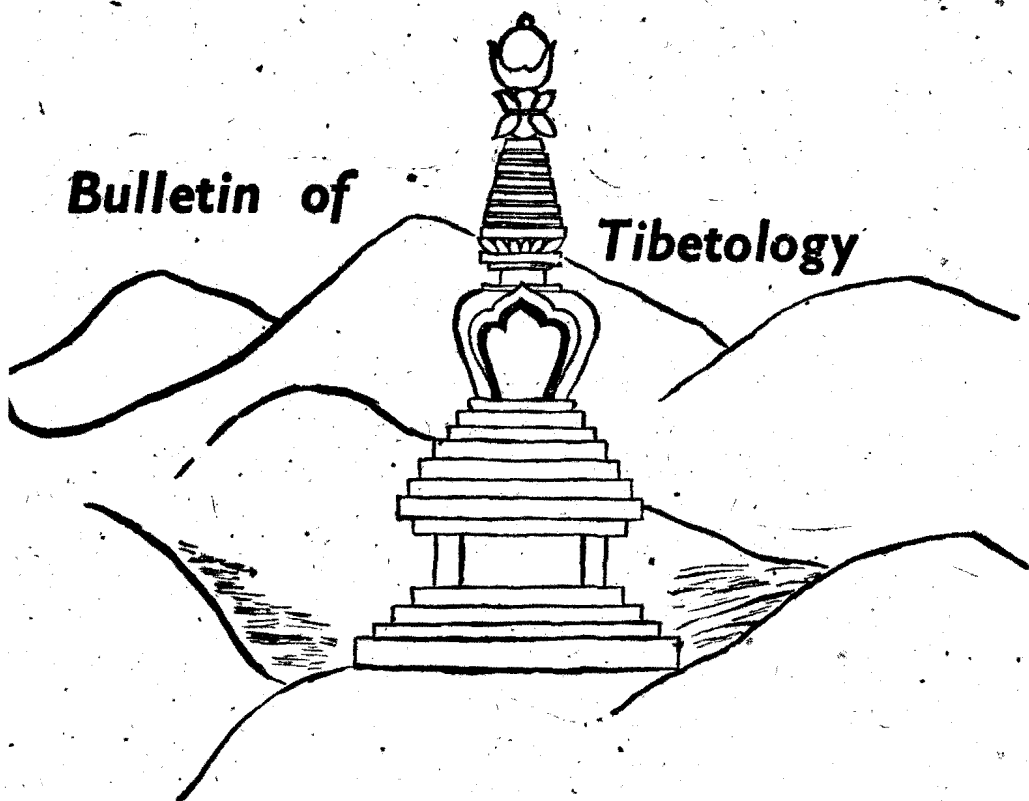


Bulletin of

Tibetology



Vol. V

No. 3

12 NOVEMBER 1968

**NAMGYAL INSTITUTE OF TIBETOLOGY
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

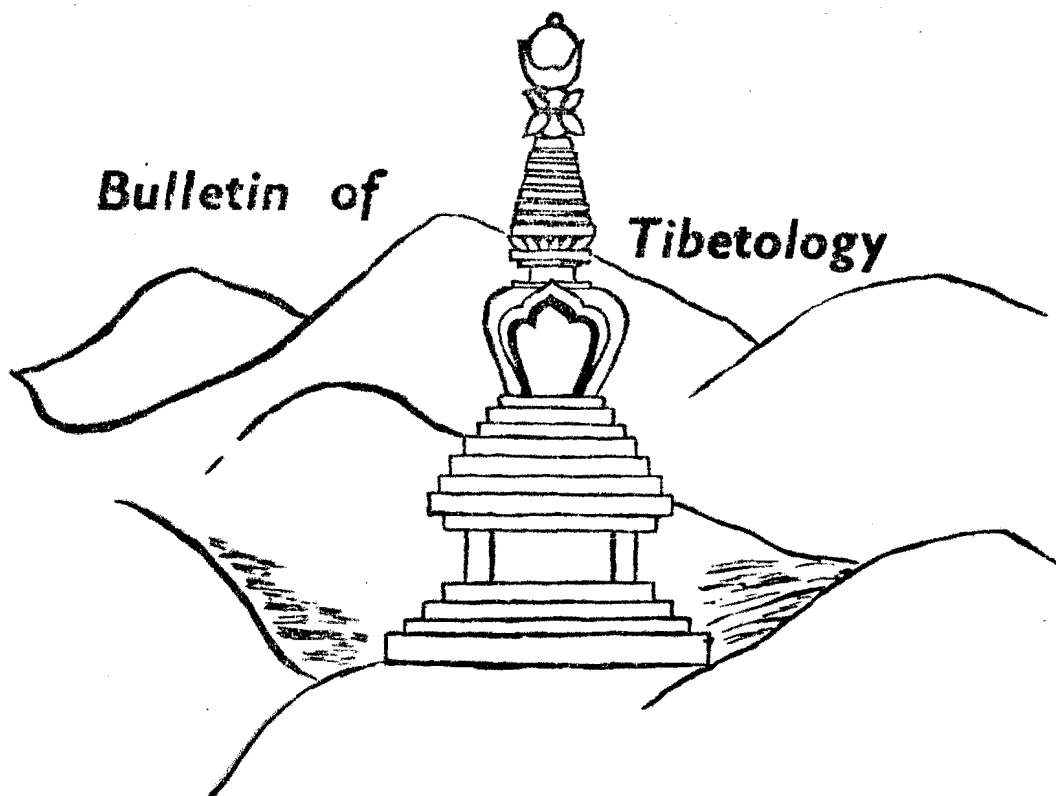
GYALMO HOPE NAMGYAL

T. SHERAB GYALTSHEN

NIRMAL C. SINHA

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བསྟེན་པ་བཞུགས་སོ། །

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH

--MYNAK R. TULKU

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

三

[illegible]

— ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ।
— मन्त्रः । नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ।
— अथ गायत्री । नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ।
— अथ श्लोकः । नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ।

