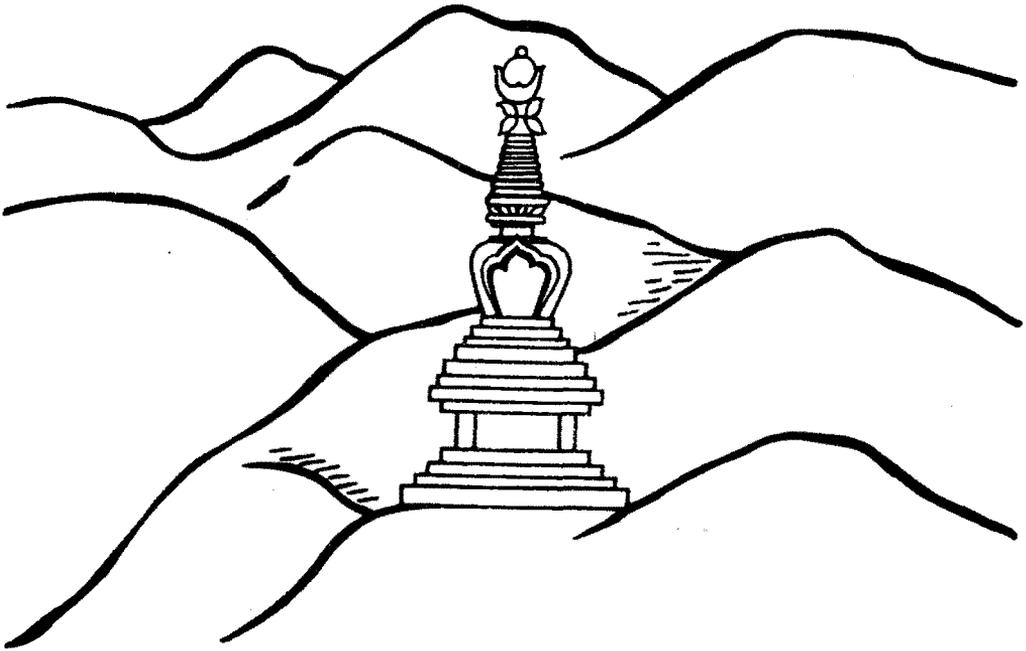


BULLETIN OF TIBETOLOGY



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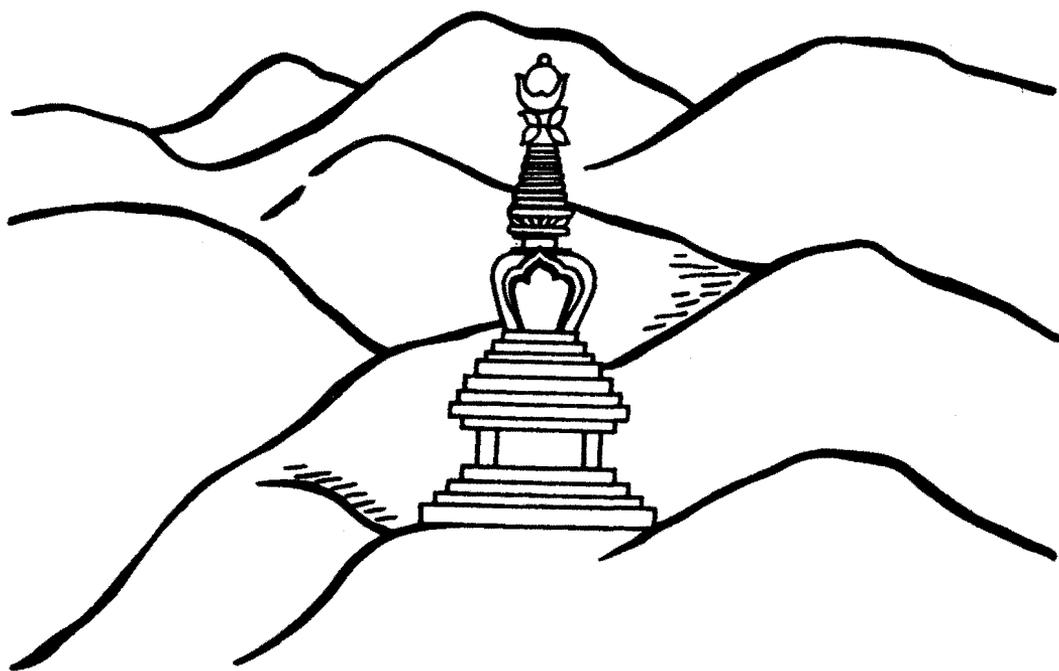
16 November 1992
SIKKIM RESEARCH INSTITUTE OF TIBETOLOGY
GANGTOK, INDIA

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 ***

JAMPAL K. RECHUNG
KUNGA YONTEN HOCHOTSANG
BHAJAGOVINDA GHOSH

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CHU- SPRAL : LHABAB DUECHEN

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Price Rs. 20/-

PUBLISHED BY THE DIRECTOR
SIKKIM RESEARCH INSTITUTE OF TIBETOLOGY
GANGTOK - 737101, SIKKIM

PRINTED AT HIMALINDIA PHOTO OFFSET, NAM NANG ROAD, GANGTOK, SIKKIM.

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CONTRIBUTORS IN THIS ISSUE:

SIEGBERT HUMMEL, Formerly curator of Asiatic Collection in Museum of Ethnology in Lupzig and Professor of Eastern Asian History in several universities of Germany; well-known scholar of cultural History and Ethnology of Northern Buddhist Countries; his comparative studies of Art forms and religious motifs of different countries are most illuminating.

SANJIT KUMAR SADHUKHAN, M.A., Ph.D. Made critical study in Brahmanic and Buddhist Logic, passed certificate in Tibetan, Calcutta University. Compiled Descriptive Catalogue of Tibetan Mss., xylograph, National Library and Calcutta University, specialised on Buddhist Logic. Working on reconstruction of Buddhist logical text *Pramana-viniscaya* from its extant Tibetan version. Presently working in West Bengal Govt. Press, Alipore, Calcutta.

RIGZIN NGODUP DOKHAMPA Studied Buddhist Philosophy in Sikkim Institute of Higher Nyingmapa Studies (Sheda), Gangtok, obtained Acharya Degree from the Institute of Sampuranand Sanskrit Visva-Vidhyalaya, Varanasi, and Ph.D from International Indo-Tibetan Nyingmapa Buddhist Cultural Preservation society, Santiniketan. A study on the Significance of Tantric ritual objects and Mandala. Presently working in the SRIT as Research Officer.

BHAGAGOVINDA GHOSH, Had lesson in Brahmanism and Buddhist literature, was sometime in Asiatic Society, Calcutta, Curator of Museum and Manuscript section, Currently Assistant Director, Sikkim Research Institute of Tibetology.

NIRMAL CHANDRA SINHA, Founder Director, Sikkim Research Institute of Tibetology; recipient of PADMASRI Award 1971; recipient of Asiatic Society Bi-Centenary PLAQUE 1986; was Centenary Professor of Calcutta University, Department of History.

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gSHEN

• Siegbert Hummel

The term *gShen*, indicating in Tibetan a specific category of Bon priests, has often been the subject of tentative interpretations. In *ye-gshen*, the *ye* only has an emphatic value; according to the Bon tradition this applies then to higher, divine *gshen*. The most satisfactory explanation so far seemed to be the one put forward by H. Hoffmann seeing in *gshen* an old Tibetan word for "shaman", even though he recognised that this interpretation does not satisfy the totality of cases. F. W. Thomas and J. V. Manen interpreted it as a derivative of *shan* (old Tib. *shen*= butcher). On the other hand, A. H. Francke realised that the *gshen*, based on their activity as described in the *gZer-myig*, might be saviours or teachers¹. Most of the Nine Ways (Tib.: *theg-pa*), the practices that a Bon-po has to go through to reach his state of perfection, are qualified by *gshen*, for instance *snang-gshen* (the method of exorcism) or *srid-gshen* (the teachings about the afterdeath state in the *bar-do*). As in these cases, the use of *gShen* in *gShen-sras* (buddhist: *dgra-bcom-pa*=arhat) for the Bon deity *gShen-Lha'* *od-dkar* in Sambhogakāya is not to be explained in a shamanistic sense. This interpretation remains dubious mainly for the understanding of the name of the semi-legendary organiser of the Bon religion, *gShen-rab-mi-bo*, whose biography also does not indicate being a practising shaman, even if shamanism played a considerable role in the old Bon.

On the other hand, we know from the language of Zhang-Zhung, the old stronghold of the Bon religion, that the term *shen* (*shin*) is equivalent to Tibetan (*rnam-*) *shes* and *shes-pa*, particularly as "to know" but also with the meaning of "soul"². The dropping of prefixes, like the *g* in *gshen*, is not unusual in Zhang-Zhung. According to *dGe-bshes Chos-kyi-grags-pa*,³ Tibetan *rnam-shes* is rendered in Chinese as (*shen-shih*), and *shen* in Chinese, like the *shen* in Zhang-Zhung, also means "soul", including its derivatives as "to recognise" and "to know". I have often indicated the correlation of the Zhang-Zhung language with the old Chinese and with the languages of Si-Hia and Mi-Nyag. On the basis of our current knowledge, the

term *gshen* becomes meaningful in all the above mentioned occurrences with the help of the Zhang-Zhung language. The fact that the five *gshen* emanated from gShen-rab-mi-bo are also called *ye-shes-kyi-lha*, viz. "divinities of knowledge or wisdom" is in line with the definition of *gshen* we have found.

Turning to the meaning of gShen-rab-mi-bo in particular, we should again refer to Zhang-Zhung, where the syllable *ra* or *rab* equals the Tibetan *rgya(s)*. As I could show in my studies on the interpretation of the Zhang-Zhung language, the classical language of the Bon-po (see note 2), its lexicon provides valuable help towards the understanding of many supposed Tibetan terms from the sphere of the Bon Religion. For instance, there is a Dang-ra in the Tibetan lake region, where ra(b) corresponds to Tib. *rgya* and *dang* (Chin.: *tang*) to Tib. *mtsho*⁴.

Accordingly, a meaningful interpretation of gShen-rab is then Shesrgya or Shes-rab. The West-Tibetan region of Mar-yul offers another example of how useful the Zhang-Zhung lexicon can be. In Zhang-Zhung, *mar* is the Tibetan *gser*. We are therefore dealing with Suvarnagotra (Suvarnabhumi), the Chinese Si-li. *Si* is the Tibetan *gser* (Zhang-Zhung: *mar*) and *li* the Zhang-Zhung word *rig* (=Tib.: *yul*). The mixture of Zhang-Zhung and Tibetan, also as in Shes-rab, was by no means unusual well into the 8th century A.D., when Zhang-Zhung was still a lingua franca. Even many of the names of the old Tibetan kings only acquire a meaning with the help of Zhang-Zhung if, for instance, *khri* (Zhang-Zhung) equals Tib. *Sems* and *mu* (*dmu, rmu*) in Mu-khri the celestial region (Tib.: *nam-mkha'*)⁵. We know that Gri-gum-btsan-po was avenged by one of his sons, Bya-khri. Gri-gum's sons Bya-khri (birds), Shakhri (carnal beings, mammals) and Nya-khri (fish) correspond to the three regions of the Bon cosmology, *stang-lha*, *bar-btsan* and *gyog-klu*. Finally, we should also mention here the first mythological king of Tibet, gNya'-khri-btsan-po known as a *sa-bdag* according to A.H. Francke⁶. gNya'-khri could be a late aetiological spelling for Nya-khri. The usual translation of *khri* as "chair" or "throne" does not seem convincing.

We can therefore state that *gshen*, also in gShen-rab-mi-bo, cannot possibly be an old Tibetan word for "shaman" which has then

undergone certain mutations of meaning in the organised Bon. On the contrary, the term comes from Zhang-Zhung, the classical language of the Tibetan Bon religion, and corresponds to Tibetan (*rnam-*) *shes* or *shes-pa* in its different applications.

