

UNIVERSITÀ DI ROMA
STUDI ORIENTALI PUBBLICATI A CURA DELLA SCUOLA ORIENTALE
Volume VI

GIUSEPPE TUCCI

OPERA MINORA

Parte II



ROMA
DOTT. GIOVANNI BARDI
EDITORE

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THE SEA AND LAND TRAVELS OF A BUDDHIST SĀDHU IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

Modern researches have shown that Mahāyāna Buddhism continued to exist in India up to quite recent times. Mr. N. N. Vasu, Mm. Haraprasāda Śāstrī and others have pointed out the existence of Buddhist schools in Orissa and Bengal up to the XVIII century; the *dharma*-worship in some parts of Bengal and Behar betrays even now its Buddhist origin. The Bengali literature of the xvth and xvith centuries contains a large number of texts which testify to the existence at that time of various, more or less degenerated, Buddhist centres in Bengal. Caitanya himself is said to have converted large communities of Buddhists. If the authenticity of the *Karcā* of Govinda Dās were beyond any doubt, we could prove the existence of Buddhist schools and paṇḍits in South India at the time of the great Bengali Vaiṣṇava mystic. His discussion with the Buddhist paṇḍit Rāmagiri and the latter's conversion is in fact reported there¹. It will not appear out of place to have recourse to a Tibetan source of the xvith century which brings in some new information about these later periods of Mahāyāna Buddhism and at the same time gives us an idea of the geographical knowledge of Indian and extra-Indian countries as it circulated among the Tibetan monks. I refer here to the biography of Buddhagupta (*Saṅs rgyas sbas pa*) the *guru* of Tāranātha. Tāranātha himself collected the materials for his book from his master during the latter's travels to Tibet, and embodied them in a short biographical note called: *Grub c'en bu-ddha-gu pta'i rnam tar rje brtsun ñid žal nas gžan du rañ rtog gi dri mas ma spags pa'i yi ge yañ dag pa*, the importance of which is chiefly geographical. [This article was written after a manuscript biography found in the monastery of Hemis. The same biography is

¹ Cf. *Karcā* ed. by D. C. Sen (new edition), p. 27. In the *Annual Report* on South Indian Epigraphy ending March 1927 an inscription of 1580 mentions the erection of a Buddhist temple by the Nāyaks of Tanjore.

contained in the complete works of Tāranātha vol. a: there the title is *Gru c'en buddha gu pt'ai rnam t'ar rje btsun ñid žal luñ nas gžan du rañ rtog gi dri mas ma spags pa'i yi ge par dag*].

Buddhagupta was, as many of the Indian sādhus always have been, a great traveller. He visited many places in India and even outside India in far away countries in order to find traces of Buddhism and of Buddhist remains. We cannot say that his information is always exact; in this kind of writings we cannot expect to find everywhere that historical preciseness of detail which we demand from modern authors. These Indian and Tibetan saints lived in a kind of mythical atmosphere which gives a peculiar colour to all their experiences; the truth for them is not about external facts but rather about the meaning that they have for them or the ideal significance that they attach to them. Anyhow this biography is the first Tibetan document that we have come across up to now in which information is found about a large number of countries outside India proper, and in a certain way it sheds some side-light upon the geographical knowledge and the trade routes of India in the XVth century.

The importance of our text for the history of the geographical notions of the Tibetans seems therefore to be of no little moment. It is perhaps the only Tibetan treatise, at least to our knowledge, in which we find a great deal of direct information about some places in India and chiefly outside India proper which are not usually connected with Buddhist canonical tradition. This explains why bLo bzañ dpal ldan ye śes, while writing his *Śam-bha-la'i lam yig*, practically copies from our text when he mentions countries as a rule not registered in the canonical literature, proving indirectly that he considered the little book of Tāranātha as the most complete and reliable treatise on the subject. I must also add that the readings of our text are generally more correct than those of the *Śam-bha-la'i lam yig*, which are therefore to be accordingly modified¹. Our source moreover shows that

¹ The geographical literature of Tibet concerned with Indian and foreign countries has not yet been studied chiefly on account of the scarce materials available in European libraries. Many of the *gsuñ 'bum* or collected writings of the Tibetan polygraphs contain some sections geographically very interesting, e.g., the very important chapters on China included in the writings of the fifth Dalai Lāmā, the *Sam-bha-la'i lam yig* edited by Grünwedel and included in the works of the great Pañ-c'en Blo bzañ dpal ldan ye ses. Kloñ c'en is said to have written a general description of India, which I have not been able to see as yet and which anyhow must be a compilation because the author never went to India, Geographical information is also contained in astrological works such as the *Vaidūrya dkar po* and the *Vaidūrya gya' sel*. Nor must

at the time of Buddhagupta India had not yet forgotten those great links of cultural relations which Buddhism established between her and far away countries from Africa to Java.

The Buddhist culture of Buddhagupta was exclusively Tāntric; no mention of a *sāstra* whatever is to be found in his biography. We must reasonably expect that at a later date, as that of Buddhagupta, the inter-connection between the Buddhist and Śaiva sects was even greater than it had been before. It must have been very difficult to draw a line of distinction between the followers of the two schools. The *Siddha-saṃpradāya* is common to the Buddhists as well as to the Śaivas, and Gorakṣa is even now a great saint for both communities. Characteristically Hindu gods and ideas were creeping into declining Buddhism. This fact is worthy of notice because it will help us very much when we want to ascertain the peculiarities of the system of Tāranātha, inasmuch as there is no doubt that, whatever might have been the further developments of his school, he meant to reform and impart a new life to Tibetan Buddhism. It is quite certain that his meeting with Buddhagupta exercised a great influence upon the formation of his mind. The learning and the experience of his Indian *guru*, and his explanation of some of the most sacred rituals and a great deal of the exoteric literature of Mahāyāna as expounded in India, impressed the young Lama and gave the first impulse to a new line of thoughts. It seems to me that his coming across Buddhagupta represents a moment of the foremost importance in the mental and religious evolution of Tāranātha. bLo bzañ dpal ldan ye śes also calls him the disciple of the Indian yogin (*Śam-bha-la'i lam yig*, pp. 29, 49). Tāranātha him self begins his *bKa' babs bdun ldan* by invoking with great reverence his great guru (*Edelsteinmine*, p. 9, cf. p. 116) of whom mention is also to be found in another work by the same author, viz., the *gSañ ba'i rnam t'ar* in which the dream is narrated that foretold his

we forget the various *rnam t'ar-s* or biographical accounts, chiefly, of the *locāvas* or translators who came down to India. Some of them contain real itineraries such as the *rnam t'ar* of U rgyan pa or of sTag tsañ ras pa. Many a useful information can be gathered from the guides for pilgrims such as the *Jam bu gliñ spyi bsad* (on which see Waddell, *Lamaism*, p. 307 and *Proceedings*, Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1893) or the other one for the visitors of Nepal: *bal yul mc'od rten 'p'ags pa śin kun dañ de'i gnas gžan rnam kyī sa dkar c'ag mdor sdus*.

I must add to the list the geographical dictionary in six languages printed in China by order of Ch'ien lung called *Ch'in-ting hsi-yü t'ung-wen-chih* upon which see Von Zach, *Lexicographische Beiträge*, I, p. 83 and III, p. 108 and Laufer, *Loan words in Tibetan*, p. 434.

imminent meeting with Buddhagupta. There can hardly be any doubt that many an information embodied in the *bKa' babs bdun ldan* is directly derived from the teachings of Buddhagupta who is there considered as belonging to the Gorakṣasampradāya. This connection between Tāranātha and the Nāthapanthins, though of a specific Buddhist branch, is worthy of notice. Through Buddhagupta, one of the last, if not the last, of the Buddhist apostles into Tibet, Śaivism more than Buddhism was finding its way into the "country of the snows". I shall not translate the entire text, but shall give its résumé, rendering into English those portions only which have a larger interest for us.

Buddhagupta was born in Indraliṅga near Rāmeśvara in South India, in the family of a rich merchant, whose name was Kṛṣṇa. He was initiated into the yoga by an ascetic called in our text Tīrthinātha, a name which must be corrected into Tīrthanātha as evidenced by its Tibetan translation '*Bab stegs mgon po* to be found in the *bKa' babs bdun ldan*, p. 16. This Sādhu is said to have been a contemporary of king Rāmarāja, who may be identified with Rāmarāja of Vijayanagar (1552-1565) of Talikoṭa fame or rather with his cousin Rāmarāja Viṭṭhala, who was Viceroy in the South and a contemporary of Viśvanātha, the Nāyak of Madura. It was Tīrthanātha who initiated him into the doctrines of the Siddha Goṛakṣanātha together with other nāthas, Brahmanātha mentioned also in the *bKa' babs bdun ldan* (p. 116) and Kṛṣṇanātha whom he met in North India during his pilgrimage to Vānārasi, Delhi (Ṭi li), Haridwār (Ha ri dhā ra-Haridvāra) and other places¹. He learned and practised the *mahābaddhā*- and the *svasambaddhā-mudrā* (see *Gorakṣa-samhitā*, I. 66, 67 and *Hathayoga-pradīpikā*, Bengali ed., III, p. 111) that is those special methods of *prānāyāma*, which were expounded in the Haṭhayoga and those Tantras, Śaiva as well as Buddhist, which are connected with the same order of id-as. I refer chiefly to the *Sahaja-siddhi* class of Tantras which were specially followed by the Siddha-sampradāya and through this and its texts exercised a great influence upon Lamaism. At the time of Buddhagupta it seems that the school of Gorakṣa was greatly flourishing in India, though it was divided into a series of sub-sects, the peculiarities of which we are not yet in a position to determine. Their names are preserved in our text, and, as far as I know, some of them have

¹ The spelling Haridhāra shows that Tāranātha followed the spoken pronunciation and that even Sanskrit names were reproduced as they sounded in the vernaculars. Cf. also *dīpa* often used in our text for *dvīpa*, *bheraḡi* for *vairāḡin*, *natesori* for *natesvarī*.

not yet been met with in other sources:

(a) Nāthapanthi, which has many followers in India even now.

(b) Pawopanthi.

(c) Bakṣapanthi.

(d) Gopālapanthi.

(e) Pāgalapanthi (*pa ga la*), from *pāgal* (mad man), which may have been suggested by the strange ways of these yogins; cf. the Bāuls of Bengal perhaps from *vātula*.

(f) Āyi-panthi.

(g) Colipanthi (*tso li*), viz., Coliyāpanthin (vide Akṣaya Kumar Datta, *Bhāratavarṣīya-upāsaka-sampradāya*, p. 119).

(h) Hodupanthi (*ho du*).

(i) Dhvajapanthi (*dva za*).

(j) Vairāgipanthi (*bhe ra gi*), from *Vairāgin*, ascetic. Cf. the name of Vairāginātha given in the list of the Siddhas to Āryadeva.

(k) Maṅgalanāthapanthi.

(l) Sattanāthapanthi (from *sapta?*).

There was also another rather dissident sect called Nāḍeśvari-yogins (*nā ṭe so ri nā ṭa*) to which Tīrthanātha, Brahmanātha and Kṛṣṇanātha, the gurus of Buddhagupta belonged, and which must therefore also be connected with Tāranātha.

Then the account of the journey begins. He tours Ma la ba, Sin ga la, Dsa mi gi ri, Jagatnātha, Rathor in Maru (Marwar). Then we find him in Na ga ra t'a t'a (in Sindh), the *tīrtha* of Hin go lā cī (in Baluchistan), in Mūlasthāna (*mo la tā na*, Multan), and to the north up to Kabul (*ka bhe la*), Khorasan (*k'o ra sā na*), Ba ja sa na, Go ṣa ¹, all Mongol and Kla klo (Muhammadan) places. Then he went to U rgyan of the West, which corresponds, as well known, to Uḍḍiyāna of the Sanskrit texts, but which Buddhagupta locates in Ghazni.

«The Sanskrit name of the country is Au ṭi ya ṇa, but in the original language is Or gyen; since the pronunciation of *ṭa* and *ra* is similar it becomes like Or-ya-na. Now in the country itself in the language of the Muhammadans (kla klo) it is known to everybody as Ghaznī (*ga dsa ni*)». He went to all the great places such as the cave of Kam-

¹ Goṣa is perhaps Kost, Kuo-hsi-to of Hsüan-tsang. Bajasān, which might also be a clerical mistake of the copyist for Bajastān, suggests Bagistān a district in the province of Khorāsān in Persia. It is difficult to understand how these countries are in the north while U rgyan is said to be in the west. Did Buddhagupta go to Persia before and then, after returning to India, proceed to U rgyan? We should expect otherwise, east instead of west of Khorāsān.

bala-pā, the ruins of the palace of Indrabhūti¹, the mountain Ilo². Then he stopped for one month in the town of Dhūmasthira [in Tibetan, the place of the smoke (*du ba'i gnas*)] in the very centre of the country. Many women are supposed to be dākinīs and are able to perform miracles of different kinds. Generally speaking, the surface of this valley in the centre of Orgyan, which is surrounded by the ravines and the wood of the mountains, is large enough for two days' march from west to east and for four days' march from south to north. This country has three lakes in the east, south and north³. Then he proceeded through many countries ruled by the sTod Hor to Balkh (Bha lag k'a), Kashmir (K'a c'e) where he visited some sacred places of pilgrimage for the heretics such as Śāradātīrtha and Nāradatīrtha (na ra dha)⁴, then he travelled up to Do ra ṭa bho ṭa, viz. Dard-Tibetan country and to Kas kā ra, i.e. Kashgar. The Dard-Tibetan country must be the district of Kargil (Purig) and Ladak. It is therefore evident that Buddhagupta crossed the Zojila, visited the district of Purig which quite possibly was not yet at that time completely converted to Islamism as it is now, went eastwards to Leh, a purely Buddhist country, and through the Khardong Pass and Nubra reached Kashgar.

Back to India, he met his *guru* and passing through Delhi he proceeded to Bhīmeśvara, where he stopped for some time in a ruined temple dedicated to Īśvara (dBaṅ p'yug). After having visited some other small places in the south, he started again for Rājputāna (Māru) where he saw the temple of Hevajra founded by Padmavajra; then we find him in Abu (Ābhū), Saurāṣṭra, Kaccha (kad-tsa), then back again to Saurāṣṭra

¹ The story of Kambala and Indrabhūti is narrated in the life of the eighty-four Siddhas (translated by Grünwedel, *Geschichten der vier und achtzig Zauberer*) and in the *bKa' babs bdun ldan* translated by the same author.

² The form Ilo² parvata found in the *Śam-bha-la'i lam yig* is manifestly wrong and is not supported by any source. Cf. *Edelsteinmine*, p. 58. In Hsüan-tsang it is Hsi-lo, now Ilam.

³ The central lake is called Dhanakoṣa in other sources.—*de nas nub p'yogs Orgyen du p'ebś|san skri ta'i skad du Au ṭi ya ṇa|raṅ bžin skad du Orgyen zer|ṭa daṅ ra 'don ts'ul 'dra min yod pas* (I think that 'min' is out of place here) *or ya ṇa zer ba 'dra cig yod da lta de p'yogs raṅ na Kla klo'i skad du grags pa kun gyi go ba la|yul ga dza ni zer ro|grub c'en lva ba'i na bza' can gyi p'yug pa daṅ|rgyal po yin ta bhu ta'i p'o braṅ gyi śul daṅ|ilo par ba ta žes bya ba'i gnas c'en rnamś su p'ebś|Ur gyan gyi gnas m't'il dhu ma sthi ra stha du bai gnas žes bya ba'i groṅ k'yer žig zla gcig tsam bžugs|spyir Orgyan gyi gnas m't'il der roṅ daṅ nags t'ug pos skor ba'i dbus na t'aṅ k'or tsam śar nub du ṇin lam gñis tsam|lho byaṅ du bži tsam| . . . gnas 'di śar daṅ lho nub rnamś mts'o gsum gyis bskor.*

⁴ On Śāradātīrtha cf. *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* translated by Stein, II, pp. 280, 486 and *passim*. Nāradatīrtha is unknown to me.

and properly in Somanātha where he visited the Śivaliṅga and a statute of Virūpa. Then he turned his steps towards the south and peregrinated through Marāṭha, Khāndesh (k'ā na de sa), Tam pa la, Vijayanagara (very often in India itself written Vidyānagara), Karṇāṭa, Tri-liṅga, Trimalla, Kāñcī (tsam tsi), Malabar (ma lyar), Koṅkaṇa, Tsā ri dra, Marvār, Tsai ba la, (corr: *ra* for *ba*: Ceralam, Keralā), Ni tsa ma sa (but *Śam-bha-la'i lam yig* and xyl.: Nicambara, ni tsa mbra ha, ni tsam bha ha). Tsan dra du ra, Pañcabhrātara (pañca-bha tā ra) that is Pañcadrāviḍa, Cola-maṇḍala (tsa ra maṇ ṭa la), Maliyar-maṇḍala (Mo ra man ṭa la), Jalamaṇḍala, Talamaṇḍala, Toṇḍaimaṇḍala (tunṭa man ṭa la), Bhogamalabar (bho ga mal yar), Kaliṅga.

“Then in Koṅkaṇa he embarked and went to the west up to an island called 'Gra ldiñ, in Sanskrit *Dramiladvīpa* (da mi la). In the language of the Muhammadans, the barbarians, and [the inhabitants] of the small island, it is called Lam lo ran so (in *Śambh*: sam lo ran so). In that island the teachings of the *guhyanmantras* are largely diffused. He heard these from a paṇḍit called Sumati who had acquired the mystic realizations (*abhijñā*), the mystic power of the *Samvara* [*tantra*] and of the *Hevajra* [*tantra*] and then he learnt the detailed explanation of the *Hevajratantra*. This *Hevajratantra* belongs to the system of the Acārya Padmasambhava. Generally speaking, the tradition of the fourfold tantras is still uninterrupted in that island, and if we except the upper doctrines (*bla ma med c'os*) and the *Kālacakratantra*, whatever is in India is also there, such as the [*Vajra-*] *kīlatantra* and the Tantra of the Daśakrodhas, many *Heruka-tantras*, Vajrapāṇi, mK'a' ldiñ (Garuḍa), Māmākī, Mahākāla, etc. Then the upper classes (*rigs*) of Hayagrīva which are not in India are to be found there. Moreover there are many sacred teachings (*c'os*) belonging to the Tantras expounded by Padmasambhava. Though the community is numerous, the rules of the discipline are not so pure. The monks wear black garments and usually drink intoxicating liquors... He could not profit much at the school of Sumati, but he listened to many doctrines from his daughter Matisvatī (reading doubtful).

There is no doubt that this island corresponds to Madagascar which the Portuguese called São Lourenço. The monks who wore black garments and drank wine undoubtedly were Catholic priests; nor is it perhaps wrong to surmise that the four Tantras prevailing there refer to the four Gospels. Evidently, Buddhagupta went to Madagascar with some merchants going there and to nearby places for trading purposes.

...Then he embarked again with some merchants and went to Śaṅkhadvīpa (in Tibetan Duñ gliñ, the island of the conchshell). There

he remained some time in a mountain, rich in medicinal herbs and called bDe 'byuñ gi gnas. There he saw many men with human face and the nose [big] as that of the elephant coming from an island called Gajanāsa.

It is evident that the names of these places are those under which they were known to the Indian traders; perhaps some of them were called after the products which they brought therefrom: e.g. Śankhadvīpa may be called thus for its shell, though reference is also made to medicinal herbs there collected; Gajanāsa may well refer to a country from which ivory was imported by local navigators. One may suggest that Śankhadvīpa is an island near Madagascar or in the group of the Mascarene islands.

Then he went to the south to the island Pā la ta. There are many monks and the Law is widely spread: jewels, elephants and flowers in quantity.

I do not know to which island this name Pā la ta may refer: the fact is that he sailed back with Indian or Ceylonese merchants and that they were directed, as we deduce from the text, to Simha la dvīpa, Ceylon; therefore, I suppose that we should find this Pālata on the sea route from Madagascar to Ceylon. It may be the Maldive Islands.

From there sailing again towards the east he reached Siṃhaladvīpa (Ceylon), where he remained five years. There are the foot prints of the Buddha in a place called Śrīpāduka. In a plateau in the country called Kan ṭa la (Kandy) in the middle of a thick forest there is a cave in a rock. There he found a fabulously old disciple of Śāntipā whom he could meet, thus receiving some mystic instructions. His name was Yaśākaraśānti, which in Tibetan means "glory-mine-peace" ¹.

¹ *de na koñku na nas rgya mts'o la nub p'yogs su gru btañ nas byon ḥas|'gro gliñ ste|rgya skad du ta mi do dviṣa žes par p'ebś|'di la kla klo yañ yul mt'a'i mi dañ gliñ p'ran rnams kyi skad du lam lo ra na so zer gyin gda'|gliñ de na gsañ snags kyi bstan pa c'es dar ba yod|mñon śes dañ ldan ḥa'i slob dpon su ma ti žes bya ba'i pañḍita gcig la bde mc'og dañ|dgyes rdor gyi dbañ gsañ nas| dgyes rdor gyi rgyud la bśad pa'añ ži ba rgyas su gsañ|dgyes rdor di slob dpon padma 'byuñ gnas kyi luğs yin ciñ|spyr gliñ de nas rgyud sde bži ka'i bka' ma c'ad pa dañ| k'yad par bla med c'es dar dus 'k'or ma gtogs rgya gar na yod pa p'an c'er de na yod| p'ur bu dañ k'ro lo bcu'i rgyud mañ po dañ p'yag na rdo rje dañ mk'a' ldiñ dañ| ma mo dañ nag po c'en sogs dañ rta mgrin bla med kyi rigs rgya gar na mañ ba mañ po yañ de na yod pa dañ| slob pad ma 'byuñ gnas nas brgyud pa'i c'os kyañ mañ bar yod dug| dge 'dun mañ po yod kyañ 'dul ba'i lag len dag po med de| dge sloñ rnams gos nag gyon pa p'al c'er c'añ t'uñ ba sogs| par 'dug go| de na (read de nas) star ts'oñ pa dañ lhan gcig gyur bžugs nas śañ k'a dvi pa ste| duñ gliñ gi du p'ebś| de nas bde 'byuñ gi gnas śes bya ba ri bo sman sna ts'ogs sbye ba žig 'dug| der t'og cig bžugs gliñ de na ga*

From Ceylon he went to a small island called Uliṅga¹ and then joining some merchants of this place he proceeded to another small island called Amuga at a distance taking about one month of navigation from Ceylon. There he embarked on a big boat having five thousand men on board; this is at least the number we read in the text, but it is evident that we are confronted either with an exaggeration of the narrator or of the writer or with a clerical error. No vessel was able to carry more than some hundred men. After about four months of navigation to the south he reached a country called Dzha mi gi ri (Jhāmigiri).

There are two towns, one in the north and one in the south, the distance between them being of about seven days for a traveller. Between these two towns there are three mountains and on the top of one of them there is a golden cave which spreads light at night. He remained there one year. In that island there is the throne of ācārya Nāgārjuna said to have been used by him when he went there. There are also many images of the Blessed One and many temples².

“Thence he joined some merchants going to some small islands to the east and after one month of navigation he reached an island in which there was Potala, the king of the mountains. According to some this is the small Potala. Anyhow it is evidently the Potala on the land accessible to men. There he visited a rock-crystal cave, the place sacred to Mañibhadrakumāra, then the place sacred to Bhṛkuṭi, the cave of the Asura of the golden door, the place sacred to Tārā and the places sacred to Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Mahendra, each one with a self-created temple in the mountain. Moreover he visited the place where

dza nā sa žes bya ba'i gliñ nas 'oñs pai mi la sna glañ po c'e lta bur yod pa mañ po gžigs| de nas lho re byoñ pa la pa la ta žes bya bai gliñ du p'ebś| de nas śar p'yogs su gru btañ bas siṅga la'i gliñ du p'ebś te der lo lña tsam bžugs| kan řa la žes bya ba'i yul žig gi p'u| nags t'ug po žig gi dbus na brag p'ug 'dug| de na slob dpon c'en po śanti pas siṅgalii 'yul du p'ebś pai dus kyi dños slob| yaśā ka ra śanti bod kad du grags pa'i 'byuñ gnas ži ba žes bya ba.

¹ For Uliṅga, Śam bha la'i lam yig reads Umāliṅga. Buddhagupta adds that he was the only Indian to be there; anyhow, it seems to me that these two islands, we do not know in what direction from Ceylon, must have possessed rather big harbours and been on the trade route if Buddhagupta was able to embark there on a big ship.

² *Groñ k'yer c'en po lho byañ gñis snañ žiñ| de gñis re re'i srañ bar lam ñi ma bdun tsam re 'gro dgos pa'i lam yod pa| groñ k'yer gñis kyi bar na ri lho byañ du gsum tsam žig 'dug pa'i gcig gi rtse mo na mts'an mo 'od 'p'ro ba'i gser gyi brag c'uñ du žig kyañ snañ gsuñ| der lo gcig lhag tsam bžugs śiñ gliñ de na slob dpon klu sgrub p'ebś pa'i bžugs k'ri dañ bcom ldan 'das kyi rdo sku c'en po mañ po dañ lha k'añ mañ du yod|*

it was possible to have the vision (of the god) He also made the *pradakṣiṇa* of the mountain. There was the celestial wood famous as the place of Mañjuśrī and the water falling down from that was really running there. He bathed in this water and made the *pradakṣiṇa* of the various places round the top and the neck of the mountain. There are also one hundred mountains with rock-crystal peaks and caves of diamond, the height of which cannot be imagined. When one comes to this island all impurities are so to say purified. The people of this island have no Buddhist or non-Buddhist religion nor are they Muhammadan. With the exception of the little ones there are no towns. There is a temple of Buddha which was made in formed times. For protecting the boundary of the houses there are many *yantras* made by magical art, which do not exist in India. In this island he saw men whose body was covered by their ears. They came from other islands”¹. Jhāmigiri is one of those adaptations of foreign names to Sanskrit or pseudo-Sanskrit forms, which are so common in the geographical terminology of India. If we do not take into consideration the word *giri*, mountain, which, just as *kūṭa*, generally means a hilly country and cannot therefore be considered as an essential part of the word, the element Jhāmi is left. This part of the travels of Buddhagupta is very obscure as regards the identification of the places at which he touched. First of all, the names given to the various places are evidently suggested by the sailors accustomed to visit them.

The island of Ulinga near Ceylon should have been a great harbour and one may think of Deft. Amuga at one month's distance can be located either in the Andaman or in the Nicobar Islands. Then the Jhāmigiri is reached after four months of navigation to the South. To start

¹ *de nas śar p'yogs kyi gliṅ p'ran 'gar 'gro ba'i ts'oṅ pa rnamś dan lhan gcig gru śar draṅ t'aṅ du btaṅ ste | zla gcig tsam p'eb pa na | ri'i rgyal po ṭa la ka yod pa'i gliṅ du p'ebś | k'a cig 'di po ṭa la c'uṅ ba yin zer ba aṅ yod | gaṅ na'ṅ mi'i 'gro bai spyod yul gyi po ṭa la ste 'di k'o nar mñon no | nor bzaṅ gžon nu'i gnas śel gyi p'ug pa daṅ | k'ro gñer can mai gnas dan | lha ma yin gyi sgo gser gyi p'ug pa daṅ | sgrol ma gnas dan | ts'aṅś pa daṅ | k'yab 'jug dan dbaṅ c'en po'i gnas ri bo raṅ 'byuṅ gi lha k'aṅ bcas pa re re | gžan yaṅ mjal du btub pa'i gnas p'al c'er mjal | ri po ṭa la ṅid la'aṅ skor ba žig mizad | p'ags pa 'jam dpal gyi gnas su grags pa nam mk'a'i nos la nags ts'al dan | de nas 'bab pa'i c'u dños su 'bab pa yod de | de la k'rus kyaṅ mdzad gsuṅ | po ṭa la'i ri c'en po'i mgul t'ug par nags sna ts'ogs 'dug pa bskor bar p'ebś | rtse mo śel ma rdo rje'i brag ri rgya dpaṅś tsam bsam gyis mi k'yab pa yod pa la da lta 'gro sa ni mi 'dug gsuṅ gliṅ de'i mi kun la da lta p'yi naṅ kla klo sogs grub mt'a' gaṅ yaṅ med | mi groṅ t'aṅ t'un ma grogs mi 'dug sñon dus bžeṅś pa'i saṅś rgyas pa'i lha k'aṅ yod 'jam bu gliṅ na med pa la | las las grub pai 'k'rul 'k'rul 'k'or maṅ poś k'yim gyi mt'a' bsruiṅ ba 'ba' žig 'dug | gliṅ 'dir gliṅ gžan nas 'oṅś mi rna bas lus t'ams cad g.yog t'ub pa maṅ po gziṅś |*

with, it is impossible to accept literally what Buddhagupta says concerning the big ship on which he sailed and the crew it carried. It may be that he found the way to embark on an European boat proceeding eastwards for exploration of new lands. That is why he tells us that he was the first Indian to try this adventure: considering that the journey to Jhamigiri lasted four months and that thence he went to Javadvīpa, i.e. Java, we may surmise that the ship was directed to the northern part of Australia, which was already known at that time, since under the name of great Java it is found on some maps.

Then sailing again northward he reached Javadvīpa, where he found the followers of the Śrāvaka Sendhapa and then he proceeded to a small island in the middle of the sea called Vanadīpa (Vaṅka?) where he saw the cave of Padmavajra and found traces of many Tantras. Then he sailed to the north for Ceylon and afterwards to Konkan.

“There is (in Koṅkaṇa) a self-created image of Mañjuśrī in the middle of a pond. It is called Jñānakāya. The measure of the body is like a small hill and it represents the god in the reclining position. Then he saw also the *bimbakāya* which looks like a rainbow raising in the sky; the image of the stūpa is very great and bright and it is famous as the stūpa of the accumulated vapour beyond touch”. “Then he embarked again and went to the south to Malabar and to a country near to it called Śambhudatta where he heard the *Buddhasaṅcāra-tantra*, the *Samvaravikrīḍita Haridarisaṅgīti* and the *Sahajatattva* from the king Hariprabha (p’rog byed ’od) who had forded the ocean of the Vajrayāna and possessed all of the *vidyās* of the usual *siddhas*”¹. He met again his gurus since he wanted the *abhiṣeka* in some other Tantric systems, but as money was required for that, he undertook a collecting tour in Triliṅga, Trimalla and Karṇāṭa gathering a good amount of donations.

“Then he started again with the purpose of visiting the small island of the east; so through Jārikhaṇḍa and Jagannātha he went to Khasarpana in Buntavarta (sic) where he spent in prayer about twenty

¹ de nas koṅka na'i gliñ du p'ebś te | dzña na kāya žes bya ba mts'o'i nañ na 'jam d'pal gyi sku rañ 'byuñ sku ts'ad ri c'uñ tsam yod pa ñal stabs su gnas pa dañ | bimba kā ya žes bya ba nam mk'a' la 'ja' ts'on śar ba lta bu mc'od rten gyi gzugs brñan śin tu c'e žiñ gsal ba d'pal du ba 'k'rigs pa reg pa med pa'i mc'od rten du grags pa de yin te | . . . ślar gru btañ nas lho p'yogs su ma lyār p'ebś | 'di dañ ñe bai yul | p'ran śam bhu datta že bya ba ni rdo rje t'eg pa rgya mts'o p'a rol soñ ba | t'un moñ gi grub pa'i rtags ci rigs pa dañ ldan pa'i rgyal po p'rog byed 'od žes bya ba la sañś rgyas mñan 'byor gyi rgyud dañ sdom pa rnam par rtsen pa | dañ lhan gcig skyes pa'i de ñid dañ hari čari'i glu dbyañś la sogs pa c'os mañ du gsañ |

days... Then he went to Tipura and to the highland of Tipura where there is Kasaraṅga or Devikoṭa. For some days he remained in the temple erected by the Mahāsiddha Kṛṣṇācārya. Thence he proceeded to Ra k'an and to its places Haribhañja, Bu k'an and Bal gu. In all these countries there is a great community of monks and the Buddhist teaching is widely spread. He stopped there for a long time and heard many treatises of the sūtra class and as far as possible the law of the secret mantras from Paṇḍita Dharmākṣaghoṣa of the big stūpas in the temple of Haribhañja and equally from the lay Paṇḍit Parhetanandaghoṣa in the country of Bal gu. Those gurus were the followers of the Mahāsiddha Śāntipāda. Then he embarked again and went to the island of Dhanaśrī. In this island also there are very many monks. There is a great stūpa of immense proportion which is called Śrīmad-dhānyakaṭaka or the stūpa with the offering or *astukakāya*. Its base-ment has the same shape as the stūpa itself, it is surrounded by two rails in stone. It takes about one day for its *pradakṣiṇa*. On the east there is a very big town where there is enormous assemblage of mer-chants coming from different countries such as China, Europe (P'reñ gi) and India. When he visited the *asparśa pratibimbastūpa*, he saw the maṇḍala of the five *kulas* with Vairocana as their central essence, in the *Jñānakāyastūpa* the maṇḍala of the five *kulas* with Amitābha as the central essence, and in Śrīmad-dhānyakaṭaka the maṇḍala of the five *kulas* with Akṣobhya as the central essence. Then together with some merchants he visited some very small islands such as another island in the middle of the sea called Potala, the island Paigu, an island occupied by the Europeans in which many medicinal herbs such as *jāti* and *lesi* are produced, Sadhavīpa, the great Suvarṇadvīpa, the small Suvarṇadvīpa, Sūryadvīpa, Candradvīpa, Sarvadvīpa" ¹. Sāga-

¹ *de na* (read *de nas*) *śar p'yogs kyī gliñ p'ran rnamṣ gzigṣ par bžen nas dsā ri k'anṭa dañ dsa nā tha rgyud nas bhāṅga lar p'ebṣ | yul bu ṅta bharta ru k'a sarba ni mjal | žag ṅi śu tsaṃ gsol la 'debs kyin žugs | de nas Ti pur rar p'ebṣ | ti pu ra'i yul gyi p'u ka sa ram ga'am devi koṭa'i gnaṣ yod pa mjal bar mdsad ciñ | grub c'en po spyod pas bžehṣ pai gtsug lag k'añ du žag śas bžugs | de nas ra k'añ gi yul gyi nañ mts'an ha ri pañḍsa dañ bu k'an dañ bal gu rnamṣ su p'ebṣ | yul 'di rnamṣ na dge sloñ gi dge 'dun c'es mañ žiñ | bstan pa lhag par dar ba yod pas | yun riñ rab re bžugs šiñ | ha ri bhañ dsa'i gtsug lag k'añ mc'od rten c'en po žes bya ba žig nas dharmā kśa gho śa žes bya ba'i paṇḍita c'en po žig dañ de bžin du bal gu'i yul du bžugs pa'i par he ta nanda gho śa žes bya ba dge sñen paṇḍita c'en po žig la gsañ sñags kyī c'os kyañ ci rigs pa gsañ mdo lugs kyī guñ mañ po žon ṅan du mdsad | bla ma 'di kun yañ grub c'en bži ba'i žabs kyī slob ma 'ba' žig yin gsuñ de nas gru btañ ste dha nā śrī gliñ du p'ebṣ gliñ 'di na'am dge 'dun śin du mañ šiñ dpal dañ 'bras spuñ ṅam mc'od rten dpal yon can žes kyañ bya astu ka kā ya žes bya ba mc'od rten c'en po no bo śin tu rgya k'yon*

radvīpa is further mentioned in connection with the younger Kṛṣṇācārya Bhubaripa and Bhubamati (bhu ba blo-ldan). We find him again in India studying Vajrayāna at the school of various Siddhas such as Gambhīramati, Ghanapā, Siddhigarbha, Betatākṣaṇa, Virabandha, Gaṅgāpā. After having spent some time in Bodh-Gaya, Banda (bam dva) where he met the king Kumārapālabhadra, and Prayāga where he saw the great yogin Śubharaṣita, he proceeded to Jagannātha, Tipura and Bhīmeśvara. He went again to Bhaṅgala or Tipura and Ra k'an and he spent in Assam (Kāmarūpa) about one year.

Afterwards he proceeded to Tibet and went to Lhasa passing through the monastery of bSam yas; then he visited the province of gTsañ where he met Tāranātha. Having explained to him various Tantric texts and rituals, he took leave from his pupil and returned to India via Kirong (skyid groñ) on the Nepalese Himalayan range. From Nepal he came down to Bhaṅśyaya (Bhainsi-duhan near Bhimpedi), Champaran (tsam bā ra ṇa), the hill Khagendra and then through Magadha to Bengal and Tipura. While Tāranātha was writing this biography he heard that his guru was still living in Devikoṭa or in some other place near it.

These long travels towards the east are not less important than the previous ones in so far as they not only show a strong survival of Mahāyāna Buddhism but also seem to indicate that the sea-relations with Insulindia were at the time of Buddhagupta not yet interrupted.

We can quite easily follow the itinerary of the Indian *sādhu* from South India to Orissa where Jārikhaṇḍa or Jñārakhaṇḍa and Jagannātha are located. Buntavarta is evidently a corruption for Puṇḍra-vardhana corresponding to the districts of Bogra and Rājshahi. Khasarpaṇa cannot be exactly located, but its name seems to suggest that it is a high mountain. In fact Khasarpaṇa is known also to Tāranātha

c'e ba'i brag ri mc'od rten gyi dbyibs can | p'yi la rdo yi lcags ri brag ri 'dra ba ṅis rim kyis bskor ba | ṅi ma gcig la bskor ba t'cbs tsam | śar du groñ k'yer śin tu c'e ba | rgya nag dan p'reñ gi dan rgya gar la sogs pa'i yul t'a dad pa'i ts'o pa śin tu mañ ba'i ts'oñ 'dus c'en po 'dug gsuñ | da po rig pa med pa gzugs brñan gyi mc'od rten mjal bar mdsad dus | rnam sñañ gtso bor gyur pa'i rigs lña'i dkyil 'k'or dan dsa na kā ya ni 'od dpag med gtso bor gyur pa'i rigs lña'i dkyil 'k'or dan śrī dha nya kaṭaka ni mi bskyod pa gtso bor byas pa'i rgyal ba rigs lña'i dkyil 'k'or du gzigs | gēan yañ ts'oñ pa rnams dan lhan cig tu byon pas | po ṭa la zer ba'i rgya mts'o'i rdo ri gēan cig dan pa'i gu'i glin dan ja ti dan le śi sogs mañ po skye ba p'reñ gis 'dsin pai glin śig dan sādha dhī pa dan gser glin c'en po dan gser glin gi miñ can c'uñ ba gñis surjadhiṣa candradhiṣa sarvadhīṣa.

who takes it to be the seat of Avalokiteśvara but locates it in South India, perhaps wrongly identifying it with Potalaka. The fact that Puṇḍravardhana indicates the country bordering on the sub-Himalayan range seems to point out that Khasarpaṇa was a general designation for the mountains bordering on North Bengal. The identification of Tipura with Tipperah is self-evident. Kasaraṅga betrays in its Sanskrit form the name of the Khasi tribes populating the Khasi hills. Devījoṭa is the temple of Kāmākhyā near Gauhāṭī, one of the greatest centres of Tantrism in India, usually included among the four foremost pīṭhas and connected in the Buddhist tradition with the Mahāsiddha Kṛṣṇācārya. Buddhist images on the road leading to the temple are visible up to now.

Ra k'an is, as known, the general designation for Burma while Haribhañja is evidently a corruption for Haripuñjaya, in the upper Menam valley near Lamphūn. Bu k'an, which can also be Pu k'an (because in the manuscript at my disposal the two letters are often interchanged), corresponds to Pagan, Pukam in the Cam inscriptions, P'u kan of the Chinese travellers and writers. It is at the same time the name of a district and of a town, the ruins of which are still to be seen on the left side of the Irrawaddy. Bal gu, or Pa'i gu is Pegu in Burma. The information which Buddhagupta gives about Burmese Buddhism is of some interest because it is a new proof that even after the conversion of King Anuruddha of Pagan, the conqueror of Pegu, Mahāyāna flourished for a long time in Pagan.

Dhanaśrī corresponds to Tenasserim, Dahnasari of the Āin-i-Ākbarī. It belonged, as is known, to Siam up to the middle of the XVIIIth century and it was one of the most important trade centres in the Far East. It had a Portuguese settlement till 1641¹. The name of the pagoda or stūpa, which was seen by Buddhagupta near the town, is worthy of notice; in fact Śrīdhānyakaṭaka was the name, as it is known,

¹ *p'reñ gi* = later Sanskrit *phiraṅga*, Hindī *pharaṅgī*, is not given in our dictionaries (the usual forms being *p'e rañ*, *p'i liñ*, *p'a rañ*, *p'o rañ*, on which see Laufer, *Loan words in Tibetan* n. 141). Its mention here has some importance in so far as it seems to us that the form was probably introduced into Tibet from India rather than from Persia. As regards the form *p'i liñ*, which is now very common in Tibetan for "foreign country" or "Europe", I fully agree with Laufer that it cannot be considered as the popular pronunciation of *p'yi gliñ*, but it is quite possible that it took the place of the original *p'reñ gi* under the influence of that form. *P'yi gliñ pa* is not only a foreigner, but also is opposed to *nañ pa*, "the man of the inside", "the believer". It implies therefore not only a geographical difference but also a spiritual demarcation. Cf. in Chinese Buddhist texts *nei* and *wai*.

of a famous Buddhist place in South India which was held in a very high estimation by the Mahāyāna schools. It was after that place that one of the most famous monasteries of Tibet was called, the dPal ldan 'bras spuñs (Debung) near Lhasa. Nor is it out of place to notice that even our text points out the existence of a land route connecting Kāmarūpa or northern Assam with Burma. Unfortunately we find no mention as regards the itinerary followed by Buddhagupta from Gauhātī to Pagan, but it seems to me that the road must have passed between the Mikir and the Jaintia hills and then reached Upper Burma through Manipur. This appears to have been the shortest and the safest since it avoided the violent rivers of the Lushai hills and the head hunting tribes of the Nāgās. Of the remaining islands only Suvarṇadvīpa may be identified with Sumatra, though the problems connected with this identification are complicated by the fact that Buddhagupta knows two Suvarṇadvīpas, a small one and a big one. Perhaps the small Suvarṇadvīpa is the northern part of Java where he had already been. The mention of bSam yas is interesting in so far as it shows that Buddhagupta went into Tibet *via* Bhutān. This is suggested by the previous mention of Assam and by our knowledge of the roads between Tibet and India. It is generally believed that the usual intercourse between these two countries took place along the route through Darjeeling (rdo rje gling) and Gyantze (rgyal rtse). But this is wrong. This route is a new one, as it was regularly opened in quite recent times and acquired its importance after the Anglo-Tibetan war. But in former times there is no mention of it. There are good reasons for its being unknown in older texts. This road passes through Sikkim, and this country, populated chiefly by Lepchas, was converted to Buddhism by Lha btsun c'en po in the XVIIth century. The wild people of the country, the thick jungle which covered the hills and the absence of any Buddhist centre are the main reasons why the Sikkimese road, though the shortest, was not used up to the end of the XVIIth century, when Buddhism was firmly established in the country. In former times the usual route of the Indian paṇḍits to Tibet or of the Tibetan *locāvas* to India was through Nepal (Kiron and Kuti), where Marpa, Ras 'byuñ, Rva Locāva travelled, or through Kulu and the Sutlej valley as in the case of Ur gyan pa and sTag gtsaṅ ras pa. Eventually even the Ladak route through the Zojila was followed, though, it appears to me, not so common as the other routes. But in all the *rnam t'ar* and other Tibetan sources accessible to me no mention whatever is to be found of the Sikkimese route. Anyhow, as stated before, the mention of Assam without referring to any further movement of Buddhagupta to other places makes us believe that he started just from there.

THE RATNĀVALI OF NĀGĀRJUNA

The *Ratnāvalī* by Nāgārjuna was well known from the numerous quotations scattered in the Mahāyāna literature in India as well as in Tibet, but no manuscript of it was up to now available. Fortunately, Nepal, which has yielded so many treasures of ancient Indian literature, has recently rendered back to light a large fragment of this work, the importance of which cannot be overlooked by scholars. Nāgārjuna was certainly one of the greatest thinkers ever born in India, and whatever was written by him deserves our greatest attention. His thought has permeated, as it were, not only the Abhidharma of Mahāyāna, but also the mystical experiences of the Tantric systems. Therefore we must welcome anything written by him, because it will help our understanding of Buddhist, and therefore of Indian, mind.

The palmleaf-manuscript of the *Ratnāvalī* is but a fragment¹, but it will not be difficult to restore the missing portions after the Tibetan translation of the same text preserved in the *bsTan 'gyur* (*mdo 'grel*, vol. 2, fol. 124)². I begin by giving an edition and a translation of the first chapter, by far the most important from the *ādhyātmika* point of view. It is, in fact, from this that later authors chiefly draw their quotations of the *Ratnāvalī*. The other chapters will follow in the next issue.

The small work is, in fact, one of those *abrévés* of the doctrine, usually in the form of letters, *lekha*, of which we know other examples from the pen of the same Nāgārjuna, from Candragomin, etc. But the *Ratnāvalī* is styled a *rāja-parīkathā*, that is, a discourse to a king. Who this king was is not expressed in the text itself, but we know from the commentator Ajitamitra that he was the same to whom, according to the Chinese and the Tibetan tradition, the *Śiṣyalekha* was directed;

¹ 1-23 leaves, of which 5, 8-14 and 22 are missing.

² There is a commentary on our text by Ajitamitra, to be found in the same volume of the *bsTan 'gyur*.

I mean *bDe spyod*. Whether this Tibetan form may correspond to *Śātavāhana*, the name of the patron, according to the tradition, of Nāgārjuna, is a question still open to discussion ¹.

॥ Namo ratnatrayāya ॥

Sarvadoṣavinirmuktaṃ guṇaiḥ sarvair alaṃkṛtaṃ	
praṇamya sarvajñam ahaṃ sarvasattvaikabāndhavaṃ ॥	1.
dharmam ekāntakalyāṇaṃ rāja[n dha]rmodayāya te	
vakṣyāmi dharmaḥ siddhiṃ hi yāti saddharmabhājane ॥	2.
prāg dharmābhyudayo yatra paścān naiḥśreyasodayaḥ	
samprāpyābhyudayaṃ yasmād eti naiḥśreyasaṃ kramāt ॥	3.
sukham abhyudaya[s tatra mokṣo] naiḥśreyaso mataḥ	
asya sādhanasaṃkṣepaḥ śraddhāprajñe samāsataḥ ॥	4.

1-2. Having paid homage to the All-knower, the only friend of all living beings, who is devoid of every defect, but adorned with every good attribute, I shall expound for thy spiritual profit, O king, the law which is altogether propitious. Nay, the law brings forth its fruit (when the seed is planted in him) who is worthy of receiving the supreme law (as thou art) ².

3. Whenever there is elevation in the law, the [supreme happiness of] salvation will also appear later on, because those who have realized the elevation [which is the consequence of the practice of the law] will gradually attain to salvation ⁴.

¹ In the course of this paper the following abbreviations are used: *TSP* = *Tattvasaṅgrahapañjikā*, of Kamalaśīla (Gaekwad's Oriental Series); *PP*. = *Prasannapadā* by Candrakīrti the commentary upon the *Mūlamādhyamikakārikā* (Bibliotheca Buddhica); *BCAP*. = *Bodhicaryāvatārapañjikā* (Bibliotheca Indica).

² *Ekāntakalyāṇaṃ* means, as the commentator explains, that it is *ādīmadhyāntakalyāṇa*, that is propitious from beginning to end.

³ Restored after the Tibetan *rgyal po k'yod la c'os bsgrub pa'i p'yir*.

⁴ The way to salvation is represented by the higher knowledge *prajñā*, the teaching of which cannot be imparted to those who are not yet ripe to receive it. The *punya-sambhāra*, or moral purification, must therefore always precede the investigation of the *śūnyatā*, viz. the doctrine of the non-existence of independent things. Later schools of Mahāyāna will also state that the path to salvation is twofold, in so far as it consists of *upāya* praxis and *prajñā*. For Nāgārjuna, the *upāya* is not yet *karuṇā*, as in the mystic sects alluded to, but chiefly *śraddhā*, faith, upon which he largely insists in his *Ta chih tu lun*, the big commentary upon the *Prajñāpāramitā*. We have in either case a single path divided into two moments diffe-

- śrāddhatvād bhajate dharmam prājñatvād vetti tattvataḥ |
 prajñā pradhānam tv anayoḥ śraddhā pūrvaṅgamāsyā tu || 5.
 chandād dveṣād bhayān mohād yo dharmam nātivartate |
 sa śrāddha iti vijñeyaḥ śreyaso bhājanam param || 6.
 kāyavāñmānasam karma sarvam samyak pariḥkṣya yaḥ |
 parātmahitam ājñāya sadā kuryāt sa paṇḍitaḥ || 7.
 ahiṃsā cauryaviratiḥ paradāravivarjanam |
 mithyāpaiśunyapārusyāvaddhavādeṣu saṃyamah || 8.

4. Indeed, elevation is considered to be happiness and salvation to be final emancipation from contingent life. The concise enunciation of the method of realizing that is summarized in faith and wisdom ¹.

5. In so far as a man is possessed of faith, he becomes a partaker of the law; in so far as he is possessed of wisdom he apprehends according to truth. Of the two virtues wisdom is the foremost; faith, however, comes first.

6. He who does not transgress the law on account of wordly cravings, hatred, fear, and mental bewilderment must be considered as a man possessed of faith; nobody is a fitter recipient than he for salvation ².

7. One must carefully examine whether actions deriving from one's own body, words, thoughts, are good or not and, having settled what is good for others and for oneself, this only one must always do; then he is indeed a wise man ³.

- lobhavyāpādanāstik[yadṛṣṭinām parivarjanam |
 ete karmapathā] śuklā daśa kṛṣṇā viparyayāt || 9.
 amadyapānam svājīvo 'vihiṃsā dānam ādarāt |

rently called:—

<i>punya-sambhāra:</i>	<i>jñāna-sambhāra:</i>
<i>abhyudaya</i>	<i>naiḥśreyasa</i>
<i>sukha</i>	<i>mokṣa</i>
<i>śradhā</i>	<i>prajñā</i>
<i>upāya</i>	<i>śūnyatā</i>
<i>karuṇā</i>	

¹ *Tatra mokṣo* restored from Tibetan: *de la mñon mt'o bde ba ste nes par legs pa t'ar par 'dod*. As suggested by the commentator, the real meaning is that *abhyudaya* is not happiness, nor is *naiḥśreyasa* final emancipation, but rather happiness and emancipation are to be understood as the result of them.

² From here up to verse 24, *śraddhā*, viz. its effect, I mean the practice of the law is described, which causes *abhyudaya*. *Chanda*, *dveṣa*, *bhaya* and *moha* are symbolized by the four Māras who keep away men from the observance of the moral rules as laid down in the law.

³ The *pariḥkṣā* consists in examining whether a certain *karman* is moral, *kuśala*, immoral, *akuśala*, or indifferent, *avyākṛta*. Then the man is in a state of complete

pūjyapūjā ca mairī ca dharmāś caiṣa samāsataḥ	10.
śarīratāpanād dharmah kevalān [nāsti tena hi]	
[2, a] na paradrohaviratir na pareṣām anugrahaḥ	11.
dānaśīlakṣamāspaṣṭam yaḥ saddharmamahāpatham	
anādṛtya vrajet kāyakleśago kaṅṭhakotpathaiḥ	12.
sa saṃsārātavīm ghorām anantajanapādapām	
kleśavyāvalīḍhāngaḥ sudīrgham pratipadyate	13.

8. Refraining from killing living beings, from theft and from adultery, control over one's own words so as to avoid any false or slandering or cruel or futile speech ¹;

9. Complete abstaining from covetousness, hatred, and wrong views denying the existence of karman; these ten virtues constitute the tenfold pure conduct. The actions opposed to these constitute the tenfold impure conduct ².

10. Not drinking intoxicating liquors, lawful livelihood, hurting nobody, kindness in giving, reverence towards those deserving reverence, and universal sympathy, this is in short the law ³.

11. Through penances alone inflicted upon the body one cannot get at the law; by that method one is unable either to stop doing harm to others or to benefit them ⁴.

hiṃsayā jāyate 'lpāyuh bahvābādho vihiṃsayā	
cauryeṇa bhogavyasanī saśa[truḥ] paradārikaḥ	14.
pratyākhyānaṃ mṛṣāvādāt paisūnyāt mitrabhedanam	
apryaśravaṇaṃ raukṣyād abāddhād durbhagaṃ vacaḥ	15.
manorathān hantya abhidhyā vyāpādo bhayadaḥ smṛtaḥ	
mithyādṛṣṭiḥ kudṛṣṭitvaṃ madyapānaṃ matibhramaḥ	16.

consciousness and presence of spirit, which is called the *saṃprajanya* or *apramāda*. This *parīkṣā* is expounded in the following *śloka*s.

¹ Up to adultery, the author enumerates the three bodily actions to be avoided; then the four *vāk-karman*, and, in the first half of *śloka* 9, the three mental actions, altogether the ten abstentions from immoral deeds.

² Tibetan:—

c'ags dan gnod sems med pa la |
ñid kyī lta ba yoṅs spaṅ ba |
'di dag las lam dkar bcu ste |

³ The secondary injunctions are here enumerated.

⁴ MS. not clear. Tibetan:—

lus gduñ byed pa 'ba' žig las |
c'os med 'di ltar de yis ni |

This *śloka* is directed against the yoga-practices of those sects, in whose minds *dharma* consisted chiefly in severe asceticism and penances, viz. Ājīvakas and Nirgranthas.

12-13. Those men who disregarding the great road of the supreme discarding generosity, moral conduct, and patience, wander through the wrong paths of that wilderness which are bodily penancy, enter indeed a terrific and large forest, viz. the *samsāra* which has infinite rebirths as its trees, while beasts of prey, namely moral defilements, lick their limbs¹.

14. Those who kill any living being shall have a short life in a new existence; those who do harm to others shall suffer many offences; by stealing one shall be thwarted in wordly enjoyments; an adulterer shall get enemies².

15. The fruit of telling falsehood is repulse, of slandering breaking the friendship, of cruel speech hearing things unpleasant, of futile expressions unlucky words.

16. Covetousness causes the failing of every desire, malice is said to be the source of fears, wrong views produce incapacity of seeing aright, drinking of intoxicating liquors is the cause of mental confusion.

apradānena dāridryaṃ mithyājivena vañcanā |
stambhena duḥkulīnatvam alpaujaskatvam īrṣayā || 17.

krodhād durvarṇatā maurkhyam aprāśnena vipaścitām |
phalam etan manuṣyatve sarvebhyaḥ prāk ca durgatiḥ || 18.
eṣāṃ akuśalākhyānāṃ vipāko yaḥ prakīrtitaḥ |

kuśalānāṃ ca sarveṣāṃ viparītaḥ phalodayaḥ || 19.

lobho dveṣāś ca mohas ca tajjaṃ karmeti cāsubham |
alobhāmohādveṣāś ca tajjaṃ karmetarac chubhaṃ || 20.

aśubhāt sarvaduḥkhāni sarvadurgatayas tathā |
śubhāt sugatayaḥ sarvāḥ sarvajanmasukhāni ca || 21.

17. Avarice is the cause of poverty, bad livelihood of being deceived, pride of low birth, envy of scanty personal strength and prestige.

¹ Having thus expounded the very essence of the law, the author shows the *vipāka* or consequence of *karman*, so that everybody may be careful about the *parikṣā* of what he is doing; *śloka* 13, a, b.

Restored from Tibetan:—

'k'or bai 'brog ni mi bzad pa'i |
mt'a' yas skye ba śin can du |

gokaṅṭhaka is for ms. *daṅḍaka*

² Restored from Tibetan: *byi bo byed pas dgra dan bcas*. This *śloka* expounds the *vipāka* of immoral bodily actions; the *śloka* 14th, that of actions derived from one's own speech, the 15th, that of mental actions.

18. Anger of bad colour; stupidity is derived from not asking wise men (about the law); this fruit is ripened when one is reborn as a man; but first of all there is the rebirth in bad conditions of existence ¹.

19. All those sins are called vices; their consequence has been explained above. All virtuous actions bring forth an effect quite contrary to that.

20. Covetousness, hatred, bewilderment, and karman derived from that are sinful; absence of covetousness, hatred, bewilderment, and karman derived from that are sinless.

21. From sinfulness every pain and every unhappy destiny are derived; from sinlessness every happy destiny and every pleasure in life are derived.

nivṛttir [2, b] aśubhāt kṛtsnāt pravṛttis tu śubhe sadā manasā karmaṇā vācā dharmo 'yaṃ dvividhaḥ smṛtaḥ	22.
narakapretatiryagbhyo dharmād asmād vimucyate nṛṣu deveṣu cāpnoti sukhaśrīrājyavistarān	23.
dhyānāpramāṇārūpyais tu brahmādyasukham aśnute ityabhyudayadharmo 'yaṃ phalaṃ cāśya samāsataḥ	24.
naiḥśreyasaḥ punar dharmāḥ sūkṣmo gambhīradarśanaḥ bālānām [śrutahīnānām] uktas trāsakāro jinaiḥ	25.
nāsmi ahaṃ na bhaviṣyāmi na me 'sti na bhaviṣyati iti bālasya santrāsaḥ paṇḍitasya bhayaḥkṣayaḥ	26.

22. Refraining from every sinfulness and constant practice of sinlessness with mind, body, and word: this is styled the twofold law.

23. By this law one is saved from being born in the hells and among ghosts and beasts; nay, one gets plentifulness of joys, glory, and kingly power both among men and gods.

24. One gets the happiness of Brahma through the four meditations, the four immeasurable experiences, and the four absorptions in the immaterial spheres; this is in short the law of the blissful life and its fruits.

¹ Bad conditions of existence are: rebirth in the hells, among beasts and ghosts. According to the Abhidharma the effect of our actions is, in fact, triple: the first is rebirth in the various conditions of existence according to the *karman* of a previous life; the second is an effect of compensation, viz. the necessity of undergoing the same experiences of which we have been the cause to others; the third effect affects the entourage and the physical surroundings in which we shall have a rebirth. "Colour" means also "caste".

25. On the other hand, the subtle law of salvation consisting in the deep vision [of reality] was said by the Victorious ones to be terrific to foolish men who have not ears [prepared to hear it] ¹.

ahaṃkāraprasūteyaṃ mamakāropasamhitā prajā prajāhitaikāntavādinā 'bhihitā khila	27.
asty ahaṃ mama cāstīti mithyaitat paramārthataḥ yathābhūtaparijñānān na bhavaty ubhayam yataḥ	28.
ahaṃkārodbhavāḥ skandhāḥ, so 'haṃkāro 'nṛto 'rthataḥ bījaṃ yasyānṛtaṃ tasya prarohaḥ satyataḥ kutaḥ	29.
akandhān asatyān dṛṣṭvaivam ahaṃkāraḥ prahīyate ahaṃkāraprahāṇāc ca na punaḥ skandhasaṃbhavaḥ	30.
yathādarśam upādāya [svamukhapratibimbakam dṛśya]te nāma tac caivam na kiṃcid api tattvataḥ	31.

26. When the foolish man hears the utterance: " I am not, I never shall be, nothing belongs nor ever will belong to me " he is stricken with fear, while the wise man gets over every fear ².

27. The Buddha, who utters exclusively what is good to creatures, has stated them to be the offspring of the error that there is an ego and something belonging to the ego ³.

28. From the point of view of the absolute truth it is wrong to say that there is an ego or that there is something belonging to the ego, because both these assumptions are impossible when one has fully understood the reality of things ⁴.

¹ Now Nāgārjuna expounds what is salvation and the way which leads to it viz. *prajñā*, whose essence consists in the doctrine of the voidness of everything and which, on account of its depth, is likely to fill with fear those who are not yet fit to hear it. Therefore the teaching of Buddha is always based upon the knowledge of the moral and mental preparation of his disciples and hearers, *upāya-kauśalya*.

25, c. is restored from Tibetan: *byis pa t'os dan mi ldan pa*. So in the commentary, while the text of the *kārikās* has wrongly *dan mig ldan pa*.

² This verse is quoted in *TSP.*, p. 866, and *BCAP.*, p. 449.

³ For the wise man there is no fear, because, having realized the truth of this doctrine, he gets over any attachment to the ideal of the personality or of something belonging to it, and therefore the *samsāra*, which is the first cause of fear, vanishes for him. But for the others—as explained in the following *śloka*—the *samsāra* will continue to exist, in so far it is a mere creation of their wrong assumption of a personality and of the existence of things.

⁴ The sentence: " From the point of view of the absolute truth " implies that the ego, etc., may be said to exist only from the point of view of the conventional wordly truth, *saṃvṛti*, *loka*, *vyavahāra-satya*.

29. The groups forming a person are originated from the assumption of a personality, but this personality is, from the standpoint of the absolute truth, unreal; then, if the seed of something is unreal, how can its sprout be real? ¹.

- ahaṃkāras tathā skandhān upādāyopalabhyate |
na ca kaścit sa tattvena svamukhapratibimbavat || 32.
yathādarśam anādāya svamukhapratibimbakam |
na drśyate tathā skandhān [3, a] anādātyāham ity api || 33.
evaṃvidhārthaśravaṇād dharmacakṣur avāptavān |
Āryānandaḥ svayaṃ caiva bhikṣubhyo 'hikṣṇam uktavān || 34.
skandhagrāho yāvad asti tāvad evāham ity api |
ahaṃkāre sati punaḥ karma janma tataḥ punaḥ. || 35.

30. If one considers the groups as unreal, the assumption of a personality is abandoned; when the assumption of a personality is abandoned there is no more room for the groups ².

31. Just as through the medium of a mirror one sees the reflex of one's own face, though it is in fact nothing real,

32. even so one perceives the personality through the medium of the groups, though, in truth, it is nothing real, but like the reflex of the face (on a mirror).

33. Just as without the medium of a mirror no reflex of the face can be seen, even so without the medium of the groups, the personality cannot be perceived.

34. The noble Ānanda having heard from the Buddha such tenets, obtained himself the insight into the law and over and over repeated them to the monks.

- trivartmaitad anādyantamadhyam saṃsāramaṇḍalam |
alātaṃḍalaprakhyam bhramaty anyonyahetukam || 36.
svaparobhayatas tasya traikālyato 'py aprāptitaḥ
ahaṃkāraḥ kṣayam yāti tataḥ karma ca janma ca || 37.
evaṃ hetuphalotpādam paśyams tatkṣayam eva ca |

¹ The five groups are, as known, *rūpa*, *vedanā*, *saṃjñā*, *saṃskāra*, and *vijñāna*. *Arthataḥ* is, according to the commentator, to be taken in the sense of *paramārthataḥ*. The verse is quoted, as taken from the *Ratnāvalī*, by Candrakīrti *PP.*, pp. 346 and 458. The author wants to demonstrate that the notion of the groups is dependent upon that of personality and vice versa, so that neither is self-existent.

² This *śloka* is also quoted in *PP.*, pp. 346 and 458. Verses 31-4 are quoted by Candrakīrti in *PP.*, p. 345.

nāstitām astitām caiva naiti lokasya tattvataḥ	38.
sarvaduhkhakṣayam dharmam śrutvaivam aparīkṣakaḥ	
saṃkampaty aparijñānād abhayasthānekātaraḥ	39.

35. The assumption of an ego exists as long as there is the assumption of the five groups; when there is the assumption of an ego there is again karman, and from this a new birth.

36. This whirl of life which has no beginning, no middle, and no end, like a whirling firebrand, whirls round with its three successions (personality, karman, and birth), which are the cause one of the other.

37. In so far as the ego cannot be demonstrated as being produced either by itself or by another or both by itself and another, nor as being produced either in the past or in the present or in the future, the ego vanishes; then karman and lastly new birth¹.

38. When a man has recognized [that the idea of] the growth of cause and effect and [that of] their destruction must be understood in this way, he does not maintain according to truth either that this world is not or that it is.

na bhaviṣyati nirvāṇe sarvam etan na te bhayam	
ucyamāna ihābhāvas tasya te kiṃ bhayaṃkaraḥ	40.
mokṣe nātmā na ca skandhā mokṣaś ced idṛṣaḥ priyaḥ	
ātmaskandhāpanayanam kim ihaiva tavāpriyam	41.
na cābhāvo 'pi nirvāṇam kuta eva tasya bhāvataḥ	
bhāvābhāvaparāmarśakṣayo nirvāṇam ucyate	42.
samāsān nāstitādṛṣṭiḥ phalam nāstiti karmaṇaḥ	
apuṇyāyikī caiṣā mithyādṛṣṭir iti smṛtā	43.
samāsād astitādṛṣṭiḥ phalam cāstiti karmaṇām	
puṇyā sugatiniṣyandā samyagḍṛṣṭir iti smṛtā	44.

¹ It is not produced by itself on account of two laws admitted by Nāgārjuna and his followers, viz. that of *abhūtvā abhāva* and that of *svātmani virodhāt*. Whatever was in a previous moment non-existent is devoid of self-existence and therefore cannot come to existence by its own agency; nor can existence be active upon itself. It cannot be produced by another, because the idea of cause is equally an antinomy; in fact the cause is such, only in relation to its effect. But, then, as long as the effect is not produced it is absurd to speak of cause, and, if this cause is non-existent, *a fortiori* the effect will be non-existent.

The third antinomy: "neither by itself nor by another", is evident, being the consequence of the two others. To the refutation of the idea of time Nāgārjuna has dedicated the second chapter of his *Mādhyamikakārikās*. The meaning is that it is not produced in the past, because whatever is past is no longer active, nor in the future, because it would be like the birth of a child from a barren woman, nor in the present

39. But, if a man lacking discrimination hears this law which puts an end to all sorrows, he, on account of his ignorance, fears a place where there is nothing to be feared, and trembles¹.

40. When you are told that all this will not exist in the *nirvāṇa*, this tenet does not make you afraid; but when you are told that here everything is not existent, how is it that this statement fills you with fear?²

41. In the condition of salvation (as you believe it to be there are neither the groups nor the ego. But if such a kind of salvation is dear to you why do you not like the elimination of the individual ego and of the groups in this very existente [as preached by our doctrine]?)

jñāne [3, b] nāstyastitāsānteḥ pāpapuṇyavyatikramaḥ |
durgateḥ sugateś cāsmāt sa mokṣaḥ sadbhir ucyate || 45.

sahetum udayaṃ paśyan nāstitām ativartate |
astitām api nopaiti nirodhaṃ saha hetunā || 46.

prāgjātaḥ sahajātaś ca hetur ahetuko 'rtātaḥ |
prajñapter apratitātvād utpattēś caiva tattvataḥ 47.

42. But *nirvāṇa* is not even non-existence; how can it be existence? *nirvāṇa* is called the suppression of any idea of existence and nonexistence³.

43. To say it in a few words, the nihilistic view consists in denying that karman brings forth its effect. This view is sinful and causes rebirth in the hells. It is called a wrong view⁴.

44. To say it in a few words, the realistic view consists in affirming that karman brings forth its effect. It is meritorious and causes rebirth in happy conditions of existence. It is called the right view.

because the present has no duration. The conclusion of this is that it is impossible to demonstrate either that there is a producer or that there is a thing produced.

¹ The place where there is nothing to be feared is *nirvāṇa*, which is suppression of the personality.

² The sentence: "All this" is the whirl of cause and effect. The *nirvāṇa* referred to is evidently the aupaniṣadic *nirvāṇa*. The author asks his supposed opponent why, though going after the aupaniṣadic *nirvāṇa*, which is suppression of every personality, is he, nevertheless, unwilling to accept this doctrine which makes the realization of *nirvāṇa* possible in this very life.

³ Now Nāgārjuna, having referred to *nirvāṇa*, states, in order to avoid any misunderstanding, that *nirvāṇa* which he describes is not like the *nirvāṇa* of the other schools, but it is beyond the notion of existence and non-existence. The verse is quoted in *PP.*, p. 525.

⁴ Up to this point Nāgārjuna has denied the existence of every thing: so the objection of the opponent, viz. that his doctrine is simple nihilism must be expected. The author therefore meets this argument and after defining what are, according to him, nihilism and realism, shows that his system is neither of them.

45. But when through the right knowledge one has suppressed any notion of existence or non-existence, one is beyond sin and virtue. Therefore the saints say that this is the salvation from good as well as from bad conditions of existence.

46. In so far as one recognizes that any origin has its cause, one gets rid of the nihilistic view, and in so far as one understands that there is a destruction of things determined by causes one gets rid of the nihilistic view, and in so far as one understands that there is a destruction of things determined by causes one gets rid of the realistic view¹.

asmin satīdaṃ bhavati dīrḡhe hrasvaṃ yathā sati |
[tasyotpādād udetidaṃ dīpotpādād yathā] prabhā || 48.

hrasve 'sati punar dīrḡhaṃ na bhavati svabhāvataḥ |
pradīpasyāpy anutpādāt prabhāyā apy asaṃbhavaḥ || 49.

evaṃ hetuphalotpādaṃ dṛṣṭvā nopaiti nāstikyaṃ |
abhyupetyāśya lokasya yāthābhūtyaṃ prapañcajam || 50.

nīrodhaṃ ca prapañcotthaṃ yāthābhūtyād upāgataḥ |
nopayāty astitāṃ tasmān mucyate 'dvayaniśritaḥ || 51.

47. If a cause is born before the effect or along with it, in both cases, from the standpoint of the absolute truth it cannot be the cause. In fact, the notion of birth cannot be conceived either from the conventional or from absolute point of view².

48. The notion of relation may be expressed in this way: When this thing exists this other thing also exists, for example, the idea of short in relation to that of long; when this thing is produced this other thing also is produced, for example, the light when there is a lamp³

49. If there is not the idea of short there cannot be that of long, as a self-existent thing; if there is no lamp it is impossible to have any light⁴.

¹ Of course, the notion of cause belongs to the *saṃvṛtīsatya*, viz. to the relative truth, because, as stated in the following verse, from the *paramārtha* point of view, viz. from the point of the absolute truth, the notion of cause is absurd.

² Since the cause is called a cause in so far as it produces an effect, if it exists before the production of this effect, that cause cannot be the cause of this effect, because it would have no relation to it.

³ *a, b* is quoted in *PP.*, p. 10, where we read: *hrasve dīrḡhaṃ yathā sati*; the Tibetan supposes *dīrḡhe hrasvaṃ yathā sati. riñ po yod pas t'uñ du bžin. c, d*—almost effaced; Tibetan: 'di skyes pas na 'di skyes dper. Here Nāgārjuna states that if the notion of cause and effect is antinomical, the origin of things can only be explained according to the law of the *pratīyasamutpāda*, viz. of relativity.

⁴ The same must be understood as regards the notion of "short" and that of "lamp". In the sphere of material experience things are interrelated, though, from the standpoint of the absolute truth, they are devoid of any essence.

50. When one understands that the origin of the notions of cause and effect is like this, one cannot be the follower of the nihilistic view, in so far as he admits according to what really is thus this world is nothing but a display of subjective differentiation.

- durād ālokitam rūpam āsannair dṛśyate sphuṭam |
marīcir yadi vāri syād āsannaiḥ kiṃ na dṛśyate || 52.
dūrībhūtair yathābhūto loko 'yaṃ dṛśyate tathā |
na dṛśyate tadāsannair animitto marīcivat || 53.
[marīcis toyasadṛśī yathā nāambo na] cārthataḥ |
skandhās tathātmasadṛśā nātmāno nāpi te 'rthataḥ || 54.
mariciṃ toyam ity etad iti matvāgato 'tra san |
yadi nāstīti tat toyam [gṛhṇīyān mūḍha eva saḥ || 55.
marīcipratimaṃ lo]kam [4, a] evam astīti gṛhṇataḥ |
nāstīti cāpi moho 'yaṃ sati mohe na mucyate || 56.

51. When one according to truth admits that destruction also is derived from the display of subjective differentiation, one does not become a follower of the realistic doctrine. Therefore, in so far as one has taken standpoint in neither view, one attains to salvation.

52. A form seen from afar becomes manifest to the eyes when one gets near to it. If a mirage were really water, how is it that this cannot be seen when one gets near? ¹

53. This world as it is in reality does not appear to those who are far away [from the truth] as it appears to those who are near [to it]—that is like a mirage devoid of specific characteristics.

54. Just as a mirage looks like water but it is neither water nor something real, in the same way the groups look like the ego, but in fact they are neither the ego nor something real.

- nāstiko durgatiṃ yāti sugatiṃ yāti cāstikaḥ |
yathābhūtaparijñānān mokṣam advayaniśritaḥ || 57.
anicchan nāstitāstīve yathābhūtaparijñayā |
nāstitāṃ labhate mohāt kasmān na labhate 'stītam || 58.
syād astidūṣaṇād asya nāstitā "kṣipyate 'rthataḥ |
nāstitādūṣaṇād eva kasmān nā "kṣipyate 'stīta || 59.
na pratijñā na caritaṃ na cittaṃ bodhiniśrayāt |
nāstikatve'rthato yeṣāṃ kathaṃ te nāstikāḥ smṛtāḥ || 60.

¹ The verses 52-4 are quoted by Candrakīrti, *PP.*, p. 347, as from the Ācārya-pāda, the verses 55-6 are quoted by Candrakīrti as taken from the *Ratnāvalī*, *PP.*, p. 188.

55. If a man [seeing from afar] a mirage, believing that it is water, goes near to it and then thinks that there there is no water, this man is a fool¹.

56. So, when a man takes this world, which is similar to a mirage, to be either existent or non-existent that man is under the influence of bewilderment. But if there is bewilderment there is no salvation.

57. The nihilist is bound to be reborn in bad conditions of existence, the realist will be reborn in good conditions of existence. But those who have understood the things as they really are attain to salvation, in so far as they have taken their standpoint in neither view.

58. Those who, unwilling to conceive existence and non-existence according to their real nature (as stated by us), state, on account of their ignorance, [that *nirvāṇa* is] non-existence why they do not state that it is existence?

Sasāṃkhyaulūkyanirgranthapudgalaskandhavādinam pṛccha lokaṃ yadi vadaty astināstivvyatikramam	61.
dharmayautakam ity asmān nāstyastitvavyatikramam viddhi gaṃbhīram ity uktaṃ buddhānāṃ śāsanāmṛtam	62.
vibhavaṃ naiti nāyāti na tiṣṭhaty api cakṣaṇam traikālyavyativṛttātmā loka eva kuto 'rthataḥ	63.
dvayor apy āgatigatī prasthitiś ca na tattvataḥ lokanirvāṇayos tasmād viśeṣaḥ ka ivārthataḥ	64.

59. If you object that by the refutation of the existence its non-existence is logically implicit, why then refutation of non-existence would not imply existence? ²

60. [For us] there is no thesis to be demonstrated, no rules of conduct, and on account of our taking shelter in the supreme illumination, not even mind, our doctrine is really the doctrine of nothingness. How then can we be called nihilists? ³

61. You may ask the common people along with its philosophers either the Sāṃkhyas or the Vaiśeṣikas or the Jinas or those who maintain the existence of a personality as represented by the five groups

¹ Because he did not yet realize that it was a mirage which he saw, and water therefore, is out of question.

² That is, it is impossible to affirm existence or non-existence, because this affirmation implies logically its contrary.

³ Of course, all this from the standpoint of absolute truth, not from that of conventional truth. Nihilism is in fact, affirmation of a negation, but for Nāgārjuna truth is beyond either negation or affirmation.

whether they preach a doctrine like ours beyond the dualism of existence and non-existence¹.

62. Therefore you must realize that this present of the law going beyond any dualism of existence and non-existence is the ambrosia of the teaching of the Buddhas known as the deep one.

sthiter abhāvād udayo nirodhas ca na tattvataḥ |
uditaḥ sthitaś ceti niruddhas ca kuto 'rthataḥ || 65.

katham akṣaṇiko bhāvah pariṇāmaḥ sadā yadi |
nāsti cet pariṇāmaḥ syād anyathātvaṃ kuto 'rthataḥ || 66.

ekadesé [4, b] kṣayād vā syāt kṣaṇikaṃ sarvaśo 'pi vā |
vaiṣamyānupalabdheś ca dvidhāpy etad ayuktimat || 67.

kṣaṇike sarvathā bhāvet kutaḥ kācit purāṇatā |
sthairyād akṣaṇike cāpi kutaḥ kācit purāṇatā || 68.

63. How can this world be something real, since it does not vanish into non-existence nor come to existence nor even possess the duration of an instant, and is, therefore, beyond the threefold temporal relation?

64. From the standpoint of absolute truth, both this world as well as *nirvāṇa* are equally non-existent, either in the future or in the past or in the present; how can then any difference between them be real?

65. Sinceth ere is no duration, there is in truth neither origin nor destruction; how can therefore [this world] be really born, permanent, destroyed?

66. If there is always change into new forms, how then existence is not momentary? If, on the other hand, there is no change how could you explain the modification which perceive positively in things?

yathānto 'sti kṣaṇasyaivam ādir madhyaṃ ca kalpyatām |
tryātmakatvāt kṣaṇasyaivam na lokasya kṣaṇam sthitiḥ || 69.

ādimadhyāvasānāni c[intyāni kṣaṇavat punaḥ |
ādimadhyā]vasānatvaṃ na svataḥ parato 'pi vā || 70.

naiko 'nekapradeśatvān nāpradeśaś ca kaścana |
vinaikam api nāneko nāstitvam api cāstitām || 71.

vināśāt pratipakṣād vā syād astitvasya nāstitā |
vināśaḥ pratipakṣo vā kathaṃ syād astyasambhavāt || 72.

nirvṛtes tena lokasya nopaity ūnatvam arthataḥ |
antavān iti lokaś ca pṛṣṭas tuṣṇīm jino 'bhavat || 73.

¹ Quoted in *PP.*, p. 275, as taken from the *Ratnāvalī*.

67. Whatever is momentary, disappears either partially or totally. But since no difference appears in the two cases, therefore both assumptions are equally illogical.

68. If things are mere moments, any temporal relation like that of oldness, etc., would be impossible; if, on the contrary, things are not momentary, on account of their duration any temporal relation like that of oldness, etc., would be equally impossible¹.

69. If the instant has a final moment, we must assume that it has the other two moments as well, viz. the initial and the middle; but inasmuch as the instant consists of three moments the world cannot have the duration of the instant².

70. Again, beginning, middle, and end must be considered to be like the instant, viz. divided each one into three moments; the condition of being beginning, middle, and end is not existent by itself nor by another³.

sarvajña iti sarvajño budhais tenaiva gamyate |
yenaitad dharmagāmbhīryaṃ novācābhājane loke || 74.

iti naiḥśreyaso dharmo gambhīro niṣparigrahaḥ |
anālaya ity proktaḥ saṃbuddhais tattvadarśibhiḥ || 75.

asmād anālayād dharmād ālayābhiratā janāḥ |
astināstyavyatikrantā bhītā naśyanty amedhasaḥ || 76.

te naṣṭā nāśayanty anyān abhayasthānabhīravaḥ |
tathā kuru yathā rājan naṣṭair na vipranāśyase. || 77.

71. No [atom] is simple being many-sided; and no [atom] is sideless [in so far as its connection with other atoms would, then, be impossible];

¹ Verses 68–70 are quoted, as taken from the *Madhyamakāsiddhānta*, by Candrakīrti in *PP.*, p. 546.

If things are always changing, they have no time to become old; if there is no change, there is also no oldness, but things would be eternally new.

² *Tri* is not in the quotation by Candrakīrti, but is found in the Tibetan text as well as in the commentary thereon; *tri* refers to beginning, middle, and end.

³ This verse meets the possible objection, viz. that, if there is no instant, as it is not simple, but complex as being composed of three moments, then the instant would be implicitly represented by these three moments, into which the instant has been decomposed. The answer of Nāgārjuna is that they also, if they are something real, must be composed of other moments, and so there would be *regressus in infinitum*. Moreover, the fact or the condition of being beginning, middle, and end is, from the absolute point of view, illogical because it is not by itself, which would be contradictory, nor by another cause, because, in this way, there would not be the necessary connection between the cause and its effect, which is the fundament of the causal relation. So, as demonstrated in the following *śloka*, everything has only a relative existence.

on the other hand the idea of plurality is inconceivable without that of unity nor that of non-existence without that of existence¹.

72. Non-existence of existence is only possible through destruction or antithesis; but how can destruction or antithesis be conceivable if existence is logically impossible?

73. Therefore attainment of *nirvāṇā* does not imply in fact any destruction of worldly existence. That is why even the Buddha, when requested whether this world has an end, remained silent.

74. Therefore, the wise men realize that the All-knower is really the All-knower, because he did not preach this deep doctrine to those who are unfit [to hear it and cannot, therefore, rightly understand it].

75. Indeed the perfect Buddhas, who have realized the absolute truth, stated that this law, conducive to salvation, is deep, beyond the attachment to any particular thesis, stating the existence of nothing which one can depend upon.

76. Ignorant men, who like to state the existence of something which they can depend upon and did not yet get rid of contradictory theses like that of existence or non-existence of things, feel but fear of this law which does not state the existence of anything we can depend upon, and are then ruined.

77. And being themselves ruined they cause others to be ruined, also being afraid of (this teaching) where there is nothing to be feared. Be careful, O king, unless these wicked ones might ruin you also.

PS.—I prepared the edition of the text on a modern copy marred by many clerical errors. But, on my request, His Highness the Mahārāja Joodha Sham Shere was kind enough to send me a good photographic copy of the original, which in many a point permitted a revision of my first readings.

¹ Having shown that the atom or the instant cannot be conceived as being composed of more elementary moments or as having a dimension, the author shows that they cannot be also considered to be a unity, because unity is not conceivable without relation to plurality, and plurality is not conceivable without relation to unity. Therefore, since existence and non-existence are, in fact, impossible to be conceived, even *nirvāṇa* cannot be considered as the non-existence of this world.

SOME GLOSSES UPON THE *GUHYASAMĀJA*

Dr. Benoytosh Bhattacharya has recently edited the Sanskrit text of the *Guhyasamāja* and, in the introduction to the same, has, with his usual learning, dealt with the significance of this Tantra¹.

On account of my studies in Lamaism and of the work, in which I am now engaged, of deciphering the wall-paintings of the Western Tibetan temples², many of which were inspired by the *Guhyasamāja*, I took up again, with the help of the extensive Tibetan literature connected with it, the investigation of this Tantra and I collected some materials which I hope shortly to publish. Meanwhile, leaving aside the Tibetan developments of the schools derived from the Guhya and their literature, with which I have dealt in the IVth Vol. of *Indo-Tibetica*, I shall write in the following pages a few notes upon certain passages of the printed text, which must, I think, be corrected or deserve consideration.

I

First of all: it seems to me that the text of the *Guhyasamāja* consisted originally of 17 chapters only: the 18th, which comes at the end, is a later addition and a kind of a summary of and a commentary upon the previous chapters; it explains the difficult and mystic terms and it is written in a style which, to a closer examination, appears to be quite different from that of the *saṅgīti* which precedes; there, we also find mention of theories which seem to be peculiar to other schools: e.g. that of the *ṣaḍaṅgayoga* which is strictly connected with the Sekoddeśa and the Kālacakra³. Against this view the fact may be objected that

¹ *Guhyasamāja Tantra or Tathāgataguhyaka* (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, vol. 53).

² *I templi del Tibet Occidentale, Indo-Tibetica* vol. III, 1 and 2.

³ The *Sekoddeśa-ṭīkā* by Nāropā in which the *ṣaḍaṅgayoga* is explained in detail has been edited by my pupil Dr. M. Carelli, *Sekoddeśaṭīkā* (GOS, 90), Baroda 1941.

the Chinese version¹ of the same text includes the 18th chapter; but it must be noted that this translation is very late, since it was the work of Shih hu (Dānapāla?) who went to China in the year 980 A. D. We possess, on the other hand, a fairly old commentary upon this Tantra written by Candrakīrti, according to the teachings of Nāgārjuna, edited in its Tibetan translation, and glossed upon by Tsoñ k'a pa².

This work comments upon seventeen chapters only (cp. fl. 15-39). This proves beyond any doubt that at the time of Candrakīrti the text of the Guhya consisted, or was acknowledged to consist, of 17 chapters only. It is even quite possible that a mystic significance was given to this number since the gods forming the *parivāra* of the supreme Buddha, as introduced at the very beginning of the Tantra³, are seventeen; so that we may surmise that the compilers of the Tantra wanted its 17 chapters to correspond to the 17 gods of the mystic maṇḍala.

But if the 18th chapter was not included in the Tantra itself, this does not imply that it was unknown at the times of Candrakīrti. It was only considered to be the appendix, a kind of supplement to the other 17 chapters; while these formed the *mūlatantra*, *rtsa rgyud*, the last was given the name of Samājottara; under this title, it is quoted by Candrakīrti himself (fol. 139^b, 'dus pai rgyud p'yi ma) by Indrabhūti in his *Jñānasiddhi* (p. 75) and by Nāropā in the *Sekoddeśaṭīkā*. It was even commented upon by Nāgārjuna (Cordier, *Cat.*, I, p. 131).

¹ This translation is to be found in Vol. XVIII of the Taishō edition of the Chinese Canon, p. 469, and it cannot be considered as a perfect rendering of the original; in many a place it alters completely the meaning of the text, as it has been preserved in Sanskrit or in its Tibetan redaction; some renderings point out to a wrong reading or to a misunderstanding of the Sanscrit. E. g. *pañcaśūlaṃ mahājvālaṃ* of p. 18 l. 6 has been read: *mahājñānaṃ*; at p. 27, l. 14 *prāpta dharmākṣaram* (cf. also p. 31, l. 5) (printed text wrongly *dharmāsanam*) *akṣara* = imperishable, has been understood as: letter (*wen tzū* etc.). Misreadings of this kind can be found almost in every page. Moreover all passages concerned with the esoteric rituals, in which the *mūdra*, viz. a girl of 16 years is employed, have been either omitted or completely changed.

² The title of Tsoñ k'a pa's work is: *Rgyud t'ams cad kyī rgyal po gSañ ba 'dus pa'i rgya c'er bśad pa sgron ma gsal ba'i ts'ig don ji bžin 'byed pa'i mc'an yi yan 'grel pa*. The Sanskrit title of the work commented upon by Tsoñ k'a pa was, as known, *Pradīpoddyotana*; its author is not Nāgārjuna but Candrakīrti, who commented upon the text following the instructions (*upadeśas*) of Nāgārjuna as he himself states not only in the *Maṅgalācarana* of the work, but also at the end of his treatise: *sgron ma gsal bar byed žes bya ba slob dpon c'en po Nāgārdsuna'i man nag rten te slob dpon Zla ba grags pas mdsad pa rdsogs*. « Here ends the *Pradīpoddyotana* composed by the Ācārya Candrakīrti according to the instructions of the great Ācārya Nāgārjuna » (foll. 472).

³ Pp. 1-2 from *Samayavajra* to *Dharmadhātu vajra*.

II

One of the points which, according to me, deserves attention is the fact that the *Guhyasamāja* admits of six and not of five supreme Buddhas; this means that there is some connection between this Tantra and the Kālacakra which, as known, postulates the existence of a first Buddha, the Ādi Buddha of which the fivefold series in the emanation. That, even according to the *Guhyasamāja*, there is a supreme Tathāgata besides the fivefold well known series: Akṣobhya, Vairocana, Ratnaketu, Amitābha, Amoghasiddhi, appears clear from the very first chapter, where the *maṇḍala* is described which symbolically represents the emanation of the universe from the primeval source of everything through five fundamental lines of evolution—the « families » (*kula, rigs*)—each called after a corresponding Buddha. The name of this supreme Buddha is simply Bhagavān at p. 2, l. 4. where the subject of the sentence is Bhagavān (*viśahāra*) of p. 1, l. 1, and where he is spoken of as enjoying the company of Akṣobhya, Vairocana, Ratnaketu, Amitābha, Amoghavajra.

Candrakīrti commenting upon this passage (fl. 50–51) says that Vajradhara or Mahāvajradhara, as he regularly calls this supreme Buddha, is the body and the five Buddhas his five constituents or *skandhas*; the symbol of this body is the *maṇḍala* in its entirety; the same view he expounds commenting upon the III d. *paṭala*, when the *ākāśa-dhātu-maṇḍala*, in which the five Buddhas appear, is again identified with Vajradhara.

At p. 2, l. 13 he is called Bhagavān Mahā Vairocana, the name which he is regularly given in the Chinese translation of Shih-hu; but even in this case, Candrakīrti points in out that by this name Vajradhara is meant. Anyhow, that Mahāvairocana is quite distinct from Vairocana of the five Tathāgata series, is clear from the context itself, since it is always the same God who, falling into *samādhi*, absorbs in his threefold *vajra* of body, word and spirit, “the crowd (*vyūha*) of all Tathāgatas”. Even in the *Tattvasaṅgraha*¹ and in the *Paramāditantra* we meet very often Mahāvairocana as being distinct from Vairocana.

At p. 3, l. 10 foll. he is called Bhagavān Sarvatathāgatakāyavāk-cittavajrādhipati which name is to be found very often throughout

¹ Upon this Tantra v. *Indo-Tibetica*, I, pp. 93–135 and ID. III, 1, p. 75.

the book, and l. 13: Bodhicittavajra, where it is said that all Tathāgatas reside in his heart. From pages 5 to 7 it appears that the various gods of the *maṇḍala* are nothing else but different manifestations of himself: *sa eva bhagavān*, who emanates out of himself this or that form by the mystic force of a *mantra*.

The sixfold series is also manifest in the 9 th. *paṭala* where at the head of the list we again find Vajradhara (p. 35).

But how is this emanation represented in the *maṇḍala*?

The importance of the *maṇḍalas* consists in the fact that their diagram contains the very core of a tantric system.

Each Tantra viz. each system of mystic realization has its own *maṇḍala*, that is the graphic expression of its secret lore: a mistake in a *maṇḍala* makes it useless, in so far as it would not represent any more the truth which it is supposed to express in its symbols. For this reason it is not without importance to correct the *maṇḍala* of the *Guhyasamāja* as it has been reproduced by the editor in fig. 1 of the printed text, since it does not correspond to the system of mystic emanations as described by the *Guhya*.

1) Akṣobhya must be in the center of the *maṇḍala*, since the *maṇḍala* itself is the body of Sarvatathāgatakāyavākcittavajra (p. 5, l. 9) and Akṣobhya—the *vajra*—is the first emanation of Vajradhara and his direct *sambhogakāya*, as expressly stated, in many a place, by Candrakīrti and Tsoṅ k'a pa.

2) Vairocana must sit to the east, *purato*; but in the language of the Tantras *purato* or *pūrvam* means always: in front of the image or of the worshipper.

3-5) Then, according to the usual rule of the *pradakṣiṇā*, the other Buddhas follow: Ratnaketu to the right (south), Lokeśvara (Amitābha) in the back (to the north), Amoghavajra to the left (to the west).

Then the emanation of the *yum* (paredra), viz. of the female counterpart of the Buddhas, takes place. According to the printed text of the *Guhya* these *yum* appear to be five, viz. *dveṣarati*, *moharati*, *īrṣyārati*, *rāgarati*, *vajrarati*, but, as we are told by the editor himself, this fivefold arrangement is not to be found in the manuscripts; it is due to emendations incorporated by the editor in the text. Can we accept these emendations? In no tantric text known to me there is mention of *īrṣyārati*; on the other hand it is evident that these goddesses are nothing else but different aspects of those paredras usually known in the tantric literature as Locanā (earth, Vairocana) Māmakī (water, Ratnasambhava) Pāṇḍarā (fire, Amitābha) Tārā (wind, Amoghasiddhi).