一 𑖀𑖄𑖆𑖅𑖇𑖈𑖉𑖊𑖋𑖌𑖍𑖎𑖏𑖐𑖑𑖒𑖓𑖔𑖕𑖖𑖗𑖘𑖙𑖚𑖛𑖜𑖝𑖞𑖟𑖠𑖡𑖢𑖣𑖤𑖥𑖦𑖧𑖨𑖩𑖪𑖫𑖬𑖭𑖮𑖯𑖰𑖱𑖲𑖳𑖴𑖵𑖶𑖷𑖸𑖹𑖺𑖻𑖼𑖽𑖾𑗀𑖿𑗁𑗂𑗃𑗄𑗅𑗆𑗇𑗈𑗉𑗊𑗋𑗌𑗍𑗎𑗏𑗐𑗑𑗒𑗓𑗔𑗕𑗖𑗗𑗘𑗙𑗚𑗛𑗜𑗝𑗞𑗟𑗠𑗡𑗢𑗣𑗤𑗥𑗦𑗧𑗨𑗩𑗪𑗫𑗬𑗭𑗮𑗯𑗰𑗱𑗲𑗳𑗴𑗵𑗶𑗷𑗸𑗹𑗺𑗻𑗼𑗽𑗾𑗿𑘀𑘁𑘂𑘃𑘄𑘅𑘆𑘇𑘈𑘉𑘊𑘋𑘌𑘍𑘎𑘏𑘐𑘑𑘒𑘓𑘔𑘕𑘖𑘗𑘘𑘙𑘚𑘛𑘜𑘝𑘞𑘟𑘠𑘡𑘢𑘣𑘤𑘥𑘦𑘧𑘨𑘩𑘪𑘫𑘬𑘭𑘮𑘯𑘰𑘱𑘲𑘳𑘴𑘵𑘶𑘷𑘸𑘹𑘺𑘻𑘼𑘽𑘾𑘿𑙀𑙁𑙂𑙃𑙄𑙅𑙆𑙇𑙈𑙉𑙊𑙋𑙌𑙍𑙎𑙏𑙐𑙑𑙒𑙓𑙔𑙕𑙖𑙗𑙘𑙙𑙚𑙛𑙜𑙝𑙞𑙟𑙠𑙡𑙢𑙣𑙤𑙥𑙦𑙧𑙨𑙩𑙪𑙫𑙬𑙭𑙮𑙯𑙰𑙱𑙲𑙳𑙴𑙵𑙶𑙷𑙸𑙹𑙺𑙻𑙼𑙽𑙾𑙿𑚀𑚁𑚂𑚃𑚄𑚅𑚆𑚇𑚈𑚉𑚊𑚋𑚌𑚍𑚎𑚏𑚐𑚑𑚒𑚓𑚔𑚕𑚖𑚗𑚘𑚙𑚚𑚛𑚜𑚝𑚞𑚟𑚠𑚡𑚢𑚣𑚤𑚥𑚦𑚧𑚨𑚩𑚪𑚫𑚬𑚭𑚮𑚯𑚰𑚱𑚲𑚳𑚴𑚵𑚷𑚶𑚸𑚹𑚺𑚻𑚼𑚽𑚾𑚿𑛀𑛁𑛂𑛃𑛄𑛅𑛆𑛇𑛈𑛉𑛊𑛋𑛌𑛍𑛎𑛏𑛐𑛑𑛒𑛓𑛔𑛕𑛖𑛗𑛘𑛙𑛚𑛛𑛜𑛝𑛞𑛟𑛠𑛡𑛢𑛣𑛤𑛥𑛦𑛧𑛨𑛩𑛪𑛫𑛬𑛭𑛮𑛯𑛰𑛱𑛲𑛳𑛴𑛵𑛶𑛷𑛸𑛹𑛺𑛻𑛼𑛽𑛾𑛿𑜀𑜁𑜂𑜃𑜄𑜅𑜆𑜇𑜈𑜉𑜊𑜋𑜌𑜍𑜎𑜏𑜐𑜑𑜒𑜓𑜔𑜕𑜖𑜗𑜘𑜙𑜚𑜛𑜜𑜝𑜞𑜟𑜠𑜡𑜢𑜣𑜤𑜥𑜦𑜧𑜨𑜩𑜪𑜫𑜬𑜭𑜮𑜯𑜰𑜱𑜲𑜳𑜴𑜵𑜶𑜷𑜸𑜹𑜺𑜻𑜼𑜽𑜾𑜿𑝀𑝁𑝂𑝃𑝄𑝅𑝆𑝇𑝈𑝉𑝊𑝋𑝌𑝍𑝎𑝏𑝐𑝑𑝒𑝓𑝔𑝕𑝖𑝗𑝘𑝙𑝚𑝛𑝜𑝝𑝞𑝟𑝠𑝡𑝢𑝣𑝤𑝥𑝦𑝧𑝨𑝩𑝪𑝫𑝬𑝭𑝮𑝯𑝰𑝱𑝲𑝳𑝴𑝵𑝶𑝷𑝸𑝹𑝺𑝻𑝼𑝽𑝾𑝿𑞀𑞁𑞂𑞃𑞄𑞅𑞆𑞇𑞈𑞉𑞊𑞋𑞌𑞍𑞎𑞏𑞐𑞑𑞒𑞓𑞔𑞕𑞖𑞗𑞘𑞙𑞚𑞛𑞜𑞝𑞞𑞟𑞠𑞡𑞢𑞣𑞤𑞥𑞦𑞧𑞨𑞩𑞪𑞫𑞬𑞭𑞮𑞯𑞰𑞱𑞲𑞳𑞴𑞵𑞶𑞷𑞸𑞹𑞺𑞻𑞼𑞽𑞾𑞿𑟀𑟁𑟂𑟃𑟄𑟅𑟆𑟇𑟈𑟉𑟊𑟋𑟌𑟍𑟎𑟏𑟐𑟑𑟒𑟓𑟔𑟕𑟖𑟗𑟘𑟙𑟚𑟛𑟜𑟝𑟞𑟟𑟠𑟡𑟢𑟣𑟤𑟥𑟦𑟧𑟨𑟩𑟪𑟫𑟬𑟭𑟮𑟯𑟰𑟱𑟲𑟳𑟴𑟵𑟶𑟷𑟸𑟹𑟺𑟻𑟼𑟽𑟾𑟿𑠀𑠁𑠂𑠃𑠄𑠅𑠆𑠇𑠈𑠉𑠊𑠋𑠌𑠍𑠎𑠏𑠐𑠑𑠒𑠓𑠔𑠕𑠖𑠗𑠘𑠙𑠚𑠛𑠜𑠝𑠞𑠟𑠠𑠡𑠢𑠣𑠤𑠥𑠦𑠧𑠨𑠩𑠪𑠫𑠬𑠭𑠮𑠯𑠰𑠱𑠲𑠳𑠴𑠵𑠶𑠷𑠸𑠺𑠹𑠻𑠼𑠽𑠾𑠿𑡀𑡁𑡂𑡃𑡄𑡅𑡆𑡇𑡈𑡉𑡊𑡋𑡌𑡍𑡎𑡏𑡐𑡑𑡒𑡓𑡔𑡕𑡖𑡗𑡘𑡙𑡚𑡛𑡜𑡝𑡞𑡟𑡠𑡡𑡢𑡣𑡤𑡥𑡦𑡧𑡨𑡩𑡪𑡫𑡬𑡭𑡮𑡯𑡰𑡱𑡲𑡳𑡴𑡵𑡶𑡷𑡸𑡹𑡺𑡻𑡼𑡽𑡾𑡿𑢀𑢁𑢂𑢃𑢄𑢅𑢆𑢇𑢈𑢉𑢊𑢋𑢌𑢍𑢎𑢏𑢐𑢑𑢒𑢓𑢔𑢕𑢖𑢗𑢘𑢙𑢚𑢛𑢜𑢝𑢞𑢟𑢠𑢡𑢢𑢣𑢤𑢥𑢦𑢧𑢨𑢩𑢪𑢫𑢬𑢭𑢮𑢯𑢰𑢱𑢲𑢳𑢴𑢵𑢶𑢷𑢸𑢹𑢺𑢻𑢼𑢽𑢾𑢿𑣀𑣁𑣂𑣃𑣄𑣅𑣆𑣇𑣈𑣉𑣊𑣋𑣌𑣍𑣎𑣏𑣐𑣑𑣒𑣓𑣔𑣕𑣖𑣗𑣘𑣙𑣚𑣛𑣜𑣝𑣞𑣟𑣠𑣡𑣢𑣣𑣤𑣥𑣦𑣧𑣨𑣩𑣪𑣫𑣬𑣭𑣮𑣯𑣰𑣱𑣲𑣳𑣴𑣵𑣶𑣷𑣸𑣹𑣺𑣻𑣼𑣽𑣾𑣿𑤀𑤁𑤂𑤃𑤄𑤅𑤆𑤇𑤈𑤉𑤊𑤋𑤌𑤍𑤎𑤏𑤐𑤑𑤒𑤓𑤔𑤕𑤖𑤗𑤘𑤙𑤚𑤛𑤜𑤝𑤞𑤟𑤠𑤡𑤢𑤣𑤤𑤥𑤦𑤧𑤨𑤩𑤪𑤫𑤬𑤭𑤮𑤯𑤰𑤱𑤲𑤳𑤴𑤵𑤶𑤷𑤸𑤹𑤺𑤻𑤼𑤽𑤾𑤿𑥀𑥁𑥂𑥃𑥄𑥅𑥆𑥇𑥈𑥉𑥊𑥋𑥌𑥍𑥎𑥏𑥐𑥑𑥒𑥓𑥔𑥕𑥖𑥗𑥘𑥙𑥚𑥛𑥜𑥝𑥞𑥟𑥠𑥡𑥢𑥣𑥤𑥥𑥦𑥧𑥨𑥩𑥪𑥫𑥬𑥭𑥮𑥯𑥰𑥱𑥲𑥳𑥴𑥵𑥶𑥷𑥸𑥹𑥺𑥻𑥼𑥽𑥾𑥿𑦀

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

— ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ।
— ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ।
— ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ।
— ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ।

(6)

一 丑^レ 三^レ 二^レ 丁^レ 己^レ 未^レ 申^レ 酉^レ 戌^レ

一 卯^レ 辰^レ 巳^レ 午^レ 未^レ 申^レ 酉^レ 戌^レ

一 寅^レ 卯^レ 辰^レ 巳^レ 午^レ 未^レ 申^レ 酉^レ

一 子^レ 丑^レ 寅^レ 卯^レ 辰^レ 巳^レ 午^レ 未^レ

— ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय —
— ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय —
— ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय —
— ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय —

[illegible]

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[ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय]

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(ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय)

PANEGYRICS IN HONOUR OF SAKYA PANDITA (1)

1. Having reached the other side of the ocean of Sciences,
Seized with the treasure island of Sermon,
With reputation decorating the ears of all,
(Thou) Sakyapa wonderful object of praise.
2. By knowledge (Thou) seest the Truth of all Wisdom,
Out of love (Thou) entertainest the living beings to the
festival of moral lessons,
By deeds always (Thou) pleasest the Conqueror (Jina=Buddha),
Salutation to Thee whose name is hard to describe.
3. Thy Wisdom free from defilement (moves)
In the (space of) limitless learning
As the sun on the heaven's highway:
As my mind beholds (the sun):
In wonder the model of that (learning)
Is sought in Manjusri's knowledge,
But no distinctions between the two appear,
So I could not find (Thy) model.
4. (Thou) art Manjusri the Conqueror's profound Wisdom:
Of the people of perfect white snowy highland (Tibet)
(Thou) art the most beautiful crown ornament:
(Thou) Sakyapa the dispeller of all darkness (ignorance).
5. With kindness like motherly affection (Thou) art very happy
In leading all beings across the (Wheel of) Existence with
Thy way:
(Thou) subduest the forces of evil by the forces of Wisdom
and love:
Salutation to Thee the upholder of the banner of Doctrine.
6. By Thee, the gem of Buddha's Doctrine
Is washed of impurities by the water of (Thy) knowledge
Cleansed by the true commands:
(Thou) honourest the banner of meditation on top.
7. Day and night all the time
Thou thinkest of the Doctrine only:
In degenerate age of refugeless living beings
(Thou) art more generous than the Conqueror.