With this interpretation, also two statements about gShen-rab-mi-bo which H. Hoffmann (l.c., p.348 ff.) quotes from the *gZer-myig* acquire a new meaning in keeping with the concepts of the Bon religion. He is described as "*gshen-rab-cig-gda*" (I 27 a4), which Hoffmann translates as "he is an excellent gShen". With the help of Zhang-Zhung however, "he is a Shes-rab", a frequently used appellation in the Bon religion for important spiritual personalities⁷, among whom he is the highest⁸. In li 282 b3 it is said that gShen-rab-mi-bo dwells after his death in "*gshen-grub-pa'i-dbyings*", which Hoffmann translates "in the sphere (*dbyings*) of the perfect gShen". Our reading "(he dwells) in the *ye-shes-kyi-dbyings*" i.e. in the sphere of Sambhogakāya is also supported by a note in the "Lexicon of archaic terms" (l.c.) according to which gShen-rab-mi-bo is a *gshen-rab-sems-dpa'*, that is a Dhyāni-bodhisattva (*ye-shes-sems-dpa'*)⁹. We have therefore obtained the following equivalents: *gshen* = *shes* (-*pa*) and *ye-gshen* or *gshen-rab* = *ye-shes* or *shes-rab* (*rgya*).

Notes

1. H. Hoffmann, "Gsen. Eine lexikographisch-religionswissenschaftliche Untersuchung" (in *ZDMG* 98,2-3; NF 23, 1944, p.340 with bibliographical references on the subject): *Jenissei-Ostyak seanen* = shaman.
2. S. Hummel, "Materialien zu einem Wörterbuch der Zan-Zun-Sprache" (in: *Monumenta Serica* XXXI, 1974-75: II Anmerkungen zum *mJod-phug*, p.513; XXXII, 1976: III Entsprechungen aus dem *mJod-phug* und *Zang Zung Dictionary*, p.328).
3. *brTsams-pa'i-brda-dag-ming-tshig-gsal-ba*, Peking 1957.
4. According to R.A. Stein, "La langue Zan-Zun du Bon organise", (in: *Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient*, LVIII, Paris 1971, p.231 ff.) the Tun-Huang texts also give Dang-ko for Manasarovar. Concerning the examples for the relation of Zhang-Zhung to the languages of East-Tibet and neighbouring areas in "Materialien zu einem Wörterbuch der Zan-Zun-Sprache", Stein also mentions *mur* (= snake) dialect of Dvags-po: *murut*; le (=wind) Ch'iang: le, Si-Hia: *xlí*; *la* (= tiger) Mo-So: *la*, Lo-Lo: *la*.

5. Cf. also E. Haarh, *The Zhang-Zhung Language*, Kobenhavn 1968, p.29 a.
6. Quoted by L. Petech, *A Study of the Chronicles of Ladakh*, Calcutta 1939, p.25. The domains of the *sa-bdag* and of the *klu (naga)* are sometimes indistinct, corresponding to the old Tibetan *se (bse)*. For instance a *chu-bdag* can be found among the *sa-bdag* (B. Laufer, *Ein Suhngedicht der Bon-po*, Vienna 1900, p.32 and 46), whereas the *klu* are also said to be spirits of the land, of the mountains and rocks (A. Schiefner, *Das weisse Naga-Hunderttausend*, Memoires de l'Academic de St. Petersburg, VII, 28/1, 1881, p.27). About the *klu* as *sa-bdag* see also P. Kverne, "A Preliminary Study of Chapter VI of the Gzer-mig" (in: *Tibetan Studies*, Warminster 1980, p.186); S. Hummel, "Profane und religiose Gegenstande aus Tibet und der lamaistischen Umwelt" (in: *Tribus* 13, 1964, p.61). Doubts about the reading *gnya'* (= neck) can already be found in the *Blon-po-bka'i-thang-ylg* (7a, 2 ff.), where it is read *nya* and understood as full moon of the time of birth.
7. Index in Samten G. Karmay, *The Treasury of Good Sayings: A Tibetan History of Bon*, Oxford 1972.
8. gYung-drung-rgyal-mtshan-dpal-bzang-po, *Lexicon of archaic terms*, Delhi (Tibetan Bonpo Foundation) 1966 p.138: *gshen-rab-mchog* (Scr. jnanavara).
9. Lokesh Chandra, *Tibetan-Sanscrit Dictionary*, New Delhi, vol. 10, 1961, p.2168.

THE GENEALOGY OF THE GREAT MONGOL KING KAUSRI HAN ALIAS BSTAN- 'DZIN CHOS-RGYAL (1582-1654)

• *Sanjit Kumar Sadhukhan*

In the political history of Tibet of the 17th century, Kau-sri Han (Gushi Khan/Khu-sri/Gu-sri), an intrepid Mongol king is remembered for his military dominance over this country. He is better known by the name bsTan-' dzin chos-rgyal, by the Tibetans. He was born in 1582. In 1637 he already established himself at Kokonor. He crushed the principality of Beri, in Khams, whose religion was Bon-po, and then came to the aid of Derge. Kau-sri Han had been on a secret pilgrimage to Lhasa in 1638 and had been deeply impressed by the person of the fifth Dalai Lama. The Dalai Lama did not miss this opportunity of establishing a firm political domination by defeating his formidable enemy, the King of gTsañ. With this he could make his dGe-lugs-pa sect champion in the religious field of Tibet. By 1640 Kau-sri and his dGe-lugs-pa friends emerged victorious. There was bitter fighting, but resistance was made difficult for the King of gTsañ due to weakness and dissension of his main religious supporters just at that time. Anyway, Kau-sri and the fifth Dalai Lama were finally masters of Tibet. At the time of friendship between these two masters, the latter had a 'governor' (*sde-srid*) nominated by the mongol, imposed on him.

After Kau-sri's death in 1654, two of his sons succeeded him jointly, but later divided the kingdom, so that bKra-sis pa-thur (F) took the Kokonor territories and Tibet fell to the lot of Dā-yan (8). It is to be remembered that for fifth years or more after Kau-sri's death Tibet was still nominally committed to the descendants of Kau-sri, khan of Qosot Mongols, who still retained the title of 'King of Tibet', although the fifth Dalai Lama's extraordinary ability and the lack of interest of Kau-sri's successors had reduced the relationship to mere formality.

This connection between the Mongol kings and the Tibetan people most probably led the Tibetan historians to feel it necessary to record the Genealogy of this famous king. The following Genealogy of Kau-sri Han, given first, is found in *Deb-ther rgya-mtsho*¹, the exquisite work of Brag-dgon zhabs-drun bsTan-pa rab-rgyas (b. 1801), the 49th abbot of the bLa-bran monastery. The author himself states that the account recorded here is according to the Mongolian document. Sum-pa (1704-1788) being prior to bsTan-pa rab-rgyas, in his *dPag-bsam ljon-bzan*, (Fol No. 310) also gives the Genealogical table of Kau-sri. But bsTan-pa rab-rgyas' table is more adequate. The Genealogical table of Kau-sri, prepared by Sum-pa is full of so much diversities from that prepared by bsTan-pa rab-rgyas in many respects such as name, number of sons, etc., that one will be puzzled to determine which one is correct. Moreover, if we consider the spelling and attributes of the names in most cases in Sum-pa's table it seems better to take either of the two tables instead of comparing those. It is strange how so much differences took place. That is why I have separately given the Genealogical table of Kau-sri according to Sum-pa. The order which Sum-pa maintained in the case of mentioning the names of Chos-rgyal's sons is not same as bsTan-pa rab-rgyas did. But I have changed it in accordance with bsTan-pa rab-rgyas' order only to facilitate comparison which may be a fascination to anybody.

According to *Deb-ther rgya-mtsho*

bsTan-'dzin chos-rgyal had two wives, senior and junior. Senior wife had six sons:

- A. Tshe-rin el-ta'i-chi,
- B. rDo-rje tā-la'i hun-tha'i-ji,
- C. Ho-rim-si erti-ni ta'i-chin,
- D. Sañ-gar-tsha,
- E. mGon-po tshe-dbañ, and
- F. bKra-sis pa-thur tha'i-ji.

Junior wife had four sons:

- G. Tsig-sé-thu bstan-'dzin da-yan rgyal-po,
- H. A-tsa-ra che-chen hun-tha'i-ji,
- I. A-yu-sé-ba yan-a-ba-ke, and
- J. Da-lan-tha'i-ji.

A. The lineage of Chos-rgyal's first son Tshe-rin el-ta'i-chi who lived in mTsho-g. yas² ceased afterwards. There is another opinion according to which the lineage of up to the sixth son of El-ta'i-chi was in mTsho-g. yas.

B. Chos-rgyal's second son rDo-rje tã-la'i hun-tha'i-ji (1) had four sons:

Ba-thur hoñ-tha'i-ji (2)
Tã-le da'i-chin̄ huñ-tha'i-ji (3),
Bē-ro-tsa-na (4) and
dGa'-ldan da-chin̄ (5).

Bã-thur hoñ-tha'i-ji (2) had four sons:

Erkhe no-yon (6)
bsTan-'dzin huñ-tha'i-ji (7),
sKal-ldan bkra-śis (8) and
sKal-ldan bstan-'dzin (9).

The first and the third ones (6 and 8) had no sons. The second one's (7) son bsTan-'dzin rnam-rgyal (10) had no sons. sKal-ldan da-chin, the fourth one's (9) son was Be-li bKra-sis tshe-rin (11). The latter's (11) son was Be-li bsTan-pa tshe-rin (12). The latter (12) had three sons:

Be-li 'Jigs-med ye-ses (13),
Lha-mgon *alias* dPal-ldan a-be (14) and
bLa-ma Ta-le śi-re-thu *alias* 'Jigs-med Kun-dga'
(15). 'Jigs-med ye-ses' (13) son was Be-li 'Jam-
dpal dar-rgyas (16).

The latter (16) had two sons³:

Be-li Nam-mkha' dbañ-rgyal (17) and
Be-li bLe-bzañ sbyin-pa (18).

Nam-mkha' dban-rgyals (17) son Be-li Tshe-rin̄ nor-bu (19) died at the age of 7. Then he (17) adopted the latter's (19) uncle bLo-bzañ sbyin-pa (18) as son. The latter's (18) son was Chin-bo-bo (20).

Lha-mgon's (14) son sKya-bo tha'i-ji (21) is living still now⁴.

Dā'i-chin hun-tha'i-ji's (3) son was Erkhe tha'i-ji (22). The latter (22) had four sons:

Cun-lvañ phun-tshogs (23),
Ja-sag sGrol-ma-skyabs (24),
rDo-rje rnam-rgyal (25) and
Tshe-'phel erti-ni tha'i-ji (26).

Phun-tshogs (23) had three sons:

Jun-lvañ dKon-mchog bkra-sis (27),
bLo-bzan dam-chos (28) and
dGa'-ldan a-bo (29).

The first one's (27) son was bSod-nams rdo-rje lvañ (30) ⁵. The latter's (30) son was Lvañ Tshe-rin don-grub (31). The latter (31) had three sons:

o-rgyan-skyabs (32),
Ja-sag Rin-chen rnam-grol (33) and
sKu-'bum Mi-ñag sprul-sku (34).

bLo-bzañ dam-chos (28) had no sons.

dGa'-ldan rab-brtan a-bo's (29) son was Ta-le hu-ghog-thu sKal bzan rab-rgyas (35).

sGrol-ma-skyabs' (24) son was Ja-sag Dar-rgyas tshe-rin (36).

rDo-rje rnam-rgyal (25) had no sons.

Jam-dpal she-'phel's (26) son was bLo-bzañ tshe-rin (37). The latter's (37) son was Thu-sa-lag-chi dPal-'byor ja-sag (38). As the latter (38) had no sons, he (38) adopted rDo-rje bsam-grub (39), the younger brother of bSod-nams rdo-rje lvañ (30), as son. rDo-rje basm-grub's (39) son was Ja-sag dBan-chen don-grub (40). The latter's (40) son was Ja-sag dpal-'bar bkra-sis thun-grub (41). Since the latter (41) had no sons, he (41) adopted Ja-sag Rin-chen rnam-grol (42) as son. The latter (42) has a number of sons.

Be-ro-tsa-na (4) had three sons:

Du-ral tha'i-ji (43),
A-bo-che-chen tha'i-ji (44) and
gZuns-skyabs erti-ni tha'i-ji (45).

It is said that these three (43, 44 and 45) preached in favour of justice for the sake of the kingdom.

