena samo natthi, tenetaṃ iti vuccati."

15. Skt. Sthūlātyaya Ch. Tou Lan Che (Transliteration) Tib. Nes Pai Sgom Po, (Mvy. 9224)

16. D.B.M.T. — C.S. Upasak. Pg. 110

17. Parivāra. Nālandā Edition. Pāli Publication Board, 1958, Pg. 264.

"Dubbhāṣitaṃ ti yaṃ vuttaṃ, taṃ sunohi yathātathaṃ. Dubbhāṣitaṃ durābhaṭṭaṃ, saṅkilitthaṃ ca yaṃ padaṃ. Taṃ ca vinnū garahanti, tenetaṃ iti vuccati".

18. Mahavagga, Nalanda Edition Uposathakhandhaka Pg. 134. 137 Also Comp. Dh. Vinaya Taisho Vol. 22 Pg. 828a2ff; Sa Vinaya Taisho Vol. 23 Pg. 162c26ff; Mu Vinaya Tib. Bkah-Hgyur-Mdul-Ba Khe Vol. 41. F. 155a4ff.

19. Mahāvagga Nālandā Edition. Uposathakhandhaka Pg. 138-139. Also Comp. Dh. Vinaya Taiso Vol. 22 Pg. 828a2ff, Mi Vinaya Taisho Vol. 22 Pg. 127c3ff; Mu Vinaya Skt. Gilgit Ms Vol.3 Pt. IV. Pg. 107, Pg. 110 ff; Tib, Bkah-HGyur, Mdul-Ba-Khe Vol, 41.F.191b2ff;

20. Skt. Duṣṭhūla or Daṣṭhūlya Ch. Kuo Wu Tib. Gnas Nan Len Mvy, 2102 8424, 8473

21. D.E.B.M.T.—C.S. Upasak Pg. 114.

22. Pali-English Dictionary—Rhys Davids & Stede under “duṭṭhullāpatti”.

23. Sacred books of the East. Vol. 17. Vinaya Texts Pt. II, Pg. 316. f.n. no. 2.

24. Rhys Davids & Oldenberg

Sacred Books of the East Vol. XIII, Pt. I, Vinaya Texts Introduction Pg. XXV-XXVI

Also Vinaya Pitakam Vol. I. Edited by Hermam Oldenberg. Introduction Pg. XIX-XX.

Similar opinions have also been shared by Vidhusekhara Sastri (Pātimokkham. with Bengali translation and commentary Introduction Pg. 18)

25. The Book of the Discipline (Vinaya-Piṭaka), Vol. I (Suttavibhaṅga) translated by I. B. Horner. Sacred Books of the Buddhists Vol. X. Pt. I, London, Luzac & Co. 1970 Introduction Pg. XIV ff.

26. Parivāra Nālandā Edition. Pali Publication Board 1958 Introduction Pg. XI. vide pg. 55 for Pāli text.

NOTES & TOPICS

CONTENTS IN THIS NUMBER

With due acknowledgement, Mr. H. E. Richardson's 'Early Tibetan Inscriptions' is reproduced from **Tibet Journal** because of the great importance of the subject. Mr. Richardson has kindly added a note to the reprint. We have requested Mr. Richardson to write for our Bulletin an account of all epigraphs found so far in Tibet. Being the leading historian and epigraphist Mr. Richardson's writing should be of interest and informative to all scholars.

Mr. N. C. Sinha is engaged in writing serially on Mahayana Iconography both for the lay reader and the specialist. The first writing published in this issue answers the common query why the icons from Himalayas and trans-Himalayas are more grotesque than picturesque. The second article which is booked for the next issue of the Bulletin deals with the question of numerous images conventionally called Thousand Buddhas.

Ms. Jayeeta Ganguly in her article makes a comparative study of the Buddhist concept of sin and retribution based on Pali, Chinese and Tibetan sources.

It is not the policy of this Journal to be involved in any news paper controversy or polemic relating to our discipline of studies. Recently an unfair and unfounded allegation has been made by a former Dewan of Sikkim about the purpose and objective of this Institute of Tibetology. Mr. N. C. Sinha has replied to this allegation in the local news paper dated even, Lhabab Duchen. With due acknowledgement to **Sikkim Express** this is reproduced in response to many requests from scholars and others interested in our study in the following pages.