8. Knowing well the (ordinary) Sciences and through the
Baskets (of Doctrine)
All the thoughts of those who attained bliss :
To the people who are stupid, satisfied partly and not
understanding according to Doctrine,
With ever growing affection for them
(Thou) givest them the right meanings :
Sweet to hear, agreeable and easy to understand
By (Thine) infallible speech again and again the Exhorter
Salutation to Thee from the bottom of heart.
9. (Thou) the Lord of Doctrine matchless over the world :
(Thou) art Manjusri the undisputed master of all learning :
(Thou) Pandita manifests the Five Sciences :
Sakyapa the sole refuge of the beings of the snowy country
(Tibet).
10. All day and night prayers are said with respect:
Birth after birth Thy marks of glory, the perfections of
Thy body are seen:
The Great Vehicle proclaimed by Thy ceaseless voice may
be heard (from world to world).

[The above verses were composed by Tsongkhapa(2)]

11. By the eye of knowledge (Thou) seest all the Wisdom;
Manjusri Kumarabhuta manifested in yellow (as a monk);
Sakyapa is the crown ornament of Five Sciences;
I salute to the feet of Kunga Gyaltsen.

[Composed by Gedun Gyatso(3)]

12. By the wisdom, clear and wide as space
(Thou) illuminated all the Sciences, (Thou) the Lion of
Speech (Buddha);
(Thou) the ornament of the Buddha's Doctrine in the land of snow :
Oh! Kunga Gyaltsen, salute to (Thy) feet.

[Composed by Kongtul Yonten Gyatso(4)]

13. Thy faculty of refutation is the true (secret) path :
(Thine) single (stroke of) sword of Wisdom
Cuts the nets of doubts around consciousness:
(Thou) fearless Manjunatha of Sakya may Thou be victorious.

[Composed by Ju Mipham(5)]

NOTES

1. These panegyrics in honour of Sakya Pandita (Kunga Gyaltsen 1182-1251), by different scholars of different sects, are set in a chronological sequence.
 2. This panegyric is found in the works of Tsongkhapa (founder of Gelug Sect 1357-1417) Vol. Kha: *rJe-thams-chad-mkhyen-pa-tsong-kha-pa-chhen-pohi-bkah-hbum-thor-bu*.
 3. Gedun Gyatso (1475-1543), Second Dalai Lama's panegyric is found in his works Vol. I, Book no Ga: *rJe-thams-chad-mkhyen-pahi-gsung-thor-bu-las-bla-mahi-bstod-tshogs*.
 4. Kongtul Yonten Gyatso of Kargyud (1813-1900) wrote several panegyrics and these are found in his works Vol. Ka: *Chhos-rje-sa-skya-pan-chhen-la-bsngags-pahi-tshig-phreng-mtsho-byug-mgrin-glu*.
 5. Ju Mipham of Nyingma (1846-1913) wrote a commentary on Sakya Pandita's famous book on logic, *Tshad-ma-rig-gter*. Mipham prefaces his commentary with this panegyric. Works of Mipham Vol. Kha: *Tshad-ma-rig-gter-gyi-mchhan-hgrel-phyogs-thams-chad-las-rnam-par-rgyal-bahi-ru-mtshon*.
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SOME PUBLICATIONS
FROM
NAMGYAL INSTITUTE OF TIBETOLOGY



PRAJNA or the famous Sanskrit-Tibetan Thesaurus-cum-Grammar was compiled by Tenzing Gyaltzen, a Khampa scholar educated in Nyingma and Sakya schools of Derge, in 1771 A.C. Though this book was preserved in xylograph few copies of the block-prints are found outside Tibet. The lexicon portions are now presented in modern format with Tibetan words in Tibetan script and Sanskrit words in Sanskrit script with an elaborate foreword by Professor Nalinaksha Dutt.

October 1961.



The entire xylograph (637 pp: 21 inches x 4 inches) containing both lexicon and grammar parts is now presented by offset (photo-mehanic); most clear reproduction of any Tibetan xylograph ever made anywhere. A table of typographical errors etc., found in the original (xylograph), compiled by late lamented Gegan Palden Gyaltzen (Mentsikhang : Lhasa and Enchay : Gangtok) makes the present publication an improvement upon the original.

November 1962.

CHHOS SRID GNYIS LDAN

—NIRMAL C. SINHA

A description of the traditional Tibetan government (1642-1951) was Chhos-srid-gnyis-ldan, that is, one which is possessed of both Dharma (Chhos) and Samsara (Srid). While in organizational sense Chhos-srid-gnyis-ldan meant a dyarchy of clerical and lay elements, in ideological sense it meant a synthesis. In this view Chhos-lugs (the norm of Dharma) and hJig-rten-lugs (the norm of Samsara) are complementary components of the mundane norm. Was this concept in accordance with the traditions of Buddhism, Indian and Tibetan? For any discussion of this question, it is essential to underline that the word 'religion' is only one and an inadequate rendering of the word Dharma, and that the Tibetan word Chhos expresses the multiple and varied content of the Sanskrit form Dharma.¹

(i)

The Brahmanical (Hindu) goal of liberation (Moksha) is to be attained through a balanced pursuit of virtue (Dharma), wealth (Artha) and pleasure (Kama).² For the man in society there is no inconsistency between Dharma and Artha or between Dharma and Kama as material well-being is the means for moral endeavour.³ In Vaisesika view, material prosperity (Abhyudaya) as well as beatitude (Nihsreyasa) are realized through Dharma.⁴ Right from the Vedic times there has been a quest for harmony between the spiritual and the temporal needs of existence. In time this became the dominant ethos of Brahmanical (Hindu) civilization and had its reflection on the State.

In the Vedic scale of values Dharma was topmost, the pursuit of sacrifices and rituals was superior to that of government and war, and the priest was the kingmaker.⁵ This was soon challenged. In the interests of a fruitful existence Rajasastra (science of government) was equated to Dharmasastra: Arthaniti (economics) and Dandaniti (politics) were duly admitted into the category of sublime sciences.⁶ It was realized that "when the polity becomes lifeless, the Three Vedas sink and all the Dharmas completely decay".⁷ Therefore the custodian of the polity, the Kshatriya Varna, effectively shared the supremacy of the Brahmana Varna. By a complex code of legal fictions the

Concluding paper of the series 'Prolegomena to Lamaist Polity'.

Brahmana perpetuated his first place and continued to be the power behind the throne. There was no stigma for the Brahmana to be engaged in Arthaniti or Dandaniti as the Rajasasra was sublimated into Rajadharma.

“The Rajadharma is the refuge of the entire world.
In Rajadharma is found every form of renunciation,
In Rajadharma is combined every faculty of learning”.

Mahabharata *

These were not altogether idle sentiments or frothy expressions; the ethos for harmony between spiritual and temporal needs created an ideal of philosopher-king (Rajarshi). Chandragupta Maurya, who in his youth beat back the battalions of Seleukos Nikator, ended his days as a Jaina recluse. His grandson Asoka remains the solitary grandeur of a saint-king in the entire history of mankind. In medieval India, Sivaji the Maratha gained the esteem of his people more because of his code of renunciation (Bhagwa Jhanda) than because of his genius in war. When Gandhi in our own time applied the ideal of renunciation in politics he was recalling the traditional polity of India.