C. Chos-rgyal's third son Ho-rim-śi erti-ni ta'i-chin (1) had six sons:

Thar-ba (2),
Phun-tshogs (3),
dBañ-chen (4),
Lha-'bum (5),
Bañ-thu-ji ta'i-chin (6) and
Señge ha-than pa-dur (7).

Thar-ba's (2) son was Nāg-dbañ chos-' phel (8). Be-si Tshe-rin don-grub (9), the son of the latter (8) had no sons.

Phun-tshogs (3) had no sons.

dBañ-chen's (4) son was Chos-grags (10). The latter (10) had two sons:

Erte-ne Bo-śog-thu (11) and
dPal-'byor (12).

But both of them (11 and 12) had no sons.

Lha-'bum's (5) son was rDo-rje tshe-brtan (13). But the latter (13) had no sons.

Bañ-thu-ji ta'i-chin (6) had two sons:

Ja-sag Tshe-brtan bo-śog-thu (14) and
bsTan-'dzin be-si (15).

Tshe-brtan's (14) son was Ja-sag Tshe-rin-rdo-rje (16). The latter's (16) son was bLo-bzan tshe-rin (17). The latter's (17) son was dPal-'byor ja-sag (18). The latter's (18) son or adopted son was dGa'-ldan bstan-skyon (19). The former one (18) had two sons:

Ja-sag dGe-legs rab-brtan (20) and
Lin-ho-be (21).

Among them dge-legs rab-brtan's (20) son was Ja-sag Bu-yan tā-le (22). It is known that the latter (22) also had a son.

bsTan-'dzin be-si's (15) son was Phyag-rdor-skyabs be-si (23). The latter (23) had four sons:

'Jam-dpal rdo-rje (24) who was an incarnation of qSer-tog ta'i-chiñ,
Be-si Tā-le'i che-chen sog-thu mtsho-skyes rdo-rje(25),
Tshe-dban rig-'dzin (26) and
Bya-khyun mdo-po zhabs-drun blo-bzañ dbañ-phyug
rgya-mtsho (27).

mTsho-skyabs rdo-rje (25) *alias* Tshe-brtan rdo-rje's son was Be-si Ratna-siddhi (28). The latter's (28) son was Be-si bSod-nams 'phel-rgyas (29). Nowadays the latter (29) is called gSer-tog be-si.

Ta'i-chiñ no-yon tshe-dbañ rig-'dzin (26) had two sons:
sKu-'bum smon-rams-pa byams-pa (30) and
Tho-yon blo-gsal (31).

Delo-bzañ dban-phyug's (27) son was Thub-bstan űni-ma-gsum (32).

Señge ha-than's (7) son was bKra-śis don-grub (33). But the latter (33) had no sons.

D. Chos-rgyal's fourth son was Sañ-gar-tsha (1). The latter's son (1) was Po-lod ho-sus-chi (2). The latter (2) had two sons:

Tā-bun be-li (3) and
bSod-nams bkra-sis (4).

Ta-bun's (3) son was Rin-chen rnam-rgyal (5). But the latter (5) had no sons.

bSod-nams bkra-śis (4) had three sons:

Thu-sa-lag-chi sKal-ldan don-grub (6),
sKal-ldan dbañ-rgyal (7) and
Be-si Miñ-ne (8).

The first two (6 and 7) among them had no sons.

Miñ-ne (8) had four sons:

Be-si bLo-bzañ tshe-brtan (9),
Ja-sag dPal-skyid (10),
Yi-dam (11) and
Tshe-gzuns (12).

The first one (9) had three sons:

aBañ-rgyal bstan-'dzin (13),

Phun-tshogs rab-brtan (14) and
Tshe-riñ dar-rgyas (15).

It is said that the first one's (13) son was called Be-si dGe-legs rnam-rgyal (16).

It is also said that bLo-bzañ tshe-brtan (9) had six sons [not only three (13, 14 and 15)]:

bsTan-'dzin dbañ-rgyal (13),
dKon-mchog rab-brtan (14),
Dar-rgyas tshe-rin (15),
Thu-sa-lag-chi Tshe-riñ rdo-rje (17),
Lha-bsrun-skyabs (18) and
bSam-grub rgya-mtsho (19).

dPal-skyid's (10) son was Lha-skyabs (20).

Yid-dam (11) and Tshe-gzuns (12) had no sons.

E. Chos-rgyal's fifth son mGon-po tshe-dban had no successors.

F. Chos-rgyal's sixth son A-khu bKra-śis pa-thur (1) was appointed the sovereign ruler of Kolonor by the fifth Dalai Lama. He (1) had two sons:

bLo-bzañ bstan-'dzin Ivan (2) and
Thañ Lha-skyabs (3).

bsTan-'dzin Ivañ (2) had two sons:

Ba-the tsha-gan (4) and
E-min-gan (5).

It is the general opinion that E-min-gan's (5) one elder son⁷ who was in the palace and Kha-'jigs-byed-skyabs-these two lived at the time of Kya-chin rgyal-po.

Thañ Lha-skyabs (3) had no sons.

G. Chos-rgyal's seventh son bsTan-'dzin da-yan rgyal-po (1) had five sons:

Ratna dā-la'i han (2),
bSod-nams bkra-sis (3),
bSod-nams rdo-rje (4),
bSod-nams mgon-po (5) and

dGe-'dun mergan no-yon (6).

Ratna (2) had two sons:

bsTan-'dzin dbaṅ-rgyal (7) and

Lha-bzaṅ (8).

The former (7) had no sons.

The latter (8) had two sons:

dGa'-ldan bstan-'dzin (9) and

Sur-tsha (10).

The former one (9) was the adopted son of Huṅ-tha'i-ji ⁸.

It is said that Sur-tsha's (10) son called Tshe-brtan-guṅ (11) lives in Cha-har still now.

bSod-nams bkra-śis' (3) son was Nor-bu phun-tshogs (12). The latter's (12) son was bKra-sis dpal-'byor (13). But the latter (13) had no sons.

bSod-nams rdo-rje's (4) son was Chos-'khor (14). The latter's (14) son was sKal-ldan-gun (15). The latter (15) had three sons:

bsTan-'dzin-guṅ (16),

Thu-sa-lag-chi rGyal-mtshan (17) and

Guṅ-dpal-chen (18).

But all of them (16, 17 and 18) had no sons.

bSod-nams mgon-po (5) had two sons:

Tshe-riṅ-guṅ (19) and

Thu-sa-lag-chi Chos-skyoṅ rgya-mtsho (20).

Tshe-riṅ-guṅ's (19) son was Guṅ bKra-śis-skyabs (21). The latter's (21) son was Gun dGe-'dun don-grub (22). The latter (22) had two sons:

Ye-śes dar-rgyas (23) and

Tha'i-ji legs-bsad *alias* rNam-'joms (24).

Ye-śes dar-rgyas' (23) son was Guṅ 'Gyur-med thub-bstan tshe-riṅ (25). The latter's (25) son was Guṅ Chos-dar (26).

Chos-skyoṅ rgya-mtsho's (20) son was Guṅ bSod-nams stobs-rgyas (27). But the latter (27) had no sons and his (27) younger brother Ratna-siddhi (28) was adopted as his (27) son. Ratna-siddhi's (28) son was Tshe-dpag-guṅ (29).

Tha'i-ji legs-baśad's (24) son was Thu-sa-lag-chi rTa-mgrin (30). dGe'dun mergan no-yon (6) had two sons:

Tshe-rin-gun (31) and
dPal-'byor (32).

The first one (31) had two sons:

Tshe-brtan-guñ (33) and
Guñ dKon-mchog-skyabs (34).

Among them the first one (33) had no sons.

dKon-mchog-guñ (34) had two sons:

Chos-skyon-skyabs (35) and
Nag-dbañ legs-bśad (36).

Among them the first one's (35) son was dGe-legs rab-rgyas (37). The latter's (37) son was Guñ rTa-mgrin-skyabs (38).

It is said that rTa-mgrin-skyabs (38) had two sons named:

Ru-rus (39) and
Bande (40).

Thu-sa-lag-chi dPal-'byor (32) had five sons:

mGon-po-skyabs (41),
Kun-bzañ (42),
Tshe-dpag rgya-mtsho (43),
bsTan-'phel tho-yon (44), who was a *dge-bśes* of
the Se-ra monastery, and
Thu-sa-lag-chi Tshe-dbañ grags-pa (45).

The first one (41) had three sons:

Tshe-gzuñs-skyabs (46),
Tho-yon chos-'phel (47) and
Ba-ye-tā (48).

H. Chos-rgyal's eighth son A-tsa-ra che-chen hun-tha'i-ji (1) had three sons:

Mergan huñ-tha'i-ji (2),
Jo-rig-thu da'i-chin (3) and
Che-chen the'i-ji (4) ⁹.

Mergan huñ-tha'i-ji (2) had two sons ¹⁰:

rNam-rgyal erte-ni huñ-tha'i-ji (5) and

Mergan da'i-chin ab-ka rab-brtan (6).

rNam-rgyal (5) had two sons:

Chin̄ hun̄-tha'i-ji (7) and

Lvan̄ bLo-bzan̄ tshe-dbañ (8).

The latter (8) had four sons:

Guñ Lha-rgyal da'i-chin̄ (9),

'Jam-dpal grags-pa (10),

dGe-legs stobs-rgyas (11) and

rDo-rje tshe-rin (12).

Ja-sag Kun-bzan tshe-rin (13), the son of Lha-rgyal (9) had no sons.

He (13) adopted dNos-grub dban-phyug (14), the son of one of his (14) uncles (10, 11, 12?), as son. dNos-grub dban-phyug's (14) son was Ja-sag Dharma-sri (15) of the present time. dNos-grub dban̄-phyug's (14) uncle [= Ja-sag Kun-bzan̄ tshe-rin's (13) brother] was Tha'i-ji bzan̄-po (16).

Tha'i-ji bzan̄-po (16) had three sons:

Mu-khen tha'i-ji (17),

sTobs rgyas-sras rdo-rje (18) and

Tho-yon rab-'byams-pa Tshul-khrims bzan̄-po (19).

rDo-rje tshe-rin̄ (12) had three sons:

dBañ-rgyal (20),

rTa-mgrin (21) and

Ye-śes dbañ-rgyal (22).

The last one's (22) son was Mergan da'i-chin̄ rin-chen bkraśis (23). The latter (23) had three sons:

rTa-mgrin tshe-brtan (24),

Ja-sag Bo-bo (25) and

Ja-sag Padma tshe-brtan (26).

rTa-mgrin tshe-brtan's (24) son Śes-rab ŋi-ma (27) and the above Bo-bo (25) had no sons.

Ja-sag Padma tshe-brtan's (26) son was dBañ-rgyal Ja-sag (28). The latter's (28) son was dGe-'dun-skyabs (29). The latter's (29)

son was Ja-sag mDon-po-skyabs (30). It is said that the latter (30) also had a number of sons.

Ab-karab-brtan's (6) son was Ja-sag mGon-porab-brtan (31). The latter's (31) son was Ja-sag Manju ban-dhe (32). The latter's (32) son was Ja-sag bSod-nams mi-'gyur (33). The latter's (33) son was Ja-sag Don-grub dban-rgyal (34) had a number of sons.

Jo-rig-thu-da'i-chin's (3) son was bLo-bzañ bkra-śis (35).

Che-chen ta'i-chin (4) had two sons:

'Jigs-byed-skyabs (36) and

Ja-sag Tshe-rin rdo-rje (37).

The latter's (37) son was Ja-sag Grag-spa nam-rgyal (38). The latter's (38) son was Ja-sag Nor-bu rin-chen (39). The latter (39) had two sons:

Ja-sag 'jigs-med (40) and

Tho-yon dge-'phel (41).

'Jigs-med (40) had no sons. He (40) adopted bSod-nams dban-rgyal (42) as son.

bSod-nams (42) was the son of a person named Thu-sa-lag chi Don-go and was also the younger brother of tho-yon śes-rab rgya-mtsho. His (42) sons were one Tho-yon (43) and Ja-sag Lhamgon tshe-rgyal (44). The last one (44) also had a number of sons.