B. GHOSH

Tibetology Contra Nepalese ?

—NIRMAL C SINHA

Nari Kaikhosru Rustomji, better known as Nari Rustomji, was a brilliant member of the Indian Civil Service and is now widely recognized as an authority on the Eastern Himalayas. Mr. Rustomji's scholarship is founded on his lifelong contact with the races and tribes all over the Himalayas east of Nepal, his mastery of the languages and dialects of the peoples concerned, his on-the-ground experience as an administrator all over the eastern regions and his access to archives and records while in service. I have known Nari Rustomji for thirty years now and respect him as an elder in the field of Himalayan Studies though he is eight years younger than me.

I am however constrained to question a recent statement of Nari Rustomji which runs thus: "The late Chogyal made strenuous efforts to revive Sikkim's ancient traditions. As a counter to Nepalese dominance the support of the Government of India and of the Dalai Lama was enlisted to establish an Institute to Tibetology". This was in his paper read on 10 March this year before the Centre for Himalayan Studies, University of North Bengal and is circulating in mimeograph currently. His latest book **Sikkim: A Himalayan Tragedy** out two months earlier, i.e. January 1987 while dealing with "Nepalese-influx" and "Nepalese influence" has quite intriguing matter. I quote: "The Institute was set up as a focus for Tibetan based research and was eventually inaugurated under the joint auspices of His Holiness the Dalai Lama of Tibet and India's Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru. There could have been no firmer assurance for Sikkim's minorities of India's rejection of the traditional policy of seeking for a guarantee against a revival of Tibetan influence". (pp. 43-44)

The British rulers had discovered "the surest guarantee against a revival of Tibetan influence in Sikkim" in the increasing immigration of Nepalese "the hereditary enemies of Tibet". The Lepchas and Bhutias being followers of Tibetan Buddhism are—in view of Claude White, Herbert Risley and Nari Rustomji—ipso facto anti-Hindu and therefore anti-Nepalese. The Institute of Tibetology in Sikkim therefore in such logic would be anti-Nepalese.

In his first publication, **Enchanted Frontiers** (Oxford University Press 1971) Nari Rustomji no doubt says much about Nepalese majority and Bhutia-Lepcha minority in Sikkim. He however says nothing on Tibetology contra Nepalese in describing the Sikkim Maharajkumar's project. I quote in extenso.

"There should be, according to his idea, a centre for research into Tibetan literature and Mahayana Buddhism, where scholars and lamas of Sikkim would give and receive guidance in their avocations. The centre should include a library of Tibetan books, religious and secular, which could be availed of for study

Reproduced from Sikkim Express, 12 November, 1987

at the centre itself and mimeographed for the use of research scholars in other parts of the world. There was apprehension that, with the growing tide of Chinese infiltration into Tibet, the ancient books and historical records in the monasteries might be pillaged or destroyed. The idea thus emerged of establishing an institute which would serve as a refuge and repository of Tibetan culture where the old values could be kept alive." (p. 230)

"Nehru was infected by the Prince's enthusiasm and unhesitatingly pledged his support. The Dalai Lama too gave his blessing to the venture and promised to assist with books and to encourage learned scholars and lamas to give the benefit of their scholarship to the centre. The corner stone of the Namgyal Institute of Tibetology, as the centre was named, was laid by the Dalai Lama during his return from India through Sikkim and we invited Jawaharlal Nehru to perform the formal opening during the following year, by when we hoped to complete the main central building. The Institute was the Prince's own, beloved brain-child." (p. 230)

II

I was present at the North Bengal University Centre for Himalayan Studies (10 March 1987) when Mr Rustomji read his paper and I did protest about any anti-Nepalese objective of the Institute of Tibetology. Now that the Paper (in mimeograph) and the book SIKKIM (Allied Publishers) are on circulation I am urged by my friends who count as many Tibetans as Nepalese all over India as also Lepchas, Bhutias and Nepalese in Sikkim to record in print the facts about the foundation and objectives of this Institute of Tibetology in Sikkim. My credentials are clear to my friends in Sikkim as in other states of India and also abroad in the Universities or centres specializing in studies relating to Himalayas or Buddhism in Himalayas and Trans-Himalayas. Readers other than such friends are not expected to know an obscure specialist like me. I thus submit first my biodata relevant to this matter.