An idealistic view of politics as the Rajadharma not only sanctioned the participation in statecraft by the sages and seers: the priests and monks. The Rajadharma summoned the philosophers and priests to a high moral obligation.

(ii)

Buddhism began with a sharp antithesis between Politics and Ethics. The *Brahmajala Sutta* list of the wrong means of livelihood and low arts—that is, the occupations forbidden for the monks and recluses—included Kshatravidya.⁹ In Buddhist view Kshatravidya involved violence and deceit, parricide and cannibalism; and vivid accounts of such crimes characteristic of the Kshatriya are found in *Mahabodhi Jataka*, *Mahasutosama Jataka* and *Mahaummagga Jataka*.¹⁰ Kshatradharma was in short Mithyajiva.

The Buddhist concept of politics as a dismal science was no doubt due to the wars and intrigues rampant in Shodasa Mahajanapada (sixteen principalities in North India struggling for paramountcy) at the advent of Buddhism; Buddhist ethics (non-violence and quietude) reacted sharply to the Brahmanical statecraft eulogised in the Artha works. This disapproval of Kshatradharma continued into the Mahayana literature and the works of Aryadeva (*Chatuhsataka*), Asvaghosha (*Buddha-charita*) and Aryasura (*Jatakamala*) abound with exposition and con-

denunciation of Kshatra attributes like quest for security (vis-a-vis quietude), attachment to state (vis-a-vis renunciation) or frenzy for fighting (vis-a-vis forbearance) and above all the recourse to unfair means to realize a fair objective (as in Brahmanical works like *Bhagavadgita* where slaughter of kinsmen on the wrong side is not an offence ipso facto). But the Mahayana literature developed a tendency "to justify the application of statecraft within its own sphere".¹¹

The reason for this 'accommodation' is not to be traced in the Mahayana literature but in the national ethos which Buddhism could not altogether deny. Buddhism had to seek rapprochement between Politics and Ethics in its own way.

The Buddhist antithesis between Politics and Ethics was all through involved with a quest for temporal authority sublimated into righteous rule. This syndrome, as it may be described in current Western phraseology, is manifest right from the beginning in the Buddhist diction. CHAKRA and CHAKRAVARTI, SASANA and SASTA are expressions fraught with temporal implications. 'Chakra' is the symbol of power of a dynamic (victorious) ruler while 'Chakravarti' is the world ruler. 'Sasana' is common to Dharma as well as Danda while 'Sasta' is master either as teacher or ruler. Before the Buddha, the term 'Sangha' was more used to denote occupational and political groups and less for a body of religious. When eventually Sangha became "the foremost Gana" it was the Buddha Sangha: it was then an active participant in social, economic and even political affairs. The Sangha, as the Third Jewel, did not accept Varna or Asrama: it was a corporation partly patterned on the oligarchic republics.¹²

Buddhist hostility to the Varnasrama had the best and the most significant expression in its attitude to the Kshatriya Varna. The Buddhist Book of Genesis, *Agganna Sutta*, records the Buddha's discourse about the creation of social order. It is a highly scientific enquiry into the early history of man: the Buddha's accounts about origin of property and election of king amazingly anticipate the Western philosophers of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In this discourse while the monks and recluses are acclaimed as the best of men, the Kshatriya is recorded as the best of the social classes and the Brahmana is placed second.

The people, according to this discourse, fixed their choice for king on the most handsome and capable individual and called him Mahasammata (one who is chosen by the multitude), Kshatriya (one who is lord of Kshetra=fields) and Raja (one who gratifies others according to Dharma); peers of this man came to be called Kshatriya. Next came the Brahmana or the class engaged in Dhyana (meditation)

and Adhyayana (teaching the sacred texts), then the Vaisya or the class engaged in trades and last the Sudra or the class engaged in hunting and such low occupations.

The Buddha concluded his discourse thus:¹³

The Kshatriya is the best among this folk
Who put their trust in lineage.
But one in wisdom and in virtue clothed
Is best of all among spirits and men.

(trans. Rhys Davids)

The precedence of the Kshatriya over the Brahmana was consistently followed in later literature (e.g. Vasubandhu: *Abhidharmakosha* and Buddhaghosha: *Visuddhimagga*) and duly incorporated into Tibetan canon. The crux of the sentiment was however not the precedence over the Brahmana but the Kshatriya title to reign. Otherwise a democratic order open to merchants, courtesans and untouchables would not be so enthusiastic about Kshatriya birth of the Buddha. Nor would the Bhikshus and Sramanas anxiously record the Kshatriya origins of Asoka without such consideration.

While the Brahmanical works like the *Puranas* and *Mudrarakshasa* describe the Mauryas as Sudras, the Buddhist works like *Mahaparinibbana Sutta*, *Diyavadana* and *Mahavamsa* meticulously record details in support of the Kshatriya ancestry of the Mauryas.¹⁴ It is not unlikely that the Mauryas were not good Kshatriyas in Brahmanical view; Chandragupta the founder of the Maurya Empire had no inhibition to enter into matrimonial alliance with the Yavana (Greek) nor did he perform the Asvamedha sacrifice. The Brahmanical esteem for Chandragupta was based on an admiration for the low-born while the Buddhist description of Asoka's father as Raja Kshatriya Murdhabhishiktah (an annointed Kshatriya king) was to affirm the Maurya entitlement to sovereignty.

The emphasis on the Kshatriya birth was so deep that even after Nirvana the Buddha was honoured as a Kshatriya. King Milinda, identified with the Bactrian King Menander, is known to have asked Sthavira Nagasena thus: "If Nagasena, the Blessed One were a Brahmana then he must have spoken falsely when he said he was a king. But if he were a king then he must have spoken falsely when he said he was a Brahmana. He must have been either a Kshatriya or a Brahmana. For he could not have belonged in the same birth to two castes. This too is a double-edged problem, now put to you which you have to solve". (trans. Rhys Davids)

The sage was indeed on the horns of a dilemma and had to direct his logic to the common feature between 'a true Brahmana'

and 'a true Kshatriya'. Both are righteous beings: one is Emancipated and Enlightened through practice of righteousness and the other establishes himself and his dynasty through righteous rule.¹⁵

While any theological contradiction between a Buddha and a Raja was thus solved, Nagasena's answer lifted the Kshatradharma from the level of Mithyajiva (wrong means of livelihood) to that of Sila (morality). Nagasena's equation, however unintended, was a logical sequence of the legends about the Buddha's birth. An Immaculate Being was to be born and all prognostications from Maya's dream till the sage Asita's visit concurred that the Immaculate Being was to be either a Chakravarti Raja (Universal Sovereign) or a Samyak Sambuddha (Fully Enlightened).

Thus the edification of monarchy or the sublimation of statecraft in Mahayana literature was a continuation of the tradition expounded by Nagasena. In Mahayana thought the king was Dharmaraja and not unoften Bodhisattva. The climax was reached in *Suvarnaprabhasa Sutra* which depicted the king as Devaputra. The Buddha's discourse about elective kingship yielded ground to Manu's divine creation. The Kshatriya now possessed an aura of divinity.¹⁶

Kshatriya-hood or royalty was merit worthy of a Bodhisattva. The greatest of Indian saints propagating in Tibet were born in the purple; Santarakshita, Pandmasambhava and Atisa had renounced their temporal heritage to tread the trail of the Buddha. The Kshatriya origins of these teachers, not less than that of the Buddha and Asoka, made due impression on Tibetan mind. The Tibetans could comprehend Kshatriya-Brahmana equation of Nagasena, from the living examples of the Indian masters preaching on the spot.

States with Buddhism as 'established church' were few, if any, in India and not much is on record about the matter of Church and State. The fact of Sramana/Brahmana participation in state business is however known. Far from being a taboo such participation was a norm. When Buddhism was migrating across the Himalayas, both Buddhist and Brahmanical traditions had accepted Sramana/Brahmana as the foundation of the state.

It will not be out of place to quote here a French scholar (Paul Masson-Oursel) about the destiny of the Indian concepts of state.

"...the Brahmanic notion of *dharma* which implies the special constitution of each caste and maintains a social order rather than it encourages the appearance of a political spirit, and the Buddhist notion of *dharma*, which aims at a law applicable to all mankind

and makes for unlimited imperialism. The one conception stands short of monarchy, the other leaps beyond it and aspires to world empire’’¹⁷

Certain flaws in the above proposition are pointed out by the leading Indian authority on the subject, Professor Upendra Nath Ghoshal.¹⁸ The broad conclusion however stands firm that the state in Buddhism could be more sovereign than its counterpart in Brahmanism.