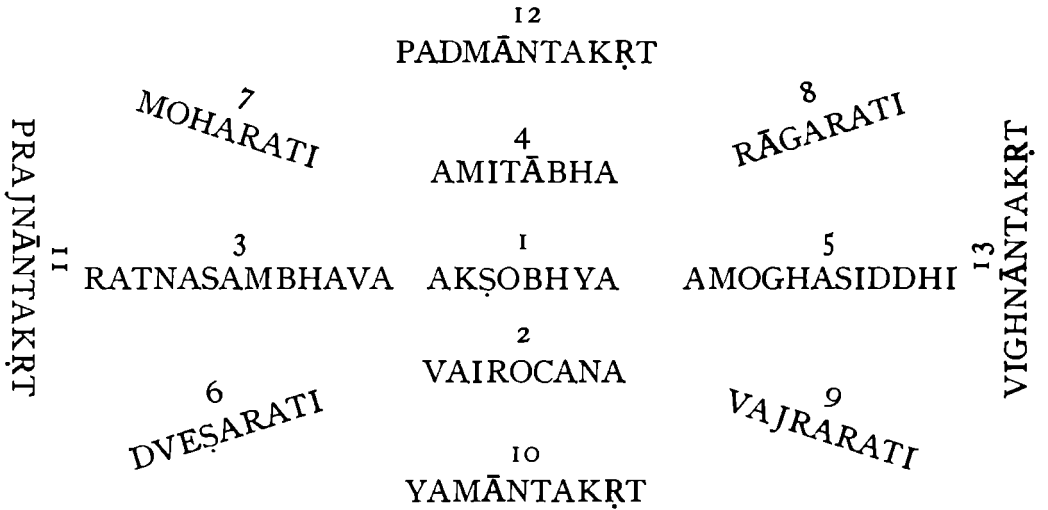
A fifth paredra viz. Dharmadhātveśvarī, as the paredra of the central god and as the last of the series: *rūpavajrī*, *gandhavajrī*, *rasavajrī*, *sparsavajrī*, is very rarely represented in the maṇḍalas except when they reproduce the gods in *yab-yum* attitude; such is for instance the case with the *maṇḍala* of Samantabhadra¹.

Moreover all the sentence concerned with Irṣyārati, which has been restored by the editor with the help of the parallel passages, is not to be found either in the Chinese or in the Tibetan translations.

On account of all these reasons, the paredras must be reduced to four only and their place in the *maṇḍala* is as follows: Dveṣarati in front of Akṣobhya (*pūrvakone* as in the ms.), Moharati to the right (*dakṣiṇa* as in the mss.), Rāgarati in the back, Vajrarati to the north.

The four Mahākrodhas preside over the four gates of the maṇḍala as in fig. 1.

The diagramm of the maṇḍala of the Guhyasamāja must, therefore, be corrected as follows.



Each of these deities is evoked, as I said, by a corresponding mantra, the *bīja* (Tib. *sa bon*) or seed, which is also used in meditation in order to visualize the god supposed to spring forth out of it. These *mantras*, which are called *hr̥daya*, *vidyā*, or *mudrā*, consist of a name with a suffix viz.: 1. *vajradhṛk*, 2. *jinajik*, 3. *ratnadhṛk*, 4. *ārolik*, 5. *prajñādhṛk*, 6. *yamāntakṛt*, 7. *prajñānakṛt*, 8. *padmāntakṛt*, 9. *vighnāntakṛt*, 10. *dveṣarati*, 11. *moharati*, 12. *rāgarati*, 13. *vajrarati*.

¹ Even in the maṇḍala referred to at page 70 the paredras are four.

III

It is clear that all these mantras can convey a meaning except *ārolik*, the *bīja* of Amitābha. I do not in fact know any Sanskrit root to which we may have recourse in order to explain this strange word; nor did Candrakīrti who commenting upon this chapter gives the following interpretation of the *mantra*: *ā* means complete, *ro* means life, *samsāra*; *lik* means going beyond (*ā ni ma lus pa' o, ro ni 'k'or ba, lik ni las 'das pas na ārolik ste-* fol. 72 a).

I am therefore inclined to see in *ārolik* a Sanskrit transcription of some foreign word connected with the cult of the deity which became in India associated with Amitābha or Amītāyus or, if it is true—as I believe—that his prototype came from outside, which gave origin to the type of the Indian Amitābha Amītāyus.

The very beginning of this *mantra*: *ār-o* reminds us of another name viz. Arapacana whose non-Indian origin has been shown by Sylvain Lévi¹; that name is connected with an alphabet or a mystic arrangement of letters which is not the usual one in India.

This series is characterized not only by its peculiar arrangement, but also by the presence of some letters which are meant to express sounds not to be found in any Indian language; such is a letter which has been transcribed by Sylvain Lévi¹ as *ysa*. It is regularly included not only in the Arapacana series, which according to S. Lévi seems to be proper of some Prajñāpāramitā-texts or of the Avantamsaka, but also in the alphabet used by the Kālacakra system of thought, which contains many allusions to foreign ideas and admits, as the Guhya, the existence of an Ādibuddha. Though the alphabet there given follows, as a rule, the order of the Indian grammarians, the series of the sibilants always includes five letters viz.: *sa, ysa, ṣa, śa, ska*².

Let us see if there are other facts which may lead us to consider with a closer examination the question of the analogies of some of the doctrines expounded in the Guhyasamāja with other religious systems which developed outside India. I say: analogies, on purpose. The question of influence must—according to me—be left to a second time, when the literature concerned has been sufficiently explored and the religious experiences which the Tantras describe will be better known with their allegories and their symbols. For the present, we must be

¹ "Ysa", in *Mémorial Sylvain Lévi*, Paris 1937, pp. 355-363.

² Cf. VIMALA PRABHĀ, *paṭala*, 5 th., 6 th., 7 th.

satisfied with tracing these points of similarity from which further conclusions may later on be drawn.

The number of the 13 deities out of which the *maṇḍala* of the Guhya results could remind us of the 13 members of the first creation according to the Manichæan cosmology. But in fact our system presupposes a series of 14 elements since, besides the five Tathāgatas, which are effectively represented in the *maṇḍala*, their primeval source viz. the Vajradhara or Ādibuddha, though identified with the *maṇḍala*, is an entity by himself.

Moreover while the Manichæan series is composed of 1 (light-father) + 5 (light elements) + 5 (gifts) + 2 (Chroschtag and Padvachtag), our *maṇḍala* results of 5 + 4 + 4.

So there is no reason for pressing any further the analogies of number, since the realities which they are supposed to express do not correspond.

We have seen that according to the Guhya we must distinguish a supreme Tathāgata from his five emanations. This fact implies that the five-Tathāgatas system—which plays such an important part in Mahāyāna and in the mystic liturgy of many Tantras—has given the place, in the school of our text, as well as in that of the Kālacakra, to a monotheistic and emanationist view. Of course, in Buddhism itself we can trace the doctrinal elements which may have given origin or contributed to such a theory.

Not to speak of the notion of Śiva, who is fivefold but one, the Buddha-kāyas doctrine could have provided such a monistic view with its metaphysical background in so far as, besides the *nirmāṇa*-, the *sambhoga*- and the *dharmā-kāya*, another body was postulated viz. the *svābhāvika-kāya* (*no bo ñid*, in Tib.) which represents the very pit of every existence and whose formulation can be traced back to the times of Maitreya (*Abhisamayālaṅkāra*); while, on the other hand, there can be little doubt that this *svābhāvika-kāya* inherited the metaphysical legacy of the Tathāgatagarbha of the *Laṅkāvatāra* and the *Samādhirājasūtra*¹. But the peculiarity of our system consists in the fact that this unique reality, which is ontologically the source of everything, is spoken of as a supreme God; all universes are his emanations

¹ *À propos* of the sixfold series (5 Tathāgatas + Ādibuddha) of our text and of the Kālacakra we must remember that there is, beside a five-*skandha*-series, a list of six *skandhas* which admits of a *jñānaskandha* above the six traditional ones: «*evam pañca dhātukulāni jñānadhātunā saha ṣaḍ kulāni bhavanti; tathā poñcaskandhakulāni jñānaskandhena sārddham ṣaḍ kulāni bhavanti.* Vimalaprabhā, 6th. *paṭala*.

and his glories. In the first stage of his evolution he projects out of himself the five Tathāgatas by whose activity he operates in the world and by whose means he can again be realized by the creatures. Moreover the five Tathāgatas presuppose a complete assimilation of the macrocosmos with the microcosmos—*dehe viśvasya mānanam*¹: the emanation of the Universe from the primeval God and the creation of the body is the same; in the higher stage of meditation the *mandala* is this very body of ours which contains in itself the universe in its entirety. So the five Tathāgatas are said to be the five *skandhas* of the Vajradhara and, on the other hand, in the human beings, these five *skandhas* are said to be the five Tathāgatas themselves.

Pañcaskandhāḥ samāseṇa pañca buddhāḥ prakīrtitāḥ (Guhya, p. 137).

Pañcabuddhasvabhāvatvāt pañcaskandhā jīnāḥ smrtāḥ (Jñānasiddhi, p. 41).

But from many a passage of our text it appears that the *skandhas* with which the Tathāgatas have been assimilated are not the *skandhas* of the old Abhidharma, but are rather considered as luminous elements. The *mandala* described in the III^d *paṭala* is *pañcaraśmisamākīrṇa*; the *Mahāratna* viz. the *bodhicitta* which must be meditated upon (p. 15) is *pañcavarṇa*; Akṣobhya-vajra, about whom we are told at p. 35, is *pañcaraśmiprapūrita* because he contains the other Buddhas, being assimilated in this case with Vajradhara. The commentary of Candrakīrti with the glosses of Tsoñ k'a pa which represent the traditional views of the schools is particularly interesting. From it appears that those essences called either Tathāgatas or *skandhas* were considered to be mere luminous elements; their being is represented by an inherent light assuming a particular colour (fl. 97 a) *de bžin gšegs t'ams cad ni 'od zer lña pa'o*, "all Tathāgatas are five lights". A gloss of Tsoñ k'a pa explains: 'byuñ ba bži'i rluñ la 'od zer bžir rgyu ba ste... lña pa ni k'ab byed nam mk'a' rluñ ste, "In the wind of the four elements there is the motion of four lights; the fifth is the wind of ether which is all-pervading". On the other hand, the *dharmadhātu* viz. the transcendent form of Vajradhara is light itself (p. 99 b) *c'os keyi dbyiñs ni 'od gsal ba ste tiñ ñe 'dsin ni de la dmigs pa'o*, "The *dharmadhātu* is shining light and the concentration is its perception". A little above, while commenting upon the verse: "he must meditate upon the *mandala* of the Buddhas as being in the middle of Ākāśa", after having stated that Ākāśa is Vajradhara himself, Candrakīrti remarks: *de lta bu'i rnam*

¹ *Vimalaprabhā*, 5 th. *paṭala*.

pa'i saṅs rgyas kyī dkyil 'k'or 'od gsal bar 'jug par sgom par bya, "Then he must meditate upon such a *maṇḍala* of the Buddhas as being placed upon the shining light".

According to Tsoñ k'a pa the absolute truth, viz. the immediate intuition (*nirvikalpa*^o) is the mystic knowledge of this light ('od gsal) and by it one purifies the infections of *samsāra* (p. 99). In another place (fol. 159 a) the following equivalence is established: *prajñāpāramitā*, *paramārtha*, 'od gsal gyi ye šes, sublime knowledge. The same theory is to be found in the commentary upon the *Paramāditantra* by Ānandagarbha (Bstan 'gyur, yi, 232) where the essence of all things is said to be luminous *prakṛtiprabhāsvara*, c'os t'ams cad ni rañ bžin gyis 'od gsal ba'o (as in the Guhya p. 13 *prakṛtiprabhāsvarā dharmāh suviśuddhā nabhaḥsamāh*) and it is stated that as soon as this has been realized one obtains: "the sublime knowledge of the essential light" *rañ bžin gyis 'od gsal ba'i ye šes*.

So we have the following correspondence: *Dharmadhātu* = *vajradhara* = 'od gsal. — 5 emanations = 5 Tathāgatas = 5 *skandhas* = 5 shining lights corresponding to the 5 elements.

The Guhya belongs to that class of Tantras which admit of a girl called *mudrā* as an essential element of the rites of mystic initiation. The *sādhaka* must imagine himself to be the deity of his own esoteric "family" and, by the union with the girl supposed to symbolize the corresponding *śakti*, he is bound to experience the *paramānanda*, viz. the supreme bliss, through stages of meditation and self-control which are described in the exegetical literature specially preserved in Tibetan.

So commenting upon the mystic union of the Buddhas with the corresponding *paredra*, alluded to at p. 29, l. 2, Candrakīrti and Tsoñ k'a pa state that the *bodhicitta* is the drop, *bindu*, which on account of the *samāpatti* of the two organs flows from the top of the head (*byaṅ c'ub kyī sems* [*kyī t'ig le spyi bo nas*]¹ *dbab par bya'o*, fol. 162 a) and it fills the same two organs with a flash of fivefold light (*sñoms par 'jug pa'i dus su dkar po la sogs pa'i 'od zer lña rñams rdo rje* (masculine organ) *dañ pad ma'i* (feminine organ) *nañ du yoṅs su gañ bar bsgom par bya'o*. "During the time of the union [with the *paredra*] one must meditate upon the *vajra* and the *padma* as being filled in the interior with the fivefold light, white etc."

All these points which have shortly been dealt with, lead to the conclusion that the Mahāyāna dogmatics as expounded in the *Guhyasamāja* had a marked tendency to emphasize the importance of the

¹ The passage in square brackets is by Tsoñ k'a pa.

luminous elements in the process of cosmic emanations as well as in that of mystic salvation. It can hardly be denied that this doctrine has strange analogies with the Manichæan system in which the five luminous elements play a prominent part in cosmology as well as in soteriology, though, of course, the analogy is limited to this particular point and does not involve, at least in this Tantra, other essential characteristics of Manichæism such as the dualism between light and darkness, the three days and the two nights, the triple creation, the envoys etc.¹. But as to the five light-elements, they appear there in the very first creation and represent the divine in the world, all the drama of salvation being in them. In the Chinese treatise they are called the "five lights", the "five light-bodies" or "the five Gods of great light": this expression corresponds to the *ṣoṣṭān rōšnōn* of the Iranian documents and is used by the translator of the Guhya to render the *pañca-raśmi* of the Sanskrit text. Even the identification of light with the mystic knowledge reminds us of the luminous *γῶσις* of the Manichæans²; Tsoñ k'a pa usually calls it: 'od gsal kyī ye šes, viz. light-wisdom.

The fact itself that the divine in us is the *bodhicitta* and that this has been identified as we saw with the semen, points to strange analogies with similar beliefs of the Manichæans: "*divinas enim virtutes, quantum possunt, imitari se putant, ut purgent Dei sui partem: quam profecto sicut in omnibus corporibus coelestibus et terrestribus, atque in omnium rerum seminibus, ita et in hominis semine teneri existimant inquinatam*"³. Even the other practice referred to by Augustine is not without parallel, because eating of *śukra* is often alluded to in the text of the Guhya and *śukra* is regularly included even now in the so called *nañ mc'od* of the esoteric Tibetan rituals⁴.

The question of Manichæan influences upon Mahāyāna and Lamaism has, no doubt, already been dealt with in some quarters⁵ though, I think, rather unsuccessfully. But I am convinced that some light

¹ Moreover, as known, the Manichæan series of the elements contains light instead of earth; but in the Guhya earth is = Vairocana.

² E. WALDSCHMIDT and W. LENTZ, *Manichäische Dogmatik aus chinesischen und iranischen Texten*, Berlin 1933, pp. 40 and 89.

³ *De haeres.* c. 46.

⁴ Upon the preparation of the *nañ mc'od* for the *sādhana* of Cakrasaṃvara *Rnal 'byor gyi dbaṅ p'yug Lūi pa'i lugs kyī bcom ldan 'das 'k'or lo sdom pa'i sgrub pa'i t'abs bde c'en gsal ba* by Tsoñ k'a pa, fol. 32, where the semen is also called: *byañ sems*.

⁵ By GRÜNWEDEL in his *Die Legende des Nāropā*, upon which see my review in *JRAS* 1935, pp. 677-688.

upon this very interesting problem can only be derived from the investigation of the theories and liturgies expounded by the *Guhyasamāja*, the Śaṃvara and the Kālacakra-Tantras, viz. by systems of mystic realizations which were elaborated upon or developed with special preference in North-West India or Uḍḍiyāna, that is in those countries that on account of their geographical position entertained regular exchanges with foreign cultures. Nor can we ignore the Tibetan sources which, as I hope to show shortly, point out to Iranian influences since the Bonpo times.

Moreover, even supposing that no certain influence of one system upon another can be demonstrated, and that the analogies which are likely to be discovered are purely accidental—which, I think, is not very often the case—the results of this investigation will prove useful to our knowledge of the Tantras; it will in fact be realized that the Tantras and their experiences cannot be dissociated from the mystery religions. Even if there is no connection between the Tantras and foreign systems of thought, it can hardly be denied that they are the outcome of a religious psychology and of a mystic urge which in Western or Central Asia and then in the Mediterranean, inspired analogous expressions.

IV

The *Guhyasamāja* is not a philosophical text, being chiefly concerned with mystic realizations and the description of the esoteric liturgies which were supposed to lead to the supreme bliss of *samādhi*. Only one of its chapters deals with metaphysical questions, in so far as it tries to determine the character and the essence of the Bodhi. It contains some *gāthās* in which the Ādibuddha (called Sarvathāgata-kāyavākcittavajra) first, and the five Tathāgatas after, are supposed to expound the tenets representing the dogmatical and metaphysical background of the mystic *sādhana* of the Guhya. The teaching is based upon the Mādhyamika standpoint in so far as all *dharmas* are said to be beyond perception and devoid of any essence. The importance of these *kārikās* has been recognized by the editor who in the introduction to the text has published an English translation of them all. I shall therefore reconsider the *gāthā* uttered by the Ādibuddha, since I think its reading, as printed at p. 11, is defective. Mr. Bhattacharyya reads:

*abhāve bhāvanābhāvo bhāvanā naiva bhāvanā
iti bhāvo na bhāvaḥ syād bhāvanā nopalabhyate,*

and understands: "Neither the perception nor the absence of existence in non-existence can be called perception, nor the perception of non-existence in existence can be discovered".

The verse is very important since it is meditated upon in the process of the mystic experiences connected with the *maṇḍala* of the Guhya and the complex and long rituals which it requires. The Tibetan translation of the Guhya is accessible to me in two manuscripts, fairly old, which I found in some monasteries of Western Tibet. Both of them read the verse as follows:

*dños po med pas sgom pa med | sgom par bya ba sgom pa min |
de ltar dños po dños med pas | sgom pa dmigs su med pa'o |*

This is also the reading quoted in the *dPal gsañ ba 'dus pa'i mñon rtogs nag 'don gyi c'o ga* and that which can be reconstructed from the commentary of Candrakīrti. The Sanscrit text must therefore be corrected as follows:

*abhāvena bhāvanābhāvo bhāvanā naiva bhāvanā |
iti bhāvo na bhāvaḥ syād bhāvanā nopalabhyate ||*

where the first *pāda* is hypermeter, like the preceding *gāthā* or the first one at pag. 13 etc.: "Since everything (viz. matter *bhājana-loka* and beings *sattvaloka: snod bcud*) has no proper essence, there can be no contemplation (because there would be no object of contemplation). Contemplation itself cannot be contemplated upon (as being existent). In this way, since nothing is possessed of an essence, it is impossible to conceive any contemplation (in its three moments, viz. object to be contemplated upon, subject contemplating and act of contemplation).

As to the Chinese translation it hardly conveys any satisfactory meaning.

ON SOME BRONZE OBJECTS DISCOVERED IN WESTERN TIBET

During my journey of 1933 to Western Tibet¹, viz. to a country which roughly corresponds to the ancient kingdom of Guge, I searched for remains of the oldest civilizations of the place. The task was very difficult because no excavation is likely to be undertaken in Tibet without arousing the suspicion of the people: ruins cannot be touched, in so far as they are protected by *sa bdag* who, when disturbed, can be very dangerous and hostile to living beings. People therefore would eagerly object to the exploration of any place which might appear to the traveller to be of some archaeological interest.

But fortunately superstition comes also to the help of the scientist; old objects occasionally found in the fields and which, being of unknown form or use, appear as quite strange things to modern Tibetans are piously collected and worn as amulets. There is hardly any doubt that many of these objects go back to very old times and clearly point out to a civilization quite different from that of today. So archaeologists in Tibet, being prevented from doing excavations, can at least search for these things which often have a great historical significance. Any old thing found underneath the ground is called in Western Tibet *ton-ti*.

I asked my Lama, who is the chaplain of the Nono of Spiti, and Devichand the Lamberdar of Poo, who were my companions in the journey, to write down this name in its proper Tibetan spelling. Both wrote *t'og ldi*, and explained this form as meaning "fallen from the the top (of the sky)". This form is not clear to me: perhaps *ldi* is for *ldin* "to soar, to float". Anyhow people think that these objects are not the work of men but of gods, and that they fall down to the earth from their heavenly abode.

I hardly need to remember that the same belief as to the flints is spread all over the world and still survives even among the peasants of our countries. This divine origin attached to them imparts to these

¹ TUCCI-GHERSI: *Gronaca della spedizione scientifica Tucci nel Tibet occidentale*, Reale Accademia d'Italia, Roma 1934.

objects a sacred character and therefore, as I said, whenever they are found, the Tibetans use to wear them as amulets. They are, according to the belief of Western Tibetans, of nine principal kinds: those men who are lucky enough to possess these nine kinds are considered to be specially fortunate since no harm will happen to them, nor even to the village where they live.

The administrator of the Garpons of Gartok insisted upon my buying from him a complete set of nine *ton ti* which he had collected, and was rather surprised when I told him that I was interested in only two or three out of them—the others, in fact, though they looked old, were certainly Buddhist. Anyhow I think that he had reason to be confirmed in his faith on these amulets, because the price, which he succeeded in extorting from me for the three specimens I bought, was fairly good.

I asked both the Lama and Devichand to write down for me whatever they could collect upon these *ton ti*, and their investigations were expounded in a few lines which I publish here in Tibetan with their translation.

Devichand:

t'og ldi yañ na gnam lcags zer ba de gnam nas bab pa¹ yin ces zer 'dug pa. Nam mk'a'i t'og yañ nas glog bab nas, p'al c'er Byañ t'añ p'yogs la mi p'yugs la gnod pa c'en po yoñ no; t'og ldi de la sruñ ces zer ro. T'og ldi lde'u² dan dril bu 'dra ba dan rdo rje 'dra ba dan gri dan a loñ kyir kyir la sogs pa sna ts'ogs yod.

“*t'og ldi* are also called *gnam lcags* (viz. iron fallen from the sky); they are said to fall down from heaven. From the top of sky thunderbolts fall down and specially in Chang t'ang (the Northern plains) they cause great danger to men and flocks; these *t'og ldi* are said to be a protection against them. They are in the shape of little stones or of bells or like a *vajra* or circular rings etc.”

Lama:

t'og ldi lde'u sku dan gcig gsuñ dan gñis t'ugs dan gsum p'ur pa dan bži rdo rje dan lña gri k'ug³ dan drug sdi'u⁴ dan bdun a loñ dan brgyad k'yuñ dan dgu yod.

¹ For: 'bab pa.

² For: rde'u.

³ For: gri gug.

⁴ For: rde'u.

“The stones (called) *t'og ldi* can be of three kinds viz. referring to body or to words or to the spirit (of gods)¹; or they are in the shape of nails, of *vajra*, of knife, of small stones, of rings, of *k'yun*”.

Of course, being unaware of the conditions under which these objects were found, it is impossible to state if we are really confronted with prehistorical objects or not. It cannot anyhow be denied that many of these objects bear the sign of great antiquity and point to an art and to beliefs which have disappeared long since; on the other hand they show points of contact with wellknown objects from other parts of Asia. Of course their designation as prehistoric or even as proto-historic objects is to be taken in a relative sense: prehistory, as regard Tibet and specially Western Tibet, cannot but mean any period before the foundation of the Guge dynasty; but even the few facts which I have collected in *Indo-Tibetica* II upon the events concerning the country during that dynasty, are so scanty and concise that they cannot claim to throw a great light upon the history of this place and specially upon the conflict between the original religion, viz. Bon po and Lamaism.

The principal places where these objects have been collected are Miang, Shangtze, Gartok, Toshang, Ri².

The most important thing to be said as regards some of these objects is that they show a certain analogy with some products of early Chinese or of the so called “migration” art. I refer to a group of *a lon* or rings as they are called by people and believed to be specially sacred; I found specimens of them in Miang (Nr. 1), Shangtze (Nrs. 2/3), and Ri. They are strictly connected, though Nr. 1 seems to be the oldest. I cannot understand what was the use of these things.

The Tibetans as a rule say that the coiled figure in the center is a *ña*, viz. a fish: the man who in Shangtze sold Nr. 2 to me said it to be a *ña*. But perhaps it is rather a snake *klu*³, which, as we know, enjoyed a great part in the cults of the Bon pos and still survives along with the *sa bdag* in the popular beliefs of Lamaism. Anyhow the sacred character of the objects seems to me almost beyond contention; and it is proved by the special veneration in which they, when found, are still held by the Tibetans. One might compare with the above objects

¹ This refers to the mystic classification of sacred objects adopted by the *Tantras* into *sku*, *gsuñ*, *t'ugs*. Cf. *Indo-Tibetica* I, p. 25.

² Cf. *Cronaca*... under the mentioned places.

³ But between *ña* and *klu* there is in Tibet a strict relation. Cf. Laufer, *Klu 'bum bsdus pai sñin po*, p. 78.

the brass buckle published by Roerich (*Skythika* 2, Pl. II, 2) and specially the brass disk found at Jutas in Hungary (*Skythika* 4, Pl. XI, 6), which is almost identical to ours.

The snake has inspired the decoration of other objects which seems to have no sacred character at all, but perhaps belonged to some horse harness; Nr. 4 represents a snake from whose mouth a hook is protruding; the body is split in its length by two spines in both sides in the shape of strings of pearls. The same animal is represented in another object found at Ri though the stylization is, in this case, still stronger. It might be compared with similar ornaments found in the „Barbarian” tombs. See Takács, From Northern China to Danube, in *Ostas. Zeitschr.* 1930, Taf. 38, 2—from Hungary—.

Nrs. 5 and 6 represent two *k'yuñ*. Nr. 5 has already been published by me in *IndoTibetica* III, p. 164, fig. 4, where I discussed the relation of the *garuḍa* with the *k'yuñ* and shown that Buddhist art grafted the type of the *garuḍa* upon that of the *k'yuñ* which had a large part in Bon po mythology.

A peculiarity of the *k'yuñ* which distinguishes it from the traditional type of the Indian *garuḍa* consists in its being possessed of horns.

On the head of the *k'yuñ* Nr. 5 one can see three jewels; they may well represent his diadem, but are also perhaps meant to show the character of protector or bestower of riches attributed to this bird; so *ñi k'yuñ ruñ* of the Ladakh version of the Kesar Legend is said to have on his mouth all sorts of gems: *ñi k'yuñ ruñ gi gzugs po'i k'a nor bu sna dgu yod do*¹.

Both Nr. 5 and 6 are provided on the back with a ring which shows that they were suspended by a chain or a string: there is no doubt that they were invested of some sacred character and used as amulets.

Numbers 4—6 are therefore inspired by the two classes of beings which seem to have represented the background of Bon po doctrines: the *klu* as deities of the waters and of the underground and *garuḍas* as deities of the sky, always fighting one against the other; this dualism, as pointed out by Przyluski², also inspired the religion of the aboriginal population of India of Austronesian origin and is preserved in Indian tradition and mythology.

More difficult is to determine the character of Nr. 7, which was also found in Miang and is called by people a *dril bu*, viz. a bell. Objects like this were also found in Ladakh in the tombs which Francke sup-

¹ Francke, *The history of the eighteen heroes*, p. 15.

² The three factors of Vedic culture, in *Indian Culture* I, p. 376.

posed to belong to Dards; they are described by him in the following way: "little pendants of bronze of bell-like form, with triangular holes and a ring at the top. They were probably inserted between the bronze beads of the necklace"¹. As a matter of fact, as to the last suggestion, one is tempted to compare them with the bell-like ornaments used as pendants in some necklaces found in Jutas (see *Skythika* 4, Pl. XI), Azerbeidžan (*Eurasia Septentr. Ant.* VIII, 213, 5), and elsewhere, along the route of the great migrations.

Nrs. 8—9 were found respectively in Shangtze and in Sarang; their use cannot be determined. Very interesting is number 10, found in Gartok, which is a representative of the so called "animal style". It shows four tigers or lions with heads turned to the left towards the onlooker. There are a few traces of gold-gilt. For comparison one may refer to O. Siren, *Histoire des arts anciens de la Chine*, II, pl. 32 and 117—*Skythika* 3, Pl. IV, etc.

The plaque Nr. 11 was also found at Shangtze: the decoration reminds us of the *t'ao t'ie* or of the stylized animals peculiar of the Chinese bronzes.

Nr. 12 has been discovered in Gartok. I cannot guess what it was meant for. In spite of its stylization it seems nevertheless to represent a face of some horned animal: we may compare with it the brass ornament published by Sirén, *Histoire* I, pl. 61, which though deriving from a same archetype shows even a higher degree of stylization, Cfr. also Takács, in *Ostasiat. Zeitschr.* 1930, Taf. 38, 1.

Nr. 13 belonged, I suppose, to horse harness; it shows the type of the lion according to the Chinese traditional style (Sirén, *Op. cit.* I, Pl. 59, II, Pl. 6). On the other hand Nr. 14 belonging to the same class of objects and found in Shangtze seems to indicate rather an Indian inspiration. We can easily recognize in the two faces two *makaras* which, as known, have become quite familiar in Lamaistic decorative art.

Nr. 15 has been found in Luk, which once upon a time seems to have been a very big center: as tradition goes it was the place where artisans moulded the big copper and brass images to be still admired in the half ruined temples of Tsaparang. Is the deity represented Buddhist or not? The man who found it in the fields insisted upon stating that it represents *Sa'i lha mo*, viz. the Earth goddess: but this is impossible not only because the description of this goddess, as known

¹ Francke: *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, I, p. 73.

to us from many *sādhana*, does not correspond to this type, but also because the statue seems to represent a god and not a goddess; for this reason it is impossible to see in it one of the eight *mc'od pa'i lha mo* "adoring goddesses" often considered as the retinue of the greater deities.

Very interesting is Nr. 16; it represents a pair of strange birds, with two heads in opposite direction. In the middle there is a ring for suspending the object to a necklace: there is no doubt that it represented some mythological bird of pre-buddhistic times. It was found in Shipki, viz. on the very boundary between Western Tibet and Kuna-var. This country was specially considered as the center of Bon; and even now, as I have shown elsewhere, many old traditions and deities neither Buddhist nor Hindu still survive in Upper Bashahr. This fact is also pointed out by the inscription of Poo referred to by Francke in which mention is made of the *lha c'os*, the religion of the goods as opposed to Buddhism¹. Double headed birds are not unknown in other part of Tibet or Asia. I refer for instance to the brass buckle published by Roerich, *Skythika* 3, (Pl. II, Nr. 2). I am not in a condition to identify this mythological being; many birds are of course connected with the story of Kesar².

As to Nr. 17 which represents a cross shaped ornament, I suppose that it is the central portion—with ends of arms missing—of a *svastika g'yuñ druñ*, which, as known, plays a great role in Bon po religion. It was discovered in Toshang.

In the horse harness Nr. 18 we see a decoration consisting of two concentric circles not uncommon in the so called migration art (*Skythika*, 4, Pl. VIII etc.).

I cannot guess the use of the object represented in Nr. 19. Some elements of its decoration seem to be Buddhist: such are the two *mc'od rten* one above the other with the flying flags on the top. To the left in spite of the stilization is not difficult to see the mystic vase *bum pa* or *kalaśa*, out of which plants and flowers spring forth with their volutes.

To the right side there is a standing figure of a man with joined hands as in worship (*añjali*): either it wears a two-horned cap or is possessed of two horns.

Did these objects belong to the forefathers of Western Tibetans or were they imported by commerce or by some foreign invasion?

¹ *Indo-Tibetica* II.

² Francke, *The story of the eighteen heroes*, p. 15. David-Neel, *La vie surhumaine de Guésar de Ling*, p. II ff.

Until methodical excavations are undertaken it is, of course, impossible to reply. Anhow it seems to me that they, as few as they are, point to various cultures; while some of them are unmistakably Tibetan, such as Nrs. 5, 6, 15, 16, 17, others bear undoubtedly analogies either with Chinese motives (Nrs. 10, 11, 12, 13) or with that art which was formerly called Scythian (Nrs. 1, 18).

These last objects can perhaps be explained as traces of some incursions of Central Asian tribes to Guge: invasions or raids to Western Tibet are recorded up to quite recent times and mention of them is to be found even in Desideri's Travels (ed. De Filippi, p. 82). We must not forget that Western Tibet was not formerly so poor as it appears now to be; it maintained prosperous commercial relations with Ladakh, China, India, which are mentioned by D'Andrade and are the subject of some historical paintings in Tsaparang where the foundation of the temples is recorded. Guge possessed the gold mines of Thok Jalung; ransom in gold was requested by the tribes of Gartok for the release of Ye *śes 'od* when he was taken prisoner by their king. Another great resource was the wool trade which was so prosperous as to give the name to the country, known among Indian as Hundesh, viz. the country of wool.

So it is quite possible that raiders from Central Asia came down as far as Guge to sack the country.

As to prehistoric antiquities no settlement has so far been located in the country, but I cannot pass under silence the stone memorials on the Kanzam La, viz. on the high pass which leads from the Chandra valley to Northern Spiti (fig. 20). This large field of small menhirs just on the top of the pass is absolutely similar to those referred to by G. Roerich (*Skythika* 3, fig. 6), or to those studied by Tallgren (*Eurasia Septentr. Ant.* VIII, 190). The presence of these menhirs in this place is worth of notice since it shows that the area of diffusion of these lithic monuments, as shown in the map published by Roerich, must be extended up to the boundaries of India.

The presence of so many menhirs on the top of a pass which is for many months covered by snow seems to point out that the funeral character of these stone monuments cannot be generalised: we must remember that the summit of a pass is still considered by the Tibetans as the abode of *sa bdag* and spirits; it is this belief which has inspired the construction of the *lhato* regularly found upon every pass.

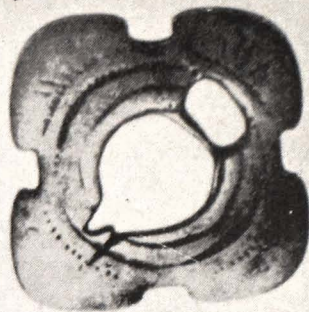
Even if burials took place there, they must have had some ritual significance. Their counterpart seems to me that must be found in other monuments of the country; for instance in the huge stone pillar in the Dra-lang dancing place in Poo, where the Shar-ragan festival takes

place¹. It is still the center of worship. The rituals and the song of these festivals have been copied by me and will shortly be published. I must add that on the South slope of the pass leading to the Spiti valley can still be seen some rock pictures made by pocking (fig. 21); they represent the wild goat, men in act of worshipping(?) with uplifted hands, a tree, a horseman(?): therefore they have no particularly Buddhist character. In this respect they seem even older than those found in Indian Tibet (Ladakh) where I saw them near Kargil, at Dras, Leh and near the small bridge on the Indus in proximity of the monastery of Hemish. Their Buddhist character is in this case clearly shown by the figure of *mc'od rten* or of known symbols of Lamaism and even by some inscriptions which were partly studied by Francke. Pictures similar to these of the Kanzam La are found as far as Western Pamir (North Badakshan). (For references see Tallgren, *Inner Asiatic and Siberian rock pictures. Eurasia Septentr. Ant.* VIII, p. 187, fig. 17-22).

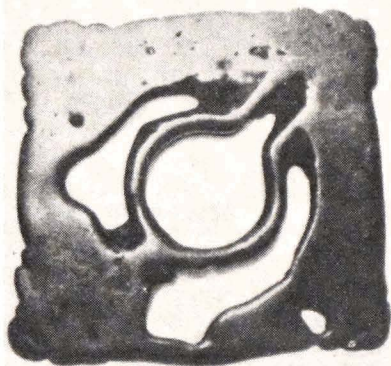
¹ Francke, *Antiquities of Indian Tibet* I, p. 21.



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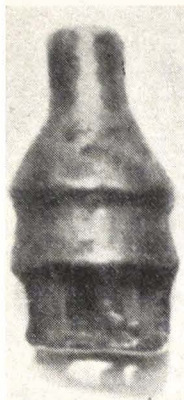
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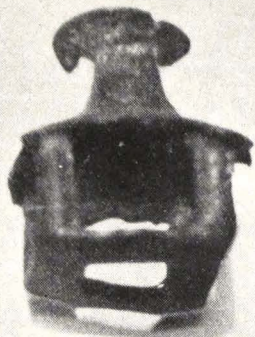
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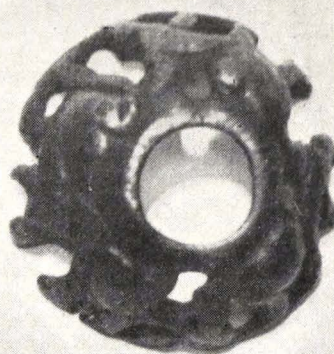
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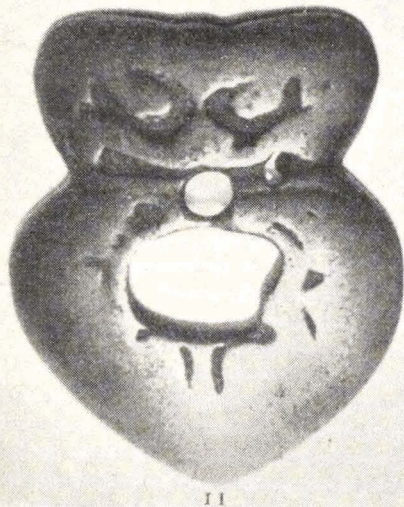
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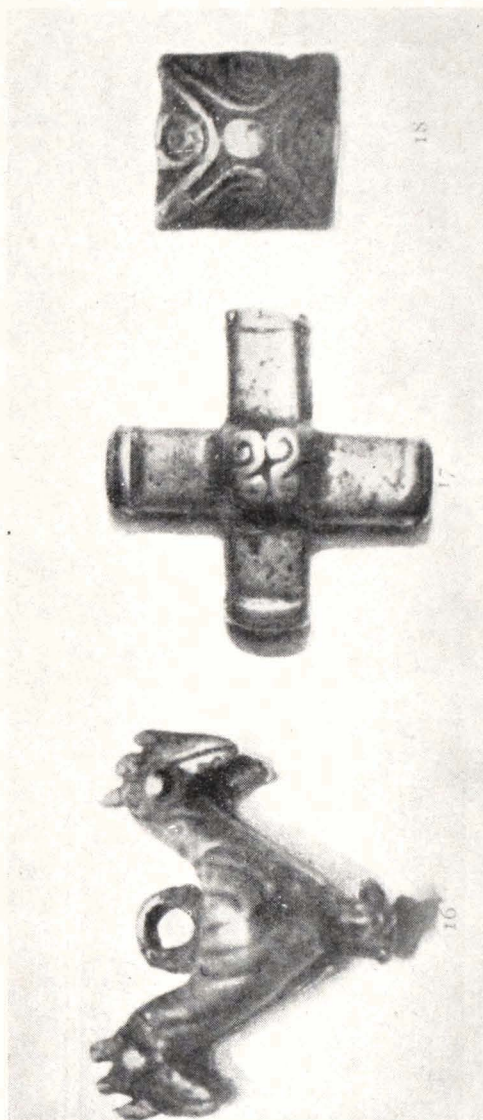
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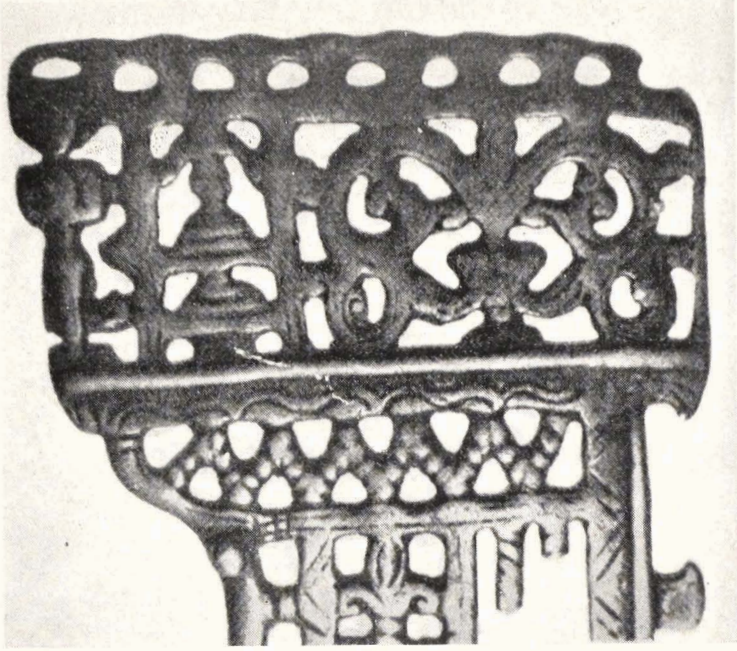


Fig. 19



Fig. 20



Fig. 21

INDIAN PAINTINGS IN WESTERN TIBETAN TEMPLES

In my book *Santi e briganti*¹ which is the diary of my Western Tibetan Expedition of 1935, I have given a description of Mañ nañ and its antiquities. Without going into further detail I may refer to that description from which it appears that we must distinguish in Mañ nañ two groups of monuments. One on the top of the hill on the right bank of the Mañ nañ river and the other on the plains along its left bank. The ruins on the hill have no name at present: they are called by caravaners either *mK'ar rdzoñ* or *dbus su mK'ar*.

I explored most carefully these ruins with the help of my companion Doctor Ghersi: but I could discover nothing worth of notice, except a temple in which there are some very interesting frescoes representing the life of Buddha, viz. his so called twelve feats (*mdzad pa bcu gñis*).

But the monastery or rather the chapels on the left bank of the river are far more interesting (fig. 1). Besides some huge *mc'od rten*, there are in this place two temples in which only one monk was living when I visited the village. He is the *dkon gñer* appointed to look after the temple by *mk'an po* of mT'o-liñ.

But formerly the place must have been very much inhabited: so at least we can guess from the great number of caves excavated within the cliffs above the monastery. Mañ nañ is not unknown. I found mention of this place when I dealt with the biography of that great apostle of Tibetan Buddhism who was Rin-c'en-bzañ-po. In fact in the *Deb-t'er-sñon-po* (Ja, 1, ff.) there is mention of a certain brTson-'grus-rgyal-mts'an of Gur-šiñ in Mañ-nañ: he was one of the pupils of Rin-c'en-bzañ-po.

The tradition is still living in Guge that the chapels of Mañ-nañ were built by a lotsāva: in fact they are usually called the chapels of the Lotsāva of Mañ-nañ. Who this lotsāva was cannot be settled with certainty: because beside this brTson-'agrus-rgyal-mts'an in the colophons of the bsTan-'gyur there is mention of another lotsāva viz. 'Grag-s'byor-šes-rab of Mañ-nad; so at least we read in the catalogues

¹ Milano 1937, Hoepli Ed.

of Cordier (Mdo xxxiii, 9, 3 [but once also Mañ-'nañ]). Considering that in Tibetan *n̄* and *d'* can easily be confounded I suppose that instead of Mañ-nad we should read Mañ-nañ.

This lotsāva of Mañ-nañ is associated with Jayānanda of Kashmir, Śrīrātha of Kashmir, Vināyaka, Ananta &c.

Whatever the case might be, it is beyond question that Mañ-nañ was once upon a time a very important place; at least even to day the ruins testify to its ancient splendour.

At present there are in lower Mañ-nañ two chapels, but neither has a name. The name, if there was any, is now lost. I could enter without difficulty into the chapels and then I was amazed at seeing that the walls were completely covered with the most splendid frescoes. These frescoes have no relation whatever with the usual Tibetan paintings. They betray the same artistic inspiration and the same pictorial method as evidenced by the ancient Indian paintings: the design, the chiaroscuro, the type itself of the figures portrayed is quite Indian.

It is clear that we are in this case confronted with specimens of Indian frescoes of the 10th or 11th centuries which would appear to be related with Kashmiri painting of the same period. Of course, I do not state that there is any relation of direct dependency between Kashmiri painting and the frescoes of Mañ-nañ, but that even these must be considered as the offshoot of those Indian pictorial traditions of which Ajaṅṭā and Ellora were up now considered as the unique specimens surviving. Of course we know nothing of Kashmiri schools of art: but there is hardly any doubt that this place, which was so famous a center of learning, was also a very important center of art. This fact is in a certain way evidenced by the imposing remains of the old Kashmiri temples and by the Kashmiri sculptures which escaped destruction, and also by the literary traditions. In fact there could have been no reason for Rin-c'en-bzañ-po to go to Kashmir to bring from there back to his native country about 32 artists¹, had not been that place a great center of art. I have shown in *Indo-Tibetica* that the literary evidence to be found in the biography of Rin-c'en-bzañ-po is supported by the archaeological discoveries which I made in Western Tibet and which unmistakably point to a very strong artistic influence of Kashmir upon the beginning of the art of Guge. Up to now this influence could only be traced upon the wood carvings of some temples like these of Tabo, Toling, Tsaparang, which are certainly due

¹ *Indo-Tibetica*, II, p. 67.

to these Kashmiri artists¹. The temple of Mañ-nañ is certainly another document of this cultural relation between Kashmir and Western Tibet. It is a pity that we have not been able to take coloured photos of the extant frescoes, but this much can be said that these figures are painted in that dark brown which is so peculiar to the old specimens of Indian mural paintings.

Of course we do not find here the same huge groups and crowds of people as in the big Ajañṭā caves. There was no space for this, the chapel being rather small. Moreover the subjects are quite different; in Mañ-nañ there is no attempt at representing the stories of the Jātakas. Through these Jātakas an echo, as it were, of life could enliven the paintings and make us have a glimpse of royal palaces, dances and wars, but here in Mañ nañ the atmosphere is exclusively mystical. Those who built the chapels were specially interested in Mantrayāna esoterism, we are therefore confronted with symbols of mystic experiences rather than with aspects of reality. Either we find independent figures of deities protected and encircled by the halo, or complete groups of gods which are meant to represent *mañḍalas*, viz. graphic expressions of certain truths to be properly understood and experienced.

These *mañḍalas* are on the large walls on either side: on the right there is a big *mañḍala* of the five Tathāgatas (fig. 2). It is not difficult to identify the cycle which it represents: its central figure is that of Vairocana (Tin.: rNam-par-snañ-mdasd) which can easily be recognised from his *mudrā*: so we are confronted with one of the many Vairocana-*mañḍalas* so popular in the school of Rin-c'en-bzañ-po and Atīśa. The order of the other four Buddhas is the usual one: below Akṣobhya blue, in *bhūmisparśa* (fig. 3) to the right Ratnasambhava, above Amī-tābha, to the left Amoghasiddhi. There are besides sixteen minor figures of Bodhisattva, filling the space within the four arms of the cross formed by the scheme of the *mañḍala*. The photos which we took did not come out very well, therefore I am not in a condition to identify with absolute certainty the Tantric cycle by which this *mañḍala* was inspired. Certainly it is not that of Sarvavid-Vairocana (in Tibetan Kun-rig) with which I have already dealt in my work on Tabo². The number of sixteen minor deities included in the inner partitions of the *mañḍala* makes me surmise that this *mañḍala* belongs to the *Paramā-ditantra*, well known to Rin-c'en-bzañ-po and to his immediate disciples.

¹ See for instance *Indo-Tibetica* III, 1, p. 89; 2, p. 74; *Santi e Briganti*, fig. at p. 144, retro.

² *Indo-Tibetica*, III part 1.

Some of the minor figures are particularly interesting; I refer for instance to fig. 4 which shows Lokanātha in *lalitāsana*; he is in the posture of the gift while keeping with the other hand a lotus flower. This form of Lokanātha was very popular in India and in Tibet and it is very often reproduced upon the *ts'a-ts'a* as I have shown elsewhere. There is the only difference that in those *ts'a-ts'a* the posture of Lokanātha is that of *lalitākṣepa*¹. Another image (fig. 5) represents a Bodhisattva who in his left hand keeps a lotus and with the fingers on his right hand opens its flower. This is the *mudrā* of Vajradharma, one of the Bodhisattvas of the Kun rig cycle. This deity is also reproduced upon some *ts'a-ts'a* which I discovered in Western Tibet: one of which has already been published by me²: but the specimen was not clear and I failed to identify the deity represented: I mistook him for Vajradhara, misled also by a wrong reading of the mantra *om-vajra-dhara-ma-hi-ṣa*, which should be read *om-vajra-dha-ra-ma* (for Vajradharma) &c. On this deity I collected larger information in the first part of Vol. III of Indo-Tibetica when dealing with the cycle of Vairocana³.

This group is practically the only series of images which we are able to identify. The others are gods or goddesses, sometimes monks and *sādhus* (figs. 6-7) whose identification is extremely difficult because symbols or *mudrās* are not always sufficient to specify the kind of deity with which we are confronted. Moreover nowhere there is in the temple any trace of inscription.

From the artistic point of view I cannot fail to emphasize the great significance of some frescoes representing images of goddesses (figs. 8-9) which are perhaps the best specimens of the Mañ nañ paintings. Of course the artists followed their Kashmiri traditions: the new atmosphere in which they happened to work does not influence them in any way. The hairdress, ornaments, earrings are quite Indian and have their counterpart in the extant Indian paintings.

The comparison of figs. 8-9 with fig. 10 shows that the paintings are not all by the same hand: there is in fact hardly any doubt that fig. 10 is in design and grace far below the other frescoes reproduced in figs. 8-9. Even in the chapel of Mañ nañ there was therefore more than one Kashmiri artist and they were of different capacities. Not

¹ *Ibid.* I, p. 85.

² *Ibid.* I, p. 90 (nn. 98, 99).

³ So also the Far Eastern iconography. See *Mikkyō-daijiten* I, p. 724. Supplement to the *Taishō* edition of the Buddhist canon (art section), Vol. I, Vajradhātu-maṇḍala, p. 9 n. 14.

less important and beautiful are the figures of flying goddesses on the corners on either side of the central wall (fig. 11). One may be reminded for instance of Ajaṅṭā cave nr. ii (ii, Tav. x) where there are couples of flying deities which lack the softness and grace of our frescoes.

As to a group of terrific deities one can easily realize how full of motions they are. The iconographic rules are of course strictly followed, but the artists did not fail to render with a certain success the violence of their terrific dance: the chiaroscuro gives an undoubted relief to their bodies and the rapidity of their movements is shown by garments waving in the wind. As to the identification of these deities I think that we are confronted with special forms of Vajrāpaṇi which I am not yet in a condition to identify better (fig. 12).

The other chapel (fig. 13) is completely abandoned: Along the central wall there were five images of gods which have been taken away. Still one can see the trace of halo perfectly round as it is in Tabo and in all the oldest chapels of Western Tibet. The walls are covered with frescoes which are not only badly preserved but seem to be of far inferior quality than those of the first temple (fig. 14).

Anyhow the few photos which we have published here are quite enough to show the great importance of these fourteen temples which I had the venture to discover in the deserts of Western Tibet. Not very far from Toling there is therefore another place in which some of the most important documents of Indian pictorial art are preserved.

These paintings have no counterpart in Tibet and show the models from which the school of Guge derived its inspiration. In fact, as I briefly stated in my book on Tsaparang and am going to show in greater detail in a forthcoming volume, the painting of Guge is quite isolated in the history of Tibetan art, has its own peculiarity and is strictly dependent upon the North Western Indian traditions. I must add that these frescoes are older than those of Alchi II period, whose date is determined by an inscription written under them as the 14th century.

The temples as I stated before, are completely empty: neither images nor objects of worship can be found in them. Perhaps they were plundered during the Dogra wars and it is indeed a great luck that they escaped complete destruction. The only object which I could find and purchase in Mañ-nañ is a very fine ivory image (fig. 15). It is in a slight *tribhaṅga* pose. Unfortunately it is damaged: both hands are missing and therefore even the symbols which they held. The diadem which must probably covered the head of the image as one can perceive from the fittings still visible, is also missing.

Traces of colours on the body, the hair and the eyes are quite evident. There is hardly any doubt that we are confronted with an image

of Avalokiteśvara, though the fact that the symbols are missing prevents us from a better determination. Probably it is Padmapāṇi Lokeśvara. In this case the right hand should be in the *abhayamudrā* and the left hold the stalk of a lotus. Anyhow it is certain that the workmanship is Indian: as one can judge not only from the agility of the figure, but also from the arrangement of the *dhoṭi*.

The *dhoṭi* does not cover completely the legs but rather goes round them being longer on the right than on the left: the ondulation of the border is clearly marked as very often it is done in the Pāla images. I refer for instance to those discovered in Kurkihar¹.

These are of course very small details but in general it can be stated that they are quite peculiar of a certain style and of a certain school and therefore can be very useful for the datation of works of art or for establishing the source by which they were inspired.

The Indian image found in Mañ-nañ is not isolated: in fact exploring the very rich collections of statues heaped in some temples of Western Tibet as for instance in Davazong (Zla-ba-rdzoñ) or in Piang Dunkar² I discovered many dozens of images undoubtedly brought into Tibet by Tibetan pilgrims, or even by Indian refugees seeking shelter in the kingdom of Guge when the Buddhist monasteries had become unsafe in India on account of the Muhammadan invasions.

As to ivory images, I must add that they are not very common in Western Tibetan temples: so far, I saw only two of them, viz. this one which we found in Mañ-nañ and another one better preserved in the small chapel of Rildigang³. The Tibetans must have particularly prized these ivory images on account of the material so uncommon in their country: and in fact, in the biography of Rin-c'en-bzañ-po, as I noted elsewhere⁴, it is recorded as a fact worth of being handed over to posterity that that apostle brought back to his native place an ivory image of the compassionate one: viz. of Avalokiteśvara. His example might well have been followed by one of his pupils and the precious image brought from the sacred land into the "country of snow" was deposited in one of the new temples that the kings of Guge erected as a token of their devotion to Buddhism.

¹ Sarasi Kumar Saraswati and Kshitish Chandra Sarkar, *Kurkihar, Gaya and Bodhgaya*, Rajshahi 1936, fig. 6.

² TUCCI, *Santi e Briganti*, pp. 148-152 and 168-175.

³ TUCCI-GHERSI, *Secrets of Tibet*, p. 187.

⁴ *Indo-Tibetica* II, p. 69.

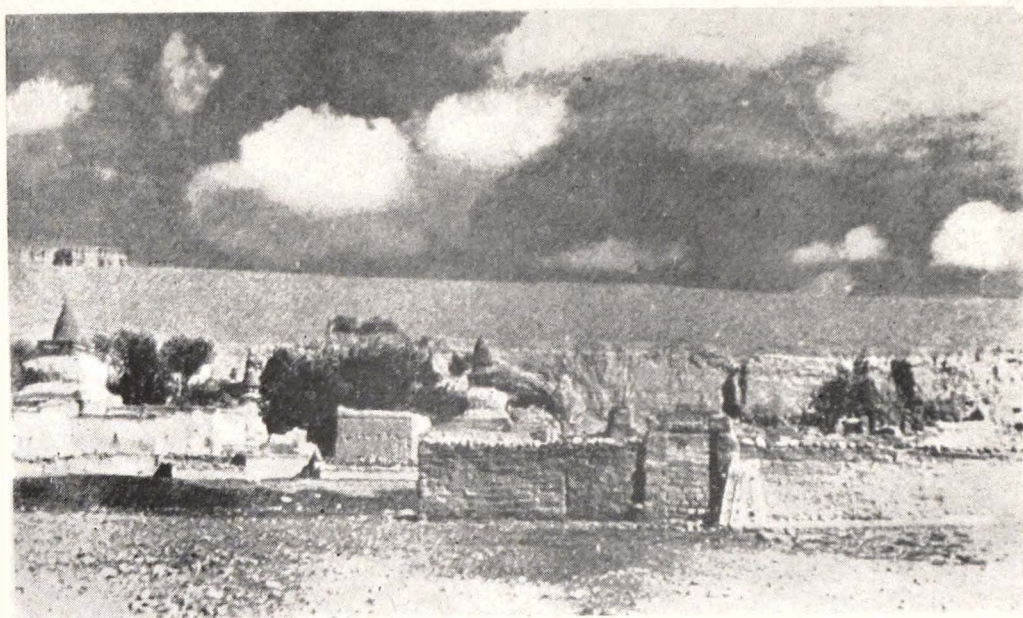


Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.



Fig. 4.

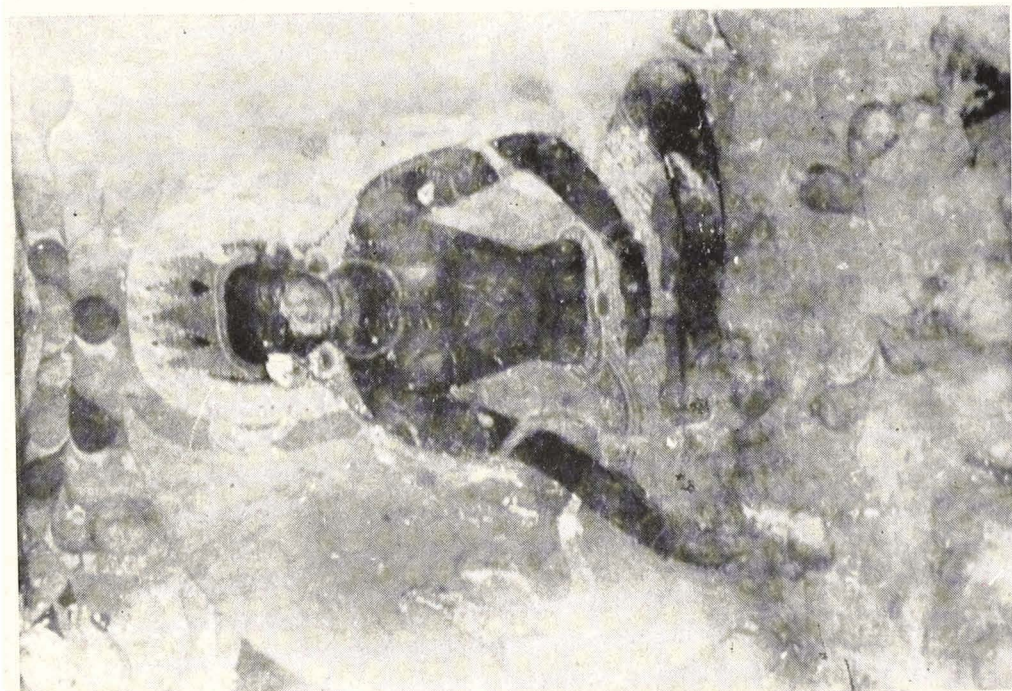


Fig. 3.

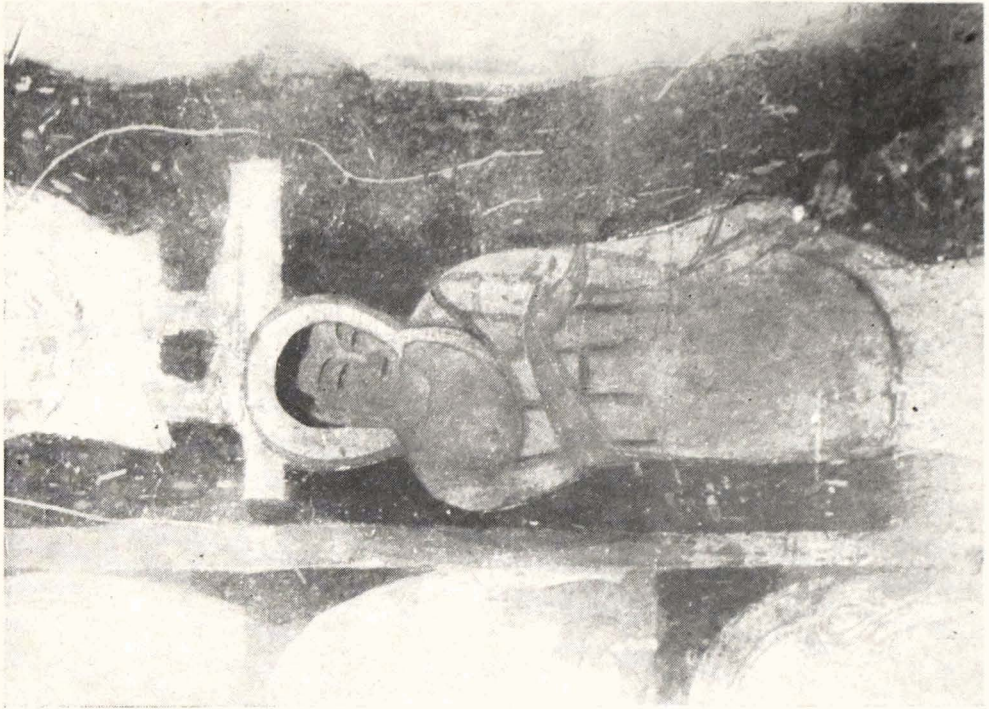


Fig. 6.



Fig. 5.



Fig. 8.



Fig. 7.



Fig. 10.



Fig. 9.

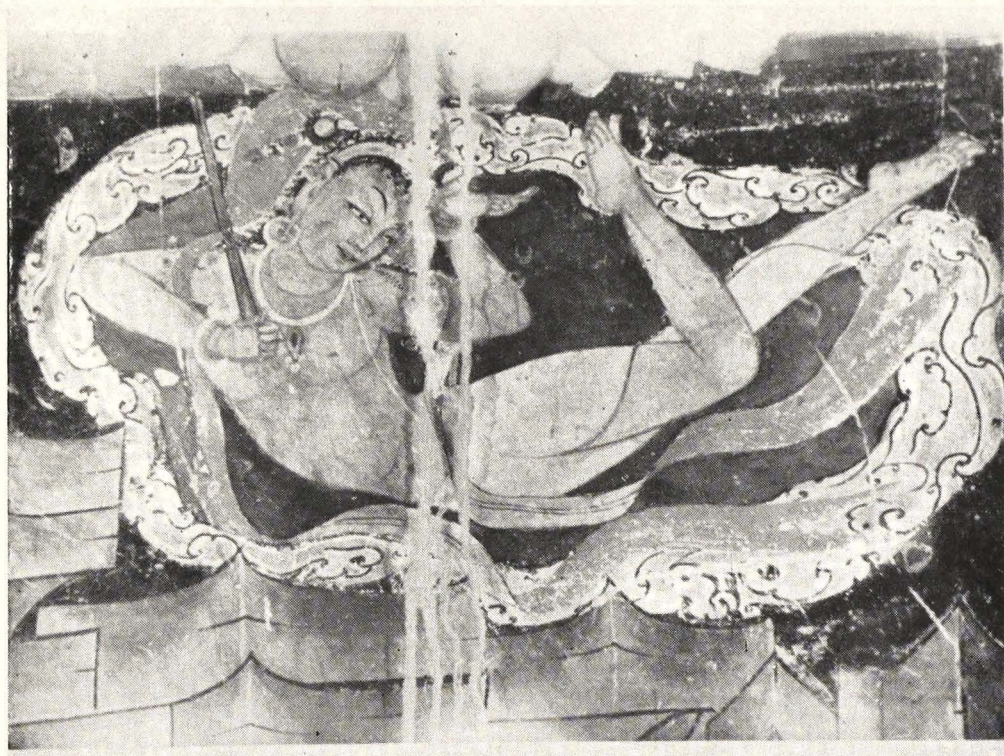


Fig. 11.



Fig. 12.



Fig. 13.



Fig. 14.



Fig. 15.

NEL TIBET CENTRALE

RELAZIONE PRELIMINARE DELLA SPEDIZIONE 1939

La nuova spedizione nel Tibet da me compiuta nel 1939 ha avuto per scopo lo studio dei monumenti del Tibet centrale. Volevo cioè vedere se in queste parti esistessero templi e cappelle costruite nei primi tempi della propagazione della fede buddhistica e se essi contenessero monumenti artistici, specialmente pittorici, che completassero le mie ricerche precedenti e mi mettessero in condizione di stabilire gli sviluppi della più antica arte tibetana e i suoi rapporti con quelle di altri paesi.

Il primo luogo che occorre visitare era Sakya (Sa skya) perchè questa fu l'antica capitale del Tibet al tempo della dinastia mongola, la quale, sotto Qubilai (1215-1294) detto appunto agli abati di Sakya l'investitura sul Tibet.

Sakya fu nel XIII-XV secolo il centro politico e quindi culturale ed artistico del Tibet ed il luogo di confluenza di diversissimi indirizzi di cultura, da quella cinese a quella indiana. Sakya nonostante la sua importanza è pressochè sconosciuta. S. Ch. Das, che vi passò nel 1879 ne ha lasciato cenni insignificanti (*Journey to Lhasa and Central Tibet*); meno ancora ne dice Bernard che vi sostò per qualche giorno nel 1937 (*Penthouse of the Gods*).

La via più breve per giungere a Sakya parte da Gangtok nel Sikkim, segue la valle del Lachen e scavalca l'Himalaya passando per il Kangra La (Kongra La). È una carovaniere molto meno battuta di quella Gangtok, Natu-la, Chumbi, Gyantse, che è adesso con quella Kalimpong, Jelap La, Chumbi, Gyantse la più frequentata e la più ricca di traffico. Che la strada del Kangra La sia meno percorsa si spiega con il fatto che non passa per nessun centro commerciale così importante come Phari o Gyantse, che sono divenuti gli empori del Tibet e la sede degli scambi regolari fra India e Tibet.

Il luogo più importante che la strada di Sakya incontra nel Tibet è Kampadsong, sede d'una prefettura. Kampadsong è con Lhatse una delle prefetture che dipendono direttamente da Tashilhumpo e quindi dal punto di vista amministrativo non hanno nessun rapporto con Lhasa. Kampadsong è a circa 4500 metri. I campi d'orzo sono molto scarsi: il luogo è freddissimo e dominato dai venti glaciali che scendono

dalla catena dell'Himalaya sovrastante. La strada passa quindi per Doptra (m. 4450) quasi sulle rive del lago Tsomotretung e in gran parte feudo del re di Tering, zio dell'attuale maharaja del Sikkim. Valicato il Keyi La si scende quindi nella valle di Chiblung fertile ed abbastanza irrigua (m. 4250 circa). Sono molti villaggi l'uno vicino all'altro circondati da campi d'orzo ben coltivati. L'orzo è il prodotto principale di queste contrade, mandato, in molta parte, con carovane, ai bazar di Phari e Gyantse. Un altro prodotto di queste valli è la carta fatta con radici di una pianta che vi cresce con molta frequenza.

Si arriva così a Sakya, che adesso principalmente consiste di grandi monasteri e di un piccolo villaggio. Sakya vuol dire « terra pallida » e deve il suo nome al color delle rocce della montagna sovrastanti il luogo. C'è un piccolo mercato: la popolazione è specialmente rappresentata dai monaci che formano una setta speciale chiamati Sa-skyapa dal nome del luogo. Sakya è un principato con a capo un gran lama che è suprema autorità religiosa e politica. Tuttavia quest'autorità è in certo senso limitata dal vigilante controllo di Lhasa, sicchè gli abati Sakya, autonomi nell'amministrazione interna del loro stato, non possono aver nessun rapporto con gli stranieri. L'autorità si trasmette di padre in figlio perché questi abati debbono ammogliarsi. I monasteri, che contengono pregevolissime raccolte d'arte e ricche biblioteche tutte da me diligentemente studiate, sono stati in molta parte manomessi durante le guerre che scoppiarono fra Sakya e le sette rivali e ne provocarono alla fine il decadimento.

La carovaniera più breve per Tashilhumpo parte dal grande convento e prosegue per il passo Ata. Noi invece ci dirigemmo verso occidente. Da Sakya seguendo a valle il corso del Khrumchu, — così si chiama il piccolo fiume che l'attraversa, — passando per Chutsen, ove si trovano sorgenti d'acqua calda sulfurea assai frequentate da malati e pellegrini, si arriva a Gyan. Gyan è un piccolo monastero, con un grande *stupa*¹ il quale fu costruito forse nel XIII secolo e contiene tracce di pregevolissimi affreschi. Vicino a questi monumenti sorge un grosso monastero appartenente alla setta gialla. Gyan si trova in una piccola gola innanzi alla quale s'apre un'immensa valle che s'espande fertile e ben coltivata a orzo fino a Lhatse, o Lhatse dsong, sulle rive del Brahmaputra.

Lhatse è prefettura, come ho detto, dipendente da Tashilhumpo. C'è un grande monastero della setta gialla, e un forte costruito su una

¹ Così si chiamano in India monumenti che contengono reliquie di santi o cose sacre. In Tibetano *chörten* (*mc'od rten*). Su di essi vedi il primo volume dei miei *Indo-Tibetica*.

roccia che strapiomba sul fiume; la sua costruzione risale a tempi molto antichi, ma è stato restaurato e completamente rifatto. A Lhatse c'è un modesto bazar, ma la gente va per traffici ed acquisti a Shigatse. Da Lhatse ho proseguito per Tashilhumpo passando per Phuntsoling. Questo luogo sorge su uno sprone montano che domina il Brahmaputra. La strada correndo lungo il fiume – salvo qualche stretta, ove sale sulla parete rocciosa o strapiomba sull'acqua – solca le rive sabbiose. Ma i Tibetani, quando è possibile, preferiscono arrivare a Tashilhumpo in barca: hanno certe barche fatte con pelle di yak tenute insieme da un'intelaiatura di vimini. Le lasciano trasportare dalla corrente fortissima guidate dai barcaioli con lunghi pali maneggiati a poppa. Sembrano molto pericolose, ma le disgrazie sono abbastanza rare e dovute soprattutto alle rapide nella confluenza con altri fiumi. Ogni barca porta sei o sette persone e un gran numero di bagagli. I Tibetani impiegano circa tre giorni da Lhatse a Tashilhumpo; partono alla mattina per tempo e alla sera s'accampano sulla riva del fiume. Il tempo impiegato da Lhatse a Tashilhumpo è normalmente di tre giorni, la metà di quello impiegato dalle carovane.

Phuntsoling è un gran monastero, adesso appartenente alla setta gialla, ma fondato da una setta speciale, diventata oggi molto scarsa nel Tibet, che si chiamava Jonang. Questo nome di Jonang deriva dal paese di Jonang in una gola a poche miglia a sud di Phuntsoling. L'antico convento è in gran parte distrutto; se ne veggono solo le rovine. Resta un grande *stupa* con pitture molto antiche e molto notevoli e alcune cappelle più recenti o per lo meno restaurate in tempi recenti. Poco dopo Phuntsoling si lascia il Brahmaputra, che i Tibetani chiamano col nome Tsang po e ci si interna in valli anguste traverso le quali passa la carovaniera solita per Tashilhumpo. I luoghi degni di interesse sono Bodong, molto rovinato durante la guerra fra il Tibet ed il Nepal; Tru, con le rovine di un grande *stupa* e nascosto in una gola sulla sinistra della strada, Kangchen gran monastero della setta gialla. Valicato il facile passo di Tra si scende sulla valle ampia e deserta del Narthang-chu. Lasciando sulla destra il monastero di Chumig si arriva a Narthang ove si trova la più grande stamperia del Tibet centrale. Vi si stampa il bsTan-'gyur in 225 volumi e il bKa'-'gyur in 100 volumi, le più grandi raccolte di scritture buddhistiche, che contengono la traduzione delle opere più importanti del Buddhismo volte dall'originale sanscrito in tibetano. Nelle gigantesche aule del monastero, uno dei più antichi della contrada, sono conservate in apposite scaffalature le tavole di legno sulle quali sono incise le migliaia di pagine delle scritture sacre. Queste tavolette fanno da matrice. I libri non sono pronti alla prima richiesta: si ordinano ed è consigliabile portare con

sè della carta buona che si può trovare con discreta facilità nel bazar di Shigatsé. Un gran numero di lama specializzati è addetto alla stamperia, alle dipendenze di un *parpön* (*par-dpon*) col quale bisogna contrattare i prezzi e al quale fare l'ordinazione.

Da Narthang con una breve marcia si arriva a Tashilhumpo-Shigatsé. Le due città sono vicinissime, a circa mezzo miglio di distanza l'una dall'altra. Tashilhumpo è la città sacra, il convento vero e proprio. Nel suo recinto contiene un tempio grande costruito da dGe-'dun-grub che ne fu il fondatore, le tombe dei cinque Panchen Lama che vi si sono succeduti fino all'ultimo morto due anni fa, le università e le scuole teologiche, ed infine le abitazioni dei monaci. Questi rappresentano una popolazione fluttuante che normalmente si aggira sui cinque o sei mila monaci tibetani, cinesi e mongoli.

La stamperia non è importante come quella di Narthang; contiene tuttavia le matrici delle opere di tutti i Panchen Lama che sono in tutto trentacinque volumi. Shigatsé è dopo Lhasa la città più grande del Tibet: grosso mercato e centro dei traffici col Nepal che si svolgono traverso strade le quali passando per Sakya arrivano all'Himalaya valicato sui passi di Kuti e Kirong. Shigatsé è insieme punto di confluenza delle carovaniere che scendono da Shang e in genere dalla pianura a nord del Brahmaputra. Vi è un rappresentante del Governo nepalese che ha presso a poco ufficio consolare, ed è incaricato di difendere gli interessi dei commercianti nepalesi i quali hanno qui molti affari e molti negozi. Nel mercato si incontrano anche numerosi musulmani: essi sono di origine kashmira, ma si sono da molte generazioni stabiliti nel Tibet, sì che sono diventati del tutto Tibetani, conservando tuttavia la loro religione e una certa conoscenza della lingua industani. Nel mercato di Shigatsé si trovano oltre che cose da mangiare, stoffe cinesi, oggetti di alluminio e di maiolica, quasi tutti di provenienza giapponese, cappelli di feltro e panno importati traverso l'India dall'Italia, terraglie e ornamenti muliebri, nella maggior parte dovuti agli orafi nepalesi. Ciò non avviene perché i Tibetani non siano abili per lavorare l'oro e l'argento, anzi le loro opere superano forse per diligenza di lavoro quelle nepalesi: a Tsethang, a nord del Brahmaputra e a circa tre giorni di marcia da Shigatsé, prospera ancora una esperta corporazione di orafi che segue fedelmente tradizioni antiche. Ma i loro lavori sono generalmente più cari di quelli nepalesi, e quasi sempre fatti su ordinazione, mai per essere venduti sul mercato.

Da Shigatsé si può piegare a sud e raggiungendo la valle del Nyang-chu arrivare in quattro giorni a Gyantse. Io invece sono ritornato a Narthang e di là mi sono internato nella catena che fiancheggia la valle del Narthang-chu.

Salito al monastero di Ngor che contiene una preziosa raccolta di manoscritti sanscriti, e quindi valicati due passi non molto alti, ma quasi privi di sentiero, sono sceso a Shalu, uno dei più celebri ed antichi monasteri del Tibet nel quale si conservano pregevolissimi affreschi di influsso cinese del XIII secolo e altri sicuramente eseguiti nello stesso secolo da artisti mongoli. Shalu appartiene ad una setta particolare che dal nome del posto si chiama appunto Shalupa (Šva-lu-pa). Qui abbiamo raggiunto la maggior carovaniera che unisce Shigatsé a Gyantse. Traverso Patsab, di fronte a Gadong, sulla riva destra del fiume, e Chogro, che adesso è ridotto ad una sola casa, siamo arrivati a Nesar. Secondo la tradizione questo sarebbe uno dei più vetusti templi del Tibet. Le poche pitture conservate danno pienamente ragione alla tradizione. Attraversato quindi con barche il fiume in piena ci siamo portati sulla riva destra del fiume, salendo fino al convento di Piokhang per studiare i manoscritti e le pitture. Quindi a settembre eravamo a Gyantse ove raggiungemmo la carovaniera Lhasa Sikkim, accolti festosamente dagli amici tibetani incontrativi nel 1937. Lasciato Gyantse dopo pochi giorni di sosta entravamo in India alla fine di ottobre.

Il viaggio (finanziato da Prassitele Piccinini che, da parecchi anni sovvenzionando altre spedizioni promosse dall'Accademia d'Italia, si è reso altamente benemerito degli studi centro-asiatici) è durato dunque sette mesi. Le mie ricerche di quest'anno, come le precedenti, hanno avuto scopi specialmente archeologici e storici. La documentazione fotografica e la raccolta del materiale scientifico è tale da permettere uno studio completo e definitivo sulla storia politica artistica e religiosa non solo delle contrade attraversate, ma in generale di gran parte del Tibet. Allo stesso studio della civiltà indiana, che è stata l'ispiratrice continua del Tibet, grande contributo porteranno le centinaia di manoscritti in sanscrito scoperti nelle biblioteche dei conventi esplorati. I rilievi fatti sul luogo dei costumi, delle strade, degli itinerari, dei mercati e la correzione delle carte geografiche, del resto molto imperfette, già pubblicate dalla Survey dell'India, arricchiranno la nostra conoscenza geografica del Tibet centrale.

La carovana è stata come al solito relativamente esigua. Carovane numerose non hanno facilità di movimento e date le scarse risorse del paese, non sono consigliabili. Noi abbiamo adoprato in media trenta yak o cavalli, eppure in molti villaggi abbiamo avuto gravi difficoltà anche per così limitato numero di bestie da soma. Il personale di servizio era composto, oltre che dai carovanieri, da un lama, indispensabile per le ricerche cui io mi sono dedicato e per facilitare i contatti con i monasteri, un capo carovaniera di Yatung che conosce bene il Tibet

e parlava tibetano, hindī, nepalese e inglese, un cuoco e tre uomini di fatica. Mi ha assistito il capitano degli alpini Boffa, il quale è stato messo a disposizione della spedizione dal Ministero della Guerra per la documentazione fotografica del viaggio e ha disimpegnato il suo compito con grande zelo e perizia, accrescendo così i contributi che gli alpini hanno portato nell'esplorazione scientifica di nuove terre.

TRAVELS OF TIBETAN PILGRIMS IN THE SWAT VALLEY

PART I

INTRODUCTION

It is now accepted by all scholars that Uḍḍiyāna¹ must be located in the Swat Valley: in fact I think that the view of my friend Benoytosh Bhattacharya², who still identifies Uḍḍiyāna with the western part of Assam, has but few supporters. It must be admitted that our knowledge of the country in Buddhist times is not scarce; our best informants are in fact the Chinese pilgrims, and the description which they have left of the place is detailed³.

It was left to Sir Aurel Stein to identify, in the course of his adventurous travels in the Swat Valley, the various places referred to by the Chinese pilgrims and to describe in a fascinating book⁴ the remains which have escaped destruction. The systematical exploration of this region is likely to contribute greatly to our knowledge of Buddhism and Oriental history. In fact, modern researches point to the great importance of the Swat Valley: not only it was very near to the commercial routes linking India with Central Asia, but it was considered⁵ as the birthplace of many rites and practices later on absorbed into Mahāyāna. There are many Tantras which were commonly acknowledged as having been first revealed in Uḍḍiyāna. One of the most esoteric

¹ S. LÉVI, *Le catalogue des Yakṣas dans la Mahāmāyūri*, in *J. As.*, 1915, p. 19 ff.

² *Buddhist Iconography*, p. xxxii and *An Introduction to Buddhist Esoterism*, p. 45. But cf. BAGCHI in *IHQ*, VI (1930), pp. 580–581.

³ Fa-hsien, *Records*, Legge's trans., p. 28; Hsüan-tsang, (*Hiouen-Thsang*), *Memoires (Julien)*, I, 131 ff., CHAVANNES, *Documents sur les Tou-Kiue occidentaux* p. 128; CHAVANNES, *Voyage de Song Yun dans l'Udyāna et le Gandhāra (518–522 A. C)*, in *BEFEO*, III (1903), p. 379.

⁴ *On Alexander's track to the Indus*, London, 1929.

⁵ TUCCI, *Some glosses upon the Guhyasamāja* in *MCB*, III, p. 351, and *Indo-Tibetica III*, II, p. 79.

methods of Tāntric realisations relating chiefly to the cycle of the *dākinī* was even known as the Uḍḍiyānakrama; the connection of the country with magic is alluded to in some Tāntric manuals which even to-day enjoy great popularity.

It is therefore desirable to have some better and more detailed information about a country to which our researches point as one of the most active centres of radiation of Hindu esoterism.

During my travels in western Tibet I was fortunate enough to find two texts which are a kind of itinerary of the Swat Valley. We easily understand why this place became so famous as a kind of magic-land for many Tibetan pilgrims when we remember that it was considered to have been the birth-place of Padmasambhava. There are, in fact, besides India proper, other countries which greatly influenced the mystic literature of Tibet; when the intercourse with them became rare or came to an end for political reasons, those countries were transformed into a fairyland of which the geographical and historical reality faded and decayed; one of them is Śambhala and the other O rgyan, *viz.* Uḍḍiyāna.

The various mystic revelations connected with the two countries were severally accepted by two different schools; O rgyan, the country of Padmasambhava and the place of the fairies (*dākinī*), became the holy land for the rÑiñ ma pa, and later on for the bKa' rgyud pa (specially for the sub-sects 'Brug pa and Kar ma pa); Śambhala was, on the other hand, changed into a paradise for the ascetics initiated into the mysteries of Kālacakra, still counting many adepts chiefly among the dGe lugs pa, *viz.* the Yellow sect. I think that Śambhala became popular in Tibet after O rgyan; that is the reason why we cannot find about it as much precise information as we can gather as regards O rgyan; nor do I know of any historical itinerary of that country. This seems to point to the fact that the mystic significance of Śambhala developed at a later time, when any real and direct connection with the country had come to an end and the Tibetans had only to rely upon the information to be gathered from the Vimalaprabhā or from the earlier commentators of the Kālacakra Tantra¹. Even the information about the

¹ No great weight can be attached to a fragment published by B. LAUFER, *Zur Buddhistischen Literatur der Uiguren*, in *T'oung Pao*, VIII (1907). p. 401, which seems to have been influenced by the mythological ethnography of Central Asian countries as preserved in the Chinese compilations such as the *Shan hai ching*. According to the Vimalaprabhā Śambhala would have been on the shore of the Sitā river, its chief place being Kalāpa.

country of Śambhala which we gather from the commentary of mK'as 'grub rje contains nothing but mythology.

The only itinerary which has come down to us, *viz.*, the *Śam bha la'i lam yig*¹ by the famous third Paṅ c'en bLa ma bLo bzañ dpal ldan ye śes (1738-1780), as I have shown elsewhere, gives the impression of being nothing more than a literary compilation largely based upon mythic and fantastic traditions. From all these facts we can draw the conclusion that the Yellow sect composed its guides to Śambhala, *viz.* to the Kālacakra-paradise, which had, in the meantime, become a supreme ideal for most of its followers, in order to possess the counterpart of the holy O rgyan of the rival schools. The country itself was no longer a geographical reality to be exactly located in some part of the world; it was somewhere in the north, but as to where, that was practically a mere hypothesis.

On the other hand we know of many itineraries to O rgyan. One is that of Buddhagupta²; it is rather late, but it shows that even as late as the xvith century that part of Asia was still considered as a kind of holy place worth visiting by the few Buddhist adepts still surviving in India, in spite of the dangers which they were likely to meet on account of the risk of the journey itself and of the unfriendliness of the Muslims. According to Buddhagupta the country in his time was known under the name of Ghazni; that is, it belonged to the district of Ghazni.

But he usually mentions the country under its traditional name, showing that Tibetan O rgyan is derived from Uḍḍiyāna, "on account", he says, "of the similarity of sound between ḍ and r". It must be mentioned in this connection that in Tibetan we are confronted with two forms of this name, some sources giving O rgyan and some others U rgyan. There is no doubt that both go back to a Sanskrit original: it is in fact known that in the Indian texts this country is called both Uḍḍiyāna and Oḍiyāna³. The first seems, anyhow, to be the right one.

But there are two older itineraries to the same country and much more detailed: the similarity between some passages of these texts containing the description of the place and the narrative of Buddhagupta leaves me little doubt that Tāranātha had one of them under his eyes when he wrote the account of the travels of his master.

¹ Edited and translated by GRÜNWEDEL, *Der Weg nach Śambhala, Śam bha la'i lam yig*, in *Abhand. der Königl. Bayerischen Ak. der Wissenschaften*, München, 1915.

² Upon his travels see TUCCI, *The sea and land travels of a Buddhist sādhu in the sixteenth century*, in *IHQ*, VII (1931), p. 683.

³ Now there is the village of Ude-gram, the same as Ora of the Greek authors.

The two itineraries here studied are respectively that of O rgyan pa and that of sTag ts'añ ras pa. O-rgyan pa means in fact "the man of O rgyan" which implies that his travels were so famous that he was given the name of the miraculous country which he had been able to visit and whence he returned safe back to his fatherland. He was the most prominent disciple of a *siddha* or *grub t'ob* who still enjoys a great renown all over Tibet, I mean rGod ts'añ pa, born 1213. O rgyan pa (1230-1293) is mentioned in the *C'os 'byuñ* of Padma dkar po (born 1527), one of the most famous polygraphs of Tibet and the greatest authority among the 'Brug pa who call him *ñag dbañ*, the master of the speech¹.

The inclusion of the biography of O rgyan pa in his chronicle depends on the fact that O rgyan pa belongs to the same *sampradāya*, viz., to the same mystic school as Padma dkar po, both being adepts of the 'Brug pa subsect, which has now its stronghold in Bhutān but is largely spread all over Tibet.

U rgyan pa² was born in Go luñ in the territory of Zur ts'o. His clan was that of rGyus. At the age of seven he became a catechumen under rGod ts añ pa. Then up to the age of sixteen he learned many tantras of the yoga class along with their liturgy, such as the Kīla, Hevajra and Vajrapāñi Tantras. He became famous as a scholar and at the age of twenty he was ordained (with Rin c'en rtse of Bo doñ acting as mK'an po, bSam gliñ pa of Žañ as *slob dpon*, Acarya bSod nams 'od pa as *gsañ ston*) and was given the name of Rin c'en señ ge dpal.

'He made the vow of studying a single system for twelve years and of avoiding meat; he then perfected himself in the study of the Kālacakra at the school of Rin rtse of Bo doñ and of mDo sde dpal of Go luñ... '.

Then the biography narrates how he happened to meet rGod ts'añ pa, who was able to give him the supreme inspiration of the Kālacakra. 'But he discovered also that he had no *karmic* connection with Śambhala, but rather with O rgyan, therefore O rgyan pa resolved to start; first of all he remained for nine months in the northern desert and then he went to Ti se, the country of Mar yul, Ga śa, Dsa lan dha ra. Then knowing that three of his five companions were not fit for the jour-

¹ The full title being *c'os 'byuñ bstan pa'i padma rgyas pa'i ñin byed*. The biography of O rgyan pa is at p. 181.

² Pad ma dkar po uses the form U rgyan pa instead of the more common O rgyan pa.

ney he dismissed them and leading with him dPal ye šes he went to O rgyan . . .

' He then returned to Tibet in order to accompany dPal ye šes and on the way back through Kashmir he was chosen by a householder as the family *guru*.

" By his great merits he made his catechumen the king of mÑa ris with his people. Then he went to Bodhgayā in India where the king Rāmapāla was his benefactor and gave him the title of supreme master of the mystic assembly...

' Then he went to China. On the way he met Karma Pakši († 1283), who entrusted to him the charge of helping him in transmitting the doctrine; in China he was invited by the king Go pā la, but after one year he returned; in fact he did not receive even a needle. He passed away at the age of seventy.

This short résumé of the biography written by Padma dkar po gives therefore the following points of chronological fixity; he was the disciple of rGod ts'añ pa, contemporary with a king of Bodhgayā, Rāmapāla by name, with a king of China called Go pā la and with the famous Tibetan reformer Karma Pakši. The date of this last doctor is known; according to the chronological table published by Csoma de Körös and extracted from the *Vaidūrya dkar po* the date of his birth is to be fixed at 1204 d. C. As to the Emperor of China, there is little doubt that his name has been modified so that it might assume an Indian form: it is quite clear that it corresponds to Qubilai. Rāmapāla, king of Bodhgayā, was perhaps a petty chief of the place. Anyhow these chronological references are quite sufficient to establish the approximate date of our pilgrim. He lived in the XIIIth century. The fact that he was appointed by Karma Pakši as his assistant while he was on the way to China seems to imply that Karma Pakši (died 1283) was already old. Otherwise, there would have been no need of entrusting the school and the teaching to a probable successor.

So it seems quite probable that the travel of our pilgrim to O rgyan took place after 1260. The itinerary of O rgyan pa is to be found in a biography of this Tibetan *sādhu* which I discovered in the library of the monastery of Hemis when in 1930 I spent the summer there and under the guidance of the *sprul sku* sTag ts'añ ras pa had the rare opportunity of investigating the large collection of block prints and manuscripts that it contains.

This biography is preserved in a bulky manuscript on paper which is very old but incomplete. The work seems to be very rare. I never found mention of it in other monasteries which I visited; the biography of O rgyan pa is not even included in that vast collection which is the

dKar rgyud rnam t'ar sgron me or at least in the copy¹ which I possess.

This biography deserves special attention because it shows some peculiarities of its own; it has not been elaborated with literary pretensions; there are many terms in it which are absolutely colloquial, chiefly used in Western Tibet.

I cannot help thinking that this itinerary has not been revised; it looks like a first redaction of the narrative of the travel written by some disciples of O rgyan pa himself. Not rarely he speaks in the first person. This fact augments the interest of the book. Of course there is a great deal of legend even in it. But this cannot be avoided; there is hardly any doubt that O rgyan pa really believed many of the things which he told his disciples. We must not forget the special spiritual atmosphere in which these *yogins* live; boundaries between reality and pure imagination disappear. Whatever happens in this universe is not due to natural events fixed by certain laws, but is the product of multifarious forces which react upon one another. The most natural facts appear to the *grub t'ob* as the symbol or the manifestation of inner forces which, though unknown to the rest of the world, are no longer a mystery to him—or upon which he cannot have his hold through his psychic powers. We may laugh when we read that every woman he meets appears to him as a *dākinī*; but we must not forget the psychology of this pilgrim who had gone to the fairy land of the *dākinīs* in order to experience there those realizations to which the Tantras contained so many allusions. Anyhow these magical and fantastic elements are few in comparison with the traditional biographies (*rnam t'ar*) of the Tibetan saints; even in the short biography of O rgyan pa by Padma dkar po the historical and geographical data almost disappear under the growth of legends and dreams and visions. The greater the distance from the saint, the lesser the truth about him. The itinerary as it is has not been subject to this process. All this shows that the importance of the travels of our Tibetan pilgrim must not be denied. It is quite possibly an almost contemporary record of a journey to a country which was already considered as a magic land, and was seen through the eyes of a man who had no sight for reality. Still, we can follow quite well his track, from Tibet to Jalandhara, then to India, to the Indus, to the Swat Valley, to the sacred mountain of Ilam, and then back to Kashmir through the Hazara district.

¹ *dKar rgyud rnams kyi rnam t'ar gyi sgron me*; *dkar rgyud* is here used for the more common *bka' rgyud*.

There are some ethnological and historical data to be collected in these pages which are confirmed by Persian or European travellers.

They also show that at the time of the traveller Buddhism was still surviving in the Swat Valley though Islam had already begun to eradicate its last trace.

In this way O rgyan pa renewed, as it were, the old tradition of the Lotsāvas who had gone to the sacred land of India in order to study there Sanskrit and to learn from the doctors of Nālandā or Vikramaśilā the esoterism of the Tantras; of course, Buddhism had in the meantime lost in India its vital force and perhaps not very much work was left to the translators. But the contact with the holy land was still considered, as it is up to now among the Tibetans, to be purifying to the spirit and the cause of new inspirations. In the case of O rgyan pa it is quite possible that the travels of his master influenced him and led him to undertake the long journey to the far away country of Swat. In fact we know that rGod ts'an pa went up to Jalandhara, which was another *pīṭha* according to the Buddhist tradition: It is one of the twenty-four places of Vajrakāya as located by the Tantras within the Himālayas. It also gave the name to a famous *siddha*, viz., Jalandhara-pa¹.