I. Chos-rgyal's ninth son A-yu-śi tā-le ub-śa (1) had twelve sons:

Erkhe tha'i-ji (2),

Sangha Margan tha'i-ji (3),

Ba-dur ju-nan (4),

Bo-dhi nor-bu rgya-mtsho (5),

Dol-ba Chos-rje (6),

Thu-śe-ye-thu-ha-śag (7),

E-the-gei (8),

Ñig-tha (9),

Bod-pa (10),

Bo-lo dpon-po (11),

Rdo-rje-skyabs (12) and

Cab (13).

Saṅgha mergan's (3) son was Śa-ra-gol (14).

Bā-dur ju-nañ's (4) son bLo-bzañ rdo-rje (15) became the son-in-law of the Chinese king and went to A-lag-śa where he became known as E-bou-lvañ. His (E-bou-lvañ) son A-lag-śa Jan-juñ (16), and others appear to be in the Lvan dynasty still now.

Bod-pa (10) had three sons:

Tshe-riñ don-grub (17),

Hon-chi-be (18) and

A-bo no-yon (19).

Hon-chi's (18) son was Li-thar-guñ (20). The latter (20) had five sons:

Saṅs-rgyas (21),

dBañ-rgyal (22),

Tshe-kho (23),

Lha-'bum (24) and

'Jam-dbyans grags-pa (25).

A-bō no-yon's (19) son was Tshe-gzuñs (26). The latter (26) had two sons:

Thu-sa-lag-chi bSod-nams dar-rgyas (27) and

mThu-stobs (28).

Cab's (13) son was Ja-sag Hā-khi (29). The latter's (29) son was Saṅs-rgyas ye-śes (30). The latter (30) had three sons:

Ja-sag Tshe-riñ rdo-rje (31),

Tho-yon dpal-'byor (32) and

Ja-sag Lha-sruñ (33).

The second one's (32) sons were one Ban-dhe (34) and Ja-sag Don-grub (35). The latter one (35) had a younger son but the name is not definitely known.

The other lineages which are not recorded here are not clear. So the entire thing concerned is full of disagreements.

J. Chos-rgyal's tenth son Dā-lan tha'i-ji (1) had two sons:

A-chi bā-thur (2) and

Phun-tshogs (3).

The latter (3) had no sons.

The former's (2) son was Thog-tho-nor erte-ni lvañ (4). The latter (4) had six sons:

Thar-pa (5),
Rab-rgyas-guñ (6),
Thu-sa-lag-chi bSod-nams bkra-śis (7),
Jun-lvañ bSod-nams bstan-'dzin (8),
Ja-sag bLo-bzañ-skyabs (9) and
rDo-rje-guñ (10).

Thar-pa (5) had no sons.

Rab-rgyas-guñ's (6) son was Thu-sa-lag-chi Lha-mgon (11). The latter (11) had two sons:

Thu-sa-lag-chi Don-grub (12) and
bSod-nams bkra-śis kun-dga' (13).

bSod-nams bstan-'dzin lvañ's (8) son was Tsan-tsa-lvañ dKon-mchog skyabs (14). The latter (14) had three sons:

Jun-lvañ Don-grub dbañ-rgyal (15),
Ye-śes dar-rgyas (16) and
Sa-chi del-gir (17).

The first one's (15) son was Gans-dkar lvañ (18). As the latter (18) had no sons, he adopted his uncle Ye-śes dar-rgyas (16) as son.

Ja-sag bLo-bzañ-skyabs' (9) son was Ja-sag Kun-dga' tshe-brtan (19). The latter's (19) son was Ja-sag Phyag-rdor (20).

Ye-śes dar-rgyas (16) had no sons. He (16) being a member of the Lvan family, got again the title of Ja-sag bestowed on him. He united two regions resulting in being (a single province called) Ho-śod¹¹.

Phyag-rdor's (20) son was Me-riñ lvañ dKon-mchog 'jigs-med (21) of the present time. One of the latter's (21) son was called Ta'i-chiñ (22) and the other son was Tho-yon Naḡ-dbañ phul-byuñ (23) who was in sKu-'bum. It is said that the first one (22) has a son or two.

rDo-rje-guñ (10) had a number of sons: One Thu-sa-lag-chi, one dGe-sloñ, and others. Among them Don-grub (24), the younger one had two sons:

Bā-be (25) and
dPon-chun (26).

The former's (25) son was Gu-ru (27)

[According to *dPag-bsam ljon-bzan*]

A. (Chos-rgyal's fifth son) El-du-cha tshe-riñ (1) had two sons:

Mal-'gro (2) and

Bo-sog-thu cu-nañ dar-rgyas (3).

The former (2) had no sons.

The latter (3) had four sons:

dPal-'bar (4),

bsTan-'dzin tshe-brtan (5),

De'i-chiñ ho-śo-chi (6) and

Khen-thar (7).

dPal-'bar (4) had three sons:

Erkhe ta'i-chiñ (8),

Don-grub (9) and

A-chi-thu mo-min-han (10).

The last one (10) had no sons.

bsTan-'dzin tshe-brtan's (5) son was Lha-skyabs (11). The latter (11) had three sons:

Tshe-dbañ rab-brtan (12),

dBan-phyug rab-brtan (13) and

dBañ-phyug chin-lvan (14).

The first one (12) had no sons. The second and the last ones (13 and 14) had one son each named Nāg-dbañ dar-rgyas (15) and dBañ-lđañ rdo-rje ba-lam lvan (16) respectively.

Ho-śo-chi'i (6) son was Don-grub dbañ-rgyal (17).

Khen-thar's (7) son was bsTan-skyon (18).

B. (Chos-rgyal's sixth son) rDo-rje da-le hun-the-ji (1) had four sons:

Be-ro-tsa-na (2),

dGa'-ldan tshe-dbañ (3),

Da-li de'i-chiñ (4) and

Da-yan bya-khyuñ mer-gen de-chin (5).

Be-ro-tsa-na (2) had two sons:

Irda-ni the-ji tshan-ba-skyabs (6) and
A-pu-ji che-chen the-ji (7).

A-pu-ji (7) and dGa'-ldan tshe-dbañ (3) had no sons.

Da-li de'i-chin' (4) had two sons:

'Jam-dpal irda-ni the-ji (8) and
Erkhe the-ji dpal-rdor (9).

The latter (9) had three sons:

Phun-tshogs dbañ-rgyal lvan' (10),
Ye-sés sgrol-skyabs (11) and
rDo-rje rnam-rgyal (12).

Phun-tshogs dbañ-rgyal (10) had three sons:

dKon-mchog bkra-sís lvan (13),
Dam-chos (14) and
dGa'-ldan rab-brtan lvan' (15).

The last one's (15) son was Ta-li hu-chog-thu (16).

Ye-sés sgrol-skyabs' (11) son was Dar-rgyas tshe-rin' ja-sag
(17).

Da-yan bya-khyun's (5) son was Da-yan huñ-the-ji (18).

C. (Chos-rgyal's seventh son) Hu-rim-se erde-ni de'i-chin' (1)
had six sons:

Thar-pa (2),
dBañ-chen (3),
Phun-tshogs (4),
Lha-'bum (5),
Bin' thu-ji bsod-nams rab-rgyas (6) and
Señge ha-than pa-thur (7).

Thar-pa's (2) son was dBañ chos-dpal (8). The latter's (8) son
was Tshe-rin' don-grub (9).

dBañ-chen (3) had two sons:

Chos-grags no-chi the-ji (10) and
dPal-'bar (11).

Lha-'bum's (5) son was bsTan-'dzin rab-brtan (12). The
latter's (12) son was bLo-bzan phun-tshogs (13).

Bin thu-ji (6) had three sons:

bsTan-'dzin bo-śog-thu (14),
Tshe-dbañ bkra-śis (15) and
bsTan-'dzin be-se (16),

The first and the third ones (14 and 16) had one son each named Tshe-rin' rdo-rje (17) and Phyag-rdor-skyabs be-se (18) respectively.

Señga ha-than's (7) son was bKra-śis dan-grub (19).

D. (Chos-rgyal's ninth son) San-gha-rgyal's (1) son was Tha Bi-bo-lod ho-śo-chi (2). The latter (2) had two sons:

Ta'i-buñ don-grub bkra-śis (3) and
bSod-nams bkra-śis be-si (4).

bSod-nams bkra-śis be-si (4) had three sons:

dGa'-odan don-grub (5),
dGa'-ldan dbañ-rgyal (6) and
Mañ-ne be-si (7).

Mañ-ne be-si (7) had two sons:

bLo-bzañ tshe-brtan be-si (8) and
Mi-pham (? Yi-dam)-skyabs (9).

E. (Chos-rgyal's eighth son) mGon-po tshe-dbañ had no sons.

F. (Chos-rgyal's tenth son) A-khu bkra-śis pa-thur the-ji lvañ's (1) son was bLo-bzañ bstan-'dzin (2). The latter (2) had two sons:

Pā-ran (3) and
Tsha-gan e-bu-gen (4).

G. (Chos-rgyal's first son) Cig-se-thu Da-yan rgyal-po (1) had six sons:

Ratna dā-la'i han (2),
Mer-gen rdo (-rje) no-yon (3),
bLo-bzañ phun-tshogs bi-li (4),
dGe-'dun mer-gen no-yon (5),
bSod-nams mgon-po (6) and
bSod-nams bkra-śis (7).

Ratna (2) had two sons:

bsTan-'dzin dban-rgyal (8) and
Lha-bzañ rgyal-po (9).

bsTan-'dzin dbañ-rgyal (8) had no sons.

Lha-bzañ rgyal-po (9) had three sons:

sKal-ldan bstan-'dzin (10),
Sur-tsa nam-rgyal (11) and
Tshe-brtan (12).

The first one's (10) son was dPai-'byor (13).

The second one (11) had two sons:

Grag-spa (14) and
Nag-tsha (15).

Mer-gen rdo no-yon (3) had two sons:

Erdi-ni Chin the-ji tshe-brtan (16) and
Chos-khuñ tha'i-ji (17).

Tshe-brtan's (16) son was bKra-śis don-grub (18). The latter's
(18) son was bKrs-śis dpal-'byor (19).

Chos-khuñ's (17) son was dGa'-ldan bkra-śis guñ (20). The
latter (20) had three sons:

rGyal-mtshan don-grub (21),
bsTan-'dzin nam-rgyal guñ (22) and
bSod-nams dpal-ci guñ (23).

bLo-bzan phun-tshogs bi-li (4) had two sons:

bLo-bzañ bkra-śis (24) and
Bo-sog-thu rab-brtan dbañ-po (25).

But both of them (24 and 25) had no sons.

dGe-'dun mer-gen no-yon (5) had two sons:

Tshe-rin guñ (26) and
dPal-'byor (27).

The former (26) had two sons:

Tshe-rin rab-brtan guñ (28) and
dKon-mchog-skyabs guñ (29).

dKon-mchog-skyabs guñ (29) had two sons:

Chos-skyabs guñ (30) and

dGa'-ldan (31).

dPal-'byor (27) had four sons:

bLa-ma kun-bzan' (32),

Hu-la-tshan (33),

Dam-pa rgya-mtsho (34) and

bsTan-'phel (35).

bSod-nams mgon-po (6) had two sons:

Tshe-rin' guñ (36) and

Chos-bzan rgya-mtsho (37).

The first one (36) had three sons:

bKrs-śis rdo-rje (38),

bKra-śis-skyabs guñ (39) and

Yin'-sa-thor (40).

Chos-bzan' rgya-mtsho's (37) son was Ban-dhe (41). bSod-nams bkra-śis (7) had three sons:

Lhun-grub (42),

Nor-bu phun-tshogs (43) and

gNam-gañ (44).

The second one's (43) son was bKra-śis dpal-'byor (45). gNam-gañ (44) had no sons.

H. (Chos-rgyal's second son) A-tsa-ra hun'-tha'i-ji (1) had two sons:

Co-rig-thu de'i-chin (2) and

Mer-gen hun'-the'i-ci (3).

Co-rig-thu's (2) son was bLo-bzan' dar-rgyas (4). The latter's (4) son was 'jigs-byed-skyabs ja-sag (5). The latter's son was Tshe-rin' rdo-rje ja-sag (6).