If the Buddhist notion of Dharma facilitated the growth of state authority this must have been so in the interests of the Dharma. The Sangha as a body or through individual members would thus have no inhibition about Kshatravidya (science of government).

(iii)

“In Tibet Buddhist monks had the same rights as the laymen to be appointed state officials, both military and civil”.

Yuan Shih, trans. Tucci¹⁹

This statement, from the Chinese chronicle about the ‘barbarian’ dynasty (Mongol: Yuan), has an element of surprise since the monks (particularly the Buddhist monks) could not be in the government of the Celestial Empire nor could they ever share power with the Confucian literati. When the Mongols made Tibet a part of their Empire, the monks of Sakya and Kargyu sects were active participants in the politics of their country; Lamas sharing power with the secular nobles was already a tradition. Qubilai Khan, resident in Khan Balyk (later called Peking), had to reckon with “the vastness, distance and difficulties of that region inhabited by a wild and war-like population” and “decided to rule it in accordance with local usage so as to subdue the people”.²⁰ The acceptance of “local usage”—the Buddhist monks as state officials—was an imperative need of the Mongol imperialism as these quotes from the *Yuan Shih* bear out.

Therefore the justification of the Buddhist monks holding temporal offices has to be sought not in the ‘civilized’ code of the Celestial Empire but in the ‘barbarian’ tradition of Tibet.

The accepted date for first propagation of Buddhism in Tibet is about the first quarter of the seventh century and that for the ordination of Tibetan monks is about the last quarter of the eighth century. The Dge-hdun (Sangha) was an established fact by about c 800; its activities were not confined within the walls of the monasteries; the monks were organizing the schools and advising the kings. When king

Glang-darma's persecution of Buddhism reached the height, a monk assassinated the apostate (c. 842). The regicide was an act of piety for the monk and an act of redemptive compassion to the king. Persecuted people recalled the injunction of the scriptures about redress from distress (*Sarvadurgatiparishodhana*): Forbearance and meditation cannot to be practised while harm is done to the Three Gems and the Spiritual Teachers are endangered.²¹

On the decline of the Central dynasty and the break-up of the country into numerous principalities, the abbots of big monasteries exercised law and order in their respective localities. This became a normal feature long before the advent of the Mongols. Meanwhile Indian works on the role of Brahmana/Sramana were under study; all these texts were not strictly canonical but were found worthy of incorporation into Tanjur. One such was *Rajanitisastra* attributed to Chanakya; the translator was Rinchen Zangpo, the great monk-scholar who marked the regeneration of Buddhism in Tibet and collaborated with Atisa. Four successive verses of the Tibetan version (Chapter VIII) describing the limbs of society emphasize the parity between the ruler (rgyal-po) and the monk/priest (dge-sbyong/bram-ze).

The king is the summit of Chhos
 The monk/priest is the root
 The root bears the fruit
 Thus the root may not be hurt.

The king is the fruit of Chhos
 The monk/priest is the flower
 The flower bears the fruit
 Thus the flower may not be damaged.

The king is the tree and the monk is the root
 The ministers are the branches and the people the leaves
 If the root is preserved the tree does not perish
 The monk/priest has thus to be well preserved.

All (interests/estates) being dependent on each other
 The king preserves the monk
 The Chhos, wealth and fame are attained
 When the monk is ever preserved.²²

These words not only affirmed the high status of the monk but also advised a patron-priest relationship between king and monk in the total interest of Chhos.

The Tibetan kings responsible for propagation of Buddhism, appropriately designated as Dharmaraja (Chhos-rgyal) and later recalled in

Mongolia as Chakravarti, no doubt practised patron-priest relationship. The regicide (c. 842) and the sequel created a new situation and the priest had to take a larger and a more direct part in temporal affairs. In the 13th century, when the Mongol Emperors and the Sakya Lamas formed patron-priest relations, the monks were more than priests and had added statecraft to their routine. The Sakya Lamas categorically approved such conduct as in the interests of Chhos.²³

The Sakya Pandita (c. 1182-1251) made the famous pronouncement that mastery of the acts of this world (hjig-rten-bya-ba) led to the path of the Sacred Doctrine. His nephew Chhos-rgyal hPhags-pa (c. 1235-1280) when accused of secular (Mongol) style of dress answered thus. 'The Buddha had predicted the rise and fall of the Doctrine (according to exigencies of time): the happiness of the people would depend on their own Karma (and not on the style of dress): one (Lama) must behave (preach) in a way that suits (wins over) the other (devotee)'. This elastic conduct (hdul-ba) no doubt earned dividends. *Rgya-bod-yig-tshang* sums up thus: 'Under the auspices of the Patron (Qubilai) and the Priest (Chhos-hphags) the riches of Mongolia and China made Tibet the centre of the Sacred Doctrine'.

About the administrative system during the Priest-Patron Regime the same work says: 'Tibet was happy and the Sacred Doctrine glittered like a mirror because of the Two Laws, the Lama's Command and Emperor's Rule'.²⁴ As there were two sets of laws—one for the Lha-sde (domain of the church) and one for the Mi-sde (domain of the state)—there were two sets of officials (monk and lay) not necessarily working exclusive of each other. The monks and the nobles were closely connected and there could not be any absolute separation between spiritual and temporal estates. Besides the Lamas held a good number of civil posts. The apex, the Sakya hierarchy, was the meeting point of both ecclesiastical and civil jurisdictions.²⁵ Here was a government possessed of both Chhos (Dharma) and Srid (Samsara).

The contemporary Mongol chroniclers noticed "the succession of Indian and Tibetan traditions" in "the principle of dual government".²⁶ The Mongol bias to affiliate much of Lamaist theories and institutions to India is well known. While the germs of Chhos-srid-gnys-ldan may be traced to Indian thought, its practical application is no doubt a phenomenon of Tibetan history. While Indian scriptures contain sanction for the Sangha to engage itself in Rajadharma, Indian history had no institutional precedent for Tibet.

NOTES

1. I have discussed the translation of Dharma into Chhos in my *Tibet : Considerations on Inner Asian History* (Calcutta 1967), pp.49-54.
2. धर्मधिकामाः सममेव सेव्याः यो हि एकसक्तः स जनो जघन्यः ॥
3. शरीरम् आद्यम् खलु धर्मसाधनम् ।
4. यतोऽभ्युदयनिःश्रेयससिद्धिः सः धर्मः ।
5. The kingpin of the *Brihadaranyaka Upanishad* Book of Genesis (Bk I, Ch IV) is the role of Brahmana and Dharma. Macdonell: *Vedic Index*, entry on Purohita and Keith: *The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads* (Harvard Oriental Series), pp.223-230 & 289-99 describe the ascendancy of priestly houses. For Brahmana as the kingmaker see K.P. Jayaswal: *Hindu Polity* (Calcutta 1924/Bangalore 1943), Chs XXIII-XXV; A.K. Coomaraswamy: *Spiritual Authority and Temporal Power in the Indian Theory of Government* (New Haven 1942); and U.N. Ghoshal: *Studies in Indian History and Culture* (Calcutta 1965), pp.211-236.
6. For Brahmanical (Hindu) attitudes to political science and statecraft see U.N. Ghoshal: *A History of Indian Political Ideas* (Oxford 1959) and P.V. Kane: *History of Dharmasastra* (Poona 1930-62), Vol III, Chs I & X.
7. मज्जेत् लयी दण्डनातौ हतायां सर्वे धर्माः प्रक्षयेयुर्विवृद्धाः ।
8. सर्वस्य जीवलोकस्य राजधर्मः परायणम् ॥
सर्वे त्यागाः राजधर्मेषु दृष्टाः ।
सर्वे दीक्षाः राजधर्मेषु युक्ताः ।
सर्वे विद्याः राजधर्मेषु चोक्ताः ।
सर्वे लोकाः राजधर्मेषु प्रविष्टाः ॥
9. ब्रह्मजालसुत्त : दीर्घनिकाय
Eng. Trans. in Rhys Davids: *Dialogues of the Buddha* (Pali Text Society 1921/1956), Pt I, p.18.