The short biography of rGod ts'an pa in the *C'os 'byun* of Padma dkar po contains nothing more than the scanty information that he went to Jalandhara²; but I thought that perhaps in the original *rnam t'ar*, if any ever existed, it would have been possible to find a larger account of his travels.

In my journey of 1933 I discovered in Spiti a manuscript containing a large biography of this saint³ and, as I expected, I found that it has preserved from page 43 to page 53 the itinerary which he followed in his pilgrimage to the holy *tīrtha*. Since it is rather detailed and fairly old, in as much it describes a journey which must have taken place in the first quarter of the XIIIth century, I think it to be worthy of notice. I therefore give a translation of all the passages containing some useful data of geographical and historical interest; all portions containing mere legends or those devoid of any real importance have been suppressed.

¹ Cf. T ā r a n ā t h a, *Edelsteinmine*, p. 59.

² Even his biography which is contained as a separate chapter in the *dK'ar rgyud rnam kyī rnam t'ar gyi sgron me* and which bears the title *rGyal brgod ts'an pa'i rnam t'ar gnas bsdus pai sgron me* is far from being exhaustive.

³ The full title is *rGyal ba rGod ts'an pa mgon po rdo rje'i rnam t'ar mt'on ba don ldan nor bu'i p'reñ ba*.

Though short, the text contains some useful information about the Himalayan countries and their ethnology. It also shows that the area where Buddhism had penetrated was more or less similar to that of the present day.

Spiti was already a centre of Lamaism: in its mountains rGod ts'añ pa finds many famous ascetics. Lāhul was Buddhist, but no outstanding personality was met by him: no mention is made of Trilokanāth, and the Mon pa tribes—as he calls them—were rather unfriendly towards Buddhism.

Though he met a Buddhist *sādhu* on the way back from Chamba, the people there seem to have been specially Hindu and rather orthodox. Anyhow it appears that they were not yet accustomed to seeing Tibetan pilgrims and were therefore not liberal towards them: things changed later on and at the time of sTag ts'añ ras pa there was a regular intercourse between Jalandhara and Tibet as there is even now. There is hardly any doubt that this was chiefly due to the travels of Tibetan pilgrims of the rDsogs c'en and specially of bKa' brgyud pa sects who used to visit the sacred places of Buddhist tradition. After rGod ts'añ pa their number must have considerably increased: to-day there is a regular intercourse along the routes and the tracks of western Tibet.

From there they descend to the holy *tīrthas* of the Buddhist tradition, to Amritsar where the tank of the Golden Temple is believed to be the lake of Padmasambhava, to Bodh Gaya, to Sarnath. It was through these routes that there came down to the Indian plains the Lama who inspired some of the most fascinating pages in the *Kim* of Rudyard Kipling. That was no fiction but a real happening; so I was told by Sir Aurel Stein in one of those interesting talks in which he poured as it were his unrivalled experience of things Asiatic.

The inspiration came to Kipling from a holy man, a Tibetan *sādhu*, who many years ago came as far as Lahore and enquired from the father of the poet about the holy places to be visited in India. This Lama renewed the tradition of his ancient forerunners and was certainly unaware that he was to become one of the most interesting figures of modern literature. Rudyard was then still a boy, but so great was the impression he received on seeing the Himalayan traveller, that it never faded from his memory.

“ From the country of Žaň-žuň he went upwards. Along this route there is the holy place of Tretapuri¹ which corresponds to the physical

¹ *Viz.*, Tirthapuri of the maps, on the right side of the Sutlej to the west of the Kailāsa. See below.

sphere in the list of the twenty-four places (of the Vajrakāya)¹. It is also the place where three valleys meet²; there from the root of a high mountain, the river Gaṅgā flows downwards³. Along its banks there are three divine abodes⁴ of Maheśvara... He (*viz.*, rGod ts'añ pa) remained there for a few days and his mind and his good inclinations greatly developed; great is the benediction one gets in that place. Then proceeding downwards he went to Mañ nañ of Guge⁵ in the country of Žaň žuň⁶. It was the residence of Atiśa and there is a miraculous spring. Then he went downwards to the temple mT'o ldiñ in Žaň žuň where he saw the residence of Lha btsun Byañ c'ub 'od, etc.⁷ He went without hesitation through the big rivers, but his body enjoyed a very good health. Then, having crossed the whole country of Žaň žuň he went to Spiti, where, above Bi lcogs⁸, he met the great *Siddha* K'a rag pa who was unrivalled in the meditation of the rDsogs c'en system. Then, going upwards he found in a small monastery a naked monk who (continually) counted (while reciting it) the syllable *hūm*. Proceeding further he met a great *siddha* called "the man from Brag smug". This master was continually sitting in meditation and did not speak a word to anybody...

Then he went to Gar śa where there is the mountain Gandhala⁹.

¹ As to the mystic equivalence of these places see below.

² The three valleys are that of the Sutlej, that of Missar and that of the river which flows into the Sutlej to the south of Tirthapuri.

³ Gaṅgā means of course the Sutlej.

⁴ Lha brten (Lha rten) is, in this case, rather "a divine abode" than temple: as I said elsewhere, every rock near the temple of Tirthapuri is supposed to be the abode of some god or Tāntric deity. TUCCI, *Santi e briganti nel Tibet ignoto*, p. 120.

⁵ Mañ nañ is to the south-east of Toling; it was the birth-place of the lotsāva of Mañ nañ, one of the pupils of Rin c'en bzañ po. See TUCCI, *Rin c'en bzañ po e la rinascita del Buddhismo nel Tibet Occidentale intorno al mille—Indo-Tibetica II*. I visited this place during my Tibetan expedition of 1935 and as I stated in the *Illustrated London News*, 28th January 1936, I found there three chapels, in one of which splendid frescoes by Indian artists of the XIth century still exist. See TUCCI, *Indian Paintings in Western Tibetan Temples*, in *Artibus Asiae*, VII, p. 191.

⁶ Although, as a rule, Žaň žuň is considered to be a synonym of Guge, this passage seems to show that Žaň žuň had a wider extension and that Guge was merely a province of the same. The same fact is pointed out by the travels of sTag ts'añ ras pa and by a very accurate biography of the Sa skya chiefs which I found in Shipki. *Bla ma brgyud pa'i rnam par t'ar pa ño mts'ar snañ ba*, p. 8, a: *pu rañ, žaň žuň, glo bo, dol po, gu gc.*

⁷ On Lha btsun Byañ c'ub 'od, see TUCCI, *Rin c'en bzañ po*, etc., p. 17 ff.

⁸ Bi lcogs is perhaps Pilche in the Lipak valley opposite Nako.

⁹ This seems to show that our pilgrim went from Spiti to Lahul (Gar śa, Ga śa or Gar ža) through the Chandra valley, which was formerly the usual route bet-

This mountain is one mile high and he saw on its top the selfborn *stūpa* called *dharmamu tri*¹. On its four sides there are miraculous rivers and trees. It is a place blessed by all *dpa' bo*² and *dākinīs*: it is also the residence of *yogins* and *yoginīs* who have attained to perfection. It is a place absolutely superior to all others . . .

There was a kind of small monastery in a village high up; since he did not want to stop there, he went to the Lotsāva of mGar³ and informed him about his plan of going as far as Dsva lan dha ra (Jalandhara), but the Lotsāva replied that he could not reach the place and that he would scarcely survive⁴ . . .

Then he despatched an interpreter with some provisions, who told everything to the minister of the king of Cam be (Chamba) who was called Su tu, and since this one asked him to lead along the two great ascetics, he replied that if the king gave the order they would come after due deliberation. Three days after, leaving Gar śa they reached the bottom of a high pass full of snow reflecting the sky like a mirror. It was so high that it seemed to rise to heaven⁵. They were considering how it would have been possible to find a way there, when they met

ween the two provinces before the Shigri glacier collapsed. See HUTCHINSON and VOGEL, *History of the Panjab Hill States*, II, 449. Gandhala is Gandhola (Guru Ghanatal). According to the tradition which was told during my visit to the place during my travels of 1931, another mountain was the abode of the famous *siddha* Ghaṅṭā pā whose cave is still shown from afar; this explains the Tibetan name of the place Dril bu ri, *viz.*, the mountain of the bell, *viz.*, probably of the *Siddha* Ghaṅṭā pā, upon whom see GRUNWEDEL, *Die Geschichten der 84 Zauberer*, p. 192. This Dril bu ri is perhaps that alluded to by TARANATHA, *Edelsteinmine*, p. 17. On Gandhola and Dril bu ri there is a *māhātmya gnas c'en dril bu ri dan ghan dho la gnas yig don gsal ba*. It is therefore evident that Dril bu ri and Gandhola are two different places. Dril bu ri is the Mountain called after the *Siddha* referred to above and Gandhola is called after the temple of Bodh Gaya. The *māhātmya* of Gandhola was translated by J. SCHUBERT, *Der tibetische Māhātmya des Wallfahrtsplatzes Triloknath*, in *Artibus Asiae*, IV and V.

¹ Perhaps, *dharmamūrti*; every *stūpa* contains the essence of *dharmā* and is, therefore, the symbol of *dharmā*.

² This shows the connection of legends here located by the Tibetan tradition with the Tāntric cycle of Saṃvara (*viz.*, Heruka) in which the *vīra* (*dpa' bo*) and *dākinī* play such an important rôle. Upon this cycle *vide* TUCCI, *Indo-Tibetica* III, Part II, p. 42.

³ The village should be Gondla or Gundla. Is mGar for 'Gar?

⁴ The statement contained in *History of the Panjab Hill States* by HUTCHINSON and VOGEL, p. 478, that Gozzan (rGod ts'añ) lama of Lahul lived in the eleventh century must be corrected; nor was rGod ts'añ pa a man from Lahul, though his memory is still living in that country.

⁵ Is this the Drati pass (15,391 feet) now also dreaded on account of its stone avalanches? *Vide* VOGEL, *Antiquities of the Chamba State*, I, p. 23.

many Mon pa¹ who carried loads: "so—they thought—if these get through, we also can get through". Then those Mon pa with the help of the pick-axe began digging their track and went on; we also followed them. At midday we reached the pass. But the descent was even steeper than the ascent, so that we began we began to be frightened, thinking how we could go through it. But one of the Mon pa, leading the way and being tied by a rope to the waist, dug some holes in the rock with his pick-axe so that we also went slowly after him. At dusk we reached the bottom of the pass... Then after about twelve days we came to the presence of the king of Cambhe. There all the mountains of the country of the Mon come to an end. The plain of India is even as the palm of the hand.

The king of the place is called Bi tsi kra ma²; he commands seven thousand officers; each officer is appointed over seven thousand soldiers. Inside the wall (of the royal palace) the *lotsāva* beat the *damaru* and all men of the palace and all people from the town came to see (the visitors). The king himself sat in a verandah and expressed in many ways his astonishment³... They remained there about five or six days and were happy. Then in three days they reached Dsa lan dha ra. When they entered the town, a man came out from a crowd, went in front of the ascetic⁴ and saying "my master, my master" led him by his hand (to his house) and offered him good food. This country of Dsa lan dhara is but one of the twenty-four (branches as represented by the twenty-four) places (of the Vajrakāya)⁵.

¹ Mon pa are called by Tibetans the tribes of the borderland towards India and in many places the aborigines of the provinces later on conquered by them. DAINELLI, *Spedizione De-Filippi*, I, p. 135. LAUFER, *Klu 'bum bsdus pa'i sñin po*, p. 94.

² Perhaps: vicitra var mā; one Vicitravarman is recorded by the *Vamśāvalī* of Chambā as the son of Vidagdha (XIth century), but no king of this name of the XIIIth century is known to me.

³ Is this the meaning of *par pir smra ba*?

⁴ Called in the text, as usual: *Rin po c'e*, viz., "the gem".

⁵ According to various Tantric schools and specially that of Śaṅvara the soil of India is considered to be the *vajra*-body of Buddha and it is divided into twenty-four limbs, each corresponding to a holy place (*piṭha*) of famous renown. The 24 places are presided over by 24 deities called *dpa' bo* regularly included in the mystic *maṇḍala* of the 62 deities of the Śaṅvaratantra. I have given the complete list and description of these deities in my *Indo-Tibetica* III, Part II, p. 42 ff. where the Tibetan literature on this subject has been investigated. Our pilgrim following evidently a Tibetan tradition, locates the *piṭhas* of the diamond-body in North-Western India: so at the end of his travels to the Swat Valley O rgyan pa can boast of having made the tour of all the 24 holy places. The Tibetan tradition accepted by rGod ts'añ pa, O rgyan pa and sTag ts'añ ras pa is certainly more recent than the other alluded to in

As to the external twenty-four holy places in the Jambu-dvīpa they are the twenty-four miraculous appearances of Heruka assumed by him in order to convert the twenty-four kinds of gross people capable of being converted. The twenty-four secret places correspond to the circles (*viz.*, the symbols) of body, speech and spirit in the *maṇḍala*. The twenty-four internal places are in one's own body...

In Dsa lan dhara all the *dpa' bo* (*vīra*) and *dākinī* assemble as clouds. As to this country, it is as even as the palm of the hand and easy; *bodhi*-trees and palm-trees and pines of various kinds grow (in this country) and many medical plants, such as the three myrobalans, grow also there.

To the left and to the right there are two big rivers which in their course meet; here along the bend of a mountain-spur in the shape of a sleeping elephant is the town of Nāga ko tre¹ with five thousand inhabitants. On the spur of that mountain there is a great temple called Dsa va la mu gi² in which both believers and unbelievers offer their worship. Thirty villages are in charge of this temple. The very day the pilgrim arrived and went to Dsva la mu khe, in the night there were in the temple sixty or seventy girls, all undefiled, beautiful and charming like divine girls, dressed with five-coloured dresses and adorned with various ornaments such as the jewelled crown. Some of them carried in their hands flowers and other things for the *pūjā* such as incense, etc. The girls having covered their head with a cotton veil, entered the temple. The pilgrim followed them, but a door keeper of low class holding the door-bolt did not allow him to go farther; but he, without hesitation, pushed the door and went in. The other stood up but was unable to hit him, and (the pilgrim) went inside. One of the principal ladies said "Sit down here, all these are *dākinīs*"³. Then

the rituals of the *Śamvaratantra*. According to this passage of rGod ts'añ pa there are:

(a) A series of 24 place geographically located in the supposed Vajra-kāya: they are supposed to be the mystic abodes of various manifestations of Heruka.

(b) The 24 places as reproduced in the symbolic spheres of the *maṇḍala*, they are secret in so far as their significance is explained by the *guru* to the disciple after a proper initiation.

(c) The 24 places in that *maṇḍala* which is one's own body; they must be meditated upon in the *ādhyātmikā-pūjā*.

¹ *Viz.*, Nagarkot, a name for Kangra, see below p. 393.

² *Viz.*, Jvālāmukhī, "Believers (*ṣ'yi*) and unbelievers (*nañ*)" are here respectively the Buddhist and the Hindus, but later on, at the times of s'Tag ts'añ ras pa, under the name of "believers" both Hindus; and Buddhists are included, the unbelievers then being the Muslims.

³ In spite of the corruption of the text it is easy to perceive that the sentence is in vernacular.

that lady began to sing some songs. The other girls sang as if they were either the sixteen mystic wisdoms (*vidyā*) or the twenty goddesses, made the offerings with the various ingredients of the *pūjā* such as flowers, incense, etc. They sang songs and danced accompanying the dance with gestures of the hands . . .

In front of that great town, downwards, there are five cemeteries ¹. The first is called Ka ma ku ldan sar where Brahmins and others carry pure corpses. Then there is the cemetery P'a ga su. It is a hill upon an even plain. On the top there is a temple of the heretics. It is the place where Śaṃvara resides. Then there is the great cemetery called La gu ra of triangular shape. There are images of the Sun and of the Moon with the symbols of *āli* and *kāli* ². Between these two, on a king of pillar, there is a self-born image of Bhaṭṭarikā-yoginī. Then there is another great cemetery called Mi bkra sa ra which bestows great benediction upon those who dwell in it and is possessed of various propitious signs. Then there is the cemetery Si ti sa ra which is in turn a meeting place of the *dpa' bo* and *dākinīs*. If one resides for some days in these cemeteries one's own merits greatly increase, and the (good) inclinations develop by abiding specially in the two great cemeteries La gu ra and P'a ga su ra...

In that town there are many begging monks among the unbelievers as well as among the believers, either noble *Yogins* or *Brahmins*.

As to the time for collecting alms (it is as follows). The mistress of the house gets up as soon as the sun begins to warm and after having well swept the house leads (out) the oxen and cleans the verandah. Their houses are cleaner than the monasteries and on the earthen walls many designs are painted. On one side of the kitchen they boil rice-pap and then the mistress of the house carrying a sesamum-oil-lamp burns some incense of good smell: then putting some hot rice-pap upon a plate of bell-metal she goes out, and when the family has bathed, she worships the sun and the moon, then the image of Śiva, the goddess

¹ The most famous of these cemeteries seems to have been that of Lagura or Laṅgura, referred to also by O rgyan pa and sTag ts'aṅ.

² *Āli* is the series of the vowels and *kāli* the series of the consonants, the two elements of all mantras and the symbols of cosmic creation. According to the Tantras, the two series are respectively encircling the sun and the moon, *viz.*, the mystic circles in the *nābhīpadma*, *viz.* the lotus of the navel-wheel at the junction of the veins *idā* and *pingalā*. Sun and moon are therefore symbols of the two aspects of the divine intelligence as it realizes itself in the reality of the phenomena. *Bhaṭṭarikā-yoginī* is the symbol of the central vein, the *suṣumnā* corresponding to the *turīya* state.

of the outer-door and the goddess of the inner door¹. Then the mistress of the house goes inside and when the rice-pap is cold, she eats it along with the husband, avoiding any uncleanness. At that time the smell of the aromatic herbs spreads out and all beggars go for alms. The *yogins* blow three times their brass-bell and carrying in one hand the gourd and in another the *ḍamaru*, they reach the door of a house, make the *ḍamaru* resound in various ways and say, "Give alms and practise the law".

The country which is very big is called *Dsua lan dha ra*, but it has numberless towns; *Na ga ko te* means in Tibetan "The castle of the snake". He stopped in that place for about five months, but since the nourishment was unsubstantive and agreeable food was lacking, his body was in a very bad condition. Then he returned to Tibet. Avoiding the route he took formerly, he went by a short-cut since he wanted to visit the holy place of *Ku lu ṭa*. After two days along that route he met in a place called *Ki ri raṃ* a great ascetic called *Anupama* whom he asked for the explanation of the law. The other uttered "Homage to the Buddha, homage to the Dharma, homage to the community", thus bestowing upon him the protection of the three jewels, and then he added: "We both are two *vajra*-brethren², disciples of *Ācārya Nāgārjuna*. Go to Tibet, you will greatly benefit the creatures".

Then he went to the holy place (*tīrtha*) of *Ku lu ṭa* which corresponds to the knees of the body included in the circle of the (*Vajra*-)*kāya* as represented by the twenty-four holy places. The core of this place is called *Siddhi* where there is a forest of white lotuses in flower; there, upon a stone there are the foot-prints of Buddha³. In that place one reaches quickly the best powers of the common degree⁴, but one meets also many hindrances; in this place there are two venerable (*bhadanta*) and one *yogin*.

Then he went to *Gar śa*; then to the retreat in *Ghan dha la*. He spent there the summer; and his inclinations to the practice of the good greatly increased. Then in the good greatly increased. Then in the autumn he reached the pass of *rTsañ śod* in *Spiti*.

I must confess that these itineraries of the Tibetan monks are far from that exactness which we admire in the writings of the Chinese

¹ I do not know the name of the two gods of the door; for the protector of the door, see W. CROOKE, *Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, 1926, pp. 98-99.

² *Viz.*, fellow-disciples in the mystic school of *Nāgārjuna*, the most famous master of the *Vajrayāna*.

³ Perhaps the same as the *stūpa* alluded to by *Hsüan-tsang*, I. 131.

⁴ *Viz.*, of the *Prajñāpāramitā* class.

travellers. As I said before, not only a great deal of legendary and fantastic elements permeates their descriptions, but the itinerary itself can hardly be followed from one place to another. Many reasons account for this fact; first of all proper names are spelt in the most arbitrary ways; there is no trace of the strict phonetic rule generally followed by the Chinese pilgrims. The Tibetan travellers try to transcribe into Tibetan letters the spelling of the various places which they happened to visit; but this transcription is often imperfect.

We cannot also forget that their works were for a long time copied by monks of various capacities, who never saw the places spoken of by the pilgrims. This is the reason why so many mistakes creep into these biographies, increasing the inaccuracies of the manuscripts which, as is well known to scholars, are, as a rule, far from being correct.

There are also cases, when the authors attempt to translate foreign names according to no fixed rule or according to some fanciful etymologies, which make very difficult the identification of the original. No criterion is also followed as regards enumeration of the places recorded in their narrative. In some cases the places are mentioned one after another; in other cases our pilgrims seem to forget the intermediate halts and record only the starting-point and the place of arrival. The direction is rarely given and even when noted it cannot claim to be always exact. Distances are never registered except in days: but this does not help us very much, because we do not exactly know the average length of their marches. As a rule the Tibetans are good walkers, but they halt a good deal during the day. So far as my experience goes, I can say that they march at the average of 10–15 miles per day. But in India they seem to proceed more slowly on account of the heat and the different conditions of the soil to which they are unaccustomed; on the whole, travelling in the plains is for them more tiring than marching through the highlands and the plateaus of their fatherland.

Records of speed are often mentioned in these writings, but we are confronted with exaggerations intended to show the miraculous powers of these *yogins* and their proficiency in those special *Hathayoga* practices in which the *rlun pa* are said to be specially expert.

For all these reasons it is particularly difficult to locate the places mentioned in our itineraries; localization on the basis of mere similarity of spelling of names, when no distance and no direction is given, is particularly doubtful. I must also confess that my interest is rather centred upon other branches of oriental literature than history and geography; this increases the difficulty of my task. But my purpose has only been to place before scholars more qualified for this kind of research than myself certain texts which I happened to find and which

are still difficult of access. I leave them to draw the conclusions, if any, from the sources here made accessible. As regards these sources, I must add that of the Tibetan text from O rgyan pa I selected those portions of his vast biography which have a real historical or geographical significance; legends, dreams, prophecies which enliven the narrative have been suppressed. I did not think it necessary to add to the travels of O rgyan pa those of sTag ts'añ ra pas, who is also known under the name of Orgyan pa Ñag dbañ rgya mts'o and is the founder of the monastery of Hemis in Ladakh. His date is known, since we are told in the Chronicles of Ladakh that he was a contemporary of King Señ ge rnam rgyal (about 1600-1645)¹.

His biography is easily accessible as it is printed in the monastery of Hemis, and it seems to have been composed at the time of the same ruler mentioned above by bSod nams rgyal mts'an dpal bzañ po. It bears the following title: *Au ñi ya ñag dbañ rgya mts'oi rnam t'ar legs bris vai dū rya dkar po*. This section, which comprehends the biography proper, is followed by the itinerary of O rgyan: *O rgyan mk'a' 'gro'i gliñ gi lam yig t'ar lam bgrad pa'i t'em skas*, written, according to the colophon, by sTag ts'añ himself and printed in Leh under the patronage of Señ ge rnam rgyal and the queen sKal bzañ sgröl ma.

The third section consists of songs of sTag ts'añ ras pa in the traditional style of the *dohākośa* and of the poems of Milaraspa, and bears the title: *O rgyan pa ñag dbañ rgya mts'o'i mgur 'bum žal gdams zab don ut pa la'i 'p'reñ ba*.

As a rule, place names in this itinerary are here better reproduced, but from the geographical point of view we are confronted with the same inaccuracy as has been referred to in other Tibetan itineraries; anyhow a good deal of other useful information is to be derived from the diary of sTag ts'añ ras pa.

The comparison of the two itineraries, *viz.* that of O rgyan pa and that of his later imitator proves very interesting; we realize the progress done by Islam during the three centuries which approximately intervene between the two travellers; sTag ts'añ ras pa set off with the *lam yig* of his predecessor as his guide; so, at least, we read in his notes of travel. But very often he failed to find the places there mentioned; is this fact due to the inaccuracy of the redaction of the diary of O rgyan pa which he employed, or was it the result of historical events which in many a place had already altered the importance of old cities and villages and shifted the halting-places of caravans from one site to another?

¹ PETECH, *Notes on Ladakhi history*, in *IHQ*, XXIV (1948), p. 220.

I feel rather inclined to accept the first view; comparing the lists of the places visited by both pilgrims, we easily realize that the spelling of names in O rgyan pa's travels was badly handled by the copyists; I subjoin a few instances. While the manuscript at my disposal reads 'Bhrarmila', the copy used by sTag ts'añ had 'Varamila': so O rgyan pa's 'Sila' seems to correspond to 'Hila' of sTag ts'añ; for another place our manuscript gives two readings 'Brahor' and 'Bhahola', while the copy of sTag ts'añ reads 'Hora'; so also while on the one side we have 'Na'ugri' or 'Na'utri' as the name of a big salt-mine, on the other side the itinerary used by sTag ts'añ reads 'Bain-hoti'. In this way it is clear that it is a difficult task for us to identify correctly the route followed by the pilgrims, as it was for sTag ts'añ to find out the places his predecessor went through. In fact comparing the lists here appended we must come to the conclusion that he followed a quite independent route; if we except the valley of Swat proper, where more or less the itinerary is the same, the places registered in the *Lam yig* of sTag ts'añ are not to be found in that of O rgyan pa—the only exception being Malot and Rukāla; it can only be stated that sTag ts'añ went out of Swat, at least partially, by the same way by which his predecessor had entered; but this implies that San dhi pa and Ka vo ka correspond to *Ka bo ko*, *Ka'oka* and *Si ddha bor*. The route also to Kashmir is through Jhelum and the Pirpanjal, and not through the Hazara district as in the case of O rgyan pa. The many adventures he met on the way compelled sTag ts'añ to take long detours and very often to retrace his steps. Anyhow in order to have a better idea of the two routes it is interesting to give the list of the places as registered in the two itineraries.

*O rgyan pa*¹

gDoñ dmar
 ^{1/2} day
 North door of Ti se
 Ma p'am lake
 Kulu
 Maru
 Gar ña ta ma mountain
 Jalandhara Nagarkete (Nagarkot)
 Lañ gu ra cemetery
 20 days
 Chandrabhaga river

sTag ts'añ ras pa

Ti se, Myañ po ri rdsoñ,
 Pretapuri, K'yuñ luñ,
 Sarang-la, rNam rgyal, Pu
 Sa, Soran, K'yags,
 Su ge t'añ
 Dsva la mukhe
 Jalandhara-Kañgarkot
 Lañ gu ra cemetery
 1 day
 Nu ru p'u

¹ The Arabic numbers show the distance in days from one place to another, according to the itineraries. The spelling is that of the Tibetan texts.

O rgyan pa

Indranila on that river	
Bhrarmila	1 day
Si la	
Town of the Mongols	
near a river flowing from	
Kashmir	
Brahor (Bhahola)	1 day
Na'ugri, Na'utri	
1 day (or 3 in the verses)	
Malakoṭe (Malakoṭa)	5 days
Rukala	4 days
Rajahura	
Sindhu river	
Kalabur	
Bhik'robhasa	1 day
Kaboko, Ka'oka	1 day
Bhonele, Bhenele	
Siddhabhor	1 day
K'a rag k'ar	
Kodambar river	
Ilo mountain	
(all together 7 days from Ka'oka)	
	1 day
Ra yi k'ar (near Lha ba pa's cave)	
Mangalaor	1/2 day
Dhumat'ala	
Kama'oṅka mountain (to the W.)	
(Kamalaglupa cave)	
Maṅgala-pani (to the N. of Dumat'ala)	
	5 days
Ghari	7 days
Ur śa	

sTag ts'añ ras pa

Sri na ga ra	
Pa ṭhan na	
Nosara	
Ka ṭhu ha ra	
Parurda	
Paṭhanmusur	
Sakiri	
Salau	
Bhets'arbhura	
Salakanṭhu	
Soṭakoṭa	
Ghortsoraka	2 days
Balanagaratila	
Kashmir	
Varan	1 day
Maṭe	
Zaṅs dkar	
'Bar gdan	
Ga śa	
K'añ gsar Dar rtse	
Skye nañ	
Gusamaṅḍala	2 days
Re p'ag	1 day
Maru	2 days
Pata	
Koṭala pass	
Paṅgi	
Sura	
Naran-Kamaru	2 days
Tsambhe dam pa	
	7 days
Hindutam	
Nurup'u—as before up to	
Gotsoraka	
big river from Kashmir	
(Varamila) †	

† The names between brackets are those of the places searched for by sTag ts'añ as being in the itinerary of O rgyan pa but not found.

<i>O rgyan pa</i>	<i>sTag ts'añ ras pa</i>
3 days	15 days
Tsi k'ro ta	Hila
1 days	(Hora)
Ramikoti (Rasmisvari)	(Bañhoti)
9 days	3 days
rDo rje mula	Muraga river
Kashmir	3 days
Jalandhara	Tsošara
	Dhodhošna
	Vavula
	2 days
	Malotṭa
	2+9 day
	Salt lake
	3 days
	Rukāla
	Akkithial
	Bhahapur
	Mālapur
	Uts'alapur
	Sapunpur
	Reuret
	Atike—Indus
	Mats'ilkanathatril
	Pora
	Nosara
	Mataṅgana
	Miṭhapāni
	Mādha
	Atsimi
	Pakšili
	Dhamdhori
	Kiṭuhar
	Bhaṭhurvar
	Paṭhapamge
	Mutadni
	Kapola
	Kandhahar
	Hasonagar
	Paruka
	Nasbhala
	Sik'ir
	Momolavajra
	Sithar
	Bhayasahura
	Hasonagar again
	Paruba (before Paruka)
	Nyapala

sTag ts'an ras pa

Apuka
 Killitila
 Sikir
 Momolavajra
 Sinora
 Pelahar
 Muthilli
 Muşambi
 Muthikşi
 Mahātilli
 Satāhulda
 Kalabhyatsi
 Saṅgiladhuba
 Goṭhaiaśakam
 Pass

3 days

Dsmok'ati where all the waters
 of O rgyan meet

5 days

Yalom pelom

5 days

K'arakśar

3 days

Rāyīsar

3 days

Rahorbhyara (Maṅgalaor)

Rāyisar again

1 days

Oḍiyāna (Dhumat'ala)

Kamalabir mountain

Maṅgalapaṇi

Oḍiyāna again

Rāyīsar

Midora

K'aragśar

Sandhibhor

Kavoka

Bhyatsabhasabhasor

5 days

Sindhu

Radsahura (not far from Antike)

2 days

Nila

Kamthe

Nepale	
Nilā'u	
Laṅka	
Horaṅā	
Aśakamni	
Mahatsindhe	
Ghelamri	
	6 days
Gorśāla	
	2 days
Kalpa	
Rukāla	
Rahorbunḍa	
Ravata	
Satā	
Hati	
Tsiru	
Rutā	
Dselom	
Sara	
Bhebar	
Nośara	
Ratsuga	
	3 days
Lithana	
Pirbaṅtsa	
	2 days
Kashmir	
Varan	
Maṭe	
	10 days
Zaṅs dkar	
Mar yul	

As to the names of places, they are in general, no more accurate in sTag ts'aṅ than in O rgyan pa; many of them have lost their somewhat archaic forms often purely Sanskritic and have become more or less similar to modern names; Jalandhara is also registered as Kangarkot, Malakot has become Malot, and so on. Whereas in O rgyan pa the Mongols are usually called Sog po or Hor, *viz.* the traditional Tibetan names for Mongols and Turks in sTag, ts'aṅ they are known regularly as Mongol and as Pathan, though in his writings Pathan seems to have occasionally assumed the meaning of *jag pa*, *viz.* robber.

But as regards Kashmir, the names are so like the modern ones, that doubt may arise whether they have not been by chance given this shape in quite recent times, by some learned Lama of Hemis on the

occasion of the reprint of the itinerary. One might think that to the same elaboration of the text are also perhaps due the dialogues in Hindi often inserted in the book, and which seem to have a quite modern turn. But certain forms, as kindly suggested to me by my friend S. K. Chatterjee, are now obsolete and point to an early stage of Hindī: *hami*, *tumi*, *roṭi velā khai*, etc.

I subjoin two examples:

fol. 10—When sTag ts'añ escapes slavery in Momolavajra and is saved by a Brahmin in Sithar, the following dialogue takes place between the Tibetan pilgrim and that Brahmin (fol. 10, b): —

Hindi	Translation of the Tibetan version
sT. Hami bhoṭanti dsogi huva	I am a Tibetan ascetic (Tib. <i>rtogs ldan</i>).
Br. Kaśimiri bha (corr. bho) ṭanti aya	Are you a Tibetan from Kashmir?
sT. Hami Kaśimiri nahi; hama- ra mahā tsinṇa huva Kaśi- miri thibaṅṭa pari daśa masi nighaya hayi	I am not a Kashmiri; I am from (the province of dBus and gTsañ) beyond Kashmir; I left after a ten months (journey).

When he meets the old Brahmin who with his caravan leads him to Rukāla (fol. 8, a):

Hindi	Translation of the Tibetan version
Br. Tu mi abo eham bhésa roṭi vela k'a'i kyī na hi	Yo come here; sit here, do you eat bread or not?
sT. K'ahi k'ahi	I do eat it.
Br. Hami bramze huva; tumi t'orra bh'yat'a saṅgi rdono ho dsa	I am a Brahmin, wait a mo- ment. Let us go together.

The comparison of the two itineraries is also interesting from many other points of view. It shows that at the time of O rgyan pa Islamic invasion had not yet completely destroyed the last traces of Buddhism and Hinduism. We find, in the account of his travels, hints of survival of small Hindu principalities in the Salt Range and in Uḍḍiyāna. As I said before, the names of places are still recorded in a Sanskritic form as can easily be realized even through the corruption that their spelling underwent in the Tibetan manuscripts. On the other hand, when

sTag ts'añ undertook his travels, Islam had succeeded in establishing its supremacy more or less everywhere.

As to O rgyan it appears, from the account of the two pilgrims that Udegram-Manglaor was considered the very core of the country along with the sacred mountain of Ilam already famous at the time of the Chinese travellers. But the kings of O rgyan did not reside there, but rather on the outskirts towards Hindustan. In the travels of O rgyan pa there is no mention of a king of O rgyan or of his capital; only a prefect is recorded as residing in a place called Ka bo ko or Ka'oka, perhaps three days' march before the Karakār Pass. This prefect, to judge from his name Rājadeva, was a Hindu or a Buddhist, certainly not a Muslim. At the time of sTag ts'añ ras pa the capital of O rgyan is said to be Dsamikoti. It was in a valley which collected the waters of the country of O rgyan, and at the same time one could reach from there the mountain Ilam in five days without crossing the Karakār Pass. This king was called Pañtsagaya. No mention is made of the religion he followed, but there is hardly any doubt that he was a Muslim, though very liberal and well disposed towards the Tibetan pilgrim.

These kings ruled therefore over a vast territory including, besides the Swāt proper, even parts of Buner.

There is no record in the accounts of our pilgrims of monks or learned people who continued the tradition of Buddhist scholarship; if he had met any, O rgyan pa would not have failed to mention his name, as he did in the case of Kashmir.

Anyhow, at the time of O rgyan pa a popular and magic form of Buddhism still survived. Witchcraft, for which Uḍḍiyāna had been famous even in the times of the Chinese pilgrims, was then in full swing. But the old traditions recorded by the Chinese travellers and centred round the figure of Śākyamuni or his preachings seem to have been forgotten or to have ceased to attract the attention of the people. The atmosphere which surrounds and inspires the pilgrims is purely tāntric. Śaṃvara and Guhyasamāja have become the most prominent Mahāyāna deities; the place of Śākyamuni and his disciples has been taken over by Indrabhūti and Kambalapā. These facts quite agree with the revival of Tāntric Buddhism in the Swāt valley which was chiefly due to the work of Indrabhūti and his followers, a work certainly deserving greater attention than has been given to them up to now.

At the time of sTag ts'añ there is not the slightest trace of any survival of Buddhism but we have only the mention of ruins; even the sādhus, who were occasionally his companions of travel or whom he found in the country, do not seem to have been Buddhist since they belonged to the sect of the Nāthapanthīyas.

PART II

TRANSLATION OF THE ITINERARY OF O RGYAN PA

Setting out from gDoñ dmar in Pu rañs ¹ in half a day we ² reached the north door of Ti se ³, king of glaciers, and started meditating among a crowd of five hundred ascetics (*ras pa*) ⁴. Then we drunk the water of the (Lake) Ma p'am ⁵.

Then we arrived at Kulu (Ku lu ṭa) or Maru ⁶, which corresponds to the knees and the toes of the Vajra-body divided into twenty-four great places.

At that time we did in one day the road which to an ordinary man takes seven days, without relenting or being tired either in body or in spirit ⁷. In this place a female *kṣetrapāla* dropping pus and blood from the nose, said (to us): "First of all do not abide in front of the master. Then do not abide in the middle of thy companions. I stay here; I will procure (your) maintenance".

Then I thought that somehow I could go to O rgyan ⁸.

¹ Pu rañs is the eastermost province of Western Tibet. At the time of O rgyan pa it was under independent chiefs of the lDe family. See G. TUCCI, *Rin c'en bzañ po—Indo-Tibetica*, II, pp. 16, 22, and TUCCI-GHERSI, *Secrets of Tibet*, p. 251. As to gDoñ dmar, it is unknown to me.

² *Viz.*, O rgyan pa and his companion d Pal ye.

³ *Viz.*, Kailāsa; Ti se is the aboriginal name of Kailāsa; perhaps this name is to be related with Te se known in Tibetan demonology as one of the nethern spirits (*sa bdag*). According to the Bonpos, the mountain is sacred to Gi k'od or rather to the Gi k'ods because, in some Bonpo manuscripts I found that the Gi k'ods are 360. The Buddhists consider the Kailāsa as the mystic palace of bDe mc'og *viz.*, Saṅvara: upon Saṅvara see G. TUCCI, *Indo-Tibetica*, III, II,

⁴ *Ras pa, viz.*, "a person wearing cotton clothes" is a common designation for all ascetics though it is specially applied to the *grub t'ob* of the *bKa' rgyud pa* sect

⁵ Ma p'am or Ma p'añ is the name for Manosarovar; it is also called: *g'yu ts'o* "turquoise-lake". from the colour of its waters, or *ma dros pa* = anavatapta.

⁶ S. LÉVI proposed to identify Maru with Chitral. From our accounts it seems that the Tibetan tradition, which must have some weight since it depends upon Indian data, located that country in Kulu or in the upper Chandrabhaga Valley, bordering Chambá; Maru, according to the *Varṇśāvalī* of the Chamba kings, is the reviver of the solar race and practically the founder of the royal lineage of Chamba. See VOGEL, *Antiquities of the Chamba State*, I, pp. 81 and 91.

⁷ This refers to a special *yoga* practised by some Tibetan ascetics which is believed to develop the capacity of running at great speed. Those who practise this meditation are called, as we saw, *rluñ p'a*.

⁸ O rgyan pa took that girl for a *ḍākini*.

Then during the hot months we resided in the great mountain called Garṇaṭama¹ where many good medicinal plants grow; there are also five miraculous springs Successful discussion with an Indian ascetic . . .

Then, along with many Indian ascetics, we went to Jalandhara² corresponding to the top of the head of the twenty-four places (of the Vajra-body).

At that place there is a great town called Nagarkete (*viz.* Nagarkoṭ, Kangra). In a river there is a triangular³ piece of land; digging of the soil there is forbidden; there is a cemetery⁴ called Lañ gu ra, where there is a boulder which looks like a skull; a self-made (image) of⁵ Āryabhaṭṭārikā appears there. To the north there is a famous image called Jvālāmukhī where on looking⁶ at the divine face everything blazes in fire. Near the royal palace there is a cemetery called Miṭapara where there is a cave of the Mahātmā Nāgārjuna called Miṭaglupa. In front of it there is one of the eight kinds of trees called Nilavṛkṣa⁷. If you hurt it, you die immediately. So he said.

From that mountain, travelling one month we went to the south;
In the royal palace of the country of Jalandhara
There is a great bazaar where (one finds) goods (meeting) all
wishes.

I was not able to carry away any handsome good.

After twenty days' march from Jalandhara we reached the Ghaṭali⁸, i.e. a tributary of the Chandrabhaga, on whose banks there is the town of Indranīla.

¹ Garṇaṭama cannot be located by me.

² In the MSS. Dsva rar. As to this place see above p. 379. Cf. HUTCHINSON & VOGEL, *History of the Panjab Hill States*.

³ C'os 'byuñ in this sense is not in the dictionaries but the glosses of Tsoñ k'a pa on the *Guhyasamājaṭikā* by Candrakīrti, fol. 93,6 b, clearly states that it is a synonym of *zur gsum*, "triangle".

⁴ The correction *dur k'rod* for *k'rod* as in the manuscript is sure: rGod ts'añ pa and sTag ts'añ refer to the same place as a famous cemetery. So also O rgyan pa himself in this same page when he relates the story of the *ganacakra* which he and his companions held in this place (*La gyu ra yi dur k'rod*).

⁵ Rañ byon for the more frequent rañ 'byuñ, self-born.

⁶ *bstan* = *mig lta ba*.

⁷ According to the Tāntric tradition, each cemetery is possessed of its peculiar characteristics, *viz.* its own tree, its protecting deity, its *nāga*, etc. The lists from Sanskrit and Tibetan sources are given in *Indo-Tibetica*, III, II, p. 173 ff.

⁸ Most probably the Ravi.

To the east there is the plain of rGya skyags¹. One night we met (*lit.* there was) a woman who was putting, while singing, many weapons into a bag². Next morning we met four Hor horsemen and I was hit by one of them with the back of an axe; since I withstood him violently, he dragged me for half a day by the scarf I used in my ascetic exercises³, kicked me in the chest and, then, I lost the sight. But at that time I collected the vital force (*prāṇa*) and the mental force in the wheel of the *bindu* and I let them go into the central vein⁴.

dPal ye⁵ thought that I was dead. Then, restored to my strength, I made a great noise and I overpowered him (the Hor) with the exorcistic magnetising look, so that he was unable to speak and began to tremble. All our companions said that I was a *siddha*.

From Intanīla (*viz.* Indranīla) we reached Bharmila⁶ in one day; from there we went to Si la. Then we arrived at a town of the Mongols whose name I have forgotten. From this place upwards Indians are mixed with Hor. Some are Hindus (that is, people of India); some are Musurman; some, being fused together and living in the plains, are equally called Mo go la.

At that place there is a river flowing from Kashmir⁷; we forded it and reached a town called Brahora⁸ of 7,000,000 inhabitants (*sic*). The prefect of the town is a Tartar Malik Kardharina by name. One

¹ Unidentified, but perhaps a translation of Bhārata.

² According to O rgyan pa this woman must have been a ḍākinī for telling the impeding danger.

³ *Sgom t'ag, yogapaṭṭa*, the scarf used by ascetics for fastening together their limbs in some of the most difficult yoga-postures.

⁴ O rgyan pa refers to a Haṭha-yoga practice of preserving the vital force; mind-stuff, *sems* (Skr. *citta*), is believed to have *prāṇa* with its five-fold principal aspects as its vehicle. In the moments of deep meditation this mind-stuff is made to enter in the central vein (*avadhūti, cāṇḍālī* or *madhyamā*), which is supposed to run from the top of the head to the *adhiṣṭhānacakra, viz.*, to the wheel under the navel; a *t'uñ* "short a" is considered to be the symbol of the germinal consciousness as present in ourselves.

⁵ dPal ye is, as we saw the companion of O rgyan pa.

⁶ According to the copy used by sTag ts'añ: Varamila. As to Si la (sTag ts'añ: Hila) it may correspond to Helān.

⁷ *Viz.* the Jhelum; the town of which this pilgrim has forgotten the name is perhaps Mong or Haria.

⁸ The only big place on the route followed by O rgyan pa seems to be Pindi Dadan Khan, which formerly was one of the biggest salt-markets; of course the number of inhabitants is exaggerated. One may also think of Bhera, but this town is on the left side of the river. Nau-giri perhaps may be a corruption of Lavana-giri. The salt mountain must be searched for in the proximity of the Khewra mines.

day's march from this town, there is a hill full of mineral salt; it is called Na'ugri; the salt (used in) Kashmir, Malo'o, Ghodsar, Dhokur, Jālandhara¹ is taken from there. Many salt merchants come from this place even to Jālandhara. The big road to these salt-mines offers very little danger since one finds plenty of food, many companions and there are, usually, many bazaars. So he related.

From there we reached in one day Bhahola².

From the river (which flows in that place) we went to the west for one day's march.

There is a mountain of mineral salt called Na'utri³.

I did not carry away a bit of salt.

So he said.

Then, in one day, we went to Malakoṭa⁴, where we begged (food) from the queen (*rānī*) of that place, Bhu dse de bhi (Bhujadevi) by name, and she gave us food, provisions and clothes. That place is famous as "the gate of the ocean, mine of jewels"⁵. There is a temple founded by king Hulahu⁶. There great plants of *rtse bo*⁷ grow.

Then three days' march to the west⁸

In the town of Malakoṭa,

There is the gate of the mine of jewels (the ocean).

He did not carry away even a bundle of medical herbs.

All sorts of trees grown from the earth.

So he said.

¹ Malo'o is Malot, Ghodsar is Gujrat.

² Evidently the same as Brahora on the river.

³ The same as Naugiri.

⁴ Malot. Its temples are well known. For references see V. A. SMITH, *History of Fine Arts in India and Ceylon*, 2nd Edition, p. 119. COOMARASWAMY, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, pp. 74 and 143. It is difficult to state why Malot is called the "gate of the ocean"; perhaps this was due to the fact of there being some important market, to which caravans used to carry goods from the sea and the Indus mouth.

⁵ The Sindu-Sagar Doab.

⁶ Hulagu it can hardly be, in spite of the similarity of spelling, the famous emperor who was almost a contemporary of our pilgrim; the temple alluded to must be a Hindu temple, as is proved by the statement of sTag ts'añ ras pa that it was destroyed by the Moghuls; according to *Archaeological Report*, V, p. 185, it was founded by the Kauravas and Paṇḍavas.

⁷ *rTse bo*, viz., *rtse po*; *rtse po* is, according to Sarat Chandra Das, a plant called in Indian texts *kañṭakāri*.

⁸ But, in the prose section, they reached Malot in one day only.

There we went for five days to the north-west to the town of Rukala¹. There a queen, Somadeva by name², gave us provisions for the journey. Then in four days we reached Rajahura, which is one of the four gates to O rgyan. The other three gates are Nila³, Pur śo, Ka'oka.

In Rajahura (Rajpur) we went for alms; but as soon as we thought of eating (what we had collected), all fruits turned into ants and into worms. I showed it to dPal ye, who felt nausea and was unable to eat. Winking with the eyes I said "eat" and the rest of what I had been eating turned into fruits and grapes. But he did not feel the inconvenience of being without food and was not able (to partake of that)⁴. So he related.

To the west of this town there flows the river Sindhu. It is one of the four rivers flowing (from the Kailāsa) and it springs forth from the mouth of a lion in the Kailāsa⁵. It flows through Mar yul⁶ and then, from the country of 'Bru śa⁷ on the North of Kashmir (which country borders on Zañs dkar and Purig)⁸, through sTag-gzig⁹ reaches O rgyan.

Taking hold of one another's hand we went to the ford of the Sindhu. I entered a boat and asked the boatman to pull the boat, but this man said: "No objection, (but) on the other side of the river they say there are Hor; there is fear of being killed". I replied that I was not afraid of dying and he pulled the boat. From this place upwards there is the country of O rgyan; there are 90,000 towns, but no other

¹ Rupwal; Nila is about ten miles to the north-west of this town.

² Either rāṇā Somadeva or rāṇī Somadevi.

³ Perhaps the same as Nila on the Soan River to the east of Pindi Gheb.

⁴ The translation of this passage is doubtful.

⁵ Cf. *Indo-Tibetica* I, p. 80. That is why the Indus is called by the Tibetans *Señ ge k'a 'bab*.

⁶ Mar yul is Ladakh; I have shown elsewhere (*INDO-TIBETICA* II, p. 15) that though in recent times Mañ yul has been also used for Mar yul, originally Mañ yul was a district to the east of Purang on the borderland between Tibet and Nepal. It has been stated, but I think on very poor grounds, that the so-called Mo lo so (*WATERS, On Yuan Chwang's travels*, I, p. 299) corresponds to Ladakh; but the form Mar po suggested by Cunningham does not exist, at least to my knowledge.

⁷ 'Bru śa is Gilgit. LAUFER, *Die Bruža Sprache*.

⁸ Purig is the district of Kargil.

⁹ sTag gzig corresponds, as known to Tajig and is the usual name for Persia or Persian: of course Persia in our text refers to Chilas and must be understood in a broad sense as the countries depending upon Persia. This passage and the following statement point to the fact that the name of O rgyan was not confined to the Swat valley, but included part of Buner and, roughly, speaking, the territory between the Swat and the Indus.

place there except Dhumat'ala ¹ is called U rgyan. At that time O rgyan had been just conquered by the Hor. So he related.

Having forded that river, there is (a town) called Kalabur (°pur). We reached there at sunset; all inhabitants, men as well as women, thinking that we were Hor, began to hit us with stones; then we took shelter among some trees and they, saying that that night we could not go anywhere else, departed. But that very night a great storm broke out and we ran away unnoticed from the village through a bypass.

He said that in the interior of O rgyan there were sTag gzig. Then met (*lit.* there were) a husband and wife who had run away from the Hor and were returning home, driving cows and sheep and carrying with them a small child. We said to them: " We are two Tibetan monks going on pilgrimage to O rgyan. Having happened to meet you, let us accompany you as far as Dhumat'ala " ². Then I carried the child and drove the cattle... Having forded the Sindhu we went to Bhi-k'robhasa ³; then in one day's march we reached Kaboko ⁴. In this town all people have a virtuous mind and a great wisdom. There are provisions in great quantities and mines of carminium. Its chief is called Rājadeva; he is the master of the greatest part of U rgyan.

One month to the west of that town ⁵
 To the west of the ford on the river Sindhu
 There is the town of Ka'oka,
 Where there are mines of carminium;
 But he was unable to carry away even a bit of it.
 So he said.

Then that liberal master gave in the country an entertainment and sent us a man to accompany us up to Bhonele (Buner), distant one day's march and, (as to the towns) beyond that place, (he gave us) a letter to lead us safely up to the holy place of Dhumat'ala (in which he had written): " Let them be accompanied by such and such to such and such places " From Bhonele we reached Siddhabhor (Siddhapur) and then, having forded a small river (the Burandu), we went in one

¹ This implies the equivalence of Dhumat'ala, often spoken of in the Padmasambhava literature, with U rgyan; the name of U rgyan, Uḍḍiyāna still survives in the village Udegram, the Ora of the Greek authors, upon which see SIR AUREL STEIN, *On Alexander's track to the Indus*. Cf. also down below sTag ts'añ's itinerary.

² *Ms.* Humata la.

³ Perhaps Beka.

⁴ Kotha?

⁵ The town referred to here is that mentioned in the previous verse, i.e. Malokota.

day to K'a rag k'ar¹. From this place upwards they say there is the boundary². There are good rice and wheat, and various kinds of good fruits get ripe; there are meadows green like the neck of the peacock.

(The country) is covered by soft herbs and by flowers of every kind of colour and smell; there is a river running through U rgyan called Kodambhar³. To the east there is the mountain Ilo⁴ which is the foremost of all mountains of the Jambudvīpa. There is no medical herb growing on the earth, which does not grow there. It is charming on account of its herbs, stalks, leaves and flowers. Sarabhas and other antelopes wander there quite freely. There are many gardens of grape, beautiful birds of every kind and of gracious colours make a deep chattering.

From that country we went to the west for seven days;
Up to the mountain Ilo, the peak of K'a rag k'ar
In the mountain, Sarabhas play
And there are gardens of grape in abundance.
I did not covet any thing.

Then in one day we reached Ra yi k'ar⁵, which is said to have been the capital of King Indrabhote⁶. Now it is divided into two towns: in one there are about sixty houses, in the other about forty. To the north there is a temple founded by king Indraboti and called Mangalaor, where there are various stone images of Buddha (munīndra), Tārā and Lokeśvara.

When I saw from afar the country of U rgyan, my (good) inclinations became very strong. Near Ra yi k'ar there is a small river; it can be forded by a man and it runs to the south. Having forded it (one finds) in a protuberance of a rock the place where the great Siddha Lāvapā

¹ The Karākar pass which divides Buner from the Tahsil of Barikot.

² I am not quite sure that this is the rendering of *so t'añ*.

³ In this case (*O rgyan gyi c'u 'jug*) *c'u 'jug* must have the meaning of river only; therefore it refers to the Suvastu; otherwise it may be the Gandhak running to the east of Barikot.

⁴ This mountain has already been referred to by the Chinese pilgrims by whom it was called Hi lo. FOUCHER, in BEFEO, I (1901), p. 368, n. 3, was the first to identify Hilo with the Ilam. Cf. also A. STEIN, *On Alexander's track*, p. 27 ff.

⁵ This place seems to be Rajgir on the ridge above Udegram; on this locality and its archaeological importance see A. STEIN; *op. cit.*, pp. 36-39. It is called Rayi-śar by sTag ts'añ.

⁶ *Viz.* Indrabhūti, the famous tantric teacher and the spiritual father, according to the Tibetan tradition, of Padmasambhava. The two towns correspond to Gog-dara and Udegram.

used to stay. A Ḍākinī let a shower of stones fall upon that (place), but Lāvapā showed the *tarjanīmudrā* and the stones remained in the sky just as a tent. The Ācārya turned with his powers the *dākinīs* into sheep so that in that country all women disappeared¹; the men assembled, went to their search but could not get (them). Then the Ācārya shaved all the sheep and wore upon his body a woollen mantle (*lva*; *kambala*); from this he was called Lāvapa, *viz.*, “the man of the woollen mantle”².

Then they went to make homage to him and asked him to let them free. He asked: “Do you make an engagement?” They agreed. Then he said: “Wear the shoes upon the head; insert a ring in the nose; use (*lit.* make) a girdle (in the shape of) a snake”. This has become the custom of the country up to now.

A woman there said to me: “You are Indrabhoti”. My disciple Śes rin asked: “Indrabhoti and Lāvapa did not live at a different time?” I said: “Lāvapa was not contemporary with the great (Indrabodhi). There were two Indrabodhis; I am like the Younger”. So he related³.

Near Rayik'ar there is the country of the P'ra men, all women know how to turn themselves by magical art into any form they want; they like flesh and blood and have the power to deprive every creature of its vitality and its strength. Then in half a day we arrived at Dhumat'ala⁴. This is the core of the miraculous country of U rgyan. At the mere view of this country our cries (of joy) could not be counted. In front of it there is a self-appeared (image) of Āryabhaṭṭārikā in sandal wood; it is called Maṅgaladevī.

I slept before it and I perceived that some trouble (*lit.* hindrance) was to come. I asked dPal ye to prepare a stick, but he would not hear. Next morning he went to three hamlets to the north and I went to the south to collect alms. I met some women, who threw flowers upon me

¹ Because, in this country, women were all considered to be *dākinīs*.

² This story is also related in the biography of the 84 Siddhas, Grünwedel; *Die Geschichten der 84 Zauberer*, p. 176 f., and *Edelsteinmine*, p. 56 ff. See also the account of sTag t'saṅ ras pa. But our text is rather obscure. Upon the local industry of rags *kambala* see STEIN, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

³ All this passage seems to be a gloss or a later addition by some pupil of O rgyan pa. That there was more than one Indrabhūti is also accepted by Tāranātha, *Edelsteinmine*, p. 109.

⁴ Now Butkara near Mingora; for Dhumatala see what Sung Yün says concerning the most important sacred place of Uḍḍiyāna, called at his time To-la (*tala*, *tara*).

and put a dot of vermilion (on my forehead) making various symbols taught by the Tantras; so that my powers increased and my vitality greatly developed. But he ¹ was surrounded by an armed crowd which was on the point of killing him; I ran to his rescue and when I said that he was my companion, they let him free. In this place there are about five hundred houses. All women know the art of magic and if you ask them: "Who are you?" they reply: "We are *yoginīs*". While I was lying down in front of Maṅgaladevī, one woman said (to me): "Enjoy a woman", but I hit her with a the stick and she ran away. The day after a woman met us both with incense and scattered flowers upon us and honoured us. It was the gift for having kept that gem which are the moral rules. In this place there is a woman who has three eyes; another has a flesh mark manifest on her forehead, *viz.*, the coil of a *svastika* red as if designed with vermilion. She said: "I am a self-born *yoginī*. I can make everything appear in view". Then a Sog po said: "If you are a self-born *yoginī*, bring something from my country", and she immediately produced a bow and a Hor hat, so that the Sog po was amazed. He said that this woman was the wife of the king of Dhumatala ².

Among the women of this town there is one who is said to be a *yoginī*. Since it was difficult to recognise her, I took food from the hands of all women of the town and by eating it I surely got spiritual perfections from them. In the town of Kaboka ³ I took food from a woman called Saluṅṭapuca and as soon as I drank a cup of soup (given by her), the place began to tremble . . .

The great *yoginīs* famous in this place are four: Soni, Gasurī, Matangī, Tasasi.

Soni is (the *dākinī* known in Tibet as) 'Gro bzañ ⁴.

To the west of this place there is a snow mountain called Ka ma 'oñ ka ⁵ where they say that there is the palace of the *yoginīs*. In its

¹ *Viz.*, dPal Ye.

² rGyu ma ta la is a mis-spelling for Dhumat'ala.

³ It must be the same as the place already mentioned at p. 47. Though that town does not belong to the very centre of O rgyan which the pilgrim now describes, it is referred to again as being also a centre of those *dākinīs* whose powers O rgyan pa here praises.

⁴ The *dākinī* 'Gro bzañ is famous all over Tibet. Her *rnam t'ar* or biography belongs to the most popular Tibetan literature.

⁵ In the text only *gañs*, corr. *gañ ri*; below in the verses, Kamadhoka instead of Kamā'oka. Evidently O rgyan pa did not proceed to that mountain, which is the Mankhyal. It seems that apart from the supposed *dākinīs* O rgyan pa did not see ma-

interior there is a cave for ascetics called Kamalagupta, where there is the image of a Krodha of blue colour, with ornaments made of human bones; it has three eyes and is shining with splendour like the rays of the sun: he has (in his hands) a sword and a skull.

dPal ye thought that it represented Śaṃvara.

To the east of this place there is a cemetery called Bhir sma sa ¹, crowded by terrific assemblages as (thick as) clouds of dangerous *dākinīs* (in the shape of) boars, poisonous snakes, kites, crows and jackals.

A little to the north there is one of the eight kinds of trees called *okaśavṛkṣa*. A little to the south of that cemetery there is a self-made (image) in stone of a Kṣetrapāla, called Dhu mun khu. In proximity of that tree, on a stone called Ka pa la bho jon; there are self-made images in stone of Brahmā, Rudra and other deities. There, there is a palm tree which is called Maṅgalavṛkṣa that is "the auspicious tree". In its proximity a spring called Maṅgalapāṇi; (that is, the auspicious water) runs to the south ².

To the east of this there is a big mountain called Śrīparvata, where many trees of *señ ldan* ³ grow. To the west of this, in the rivulet Maṅgalapāṇi there is a piece of land of triangular shape called Mulasa'ikoṭa; there, there is an Āryabhaṭṭārikā spontaneously appeared. But now fearing the Hor soldiers she stays in Dhumat'ala.

In front of it many women assemble and worship it ejaculating *kilit-sili* ⁴. Those who are deprived of strength or humiliated are (thereby) favoured (by becoming) fortunate.

This is the principal of the twelve Śrīparvatas of India. On its border there is a valley known as the valley of Śrī. While I was sleeping for some days in a temple built by Indrabodhi at the gate of U rgyan, many *dākinīs* assembled and preached the law. This is the very miraculous country of U rgyan.

From that country he went to the west for four days;
To the west of the "stone without touch"

ny remains of the Buddhist period except for a few sculptures or rock engravings. Therefore, being disappointed, he shifted to Orgyan, at the foot of Mankhyal. Dhumat'ala, if I am not wrong, is the valley near Mingora and Saidu. He did not see any other part of Swat.

¹ Viz., *Bhirasmasāna*.

² Perhaps the same as the tree and the source alluded to by Sung Yün, p. 410, as being near the footprints of the Buddha. If this is the case, the places here mentioned must be near Tirat.

³ Perhaps *Khadira*, Acacia Catechu.

⁴ *Kili-tsili* is a Mantra used in many a tantric ritual.

To the north of the river Kodambari
 To the east of the glacier Kamadhoka
 There is the miraculous country of U rgyan
 The *ḍākinīs* of the three places assuming human shape
 Give enjoyments of inexhaustible pleasure.
 But I did not seek for great enjoyments.
 So he said.

In the miraculous country of Dhumat'ala there is the benediction of the Blessed one. He said: "The individuals who are proficient (*lit.* good) in the Tantras, of the "father" and "mother" class¹ obtain the instructions of the *Ḍākiṇī* of the three places. Wherefrom the spiritual connection with the deep road can be arrived at? "

Then dPal ye said: "I believe (in all this), (but) let us go back to Tibet ". I replied: "From a country far way I reached this place without considering (the risk of) my life and I obtained a great benefit; the best could be to lay the head down here; if this is impossible, at least I want to abide here, at any rate, for three years ". Then he said, "Even if you do not want to depart, (at least) accompany me up to Rajahura ". So we went. Our companions, who seemed to be merchants, said to me: "This friend of yours does not understand the language and will not get any alms. Without you this man is lost ". Then I thought that it was a shame to leave in the way, among difficulties, a friend who had come to a holy place from a country far away and a fellow disciple of the same *guru*²; going downwards, we reached in five days (a place called) Ghari. Then in seven days we reached Urśa³. Then, having as companions some merchants we arrived to the gate of a terrific cemetery. When they saw it they were greatly afraid and said: "Ghosts will come and men will die ". I said: "Do not fear. I can protect you from the ghosts "; and then by the blessing of Daṇḍa⁴ nothing happened.

From that place we went to the east for seven days;
 A terrific cemetery is to the south.
 In the fortunate kingdom of Urśa

¹ This refers to a twofold division of the Buddhist Tantras into feminine and masculine (literally 'mother' and 'father'), according as the medium of their experiences is the *prajñā* or the *upāya*.

² *Viz.*, rGod ts'añ pa.

³ Uraśā, *viz.*, Hazara.

⁴ Perhaps Niladaṇḍa.

There is corn and no (land)lord, (so that) anybody
can carry it away.

But I did not carry away a single grain.

Then, after three days, we arrived at Tsi k'ro ta ¹; there is a great river (coming out) from a rock in the mountain. There a merchant, being inflamed by a disease, began to fight, killed two (of his) companions and wounded another. Then I evoked the meditation of Guhyapati and overpowered him by the magic look, so that he immediately died; otherwise by fighting at close quarters they would have killed each other. So he related.

Then in one day we reached Ramikoṭi. On the other side of the river (which runs there) there is Rasmīśvari ² (one of) the twenty-four places (of the Vajrakāya) which corresponds to the space between the eyebrows of the Vajrakāya. There the space between the river coming from Kashmir and the water of a pond is similar in shape to the eyebrows.

Thence four day's march to the east
there is a place (called) Rasmīśvari;
in the house of a beggar they nursed (him) and boiled wine
but he did not carry away a single barley-paste ball.

(Marching) to the right of the river (flowing) from Kashmir, after nine days we arrived at a narrow valley called rDo rje mu la ³ and then reached Kashmir.

The surface (of this country) is flat like the palm of the hand and charming, stretching from east to west; in the north there is a lake pure

¹ Perhaps in the proximity of Muzafferabad (is there any connection between Tsi k'ro ta and Charrota near this place?). The river along which the pilgrims reach Kashmir referred to below is obviously the Vitastā.

² Rāmeśvara, as known, was and still is a famous *pīṭha* in South India, but in this Tantric cosmography, as accepted by the Tibetan writers, it has been located in the Western Himālayas, which are supposed to comprehend the whole of the Vakrakāya; see *Indo-Tibetica* III, II, p. 43 sqq. I cannot identify this Rāmeśvara referred to even by sTag ts'añ ras pa; it is anyhow clear that it has no relation with the Rāmāsrama which was a *pīṭha* in Kashmir, and with the Sanskritised name of Rāmucha (Ramuśa) referred to in the Nilamatapurāṇa and the Rājatarāṅginī. See A. STEIN, *Kalhana's Chronicle of Kashmir*. This place is on the road from Supiyan to Srinagar near Shozkroo.

³ rDo rje mū la (lower down 'Varamula') is a curious name half Tibetan and half Sanskritic: it evidently derives from a vernacular form of Varāhamula (now Baramula) where the first part of the word was taken by O rgyan pa as a corruption of Vajra.

as the sky, called Kamapara ¹; (the place) is lovely on account of the beautiful flowers; it is thickly covered with excellent trees bent (under the weight of) their ripe fruits; it is adorned by all sorts of ripe crops, and furnished with every kind of riches. It is a mine of knowledge sprung forth from that gem which is the teaching of Śākyamuni; every creature practises the white dharma. It is the place to which refers the prophecy of the Prajñāpāramitā when it says:

“ it is the abode of many Buddhist *paṇḍitas* ”.

From there (we went) to Śrīnagara (formerly) a town of three million and six hundred thousand inhabitants; having been ravaged by the Hor now (they have been reduced) to no more than three millions ². Then we went to Vatipur ³ where the saffron grows. Then we arrived at Bhejibhara ⁴, which counts nine hundred thousand inhabitants. There he asked many sacred Mantras of Śaṃvara and other Tantras of 'Bum mi śri la ⁵ and of other Paṇḍitas. As they entered the town for alms, many children began to hit them with bricks; but two girls saved them, led them into a house, but gave them no food.

Then came an old man who was the householder and (said to us) “ If you do not stay (in my house) one day, it will be a shame to me ”. Then, having paid homage to us, he asked: “ Who are you? ”. We replied: “ We are religious men from Tibet and have gone on pilgrimage to U rgyan ”. They felt some doubts and called for a student who asked: “ If you are men of the law, what kind of law do you know? ”.

Since I replied that I knew the Abhidharma (*mñon pa*), we agreed upon logic and discussed together; he acknowledged that it was true (that I knew the law).

Then he asked: “ Besides this system, what else do you know? ” When I said: “ The Kālacakra ” he replied: “ It is false ”, and was surprised ⁶. I insisted that it was true; then they called a student in order to see whether I had said the truth or not, and after discussing the subject he recognised that I was a learned man. Then they sent for

¹ Kamapara is a corruption of Kamalasara = Wular lake.

² The number is, as usual, exaggerated.

³ Vatipur, farther below: Varipur, is a corruption for Avantipur; this statement anyhow is not exact, because saffron-fields are to be found only near Pampur.

⁴ Vijayajeśvara, now Bij-behāra, Bijbiara.

⁵ Bhūmiśīla?

⁶ The Kālacakra is still considered in Tibet as one of the most difficult Tantric systems.

an old man who could recite by heart the *Vimalaprabhā*¹; both the husband and his wife were famous for their learning all over Kashmir. I discussed with the wife and got myself out fairly well.

The lady said: "O learned man, what (else) do you know or have heard?"

I replied: "I have thrown away all objects of knowledge as grass, and having gone to Ogyan and to other holy places I have forgotten (everything)". Then they agreed that I really was a Tibetan *paṇḍita* and were pleased. Since I was made known by the name of "Hor" which I had formerly been given by the boy (who had thrown bricks at him), the king as soon as he was aware (of this fact) sent some policemen to catch me, and from midnight to the day-light (my host) said to the king that I belonged to another religion and was not a Hor. But he did not listen to him. Then the others having relinquished my protector, my protector said: "It is better to escape". Then, wearing Kashmiri dress we went to a ford of a big river, (but we found there) a group of about thirty Indian rascals, who said: "The men whom we want are here", laid hold of us, and took off our dress. We asked: "What will be done to us?" "You will be led to the presence of the king and killed; until that, there is nothing to do".—"If we are to be killed before the king, we should be happy to die here".

Then turning downwards we laid the head on the crossed arms and slept; (then they said: "While they stay here, let us go to eat") and they went away.

We ran away very quickly without touching as it were the earth; but, since a great wind-storm arose, even our traces were not visible. Then, restraining our breath, we went to a river which was running very slowly, and with great facility, without sinking as it were in the water, we reached the other shore. That day we stayed with some young shepherds who happened to be there, and in the night we slept in a heap of grass; in the morning we went for alms and somebody gave us some worn clothes.

From that place after one month to the east
we went to Varipur, the steadfast throne of Kashmir;
in its fields saffron grows,
but I did not carry away even a pistil of that flower.

¹ This is the commentary upon the Kālacakra.

When we reached a pass on the way from Kashmir among a crowd of women wearing furred coats, there walked about five hundred women who had the hair loose on the back. They asked: "Wherefrom do you come? Whereto are you going?" I replied: "We come from O rgyan and go to sBud bkra"¹. "O great man, your enterprise is fulfilled". So they said, and suddenly disappeared. Afterwards the mK'an po bsGrub riñ asked me if those women were *dākinī* of that time, and I agreed that they looked so.

Then we reached Jālandhara, and after a few days some Kashmiri merchants happened to be there, and asked us: "Where do you come from?" "We are Tibetan monks gone on pilgrimage to O rgyan. On our way back we came to Kashmir and your king (wanted to) kill us both". They looked astonished and said: "Perhaps you are a *siddha*. When the king sent some men to catch you, a kind of rainbow in the sky gradually vanished".

Greatly astonished they made me great honour and many offerings and I began to be famous even in Jālandhara as a monk from Tibet who had gone on pilgrimage to O rgyan and had got there miraculous powers.

Then we went to Mar yul².

PART III

TRAVELS OF STAG TS'AN RAS PA

(2, a) Even sTag ts'an ras pa starts from Tse and through Myañ po ri rdsoñ³ and Pretapuri, a day's journey only from that place⁴, enters the province of Guge⁵ in *Žaṅ žuṅ—(Žaṅ žuṅ gi yul Gu*

¹ The residence of rGod ts'an pa.

² The short-way for going to Mar yul (Ladakh) would have been to cross the Zoji la; I cannot understand why they took the long way to Kangra and Lāhul.

³ Myañ po ri rdsoñ is in the proximity of Dulchu gompā.

⁴ Pretapuri is the same as Tirthapuri (see above p. 15). In the *dkar c'ag* or *mā-hātmya* of the monastery the name is mis-spelt as gNas tre bsta puri, an evident corruption of Tirthapuri through the colloquial Tretapuri. This *māhātmya* is preserved in the monastery and its title is: *gNas tre bsta puri gyi gnas yigs* (= yig) *dkar c'ag* (ms. c'ags) *gsal ba'i me loṅ* (ms. loṅ). Pretapuri seems to be the original name, since Pretapuri is included in the list of 24 places presided over by the 24 Viras. See TUCCI, *Indo Tibetica*, III, part II, p. 42; *Padma t'an yig*, Chap. V. The place was named Pretapuri perhaps on account of the hot springs of sulphur which are to be found there and were considered as being connected with chthonian deities. On Pretapuri—Tirthapuri see TUCCI, *Santi e Briganti nel Tibet ignoto*, p. 120.

⁵ That points to Pal kye, where vast ruins are still to be seen. See TUCCI, *Santi e Briganti*, p. 132.

ge¹). He then reaches K'yuñ luñ² and after five days he halts at the the bottom of the Sarang la³. Having crossed this pass, he enters the narrow valley (*ron*) of Ku nu and through rNam rgyal⁴, Pu, Sa, he arrives after two days at So rañ and then sets out to K'yags⁵; in five days he reaches Su ge t'añ⁶ and after three days more Dsva la mu khe. In the proximity, there is a warm rock which is said to have been the meditation-hut of Nāgārjuna (2, b). Then in one day, the pilgrim reaches Dsalandhara—one of the twenty-four limbs of the *vajrakāya*; it is also called by the Indians Kañkarkoṭ (Kangra) and by the Tibetans Nagar-koṭ. (2, b).

To the east of this place there is a temple in the shape of a stūpa, in whose interior one can see a stone image called Mahādurkha⁷, and it is said to be the abode of the goddess rDo rje p'ag mo. On the four sides there are four holes for the four magic *karma*: to the north there is a place for bloody sacrifices (*dmar mc'od*).

Even sTag t'añ ras pa refers to a practice of the Hindu pilgrims mentioned by early Persian and European travellers: that on the eastern side people used to cut their tongues believing that it would grow again within three days⁸.

Then, to the south of this place, sTag ts'añ ras pa went to Lañgura⁹ one of the eight cemeteries with its peculiar tree; people used to offer bloody sacrifices to a Nāgavṛkṣa which grows there. Not very far, there is a cave where the Tibetan ascetic rGod ts'añ pa spent some time in meditation. Tibetan pilgrims use to reside there: in the first month of the year, on the occasion of the holiday which commemorates the miraculous exhibitions of the Buddha, all belie-

¹ On the relation between Žañ žuñ and Guge see above, p. 16.

² K'yuñ luñ (the valley of K'yuñ), as I stated in the above work, was a very big town, still considered by the Bon pos as one of their holiest places: mÑul mk'ar "the silver castle" of K'yuñ is still invoked in the prayers of the Bon pos.

³ I hardly think that the distance between K'yuñ luñ and the Sarang la can be covered in five days.

⁴ rNam rgyal is Namgyal of the maps at the bottom of the Shipki pass on the Indian side.

⁵ Pu is of course Poo of the maps and Sa is Sasu between Poo and Kanam. So rañ is Sarahan, the summer residence of the rāja of Bashahr; perhaps K'yags is the same as rGya sKyags of O rgyan pa. See above, p. 44.

⁶ Su ge t'an is, I think, Suket.

⁷ Mahādurgā.

⁸ For European and Indian references on this subject, see *History of the Panjab Hill States* by J. HUTCHINSON and J. Ph. VOGEL, Vol. I, p. 110.

⁹ On this cemetery, see above, p. 381.

vers (*nañ pa*)¹ of India assemble in the place and make offering.

During the festival-ceremony after the new moon, *yogins* (*dso ki*), *sannyāsins* (*se ña si*), and Tibetan pilgrims perform their worship without distinction in the royal palace. In a piece of land between two rivers, flowing in that cemetery, there is a boulder looking like a skull, where one can see quite clearly the image of rNal 'byor ma.² sTag ts'añ ras pa could not accept the local tradition which saw in the stone the miraculous image of Gaṇapati with the elephant's trunk (3, a). To the north of this place there is a hillock called Kha' nu ma o tre (Hanuman?).

The king of Kañkarkoṭ, which is a very pleasant and fertile country and inhabited by a good-looking people, is a believer; in his family there has been an incarnation of 'Kor lo sdom pa³, therefore, in the country there are many *sannyāsins* and *yogins*.

One day to the west of Kañ gar koṭ, there is Nu ru p'u; then the itinerary of the pilgrim runs through Sṛinagara, Paṭhanna Nosara, Kathuhara, Pa ru rda, Paṭhanmusur, Sakiri, Salau, Bhets'arbhura⁴, Sa la kan ṭha, So ṭa ko ṭa, Gho tso ra ka; within two days from this place he reached Ba la na ga ra ti la, the residence of many *yogins*. On the southern side of a hill in its proximity one can see upon the rock a very clear miraculous image of O rgyan. Tha tis also the place where two famous *yogins* Dsin ta pīr⁵ and Dsāpir disappeared into the earth. This return to Kashmir from Gujrāt seems to show that the pilgrims were afraid to proceed any further.

Then he went to Kashmir, of which he gives a general description very similar to that found in the *Lam yig* of O rgyan pa. To the west, in a piece of land between two rivers, there is Rva me śva ra⁶, which corresponds to the eye-brows of the *vajrakāya*. To the east there is the stūpa of Pañ pu re⁷ in the middle of a lake. That stūpa was erected

¹ For sTag ts'añ the word "believers" seems to include not only the Buddhists, but also the Hindus as opposed to the Mohammedans.

² *Viz.* Yoginī, in this case Vajaravārāhī.

³ *Viz.* of Cakra-Saṃvara. On this Tantric cycle see TUCCI, *Indo-Tibetica* III, part II, p. 17.

⁴ Some places can be identified: Nu ru p'u is Nurpur, Paṭhanna perhaps corresponds to Pathankot, Kaṭuhara is Kathua or Kathlaur, Salau may correspond to Salathia, Salakanta to Sialkot, Gho tso ra ka to Gujrāt; anyhow it is clear that sTag tsañ went from Nurpur to Jammu and from there proceeded to Kashmir.

⁵ These two names seem to be mis-spelt, at least it is difficult to recognize the original form of them: the name "pir", though specially used for Mohammedan saints, is also occasionally applied to Indian Sādhus.

⁶ See above, p. 403.

⁷ *Viz.* Pampur.

in order to commemorate the miracle of the arhat *Ñi ma guñ pa* (Ma-dhyandina) who, sitting in meditation, over-powered the *nāgas* who wanted to disturb him; the fierce winds which they roused were unable to move even the border of his clothes, and the weapons they threw upon him turned into flowers; being unsuccessful in their attempts, they requested him to ask for whatever he wanted and he replied that he desired as much ground as was necessary for him to sit in *vajraparyāṅka* (3, b). So all the lake dried up and in the surface which thus emerged there is a town with three million and six hundred inhabitants ¹. There is also a grove, the Kashmirian residence of *Nāropā*.

The capital of Kashmir is a big town called *Na ga ra*:² there is a temple of the unbelievers called *Bha ro ma tsi* ³ which is adorned by four hundred pillars. In *Pa lhar sgañ*⁴ there is an image of *sGrol ma* inside a well. To the east there is a hill called *sTag si li ma* ⁵ said to be *Gru 'dsin* ⁶.

Then in one day the pilgrim reached *Puspahari*⁷ where he stopped for seven days (4, b). Then, leaving in Kashmir his three companions suffering from fever and anxious to go back, he went to see the rock *Sen ta*⁸, from where water runs from the fifteenth day of the fourteenth lunar mansion up to the fifteenth day of the eighteenth lunar mansion. This place corresponds to the fingers of the *vajrakāya* and was still in the hands of the believers.

Returning to his friends who were run down by disease, he went along with them to *Varan* ⁹, but on the way to *Maṭe* ¹⁰ one of his companions died and another, *Grags pa rgya mt'*so by name, passed away in *Mate*. So only *Drañ po bzañ po* was left (5, a). They spent there

¹ On this legend and its source see VOGEL, *Indian serpent lore*, pp. 233-235.

² Abbreviation for *Srīnagara*.

³ This is the *Boromasjid*.

⁴ I cannot identify *Pa lhar sgañ*; I suppose that it is to be identified with the *Pārvatī* hill.

⁵ *Takht-i-Suleiman*.

⁶ *Potala*, the abode of *Avolokiteśvara*.

⁷ Also called in the Tibetan biographies of *Nāropā*, *Marpa* and *Milaraspa*: *Phulahari*, 'mountain of flowers'.

⁸ This spring is sacred to the Goddess *Sanḍhyā* and is called now *Sundbrar*. STEIN, *Kalhana's Chronicle of the Kings of Kashmir*, II, p. 469. "The spring of *Sanḍhyā* derives its fame as well as its appellation from the fact that for uncertain periods in the early summer it flows, or is supposed to flow, intermittently, three times in the day and three times in the night".

⁹ Unidentified.

¹⁰ I suppose *Mutti* on the river *Brinvar*.

three days and went up to a high pass¹. sTag ts'añ halted in the evening on the top, but since his companion did not arrive, on the following day he returned back thinking that either he had died or was unable to proceed; he met him near half-way below the pass, but on that day it was impossible to go any farther on account of the snow which fell heavily; next day they started and crossed the pass with great difficulty and having recourse (5, b) to some *yoga* practices; after fifteen days they reached the Tibetan Zañs dkar, where they met the great Siddha bDe ba rgya mts'o who invited them to spend some time in retreat in the place where he used to meditate. Behind it, there is the magic shield² of Nāropā; they spent two months in that place. Then, when their companions arrived from Nagarkoṭ, intending to go to Ga śa³, the place of the *ḍākinīs*, they went to 'Bar gdan⁴ and from there, having taken leave from bDe ba rgya mts'o and his disciples, they reached Ga śa. The king of this place Ts'e riñ dpal lde⁵ rendered service to them for three months. Then in K'añ gsar⁶ they were attended upon by the younger sister of the king with her son; she was called bSod nams. They explained various doctrines, such as the Mahāmudrā, the six laws of Nāropā⁷, the Prāṇayoga, the law of the karmic connection, the esoteric methods, the teachings of Mar pa, Mi la ras pa and Dvags po rje⁸, the story of the law⁹, the Mañi bka' 'bum¹⁰ etc. They also visited the places near Lahul, such as Gandhola, Gusa maṇḍala¹¹, Re p'ag and Maru corresponding to the toes of the *vajrakāya*¹². In winter they

¹ Perhaps the Shilsar Pass.

² The text has *p'ub*, but I think there is a mistake, the exact reading being *p'ug*, "cave".

³ Ga śā = Garśa, the usual Tibetan name for Lahul.

⁴ This is perhaps Padam, the chief village of Zañs dkar, though in the *Chronicles* edited by FRANCKE the name of this place is spelt on p. 164 Dpal ldem (p. 166 dPa gtum).

⁵ This king is to be identified with Ts'e riñ rgyal po, brother (*Chronicles of Tinan*, FRANCKE, *ibid.*, p. 212) or son (*Genealogical Tree of the Chiefs of Tinan*, *ibid.*, p. 216) of bSod nams rgya mts'o; perhaps the same as Ts'e riñ se grub of the document referred to *ibid.* at p. 218 (about 1569 A.D.).

⁶ On the left bank of the Bhaga river.

⁷ *Viz.* the *Nāropa'i c'os drug*, the fundamental book of the bKa' brgyud pa and the guide of their Haṭhayoga practices.

⁸ This is the *sampradāya* of the first masters of the bKa' brgyud pa sect.

⁹ *C'os 'byuñ*. This is the general name for any history of the holy doctrines.

¹⁰ The famous work attributed to Sroñ btsan sgam po.

¹¹ Gus on the Chandra River.

¹² See above p. 379.

sat in retreat for six months in gYur rdsoñ. Then, for twom onths they went to Dar rtse ¹, where was the king. Altogether they spent an entire year in Ga śa. After that, while his companions remained there, he went with a single monk from Dar rtse to K'añ gсар, sKye nañ ², Gusamaṇḍala where begins the country of Kuluṭa corresponding to the knees of the *vajrakāya*; then in two days he reached Re p'ag, where there is the image of sPyañ ras gzigs in the form of 'Gro drug srol ye śes ³. The image is made in stone from Kamaru ⁴. Then in one day to Maru, in two days to Pata; then to the bottom of the Ko ṭa la pass; having crossed the pass full of snow, he reached Pañgi and then Sura and after two days Na rañ. This country is called Ka ma ru and corresponds to the armpits of the *vajrakāya*. Having crossed another high pass, he reached in two days the narrow valley of Tsaṃ bhe dam pa ⁵, which he traversed in seven days. Then he found himself in Hindutam ⁶. The itinerary then runs through: Nurup'u, Śrīnagara, Paṭhaṇṇa Nosara, Kāthuhar, Pāturar, Pathanmosur, Sakiri, Salau, Bhetsarbhura, Salakanṭha, Sauṭa, Kauṭa, Ghotsoraka ⁷, in whose proximity a big river coming from Kashmir runs to the south. Since in the itinerary of O rgyan pa it was stated that on the other side of this river there is a place called Va ra mi la, he (7, a) marched for four days towards the south, but could not find that place. His companion Ži ba rnam rgyal lost any faith in the itineraries and advised him to return. But he did not listen to him and went to the north-west; after fifteen days through a desert country he reached a place called Hi la. He asked there for the town called in the itinerary of O rgyan pa Hora and said to have 700,000 inhabitants; nobody could tell him anything about it. Nor had he better results when he enquired about the mountain of mineral salt called Bañhoṭi ⁸. They said anyhow that there were many places where one could find mines of mineral salt (Salt Range), the nearest being those of Tsośara (Sakesar?); having traversed for three days a desert country, they reached Muraga. There they forded

¹ The first village to be met when entering Lahul after crossing the Baralacha Pass.

² *Viz.* Ti nañ.

³ See SCHUBERT, in *Artibus Asiae* vol. III.

⁴ The high valley of the Chandrabhaga.

⁵ *Viz.* Chamba.

⁶ Mis-spelling for Hindustan.

⁷ See above.

⁸ Cf. above, and note how the spelling of these places is different: in O rgyan pa it corresponds to Bhrahora, Bhahola: perhaps Bhera.

a big river (Jhelam) and after three days more they reached Tsośara. It is a valley stretching from north-west, where it is very high, to the south-east, where it is low. On its northern side there are many ravines facing south where there is mineral salt in the shape of rocks. To the south of this place there is the big country of Dhagan and that of Dsamola ¹ where there are many believers and many sects of monks. They come to take salt there from Nagarkoṭ up to Lahor and Abher, on the other side up to Gorsala ² and Ghoṭhaisakaṃ. In the old itineraries it is written that the salt of this place goes as far as O rgyan; but at the time of the author this commerce had stopped; anyhow even in O rgyan there is mineral salt of blue colour like crystal ³. From Tsośara (6, b) he went to Dhośna (Dandot) and Vavula, then after two days to Maloṭṭa ⁴, where there is a temple founded by king Hu la ruined by the soldiers of the Mugal. In the itinerary of O rgyan pa it is stated that to the north-west of this place there is Rukāla, but nobody could give any information about this town. Anyhow, marching towards north-west, they met some Hor who were salt traders; he enquired from them about Rukāla, but they replied that the place beyond was desert and full of brigands who were likely to kill them. They could give no information about the road. Proceeding farther, they had a narrow escape from five or six salt diggers who wanted to kill them; the next day (8, a) they turned back, but lost the way, went to the east and after some time they met some salt-traders; among them there was an old Brahmin who became a friend of the Tibetan pilgrims. These went along with the caravan until after nine days they met a salt-lake ⁵, on whose shore there was a large pasture-land. The pilgrim confesses to have forgotten the name of this lake. The merchants there carried their trade of salt and butter and then went away with the younger brother of the Brahmin; sTag ts'añ resumed the march and after three days arrived at Rukāla ⁶; then they went to Akkithial,

¹ Dhagan is Dekhan, and Dsamola is the Tamil Country. (Dramiḍa, Dramila).

² Perhaps Gujarat.

³ It is in fact sold in the market of Mingora.

⁴ Maloṭṭa is Malot; see above.

⁵ This is the salt lake near Kallar Kahār. It took our pilgrim so many day reaching this place because, we are told, he went astray.

⁶ As I stated before (p. 47) I supposed that Rukāla is the same as Rupwal. As to the names which follow, if the identification Rukāla-Rupwal is exact, Bhahūpur might be Bakhuwala to the north of Khaur; Mālapur is perhaps a mis-spelling for Kamalpur, and Utsalpur seems to correspond to Uchar (to the south of Campbellpur). Atike must be Attok: this identification is sure on account of the Señ ge k'a 'bab said

Bhahupur, Mālapur, Uts'alapur, Sapunpur, Reuret, Aṭike in front of which runs the *Señ ge k'a 'bab*. Crossing this river, there is a place called *Ma ts'il ka na tha tril*; then there is Pora, Nošara (Nowshera), Mataṅgana, Miṭhapāṇi. It is a spring which has a salt taste and it is said to be derived from the urine of Padma-sambhava. They went farther on along with that old Brahmin, three *yogins* and a householder, Atumi by name (8, b). After having been detained by a man called Tsadulhayi¹, who expressed the desire to accompany them but delayed the departure on account of some clothes that he had to wash or of the bad weather, they started again on the journey; but the old Brahmin left them and returned (9, a). The itinerary of *sTag ts'añ* runs then through Mādha, Atsimi, Pakšili², Dhamdhori, Kīṭuhar, Bhaṭhurvar, Paṭhapamge, Mutadni, Kapola, Kandhahar, Hasonagar.

Then they forded a river³ and resumed the journey through Paruka, Nasbhala, Sik'ir. Proceeding farther for half a day they met about sixteen brigands who boasted to be from Kapur, *viz.*, from O rgyan. They hit the pilgrim on the head, cut his hair, took off his clothes and then sold him as a slave, for some silver *tank'as* and some *payesa* to two brothers. After having met another group of six brigands and still another brigand and paid the ransom, in the evening he reached with his proprietors Momolavajra (9, b). He was given some work to do, but at the fourth part of the day (*t'un*) he began reciting the prayers loudly. The old father of the house in a fit of rage, hit him twice on the head so that he lost consciousness, but he recovered after having recourse to some *yoga* practices and to the meditation on his *guru*. He escaped and arrived at a place called Sithar where he was caught again by the people. He told a Brahmin who happened to be there that he was a Tibetan not from Kashmir but from Mahācīna; with his help he was released and at the suggestion of that same Brahmin he went to Bhayasahura, where he met many *yogins*. The chief of them was called Buddhanātha. He was received by them with great joy and was given the name of Śamonātha (11, b). Those ascetics had holes in the ears and were called Muṇḍa. Living

in our text to be flowing near that place. The *Señ ge k'a 'bab* is the Tibetan name for the Indus.

¹ Perhaps a Mohammedan name: Shahidullah.

² Pakšili perhaps is Bakshali, in which case Madha could be identified with Mardān. But it seems as if the pilgrim went astray: from Nowshera the distance to Buner and Swat cannot cover so many halts; perhaps nobody could understand what *sTag ts'añ ras pa* meant for O rgyan, Uḍḍiyāna.

³ Perhaps the Barandu.

near Guru Jñānanātha sTag ts'añ learnt many doctrines of the *yogins*, such as Gurganātha¹. During his stay in that place he could assist in some wrestling performances in great fashion in that town. There was there a famous wrestler who was challenged one day by a Hor officer who boasted to be very clever in that very art. This Hor began fighting, but was easily overcome by the other who though often requested by his badly injured rival to stop fighting, did not cease until that officer, was killed. In the proximity there is one of the eight cemeteries, *viz.* that called Ts'an 'ur 'ur sgrogs pa, where there is a thick wood. Both believers and unbelievers carry there their corpses, the believers to burn them and the unbelievers to bury them. They go there for secret practices and in the night; one can see corpses rising from the soil; there are also many *ḍākinīs* black, naked, carrying in their hands human hearts or intestines and emanating fire from their secret parts. In this place there are also performances. They fight one with a shield and another with a sword. If one breaks the shield that is all right; otherwise even if he is wounded or dies it is considered to be a shame (12, a). In that place in the first month of the year, on the occasion of the big holiday which commemorates the great miracle of Buddha, there is a great *melā* where many *yogins* and *sannyasins* meet. They told him that he would have seen a great *yogin* hailing from O rgyan (13, a). In fact, he met him and he was astonished to see that he knew everything about his having been captured by the bandits, etc.

This *yogin* told him that he was bound for Hasonagar but that he would return within ten days to take him to O rgyan. Therefore, sTag ts'añ ras pa waited in Bhyasahura for ten days; then, since the *yogin* did not come back, he decided to start alone. The *yogins* assembled in Bhyasahura and the great Pīr Buddhanātha advised him to go wherever he liked, either to Dhagan or to Hindutam or to Lahor save O rgyan; there were there too many Paṭhans who would have killed him (13, b). So he requested them to show him the way to Hindutam, but in fact he went to Hasonagar, where he enquired about the *yogin* from O rgyan who was called Pālanātha and succeeded in finding him. That Pālanātha was a Paṭhan by birth who after having been an unbeliever became converted and spent many years in O rgyan. Then they joined a party of traders and went along with them upwards. They crossed a small river and then, through Paruba, Nyapala, Apuka,

¹ I cannot find the origin of Šamonātha: is it Šambhunātha? Gurganātha is Gorakṣanātha.