Mer-gen hun'-the'i-ci (3) had five sons:

Rin-chen nam-rgyal erte-ni hun'-the-ji (7),

Rin-chen bkra-śis (8),

Dar-rgyas (9),

E-khe rab-brtan (10) and

bLa-ma 'phrin-las (11).

Rin-chen nam-rgyal (7) has two sons:

Chin̄ hun̄-the-ji 'byor-brtan (12) and
bLo-bzan̄ tshe-dban̄ gun̄ (13).

The former (12) had no sons. The latter (13) had four sons:

rDo-rje je-sag (14),
dGe-legs stobs-rgyas (15),
rGyal-mtshan grags-pa (16) and
Tshe-rin̄ bsod-nams (17).

rDo-rje ja-sag's (14) son was Kun-bzan̄ ja-sag (18).

Rin-chen bkra-śis (8) had five sons:

Padma tshe-brtan (19),
Rab-brtan (20),
rTa-mgrin tshe-brtan (21),
bsTan-'dzin (22) and
Bo-bo the-ji (23).

The first one (19) had two sons:

Ye-śes bzan-po (24) and
dBan̄-rgyal ja-sag (25).

Ye-śes bzan̄-po's (24) son was mGon-po (26). Reb-brtan (20)
had no sons. rTa-mgrin's (21) son was Śes-rab ĩi-ma (27).

E-khe rab-brtan (10) had two sons:

mGon rab-brtan ja-sag (28) and
mGon-po rab-rgyas (29).

The former's (28) son was Man-ji (30).

I. (Chos_rgyal's third son) A-Yu-śe ta-le'i u-ba-śi (1)
formerly had eight sons :

Mer-gan hun-the-ji (2),
Erge the-ji (3),
Dur-la the-ji (4),
Ba-thu cu-nañ ho-ra-li (5),
Ha-śa-ha (6),
Bo-dhi (7),
dPon-po-lod (8) and
dPon-po (9).

Mer-gen hun[˙]-the-ji (2) had three sons :

Sa-ra-yi gui (10),
Sa-ra- ba-thur (11) and
bLo-bzañ (12).

Sa-ra-yi-gul (10) had three sons :

dGe-'dun no-yon (13),
Gol-go (14) and
bKra-sis (15).

The first One's (13) son was rGyal-mtshan the-ji (16). The latter's (16) son was Tho-btsun chos-byor (17). But the latter (17) had no sons.

Sa-ra ba-thur (11) had no sons.

Gol-go's (14) son was Ma-mo (18) and the latter's (18) son was O-ba-si (19).

bKra-sis (15) son was Yi-dam thu-sa-la-chi (20). The latter (20) had three sons:

Tshe-ma-gon (21),
bSod-nams rdo-rge (22) and
Ñi-ma tho-yon (23).

The last one (23) had no sons.

bLo-bzañ's (12) son was No-yon dKa'-bcu (24) but the latter (24) had no sons.

Erge the-ji (3) and Dur-la the-ji (4) had no sons.

Ba-thu cu-nañ (5) had six sons:

Pa-thu (25),
Yum-chun (26),
A-bu lvañ (27),
'Chi-med (28),
'Bum-cu-nañ (29) and
bsTan-'dzin (30).

The first one's (25) son was Kun-dga' rab-brtan (31).

The second one's (26) son was Śa-bi rdo-rje be-si (32). But Kun-dga' rab-brtan (31) and Śa-bi rdo-rje be-si (32) had no sons.

A-bu lvañ (27) had two sons:

mGon-po a-gi (33) and
bLo-bzan̄ rdo-rje chin̄-lvan̄ (34).

Among them (33 and 34) the former (33) had no sons. The latter (34) had five sons:

Kun a-phu dbaṅ-chen dpal-'bar (35),
Mahā-bala (36),
A-gā dbaṅ-chan tshe-rin̄ (37),
g. Yun̄-drun̄ tshe-brtan (38) and
Ban-byun̄ (39).

'Chi-med (28) had four sons:

dKon-mchog gun̄ (40),
U-ba-śe (41),
bLa-ma bkra-śis (42) and
Śa-ra han (43).

The last three (41, 42 and 43) had no sons.

The first one (40) had three sons:

Dvags-po zhabs-drun̄ (44),
rDo-rje tshe-brtan gun̄ (45) and
Ban-de (46).

'Bum-cu-naṅ (29) had no sons.

bsTan-'dzin's (30) son was bSod-nams rdo-rje gun̄ (47). The latter's (47) son was Or-thun-su-thu gun̄ (48).

Ha-śa-ha (6) had three sons:

Rin-chen (49),
bLo-bzan̄ bstan-'dzin (50) and
Erti-ni (51).

The first and third ones (49 and 51) had no sons.

The second one (50) had two sons:

bSod-nams bkra-śis (52) and
Badzra (53).

The former (52) had four sons:

Don-grub (54),
mGon-pe (55),
mKhas-grub thu-sa-la-chi (56) and
Bu-be (57).

mKhas-grub's (56) son was 'Jigs-byed thu-sa-la-chi (58).
Badzra's (53) son was Dar-rgyas no min-han a-ri-log-san (59)
has no sons.

Bo-dhi's (7) son Padma tshe-dbañ (60) had no sons.

dPon-po-lod (8) had no sons.

dPon-po's (9) son Bā-dad the-ji (61) had no sons.

Later, (Chos-rgyal's third son) Ba-yan a-ba-ge *alias* A-yu-śi
da-li'i u-ba-śi (1) had eight more sons:

bLo-bzan chos-'phel (2),

Nor-bu rgya-mtsho (3),

I-thi-gel (4),

Tho-yon (5),

I-nanta (6),

Bod-pa (7),

sKyabs (8) and

rDo-rje-skyabs (9).

(10). bLo-bzañ chos-'phel's (2) son was Don-grub mer-gen no-yon

The latter (10) had four sons:

dGe-tshul the-ji (11),

Tshe-dbañ rdo-rje (12),

bSod-nams rdo-rje (13) and

bLo-bzañ ñi-ma (14).

Among them the last one (14) had no sons.

Rab-rgyas (15), the son of Nor-bu (3) had no sons.

I-thi-gel (4) had three sons:

Tshe-rin-thar (16),

Tshe-dban bstan-'dzin (17) and

Tshe-rin-'bum (18).

All of them (16, 17 and 18) had one son each, named
mGon-po (19), Grag-s-pa (20) and Man-sa (21) respectively.

Tho-yon (5) had no sons.

I-nanta (6) had two sons:

Padma bkra-śis (22) and

U-ba-śi (23).

But both of them (22 and 23) had no sons.

Bod-pa (7) had two sons:

Hon-chi-bas (24) and

A-bo (25).

The former (24) had no sons. The latter's (25) son was Tshe-gzuñs (26).

sKyabs (8) had four sons:

Ha-khi (27),

dKon-mchog (28),

Man-ji (29) and

Bo-bo (30).

The first one (27) had two sons:

Sañs-rgyas (31) and

bSod-nams tshe-riñ (32).

The third and the fourth ones (29 and 30) had one son each named rDo-rje-'bum (33) and mGon-tshe-riñ (34) respectively.

rDo-rje-skyabs (9) had no sons.

J. (Chos-rgyal's fourth son) Dā-lan-the's (1) son was mChi-pa-thur mgon-po (2). The latter (2) had three sons:

Erte-ni erkhe thog-tho-ni lvañ (3),

Phun-tshogs (4) and

Ñag-dbañ grags-pa (5).

Thog-tho-ni (3) had five sons:

U-bā-śi (6),

Rab-rgyas (7),

bSod-nams bkra-śis (8),

bSod-nams bstan-'dzin lvañ (9),

Tshe-riñ rdo-rje (10).

U-ba-si (6) had no sons.

Rab-rgyas (7) had three sons:

rDo-rje gun (11),

Lha-mgon (12) and

No-yon (13).

bSod-nams bkra-sis' (8) son was Kun-dga' tshe-riñ (14).
 bSod-nams bstan' (9) son was dKon-mchog-skyabs (15).
 The latter's (15) son was Don-grub rnam-rgyal lvan' (16).
 Tshe-riñ rdo-rje's (10) son was Kun-dga' ja-sag. (17).
 Phun-tshogs (4) had no sons.
 Nag-dbañ grags-pa's (5) son was rDo-rje tshe-riñ (18).

Notes (General):

Lack of uniformity in spelling of a number of personal names is noticed in the Tibetan text of *Deb-ther rgya-mtsho*. Usually we have nothing to do in the matter where, according to a general practice, a name can be used in fuller form as well as in mnemonic form by leaving some elements of the name, and also by adding some honorific elements with the name in some cases. But it is permitted to some extent where the identification is not difficult. In the present text we meet where the above case can be clarified, such as Ratna da-la'i han (G 2) was also called by the name Ratna only, Be-si Miñ-nē (D 8) by the name Miñ-nē only, dGa'-ldan a-bo (B 29) by the name dGa'-ldan rab-brtan a-bo also, Tshe-'phel erti-ni tha'i-ji (B 26) by the name 'Jam-dpal tshe-'phel also, Tshe-dban rig-'dzin (C 26) by the name Ta'i-chiñ no-yon tshe-dbañ rig-'dzin also, and so forth. Actually lack of uniformity is seen in the following cases: El-ti-chi and El-ta'i-chi (A), rDo-rje Tā-le huñ-tha'i-ji and rDo-rje tā-la'i huñ-tha'i-ji (B 1), Tā-yan rgyal-po and Dā-yan rgyal-po (G 1), A-tsar-tsha-tshe-chen hoñ-tha'i-ji and A-tsa-ra che-chen huñ-tha'i-ji (H 1), Dā-lan-thē and Dā-lan tha'i-ji (J 1), Tā-le tā-chin han-tha'i-ji and Dā'i-chiñ huñ-tha'i-ji (B 3), Bē-ro-tsa-na and Bē-ro-tsa-na (B 4), Bañ-thu-ji ta'i-chiñ and Bañ-thu ta'i-chiñ (C 6), Serige ha-than pa-dur and Serige han-dan (C 7), Jo-rig-thu ja'i-chiñ and Jo-rig thu da'i-chiñ (H 3), Che-chen tha'i-ji and Che-chen ta'i-chiñ (H 4), A-bō no-yon and A-bō no-yon (I 19), and Thar-pa and Thar-ba (J 5). It would not be improper to ignore the minor differences in order to attain uniformity what I have exactly done without hesitation.

Sometimes change of order in the names is seen, e.g. Tshe-riñ dar-rgyas and Dar-rgyas tshe-riñ (D 15), dBañ-rgyal bstan-'dzin and bsTan-'dzin dbañ-rgyal (D 13). In a solitary case one dKon-mchog rab-brtan (D 14) is mentioned by the name Phun-tshogs rab-brtan also. sKal-ldan bstan-'dzin (B 9) was called by the name sKal-ldan dā-chiñ. Though the identification of the persons can be made from the context, still to take either of the two spellings or any assimilated form of the names should be avoided for the sake of possibility of being aliases. In a few cases actually the aliases are mentioned.

Lastly, to remove the readers' doubt it should be noted that Brag-dgon bstan-pa rab-rgyas is silent to record any information as to the lineages of some sons, e.g. H 8, H 11, H 12, etc.

Notes:

1. I have consulted the printed edition of this work entitled *Histoire Du Bouddhisme Dans L'Amdo* published by imprime pour L'ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, Paris.
2. There are two divisions of the gTsan province, one right (*g.yas*) and the other left (*g.yon*).
3. Though it is mentioned that he had three sons, but the names of only two sons are recorded.
4. It is 1865 when bsTan-pa rab-rgyas wrote his *Deb-ther rgya-mtsho*.
5. Here bsTan-pa rab-rgyas recorded some activities of the father and son i.e. Jun-lvañ dKon-mchog bkra-śis (B 27) and bsod-nams rdo-rje lvañ (B 30). "They became very much assiduous in Buddhism and took sacred vow with respect. dKon-mchog bkra-śis (37) took ordination under Pan-chen rin-po-che. Then he was called Lha-btsun 'Jam-dbyaṅs rgya-mtsho. He got the monastery of Hulan with temple, built. He invited the second incarnation of Kun-mkhyen [i.e. dKon-mchog 'Jigs-med dban-po (1728-1791)], dKon-mchog bkra-śis (B 27), his wife and son along with other persons such as Tā-le hu-thog-thu, Bod-pa mergan chos-rje, and others, more than 2000 laities and clergies in all received initiation of Dus-khor, bDe-mchog, gSañ-dus, Tshe-dbañ and gDugs-dkar (deities), from him. They heard endless religious preaching also with philosophical instructions (*lta-khrīd*) etc.