10. Eng. Trans. in Cowell: *The Jatakas* (Pali Text Society 1895/1957), Stories nos. 528, 537 & 546.
11. Ghoshal locates an instance in *Jatakamala* of Aryasura; *Indian Political Ideas* (cited under note 6 above), pp.339-41.
12. See Gokuldas De: *Democracy in Early Buddhist Sangha* (Calcutta 1956) and Ghoshal: *Indian History & Culture* (cited under note 5 above), pp.260-65.
13. **सत्तियो सेट्ठो जनेतस्मिं, ये गोत्तपटिसारिणो ।
विज्जाचरणसम्पन्नो, सो सेट्ठो देवमानुसे ति ॥**

अमगल्लसुत्त : दीघनिकाय

Eng. Trans. in Rhys Davids: *Dialogues*, Pt II, p.94

14. The conflicting opinions about the ancestry of the Mauryas may be read in Hara Prasad Sastri's paper in *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* for 1910 and Hemchandra Raychaudhuri: *Political History of Ancient India* (Calcutta 1953), pp.194, 266-8 & 355-6.
15. Eng. Trans. in Rhys Davids: *The Questions of King Milinda* (Sacred Books of the East), Dilemma no 48.
William Tarn: *The Greeks in Bactria and India* (Cambridge 1938/1951) holds that Menander was not a Buddhist but contends on numismatic evidence that Menander proclaimed himself a Chakravarti in a Buddhist sort (pp.263-68). Ghoshal: *Indian Political Ideas*, p.303., note 9 and A.K. Narain: *The Indo- Greeks* (Oxford 1957), p.98 reject this. In my submission the Chakra on Menander's coin could symbolize either Dharma or Danda and possibly did symbolize both. To substantiate this, it is not necessary to answer whether Menander was a Buddhist in a denominational sense or whether Menander could have claimed Dharmavijaya. I contend that Chakra is common to both Buddha (Brahmana) and Chakravarti (Kshatriya). Nagasena's Brahmana-Kshatriya equation could have no better motif for a coin or an ensign than Chakra.
16. An exhaustive and critical note on the epithet Devaputra is found in the contribution by F.W. Thomas to *B.C. Law Volume*, Part II, (Poona 1946). The usage, according to Thomas, may be traced back to Nagarjuna's time. Re: Devaputra as Kushana title, Raychaudhuri rightly insists on Chinese and Greek influence, *Political History*, pp.518-9. Divine Right was much in the air; the Brahmana and the Saka-Yavana no doubt communicated the new fangled concept

to the Buddha engaged in exaltation of the Kshatriya.

As the Brahmanical theorists had to formulate Divine Creation in accordance with the Brahmanical notion of Deva, the Buddhist theorists had to respect the Buddhist notion of Deva. The Mahayana world of gods (Devaloka) is a kingdom ruled by Indra and 32 'royal gods'; this assembly of 33 Devarajendra recalls oligarchic republics like Sakya or Lichchavi. Thus the the Devaputra, according to *Suvarnaprabhasottama Sutra*, was a Raja made up of the contributions of Indra and his 32 colleagues. Ghoshal finds this an adaptation of Manu's Divine Creation of the temporal ruler out of the essences of the Regents of the Quarters, *Indian Political Ideas*, p.262.

कथं मनुष्यसंभूतो राजा देवस्तु प्रोच्यते ।

केन च हेतुना राजा देवपुत्रस्तु प्रोच्यते ॥

अपि वै देवसंभूतो देवपुत्रः स उच्यते ।

लयस्त्रिंशैः देवराजन्द्रैः भागो दत्तो नृपस्य हि ।

पुत्रत्वं सर्वदेवानां निर्मितो मनुजेश्वरः ॥

The origin of Devaputra was indeed most high; the word Nirmitra suggests Nirmanakaya; a Nirmanakaya containing features of more than one Deva or Bodhisattvas has well-known significance; Devaputra is the quintessence of the Divine Royalty in its totality. The numerous character of the progenitor (33) or the legend of 10,000 Devaputras does not suggest a numerous class of minor deities as Thomas thinks; in Mahayana myriads of Bodhisattvas are usual. It is not warranted to equate Devaputra with minor deities (like the Dikpala) or with kinglets (like those of Kucha-Khotan). The suffix 'putra' is not demeaning. Manjusri Kumarabhuta is more beloved than Manjusri. Either form Jina (Buddha) or Jinaputra (Buddhaputra) may be used to describe a saint or a hierarch as I have experienced in the monasteries of Tibet. Franklin Edgerton regards Devaputra as a synonym of Deva, *Dictionary of Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit*. In the above extract from *Suvarnaprabhasa* both forms Deva and Devaputra are used.

Devaputra, in my submission, is not a title characteristic of local or minor kings and whoever sported this title was no doubt claiming divinity. Devaputra is not an elective ruler and has divine title, possibly of pluralistic origin (Greek, Iranian, Chinese, Hsiung Nu and Brahmanic).

The point for notice is the apotheosis of the Kshatriya, that is, the progress from popular contract to divine status. In *Agganna Sutta* the Kshatriya is Mahasammata. In *Visuddhimagga*

(अभिज्ञा-निद्रः पुब्बेनिवासानुस्सति) the first Kshatriya is none else than Bhagavan Bodhisattva (Gautama Siddhartha). In *Suvarnaprabhasa* the Raja, though born of mortal parents, is Devanirmita.

17. Masson-Oursel, Willman-Grabowska & Stern: *Ancient India and Indian Civilization* (History of Civilization Series, London 1934/1951), pp.93-97.
18. Ghoshal: *Indian Political Ideas* pp.73, 214 & 220.
19. Giuseppe Tucci: *Tibetan Painted Scrolls* (Rome 1949), p.31.

In 1368 the Mongol (Yuan) dynasty in China was overthrown and succeeded by a native (Ming) dynasty. In the beginning of 1369 Emperor Tai-tsu, founder of the Ming dynasty, ordered the court to compile the official history (Shih) of the Yuan. Sixteen Yuan scholars worked on the Yuan documents and completed the work in a year; the work was supervised by the Emperor himself. The *Yuan-Shih* preserves a valuable record of Tibet and Tibetan government during the Mongol (Yuan) period.

[Ignorant of the language I owe my knowledge of Chinese historiography to the works of Charles Gardner, Carrington Goodrich and Lien-Shen Yang. Beaseley and Pulleyblank (ed): *Historians of China and Japan* (London 1961) contains on pp.44-59 a critique of the annals from the Tang to the Ming from the pen of Lien-Shen Yang.]

20. Tucci: op.cit., p.31.

21. འགོན་མཆོག་གསུམ་ལ་གནོད་ཕྱིད་དང་། ཁྲི་མ་སྒྲིད་ཕྱིད་མ་རུངས་པ།
 འཇམ་ཆོག་ལས་ནི་འདས་པ་དང་། འེ་ལ་སོགས་པའི་གནོད་ཕྱིད་ལ།
 འབྲོད་པ་བསྐྱེས་པར་མི་བྱ་ཤི། འེ་ལ་གྱུར་ན་ཀུན་རིག་གིས།
 འགསུངས་པའི་དངོས་གྲུབ་ཐོབ་པར་འགྱུར།

[བཀའ་འགྱུར། གྱུད་འབྲུམ། 5]

འགོན་མཆོག་གསུམ་ལ་གནོད་ཕྱིད་དང་།
 ཁྲི་མ་སྒྲིད་ཕྱིད་མ་རུངས་ནམས།
 འཇམ་ཆོག་འདས་ལ་བཞེད་མི་བྱ།

[བཀའ་འགྱུར། གྱུད་འབྲུམ། 5]

22.

ཁོས་རྒྱ་ཅི་མོ་ཀྱལ་བོ་སྟེ། ཁོས་མ་དག་སྤོང་ལམ་ཟེའི་མ།
ཁོ་བཤམ་ནི་འཁྲུ་བུ་སྟེ། ཁོ་བམ་མ་པ་གནོད་ཅི་བྱ།

ཁོས་རྒྱ་འཁྲུ་བུ་ཀྱལ་བོ་ཡི་ན། ཁོ་རྟོག་དག་སྤོང་ལམ་ཟེའི་མ།
ཁོ་རྟོག་ལམ་ནི་འཁྲུ་བུ་སྟེ། ཁོ་སྤྱིར་མོ་རྟོག་ལ་ཅི་གཅོ

ཀྱལ་བོ་ཤེད་དེ་དག་སྤོང་མ་པ་ཡི་ན། ཁོས་བོ་ཡལ་ག་གོང་མི་འདཔ་མ་ཡི་ན།
ཁོ་བཤམ་སྤྱང་མ་ན་ཤེད་དེ་མོ་ཅམས་པ། ཁོ་སྤྱིར་དག་སྤོང་ལམ་ཟེའི་མ།
པར་བསྤྱང་།

ཁམས་ཅད་གཞི་ལ་རག་ལམ་གྱིར་གྱུང་ནི། ཁོ་སྤྱིར་པཔ་པོས་དག་སྤོང་
ལམ་ཟེའི་མ་སྤྱང་། ཁོས་དང་ནོར་དང་གྱོད་དང་སྟན་པ་དག འག་སྤོང་ལམ་ཟེའི་
འཁྲུ་པཔར་བསྤྱང་མ་པམ་འཁྲུ།

[བསྟན་འགྲུར། སྤ་ཅོགས། ང་]

23.