Killitila, Sikir¹, Momolavajra, Sinora, Pelahar, Muṭhilli, Muṣamli, Muṭhikṣi, Mahātilli, Satāhulda, Kalabhyatsi, Saṅgiladhuba, Gothaiśa-kam² they arrived at a high pass; having crossed it, they arrived in the country of O rgyan. After three days they reached Dsomok'aṭi³ where there is the palace of the king. This king was called Parts'agaya. He holds his sway over the 700,000 old towns of O rgyan. This king was an intimate friend of Pālanātha and therefore he gave them a guide who knew well the country. After five days they arrived at the mountain Yalom pelom⁴, said to be one of the eight Śrīparvatas to the Jambudvīpa. At its bottom there grows a medical herb called *jāti* and on its middle there are thick woods of white sandal. On the top there are field of saffron. In their middle there is a tank, where the king Indrabhūti used to bathe and on the border of this tank there are many chapels beautifully carved and adorned with beams of red sandal⁵. The top of this mountain is higher than the Himālayas. He resided there for seven days (14, a). In a desert valley near that mountain there are many wild animals and every sort of poisonous snakes. Then they went to the other side of the mountain (* 15, a), where there is a valley in the shape of a fullblown lotus with eight petals, stretching towards the south-west. After three days they arrived at K'arakṣar⁶; then after five days at Rāyiśar⁷. Up to that point the custom of the people of O rgyan is like that of the Indians. But after that place it changes. Both men and women have a girth of jewels; this girth sometimes is in the shape of a snake of black colour, sometimes of a snake streaked. They wear a black hat of felt in the shape of a toupet which is adorned with many jewels; the women wear a cap like that of Padmasambhava, but without the hem. Both men and women wear earrings, bracelets and anklets made either of silver or of earth properly prepared. To the south-west side of this place there is the palace

¹ But before Sik'ir.

² These names have nothing in common with the toponomy of today: this means that sTag ts'añ ras pa was there before the Yusufzai entered the country or gave the places a Pashtu name.

³ Dsomok'aṭi is said, farther below, to be the place where all rivers of O rgyan meet, and on his way back to Kashmir sTag t'sañ went straight from that town to the Indus; from there he also starts for the mountain Ilam. I therefore think that Dsomok'aṭi is to be located in the Barandu valley.

⁴ Ilam mountain, on which see above p. 398.

⁵ Nothing of this kind exists on the Ilam except a big stone on which "Śrī-rām" is written.

⁶ Which seems to be the Karakār Pass.

⁷ Rajgiri.

of Indrabhūti with nine stories (15, b). But at this time there were only the ruins¹. Not very far, to the north-west, there is the place where Padmasambhava was burnt; the soil turned into clay. But there is no trace of the lake spoken of in the biography of the saint. After three days' march to the north-west there is a big place called Rahorbhyara. This place is so situated, that it takes seven days from whatever part one wants to reach it either from the west or the east or the north or the south. In its middle there is the vihāra founded by king Indrabhūti the great and called Maṅgalahor². It possesses one hundred pillars and still has many chapels. Specially worthy of notice is the chapel of Guhyasamāja with its maṇḍala. To the north-west of this locality there are many places, but there are no temples nor things worth seeing. Therefore, both sTag ts'añ ras pa and Pālanātha went back to Rāyīśar. Behind that place there is a small river; they forded it and after one day they arrived at Oḍiyāṇa³ (16, a); it was a big holiday corresponding to the tenth of the third month of the Buddhist calendar. All people were assembled and singing and dancing they drank all kinds of liquors without restriction. This place is the very core of O rgyan (16, b). To the west of it there is a small temple, where one can see the miraculous image of a *yogini* of red sandal. To the back of that temple there lives a *yoginī*, Hudsunātha by name, more than a thousand years old though she looks about twenty-six or twenty-seven. From that place one can see the mountain called Kamalabir⁴ (17, a); its top is always covered by the splendour of the rainbow, but when the rainbow vanishes it looks like a helmet of silver. According to the Tantric literature this mountain is known as the *dharmagañja* (the treasury of the law) or the miraculous palace of Heruka. In front of it there is a cave which is the sacred cave of the Vajra; or according to the itinerary of O rgyan pa the magic cave of Labapa. All the Indians call it Hadsikalpa and it is the abode of K'otas⁵. Behind that mountain there is a lake known as the 'Sindhu-ocean' of Dhanakośa⁶; in colloquial language the Indians call it Samudrasintu. It was distant only one day's journey;

¹ Rāja Girā's Castle?

² Mingora; Rahorbhyara and Mingora seem therefore to be identical or to be very near; in that case Rahorbhyara might be an ancient name for Saidu Sharif or any other village near Mingora.

³ Udegram below Rāigiri.

⁴ The same as the mountain Kama-'onka, Kamadhoka of Orgyan pa. Certainly Mankyal.

⁵ The meaning or the Sanskrit equivalent of this word is quite unknown to me.

⁶ Makodan to the north of Upshu?

but Pālanātha told him that there was no need of going any farther, because behind the pass there was no place to be seen except the lake. To the south there is a small mountain where there is a spring called Maṅgalapāṇi or in colloquial: āyurpāṇi because it bestows immortality. (18, a) ¹. Then, they went back and in two days they arrived at Oḍiyāna, also called Dhumat'ala; then through Rāyiśar, Midora, K'aragśar, where there was a woman emitting fire from her mouth and dancing and singing like a mad person, whom nobody dared approach, Saṃdibhor, Kavoka, Bhyathabhasabhasor, Dsomok'aṭi was reached. The king at that time was in the park where he kept all sorts of animals, such as Persian lions, boars, etc. under the supervision of special stewards. While Pālanātha remained with the king, sTag ts'añ went on his way for five days guided by a man appointed for this purpose by the king. He then forded the Sintupani (the Indus). The itinerary then runs through Radsahura, after two days, Nīla, Kamṭhe, Nepale, (19, a) Nīla'u, Lañka, Horaña, Asakamni, Mahātsindhe, Ghelaṃri after six days, Gorśala, then again after two days Kalpa, Rukāla, Rahorbunḍa, Ravata, Satā, Hati, Tsiru, Rutā ², Dselom, Sara, Bhebar, Nośara, Ratsuga. After three days he reached Lithanna, then crossed two passes and reached a narrow valley. Having then crossed another high pass called Pir-bañtsa ³, after two days he arrived in Kashmir, where he went to pay a visit to the famous place Puśpahari in the lower part of which there are fields of saffron. In the proximity of these there is a bazar called Spañpor ⁴. After having bathed in the spring of the rock called Sandha ⁵, he returned to Kashmir proper. At last, having crossed a pass, he arrived after two days at Varan; then he went to Mate and after ten days through a desert country he was in the Tibetan Zañs dkar. Finally, he reached Mar yul, where he was properly received by the king and his ministers.

In conclusion, we must say that we are here confronted with three itineraries which cannot always be exactly followed in the maps because many names are misspelt, as, I said no distances are given, and lastly many names are changed chiefly after the Moghul conquest and the Pashtu invasion in the North-Western province.

¹ Perhaps the sulphur spring near Koṭelai to the West of Saidu.

² From Ruta to Kashmir the route can easily be followed; it is the old route through the Pir Pañjal Pass, practically abandoned after the extension of the railway to Rawalpindi; Rutā is Rohtas; Dselom is Jhelum; Bhebar is Bhimber.

³ Lithanna is perhaps Thannamang. Pirbañtsa is evidently Pir Pañjal.

⁴ Probably Pampur.

⁵ Cf. above p. 409, n. 8.

We can roughly say that rGod ts'añ pa went to Lahul, Triloknāth, Chamba, Nagarkot (i.e. Kangra), Jvalamukhi, Jalandhar; then on his way back he went to Kulu, Lahul, Tibet. The itinerary of O rgyan pa is more detailed; we can roughly follow him from Kulu, Kangra, Jalandhar, the ford of the Chandrabhaga (Chenab), a place near Jhelum or Jhelum itself, Malot, the Salt Range; having crossed the Indus near Attock, he then proceeded to Buner (Bhonele), the Karakar pass, went to Rajgiri (Rayik'ar) and reached the very core of O rgyan, Kotelai, Saidu, Mingora. Then he returned to Tibet through the Hazara district and Kashmir.

We can gather from O rgyan pa that at the time of his travels some Hindu principalities had survived in Swat, though the country appears to be under the suzerainty of the Afghans as a vassal state, or various vassal states, if a king could give him a letter of introduction to the people of Swat. The Pashtu had not yet arrived.

sTag tsañ ras pa follows the Sutlej, Jvalamukhi, Kangra, Gujrat, Kashmir, Zañs dkar, Lahul, Gujrat. Then, though he seems to have used as his guide the *Lam yig* of O rgyan pa, he went astray and only occasionally do we find, though with a different spelling, the names which we read in that same *Lam yig*. The historical setting had changed, new names had been given to the old villages, the situation was less safe. Oḍḍiyāna is located near Rayiśar which I think is Rājgiri, but in another place it is situated to the South. The centre of Orgyan remains anyhow Dhumat'ala, which must be Mingora (cf. T'a la monastery of Sung Yün, and the name of the village of Te le gtum) misplaced. The only fact of interest which we can gather from the book of sTag t'sañ ras pa, is that the local people had not yet adopted the Pathan dress of today, and that this seems to resemble that of the Kafirs; therefore, we are at the very beginning of the Yusufzai invasion.

To sum up, we can gather no conclusive facts from these Tibetan pilgrims; the best diary is certainly that of rGod tsan pa, though limited in extent. That of O rgyan pa has a personal touch, but nothing important can be found in it concerning Swat. The only thing worth remembering, as I said before, is that we find both in O rgyan pa and in sTag ts'añ ras pa the reflex of a different historical situation, that the habits of the people were not yet completely islamized, that there were survivals both of Buddhism and Hinduism, and that the ancient monuments were in a far better condition than they are today, though it is a matter of regret that the Tibetan pilgrims did not think it worth while to write a more detailed description of them.

ALESSANDRO CSOMA DE KÖRÖS

Vorrei che mi permettete anzitutto di ringraziarvi per l'onore che mi avete fatto invitando me, fra tanti illustri cultori di studi tibetani, che oggi noverano i paesi della nuova Europa, a parlarvi di Kőrösi Csoma; perché non vi può essere onore più grande per un forestiero che ricordare e celebrare nella loro stessa patria gli immortali pionieri di cultura che aprirono nuovi orizzonti allo spirito umano: o rivelarono alla presunzione dell'intelletto, superbo del suo presente e ansioso del futuro, la tenacia eterna di esperienze remote.

L'umanità non s'arricchisce solo muovendo ardita e mai soddisfatta alla conquista di nuove idee e all'architettura di nuovi congeni; ma anche fermandosi ogni tanto a riguardare e ad intendere certi suoi pensamenti lontani e quasi dimenticati: perchè non è detto che il nuovo sia sempre meglio dell'antico e che nelle immaginazioni distanti nel tempo e nello spazio non brillino scintille di quella luce eterna, che, sotto ogni cielo, l'uomo ha acceso o scoperto, per farsene lume e conforto nel suo doglioso vivere e patire.

Ma era forse giusto che un italiano parlasse di Alessandro Kőrösi Csoma nella terra che gli dette i natali, perché Ungheria ed Italia gettarono i fondamenti degli studi tibetani: come se legami misteriosi, vibranti nel mondo delle idee, abbiano stabilito simpatie arcane fra i nostri due popoli e le mistiche profondità del tetto del mondo.

Pensate: Odorico da Pordenone, senza giungere a Lhasa, è il primo che ne parli ripetendo i raccontari uditi nel suo viaggio di ritorno a traverso l'Asia centrale: quasi cinque secoli e mezzo più tardi, quando l'attività missionaria si lanciò da Roma all'evangelizzazione della Asia, il gesuita Ippolito Desideri da Pistoia (vissuto nella grande università teologica di Sera e rifugiatosi poi nella solitudine di Takpok'ier) analizza con acume e sottigliezza scolastica, le complicate astruserie della dommatica lamaista, in quella *Relazione del Tibet* che per la sua profondità e diligenza resiste all'urto dei secoli e al perfezionarsi della indagine.

I missionari cappuccini succeduti ai Gesuiti nella missione di Lhasa raccolgono il materiale elaborato dal Giorgi in quel suo *Alphabetum Tibetanum* che donato dal Moorcroft a Kőrösi Csoma incontrato lungo

le carovaniere del Ladak, determinò il destino scientifico del grande filologo ungherese.

Un altro missionario italiano (forse un cappuccino) compilava il dizionario tibetano-italiano che comperato manoscritto dal colonnello Latter fu volto in inglese dallo Schröter e venne pubblicato a Serampore nel 1826 dal Marsham; ma lo Schröter ebbe il solo merito della traduzione e s'arrogò il vanto d'un'opera non sua.

Kőrösi Csoma segue senza interruzione l'opera degli italiani, la completa e fonda gli studi tibetani su una solida base filologica.

Naturalmente io vi parlerò soltanto della sua opera, non elencandone, si intende, gli scritti, ma evocandone e lumeggiandone il definitivo e positivo valore. Della sua biografia sarebbe vano parlare, proprio qui, nella sua terra, ove egli sovrasta al flusso del tempo in quella contemporaneità tenace nell'animo dei vivi che è l'immortale durata degli uomini grandi: né io avrei nuovi documenti da aggiungere o nuovi episodi da narrare, dopo le amoroze ricerche di Teodoro Duka, che di Kőrösi Csoma ha ricostruito le vicende terrene.

Tutta la sua vita, voi sapete, fu dedizione alla scienza. Gli anni passati nel collegio di Nagyenyed e più tardi nell'università di Göttingen, non erano trascorsi invano: egli aveva acquistato l'abito della precisione, della discriminazione intelligente fra l'immaginato ed il reale, della ritrosia per quegli accostamenti fantastici di parole e di radici nei quali s'era prodigata l'erudizione dell'ultimo settecento. La disciplina degli studi classici compiuti sotto buona guida lo aveva educato alle contemplazioni cristalline, alla ricostruzione liscia e scarna delle architetture del pensiero e della storia senza ricami e abbellimenti, alla rivelazione delle idee essenziali nella loro nudità elementare; quasi una spersonificazione dello studioso tutto intento a riflettere nelle trasparenti luminosità del suo spirito la visione spettrale delle cose esaminate e approfondite. Questo è il più vivo carattere dell'opera di Csoma e le impartisce certa solidità tenace che vince l'usura del tempo: una costruzione ove tutto è necessario e sicuro, nulla arbitrario o avventizio; le ricerche fatte dopo di lui possono avere aggiunto e completato, quasi mai modificato o corretto.

Il suo dizionario passò quasi intero nei lessici posteriori; alcuni si limitarono a copiarlo come fece quasi sempre lo Schmidt, altri lo inserirono di sana pianta nel loro come il Chandra Das: la stessa sorte toccò alla gramatica che lo Schmidt pose in tedesco ed il Foucaux in francese; oggi si è ristampata perché si è dovuto riconoscere che, a un secolo di distanza, non si è riusciti a far di più o di meglio.

Gli scarni cataloghi delle collezioni tibetane pubblicate dal Beckh, dall'università di Sendai o da quella Ōtani non sono comparabili alla

sua analisi del bKa'-'gyur; in quelli hai elenchi di titoli e liste di nomi; in questa uno schema ragionato delle opere contenute nei 100 volumi dell'edizione di Narthang che presuppone la lettura attenta di ogni pagina e costituisce la scheletrica struttura di una storia letteraria del Buddhismo non ancora tentata.

La dimestichezza con opere che la filologia tibetana sembrò dopo di lui ignorare – o perchè ne perdettesse notizia o per le difficoltà del soggetto e della lingua – gli permise la compilazione di quelle appendici brevi come paradigmi lineari che ricostruiscono lo schema cronologico della storia tibetana, o le equivalenze fra cicli indiani e i cicli tibetani, spigolati nell'aggrovigliata selva del *Vaidūrya dkar po* e l'identificazione di versi del *Mahābhārata* e della *Bhagavadgītā* ritrovati nelle monumentali raccolte.

Non vorrei che la purità filologica degli scritti di Csoma potesse indurvi in errore e farvi considerare quest'uomo singolarissimo come un semplice erudito: anzitutto l'erudizione è sterile, accumula per se medesima coacerva nozioni disgiunte; ma l'opera di Körösi Csoma fu il cominciamento glorioso di discipline non ancora arrivate a piena maturazione scientifica e partite dalla sua investigazione di pioniere. E poi la vita del grande che oggi commemoriamo fu nel suo svolgimento terreno vita di poeta oltre che di scienziato: la poesia è sognante evasione dal mondo della realtà, un candido dispregio delle leggi che governano la tormentosa necessità delle cose, un fiducioso librarsi nel magico regno dell'immaginazione per dimenticare in quegli spazi liberi ed ariosi la pesantezza mortale.

Riflettete... Asceta itinerante della scienza, Körösi Csoma supera la fatica immane delle distanze percorse a piedi, vince le angustie della povertà implacabile fino a diventare miseria, umilia il suo corpo con i digiuni, le privazioni e i freddi dei monasteri tibetani, così fedele al suo sogno che la carne si mollificava e vaniva nei luminosi richiami dello spirito: i suoi sacrifici stanno alla pari con quelli dei missionari che attratti dallo zelo apostolico avevano a più riprese valicato l'Himalaya e domato con lo zelo della fede le inviolabilità ostili della cintura montana con cui il Tibet si difende dalla curiosità umana. Egli s'era inoltrato con la sola compagnia dell'immaginazione e della speranza per quei sentieri dello Zanskar, dello Spiti e dello stato di Bashahr che sembrano sfide lanciate all'ardimento umano dall'inimicizia della natura e, volontario recluso, s'era sepolto come gli anacoreti tibetani nei piccoli conventi di Zangla e Kanam per farsi un varco negli intricati labirinti del lamaismo.

Lasciate che in questo giorno dedicato alla memoria di quel grande, io rievochi a me stesso la commozione che mi vinse quando nel 1931

scendendo appunto dallo Zanskar nella valle della Satlej diretto alla frontiera del Tibet, mi recai in raccolto pellegrinaggio a quel piccolo tempietto di Kanam - che si chiama anche oggi il bKa'-gyur Lha-k'añ - dove Csoma visse alla maniera dei tibetani dall'agosto del 1827 all'ottobre del 1830: volli sfogliare quei grossi volumi delle sacre scritture che nessun studioso mai più aprì dopo che Kőrösi Csoma li ebbe letti con la rapita meraviglia di chi scopre un tesoro nascosto e che passarono poi al più umile ufficio di essere recitati ad alta voce e a casaccio dai monaci venali per qualche cerimonia funebre o per implorare la pioggia negli anni di carestia.

In quel romitorio che guarda la valle augusta e sassosa, vigilato dalle cuspidi aspre ed inaccessibili del Ri Purgyul, piantato sulla roccia che si sgretola e precipita e già annuncia nello squallore della vegetazione rada e scarne la vicinanza del Grande Tibet, Kőrösi Csoma pose fine alla sua peregrinazione nello spazio per intraprendere quella più fascinosa nel tempo: l'investigazione quasi affannosa della letteratura buddhistica gli traeva quasi d'ora in ora dal nulla dell'ignoto la vivace esperienza di una religione millenaria.

Fu trionfo della volontà tesa inflessibile all'inveramento di un ideale che coincideva con lo scopo e la ragione della sua vita: la quale infatti compiuto il dizionario e la gramatica e stampata l'analisi della grande enciclopedia sacra, precocemente si spense a Darjeeling, sulla via di Lhasa, quasi stanca e domata dall'immane logorio del lavoro e dei patimenti.

Ma proprio questo volontario sacrificio, quel doglioso pellegrinaggio e paziente esilio distinguono Csoma dagli altri scienziati: l'ideale scientifico così lo invase e dominò che le sue fiamme liquefecero e dissolvertero ogni altro pensiero e tramutarono il filologo in eroe.

Non ci interessa insistere sul motivo occasionale che condusse Csoma alle sue ricerche tibetane: o sugli indizi di certi autori arabi che lo mossero a rintracciare l'origine della sua gente nelle distese aride e montuose dell'Asia centrale. L'Europa in pieno sviluppo romantico sognava i virginali candori delle origini e quasi stanca della sua consapevole maturità si piegava su se stessa a far luce sui primordi misteriosi delle genti, a ricostruirne le migrazioni e a trovare la remota sorgente delle idee madri.

Non ci meravigliamo se Kőrösi Csoma nella sua anima di poeta subisse anch'egli il fascino di quei pensamenti che ispirarono la ricerca storiografica del primo ottocento, anzi anticipasse nella divinazione del suo intelletto le scoperte che la filologia cinese, anch'essa giovane d'anni, stava per fare, esplorando la labirintica vastità della storiografia cinese.

L'uomo arriva al compimento della sua opera per tortuose vie, ispirazioni misteriose, inconsapevoli necessità o quasi arcane industrie del destino, che lo conduce per mutevoli allettamenti e richiami.

Körösi Csoma giunge in India quando la Società Asiatica di Calcutta aveva già cominciato a svolgere la sua attività: una esigua ma valorosa schiera di studiosi faceva conoscere con le prime traduzioni attendibili i tesori spirituali dell'India; l'Occidente meravigliato assisteva alla rivelazione di una sapienza millenaria che umiliava la sua vanità e con guizzi improvvisi di veggenze solitarie squarciava la notte dell'umana ignoranza, Goethe, gli Humboldt, gli Schlegel, Schopenhauer inchinarono il loro genio alle *Upaniṣad* ed alla *Bhagavad-gītā*: i miti dell'induismo che le prime traduzioni dei Purāṇa avevano rivelato all'Occidente, aprivano orizzonti insospettati all'immaginazione, erano dilatazioni dell'impossibile, aggrovigliamenti di sogni, esasperazioni di delirio, e così si intrecciavano, fondevano e accavallavano che nessuna fantasia riusciva a coglierne il significato, e se ne ritraeva spaurita e sopraffatta vanamente in cerca di un senso e di un'allegoria che pur doveva nascondersi dietro quella apparente stranezza.

Ma del Buddhismo nulla ancor si sapeva, perchè il libro del Desideri che sunteggiava la principale opera della teologia lamaistica, il *Lam rin c'en mo* di Tson k'a pa giaceva inedito nelle biblioteche dei Gesuiti: nè dalla Cina, nè dalla Birmania, nè dal Siam erano giunte notizie precise sul Buddhismo: oppure tali, che di tutte le religioni dell'Oriente questa, che è la più nobile e profonda, sembrava la più povera e decaduta. I missionari in Cina seguendo l'esempio del Ricci avevano rifiutato di vestire alla foggia dei bonzi, adottando l'abito dei letterati confuciani: la legge della rinascita, che essi erratamente intendevano come metempsicosi, avvicinandola con arbitrio alle teorie pitagoriche, allontanava il Buddhismo dalla simpatia dei cristiani ancora troppo dimonati dalla cieca cortezza dell'ortodossia per aprire la mente alla comprensione di una delle più sottili architetture religiose che l'uomo abbia insegnato.

Dalla Birmania, quasi mentre Csoma si rifugiava nei romitori dello Zanskar e di Kanam era giunta l'esposizione del Buddhismo del Piccolo Veicolo fatta dal Sangermano (con buona conoscenza delle fonti paliche); ma essa, come i tentativi del Mantegazza che l'aveva preceduto su quella via, aveva il torto di giudicare una religione, diffusa con tanta luce di sapienza sulla più gran parte dell'Asia, senza scendere in profondità, nelle universali significazioni delle sue dottrine, ma divagando alla superficie ed insistendo sulle sue interpretazioni contingenti.

In India poi il Buddhismo era da tempo tramontato e solo in quegli stessi anni, quasi per inconsapevole accordo, l'Hodgson esplorando le

sognò le stesse esaltazioni e anelò agli stessi superamenti del mondo che la gnosi ellenistico mediterranea e centro asiatica, con una contemporaneità che è in qualche parte rapporto di misteriose colleganze.

Il Lamaismo è la dilatazione di quella gnosi, un formalistico meccanizzarsi dei suoi riti, che offuscò e intorpidì la suadente efficacia delle liturgie antiche, un lento trapassare dalle contemplazioni della palingenesi mistica degli eletti al torpore dei giornalieri uffizi nelle larghe radunanze conventuali. Ma se lo spirito di quella gnosi si è così offuscato, illanguidito, qualche volta perduto, il suo simbolismo sopravvive nel culto lamaista e ne rappresenta la interiore struttura spirituale e liturgica: chi la ignora, fatalmente fraintende e travisa il Buddhismo tibetano.

Questo è il mondo immenso della metafisica e dell'esoterismo che Csoma, ritrovando la radice indiana dello spirito tibetano, ha rivelato alla curiosità dell'intelletto umano mai stanco di ripetersi le stesse domande senza risposta sulla fatalità delle cose.

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raccolte nepalesi, cominciava a rivelare i tesori del suo pensiero e la ricchezza della sua letteratura.

In questo sfondo di scarse notizie, preconcepite interpretazioni e tradizionali incomprensioni emerge e sovrasta l'opera solitaria di Kōrōsi Csoma il quale non ha soltanto fondato gli studi tibetani ma segna gli inizi dell'indagine scientifica del Buddismo.

In un certo senso si può dire che dopo lui si camminò più lentamente: l'attenzione degli orientalisti fu volta, è vero, all'edizione e alla interpretazione dei testi sacri del Mahāyāna e del Hīnayāna tratti quelli dalla dimenticanza polverosa delle biblioteche del Nepal, e presi questi alle comunità di Ceylon, della Birmania o del Siam: poi, quando cominciò a fiorire la scuola sinologica francese, con il Rémusat o il Julien continuata dallo Chavannes e dal Levi, fu il Buddismo cinese che sembrò attrarre su di sè l'interesse dei dotti.

La ragione, voi lo capite, era nel gran disordine cronologico della India, in quella vaghezza e indecisione nella quale questo paese arditamente ignaro del tempo aveva lasciato le vicende individue e collettive, perdute nel nulla della dimenticanza, intorpidite dalla leggenda o vuotate di ogni limite e contorno nell'eterno presente del mito; la precisione della storiografia cinese, gettava sull'eguale fluire dell'antichità indiana piloni luminosi che segnavano la tappe sicure del suo cammino nei secoli; ma, se guardato bene, gran parte di questo lavoro era ricerca estrinseca: (quello che gli indiani chiamano *bahirāṅgaparikṣā*) raccolta diligente ed accurata di materiale ma miope e difettosa veduta d'insieme.

Una religione, — e una delle più vivaci e sottili che l'uomo abbia immaginato a consolare la sua tristezza mortale e a confortare la sua disperata speranza, — non rivela le sue spirituali significazioni traverso l'uso dei libri. Le sue profondità non si traducono nel simbolo morto della lettera; ai suoi segreti vitali si partecipa con l'abbandono della anima non con le deduzioni dell'intelletto. La via per la comprensione del Buddismo è una sola, quella aperta da Kōrōsi Cosma.

Col suo esempio egli ha mostrato che bisogna vivere nei monasteri, frequentare i grandi maestri, vedere come in essi e nelle folle si inverino i principi eterni del buddismo.

Quando uscì dalla solitudine di Zangla e di Kanam, Kōrōsi Csoma aveva imparato assai più che il tibetano: con la sua prodigiosa capacità di lavoro aveva compiuto e superato in pochi anni il cammino teologico prescritto per i dottori della massima università lamaiste.

Le raccolte del bKa'-gyur e del bsTan'-gyur avevano rivelato alla sua smarrita ammirazione tesori di pensiero che le vicende della storia avevano in gran parte distrutto nel loro testo originale.

Il Tibet appariva d'un tratto, in virtù delle sue ricerche, una provincia indiana: traverso l'eredità spirituale del Buddhismo il Tibet passò dalla notte del suo nomadismo e dalle sue barbarie alla luce della cultura: la sua primordiale semplicità fu trascinata e vinta dal fascino di un pensiero maturo: con l'ortodossia degli animi candidi lo accolse e difese come un retaggio sacro, solo ansioso di tramandarlo intatto, senza travisamenti ed aggiunto. Nālandā, Odantapurī, Vikramaśīlā, rivissero a Saskya, a Narthang, a Tashilumpo e a Lhasa, ove la diligenza tibetana fu solo intenta non a creare nuove correnti religiose, ma a interpretare le antiche con la venerazione del più timorato neofita.

La solitudine e gli spazi del tetto del mondo che sembrano la proiezione geografica dell'infinito, avevano accolto nelle serene inviolabilità dei loro silenzi la quintessenza della saggezza indiana.

I romitori, piantati sulle cime delle montagne come isole inaccessibili, sotto le quali ondeggiavano vanamente e mugghiano i flutti delle passioni e del dolore umano: i grandi conventi ove la folla oziosa dei monaci nasconde l'opera silenziosa di maestri austeri furono gli eredi spirituali della tradizione indiana. Nel Tibet per ininterrotto scambio vitale tra maestro e discepolo, che con miracolo della fede sopravvisse all'urto della storia e al corso dei secoli, continua l'esegesi dei testi sacri, resiste la connessione immediata fra la lettera e lo spirito, e si dischiude, nelle chiose, nei commenti, nelle glosse, il senso riposto delle più remote scritture. Csoma aveva visto chiaro; noi oggi ci stiamo lentamente incamminando verso un nuovo momento negli studi del buddhismo che potremo chiamare il momento tibetano, nel quale il paese delle nevi ci conduce traverso la meditante saggezza dei suoi maestri all'intima comprensione della religione di Śākyamuni nei suoi sviluppi millenari.

Pensate, le massime architetture logiche del pensiero indiano da Nāgārjuna a Dīnāga, da Vasubandhu a Dharmakīrti, le più intricate costruzioni di concetti nelle quali il pensiero, si realizza e si esalta, si acuisce e si moltiplica insuperbendo di questo suo universo traslucido come acqua di sorgente, senza l'ombra e l'opacità delle contraddizioni che rendono così tragico il travaglio della vita e così ostile quello della natura, sogni dialettici impassabili e necessari sono tutti raccolti nelle enciclopedie tibetane: poi riassunti, discussi, rielaborati, penetrati nelle loro più sottili significazioni, seguiti nelle loro più lontane implicazioni in una letteratura immensa la cui profondità emerge da secolari raccoglimenti e nella cui chiarezza scopri l'eco della serenità conventuale senza scosse e senza urti. Ma più vana impresa sarebbe intendere senza l'aiuto degli esegeti tibetani la significazione mistica della liturgia Tantrica di quella gnosi indiana, che sulle rive dei fiumi sacri dell'India

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MINOR SANSKRIT TEXTS ON THE PRAJÑĀ-PĀRAMITĀ

I. THE PRAJÑĀ-PĀRAMITĀ-PINḌĀRTHA OF DIÑNĀGA

The palmleaf manuscript containing the text of the *Prajñāpāramitā-pinḍārtha* by Diñnāga was found in the monastery of Žalu which I visited in autumn 1939. It consists of three leaflets without indication of any date. This small book is an epitome of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñā-pāramitā* and it is intended to classify the arguments expounded in this treatise and to adapt its long repetitions to the logic of a rational and intelligible schema.

Though Haribhadra quotes from it, there is a certain discrepancy between the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* and the *Pinḍārtha*; anyhow, both represent two of the most significant efforts of Mahāyāna dogmatics to impress a logical coherence upon the bulky expositions of the *Mahāyāna-Sūtras*.

On account of their brevity and preciseness these *versus memoriales* of Diñnāga enjoyed great diffusion in Mahāyāna schools, since in the most concise way they summarized one of the texts generally considered as the chief guide for realizing and experiencing the fundamental tenets of Buddhism, thus preparing the way to nirvāṇa.

The booklet was translated into Chinese by Shih-hu, who arrived in K'ai fēng in the year A.D. 980. It bears in Chinese the title:

佛母般若波羅蜜多貝集要義論 and is said to be the work of Ta yü lung. Nanjio (1309), followed by Bagchi (*Canon bouddhique en Chine*, p. 604), restored the Sanskrit title in the following manner: *Buddha-mātrka-prajñā-pāramitā-saṅgīti-śāstra*, and attributed tentatively the work to Nāgārjuna.

The catalogue published by the Tōhoku Imperial University and *Hōbōgirin* on the basis of the Tibetan restored the Sanskrit title in the following manner: *Ārya-prajñā-pāramitā-saṅgraha-kārikā*, rightly attributing it to Diñnāga.

The Tibetan translation is included in mDo 'grel: 'P'ags pa šes rab kyi p'a rol tu p'yin pa'i ts'ig le'ur bya pa: *ārya-prajñā-pāramitā-*

saṅgraha-kārikā (mDo 'grel, xiv, no. 2, and cxxviii, no. 7). But it is also known as *brgyad ston bsdus*, which, as rightly stated by Cordier, corresponds to the Sanskrit *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-piṇḍārtha*. This means that the book was known under either title, though on the authority of the Sanskrit manuscript we may presume that the original title was *Prajñā-pāramitā-piṇḍārtha*.

This book was commented upon by Triratnadāsa, dKon mc'og gsum gyi 'bañs in his *Prajñā-pāramitā-saṅgraha-vivaraṇa*.

Triratnadāsa is well known to the Tibetan tradition: according to Tāranātha (Schiefner, pp. 127 and 140) he was a pupil of Vasubandhu and a friend of Diñnāga, who commented on one of his works. Some Tibetan authorities were inclined to identify him with Āryaśūra, though there is no support for such a view¹. His commentary exists in Chinese (Taisho, no. 1517) as well as in Tibetan (mDo 'grel, xiv, no. 3).

The translators were: into Chinese Shih-hu, into Tibetan the Kashmirian Pandit Tilakakalaśa and Blo ldan šes rab of the rÑog clan. This is the well known lotsāva of the eleventh century, upon whom we are well informed by Tibetan sources; for instance, *Deb t'er sñon po*, Ca, p. 37; Buston, *History of Buddhism*, trans. Obermiller, p. 215; G. Tucci, *Indo-tibetica II: Rin c'en bzañ po*, p. 30.

The authority which the *Prajñā-piṇḍārtha* enjoyed is proved by the quotations from it found in some dogmatical works. Haribhadra refers to it five times in his *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*: p. 14 (v. 7), p. 18 (vv. 3-4), p. 28 v. 1), p. 80 (v. 57 a), p. 218 (v. 56)².

As regards the sources of the treatise there is no doubt that it follows strictly the points of view of Asaṅga. This is shown for instance, by its classification of the various modes of unsubstantiality: these are according to Diñnāga sixteen, as compared with other lists of eighteen (*Mahāvvyutpatti*, n. 934-951) or twenty *sūnyatās* (Haribhadra's *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*, Tucci ed., pp. 90 ff.); in the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* itself no classification of the *sūnyatās* is contained.

The chief source and the standard work on this topic being the *Madhyānta-vibhāga*, Diñnāga follows naturally this book commented upon by Vasubandhu and Sthiramati. In one case he uses the same words as a *kārikā* of the *Madhyānta-vibhāga*; *rūpādyabhāve tad deha-*

¹ See THOMAS, *The Works of Āryaśūra, Triratnadāsa, and Dharmikasubhūti*, Album Kern, Leide 1903.

² A summary and synopsis of this work is to be found in: *rGyas 'briñ bsdus gsum...miñ gi rnam grañs* by Kloñ rdol bla ma, complete works, T'a.

pratiṣṭhālakṣaṇakṣatīḥ (v. 10) to which verse 1, 17, of *Madhyānta-vibhāga* may be compared: *bhoktr̥bhōjanataddehapraṭiṣṭhāvastuśūnyatā*.

Naturally there is nothing extraordinary in it, since the works of Maitreya-Asaṅga were soon considered as most authoritative by the school to which Diñnāga belonged. The *kārikās* were certainly learnt by heart by every pupil eager to become proficient in Mahāyāna dogmatics. But there is a certain difference between the traditional order of the sixteen modes of unsubstantiality as expounded in *Madhyānta-vibhāga* and that followed by Diñnāga, as can clearly be seen from the following table:—

<i>Madhyānta-vibhāga.</i>	<i>Diñnāga.</i>
(1) bhoktr̥ś. (= adhyātmaś.)	Id.
(2) bhōjanaś. (= bahirdhās.)	Id.
(3) adhyātmaś.	Id.
(4) mahās.	Id.
(5) śūnyatāś	lakṣaṇaś.
(6) paramārthaś.	śūnyatāś.
(7) saṃskṛtaś.	prakṛtiś.
(8) asaṃskṛtaś.	atyantaś.
(9) atyantaś.	anavarāgraś.
(10) anavarāgraś.	sarvadharmāś.
(11) anavakāraś.	paramārthaś.
(12) prakṛtiś.	abhāvaś.
(13) lakṣaṇaś.	abhāvasvabhāvaś.
(14) sarvadharmāś.	saṃskṛtaś.
(15) abhāvaś.	asaṃskṛtaś.
(16) abhāvasvabhāvaś.	anavakāraś.

This diversity in the arrangement of the *śūnyatā* is easily explained, since Diñnāga tried to adapt rather forcibly to his scheme the contents of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñā-pāramitā* and was therefore compelled to follow the arguments of the text he commented upon.

The section on the ten *vikalpavikṣepa* points to the same conclusion: these *vikṣepas* have been, as known, concisely enunciated by Asaṅga in the *Mahāyāna-sūtrālaṅkāra* (xi, 77), and then, with more details, in the *Mahāyāna-saṅgraha-sāstra* trad. Lamotte, chap. II, p. 115). Mention of them is also made in the *Vijñapti-mātratā-siddhi* of Hsüan-tsang, transl. by La Vallée Poussin, p. 521.

The Tibetan version follows quite faithfully the Sanskrit original; the Chinese translation is generally satisfactory, though Shih-hu has

very often to struggle with the irreducible diversity of the two languages, and, though adapting very closely his text to Sanskrit, often he fails to render the conciseness of the original.

SANSKRIT TEXT

Namaḥ prajñāpāramitāyai
 prajñāpāramitā jñānam advayaṃ sā tathāgataḥ |
 sādhyā tādarthayogena tēcchabdyam granthamārgayoḥ || 1 ||
 āsrayas cādhikāras ca karma bhāvanayā saha |
 prabhedo liṅgam āpac ca sānuśaṃsam udāhṛtaṃ || 2 ||
 śraddhāvatam pravṛtṭyaṅgam śāstā parśac ca sākṣiṇī |
 deśakālau ca nirdiṣṭau svaprāmāṇyaprasiddhaye || 3 ||
 saṅgītikartā loka hi deśakālopalakṣitaṃ |
 sasākṣikaṃ vadan vaktā prāmāṇyam adhigacchati || 4 ||
 sarvaṃ caitam nipātātmaśravaṇādeḥ prakīrttanam |
 prasaṅgikaṃ tu evārthā mukhyā dvātriṃśad eva hi || 5 ||
 prabhedaḥ ṣoḍaśākāraḥ sūnyatāyā yathākramam |
 nirdiṣṭo 'ṣṭasahasryā sa vijñeyo 'nyāpadeśataḥ || 6 ||
 ittham aṣṭasahasrīyam anyūnā 'rthair yathoditaiḥ |
 granthasaṃkṣepa iṣṭo 'tra ta evārthā yathoditāḥ || 7 ||
 bodhisattvaṃ na paśyāmīty uktavāṃs tattvato muniḥ |
 bhoktā 'dhyātmikavastūnām kathitā tena sūnyatā || 8 ||
 rūpaṃ rūpasvabhāvena sūnyam ity uktitaḥ punaḥ |
 bāhyāny āyatanāniha bhogyāni pratiśiddhavan || 9 ||
 rūpādy abhāve taddehapratiṣṭhālakṣaṇakṣatiḥ |
 gatārthā yena tad dṛṣṭam tadādhyātmikam ity asat || 10 ||
 ādhyātmikānām sūnyatve prakṛter api sūnyatā |
 vijñānarūpaṃ gotraṃ hi kṛpāprajñātmakam matam || 11 ||
 notpanno na niruddho vā sattva ity ādinā sphuṭam |
 sattvasaṃsārayoḥ kāmam darśitā tena sūnyatā || 12 ||
 Buddhadharmāṃs tathā bodhisattvadharmān na paśyati |
 ity ādinā vinirdiṣṭā sūnyā daśabalādayaḥ || 13 ||
 prati prati yato dharmāḥ kalpitā iti kīrttitaṃ |
 tato na paramārtho 'sti dharmāṇām iti cōktavān || 14 ||
 ātmādidṛṣṭer ucchedam mahatyā prakaroti yat |
 tataḥ pudgalanairātmyam bhagavān sarvathā jagau || 15 ||
 sarvadharmā anutpannā iti kīrttayatā tathā |
 kathitaṃ dharmanairātmyam sarvathā tattvavedinā || 16 ||
 sāvadyaniravadyānām avṛddhiparihānitaḥ |

saṃskṛtāsaṃskṛtānāṃ ca kuśalānāṃ nirākṛtiḥ ॥ 17 ॥
 kuśalānāṃ ca śūnyatve tadgatā 'kṣatā tathā |
 kalpitaiveti bhedaṇāṃ śūnyatāyāḥ sa saṃgrahaḥ ॥ 18 ॥
 daśabhiś cittavikṣepaiś cittaṃ vikṣiptam anyataḥ |
 योग्या भवति बालानां नद्वयजिज्ञासाधने ॥ 19 ॥
 tān apākartum anyonyaṃ vipakṣapratipakṣataḥ |
 prajñāpāramitāgranthas te ca saṃpiṇḍya darśitāḥ ॥ 20 ॥
 yad āha bodhisattvaḥ sann ity abhāvaprakalpanā-
 vikṣepaṃ vikṣipan śāstā sāṃvṛtaskandhadarśanāt ॥ 21 ॥
 etenāṣṭasahasryādāv ādivākyāt prabhṛty api |
 āsamāpter niṣeddhavyā vidhinābhāvakalpanā ॥ 22 ॥
 hetuvākyāni naitāni kṛtyamātraṃ tu sūcyate |
 brahmajālādisūtreṣu jñeyāḥ sarvatra yuktayaḥ ॥ 23 ॥
 bodhisattvaṃ na paśyāmi aham ity ādivistaraiḥ |
 nirākaroti bhagavān bhāvasaṃkalpavibhramam ॥ 24 ॥
 yan na paśyati nāmāpi [na] gocaraṃ kriyāṃ tathā |
 skandhāṃś ca sarvatas tena bodhisattvaṃ na paśyati ॥ 25 ॥
 kalpitasya niṣedho 'yam iti saṅgrahadarśanam |
 sarvo jñeyatayārūḍha ākāraḥ kalpito matau ॥ 26 ॥
 prajñāpāramitāyāṃ hi trīn samāśritya deśanā |
 kalpitaṃ paratantraṃ ca pariniṣpannam eva ca ॥ 27 ॥
 nāstītyādipadaiḥ sarvaṃ kalpitaṃ vinivāryate |
 māyopamādidṛṣṭāntaiḥ paratantrasya deśanā ॥ 28 ॥
 caturdhā vyavadānena pariniṣpannakīrttanam ॥
 prajñāpāramitāyāṃ hi nānyā buddhasya deśanā ॥ 29 ॥
 daśasaṃkalpavikṣepavipakṣe deśanākrame
 trayāṇāṃ iha boddhavyaṃ samastavyastakīrttanam ॥ 30 ॥
 yathādivākye niṣpannaparatantraparikalpitaḥ |
 abhāvakalpanārūpavikṣepavinivāraṇam ॥ 31 ॥
 tena buddhaṃ tathā bodhiṃ na paśyāmi vācakaiḥ |
 āsamāpter iha jñeyā kalpitānāṃ nirākṛtiḥ ॥ 32 ॥
 śūnye rūpe svabhāvena samāropaḥ kva kena vā |
 ity anyeṣv api vākyeṣu boddhavyaṃ tan nivāraṇam ॥ 33 ॥
 na hi śūnyatayā śūnyam iti vākyam vinirdīśan |
 apavādavikalpānāṃ nirāsaṃ sarvathoktavān ॥ 34 ॥
 māyopamas tathā buddhaḥ sa svapnopama ity api |
 ayam eva kramo jñeyo vjñair vākyāntareṣv api ॥ 35 ॥
 sāmānādhikaraṇyena prokto māyopamo jinaḥ |
 māyopamādiśabdaiś ca paratanthro nigadyate ॥ 36 ॥
 pṛthagjanānāṃ yaj jñānaṃ prakṛtivyavadānikaṃ |
 uktaṃ tad buddhaśabdena bodhisattvo yathā jinaḥ ॥ 37 ॥
 nijam svarūpaṃ pracchādya tad avidyāvaśīkṛtam |

māvāvad anyathā bhāti phalaṃ svapna ivojjhati || 38 ||
 advayasyānyathākhyātau phale vāpy apavādināṃ |
 apavādavikalpānām apavādo 'yam ucyate || 39 ||
 na rūpaṃ sūnyatā yuktā parasparavirodhataḥ |
 nīrūpā sūnyatā nāmarūpaṃ ākārasaṅgataṃ || 40 ||
 ity ekatvavikalpasya bāddhā nānātvakalpanaṃ |
 ruṇaddhi nānyat tad rūpaṃ sūnyatāyāḥ kathaṃcana || 41 ||
 asad eva yataḥ khyāti tad avidyāvinirmitaṃ |
 asatkhyāpanasāktyaiva sāvidyete nigadyate || 42 ||
 idam evocyate rūpaṃ prajñāpāramitete ca |
 advayaṃ dvayaṃ evaitad vikalpadvayabādhanam || 43 ||
 yuktiṃ cāha viśuddhatvāt tathā cānupalambhataḥ |
 bhāvābhāvavirodhāc ca nānātvam api paśyati | 44 |
 nāmamātram idaṃ rūpaṃ tattvato hy asvabhāvakaṃ |
 tat svabhāvavikalpānām avakāśaṃ nirasyati || 45 ||
 rūpaṃ rūpasvabhāvena sūnyaṃ yat prathamoditaṃ |
 tat svabhāvasamāropasaṃkalpapraṭiṣedhanam || 46 ||
 notpādaṃ na nirodhaṃ ca dharmāṇaṃ paśyatīti yat |
 bhagavān āha tad vyastā tadviśeṣasya kalpanā || 47 ||
 kṛtrimaṃ nāma vācyāś ca dharmās te kalpitā yataḥ |
 śabdārthayor na sambandhas tena svābhāviko mataḥ || 48 ||
 bāhyārthābhinivēśas tu bhrāntiyā bālasya jṛmbhate |
 tathaiva vyavahāro 'yaṃ na tv atrārtho 'sti kaścana¹ || 49 ||
 atra tena yathā nāma kalpyate na tathāsti tat |
 vācyam vastu tato niṣṭhā yathānāmārthakalpanā || 50 ||
 prajñāpāramitā buddho bodhisattvo 'pi vā tathā |
 nāmamātram iti prāha vyasan satyārthakalpanam || 51 ||
 śabdārthapraṭiṣedho 'yaṃ na vastu vinivāryate |
 evam anyeṣv api jñeyo vākyeṣv arthavinīścayaḥ || 52 ||
 naivopalabhate samyak sarvanāmāni tattvavit |
 yathārthatvena tenedaṃ na dhvaner vinivāraṇam || 53 ||
 Subhūtiś tu dvayaṃ vyasan śabdaṃ śabdārtham eva ca |
 bodhisattvasya no nāma paśyāmīti sa uktavān || 54 ||
 prajñāpāramitāvākyam nāsti yan neyatā gataṃ |
 ūhyās tu kevalam te 'rthāḥ... sūkṣmayā dhiyā || 55 ||
 prakrāntārth[atira]skāro yā cārthāntarakalpanā |
 prajñāpāramitāyāṃ hi proktā sā prativarṇikā || 56 ||
 etāvān arthasaṃkṣepaḥ prajñāpāramitāśrayaḥ |

¹ This verse is missing in the Chinese translation, where it is inserted in the commentary upon v 48, but in prose.

āvartyate sa evārthaḥ punar arthāntarāśritaḥ || 57 ||
 prajñāpāramitāṃ samyak saṃgr̥hyāṣṭasahasrikāṃ |
 yat puṇyaṃ āptaṃ tenāstu prajñāpāram ito janah || 58 ||
 prajñāpāramitāpiṇḍārthasaṅgrahaḥ samāptaḥ ||
 kṛtir ācāryadignāgapādānāṃ ||

TRANSLATION

(1) The gnosis is the monistic knowledge ¹; it is the *Tathāgata* ², the object to be realized ³; this word expresses the book in which this knowledge is expounded and the path to salvation as well in so far as both are intended to this same aim ⁴.

(2) These are the arguments dealt with in the text of the *Aṣṭasahasrikā*: the basis, viz. the Buddha, the fitness for (listening to) the teaching (viz. the Bodhisattvas), what should be done by these (Bodhisattvas), the meditation (on the contraries of the ten imputations), the classification (of sixteen aspects of unsubstantiality), logical arguing, the faults in which one may fall ⁵, the advantages ⁶.

(3) As factors able to lead the believers to the appropriate action, the recorder (*saṅgītikartā*) in order to state his own authority indicates who is the teacher, whose assembly listened to the teachings, the time and the place where the teaching was held ⁷.

¹ That is, transcending *grāhya* and *grāhaka*, object (*rūpa*, etc.) and subject.

² In so far as it is the result, viz. the identification with the supreme reality symbolically said to be the Buddha. This verse is quoted also in *Dohakoṣa ṭikā*, ed. Bagchi, p. 67.

³ By the Bodhisattva.

⁴ This means that the word *Prajñā-pāramitā* has a double meaning, one primary (*mukhya*), viz. monistic knowledge, and one secondary (*gaṇa*), viz. the text and the path.

⁵ Viz. the wrong assumption which one should avoid or any false statement as regards the gnosis.

⁶ This refers to the closing formulae of the gnosis upon the merit which is derived from reciting, reading, etc., the gnosis.

⁷ The author proceeds to explain the first of the thirty-two arguments included in the gnosis, the *āśraya* or fundament, viz. the Buddha. In this way he establishes the validity of the gnosis in so far as it is the revelation of the Buddha. He then explains the traditional beginning of the *sūtras*: *evaṃ mayā śrutam*, "so I have heard".

In another palmleaf manuscript containing a fragment of the *Prajñā-pāramitā, kārikā-saptati* of Āryāsaṅga there are, at the end of this treatise, a few lines which seem to be the commentary upon this verse of the *Prajñā-pāramitā-piṇḍārtha*:

"*āśrayo bhāgavān , adhikāro bodhisattvagaṇam adhikṛtya deśyate, karma, kriyā, prajñāpāramitāyāṃ bodhisattvasyānuṣṭhānam, bhāvanā daśavidhavidikalpasyāpanaya-*

(4) As a matter of fact, in this world, the recorder (*saṅgītikartā*) expounding things of which witnesses are known and that are definite as regards space and time, becomes an authority when he relates them¹.

(5) All these (references), viz. the fact that the (the *saṅgītikartā*) heard the teaching as explicitly indicated by the adverb (*so*), the pronoun (*I*) and the verb (*have heard*), etc., are occasional²; the fundamental teachings of the gnosis are in fact thirty-two only.

(6) The sixteen various aspects of the unsubstantiality have been expounded progressively by the *Aṣṭasahasrikā*³: they must be understood as being explained by various enunciations⁴.

(7) So this *Aṣṭasahasrī* results from these arguments, as many as they have been enunciated, not one less; a summary of the book is here wanted; the arguments are the same as those explained there.

THE SIXTEEN UNSUBSTANTIALITIES

I. Unsubstantiality of inner elements (*adhyātmaśūnyatā*).

(8) The ascetic truly said: "I do not see the Bodhisattva"; in this way he explained the unsubstantiality of the elements which are supposed to constitute the inner individuality of the sentient being⁵.

nāya, prabhedah prajñāpāramitāyāḥ ṣoḍaśaparakārah, liṅgam mārakarmānām avai-varttikabodhisattvānām ca, āpat, anarthaḥ saddharmapratikṣepādīnā dharmavyasana-samvarttanīyaṃ karma saviṣayā ca prajñāpāramitā, anuśamsā mahattvanirdeśah prajñāpāramitāyāḥ, kṣayamātrāmbanenāpi sakaladānādīmayapūnyābhibhavakathanam, . . . prabhedah ṣoḍaśaśūnyatā, vikalpā: abhāvabhāva-samāropāpavāda-ekatva-nānātva-svabhāva-viśeṣa-yathānāmārthayathārthanāmā iti piṇḍārtho 'ṣṭasahasrīyām', ,

¹ The *Saṅgītikarīā*, determining the time in which the revelation was heard (*ekasmin samaye*), denies that the things related belong to the time of the decadence of the law, and that they are not *Buddhavacana*, words of the Buddha.

² They are therefore not included within the thirty-two principal items to be discussed.

³ Leaving aside such introductory things as briefly enunciated which are not peculiar to the *Prajñāpāramitā*, the author comes to the essential arguments expounded in this text and he begins with a synopsis of the sixteen kinds of unsubstantiality. On the twenty aspects of *śūnyatā* see Obermiller in *IHQ*, ix (1933), p. 170.

⁴ Since the individuals are of various capacities, as a rule of three kinds: inferior, intermediate, and superior.

⁵ *adhyātmikaśūnyatā*: "I do not see the Bodhisattva" is a sentence which comes very often in the *ASPP.*, e. g. p. 4, p. 25.

II. Unsubstantiality of outer elements (*bahirdhāsūnyatā*).

(9) When again it is said that the objects visible, etc. ¹, are unsubstantial in so far as in them there is no such a thing as visibility, etc., he excludes that external perceptions are enjoyable by that same person.

III-IV. Unsubstantialities of body, of space, of attributes and unsubstantiality itself (*bahiradhyātmamahālakṣaṇāsūnyatāsūnyatā*).

(10) If visible objects and the like do not exist, it is implicit that the body in which they (are supposed to co-exist), the world which constitutes ² the support of this, the (thirty-two) marks of the great man vanish; when one realizes this, individuality appears to that man unreal as being a mere inner assumption.

VII. Unsubstantiality of nature (*prakṛtisūnyatā*).

(11) If the inner experiences are unsubstantial, the unsubstantiality of nature is implicit ³; in fact the spiritual family of which one partakes consists of consciousness and it is said to result in compassion and gnosis.

VIII, IX. Unsubstantiality endless and unsubstantiality without beginning and end (*atyanta and anavarāgraśūnyatā*).

(12) When He states that the individuals are neither born nor annihilated ⁴ and so on, in this way, He clearly shows that individuals as well as the cycle of transmigration are unsubstantial.

X. Unsubstantiality of all elements (*sarvadharmāsūnyatā*).

(13) When it is stated that he does not see either the attributes of the Buddha or those of the Bodhisattva, he shows that the ten powers of the Buddha and so on are unsubstantial.

¹ What is said of the things visible must be referred also to the other objects of sensorial perception: *bāhyāyatanaśūnyatā*; *rūpaṃ rūpasvabhāvena śūnyam*. Cf. *ASPP.*, p. 10: *rūpaṃ virahitaṃ rūpasvabhāvena*.

² *bādhyādhyātmikaśūnyatā*, viz. the body, as a synthesis of external and internal experiences; *taḍ-dehapraṭiṣṭhā* occurs in *Madhyānta-vibhāga*, 10, 17; the world is *bhajanaloka* = *snod 'jig rten* where the body dwells; in the first part of the verse three kinds of *ston pa ñid* are therefore refuted: *bāhyādhyātmikaśūnyatā*, *mahāsūnyatā*, *lakṣaṇaśūnyatā* (*mts'an ñid*); in the fourth *pāda* on the contrary the *śūnyatāsūnyatā*, *ston pa ñid ston pa ñid*.

³ "Nature" means *gotra*, *rigs* lineage.

⁴ Cf. *ASPP.*, p. 11 (Subhūti): *ajātā hy anirjātā . . . sarvadharmāḥ*.

XI. Unsubstantiality of the absolute (paramārthāsūnyatā).

(14) Since it is stated that the attributes¹ are imputed, therefore, he declares that from the point of view of the absolute truth the attributes do not exist.

XII. Unsubstantiality of unreality (abhāvasūnyatā).

(15) Since with every means he (the Bodhisattva) uproots the view that there is an ego, therefore the Blessed one has declared that in no way there exists a personality.

XIII. Unsubstantiality of reality (abhāvasvabhāvasūnyatā).

(16) So when He says that all attributes (*rūpa*, etc.) are not born, then the Buddha, who knows the truth, has implicitly declared that the attributes are equally devoid of substance.

XIV, XV. Unsubstantiality of conditioned and unconditioned elements (saṃskṛta-asamskṛtaśūnyatā).

(17) By stating that there is neither growth nor diminution of the pure and impure elements, the existence of any moral category, either in the plane of the conditioned existence or in that of the unconditioned existence, is refuted.

XVI. Unsubstantiality of non-repudiation (anavakāraśūnyatā).

(18) The meritorious actions are unsubstantial, their conduciveness to *nirvāna* inherent in them is also imputed.

This is the summary of the various aspects of unsubstantiality.

THE TEN DISTRACTIONS

(19) When² mind is distracted by the ten mental distractions from the other thing (knowledge), then it is unfit, as it happens with the fools³, for the realization of the monistic knowledge.

¹ *dharma*, viz. *rūpa*, etc. Cf. *ASPP.*, p. 15 (Buddha): *sarvadharmāḥ kalpitāḥ*.

² Having so dealt with the sixteen kinds of unsubstantiality, the author comes to the ten mental distractions, *cittavikṣepa*.

³ In so far as they remain attached to *rūpa*, etc., and such like wrong assumptions.

(20) The treatise of the gnosis is meant to eliminate reciprocally these distractions by having recourse to (the dialectic of) a thesis and an antithesis¹. Those distractions have summarily been taught in the (following) way.

I. Distraction of non-existence (abhāvavikṣepa).

(21) So when the teacher said: "The Bodhisattva exists"², he, showing that the constituents of the human personality exist from a conventional point of view, refutes the distraction consisting in the imputation of the non-existence.

(22) According to this same rule in the *Aṣṭasahasrikā*, as well as in the other redactions of the gnosis, from the introductory verses up to the end, the imputation of non-existence must be refuted.

(23) These are not logical argumentations, rather suggestions are here given as regards what one must do; logical reasons are to be learnt everywhere else, as for instance in the *Brahmajālasūtra* and such like books³.

II. Distraction of existence (bhāvavikṣepa).

(24) When he says: "I do not see any Bodhisattva", and with such like expressions largely employed, the Blessed One refutes the bewilderment consisting in the imputation of existence⁴.

(25) In so far as he does not see in any way either a name or a field of experience⁵ or the action or the constituents of human personality, therefore he says that "he does not see any Bodhisattva".

(26)⁶ This is the refutation of all imputed⁷ and this is the synthetic synopsis of the gnosis; all appearances assumed as being object of knowledge are imputed in mind.

(27) The teaching, in the gnosis, is done by having recourse to a triple aspect of things; imputed, relative, and absolute⁸.

¹ For instance non-existence as antithesis of existence and vice versa.

² *Bodhisattvo bodhisattva eva san.* Same quotation in *Mahāyāna-sūtrāṅkāra*, xi, 77.

³ See WELER, *Über das Brahmajāla-sūtra. Asia Major*, vol. ix.

⁴ Of rūpa, etc.: *Bodhisattvaṃ na samanupaśyāmi*...

⁵ Viz. the *mārga* of the Bodhisattva that is ultimately the gnosis.

⁶ One may object that this second alternative is contradictory to the first, and therefore the author replies with this stanza.

⁷ *skandha, dhatu, āyatana*, etc.

⁸ An example of the first is the arising of the notions of subject and object in the impure knowledge as that of blue, etc.; of the second when in the monistic

(28) With the expression “ it does not exist ”, all imputed is refuted; when holy text say that things are like illusory appearances and employ these examples, they explain what is relative.

(29) With the fourfold purification¹ the absolute is explained. In the gnosis there is no other teaching of the Buddha than this.

(30) In the methodical explanation of the doctrine intended to be the antithesis of the ten imputations, the three aspects of the things (as above said) are to be understood as being enunciated here both in a summary and in an extensive manner.

(31) So, for instance, in the introductory part of the gnosis² on the basis of these three aspects of the existence: imputed, relative, and absolute, He (viz. the Buddha) refutes the distraction which consists in the imputation of non-existence³.

(32) When the speakers⁴ say: “ I do not see either the enlightened or the illumination ”, up to the end (of the book) the refutation of the imputations⁵ is to be understood.

knowledge, by the agency of the nescience, duality arises; of the third, knowledge purified of the duality of subject and object. The sources on this topic are numerous: La Vallee Poussin, *Vijñapti-mātratā-siddhi*, Paris, 1929. Lévi, *Matériaux pour servir à l'étude du système Vijñaptimātratā*, Paris, 1932.

¹	<i>rañ bžin gyis rnam par byañ</i>	<i>prakṛtivyavadāna</i>
	<i>dri ma med pa'i rnam par byañ</i>	<i>vaimalyavyavadāna</i>
	<i>dmigs pai rnam par byañ</i>	<i>ālambanavyavadāna</i>
	<i>rgyu mt'un pa'i rnam par byañ</i>	<i>sāpakṣavyavadāna</i>

(1) all beings and dharmas are, like the Tathāgata, devoid of any essence.

(2) monistic knowledge which is born in the yogins meditating through the dialectics of the contraries

(3) the teaching of the gnosis

(4) all dharmas are analogical to the absolute

Upon these four purifications see: *Mahāyāna-saṅgraha-śūtra*, trad. par E. Lamotte, Louvain, 1938, p. 121; *Madhyāntavibhāgaṭīkā*, ed. par Yamaguchi, p. 112; *Madhyānta-vibhāga*, transl. by Tscherbatsky, Moscow, 1936.

² “The passage of the *Aṣṭasahasrikā* referred to here is: *pratibhātu te, Subhūte, bodhisattvānām mahāsattvānām prajñāpāramitām ārabhya yathā bodhisattvā mahāsattvāḥ prajñāpāramitām niryāyur* (p. 4). According to Triratnadāsa *pratibhātu te Subhūte* refers to *paratantra*, the literal meaning of the sentence to *parikalpita*, *aleyūyur* to *pariniṣpaṇna*.

³ in so far as by the that these three aspects exist, it is impossible to state that there is absolute non-existence.

⁴ The Buddha, Subhūti, etc.

⁵ Because the fools could take literally the words of the *Prajñāpāramitā* and consequently think that at least in those cases a subject and an object exist.

III. Distraction based upon positive assumption (*adhyāropavikṣepa*).

(33)¹ When matter is essentially unsubstantial, then where or by what can the positive assumption that it is an essence take place? It is understood that in the other expressions such a refutation is also implicit.

IV. Distraction based upon negative assumption (*apavādavikṣepa*).

(34) When He says, in the course of the teaching, that unsubstantiality is not such on account of² unsubstantiality, He expresses an absolute refutation of the negative imputation.

(35) The same applies to other expressions such as “The Buddha is similar to a magic appearance³; he is like a dream”; those who know should apply this same method even to the other expressions contained in the gnosis.

(36) The Buddha is said to be similar to a magic appearance because He coincides (with the monistic knowledge) itself. With the expression “He is like a magic appearance” the relative is indicated⁴.

(37) That inborn knowledge which, being pure by its nature, is present event within the individuals this very knowledge is expressed by the word Buddha; the Bodhisattva is to be understood as the Buddha.

(38) This knowledge⁵, its nature being obstructed by nescience, appears quite different⁶ from what it really is, as a magic show; just as (what is dreamt in) a dream does not attain its aim (when one awakens), the same happens with it⁷.

¹ This is introduced in order to answer to the eventual question: Why is the *parikalpita* refuted and not the *pariniṣpanna*? The reply is that from the point of view of absolute truth, there being no substantiality in anything whatever, there is no place for refutation either; *sūnyam rūpasvabhāvena*, cf. v. 9.

² *ma sūnyatayā sūnyam*.

³ The Buddha himself is nothing but monistic knowledge, which is the same as the knowledge inborn within the particular selves, though obstructed by ignorance. *ASPP.*, p. 39 (Subhūti): *samyaksambuddhatvaṃ māyoṣamam*.

⁴ In so far as it is under the operation of *avidyā*. This implies that it is wrong to state that nothing exists. The thing which is called monistic knowledge is not only identical with Buddha, but it is the kernel (*sūnī po*) of individuals.

⁵ Some may argue that were this monistic knowledge within the individuals, it should be manifest, perceptible. And therefore this stanza is introduced.

⁶ On account of the imputation of subject and object, etc.

⁷ This implies that all conventional knowledge (*t'os* and *bsam*, learned or meditated upon) has no value when one awakens (gets the real knowledge).

(39) This¹ is called refutation of the imputations consisting in the negative assumption of those who hold a negative view as regards monistic knowledge in so far as they understand in an improper way either that knowledge itself or the result (which is derived from the realization of truth).

V. Distraction based upon assumption of identity (ekatvavikṣepa).

(40) It is not logical to say that visible matter is unsubstantiality² since there is contradiction between the two statements; unsubstantiality is immaterial while whatever is material is possessed of some form.

VI. Distraction based upon assumption of diversity (nānātvavikṣepa).

(41) In this way the logical impossibility of the imputation of the identity excludes the imputation of diversity; visible matter is in no ways different from unsubstantiality³.

(42) It is a creation of nescience that whatever does not exist appears (as existent). It is called nescience because it has the capacity of making to appear as real what in reality does not exist.

(43) The same thing indeed may be called visible matter and gnosis as well; the duality is in reality only identity; this comes to the refutation of both imputations.

(44) The Buddha explained⁴ the logical reason of this statement in so far as things are by their essence pure and transcending perception. He considers also diversity (as inadmissible) since existence and non-existence are contradictory⁵.

¹ Viz. na śūnyatayā śūnyam.

² It refers to the sentence in the Praj. P.: yad rūpasya śūnyatā na tad rūpam, and refutes the possible assumption of an identity of rūpa and śūnya.

³ rūpa and śūnya cannot be distinct because this would imply duality; while nothing is admissible but non-duality: ASPP., p. 16 (Subhūti): na hy anyā sā māyā anyat tad rūpam.

⁴ Even on the basis of logical grounds it is evident that the knowledge pure of any vikalpa is the contrary of the distractions. It is pure on account of its being prakṛti-prabhāsvara; it transcends perceptibility, because such a thing as identity and so on cannot be seen.

⁵ The non-perceptibility gives the opportunity to Triratnadāsa to summarize the idealistic doctrine of knowledge as expounded by Dinnāga and his school, and to ascertain its self-feeling. On this discussion one may refer to Tscherbatsky, *Buddhistic Logic*, Leningrad 1930, II, pp. 384 ff.

VII. *Distraction based upon the assumption of an essence (svabhā-vavikṣepa).*

(45) When it is said that this matter is purely nominal, but in fact it is devoid of essence, this does not allow any place for the imputation of any essence¹.

(46) When, then, it was before stated that matter is devoid of the essence of matter², this was meant to refute a false judgment consisting in (admitting) the existence of such a thing as essence.

VIII. *Distraction based upon the assumption of a diversity (viśeṣavikṣepa).*

(47) When the Buddha states that he does not see either birth or disappearance of things³, He thus refutes the imputation that these things have a characteristic of their own.

IX. *Distraction based upon the assumption that names correspond to things (yathārthanāmābhiniveśavikṣepa).*

(48) Name is factitious⁴ and things, in so far as they are nameable, are imputed; therefore it is impossible to think that the relation between the objects and their name corresponds to something essential.

(49) The attachment to external things-as if they were real is proper to the fools and is the consequence of an error; therefore this is a convention adopted in common life, but in reality there is nothing.

(50) Therefore in this world the name is imputed, but, in fact, there is no object expressible by it; it is therefore an established fact that objects are imputed according to their names.

X. *Distraction based upon the assumption that things correspond to names (yathārthanāmābhiniveśavikṣepa).*

(51) The Blessed one also stated that the gnosis, the Buddha and the Bodhisattva are mere names and in this way He refuted the imputation that there exists something really existent.

¹ *nāma-mātram idam yad rūpaṃ; cf. ASPP., 31 (Subhūti): nāmāśritatvāt sarva-dharmānām.*

² *rūpaṃ svabhāvena śūnyam, v. 9; viz. matter is devoid of any proper and general character: rañ dañ p'yi mts'an nīd.*

³ *notpāda, vide v. 12.*

⁴ *k. trimam nāma.*

(52) This is the refutation of the things as named by the name, but this does not mean that the object in itself is denied¹. A similar determination of the things must be understood as (being applicable) to the other expressions (contained in the gnosis).

(53) The man who knows according to truth does not perceive anything as corresponding to the names. Therefore this refutation is made as regards the existence of the objects connoted by names, but it does not deny that sounds have a conventional purpose.

(54) But Subhūti, denying both the name as well as the object expressed by the name, said: " I do not see any name of the Bodhisattva " ².

(55) There does not exist in the gnosis any expression which should not be understood according to this method of interpretation; its various meanings are to be grasped in this way by men possessed of subtle intelligence.

(56) Gnosis is called counterfeit when one disregards in it the arguments undertaken or assumes in them a different meaning.

(57) This, and this only is the synopsis ³ of the arguments contained in the gnosis; this meaning comes again and again even in connection with other arguments (dealt with in the books of the gnosis).

(58) If some merit has been acquired by me in making an exact summary of the gnosis called *Aṣṭasahasrikā*, this may help the creatures to reach the supreme gnosis which transcends this existence.

TIBETAN TRANSLATION

Šes rab p'a rol p'yin gñis med
 ye šes de ni de bžin gšegs
 bsgrub bya don de dañ ldan pas
 gžuñ lam dag la de'i sgra yin (I)
 rten dañ dbañ du ⁴ bya ba dañ
 las ni sgom pa dañ bcas dañ

¹ *vastu* is evidently = *paramārtha* as for instance in *Nyāya-bindu*. See Tscherbatsky, *op. cit.*, p. 68. On *vastu* see the long discussion in *Bodhisattva-bhūmi*, ed. Wogihara, pp. 45 ff.

² Nor, it is implied, any Bodhisattva. Cf. *ASPP.*, p. 25 (Subhūti): *nāhaṃ tad dharmam samanupaśyāmi yasyaitan nāmadheyam yaduta bodhisattva*, etc.

³ Viz. the thirty-two arguments as stated in this book, *arthāntarāśrita*, viz. according the various questions put to the Buddha as regards *skandha*, *bodhisattva*, Buddha, etc.

⁴ Ch. 作用.

rab dbye rtags dañ ltuñ ba dañ
p'an yon bcas par yan dag brjod (2)

dad ldan 'jug pai yan lag tu
ston pa dbaṅ po 'k'or dañ ni
yul dus ṅag kyaṅ ṅes bstan pa
sdud po rañ ṅid ts'ad ma ni (3)

rab grub p'yir yin 'jig rten na
yul dañ dus kyis ṅer mts'on žiñ
dbaṅ por bcas pa smra ba yi
smra po ts'ad mar rjes su rtogs (4)

ts'ig p'rad bdag t'os la sogs pa
'di dag t'ams cad žar la ni¹
brjod pa yin te gtso bo'i don
gsum bcu rtsa gñis de dag ṅid (5)

stoṅ pa ṅid kyi dbye ba ni
rnam pa bcu drug brgyad stoṅ par
rim pa ji bžiñ brjod pa ni
gžan gyis bstan par šes par bya (6)

de ltar ji skad bšad don gyi
brgyad stoṅ 'dir don ma ts'añ med
'dir gžuñ bsdus pa yin 'dod de
don ni ji skad brjod de ṅid (7)

byaṅ c'ub sems dpa' de ṅid du
ṅas ma mt'oṅ žes t'ub pas gsuṅs
za po nañ gi dños rnams kyi
stoṅ pa ṅid ni de yis brjod (8)

gzugs ni gzugs kyi rañ bžin gyis
stoṅ pa žes ni gsuṅs pa'i p'yir
bza' bar bya ba p'yi yin no
mc'ed rnams kyaṅ 'dir bgag go (9)

gzugs sogs med na¹ de yin no
 lus gnas mt'san ñid zad pa'i don
 rtogs ñid gañ gis de mt'oñ ba
 de yañ nañ ba yin p'yir med (10)

gañ p'yir nañ rnam stoñ ñid na
 rañ bžin yañ ni stoñ pa ñid
 'di ltar rnam šes dañ bžin rigs
 brtse dañ šes rab bdag ñid yin (11)

sems can skye med 'gag pa yañ
 med ces sogs kyis sems can dañ
 'k'or ba dag ni stoñ ñid gtsor
 des ni gsal bar bstan pa yin (12)

sañs rgyas c'os dañ de bžin du
 byañ c'ub sems dpa'i c'os rnam ni
 mi mt'oñ žes bya la sogs kyi
 stobs bcu la sogs stoñ par bstan (13)

gañ p'yir c'os rnam so so ni
 so sor brtags žes rab brjod pa
 des na c'os rnam don dam du
 yod min žes kyañ brjod pa yin (14)

gañ p'yir bdag sogs lta ba ni
 c'en po gcod mdsad de yi p'yir
 bcom ldan 'das kyis rnam kun tu
 gañ zag bdag med ñid du gsuñs (15)

c'os rnam t'ams cad ma skyes žes
 brjod par mdzad pas de bžin du
 de ñid rigs pas rnam kun tu
 c'os kyi bdag med gsuñs pa yin (16)

k'a na ma t'o bcas med rnam
 p'el dañ ñams pa med pai p'yir
 'dus byas 'dus ma byas pa yi
 dge ba rnam ni gsal ba yin (17)

dge ba rnam ni stoñ pa na
der brten mi zad de bžin du ¹
gžag ñid de ni stoñ ñid kyi
rab tu dbye ba bsdus pa žes (18)

sems kyi rnam par gyeñ pa bcus
gžan nas sems ni rnam gyeñs par
byis pa rnam la gñis med kyi
ye šes sgrub pa'i skal ba med (19)

de dag p'an ts'un gñen po dañ
mi mt'un pyogs kyi bzlog pa'i p'yir
šes rab p'a rol tu p'yin gžuñ ste
de rnam kyañ ni bsdus tu bstan (20)

ston pas p'uñ po kun rdsob pa
gzigš p'yir byañ sems dpa' yod ces
gañ gsuñs pa yis dños med kyi ²
stoñ pai gyeñ pa 'gog pa yin (21)

'dis ni brgyad stoñ la sogs su
dañ po'i nag nas brtsams nas ni
rdzogs pai bar ni sgrub pa yis
dños med ³ rtog pa 'gag bya yin (22)

'di dag gtan ts'igs dag yin te
bya ba tsam žig skyos pa yin
rigs par ts'añs pa'i dra ba sogs
mdo kun tu ni šes par bya (23)

bdag gis byañ c'ub sems dpa' ni
ma mt'oñ žes sogs rgyas rnam kyi
bcom ldan 'das pa kun rtog pa ⁴
'k'rul pa 'gog par mdzad pa yin (24)

¹ Ch. 彼出亦無盡.

² Xyl.: kyiš. Ch. 無相.

³ Ch. 無相.

⁴ Ch.: adds. 有相 = bhāva as in Sanskrit.

gañ p'yir miñ yañ ma mt'oñ žiñ
 spyod yul dañ ni bya ba dañ
 p'uñ po kun nas de bžin des
 byañ c'ub sems dpa' mt'oñ ba med (25)

'di ni brtags pa 'gog pa yin
 de 'dra bsdus pa'i lta ba ste
 šes bya ñid du blo bžugs pa'i
 rnam pa t'ams cad brtags pa yin (26)

šes rab p'a rol p'yin par ni
 bstan pa gsum la yañ dag brten
 brtags pa dañ ni gžan dbaň dañ
 yoñs su grub pa k'o na'o (27)

med ces bya la sogs ts'ig gis
 brtags pa t'ams cad 'gog pa ste
 sgyu ma la sogs dpe rnam kyis
 gžan gyi dbaň ni yañ dag bstan (28)

rnam par byed pa bži yis ni
 yoñs su grub pa rab tu bsgrags
 šes rab p'a rol tu p'yin pa ni
 sañs rgyas kyis ni gžān bstan med (29)

kun rtog gyeñ par rnam bcu yi
 mi mt'un p'yogs bstan ts'ul la ni
 gsum po bsdus dañ so so ba
 'dir brjod par ni šes bya ste (30)

dper na grub dañ gžān dbaň dañ
 rab tu brtags pas ñag dañ por
 dños po med par rañ bžin gyis
 rnam par gyeñ pa sel ba bžin (31)

des na sañs rgyas de bžin du
 byañ c'ub ma t'ob par brjod pa
 yoñs su rdzogs pa'i bar gyis 'dir
 brtags rnam bsal bar šes par bya (32)

ño bos stoñ pa'i gzugs rnam la
 gañ du 'am gañ gis sgro 'dogs 'gyur

des na ṅag gžan rnams la yañ
de bzlog par ni rtogs par bya (33)

stoñ ṅid kyis ni mi stoñ žes
bya ba'i ṅag ni stoñ pa na
skur pa yi ni rnam rtogs rnams
t'ams cad du ni sel ba gsuñs (34)

de bžin sañs rgyas sgyu 'dra dañ
de ni rmi 'dra žes bya yañ
ts'ul 'di ṅid ni mk'as rnams kyis
ṅag gžan dag la'añ šes par bya (35)

gži mt'un pa yis rgyal ba ni
sgyu ma lta bur rab brjod ciñ
sgyu ma lta bu la sogs pa'i
sgra rnams kyis kyañ gžan dbañ brjod (36)

so so'i skye bo'i šes pa dañ
rañ bžin gyis ni rnam byañ ba
de la sañs rgyas sgrar brjod de
byañ c'ub sems dpa' la rgyal bžin (37)

ma rig pas ni dbañ byas te
rañ gis rañ bžin rab bsgribs nas
sgyu ma lta bur gžan du snañ
'bras bu rmi lam bžin du spoñ (38)

gñis med gžan du snañ ba na
'bras bu la yañ skur rnams kyis
skur ba'i rnam par rtog rnams la
skur bar byed par 'di brjod do (39)

p'an ts'un du ni 'gal ba'i p'yir
gzugs ni stoñ ṅid yin mi rigs
stoñ ṅid rañ bžin med ṅid la[†]
gzugs ni rnam pa dañ 'brel ba (40)

† Ch. 無色無空.

des na gcig tu rnam rtog la
 gnod gyur gzugs de stoñ ñid las
 ji lta bar yañ gžan min pas
 t'a dad kyi ni rnam rtog 'gog (41)

gañ p'yir ma rig par p'rul pa
 de ni miñ pa k'o na snañ
 med pa stoñ par nus pas na
 de ni ma rig ces brjod do (42)

rañ bžin de ñid šes rab kyi
 p'a rol p'yin pa žes kyañ brjod
 gnis 'di ñid ni gñis med pa
 rnam rtog gñis la gnod par yin (43)

rigs pa gañ gsuñs rnam dag p'yis
 de bžin mi dmigs p'yir dañ ni
 dños dañ dños med 'gal p'yir yañ
 t'a dad ñid kyañ mt'oñ ba yin (44)

gzugs 'di miñ tsam de ñid du
 rañ gi ño bo yod min pas
 de na ño bo ñid du ni
 rnam rtog rnams kyi go skabs sel (45)

gzugs ni gzugs kyi rañ bžin kyis
 stoñ par sñar brjod gañ yin pa
 de ni rañ gi ño bo yis
 sgro 'dogs rnam rtog 'gog byed yin (46)

c'os rnams kyi ni skye ba dañ
 'gag pa mt'oñ ba med ces gañ
 bcom ldan 'das kyis gsuñs pa des
 de yi k'yad par rnam rtog bsal (47)

gañ p'yir miñ bcos brjod bya yis
 c'os de dag kyañ brtags yin pas
 sgra don dag gi 'brel ba ni
 ño bo ñid du des mi bžed (48)

byis pa'i p'yi rol don du ni
 mños žes 'k'rul pas sgyiñ ba yin

t'a sñad 'di yañ de bžin te
di la don 'ga' yod ma yin (49)

des 'dir ji ltar miñ byas pa
de ltar brjod bya'i dños po de
yod min dañ p'yir miñ ji bžin
don du rtog pa 'dod ma yin (50)

bden don rnam rtog sel ba na
šes rab p'a rol p'yin pa dañ
sañs rgyas de bžin byañ sems dpa'
miñ tsam žes ni rab tu gsuñs (51)

'di ni sgra don 'gog pa ste
dños po sel bar byed pa min
de bžin du ni ñag gžan la'añ
don rnamś nes par šes par bya (52)

de ñid rig pas miñ rnamś kun
don ji lta bar yañ dag tu
dmigs pa med ñid de yi p'yir
sgra 'di zlog par byed ma yin (53)

rab 'byor gyis ni sgra dañ sgra'i
don ñid gñi ga 'gog pa na
de yis byañ c'ub sems dpa'i miñ
ma mt'oñ žes ni brjod par 'gyur (54)

šes rab p'a rol p'yin ñag gañ
'di tsam gyis rtogs min pa med
'on kyañ 'di dag de šes pa
rtsams kyis žib mo'i blo las dpyod (55)

skabs kyi don ni spoñ ba dañ
don gžan rtog pa gañ yin pa
don ni šes rab p'a rol tu
p'yin par gzugs brñan yin par 'dod (56)

šes rab p'a rol p'yin brten can
bsdus don 'di tsam ñid yin te

slar yañ don gžan la brten nas
don de ñid ni bzlas pa yin (57)

šes rab p'a rol p'yin ma ni
brgyad stoñ yañ dag bsdus pa yis
bsod nams t'ob gañ des skye'o
šes rab kyi p'a rol p'yin gyur cig (58)

'p'ags pa šes rab kyi p'a rol tu p'yin ma bsdus pai ts'ig
le'ur byas pa slob dpon p'yogs kyi glañ po'i žal sña nas
mdzad pa.

THE VALIDITY OF TIBETAN HISTORICAL TRADITION

The publication of the chronicles discovered in Tun Huang for which we are indebted to the learned editors Bacot, Thomas and Toussaint, who spared no pains in deciphering, translating and commenting upon the difficult texts¹, has placed Tibetan scholars in a position to verify the validity of Tibetan literary tradition. Though Tibetan literature, as an independent activity of Tibetan writers and not as a series of translations of foreign books, is known to us through works generally belonging to a later period—subsequent to the second introduction of the law (*p'yi dar*), beginning with Atiśa, Rin-c'en-bzañ-po etc.—, there is no doubt that during the royal dynasty a great literary activity took place for which Buddhists can be responsible only to a very limited extent. Leaving aside other problems,—e.g. that of the survival of *dhyāna* teachings, so strong during K'ri-sron-lde-btsan's times that Kamalaśīla was compelled to write a refutation of his Chinese opponent, the Hva šaṅ Mahāyāna², and that of the fragments of old texts preserved in the gTer-ma³,—we can now ask if later Tibetan chroniclers had a notice of such documents like those discovered in Tun Huang and, therefore, to what extent classical Tibetan historical works depend on those more ancient documents.

I do not refer here to the Chinese *Su Tu han can*⁴, quoted by the *Deb-t'er-snon-po* and by bSod-nams-rgyal-mts'an, which dealt with the

¹ J. BACOT, F. W. THOMAS, Ch. TOUSSAINT, *Documents de Touen-Houang relatifs à l'histoire du Tibet*, Paris 1940-46. TH 1, TH 2 and TH 3 refer respectively to the Annals (pp. 9-75), the Genealogy (pp. 79-89) and the Chronicle (pp. 93-170). Other abbreviations: GR = *rGyal-rabs*; DLChron. = Chronicles of the fifth Dalai Lama; D.T. = *Deb-t'er*.

² Cf. OBERMILLER, *A Sanskrit MS from Tibet: Kamalaśīla's Bhāvanākrama*, in *Journal of the Greater India Society*, II (1935), pp. 1 ff.; TUCCI, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, p. 590 and notes.

³ TUCCI, *ibid.*, p. 112 ff.

⁴ As I stated, *ibid.*, p. 160, probably *Hsü t'u fan chuan*, Supplementary story concerning T'u fan.

T'ang times. Works of this kind are not yet accessible to me. In this paper I want to examine the extant and more authoritative Lamaistic historical works in the light of the newly published documents and to investigate if they can be considered as reliable in the sense that they go back to some sources parallel to, or dependent on, the Tun Huang texts. This literary tradition is known through many sources, which have been compared by L. Petech¹. They are: the *rGyal-rabs-gsal-bai-me-loñ* by bSod-nams-rgyal-mts'an—it is not so old as Laufer thought since it was not written before 1508,—Bu-ston's *C'os-'byuñ*, finished in the year 1347, the *Deb-t'er-sñon-po* by gŽon-nu-dpal written in the year 1476, the *Dam-pa-c'os-kyi-'byuñ-tsul* by the Ñor Lama dKon-mc'og-lhun-grub (1497-1557), *Pad-ma-dkar-po'i-c'os-'byuñ* by Pad-ma-dkar-po (1562-1592). The *Gañs-can-yul-gyi-sa-la-spyod-pa'i mt'o-ris-kyi-rgyal-blontso-bor-brjod-pa'i-deb-t'er* said to be composed by Ñag-dbañ-dge-legs, translated by Liu Li-ch'ien (edited by the West China Frontier Institute 劉立千; 續藏史鑑), is nothing else but the Chronicles of the Fifth Dalai Lama written in 1643. The *Deb-dmar* or *Hulan-Deb-t'er* by Kun-dga'-rdo-rje of Ts'al is not accessible to me. Later writers depend on these works and are therefore not to be taken into consideration. But there are some works, which seem to be still unknown to Western scholars and which are older than the books referred to above. They are: the *Bod-kyi-rgyal-rabs* by Grags-pa-rgyal-mts'an (1147-1216) and the *Bod-kyi-rgyal-rabs* by 'P'ags-pa (1238-1280), respectively to be found in the volumes *ta* and *ba* of the Sa-skyapa lamas (sDe-dge edition)². Here follows the translation of the part of these documents, dealing with the history of Tibet beginning with king Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po.

Vol. Ta. *Bod-kyi-rgyal-rabs*, p. 1970 b:

“Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po had three wives; dMo-bza'-k'ri-mo-gñan bore him a son, Guñ-sroñ-guñ-btsan. His minister (read *žañ* instead of *žal*) was from the 'Bro-clan. He died before his father; therefore, in the genealogical lists he counts for half (a reign). He married Va-žva-bza'-Mañ-po-rje³, who bore a son, Mañ-sroñ-mañ-btsan. His mini-

¹ PETECH, *A Study on the Chronicles of Ladakh*, Calcutta 1939.

² Another work is the *Šes-bya* by 'P'ags-pa, in which a partial list of Tibetan kings is included. It is translated into Chinese, Taishō Vo. XXXII n. 1645.

³ As regards Va-žva, *corr.*; 'Aža, see the *mise au point* in PETECH, *Alcuni*

ster was Ts'e-spoñ. He married K'ri-c'en-k'rim-lod of the 'Bro-clan, who bore him a son Dur-sroñ-mañ-po-rje-rluñ-nam. The son married C'ims-bza'-mts'ams-me-tog, who bore a son. Me-K'ri-lde-gtsug-brtan. Here the nine and a half happy generations (Guñ-sroñ counting for a half) end, and begin the three and a half very happy generations. Me-K'ri-lde had six wives. One of them, Gyim-p'ya-goñ-ju, was the daughter of Yag-'byam, the prince (*rje*) of China; a son was born: K'ri-sroñ-lde-btsan¹. He married Ts'e-spoñ-bza'-rMa-rgyal-mts'o-skar-ma, who bore him four sons. Mu-k'ri-btsan-po died in T'ar-pa. Mu-ne-btsan-po reigned for one year and nine months, but then he was killed by his mother; therefore he counts for half a generation.

Then the power was taken by K'ri-lde-sroñ-btsan. He married 'Bro-bza'-Lha-rgyal-guñ-skar-ma, who bore three sons. The eldest, K'ri-btsan-ma, was poisoned while he was in the South in Bum-t'añ by 'Broñ-bza'-Legs-rje and sNa-nam-bza' Me rje-t'e'u; (the other son) Glan-dar-ma was not elected king, because he had the head of a monkey and was ugly and foolish. The younger brother was K'ri-gtsug-lde-Ral-pacan; with him the three and a half very happy generations are completed.

Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po was born in the year fire-ox; he was (an incarnation of) sPyan-ras-gzigs (Skt. Avalokiteśvara); when he was 13, his father died and then he reigned for 69 years; so at the age of 82 he disappeared into the image of sPyan-ras-gzigs with eleven heads in the sPrul-snañ temple. So it is said; but others state that he died in

nomi geografici nel La-dvags-rgyal-rabs, in *RSO*, XXII (1947), pp. 82-91. Mañ-po-rje, or better: Mañ-mo-rje (fem.) means: 'the high honourable', 'the venerable lord (lady)'; it is a title.

¹ *K'ri*, which is found in the largest part of the names of the emperors as well as in many of princes and ministers and even of queens (see K'ri-c'en K'ri-ma-lod; the feminine form: K'ri-mo is also known, e.g. K'ri-mo sNen-lan-steñ) is a title (cf. e.g. Chinese: *huang*, *huang shang*). The kings used to take their dynastical name when ascending to the throne; see TH, p. 43 (year 712), cf. London doc. 17. The names under which they are known are in fact mere titles. *Sroñ* means righteous; *btsan* is the name of a class of gods, chiefly of tribal gods in Bon religion. As to *lde* or *lde'u*, probably it is connected with the word *ldans-pa*; to rise, to be elevated; in may be explained recollecting a passage of the *rGyal-rabs* (p. 54 of my ms.) in which after having spoken of four classes of Bon-po priests (cf. TUCCI, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, Appendix 2) it is stated "As regards the power, it was of the *sgruñ* and *lde'u*" (cf. Sum-pa-mk'an-po, p. 150, l. 17). According to *bKa'-t'añ-sde-lha*, *rGyal-po-bka'-t'añ*, p. 19-60, they originated at the times of gÑa-k'ri-btsan-po, being invested with the Lha-c'os. This shows that *lde*, *lde'u*, had a religious significance, which can only be explained by the fact that formerly the kings were not only the political but the religious chiefs as well of the community.

Zal-mo-sgañ in 'P'an-yul. Gun-sroñ took hold of the power when he was 13¹, and he kept it for five years; he died at 18; then the power was taken over again by his father.

Mañ-sroñ was born in the year fire-dog after one cycle (*lo-skor-gcig*); his grandfather died and Mañ-sroñ reigned for 15 years; he died at 27, in spring, in rTsañ-bar-snañ (TH 1: Ts'añ-bañ-sna). When Dur-sroñ was born, his father had already died²; he was born in the year water-mouse in sGrags (TH. sGregs); he was immediately elected king and died at 29 in the country of 'Jañ³; in charge of the corpse were Cog-gru and K'oñ-k'ri; K'ri-lde-gtsug-brtan was born in the spring of the year the father died and he was immediately elected king. At an age of 63, in the year water-horse, he died. It is said that he passed away in Yar-'brog-spas-ba.

K'ri-sroñ was born in Brag-dmar (TH 1, p. 41, 42), in the spring of the year iron-horse; when he was 13, his father died; he was then elected king and reigned for 13 years. At 56 he died in Zun-'prañ in the year wood-ox. So it is heard.

¹ It is well known that the Tibetan kings ascended the throne when 13 years old. This was due to Bon-po ideas according to which the number 13 was a sacred number. It implied most probably perfection like the age of *kumāra* or *kiśora* in India, viz. 16; cf. *śoḍaśakāla*, the whole, the 16 *tithis*, etc. The election at 13 does not imply a co-government of father and son; the case of Guñ-sroñ seems to show that when the son ascended the throne the father retired; in fact it is stated that when Guñ-sroñ died, his father took again the power. The case of K'ri-sroñ-lde-btsan is also worthy of notice: his father died just when he was 13 (754 A.D.). As a rule there is no one of the first kings who ascended the throne after his fifteens. The fathers died generally before the sons reached 13 years of age.

Guñ-sroñ died at 18, thus allowing his father to ascend again the throne. Mañ-sroñ died at 27, the very year in which his son 'Dus-sroñ was born. K'ri-lde-gtsug-btsan saw the light the same year in which his father passed away. K'ri-sroñ-lde-btsan was elected after his father's death, when he was 13 years old. With Mu-ne-btsan-po this normal occurrence seems to be interrupted: he is elected at 25, K'ri-lde-sroñ-btsan at 23. What does all this mean? According to me, that these deaths were hardly natural and that they betray a sharp conflict of interests among the various clans and chiefly between the kings and their supporters on one side and the clans of their wives and their ministers on the other.