"bSod-nams zla-ba, a person of dKon-mchog bkra-śis' (B 27) family did *Lha-rams-pa* (an educational degree) and later became *dGe-bśes* of the great monastery. He made the seventh Dalai Lama sKal-bzan rgya-mtsho (1708-1757) get admitted as a novice monk and himself practised Kalacakra in the rNam-rgyal school of Po-ta-la. This bSod-nams zla-ba, bSod-nams dbaṅ-rgyal who was the great abbot of bKra-śis-khyil and bSod-nams grags-pa ---these three were called 'mTsho-kha'i bsod-nams rnam gsum', i.e. "Three bSod-nams' residing in the surrounding areas of the lake Kokonor". They seemed to be famous at a time. bSod-nams zla-ba went to bKra-śis-khyil and gave instructions to the students of Kālacakra school, on ritualistic music, performance, preparation of sandy colourful *mandala*, etc. He prepared a colourful *mandala* in his own responsibility and then Kun-mkhyen (II) gave initiation of Kālacakra in the (bKra-śis-khyil) monastery. Srad bSod-nams rdo-rje lvañ used to invite Kun-mkhyen (II), earlier or later. The students heard with confidence and respect (from him) the endless mystic preaching on the great initiation of Mitra, Kālacakra (tantric deities), and others, evil-removing initiation and *man-nag*. Chin, Lvañ-s got these without delay but were unsuccessful due to lack of sincera practice."

6. dGa'-ldan bstan-skyon (C 19) is not confirmed as dPal-'byor ja-sag's (C 18) own son. But these two are confirmed as dPal-'byor's own sons, not adopted ones.

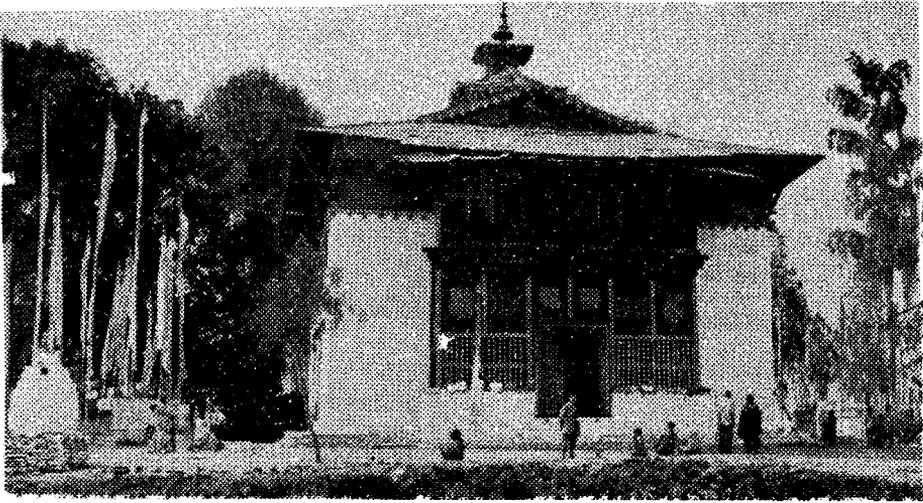
7. The name of this son is not mentioned.
8. See note No. 10.
9. The two names Jo-rig thu da'i-chin (H3) and che-chen tha'i-ji (H4) were in reverse order in the actual text. I have changed the order because in description of the lineages of these two, bsTan-pa rab-rgyas himself violated the order.
10. In the text Mergan hun-tha'i-ji (H2) is mentioned to have three sons, but we find the names of two sons only. I doubt one Hun-tha'i-ji mentioned a little before may be (Mergan hun-tha'i-ji, (H2) the father of the adopted son dGa'-ldan bstan-'dzin (G 9).
11. I am not satisfied with my translation of the portion which I quote below:

Ye-sés dar-rgyas-la sras med-par 'di-la lvan byun-bas ja-sag tham-ka phyir-'bul-gyis sde-ba gñis bsres. Ho-sod gcig byas.

ORIGIN OF THE BUMCHU OF DAKKAR TASHIDING

• *Rigzin Ngodub Dokhampa*

According to Sikkimese cultural and religious history as available in old anecdotal accounts, Buddhism was introduced in Sikkim around eighth century A.D. The land was blessed by Maha Guru Padmasambhava (Guru Padma Jungne) who consecrated himself many of our established holy shrines. Among these the most sacred is Dakkar Tashiding.



Main chapel of the Tashiding shrine

The present article seeks to provide a brief historical and legendary account of 'Bumchu' festival and its holy significance to the believer.

Before we discuss about Bumchu it is necessary to give a short background of this holy land. According to the Neyig (Guide Book to the Holy Places) Beyul Demojong* (Hidden Valley of Rice) had five great provinces and six hidden spots which protected all living beings. The Omniscient Maha Guru Padamsambhava concealed innumerable scriptures (Chos), Wealth (Nor) and sacred objects (Wangten) in those holy places and performed many inexpressible benedictory prayers for the benefit of sentient beings thereby entrust-

* According to *Lhatsun Jigme Pawo* (second *Lhatsun*), *Beyul* means hidden land and *Demojong* means vally of all kinds of fruits.

ing all the treasures to the protectors and tutelary deities for their preservation. He blessed and consecrated this land as sacred as Urgyen Zangdogpalri and Kanchopalgiriwo, the realms of unlimited happiness and abode and assemblage of female divinities (Mamo Khandos) like clouds in space.

Likewise the innumerable Buddhas and Bhodisattavas of ten directions also blessed the land. It is believed that one who visits these sacred lands, the doors of hell would be closed for him i.e. they become immortals. Tashiding which is one of the most sacred places of Sikkim has four wonderful holy caves in four different directions. They are Sharchog Bephug in the east, Khandozangphu in the south, Dechenphug in the west and Lhari Nyingphug in the north. The centre of the holy place is known as Dakkar Tashiding.

During the first dissemination of Buddhism in Tibet in the 8th century A.D the illustrious Acharya Padmasambhava and twenty five disciples (Je-bang nyer-nga) had blessed the land (Beyul Demojong). Thereafter they tamed all malevolent spirits and evil forces which infested this country. They also erected a number of places of worship, such as monasteries and stupas and the land was thus transformed into a great sacred and holy place.

In course of this process of propagation of Buddhism into Sikkim two great Siddhas (Tertons-revealers of Tantra) Rinzin Godemchen (1340-1396) and Kathog U, o'd Yeshe Bumpa came to Sikkim and established monastries and meditation centres at sacred places of 'Pawo Hungri' and Tashiding. The reincarnation of Rigzin Godemchen, Terton Ngari Ringin Chenpo Lagdendorjee discovered the sublime tantra called Khadoi Khalangma from the cave of Lhari Nyingpo. The newly discovered tantra contains the sadhanas of Amitayus and many important teachings.

The seventeenth century was the turning point in the history of Sikkim as the first Chogyal Phuntshog Namgyal was enthroned at Yuksum by three great Lamas of Tibet namely Lhatsun Namkha Jigme (the embodiment of compassion was known to be the incarnation of Indian Maha Pandita Vimalamitra and Tibetan omniscient Kunkhen Longchenpa Dema Hozer), Ngadag Sempachenpo Phuntshog Rigzin and Kathog Rigzin Chenpo. Under the Patronage of king Phuntshog Namgyal, monastries, hermitages for meditation

and stupas were built. Chogyal Phuntshog Namgyal proclaimed Buddhism as the state religion.

Through the revelation of Zogchen system of meditation and Sadhana, Sikkim became the main centre of Zogchen teaching on the earth. Its followers came to be called, Denzong Zogchenpa.

The two great scholars Ngadag Sempachenpo and Ngadag Rinchen Gon established the holy shrine at Dakkar Tashiding and consecrated it to be the principal seat of the followers of Nyingma sect in Sikkim.

The fact as to how the celebration of 'Holy Water Vase' festival originated is briefly narrated hereunder. During the reign of the religious king Trisong Deutsen in Tibet, Guru Padmasambhava, while bestowing the unparalleled tantric system of tutelary deity Mahakarunika Avalokitesvara Sadhana and initiation on emancipation from the cycle of mundane existence to king Trisong Deutsen, prince Murub Tsenpo, Yeshe Tsogyal and Verotsana, consecrated the same Holy Vase which is preserved in the Tashiding monastery till today.

According to the works of Zhigpo Lingpa, the Holy Vase is made of various kinds of sacred soil, water and five kinds of precious jewels (Rinchen Na-nga) collected from the holy places of India, Odiyana and Zahor by Guru Padmasambhava. It is said that the Vase is made by Damchen Gar-ngag, wrathful Dharmapala and consecrated by Guru Padmasambhava by conducting Sadhana of Yidam Chuchig Zhal (tutelary deity of eleven heads). When he performed the sadhana, the entire retinue of the deity and deity himself appeared in the sky and inseparably merged into the Holy Water contained in the Vase. Thereupon the holy water overflowed and spread in all directions in the form of rays. That very moment, as a sign of good omen, there was earthquake, the four guardian deities (Gyalchen Dezhi/Cutur-Maharajika) of Dharma and the gods of thirtythree heavens (Sumchu Tsasumgyi Lhanam) showered flowers from the sky. This event was witnessed by the people assembled there. All the people were overjoyed at this spectacular event and Holy Water was distributed to the devotees from the Vase. Yet it was found that the holy water of the Vase never decreased. Inspired by this, the sinners became virtuous, the pious people

realised the lofty divine qualities and all were spiritually benefited. Finally, Guru Padmasambhava concealed the 'Holy Water Vase' into the sublime hidden treasure and entrusted it to the protective deities.

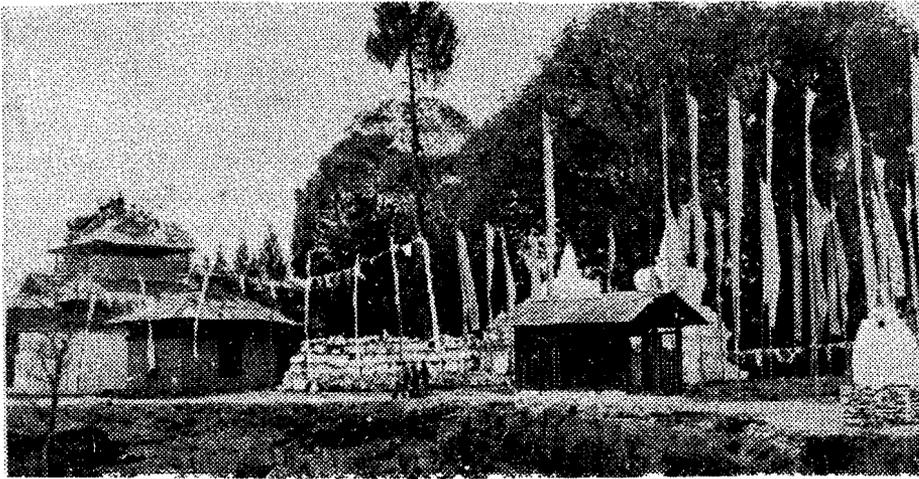
In the later period, the great Tertön (revealer of hidden treasures), Chokyi Gyalpo Garwang Rigzin Zhigpolingpa, the reincarnation of prince Murub Tsenpo of Tibet, unearthed the Vase of Holy Water for the sake of sentient beings. After the discovery of the Vase, Tertön Zhigpolingpa maintained it as his Thugdam Ten and in the later part of his life, he offered it to Tertön Tagshamchen with special instruction. Tertön Tagshamchen then handed over the holy Vase to Ngadag Sempachenpo Phuntshog Rigzin to be kept and installed at Dakkar Tashiding, the holiest and most blessed hidden land of Guru Padmasambhava. So, Tertön Ngadag Sempachenpo brought the Vase to Tashiding and installed it in the Tshuglagkhang. He conducted special recitation of 1,300 million syllables 'OM MANI PADME HUM', through Thugjechenpo Khorwalegrol Sadhna under the royal patronage of the first Chogyal Phuntshog Namgyal. At that time many unprecedented and auspicious signs had appeared in the country.