འཛིག་ནི་ན་བྱ་བ་འཁྲུ་ལམ་ཤུམ་ན། ཁོ་སྤྱིར་མ་པའི་ཅོས་ལྷགས་འཁྲུ་བ།
ཁོས་ན་ཅོས་ལྷགས་སྤྱད་པ་དེ། བྱང་ཅུབ་ཅི་མས་པའི་ནོས་པར་ཡི་ན།

[ས་སྟུ་བཀའ་འཁྲུ་མ་]

ཁྱུ་ན་ལ་འཁྲུ་ལ་འཛིག་འཁྲུང་བ་ཀྱལ་བམ་གསུངས། ཁོས་མ་ན་པ་དེ་སྤྱད་
རང་རང་ལམ་ལ་རག གང་ལ་གང་འདུལ་དེ་ལ་དེ་སྟན་བྱིད། འདི་གསུམ་
མ་གཏོགས་མཁམ་པ་ཅི་ན་པར་གོ།

[དཔལ་ས་སྤྱིའི་གདུང་རལ་ཅན་མོ་]

24.

འཛིག་མགོན་ཅོས་རྒྱ་ཀྱལ་པོས་ག་པལ་ལ་ཅོས་རྒྱ་ཀྱལ་པོར་བྱོན་གྱིས་པ་ཤུབས་
ཅས། ཤར་དང་གྱ་ག་གི་འབྱེད་པ་ཅིན་པོས་ས་སྟུ་མག་བྱས། པོད་ལུལ་
འདིར་བསྟན་པའི་མཐུལ་ཡོད་ས་ཡོན་མཆོད་འདི་གཉིས་རྒྱ་བཀའ་རྒྱུ་ཡིན་
པར་གངལ།

[ཀྱ་བོད་ཡིག་ཅང་]

ཁྲི་མའི་བཀའ་དང་རྒྱལ་པོའི་ལྷང་བཞེན་དུ།
 ཁྲི་མས་གཉིས་བསྐྱེད་ས་པས་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་ས་བདེ་བ་དང་།
 བཟུན་པའི་གསལ་བྱེད་གུར་པའང་བྱུང་བ་སྣང་།

[གྱུ་བོད་ཡིག་ཚང་]

25. A description of the Sakya administrative system is not called for here. Chinese and Mongol chronicles besides Tibetan literature provide data for considerable study. Tucci: op. cit., pp. 31-39 may be seen for a brief notice.

Extracts from two Chinese state papers may be made in corroboration of the Tibetan claims about equality in status between the Mongol Emperor and the Sakya Lama.

The official history (*Yuan Shih*), compiled immediately after the overthrow of the Yuan, states: "The orders of the Ti-shih, Imperial Master (= Sakya Lama), and of the Emperor were equally valid in Tibet. For a hundred years the Emperors showed the greatest respect and confidence for the Imperial Master. The Empresses and all the princes took the vow and used to salute the Imperial Master, kneeling to receive his blessing. In the Court gatherings, when the different officials took place allotted according to their rank, the Imperial Master sat next to the Emperor. Each Emperor on ascending the throne, publicly addressed a message of praise and protection to the Imperial Master". (trans. Tucci).

The Manchu Emperor Chien-lung in his famous Dissertation on Lamaism, inscribed in 1792 on a marble stele in Yung-ho-kung (the Lamaist Cathedral in Peking), said: "During the Yuan dynasty the Lamas were worshipped in a way that interfered with the government. This led to abuses which no one dared to question. For instance decrees given by the Teacher of the Emperor had the same force as the decrees emanating from the Court. At official audiences, while all the officials had to stand at places assigned to them according to rank, the teacher of the Emperor alone was allowed to remain seated in his place of honour in the corner. His disciples bore titles such as Minister of Interior, Minister of Finance, Duke of the Empire. There was an unbroken succession of them who carried seals of jade or gold. Presuming on their prestige they carried themselves haughtily and ostentatiously which resulted everywhere in great vexations difficult to describe here exhaustively". Eng. trans. in F.D. Lessing: *Yong-ho-kung* (Stockholm 1942), p. 59.

The inference is unavoidable that the Patron-Priest relations between the Mongol Emperor and the Tibetan Teacher did not much affect the authority (? sovereignty) of the Teacher in the Teacher's homeland.

26. Cyben Zamcarano: *The Mongol Chronicles of the Seventeenth Century* (Wiesbaden 1955), pp.50-55 may be seen for an account of the Mongol *White Annals* containing contemporary impression of the Sakya tradition.
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AN
ART BOOK
FROM
NAMGYAL INSTITUTE OF TIBETOLOGY

༄༅། ། རྒྱལ་ལྷུང་མཆོག་གཉིས། །

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

April 1962.

Notes & Topics

TARANATHA: RGYA-GAR-CHHOS-HBYUNG

Dam-pahi-chhos-rin-po-chhe-hphags-pahi-yul-du-ji-ltar-dar-bahi-tshul-gsal-bar-ston-pa-dgos-hdod-kun-hbyung, described in brief as Rgya-gar-chhos-hbyung (History of Religion in India) composed in 1608 A.C. by Kun-dgah-snying-po, celebrated under his monastic name Taranatha, remains a classic source for the history of Buddhism in India. The archaeological explorations and the finds of literary treasures in India and Inner Asia during the first half of the current century have not diminished its value as is evidenced by the demand for a fresh translation in English of this work. Professor Nalinaksha Dutt, the doyen of Buddhist scholars in India, has kindly agreed to make a translation for publication by the Namgyal Institute of Tibetology. We have persuaded him to give a synopsis of the work for the *Bulletin*. The first instalment is published below.

MRT

SYNOPSIS OF CHAPTERS I-XIII

Though it is full of superstitious beliefs, fanciful traditions and wild stories, Taranatha's 'History' preserves an indispensable account of the spread of Buddhism in India and particularly of the lives of distinguished Acharyas of India who composed learned philosophical works as also of the missionaries engaged in the spread of Buddhism in India. The 'History' lacks any chronological sequence or any systematic narration. This synopsis in English seeks to set in order several events and facts.

CHAPTER I

In the introductory chapter, references are made to the dynasties of several kings, viz., Kshemadarsin (Ajatasatru), Asoka, Chandras, Indo-Scythian rulers, Sakas, Guptas and Palas. Similarly there are references to the kings of the south. It goes back even to Tretayuga and Satyayuga as also to the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, and even to Kalidasa.

The first Council was held 15 years after Buddha's death. As Mahakasyapa had then passed away, Ananda presided over the Council. (Note: Apparently this is unauthentic).

CHAPTER II

The time of King Subahu

During the reign of King Subahu, son of Ajatasatru, Ven. Sanavasika held the headship of the Sangha (Sanghanayaka). He resided at Sravasti. At that time Madhyantika resided at Varanasi with a large number of disciples. The alms-givers resented the presence of such a large number of monks, and so Madhyantika went with his disciples to Usira mountain near Kashmir and propagated the religion in Kashmir.

CHAPTER III

Events of the time of King Sudhanu, son of Subahu

Sanavasika passed over the headship of the Sangha to Upagupta, son of a spice-dealer of Mathura.

CHAPTER IV

Events of the time of Upagupta

Upagupta settled down at Mathura in the Nata-Bhata monastery. He converted a large number of the inhabitants, who suffered in the hands of Mara, who also troubled Bhagavan Buddha. He, however, controlled the Mara. Upagupta lived there till the end of his life. Some of the lay-devotees built Kukkutarama near Usira mountain or Urumunda.

A Brahmani had three sons, of whom one worshipped Mahesvara, the second Kapilamuni and the third built the Mahabodhi Temple.

CHAPTER V

Events of the time of the Ven. Dhitika

In Ujjayini lived a sagacious and wealthy Brahmana, who had a son called Dhitika. He met Upagupta in Mathura. He practised the eight Vimoksha meditations and propagated the religion in Kamrup, where in the pleasure-garden of the rich householder, Ghoshavanta, a great Vihara was built by him.