² 'P'ags-pa expresses this fact by the word *rMug*; this is certainly a technical term. We have many words derived from the same root, which have a similar meaning: *rmu-ma* dullness, gloomy; *rmugs* foggy, languor; *rmun-po* dull; *smug-pa* fog; all this evidently points to a notion similar to that of mourning, following the kings' death, when the court was deprived of its splendour and the funeral ceremonies previous to the final burial of the corpse took place.

³ La-myava of TH., viz. the Mo-so country.

Mu-ne-btsan-po was born in Brag-dmar in the year water-tiger. At 25 (xyl.: *rtsa-lña* for *ñi-su-rtsa-lña*) he took hold of the power and reigned for one year and nine months, being killed in sPun-p'u by his mother.

His younger brother K'ri-lde-sroñ-btsan was born in Brag-dmar in autumn of the year wood-dragon.

When the elder brother was killed, he took hold of the reign for 31 years; at 54, in autumn of the year fire-bird, he died.

K'ri-gtsug-lde-btsan-Ral-pa-can was born in the year fire-dog, in 'O-can-de'u¹. He was the youngest of the three brothers and was possessed of all sorts of good qualities; when he was 21, his father having passed away, he took hold of the reign; he reigned for 24 years; he ruled over two of the three parts of 'Dsam-gliñ. He was an incarnation of P'yag-na-rdo-rje (Skt. Vajrapāṇi). He died at 36 in the year iron-bird; K'ri-sroñ took hold of the power in the year water-horse; in the year iron-bird K'ri-gtsug-lde-btsan died; up to this time for 99 years the Holy Law greatly spread: these were the five happy generations; afterwards, the Holy Law and the institutions were obscured, the imperial power decayed. The eldest of the three brothers was rTsad-pa, who was born in the iron year; without getting hold of the power, he was poisoned in Bum-t'añ in Lho-brag by 'Bro-bza'-Legs-rje and sNa-nam-Mañ-po-rje; his lineage still remains (*de-yi-srid-rgyud-bžugs*).

The second son was Glañ-dar-ma, who had a head of a dragon; he was born in the year water-sheep. When he was 15, his father died; when he was 19 his younger brother died. He took hold of the power; for six months he ruled according the righteousness, but about the end of the year iron-bird the Holy Law was obscured; then, for six and a half months he reigned sinfully. All together he ruled for one year and half a month.

In the year of the dog he was killed by the Bodhisattva dPal-gyir-do-rje (Skt. Śrīvajra). He had two sons: 'Od-sruñ and Yum-brtan. 'Od-sruñ was born in sPar-p'u in the year water-hog; immediately after that (event), he took hold of the power for three (63?) years; he died in 'P'añs in Yar-kluñs, in the year wood-ox. Yum-brtan is said to have died at 36. The period when these two princes lived, was the beginning of a bad time. The outer boundaries (*'p'yi-so-ka*) escaped (from the Tibetan authority) and in Tibet there was internal strife.

¹ Th 1, pp. 39 ff. *Mahāvīryūtpatti*: On-cañ-do; BU-STON, p. 130: U-šañ-rdo.

dPal-k'or was born in 'P'añs-dar (for: *mda'*) in the year water-ox; when he was 13, his father died; he reigned for 18 years and during this time he founded one hundred temples and he had devotion to the Law, greatly reproving the actions of his grandfather. He died in Yar-luñ-sar-po at 31, in the year water-sheep.

Then the Tibetan institutions were troubled and the times decayed. In the year earth-ox there was a rebellion (*k'yen-log*) and in the year fire-bird the (royal) tombs were dug up. The two sons of dPal-k'or divided between themselves the upper and lower countries; then (read *yañ* instead of *yab*), the six brothers (their sons). [Follows a short insertion on the spread of Bon and Buddhism].

The eldest of the two sons of dPal-k'or-btsan was bKra-šis-brtsegs btsan; he had three sons. As regards the descendants of the eldest dPal-sde, they were: the Guñ-t'añ-pa, the Klu-rgyal-pa, the sPyi-pa, the Lha-rtse-pa, Glañ-luñ-btsan-skor-pa. The descendants of the second son 'Od-sde were: the Grom-pa, the Srad-pa, the Ñañ-stod-pa, the family of Lha-c'en-dPal-'bar of Yar-luñ. The descendants of the third one, viz. sKyid-sde were: the Mus-pa and some in Ñañ-stod (Ñañ-stod-pa-rtog-'ga') The younger son of dPal-k'or-btsan was K'ri-skyid-ldiñ; he had three sons. The descendants of the first dPal-gyi-mgon were the Mar-yul-pa. The descendants of the second bKra-šis-mgon were those of Žaň-žuň (inner and outer)¹; the Pu-rañ-pa (xyl.: Pu-roñ-pa), the Ya-rtse-pa². The descendants of the third sDe-gtsug-mgon were those settled in Mon-yul, like, K'u-'bu etc.

Many incorrect genealogies are found; but having, in various ways, tested and examined them, some correct ones can also be met. These have been condensed in a booklet. This extremely pleasant summary was written by the Ša-kya-dGe-bsñen Grags-pa-rgyal-mts'an in the monastery of Sa-skya. May it be useful to the holy teaching and to living beings".

Vol. Ba. *Bod-kyi-rgyal-rabs*, p. 360 b:

"Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po was born in the year fire-ox; when he was 13 years old, he took hold of the royal power; he reigned for 69 years and died at 82 in the years earth-mouse. Though Guñ-(xyl.: *c'un*) sroñ

¹ Žaň-žuň (inner and outer) evidently refers to Žaň-žuň proper and to Guge, which in Tibetan tradition are distinguished, as I have shown elsewhere.

² Ya-rtse: Western Puhrang, most probably Taklakot. Cf. WASSILIEW, *Geografia Tibeta*, p. 8.

ruled for five years, he is not reckoned apart (*logs-su-mi-graṅ*), since his father again reigned (over the country).

Mañ-sroṅ-mañ-btsan was born in the year fire-dog; he took hold of the royal power when he was 13 years old and reigned for 15 years; he died in the year water-mouse at 27.

Dur-sroṅ-Mañ-po-rje was born in the year water-mouse in the period of mourning (*rmug*); immediately after his birth he was elected king. When he was 29, in the year iron-dragon, he died in 'Jaṅ.

K'ri-lde-gtsug-brtan was born in the spring of that same year iron-dragon. Towards the end of that year his father died and he was elected king. He died at 63 in the year water-horse.

K'ri-sroṅ-lde-btsan was born in the year-water-horse; he was elected king and reigned for 43 years; at 56 in the year wood-ox he died.

Mu-ne-btsan-po was born in the year water-horse, and was elected king at 25; after two years he died. His younger brother K'ri-lde-sroṅ-*(xyl.: sraṅ)* btsan was born in the autumn of the year wood-dragon he took hold of the kingdom when he was fully 24 and reigned for 31 years. He died at 54 in the year fire-bird.

Ral-pa-can was born in the year fire-mouse and was elected king at 12 in the year firebird. He reigned for 24 years; he died at 36 in the year iron-bird.

From the year water-horse, when K'ri-sroṅ-lde-btsan was elected king, up to the year iron-bird, when Ral-pa-can died, 100 years elapsed. Up to this it was an excellent happy time, since religion and power spread in Tibet.

The elder brother of Ral-pa-can was Glaṅ-dar-ma, who was born in the year water-sheep; he took hold of the kingdom towards the end of the year iron-bird when he was 39. For six months he ruled according to righteousness; then for six and a half month he ruled sinfully; all together he reigned for one year and a half month. He died in the year waterdog. His son 'Od-sruṅ was born in the year water-dog and was immediately elected king. At 63 he died in 'P'aṅ-mda' in Yar-kluṅs in the year wood-ox. The son of 'Od-sruṅ was dPal-gor-*(sic)* btsan, who was born in the year water-ox; he took hold of the power at 13, reigned for eighteen years and died in the year water-sheep. dPal-gor-btsan had two sons. The eldest was bKra-śis-brtsegs. He had three sons, the eldest being dPal-sde. His descendants were Klu-rgyal-ba of Guṅ-t'aṅ, sPyi-pa, Lha-rtse-pa, bTsad-kor-pa of Gla-luṅ. The second (of the three sons of bKra-śis-brtsegs) was 'Od-lde; his descendants were Grom-pa, Srad-pa, Ñaṅ-stod-pa, the Lha-c'en-dPal-'bar-ba of Yar-kluṅ. The third was bsKyid-lde; his descendants were Mus-pa, 'Jad-pa and some who went to Ñaṅ-stod (*ñaṅ-stod-pa-'da-'ga'-'zig-yod*).

The eldest son of bsKyid-lde, the son of dPal-gor-btsan, was dPal-mgon; his descendants were the princes (*btsad-po*) of Yar-luñs. The second son was bKra-šis-mgon whose descendants were those of Žaň-žuň (inner and outer), the princes of Pu-rañs and those of Ya-ts'e. The third son of bsKyid-lde was lDe-gtsug-mgon whose descendants were: K'u-'bupa, and some who settled in Mon-yul.

This book was written in the year wood-hog 1275 in the 16th of the month [Name and number of the month are missing] by 'P'ags-pa in rKa-mdo in Sa-skya ''.

The contents of these two treatises may now be summarized in the following table in which a comparison is attempted, with the most important historical works of Tibet now accessible.

If we now compare these two booklets with the manuscripts of Tun Huang it will appear that the genealogical tables of *Ta* correspond very closely to the manuscript 249 of Paris (TH 2). That the author had before his eyes a list of this kind is proved not only by the correspondence between the two catalogues, but also by the fact that he adds, immediately after, a second more detailed list, containing the indication of the cyclic years as in the Tun Huang annals, missing in the first genealogy. This repetition can only be explained if the Sa-skyapa writer depended on two different sources, a fact which is confirmed by the occasional different spelling of some names. Moreover, even as regards chronological data, the Sa-skyapa masters evidently drew their information from a text akin to that of Tun Huang; in fact the dates correspond, provided we accept only the indication of the animal of the duodenary cycle, and do not take into consideration the first element.

Though the date fire-ox given as the birth-year of Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po is wrong and therefore even the following dates are implicitly wrong of one or two cycles, it corresponds to truth if we read only the second part of the chronological indication. In fact since Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po died at 82 in the year 649, he must have been born in an ox-year 568; the birth-year fire-dog for Mañ-sroñ is wrong but it is true that he was born in a dog year; he died at 27 in a mouse year; in this very year Dus-sroñ, his son, was born; the dragon year is equally that of the latter's death and that in which his son K'ri-gtsug-lde was born. Then, since the Sa-skyapa writers state that this king passed away in the horse year, this horse year missing in the TH chronicles must be the year 754. It therefore appears that the Sa-skyapa masters had access to documents akin to the chronicles, fragments of which have been found in Turkestan, and that they or their sources added the first element in the indication of the cycle.

We may even add that, since these dates contained in the Sa-skyapa chronicles are exact, as the preceding comparison has shown, we may safely rely even on the chronological information concerning Ral-pa-can and his successors. The same agreement is to be found regarding other details, e.g. the names of the kings' wives, mentioned all along Tibetan historiography apart from some occasional differences in spelling, which are easily to be explained in a country, where copyists are used to mis-handling manuscripts. Here follows an enumeration:

A. the wives of Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po are according to:

TH 3, p. 88: K'ri-mo-mÑen-ldoñ-steñ, probably the same as mentioned in

TH 1, p. 33: sÑa-mo-steñ, K'ri-mo-steñs (years 671 and 688);

GR, p. 111 *b*; besides the Nepalese and Chinese wife: Žaň-žuň-bza' and Moň-bza'-K'ri-lcam;

DLChron., p. 17: Lha-gcig K'ri-btsun the Nepalese, Lha-gcig-koň-jo, Ru-yod-bza', Žaň-žuň-bza', Moň-bza'-k'ri-lcam.

B. the wife of Guň-sroñ-mañ-sroñ:

TH 3, p. 88: Maň-mo-rje-k'ri-dkar¹. She is the grandmother Maň-spañs, died in 706.

GR and DLChron. do not mention her.

C. the wife of Maň-sroñ-mañ-btsan:

TH 3, p. 88: K'ri-ma-lod of the 'Bro clan (year 700); also named K'ri-mo-laň (year 700). She is the mother of 'Du-sroñ-mañ-po-rje (cf. the years 701, 702, 704 and 705). She had a power as no other queen ever had. After the death of the grand-mother Maň-spañs (year 706) she is called grand-mother and takes part in the political events (708–712). Her importance is shown by the fact that K'ri-lde-gtsug was enthroned only in the year 712 receiving the name K'ri-lde-gtsug-brtsan, when the grand-mother died, nine years after the death of his father. Together with her clan she ruled during the regency.

GR, p. 122: 'Bro-bza'-K'rim-blod (mistake for: K'ri-ma-lod):

DLChron., p. 30 *d*: 'Bro-bza'-k'ra-po K'ri-ma-lod.

¹ Maň-mo-rje, the feminine of Maň-po-rje is a honorific title (cf. note at p. 455).

D. the wife of 'Du-sroñ-mañ-po-rje:

TH 1, p. 46: bTsan-ma-tog. She died in the year 722;

TH 3; bTsan-ma-t'og-t'og-steñ of mC'ims;

GR, p. 122: Me-tog of mC'ims;

DLChron., p. 30 *b*: lC'ims-bza'-bTsan-mo-rog-ge.

E. the wives of Me-k'ri-lde-gtsug-ldan:

TH 1; Kim-šaṅ, died in the year 739¹;

TH 3 knows of another wife: Man-mo-rje-bži-steñ;

GR, p. 123 *a*: lJañ-me-k'ri-btsun; p, 123 *b*: Gyan-šiñ-koñ-jo;

DLChron., p. 31: 'Jam-mo K'ri-btsun and Koñ-je.

F. the wives of K'ri-sroñ-lde-btsan:

TH 3: Ts'e-spoñ rMa-rgyal-ldoñ-skar;

GR, p. 127 *b* enumerates five wives: Ts'e-spoñ-bza'-ma-tog-sgrod, mK'ar-c'en-bza'-Ts'o-rgyal, 'Bro-bza' Byañ-c'ub-gron, 'C'ims- (corr.: mC'ims)-bza'-lha-mo-bzañ, Po-yon-bza';

DLChron., p. 40: Ts'e-spoñ-bza'.

G. the wife of K'ri-lde-sroñ-btsan(-sad-na-legs):

TH 3: Lha-rgyal-mañ-mo-rje of 'Bro.

GR: rTse.

The conclusions to be drawn from these facts seem to be that, while the Sa-skyapa depended on sources related to the TH. documents, the authority which they enjoyed was largely responsible for the subsequent historical literature². Let us in fact compare the most important genealogical lists now accessible, summarized in the preceding table. These show, beyond any doubt, that the Tibetan chroniclers drew their information most probably from the Sa-skyapa writers or from allied sources which are, on their hand, based on texts similar to the Chronicles

¹ According to BUSHELL (*The Early History of Tibet from Chinese Sources*, *JRAS*, 1880, p. 456) the name of the Chinese wife was Chin ch'eng.

² The only difference is supplied by Bu-ston, who gives Mañ-sroñ as the son of Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po and Guñ-sroñ as his son. But this is probably due to a mistake of the copyist, since it is contradicted by all other lists; it is followed by the *La-dvags-rgyal-rabs*, pp. 32 and 84.

TUN HUANG 1 & 2	GRAGS-PA-RGYAL-MTS'AN	'P'AGS-PA	DEB-T'ER ka p. 19	RGYAL-RABS	FIFT DALAI LAMA	BU-STON
K'ri-sroñ-btsan (569)-649 bird year (HACKIN, <i>Formulaire Sanscrit-Tibétain</i> : Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po) (no mention)	id., * fire (corr.: earth)-ox 568 † at 82, in 649 or 650	id., * fire-ox † earth-mouse	Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po	Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po	Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po	K'ri-lde-sroñ-btsan * fire-ox † at 82
K'ri-Mañ-slon-mañ-brtsan	Guñ-sroñ-guñ-btsan † at 18	id.	id.	Goñ-ri-guñ-btsan	id., † at 18; his father takes again the reign	Mañ-sroñ-mañ-btsan ¹
K'ri-'dus-sroñ	Mañ-sroñ-mañ-btsan * fire (corr.: earth)-dog, 650 † at 27, water- (corr.: fire)-mouse, 676	id.	Mañ-sroñ-mañ-btsan	Mañ-sroñ-mañ-btsan * fire-dog † at 27	Mañ-sroñ-mañ-btsan † at 27	Guñ-sroñ-guñ-btsan ¹
K'ri-lde-btsug-brtsan	Dur-sroñ-mañ-po-rje-rluñ-nam * water (corr.: fire)-mouse 676 † at 29, iron (corr.: wood)-dragon, 704	Dur-sroñ-mañ-sroñ id.	id. (-sklu-nam)	'Dur-sroñ-mañ-po-rje * water-mouse † at 29	'Dus-sroñ-mañ-po-rje-rluñ-nam 'p'rul-gyi-rgyal-po	'Du-sroñ-mañ-po-rje-blo-nam 'p'rul-rgyal-po
K'ri-sroñ-lde-brtsan (TH 2) (HACKIN, <i>op. cit.</i> , pp. 16, 36: K'ri-sruom-l-dem-brtsan)	Me-K'ri-lde-gtsug-btsam * iron (corr.: wood)-dragon 704 † at 63, water (corr.: wood)-horse, 754	id.	K'ri-lde-gtsug-mes-ag-l s'om	K'ri-lde-gtsug-stan-mes-ag-ts'oms * iron-dragon † at 63	K'ri-lde-gtsug-brtan-mes-ag-ts'oms	K'ri-lde-gtsug-brtan
	K'ri-sroñ-lde-btsan * iron (corr.: water)-horse 742 † at 56, wood (corr.: fire)-ox, 797	id.	K'ri-sroñ-lde-btsan	K'ri-sroñ-lde-btsan	K'ri-sroñ-lde-btsan † iron-snake 801	K'ri-sroñ-lde-btsan † at 69
	Mu-ne-btsan-po * water (corr.: wood)-tiger 774 elected at 25; reigned one year and nine months (798-799)	Mu-ne-btsan-po * water-horse elected at 25; † after 2 years	Mu-ne-btsan-po	Mu-ne-btsan-po, * water-tiger † at 29	Mu-ne-btsan-po, reigned one year and seven months	Mu-ne-btsan-po reigned for one year and seven months: † at 17
	K'ri-lde-sroñ-btsan * wood-dragon 764 † at 54, fire-bird 817	K'ri-lde-sroñ-btsan * wood-dragon † at 54, fire-bird	K'ri-lde-sroñ-btsan	K'ri-lde-sroñ-btsan † fire-bird	Mu-tig-btsan-po-sad-na-legs ² elected king at 4 years Erroneously called by some K'ri-lde-sroñ-btsan	K'ri-lde-btsan-sad-na-legs ²
	Glan-dar-ma † water-sheep 803 † water-dog 842	Ral-pa-can * fire-mouse elected at 12, fire-bird † at 36, iron-bird	Glan-dar-ma * water-sheep † water-dog	Ral-pa-can † fire-dog † at 36, iron-bird	Ral-pa-can * fire-dog	K'ri-dar-ma-u-t'um-btsan K'ri-lde-btsug-ral-pa-can killed at 36, iron-bird
	K'ri-tsug-lde-Ral-pa-can * fire-dog 806 † at 36, iron-bird 841 (HACKIN, <i>op. cit.</i> : K'ri-tsug-lde-brtsan)	Ral-pa-can * fire-mouse elected at 12, fire-bird † at 36, iron-bird	Ral-pa-can	Dar-ma Tsad-ma	Dar-ma Lhun-grub g'Tsad-Lha-rje-ma	
	Od-sruñ * water-hog 843 † at 63, wood-ox 905	(in continuation the same as in Grags-pa-rgyal- mts'an's list)	gNam-lde-'od-sruñ	(in continuation the same as in the Deb-t'er)	'Od-sruñ Yum-brtan (in continuation the same as in BUSTON)	Yum-brtan 'Od-sruñ † at 63
	dPal-'k'or-btsan * water-ox 803 † at 31, water-sheep 923		dPal-'k'or-btsan			dPal-'k'or-btsan † at 31
(HACKIN, <i>op. cit.</i> :	bKra-šis-brtsegs		K'ri-bkra-šis s Kyi-lde- brtseg-dpal			bKra-šis-brtseg- pa-dpal
K'ris-kyi-liñ	K'ri-skyid-ldeñ		ni-ma-mgon			K'ri-skyid- lde-ñi-ma-mgon ¹
bKra-šis-rtasag-dpal	dPal-lde		dPal-gyi-mgon			dPal-gyi-lde- rig-pa- mgon
Leg-gtsug-mgon	'Od-lde		IdE-gtsug-mgon			IdE-gtsug-mgon
bKra-šis-mgon	bsKyid-lde		bKra-šis-lde-mgon			bKra-šis-lde-mgon
dPal-byin-mgon	dPal-lde		dPal-gyi-mgon			dPal-gyi-lde- rig-pa- mgon

¹ Bu-ston's inversion of the usual order, probably due to a mistake of the copyists. is followed by the *La-dvags-rgyal-rabs*, pp. 32 and 84.
² According to other sources the elder son is K'ri-skyid-lde-ñi-ma.

discovered in Tun Huang. So we can accept as well founded the traditional account of Tibetan history. I mean as a whole, in its skeleton, without of course taking into consideration the legends and myths which later on were circulated and grew up concealing, as it were, the authentic kernel of the ancient chronicles. And, in fact, Tibetan historians seem to have preserved of these chronicles nothing else but the genealogical and chronological schemes; the main events which led Tibet to fight against China, the ups and downs of this struggle, the rivalry of clans, are passed unnoticed by the Lamaist chroniclers: their interest is only the Holy Law, its fortunes and propagation. The stories of its masters take the upper hand: kings are recorded chiefly as patrons and supporters of Buddhism. History becomes slowly a *c'os-'byuñ*. So in the GR. or in the DLChron. we find only occasional references to historical facts: e.g. to the war waged by China against Tibet after the death of Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po and the first years of Mañ-sroñ-btsan-po's reign "Then the minister mGar repelled the invaders, but he was killed in the battle and the Chinese reached Lhasa and burnt down the Potala" (DLChron., p. 300; GR, p. 122 of my ms.). This evidently refers to the same facts alluded to by TH., year 659, though the leader who fell at the head of his army is said to be the da-rgyal Mañ-po-rje. "*da rgyal mañ po rjes mts'o nag stoñ rur rgya se'u den pañ dañ nol t'abs bgyiste da rgyal gyañ gum šiñ brgyad k'ri stoñ la rdugs*", which has been translated by the editors of the text: "Le da-rgyal Mañ-po-rje traita à Stoñ-ru du Lac Noir avec le Chinois Se'u-den-pañ. Bien que le da-rgyal fût tué, ils furent réduits de 80.000 à mille" But I think that we should better understand: "The *da-rgyal* Mañ-po-rje fought (*nol-t'abs* = *snol-t'ab*) in Stoñ-ru of mTs'o-nag against the Chinese Se'u-den-pañ; though the *da-rgyal* was killed, the 80.000 (Chinese) were decimated to 1.000".

Another reference to military facts is to be found in GR, p. 136, where the victory of Lha-bzañ-klu-dpal is related at the times of K'ri-sroñ-lde-btsan, when Śiñ-kun, Ceu-mk'ar and sMan-rtse were conquered; then mention is made of the wars under the reign of Ral-pa-can, when peace was signed between China and Tibet, and the rDo-riñs were set up.

It is strange that in classical historiography no mention is made of these booklets of the two Sa-skyapa masters, but this is perhaps due to the fact that their data were globally inserted in later works, e.g. in the *Deb-t'er* and in the *rGyal-rabs*, which quickly acquired a greater notoriety; quite apart is of course the information derived from Chinese sources and chiefly from the *rGyal-yig-ts'añ* translated into Tibetan by Rin-c'en-grags-pa (DT, Ka, p. 23 b).

The conflict between these two traditions appears very clearly for the period between K'ri-sroñ-lde-btsan and Ral-pa-can.

In fact, as regards the sons of K'ri-sroñ-lde-btsan, the literary tradition varies.

According to the DLChron. p. 40 a) Ts'e-spoñ-bza' bore him three sons. The elder, i.e. Mu-ne-btsan-po, succeeded his father on the throne, but after one year and seven months he was poisoned by his mother; in the DLChron. he is said to be the same as Mu-k'ri-btsan-po, who therefore is not acknowledged to be a different elder brother as other authors did (e.g. dPa'-bo-gtsug-lag). The second son was, according to the same writer, Mu-rug-btsan-po; trying to enter the room where his father and the *žañ-blon* were holding a war-council, he was prevented to do so by the son of that minister. In a fit of rage the prince killed him. Judgment followed and according to the advice of the minister of 'Gos the prince was sent into exile among the Mon. This banishment gave origin to an epic, the echo of which remains in some allusions contained in some rÑiñ-ma-pa traditions and in the works of the fifth Dalai Lama. Then he was called back, but he was killed by the sNa-nam-blon in order to revenge the murder on his relative. The third son was Mu-tig-btsan-po Sad-na-legs, who ascended the throne four years old. The same author thinks that to call this one K'ri-sroñ-btsan means to overlook the statement contained in the second chapter of the *sgra-sbyor*; this refers to the beginning of the Tibetan translation of the *Mahāvvyutpatti*, where K'ri-lde-sroñ-btsan is the name for Ral-pa-can¹, rightly called K'ri-gtsug-lde-btsan-Ral-pa-can (in the Hackin document). The Chronicles of TH 1 know of two sons of K'ri-sroñ-lde-btsan; the first son Lhas-bon is called the heir (years 738 and 741); when he died, the second son Sroñ-lde-btsan, born in the year 742, came to the throne.

TH 3 knows Mu-ne-btsan-po and lDe-sroñ-brtsan. Since the last prince is said to be the father of K'ri-gtsug-lde-brtsan (Ral-pa-can), it is clear that he is the same as K'ri-lde-sroñ-btsan of the Sa-skyapa chronicles.

Now the identity of Mu-ne-btsan-po may be discussed: is he the same as Lhas-bon recorded in TH 1? This is quite possible in the case that Mu-ne-btsan-po—as the presence of the word *btsan-po* points out—was the name the prince received when he ascended the throne; anyhow, he cannot be identified with 'Jañ-ts'a-Lha-dbañ quoted in

¹ *Arthaviniscaya*, ed. FERRARI, in *Atti della Reale Accademia d'Italia*, Memorie, Classe sc. mor. e stor., Serie VII, vol. IV (1944), p. 543.

GR¹, since he was the son of another wife of K'ri-lde-gtsug-brtan, viz. the 'Jañ-mo. He was named according to the custom of naming the son after the clan of his mother or better after the name of his mother's father. The Sa-skyapa sources, which, as we saw, always agree with the THChron., state that K'ri-sroñ-lde-btsan died in the year 797, when he was succeeded by his son Mu-ne-btsan-po, who reigned for one year and nine months 798 or 799; this quite corresponds with the information of the *Chiu T'ang shu*: "the Tsan-p'u, who died in the 4th month of the 13th year Chêng yüan (797) was succeeded by his eldest son, who died one year afterwards, when the second son succeeded to the throne". The disagreement with the Chinese sources is therefore to be found—according to me—not as regards Mu-ne-btsan-po, as Petech thinks (*op. cit.* p. 55), but rather concerning his successor or rather successors, as the Chinese sources could make us to believe. In fact this anonymous king of the *Chiu T'ang shu*, corresponding to Mu-ne-btsan, is followed by a younger brother, who died in 804, and who is named: Tsu chih chien. This king is quite unknown to the Tibetan lists. Rin-c'en-grags-pa, the translator of the *rGya-yig-tsañ* (*Deb-t'er*, ka, p. 23 b), is obliged therefore to render his name by a mere transliteration from the Chinese into Tibetan: Dsu-c'e-btsan-po. The conclusion is that, either the Tibetan chronicles have lost notice of a king whose relation to his predecessor and to his successor as well are unknown, or that there is a mistake in the Chinese sources, which divided Sad-na-legs' rule (798–817) into two reigns. To the validity of the Chinese tradition two facts would give support: first the statement of the fifth Dalai Lama that Sad-na-legs ascended the throne when four years old, since this cannot be true with regard to K'ri-lde-sroñ-btsan, who was born in 764 and died in 817 at an age of 54; secondly the existence in some Tibetan sources, as in some redactions of the GR, of the name of another king: IDiñ-k'ri (IDeñ-k'ri in my mss., p. 134), placed between Sad-na-legs and Ral-pa-can. But against this view, there are the THChronicles, which on account of their age have their special importance. On the other hand, the fact remains that the tradition was here not so sure as in the other cases, as is evidently shown by the opposite views of the sources and the elaborate discussions caused by this period of Tibetan history to be met in the works of the most famous Chronicles of Blo-bzañ-rgya-mts'o and in Sañs-rgyas-rgya-mtso's *Vai-dū-rya-gya'-sel*.

Other sources, which, though not properly historical, go back to old times or documents, viz. some rÑiñ-ma-pa texts such as the *bKa'*-

¹ THOMAS, in *JRAS*, 1928, p. 85; Doc. de TH. o. 51, n°. 1.

t'añ-sde-lña, make mention of three sons of K'ri-sroñ-lde-btsan. In fact, in the second book of that work, i.e. in the *rGyal-po'i-bka'-t'añ* (p. 19, 6), we read that K'ri-sroñ-lde-btsan had three sons: Mu-ne-btsan-po, Mu-rug-btsan-po and mJiñ-yon Sad-na-legs; the first died in Northern mDo-k'ams, the second while he was having his meal. Later on (*ibid.*, p. 27) it is said that by the *ācārya*, i.c. Padmasambhava, he was called Mu-tig-btsan-po, by his father K'ri-sroñ-lde-btsan, by the Nañ-blon mJiñ-yon Sad-na-legs, and by the Chinese Mu-ri-btsan-po. On the other hand, according to the *Ra-tna'i-gter-ma*, viz. a *gTer-ma* discovered by Ratna-gliñ-pa, quoted by Sañs-rgyas-rgya-mts'o in the *Vai-dū-rya-gya'-sel* (p. 12), after K'ri-sroñ-lde-btsan there was one year of strife, caused by the four wives of the old king; then, for one year and three months, the power was taken over by Mu-ne-btsan-po, finally poisoned. Then the tutorship of Mu-tig-btsan-po was taken by Mu-rug-btsan-po; being 25 years old, Mu-tig-btsan-po was elected king and reigned up to his death, which occurred when he was 65 years old. He was succeeded by Sad-na-legs, followed by Ral-pa-can.

But these dates are contradicted by the Chinese sources and the Sa-skyapa chronicles. According to another famous book, the *sBa-bšed*, being the history of bSam-yas and known under various redactions (*Vai-dū-rya-gya'-sel*, p. 136) followed by the *Deb-dmar* (*ibid.*, p. 136), K'ri-sroñ-lde-btsan had three sons: Mu-ne-btsan-po, Mu-tig-btsan-po and K'ri-lde-sroñ-btsan; Mu-ne-btsan-po reigned 17 months, Mu-tig-btsan-po was killed and K'ri-lde-btsan-po was elected king when only four years old. Then the *C'os-'byuñ* by the sPyan-sña bSod-nams-grags-pa, quoted by the same *Vai-dū-rya-gya'-sel* states that Mu-ne-btsan-po reigned 7 years and 9 months.

Leaving aside the number of the sons of K'ri-sroñ-lde-btsan, which is of no importance to the question of his successors, it is clear that Tibetan tradition is divided into two groups: one group, starting from the TH Chronicles, knows of only two kings between K'ri-sroñ-lde-btsan and Ral-pa-can. This is the opinion of the Sa-skyapas, once more testifying their dependence on sources akin to the TH documents. The other group is represented by the tradition to be met with in Chinese sources and introduced into Tibet by the *rGya-yig-ts'añ*, translated by Rin-c'en-grags-pa and followed by some redactions of the *rGyal-rabs*. The Chronicles of the fifth Dalai Lama represent a compromise, largely influenced by the rÑiñ-ma-pa tradition under the inspiration of which an epic cycle developed, its hero being Mu-rug-btsan-po. We are not yet in a position to state which tradition corresponds to truth.

PREISTORIA TIBETANA

La storia del Tibet, gli sviluppi della sua cultura, i suoi rapporti colle civiltà confinanti sono ancora tutt'altro che note. La tibetologia è una scienza assai recente, la più recente di tutte le discipline orientali e perciò presenta ancora molte e gravi lacune. Non sorprenda dunque se la preistoria tibetana è tutt'ora assai misteriosa. Anzitutto conviene intendersi sull'estensione che vogliamo dare a questa parola preistoria. Essa è un termine molto vago siccome include tutte le vicende del Tibet fino agli inizi della sua storia certa, la quale comincia soltanto nel settimo secolo. Nel settimo secolo infatti il re Sron btsan sgam po unificò sotto il suo comando le tribù tibetane e costituì un grande impero che si oppose vittorioso alla Cina, straripò poi sulla valle del Tarim e contese al Celeste Impero il possesso delle guarnigioni che presidiavano le oasi e le strade carovaniere nell'Asia Centrale. Alla potenza politica si congiunsero i primi bagliori della cultura che penetrò nel paese delle nevi dall'India e dalla Cina giungendovi soprattutto attraverso la religione buddhistica cui la corte e parte dell'aristocrazia sembrano essersi presto convertite; conversione per lungo tempo superficiale che solo con grande fatica sopraffecce le credenze aborigene.

Come possiamo noi ricostruire la cultura del Tibet e le sue vicende prima della fondazione di questo impero che coincide con il sorgere della letteratura tibetana e quindi con la più antica compilazione di monumenti letterari e storici? I documenti a nostra disposizione sono le fonti cinesi, la toponomastica, i testi indigeni ed infine i ritrovamenti archeologici. Le fonti cinesi ci illuminano soprattutto sulle tribù immediatamente confinanti con le provincie estremo occidentali della Cina, ma contengono altresì notizie di carattere etnografico di molto interesse su tutta la gente che inclusa sotto il nome di Ch'iang e poi T'u-fan, erravano nomadi sul pianoro tibetano. Di speciale interesse è la notizia contenuta in un'opera storica del secolo IX d. C. secondo la quale un gruppo notevole della popolazione tibetana sarebbe stato costituito da una frazione dei Yüeh-chih, che cacciati dagli Hsiung-nu dalla provincia del Kan-su, non potendo seguire il grosso della sua gente nelle lunghe migrazioni verso l'Ovest che la portò successivamente nella Battriana e poi nell'India, si rovesciò nel Tibet confondendosi con la popolazione

del luogo. Così per esempio sembra venuta dalla Persia (sTag-gzig) la famiglia dei principi di Ža-lu nei pressi di Tashilunpo: per converso l'intrusione scitica nel paese delle nevi viene indirettamente confermata da alcune genealogie tibetane. Queste infatti accennano ad infiltrazioni per lo meno iraniche. Per converso secondo la tradizione indigena, il flusso della immigrazione specialmente dell'aristocrazia che finì con l'assumere una posizione di comando sulle varie provincie, si determina a partire dalla grande ansa del fiume Giallo. Il più grande numero dei documenti familiari da me scoperti e studiati conserva ricordo di una provenienza dai confini nord-orientali delle tribù che nei tempi storici vediamo stanziate con funzioni di comando nelle varie contrade tibetane. Per fare qualche esempio soltanto la famiglia che regnò su gNas-gsar, un piccolo paese vicino a Gyantse, si dice di stirpe 'A-žva cioè i T'u-yü-hun delle fonti cinesi stanziati nel retroterra montagnoso dallo Shan-shan (Lop) al Kan-su.

Un altro caso interessante è quello della famiglia del V Dalai Lama Blo-bzañ-rgya-mts'o, che governava un territorio a Sud di Yarlung: essa si dichiarava discendente dai Bhaṭa Hor, cioè dai Mongoli Bhardra, stanziati forse vicino al Baikal. Questi invasori esercitano il governo sulle zone in cui si stabiliscono sostituendosi alle popolazioni locali, le quali riconosciute come appartenenti ad una stirpe diversa, vengono designate con vario nome; prevale il nome di Mon con cui sono generalmente chiamate le popolazioni ricacciate verso il sud e verso l'ovest e per lungo tempo restate come entità etnografiche e linguistiche distinte dagli invasori. A quale razza appartenessero codesti indigeni Mon non è sempre chiaro determinare; per esempio nel Ladak, cioè in un paese che se è tibetano di lingua e di costumi si trova tuttavia fuori dello stato tibetano, Mon si chiamano le popolazioni prevalentemente darde che dovevano rappresentare il sottostrato degli abitanti del paese. Ma se varchiamo i confini occidentali del Tibet vero e proprio ed entriamo in quella vasta provincia che si estende fino al Kailāsa e al Manasarovar troviamo che gli indigeni parlavano originariamente una lingua che non ha nessun rapporto con il tibetano. Questa lingua dal nome della provincia viene generalmente conosciuta come lingua di Guge e anche di Žaṅ-žuṅ. È la lingua nella quale sembrano essere stati scritti molti testi della religione indigena del Tibet prima della introduzione del Buddhismo, voglio dire la religione Bon, e anche alcuni testi frammentari scoperti nell'Asia Centrale dalla missione Stein. Sebbene lo studio di questa lingua non sia ancora approfondito, non pare tuttavia dubbio che contenga elementi di Kanavari che si parla tutt'ora nello stato di Bashahr, affine alle lingue che genericamente si designano col nome di austronesiche così bene studiate da P. Schmidt e dal Przyluski. La

espansione di questo gruppo è confermata anche dalla toponomastica; per esempio la provincia di Chumurti ci presenta un caratteristico esempio di bilinguismo del tipo dei *Lingua-glossa* e *Mongibello*, c'è essendo la parola tibetana per acqua e *murti* il corrispondente *Kanavari*. Non mi par dubbio che anche il nome della montagna sacra del Tibet, il *Ti-se* chiamato dagli indiani *Kailāsa* e in tibetano classico *Gaṅs-ri*, ci presenti un nome *Kanavari*. Fino a dove arrivasse questa popolazione austronesica nel Tibet non possiamo dire, è tuttavia da notarsi che il maggior tempio di *Sa-skya*, monastero e città a 150 chilometri a ovest circa di *Tashilunpo*, si chiamava *Go-rum*, nome forse *žañ-žũ*. Inoltre le tradizioni tibetane distinguono concordemente i *Bodpa*, Tibetani veri e propri, dai *'Brog pa*, i nomadi pastori che vivono con le loro mandrie e i greggi sui pianori spostandosi secondo il ritmo delle stagioni. Parlano una lingua notevolmente diversa e pascolano specialmente nei pianori del nord. Come che sia, le tribù conquistatrici provenienti dall'ansa del Fiume Giallo mostrano un grande rapporto di cultura con i gruppi turco-mongoli dell'Asia Centrale. Secondo quanto leggiamo nelle antiche genealogie familiari e nelle opere oggi accessibili della religione *Bon* queste tribù adoravano come deità suprema il Cielo che esse chiamavano *gNam* e la cui mitografia ricorda assai da vicino quella del turco mongolo *Tängri*. Come le tribù turco mongole, erano divise in *yasun*, cioè «ossa», nome inteso ad indicare il Clan; la stessa partizione in *rus*, equivalente tibetano dello stesso significato, si ritrova all'origine della società tibetana nella quale resiste per lungo volgere di secoli. Inoltre è ben noto che le emigrazioni dei popoli turco-mongoli sono sempre avvenute secondo uno schieramento di marcia che presuppone un corpo centrale affiancato ai due lati da due ali, *ru*; la divisione geografica del Tibet antico è basata sullo stesso principio; infatti ad una provincia centrale fanno seguito due ali l'una a destra e l'altra a sinistra, la prima ad occidente e la seconda ad oriente ciò che lascia immaginare una direttrice di marcia da Nord a Sud. Le concezioni cosmogoniche di questo sottostrato etnico del Tibet sono anche esse assai simili a quelle che troviamo presso i popoli turco-mongoli. Il mondo viene cioè immaginato come una grande tenda, concezione naturale presso i nomadi, la quale dalla base larga rappresentata dalla terra va rastremandosi verso l'alto. Come nella tenda c'è un asse centrale, così l'universo si svolge intorno ad un *axis mundi* costituito da una montagna sulla quale sono disposti tredici cieli. Come nel centro della tenda si trova un foro per l'uscita del fumo, così al vertice della tenda cosmica si trova un foro dal quale si affacciano i luminari celesti, il sole e la luna, mentre sopra si stende lo spazio infinito celeste, il vero e proprio *Tängri* o *gNam* di cui sopra ho parlato.

uses for these first editions is *bžeṅs*, *bžeṅs-pa*, not *par*, which we should expect for any printed edition; *bžeṅs* only means to order a sacred thing to be made and consecrated. If we are to follow his statements, we can tabulate the diffusion of the scripture from this first set of sNar-t'añ:

sTod: Gom-pa, Sa-skya, K'ab-guñ-t'añ,
sMad: Ts'al-guñ-t'añ

Žva-lu edition of *bsTan-gyur* by Bu-ston, which was newly arranged with the addition of supplementary works up to about one thousand items all together; a new copy with further additions by sLob-dpon Nam-mk'a'-rgyal-mts'an of Rin-spuñs; this copy was placed in rTse-t'añ; hence new additions and new copies in Goñ-dkar and gDan-sa-t'el; then the copies of K'ams, that by C'os-rje mT'oñ-ba-lدون-ldan, by the *du-dben-sa* of dBus, by C'os-rje-rañ-byuñ in mTs'ur-p'u, that of the *dPon-c'en dGe-bsñen* in Yar-rgyab placed in Byams-pa-gliñ¹.

But some of these sets, though based on the sNar-t'añ copy, were new editions with additions and better arrangement of the works, such as that of the *bsTan-gyur* by Bu-ston.

The redaction of the *bsTan-gyur* by Bu-ston (born 1290; he arrived at Žva-lu in 1320) was placed by him in the *bsTan-gyur lha-k'añ*, where it is still to be seen. It was made under the auspices of the *sku-žañ* of Žva-lu, Kun-dga'-don-grub². It is a manuscript set; Bu-ston

¹ Nam-mk'a'-rgyal-mts'an of Rin-spuñs was a contemporary of the sDe-srid Grags-pa-rgyal-mts'an of P'ag-mo-gru (1374 (*śiñ-stag*)-1440). rTse-t'añ (founded in 1351 by Byañ-c'ub-rgyal-mts'an), gDan-sa-t'el, and Goñ-dkar were various places of the P'ag-mo-gru-pa, rTse-t'añ in Yar-kluñ being the civil capital and gDan-sa-t'el the religious. *Du-dben-sa* was the title *tu-yüan-shuai* 都元帥 conferred by the Yüan to Tibetan dignitaries (*Yüan-shih* 87.8). I cannot identify at present all the persons here alluded to. C'os-rje-rañ-byuñ (rdo-rje) is the pupil of Urgyan-pa (1230-1309), upon whom cf. G. TUCCI, *Travels of Tibetan Pilgrims in the Swat Valley*, Calcutta, 1940. Also cf. *Deb-t'er sñon-po, ña*, p. 129, Sum-pa-mk'an-po, *dPag-bsam-ljon-bzañ* (S. Ch. Das ed.), p. 360; mT'oñ-ba-lدون-ldan is also a Kar-ma-pa; *ibid.* Byams-pa-gliñ is a monastery in 'Ol dga' (Ol k'a, 'Ol ka). Many of these personages and their history are to be found in the chronicles of Blo-bzañ-rgya-mts'o: *Gaṅs-can-yul-gyi-sa-la-spyod-pa'i mt'o-ris-kyi rgyal-blon gtso-bor brjod-pa'i deb-t'er, rdsogs-ldan gžon-nu'i-dga'-ston dbyid-kyi-rgyal-mo'i glu-dbyaṅs*, which has been translated and commented upon in my book *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*. A partial translation of this work, said to be by Ñag-dbañ-dge-legs, has been published in Chinese by LIU Li-ch'ien of the West China Frontier Research Institute.

² On his date and the genealogy of the princes of Žva-lu cf. *Indo-Tibetica*, III, I, p. 90.

himself prepared the index after the work of collation was finished: *bsTan-'gyur-gyi dkar-c'ag yid-bžin-nor-bu dbaṅ-gi rgyal-po'i p'reñ-ba*, Complete Works, Lhasa ed., Vol. *La*: an abridgment (with an index of the *bKa'-'gyur*) is to be found at the end of the *C'os-'byuñ* by the same author.

A few years after Bu-ston, the myriarch (*K'ri-dpon*) of Ts'al Kun-dga'-rdo-rje¹, the rival of Byañ-c'ub-rgyal-mts'an (born 1302; elected myriarch 1334), subjected to a revision the previous edition of the *bKa'-'gyur* already referred to and edited the so-called *Ts'al-pa bKa'-'gyur*, which was the basis of the later, printed edition of sNar-t'añ².

This sNar-t'añ edition was made under the seventh Dalai Lama, bsKal-bzañ-rgya-mts'o, by the regent or sDe-srid bSod-nams-stobs-rgyas (died in 1747) of P'o-lha in gTsañ. Opinions differ as to the date. According to Csoma, *Asiatic Researches* 20.42, the sNar-thañ edition was printed in the year 1731. This statement is contradicted by Laufer, *JRAS*, 1914, p. 1128, who tells us that the index volume of the *bsTan-'gyur* carries the date *c'u-k'yi*, viz. 1742; his statement is supported by the colophon of the same index, though it refers to the *dkar-cag* written in that year by P'ur-bu-lcog-gi-ri-k'rod-pa ṅag-dbañ-byams-pa in the autumnal month. But on page 7 b, after the list has been given of the artisans who worked on preparing the books and of the supervisors, it is stated that the carving of the blocks was started in the year *lcags-bya* (1741) on the twenty-seventh day of the third month, and that it was over on the twenty-fifth of the tenth month of the year *c'u-k'yi* (1742). So there can be hardly any doubt that 1742 is the year in which the edition of the *bsTan-'gyur* was completed. With the *bKa'-'gyur* the case is different; as we know from its *dKar-cag*, p. 55 b and p. 62 a, the work started on the twenty-eighth of the eighth month of 1730 and was finished on the 26th of the first month of 1732. The information contained in the *dKar-cag*, both of the *bKa'-'gyur* and of the *bsTan-'gyur*, generally agrees with a passage of the biography of P'o-la-nas bSod-nams stobs-rgyas (*dPal-mi-dbañ-po'i-rtogs-brjod-pa 'jig-rten-kun-tu-dga'-ba'i-gtam*; see *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, p. 169) to which prof. Petech has drawn my attention. There we read (p. 340) that the idea of editing the *bKa'-'gyur* and the *bsTan-'gyur* came to the *sde-srid* in a dream; he then ordered the work to be immediately undertaken on the twenty-

¹ I have dealt with this man as a political figure and as a writer of historical works in *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, pp. 9, 107, 140.

² Kloñ-rdol bla-ma's complete works, Vol. *dsa*: *bKa'-'gyur yoiñ-rdsogs-kyi luñ-lags-par-t'ob-pa'i t'ob-yig-t'ar-pa'i t'em-skas*, p. 1.

fourth day of the *k'rum*s (24th constellation) month of the year *lcags-k'yi* (1730) in Śel-dkar-rdson. This place was evidently chosen because the wood necessary for making the blocks was easily obtainable there. Since the persons in charge of the work thought that twelve years would be required to complete the project, the prince collected all qualified artisans from all parts of the country; thus the carving was completed in the year *lcags-p'ag* (1731), viz., in one and a half years. But the author clearly states that this refers only to the *bKa'-gyur* which, since it contained the words of Buddha, was given precedence; on the blocks the blessings of the seventh Dalai Lama *sKal-bzañrgya-mts'o*, were invoked, and they were then placed in the monastery of *sNar-t'añ* (p. 378 a). It is therefore to be concluded that the *sNar-t'añ bKa'-gyur* was finished in the year 1731 and that the *bsTan'-gyur* was completed in the year 1742. There is, it is true, a time difference of less than three months between the statement of the *dKar-cag* of the *bKa'-gyur* and that contained in the above quoted biography; but this is probably to be explained, as in the case of the *dKar-cag* of the *bsTan'-gyur*, by referring the date registered there not to the actual carving of the blocks but rather to the revision and indexing work concluded with the same *dKar-cag*. The Lhasa edition of the *bKa'-gyur* printed by order of the thirteenth Dalai Lama in the Nor-bu-gliñ *bskal-bzañ p'o-brañ* is composed of one hundred volumes.

As regards the distribution of the *bKa'-gyur* and *bsTan'-gyur* in the various libraries of the world, I may add that there are two copies of the *sNar-t'añ* edition of the *bsTan'-gyur* in Rome—the one in my library and the other in the library of the Oriental school of the University. Both copies were purchased by me, the first in Sikkim and the other in Gyantse; both are sufficiently good. The Lhasa edition of the *bKa'-gyur* is in my library; a set of the *bKa'-gyur*, *sNar-t'añ* edition, probably a gift of the old missions and brought by Orazio della Penna, is in the Vatican Library. I also possess, many volumes of a manuscript *bKa'-gyur* found in the ruins of Upper Toling.

2. THE DIFFUSION OF THE YELLOW CHURCH IN WESTERN TIBET AND THE KINGS OF GUGE

In spite of the researches of numerous scholars there are many points in the history of Ladakh and Western Tibet which are still obscure. It will therefore be useful to publish here some data concerning these countries which I have found in several authoritative works of

Central Tibet. Interesting information regarding the diffusion of the Yellow sect in Guge and Ladakh is to be found in the *dPal-mñam-med ri-bo dga'-ldan-pa'i bstan-pa žva-ser cod-pan-'c'an-pa'i rin-lugs c'os-t'ams-cad-kyi rtsa-ba gsal-bar-byed-pa vai-đūr-ya-ser-po'i me-loñ*¹ by the *sde-srid* Sañs-rgyas-rgya-mts'o².

Sum-pa-mk'an-po, as usual, copied from this book his catalogue of Western Tibetan monasteries, omitting the lists of the abbots; but even his résumé escaped the notice of scholars. The text of the *Vai-đūr-ya ser-po* is very important, since it contains a catalogue of the Yellow temples of Guge, Ladakh, Spiti, and Upper Kunu at the end of the seventeenth century; it is certainly taken from the census of the monasteries ordered by the fifth Dalai Lama. It gives, in fact, even the number of the monks living in each place, very often stating also to which class they belonged of the four into which, according to the purity of their rule, the monkish population of Tibet was in the year 1663 divided.

Moreover, there are in this book occasional references to historical facts, as, for example, the mention of the incorporation of Guge in the realm of Ladakh after the victory of Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal over the country of Guge (1630)³. Then, besides giving the names of the various abbots of the monasteries, Sañs-rgyas-rgya-mts'o never omits giving the name of the founders of the various convents and temples; it is a tradition, no doubt, but since he or his sources had at their disposal ancient chronicles, the *dKar-cag* of the temples or the inscriptions, these references must be given due consideration. From this catalogue we realize that the spreading of the Yellow Church in the Western provinces is very old, almost contemporary with Tsoñ-k'a-pa and his direct disciples, but also that its conquest of the country was slow because of the obstinate resistance of the old schools, especially of the Sa-skya-pa and bKa'-brgyud-pa, which had a firm hold on the people. Then, last but not least, Sañs-rgyas-rgya-mts'o gives us a list of kings of Guge which other sources do not contain. In fact, the documents dealing with that country supply us with genealogical tables up to the thirteenth century⁴, but after that they are silent. No information had reached us concerning the king defeated by Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal, though at his time De

¹ This work was finished fifteen year after the birth of the sixth Dalai Lama, Ts'añs-dbyañs-rgya-mts'o—that is, since the latter was born in 1683, in the year 1697.

² Killed by Lha-bzañ Khan in 1705.

³ PETECH, *A Study on the Chronicles of Ladakh*, p. 141.

⁴ *Indo-Tibetica*, II, p. 176.

Andrade had founded in Tsaparang the Catholic mission which, if we are to follow the Portuguese Jesuit, was supported by the prince himself; he was called by the missionaries simply by his title: *choda-po* (= *jo-bo bdag-po*). Now we know that his name was bKra-śis-grags-pa, as proposed by Francke, *Antiquities of Indian Tibet* 1.36, on the basis of an inscription.

Moreover, comparing with this genealogical table the lists of the abbots of the various monasteries, we perceive that, as if reviving the ancient tradition of the family, the younger brothers of the kings used to take the title of *lha-btsun* and to embrace the religion; they were accordingly appointed as abbots of the most important monasteries. This tallies with the account of the missionaries, who tell us that the brother of the king was in their time the greatest religious authority, the chief of the community and, as such, the leader of the monks, often in open antagonism with the court¹. This abbot was most probably Blo-bzañ ye-śes-'od.

On the other hand, comparison of the lists of the *Vaidūrya ser-po* with the fragments of the catalogues contained in the *bKa'-gdams-gsar-rñin* shows that the succession of the abbots, as given by our sources, cannot be taken as absolutely certain; often the lists were based upon an oral tradition which cannot always claim to correspond to the real state of things. Nevertheless, they afford us a point of departure which can be taken as a starting point for future investigation. The list of the abbots of the various monasteries which appears on p. 484 may seem of slight interest, but it will, on the contrary, prove very useful when the edition of the inscriptions of Ladakh and Western Tibet, which has been undertaken by Prof. L. Petech and myself, is completed; many of these abbots are in fact likely to be found in those inscriptions, thus giving an approximate idea of their chronology.

I must add that the data contained in the catalogues of Sañs-rgyas-rgya-mts'o are very important for the history of Western Tibetan art. As I have shown elsewhere², the chapels of Spiti, Kunavar, and Guge have great significance for the study of Tibetan painting, since the frescoes on their walls have little connection with the schools of Central Tibet, but rather betray a strong influence of Kashmiri art, so evident either in Mañ-ñan or in Alchi.

While some temples certainly go back to the time of Rin-c'en-bzañ-po (eleventh century), others have certainly been rebuilt and

¹ WESSELS, *Early Jesuit Travelers in Central Asia*, p. 75.

² *Indo-Tibetica*, III, parts, I and II.

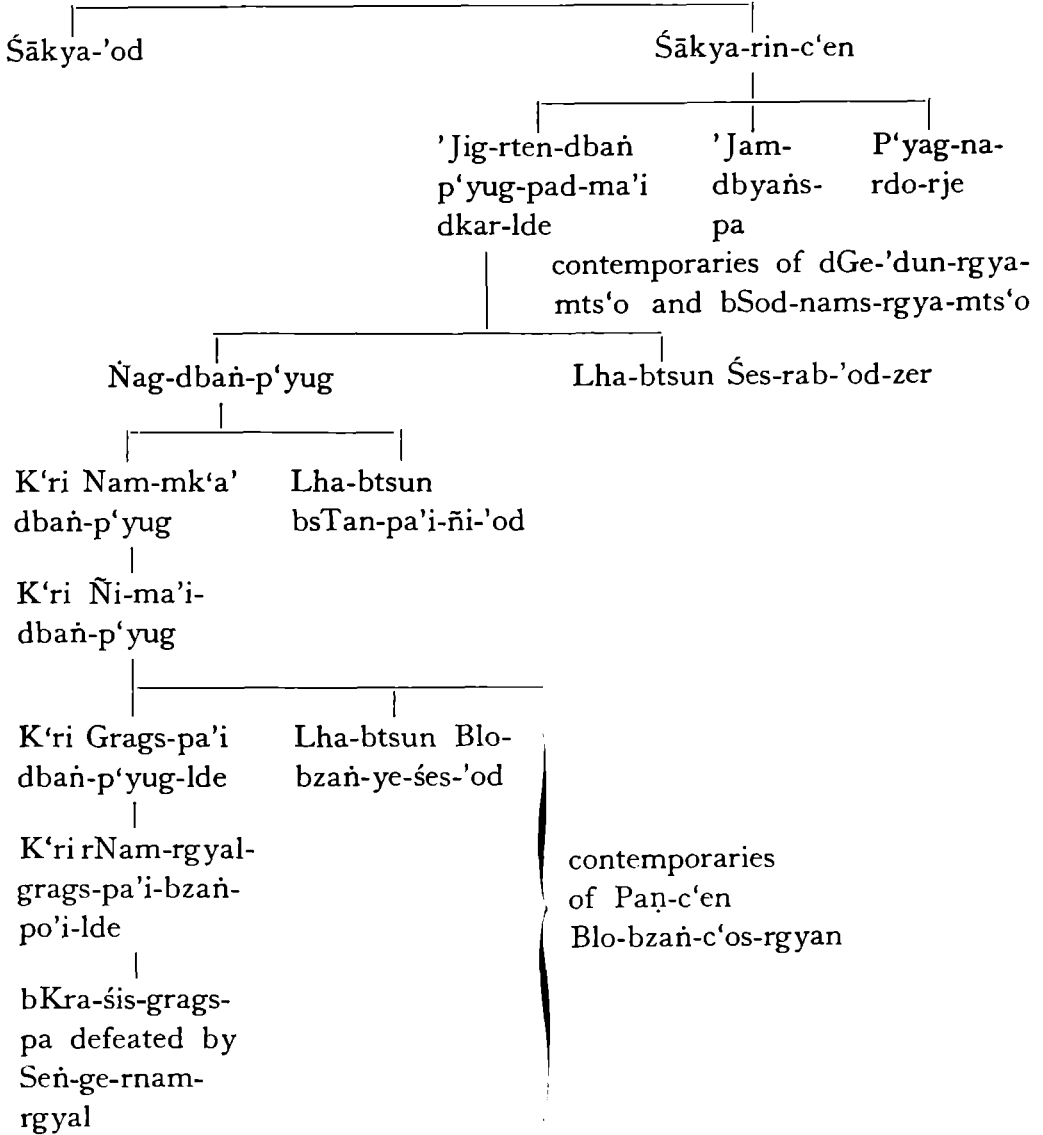
LIST OF THE KINGS OF GUGE

recorded by Sañs-rgyas-rgya-mts'o

C'os-rgyal-Buddha

Blo-bzañ-rab-brtan

and his wife, Don-grub-ma, contemporaries of Ñag-dbañ-grags-pa, a pupil of Tsoñ-k'a-pa.



In this list there is no place for K'ri dBañ-p'yug-lde and K'ri rNam-rgyal-lde recorded as founders of Duñ-dkar, at the time of Ñag-dbañ-grags-pa.

repaired in later times; it would, therefore, be most interesting to know when these repairs took place and to fix, at least approximately, the date when the paintings which can still be admired were made. For some of the most magnificent temples of Guge, the notes of Sañs-rgya-mts'o supply us with the information we want. He tells us, in fact, that the temples of Tsaparang were rebuilt, enlarged, and embellished in the time of Blo-bzañ-rab-brtan; his wife built the "red temple"; since that king was a contemporary of Ñag-dbañ-grags-pa¹ and thus a pupil of Tsoñ-k'a-pa (1357-1419) it follows that the temple goes back to the first half of the fifteenth century; the Lha-k'añ dkar-po, on the other hand, was built by his nephews and therefore cannot be earlier than the sixteenth century; so also the 'Jigs-byed-lha-k'añ. The man who introduced the dGe-lugs doctrine in Guge was Nag-dbañ-grags-pa, born in Kaliñ² on the southern shore of the Gāngā. He went to dBus and gTsañ, met Tsoñ-k'a-pa, and became his pupil; then he went back to his country, and in Duñ-dkar-sa-sñiñ, which he chose as his residence, he erected an image of rDo-rje-'jigs-byed, the Yi-dam of the new sect. His fame was then known by three princes of the royal line of Guge: bKra-sis-'od, 'Od-lde-k'ri-rnam-rgyal-'od, and Śākya-'od. The latter asked him to subdue a demon ('dre) called bKra-ba-dpon-mo, who had done great harm to the country, and he succeeded, thus showing that the power of his *mantras* was superior to that of the Sa-skyapa and 'Bri-guñ-pa, which formerly had been widely diffused throughout the country. He was therefore given the abbotship of mT'o-gliñ (Toling, Tolingmath of the maps) and Blos-stañs by the king of Guge.

¹ C'os-rje Ñag-dbañ-grags-pa is also known from other sources. For instance, the *bKa'-gdams gsar-rñiñ-gi-c'os-'byuñ yid-kyi-mdses-rgyan*, written by bSod-nams-grags-pa in the year 1529, tells us (p. 98) that, born in mÑa'-ris, he became a pupil of Tsoñ-k'a-pa; having mastered the Law he went back to his country, where he converted King and subjects and rebuilt the temple of mT'o-ldiñ. On the references to this last place in Tibetan literature, cf. *Indo-Tibetica* II, p. 64. To the sources there quoted we may add *Jo-bo-rje lha-gcig dpal-ldan A-ti-śa'i-rnam-t'ar bla-ma'i-yon-tan-c'os-kyi-'byuñ-gnas sogs bka'-gdams rin-po-c'e'i-glegs-bam*, p. 86: YOUNG, "A Journey to Toling and Tsaparang in Western Tibet", *Journal of the Panjab Historical Society*, 8 (1919), 177; TUCCI-GHERSI, *Shrines of a Thousand Buddhas*, p. 205; SHERRING, *Western Tibet*, pp. 153-154; Sven HEDIN, *Southern Tibet* IV, pp. 320-321; Sum-pa-mk'an-po, p. 334. [I must apologize for referring so often in these notes to my previous works, but they happen to be the only attempt at an archaeological and artistic study of the country].

² This place is not known to me.

mT'o-LDIÑ was built by *bla-ma* Ye-śes-'od¹; it was formerly called mT'o-ldiñ, but at the time of the author colloquially T'o-liñ. His first abbot was Rin-c'en-bzañ-po², the great translator; it contained the chapel where Atiśa explained the four classes of Tantras. The descendants of Ñag-dbañ-grags-pa were Ts'ul-k'rims-bśes-gñen, rje Legs-grub-pa³, Kun-spañs-pa, Nam-mk'a'i-mts'an-can, rje Kun-dga'-dpal-bzañ, rje Rin-c'en-dpal-bzañ, pañc'en Śān-ti-pā, Blo-gros-rgyal-mts'an, slob-dpon Señ-ge-rgya-mts'o, C'os-rje P'yag-rdor-dpal-bzañ, C'os-rje bDe-legs-dar, rje Grags-pa-'od-zer, rje Ts'ul-k'rims-rgyal-mts'an, Lha-btsun bsTan-pa'i-ñi-'od.

The latter invited the Pañ-c'en of bKra-śis-lhun-po Blo-bzañ c'os-kyi-rgyal-mts'an (1570-1662); after that event Blo-bzañ-ye-śes-'od was on the see for twelve years; then Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal, king of Ladakh, captured both the abbot and the king of Guge, bKra-śis-grags-pa⁴, subdued Guge, and placed on the see a *mk'an-po* elected by him. The line of the abbots then was Gu-ge-bye-dkar-pa Zod-pa-rgyal-mts'an, Blo-bzañ-c'os 'p'el. Then mÑa'-ris-skor-gsum passed under the Dalai Lama's sway⁵. The abbots were bSod-nams-dpal-grub of Ladakh, sByin-pa-rgya-mts'o of Amdo, and Blo-bzañ-c'os-'p'el of sBo-'p'or in K'ams. The monks go to Sera, 'Bras-spuñs, and dGa'-ldan in the mÑa'-ris-grva-tsañ.

rTSA-HRAÑ⁶, Bre-ldan, and bKra-śis-dge-rgyas (also called Blos-stañs) were built under K'ri Nam-mk'a'-dbañ-p'yug by Ye-śes-brtson-'grus. Blo-stañ, also called Blos-steñs, was near the royal palace.

¹ On Ye-ses-'od, cf. A. H. FRANCKE, *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, II, p. 169; *Indo-Tibetica*, Vol. II *passim*; Bu-ston, *History of Buddhism* (Obermiller), p. 214. On Toling, Tolingmath, mT'o-gliñ see *Jo-bo-rje lha-gcig dpal-ldan atiśa'i-rnam-t'ar bla-ma'i-yon-tan-c'os-kyi-'byuñ-gnas*. Cf. also TUCCI, *Preliminary report on two scientific expeditions in Nepal*, Rome 1956, p. 64.

² On Rin-c'en-bzañ-po, cf. *Indo-Tibetica*, Vol. II.

³ Before Legs-grub the *bKa'-gdams gsar-rñiñ* records Pon-nam-mk'a'-po, Kun-spañs-pa (who in Sañs-rgyas-rgya-mts'o's list follows), C'os-rje-rab-bzañ.

⁴ This war took place in the years 1614-1630. Cf. FRANCKE, *op. cit.*, II, p. 109; PETECH, *op. cit.*, p. 140. Tsaparang was conquered in 1630.

⁵ This refers to the expedition of dGa'-ldan Ts'e-dbañ of 1683. FRANCKE, *op. cit.*, II, p. 115; PETECH, *op. cit.*, p. 175. PETECH, 'The Tibetan-Ladakhi-Moghul war of 1681-1683', *IHQ*, 23 (1947), 169-199.

⁶ Usually rTsan-brañ, but, as a rule, the spelling of the names in the *Vai-dür-ya* is far from being exact; we have, for instance, Mañ-yul instead of the regular Mar-yul, Mañ-yul being a country to the north of Nepal; rTa-so instead of Ta-bo, the famous monastery of Spiti, upon which see below. On Tsaparang: YOUNG, *op. cit.*; SHERRING, *op. cit.*, pp. 326-338 (Chaprang); TUCCI-GHERSI, *op. cit.*, pp. 112-181.

When Blo-bzañ-rab-brtan, son of the C'os-rgyal-Buddha, became a supporter of the Yellow Church (having been converted by Ñag-dbañ-grags-pa), his wife, Don-grub-ma, built there the red temple, mC'od-k'añ¹ dmar-po, with thirty pillars and images of Śākyamuni, Byams-pa, Rigs-gsum-mgon-po, Tsoñ-k'a-pa, etc. These princes had two sons, Śākya-'od and Śākya-rin-c'en. The latter had three sons, 'Jig-rten-dbañ-p'yug pad-ma'i-dkar-lde, 'Jams-dbyañs-pa, and P'yag-rdor, who built in rTsa brañ the white temple (mC'od-k'añ-dkar² -po) and the temple of rDo-rje-'jigs-byed³ and presented dGe-'dun-rgya-mts'o (1475-1542) with many offerings, so that the mÑa-ris-grva-ts'añ was built in the great lamaserie of Central Tibet⁴. The sons of 'Jig-rten-dbañ-p'yug were Ñag-gi-dbañ-p'yug and Lha-btsun Śes-rab'od-zer.

The sons of Ñag-gi-dbañ-p'yug were K'ri Nam-mk'a'-dbañ-p'yug and Lha-btsun bsTan-pa'i-ñi-'od. The latter endowed the monastery of Bre-ldan⁵ so that there were periodical ceremonies in the chapels on the right and on the left and containing the *maṇḍala* of the Dus-khor, gSañ'dus, 'Jam-dpal, rDo-rje-'jig-rten-dbañ-p'yug, gŚin-rje-byed black and red, Mi-k'rugs-pa, Ts'e-dpag-med, bDe-mc'og according to the system of Dril-bu-pa, dGyes-rdor, 'K'or-c'en, 'Byuñ'dul, Kun-rig, sMan-bla, etc. The son of K'ri Nam-mk'a'-dbañ-p'yug was K'ri Ñi-ma'i-dbañ-p'yug; his sons were K'ri-Grags-pa'i-dbañ-p'yug-lde and Lha-btsun Blo-bzañ ye-śes-'od; the former had a son called K'ri rNam-rgyal-grags-pa'i-bzañ-po'i-lde. All of these were great devotees of Pañ-c'en Blo-bzañ-c'os-kyi-rgyal-mts'an (1570-1662). Here is the succession of the abbots of the Blos-steñs⁶ beginning with the Ñag-dbañ-grags-pa: sTon-pa-dpal-bzañ, Rin-c'en-dpal-bzañ, Pañ-c'en Śān ti pa⁷, rje Sañs-

¹ This temple has been described in *Indo-Tibetica* III, II, pp. 133 ff. From this passage of the *Vai-dūr-ya-ser-po* it is clear that this temple was called Lha-k'añ-dmar-po, and that this name is not a modern substitute for another older name, now lost, as I had formerly supposed.

² On the "white temple" and its description, cf. *Indo-Tibetica* III, II, p. 112. mÑa'-bdag Lha-bzañ-po goñ-ma 'Jig-rten-dbañ-p'yug-pad-dkar-lde went to pay a visit in the year 1555 to the third Dalai Lama, bSod-nams-rgya-mts'o. See the biography of this *bla-ma* written by Blo-bzañ-rgya-mts'o, p. 47. In FRANCKE, *op. cit.*, II, indices, he is wrongly called "queen of Ladakh".

³ Cf. TUCCI *To Lhasa and beyond*, Rome 1956, pp. 125-126; FERRARI, *mK'yen brtse's Guide to the holy places of Central Tibet*, Rome 1958, pp. 47, 120.

⁴ On the rDo-rje-'jigs-byed lha-k'añ cf. *Indo-Tibetica*, III, II.

⁵ Is this the temple of dDe mc'og? *Ibid.*, p. 16.

⁶ Now called Blo-t'añ, which is described in *Indo-Tibetica* III, II, p. 167, where I incorrectly interpreted the name of this chapel.

⁷ One of the Pañ-c'en of Tashilumpo; cf. Sum-pa-mkhan-po, p. 325. On Bye-dkar cf. TUCCI-GHERSI, *op. cit.*, p. 248.

rgyas-dpal-bzañ, Grags-pa-'od-zer, slob-dpon Yid-bžin, Lha-btsun Śes-rab-'od-zer, C'os-rje Ts'e-dbañ-dpal-bzañ, Lha-btsun bsTan-pa'i-ñi-'od, Lha-btsun Blo-bzañ-ye-śes-'od, Bye-dkar-pa Ts'e-dbañ-bzañ-po, Ka-ru Blo-bzañ-rnam-rgyal, Mañ-nañ Blo-bzañ-mk'as-btsun, then C'os-skyoñ-rgyal-mts'an of Sañs living at the time of the author. It had about sixty monks.

The RÑAM-RGYAL-RTSE in Bye-dkar was founded by dBañ-p'yug-dpal-pa and it belonged formerly to the 'Bri-guñ-pa; then it was taken over by the dGe-lugs-pa at the time of Grag-pa-bzañ-po, a pupil of Ñag-dbañ-grags-pa. Abbots: Sañs-rgyas-mgon-po, C'os-bzañ-mgon-po, Lha-btsun Śes-rab-'od-zer, rje Ts'e-dbañ-dpal-bzañ, Lha-btsun Blo-bzañ-ye-śes-'od, Blo-bzañ-bstan-pa'i-rgyal-mts'an, C'u-si-pa bZod-pa-rgyal-mts'an, Bye-dkar-pa Blo-bzañ-bstan-'dsin; about 120 monks.

MA-NAÑ BYAÑ-C'UB-GLIÑ¹ was founded by Byañ-c'ub-'od and was the abode of Atiśa. Abbots: Ma-nañ Lha-btsun Śākya-'od, Ñag-dbañ-grags-pa, Don-grub-rin-c'en, C'os-dbyiñs-rgya-mts'o, Lha-dbañ-dpal-bzañ, Lha-dbañ-blo-gros, Blo-bzañ-rgyal-mts'an, Blo-bzañ-p'rin-las, C'os-dpal-bzañ-po, 'Brog-pa-ya-ts'a, rDo-rje-'bum, Sañs-rgyas-dpal-bzañ, Lha-btsun Ses-rab-'od of the royal lineage, Byañ-c'ub-bzañ-po of Ma-nañ, Byañ-c'ub-rgyal-mts'an, Dam-c'os-rgyal-mts'an, Dam-c'os-rnam-rgyal, Blo-bzañ-dpal-'byor, Blo-bzañ-mk'as-btsun, Gu-ge Blo-gros-rgya-mts'o, Ñag-dbañ-bstan-'dsin of Guge; about sixty monks.

DO-ŠAÑ MU-DKAR-C'OS-RDSON² was founded by dKon-cog-dpal-mgon, a pupil of mK'as-grub-rje (1385-1438). Abbots: dKon-cog-dpal, dBañ-p'yug-dpal-bzañ, Sañs-rgyas-dpal-bzañ, sTon-pa-dpal-bzañ, Rin-c'en-dpal-bzañ, Lha-btsun Śes-rab-'od-zer, Ts'a-dpal-bzañ, Lha-btsun Blo-bzañ-ye-śes-'od, A-ni c'os-rje of the royal line, lDon-po-pa Blo-bzañ-bstan-pa'i-rgyal-mts'an, Do-śañ-pa dPon-po gDans-sa-pa, Gu-ge-pa dPal-ldan-bkra-śis, C'u-pa-pa bZod-pa-rgyal-mts'an, Do-śañ-pa bKra-śis-rgyal-mts'an, C'os-skyoñ-rgyal-mts'an, Blo-bzañ-rgyal-mts'an; at the time of the author about forty-five monks.

RTA-BO³ C'OS-SDE in Spiti was founded by the *lotsāva* Rin-c'en-

¹ Ma-nañ, or better Mañ-nañ, from the artistic point of view is one of the most important chapels of Western Tibet, since it contains extremely interesting frescoes of the time of Rin-c'en-bzañ-po, probably by Kashmiri painters. Cf. TUCCI, *Savri e Briganti*, pp. 157-163; *Ibid.*, "Indian Paintings in Western Tibetan Temples", *Artibus Asiae*, 7.191.

² On Do-śañ and the remains of its temples, cf. TUCCI-GHERSI, *op. cit.*, p. 241.

³ In the text incorrectly rTa-so (in running handwriting *pa* and *sa* can easily be mistaken); on this most important monastery in Spiti, cf. FRANCKE, *op. cit.*, II, p. 37; TUCCI-GHERSI, *op. cit.*, p. 84; *Indo-Tibetica* III, 1, pp. 21 ff.

bzañ-po (958-1055); the list of the abbots is uncertain; the following are recorded: slob-dpon dGa'-p'el, P'yag-rdor, T'añ-pa Rin-bzañ, rTa-po Gyañ-dpal, A-ni c'os-rje, La-ri-pa Sron-bu, rTa-po Rab-byams-pa-dMag-zor, dBus-pa Ts'e-riñ-rgyal-mts'an, Kra-t'uñ-bsTan-pa-rgya-mts'o, Sañs-rgyas-c'os-p'el, Blo-bzañ-rgyal-mts'an, La-ri-pa dBus-pa Blo-bzañ-ts'ul-k'rims, rTa-po Blo-bzañ-ts'e-riñ living at the time of the author; about fifty-nine monks.

Its dependency was NOR-BU DGE-'P'EL, built by Śes-rab-blo-gros of K'ri-se. Abbots: K'ri-se-pa T'ub-pa bSod-nams-don-grub, sGra-mi-rtag-pa, Ts'ul-k'rims-bkra-śis, Pi-ti Rañ-rig-pa, Mañ-t'os-rgya-mts'o, rTabo-pa bTsan-pa-rgya-mts'o, K'u-rig-pa bSod-nams-rgya-mts'o, sKyid-spar-pa bZod-pa-rgya-mts'o, bSod-nams-dpal-'byor, Rañ-rig-pa dGe-legs-rnam-rgyal; about sixty-nine monks.

BYAÑ-C'UB-GLIÑ¹ was founded by Byañ-c'ub-sems-dpa' of mT'o-gliñ. Abbots: Blo-bzañ-rgyal-mts'an, gSum-dkyil-ba Don-grub-rgyal-mts'an, mT'o-gliñ Blo-bzañ-bstan-pa, mT'o-gliñ dPon-po, gSum-dkyil-pa dKon-cog-rdo-rje, Da-mur-pa Ts'ul k'rims-rgyal-mts'an, Ts'ul-k'rims-gśes-gñen, Blo-gros-don-grub, Ts'o-ri-ba Don-grub-señ-ge, dKon-cog-legs-pa living at the time of the author; about forty-six monks.

LA-GO-SPAL² was founded by Rañ-rig-pa Sañs-rgyas-'od-zer. Abbots: Nam-mk'a'-lha-dbañ, sKra-mi-rtag-pa, Śañ-rtse dGe'dun-yar-p'el, Kun-dga'-mgon-po, Ts'e-riñ-sañs-rgyas, C'os-p'el-mgon-p'rug, Lha-luñ C'uñ-ts'un, Man-rtse-pa bSod-nams-mc'og-grub; about sixty monks.

KAM-LO³ was founded by Rab-byams-pa dPal-'byor. Abbots: Pi-ti C'os-legs, Legs-pa-rgya-mts'o, Blo-gros-ts'e-riñ, Gu-ge 'Dul-ba-rgya-mts'o, sKyid-pa bSod-nams-dpal-'byor, bSod-nams-mc'og living at the time of the author.

A-RA-MA⁴ was founded by a monk of K'ri-se. Abbots: Legs-pa-rgya-mts'o, sKyid-spar mBlo-gros-ts'e-riñ, Gu-ge 'Dul-ba-rgya-mts'o. P'ug-lta-ba Tsa-k'a-ra-pa living at the time of the author; about seventeen monks.

BKRA-ŚIS-C'OS-GLIÑ in Duñ-dkar⁵ was founded by K'ri-dbañ-p'yug-lde and K'ri-rnam-rgyal-lde and then offered to Ñag-dbañ-grags-pa. Abbots: C'os-dbañ-grags-pa, Ts'ul-k'rims-rin-c'en, C'os-rje-rab-bzañ, Legs-grub-stod-pa-dpal-bzañ, Rin-c'en-dpal-bzañ, Sañs-rgyas-dpal-bzañ,

¹ Byañ-c'ub-gliñ is in Spiti on the road Tabo-Chumar-Hanle.

² Perhaps Nako: *Indo-Tibetica*, III, 1, p. 141. Sven Hedin: Laro.

³ Kam-lo; perhaps Blo-sar, below the Kamsan-la; TUCCI-GHERSI, *op. cit.*, pp. 51-66.

⁴ Sum-pa-mk'an-po: Orama.

⁵ On Duñ-mkhar cf. TUCCI, *Santi e Briganti*, p. 270 ff.

Śān-ti-pa Blo-gros-rgyal-mts'an, Śes-rab-bzañ-po, Byams-pa, Byañ-sems-bde-legs-dar, Nor-bzañ, C'os-skyabs, Blo-rin, dPal-mgon, dKon-cog-rgyal-mts'an, dPal-bzañ, bKra-śis-dpal-bzañ, Blo-bzañ-rgyal-mts'o, bŚes-gñen-bzañ-po, Sañs-rgyas-dpal, P'ran-gsum-skyes, Duñ-dkar-pa, Gu-ge Blo-bzañ-bstan-'dsin; about thirty-five monks.

DGA'-LDAN-LHUN-PO in Gu-ge Śañs-p'u¹ was founded by Gu-ge Sañt'ar-pa Señ-ge-rgya-mts'o. Abbots: P'yag-rdor-dpal-bzañ, Rin-c'en-dpal-bzañ, Nam-mk'a'-blo-gros, dPal-'byor-rgyal-mts'an, Rin-c'en-dpal-bzañ, who dedicated the image of Dar-byams, A-ni c'os-rje, Bye-dkar-pa C'os-rgya-mts'o, Gu-ge Śañs-pa bKra-śis-rgyal-mts'an, mÑa'-pabsTan-'dsin-rnam-rgyal, Tre-po Ñag-dbañ-bkra-śis, Ma-nañ-pa dGe-dbañ-dpal-'byor; about fifty-four monks.

In ŚANS-RTSE² the prince Maitrī-pā built the Lañ-ka-c'os-sde and placed upon its see Legs-grub-dpal-bzañ and he then became chief bla-ma of C'os-rgyal 'Jig-rten-dbañ-p'yug. Then near the palace he built a chapel called Rab-brtan-byams-pa-gliñ. Abbots: Legs-grub-dpal-bzañ, Śān-ti-pa Blo-gros-rgyal-mts'an, rNam-rgyal-blo-gsal-ba, Byams-pa-rgya-mts'o, Duñ-dkar Rab-brtan, rDo-rin-c'en, Lha-btsun Śes-rab-'od-zer, C'os-'k'or-rgya-mts'o, bKra-śis-dpal-'bar, sGom-pa Sañs-rgyas-'od-zer, Lha-btsun Blo-bzañ-ye-śes-'od, Śañs-rtse gSar-dpon-dka'-bcu-pa, Duñ-dkar-pa bŚes-gñen-bzañ-po, Śañs-rtse Grag-s-pa-rgya-mts'o-dar, dGe-sloñ Kun-dga', 'C'añ-mo-p'yi-'byuñ-ba, 'Brog-pa 'P'rin-las-mc'og-grub, Duñ-dkar-pa Sañs-rgyas-dpal-'p'rin, Śañs-rtse C'os-rje-don-grub, Byed-dkar-pa Blo-bzañ-bstan-'dsin, mÑa'-ba Blo-bzañ-bstan-'dsin, Śañs-rtse Blo-bzañ-rnam-rgyal, Gu-ge Krab-pa dGe-legs-don-grub, Blo-bzañ-dbañ-p'yug living at the time of the author; about seventy-two monks.

In MAÑ-YUL of mÑa'-ris along the Sitā River³ the temple of sTag-mo-lha-k'añ⁴ was founded in K'ri-se'i-p'ur by sTod Śes-rab-bzañ-po, a pupil of Tsoñ-k'a-pa.

K'RI-SE'I-C'OS-SDE⁵ with its palace was founded by dPal-ldan-śes-rab, the nephew of sTod Śes-rab-bzañpo. He then placed on the see

¹ Most probably Shang. Cf. TUCCI-GHERSI, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

² Śañ-rtse is Shangtze, where many ruins are found. TUCCI-GHERSI, *op. cit.*, p. 244.

³ As I stated above, Mañ-yul is an error for Mar-yul. The *Sitā* is evidently out of place; the same mistake is naturally in Sum-pa-mk'an-po (Siti: in Ch. Das ed.); instead of *Sitā* shall we read *Sindu* (Señ-ge-k'a-bab)?

⁴ sTag-mo lha-k'añ is probably sTag-luñ, where FRANCKE discovered ruins of a monastery. FRANCKE, *op. cit.*, I, p. 60.

⁵ K'ri-se is K'ri-rtse near Leh. Its founder sTod-kyi Byañ-sems Śes-rab-bzañ is recorded by the *bKa'-gdams gsar-rñiñ* 97.6. He was a pupil of Tsoñ-k'a-pa. As his

his own nephew, 'Jam-dbyaṅs-blo-gros. Abbots: dPal-'byon, his nephew, 'Jam-dbyaṅs-rin-c'en, who dedicated the chapel of K'ri-se, C'os-rje Blo-gros-rab-brtan, 'Jam-dbyaṅs-rgya-mts'o, Druñ-skyob-pa Śes-rab-rgyal-mts'an, 'Jam-dbyaṅs-ts'e-riñ, Saṅs-rgyas-blo-gros, bSod-nams-rgyal-mts'an, bSod-nams-rgya-mts'o, La-dags-Slel-pa C'os-rje, La-dags Sar-sgo-la-pa Blo-bzañ-rnam-rgyal, gTsañ-roḡ-ts'o-ba, Dar-rgyas-rnam-rgyal, bSod-nams-grags-pa living at the time of the author: about seventy-five monks.

DPE-T'UB C'OS-SDE¹: this was originally a temple founded by 'Od-lde, elder brother of Lha-bla-ma Byaṅ-c'ub-'od when he was thirty years old, in the year of the mouse. In the course of time it was destroyed but it was repaired by gSañ-p'u-pa Lha-dbañ-blo-gros, a pupil of mK'as-grub-rje (1385-1438). Abbots: Blo-bzañ-dpal-'dren, rje Nam-mk'a'-dpal-bzañ, bSod-nams-rgya-mts'o, rje C'os-rgyal-legs-pa, druñ Rab-'byor-pa, rje Saṅs-rgyas-bstanpa, rje Grags-don-grub, rje bsTan-pa-rgyal-mts'an, 'Bum-rams-pa bSam-gtan-rgya-mts'o, Rin-c'en-dpal-byor, druñ Śes-rab-pa, rje Blo-bzañ-c'os-skyoñ, C'os-rje bsTan-pa-rgya-mts'o, sÑe-mo-pa bsTan-pa-rgyal-mts'an, sLe-pa c'os-rje, druñ-gnas La-dag P'i-vañ-pa, Nam-mk'a'-rgyal-mts'an, Druñ-pa Pi-ti rTa-bo-pa bsTan-pa-rgya-mts'o, Slel-pa Blo-bzañ-dpal-grub, Grags-pa-rgyal-mts'an, bSod-nams-bstan-dar of Slel living at the time of the author; about fifty monks.

The king of Mañ-yul-stod Blo-gros-mc'og-ldan² was the patron of Lha-dbañ-blo-gros and made many rich gifts to Paṅ-c'en dGe-'dun

successors, that book records: dPal-ldan-śes-rab, 'Jam-dbyaṅs-rin-c'en, C'os-rje 'Jam-dbyaṅs-blo-gros, dBon-po dPal-'byor. In the biography of the fifth Dalai Lama: *Za-hor-gyi ban-de Ṇag-dbañ-blo-bzañ-rgya-mts'o'i 'di snañ-'k'rul-pa'i-rol-rtsed rtoḡs-brjod-kyi-ts'ul dū-ku-la'i gos-bzañ*, Vol. c'a, 140, under the year c'u byi (1672) there is mention of a visit made to the Dalai Lama by the abbot Dar-rgyas-rnam-rgyal of K'ri-rtse. From this same work it appears that the relations between the Lhasa government and the court of Ladakh became worse after the death of Señ-ge rnam-rgyal. When this king died, a mission was sent to Lhasa in the year 1646 for a funeral service on his behalf; then the support given by the Ladakh king to the 'Brug-pa stressed the situation. bDe-ldan sent as envoy a Nono in the year 1669 but, as the biography says, nothing could be concluded because the politics of Ladakh still inclined towards the 'Brug-pa; this shows that the court was under the influence of the abbots of Hemis and rather unfriendly to the dGe-lugs-pa.

¹ On dPe-t'ub (on the maps: Pittug, Spithug), cf. FRANCKE, *op. cit.*, I, p. 84. The "year of the mouse" is perhaps earth-mouse six years after the arrival of Atiśa (1042); the *bKa'-gdams-gsar-rñiñ* 98.6 records as its founder Nam-mk'a'.

² Blo-gros-mc'og-ldan is a well-known Ladakhi king. With him the first Ladakhi dynasty ended. Cf. FRANCKE, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 37, 101-102; PETECH, *op. cit.*, p. 113 ff. The date of this king is placed by the said authors between 1440 and 1470.

grub (1391-1475); his nephew, bSod-nams-dpal-bzañ-po, went to study in Tashilunpo and was initiated by bSod-nams-rgya-mts'o.

BAR-SKYA ¹ or Bar-kyog, was founded by Lha-dbañ-blo-gros. Abbots: mT'o-gliñ-pa 'Jam-rdor, A-ni C'os-rje, Bye-dkar C'os-sku-gñer, Kun-t'ub, sTen-pa, dBu-sñun, Ma-nañ-pa bSam-'p'el, Grags-rgyal-mts'an, Don-yod-rgyal-mts'an. Rin-c'en-ts'ul-k'rims, Blo-bzañ-rgyal-mts'an, Lhun-grub-rgya-mts'o, bsKal-ldan-rgya-mts'o, bSam-gtam-bzañ-po, Ts'e-dbañ-'bum, Yon-tan-rgya-mts'o, Blo-bzañ-c'os-grags, bsTan-pa-rgyal-mts'an; at the time of the writer there was no bla-ma; about seventy monks.

LI-KIR ² (also called, at the time of the writer, Klu-dkyil) was founded by Lha-dbañ-blo-gros. Abbots: Señ-ge-rgya-mts'o, dPal-'byor-bzañ-po, Blo-bzañ-lha-dbañ, Legs-mo, Blo-bzañ-lcags-gtun, Blo-bzañ-c'os-grub, mC'og-legs-rnam-rgyal, Śes-rab-c'os-bzañ, Blo-bzañ-bde-legs, Śes-rab-luñ-rig, Śes-rab-rgya-mts'o, La-dags bSod-nams-rnam-rgyal, bSod nams-p'un-ts'ogs, C'os-'p'el, C'os-dpal-bzañ, Blo-bzañ-ts'e-riñ, C'os-'p'el, Śes-rab-rgya-mts'o living at the time of the author; about thirty-five monks.

In Zañs-mk'ar, dKAR-SA BYAMS-PA-GLIÑ ³ and P'ug-ta were founded by the Zañs-mk'ar Lotsāva 'P'ags-pa-śes-rab and enlarged by sLob-dpon mDo-sde-rin-c'en. The introducer of the Yellow Sect was sTod Śes-rab-bzañ-po. Abbots: slob-dpon bsTan-pa C'os-rje Rab-byams-pa, Sañs-rgyas-rin-c'en, Don-grub-dpal-bzañ, sBa-sti Blo-bzañ-rnam-rgyal, Sañs-rgyas-rgyal-mts'an, Zañs-mk'ar-pa C'os-rje Grags-pa-rgyal-mts'an, Blo-bzañ-rdo-rje living at the time of the author; about 303 monks.

PHUG-TA ⁴. Abbots: dPal-ldan-śes-rab, 'Jam-byañs-don-grub, Rab-brtan-ts'e-dbañ-brtan-pa, Ts'e-dbañ-bstan-pa, Kun-dga'-bkra-śis-rgya-mts'o. They had the title of *druñ*; all these were from La-dags. Then Grags-pa-rgyal-mts'an from Zañs-mk'ar; about seventy-seven monks.

MAR-PA-GLIÑ ⁵, also called sToñ-sde Legs-bśad-gliñ, was founded,

¹ The only place between Spithug and Likir, the name of which corresponds to this, is Ba-sgo. FRANCKE, *op. cit.*, I, p. 87; Pt. II, *passim*. Lha-dbañ-blo-gros is recorded as its founder even by the *bKa'-gdams-gsar-rñiñ*, p. 98.

² Its founder, according to the *bKa'-gdams-gsar-rñiñ* 98.6, was Nam-mk'a'-pa. Lha-dbañ-po is given on the other hand as his successor, along with dge-sloñ Ts'ul-bzañ, Likir Lha-btsun-pa.

³ On dKar-śa (Sum-pa-mk'an-po: *dkar-c'a*) Byams-pa-gliñ in Zañs-mk'ar, cf. FRANCKE, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 156 ff. Note the spelling: Zañs-mk'ar for the usual Zañs-dkar. *bKa'-gdams-gsar-rñiñ* 98a has regularly Zañs-dkar, as in the indices of the *bKa'-gyur*. mDo-sde-rin-c'en was a pupil of Ses-rab-bzañ-po.

⁴ P'ug-ta is P'ug-t'al of the chronicles. FRANCKE, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 157-158.

⁵ On Mar-pa-gliñ cf. FRANCKE, *op. cit.*, II, p. 158. It has nothing to do with Mar in Lho-k'a, the birthplace of Mar-pa lotsāva. sToñ-sde is the name of a village.

according to tradition, by Mar-pa and was enlarged by sToñ-sde-pa Śākya-bzañ-po and rGyal-mts'an-pa Klu-grub-dpal-bzañ-po. It was converted to the Yellow Church and the temple changed accordingly. Abbots: Blo-bzañ-legs-pa, Śes-rab-'byuñ-gnas, Blo-gsal-'byuñ-gnas, sToñ-sde-pa dPal-ldan-bzañ-po, living at the time of the author; about fifty-one monks.

ZAÑS-MK'AR C'OS-SDE¹ was founded by mDo-sde-rin-c'en-po.