Bumchu celebration is one of the most important and holiest events in Sikkim and thousands of devotees from all over the state and its neighbouring countries come on pilgrimage and participate in the holy occasion. The Vase, containing holy water, is kept in a miniature mansion (cho-sham) under lock and seal of the Chogyal of Sikkim. Every year special recitation is conducted and the seal is checked by the high officials and Lamas before the Vase is taken out of the mansion. The Vase is opened on the night of the 14th day of the first month of the Tibetan Almanac. From the Vase three cups of the water is first taken out. The first cup is meant for the royal family, the second cup for the Lamas and the third is distributed among the devotees on the full moon day. Fresh water is brought from Rathong Chukha, which is also considered as a blessed river, as replacement.

In some years the Holy Water in the Vase increases by 21 cups and other times it decreases. In some cases the water of the Vase remains at the same level but other time it is found dusty. These are believed to be the predictions of auspicious and inauspicious

occurrences in the country. When the water level increases, it is a sign of prosperity and when it decreases it is an indication of bad year of drought and diseases. The dusty water indicates conflicts and unrest.

In brief, the seed of enlightenment is obtained by taking a drop of this Bumchu water thereby all the distress, evil spirits and untoward happenings are removed. And prosperity and fulfilments are rewarded in this life and one attains Buddhahood or be born in the Riwo Potala or Zangdopalri in the next life.



View of the stupas adjacent to the shrine

SOURCE MATERIAL :

1. Zhig-po gling-pa'i gsung-'bum (collected works of Zhig-po glingpa)
2. Mnga'-bdag sems-pa chen-po phun-tshogs rig-'hzin gyi rnam-thar (Biography of Ngd-dag-Sem-pa chen-po)
3. "Bras-ljongs gnas-yig (Guide Book of Holy Places of Sikkim by Lha-tsun) jigs-med dpa'wo.
4. Bum- chu 'i' byung-ba brjod-pa (The origin of Bumchu shugs-'byung sprul-ming' chi-med tshul-khrims 'gyur-med tshe ring rdo-rje).

OUR THREE MAJOR ART PUBLICATIONS

1. *RGYAN DRUG MCHOG GNYIS* (Six ornaments and Two Excellents) reproduces ancient scrolls (1670 A.C.) depicting Buddha Nagarjuna, Aryadeva, Asanga, Vasubandhu, Dignaga, Dharmakirti, Gunaprabha and Sakyaprabha. Reproductions are as per originals today after 300 years of display and worship with an attempt at restoration of retouching. The exposition in English presents the iconographical niceties and the theme of the painting, namely, the Mahayana philosophy; the treatment is designed to meet the needs of the general reader with an interest in the Trans-Himalayan art of 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. (English text) Folio 54 Second Reprint 1980 and priced at Rs.200/-
2. *SANGS RGYAS STONG*: Subtitled 'An Introduction to Mahayana Iconography'. This book of 75 pages (11 and half inches x 8 inches) contains 4 colour plates and more than 80 line drawings (sketches); thick paper back with Jacket depicting 33 Buddhas. Intended for the lay readers, this introductory account is based on original sources in Pali, Sanskrit and Tibetan. The basic concept of thousand Buddhas is explained at length, while all the important symbols and images in their variant forms are presented from believers' point of view. Art critic or academician will find the book worthy of perusal. (English text), Folio 75 pub. 1988 and priced at Rs.200/-
3. *TALES THE THANKAS TELL*: Subtitled 'An Introduction to Tibetan Scroll portraits'. The book has 64 pages (11 and half inches and 8 inches) and contains well produced eleven colour plates, with Jacket depicting Buddha Sakyamuni and his two disciples. The book tells much about Mahayana Pantheon and particularly about the legends and myths around Buddhism as depicted through numerous Scroll Portrait forms. These colourful portraits speak about the contacts with the traditions of Tartary, China, India, Iran and Byzantium. pub. 1989 and priced at Rs. 250/-

CONCEPT OF PRAJNA AND UPAYA

• *Bhajangovinda Ghosh*

If we just enter into a Mahayana Monastery in any Himalayan region, we may notice that monks, besides other ritualistic objects keep Vajra (Tib. Dorje) and Ghanta (Thilbu) on chokje (small longish table). During the ritual performance a Dorje is held in the right hand and a bell in the left hand with a particular gesture. These gestures symbolically reproduce the conjugal play of wisdom and method as female and the male principles respectively and are represented by the two ritual objects viz; Ghanta and Vajra. While the Ghanta (Tib. Thilbu) stands for wisdom, the Vajra (Tib. Dorje) represents the method.

In the Tibetan Hagiographical literature we come across a name of Ter-ston (Revealer of hidden Treasures) Dorje Lingpa. He is said to have visited Denzong several times in the remote historical time. The name of Darjeeling is most probably derived after the name of mystic saint, which means "The Place of Thunderbolt".

The two objects as mentioned above also figure in sacred art, pictorial or sculptural. In the artistic representation they are seen either separately as also grasped in the hands of various gods and goddesses. The supreme manifestation of Buddha Vajrapani or Vajradhara is Chanadorje and Dorjechang respectively in Tibetan .

According to the traditional symbolism wisdom the bell as female principle should be brought in divine play being harmoniously blended with that of the male (Dorje) if ever the spirituality is to bear its proper fruit of Enlightenment. Usually this idea is expressed in the following analogy that wisdom is the eye and method the leg and that if one of these fails the man will be helpless. There is a happy parable current in Tibetan painting depicting this morale which runs as follows: Two men set out to the city of Nirvana, but neither could make much headway because one was blind while the other was lame. Eventually they decided to join forces so the lame man climbed on the blind man's back and so they set out together with the man who had eyes pointing out the way while the man with sound legs advanced along it and thus they arrived safely in

the city. Hereunder we quote the parable from a Tibetan text, *mdo-'dus* (*Sutrasamuccaya*)-

"dmu-long-mig-bu-med-pa-bye-ba-krag-khrig-rnams /
lam-yang-mi-shes-grong-khyer-'Jug-par-ga-la-nus /
Shes-rab-med-na-mig-med-pha-rol-phyin-lnga-yang /
mig-bu-med-pas-byang-chub-myur-du-reg-par-nus-ma-yin //

Knowledge, in real sense, the one invariably given to it by the Tibetan Lamas, is always to be regarded as "Concrete" that is to say it implies equating of knowledge with the being, intellect with existence, theory or vision with the realization. Wisdom to remain as such therefore, demands the latent presence of method and vice versa.

The bell, which always bears the same devices and is cast from a special metal yielding a clear and melodious sound (note) is regarded as we have said earlier as the female principle. The handle is crowned with head of a goddess *Prajñā-Pāramitā* (Tib. Yum-chen, the great mother) or Transcendental Wisdom, here with Tara (Tib. Sdrol-ma)-the mother of the *Bodhisattavas* or being dedicated to Enlightenment. As for the Dorje, its symbolism is multiple; firstly, it is an axial symbol implying stability and is signifying also the thread of Enlightenment passing through the centre of every being or world and especially of man, who is a central or axial being by definition; hence is the frequent reference in the injunctions that this rare opportunity should not be wasted but turned to profit while the going is good.

In *Yogatantramālā*- the symbolic definition of vajra is as follows :-

*dr̥dham s̄aram asaṣīryam acchedya-abhedya laksanam/
adāhi avināśī-ca śūnyatā vajramucyate//*

Thus Sunyata is termed as vajra because it is firm and sound, unchangeable, unpierceable, impenetrable, incombustible and indestructible.

The axis of the Dorje is flanked by four (sometimes further sub-divided into eight) phalangs, with constriction where the hand lays hold of the Dorje in the middle. The phalangs correspond to the four directions of space which between them "encompass" the

universe. A precisely similar symbolism attached to the three-dimensional cross of the Dorje is but a variant.

Wisdom cannot be pursued in isolation. According to Mahayana followers this is just the error of those who seek Enlightenment for themselves, ignoring the interest of other sentient beings and try to escape from the world without compensation and integration of the world. In contrast to this the Bodhisattva, who, is discarding his own exit into Nirvana until last of the sentient being is released.

Abstracting wisdom is bad, because it inevitably leads to a confusing of wisdom itself with what are merely its reflections in the discursive mind, mental formulations, or conceptualism in general. All Buddhist schools agree that here lies the danger.

Secondly, method when divorced from wisdom has the effect of chaining the man fatally to the *Samsāra*, the world of birth and death, without hope of escape.

We now briefly relate Tibetan Buddhist School of thought. First we take up the Gelugpa spiritual method i.e., Gelugpa or righteous Sect or reformed school, or the established Church of Tibet. According to this school, the spiritual concept can be summed up in three words: study, meditation and contemplation. The Gelugpa text (*the graded way*), the standard treatise of the order composed by its founder Tsongkhapa, the object to be striven for, is the simultaneous acquisition of *vipaśyanā* (*Lhagmthong*) or Transcendental Vision and *Samāthā* (*zhi-gnas*) abiding tranquility, which respectively correspond to the active and passive poles of contemplation. In the teaching of the School, the compassion is actually identified with the method itself. This coupled with a pushing of impermanence to the point of recognizing the voidness or lack of self-nature of all things, brings the spiritual traveller to that sublime state where vision transcends all possible expression and when every agitation is stilled in the peace that passes understanding. The Nyingmapa, Kargyupa and Sakyapa have almost the same views about *Prajñā* (*shes-rab*) and *Upāya* (*Thabs*). The indigenous literature of all Tibetan Buddhist sects, abounds in new interpretation of twin concepts of sutra, or the Mahayana texts rendered in Tibetan from Sanskrit, and Tantric litera-

ture. Study and research of these literature will shed further light on the of above concept.

Hereunder we discuss some concept from Buddhist Sanskrit texts. It is well-known to the scholars in the field of Buddhistic studies that there is a book extant in Sanskrit *Prajnopāya- viniścaya-siddhih* of Ananga-Vajra (G.O.S.Vol XLIV ch.1 verse 1) which expounds whole theme from various angles.

To attain perfect bliss either for self or for the three worlds, the wise must first do away with the notion of existence while one should not go either to the opposite extreme of adopting a nihilistic view (non-existence). In the above text the author says 'It is better to have the imagination of existence (bhava-kalpana) than that of non-existence (abhava-kalpana) for the burning lamp can be extinguished; but if it be not burning at all can it be extinguished? *nirvati Jvalito dipo nirvṛtah kam gatim brajet.* (S.B. DasGupta, An Introduction to Tantric Buddhism p.36 Calcutta 1958).

He, who abandons the idea of both the real and unreal, attains a state which is neither *Samsāra* nor *nirvāna*, and this is Pure Knowledge (*Prajnā*). In realising the truth one should meditate neither on the void (*śūnyatā*) nor on the non-void (*aśūnyatā*), when the conception of egohood (*ahamityesa saṅkalpah*) does not determine itself in the negative manner as non-void or in the positive manner as void it becomes bereft of all basis of thought, the wise therefore, without any attachment and desire, absolutely sinless, unruffled in mind and freed from the constrictive imagination of a beginning as an end, pursue the path of pure knowledge (*Prajnā*).

The *jñānasiddhi* also asserts that the ultimate truth is neither positive nor negative, for in the positive there is the possibility of all the defects (*sarva-dosa-prasaṅga*) and in negative there is no way left for the relief of all sorrow (G.O.S.Ch.1 verse 19-20).

Pure knowledge is neither with any form (*sākāra*) nor is it formless (*nirakara*). If the knowledge had any form, it would have been *samskrta* (conditional and defiled) as all existence is. Had knowledge, on the other hand, been absolutely formless, there would have been no possibility of becoming omniscient, and without omniscience there would be no possibility of universal compassion (*Jñānasiddhi* ch.vi). A distinction is drawn here between ordinary

knowledge (*Jñāna*) and the knowledge of the highest truth. The distinction is ultimately the same as that between *Prajñā* alone and Bodhicitta, the combination of both *Prajñā* and *Karuṇā*. The *Prajñā* however is *nirvikalpa* i.e. free from all the false constructions; while the *tattva-jñāna* with which there is the existence of universal compassion (*Karuṇā*) should not be taken as a complete cessation (*niscit-tatā*) of consciousness (S. B. Das Gupta : An Introduction to Tantric Buddhism, p.39).

