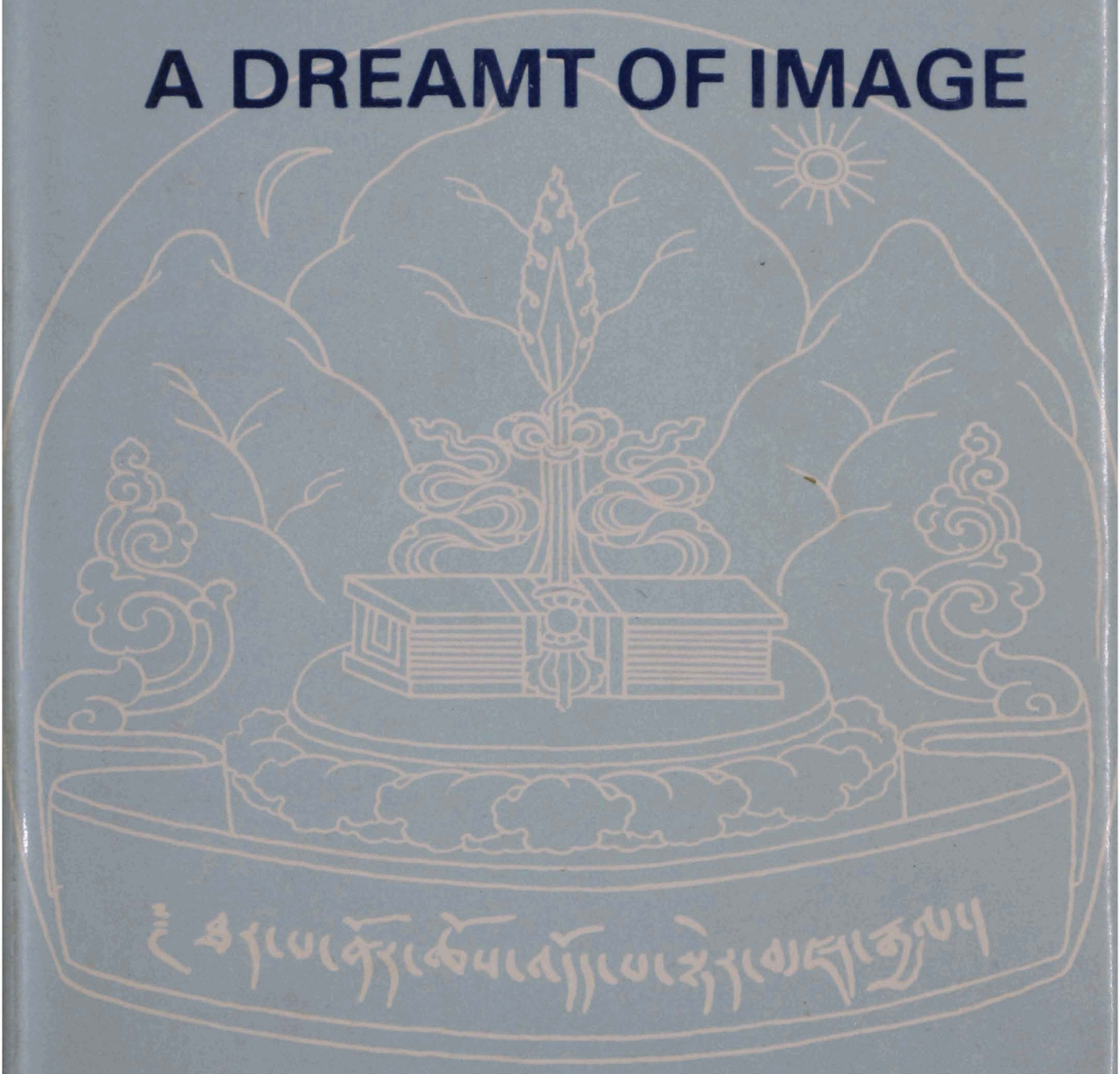
SAMBHOTA SERIES

TIBET

A DREAMT OF IMAGE



JACK FINEGAN

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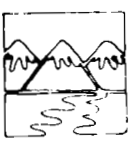

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"Leaving Lhasa is not like leaving any town. It is easy to return anywhere else, but Lhasa is so inaccessible as if it were out of this world. Departing from it is like seeing a dreamt of image vanish, without knowing whether it will ever appear again."