CHAPTER VI

Biography of King Asoka

Asoka's brothers were ruling in different places, viz., Sravasti, Saketa, Varanasi, Champa, Vaisali and Rajagṛha. But all of them retired when they heard that Asoka was made the ruler of Magadha. Asoka became proficient in the sixty sciences and eight crafts, art of writing, calculation, etc. One of the brothers was Lokayatika and another worshipped Mahadeva, the third Visnu, the fourth Vedanta, the fifth Nirgrantha Pingala and the sixth Brahmana Kausika Brahmacarya. Asoka relied on the words of those who believed in Dakinis and Rakshasis and held Uma of the cemetery (i.e. Smasanakali) in high esteem. He conquered the hill tribes and realised from them taxes and tributes. He enjoyed all kinds of pleasures, and so he was called Kamasoka. His brothers became his enemies and so he subdued them after a protracted fight. He ruled over the whole of Northern India from the Himalayas to the Vindhya. He was cruel and ill-tempered, and being guided by Brahmanas he became perverted. He killed 10,000 men. His hangman could not kill a bhikkhu, who by his miraculous power brought forth rain and extinguished the fire consuming human beings. He went out of the city of the dead and met the bhikkhu. The king then heard a discourse from him and became repentant. An Arhat of Pataliputra absolved him of his sins. Thereafter, he supplied food daily to 30,000 monks.

At that time merchants used to go by boats to bring jewels. They took the help of an Arhat. Nagas troubled them and so Asoka conquered them. In this way Asoka's dominion extended over all the provinces of Jambudvīpa upto the Himalayas and also the snowy mountain ranges lying on the other side of the Li country and all the countries upto the ocean on the east, south and the west along with the 15 dvīpas. He adorned the country with Chaityas, containing the relics of Buddha. Henceforth he became known as Dharmasoka. The king offered 1000 millions of gold coins to the clergy of Aparanta, Kashmir and Tukhara.

Asoka's grandson Vitasoka was given the rulership after him.

Taranatha claims as his sources Kshemendra's *Avadanakalpalata*, *Asoka-avadana*, *Vinita-avadana*, *Naga-avadana*, *Stupa-avadana*, *Utsava-avadana*, *Suvarnaphara* and *Kunalavadana*.

CHAPTER VII

Events contemporaneous with King Asoka (perhaps Kalasoka)
Venerable Dhritika imparted instructions to many disciples. He

fell sick. The disciples said that correct instructions could not be had from an ailing teacher. But they betook themselves to the ten breaches of the disciplinary rules.

These were:

1. Practice of carrying salt in a horn for use when needed.
2. Practice of taking food after midday, when the shadow was two digits wide.
3. Practice of going to a neighbouring village and taking a second meal there.
4. Observance of *Upasatha* in different places within the same parish (*sima*).
5. Performing an ecclesiastical act and obtaining its sanction afterwards.
6. Use of precedents as authority.
7. Drinking of milk-whey after meal.
8. Drinking of palm-juice, which was not yet toddy.
9. Use of a borderless mat to sit on.
10. Acceptance of gold and silver. (In Taranatha this list is confused and so it has been put here in a correct form).

The second Buddhist Council was held at Vaisali 110 years after Buddha's death to suppress these indulgences but it was not effective on all the monks. Kalasoka was the then ruler of Magadha.

CHAPTER VIII

Events at the time of Vitasoka

Asoka's son Kunala was dwelling in the Himalayas. He was blinded by the machinations of Asoka's second queen Tishyarakshita.

CHAPTER IX

Events at the time of second Kasyapa

Kasyapa was a native of Gandhara. At this time lived the son of Vitasoka called Surasena, who possessed immeasurable wealth. He maintained the monks of the four quarters for three years and offered gifts to all the Chaityas in India. At that time Yasa was born in Mathura. He erected a monastery on the bank of the river Saravati. He maintained 100,000 monks. Then Mahadeva, son of a merchant, committed the three deadly sins (*anantarya-karma*). He went to Kashmir and became a monk, and mastered the three Pitakas. He propounded five unorthodox views. These were:

- 1 The Arhats are subject to temptation
- 2 The Arhats may have residue of ignorance
- 3 The Arhats may have doubts regarding certain matters
4. The Arhats gain knowledge through others help
5. The Path is attained by an exclamation as "aho". (These have been put here in a correct form.)

After the death of Kasyapa the second, Mahaloma became the head of the Sangha.

CHAPTER X

Events of the time of Mahaloma and others

After the death of Surasena, his son Nanda ruled over Central India for 29 years. At this time appeared the four main Buddhist sects.

One of Nanda's companions was Panini, who was born in Bharukaccha. Panini obtained Sravakabodhi. According to the Tibetan tradition, Indravakyarana was older than Panini's work. Chandravakyarana agrees with Panini and Kalapavyakarana agrees with Indravakyarana.

CHAPTER XI

Events of the time of King Mahapadma

In the north, King Agnidatta maintained 1,000 monks for 30 years Mahapadma maintained the whole Sangha of Kusumapura Sthiramati, a follower of Naga, proclaimed the *panchavastu* and thereby increased the discord. (*Panchavastu* refers perhaps to the above mentioned five points of Mahadeva).

The Vibhasha sastras were compiled. According to the Vaibhashikas their seven Abhidharma texts should be recognised as Buddhavachana. According to the Sautrantikas, the Vibhashas were composed by imperfect Sravakas. Vasubandhu seems to have agreed with the Sautrantikas at a later time. It was contended by some that Sravakas were not able to realise the Truth. In Odisha Manjusri promulgated the *Prajnaparamita* texts. This marked the beginning of Mahayana teachings.

CHAPTER XII

Events at the time of the Three Collections

King Kanishka became a devotee of Buddhism. The Agamas of the Sautrantikas were Drshtantamalagama, Pitakadharmamushti etc. Parsva appeared and propounded the Vyakarana-sutras (texts containing prophecies).

At Kundalavanavihara in Kashmir or Kuvana monastery in Jalandhara the Buddhist Council was held under the auspices of King Kanishka. Further schisms took place in the Sangha. At this time the Mahayana teaching of *Anutpattika-dharma-kshanti* (non-origination and non-decay of all worldly objects) was popularised.

CHAPTER XIII

Events at the time of the propagation of Mahayana

After the Buddhist Council King Kanishka died. At that time a householder Jati maintained Vasumitra and 3,000 monks. In Pushkalavati Kasnika's son maintained 100 Arhats and 10,000 Bhikshus for five years. In the east at Kusumapura lived the Brahmana Viduh, who had made ready 1,000 copies of the Tripitaka and offered them as gifts to the bhikshus. In each Tripitaka there were one lac slokas. In the town of Pataliputra lived Arhat Asvagupta who meditated upon the eight *Vimokshas*. Along with him Nandimitra and other Arhats realised the Truth by various methods. In the west lived Lakshasva, who exerted considerably according to the teaching of Buddha. In the south-west, Saurashtra, lived Brahmana Kulika, who invited Arhat Nanda for the teaching of Mahayana doctrines. At this time many Kalyanamitras appeared and received instructions from Avalokitesvara, Guhyapati, Manjusri and Maitreya and practised *Dharmasantana-samadhi*. Among them may be mentioned the names of Mahabhadantas Avitarka, Vigata-raga-dhvaja, Divakaragupta, Rahulaamitra, Jnanatala, the great upasaka Sanghatala and other teachers of the doctrine, 500 in number. At this time there were existing the following texts:

Arya Ratnakuta-dharmaparyaya in 1,000 sections
Arya Avatamsaka sutra in 100,000 discourses
Arya Lankavatara sutra in 25,000 slokas
Arya Ghanavyuha in 12,000 slokas
Arya Dharmasangiti in 12,000 slokas
and a number of other works.

The King was informed that there were several teachers but no students. He erected viharas on the top of Mount Abu and from the king's parishad he sent 500 persons with strong disposition to take ordination. He had copies of the texts made according to the number of students. These were later sent to the Vihara of Sri Nalanda. Thereafter Mahayana spread in all directions. But this did not please the Sravakas, who declared that the Mahayana doctrines were not delivered by Buddha. The Mahayanists took ordination according to the Hinayana schools and lived mostly with them.

Mudgaragomin Brahmana worshipped Mahesvara but his brother became a devotee of Buddha. Mahesvara showed great veneration to 500 Arhats coming from Manas-sarovar and so Mudgaragomin also became a devotee of Buddha. They became upasakas and composed the *Visishta-stava*. They made provisions for 500 Sravakas at Vajrasana and for 500 Mahayanists in Nalanda. The fame of Nalanda was raised by Mudgaragomin and his brother and was further raised by Rahulabhadra and still further by his disciple Nagarjuna.

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