In the *Pañcakrama* of Nagarjuna-pada we find four gradations in the *śūnyatā* doctrine. The first is *śūnya*, the second *ati-śūnya*, the third *Mahā-śūnya*, and the fourth or the final is the *sarva-śūnya* and these are all different according to their cause and effect. The first stage *śūnya* has been explained as light (*āloka*) *Prajñōtpanna-āloka Prādurbhūtaḥ*. It is relative (Paratantra) by nature, *aloka śūnyam prajñā ca cittam ca paratantrakam*. In this stage mind has got as many as thirtythree impure state (*dosa*) associated with it, such as sorrow, fear, hunger, thirst, feeling etc. The second stage viz., *ati-śūnya* is said to be the manifestation of light (*āloka-bhāsa*), it shines like moon-rays and it proceeds from the former (*aloka-jnana*), and while *śūnya* is said to be *Prajñā*, *ati-śūnya* is said to be *Upāya* or the means. It is said to be of the nature of constructive imagination (*Parikalpita*) and it belongs to the mind, as its (mind's) state (*caitasika*). It is also said to be the right (*dakṣiṇa*), the solar circle (*sūrya-mandala*) and the thunderbolt (*vajra*). The third stage viz. *Mahāśūnya* proceed from union of *Prajñā* and *Upāya* *aloka* and *āloka-bhāsa* or *śūnya* and *ati-śūnya*, and it is called the intuition of light (*āloka-abdhi*) and it is of the absolute nature (*pari niṣpanna*), yet is called ignorance (*avidyā*). It has also been said to be the *svādhīsthāna-citta*. The fourth stage, viz. *sarva-śūnya* (all void or perfect void) is free from all three-fold impurities and is self-illuminant. It is called perfect void because it transcends the principles of defilement. It is the purified knowledge - the ultimate truth - it is the supreme omniscience (Ibid p.41).

We have seen above how the *śūnyata* doctrine of the Mahayanic philosophers was adopted by the esoteric Buddhists, but the emphasis of Mahayana is not only on *śūnyata*; as a religion it is characterised by its stress on universal compassion adopted by these Tantric Buddhists in toto.

According to Dr.S.B.Das Gupta the concept of *Kālacakra* is not a distinct school of Tantric Buddhism, but a particular name for the vajrayana school. It will be clear also from the text *Sekoddesa-tika* which is a commentary on the *Sekoddesa* section of the *Kālacakra-tantra*. There it is said that ultimate immutable and unchangeable one, remaining in the skylike *dharmadhātu* (the element underlying all the dharmas) is called *Kāla*; it itself is the immutable knowledge; *Cakra* implies the unity of the three kinds of existence - the manifestation of *Kāla*. It (the *Cakra*) is the body of Lord - point like, containing the potency of existence of the universe, *Kālacakra*, therefore, implies exactly the same as the unity of *Prajñā* and *Upāya*.

Kāla means, the state of absorption in the original cause potency, this is the state of *śūnyatā*; it is the pure consciousness of the principle of subjectivity, *cakra* on the other hand means the principle of knowledgeability or the cycle of world process which is also the principle of *Upāya-Kālacakra* which therefore means absolutely unified state of *Prajñā* and *Upāya* (Ibid pp. 46 and 49).

The *Vajra-sattva*, as the Lord supreme of the Tantric Buddhists, representing monolithic conception of the Godhead, has variably been described in the Buddhist Tantras with all sorts of positive and negative attributes. He is Bhagavan as he possesses *bhaga* which means that which breaks or removes, *śūnyatā* or *Prajñā* removes all afflictions and drives away *māra* and so the *śūnya* is called the *bhaga*. He is saluted as the *śūnyatā*-essence, transcending all imagination, omniscient of Pure Wisdom.

Vajra-sattva is not merely of the nature of *śūnyatā*, it is a non-dual of *śūnyatā* and *karuṇā*; to imply that the void-consciousness is also of the nature of identity of both *śūnyatā* and *karuṇā*. In the *Hevajra-tantra*, *upāya*, and *Prajñā* have been described under the imagery of yogin and the *Mudrā* (the great woman to be adopted in yoga-sadhana) and the *Bodhicitta* is the perfect union of yogin and mudra who stand for *karuṇā* and *śūnyatā* respectively.

Kṛppopāya bhaved yogi mudrā hetuviyogatah/
śūnyatā karuṇābhinnam bodhicittamiti smṛtam//

Patala X, Ms p.30(a) quoted by S.B. Das
Gupta (Ibid. p.93)

In all classes of Buddhist Tantras most important thing is the stress on the union of *Prajñā* and *Upāya* in philosophical sense or the esoteric yogic sense.

The authority of the renowned Buddhist Acarya like Arya-vimala- kirti and other have often been quoted, who are said to have stressed the truth that *Upāya* is bondage when unassociated with *Prajñā*, and even *Prajñā* is also a bondage when unassociated with *Upaya*; both of them again become liberation when the one is associated with the other. Their co-mingling through the instructions of the competent teacher, like the inseparable co-existence of the lamp and the light, will conduce to success in realising the real nature of the self and the dharma. Whatever practices there are, they should therefore be preceded by a knowledge or rather the realisation of the true purport of the union of *Prajñā* and *Upāya*. The cardinal principle of Buddha, Dharma and Sangha says the *Dākini- vajra panjara*, points to the state of *citta* shining in the unity of *śūnyatā* and *karuṇā*.

śūnyatā-karuṇābhinnam yatra cittaṁ prabhāyate/
so hi buddhasya dharmasya saṅghayāpi ca deśanā//
(quoted in the *Advaya-vajra-saṅgraha* p.96)

Upāya has again very nicely compared to a boat in the *Prajnopāya-viniscaya-siddhih*. There it is said that compassion is called *raga* (affection) as it affects or causes happiness to all beings who are distressed with infinite sufferings. The compassion is like a boat which brings all beings to the favourable shore, and it is for this reason that it is called the *Upaya*. The co-mingling of the *prajñā* and *upāya* like the mixture of water and milk in a state of non-duality is called *Prajnopāya* (p.93)

In the chapter of meditation on the ultimate truth (*tattva-bhāvanā*) of the *Prajnopāya-viniscaya-siddhih* it has been said that the truth is both *prajñā* and *upāya* combined together; for it is *prajna* as it is the absence of all phenomenalization (*niṣprapañca-svarupatvāt*), and it is compassion because like the wish-granting gem it does everything for the good of the beings, supportless is *prajñā*; and supportless (*Nirālamba*) is the great compassion; they should be united like the sky with the sky. In that stage there is no thinker - no thought - nothing to be thought of, there, all seeing of sights,

hearing of the sounds - muttering, laughing - enjoyment- doing of all deeds - all become yoga for a man. (S.B.DasGup ta: *An Introduction to Tantric Buddhism* p.94).

It is said in *citta-viśuddhi-prakarana* that as by rubbing of two logs of wood fire is produced which is pure in the beginning in the middle as well as in the end, and which shows everything by its illumination, so also by the union of *Prajnā* and *Upāya* the pure and luminous wisdom of the yogin is produced. The absolutely pure *dharmadhātu*, that is attained by properly churning of the milk of *prajna* and *upaya*, is the destroyer of both pleasure and pain.

In the foregoing discussion we have hinted that the conception of *Prajnā* and *Upāya* acquired a cosmological and ontological significance in course of time. In the conclusion we do not want to elaborate these topic in detail and only give a brief references to them.

Prajna as the passive principle is the *dharmakaya* the thatness (*tathatā*) with perfect purity and perfect knowledge in her; while the whole world i.e. *Sambhogakāya* and the *nirmānakāya* is a display of the *Upāya*.

According to esoteric doctrine, *varahi* who represent *Prajna* is spoken of as of the nature of knowledge, whereas God Heruka representing *Upāya* is spoken of as the knowledge. The concept of *Prajnā* and *Upāya* have important ontological and cosmological bearing on the four philosophical systems of the Nepalese Buddhism. They are (i) Svābhāvika, (ii) Aisvarika, (iii) Karmika; (iv) Yatnika. The Svābhāvika school holds that there is immaterial ultimate truth in the form of the soul substance; matter is the primordial substance from which the world proceeds. The matter has two modes which are called *Pravṛtti* and *nivṛtti* and so are the powers of matter. Thus when these powers pass from the state of existence of the powers in the state of *nivṛtti* as rest as the abstractions from all phenomena, when the powers pass from the state of rest into their causal and transitory state of activity, the phenomenal world comes into existence, and it again ceases to exist when the powers repass from *pravṛtti* to *nivṛtti*. This *nivṛtti* is the *prajnā* and *pravṛtti* is said to be the *Upāya*.

In the aisvarika school these *Prajnā* and *Upāya* are defined as *adi-prajnā* and *adi-Buddha* and visible world is said to be created

from the union of the two. According to the *Prajñika* (a sub-division of the Svābhāvika school) Buddha as the principle of active power, first proceeds from *nivṛtti* or *adi-Prajñā* and then associates with her and from their union proceeds the actual visible world. The principle is symbolised as *Prajñā* being first the mother and then the wife of the Buddha. The triad of the Buddha, Dharma and Sangha has often been explained as *prajñā* (dharma), *upāya* (Buddha) and the world (sangha). Produced by their union, Buddha symbolises the generative power, Dharma, the productive power and their union produces Sangha.

Lord Vairocana-the Lord Supreme- in *Dharma-cakra Mudrā*, which the Tibetans call thabs-dang-sherab (*Upāya and Prajñā*) as the union of wisdom with matter.

With this conception of *Prajña* and *Upāya* as *nivṛtti* and *pravṛtti* or as *Adi-Prajñā* and *Adi-Buddha* we may compare the concept of Siva and Sakti and the *aham* or the 'I-ness' produced by their union (*siva- sakti-mithunapinda*). According to Hindu Tantras the ultimate truth in the union of Siva and Sakti, Siva represents Pure Consciousness which is inactive-static aspect of the Ultimate Reality; while Sakti represents the world force - the kinetic energy of the Ultimate Truth. *Siva* is *nivṛtti* and *Sakti* is *pravṛtti* and in the ultimate state they remain in a Union of Oneness.

In Buddhist tantra *Prajñā* and *Upāya* are also called *Lalanā* and *Rasanā* which are the names for the two nerves *Ida* and *Pingala* well-known in the Hindu Tantric nerve-system.

The above discussion on the nature of Bodhicitta will bring it home to us that the central point of all Sadhanas of Tantric Buddhism was the principle of union.

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DHARAMRĀJA AŚOKA

• *Nirmal C.Sinha*

A propos my article "Making of Dharmaja" in Bulletin of Tibetology 1992, No.1, a question is raised whether Asoka deviated from Buddha's ideal of Great Elect (Maha Sammata) when the former asserted thus: "All men are my children". Reference is made to some scholars who consider Asoka's assertions an assertion of paternal despotism. I am aware of such finding about Asoka but do not accept the same. I make my submission below.

"All men are my children" is an expression special to Kalinga Edicts (Dhauli Separate Edicts 1 & 2 and Jaugada Separate Edicts 1 & 2). As is well known Asoka had inscribed these Separate Edicts for Kalinga to soothe the wounds of war and conquest in the minds of Kalinga people. Asoka expressed his kinship with people of all regions and all religions in the Fourteen Rock Edicts all over. Asoka chose the ancient and traditionally current idiom of filial affection for the Kalinga people suffering from the wounds of war and conquest.

Asoka in Kalinga Edicts spoke thus: "All men are my children. As on behalf of my own children I desire that they may be provided by me with complete welfare and happiness in this world and the other world, even so is my desire on behalf of all men" (Eng. Trans. Hultzsch). In Kalinga Edicts, as in Rock Edicts, Asoka made clear that in all his services for material and moral wellbeing of his people he was discharging the debt he owed to the people. That was indeed the king's duty in return for the tax received from the people. The Aganna Suttanta prescribed for the king the duty of protection and security for the community. Asoka added the provision of material and moral wellbeing and called this a filial duty as in Kalinga Edicts. I do not read any paternal despotism in any Asoka inscription.