Giuseppe Tucci, *To Lhasa and Beyond*
(Rome: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, Libreria dello Stato, 1956), p. 115.

THE DALAI LAMA

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HIMACHAL PRADESH

FOREWORD

I am happy that Tibet House and Wiley Eastern Limited are jointly starting a new publication serial entitled Sambhota. This is welcome.

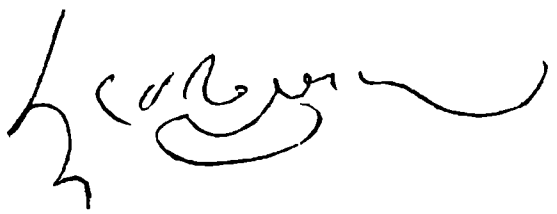
Tibetan culture is a storehouse of Buddhist knowledge and is one people's way of looking at the world. As such it is not only unique but relevant, relevant to our understanding of the present problems of the world.

However, despite the efforts of scholars the world over, the outside world's knowledge of Tibetan culture is limited. It is hoped that Sambhota through its publications will be able to contribute towards a deeper understanding and wider distribution of knowledge and information of Tibetan Buddhism, culture and history. We live in a troubled world of mutual misunderstanding. If we are to co-exist and co-exist in peace, we must learn to talk and understand each other across cultural barriers.

Mr. Jack Finegan's book, Tibet: A Dreamt of Image, is the first in the Sambhota series. His book is an objective account of the history of Tibet. I am sure that it will be welcomed by many readers.

I wish Tibet House success in its new venture.

November 11, 1985



Preface

Tibet has been called by many names, the Roof of the World, the Land of Snows, the Forbidden Land, Mysterious Tibet, A Lost World, A Distant Horizon, Shangri La. As the names suggest, Tibet was long almost completely inaccessible to the outside world, being relatively isolated among its high mountains and often politically closed off. Then in 1950 the Chinese invaded, in 1959 the Dalai Lama and a reported 100,000 Tibetans fled, in 1965 Tibet became the Autonomous Region of Xizang in the People's Republic of China. Between 1966 and 1976 the Chinese Cultural Revolution wrought devastation, but in 1979 the reopening of the Jokhang temple in Lhasa marked a measure of relaxation in the pressure upon the ancient culture and thereafter it became possible for outsiders to visit the land in limited numbers. The author therefore traveled and took photographs in Tibet in 1981 and also in Western Tibet (Ladakh) in 1982. This book is based upon that work, upon study over a longer period of time together with related study, travel, and residence in India, as well as travel and study also in most of the other Asian lands. I therefore traveled and made photographs in Tibet in 1981, in Western Tibet (Ladakh) in 1982, and in Tibet again in 1985.

I would like to express deep appreciation to Doboom Tulku, Director of Tibet House, New Delhi, the Cultural Centre of His Holiness The Dalai Lama, for the very great honor of the publication of my book by Tibet House and its inclusion as the first volume in the Sambhota Series. Also I express thanks to all others who have had association with the project, especially including Mr Keith Pickard of Tibet House, and the Venerable Lama Lobzang of the Ladakh Bauddha Vihara, Delhi.

F. FINEGAN

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Flight into Tibet

THE Russian-built Ilyushin propeller plane of the Civil Aviation Administration of the People's Republic of China climbs out of the fog-shrouded plain of Chengdu in the Sichuan province of South China and heads toward the west. A telephone call from the Lhasa airport has indicated that ceiling and visibility are adequate there for the landing. The direct distance from Chengdu to Lhasa is 1,230 km/764 mi and the flight, over some of the wildest country on earth, will take two hours and twenty minutes. Below, on the ground, trucks will grind up over the new Chinese-built highway for ten days to cover the same distance, and of each three vehicles one will carry only fuel for them all.