I was the first Director of the Sikkim Institute of Tibetology serving from 1958 to 1971 was Director again from 1976 to 1978 and was called in 1983 to organize the Silver Jubilee and shall stay at this post till next summer. All these years have been for me happy years, years of education and not years of employment only.

My association with this project goes back to the Buddha Jayanti Year (1956). I was then Cultural Attache with the India Mission for Sikkim, Bhutan and Tibet. The Sikkim Maharajkumar (later Chogyal) had programmed for collection, preservation and Study of Tibetan texts of all sects in one centre and sought support from the Prime Minister of India currently celebrating 2500 years of Buddhism. Maharajkumar chose the right year and the right man. For Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's veneration for Gautama Buddha was as high as his reverence for Mahayana philosophy which can be recovered fully from Tibetan translations of lost Sanskrit originals.

Besides the Head of our Mission, Apasaheb Balasaheb Pant, better known as Apa Pant, not withstanding Oxford Modern Greats and London Inns of Court,

was a great enthusiast about Oriental Learning and would openly affirm his faith in transcendental values and mystic lore. Apa Pant loved me and esteemed me despite my purely academic leanings to Yoga and Prajnaparamita. He lent all his weight to Maharajkumar in this task of securing Prime Minister's official support and made me handle all papers and correspondence re: Sikkim Project of Tibetology. The Maharajkumar came to like me from the first day we met and when promise of Pandit Nehru's official support was received, Maharajkumar entrusted me with drafting a Charter for incorporation of an Institute of Tibetology.

This Draft was ready in February 1958, when I was negotiating for a Readership in History with emphasis on Inner Asia in a Central University. Maharajkumar threw a surprise on Government of India by asking for my services to be the Director of this Institute. I pleaded my poor knowledge of the Language (Tibetan) and the Religion (Buddhism) and was keen to be back to purely academic pursuits. Even Apa Pant could not persuade me. My good friend Jagat Singh Mehta, then Deputy Secretary and later Foreign Secretary, told me on spot (South Block) that after Nari Rustomji I was the first from Government of India to be asked for by name by the Sikkim Darbar and that even the Prime Minister had heard this and approved Maharajkumar's choice. Jagat Mehta warned me against negotiating with the Central University. I had to forget the calls from any University and joined as Director of this Institute on 1 July 1958, three months prior to its opening by the Prime Minister of India. I joined with all warmth, and have never regretted this.

III

I state the above details to say that I was not ignorant of any controversies that could arise and would begin my rejoinder by saying that I had never known any anti-Nepalese posture of Jawaharlal Nehru or Apa Pant in my task. I mention Apa Pant because he was instrumental in obtaining Prime Minister's official support. Nehru's individual moral support was there from the beginning but his official support, that is, support of the Prime Minister of that of the Government of India was much else.

Nehru's advisers in South Block had objections, not related to ethno-linguistic philosophy of Nari Rustomji. One objection was that Government of India's support would annoy the Chinese authorities. Gangtok reply was that Communist China was also celebrating Buddha Jayanti in many ways and had offered to bring to India the skull of the great Mahayana pilgrim scholar Hiuen Tsang. Another was that an Institute of Tibetology in Sikkim would attract all sorts of Western visitors and special visa for Sikkim was a growing problem. Gangtok reply was that the foreigners' quest for butterflies and rhododendrons of Sikkim would be there as long as Tourism authorities' quest for foreign exchange was there. And about Maharajkumar being anti-Communist and anti-Chinese, Gangtok drew the Prime Minister's notice to the lavish hospitality and generous travel facilities extended by the Chinese to Maharajkumar on his Tibet pilgrimage previous year.

Enjoying the confidence of both Apa Pant and Maharajkumar I was witness to all talks and was the keeper of all records re: Sikkim Project. I never came across any ethno-linguistic considerations like checkmating "Nepalese dominance" or "revival of Tibetan influence" in Sikkim weighing in the minds of the makers of the Institute.