K'U-NU KA-GNAM-LHUN² -GRUB-'P'EL originally belonged to the Sa-skya-pa; later it passed to the dGe-lugs-pa; first it was under mT'o-gliñ-pa dPal-rgya-mts'o; then at the time of the author, gSer-mon-sku-skyes was its *bla-ma*.

RTSA-HRAÑ RAÑ-RAG-DGON³ was founded by Rin-c'en-bzañ-po. Abbots: Bla-ma Cos-skyoñ, Gu-ru Ye-śes-bsod-nams, Ts'ul-k'rims-blo-gros, C'os-rje Don-grub, T'a-rañ c'os-dpal; about thirty monks.

BKRA-ŚIS-DGE-'P'EL⁴ was founded by 'Jam-dbyañs-blo-gros. Abbots: C'os-'byuñ-mgon-po, gZuñs-skyabs-c'os-dpal living at the time of the author; about fifty-five monks.

MÑON-DGA'-C'OS-GLIÑ was founded by Lo-legs-pa. Then bSod-nams, Ts'e-riñ-ma-ti, T'ugs-rje-dpag-bsam at the time of the author; about twenty monks.

RI-ŚAG DG'-LDAN C'OS-GLIÑ⁵ was founded by the *bla-ma*, C'os-skyoñ. Then: Ts'e-dbañ-bzañ, rDo-rje-ts'e-riñ-dpal-bzañ, Kun-dga'-dpal-bzañ, at the time of the author; about fifteen monks.

SRIBS DGA'-LDAN-C'OS-'K'OR⁶ was founded by Sañs-rgyas-rgyal-mts'an. Abbots: bKa'-bcu-bsam-gtan; at the time of the author, bSod-nams-lhun-grub; about sixty monks.

MÑON-DGA'-GLIÑ⁷ was founded by sTon-pa Yon-tan-rgya-mts'o. Abbots: Śa-rtse-p'ur-pa, dKa'-bcu-t'ugs-rje, Ko-rom-pa, bsTan-'dsin-rgya-mts'o living at the time of the author; about twenty-five monks.

¹ Zañs-mkhar C'os-sde is dKar-rgyas, *ibid.*, pp. 159-160.

² Ka-gnam in Khunu (Kanawar) is Kanam, the famous little place where Csoma de Kőrös spent many years learning Tibetan: FRANCKE, *op. cit.*, Pt. II, 14 ff.; TUCCI-GHERSI, *op. cit.*, p. 262.

³ rTsa-hrañ Rañ-rig is, perhaps, Sarang to the SE of Shipki: TUCCI-GHERSI, *op. cit.*, p. 182.

⁴ bKra-śis-dge-'p'el unidentified.

⁵ Ri-śag dGa'-ldan-c'os-gliñ (Sum-pa-mk'an-po: Ri-spag) is probably Ri or Rildigang. TUCCI-GHERSI, *op. cit.*, pp. 247-248.

⁶ Unidentified.

⁷ mÑon-dga'-c'os-gliñ is unidentified.

RAG-MTS'AMS C'OS-'K'OR-GLIÑ¹ was founded by C'i-k'ul Yon-rgyam pa. Abbots: rTse-p'ur-pa T'ugs-rje, Tsa-zu-po-ta, bsTan-rgyam-pa living at the time of the author; about seventy monks.

DGA'-LDAN-C'OS-'K'OR² in Gro-śod-k'ul was founded by 'Jam-dbyaṅ Śān-ti-pa. Deserted.

DGA'-LDAN-C'OS-'P'EL³ formerly belonged to the Sa-skyapa; from the year *śiñ-brug* it was renewed, and the *bla-ma* Blo-bzañ-ts'ul-k'rims, was placed at its head; about eighty monks.

SPU-BRAG near Kre-pa⁴ was founded by 'Jam-byaṅ-legs-pa-don-grub. Abbots: Gu-ge Rin-c'en-grags-pa, bŚes-gñen Kun-dga-rgya-mts'o, Me-sa-can bSod-nams-rgya-mts'o, bSod-nams-zer-mo, Nam-mk'a'-dpal-bzañ, Saṅs-rgyas-rgyal-mts'an, Gu-ge 'Jam-dbyaṅ-lhun-grub, E-pa Don-grub-rgya-mts'o, gZuñ-rab-rgya-mts'o, Nāg-dbañ-rgya-mts'o, Kre-po-dpon, Blo-bzañ-dar-rgyas living at the time of the author; about sixty-three monks.

DGA'-LDAN-LHUN-PO in rDsoñ-dga'⁵ k'ul was founded by C'os-rgyal K'ri-rnam-rgyal. Abbots: sGrol-ma-rgyal-mts'an, sKya-skyaba Byams-pa-rgyal-mts'an, Guñ-t'añ rDo-rje-rgyal-mts'an, Rin-c'en-grags-pa, Yañ-t'og Byams-bkra-śis, Rin-c'en-dpal-bzañ, Blo-bzañ-dpal-mgon, Saṅs-rgyas-ts'ul-k'rims, rGyal-mts'an-'od-zer, bSam-grub-rdo-rje, Nam-mk'a'-dpal-bzañ, 'Gab-dpon-po, bSod-nams-bzañ-po, Saṅs-rgyas-rgyal-mts'an, dPal-'byor-rgyal-mts'an, sGrol-ma-rgyal-mts'an, 'Jam-dpal-rgya-mts'o, C'os-'byor-bkra-śis, Nam-mk'a'-bkra-śis, rGyal-ba'i-'byuñ-gnas, dPal-'byor-rgyal-mts'an, Blo-bzañ-'jam-dbyaṅ, Blo-bzañ-c'os-ldan of Guñ-t'añ living at the time of the author; there were about sixty-three monks of the second class.

NUB-RI LHAM-MDUN-PA⁶ was founded by Saṅs-rgyas-rgyal-mts'an of the Sa-skyapa school. The abbots were appointed by the C'os-rgyal-mts'an-pa of Tsam-son-mt'ar. Abbots: mGon-po-rgyal-mts'an, Blo-bzañ-bstan-pa, Nāg-dbañ-ye-śes, T'og Don-grub-rgya-mts'o living at the time of the writer; seventy-four monks of the first class.

¹ Is this Nag-ts'ams of FRANCKE, *op. cit.*, II, p. 159?

² dGa'-ldan-c'os-'k'or in Gro-śod-k'ul is certainly a temple in the Gro-śod district near the Maryum-la on the borderland between Ladakh and Western Tibet.

³ dGa'-ldan-c'os-'p'el is unidentified.

⁴ In Sum-pamk'anpo: Kra-pa. Can this be Poo, sPu, in Kanawar, along the Sulej? On this place cf. FRANCKE, *op. cit.*, II, p. 21; TUCCI-GHERSI, *op. cit.*, p. 258. But near Sarang there is Kapra with a small temple attributed to Rin-c'en-bzañ-po.

⁵ A rDsoñ-k'ul is in Zaṅs-kar: FRANCKE, *op. cit.*, II, 250.

⁶ Nub-ri Lham-mdun-pa is probably a place in Nubra, lDum-ra, to the north of Leh.

K'YAMS-SGO¹ was founded by C'os-dpal. Abbots: Rin-c'en-dpal-bzañ, dPal-'byor-rgyal-mts'an, C'os-rnam-rgyal, Blo-gros-rgyal-mts'an, 'Jam-dbyaṅs-c'os-bzañ, E-pa Don-grub-rgya-mts'o, Gu-ge gSuñ-rabs-rgya-mts'o, Nam-mk'a'-bkra-śis, T'añ-c'en Nag-dbañ-don-ldan living at the time of the author; about forty monks of the second class.

¹ K'yams-sgo is 'K'yam on the Shyok River. It will be noticed that these last identifications are not so certain as the others referred to in the first part of the catalogue. This is due to the fact that Saṅs-rgyas-rgya-mts'o does not indicate the country in which these places are located.

BUDDHIST NOTES

I

A PROPOS AVALOKITEŚVARA

The book by M^{lle} de Mallmann, *Introduction à l'étude d'Avalokiteśvara*, Paris, Musée Guimet, 1948, pp. 348, pl. XXXII, is certainly one of the most deserving contributions on Buddhist art appeared in recent years. Avalokiteśvara, sPyan ras gzigs, Kuan yin, is one of the most worshipped gods of Mahāyāna; he travelled with Buddhism all over Asia.

M^{lle} de Mallmann has traced out the Indian history of this god, his meaning and the development of his iconography. In this way she has been in a condition to distinguish his various types and their evolution from his first appearance in the art of Gandhāra up to the last Sena sculptures. She has subjected to the same investigation the details of his dress and ornaments, thus showing how the elements changed in the course of time. Evidently the results so achieved have shed some light upon the development of the iconography of other deities. The author has succeeded in distinguishing the various aspects of Avalokiteśvara much better than it had been done up to now, and in pointing out the connection between the typology of Avalokiteśvara and that of other gods, even of some gods of Hinduism, such as Brahmā and Śiva. As regards the origin of Avalokiteśvara, M^{lle} de Mallmann emphasizes the probable influence which the Chaldaeo-Iranian Zṛvanite ideas exercised upon the triad Amitābha-Avalokiteśvara-Mahāsthāmaprāpta. I hope that M^{lle} de Mallmann will allow me to say that I have some doubts as regards this point. I think, on the contrary, that if some Iranian elements can be discovered, this influence took place when Avalokiteśvara had already come to existence; in other words, if eventual Iranian ideas came into contact with Buddhist communities in the Western borderland of the Indian culture, they can hardly have given

more than a purely external imprint of their own upon a mythography which already existed. First of all, I am rather doubtful that the connection between Avalokiteśvara and Amitābha is essential from the very beginning; this may be true as regards some texts, such as the Sukhāvātī, but we have no proof that it was generally accepted. So in the passage quoted below of the *Śrīmahādevīvyākaraṇa*, Avalokiteśvara is connected with Śākyamuni preaching in the Sukhāvātī. Moreover, the investigation itself of M^{lle} de Mallmann has shown that the representation of Amitābha on the crest of Avalokiteśvara, as a fixed canon, is not testified by monuments earlier than the 9th century. As I have stated in *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, I am of the opinion that Avalokiteśvara is originally nothing else but the deification of the look of Buddha, *avalokana*, which the Bodhisattva casts from the Tuṣita Heaven upon the suffering world, before descending upon it (*Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, p. 612, n. 86). To the texts there quoted we may add the *Sarvatathāgatādhiṣṭhāna-sattvālokana-buddhakṣetrasandarśanavyūha* (ed. N. Dutt, *Gilgit Manuscripts: Aryāvalokiteśvaro bodhisattvo mahāsattvo daśadīśam avalokya*, p. 51 cf. p. 52, where the sentence is referred to the Buddha: on the contrary, the result of the *dhāraṇīs* or of the *samādhis* expounded by the Buddha is the vision of a Buddha or of a Bodhisattva, *Buddha-darśana*, *bodhisattva-darśana*, *ibid.* p. 67). There is no connection between Avalokiteśvara and the light; the luminous element in Avalokiteśvara is not so essential as this act of looking down, except that all epiphanies of gods are announced by or accompanied with *prabhā*, the casting of light all over the world; photism is a common element in Mahāyāna visions; every god is light itself, he is surrounded by a *prabhāmaṇḍala*, he emits light (see the story of Prabhūtaratna in *Saddharmapundarīka*, ed. Kern p. 6 ff. and p. 243 ff.; cfr. the stereotyped form in *Mahāvastu*, I, p. 41; *Daśabhūmika*, ed. Rahder p. 83, 84; *Gaṇḍavyūha*, p. 215 etc.

This is the reason why I do not think that there is any need of explaining the name of Avalokiteśvara as derived from Vedic *ruc* = to shine. For the same reason the hypothesis that the triad Amitābha-Avalokiteśvara-Mahāsthāmaprāpta is based upon a Zṛvanite idea should be ruled out. Though the question of Zṛvanism is very complicated, it seems anyhow certain that Zṛvan was considered to be fourfold (*tetra-prōsopos*)¹; the three partial manifestations of his fourfold essence being

¹ For other instances of this quaternary classification see G. WIDENGREN, *The Great Vohu Manah and the apostle of God*, p. 40.

light, power and wisdom. In the triad Amitābha-Avalokiteśvara-Mahāsthāmaprāpta there is no trace of any supreme being: instead of four aspects, we have only three of them, light coming in the foreground. Therefore neither the fourfold aspect of Zṛvan of the Zṛvanite schools (Nyberg, *Die Religionen des alten Iran* p. 386), nor its Manichaeism imitations can be traced in our group, the influence of Manichaeism on Amitābha-Amitāyuh and his acolytes being ruled out by the fact that the *Sukhāvativyūha* had already been translated into Chinese before 186, while Mani died in the year 277¹. We shall add that even accepting the view of M^{lle} de Mallmann (Avalokiteśvara from the Vedic *ruc*), there is no support for considering Avalokiteśvara as wisdom, as he should be, if the Indian classification were based upon the Zṛvanite Manichaeism one. Avalokiteśvara remains all through the history of Buddhism the god of compassion (*karuṇā*), not of wisdom (*prajñā*).

Nor has Amitāyuh, "Infinite life", anything in common with the character of Zṛvan as *Schicksal-Gottheit*, which is peculiar to this deity. The two forms *Amitāyuh-Amitābha* are in the beginning interchangeable and only later schools, as represented by Tibetan Buddhism, distinguish iconographically between the two gods, the one, Amitāyuh, being represented with the *kalāśa*, viz. the pot containing the water of immortality and the other, Amitābha, with the *piṇḍapātra*, viz. the begging bowl. Anyhow, even in this case, φῶς and ζωή, which are symbolized by the two gods, are mystic realities: the spiritual light and the eternal life of those who, by the grace of the god or in virtue of their *karma*, are reborn in the realm of truth. This idea is different from that underlying the Zṛvanite conception.

As regards *Mahāsthāmaprāpta*, this is to be taken as another personification of some capacity or quality of which the Bodhisattva should be endowed; *sthāma* is a technical term pointing out the endurance of the Bodhisattva; all Bodhisattvas should possess this *sthāma*, which is one of the qualities peculiar to them: see: *āyur-varṇa-tejo-balasthāma-vantaḥ* in *Sarvatathāgatādhiṣṭhānasattvālokana-buddhakṣetra-sandarśanavyūha* p. 53, 55; cfr. *Śikṣāsamuccaya* p. 23 *alulitasantānacetto, mahāsthāma-balādhāna*; cfr. *Abhisamayālaṅkāraloka* ed. Tucci p. 349. There-

¹ See H. CH. PUECH—*Le Manichéisme*, Paris, Musée Guimet, Bibliothèque de diffusion, Tome LVI, Paris 1949, p. 53. The oldest translation is that by An Shih-kaio now lost; the other is by Chih Lou-chia-ch'an, Nanjiō n. 25, Taishō n. 361.

fore, implicitly, no conclusion can be drawn as regards a possible relation between this Bodhisattva and Veretraghna.

Thus, let me state it again, I think that Avalokiteśvara is the hypostasis of the compassionate look of the Buddha, viz. a new example of the deification of the various moments of Buddha's life, of which we have so many cases in Mahāyāna.

So it appears to me, that here also, as happened in other cases, we are confronted with the outgrowth of Indian ideas upon which, at a second time, some foreign ideas might have grafted themselves, but in such a way as not to alter their fundamental and primary meaning. I shall now pass to minor points (cf. p. 112). P. 48 it is not true, as stated by Bhattacharya, that the oldest recension of the *sādhanas* goes back to the 12th century; as a matter of fact, the *Sādhanamālā*, the *Sādhanasamuccaya*¹ and suchlike collections are nothing else but anthologies of separate *sādhanas* written by various authors, some of whom are older than that date; many of these authors belong to the well-known school of the *siddhas* and can be dated at least approximately, because the chronology of many of these masters is still subject to doubt; other *sādhanas* are taken from some Tantras. We must therefore distinguish between the date of the compilation of these anthologies and that in which the single *sādhanas* were written.

P. 106. As regards the similarities or rather the connection between Avalokiteśvara and Brahmā and the development of Avalokiteśvara into a cosmic god in whose infinite body the worlds are located, one should chiefly refer to the *Bhagavadgītā*, Chapter XII. Cf. also the beginning of the *Avatamsaka*, Taishō, vol. X, p. 111.

So also Avalokiteśvara must have been conceived as a *kumāra*, a youth, because at a certain period of Indian religious speculation, it was established that the gods should be in the perfect age, viz. that of a *kumāra* or *kiśora*, as the Vaiṣṇava will say, i.e. of sixteen years of age, because sixteen is the perfect number just as the *kumārī*, used in the tantric worship, should be of sixteen years or as the *śakti* is *ṣoḍaśa-*

¹ *Sādhanasamuccaya* is the title of a collection of 251 *sādhana* instead of 242 as said in the indices of bsTan-'gyur (CORDIER, *Cat.* p. 66, n. 340 sG. bis). But in the indices by Buston, the title is *Sādhanasāgara*, *sGrub t'abs rgya mts'o*, which is referred to in the inscriptions of Gyantse: *Indo-Tibetica*, vol. IV, part. I, p. 14, n. 1, part II, pp. 150 etc. *Sādhanasamuccaya*, *sGrub t'abs kun las btus pa* is the title of a collection of *sādhanas* published in Derge and taken from various parts. This collection is much larger than that contained in the bsTan-'gyur: my copy is in 12 volumes. On the *Sādhana mālā* cf. VIDUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA in *IHQ*, II, p. 626 ff.

kālā, as the sixteenth *tithi* of the moon. Equally in Iran, at the time of Yima, both father and son had the appearance of youths of 15 years of age (Christensen, " *Le Premier homme et le premier roi* etc. ", vol. II, p. 45). We are moving here amidst some general ideas which, at a certain period, permeated all Indian religious sects. The formula *Om maṇi padme hūṃ*, according to the tantric schools, should also be so esoterically interpreted, and there is no doubt that the theory of Klaproth holds goods as regards the mystic schools of India and of Tibet.

But of course, this is the *sāmpradāyika*, sectarian, interpretation; side by side with it, there are many others, as anyone can see reading the *Ma ṇi bka' 'bum*.

P. 120. It is quite understandable that little by little the *kamaṇḍalu* became a lotus; the symbolism of the two is the same; the vase, in the liturgy of India, from the times of the rituals expounded in the *Brāhmaṇas* up to the *ghāṭasthāpana* of the *pūjā* as it is practised even to-day, is the symbol of the magic universe where the priest operates (see *Tibetan Painted Scrolls* p. 377, n. 33)¹; the lotus is equally the universe though its symbolism is twofold, cosmic and spiritual (see *ibid.*, p. 300 ff.). P. 141. It is the merit of M^{lle} de Mallmann to have established that the image of the Buddha on the crest of Avalokiteśvara was not definitely fixed as that of Amitābha in his usual *mudrā* before the Gupta age. But this does not only mean that the iconography and the *mudrā* of this god was not yet definitely settled, but also that the connection between the Sukhāvati and Amitābha was not so absolute; in fact, we know of some texts in which Buddha is preaching in the Sukhāvati instead of Amitābha; those who wanted to represent Buddha preaching in the Sukhāvati must have, therefore, attributed to him the *dharmacakra-mudrā* rather than the *samādhi-mudrā*. In fact though Amitābha is the usual ruler, so to say, of the Sukhāvati, in some texts only the Buddha is mentioned as sitting there to preach. *Āryaśrī-mahādevī-vyākaraṇa* ed. N. Dutt, *Gilgit Manuscripts*, vol. I, p. 93. P. 189. The expression *sphūṭapañcatathāgata* is something more than merely " de sa personne émanent les cinq *tathāgatas* "; this refers to a peculiar moment of later Vajrayāna when, on the occasion of the initiation, the *sādhaka* evokes within the lotus of his heart the light of the cosmic consciousness

¹ The *kamaṇḍalu* has the shape of a gourd, which in a very large area of Asia is the symbol of the cosmos. See the interesting study by R. STEIN, *Jardins en miniature en Extrême-Orient*, in *BEFEO*, XLII, 1943, p. 53 ff.

(which pervades the universe); from that light the Buddhas of the five points of the space are so attracted as to enter into the heart of the *sādhaka* and transform him; he is therefore *abhiṣikta* and then, just as it was at the beginning of every creation, when the *pañcakula*, viz. the five mystic families, had their origin, those Buddhas again emanate from him. See for instance *Guhyasamāja*, Chapter I.

As regards the Potala, one should refer to the *Po ta la'i lam yig* (contained in the *bsTan-'gyur*, Derge ed., Vol. Tsu; Narthang ed., vol. *Nu*; Cordier, *Cat.*, vol. III, p. 92, LXXII-n. 51) which can be added to the already known accounts of travels to Potala. The author of the Tibetan treatise, according to the accepted tradition, is Spyan ras gzigs dbaṅ p'yug, Avalokiteśvara himself. It was translated into Tibetan by Paṇḍita Abhiyuktadevaśrī of Eastern India and by Lotsāva Dharmayon tan. The translation was undertaken by order of Bla btsun Ži ba'i blo gros in the palace of Byaṅ mk'ar in sKyid. The same information is found in the *Cat.* of the *bsTan-'gyur* by Buston, complete works, vol. La, p. 84. Dharmayon tan was a contemporary of Jayasena¹; as regards Ži ba'i blo gros, this should be a local chief of sKyid, viz. of the country on the Southern bank of the sKyid c'u in Central Tibet. He is otherwise unknown to me.

The general contents of the *Po ta la'i lam yig* are as follows: In the south, in Loṅ pa'i yul² there is the palace dPal 'bras kyī p'uṅ po³, where there is rJe btsun covered by a *stūpa* (containing) a *maṇḍala* of *Dharmadhātu-mahāvāgīśvara*; recitation of the *dhāraṇī vajraśṅgalā*⁴ in order that no impediment by *yakṣas* might arise.

Then Malaya is reached; turn round the Bhaṭṭaraka of Mahārājastūpa⁵ ten thousand times; *om maṇi padme hūm* should be recited sixty thousand times without thinking of one's own house; every attachment

¹ Jayasena in the list of some *sampradāya* comes as the third after Abhayākara: Abhayākara, Śākyarakṣita, Kamalaśrī, Jayasena; one of his works was translated by Rin c'en bzaṅ po (CORDIER, *Cat.*, vol. LXXII, n. 67), of whom he seems to have been a contemporary.

² *Loṅ pa'i yul* "the country of the blind", perhaps Kanāra, wrong etymology from Kāna "one eyed?".

³ *dPal 'bras spuṅs* is Śrī-Dhānyakaṭaka, Dhanakaṭaka, the place where the *Kūlacakra* was revealed: it is Amarāvati on the Kṛṣṇā river, capital of the Andhras. The name was also extended to all the country. See SUBRAHMANYAM, *Buddhist remains in Andhra*, Andhra University Series vol. III, Bb. VENKATA KRISHNARAO, *A History of early dynasties of Andhradeśa*, Madras 1942, p. 439 and passim.

⁴ *Vajra-śṅkhalā* cfr. BSTAN 'GYUR LXX, 102, n. 3; LXXI, 82, 293-94 etc.

⁵ *Mahārājastūpa*, is perhaps for Mahāstūpa, Śrīparvata, Nāgārjunikonda.

should be forsaken; one should be ready to give away one's own body.

In the middle of Malayagiri woods of *udumbara* (*Ficus glomerata*): one should eat their fruits and carry away many of them. *gSum brtsegs*¹ is seen: one should enter its market; for 3000 times the formula *om maṇi padme hūṃ* should be recited; turn to the left of that market; the river Rigs Idan ma² is reached: one should cross it; then plants of *tala*, *pippala*, *sypi bsul*³ mango etc. with fruits. The fruits should not be eaten.

Turn to the left:: river Dri med Idan ma⁴ with rocky banks: *kuśa* plants should be placed on one's own head; recite *om maṇi rakṣa svāhā* and *om maṇi padme hūṃ svāhā* for 30.000 times without speaking, but reading holy texts or singing. Trees of *skyu ru ra*, *āmalaka*, (*Phyllanthus emblica*) etc.; the fruits should be eaten and carried away. After four days, a small lake of *Vidyādhara*s with *utpala* (*Nymphaea cerulaea*) is reached; it has four banks: S. Vidyādhara, W. Deva, N. Yakṣa, E. Vanadevatā: do not go into the lake, do not drink its water. The lake is seen for one and a half days; during this time a formula should be recited. Then proceed keeping the lake to the left for five days; difficulties are met.

Rest in a wood of juniper (*rgya śug*) with many trees of various kinds; fruits should be taken; for four days rest there; fruits should be taken and offered. Then turn to the left. Proceed for seven days; then canes with thorns will obstruct the path for one day and a half: do not be afraid; if you walk sideways the thorns will not hurt you.

Recite *om maṇi* all along. For four days wood, *bilva*-fruits (*Aegle marmelos*) to be eaten.

Seven days rest.

Proceed for four days: then lake bDag po med ma⁵ is reached; turn to the left reciting *om maṇi*. For three days wood of *jambu* (*Eugenia jambolana*). Four days rest; fruits to be eaten and carried away.

Seven days: wood of *rkaṅ gu na* (perhaps for *kaṅguka* a kind of paddy); go out quickly without eating, looking or resting.

¹ *gSum brtsegs* is Trikūṭa. It is sacred to Śiva. Bh. VENKATA KRISHNARAO, *op. cit.* p. 431.

² *Rigs Idan ma* should be the Kulikā-river.

³ *sPyi bsul* perhaps for *sypi žur*, *asana*, *Terminalia tormentosa*.

⁴ Vimalavatī-river.

⁵ *Nairātmya* = soul-less.

Then weasels are seen: some formulae must be recited. Then woods of juniper. Three days rest; eating their fruits. Proceed for three days; monkeys as big as bulls will appear; do not be afraid; some formulae should be uttered; the monkeys will run away.

Three days wood of canes (*sba*) *koṭaka*; six days rest, eating fruits. Then terrific hogs covered with mud will appear: do not be afraid. Proceed for two days; tigers will be seen: as before; wood of pomegranate (*se 'bru*). Rest for nine days, eating fruits and carrying them away.

After three days lions; do not be afraid; formula. Four days wood of sugar cane equal to areca trees (*go yu'i śin*); eat sugar and take it away.

After six days, town of *Kla klo*¹: turn to the left; after two days garden of Vidyādhara with many Nāga trees (*nāgakeśara*, *Mesua roxburghii*), *aśoka*, (*Fonesia Asoka*), *campaka* (*Michelia champaka*) etc. Avoid it quickly. After two days woods of *Kyi ri ka*² and wood of *k'arats'urik'a* (*karakṣurika*, *Mimosa*?). Rest there for seven days, eating and taking fruits away. For six days mud; do not be afraid; formula. Then wood of *dsala palika* (for *jalaparnikā*?); rest for five days eating fruits.

Three days woods of *śāla* (*Vatica robusta*). Then wood of *ketaka* (*Pandanus odoratissimus*) with good smelling flowers. Leave them, turn to the left. After three days a pond full of quicksilver is reached; in it there is a man covered with that quicksilver. If one wants to see that man of quicksilver, one should stop in a wood of *sekalika* (?) on the East bank; taking flowers, make a garland and throw it into the pond. It will fall on the head of that man. Then, the following day, throw another garland; the garland thrown the day before will come out on the bank: the new one will fall upon the head of the man. Then if one wants smaller powers, one should enter the pond taking that garland; after going for 100 fathoms (*gžu gdom*), one will find a pavilion with four pillars; there is a man of 16 years. Ask him what you want and you will get mystic powers.

If one does not want any power, one should turn to the left and proceed forthwith.

¹ *Kla klo* is the usual Tibetan name for *mleccha*, generally all barbarians, but chiefly Mohammedans.

² Corruption for *Kirātatikta*, *Agathotes cherata* or for *Girika*(*karna*) *Clitoria Ternatea*?

Wood of *kintu* (?); eat some fruits for five days, turning to the left; after three days some Vidyādhari of 16 years of age, called *mi giso mo*¹ of divine beauty, attending the goats will be met. The traveller will touch them and make jokes with them. They will be afraid and will prevent him from doing so, but he must feel no desire for them. Then they will be pleased and gathering their goats they will go. Let him follow them. After six days a field of rice (*'bras sa lu*); he should take five ears and go. After three days lake gSer ldan² with lotuses: he should bathe there and drink its water: eat the root of the lotuses and carry some of them away. Wood of begonia (*skya snar* for *skya nar*); turn to left and go. Wood of camphor (*go bur*): eat its fruits. After one day wood of *asvattha* (*ficus religiosa*); turn to the left. One will, then, see many trees of the garden of the Vidyādharas and Lha ma yin; mango, *śāla* etc. are there. Do not take them; river Dri ma med pa³; turn to the left. After three days the pond Dri ma med par ldan pa is reached; bathe there and eat roots; stay three days and go. After three days Vidyādhari 'Dod pai rgyal mo⁴ is met with half her breast covered and eating areca nut. She will then ask him to enter her house built in the middle of a park. In this splendidly ornated house surrounded by railings of copper, silver and brass, she will ask her maid-servants to bring food; they will spread some carpets. Then, having washed her mouth, she will offer him the areca nut with camphor. She will say that either he can stay or, if he is pure and with no attachment, he can take an areca nut and go by the northern gate. If he is really pure, she will inform him that in a pomegranate wood he should eat no fruits, but pass on quickly reciting a formula given him by her.

After four days, a big garden is reached; entering from E., he should look at its various trees of *śāla*, palms, etc. and fruit-trees like *asoka-kapittha* (woodapple); *campaka*, *nāgavṛkṣa*, etc. are there: there are many ponds with red and white lotuses. He should enter there and eat fruits. Wood of the *Lha ma yin*; he must enter, then turn to the left and proceed; big *śāla*, turn to the left. After three days Ts'añs pa'i gnas bdun brtsegs: "place of Brahmā" of seven stories; take the fruits and enter: in the first room he will see rJe btsun señ ge sgra (Bhaṭṭara-hasiṃhanāda); complete reverence (*aṣṭāṅga-praṇāma*); by the gate there is dPal nag po c'en po (Śrī Mahākāla); but do not be afraid. Turn to

¹ Foremost of men.

² Rukmini?; Hiraññavatī is a name of the residence of Kubera.

³ Vimalā.

⁴ 'Dod pa'i rgyal mo "the queen of desires" is 'Dod pa'i lha mo, Kālī.

the right and enter the various rooms adoring all rJe btsun: if he hears the noise of some seraphic voices without seeing anybody, he should not be afraid. On the top of the seven stories rJe btsun Sañs rgyas is seen; complete reverence, triple refuge, confession of sins, vow of reaching illumination. Then he reaches K'yab 'jug gnas, "the place of Viṣṇu". There he will see a painted image (*'bris sku*), a book (*pothi*), a cast statue (*lugs ma*) of rJe btsun. Reverence; then turn to the left; this palace of K'yab 'jug has nine stories. After one day, temple of crystal, etc.; do not enter, but turn to the right; pond like a crystal: do not enter. After that there is a pleasure garden of mango; eat fruits and carry them away. Then *dBañ p'yug c'en po'i gnas*¹; "the palace of Maheśvara" of 16 stories; splendid fruits; eat them there. After two days go.

After three days long pond with trees on its four sides with cuckoos; do not enter but proceed further on; turn to the left. After three days, he will see five temples made of stone shining as if made of jewels; inside there are eight thousand millions (*sa ya*) of *liṅga* of rJe btsun²: in the middle there is the *liṅga* of rJe btsun made of *reg pa*³. If he wants smaller powers, he should touch the *liṅga* reciting a formula. If one is not satisfied with those powers, one should proceed. After two days a wood of honey-trees: eat their fruits. For four days he should stay there; then carry fruits away. Turn to the left. Then wood of *prin ba* (?); turn to the left; he will then see a pond with flowers. The *vidyā-*

¹ So we have a succession of paradises:

- 1) Brahmā-paradise with 7 stories and rJe btsun sañs rgyas on the top.
- 2) Viṣṇu-paradise with 9 stories.
- 3) Maheśvara-paradise with 16 stories.

The triad is evidently influenced by the Hindu theory of the triple aspect of the Absolute according as it creates (Brahmā), it persists in duration (Viṣṇu), it destroys and reabsorbs (Maheśvara); but a supremacy of Maheśvara is also implied, he being above all. So we have 32 stages corresponding to the classes of Buddhist gods: Karo-tapāni, Mālādhara, Sadāmada, Cāturmahārājika, 6 classes of gods of Kāmadhātu, 18 of Rūpadhātu, 4 of Arūpadhātu.

² This shows the contamination with Śaiva ideas. I cannot say who is the rJe btsun here mentioned. rJe btsun corresponds to Bhaṭṭaraka and this is a title given to many gods in Vajrayāna. In this text it is attributed to Mañjuśrī, Avalokiteśvara and even to Buddha. It has therefore an honorific significance like Ārya. If mention of these *liṅga* were made in the palace of Maheśvara one could have taken it quite adequate; but in this text they are located in another place distant three days from the heaven of Siva. Anyhow the introduction of Saiva ideas into later Buddhism is a well-known fact, TPS, p. 218.

³ *reg pas grub pa*, made of the jewel *sparśa*—*sparśamani*.

dharas impart him orders of dPal ldan 'jig rten mgon po (Lokanātha) to go back to his country. But the traveller should recite some formulae. He will look round, but he will not see the face of rJe btsun ma. But this (rJe btsun ma, Tārā) (this seems to be the meaning, but the text is here corrupt; the deity who gives orders to rTa mgrin, Hayagrīva, cannot be but Tārā) will say to rTa mgrin: "lead on the other shore these men of the *aDsam bu gliñ* who have arrived by force of their great faith".

This rTa mgrin is very big of size, black, wet with blood. Then he will request them to take what they want and to go back to 'Dsam gliñ in order to benefit the living beings. "If you want to go further, you should go to the palace of the Blessed one".

They will reply that they want to see the Blessed one. Then Tārā will show them the road; let them turn to the right three times: there they will see a golden ladder. In a park with many trees and fruits, birds of various kinds, there is a pond with lotuses; mounting on that ladder the travellers will climb the rock of Potala where there are perfect men (*siddha*) and *vidyādharas* and *kimpuruṣa* worshipping the holy mountain. They will see a ditch full of scented water and they will feel thirsty, but they should not drink it; so they can cross it. Then they will go to the palace called the Am ra'i rtsa¹. Having crossed the ditch, they will see a pavilion (*bsil k'añ*) there the Blessed one 'Jam dpal (Mañjuśrī) preaches the Law surrounded by gods etc. and sGrol ma (Tārā), K'ro ñer can (Bhṛkuṭi), Kun tu bzañ po (Samantabhadra), P'yag na rdo rje (Vajrapāṇi). Then inside a pavilion on the top of Potalaka they will see Avalokiteśvara. Complete reverence: turn to the right, then sit in front of the god. The god should praise their zeal and endeavour and will send them back to the world in order to benefit people. They will then get *samādhi*, mystic powers and become bodhisattva who do not return back (*avinivartanīya*)². They can stay there as long as they wish.

This *Po ta la'i lam yig* has an old tradition: a travel to Potala is already known to Hsüan-tsang, viz. to an author who wrote some centuries before the *Lam yig* of which we are speaking; this, in fact, is certainly late as its contamination with Śaiva ideas (the *linga*) clearly shows. The summary of the itinerary to Potala according to the Chinese pilgrim is as follows: to the East of the Malaya Mountain there is Potalaka; one reaches its summit through winding and narrow paths over

¹ *Amrairtsa*, *āmrāmūla*; *Āmrāvati* is the name of a town.

² *Bodhisattva-avinivartanīya* viz. who once on the way of the Bodhi cannot abandon it and decay from that state.

cliffs and gorges. On that top there is a lake from which a river flows which runs twenty times round the mountain. In a stone temple Kuan-tzū Bodhisattva dwells: many devotees attempt to reach that place, but very few succeed. The people living at the feet of the mountain who whorship him are sometimes blessed by his view: he then appears to them in the aspect of Pāśupata Tīrthika or of Maheśvara ¹.

The account of Tāranātha (text, ed. Schiefner, p. 110, Transl., p. 142) in which the travel of Śāntivarman to Potala is narrated is later than the *Lam yig*, and therefore it is to be expected that it follows this text which, in fact, he quotes as the guide book taken by Śāntivarman. The comparison of the two stories fully confirms our conjecture, but it is also evident that Tāranātha added some details which, in the course of time, may have grown round the original legend and which he collected from his Indian masters and from occasional pilgrims whom he met in Tibet.

The chief elements of the account of Tāranātha can be summarized as follows: dPal ldan 'Bras spuñs (Dhānyakaṭaka); from there the path goes underneath the soil, but then comes again to the surface. Then a big river is met: Śāntivarman invokes Tārā and then an old woman with a boat appears, who takes the pilgrim across the river. Then a sea comes in the way; he invokes Bhṛkuṭī and a young woman with a boat comes to his rescue. Afterwards a burning wood prevents him from going further; he invokes Hayagrīva and then a storm puts an end to the flames; lightnings show him the way. Later he reaches the margin of a great abyss, but after having invoked the help of Ekajāṭī, a snake appears and makes of himself a bridge over the chasm. He then meets monkeys as big as elephants, but with the help of Amoghapāśa they show him the way. So he reaches the bottom of the Potala mountain; he is unable to climb the steep rocks, but Avalokiteśvara comes to his rescue and a ladder appears, by which he can climb the mountain; a thick mist prevents him again from going. After a long prayer, the mist disappears. After he has reached one third of the mountain, he sees an image of Tārā, then in the middle of the same mountain that of Bhṛkuṭī. On the top he found an empty palace where he spent one month in prayer.

Then a woman appeared who took him inside the palace in front of the five gods. Even Buddhagupta, the master of Tāranātha, thought

¹ This shows that from early times there was a certain connection or contamination between Avalokiteśvara and Śiva. It is very difficult to say which is the place alluded to by Hsüan-tsang, since in southern India, there are many holy places sacred to Śiva, one of them is of course Rāmeśvara.

that he had reached Potala; but at his times the geographical knowledge had widened, and it was difficult to locate Potala somewhere on Indian soil. Therefore, he places Potala far beyond the Indian territory, somewhere in Insulindia¹.

An Indian description of a travel to Potala is contained in the *Gaṇḍavyūha*, where the search of Sudhana after instructions concerning its illumination is narrated. This quest leads him from place to place according to the advice which he receives from the various people he meets. The travel takes place in the south, and starts from Dhanyākara where it is not difficult to recognize another name for Dhānyakaṭaka (p. 51) and then through Rāmāvartanta (p. 58 i.e. Rāmeśvara), Sāgarāmukha (p. 62) Sāgaratīra, Laṅkapatha (p. 67) and other places of more mythic nature, it reaches Potala where Avalokiteśvara sits on a throne placed upon a lotus (p. 209 and 212). Though the adventures of Sudhana are not ended here, it seems to me that we are confronted in this chapter of the *Gaṇḍavyūha* with a real *Potalayātrā* because the apparition of a Bodhisattva Ananyagāmī interrupts the story which then, suddenly leaving the *dakṣiṇapatha*, is brought to Māgadha.

Let us now examine the different aspects of the legend. Just as there was, somewhere upon earth, a place which was said to be the entrance of the hell, so also Potala² was said to be reached from earth. Perhaps there was a locality which was considered at the same time

¹ In my paper *The sea and land travels of Buddhist Sādhu in the 16th century*, IHQ, 1930, p. 694 ff. [see above p. 311], I said that Buddhagupta landed during his long journey in Madagascar. From there he went to Ceylon and thence he embarked and went to the East, first to the small island of Ulinga and then after one month's navigation to Amuga; from here after four months of navigation to the south he went to Dsamigiri, an island where he found images of the Blessed one and temples and a cave of Nāgārjuna; then he embarked again and went to the East; after one month he landed at a small island which he calls Potala.

Though he thinks he found there the Potala mountain, he cannot see there any trace of Buddhism: there are no towns but villages; people are neither Buddhist, nor Mohammedans; for protecting their habitation they use *yantra*; men have long ears covering their bodies; this description tallies with that of a place inhabited by primitives. Considering the lack of precision of this account, it is difficult to draw from it any conclusion as regards the place where Buddhagupta landed and which he took for Potala. Dsamigiri where he finds so many traces of Buddhism and where he sees the mountains spreading light, viz. volcanoes, is Sumatra; most probably this name is an indianization of Jambi the capital of Malayu where in fact many Buddhist ruins are still to be found. Cf. R. C. MAJUMDAR, *Suvarṇadvīpa*, II, p. 326: the place which he calls Potala can in that case be an island farther to the East = Borneo?

² On Potala see J. PRZYLUŚKI, *La ville du Cakravartin*, in *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, V (1922), p. 169.

the door to the beyond, the good ones going from there to heaven, the sinners to hell. So already in the *Śatapatha-Brahmana*, 1.9.3.2 (Eggeling transl. vol. I, p. 267). “The same path leads either to the gods or to the fathers. On both sides two flames are ever burning. They scorch him who deserves to be scorched and allow him to pass who deserves to pass”. In the same way in the story of Śāntivarman: after Dhānyakaṭaka the road runs underneath the soil.

The privilege of ascending to heaven with their body was reserved to these who were spiritually fit and pure: in a condition therefore to overcome the difficulties on the road and the dangers of the travel. This travel in fact is not an easy one, *durārohana*; as Hsüan-tsang says, it was bestrewn with perils; many did not come back. That is why a *Lam yig*, a letter or a passport, was necessary, the advices of which should not be forgotten; one is reminded of the instructions contained in the *Bar do t'os grol* which is read, at the moment of death or even after, near the body of the deceased, so that his conscious principle may recognize the visions which will appear in the intermediate state between death and rebirth and so avoid reincarnation.

It therefore appears that this travel to Potala is strictly related to the theme of the travels to heaven, of which there are many examples in the Indian literature; I refer for instance to the travels to the world of Brahmā contained in the *Kauṣītakī-Up.*, the travels to Śvetadvīpa of the *Mahābhārata*, the travels to Uttarakuru of the *Rāmāyana*, etc.

In the *Kauṣītakī-Up.*, I, 2–5 in the *devayāna* five *lokas* must be crossed: Agniloka—Vāyuloka—Varuṇaloka—Indra—Prajāpatiloka and Brahmāloka. The road to the Brahmāloka passes through the lake Āra, the Vijaṛā river, the sacrifice-destroying moments, the *Ilya* tree, the Sālaṛja town, the Aparāṛjita Palace, where Śakra and Prajāpati are the door-keepers, the Brahmā-hall called Vibhu, the Vicakṣana throne, the Amitaujas couch, etc.

Apsaras will meet the traveller with flowers, perfumes, garlands, garments and aromatics.

He crosses the lake Āra by his mind; if one knows only the present, he is drowned. When he reaches the sacrifice-destroying moments they fly away from him. At the Vijaṛā river good and bad deeds are shaken off.

At the *Ilya* tree, the odour of Brahmā reaches him.

On the Sālaṛja town the flavour of Brahmā reaches him.

In the Aparāṛjita Palace the splendour of Brahmā reaches him.

The two door-keepers fly away. At the hall Vibhu the glory of Brahmā reaches him. When he comes to the throne Vicakṣana, he sees all. The couch is Prāṇa, breath.

There sits Brahmā. When he asks "Who are you?" he replies "What thou art, that am I!".

Mbh. III 143 ff.

Bhīma conquers the Northern regions. The Pāṇḍavas start for Gandhamādana; hurricane and storm; some Rākṣasas carry them in the sky. Wind of North East carries Saugandhika lotuses; Draupadī asks Bhīma to get them for her. Bhīma in the country of Gandhamādana travels through woods and mountains. He meets Hanumat who tries to prevent him from going further. Hanumat promises a gift and Bhīma proceeds and reaches the Saugandhikavana; in the lake of Kubera he collects the lotuses, killing the Rākṣasas who had tried to prevent him from doing so. Yudhiṣṭhira comes through the sky to meet him. Kubera allows them to stay there: Yudhiṣṭhira wants to go further, but they are advised by a divine voice to go back to the hermitage of Nārāyaṇa.

Mbh. XII 335 ff.

The story of the visit of Nārada to Śvetadvīpa is here contained; the travel itself is not described, but only mention is made of the worshippers of Nārāyaṇa in Śvetadvīpa.

They are *anindriya*: have no sense organs, do not eat, have the splendour of the moon, are white, possessed of all marks; always in adoration: but their heads are like sunshades, their voices like that of a mass of thunder-clouds, they have four testicles and their feet are like lotus-leaves; they have sixty teeth and eight large teeth, and with the tongue they lick up the whole face similar to a sun.

Mbh. XII 336

Ekata, Dvita, Treta practised ascetism in order to get a view of Nārāyaṇa. They were led to Śvetadvīpa to the North of the milky sea, where some white and shining men were worshipping the god. There they were blinded by a great light. They practise penance and at last they recover the eyesight. Then they get the boon that in Tretayuga they will be the companions of the gods and then they are sent back.

In *R. Kiṣkindhyāk.*, chapt. 43 (or 44, Gorresio ed.), the journey to the Uttarakurus can be so summarized.

Himalayas: woods. Mount Kāla. Mount Sudarśaṇa = desert up to the Kailāsa. There is the palace of Kubera with ponds and lotuses. Mount Krauñca with woods, inhabited by Cāraṇas and Siddhas. On its top there is the lake Mānasa—Maināka mountain where there are horse-headed women.

Then the Vaikhānasa lake is reached: lotuses are in it. Then the place where the elephant of Kubera sports himself; no moon nor sun

the door to the beyond, the good ones going from there to heaven, the sinners to hell. So already in the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa*, 1.9.3.2 (Eggeling transl. vol. I, p. 267). "The same path leads either to the gods or to the fathers. On both sides two flames are ever burning. They scorch him who deserves to be scorched and allow him to pass who deserves to pass". In the same way in the story of Śāntivarman: after Dhānyakaṭaka the road runs underneath the soil.

The privilege of ascending to heaven with their body was reserved to these who were spiritually fit and pure: in a condition therefore to overcome the difficulties on the road and the dangers of the travel. This travel in fact is not an easy one, *durārohana*; as Hsüan-tsang says, it was bestrewn with perils; many did not come back. That is why a *Lam yig*, a letter or a passport, was necessary, the advices of which should not be forgotten; one is reminded of the instructions contained in the *Bar do t'os grol* which is read, at the moment of death or even after, near the body of the deceased, so that his conscious principle may recognize the visions which will appear in the intermediate state between death and rebirth and so avoid reincarnation.

It therefore appears that this travel to Potala is strictly related to the theme of the travels to heaven, of which there are many examples in the Indian literature; I refer for instance to the travels to the world of Brahmā contained in the *Kauṣītakī-Up.*, the travels to Śvetadvīpa of the *Mahābhārata*, the travels to Uttarakuru of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, etc.

In the *Kauṣītakī-Up.*, I, 2-5 in the *devayāna* five *lokas* must be crossed: Agniloka—Vāyuloka—Varuṇaloka—Indra—Prajāpatiloka and Brahmāloka. The road to the Brahmāloka passes through the lake Āra, the Vijaṛā river, the sacrifice-destroying moments, the *Ilya* tree, the Sālaṛya town, the Aparāṛjita Palace, where Śakra and Prajāpati are the door-keepers, the Brahmā-hall called Vibhu, the Vicakṣana throne, the Amitaujas couch, etc.

Apsaras will meet the traveller with flowers, perfumes, garlands, garments and aromatics.

He crosses the lake Āra by his mind; if one knows only the present, he is drowned. When he reaches the sacrifice-destroying moments they fly away from him. At the Vijaṛā river good and bad deeds are shaken off.

At the *Ilya* tree, the odour of Brahmā reaches him.

On the Sālaṛya town the flavour of Brahmā reaches him.

In the Aparāṛjita Palace the splendour of Brahmā reaches him.

The two door-keepers fly away. At the hall Vibhu the glory of Brahmā reaches him. When he comes to the throne Vicakṣana, he sees all. The couch is Prāṇa, breath.

There sits Brahmā. When he asks "Who are you?" he replies "What thou art, that am I!".

Mbh. III 143 ff.

Bhīma conquers the Northern regions. The Pāṇḍavas start for Gandhamādana; hurricane and storm; some Rākṣasas carry them in the sky. Wind of North East carries Saugandhika lotuses; Draupadī asks Bhīma to get them for her. Bhīma in the country of Gandhamādana travels through woods and mountains. He meets Hanumat who tries to prevent him from going further. Hanumat promises a gift and Bhīma proceeds and reaches the Saugandhikavana; in the lake of Kubera he collects the lotuses, killing the Rākṣasas who had tried to prevent him from doing so. Yudhiṣṭhira comes through the sky to meet him. Kubera allows them to stay there: Yudhiṣṭhira wants to go further, but they are advised by a divine voice to go back to the hermitage of Nārāyaṇa.

Mbh. XII 335 ff.

The story of the visit of Nārada to Śvetadvīpa is here contained; the travel itself is not described, but only mention is made of the worshippers of Nārāyaṇa in Śvetadvīpa.

They are *anindriya*: have no sense organs, do not eat, have the splendour of the moon, are white, possessed of all marks; always in adoration: but their heads are like sunshades, their voices like that of a mass of thunder-clouds, they have four testicles and their feet are like lotus-leaves; they have sixty teeth and eight large teeth, and with the tongue they lick up the whole face similar to a sun.

Mbh. XII 336

Ekata, Dvita, Treta practised ascetism in order to get a view of Nārāyaṇa. They were led to Śvetadvīpa to the North of the milky sea, where some white and shining men were worshipping the god. There they were blinded by a great light. They practise penance and at last they recover the eyesight. Then they get the boon that in Tretayuga they will be the companions of the gods and then they are sent back.

In *R. Kiṣkindhyāk.*, chapt. 43 (or 44, Gorresio ed.), the journey to the Uttarakurus can be so summarized.

Himalayas: woods. Mount Kāla. Mount Sudarśaṇa = desert up to the Kailāsa. There is the palace of Kubera with ponds and lotuses. Mount Krauñca with woods, inhabited by Cāraṇas and Siddhas. On its top there is the lake Mānasa—Maināka mountain where there are horse-headed women.

Then the Vaikhānasa lake is reached: lotuses are in it. Then the place where the elephant of Kubera sports himself; no moon nor sun

in the sky; light emanated by the ascetics. Triśṅga mount: on the bottom a lake with golden lotuses and river Kuṭilā.

Then a place burning like fire is reached: from there one proceeds to Sarayū river and to Gandhamādana: on its top Jambu tree.

Mandara mountain: on its top there is the lake Ghṛtamaṇḍoda; the Gangā is flowing from there. Rivers Śatadru, Kauśikī and Vaitaraṇī are found in that country.

Then the Northern sea is reached: on its shore there is the Bahuketu mountain with a lake on its top. Then wood Śaravaṇa; then one reaches another lake where Hayaśiras¹ is born², Śailodā river turning men into stone; one should cross it by means of Kīcaka canes³. Another river comes across the traveller who should bathe there and then cross it. Then the Uttarakuru is reached; there is neither hot nor cold; diseases, old age, pain are unknown. There are woods with fruits of every kind, mountain of gold and gems; on the soil there is no dust; the rivers are full of golden lotuses. There are lakes between golden hills and golden trees; birds of all sorts ponds with waters of sapphire and lapis-lazuli.

Mandākinī river and Caitraratha wood: trees with honey. The trees yield garments, ornaments, beds and food. Beautiful maidens, Gandharvas and Kinnaras; the inhabitants are neither hungry nor tired. They are addicted to good works. In caves beautiful maidens who every day are born and die.

After that there is the Somagiri mountain, the abode of Brahmā Svayambhū.

So in these accounts we can distinguish two parts; one concerning the travel itself and another dealing with the description of the blessed country or at least of that part which is accessible to human eyes.

As regards the first part, we find that all these accounts agree as regards certain particulars:

A — Woods to be entered or avoided.

B — Rivers to be crossed.

¹ Cf. Hayamukha in the description of the Eastern quarter in R. IV, 40. v. 48 (G. IV, 40 v. 49). Cf. also the fishes with horses' heads referred to in *Saddharmasmṛtyupasthāna* in S. LEVI, *Pour l'histoire du Rāmāyāna*, in *J.As.* 1918, p. 24; cf. KIRFEL *Kosmographie*, p. 246.

² This passage is missing in the Bombay edition.

³ On Sailodā and Kīcaka see S. LEVI, *Ptolomée, Niddesa et la Bḥatkathā*, in *Études Asiatiques*, II, pp. 40 ff. *Pour l'histoire du Rāmāyāna*, in *J.As.* 1918, p. 133 ff. J. PRZYLUKI, *Études indiennes et chinoises*, in *MCB*, IV (1936), p. 322.

- C — Mountains.
- D — Lakes where to bathe.
- E — Voices of invisible beings giving advice or order to go back.
- F — Abysses or rivers crossed by means of bridges made by divine beings or special devices suggested to the travellers.
- G — Ladder to climb the inaccessible rocks.
- H — Door-keepers preventing entrance.
- I — Even if one enters, one cannot see anything or is blinded by light; human eyes cannot see the glories of heaven.
- J — The man who has the right knowledge can overcome the obstacles.
- K — If one is satisfied with the possession of miraculous powers (*siddhi*), one cannot reach the supreme heaven nor get the vision of god (this theme is fully developed by the *Po ta la'i lam yig*); on many occasions the offering of *siddhi* is a pretext for deterring the traveller from going further.
- L — Parks with *vidyādhara* or maidens where the purity of the traveller is tested; if he is pure, he can proceed.
- M — Paradise itself is the last of a succession of lower heavens: Kuberā's place is before the inaccessible abode of the god in Mbh; cfr. also *Lam yig*.
- N — Somebody leads the traveller, giving him the necessary instructions, afterwards a careful test of his intentions.

As we saw, though in some cases it is possible to particularly pure men to reach paradise, still earth and heaven are two different planes. But this does not exclude the existence of a certain communication, inaccessible to average men, between the two, as was common lore in almost all mythologies; the notion of a bridge or a rope, or of a ladder between heaven and earth is widespread. These elements all remain in the accounts of travels to heaven.

In accordance with these ideas, the last portion of the path leading to the Potala is represented by climbing the steep rocks, upon which the palace of the god is built.

The notion of the ladder is an old one in India. In the *Taittirīya Samhitā*, V. I, 6, 4, 2, the sacrificer is making to himself a ladder or a bridge for reaching the celestial world; *ibid.*, 1, 7, 9, he effectively mounts on the *yūpa* = heaven (*pūrvamantraiḥ svargatvena nirūpitasya—ārohanīyasya yūpasya*, ASS. ed. p. 1052). *Śatapatha-Br.*, V, 2, 1, 17 (Eggeling's tr., SBE, vol. III, p. 32) "He then leans a ladder (against the post). He may ascend either from the South northwards, or from the North southwards: but let him rather ascend from the

South northwards (*udak*), for thus it goes upwards (*udak*)¹” (Cf. V, p. 254). There is a ladder by which the devotee reaches paradise, but there is also the ladder by which the god comes to meet him, at the time of his death. There is no greater blessing for the believer than to see his protecting deity at the hour of his death; and the god, to reward him for his faith, come down to show himself: *maraṇakāle cāsya buddha-darśanam bodhisattvadarśanam bhaviṣyati*: “At the time of his death, he will see the Buddha, he will see the Bodhisattva” (*Sarvatathāgatādhiṣṭhāna—sattvālokana—buddhakṣetra—sandarśana vyūha*—p. 54; *maraṇakāle ca Buddham paśyati, aham darśanam daśyāmi* “At the time of his death he will see the Buddha and I will show myself to him” (*ibid.* p. 59).

This is the case with Amitābha which is often represented in the Far Eastern art (and sometimes in the Tibetan art) as coming down from heaven to meet the devotee on his death-bed². This is also the ladder by which, in the vision of Vimalakīrti, gods communicate with earth³; it is ultimately the ladder by which the Buddha descended from the Trayastrimśa-heaven to Saṃkāśya (*Dhammapāda-Atthakathā*, III, 225; Beal, *Records*, p. 202).

But this ascension is parallel with a purification, the spiritual palingenesis being projected here on a special plane; it is a soaring up from earth to heaven, represented by the climbing of the mountain, but it is also a crossing of a river, or the bath in the lake. The two motives are often blended together. The river is a demarcation between the two worlds; it is the Vaitaraṇī; the Iranian tradition imagined upon in the Cinvat bridge⁴ which discriminates the good ones and the evil doers; it becomes in the middle as thin as a razor edge, so that the sinners fall into the waters (for the image, not for the fact, cf. *Kātha-up.* III, 14: *kṣurasya dhārā niṣitā duratyayā durgam pathas tad kavayo vadanti*⁵. In this way the man going to the Brahmā world must cross the Vijarā river, “the ageless river”; one then shakes off old age, viz. gets immortality.

¹ A. K. COOMARASWAMY, *Svayamatyṃna – Janua Coeli*, in *Zalmoxis*, II, I, (1939), p. 7 sgg.

² On the descent of Amitābha cf. N. TSUDA, *A study of iconographic representation of Buddha Amitābha and his paradise*; also T.P.S., p. 364 ff.

³ Cf. T.P.S., p. 347–48.

⁴ Instead of the bridge on some Tibetan tankas there is a scarf or a serpent upon which an abyss is crossed. See T.P.S., p. 553.

⁵ SCHERMAN, *Materialien zur Geschichte der Indischen Visions-literatur*, p. 118, takes it as a real and material difficulty met on the way to the other world, but against this view see BELLONI-FILIPPI, *La Kāthaka—Up.*, Pisa 1915, p. 92, n. 1.

The bath in the water of a river as a consecration or initiation is known from the times of the Brāhmaṇas: in the *abhiṣecanīya* ceremony described in the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa*, the *adhvaryu* before taking the seventeen kinds of waters to be put into the *udumbara*-vessel for the sprinkling, the king steps down into the water. *Ś.B.* V. 34, 4

This crossing of a river or the bath in it or in a lake is a counterpart ideally transplanted in the story of the travel to heaven of the *dikṣā* or *abhiṣeka*, the consecration which makes the initiate spiritually worthy of the revelation. Only when the *abhiṣeka* is over, the spiritual guide, viz. the *guru*, is allowed, according to the Buddhist tantras, to take off the bandage by which the eyes of the disciples have been covered; only then the *maṇḍala* can be shown to him. In the same way, entering the paradise is equivalent, in the symbology of the story, to the revelation of the *maṇḍala*, as it is understood by later schools. This, in fact, is nothing but the pictorial scheme of a certain heaven or plane of supersensuous existence; in the middle of the *maṇḍala* there is the place with four doors on the four quarters where the images of the gods are reproduced just as in the central part of the paradise, there are the celestial pavilions of the gods. The chief deity seats there in its middle just as, in *Lam yig*, Avalokiteśvara is in the middle and on the summit of the Potala. There is therefore a perfect agreement between the voyage to this paradise and the initiation leading the *sādhaka* into the very centre of the *maṇḍala* where he will stand, at the end of the ceremony, ideally identified with the god himself.

As to this paradise itself, it is imagined according to the usual scheme of the paradises which we know in Buddhism: Sukhāvati, Abhirati, Tuṣita, Trayastriṃśa etc. The god is surrounded by other deities sitting in his pavilion on the Potala, imagined as a steep hill in the middle of a park with flowers, birds, ponds of every kind. The description of the place is very schematic, certainly because the devotee was supposed to be well acquainted with the traditional way in which Paradises are represented in Buddhism. But even these, so to say, classical paradises, round which a great literature developed in Mahāyāna because they attract the hope of salvation of the devotees, are not an invention of the devotional schools of later Buddhism. The soteriological ideas of which they are the outcome, certainly are to a great extent a revolution in Buddhism, in so far as they represent the introduction of *bhakti* at the expense of karma. But the general notion and description was anticipated by the paradises ruled over by various classes of gods, as documented by dogmatics from the very early history. We are really confronted with a stereotype which is not peculiar to the Buddhists, but rather a common lore of both Buddhists and Hindus. Most probably

this stereotype is fundamentally based upon the description of the Uttarakuru, the northern land considered as the abode of Blest¹ from very early times; already the *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa* VIII, 23 calls this land the land of God, which no man can conquer.

There is the garden of Kubera (D.N, III, 202—Transl. III, p. 194) which is described in the same terms as in the Mbh. We already referred to its description as contained in the Rāmāyaṇa; in Mbh VI 7, the Uttarakuru is to the South of Nīla Mountain, North of Meru. It is inhabited by Siddha; there are trees yielding honey and bearing fruits of all sorts and flowers; some yield a milk-like ambrosia, others clothes² and others ornaments. The soil is made of precious substances (*maṇimayī*) or of golden sands and of lapis-lazuli etc. There are ponds with pure water. People there are of pure birth; they are dropped there from heaven. No disease is there; they live ten thousand and ten hundred years; when they die, the Bheruṇḍa birds take the bodies away in order that the soil be not polluted.

As to the description of the Buddhist texts, we may refer to *Li shih a p'i t'an lun*, Taishō 1644, p. 180: Uttarakuru, soil of gold, day and night always shining; four qualities:

- a) Earth is even;
- b) One lives there in a condition of quiet; there are no dangers of wild animals, insects, robbers;
- c) It is pure; no corpses of dead animals; when there is any dirt, the earth opens, swallows it, then closes again;
- d) There are no thorny trees.

The water there is possessed of eight good qualities; golden sand in the rivers, no dirty things in them. We may add that the analogy of Uttarakuru with the paradises referred to above is documented by the fact that the Uttarakuru in the group of the four continents is standing by itself, its similarities being with the heavens of Kāmadhātu rather

¹ On the Uttarakuru see: ERE, Blest, abode of the (Hindu). LASSEN, in *ZDMG*, II. p. 62 ff. Id., *Indische Alterthumskunde*, 1861, I, p. 612 ff., 1018 ff. MUIR, *Sanskrit Texts* vol. II, p. 332. ZIMMER, *Vedic India*, I, p. 84. *Cambridge History of India*, I, p. 118–119, 121. THOMAS, *Sakasthāna*, in *JRAS* 1906, p. 202. MALALASEKERA, *Dictionary of Pāli Proper names*, s.v. THOMAS, *Jha Commemoration Volume*, 1937, p. 421 ff. CLARK, *Śakadvīpa and Śvetadvīpa* in *JAOS*, vol. 39, 1919, p. 209 ff. RÖNNÖV, *Some remarks on Śvetadvīpa*, in *BSOS*, V, 1928–30, p. 253 ff. A. FOUCHER, *Sur l'interprétation de quatre bas-reliefs de Barhut*, RAA, XIII (1939), p. 1 ff. *Mahāprajñāpāramitāsāstra, Traité de la grande vertu de Sagesse*, transl. E. Lamotte, p. 871.

² *Kalpadūsyavṛkṣa*. Div., p. 215.

than with the other three continents. Good rain and bad rain in Jambudvīpa, Pūrvavideha and Aparagodanīya, not in Uttarakuru as well as among the Cāturmahārājikas. So also as regards good harvest and famine, dangers and happiness: these are not in the Uttarakuru, but among the Cāturmahārājika, the Trayastriṃśa up to the Brahmakāyikas where they are again not to be found. (Tib. *Prajñāpti*, bsTan-'gyur *mñon*, i, p. 7 ff.).

No commerce of goods between the Uttarakuru and the gods. The Uttarakurus are white as the Brahmakāyikas; dresses and ornaments surrendered by the kalpataru in the Uttarakuru and in the paradises up to Paranirmita; so also as regards cold and heat in Uttarakuru up to Paranirmitavaśavartin.

Last of all, just as the Buddha, according to the dogmatics, cannot be born among the gods of Kāmadhātu, so also he cannot appear among the Uttarakurus (*Shih shê lun*, T. 1538, p. 510 a.). Moreover rice grows there naturally without any sowing, *akṛṣṭopta* Div. p. 216, as in the golden age. As a matter of fact, the Uttarakuru is a projection in the space of that golden age at the beginning of time when mankind enjoyed a durable happiness, before the gradual corruption: its classical description in Buddhist Literature being *Mhv.* I, p. 338 ff. (for the theme see M. Eliade, *Le Mythe de l'Eternel Retour*).

If we now compare the essential elements of the description of the Buddhist paradises, for instance of the Sukhāvātī, with those which appear in the description of the Uttarakuru as contained in the Epics, we cannot fail to note often a verbal correspondence as can be seen from the following table:

The elements, of which this description above referred to is made, are of various origin. There is for instance the motif of the celestial tree Kalpadruma and Pārijātaka (story in *Harivaṃśa* VI, 7168), which bestows all sorts of food and dresses etc., immediately fulfilling all wishes of the celestial inhabitants. The most detailed description is to my knowledge contained in the *Ta chih tu lun*, taken from some unknown source (translated by E. Lamotte V. III, p. 822; reference to *pārijātaka* *ibid.*, p. 823, n. 2).

Then we meet the pleasure gardens, the soil made of precious substances, the absence of all sorts of impurity, the ponds with marvellous flowers and so on.

All these elements reappear, but organized in a harmonic whole, in the description of the celestial town of the Trayastriṃśa, viz. Sudarśana and the Sudharmā Hall where Indra sits upon his jewelled throne. Of course even this description of Sudarśana has been preserved in

Mbh. VI, 7	R. (Ed. Gor.)	Sv.
p. 8 <i>striyaś* cāṣarasopamāḥ</i>	<p>p. 89 <i>nīlavaiḍūryatoyāś ca vāpyas</i></p> <p>p. 92 <i>suevarnagīryas tatra manīratnaśi- loccayāḥ</i></p> <p>p. 99 (the trees) <i>śayanāni prasūyante citrāstaranāvanti</i></p> <p>p. 100 <i>pānāni ca mahārḥāni bhakṣyāni vivīdhāni ca.</i></p> <p>p. 101 <i>Striyaś ca guṇasampannā rūpa- yauvanadarpitāḥ</i></p> <p>p. 103 <i>sarvābhāranabhūṣitāḥ</i></p>	<p>p. 36 <i>sarvato ratnaparvataḥ</i> (cfr. the seven walls made of precious materials of Suddharsana etc. <i>Div.</i>, p. 220)</p> <p>p. 42 <i>citropadhāna vinyastaparyāṅkam itādrīṣaṃ eva vimānam teṣāṃ purataḥ prā- durbhavati</i></p>

Mbh. VI, 7	R. IV. 44	Sv.
<p>P. 3 <i>vrkṣā madhuphalā nityapūṣpapha- lopaḡāḥ puṣpāṇi ca sugandhīni rasavāni phalāni ca</i></p> <p>P. 4 <i>Sarvakāmaphalās ... vṛkṣās</i></p> <p>P. 5 (from these trees) <i>kṣīram śaḍrasam cāmītopamaṃ</i></p> <p><i>vastīāni prasūyante phaleṣu ābharaṇāni ca</i></p>	<p>P. 93-94 <i>nityapūṣpaphalās ... nagāḥ patravāhākulāḥ divyagandhāḥ sukhasparśāḥ sarvakāmān phalanti</i></p> <p>P. 84 <i>Sarvakāmaphalair vṛkṣaiḥ puṣpitair upasobhitā (bhūmi)</i></p> <p>P. 97 <i>nānāvāṇāni vāsāmsi phalanti na- gottamāḥ</i></p> <p>P. 98 <i>hūṣanāni vicitrāni jātarūpamayāni ca</i></p>	<p>P. 35 <i>Teṣāṃ vṛkṣānām ... puṣpapha- lāni ... sugandhīni</i></p> <p>P. 38 <i>Tirāṇi nānāgandharatnāvṛkṣaiḥ san- tatāni</i></p> <p>P. 41 <i>cīvarāṇy ākāmṣanti nānāvāṇāni tādṛśair eva cīvararatnaiḥ sarvaṃ tadbud- dhakṣetram pariṣphuṭam bhavati (id. as regards ābharaṇāni)</i></p> <p>P. 42 <i>ābharaṇāvṛkṣāvasaktaiḥ taiḥ cābha- raṇair alamkṛtam ātmānam samjānanti (for the same description cf. Div., p. 221)</i></p> <p>P. 36 <i>Samantūc ca tad buddhakṣetram sa- mam ramanīyam pāṇitalajātam nānāvāḍha- ratnamāṇicitābhūmibhāgam, cfr. Div., p. 220. I. 24</i></p>
<p>P. 7 <i>mānavāḥ sarve supṛyadarśanāḥ</i></p>	<p>P. 104 <i>puruṣās cottamaṇḍāryā rūpavaṇ- to ...</i></p>	

Mbh. VI, 7	R.	Sv.
<p>p. 6 <i>puṣkarīnyāḥ śubhās tatra sukha- sparsā manoramāḥ</i></p>	<p><i>nistandrikṣudbhayatrāsā madhurapriyavādi- naḥ</i></p> <p>p. 105 <i>sukṛtakarmāṇaḥ</i></p> <p>p. 87 <i>taṭṭakāñcanapaḍmās ca hemadrumāc- channā ... nalinīyas</i></p> <p>p. 90 <i>gandhāḍḍhyā nalinīyaḥ phullapaṇ- kajāḥ</i>—cf. <i>Div.</i>, p. 221, l. 6 ff.</p> <p>p. 84 <i>na śoko na bhayaṃ vāpi na var- saṃ nāpi bhāskarāḥ</i></p> <p>p. 83 <i>na tatra śīlam uṣṇaṃ vā na jarā nāmayas tathā</i></p> <p>p. 86 <i>kāñcanapaḍmās ca nadyaḥ kāñca- navālūkāḥ</i></p> <p>p. 88 <i>raṃyāni ... vanāni ... hemakīñ- jalakavarnāni</i></p>	<p>p. 41 <i>yathārūpam eva āhāramākāṅkṣanti tathārūpam āhītam eva samjñānanti prīṇita- kāyās ca bhavanti prīṇitamānāḥ</i></p> <p>p. 40 <i>akuśalabdo nāsti ... nīvaranaś- abdo nāsti ... apyadurgatīvinīpāśabdo nāsti ... duḥkṣāśabdo nāsti</i></p> <p>p. 37-38 <i>nadyaḥ sukṣavāhīnyo ... nā- nārātnalūḍītapuṣpasanīghātavāhīnyo</i></p> <p>p. 39 <i>vikarḍamāḥ suvarṇavālūkāsambīr- nāḥ (mahānadyaḥ)</i></p>

many redactions, from the sober to the enlarged ones. Even, in this case, a stereotyped form was very early formed, upon which all schools agreed and which contained, harmonically combined, all the elements which the traditional lore considered as fundamental to the notion of a paradise and which the Uttarakuru had anticipated.

For Sudarśana we may refer to Mhv. I, p. 33 Div., p. 220. In it there is the Sudharmā-Hall. DN. II, 268, MN., II, p. 79; SN., II, p. 221.

In the Mbh. VI, 7, 273 Sudarśana is the name of a continent and of the Jambu tree on mount Meru, but no mention is made of it as a town; in R. II, 52, 96, and IV, 40, 47 Sudarśana is the name of a pond and of one mountain R. IV, 44, 23. In Mbh. Sudharmā is the Hall of Yādavas given by the gods to Kṛṣṇa (I, 220).

Buddhist canonical literature developed this scheme in various ways. A description of the paradise of the Cāturmahārājikas and Trayastrimśa with its town and hall, with many precious gates and gardens, ponds and woods, with fruits of all sorts, garment-bestowing trees and the *pārijāta-kovidāra* is found in the various treatises dealing with cosmography from the *Shih chi ching*, in the Chinese translation of Dīrghāgama (T. n° I, chapters 18–22, chiefly pp. 130–131), and the *Ta lou t'an ching*, T. n° 23, chapters 8 ff., pp. 293 ff.; to the *Ch'i shih ching* T. n° 24, chapter 7 and ff., p. 339, 341. *Ch'i shih yin pên ching* T. n° 25, chapter 6 ff., pp. 396 ff.

The description contained in these texts is the most developed and it shows, for the first time, the topography of the Paradise. Let us briefly consider the description of the Trayastrimśa, which is, so to say, the standard of all paradises. We shall base our summary upon the 20th chapter of the Dīrghāgama, p. 130 ff. having recourse, when necessary, to its parallel redactions.

The town of the gods Trayastrimśa is on the top of the Sumeru, eight thousand *yojanas* long and wide. Its walls are sevenfold; it has seven rows of ramparts (*prakara*); seven railings (*vedikājāla*); seven rows of trees. Each door is guarded by five hundred divine beings (*dvāre dvāre pañcaśatāni yakṣānām, devānām traystrimśānam ārakṣanārtham*, Div. p. 220–221). The order of the walls is the following:

- | | |
|----------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1) golden wall | silver door |
| 2) silver wall | golden door |
| 3) crystal wall | beryl door |
| 4) beryl wall | crystal door |
| 5) coral wall | emerald door |
| 6) emerald wall | coral door |
| 7) <i>musāragalva</i> wall | door made of all sorts of jewels |

Inside there is a smaller town of the same pattern as the larger one, with door guardians, etc.

On the top of the ramparts there are precious *vedikājāla* on which bells are suspended. The relation of the *vedikājāla* to the bells is the same as before.

As regards the golden trees, they have golden roots, golden branches and silver leaves, flowers and fruits. So as regards crystal trees, beryl trees, coral trees, emerald trees and *musāragalva* trees. The seven walls have four doors; on the top of the sevenfold walls there are towers, belvederes, terraces, etc. Then there are groves, ponds with precious flowers of various colours, precious trees with luxuriant flowers and fruits. A perfumed wind rejoices the inhabitants, wonderful birds of various kinds sing beautifully.

Inside that small town, in the middle, there is the palace of I lo pa lung of which the same description is made. Inside that Sudarśana town (though not so explicitly stated as before, it is the smaller town above described) there is the Sudharmā-Hall; (same description, though shorter); its soil is of pure gold, its ceiling of beryl, in the middle there is a column under which there is the throne of Indra¹, made of seven jewels, as soft as a divine cloth. The description of the town is repeated for this hall. To the North of the hall Sudarśana (*sic*, but one should expect Sudharmā), there is the pavilion of Indra; same description.

To the East of Sudarśana Hall (*sic*) there is the Park Paruṣya with seven ranges of enclosures: same description as before. Inside there are two stone elevations called Bhadra and Subhadra.

To the South the park Caitraratha: two stone elevations, one called Citra, another Sucitra.

To the West the park Miśraka: two stones elevations, one called Sudarśana, another Anusudarśana.

To the North the park Mahānandana: two stone elevations one called Nandana, one Mahānandana.

Between the Pāruṣya and Caitraratha, there is a lake called Nanda with pure waters; on its four sides there are four staircases; same description. In its middle four kinds of flowers grow: blue, yellow, red, white; one flower with leaves one *yojana* large; from its roots a juice flows,

¹ A Hindu counterpart of this sevenfold range of walls or ramparts surrounding the central palace where the god sits or, as it happens in the mandalic design, he is represented to sit, is found in *Harivamśa* where the story of the travel of Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna and a Brahman to the Northern country is narrated (9736). In this case too, seven mountains must be crossed, Jayanta, Vijayanta, Nila, Rajata, Meru, Kailāsa,

as white as milk, its taste is like honey. Between the Miśraka and the Mahānandana there is a tree called *pārijāta*, Chou tu 晝度¹.

The *Ta lou t'an ching* p. 294 ff. follows the same scheme, though with greater details. The town of the Trayastriṃśa on the top of Sumeru is called 須陀延 Hsü t'ō yen, Sudarśana; the order of the description is the following: doors, walls, trees custodians of the doors, house of Airāvaṇa king of the nāgas², pavilion of Indra with column and throne; then gardens: East, Pāruṣya a more detailed description is given (for instance of the trees yielding dresses etc.), Bhadra and Subhadra; South, Caitraratha Citra, Sucitra; West (in the text to the East of the palace of Indra (but it should be West), Miśraka; North, (but in the text = West) Nandana; Nanda and Uparanda 3 Pond Nanda—blue, red, yellow and white lotuses, as big as car wheel, juice as before. Between the gardens Nandana and Miśraka there is the tree Pārijāta, Chou kuo tu 晝過度. The *Ch'i shih yin pên ching*, p. 396, agrees fundamentally with the foresaid texts, 7 kinds of walls (instead of *vedikājāla*, there is *kinkinījāla*); the trees are specified as being *tāla*-trees. Inside there is the Sudarśana equally described but the lengthy theme of the various substances of which doors, ramparts and trees are made is missing; *I la po na* is called "great dragon-elephant king". Inside there is the Sudharmā hall: description as above. Columns and throne. On the four sides pavilions of minor gods.

Gardens:

East: P'ō lu sha (in transcription);
two great stones: Bhadra and Subhadra
South: Caintraratha;
1) Caitra and 2) Sucitra
West: Miśraka;
Sudarśana and small-Sudarśana

Indrakūṭa, after which a marvellous light is seen which is nothing else but Kṛṣṇa himself.

¹ On the name of *pārijāta*, *pāriyātra* see LIN Li-kouang, *L'aide-mémoire de la vraie loi*, p. 34, n. 8.

² Airāvaṇa is called in DA. "the dragon" *lung I lo po*.

In the *Ta lou t'an ching*: *I lo p'u*, king of the dragons.

In the *Ch'i shih yin pên ching*: *I la po na*, elephant king the great dragon.

This can be explained supposing that the translator took Nāga (elephant, snake—mountain) in the sense of snake.

³ Nandana is 歌舞, Nanda is transcribed *Nan t'ō*; Ho nan is Upananda. Uvananda; Nandana as we saw is the grove of Kubera, Mbh. XI, 10.

North: Nandana;
Nandana and Sunandana.

Between the first and the second there is the lake Nanda with flowers, etc. Between the third and the fourth there is the great tree (Pārijāta). The description of these texts generally tallies with that contained in the Tibetan *Prajñāpti* (mÑon, i)¹ of which the analysis was given by L. de La Vallée Poussin. There are of course minor differences such as the insertion of Vaijayantī as the pavilions of Indra before Sudharmā; moreover the materials of which the walls of the towns and parks or the railings encircling the ponds are said to be made, are four jewels instead of the seven precious substances: fold, silver, beryl, crystal, etc. On the other hand the *Li shih a p'i t'an lun*, T. 1644 p. 181 ff., is an enlarged redaction of this last text and presents, so to say, a Puranic aspect: the book enters into many details and insists upon the happiness which the gods enjoy in their heaven. There is an ample description of the beauty of the celestial maidens and of the various kinds of sports with which they please the gods; the text chiefly insists upon the water-sports which they play in the ponds and lakes of the paradise. Since the description is generally given *in extenso* as regards Sudarśana, Vaijayanta, Sudharmā and the various parks and pleasure gardens, the text assumes a large proportion. Here also the materials of which the walls are made are said to be of four kinds: East gold, South silver, North beryl, West crystal; but regularly there are the nine rows of palm trees.

The description of the *Ch'i shih yin pên ching* and of the *Li shih a p'i t'an lun* can therefore be considered as the extreme developments which the description of Paradises underwent; in Hīnayāna Buddhism they are mere variations of a central theme, which imagined the celestial residence as a series of square buildings, the one within the other, the centre being the pavilion of Indra.

As regards minor details, it should be noted that though the scheme of a fourfold series of gardens is a common lore of the Indian conception of paradises, such a series is peculiar to Buddhism. Jātaka VI, p. 278, Vsm., p. 424 (*Nandana*; *Mis*.; *Pharussa-vanādisu*), Div. p. 194, Mhv. I p. 32 etc.).

The only Hindu writer who mentions a list close to that of the Buddhists is Vyāsa who commenting upon Patañjali III 26 (Wood's

¹ On this text and the Ch. *Ta Lou t'an Ching*, see LIN LI-KOUANG, *L'aide-mémoire de la vraie loi*, p. 128.

transl. p. 256), enumerates four gardens, Miśravana, Nandana, Caitraratha and Sumānasa, substituting the last one for Pāruṣya.

As regards the names of those gardens, special mention of Caitraratha should be made: this name occurs as Cittalatāvana in J. VI. p. 278 and elsewhere (for other references see Malalasekera, *Dict.* s.v.). It was so called from Cittā, the wife of Magha, and on account of the various creepers of different colours which grows in it¹. But in Sanskrit it becomes *caitra-ratha*, pāli *latā* giving place to *ratha*, the usual meaning of this word being “car, „. But if we compare the various Chinese redactions, we find that the DA and the *Ta lou t'an ching* call it “pleasure—diversified”; both suppose an original *caitraratha*, where *ratha* is intended as *ratha* < *ram* pleasure, joy, which is far more appropriate for a pleasure garden. In the Tibetan *Lokaprajñapti*, p. 37, it is called *śiṅ rta sna ts'ogs*; the Lotsāva intended therefore *ratha* as “car” *śiṅ rta*, but this is contradicted by the explanation of the names given in that text: “Why is the name of this pleasure garden *śiṅ rta sna ts'ogs*?” It is replied: “in the pleasure garden there are various ponds and trees and leaves and flowers, and fruits and clothes and ornaments and divine maidens and with these the 32 gods always disport themselves and take pleasure”. This therefore implies that the authors of these books did not interpret *ratha* as car but as pleasure; the Chinese translation agrees with them².

We may then come to the conclusion that the description of the paradises as contained in the texts referred to became, in the course of time, so standardized that nobody dared to alter its scheme; always we meet only with various modulations of the same theme (f.e. *Saddharmasmṛtyupasthāna*).

¹ Their counterpart is e.g. Ketumati, where at the time of king Śaṅkha, Maitreya will be born. The description of this place fully corresponds to that of Uttarakuru with which it is in fact compared in one of the Chinese versions of the story; LEUMANN, *Maitreyasamiti*, Strassburg, 1919, p. 246; cf. 12–13, p. 230, p. 246; cf. p. 12–13, p. 230, p. 246 ff. p. 2228 ff (Chinese translation). The town is *made of seven jewels*; no dust, no impurity; when any impurity appears, the earth opens and swallows it; no difference of day and night is there on account of some jewelled pillars emanating light all over the place; no robbers and no evil-doers; ponds of precious water; birds of pleasing voice; sweet-smelling trees yielding wonderful fruits, canopy of jewels which, when shaken by wind, produce pleasant sounds. The rice grows there spontaneously; gold and jewels are to be found on the soil; the surface of this is even like that of a mirror. Dresses are yielded by the trees (cf. DN III, 75). Cf. the description of Āmarāvati in Mbh. III, 43.

² Caitraratha may be derived from Citraratha, as the garden of Citraratha, the Gandhārva king.

If these paradises were projected upon a horizontal plane, they would look like the surface of a maṇḍala; the four Cāturmahārājika of the lower heaven correspond to the guardians of the four quarters, viz. the custodians of the four doors; the Trayastrimśas occupy the central surface containing the royal palace: in the middle the throne of Indra is placed, as the king of the gods, *devānām Indra*; near the throne there is the column which is a symbol of the *axis mundi*; the central point of the cosmos and the ideal source both of space and time.

In order to reach the center one must pass through the seven walls; this is not only a linear progression but an ascension to the zenith, the "motore immobile". The person who reaches it, being identified with it, has overcome space and time, is united with the source: so also the Buddha who makes his seven steps, *sapta-padāni kramati* proclaims himself to be the elder of the world¹.

On the other hand it is evident that the scheme of these paradises is conceived on the same pattern, as the town of the Cakravartin, for instance Dīpavatī, Mhv. I, p. 294; Indrapattana (42) Ibid. III, 227; Div. 221: square, seven rows of walls, palace in the middle of the same design, doors on each wall, rows of trees, gardens in the four corners of the central palace; throne in the middle. One of the leit-motifs of the description both of paradises and of the town of Cakravartin is the recurrence of the number seven:

- 7 rows of walls,
- 7 rows of *vedikājāla*,
- 7 rows of trees,
- 7 jewels,
- 7 *yojana* in the circumference of the *pārijāta*, etc.

These seven rows of walls have been compared by J. Przyluski and by P. Mus with the seven walls of Ecbatana: in the latter case their planetary homology can hardly be doubted; but in the Indian tradition this planetary significance remains in the background, in the sense that we cannot state in a definite manner that the seven walls were universally taken as corresponding to the list of the seven planets; this was rather accepted as a myth more than as a theory supported by a clear consciousness of its astrological implications (P. Mus, *Barabudur*, p. 354). But it is a fact that the seven walls are said to be composed

¹ M. ELIADE, *Sapta padāni kramati*, in *Munshi Diamond Jubilee commemoration volume*, Part I, in *Bhāratiya vidyā*, IX, p. 180.

of seven different precious materials, in so far as they are suggestive of some colours, viz. of particular cosmic equivalences. In spite of an occasional different order, the list of the metals or stones of which the walls are made is generally the same.

DA.

gold

silver

sphaṭika, rock crystal { *Ta lou t'an ching* and *Ch'i shih ching*
vaiḍūrya cat's eye { invert the order

lohitamukta

aśmagarbha { *Ta lou t'an ching* and *Ch'i shih ching* invert the
musāragalva { order

DN. II 171 tows of *tāla* trees are Mhv. I, p. 194 *tāla*-trees are of:
equally of:

gold

silver

veluriya

rock crystal

lohitaṅka

musāragalva

of all sorts of jewels

gold

silver

mukta

vaiḍūrya

rock crystal

musāragalva

lohitika.

But if it is clear that this sequence of materials is implicitly a sequence of colours, nevertheless the relation between the two is not evident in every point since the identification of certain stones is subject to doubt: *Lohita* or *lohitamukta*, is not "ruby" but almost certainly a coral, a jewel which is found in the sea as Chinese *c'u* clearly shows (cfr. *Vinaya* II. 238); in this case therefore the colour should be red. *Aśmagarbha* has been taken as emerald by Finot (*Les lapidaires indiens*, p. XIX) or a defect of sapphire, therefore green (p. 163). On *musāragalva* see S. K. Chatterji, *Some Etymological notes*, in *Vol. of Indian and Iranian studies presented to Sir E. Denison Ross*, p. 71. He takes this word to be of Chinese origin; but certainly it is not "a kind of coral"; it is supposed to be amethyst, violet; *vaiḍūrya* and *sphaṭika* are of ambiguous colours¹.

Leaving the name of the stone in the dubious cases we have the following equivalence:

¹ Even this list became stereotyped and is met even where no relation is implied with the place of a town or a paradise for instance *Sukhavatīvyūha*, p. 38, gold, silver, *vaiḍūrya*, *sphaṭika*, *musāra*, *lohita*, *aśmagarbha*.

Gold colour—silver colour—rock crystal—cat's eye—red—green (*aśmagarbha*)—violet (*musāragalva*).

In the works on *Ratnaparīkṣā* or in the astrological works we find explicitly stated that there exists a connection between Planets and stones, or Planets and colours. To give a few examples: in *Agastimata* (Finot, *op. cit.*, p. 133) we notice the following correspondence:

Sun	ruby
Moon	pearl
Mars	coral
Mercury	emerald
Jupiter	topaze
Venus	diamond
Saturnus	sapphire

(Cf. *ibid.*, p. 175 *Navaratna-parīkṣā*).

This equivalence is also found in later works, such as the *Jātaka-pārijāta* by Vaidyānātha, II, 21.

Sun	ruby
Moon	pearl
Mars	coral
Mercury	emerald
Jupiter	topaze
Venus	diamond
Saturn	sapphire

Cf. *Phaladīpikā* II, 29 of Mantreśvara (XVIth c.) copying entirely from the first.

In the *Bṛhadjātaka* II, 4-5 the equivalence is extended to colours.

Sun	copper colour
Moon	white
Mars	red
Mercury	green
Jupiter	yellow
Venus	of various colours
Saturnus	black

This list is not identical in all its parts but anyhow very similar to that of the colours of the *προμαχέωνες* of the walls of Ecbatana, especially if this last is read in the inverted order (Herodotus I, 98): white—black—purple (*φοινίκεοι*)—blue *σανδάραινοι* (H. G. Liddel and R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*: of orange colour. M. A. Bailly, *Dict. grec-fr.*: arsenic-red)—silver—gold.

Both lists, the Indian and the Greek, find their counterpart in the Hellenistic Lapidaries, for instance in the book of Damigeron Evax (J. Bidez, F. Cumont, *Les Mages Hellénisés*, vol. I, p. 195), where a correspondence of precious stones with planets and implicitly with colours is contained.

<i>Chrysolitus</i>	Sun
<i>astroselinus</i> (<i>aphro-</i>)	Moon
<i>haematites</i>	Mars
<i>ceraunius</i>	Jupiter
<i>medicos</i>	Venus
<i>arabicus</i>	Mercury
<i>ostrachitus</i> (<i>ostracitis</i>)	Saturnus

Here the same doubts as with the Indian list are met, if one wants to draw a sequence of colours from the sequence of the stones.

It may be objected that the number seven is a sacred number already in Vedic literature and that many groups of seven things are to be found in it; the sun is also said to be of seven rays (*saptaraśmi*); but no list of seven jewels is there found nor is there any connection in Vedic literature between this sevenfold classification and the seven planets supported by any established fact; the seven planets are in fact unknown in the Vedas; moreover, the reference to the seven jewels of the walls surrounding the heaven of the Trayastriṃśa is not a generic indication of precious things of which those buildings are made, just as it may be the case with the *stūpa* referred to in *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka*; in this case the seven jewels of which that *stūpa* is composed only mean that all the precious things contained in that classical group of seven things are therein collected in such a way as to make the *stūpa* itself the most precious among the precious things, as the synthesis of all of them. On the contrary, in the cases of these paradises, the important fact upon which the texts insist, is not so much the material itself, but the succession of these materials, in the general plan of heaven, the structure of the place as a whole. The accent namely is not on the accumulation of the precious things, but on the order in which they follow each other, as to give a significance to the divine city.

So even if the correspondence of the seven walls of the Buddhist paradises and of the town of the Cakravartin with the planets is not plainly stated by the sources known to me, the development of such an equation as found in the astrological texts and in its Iranian and Hellenistic survivals leaves little doubt that a planetary classification was at the basis of that scheme.

According to B. Rowland Jr., *Studies in the Buddhist Art of Bāmiyān: the Bodhisattva of Group E*, in *Art and Thought issued in honour of Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy*, London 1947, p. 46 "the bodhisattva painted on the soffit of the niche that shelters the smallest statue of a seated Buddha" represents this Bodhisattva "seated on a rainbow of seven colours that, at the same time, serves as the aureole of the sculptured figure below".

The author there compares this rainbow with the seven gems of the *stūpa* alluded to by *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka* and already connected by Kern, SBE XXI, p. 227, n° 1 with the seven planets. But as can be seen by the plate n° 10 of *Wall-paintings of India, Central Asia and Ceylon*, by the same author, Boston 1938, the coloured stripes of this so called rainbow, are eight and not seven, viz. an exact duplication of a series of four coloured bands: yellow, blue, pink and black. So in this case no conclusion can be drawn regarding a connection between the colours of a sevenfold rainbow and planets.

It is not surprising if during their long peregrination some equivalences in the sevenfold scheme were altered and if in India, whither they came from abroad, their original planetary background was often forgotten or fell into the background, only to reappear again, as we saw, in later astrological works. But India is not the only country where those ideas were introduced, because even in the Hellenistic world we find parallel reflexes of an identical theme. Therefore though those ideas, having grown in different surroundings and being no longer vitally connected with the well-organized system by which they were inspired, lost in some cases their original meaning, still certain aspects of the Indian mythography connected with the paradises find their explanation when compared with some western theories which are other offshoots of the same root and met with a greater success than in India.

There is no doubt that a part from their planetary connection, the seven walls of the paradises or of the town of the Cakravartin represent seven progressive passages from the outside to the very centre of the sacred place: in other words, they must have had some mystic implication. Being stages on the way to the highest sanctity (cf. the story of Arjuna's travel referred to above p. 32 n. 1), they cannot have a purely architectural significance; this is excluded by the symbolism of their colours and of the materials of which they are made. They look like fragments of a system which, being transferred to other surroundings, lost its original significance. But this sevenfold range of walls of the India mythology may be better understood if compared with the seven spheres through which the souls of the dead must successively pass, according to the Hellenistic gnosis: each sphere in that

system corresponds to a planet and is guarded by an ἄρχων (Cumont, *Die Orientalischen Religionen*, p. 115, 270. Id. *Recherches sur le symbolisme funéraire des Romains*, p. 139 ff. Cf. the seven palaces of seven different colours representing the seven climes in which the seven maidens are lodging in the *Haft Paykar* of Nizami).