IV

I take the Dalai Lama first, as His Holiness would consider any notice of such controversy beneath his dignity. I would only say that why the Dalai Lama should at all be interested in a statecraft to counter both "Nepalese dominance" and "revival of Tibetan influence" in Sikkim. About Jawaharlal Nehru I would reiterate that such considerations did not inspire him to support Sikkim Project. About Apa Pant, I say that his pro-Nepalese as well as pro-Tibetan sentiments are well-known and he would never be party to such strange statecraft as propounded in Nari Rustomji's latest book (SIKKIM pp. 41-44). I consider last Maharajkumar Palden Thondup Namgyal, "author of Sikkim Project for Tibetology" in Nehru's words if my memory does not fail.

I would not claim the degree of closeness to Maharajkumar (later Chogyal) as Mr. Rustomji can rightly claim. I only affirm that I had enjoyed his affection, love and confidence from the very beginning till I asked for release (1970) to respond to offer of Professorship from my Alma Mater (Calcutta University). I too knew the mind of Maharajkumar (Chogyal) and I cannot deny that his one constant concern was about the Nepalese majority and Lepcha-Bhutia minority. To the best of my knowledge, Maharajkumar had never brought the ethno-linguistic politics to the planning and building up the Institute of Tibetology. Maharajkumar's stakes were much high as he wanted to tell the wide world that "small Sikkim could build a repository for preservation of learning associated with Chhos (Dharma) and this Institute was the first such" (Maharajkumar's words to me again and again). In this endeavour Maharajkumar counted as much on Nepalese as on Tibetan co-operation.

In summer 1962 when Maharajkumar returned from New Delhi after releasing our well-known art-book dedicated to Jawaharlal Nehru he told me: "Panditji and your Professor (Humayun Kabir) say that Maharajkumar's Tibetology has already put Sikkim on the map of academic world. I say you have put Sikkim on the map". With humility and pride I received these words. I did not feel that all my good efforts had the ulterior objective of countering "Nepalese dominance" and "Tibetan influence" and do not feel that way even after I read Nari Rustomji's latest book. I have silently swallowed remarks like "Nehru fooled by Liaquat Ali Khan" or "Nehru fooled by Chou-En-Lai". I shall not accept any remark like "Nehru fooled by Sikkim Maharajkumar". Such denigration covers both, Jawaharlal Nehru and Palden Thondup Namgyal.

I write later on the role of Nepalese in building up this Institute. I refer meanwhile to an incident in the General Council (Institute's Governing Body)

meeting in 1970. A VIP lady as member of the General Council demanded to know why the Director of this Institute had so far made no programme about Lepcha culture or literature; further why should this Institute not work mainly, if not solely, for study of Sikkim history and culture. I had replied that this was never earlier required from this Institute and that for any change in emphasis from Tibetology the Charter of Incorporation should be amended. The Chogyal as President agreed with me. I understood that our objectives as laid down in the Charter were to remain the same. It is not necessary here to name the VIP. It is necessary to point out that Mr. Rustomji, though a Founder Member of this Institute, is reconstructing the history of this Institute.

Though I am the last in the list of Founder Members I can say that in rewriting the history of this Institute, Nari Rustomji is unwittingly guilty to character assassination of a dead friend, Chogyal Palden Thondup Namgyal.

The list of Founder Members (Annexure I of the Charter, reproduced in Sikkim Act IV of 1976) includes these Nepalese: Gomchen Pema Tamang Lama, Shri Motichand Pradhan, Shri Maniharsha Jyoti and Shri Bhim Bahadur Pradhan. Gomchen was abbot of Namchi monastery. Motichand Pradhan, retired Chief Magistrate of Sikkim, was as good in Tibetan as in his own language and an ardent collector of Sanskrit and Tibetan works about the Pandits in the Land of Snow. Maniharsha Jyoti—of the famous industrialist house Jyoti Brothers spread over Kathmandu, Lhasa, Calcutta, Singapore and Bonn—is a patron of Nepali Vajracharyas and Tibetan Lamas and was useful in Maharajkumar's procurement of xylographs and manuscripts in Tibet. Bhim Bahadur Pradhan, retired Forest Manager, famous as an authority on Himalayan flora, was close to the Lepcha as well as Tamang temples and monasteries. I may add that Maharajkumar had very much in mind the names of Tenzing Norgay, the famous mountaineer and Ganju Lama, the famous soldier and due to some slip in papers moving between different authorities concerned these names were not in the Annexure when the Charter was promulgated on 28 October 1958.

From this promulgation in 1958 through the amendement as Sikkim Act IV of 1976 Nepalese association is continued. In the General Council after 1976 there have been scholars and scholarly Nepalese like Kashiraj Pradhan and C.D. Rai. At this moment of writing the Vice-President, elected from the General Council members, is a Nepalese Brahmin Hon'ble K. N. Upreti, Education Minister; and the prestige post of Financial Adviser cum Tresurer is held by late Bhim Bahadur Pradhan's son, K. C. Pradhan, Finance Secretary to the Government of Sikkim. Mr. Pradhan like his father is as much close to Sikkim monasteries as to Sikkim forests.

I would fail in acknowledging the Institute's indebtedness to "Nepalese majority" of Sikkim, if I do not record that a Nepalese dominated government with a Nepalese Chief Minister, Hon'ble N. B. Bhandari have evinced the same

interest and concern about this Institute as the previous government would. Annual Maintenance Grants come without complex audit conditions, and any Extra Grant needed is issued on application only. Facilities from all Government Departments are received irrespective of ethnolinguistic or religious or denominational affinities of the Ministers and Secretaries concerned.

VI

The ethno-linguistic and communal mechanics of ruling India were devised by the British authorities in pre-1914 years and the same authorities had their first shock in 1919, the year Mr. Rustomji was born at Lahore. In Jalianwala Bagh Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs faced solidiers commanded by a British General and the dead counted six hundred. In 1930 summer, when Mr. Rustomji was abroad in Bedford School, the famous Garhwali soldiers refused to fire on Pathans at Id prayers in Peshawar maidan. In 1940-42 when Mr. Rustomji was an ICS probationer, the British were recruiting Nepali Hindus, Nepali Buddhists and even Bhutias into the armed forces. 'Inter arma leges silent' and even the forbidden Buddhists in the Himalayas were welcome. The Two-Nation theory and the Partition of India came no doubt in the aftermath of war. In this aftermath the theory of "the hereditary enemies" of each other : Nepalese and Tibetan was dead mutton for British.

In his anxiety to propound the doctrine of countering "Nepalised dominance" and "revival of Tibetan influence" in one stroke, Nari Rustomji ignores and suppresses the great historic fact that Central Himalayas or Nepal have been the stop over in the journey of Buddhism (Mahayana) to Tibet and Mongolia. Padmasambhava, Santarakshita, Kamalashila and even Atisa Dipankara stopped and studied in Nepal on way to Tibet. Nepal gave asylum to Buddhist scholars from the plains. Nepal preserved the Buddhist scriptures and expositions, sent these to Tibet and Nepalese Pandits also joined in the translation of Sanskrit works into Tibetan. The iconography of Gautama Buddha and Mahayana deities was further developed in Nepal, and Nepali style was model for Tibet and Mongolia. The great king Song-tsen Gampo and his Nepali consort are equally adored in Tibet. Sites in Nepal are sacred for Tibetan and Mongol pilgrims. Nepali Hindu have apotheosized Gautama Buddha far more than other Hindus. I can not digress further here. I can tell the readers that three great pioneers Brian Hodgson, Rajendra Lala Mitra and Sylvain Levi had acquired their knowledge of Tibetan Buddhism by residence in Nepal and these three noticed the harmony between Hindus and Buddhists. Any picture of "hereditary enemies" was not for them.

I conclude my writing at length with two quotes from the Charter of Incorporation of this Institute:

"Chhos in Tibetan is equivalent to Dharma in Sanskrit but is generally used in all Tibetan speaking countries in a special sense as the Doctrine of the Buddha".

"In our belief and in deference to the teachings of all Sangyas (Buddhas) and Changchub Sempas (Bodhisattvas), Chhos is eternal and all embracing. Study of the doctrines of other Sects and Schools such as Theravada, Jaina and Brahmana may enable us to see more clearly the historical development of Chhos. May the great catholicity of Chhos enlighten the quest of the Sikkim Research Institute of Tibetology".

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