It is a well established fact that this sevenfold scheme into which cosmology divides the universe, the classes of gods, the walls of the paradises and of the city of the Cakravartin represents something new in India (Kirfel, *Kosmographie*, p. 31, 32). In ancient times only three spheres of existence were known¹ and five successive plans were said to exist along the slopes of Meru upon which towered the town of Indra (Naga, Suparṇa, Danava and Rākṣasa, Yakṣa, Mahārājika, *Ibid.*, p. 188). It is therefore reasonable to think that the plan of the royal city as well as that of the paradises, both based on a sevenfold partition, was introduced into India at the same time along with new cosmological ideas which changed the older and simpler theories concerning the world and its structure.

The origin of these new ideas should be found in Mesopotamia where the heavens were in fact seven (Meissner, *Babylonien und Assirien, Kulturgeschichtliche Bibliothek*, vol. 4, p. 108) and the Cosmic mountain after having been divided into four quarters was then divided into seven quarters running concentrically round that mountain (*ibid.* p. 111, Jensen *Kosmologie der Babylonier*, p. 163 ff. For India see P. Mus *Barabudur* p. 320); but it is most probable that the actual introduction of these ideas into India took place through an Iranian medium. (Cf. J. Przyluski, *La ville du Cakravartin, Influences babyloniennes sur la civilisation de l'Inde*, in *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, 1929, p. 65. Id. *Les sept puissances divines dans l'Inde et l'Iran. Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie religieuses*, 1938, p. 500 ff. Id. *Les sept puissances divines en Grèce, ibid.*, p. 255. P. Mus, *op. cit.*, p. 329 ff.).

Not only then the ancient notions concerning the structure of the world, and the architecture of the heavens underwent a great change, but quite probably, as shown by J. Przyluski (*La légende de l'Empereur Açoka*, p. 142 ff. and p. 176 ff.) even the hells were conceived in a

¹ As regards the three heavens in the Vedic culture (two of Savitṛ, one of Yama), cf. KEITH, *The Religion and Philosophy of the Vedas and Upanishads*, p. 407-408, p. 410. So also three hells.

The reference to the seven worlds Saptaloka contained in *Muṇḍaka-up* is generally considered to be a later addition, in a book which cannot be included among the oldest Upaniṣad. HERTEL, *Muṇḍaka-up.*, p. 64 ff. KEITH, *The Religion and Philosophy of the Vedas and Upanishads*, p. 503.

different way. When this happened it is difficult to state: but it seems reasonable to assume that since it is not unlikely that these ideas reached India through an Iranian medium, this new scheme of the world based upon a sevenfold structure could hardly spread into the Indian world before the conquests of Darius. This should be certainly taken as a relative and vague *terminus post quem*, because, cosmic theories being strictly connected with religion, are likely to find some resistance and usually proceed very slowly; it is therefore logical to believe that it took a long time before they succeeded in superseding the original views. Whatever might have been, it is useless to ask whether the plan of the city of the Cakravartin influenced that of the Paradises or vice-versa; the two notions are strictly related, the palace of the king being normally conceived as the earthly counterpart or a projection of heaven.

This scheme was to have a long history; we find it faithfully reproduced in the design of the *maṇḍala*, which is essentially a minor projection of a celestial sphere and at the same time a psycho-cosmogramme reproducing through symbols the basic forces at play in the universe, urging it to manifestation and then conveying it again to a reintegration in the primeval unity. But the seven walls, in the horizontal surface of the *maṇḍala*, are reduced to five on account of the coming to the foreground of the old Indian quinary classification which permeates the philosophical and the gnostic schools, from Sāṅkhya to Vajrayāna. We may conclude that the standard description of the paradises was the result of the blending together on one side of an ideal projection of the golden age in the distant and imaginary country of the Hyperboreans, the Uttarakuru, and on the other of certain ideas concerning their architecture and plan which were introduced from the West. The first element being essential and quite Indian in its origin was bound to develop and to be modulated in different ways: the other affected only the notions concerning the external aspect or the structure of those paradises, its mechanism not being always understood in its proper meaning. Anyhow such a notion of heavens which then slowly grew in India survived even outside Buddhism. We find it again with great details in the Purāṇas which, as I had the occasion to show some years ago¹, present, in some cases, certain striking analogies with the cosmological books of the Buddhists; so the conclusion seems to be justified that these portions, common to both books, go back to a fundamental nucleus dealing with the creation of the world, the description of the same and the royal genealogies. This description, literarily

¹ G. TUCCI, *A proposito del Purāṇapañcalakṣaṇa*, *RSO*, vol. XII, p. 108.

shaped into a stereotyped form, developed certain themes which are constantly met in different redactions. It is therefore to be expected that the analogy of conception and the same theological theories suggested similar problems both to Buddhist and to Hindu schools. It was for instance agreed that paradises as pure and blissful lands cannot be contaminated by death or other impurities. How can then creatures subject to death as birds are, be found in these paradises, as it is a common theme in every description of them? Their corpses, when they die, would pollute the paradise itself. It was then replied by theologians that, at that very moment, a wind comes and takes them away (Lin Li-kouang *L'Aide-mémoire de la vraie loi*, p. 39). Just in the same way Hindu tradition states that when the Apsaras, reincarnated in the Uttarakuru, die, the Bhuṣuṇḍa birds carry their bodies away. In therefore appears that dogmatists met in both schools with the same difficulties and cleared them away with analogous subtleties. To come back to the Sukhāvātī, it is clear that it does not contain anything new as regards the notion of a paradise and its construction. The Sukhāvātī is the projection into Buddhist soteriology of current ideas concerning paradises, an embellished and amplified repetition of the different divine abodes which Buddhist cosmology placed along the terraces of the Meru up to the very summit of the material existence. They represented successive stages of a progressive bliss and purity, were transitory forms of existence whose notion was drawn from the traditional religious lore; they were, so to say, the Buddhist interpretation of a pan-Indian cosmological scheme adapted to the new soteriology. The difference was that the Sukhāvātī (and its derivations like the Vaiḍūryanirbhāsa of Bhaiṣajyaguru: *yādṛśī Sukhāvātī-lokadhātus tādṛśī*; *Bhaiṣajyagurusūtra*, p. 8. 1/3.) was a kingdom of perennial bliss. It is not the abode of transient gods, but the realm of a Buddha. It represents a revolution in Buddhism: in so far as the law of *karma* was ruled out: the grace of God takes the upperhand. This is the only essential novelty represented by the Sukhāvātī.

Moreover, the extra-temporal and extra-spacial nirvanic state which transcends all description, being the other plane beyond the *bhavāgra* viz. the extreme limit of existence, gives now way to a condition of Bliss which can be described and located.

India, as we saw, already knew these lands of the Blessed, some of which, like the Vishnuite Vaikuṅṭha, were to be in future the object of much detailed description. But if it happened that this ancient lore crept into Buddhism and even altered, to a certain extent, its fundamental notions, that was probably the consequence of the *diaspora* of Buddhism towards the North Western countries, which, following the

events of history, caused a successful contact between India and a foreign cultural world.

This is what recent investigation is making every day clearer, as can be gathered by the very good "mise au point" which was made with the usual lucidity by A. Foucher in his book, *La vieille route de l'Inde de Bactres à Taxila*. Just as the diffusion of Buddhism in the country roughly corresponding to modern Afghanistan was the cause of a great innovation in art, it could have also been responsible for some changes in the dogmatical structure of Buddhism; and to ascertain this will be the scope of future research

II

ON THE TIBETAN CYCLE OF ARHATS

What I have said on the Hva šaṅ a propos the 16 Arhats (*Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, p. 558) is not exact.

The Hva šaṅ is well known in China as Pu tai Ho shang, whose history has been investigated in detail by Lessing, *Yung-Ho-Kung (Reports from the scientific expedition to the North-Western provinces of China under the leaderships of Sven Hedin*, vol. 18), Stockholm 1942, p. 21. The late introduction of Hva šaṅ into Tibet, as stated at p. 561 can be maintained until new elements force us to change this view.

Moreover the connection of Pu tai Ho shang with Ch'an schools is as well established a fact as that of Dharmatāla with the same trend of thought: this is another argument in favour of the diffusion of Ch'an doctrines in ancient Tibet, of which we have good documents, as already pointed out by me (*ibid.*, p. 615 n. 252) and will shortly be supported with new material. So it seems to me that a Ch'an list of the 18 arhats entered Tibet in early times; in this list besides Dharmatāla there was an unknown personage referred to at p. 561; this latter perhaps, after the fifth Dalai Lama, gave place to the Pu tai Ho shang introduced from China and wrongly attributed to the period of the Ming dynasty.

P. 557. The dates of Klu mes in p. 557 are wrong; the man is the same referred to at p. 83 and the dates there established seem to be the exact ones.

P. 718. Column a, l. third line from the end: read "tail" instead of "ear".

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- DA.* *Dirghāgama.* (Taishō ed.).
DN. *Dīghanikāya.* (Pāli Text Society's edition).
Div. *Divyāvadāna.* (ed. Cowell).
Mbh. *Mahābhārata.*
Mhv. *Mahāvastū.*
MN. *Majjhimanikāya.* (Pāli Text Society's edition).
IHQ *Indian Historical Quarterly.*
R. *Rāmāyaṇa.*
SB. *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa.*
SN *Suttanipāta.* (Pāli Text Society's edition).
Sv. *Sukhāvast-vyūha.*
T.P.S. G. TUCCI—*Tibetan Painted Scrolls.* Roma 1949.
Vsm. *Viśuddhimagga.* (Pāli Text Society's edition).

Chinese Texts quoted from Taishō edition and Tibetan Texts from Derge *bsTan-'gyur* and Lhasa *bKa'-'gyur*.

RATNĀKARAŚĀNTI ON ĀŚRAYA-PARĀVṚTTI

One of the fundamental moments in the process by which the Bodhisattva enters in "the other plane" is the so-called *āśraya-parāvṛtti* "the revolution of the support". As "support" is here intended the *paratantra* nature of mind and mental states -*citta* and *caitasika*—which is essentially bivalent: it can in fact be conducive to *samsāra*, which is the realm of *parikalpita*, the purely imaginative process, as well as to *nirvāna* which is of the nature of *pariniṣpanna*, the pure state unaffected by any imagination of representative thought. As soon as the intuition of the unimaginability of things, or of the absolute shines in the mind of the Bodhisattva, the *sāṃkleśika* or samsaric aspect of the dependent mental process comes to an end but the pure aspect, the absolute, the *pariniṣpanna*, in other words the nirvanic plane, takes the place of the former. The revolution, which is in this way accomplished and which is here synthesized according the Yogācāra point of view (L a ṅ k ā v a t ā r a p. 202 = *cittam dṛśyavinirmuktaṃ svabhāvadvayavarjitam āśrayasya parāvṛttim vadāmy aham*; for other references, S ū t r ā l a ṅ k ā r a IX, 12-17; T r i ṃ ś i k ā p. 27; La Vallée Poussin, *Siddhi* p. 667-612, 661-667; Lamotte, *La Somme du Grand Véhicule*, vol. I, p. 57 notes with bibliographical references p. 16, vol. II p. 235, 259 fl. etc.) is called *āśraya-parāvṛtti*.

The Tantras which, in their dogmatical part, tried to combine the criticism of the Mādhyamika with the idealism of the Yogācāra, have also dealt with this problem which tries to elucidate how a man realizes within himself the perfect nature, the *samatā*, the identity with the Buddha. Among the Tantric passages dealing with this fundamental point of Buddhist mysticism, one specially deserves, for its clarity, our attention. It opens the very important commentary on the Khasama-Tantra written by Ratnākaraśānti. Ratnākaraśānti is well known as one of the most active thinkers and writers of declining Buddhism. Equally versed in dogmatics and tantric mysticism he is the author of many works of which only the *Antarvyāpti* was, up to now, known as extant in its Sanskrit original (edited by Haraprasada Shastri in *Bibliotheca Indica*; cf. S. Ch. Vidyabhushana, *History of Indian Logic*,

p. 342 and f.; Grünwedel, *Edelsteinmine*, p. 101, 106; Tāranātha, Schiefner, *Geschichte des Buddhismus*, p. 235).

In Nepal I found two manuscripts of this commentary of Ratnākaraśānti on the Khasamatantra. One is a palm-leaf manuscript to judge from the characters, of the XIVth or XVth century; the other is a paper manuscript. It will not be without interest to publish here the discussion of the Tantric teacher on the *āśrayaparavṛtti* which involves also many important points concerned with the "bodies of the Buddha".

The text is here edited along with the Tibetan translation contained in bsTan 'gyur, sDe dge ed. vol. Va, p. 153 a–154 a, compared with sNar t'añ, vol. XII pp. 165 a–166 a¹.

Iha vajradharo bhagavān sarvabuddhānām bodhiḥ | sā cāśrayaparāvṛtilakṣaṇā² | āśrayaḥ śarīram | sa teṣām trividhaḥ |

Tatra cittasantānalakṣaṇasyāśrayasya yāvat sāmkleśikadharmabījānām tadvasānānām dauṣṭhulyākhyānām ādhāras tāvad ālayākhyasya pascād āryamārgena niṣprapañcena cirabhāvitena tāsām parikṣayād anālayākhyasya sataḥ pratiṣṭhādehabhoganirbhāsānām vijñaptinām itareṣām ca sāmkleśikānām dharmānām utpannānām astamgamād anutpannānām cātyantam anutpādāt tenātmanā niṛttinīyamah | viśuddhagaganopamena tu niṣprapañcena prakāśātmanā 'nantena pravṛttinīyamah parāvṛttiḥ | sā buddhānām dauṣṭhulyāśrayaparāvṛttiḥ³ | saiva teṣām anāśravo dhātur ucyate | anāśravānām buddhadharmānām bijadharatvāt | so 'pi mārgas teṣām āśrayaḥ | tasya parāvṛttir laukikena rūpenātyantikī niṛttiḥ | lokotarena cātyantikena pravṛttiḥ | sarvadharmatathatāpi teṣām āśrayaḥ | tasya parāvṛttir āgantukasarvāvaranaviśuddhir ātyantikī | yeyam buddhānām dauṣṭhulyāśrayasya mārgāśrayasya tathatāśrayasya parāvṛttiḥ saiva teṣām bodhiḥ | saiva dharmakāyaḥ buddhadharmānām kāya āśraya iti kṛtvā svābhāvikakāya ity ucyate | tathatāprakāśayoḥ svarūpe 'tyantam avasthānāt | tad ayam buddhabodhilakṣaṇo bhagavān vajradharaḥ | prakṛtyā khasamaḥ prakṛtir asya svābhāvikaḥ kāyaḥ | tena khasama eva nirābhāsānantasuviśuddhaprakāśānām tathatāsvābhāvatvāt | sām̐bhogikena yady apy ākāravaicitryād yathākāram naiva khasamaḥ | tathāpi yathāpratibhāsam khasama eva | dharmakāyo hi khasamena tattvena dharmān anāvṛtto 'nubhavati sām̐bhogakāyas tathāiva paricchinati | anubhavasya niṣyandativāt | katham ca paricchinati | grāhyagrāhaka-tatpratibhāsānām asattayā paricchedāt | bālānam ghaṭādyanubhavanīṣyando niśrayaḥ sattayā | yathā bālānam ghaṭākārah paṭīyān anubhavaḥ sattājalpanam antareṇāpi

¹ D. = sDe dge; N = sNar t'añ.

² Cf. *Madhyāntavibhāgaṭika* (Yamaguchi) p. 84 l. 21–22.

³ Cf. *Sūtrālaṅkāra* IX. 14.

sattayaiva paricchinatti prāktananiśrayābhyāsavāsavāsanābalāt tathā buddhānām ajalpo 'pi saṃbhogakāyaḥ svam ākāram asattayaiva paricchinatti | saiva paricchedaḥ pratibhāsaśabdenātra vivakṣitaḥ | dvividho hi pratibhāsaḥ samvedanam upalakṣaṇam ca | tasmāt saṃbhogakāyo 'pi buddhānām yathāpratibhāsam khasama eva | nirmāṇakāyas tu suturām khasamaḥ | māyākārair api svayaṃ nirmītasya puruṣāder asattayaiva paricchedāt | sa ca vajradharo janakaḥ sarvabuddhānām | te 'pi khasamās tan niṣyandatvād iti siddhāntaḥ |

Va. 153, a.

N. na (XII) 165 a.

'dir bcom ldan 'das rdo rje 'dsin pa ni | sañs rgyas rnams kyi byañ c'ub ste | de yañ rten yoñs su gyur pa'i mts'an ñid do | rten ni lus so | de yañ nam pa gsum ste | de la sems kyi rgyun gyi mts'an ñid kyi rten ji srid kun nas ñon moñs pa can gyi c'os kyi sa bon de'i bag c'ags rnams kyis¹ te | gnas ñan len žes bya ba'i rten de srid kun gži'o | p'yis 'p'ags pa'i lam p'ros pa med pa yun riñ du bsgoms pa rnams kyis² kun gži gnas dañ lus dañ loñs spyod du snañ bai rnam par žes pa de yoñs su zad pa dañ | gžan yañ kun nas ñon moñs pa can gyi c'os skyes pa rnams nub pa dañ ma skyes pa rnams śin tu mi skye pa'i bdag ñid ni ldog pa ñes pa'o (153, b) | nam mk'a' rnam par dag pa lta bu spros pa med pa rab tu gsal ba'i bdag ñid mt'a' yas ['jug] pa'i ñes pa ste | yoñs su gyur pa³ de ni sañs rgyas rnams kyi gnas ñan len gyi⁴ rten yoñs su gyur pa'o | de yañ de rnams kyi zag pa med pa'i k'ams su brjod par bya ste | sañs rgyas kyi zag pa med pa'i c'os rnams kyi sa bon 'dsin pa'i p'yir ro | de yañ de rnams kyi⁵ lam gyi rten te⁶ | de yoñs su gyur pa ni 'jig rten pa'i no bo śin tu ldog pa dañ | 'jig rten las 'das pa yañ śin tu 'jug pa'o | c'os t'ams cad kyi de bžin ñid kyañ de rnams kyi rten yin la | de yoñs su gyur pa ni glo bur gyi sgrib pa t'ams cad śin tu rnam par dag pa'o | gañ sañs rgyas kyi gnas ñan len gyi rten dañ | lam gyi rten dañ | de bžin ñid kyi rten yoñs su gyur pa'o | de ñid de rnams kyi byañ c'ub dañ | de ñid c'os kyi sku dañ | sañs rgyas kyi c'os rnams kyi sku'i rten žes bya žin rañ bžin gyi sku žes brjod par bya ste | de bžin ñid dañ | rab tu gsal

¹ D, N: kyis

² The plural in T, is not supported by the Sanskrit.

³ D always 'gyur pa.

⁴ N gyis.

⁵ N kyis.

⁶ N de.

*ba'i rañ bžin gyi no bor šin tu gnas pa'i p'yir ro | de ni 'dir sañs rgyas
 kyi byañ c'ub kyi mts'an ñid bcom ldan 'das rdo rje 'dsin pa'i rañ bžin
 gyis nam mk'a' dañ mñam pa'o | rañ bžin ni 'dir rañ bžin gyi sku'o | de
 lta bas na nam mk'a' dañ mñam pa ñid de | snañ ba med pa mt'a' yas
 pa šin tu rnam par dag pa rab tu gsal ba dañ | de bžin ñid kyi rañ bžin
 yin pa'i p'yir ro | loñs spyod rdsogs pas ni gañ yañ rnam pa sna ts'ogs
 pa'i p'yir rnam pa ji lta ba bžin gyi nam mk'a' dañ mñam pa ni ma yin
 la | 'on kyañ ji lta ba bžin snañ ba'i nam mk'a' dañ mñam pa ñid | c'os
 kyi sku nam mk'a' dañ mñam pa'i de k'o na ñid kyi c'os de [rnams] sgrib
 pa med pa ñams su myoñ la | loñs spyod rdsogs pa'i skus de bžin du yoñs
 su gcod¹ pa ñams su myoñ ba dañ rgyu mt'un pa'i p'yir ro | ji ltar na
 de bžin du yoñs su gcod pa yin že na | gzuñ dañ 'dsin pa der snañ ba med
 par yoñs su gcod pa'i p'yir ro | 'di lta ste byis pa rnams kyis bum pa la
 sogs pa ñams su myoñ ba dañ rgyu mt'un pa nes pa (154, a) yod pa dañ
 ji ltar byis pa rnams kyis² bum pa'i rnam pa šin tu gsal bar ñams su
 myoñ ba [yod pa] ñid brjod pa dañ bral ba la yod pa ñid du yoñs su gcod
 de | sñon nes pai bag c'ags kyi stobs las so | de bžin du sañs rgyas rnams
 kyis brjod pa med kyañ loñs spyod rdsogs pa'i sku rañ gi rnam pa med
 pa ñid yoñs su gcod pa'o | yoñs su gcod pa de ñid rab tu snañ bai sgras³
 bšad par bya'o | rab tu snañ ba ni rnam pa gñis | yañ dag pa'i rig pa dañ
 ñe bar mts'on pa'o | de'i p'yir⁴ loñs spyod rdsogs pa'i sku yañ sañs rgyas
 kyi snañ ba ji lta bžin nam mk'a' dañ mñam pa ñid do | sprul pa'i sku
 yañ šin tu nam mk'a' dañ mñam pa ste | sgyu ma'i mk'as⁵ pas kyañ
 rañ gis sprul pa'i sku la sogs pa med pa yoñs su gcod pa'o | de yañ rdo
 rje 'dsin pa sañs rgyas t'ams cad skye bar byed pa'o | de dag kyañ nam
 mk'a' dañ mñam pa ste | rgyu mt'un pa'i p'yir žes bya ba grub pai mt'a'o |.*

¹ xyl: D *spyod*; N *spyod cin*.

² N *kyi*.

³ N *sgra*.

⁴ D N, *de'i p'yi rol*.

⁵ D N, *rnam pas* for: *mk'as pās*; the translator understood *māyā-ākāra* instead of *māyā-kāra*.

EARTH IN INDIA AND TIBET*

By a strange coincidence I received the invitation to speak on the Earth in India and Tibet, on the very day when, in quest of inscriptions and dated works of art, I discovered in a field, not very far from Kathmandu, a beautiful image, probably of late Gupta period (about the VIIth century). It represents the incarnation of Viṣṇu as a boar, and shows the god jumping out of the cosmic waters, holding in his right hand a small image of the Earth. She is a small thing indeed as compared to the gigantic body of the Varāhvatāra, Viṣṇu incarnated as a boar, which occupies nearly the whole surface of the stele, as if the artist wanted to express the grandeur of the almighty god. This earth—that seems to us so vast and upon which the tragicomedy of our history takes place, with its alternations of glories and disasters—this earth becomes a very insignificant thing, which the God holds in his hand as a toy. The Varāha, whose awe-inspiring image attracts upon himself the attention of the onlookers, represents in a striking way the might of the divine force which by its all-pervading action, extracts and moulds the order of creation out of the dark unrest of Chaos: in fact the gesture in which Viṣṇu is represented links together the cosmic waters raging in the lower portion of the stele and the earth uplifted in the hand of Varāha in the upper corner. I was then recalling to mind some other representations of Earth in Indian art, because in no other country perhaps, as in India, art is the best approach to the religious ideas of a people. Indian art, indeed, not only expresses and displays the complexity and richness of an endless Olympus, but in addition interprets the symbols and the intricacies of the various stages by which the human mind can ascend from the visible forms to the formless. Still, I had to acknowledge that the representations of Earth in Indian art are rare.

* ABBREVIATIONS – S. B. *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* (Eggeling's translation in Sacred Books of the East). – A. V. *Atharvaveda* (Withney's translation, Harvard Oriental Series). – T. B. *Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa* (Ānandāśrama-Sanskrit Series). – Mbh. *Mahābhārata* (Kumbakonam ed.) – T. S. *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* (Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series).

The most vivid image is, to my mind, the one which I admired in the small temple of Iwang, on the way to Gyantse¹. In one chapel of this temple a skilful artist has evoked the events of the last night when the Bodhisattva, on the eve of becoming a Buddha, was sitting under the *bodhi* tree, determined to reach the supreme truth. Māra, the god of attachment to life and therefore of Death, because whatever exists is bound to die, tried with all his might to prevent the meditating Siddhārtha from attaining his aim, which would have opened the doors of Nirvāṇa to suffering mankind. The artist, in a tangle of stucco images, has reproduced the terrific army of Māra's demons, vainly trying to disturb the unshakable concentration of the saint: then the temptation of alluring girls follows, and finally, emerging from a still background now rid of the evil emanations, Śākyamuni, calm and confident, invokes the Earth, asking her to appear and to testify thereby that he has now become the Enlightened One, the Buddha, that he has conquered Nirvāṇa. The soil in front of him opens suddenly, and the Mother Goddess appears, to be a witness of the great event which has shown to mankind the way to salvation. In the same way she appeared to Sitā, the wife of Rāma, who had been abducted by the ten-headed demon Rāvaṇa, the Lord of Laṅkā. After a long and dangerous war she had been rescued by her husband, the pure and Law-abiding Rāma; but a doubt lingered in the heart of the rescuer. Had Sitā really been faithful to him, had she not been compelled by the monster Rāvaṇa to yield to his desire? How could he still keep Sitā as his wife, when this doubt would have for ever darkened the horizon of their life? Then Sitā, who was born from the Earth, invoked the Earth and begged her to testify by her appearance that she had always been a chaste and faithful wife: and Mother Earth came out on a throne supported by snakes, and took her daughter away with her, underneath the ground.

If we must, then, judge by the documents supplied by art, always drawing inspiration from the living experience of a people, we should conclude that Earth does not seem to have enjoyed a prominent place in India; she does not seem to have been possessed of an outstanding character: she never comes to the forefront of the Indian Olympus: she seems to occupy, as a personal God with definite traits, a secondary and subservient role. The conclusion is the same if we turn to the liturgical literature which codifies the rites of the Hindus and contains the descriptive formulae (called *dhyāna*) for meditating upon a deity; the purpose of such a meditation is that the deity should appear in front

¹ G. TUCCI, *Indo-Tibetica*, vol. I, p. 139; vol. II, fig. 54.

of the worshipper, ready to fulfil his wishes or to burst out from the heart itself of the devotee, thus transformed, by the process of this concentration, into that primeval universal consciousness out of which all forms emanate, and divine forms in the first place.

In fact, Earth, as an independent deity with a well-marked personality, is rarely met in the liturgical and tantric literature. To my knowledge, in the various collections of hymns sung to gods, there is no *dhyāna*, no meditation formula on the Earth Goddess. The only description of her which occurs to me is found in the *Kālikāpurāna*¹:—there she is said to be green as a leaf of lotus, and to hold with her two hands a rosary and a lotus. The conclusion seems, then, to be that Earth, as the presiding deity of this planet on which we live and suffer and die, or as the plastic expression of its mysterious entity does not play a role comparable to that of other gods.

The concreteness of the thing connoted by her name: Pṛthivī—which is also the name for the physical and geographical aspects of the Earth, the element Earth and the planet—has perhaps prevented this notion from being expressed by a vivid figure. We may add that sometimes she is a mere symbol or embodiment of earthhood, the expression or projection of whatever Earth is and means to us. Of course this idea is expressed in the form of a myth: but the myth is so rationalized that it cannot impart to Earth any preciseness of traits: she remains a symbol in the attempt to become a God.

To give an instance, we read in the *Mahābhārata*² that once she intended to leave just her *bhūmitvam*, her earthhood, and go to heaven, but was prevented from doing so by the sage Kāśyapa. Another book, the *Viṣṇu-Purāna*³, tells us that once upon a time a progeny of Demons overran and harrassed the Earth, to such an extent that Earth, unable to stand the burden of their wickedness any longer, decided to leave her abode, and ascended to the summit of Mount Meru, the pivot of the Universe. Then (being admitted to the presence of God Brahmā and the assembly of Gods), she requested the divine masters of the universe to take pity on her and to rid the world of the evil-doers.

The Gods listened to her prayers, and off they went to the abode of Viṣṇu, requesting him to come once again to the rescue of the Earth. And this he did, slaying the demons. It is clear that in these cases earth is the personified abstraction of cosmic life and the embodiment of the

¹ *Kālikā P.*, XXXVII, 21 ff.

² Mbh. XIII, 155,2.

³ V, 1; 12-66 (ed. Vidyāsāgarabhaṭṭācārya).

earthly dwelling of beings; especially the symbol of that balance of the opposite forces of good and evil which make human life possible. When the destructive forces take the upperhand, and the balance is broken, the Earth loses all possibility of being any longer the sustainer and mother of whatever breeds on her lap.

Patience is, no doubt, one of the prevailing characters of Earth: she is called in Sanskrit *Kṣamā*, from the root *kṣam*, which means to be patient. She is patient in as far as she bears the heavy burden of cosmic life, and sustains her innumerable children, forever forgiving their daily offences: her patience is in fact invoked by the worshipper, when a *maṇḍala* is drawn, or a sacrificial hole, a *kuṇḍa*, is dug:

“ O Goddess whose loins-girdle are the oceans,
Whose breasts are the mountains, o spouse of Viṣṇu,
Please forgive the touch of my feet¹”.

But this patience has limits. When the limits have been overstepped, and the *dharma*, the cosmic and moral order, is in danger, she asks the Gods for the reestablishment of that very order: the evil then is checked by the intervention of Viṣṇu, considered in later mythologies as her husband, whose duty, as expressed in the *Bhagavadgītā* is that of sending on this universe his emanations, whenever the *dharma*, the order, is threatened or offended. “ Whenever there is a decline of righteousness and a rise of unrighteousness, than I send forth myself ”².

As a fact, the burden which she is unable to carry, is not so much the excessive growth of her creatures, as the upsetting of the dharmic equilibrium, the burden of sin. As a defender or preserver of the cosmic order she is distressed by unlawfulness and mischief. She cannot stand lies (*mithyāvādin*); false witnesses (*mithyāsākṣin*); those who betray friends (*mitradrohin*) or offend living beings (*jīvaghātin*); those who betray the confidence reposed in them (*viśvāsaghna*); those who do not accomplish their own duties or do not support their own parents, children, masters³. This conception of Earth as moral order so clearly formulated is certainly later in comparison with the primeval mother, but it is implicit in it.

Earth is responsible for creation. Earth was conceived as the Mother in the divine couple Dyāva-Pṛthivī, who first were united, then parted: the Indian counterpart of the sacred nuptials of Earth and Sky, which

¹ *Vidyārṇavatantra*, p. 26.

² *Bhagavadgītā* IV, 7.

³ *Brahmavaivarta P.*, *Śrīkṛṣṇakhaṇḍa*, 4 *adhyāya*.

appears in so many mythologies. According to other, and perhaps older traditions, the Earth is said to have been created out of the cosmic man, the Puruṣa sacrificed by Gods. In some other quarters, Earth is not the creator, as in the Divine Couple alluded to, but the first creation, which emerges out of the cosmic waters, through the agency of some God: in the beginning there was no earth, only the waters existed, the cosmic waters, the womb of all creatures. Then "Prajāpati assumed the form of a boar, Varāha: and he plunged into the waters, and extracted as much mud as his mouth could hold. This was the Earth¹". Again; "water, flood was all this in the beginning. Prajāpati was therefore tired (and said) 'how can this be?' He saw a lotus leaf swimming on the surface of the waters. He thought: 'This really is where this can stand'. He changed himself into a boar, and plunged down. He licked the earth, then having grasped her, he came back to the surface. Then he spread her on the lotus leaf. The wind tossed her here and there, and he fixed her with pebbles"².

Thus the Earth is the first creation: she lies on the lotus, because the lotus has been in India the symbol of creation: the support of all that exists in the material as well as in the spiritual world. We shall not be surprised, then, if in a late hymn, the *Śrīsūkta*, the Earth has become Śrī or Lakṣmī—sitting on a lotus, having the colour of the lotus. The two images cannot be dissociated, the two ideas blend. Waters are the perennial source, the womb of inexhausted possibilities of existence; creation is the first appearance of a lotus flower. Just as Śrī and Lakṣmī, born from the Ocean³ the Earth stands there on the water-borne lotus, but though created she is a creator.

She is *dharā* (or *dhyti*), she who bears everything; though no longer the creator, she is still the source of life.

In fact, be it Earth or Śrī or Lakṣmī, the lotus goddess emerging from the cosmic waters is invoked as the Mother of created beings. She is of golden colour, *hiranyavarṇā*, just as her Tantric hypostasis Vasudharā; she is equally Viṣṇupatnī, the bride of Viṣṇu, an epitheton given in some formulae to the Earth Goddess. But she is the goddess of plentifulness and prosperity, she is prayed to for crops, and food and cows.

All this shows how difficult it is to disentangle the various elements which flow together in this archetype of Earth-Mother. But a fact is

¹ T. S., 7, 1, 5, 1.

² T. B. I, 1, 3, 5.

³ Mbh. 1, 18, 35, foll.

evident: the creation which is adumbrated in these cosmogonic myths implies the idea of order. Creation is the opposite of Chaos: it is order: it is a scheme and a limit, essentially a Law. Chaos which preceded the creation of Earth, was the reign of water, that is, of infinite possibilities: uncertainty, instability, hovered upon the ever upheaving waves. The creation of Earth means the beginning of order: in fact, she is called in the Ṛgveda *Dṛdhā*¹ "the steady one"; when a house is built, that is, the earth is ideally recreated, she is invoked, and an oblation is offered to hear as "the steady one".

As soon as she emerged from the cosmic waters, she became fixed, ceasing to wander about as she did before creation: that is, she obeyed a settled order. But this order is not conceived of in India as purely physical, it is chiefly spiritual: creation is the reign of *dharma*, the Law, a norm or rule that gives everything its own place: and *dharma* is essentially *ṛta* or *satya*, truth. Actually, since the time of the Vedas and the Brāhmaṇas, Earth has been said to rest on truth. In the *Atharvaveda*² the earth is invoked as "great earth, formidable right". The *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa* adds: "This Earth is established on truth; hence truth is this earth, for this earth is the most certain of these worlds³". (Again in the same text⁴ Aditi, who among other things is equalled also to Earth, or is said to be the Great Mother, Mother of the Gods of water and earth, is called the spouse of *Ṛta*, or truth). Accordingly, in the *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa*⁵ the supreme ruler of Earth is said to be Yama, the Dharmarāja, the king of the Law. "Yama hath given the settlement on earth: for Yama indeed rules over the settling on this earth, and it is he who grants to this sacrificer, a settlement on this Earth".

As presiding over oaths, Earth, as we have seen, is the witness who appears to Sitā in her distress, and to the Buddha when he attains the supreme Enlightenment. She testifies that the word spoken is true, bearing witness to it. She testifies as witness to the great achievements, to those momentous happenings which are likely to modify the spiritual maturity of beings: when the Buddha preaches a truth, when he enters *nirvāṇa*, she bears witness to that by a sixfold earthquake.

The same character she preserves among the Buddhists: as *Dṛdhā*, a name which, as we saw, was given her in the Vedas, she is the embodiment of Earth: its entity personified and deified. She is a faithful

¹ X, 121, 5.

² XII, 1.

³ S.B. VII, 4, 1, 8.

⁴ VII, 6.

⁵ VII, 1, 1, 3.

listener to the Law preached by the Buddha, and intent to reward the devotees with plentifulness and prosperity. The *dharma*, the cosmic order, has now naturally become the Buddhist Dharma, the doctrine of salvation; but the obedience to it, the practice of its precepts, bring about the same results. As a deity, she sits at the feet of the Dharmabhāṅaka, the Preacher, and honours him, and when she realizes that the Buddhist Law is sincerely revered, she increases the prosperity of the pious people, and develops the creative power of the soil (*ojasvitarā ca mahāpṛthivī bhaviṣyati*).

By the preaching of the Law and the worship of Buddha, Earth herself will get a fresh energy, her interior creative power (*tejas*) will be strengthened and renewed, and the goddesses Śrī and Lakṣmī presiding over fortune and success, will enter into her, joining her in her task of feeding and nourishing beings in prosperity¹.

Among the aspects of the Pṛthivī invoked in the Vedic literature, this is the one which outlived or came to the foreground, the one by which she survived as a self-standing though secondary deity, thus escaping the fate which befell many of the Vedic gods, that gave place to other intuitions, little by little emerging out of the aboriginal lore of the anaryan and prearyan inhabitants of India. But if we read the famous hymn to Earth contained in the *Atharvaveda* (XII, 1), a book which is tainted by the ideas of the aboriginal world with which the Indo-Europeans came in contact in their conquest of India, we notice that many more elements were intermingled with the idea of Earth.

She is the expanse on which we live:

“The earth makes for us wide room—
let the earth be spread out for us”.

She is the Mother:

“Mistress of what is and what is to be,
Let that earth (to us) a mother to a son,
release milk (to me)”.

She is invoked for granting success and prosperity:

“O Mother Earth, do thou kindly set me well established,
do set me in fortune, in prosperity.

¹ *Suvarṇaprabhāsa*, Chapt. 11.

Let that earth, increasing,
make us increase.

Let that earth assign to us brilliancy, strength,
in highest royalty.

Let the earth assign to us fortune, splendour.

Let the earth set us in prosperity ”.

She is the support of everything:

“ all-bearing, good-holding, firm-standing ”.

She gives life to man and plants, she gives man his food:

“ On whom stand always fixed the trees, the forest trees,
The all-supporting earth that is held (together)
do we address.

May we sit down, o Earth, upon thee; that bearest
refreshment, prosperity, food portion, glee ”.

She contains all sorts of treasures, and she yields them to man:

“ Let that Earth appoint unto us
what riches we desire.

The Earth is the womb of everything
Bearing treasures (and) good in many places
hiddenly, let that earth give us jewels, gold ”.

She is the milk-giving cow:

“ Let the Earth of many streams, yield us milk,
yield me a thousand streams of prosperity,
like a steady (unresisting) milk-cow ”.

She is a protector from rivals and enemies:

“ Let that Earth push forth our rivals:
Let Earth make me free from rivals ”.

She is also, as in a famous hymn of the *Rgveda*, the mother who kindly and tenderly gives shelter and rest to the departed man¹:

“ In that, lying, I turn myself about the right (or)
the left side, O Earth: in that

¹ A.V. XII, 1; 34.

will our limbs lie stretched out upon thee, that meetest us—
Do not in that case injure us.
O Earth, thou underlier of everything”.

And again, the dead man is thus advised †:

“ Approach thou this Mother Earth
The wide expanded Earth, the very propitious—
The Earth (is) soft as wool to him who hath sacrificed gifts:
let her protect thee on the forward road in front ”.

We can therefore guess the ambiguity and the multivalence of the primeval archetype: it shows a complexity, far different from the rationalized simplicity of the myths concerning the Earth, referred to above.

Moreover, it seems to me that the aspects of Pṛthivī with which we have dealt, have very little in common with the neolithic and chalcolithic images of the Mother Goddess, or with the female deity from whose body a tree bursts out as in certain seals of Mohenjodaro or the village deities, the Mother Goddesses of whom we shall speak. The idea of order, later of moral order, embodied in Pṛthivī as opposed to Chaos is the outcome of different spiritual and cultural surroundings: it is connected with the notion of truth, *ṛta*, while those intuitions as expressed by the images of Mohenjo-daro or by the village Mother Goddess do not show such a preoccupation. These betray a complex, rather emotional than rational reaction of the primitive inhabitants of India to the never exhausted productiveness of Earth, to the alternation of growth and withering of things, the awe, the shudder of man in front of the mystery of the everrecurring cycle of life and death; they betray the fear lest the cycle might stop, they contain the feeling of a motherhood of nature which supports whatever exists, but reabsorbs it in her womb. She creates, but she kills as well.

This motherhood in fact is not a protecting and almost human motherhood, as that expressed in the Vedic hymns or persisting in the image of the earth coming to the rescue of Sitā: nor are cosmogonic ideas adumbrated in it. This motherhood is felt as a wild impulse to exist, a chaotic blending of undefined impressions, imaginations, fears and hopes, intermingled in an often contradictory whole, pregnant with further possibilities: the confused departing point of later more coherent religious or philosophical constructions, which have there,

† A.V. XVIII, 3; 49.

anyhow, their primeval origin. Still, these intuitions happened to be most vital. Now one aspect comes to the foreground, now the other, but not without revealing or preserving connections, maybe loose but undeniable, with other implications, so that on each of them shades are always projected of the conflicting but unavoidable complexity. They branch out of the same root, though, in the morphology as realized in history, they seem to be independent overgrowths: to such an extent, that their connection with the pristine notion sometimes appears faded or even lost—but it still lurks there, as the inevitable source and inspiration, just like the waters of a spring carried along by the river.

More than that: their modulations and expressions in history amount almost to a symbol, reflected in the religious experience of the many-sidedness of Indian culture, on which each one of the numerous ethical groups left the imprint of its own contribution. This complexity of the archetype Earth is indirectly testified by the multiplicity of names which may connote it is Sanskrit, and which represent the diverse reactions of the Indian mind to Earth. Some of these names are descriptive and imaginific, moulded by that capacity of creating new terms, so peculiar to Sanskrit. In others, the current use has weakened but not completely effaced the implications and the images which the root of the word evokes and connotes:

Dhāritrī, the supporting one, the holder; *dhatri*, the nursing mother; *kṣamā*, the patient; *medinī*, the helper; *bhūmi*, as soil; *gau*, the cow, as the milk giver; *vasumdhara*, *vasudharā*, the holder of riches; *viṣṭapa*, the cup, because according to some old cosmogonic ideas heaven and earth were imagined as two inverted cups, one above the other, which were later separated. Then chiefly *Pṛthivī* or *Urvī*, the wide one, the broad one, because Earth is considered as an expanse; in fact she was stretched out by Indra.

In the Vedas the universe as space is divided into three parts: earth, atmosphere or intermediate space (*antarīkṣa*), and sky. But each of these planes was again divided into three sections. Consequently, the Earth too is triple: it is not separated from the sky, but it forms with this a unity (*ṣaḍ ūrvih*), "the six expansions" there being the threefold earth and the threefold sky.

As to its shape, it is imagined either round or square, surrounded by the ocean, the seven or four oceans; but these problems are specially connected with cosmology and cosmography: let us revert to the idea of earth. This multivalence of the notion of Earth Mother, the presence of at least two trends of experience, the one which conceived of Earth as the creator, the first creature, the benevolent mother, the custodian

or defender of the cosmic order, the second one which expresses itself in the variety of the village goddesses, shows how difficult it is to classify and to define the images of the female deity which the excavations in India bring to light almost every day.

When we call Mother Earth the chalcolithic images representing a female with swollen breasts or marked sex, or the figure in the plaque of Lauriya Nandangarh, we confer the preciseness of a definition to symbols, of which we do not know the real import, or what they represented to the religious experience of the worshippers. If we are to judge from later facts, it is far more probable that those images were expressive more of the Mother generally than of Pṛthivī. In other words: out of the manysidedness of the archetype in which motherhood and earthhood were blended together, the intuition of mother as the never exhausted creative power which sustains whatever exists, the embodiment of the mystery of life, outgrows in course of time the other aspect and becomes the more significant one. The Earth recedes before the Mother, becomes subordinate to the Mother: the latter is inclusive of the Earth, is more comprehensive, and thus prevails. In the Earth, in Pṛthivī, motherhood is conceived on the pattern of human motherhood. The cosmic sense is predominant in her. It is the Earth in its wide expanse. On the contrary the Mother or better the Mothers, the heritage of pre-aryan India, though emanations of the same force, unlimited, active everywhere, are somehow localized: they are the limited soil of a village—or of a community—they identify themselves with a certain soil and a certain group: projections of the same energy, fundamentally identical, morphologically different, emerging from the same archetype reflected into many manifestations. They possess the character of vegetation goddesses. They are expressed by different symbols, because each form was given the peculiar imprint of the group. No wonder, then, that the Goddess, abiding in a forest, in a tree, in a stone, near a water-side, in a shrine, appears under so many names: one thousand of them are enumerated in a famous hymn, the *Lalitāsahasranāma*, “the one thousand names of Lalita, the Goddess”, commented upon, with the aim of explaining its gnostic implications, by one of the greatest Tantric authors of India, Bhāskara Rāy. The multiplicity of these names is indicative of the infinite varieties in which the Goddess appeared to the various ethnic groups settled in India, and belonging to quite different races: Dravidian, Munda, Mongolian, equally worshipping under different aspects the same archetypal image. Each village had its own goddess, the goddess of its territory, presiding over the rhythm of life in that very small space. In some cases she bears the name of the country itself where her worshippers settled: she was not only the mysterious

source of life, she was that very soil geographically limited, and culturally a peculiar entity.

She was the *grāmadevatā*, the village deity which the unification of the country into larger centres did not suppress: the *grāmadevatās* still resist the impact of time, deities worshipped by the village community with whose fortunes they identify themselves, and attended by priests almost generally belonging to the low classes. Even after Hinduism had synthetized in its catholicity the varieties of religious experiences of the groups which had blended on Indian soil, and these experiences had coalesced in an organic whole which was to become the common heritage of India, the primitive connection with the aboriginal, non-vedic tradition, could not be denied. Durgā, in whom many of these local forms flow together, is said to be the goddess of the wild tribes Śabaras, Barbaras, Puliṅḍas; her black homologous, Kālī, will never cease to relish liquors, flesh ¹, and to delight in rites which betray the cruelty of primordial ages.

In the Mother Goddesses this primitiveness is inherent as their peculiar character: they are undifferentiated, half gods, half demons, in a certain way partaking more of the demons than of the gods, because they have an indistinct will, which may be directed indifferently to good and evil. Another character they have in common with the demons: they have no personality, and therefore they, often, have no name. They are called simply *grāmadevatā*, "*Ammā*", the "Mother" with no other specification. In many cases they have no definite form: they are a stone placed at the foot of the holy tree, protected by a primitive artless shrine—only at a later time, some rough traits were painted or carved in the stone, so as to give it the aspect of a face.

They are the outcome of a primitive intuition, the vague expression of the undetermined awe of man before some forces felt to be present in the soil where the community lived, lending it the imprint of a sacred participation. They preceded any attempt at rationalizing, or any search for an order moral or cosmic; they are nearer to the world of instinct than of reason; they are mischievous, they are dreaded. Once more, therefore, we notice that they differ from Pṛthivī, the aryan Mother Earth. This Mother Earth, as she appears in the hymn of the Atharvaveda, or in the Puranic stories, is inserted into the scheme of universal order; she has got the limits which the Mother Goddesses lack.

They still partake of chaos, Mother Earth is already out of it; therefore, as we have seen, Viṣṇu in his Varahāvatāra, his incarnation

¹ Mbh. IV, 8, 19.

as a boar, lifts her in his hand out of the cosmic waters in which she had sunk. That is why, whenever the demons overrun the Earth, and evils and disasters offend the order and the Law, she prays the supreme God, be it Viṣṇu or Śiva or Brahmā, to restore Lawfulness. Therefore again, she is the supreme witness, who testifies to the veracity of an oath. She is the outcome of a people who discovered the value of ṚTA, of truth, that is order, and made this truth rule over everything; she is the heritage of a people who affirmed: "Through *ṛta*, the truth, has Varuṇa, the *ratavan*, the possessor of truth, in three ways expanded the universe, that is, the triple universe: sky, atmosphere and earth¹". The Mother Goddesses on the contrary are before all that; they are nature as yet uncontrolled raging in the impulse of its infinite possibilities. Accordingly, the terrific character prevails in these *grāmadevatās*. They are infinite: but no contradiction is found between the existence of so many varieties and the uniqueness of the force underlying them: they abide in different place, but still the same energy is active in them, all creating and all consuming; a power which always and everywhere craves for life, and is fatally and necessarily compelled to manifest and expand itself in the manifold aspects of being.

Thus the bud of this archetype with which we are concerned and that was to have, with the philosophic and theosophic speculation, its full flower, blossomed into symbols more adequate to the changed spiritual and cultural situation: they expressed in a more definite way the obscure and unprecise but homologous intuitions, that slowly emerged from that primeval archetype. The old hierophanies did not die out: on the contrary, they branched off into many images that still vibrate in the soul of the people.

The agricultural communities, among which the mother goddesses developed, continued to center their religious life on rituals intended to restore the forces of the soil, tired and languishing from the stress of creation. Bloody sacrifices are an essential part of the rituals, because blood reconciles the goddess—she is bloodthirsty, all vegetation goddesses and *grāmadevatās* are—just as Kālī, never tired to lick the blood of the victims offered to her.

That is, fecundity must be strengthened and helped, to yield again her resources; she must be revived. Traces of such a rebirth after death, peculiar to the vegetation gods, are not lacking in India; the most famous example is that of Satī, the daughter of Dakṣa and the bride of Śiva, who committed suicide for the insult made by her father to

¹ Rgveda IV, 42, 4.

her husband. Dakṣa's head was cut off by Śiva, but Satī was born again as Umā. Life needs to be fed by death—death ensures rebirth.

Actually, life in India was never considered as isolated from death: life and death are the two poles of the universal becoming: two faces of the same process, two steps of the cosmic dance of Śiva. Life left to its unchecked impulse becomes a blind force: it bursts forth, it overflows, multiplying itself like a river which nothing can control. Earth would be overwhelmed by the uncontrolled irruption of life, were not death to restrain her activity and to compensate with its dreary intervention the mad proliferation.

There is a story in the *Mahābhārata* which poetically expresses this truth. Earth was oppressed by the multiplication of life (*bhārartā*) and therefore Death was created to relieve her: she appeared in the form of a beautiful girl unwilling to accept the dreadful job: however, unable to avoid the supreme will, she shed tears of despair, and the tears became the diseases, the pale forerunners of death¹. Thus Earth is the support of life but also the reign of death: the idea of rhythm develops; the rhythm of life and death becomes the rhythm of recurrent cycles. The intuition of an agricultural people, impressed by the uninterrupted alternation of growth and decay, or afraid lest this alternation might come to a stop, and the widespread myths of resurrection are interpreted by the philosophically-minded Indian as a rhythm by which the creative force manifests itself, be it the mother Earth of the mother Goddess. Life cannot be separated from death: life and death being two inseparable aspects of the becoming. The idea of *samsāra* is not applicable to man alone: everything that exists appears, lasts for a while, and disappears, to reappear again: Man only has been taught the way how to move for ever into the other plane, with the help of the gnosis which opens to him the door of immortality, of *amṛta* or *nirvāna*. But here on earth the alternation of birth and death rules inevitably: it rules over time as opposite to the timeless being.

That is why the Mother has two faces: she is white and black, peaceful and frowning, Durgā and Kālī: the mother of the universal rhythm which evolves through the dialectics of life and death.

We have mentioned Durgā: she is now the most popular aspect of the goddess: even nowadays when so many ideas have crept into India. The ritual of the ceremony dedicated to her, fills the people with enthusiasm and religious fervour, and unites in the same devotional feeling the women folk, the officials and the intellectuals, in whom

¹ VII, 54, 48.

the contacts with European culture and ways of life have not dried up the traditional faith. She is and means many things to the Indian: she is the embodiment of *śakti*, the divine Energy, no doubt the most popular embodiment of *śakti*, but her ritual, handed down from a forlorn antiquity, betrays traces of her primitive agricultural character, shows clear connections of the Goddess with the vital force which yields fruits and rice and nourishment to man, and makes the luxuriant forests grow, where life breaks out so frantically as to annihilate itself.

The festivals dedicated to her take place after the rainy season, in autumn, when the harvesting is over, and winter is approaching. This period is a peculiar junction of the universal rhythm when the fecundating forces, exhausted by creation, should be recuperated, in order to burst forth again, in full efficacy, the coming spring. It is the time when rulers used to start for military campaigns, originally in order to get prisoners to offer in sacrifice to Earth, thus strengthening with their blood her creative powers. Durgā (whose cult originated perhaps in the mountains of Vindhya—she is called Vindhya-vāsīnī—) has in fact been assimilated with some homologous hierophanies like Cāmuṇḍā, in which the warlike character is predominant; she is therefore invoked for victory as the Mother Earth of the Atharvaveda was, and for casting out demons, but fundamentally she is the vivifying force of the forests. As a matter of fact her impersonal power is invited to descend from the mountains where she is more intensively present, but she is awakened in the *bilva* tree:

“ I awaken thee in the *bilva* tree, until the worship is accomplished ” says the worshipper (*Śṛīvyākṣe bodhayāmi tvām yāvat puṣpam karomy aham*).

As soon as she has descended into a branch of that *bilva* tree, this is taken into the house, in front of the image which has been duly prepared. But it is evident that this transferring of the divine entity into the image is quite secondary: the practice was introduced when the Goddess had been anthropomorphically conceived. Originally she was quite impersonal, and her representations were aniconic. But the primitive belief in the mysterious presence of the Goddess in the *bilva* tree was not abandoned: it resisted with the tenacity of all religious ideas. Formerly, the goddess magically present in the branch of the tree, without of course leaving her seat or diminishing her power, was invited to pass into the real centre of worship, the *navapatrikā*, the nine leaves (plantain tree, turmeric, barley, *bilva*, rice, etc.). They are nine, because disposing themselves in a maṇḍalic form, the goddess occupies the

centre: round her, on the eight corners of the space (four primary cardinal points and four secondary ones) eight of her most important manifestations are supposed to abide. So the Mother herself, with her entity and her emanations, covers the whole space, the limited space of the community or, in later times, Bhāratavarṣa, the Indian soil as a whole. In the beginning, no temple and no image were therefore needed as an abode of the Goddess, only the nine leaves were required: she was installed in the branch of the *bilva* tree made sacred by her descent. But (and we notice once more how different symbols coalesce) she is also Cāmuṇḍā; in so far as she is the universal life, the nourishing force of whatever breeds on earth, she kills Mahiṣāsura, a demon with a buffalo head: the force counteracting the creative process, and therefore the god of death, because the god of death is represented in India under the aspect of a buffalo or having the buffalo as his vehicle.

The passage is now easy: from Durgā, as a vegetation goddess, as a power yielding crops and fruits, to her hypostasis as Annapūrṇā, "she who is full of food": as such she is invoked as the goddess "who protects the triple universe, or as "Earth (Urvī) the mistress of all living beings she who always grants food to beings".

She distributes ANNA, food, the nourishing sap of all sorts of beings; but this food, this *anna*, is not only the food of man, our daily nourishment. Speculation understands it as the cosmic food, the milk stored in the cosmic cow, which pours down from its udders, never exhausted and circulating as life substance in whatever exists.

"Whatever (food) is eaten or fallen or offered
(says a hymn of the Tattirīya-Brāhmaṇa ¹)
is but a hundredth part of my body.

The spotted cow with the milk of one milking,
fills the two great vessels, Heaven and Earth.

Pious people drinking of it, do not diminish it,
it does become neither more or less".

(This is also the mystery of the eternal rejuvenation of Prajāpati as time ².

"That Prajāpati is the year. He is composed of sixteen parts. His nights, truly, are fifteen parts, his sixteenth part is steadfast. He is increased and diminished by his nights alone. Having, as the new

¹ 15, 8, 8.

² *Bṛhad-āraṇyaka Uṣ.* I, 5, 16.

moon night, entered with that sixteenth part into everything here that has breath he is born hence on the following morning").

So "It does become neither more or less", the essential part of the all permeating Cosmic Energy always remains in store to renew the cycle. In the same way, again, the sixteenth part, *ṣoḍaśanītyakalā* of the *śakti*, not diminished by the process of life and death, sustains and maintains the cosmic evolution, as symbolized by the cult of the girl which we shall mention.

The reflexes of the image have not yet been exhausted: it reappears for instance in *Sitā*, the furrow, which the plough traces in breaking a field: and the field is called *kṣetra*, a neuter name, meaning also a wife, because it is a mere possibility, ambiguous and undetermined, before the plough or the male develops in the field or in the wife the creative power which is latent in them.

Thus, ploughing is not an indifferent act, it is a rite, nuptials, because, as the *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa* says¹: "It is for the seed that the womb, the furrow, is made".

These nuptials take place between the Earth and her husband, the king, the representative of heaven on earth. It is therefore the king who starts the ploughing, with certain ceremonies which in some cases are similar to those with which the Chinese Emperors in spring initiated the works in the fields²: "the king celebrated the ploughing festival. On that day they adorn the town like a celestial abode... On that occasion the king takes hold of a golden plough, the attendant Ministers of a hundred and seven silver ploughs, the peasants of the other ones: holding them, they plough this way and that. The king goes up and down".

Our investigation can lead us even further. From underneath the soil not only the seeds grow, and all nourishing energies of earth burst forth, but there too, all sorts of riches are contained and preserved.

Chthonic gods are always conceived of as custodians of the subterranean wealth: so are the *nagās*: so is Kubera, like Pluto, the god of riches. Just as Śiva the lord of the *śakti* presides over the minerals which the alchemist draws from earth for his combinations, so Earth too remains the bestower of wealth: wealth in all its forms and aspects, not only as treasures: (these were left to Kubera or Śiva)—but wealth in a general way, as welfare conceived by an agricultural people, that welfare which nature grants to her children when neither famine nor diseases, nor misfortunes befall a community.

¹ VII, 2, 2, 5.

² *Jātaka* 1, 57.

This notion of earth as the holder of riches, Vasudharā, is derived from the trend Mother Earth, more than from the other Mother-Goddesses. Just as Dṛdhā, she is the evolution and embodiment of a certain aspect of Earth upon which already the poet of the Atharvaveda insisted:

“ Bearing treasures (and) good in many places hiddenly, let the earth give me jewels, gold, giver of good, bestower of good things to us; let the divine one assign (them to us), with favouring mind ”¹.

As a consequence we should know how to propitiate and to placate the Mother Earth, as Vasudharā in order to induce her to grant lavishly her resources; the Tantras, chiefly Buddhist Tantras, provide us once more with the appropriate means.

It is not surprising that specially the Buddhist Tantras propagated the cult of Earth as goddess of wealth. Buddhism has preserved many gods, goddesses or demons of the ancient Vedic times, which were either forgotten or not frequently spoken of by Hindus. Such is the case, for instance, of Aparajitā and Śaṃvara. We have seen that Dṛdha, Earth, was given a great importance in some buddhist communities, so is she as Vasudharā, the holder of riches.

A famous Mahāyāna book, which is but an anthology of formulae of meditation of the endless Buddhist Olympus, the *Sādhanamālā*, contains many of these instructions for meditating on the goddess Vasudharā—Earth as bestower of wealth—and evoking her.

First of all, according to the prescriptions of these texts, the evocator should meditate upon himself as being Jambhala, the god of wealth. As soon as, on account of this meditative process, he has magically transformed himself into such a god, he should imagine that in the very centre of his heart a lunar seat appears. The lunar seat, according to these rituals, is but a lotus, the support and origin of all creation, spiritual and material as well. It is white because the aspect of the Earth goddess in peaceful. If she were a terrific deity, the seat should then be the solar seat, namely, red. On this seat during the process of meditation the Goddess Vasudharā will appear, that is, as an emanation of the worshipper himself, ideally transformed into the god of wealth. She must look like a girl of sixteen years, because as we shall see, sixteen is the perfect number, the symbol of the undecaying essence. She may

¹ XII, 1; 44.

be represented with two or four arms, one of which should be in that special gesture of the hands which is called *varada-mudrā*, the symbol of gift; in another hand she will hold the *kalāśa*, the sacred pot containing the water of immortality; (other symbols may be present, if she is imagined as having four arms) she must be of yellow colour, because in the scheme of the universal equivalences the yellow colour corresponds to earth.

She being in the centre, four companions should be imagined to sit in front of her, to the right, behind, to the left: Śrīvasudharā, Vasuśrī Vasumukhī, Vasumatī. These are reduplications of the same essence, as we can gather from their very names, disposed in the maṇḍalic arrangement; the fundamental entity is in the centre, and its emanations are disposed at the four corners, so as to symbolize the spatial expansion of the divine so represented, its identification with all the possible space, magically transferred into the small surface on which the worshipper concentrates himself.

But the goddess should be conceived of having on her head the image of Akṣobhya, one of the five supreme Buddhas, who represent the first fivefold projection of the supreme consciousness into the cosmic evolution; and it is natural that Vasudharā, the Earth Goddess, should have Akṣobhya on her crest, as the symbol of the mystic family to which she belongs, because Akṣobhya, the unshakable, is imagined as touching with one hand the earth, in the so-called *bhūmiśparśa-mudrā*, just as the Buddha did, when he invoked the Earth to testify that he had obtained Enlightenment: he is the "unshakable" just as the Earth is the "steady one".

But this is not a general rule: in some other formulæ the mystic connection of Earth is not with Akṣobhya but with Ratnasambhava, another Buddha of the supreme pentad, the Buddha whose name means "Jewel-mine", and who is represented in the gesture of gift, just as Vasudharā imagined; when the worshipper is thus ideally changed into Jambhala, the god of wealth, and contains within his heart the sacred *maṇḍala* of the Goddess Earth and her acolytes, that is her mystic heaven pervaded by her entity, he is ready to accomplish the rite, because according to a well-known Tantric precept, nobody but he who has become a god can worship gods, *nādevo devam arcayet*. He should then worship the Goddess in a square *maṇḍala*, upon which she is mentally invited to descend and to abide; when the descent is accomplished and the epiphany materialized, the worshipper should place a pot in front of the *maṇḍala*, now consecrated by the presence of the Goddess, and throw into it the book containing the mystic formulæ (*dhāraṇī*) relating to Vasudharā and a garland of flowers.

Every act has here a meaning. The pot in this symbolism represents the universe ideally offered to God, but its physical entity has been transposed into another dimension by the power of the formulae thrown into it: it is no longer a material thing but a transsubstantiated reality, an image, the world in its purest essence, and the flowers are to testify the accomplishment of the miracle, the acknowledgement of the revolution of planes, from the human to the divine one. Then the devotee should establish himself in a steady concentration on universal love (*mahāmaitrī*), because all human beings are supposed to benefit by the wealth which he is going to receive from mother Vasudharā: only then he can fix his mind on his own wish and recite the all powerful invocation.

This rite should be accomplished for six months, after which the desire of the devotee is certain to be fulfilled.

This worship which we have here summarized from a book composed about one thousand years ago, and which has directed the religious experience of the Buddhist communities of that time, has not died out. Those who have been in Bengal know the importance of certain home worships, made on different occasions, chiefly by the womenfolk: they are called *vratas* and give a glimpse of the popular religion, at the same time preserving or recording myths and rites. They have an artistic significance too, because the girls use to paint with coloured powder, on the floor of the veranda in front of the house, some *maṇḍala* or diagrams not devoid of aesthetic value (usually called *alpona*). One of these *vratas*, in Bengal, is dedicated to the Earth (called Vasumatī, the possessor of wealth). It takes place on the last day of the Indian year. The girls design a lotus flower between six smaller flowers, three on each side, which branch out from the same stalk. Upon the lotus in the middle a disk is drawn symbolizing the Earth. On this occasion songs are sung:

“ In the bosom of Vasumatī, the Earth, there is the birth (of everything). In her chest there are sorrow and joy.

In her womb there is the water, in her there are the fruits
 In her all religion (*dharma*) and all action stay:
 To-day is the end of the year:
 To-day, o Mother Earth, one year ends,
 another year goes;

To-day we should perform the *vrata* of Earth Goddess;
 all girls, women, practicing religion,
 all widows should perform the *vrata* of Earth Goddess ”.

When the *alpona* is drawn, the girls besprinkle it with honey, milk, curds, poured into a conchshell, reciting the following *mantra*:

“Come, o Earth, sit on the lotus leaf (viz. designed in the *alpona*)
having in your hands the conchshell
the lotus flower and the club—
I shall feed you with milk and fresh butter
After that I will become the queen of a king”.

So the conceptions inspiring the poet of the *Atharvaveda* or the Buddhist priest are still alive in the simple faith of the womenfolk of the villages and reappear in the rudimental designs of the *alpona*. But we can trace here the appearance of another parallel hierophany. Mother Earth is here in fact invoked for success and fortune: the young ladies who address their prayers to her express the wish of becoming queens: they hope that the Goddess will grant them fortune and happiness.

The contamination is evident with another aspect which parted from the same archetype: Śrī or Lakṣmī, equally the wives of Prajāpati, then of Viṣṇu, in the beginning two different entities, afterwards generally considered as two names of the same person, born as we saw out of the cosmic waters, or of Śrīsaras. She is standing on the Lotus, bestower of cows and food, goddess of the seeds, patron of the peasants, strictly connected, just as Durgā, with the *bilva* tree.

From the old stem a new flower has blossomed: but it is coloured in a different way: in the image of Śrī-Lakṣmī the effect prevails on the cause; emphasis has been laid not on the crops, but on the welfare which they assure to mankind, on the banishment of insecurity which makes less painful this uncertain journey from birth to death which we call life. But this Fortune so conceived is not a capricious girl easily changing her mind and moods: she is still a loving mother affectionate and steady in her feelings; she sticks to her soil, she never abandons her children provided they are worthy of her: if they deserve it she departs, but she sheds tears of despair. She presides over the community and its ruler as well: she is the glory of the king, because this is her husband; born from Prajāpati, according to the *Śatapthabrāhmaṇa*¹, she is a synthesis of royal power, universal sovereignty, noble rank, holy lustre, dominion, wealth, prosperity, beautiful forms.

The image develops into another dimension, its implications increase, the fortune of the community and of the kingdom coincides with that of the family ruling over it (*kulalakṣmī*). She remains the ideal pro-

¹ XI, 4, 3, 1.

jection of the manifold resources of a country, but she becomes the symbol round which the hopes and expectations of a community centre, the invisible and always present patron of its historical entity, the protector of the king who never forgets to represent her imago on his coins, as is the case, to give a single instance, with the Gupta Emperors.

At last she became the patron of the merchants, this hierophany taking a definite shape when the small agricultural units of the village were absorbed by larger communities: social life had become specialized, and many outlets were offered to men's activities. This new notion presupposes the town with its organizations and corporations; it is an offshoot from the same stem, but grown in different social environments.

* * *

Let us now descend for a moment from religion to science, from heaven to earth. There have been in India some trends of thought that were not touched by the deep religious feelings which inspired the people. They had a scientific bent, they considered that whatever happens in this world is caused by the intervention of some fundamental elements: these and the things which are derived from them and from their combination are born, develop, last and disappear in consequence of some intrinsic force which represents their inner being, their fatal and inherent Law: in a word, their nature (*svabhāva*).

Everything in this world exist, evolves and dies, according to this inner nature which manifests itself driven, so to say, by its intrinsic impulse or at random, or by the impact of time. But in any case, no divine force operates and acts in the universe: nothing exists except a series of elements, the fundamentals of existence. They are five, and by various combinations among themselves, they create things and beings, their qualities and their characters, their form and their properties. These *naturalistic* schools, which are known by different names (Nāstika, Cārvāka, Lokāyata) were the forerunners of later scientific investigation: for them Earth is nothing but one of the five elements along with fire, water, ether and space. According to the Vaiśeṣika-Nyāya school, which is usually called the atomistic school, though the atomic conception is a general tenet of all the systems of India, earth is defined as that which possesses the absence of negation of smell, which positively expressed means that earth is an element characterized by smell, as its peculiar and essential quality; smell of course can also be found in other substances, but it is not their intrinsic and fundamental property. Though smell is the differentiating quality of

earth, still the latter possesses other characters, such as colour, taste, sound, number, dimension, separateness, conjunction, disjunction, priority, posteriority, weight, fluidity, velocity and elasticity. Earth is of two kinds: eternal in the form of atoms, and non eternal in the form of products. Each material element, according to a pan-Indian theory, is the substratum of a corresponding organ; not in its physiological entity, but as its superphysical background: in this system of equivalences, the earth is the substratum of the organ of smell.

When man dies, his body dissolves again into the five elements: it returns to its constituents, and therefore each one of them disappears into its cosmic atomic equivalent. As a quotation contained in an old Buddhist book says:

“ This man is composed of four elements,
 And when he dies, earth returns to earth,
 Water to water, fire to fire,
 Wind to wind, and the senses go back to ether ”.

If we want to complete our picture of the manysided notion of the Earth in India, we should add that the Earth is not only this very soil which we trample; its nature is not definite—any piece of land can change its nature, can be transferred into another plane. Earth and Heaven are separate and distinct, but man has the power to transform any space into a heavenly surface: the space upon which an act of cult is celebrated, or upon which the divine presence is invited to descend, is magically and ideally transformed; it is not situated anywhere, but it is situating; it is not only the space upon which a temple is to be built or a *mandala* designed, but also the little space upon which the priest performs his rites. The heavenly plane can be superimposed upon the earth, so that the latter becomes fit to give shelter, momentary or everlasting, to the divine forces which the power of the ritual will invoke upon it.

Man in India has been conceived as a being superior not to God, the infinite motionless consciousness of whom we all are a spark, but to gods: only a man can become a Buddha, only man has the power to control the gods, and a Bengali poet of the Middle Ages could therefore rightly say: “Man is above all, nothing is above Man”. But the power of man derives from his *vidyā*, from his mystic and magical knowledge, a knowledge which accompanied by the appropriate praxis realizes things difficult of achievement: the reintegration in the centre or cause of the universe, the return to the primeval origin, and consequently the reverting to the very beginning of things.

Thus man is miraculously changed into the creator—the miracle of creation repeats itself. Because when a temple is built or a *mandala* is drawn, the man who does so creates the earth. The surface of the temple should be square, limited on the four sides, because at the beginning earth was four-cornered; and the place chosen for the building should be made even, just as king Pṛṥthu did when with his bow he levelled mountains and hills: the earth was afraid, and she ran away in the form of a cow: but Pṛṥthu got her and submitted her, and made her almost her child, so that she was called Pṛṥthivī. Because the temple is just like the vedic altar: the *vedī*, the place from where the sacrificer ascends from earth to heaven. In fact, as the *Śatapathabrahmana* says, the sacrifice “is an ascent away from here, but the earth is the foundation»¹. And grain should be sown in it, because after Pṛṥthivī was subdued and tamed by Pṛṥthu, she became the nourishing Mother of all sorts of beings.

* * *

If, before summarizing what we have said and drawing further conclusions, we now turn to Tibet, we find a different situation. Buddhism brought along with it many Indian ideas which have become the common lore of the new converts. It is not surprising that a Mother Earth, Sa'i lha mo, be known to the Tibetans: she is none else but the Pṛṥthivī Mātā, whom the Buddha invokes as a witness of his Enlightenment. But she does not play any prominent role, neither in dogmatics nor in liturgy. The same can be said of Vasudharā, Nor 'dsin ma, though this one, unlike Pṛṥthivī, is quite popular, and for evident reasons. The Buddhist teaching that everything in this world of appearances is unsubstantial, did not completely check or suppress in the Tibetans the natural inclination to worldly success: they therefore willingly address their prayers to Vasudharā. But this Goddess is far from being so universally worshipped as her mystic father Jambhala, the god of riches, never missing in the private chapels of the Tibetans.

But Buddhism superseded in Tibet the aboriginal Bon religion; it superseded Bon, but could not cancel it: it rather accepted and preserved many of its gods and intuitions, adapting them to the new spiritual surroundings. There is in Tibetan Buddhism a class of gods, the C'os skyoñ, Dharmapāla, *defensores fidei*, which is always open to new recruits, and in which the aboriginal demons were merged, changed

¹ VIII, 5, 2, 16.

into protectors and defenders of the Buddhist Law or of its temples and monasteries. It is just in the rituals and the literature connected with them, or among the few communities still practicing the Bon religion, that we can get an idea of the religious background of Tibet, as it appeared before the introduction of Buddhism. The cultural surroundings are completely different from those in which the Indian Mother Goddess developed. The Tibetans have for centuries been nomads and shepherds, moving along with their flocks in search of suitable fodder. They were divided into tribes, and even when they settled down they did not abandon for centuries their way of life. Under these nomadic conditions, in this absence of fixed agricultural settlements, the sky (as among the Prototurks and Protomongols) was to take the upperhand. *gNam*, sky, is related to the Tängri of the above mentioned tribes; just as many other elements of the social and religious life of the early Tibetans show great analogies with the other races nomadizing in the vastness of Central Asia.

But Earth, as such, Mother Earth, has no place in their myths. We have in her stead *sa bdag*, masters of the earth: they are imprecise entities, easy to take offence, that abide underneath the ground. These *genii loci* are the overlords presiding over a large part of the territory occupied by an entire clan; so that a *sa bdag* is identified with the clan itself, or it may be the *sa bdag* of the place where the village, even the house, or the hut is built. Theoretically, each piece of land has its own *sa bdag*, just as each spring, each river, each lake has its own *klu*, *nāga*, a dragon; and as a matter of fact, the two notions—that of *klu*, *nāga* and that of *sa bdag*—cannot be easily distinguished. The *klu* have a definite connection with water, but they can also be found under a dry land. These *sa bdag* are ambiguous, indifferently good or bad; their attitude toward man being adequate to the behaviour of man himself. They are quick to react to any offence made to them, it does not matter whether consciously or unconsciously. They are not concerned with the will of man, but with his actions: whatever might appear injurious to them brings about their vengeance, an immediate one. All sorts of diseases and epidemics which befall man and cattle depend on their wrath. The Bon religion therefore developed, and Buddhism accepted, a large propitiating liturgical praxis and literature, in which the *sa bdag* are asked for forgiveness, or placated. When one crosses a bridge, a river, a mountain pass, a prayer is to be addressed to the *sa bdag* presiding over the place, and one should ask for his forgiveness; his domain, it does not matter whether small or large, has been violated by man, and man must placate the masters of the soil, with which they are identified.

When I was camping in the More desert between Zanskar and Chumurti I fell seriously ill: I was alone on the roof of the world. I sent for the magician of a tribe of nomads pasturing nearby. He came: he recited some prayers, drew a *maṇḍala*, fell into a trance and when he awoke he told me that my disease had been caused by a *sa bdag* offended by my having pitched my tent upon him. The case was not desperate: I had only to shift the tent, read a book containing propitiating formulae of the *sa bdag*, offer some barley to his mysterious presence. This I did, and I must say that the day after my fever had gone. Those *sa bdag* have no definite shape, they are impersonal, not anthropomorphic (at the beginning at least, because later on, after the definite conquest of Tibet by Buddhism, they were given an iconography, and were imagined according to the pattern of Indian *yakṣas* or *nāgas*. But this is a literary and learned scheme which does not always find its expression in art). Each district has its own foremost *sa bdag*, which is the representative of the district itself. He is its master, and very often the ancestor of the clan which lives on that territory. Its abode is generally a mountain, upon which it descended from heaven; or the *sa bdag* is an autochthonous entity, identified with the mountain itself. There the dead of the ruling clan were buried. (Sometimes feminine entities take their place = as mountain goddesses they are called, usually, the *bstan ma*. But the original spelling was most probably *brtan ma*, which corresponds to Sanskrit *Ḍṛdhā*, "the steady one", the name of Earth). They are mischievous. They defend their own territory from all sorts of intruders, chiefly from the representatives of a new religion. The spreading of a new religion means, in fact, that a new universe is superimposed to the old one, and that the owners of the latter are bound to lose their power; that is why the *bstan ma*, usually 13 in number (because 13 is with the Bonpo a sacred number), oppose the Indian apostle Padmasambhava in the introduction of Buddhism which he had undertaken.

When these gods are defeated they accept the job of being appointed as defenders of the new faith in the old domain, against evil forces. Even after conversion they do not abandon their country to which they are naturally bound, and with which they are one and identical.

There are cases in which a classification of these *sa bdag* can be noticed: there is a ruler and there are his ministers, evidently under the influence of or as a parallel of Chinese conceptions. As a matter of fact, there is in Tibet, as in many other parts of Asia, from India to South-Eastern Asia, a sacred geography, a map of the sacredness of the places which underlies the physical map and corresponds to it. This map is divided into districts and zones, according to the determi-

nation of historical events, propensities, alliances or enmities, which established certain supremacies or subordinations: in a word, the map of this sacredness of the soil is strictly connected in its associations with the political developments of society.

This fact, which is plainly developed in China, is less evident in other parts, for instance in India, where political centralization was not so prominent as in China, and the village communities were left to a larger autonomy.

In Tibet, on account of the lack of an agricultural way of life, and of the prevailing nomadic and pastoral character of society, the notion of Earth was not that of an energetic Mother, a force upon which the cycle of vegetation and life depends. We find instead a series of independent local masters of a particular piece of land, jealous of their domain, causing all sorts of diseases and misfortunes to those who trespass on their abode or offend them. From underneath the soil they rule over human destinies, but they do not yield to man the abundance of crops and fruits. If treasures lie hidden in the earth, they guard them jealously: it is not easy to rob them of their property. In their ambiguous character they resemble the *grāmadevatā*, the village deities of India, and similar intuitions of South-Eastern Asia, which are equally impersonal, aniconic, malignant, causing small-pox or cholera. On the other hand, the village deities of India are connected with a village or community, there is a certain bond between them and man, which is not the case with the *śaśadag*, who is master of the soil and nothing else.

In the Tibetan society of nomads and shepherds gods are preeminently masculine; but in India, the work in the fields resting chiefly on women, the Goddesses take the upper hand on Gods: they are the Mothers. The conditions of life being different, the Tibetans and the aboriginal inhabitants of India reacted in a different way to the relation felt to exist between man and the soil. Then the Indo-Europeans carried with them a new idea, morphologically different, be it Pṛthivī, or Aditi, the Mother who emanated all gods and beings and things. Later, in the course of time, she was rationalized and became the embodiment of Earthhood, the witness of truth, unable, in spite of her boundless patience, to bear untruth, the breakers of *ṛta* or *dharma*, in a word evil, quite in accordance with the prominence given by Indo-Europeans to the idea of order conceived as truth.

But I do not want to be misunderstood: it is quite possible that Mother Earth and Mother Goddess, or rather the Mother Goddesses express two different trends of culture. More than that, there are good reasons for believing that they belong to two different ethnic groups, living under different social conditions. Still their images have grown

in the same soil; they are the expression, in different surroundings and by differently-minded people, of the same fundamental primeval archetype, they are refractions of the same inborn pregnant image. It is a question of stress, I should say, being laid upon one or the other of the many-sided aspects of the same basic intuition. In a word, we are confronted by a structure, unstable because alive, and never completed, an archetypal possession of all mankind, here marked by the conflicting bends of Indian culture and its fundamental components.

These primordial images combine and associate themselves, or split into many refractions with a freedom and a arbitrariness which do not fit into logical schemes, but reflect the instability and the immediateness of the evolving process of life. As a consequence, the never ceasing modulations of the same archetype escape any definition: they cannot be classified. We cannot say that the Goddesses we have mentioned are identical with Mother Earth. They are and are not: they are that and some other thing also. We cannot say where the limit stands between the two notions, because no such limit exists. The extremely complex image in which they are rooted is capable of infinite modulations, and in this very fact lies the cause of their ever recurring resurrection.

It is therefore impossible to locate a place where this worship preeminently originated, whether north or south India, Central or Eastern India. There is hardly a village or a community in which a goddess was not, or is not worshipped: it may be in some places the mother aspect is emphasized, in another the sensuous, in another yet the terrific. Matriarchal society gave it a greater impulse but it cannot be said that the mothers are fundamentally the outcome of a matriarchal society; their bivalence may have been influenced by lunar cults; but the cycle of life and death, death and resurrection is before that¹.

The organization of the soil gods into a scheme, the subordination of the various local deities to the deity of the district and then to the major one of the Empire, symbolized by the Emperor, in a word this reflection of the political order on the religious background, which we find in China, is missing in India. Here we find instead, as the result of a mind more inclined to metaphysics, the preoccupation of discovering the fundamental unity which underlies the manifold manifestations of the Mother or of the Mothers. Her emanations are infinite, but her motherhood is one, as many rays part from the same sun; just

¹ For various problems connected see KOPPERS, "Probleme der indischen Religionsgeschichte", in *Anthropos*, vol. XXXV-XXXVI, p. 776.

as, according to some schools, our soul, the *ātman*, is nothing but the reflex of some unique force which appears as irradiating itself everywhere.

Thus the primitive, vague but extremely pregnant intuition, containing in itself various and conflicting images, read, so to say, in a different way, interpreted metaphysically, remains the background of the most brilliant conquests of Indian theosophy. When the seed of that archetype fell upon the fertile ground of philosophical thought, its implications lost all its crudity and spread a new light; the religious images and myths turned out into symbols of the intricacies of cosmic evolution.

That cosmic motherhood, the mysterious urge that brings to light beings and things, this impulse to exist, which causes the not yet existing to assume a form and to be, became one of the essential points, the central point of Indian theosophy.

Because what else is the will which creates the cosmic illusion or the cosmic reality (the opinions of the thinkers differ on this point) the *prakṛti*, *natura naturans*, unfolding itself in the infinite physical and psychical aspects of being, or the *śakti* (cosmic energy) of later gnostic system, what else, I say, are all these notions except modulations of that primeval intuition, sublimated by a bold metaphysics? The ambiguous, indefinite intuitions of the Mother Goddesses, developed into the idea of the power by which God (later generally merged into Śiva or identified with him) manifests himself in the reality of things, or emanates out of him this series of images and forms which are nothing but the limitation in space and time of his pure and infinite consciousness. This new notion, then, reacted upon the old religious ideas, and the speculation lent a new significance to the innumerable forms of the Mother Goddesses. They are still called the Mother, *Kālīmā*, *Āmbā*; they inspire even now the Śākta mystics, but they are mere symbols of the supreme Active Entity which, unique and uncontrolled, creates and dissolves whatever exists. All this is very clearly seen in the Tantras. This rather despised branch of Indian literature, though to my mind one of the most important expressions of that gnostic trend of thoughts which once invaded with the same fervour and often with the same symbols all civilized nations from China to Rome, has preserved some of the oldest creeds of India, and has largely drawn on the experience of peoples of all classes, chiefly the lower ones, and even of the aboriginal tribes living in the jungles or on the boundaries of India. These Tantras have accepted the gods of those peoples; they were primitive, ambiguous, blood-thirsty, terrific gods, difficult to appease, the outcome of the first intuition of a mind still horrified by the agitation of chaos. But the Tan-

tras gave these gods a value of symbol, they considered them as the expression of the various moments of that psychological drama, which Tantric ritualism and gnosis were desired to achieve.

This psychological drama was meant to produce in man during this very life a revulsion from the samsaric plane to another plane: in other words, its purpose is to arrest the dispersion of our inner being, the unique consciousness, into a variety of experiences in which, forgetful of itself, that very consciousness is gradually changed into its apposite, into darkness and limitation. In this way Tantric ritualism intends to realise its aim, that is the re-integration into that cosmic consciousness, beyond space and time and beyond the reach of reason. Then the light which is in us and in everything, shines again motionless in its purity, free for ever from the illusion and vanity of representative thought. The force which creates this illusion, this multifarious succession of futile appearances which we call the world of existence, is the omnipresent and all-pervading *śakti*, the *dynamis*, the power intrinsic in God, the Supreme Śiva. The primeval couple of Sky and Earth, from whom all is derived, acquires a new value: that *hieros gamos* is no longer the cause of a creation which took place once upon a time and once for all. This creation repeats itself every moment in the universe, in the *makranthropos* and within ourselves; the sacred couple is no longer Sky and Earth, but God and his *śakti*, the possessor of the power-*śaktimān*—and the *śakti*; but the Śakti takes the upperhand upon the possessor of the *śakti*; Śiva, without this power being active in him, is but a corpse, Śava-Śiva. That is why they represent him lying as a corpse while Kālī dances upon him the tremendous dance at whose rhythm the worlds are created, and disappear and reappear again in a everlasting succession.

This *śakti* is active in so far as it develops within itself infinite forces, which are like rays emanating from the same light; and what are in fact the local goddesses, but its corporeal symbol?

Philosophy justifies religion.

The Mother is within us as the Kuṇḍalinī, the serpent lying at the base of the spinal column ready, when aroused, to burn out the world of appearances, which she created, because the cosmic drama is played both outside and inside ourselves. Our body, our being, is nothing else than a small synthesis or reflex of the body of the universe; within ourselves heavens and hells are contained, within ourselves the play of the infinite powers (*śakti*) of the universe is continually active, as well as in the infinite worlds appearing and disappearing in the unlimitedness of space; the rhythm of our breathing is analogous to the breathing of the universe.

Therefore, when the yogin meditates upon himself as the cosmic man and renews within himself the cosmic process with the aim of realizing the supreme reintegration, and dissolves one after the other the various stages of the universal appearances, he starts from the lower one of six or nine mystic centres through which the aroused Kuṇḍalīnī will pass up to the supreme conjunction on the top of the head when she meets the Eternal consciousness in its essential unity and luminosity (Śiva).

The yogin starts on his way exactly from the *mūlādhāra*, the lower center, the basis corresponding to earth, because earth is the universal sustainer, the last limit of the materialization of the cosmic consciousness. He who knows the process of evolution knows thereby the way to reintegration.

Creation should reach its limits, light change into darkness, consciousness into ignorance, energy into matter, the most solid among the material elements, earth; if the evolution has not exhausted itself up to its extreme possibilities no reintegration can be achieved, the way back is not open to us, the apokathastasis will not take place. Eternal life can only be acquired through the painful experience in space and time, and the pearl within us, the *prabhāsvarām cittam*, will not shine again in its full brilliancy unless it has been buried in the mud of existence. Earth is the end but also the beginning.

Then the Tantras went a step farther: the Great Mother is not only that Power which inhabits unknown, though always present, within ourselves, it is not only the Mother whom the iconography represents as Umā embraced to Śiva and enjoying his love on the top of the Kailāsa, or killing the demon Mahiśāsura as Durgā, or dancing upon the dead body of Śiva as Kālī, but she is among us, in this society of ours. She is the woman. Each woman is a partaker of that sacredness of which the Mother is the symbol: she is the reflection of that power which makes god active. That is why the Tantras consider woman as the living embodiment of the universal force, the most sacred among the sacred things.

Woman¹ is the creator of the universe
 She is the very body of the universe;
 woman is the support of the three worlds,
 she is the very essence of our body.
 There is no other happiness as that which woman

¹ *Śaktisāṃgama-Tantra*, vol. II, p. 52.

can procure.

There is no other way than that which woman
can open to us.

Never there has been, there is, there will be
a fortune the like of a woman, no kingdom,
no place of pilgrimage, yoga, prayer,
mystic formula, asceticism, wealth.

In obedience to these ideas Tantric masters went therefore to the extent of worshipping the woman, because she is the symbol of the creative possibilities of universal life. This cult expresses itself in the cult of the Kumāri, the girl, representing womanhood in its making, from birth to her full blossoming, the sixteenth year. It is not out of place to insist a little while on this worship, because it gives us another opportunity of noticing the complexity of the conception with which we are now dealing: in fact the cult of the Kumārī, the girl, shows a clear contamination with lunar elements and once more betrays the survival of and the connection with the non-aryan background of Indian religion. How could we otherwise explain the reason why this worship takes place during fifteen days, starting with the first day of the waxing moon up to the full moon day, after which the moon begins to wane? Each day, worship is rendered to a girl of an increasing number of years, from one year to fifteen, as the symbol of the cosmic rhythm expressed in the phases of the moon: this waxes and wanes, just as all creation does. But beyond the alternation of the two phases of the moon, behind this neverceasing rotation, there is the unavoidable source of the succession in time of the evolution and involution, expansion and reabsorption: this never changing source is the sixteenth part of the moon, the eternal sixteenth part, *śodaṣanityā*, the *śakti* in its never exhausted entity, symbolized by a girl sixteen years, old, the apex of age, the perfection, the fullness of life, and at the same time the source of universal life. The Tantras therefore say:

Kumārīpūjāṃ kṛtvā trailokyam vaśam ānayet.

By worshipping the girl man submits to his will
the universe ¹.

We then realize what a long way Indian speculation had gone from the old mythic conception. Man was no longer interested in explaining how the creation had once taken place.

¹ *Prānatoṣiṇī*, p. 757.

Dyāvabhūmī—the couple Heaven-Earth—was a forgotten myth. Indian gnosis was now anxious to know the process of creation, and thereby to find out a method by which one could go back to the source, be reintegrated in the primeval synthesis in which the Śakti and the Śaktimān, the power and the possessor of power out of whom everything flows, are reestablished in a state of perfect balance. The sacred nuptials are therefore not intended toward creation but toward reabsorption; the transcendental bliss of the full reintegration is then experienced: the cosmic duality, the dialectics of space and time, the alternation of death and life vanish, the miracle is accomplished: the world of appearances has been annihilated and with its dissolution the primordial translucid still, androgynous being is realized: the pure consciousness which no wave of illusion any longer agitates.

Nevertheless, the thinkers, even the most abstract ones, never ceased may be unconsciously, to be inspired by that archetype, as the never forgotten heritage of their forefathers, which flashed out occasionally from the depths of the soul to the poets or the mystics. Then, when the Earth had lost all concreteness as the supreme Goddess whose activity is the cause of whatever exists, or she had become a secondary entity in the Hindu Olympus, still in the hymnology dedicated to the All-Powerful Śakti, the archetypal ancestress is never forgotten. The śakti is called Bhuvaneśvarī—“the mistress of the world”—or Jagad-Dhātrī “the sustainer of the world”. Many of her names and characters are the same as those once attributed to the primeval Mother Earth.

“Homage unto Thee, the sustainer of the universe;
Thou art the support of everything,
and the thing supported”.

Thou who hast the form of steadiness

(*dhyti*, which also means earth)

“Laden with good properties” (*dhuramdarā*)

“Fixed, the abode of fixity,

Steady sustainer of the universe”.

“Homage unto Thee, sustainer of the universe;

Thou hast the shape of a corpse and art cosmic Energy embodied;

Thine abode is cosmic energy, and thou art the

Materialization of cosmic Energy”...

“Homage unto Thee, sustainer of the universe—

Who grantest victory, thou the bliss of the universe—

Thou they only worshipped by the universe—

Victory unto Thee, all-pervading Durgā”.

" Homage unto Thee, sustainer of the universe,
Thou art the atom in its pure and in its combined form—
Thou art subtle and coarse matter ".

" Homage unto Thee, sustainer of the universe,
Thy form is subtle and more than subtle,
Thou existest in the cosmic vital forces (*prāṇāpāna*) ".

" Thou art existence and non existence.
Homage unto Thee, the sustainer of the universe,
Thou hast the form of time and space
And art the mistress of time;
Thou hast mastery on time and the timeless ".

" Homage unto Thee, the sustainer of the universe,
Thou art the great impediment and the great undertaking—
The great cosmic creative freedom (*mahāmāyā*)
The bestower of gifts,
The essence of the cosmic evolution,
The (mistress) of the holy man "—

" Homage unto Thee, the sustainer of the universe,
Thou art beyond our reach,
The beginning of the universe—the great mistress—
The beautiful one—the essence of all energies ".

" Homage unto Thee, the sustainer of the universe,
Thou art made of compassion
Thine eyes are full of compassion—
Thou art soft as compassion
Thou art the remover of pain
Thou art the helper of all sorts of misfortunes, o Durgā ".

" Homage unto Thee, the sustainer of the universe
Thy abode is beyond our reach,
Thou stayest in thy majesty
Thou art the very essence of Śiva,
The master of Yoga
Thou abidest in the supreme sphere of existence ".

So Mother Earth differently modulated always shines in the horizon of Indian religion; she did not even disappear from Indian souls under

the impact of modern ideas: she is identified with Fatherland, the Indian Fatherland, terrible as its tropical heats and sweet as its Springs. The Fatherland is not only the soil upon which the Indian culture developed and created a well marked tradition of thought, but it is at the same time the synthesis of Durgā and Kālī, the loving and terrific Mother who once inspired the religious mystics, and now inflames the patriots.

When national consciousness arose, and the poet gave an expression to it, thus vivifying with his songs the ardour of the masses, the Fatherland was conceived and invoked as the Great Mother: nourishing and protecting her children with her fruits and her love. So the Goddess, whom the introduction of western ideas has not eradicated from the minds of the Indians, and who still excites their religious enthusiasm during the Durgāpūjā, became the symbol of freedom and of the Fatherland.

With this new significance, within the frame of old ideas and images, she is now invoked in the VANDE MĀTARAM, a hymn composed by Bankim Chandra Chatterji, which has become one of the national anthems of India:

I bow to Thee, Mother,
richly watered, richly fruited,
cool with the winds of the south,
dark with the crops of the harvests,
the Mother!

Her night rejoicing in the glory of the moonlight—
Her hands clothed beautifully with the trees
In flowering bloom, sweet of laughter, sweet of speech,
the Mother, giver of boons, giver of bliss!

THE SACRAL CHARACTER OF THE KINGS OF ANCIENT TIBET

The Tibetan dynasty enters history in the VII century A.D. with King Sroñ btsan sgam po, who assured its supremacy within the country and its prestige abroad, and it came to an end with the death of gLañ dar ma in 842 A. D. Three centuries of life dryly and partially brought before us by the fragments of the chronicles discovered at Tun-huang, by the records of the Chinese annalists, and by the later Tibetan historiography. The latter, being written by Buddhist apologists, ascribes to Sroñ btsan sgam po and his successors the privilege of conversion and the merit of propagating the doctrine of Śākyamuni. That the first Tibetan kings were not hostile to Buddhism is probable; that they all embraced it with zeal is dubious. The first of them who proclaimed the religion of Śākyamuni to be the religion of the State was K'ri sroñ lde btsan (who died between 797 and 804). He founded the monastery of bSam yas and published the edicts that mark the definite triumph of Buddhism.

The introduction of the new religion naturally came about very slowly, as it was opposed to the traditional religion, the Bon, injured the interests of the sacerdotal class, and introduced important political and spiritual consequences as it replaced the former social and religious order by a new one. The power of the kings was limited by the control of the feudal nobility, subject to the yoke of customs which, while exalting—as we shall see—their sacred majesty, reduced in practice their authority. The king therefore saw in Buddhism a powerful auxiliary in the attempt to reorganise royalty on a new unitarian basis. Buddhism, by glorifying the king as the Dharmarāja, the representative of Law on earth, increased his prestige, raising him above the conflicting currents, and thus justifying the demand for a rigid monarchical system. This claim had asserted itself with Sroñ btsan sgam po, but it had no other foundations or defence than the personality of the king himself, and was lacking in all less contingent motives that could confirm its authority by new and superior ideal principles. The chronicles, indeed, show us a restless nobility, accustomed to participate in the government through the clan of the queen, who was selected from among the more powerful families, a nobility ready to rebel whenever an occasion offer-

ed itself, willing to recognise in the king only a *primus inter pares*, or else a sacred but inert symbol.

The sacerdotal class of the Bonpo—I speak of a sacerdotal class and not of the shamans in general, because these were divided into ranks and classes according to functions and tasks—was also unwilling to admit defeat and sought to find defenders among a part of the nobility. After a vain attempt during the infancy of K'ri sroñ lde btsan, in the second half of the 8th century, the priests found defenders who were strong enough to place on the throne, a little more than half a century later, a champion of their own, the king gLañ dar ma, who started a merciless persecution of Buddhism. Thus in Tibet the same events occurred that in Japan led to the struggle between the clan of the Soga on the one side and of the Nakatomi and Mononobe on the other, the former in support of Buddhism which prince Shotoku Taishi was introducing, the latter to prevent it.

While in Japan much of the Shintō tradition was saved, this cannot be said of Tibet, where the Bon religion was either utterly crushed or, in its attempt to meet the ever growing competition of Buddhism, had to borrow Buddhist dogmatic schemes, to adjust itself to them, to forget or transform its own liturgy, myths and original ideas. This is why event the facts about the ancient Tibetan monarchy of the period prior to Sroñ btsan sgam po, have to be extracted almost entirely from Buddhist sources, from the legends that Buddhism has preserved, from the legends that Buddhism has preserved, from the stories with which family records open and which often contain notable fragments of ancient epics, from the description of funeral rites, like that brought to light at Tun-huang, or the other inserted with evident Buddhist interpolations in the account of the funerals of some kings: as for instance of Sroñ btsan stam po. They are therefore drawn from late sources, belonging to a spiritual world hostile to the original one, and must be used with great caution.

No religion that supplants another is impartial towards the one it supersedes, and even when it hands down the record of its forms of worship, it readily colours and distorts them. We must therefore dig deep into this material and by comparing facts and drawing inferences, try to reconstruct a past whose length we do not know, no more than the vicissitudes through which it passed. For it is not to be supposed that this past, remote though it may be, had no history, had witnessed no contrasts of opinions or innovations which disturbed or altered the course of its tradition. But of these developments and changes, signs of which are not lacking, we cannot determine the chronological succession, or we can only do so vaguely. At most, we shall be able to note

and underline those points or aspects which seem to point to a psychological and cultural change; but we are not yet in a position to know for certain the causes and the reasons of this change. In short, if we wish to avoid the pleasing but deceptive field of hypotheses, we must be satisfied with tracing the main outlines and leave it to further researches—when new material has come to light and been elaborated and compared—to complete these first enquiries that claim to be nothing more than a summary of our present knowledge on the ancient monarchy of Tibet.

And here let us state at once that one thing seems certain about ancient Tibet—we mean pre-Buddhist Tibet, without a more precise chronology: the heir to the throne became king as soon as he attained his thirteenth year. It would seem that this habit continued even during the historic period. Sroñ btsan sgam po became king, at least according to some sources¹, at the age of 13; his son succeeded him at the same age, but as he died at once, his father took over the power again; K'ri sroñ lde btsan also was elected at the age of 13. We must now ask: were these mere coincidences, or was it a rule, which Sroñ btsan sgam po perhaps broke, and which later on the Bon po ministers tried to revive during the infancy of K'ri sroñ lde btsan, for fear that Buddhism might triumph? There would seem to be no doubt that it was a rule. The sources agree in confirming that the kings were installed as soon as they were able to ride a horse, that is to say as soon as they acquired the ability to hunt and fight, which in nomad and pastoral peoples are the signs of maturity, the initiation into the life of the group, in other words, puberty, the crucial period of life, fixed once and for all at the thirteenth year². Mañ ldom stag btsan, the forefather of the P'ag mo gru pa family, prays the gods for thirteen months that he may be granted an heir, and the gods, solicited and satisfied, assure him that in the space of 13 years he will have the longed-for son; in other words the forefather will be mature for his manifestation³.

We must of course distinguish that primitive and essential fact, the physical ability to ride a horse, as the proof that puberty has been attained, from the theories subsequently woven around it. I refer to those speculations on the number 13 that announce a more advanced cultural formation. Thus, when Bon had reached dogmatic maturity, the number 13 indicates completeness and perfection, just as does the

¹ It does not matter whether this is true or not: what matters is the idea it expresses. So also Mañ sroñ (= K'ri mañ slon mañ of TH; PT, Ja, b).

² TH, p. 87—GR, p. 24 b—PT, Ja 6 b.

³ TPS, p. 633.

number 15 in Iranian or the number 16 in Indian traditions, in which the Kumāra and the Kīśora in their immutable age of 16 signify incorruptible maturity. So likewise the *śakti*, the power of God, like the moon in its several successive stages and changed, unfold, in 15 parts, beyond which the 16th part as being their beginning and end and final cause, remains unchanged, the absolute and incorruptible whole. But we will not dwell further on these motives which belong surely to a later period. We must not fail to notice an important fact that accompanies the fitness acquired by the heir to the throne. As soon as he attains it, his father—so we read in several places—ascends to heaven, which is the common expression used to indicate death. In other words, the father dies, that is, is presumably eliminated¹ and returns to the kingdom of the forefathers in heaven. It is a custom that tends to survive even in historic times, and leads many a king to the grave by a violent death as soon as his son grows older. Of course, in such cases political intrigue may play a preponderant part, but it seems quite likely that here again they are grafted on to the old rite. Let us not forget that all that remains to us is a bare outline of the facts relating to the royal dynasties, and that we know nothing of the conflicting currents of ideas that then prevailed.

But how can the son's maturity eliminate the father? Evidently, it is not here a question of physical maturity, but of sacral maturity, which is laden with quite other implications and powers. This maturity indicates the presence of the ancestor in the son, which has ceased in the father. The forefather is continually renewed in the series of his *avatāra* on earth, passing through a phase of exhaustion followed by the acquisition of plenitude from 12 to 13. A clear cut separates the father from the son. With the ascent of the son to the throne at the age of 13 the rebirth of the ancestral being occurred; an unending event was repeated, unending but always new in its temporal localization. Each king, we are told by the chronicles, built his own palace. He could not remain in the paternal one. With his advent a complete renewal took place, a new order was set up. Each king settled into his own palace because the divine presence of the ancestor was reintegrated in him, and along with the palace all was reconstituted: *novus incipit ordo*. Each king was followed by his own shaman (*g'sen*), and by his own minister, the synthesis of powers, to which we shall refer further on, being thus reconstituted².

¹ GR, p. 24 b; TH, p. 87.

² BGR, pp. 18 ff.

It would therefore seem—to sum up—that this point is ascertained: the king is the forefather present among the living by means of a perennial renewed manifestation of his essence, which takes place on his fulfilment of the thirteenth year, the mark of eternal youth. He is the forefather on earth, while remaining at the same time the forefather in heaven, the *avatāra* of the ideal essence, undiminished by thus projecting himself in the world of time. Indeed, it is probably just through this renewal and strengthening of the terrestrial manifestation, and the alternating increase of fullness ratified by the sacred number, that he himself is renewed on his ideal plane, and thus escapes the fatal exhaustion of the soul, as is not infrequently believed in Asia—we need only think of the Chinese *p'o*, subject to fatal extinction and consumption. Between the forefather and the king there is no diversity.

In the inscription on the pillar erected on the tomb of K'ri sron lde btsan, which I discovered in Yarlung in 1948¹, and also in the Lhasa inscription², the royal genealogy begins with 'O de spu rgyal, who, as both inscriptions state “descended from heaven to become prince of men”; and thence one passes at once to the king who had the inscription engraved precisely because the forefather identifies himself with the living king in whom he is renewed, as he is his temporary spacial habitat; the is at the same time present on two parallel planes, the terrestrial and the celestial, as is expressly stated in the chronicles³. As such, the king guarantees and transmits four powers: the religious law, *c'os*, entrusted to the sacerdotal class; the *mna' t'an*, majesty, his essential prerogative; *c'ab srid*, earthly power, government; *dbu rmog*, the helmet (cf. the Yarlung inscription).

There are thus four powers but of these only two appear actually operative in him: *mna' t'an* and the *dbu rmog*. The *c'os*, the religious law, was the prerogative of the sacerdotal class and the *c'ab srid*, political authority, devolved, as regards the actual functions of government, on the ministers. Therefore, the king sits in the centre of the throne-room, having on his right hand, in the place of honour, the *g'sen g'nan*, the head shaman, he who takes possession of the dignity along with the king, and who will be succeeded by another when a new king ascends to the throne; on his left hand is the minister, who also is attached to the person of the king⁴.

¹ TTK, p. 36.

² RICHARDSON. *Ancient Historical edicts at Lhasa*, London 1952, p. 60.

³ TH, p. 8 a.

⁴ BGR, p. 27 b.

These three form the “three great ones” celebrated by the Bonpo chronicles, who in their regret for the vanished ancient prestige, transmit dim glimmers of the former customs and confer notable value, not as absolute historical truths, but as the echo of the ancient social conception of Tibet and of its ideals, on certain enumerations which list together the kings, their priests and their ministers, an indissoluble trinity, prerennially renewed at each election; and they confirm that the three powers, centered around the person of the king, are indissolubly bound together. Of the powers mentioned in the inscriptions, the political one was strictly circumscribed, dimmed by the prevalence of majesty which was something more and higher.

Again in the chronicles of Tun-huang we find registered from year to year the place where the king dwelt, but all the duties of government were discharged by the ministers, the *žan blon*, the uncles—not paternal, but maternal uncles—who were ministers.

And here, without dwelling at length on the matter, it should be mentioned that the mother has had an essential part in the vicissitudes of the Tibetan dynasty: the sons were long known by the name of the mother and the mother's clan, through the uncles who were ministers and exercised the actual power, so that the king, until the revolution brought about by Sron btsan sgam po, was enshrined in his religious prestige, like the emperor of Japan after the creation of the Shogunate, and had little power to command. Yet, by entrusting the political power to his ministers he—like, perhaps, the Shang kings of ancient China—actuated in his person and preserved and transmitted a much higher power: that of the divine presence or unchanged essence, transcending the vicissitudes of the individuals in whom it descends, as the guardian of the race and of the community: the *mna' t'an* (later on *dbañ*), the majesty, which is quite distinct from *mt'u*, the sacerdotal and magic power held by the priestly class. The *mna' t'an* works in its divine inaction and immobility, the *mt'u* acts through formulas and the ritual usually jointly, but sometimes in conflict, as happened in the time of king Gri gum, perhaps not an entirely mythical person, killed as a result of the antagonism that arose between the king and the priesthood. The *mna' t'an*, present in the person of the king as his essential nature, tolerates no contamination or defect. When a king is struck by leprosy or a son is born blind, king and queen must enter alive in the tomb and the son may not ascend the throne unless he recovers his sight¹. This physical soundness is necessary for the group, as only if the

¹ PT, Ja, p. 11 a-b; GR, p. 27 a-b.

sacred person of the king is fresh, intact, rejuvenated, will he be able to perform his function, which is that of keeping off epidemics, causing the rain to fall, assuring fertility, in other words, that of maintaining the cosmic and social order intact and in due working order. If he does not perform these tasks, if he does not realize in his own person the principles of his divine and royal dignity, if the *mna't'an* is extinguished or corrupted, the grass will dry up and everything will go wrong¹.

On the other hand the king, who was consecrated, as we are informed by the Bonpo chronicles, by a lustral bath (*ts'an k'rus*)², when governing by maintaining intact the *mna' t'an*, guarantees the fertility of the soil: *gÑa' k'ri*³ descended on the earth in the form of fertilizing rain. *Spu de guñ rgyal*⁴ makes it his duty to be the fertilizing rain that falls from heaven.

What is the *dbu rmog*, the helmet, whose "continued power" is celebrated in a phrase that occurs identically in the inscriptions of Yarlung and Lhasa, and in those of some of the early kings of Ladakh⁵? Is it perhaps the symbol of military power? Nothing suggests this. The word should perhaps be related to *rMu* or *dMu* which denotes a caste of priests of celestial origin, whose prerogative was the *rMu t'ag*, the cord connecting earth and heaven, and to *rMug*, which denotes magic power, more especially that exercised in relation with the chthonian powers (funeral rites). The helmet, the casque, is the symbol, the visible emblem of the magic power of the king which is transmitted from father to son and is an essential part of his costume, as he wears it at the sacred functions he is vested with. It protects the king's head, whence, according to Bonpo tradition, started the luminous rope that bound him to heaven. It should therefore be related to the casque, the bonnet, the turban which, as the case may be, still represents the essential feature of the headdress of a shaman. For this reason *mna' t'an* and *dbu rmog* cannot be separated one from the other, the one being the essence of power, the other its active symbol.

The titles by which he is designated confirm the divine nature of the king. He is *sprul rgyal po*; *sprul* signifies magic power, the liberty of magic action, magic creation. He is also regularly called *btsan po*

¹ TH, p. 133.

² BGR, p. 18 b.

³ TH, p. 86.

⁴ TH, p. 127.

⁵ Cf. TH, pp. 85, 135, 154.

or *btsad po*, words, which cannot be separated from *btsan*, designating a kind of power mainly of a chthonian character. Further on we shall enquire into the reasons for this. As during the historical period the Tibetan kings were called *Lha sras*, *devaputra*, like the Chinese emperors, so there are traces that would show that in ancient times they were called *lde sras*¹, i.e., son of *lde*. *lde* in ancient Tibetan probably means "divine creature"². It is a word that appears in many names of divinities and is preceded by another word—*O*—prefixed to the name of divine beings: *o lde*, which appears to be not a name but a title: *O lde spu rgyal*, *O de riñ mo*, the name of a Klu mo. It should perhaps be compared with *t'e—gNams t'e*—a group of gods who play an important part in the celestial mythography of the Bonpo, and perhaps with also the Chinese *t'i*, (celestial) lord, the name, in the days of the Shang dynasty, of some kings as well as of the Supreme Deity.

We do not know if there were special rites in which the king had to take part to assure, by acts of worship, the magic validity of his nature. Two references—one in a Buddhist chronicle (GR, with reference to Gri gum), the other in a Bonpo chronicle (p. 6), would lead us to suppose that he procured the irradiation of the *mna' t'añ* by means of the ritual dance performed under the escort of the head shaman. On this occasion he was attired in shaman fashion: robed in white, he wore his hair coiled round his head, kept in place by fluttering silk ribbons and protected by a headcover or turban on which perched a vulture³.

We have reconstructed a rough outline of the ancient kingship of Tibet. The sketch is stiff and lifeless, for we lack the data which would enable us to describe the historical process through which these ideas must have passed. That alone would enable us to present a living picture of the several stages in the theoretical justifications given from time to time to rites whose original significance had been forgotten, and which were interpreted anew in accordance with the changed cultural situation or with echoes of neighbouring cultures. Thus, when we read in the history of the rLañ family, from whom the chiefs of rTse t'añ were descended, that they had three ancestors, one white, one black, and one many-coloured, we think at once of the partition of the cosmos and of beings into three groups, corresponding to the three planes of

¹ PT, Ja, p. 9 a.

² TH, p. 123, says of Gri gum: as he was descended from *lde*, he was not like the ordinary run of men.

³ BGR, p. 26 a.

existence, each of a particular colour. It is the same original classification of the early kings of Tibet, replaced afterwards by the other and certainly later division into five groups due to the influence of the quinary theory. But it is quite probable that in our case the tripartite classification of the ancestors was a secondary one and that the elementary dichotomy between black and white, good and evil, friendly and hostile forces, was at the basis; a notion essential to Shamanism, accepted and transmitted by the Bon religion.

Bonpo Shamanism was systematised, at a date that has not yet been ascertained, by a master whose personality has been dimmed by legends, but of whose historical existence I think there can be no doubt. When it gave itself a definite system so as to oppose the triumphant advance of Buddhism, it was compelled to draw largely not only on Buddhism itself but also on the other religions that had spread in the bordering countries. We have proof of this not in the dichotomy referred to above, which corresponds to one of the basic conceptions of Shamanism, but in one of its theoretical elaborations which was almost certainly affected by ideas of Iranian origin grafted on to the primitive Shamanic notion. This is shown by the terminology, and above all by the stress laid on the luminous character of the good father.

Some books, held in great reverence by the Bonpo, state that in the beginning there was an undifferentiated principle, the inert potential of the elements, from which two eggs arose by spontaneous generation, the one white the other black. From the white egg came the beneficent father (*p'an byed*); from the black the maleficent one (*gnod byed*); the former lives in the light, the latter in darkness that spreads as far as the edge of the light; the former is white; the latter black and armed with a spear. The former, the beneficent, is called the king of positive (*yod*) existence; the latter, the king of negative (*med*) existence. The former is light and is therefore called the luminous manifestation, *snañ ba 'od ldan*, or simply the luminous one, *'od zer ldan*, but he is also called *K'ri rgyal k'ug pa*, which may very well mean "the throne, the king, the recalled"; in which case the last epithet might well remind us of the Manichaean *akrostag*. The latter is darkness and is called *myal nag po*, "the black torment". Everything good,—the good creation—comes from the former. Everything evil, the bad creation, comes from the latter, from whom come death and the malevolent demons, while the former teaches how to overcome the powers of darkness.

Evidently, we are now moving in a different order of ideas; we are no longer in the presence of the *catabasis* of *sPu rgyal* from heaven to earth; he is identified with the Beneficent Father of whom the Tibetan

kings are the earthly incarnation¹. The old personage remains, but he is inserted into a world construction in which a first attempt at an ethical justification is dawning. There are, however, signs of deeper changes affecting the whole tradition in the forms we have described and which point to a new cultural trend. Let us mention once more the rule referred to above which requires that as soon as the son attains the age of puberty, at 13, there is no longer any reason for the father to remain and he returns to heaven.

In the history and chronicles of many families the beginning of the race was therefore in heaven, and the progenitor of the family descended from heaven to earth: thus it was with the kings of Yarlung, with the Sa skya pa, with the P'ag mo gru pa and so on. Not without reason in the succession of the Tibetan kings the cycle was opened by the gNam K'ri, "the K'ri of heaven", seven in all as the celestial planes are seven, at least for some schools². They are celestial manifestations that appear on earth, and which, when they have completed their cycle, return to heaven by means of the Ju t'ag, rMu t'ag, the rope that joins heaven to earth, which will be used by a group of Bonpo priests as a symbol by which the deceased ascends to heaven. As the Shamans, so also the kings could transfer themselves to heaven at will, to confer with their celestial companions, to ask their advice, and then redescend on earth³. Nevertheless, it should be borne in mind that the *catabasis* does not usually take place straight from heaven to earth. There exists an intermediate point between heaven and earth which is the mountain, and a comparison of the several forms of the same myth would show that this insertion of the mountain is to be ascribed to a different cultural environment. The Bonpo books preserve the names of the mountains from which the first seven celestial K'ri descended. gÑa' K'ri came down on Lha ri gyan t'o⁴, the forefather of the P'ag mo gru pa was conceived on the mountain by Mañ ldom stag btsan and a daughter of Ts'añ pa (a name borrowed from India; Ts'añs pa = Brahmā, to designate God the Creator). It is a myth that very probably perpetuates an original rite of the sacred copulation between the head of the clan and his wife that took place on the ancestral mountain.

This introduction of the mountain in the myths of ancestral births belongs to another cultural cycle. To judge by the chronicles, the prin-

¹ TPS, p. 371.

² TH, p. 151. For others 9, or 13 (this evidently from India).

³ Mañ ldom btsan; cl. TH, p. 123.

⁴ For other examples see TPS. p. 730.

ciples of the Tibetan religion would seem to be mainly of a celestial nature; the gNam, heaven, holds in it the same place as does the Tängri among the Turco-Mongol populations. Some Bon are called gNam Bon, the Bon from heaven and some writers state they appeared after Gri gum¹.

The funeral rites, with which I have dealt elsewhere, start with the return of the forefather to heaven and gradually pass on from leaving the corpse in the river, to exposing it on the mountain, to burying it in a tumulus. These successive rites would seem to imply a progressive change in the religious conceptions during which the mountain steadily gains in importance. It becomes the centre and the shrine of the clan and of the territory, over which it nomadizes and leads the flocks to pasture. That territory is not only a social, but above all a sacral unit. It centres ideally round the mountain whence the forefather descended. It sanctifies and assures the cohesion of the group and its identity, in close connection with the soil. Very often the king and the mountain are one and the same thing. 'O de guñ rgyal is the name of an ancestor, of a god, and of the mountain lying between 'Ol k'a and Koñ po. The mountain may take the place of the ancestor: Yar lha sám po, on which the progenitor of the kings of Yarlung descends from heaven, is changed into a god, copulates in a dream with the wife of Gri gum, and Ru la skyes is born to them².

Heaven recedes; the mountain, at first the place where the ancestral *catabasis* takes place, now becomes itself the forefather, and its deified as *sa bdag* or *gži bdag*, the lord of the earth and the tribal god, terrifically irascible, ready to anger and revenge, intolerant of insult, even if involuntary, demanding bloody sacrifices.

Cosmological theories, well known to us but which we have no reason to accept as primary, confer a new importance on the mountain: it is the magic transposition of the cosmic tent, above which stretch the celestial plains, it is the pillar which supports the sky, it is the centre of the world identified with the special territory inhabited by the clan. The chief, the king, on dying does not ascend to heaven to form part of a transcendent ancestral essence; the rope that joins earth to heaven is broken. It is no longer a question of an ascent to heaven, but of a descent into the entrails of the earth. The corpse is buried in a tumulus built in the shape of a tent, for the tent is the image of the world. The king descends there, as we know in the case of Sroñ btsan sgam po

¹ PT, Ja, p. 8 b.

² GR, p. 25 a.

and of K'ri sroñ lde btsan, seated on his throne¹. The image or the pillar or the tree planted on the tumulus of which the Chinese sources speak is the receptacle of the soul for ancestor worship; they are the link between the world of the living and the world of the dead². A new conception, similar to that of the megalithic culture, is superimposed on the other. The pillar is the essential feature in the tumulus burial, whether of a king or of ordinary folk, as is shown by the cemeteries scattered on mountain tops, of which I myself have met not a few examples in Tibet.

And here it should be mentioned that the chronicles and the fragments of family genealogies from which we deduce these glimmers of light, transmit to us the ideas of a certain part of the Tibetan population; they come from the circles of the nobles, the feudatories, whose origins all point towards the East and the North East, where was the starting point of their migration. We must therefore interpret them, place them back in the environment which inspired them; and that succession should not be taken literally, as if Tibet had really evolved from a celestial to a more human and terrestrial conception. We are not authorized to draw such a conclusion; we may only recognize that two currents meet and cannot always be readily distinguished, for the one has faded off into the other in that faint and no longer well-defined survival that those fragmentary documents evoke or describe; the one placing the celestial forefather at the origin, the other connecting this ancestor with the telluric deities, and above all with the mountain.

What were the events that brought these two currents into contact or that led to their clash, we do not know for certain. We can at most point to a cycle of legends, that cannot be chronologically situated, which in all probability adumbrate real events marking a turning point or a crisis in the history of the religion of Tibet. I allude to the legend of the king Gri gum. During his reign the conflict between the royal majesty and the *mt'u*, the magic power of the priestly caste, broke out in all its violence; Gri gum, "the knife king", intends to free the king from his inefficient sacral character and restore him to real power. He is the symbol of a fracture in the current of ideas: his is no longer "a celestial throne", he no longer belongs to the series of kings who on death ascended again to heaven. As from him on, the ascension to heaven is interrupted; the luminous rope by which the dead king ascended to

¹ See LALOU, Rituel Bonpo des funeraillles royales, in *J. As.* 1952, p. 358.

² BUSHELL, in *JRAS*, 1880, p. 443.

heaven is broken, the sons trace out the father's corpse and build for him a tomb in the form of a tent¹, the cosmic mountain. Ru la skyes (or Nar la skyes), the wise minister to whom the widow of Gri gum gives birth, is, as I have said, born of a coupling that occurred in a dream with the god Yar lha sám po, who is now the god of the mountain of that name. Prior to Gri gum the kings returned to heaven, they left no mortal remains on earth. Now the arrangement of the corpse is the care and anxiety of his descendants. The world beyond the grave asserts itself with all its terrifying mysteries. The earth is sprinkled with the blood of the victims sacrificed on the tumulus. The turnover is complete. We witness a very notable change, pointing to a different psychological and cultural trend, one which could not occur without modifying in a marked manner the characteristic features of Tibetan royalty. The slaying of Gri gum by his minister marks not only the struggle between the royal and the sacerdotal power, but something deeper yet; the contrast between a religion prevalently turned towards heaven, and a religion in which the earth tends to take the first place.

The corpse of Gri gum is restored to his sons by a Klu mo who had taken possession of it. And the Klu mo is the deity of the underworld and of the underground waters.

Nor is this all. The change in the funeral rites to which I referred coincides with the marriage of the kings to chthonian creatures, Klu mo and bTsan mo². What if any, was the chronological succession? The problem is, for the present, a difficult one to solve. We have the fact that according to tradition the king's ancestors of the type of O de spru rgyal, did not descend to inhabit the earth but, as in certain Chinese legends³, to govern it. The sources speak clearly of a pre-existence of the peoples, already organised in society, under the command of warring chiefs. The kings therefore did not descend to people Tibet, but to govern it. The origin of the human races differs from that of the royal stock. The Tibetan people, according to the Buddhist legend, was generated by Avalokiteśvara and a *srin mo*, an ogress. Avalokiteśvara is evidently the Buddhist transposition of an earth deity of the same nature as his mate. The procreating coupling occurs on the mountain of rTse t'añ. All this leads us to suppose that the ancestral descent from heaven announces and points rather to a second stage, arising from the entry into Tibet of a conquering aristocracy, whose idea were still firmly

¹ TH, p. 127.

² *T'añ yig*, p. 19 b, where the king is sToñ ri stoñ brtsan.

³ MASPERO, in *J. As.*, 1924, pp. 47-94.

anchored to aristocratic traditions, but who gradually amalgamated with the autochthonous beliefs which continued to exist side by side with the new ones, and finally acquired the upper hand, affecting in their turn in a decisive manner the cultural world of the new aristocracy.

Therefore the notion of Tibetan royalty, even as seen through the fragmentary and late sources of information that have come down to us from a period prior to the entry of Tibet into documented and verified history, is far from being simple and rectilinear. If we follow the scanty information that has come to the surface from the wreck of time, we can easily identify two currents which gradually meet but never mingle, in such wise that their conflicting character and diverse origin is clearly apparent. The one is prevalently terrestrial, the other celestial; the one belongs perhaps to the most ancient ethnical stock, of whose composition we know little; the other has been introduced by the migrations of nomads and shepherds who settled in the country, descending in that North-East South-West direction which is still shown by the division of the territory in four wings (*ru*): one on the centre, the other to the right with an additional one to the west, and the last to the left, eastward. They, like the Altaic populations, placed heaven, the Tängri, at the summit; they marched in their expansion divided into wings: their social organisation was founded on clans, independent but interconnected, the so-called *rus*, "bone", just as the Mongols called their own *yasun*, bones.

The other part of the population lived under the terror of hostile underground forces, attached to the soil, threatening from the mountains and the rocks, greedy of blood-thirsty sacrifices.

Little by little the two elements as the result of a natural compromise dwelt together. The mountain is a step in the celestial descent. But the world which tends to prevail is the primitive one, that which Padmasambhava, the symbol of triumphant Buddhism, will disarm in his spiritual conquest of Tibet, passing from mountain to mountain, from plain to plain, subduing with his victorious miracle-working power the savage forces of the aboriginal faiths and thus replacing the chthonian hieroglyphy that covered the geographical reality of Tibet, by a new sacred map in which the *genii* of old are transformed into *defensores fidei*, and custodians of the Buddhist order.

Gradually, as the hybridization between the native world and the new conceptions is completed, the king loses the original character with which he was invested by the cultural traditions of the conquering aristocracy, and is identified with the chthonian deities, though still invested with the same essential function of assuring the fertility and fruitfulness of the earth and the regularity of the rainfall.

When, in the course of time, historic events revealed Chinese culture to Tibet, these kings became, as was the case with the ancient emperors of China, the Teachers, those who taught men the arts of life, the tilling of the soil and the working of metals. At the same time a greater spiritual maturity tends to introduce the first signs of a system based on numbers, similarities, dichotomies, whose purpose is to furnish a theoretical explanation of customs, the original meaning of which had been lost in the night of time, and of ideas whose actual value had been forgotten.

All this—let me repeat once more—is a provisional scheme, and first of all it does not claim to be comprehensive and valid for the whole of Tibet, which from the very beginnings appears as a federation of clans under the leadership of one more powerful and enjoying more authority than the others. From one of these, the Yarlung clan, came the kings of Tibet. And it is on documents belonging to this family that we must work for the present, restricting ourselves to drawing comparison with the few chronicles of the other great families, that are now accessible.

I hope to be able to add some other data in a work on which I am now engaged on Tibetan theogony, based more especially on many Tibetan manuscripts which I had the good fortune to discover during my journey through Central and South Tibet in 1948.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

TTK, G. TUCCI, *The tombs of the Tibetan Kings*, Rome 1950.

TPS, G. TUCCI, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, Rome 1949.

GR, *rGyal rabs gsal ba'i me loñ*.

PT, *C'os 'byuñ mk'as pa'i dga' ston* by dPa' bo gtsug lag p'reñ ba.

TH, J. BACOT, F. W. THOMAS, Ch. TOUSSAINT, *Documents de Touen-houang relatifs à l'histoire du Tibet*, Paris 1940.

BGR, *Glegs gži bstan pa'i byuñ k'uñ*.

THE SYMBOLISM OF THE TEMPLE OF BSAM YAS

On returning from Lhasa in 1948 I visited and made a careful study of the great temple of bSam yas, founded, in a year not yet ascertained with precision but undoubtedly between 763 and 787, by K'ri sroñ lde btsan. This king may be described as the founder of Tibetan Buddhism, as he proclaimed the religion of Śākyamuni to be the religion of the state and issued an edict which may be considered the foundation charter of Tibetan Buddhism. Urged by Śāntirakṣita, he then built the temple of bSam yas, and got Padmasambhava, who perhaps acted as chief exorcist, to come from India. The time at which the temple was built was such a special one, that its construction cannot be considered as a merely material fact. The struggle between the Bon religion and the slowly advancing Buddhism, although turning out to be a clash of interests between the Bonpo priesthood and the supporters of the new religion, with the court inclining towards Buddhism and the feudal aristocracy still faithful to Bon, was transferred to an ideal plane. The antagonism between the two spiritual worlds represented by the two religions, was reflected on earth in the struggle between two contrasting forces that could not coexist. It was under these circumstances, if we can trust the chronicles, that the country was afflicted by epidemics and the king himself was struck down by a serious illness. All the calamities were attributed to the influence exercised by the two clashing forces; man, siding with one or with the other, felt the counter-shock. One cannot live in such a state of permanent tension and unbalance. The world must obey one single principle which subordinates the contrasting forces to itself. The king, as conceived by the Bonpo religion who is peremptory on this point, is responsible for the normal course of events: if he fails in this task imposed upon him by his very nature, the cosmic order is disturbed. On the other side, Buddhism conceives the king as the expression of the Dharma on the earth; and the Dharma is the supreme ruler of the universe. The acceptance of the new religion by the Tibetan king K'ri sroñ lde btsan therefore meant that the king derived his power from another religious reality, from which, instead of from the other, came the ideal justification of his

dignity. The ancient order had to be replaced by the new one, and this replacement meant in reality the submission of the old order. The legend of Padmasambhava has in this connection great importance. By coming to Tibet he achieves what would be described in Indian terminology as a *digvijaya*, a real triumph. He subjects all the bTsan, bsTan sruñ ma, gNod sbyin, Srin mo, the gods of the soil and of the mountains, who form what might be called the sacred geography overlaying the physical geography of Tibet, and establish a close connection between the land, the clan dwelling on it, and the ancestor from whom that clan derives. Padmasambhava passes from one victory to another; one by one the gods give way to his magic power and bend to his will. They do not remain hostile, hiding in their underground realm, but accept to serve the new religion and merge into the endless ranks of the Dam can, of the C'os skyoñ, of the deities presiding over oaths, or over the sacramental purity of places, the pugnacious and terrible *defensores fidei*, a host always open to new recruits, in which Buddhism inserts the local gods encountered along its journey, divinities whom it hardly ever eliminates, but rather colors with its own ideas and assimilates. The erection of bSam yas forms a part of this picture. The *digvijaya* of Padmasambhava concludes with the construction of this temple, which introduces and consecrates the new world that has replaced the old. It represents the world as conceived by Buddhist dogmatics, which has now taken root in the land of the snows with which it now magically coincides; the new cosmos superimposes itself on the old, and together with it becomes the ideal centre round which Tibet revolves and develops.

We have a detailed account of the construction of the temple, which we find essentially the same in the chronicles and in the guide books which, though compiled at a later date from earlier sources, describe its chapels and proclaim its eulogy.

From these accounts, which are confirmed in full by the plan of the temple, we learn that bSam yas was intentionally built to be a reflex and a synthesis of the universe itself. It was surrounded by a wall, the Cakravāla, the girdle of mountains that surrounds the universe. In the centre arose the principal temple three storeys high, modelled on that of Odantapuri, like the Sumeru. On the four sides, one for each cardinal point, were the four continents, *dvīpa*, and in the intermediate points the eight minor continents. The four points were marked by four stupas, each of a special colour corresponding to that of the regions, and each built by one of the four ministers who thus identified themselves with the four Dikpāla, the guardians of the safety of the holy place. It culminated with the coupled figures of the supreme Tantras,

who in the *ieros gamos* symbolise reintegration in the cosmic conscience.

After what has been written by Paul Mus on the Borobodur, by Filliozat on Phnom Bakhen, by myself in *Indo Tibetica*, and by so many other students of these matters, there is no need to go into fuller details on well ascertained ideas and homologies. The real interest centres round the motives that led to this construction. Buddhism did not definitely make Tibet its home as a result of the edicts. The edicts had no weight on the religious world that Buddhism found in Tibet; Buddhism settled there lastingly and stably with the erection of this temple, Only by means of this temple, consecrated by the great exorcist, was the Buddhist universe transplanted fully and efficiently in Tibet. Thus the revulsion of the Cosmos occurred. The king, by opening the temple became a Dharmarāja; the *mk'an po* by whom it was governed, the abbot, took the place of the *sku g'sen*, the Shaman, who till then had been the highest religious authority in Tibet. This central temple was indeed the cosmic mountain, the Sumeru, but it was also the person of the king himself, identified with it by magic transposition. Although the *Pad ma t'an yig*, which is above all a hymn to the glory of Padma-sambhava and of the king who invited him to Tibet, makes no mention of it, it seems very likely that, as in the case of other temples or stūpas built in Tibet and for which we have fuller historical documentation, the unit of measurement used for the erection of the building was the cubit or arm of the king; he was thus projected and multiplied by means of that measurement in the edifice which ideally embodies him. The king also took a direct part in the building. With a spade of gold he traced the furrow that marks the limits of the perimeter of the temple and scattered the earth on his head. Identified with that central building, he is the axis around which the whole country revolves. The gods of Mahāyāna, represented on the wall frescoes according to a logical order of ascent from the exoteric aspect to the most secret one, i.e. the recess of the central temple, the Meru of the new universe, replaced the restless world of hostile forces of the Bonpo religion.

Buston, one of the leading chroniclers and poligraphs of Tibet, records an interesting legend attributed to the time of Sroñ btsan sgam po, the king in whom Buddhism recognises and exalts, wrongly or at least in an exaggerated manner, its first patron. Buston says that it was the intention of king Sroñ btsan sgam po to build the temple so as to consecrate the acceptance of the new faith. But in spite of his decision he did not succeed in carrying out his intention. Tibet appeared to him as the body of a Srin mo, an ogress, lying on her back, and it was not possible to subdue this being until it had been fixed to the soil forever. He therefore built four temples, two on the shoulders and

two on the legs of the ogress, and another four on the elbows and the knees, others on the hands, and so forth. In this manner a rite of *defixio* was performed which immobilised the demon to the soil, thus by this act replacing the old religious world by the new. The chthonian deities of the Bon, who from the dreaded underground garrisoned the whole surface of the land of snows, were henceforth definitely subjugated.

There is certainly no historical foundation for the story of Buston, but it is of great psychological interest, as it takes us back to the central point of the struggle between the two religions, the ancient and the new, revealing the ideas that thus clashed. It was natural that the foundation of bSam yas, which sanctioned the triumph of the new religion over the aboriginal beliefs, entailed a long ceremonial rite not only for laying the foundations but above all of complicated exorcisms. For the supposition was that the foundation would be preceded by a real and actual battle between the two opposing forces, and that therefore the assistance of famous exorcists would be needed. Under these circumstances one can understand why Śāntirakṣita, who was above all a master of dogmatics and liturgy, urged the King to call a great exorcist from India.

Seen in this light we can understand the figure of Padmasambhava, and the reason why he has left such an enduring mark in the tradition of Tibet. The *Pad ma t'añ yig*, like all the Tibetan literature which relates his deeds, is essentially a eulogy of his thaumaturgic powers, because to these was ascribed the definitive submission of the Bon, not as a doctrine, which did not matter, but as a system of active and formidable powers. The intervention of the exorcist, whether Padmasambhava or another, was necessary, and therefore under this accumulation of legends that was formed in the course of time, there is no doubt that a kernel of historic truth is hiding, the memory of a psychological and religious situation of a great interest, the triumph of one cosmic symbolism over another, as only the instauration of a new cosmos expressed in the symbol of the temple, and operating in it through the powers aroused by the liturgical rites that accompanied its foundation, could cancel the former one and render harmless the former efficiency.

THE FIFTH DALAI LAMA AS A SANSKRIT SCHOLAR

In *Tibetan Painted Scrolls* (p. 57 ff.) I have given an idea of the manysided personality of the fifth Dalai Lama, Blo bzañ rgya mts'o (b. 1617, d. 1682) and I hope to come back again to it. Besides being one of the greatest rulers of Tibet,—though in his desire to crush the opponents of the Yellow Church resisting in bSam grub rtse (Shigatze), he did not hesitate to call to his help the Qōśot chief Guśri Khan,—he was a great and most prolific writer. The influence which he exercised on Tibetan literature was immense; he greatly contributed to that flowery style which is very often the adaptation into Tibetan of the rules of the Indian *kāvya*s. The result was that his works are often very difficult to understand just on account of the magniloquence and redundancy of the style which before his time had rare examples. He shows a good mastery of the technicalities of *alāṅkara* as is also evidenced by his commentaries on the *Kāvyaḍarśa* of Daṇḍin.

This work had already been translated in Tibetan and very often commented upon¹, but he made a new study of it and tried to revive Sanskrit learning in Tibet as is proved by the presence of some Indian pandits at Lhasa during his time², the foremost of them being Kṛṣṇodaya, who translated the *Dhātusūtra* of Pāṇini in the Potala itself by order of the fifth Dalai Lama.

But he certainly studied also a subject which is narrowly connected with *kāvya*, viz. metrics. Of course the rules of Sanskrit prosody are quite different from those of Tibetan verses. These are chiefly based on the number of syllables and on stress, never on quantity; verses consisting of odd numbers of syllables are used in religious works, seven, nine, eleven, thirteen, fifteen, nineteen (in the translation of *Meghadūta*³)

¹ The Tibetan translation of the *Kāvyaḍarśa* has been edited along with the Sanskrit original by Anukul Chandra Banerjee, University of Calcutta 1939. But only the Narthang edition of ha bsTan-'gyur was used; the Derge edition of the same was not collated. See *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, indices s. v.

² TUCCI, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls* p. 741.

³ H. BECKH, *Die Tibetische Übersetzung von Kālidāsa's Meghadūta*, Berlin A. W. B. 1907.

and twentyone; verses of an even number of syllables, six, eight, etc., are employed specially in profane songs¹.

In spite of this difference, a certain tradition was soon established and Tibetan verses of a fixed number of syllables used to correspond to certain Sanskrit metres. To give an example, the four *pādas* of a *śloka* were always rendered by verses of four *pādas* of seven syllables each.

The fifth Dalai Lama did not hesitate to write Sanskrit verses, though these attempts were perhaps more exercises than real metrical compositions. It is quite possible that in these experiments he was helped by the Indian pandits who, as already said, were not rare in Tibet during his time and most probably were generously supported by him. These exercises are contained in a book the title of which is: *rGya bod hor sog gi mc'og dman bar pa rnam la 'p'rin yig sñan nag tu bkod pa rab snañ rgyud mañ*.

This book is a collection of letters (*'p'rin yig*)² written on various occasions to dignitaries, monks, rulers of China, Tibet and Mongolia. Some of these letters are important historical documents; others are mere summaries of the Buddhist Law and evidently Blo bzañ rgya mts'o, in writing them, meant to imitate a kind of literary composition which in India goes back to the time of the great Nāgārjuna and which in Tibet, before the fifth Dalai Lama, was used by the first Saskya abbots in order to teach the essentials of Buddhism to their Mongol patrons. Which is the treatise which we may presume was used by Blo bzañ rgya mts'o as his text-book for learning Sanskrit metrics? There is no doubt that the source of his metrical knowledge was the *Chandoratnākara*, *sDeb sbyor rin c'en 'byuñ gnas*, written by Rin c'en 'byuñ gnas ži ba, Ratnākaraśānti.

This work consists of a metrical text and of a commentary by the same author. As regards the Tibetan translation, it has been subject to many revisions. The *mūla* was translated for the first time by Byañ c'ub rtse mo, then by Nam mk'a' bzañ po; but the last revision was made by C'os skyoñ bzañ po, viz. Dharmapālabhadra, who also

¹ In the epic of Kesar odd and even verses are indifferently used. See the text published by R. A. STEIN, *L'épopée Tibétaine de Gesar*, Paris, Presses Universitaires, 1956. On the metric of Tibetan folksongs see Tucci, *Tibetan folksongs*², Ascona, Artibus Asiae, 1966, pp. 15–17. Tibetan prosody has been recently studied by P. POUCHA, *Le vers tibétain*, in *Archiv Orientalni*, XVIII (1950), pp. 188 ff., and J. Vekerdi, *Some Remarks on Tibetan Prosody*, in *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, II, p. 231.

² So written in the text, though the usual form is *p'rin yig*.

wrote the Sanskrit text which in this case accompanies the interlinear Tibetan translation.

The commentary is incomplete and was translated by C'os ldan ra za pa and Grags pa rgyal mts'an of Yar kluñs: then it was retranslated by instigation "of the Omniscient, unrivalled in the universe, *sa gsum na 'gran zla dan bral ba'i t'ams cad mk'yen pa c'en po*", by Byañ c'ub rtse mo, and again by Nam mk'a' bzañ po, who compared it with the Sanskrit manuscript of dPal ldan Blo gros brtan pa, a great translator (*skad gñis smra ba'i dbañ po*).

The translation was made in the monastery of E, viz. Evam C'os sde, that is the Nor monastery founded in the year 1429.

One could think that the title of "Omniscient unrivalled in the universe" was given to the fifth Dalai Lama himself; but such a view is contradicted by the date of some other persons quoted in the colophon. The date of C'os skyoñ bzañ po, Dharmapālābhadrā of Ža lu, is known to be 1441-1528; we also know that the Lotsāva dPal ldan Byañ c'ub rtse mo was born in 1243 and died in 1320 (*Blue Annals*, pp. 787-8). Grags pa rgyal mts'an of Yar kluñs was the master of bKra śis 'od, 1323-1350 (*Blue Annals*, p. 658) and the pupil of Śes rab señ ge, 1251-1315 (*Blue Annals*, pp. 791-792).

As to Nam mk'a' bzañ po, the Lotsāva, he was the master of Tsoñ-k'a-pa who learned rhetoric at his school (TPS, p. 428), and a pupil of Byañ c'ub rtse mo (*Blue Annals*, p. 788). Lotsāva Blo gros brtan pa was a little younger than Druñ Blo gros pa, who occupied the chair of dGe ldan up to AD 1463 (*Blue Annals II*, p. 1080).

So there is no doubt that the Omniscient is not the Dalai Lama but Tsoñ-k'a-pa himself.

Now many of the letters of Blo bzañ rgya mts'o, in the book I am referring to, are introduced by a Sanskrit verse written regularly in *rañjanā* alphabet and then transcribed in Tibetan characters. Generally the Sanskrit verses are translated into Tibetan and they correspond to the first two or four Tibetan *pādas*.

The quantity of the metres is indicated by the sign 2 for the long syllables (two *mātras*) and the sign 1 for the short syllables, but in some cases this indication is accompanied also by the usual notation:

ya	∪	—	—	/	ra	—	∪	—	/	ta	—	—	∪	/
bha	—	∪	∪	/	ja	∪	—	∪	/	sa	∪	∪	—	/
ma	—	—	—	/	na	∪	∪	∪	/	la	∪	/	ga	—

e. g. Dsa, p. 8, Śikhariṇī:

1.2.2		2.2.2		1.1.1		1.1.2		2.1.1		1	2	
ya		ma		na		sa		bha		la		ga

As to the verses here the list follows of those which are most frequently used by the author:

<i>dal gyis 'bab</i>	Mandākinī
<i>rma bya gros</i>	mayūrasāriṇī
<i>glog p'reñ ba</i>	vidyunmālā
<i>gser ldan</i>	ruknavatī
<i>ñe ba'i rdo rje</i>	upendravajrā
<i>ñer bskyed</i>	upajāti
<i>gdag 'jo ba po</i>	dodhaka
<i>sna ts'ogs lha mo</i>	vaiśvadevī
<i>dbyid kyī t'ig le</i>	vasantatilakā
<i>gtsug p'ud can</i>	śikhariṇī
<i>bum pa can</i>	narkuṭakā
<i>me tog gyo bai k'ri śiñ</i>	kusumitalatāvellitā
<i>c'u 'dsin 'p'reñ ba</i>	jaladharamālā
<i>lcags kyī mda'</i>	nārācakā
<i>stag rnam rtsen pa</i>	śardūlavikrīḍitā
<i>zab mo'i dbyaṅs</i>	gambhīrā
<i>rma bya myos pa</i>	mattamayūri
<i>dal gyis gnon</i>	mandākrāntā
<i>mc'og dbyaṅs</i>	saṃgīti
<i>k'a sgo p'an pa</i>	pathyā
<i>dbañ po'i rgyud</i>	indravaṃśā

Then: *dsāti*; *jāti*; *'p'ags ma*, *āryā*.

Now we may ask, which is the knowledge of Sanskrit that these verses suppose: was Blo bzañ rgya mts'o really a Sanskrit scholar?

The reply, after reading his attempts, is certainly negative. He puts together Sanskrit words so loosely that we must frankly admit that his knowledge of Sanskrit was very poor. His verses can only be considered as school exercises in order to master the rules of the *Chandoratnākara*, perhaps in the wish, which remained without results, to find out if Tibetan prosody could profit by the Indian schemes.

All this also shows that the knowledge of Sanskrit by Tibetan scholars was, at his time all over Tibet, not very deep and that nobody could realize the inadequacy of the Sanskrit learning of Blo bzañ rgya mts'o. In order to prove that my statement corresponds to facts, I add here a few examples.

Dsa p. 181

śiñ k'ams rgya mts'o rnam 'dren ma lus pa |
mk'yen brtse nus mt'u'i p'un po gcig gyur pa |

k'yab bdag rdo rje sems dpa'i sgyu p'rul can |
rig 'dsin bye ba'i gtsug rgyan rin po c'er |

“ in the jewel of the crest ornament of millions of *vidyādhara* possessing the magic emanation of the all-pervading Vajrasattva the only mass of compassion and power of all the leaders of the ocean of the worlds ”.

The corresponding Sanskrit translation follows:

Kṣetrair dhātau sara nayana śeṣānām |
Jñādayaś cānubhavakaṭākaikaṃ bhū ||
Vajrair satva prabhumayavat koṭīnām |
Vidyadhāraṃ hi sukṛtam urdhoratne ||

verse: *c'u 'dsin 'p'reñ ba, jaladharamālā;*

scheme:

— — — | — ◡ ◡ | ◡ ◡ — | — — —
 ma bha sa ma

We can suppose that *nayanaśeṣānam* is a mistake of the copyist for: *nayanāśe śānam*; in that case, the metre is exact, but the Sanskrit is as usual almost meaningless; if grammar is respected the prosody would be erroneous. *Sara* for *sāgara*, *kṣetrairdhātu* for *kṣetradhātu*; *mayavat* for *māyāvat metri causa*; *vajrair sattva* is impossible.

Dsa. p. 180, b

ye nas dag pa'i bcom ldan rdo rje sems |
mñon sum nañ ño sprod pa snañ ba'i bži'i lam ||
rnal 'byor mc'og gžol ba'i rig snags 'c'añ |
sdom brtson mañ du t'os de'i 'p'rin rten soñ ||

“ The letter has reached of (that person possessed) of discipline energy and much learning, a detainer of mantras, whose knowledge applies itself to the supreme yoga, a path of the four appearances, evident self recognition, victorious diamond mind, *ab aeterno* pure ”.

The following is the Sanskrit corresponding to it:

Śuddhāditvaṃ bhā(sic)gavato vajra hi sattvaṃ |
pratyakṣāhaṃ cabhi caturthārpita panthaḥ ||
yogyaṃ mānyaṃ mantravidam(sic) samvasu vīryam |
bāhausrutam tasya ca cihnam likhayuktaṃ ||

Verse: *mattamayūri*

Scheme:

— — — | — — ◡ | ◡ — — | ◡ ◡ — | —
 ma ta ya sa ga

Even supposing that the text was altered by the copyists ignorant of Sanskrit, there is no doubt that it is impossible to gather a connected meaning out of these unconnected words; no grammatical relation is traceable, and also the rules of prosody in this verse are not always followed: no fault of a copyist could explain *bahauśrutam*, where in the first *pāda* we must have ma ---; nor can *likhayuktam* be taken as Sanskrit.

Such examples can easily be multiplied. But the two which I have shown are enough to prove beyond any doubt that the fifth Dalai Lama first composed his Tibetan verses and then tried to translate the beginning into Sanskrit, without any real grammatical knowledge of the language; he only sorted out perhaps from the *Mahāvvyutpatti* or the Tibetan translation of the *Sarasvatīvyākaraṇa* words or roots corresponding to the Tibetan. So these compositions, which have been much admired by his contemporaries, in fact show that Blo bzang rgya mts'o did not hesitate to busy himself with things he knew only superficially.

We must therefore conclude that among the many things which he knew, Sanskrit was not included.

ON A SCULPTURE OF GANDHĀRA

In the exhibition of Gandhāra art which has recently taken place in the Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente a fragment of sculpture has been shown¹ belonging to the collection of Mr. Islay Lyons.

The image, here also reproduced, represents a Buddha; though fragmentary, it is evident that the Buddha is in a sitting posture. As Prof. Bussagli states in his description of the relief, the two flames which come forth from the shoulders are the important element of the image and he rightly suggests their connection with the flames issuing from the shoulders of some Kuṣāṇa kings.

Prof. Bussagli denies the possibility that the image has any connection with the famous miracle of Śrāvastī, because in this case the Buddha is represented standing (though in Tibet, the Buddha also in this case, frequently is represented as sitting) and suggests tentatively that it may represent Buddha Dīpaṃkara. In fact there is a well-known image of Buddha Dīpaṃkara from Shotorak² in which one sees the Buddha Dīpaṃkara standing and Megha (*Mahāvastu*: Sumati, *Divyāvadāna*) in the act of throwing flowers at him as a token of admiration, then kneeling and making of his hair a kind of carpet for the feet of the Blessed One. But in this case also the Buddha should have been represented as standing while in our image he is evidently sitting; as a consequence, I do not see any possibility of connecting this image with the famous story attributed by literature to a former incarnation of the future Buddha, during the times of Dīpaṃkara: nor should the sitting image be therefore identified with Dīpaṃkara.

Another interpretation is possible. I refer to a particular moment of the no less famous conversion of Apalāla translated from the *Vinaya* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins by J. Przyluski³. There (p. 511) we are told that since Apalāla did not show any willingness to be subdued by

¹ *L'arte del Gandhāra in Pakistan ed i suoi incontri con l'arte dell'Asia Centrale*. Catalogo della Mostra, Roma 1958, with an Introduction by Prof. M. Bussagli, pl. III and p. 73.

² J. MEUNIÉ, *Shotorak*, pp. 33, 34 and pl. 70.

³ J. As., 1914, pp. 493 ff.

the Buddha, Vajrapāṇi smashed with his *vajra* the mountain overlooking the lake where stood the palace of the Nāga; the Tathāgata sat in meditation, then entered the meditation of fire so that from every side there was nothing but a heap of flames. We find in this episode the two elements which are found in the image with which we are concerned: sitting posture and flames.

Therefore the solution is quite possible that in this piece, which has been no doubt collected in the proximity of Swat and whose provenance may quite well be traced there, is recorded one of the most important events of the journey of the Buddha in the North Western countries and in Uḍḍiyāna described in the *Vinaya* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins¹. The conversion of Apalāla was one of the most popular stories localized in Swat and still filling with wonder and awe the Chinese pilgrims.

But the fact that the relief is standing and that no clue may be supplied by eventual scenes reproduced on the throne or basement which is lost prevents us from reaching any certain conclusion. I can only say that our piece—though being far better in quality—bears a great similarity, to the « seated Buddha with flames on the shoulders » reproduced in *Annual Report, Archaeological Survey*, years 1921-1922, pl. XXV.

But it should be taken into consideration that these fiery emanations, which are ultimately connected with the *hvarṇah* of the Iranian kings and show therefore another contamination between Buddha's notion and regality, had a wider application in art than it is generally supposed: and if we are to follow the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra* they were peculiar of the Buddhas when they revealed themselves to the Bodhisattvas².

This may thus quite well be the first evidence of the slow evolution which was going to change the teacher, the *śāstā*, into a god, into the glorious appearance of an eternal reality, revealing a higher teaching, accessible only to a qualified assembly. Such is the case of the Buddha preaching, when the *śrāvakas* have gone away, the *Saddharmapunḍarīka* to a chosen audience of Bodhisattvas, flown to him from the four

¹ Besides the quoted article of Przyluski, see E. Lamotte, *Alexandre et le Bouddhisme*, BEFEO XLIV, 1947-50, pp. 147-162, where the itinerary of the Buddha in Uḍḍiyāna has been re-examined.

² On the various wonders attributed not only to the Buddha but also to the monks see E. Waldschmidt, *Wundertätige Mönche in der ostturkistanischer Hinayāna Kunst*, in *OZ*, N.F. 6, 1930, pp. 3-9 (now reprinted in *Von Ceylon bis Turfan*, Göttingen 1967, pp. 27-33)

corners of the world. In this case also a big light emanated from the *ūrṇā* of the Buddha (Kern's transl. p. 6 ff.), announcing the miracle of the revelation and spread all over the universe. So the *Suvarṇa-prabhāsa* (ed. Hokei Idzumi, p. 28, v. 62) describes the magnificence of Buddha as effulgence of flames:

*Dvātriṃśalakṣaṇadharaṃ lalitendriyāṅgaṃ
anuvyañjanaḥ sucuriraṃ suvirājitāṅgaṃ
śrīpuṇyatejajvalanākularaśmijālam
saṃtiṣṭhate tamasi sūrya iva triloke*

or p. 41, v. 12

*vyoma-prabhājvalamuñcitarāśmim |
sūryasahasraṃ iva pratapantam
nirmalagātravarebhi munīndram
sarva-prabhāsita kṣetram anantam*

The same miracle is described in the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikāprajñā-pāramitā* and in many other Mahāyāna books. The faculty of emanating *raśmi* is one of the peculiar characters of the Buddha, and has been fully discussed by the *Mahāprajñāpāramitāsātra* (*Ta-chih-tu-lun*) transl. Lamotte I, p. 437 ff. and by the *Ratnolkādhāraṇī* quoted in *Śikṣasamuccaya*, p. 327 ff., where the various *raśmi* have been given also a peculiar name. The Buddha emits these *raśmi* when he is in the *samādhirājasamādhi* or comes out of it (*samādher vyutthāya*, *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā* pp. 5-6) and on various other occasions, chiefly when he meets an assembly of gods or when he subdues the heretics or he is going to turn the wheel of the Law, i.e. to preach or to reveal a book.

Nor can we say that light is not fire: light conveys the idea of flame.

The difficulty of expressing light plastically except by way of the *prabhāmaṇḍala*, which is not particularly indicative of any special event but only shows the divine nature of the Buddha, induced the artist to have recourse to the easier representation of flames; this had the advantage of recalling the connection between the excellence of the Buddha and the royal majesty of the Cakravartin which in course of time had deeply influenced the notion of the Tathāgata: the *hvarāmah* of the Iranian kings, the symbol of their power and greatness offered an easy means by which to express the *prabhā* of the Buddha, and the photic miracle which announces a new revelation.

That these *raśmi* may be represented, as I said, by flames¹ is proved by some Gandhāra pieces in which some scenes are represented that record events to be included among these, to which the emission of *raśmi* is peculiar, that is to say the visit of Indra².

In the latter case the Buddha is standing, but in both scenes flames can easily be seen; in fig. 246 they run along the entrance of the cave and in fig. 261 they are represented both under the feet and on the shoulders of the Buddha (cf. also *ibid.* Tome II, fig. 463).

Thus the equation *raśmi* = flame is well ascertained by the monuments. It should be added that when the Buddha is sitting in meditation (*samādhirāja-samādhi*) and is alone, there is hardly any doubt that the image represents, as in our case, a coming revelation. The Buddha comes out from *samādhi* and after the *vyavalokana*, the survey of the space, emits the *raśmi* to foretell the revelation. That *raśmi* = flame may come also from the shoulders (*aṃśa*) is clearly stated by the *Ta-chih-tu-lun*³. If one examines our image, one notices that the tongues of the groups of flames are three on each side: this is perhaps not an arbitrary design of the artist, but corresponds to the old idea that these *raśmi* stand for the six *chabbannaghana buddharasmiya*, *Jātaka* I, p. 2.

Moreover if we try to guess the many things that the enlightened Buddhists were supposed to see in these images we may surmise that the flames are two as indicative of the *punya*-and *jñānasambhāra* of which the Buddha when accomplishing the *Jinakriyā* is possessed; *Ratnagoṭravibhāga* IV, v. 2: they are compared to a sun, *ibid.* v. 9.

I may add that this type of image was imitated also in China; see the gilt bronze image of a sitting Buddha in *samādhimudrā*, in the Winthrop Collection, Fogg Museum 4.

To conclude, the image of which we speak may quite well represent the announcement that the Buddha sitting in meditation is ready to reveal a deeper doctrine than he did before, reserved to a blessed audience, and therefore be, like the « Buddha paré », to use the definition of P. Mus, the first attempt at symbolising the revelation of the Mahāyānasūtras.

¹ On the Buddha and fire cf. A. Coomaraswamy in *B. C. Law Volume*, Part I, p. 470; E. Benda, *Der vedische Ursprung des symbolischen Buddhildes*.

² In the Indraśaila, that is a meeting of Gods and Buddha; FOUCHER, *Art Graeco-bouddhique* I, fig. 246 and the submission of the heretics, *ibid.* fig. 261.

³ Lamotte, p. 444.

⁴ See B. ROWLAND, *Indian images in Chinese sculpture*, in *Artibus Asiae*, X, 1947, p. 13, fig. 8.



A HINDU IMAGE IN THE HIMALAYAS

In the temple of Khojarnāth, a statue is worshipped of the *rigs gsum mgon pos*, the three nāthas: Avalokiteśvara, Mañjuśrī, Vajrapāṇi, which the Indian pilgrims who visit the temple on the occasion of their *yātrā* to the Kailāsa and Manasarovar take for a statue of Rāma accompanied by Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa ¹. I too was in Khojarnāth and could examine the images: I had hardly any doubt that, in spite of the clothes which cover them, the statues represent the three Bodhisattvas. We do not know if the statues now worshipped in the temple are the original ones, because the temple was often looted; therefore it is not excluded that the original images have been either destroyed or carried away. The fact is certain that the temple of Khojarnāth boasted and still boasts of having a famous image, the so-called Jo bo Jamali ². One story runs as follows. There was once in sPu-hrañs an ascetic to whom seven *ācāryas* gave in custody seven bundles before departing again for India. Since many years had elapsed and the *ācāryas* did not come back, the ascetic opened the bundles and he found inside each of them silver wrapped in cloth on which the letters Dsa ma li were written. He sent the silver to 'Dsum lañ to some local silversmiths requesting them to make an image of Jo bo: when the statue had been completed up to the knees, the upper part was miraculously finished. It was therefore considered a self-originated image (*rañ 'byuñ*) and taken to Tibet;

¹ SWAMI SIVANANDA, *A trip to sacred Kailās-Mansarovar*, Madras 1932, p. 32 (the principal idols are those of Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, Sītā). SWAMI PRANAVĀNANDA, *Exploration in Tibet*. Calcutta 1950, p. 96 ff. (Mañjuśrī, Vajrapāṇi, Avalokiteśvara). G. TUCCI, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, p. 684. G. TUCCI, *Santi e Briganti*, Milano 1937, p. 38. G. TUCCI, *Preliminary report on two scientific expeditions in Nepal*, Roma 1956, p. 62 n.

² The meaning of Dsamali, Jamali is uncertain. One story connects the seven *ācāryas* with king gNam mgon sde (TUCCI, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, p. 684, n. 2), a devotee of Jambhala: so the words Dsa ma are put into relation with Jambhala. But of course this is merely a learned speculation of the monks of Khojarnāth. Another solution is that in Jamali we see a reference to Jumla, where the work had been made by the local artists; Jo bo Jamali, the Jo bo made in Jumla. Jamala may well be the old spelling of Jumla. On the place see my *Preliminary report on two scientific expeditions in Nepal*, p. 112.

but when it reached the place where at present there is the monastery of Khojarnāth, it was impossible to take it any further. A temple was built on the spot which was called K'ur c'ags. The statue was therefore called K'ur c'ags Jo bo, or Dsa ma li Jo bo. Side by side with this Tibetan tradition there is another related by the Indians¹. When the Turuška invader No ro ji conquered Chitōr, the king and his brother carried away to the Himalayas the images of T'ugs rje c'en po and Tārā which were worshipped in Chitōr². When they reached the place where at present there is Khojarnāth, they were unable to carry the image any further. In the place where they had laid it down there arose throne of *armolikā* stone and a three stemmed iron *āsana* in form of lotus: then a voice was heard to say in the sky: leave it here. The Tibetans later built there a temple; then the king and his brother took away the image of Tārā to Nepal and probably to Kathmandu. After some time the elder brother became master of 'Dsum lañ and the younger of Nepal: but successively the younger brother left Nepal and went to South India to be king somewhere there, leaving on the occasion of his departure a replica of the image of sGrol ma, which he had taken along with him.

In the guide of Khojarnāth the first part of the story is recorded, and that also with some variations, but no mention is made there of the Indian development.

We are here confronted with some oral traditions concerning the image worshipped in Khojarnāth which oppose two main trends. One of Tibetan origin insists on the wonder of the self-originated statue. The second betrays its Indian origin. The most interesting part of this tradition is its connexion with 'Dsum lañ that is Jumla. This, as I have shown in my book *Preliminary Report on two scientific expeditions in Nepal*, was for a certain time a very important town in the proximity of the capital of Western Tibet and Western Nepal as well under a dynasty which, though prevalently Buddhist, was equally sympathetic towards Hinduism and finally accentuated its Hinduistic propensities.

These rulers were Khasa (Khasiya) by origin: but were succeeded in later times, when their kingdom collapsed, by the influx of some chiefs and princes which the events in medieval India had compelled to take shelter in safer countries. This fact is testified by the records contained in the *Vaṃśāvalīs* of some families of Nepal, and by the

¹ This story is narrated in the 'Dsam bu gliñ rgyas bšad.

² I cannot identify No ro ji, nor is it possible to accept the statement of the tradition here implicit that the presiding deities of Chitōr were Buddhist.

claim of some rulers of the Malla dynasties of Nepal. The tradition concerning the foundation of the monastery of Khojarnāth as told by the *gnas yig* is contradicted by another story told in the biography of Rin c'en bzañ po, according to which the monastery of 'K'a 'c'ar in sPu hrañs was founded by the famous lotsāva. It is said to be one of the 108 *lha k'añ* built by him and 'K'a 'c'ar (= K'ur c'ags) is taken as the extreme eastern limit of the activity of Rin c'en bzañ po¹. We are therefore confronted with two traditions, the former explaining the foundation as suggested by a miraculous event, the second attributing it to a celebrated lotsāva, usually considered as responsible, with Atiśa, for the revival of Buddhism in Western Tibet in the xth-xIth centuries; of course these two different accounts regarding the foundation of Khojarnāth are derived from two different sectarian centres: the biography of Rin c'en bzañ po reflecting the ideas of the bKa' gdams pa's and then of the dGe lugs pa's, and the guide of Khojarnāth those of the Sa skya pa's.

Evidently we cannot decide for either solution; but the fact seems beyond doubt that Khojarnāth is one of the oldest religious settlements in sPu hrañs. We may add that the Tibetan tradition concerning the statue of Khojarnāth cannot but refer to the period of the Malla rule of Western Tibet and Western Nepal, when Semjā near Jumla² was the capital of the kingdom and therefore a centre where artisans were held in special consideration, for their workmanship (xIth-xIVth centuries).

The Indian tradition on the other hand probably records the later newcomers from Central and South India, after the increasing danger of the Mohammedan invasions³. It is interesting that an Indian document proves that in Western Tibet there was an image of a Hindu deity or at least that a rather old tradition existed in India concerning the presence of a Hindu image in those parts.

The document to which I am referring is the inscription of Yaśovarman of the year V.S. 1011=A.D. 953-54 of Khajurāho (E.I., i, p. 122 ff. and specially 129 and 134)⁴ in which we are told of an image of Vaikuṅṭha which was originally in Kailāsa; from there the lord of the Bhoṭas obtained it and gave it as a token of friendship to Śāhi king

¹ See G. TUCCI, *Rin c'en bzañ po e la rinascita del Buddhismo nel Tibet intorno al mille*, Roma 1933.

² G. TUCCI, *Preliminary Report*, p. 112 ff.

³ Many references can be found in Nepalese documents and *Vamśāvalis* to Chitōr and the descendance of the Western Nepalese rulers from that locality. See *Preliminary Report*, pp. 117, 119, 125, 128.

⁴ On this inscription cf. G. S. OJHA in EI, xiv, p. 180; B. N. PURI, *The History of the Gurjara-Pratihāras*, pp. 76, 89. As to the identity of Devapāla of this

of the Kīras. It was then obtained in exchange for elephants and horses by Herambapāla and his son Devapāla gave it in his turn to Yaśovarman himself.

In front of the statement contained in the inscription two directions are possible: either we assume that it is a mere story concocted for some reasons which we cannot now discover, or we accept it as a true fact. The proclamation of the origin of the image in a public document of that importance and concerning an image which must have enjoyed a particular worship, the reference to persons of recent date or alive, the notoriety which the image must have enjoyed exclude, to my mind, the first hypothesis. We can therefore accept the statement of the inscription as reliable.

The image was brought to India at the times of Herambapāla who is supposed to be the father of Devapāla of the Pratihāra dynasty and to have lived in the first part of the first quarter of the Xth century; but since the image came to India not directly but through the Śāhis of Kīra (Kāngrā), it means that some time must have elapsed between its first removal from the Bhoṭadeśa and its transferment to Khajurāho. All this takes us back to about the end of the second half of the IXth century, that is to say approximately to the time of the beginning of the Guge and sPu hrañs kingdoms immediately after the death of Glañ dar ma in 842.

The religious situation of that part of Tibet at that time is practically unknown: the general belief was centred on the Bon c'os: the Bon po's have always considered Western Tibet as a kind of Holy Land and the birth-place of the systematizer of their religion Mi bo gŠen rab. The scions of the royal family of Tibet, just escaped after the collapse of the dynasty and the revival of Bon c'os in Central Tibet, might have had a liking towards Buddhism. But this is only a surmise, because we can speak of a revived interest in Buddhism, much later with Ye šes 'od about the end of the Xth century: he was the king who sent Rin c'en bzañ po, born in 958 (*Blue Annals*, i, 68), to Kashmir to study Buddhism.

So the gift of the image of Vaikuṅṭha¹ by the Bhoṭas to the Śāhis of the Kīras must have happened before the effective spreading of

inscription with the Pratihāra Devapāla of Kanauj, it is questioned by some scholars. See R. S. TRIPATHI, *History of Kanauj to the Moslem Conquest*, p. 272; N. S. Bose, *History of the Chandellas of Jejakabhukii*, p. 33; SISIR KUMAR MITRA, *The early rulers of Khajurāho*, p. 55.

¹ We would have rather expected an image of Śiva abiding on the Kailāsa, but Viṣṇu too is connected with the Himalayas; his mountain was according to the *Muhābhā-*

Buddhism in Western Tibet at the very time of the first rulers who hailing from Central Tibet took control of that region.

Nothing prevents us from thinking that in those times to which we are referring there existed the same pilgrimages to Manasarovar and Kailāsa as they still continue, and that in a *dharmasālā*, along the routes, some statue of Hindu gods might have been placed for worship of the pilgrims. In the Indian literature this part of the world near the Kailāsa is well known and it must have been in old times too a common place of pilgrimage as it is now, if in the *Rāmāyana* the swelling of the lake Mānasa caused by the rains is already referred to (story of Saramā, *Rām.* vii, 12, 24. Cf. Sven Hedin, *Southern Tibet*, I, p. 13). Of course we cannot expect the references in Sanskrit literature to be so accurate as we could expect from modern travellers: the pilgrims went to these places not in order to draw maps, but only to participate with awe and religious reverence in the mystical aura which surrounded the place. The visitors were not scientists, but *siddhas* and people anxious to get *siddhi* or *svarga*, mystic realizations or paradises, and they saw the sacred places with different eyes than we do at present. In spite of that, the references to be found in Sanskrit literature betray the direct knowledge that the Indians had from old times of the Kailāsa and the Manasarovar and therefore testify to the antiquity of the intercourse between the plains and that part of the world.

Moreover we must consider that the name Kailāsa does not refer in Indian literature to the mountain, only, but in a general sense it may designate the great Himalayan range including Kumaon, Garhwal, and the country of the Khāsas. The looseness of the sense in which the word was used is confirmed by the reference to Kailāsa as one of the places which were overrun by Rāmacandra, according to the Puruṣottamapuri plates of 1310 (EI, XXV, pp. 207, 211).

The name Bhoṭa, whose king gave as a token of friendship the image of Vaikuṅṭha to the Śāhi of the Kīras¹, is equally vague: it does not necessarily refer to the Tibetans, but it can be applied to all mixed population of the northern borders near Tibet, Ladakh and the extreme parts of Kumaon and Garhwal. The image had three heads, a human one, that of a boar and that of a lion (see H. Goetz, in *Arts Asiatiques*, 1958, p. 37), though other *dhyānas* represent the deity with four faces and eight arms (*gadā*, sword, arrow and *cakra* in the right hand; conch-

rata the mountain Mandara to the East of Meru and to the north of the Milk sea (FAUSBØLL, *Indian Mythology according to Mahābhārata*, pp. 103 and 169).

¹ See A. STEIN in *Kalhana's Chronicle of Kashmir*, I, p. 312 n.

shell, *kitaka* flower, bow and lotus in the left). His vehicle must be the Garuḍa (G. Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, i, p. 256).

The description of the image rules out that it did not really represent Vaikuṅṭha though it was presented as that of Vaikuṅṭha; moreover Indians are very cautious and respectful when gods are concerned and such a misbehaviour is to be excluded, also because each deity must have its own *upāsana*, and it would be dangerous to worship it with a cult reserved to another. This could happen only unconsciously as it can be noticed in some villages in Bengal where I saw Buddhist deities worshipped as Viṣṇu or Lakṣmī though they clearly represented Avalokiteśvara or Tārā. But this is not the case here; the image was sent to some royal courts as a most precious thing, and at those courts there were pandits who could have controlled the reliability of the iconography of the god: so much so because Vaikuṅṭha had a well fixed iconography of his own.

A last word must be said concerning the Kīras, and the Śāhis of the Kīras; there is little doubt that the Kīras must be located in the Kāngrā district; they have been for long time at war with Chambā: their history has been in the main outlined by R. C. Majumdar, and I am afraid, at present, very little can be added to it (IHQ, IX, pp. 11-17).

To conclude it seems that we have no reason to doubt about the existence of a Hindu image which from the Himalayan region went down to Khajurāho, though a further localization of the part of the Bhoṭadeśa from which it came cannot be properly determined. Its presence there may point out to the existence of some temple or chapel along the pilgrim routes once more confirming the antiquity of these contacts between India and the Himalayan countries. The tradition did not disappear but, while it finds its Indian witness in the inscription of Yaśovarman, it survives in the other side of the Himalayas in the *gnas yig* of the temple of Khojarnāth. This temple must have enjoyed a particular importance during the time of the Malla dynasties ruling over Western Tibet and Western Nepal usually open to Buddhism and Hinduism and having, at a certain period, its capital in Semjā on the route to Khojarnāth, and very near to it. The later influx of newcomers from India, who established in those parts small principalities and who were for the main Hindu, fostered this tradition speaking of a link with Chitōr and stating that the chief image of the "merciful one" worshipped in temple was brought to Khojarnāth from that Rājput fortress when it fell. The "merciful one" is regularly Avalokiteśvara but it is known that the blending of Avalokiteśvara and Viṣṇu in later periods is not unusual.

THE WIVES OF SROÑ BTSAN SGAM PO

Tibetan tradition attributes to Sroñ btsan sgam po many wives, the most famous among them being K'ri btsun and Mun c'añ, Koñ jo = Oñ co (e. g. PK.¹ p. 97, *b*) = Wen ch'eng.

The second one is said to be the daughter of the Emperor of China, while she was in fact only a princess². With the triumph of Buddhism the two princesses, who brought as dowry to Tibet the images of Akṣobhyavajra, Maitreya, Tārā of sandal wood, and Jo bo Śākyamuni respectively, are said to have founded the two most famous temples of Lhasa and are generally referred to as epiphanies of the two principal forms of Tārā, sGrol ma, the white Tārā and the green Tārā.

In TH pp. 12 and 29 there is the explicit mention of the Chinese wife and of her marriage. In this connection it should be noted that something must have happened since the princess could live with the husband after six years had elapsed from her arrival. She died in 680³.

The king died in 649 having cohabited with her for three years. There must have been some reason for that, though we cannot jump to the conclusion that there had been some understanding between her and the minister mGar sent to China to fetch her⁴.

The beginning of TH does not contain any date: it starts with the arrival of Mun c'añ, then it adds: three years passed away; again it writes: then six years passed away. After relating the death of Sroñ btsan sgam po it explains that the king had cohabited with the princess three years (649–9); 641 is therefore the year of the arrival of the princess i.e., *lcags glañ* as in the *Hulan Deb t'er*⁵.

¹ For the abbreviations see p. 611.

² P. DEMIEVILLE, *Concile de Lhasa*, Paris 1952, p. 6–7.

³ P. DEMIEVILLE, *op. cit.*, p. 188 n. 2.

⁴ BACOT, Le mariage de Sroñ btsan sgam po, in *MCB* III, p. 12.

⁵ On the *Hulan Debter* see G. TUCCI, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls* p. 140. ROERICH, *Blue Annals*, p. VI. M. INABA, *Uran-shi Hulan no deb gter no chosaku nenji*, in *Otani Gakuho* vol. 40, n. 3, 1960, p. 13–26.

In the chronicle of Grags pa rgyal mts'an (1147-1216), the Sa skya pa hierarch, there is no mention of the two princesses, the Nepalese and the Chinese; it is only recorded that Sroñ btsan sgam po had three wives of whom only the mother of Guñ sroñ btsan is mentioned: her name was Mo[n] bza' K'ri mo gñam = K'ri-mo mñen-ldoñ steñ of Moñ extraction of TH p. 88. This silence may perhaps be due to the fact that the other wives were childless and there was therefore no need to refer to them in a genealogical list. GR attributes six wives to Sroñ btsan sgam po; K'ri gtsun from Nepal (p. 38) and rGya mo Koñ jo (p. 37, *b*, ff.). The same text adds that since the king had no children, neither from the Nepalese nor from the Chinese princess, he married successively Žaň žuň bza', Ru yoň bza', Mi ñag (xyl. Me ñag) bza'; but from these three too he had no child. Then he married Maň (sic xyl. corr. Moñ) bza' K'ri lcam the mother of Guñ sroñ guñ btsan (p. 66, *b*).

According to PT he married the Nepalese (p. 25, *b*, ff.) and the Chinese (p. 28 *a*, ff.) wives; then (p. 33, *b*) Žaň žuň bza' Li t'ig dman daughter of the king of Žaň žuň Li mig skya, Ru yoň bza' rGyal mo btsun daughter of the king of Mi ñag, K'ri lcam daughter of the žaň blon of Moñ extraction, from sTod luñ. DM, p. 19 knows K'ri btsun daughter of 'Od zer go c'a (so also Buston, Obermiller, p. 184 and M, p. 197, *b*), i.e. Aṃśuvarman and Lha gcig 'Un śiñ Koñ jo, the Chinese princess. DT, p. 49, 220, 218-9 refers only to the Chinese and Nepalese queens.

Thus, the Chronicles of Grags pa rgyal mts'an, the oldest after TH, mention three wives, as we have seen, but give the name only of Moñ bza' K'ri mo gñam, because she was the mother of Guñ sroñ guñ btsan; GR, PT, VDL besides the Chinese and Nepalese princesses record three wives: Žaň žuň bza', Moñ bza' K'ri lcam, Ru yoň bza'.

The total number of the wives of Sroñ btsan sgam po is therefore generally supposed to be five. The Chinese wife is certain; so it is with Moñ bza' k'ri mo mñen ldoñ steñ; both are mentioned in TH (p. 88), and in Grags pa rgyal mts'an the latter only. Now it should be noted that while the name of the Chinese princess has been preserved transliterated in Tibetan, the Nepalese wife is only called K'ri btsun, the royal wife, quite differently from the others whose clan is mentioned; of the third wife (Moñ bza') the personal name is known (so also that of the Žaň žuň princess).

As to the father of the Nepalese queen, he is called in GR De ba lha; i.e. Deva deva because *lha* means god, Skr. deva: no mention is made of Aṃśuvarman (p. 37, *b*). Moreover while at 38, *b* Nepal is placed in the South, Lho bal, at p. 39, *b* we have the opposition Nepal, West and China, East. We must also add that the story of GR, namely that since

the king had no children from the Chinese and the Nepalese wives, he married the other wives, the last one being the mother of Guñ sroñ guñ btsan, is contradicted by the facts. Wen ch'êng was his last wife who cohabited with him three years before his death, that is when he was already old, while the mother of Guñ sroñ guñ btsan had been married many years earlier,; in fact her son was installed on the throne when he was 13, but he died when 18. Guñ sroñ guñ btsan therefore ruled five years, while his father was still alive and the latter at his son's death took over the kingdom once more.

Thus we must conclude that the traditional story recorded by later authors, that Sroñ btsan sgam po married other wives because he begot no children from the Nepalese and Chinese consorts is not confirmed by facts and seems therefore the result of a later elaboration. Something else must be added; the beginning itself of TH gives the impression that chronological records begin with the year of the death of the great king; before that date there are only cumulative indications: three years, six years. From the *Hulan deb t'er* we may deduce that the year in which Wen ch'êng came to Tibet was indicated, but the real chronological regularity of the Chronicles, year by year, started with the disposal of the body of the king. That such confusion reigns concerning the events of the previous years may be confirmed by the vagueness in the details of traditional *c'os 'byuñ* concerning the age of the king when he married. Such an age is given by bSod nams grags pa as 16 when he married the Nepalese princess, and as 18 when he married the Chinese: which is contradicted by what we know concerning the Chinese princess at least. Anyhow these two numbers, sixteen and eighteen, are of course taken from the Indian speculation; sixteen being its perfect number, the age of Kumārī, and 18 the year of full accomplishment of youth, and it contradicts the rule of ancient Tibet which established the entrance of the prince into public life when he had reached 13 years of age and was able to ride.

In this regard I must add that I cannot accept the theory according to which Sroñ btsan sgam po died young at 33 years, being born in 629, and that the 81 years attributed to him by some sources, e.g. Buston, are due to the wish not to contradict the prophecy contained in the *Mañjuśrīmūlatantra* (Roerich, *Blue Annals*, p. x, XI); it is not excluded that his real age was one of the points which gave weight in the minds of later historiographers to the theory that the passages of the same tantra were a prophecy referring to Tibet and not to Nepal, as it is in the Sanskrit text. Anyhow, even if we do not accept that he died when 81, it can hardly be said that he lived only 33 years. We must remember that according to the old Tibetan custom he was enthroned when 13;

at that age the power was in the hands of some minister, most probably an uncle on the mother's side. Then we must allow a certain number of years for his marriage and begetting a son, i.e. Guñ sroñ guñ btsan. We know that the latter was enthroned when 13, then after 5 years of reign died when 18; in time to leave son who was to succeed his father.

When Guñ sroñ guñ btsan passed away, Sroñ btsan sgam po came again to power. It is impossible to consider Guñ sroñ guñ btsan a fanciful insertion because he is already mentioned in TH and in Grags pa rgyal mts'an's chronicles. But then we have: enthronement of Sroñ btsan sgam po at 13; we must allow three or four years at least for his marrying and begetting a child. When this child was 13 he was enthroned in his turn; (see G. Tucci, "The Sacred Character of the Kings of Ancient Tibet", *East and West*, Year VI, no. 3, 1955). He too must be allowed some time to marry and to beget a child; probably this happened shortly before his death. In conclusion we have 13 years + a certain number of years for marriage and begetting a son, let us assume 3-4 years; then 13 years of his son, then 5 years of reign of the latter: this means a total of 31 or 32 years. No time is therefore left for his accomplishing the enterprises attributed to him, and so eventful as to make of him the founder of the Tibetan empire. Therefore, the date of 629 (earth-ox) as his birth-date cannot be accepted. In the old chronicles there being no indication of the name of the elements but only of the animals of the twelve-animals cycle, his date of birth may be not only 569 (see L. Petech, *A study of the Chronicles of Ladakh*, Calcutta 1939, p. 44) but also 581 (iron-ox).

Moreover there is no agreement at all among our sources, First of all while the name of Wen ch'êng is somehow preserved in Tibetan transliterations, the name of the Nepalese wife, as I stated above, is missing, though she would have played in the story of Sroñ btsan sgam po the same role as the Chinese one. It is true that in some sources the other wives are also recorded according to their clan only, but these wives are far from having the same importance which the Chinese and the Nepalese princess were given. It is also clear that there has been in the mind of those who elaborated this part of the biography of the king a desire for symmetry; the two epiphanies of sGrol ma, Tārā are symmetrically located: the one to the West (where Nepal is placed in GR. p. 27, b: but at p. 26, b in the South, Lho) and the other to the East: that is to the left and right of the Tibetan king, he being Avalokiteśvara, having Amitābha on top of his head, and sitting in the middle.

The stories of how the princesses were asked for and taken to Tibet follow in both cases the same scheme. We know that the stories of the

two marriages, of the Nepalese and of the Chinese, are planned in the same way; but we know that the marriage of Wen ch'êng is certain, and that some details, such as the time which passed between the request and the arrival in China, and the hesitation of the Court before yielding to the demand of Sroñ btsan sgam po, though amplified by the legend, are true. We may therefore surmise that the marriage of the Chinese princess and the events which then occurred, became the pattern upon which the marriage with the Nepalese princess was modelled.

We must add that both stories are meant to trace back to the time of the two princesses the introduction into Tibet of some famous religious images or relics, first from Nepal and then from China. The temple of Ra mo c'e is said to have been built by the Chinese princess. But we know now that this introduction of Buddhism into Tibet at the time of Sroñ btsan sgam po is far from having had the extent that tradition wants us to believe. In the edict (*bka' ts'igs*) of K'ri sroñ lde btsan, on the occasion of the building of bSam yas, preserved by PT, Ja p. 108, b there is mention of rGya Ra mo c'e (TTK, p. 46) viz. the Ra mo c'e of the Chinese. This may be an allusion to the Chinese princess, but it may only mean: Ra mo c'e of the Chinese, though according to the usual interpretation which I find in the records rGya is intended as rGya stag "the Chinese Tiger" (M, p. 221, b, GR, p. 63, b, PT, p. 41, b). In the inscription of Kar c'uñ only the Pehar of Lhasa is recorded as being the work of Sroñ btsan sgam po himself, TTK, p. 51-52. As regards the sPrul snañ temple, its origin is a matter of many legends: it was built by the king himself, after having controlled the nāgas, on the levelled ground of the lake 'O t'añ (Buston, Obermiller, p. 185): the king, by his miraculous emanations (*sprul*) built the lower storey of the sPrul snañ, while K'ri btsun erected the upper storey of the same (PT, 41 a, 41 b); the same attribution of the lower storey to the king and of the upper storey to K'ri btsun is found also in GR, 62, b, 63, b. Thus in the case of this temple we are confronted only with a myth which does not seem to have any foundation.

The name of the father of the Nepalese princess, as we have seen, is transmitted in two different ways: 'Od zer go c'a which is a translation of Aṃśuvarman and Deva Lha = Deva-deva (GR) which is no name at all but a title in its Sanskrit form and in its Tibetan translation.

If the Chinese court at that time was favourably inclined to Buddhism, the inscriptions of Aṃśuvarman reflect a purely Hindu and especially Śaiva atmosphere: his inscriptions identify his palace with the Kailāsa, and so far none of his inscriptions contains any indication that Buddhism was the religion which he followed, and therefore, we are supposed to believe, his family with him.

We know now that the Bal po of TH chronicle is not only Nepal (Lho Bal) but a country of Tibet where the Tibetan kings used to spend in particular the summer¹: it was roughly placed to the West of Lhasa, and we cannot forget what we said before, namely, that in the GR once Nepal is said to be to the South and another time to the West.

To conclude, I think that the story of the marriage of Sroñ btsan sgam po with a daughter of Aṃśuvarman is far from being certain; according to my opinion it was concocted when the legend had grown round Sroñ btsan sgam po and made of him an incarnation of sPyan ras gzigs: this legend in its core was prior to Grags pa rgyal mts'an, who speaks of him already as an incarnate of that god, but may have been developed between his time and Buston's.

Perhaps my views may appear to others as unconvincing as does to me the legend of the two Tārās incarnations. Anyhow it appears to me that we have so far accepted without due control some data of Tibetan tradition which are late and have undergone the impact of the new religious beliefs. It is certain that Sroñ btsan sgam po married a Chinese princess: it is equally certain that he married a wife belonging to the Moñ family. He may have married a Žañ žuñ princess. There is no proof that he married a Nepalese princess. And if he married a Bal mo, it is not sure that this Bal yul is Nepal and not the Bal yul in Tibet.

During and after the *p'yi dar*, the new introduction of Buddhism into Tibet, there has been, as we have previously stated, a tendency to emphasize far beyond the actual facts the role of the founder of the Tibetan kingdom as an apostle of religion. This tendency increased, with the growing of the orthodoxy and the waning of the rNiñ ma pas and allied sects.

The identification of Sroñ btsan sgam po with Avalokiteśvara brought as a consequence that he must have had the usual *paredras* of that Bodhisattva: one was there, she was the Chinese princess, but this one needed a counterpart and this counterpart was found in the daughter of Aṃśuvarman. In this way a connection was established from the times of the great king with the two countries which were to remain for some time after the introduction of Buddhism as the two main sources from which Buddhist teaching entered into Tibet.

This must have happened when the transformation of Sroñ btsan sgam from the founder of a dynasty into a propagator of the triumphant faith had already taken place. Just as Padmasambhava had his two wives Ye śes mts'o rgyal and Mandāravā, so also Sroñ btsan sgam po

¹ See G. TUCCI, *Minor Buddhist Texts*, II, Roma 1958 p. 34 ff.

was identified with Avalokiteśvara assisted by the two Tārās. The disregard of the historical facts by the religious community, only eager to glorify him as a god, is testified also by the fact that he is not said to have died but to have disappeared into the self-originated image of *bCu gcig žal* after the Nepalese wife had disappeared into his right shoulder and the Chinese one into his left shoulder. The trilogy imposed on Sroñ ntsan sgam po cannot be dissociated from his being identified with Khasarpana, one of the usual forms of Avalokiteśvara, which has his female companions Śyāmā Tārā, the Chinese princess, and Bhṛkuṭī (K'ro gñer can), the Nepalese princess.

To conclude: if no document proves the contrary, we must be very sceptical about this set of legends and maintain a critical view concerning the Nepalese wife. The only text which might decide if in older chronicles there was mention of K'ri btsun is the *Hulan deb t'er*. If this also is silent we must definitely conclude that the story of K'ri btsun has been concocted later on, on purely theological grounds. But even if she is mentioned therein, the fact remains that all the marriages of Sroñ ntsan sgam po have been re-elaborated and that neither of the princesses played a great role. The real wife who must have had a role was the Moñ bza' because she was the mother of Guñ sroñ guñ btsan.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- PK *Pad ma dkar po's Chronicles.*
 TH J. BACOT, F. W. THOMAS, Ch. TOUSSAINT, *Documents de Touen-Houang relatifs à l'histoire du Tibet*, Paris 1940.
 PT *dPa'o gtsug lag's Chronicles.*
 DM *Deb t'er dmar po* of bSod nams grags pa.
 Buston (*History of Buddhism* transl. by OBERMILLER, Heidelberg 1931).
 DT *Deb t'er sñon po* (ROERICH, *The Blue Annals*, Calcutta 1949-1953).
 GR *rGyal rabs gsal ba'i me loñ.*
 M *Mani bka' 'bum.*
 TTK G. TUCCI, *Tombs of the Tibetan Kings*, Roma 1950.
 VDL *Chronicles of the Fifth Dalai Lama.*

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