KHAM

Once clear of the fog, the great mountains begin to come into view. Massive ranges run in parallel from north to south. The first range, now called the Daxue Shan,[1] is dominated by Gongga Shan, formerly known as Minya Konka, a symmetrical peak (7,556m/24,900 ft) which lifts its head above the clouds 100 km/62 mi to the south of our flight path, and was first climbed in 1932 by Richard Burdsall and Arthur Emmons from the United States of America, as related in their book "Men Against the Clouds".[2] Sixty km/37 mi to the south of us and 40 km/25 mi north of Gongga Shan is the town of Dartsedo (Chinese Tatsienlu), itself over 2,440 m/8,800 ft above sea level. Here we are already in the Eastern Tibetan cultural area known as Khams (pron. Kham), although still in the present Chinese province of Sichuan. From Dartsedo two ancient trade routes

diverge, the Ayalam and the Janglam, the former going all the way through to Ladakh, the latter to Kashgar.

AMDO

Far to the north in the Chinese province of Qinghai the great Lake Kokonor (Qinghai Hu)[3] lies at an elevation of 3,200 m/10,499 ft, and to the south of it the Huang or Yellow River takes its rise between parallel ranges of the Kunlun Shan at an elevation of c. 5,182 m/17,000 ft, and flows out at last eastward into the Bo Hai arm of the Yellow Sea. One of the ranges is now called A'nyèmaqèn Shan and its chief peak is the Tibetan sPom A myes rma chen (pron. Pom Amnyè Machhen), better known in the West as Amne Machen (7,160 m/23,491 ft) and first climbed in 1960 by a Chinese expedition led by Pai Chin Hsiao. Although now in Chinese territory, this whole vast region south of Lake Kokonor is the Northeastern Tibetan cultural area known as *A mdo* (pron. Amdo). In terms of Buddhist history the most important places in Amdo are the village of Taktser (the home of the family of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama) and the monastery of sKu 'bum (pron. Kumbum, an abbreviation of sku 'bum mchod rten, meaning "chorten of a hundred thousand images"), both to the southeast of Lake Kokonor and not far south of Xining.

THE POLITICAL BORDER

Ahead across the next range (the Shaluli Shan) and 470 km/292 mi out from Chengdu we reach the valley of the Yangtze (Jinsha) River, which marks the eastern political border of Tibet proper. Only 40 km/25 mi south of our flight path is Batang (Chinese Patang), a chief center on the ancient trade route from Chengdu to Lhasa. Above Batang the Yangtze flows through a wide valley but at this point the river begins its torrential descent through wild mountain country and eventually through the famed Yangtze Gorges before it at last reaches the East China Sea near Shanghai. It was at Batang, in the Eastern Tibetan area of Kham, that the medical missionary Dr. Albert L. Shelton established a hospital, only to be killed by bandits while trying (in 1922) to press on to Lhasa. In the meantime, however, he had acquired and sold to The Newark Museum the materials which are the foundation of the Tibetan collections of that

institution. In a letter to the Museum in 1913 Dr. Shelton outlined the route and approximate cost for the shipment of 100 pounds of these materials from Batang to New York:

460 miles on Yak from Batang to Tatsienlu	$2.00
140 miles on men's backs to Yachow	2.00
600 miles by water to Ichang	1.50
1,000 miles by steamer to Shanghai	.75
Shanghai to New York	3.50
	$9.75[4]

The next of the north-south ranges is the Ningjing Shan and beyond it is the valley of the Mekong (Lancang) River, which flows on down to finally enter the South China Sea near Saigon (now Ho Chi Minh City). On the Upper Mekong 120 km/75 mi north of our flight path and still is Kham is Chab mdo (pron. Chamdo), the site of the decisive battle and the defeat of the Tibetans in the invasion of Tibet by the Chinese in 1949.

Beyond yet another range (the Taniantaweng Shan) is the valley of Salween (Nu) and this river flows here parallel to the Mekong, but continues in a course that is one of the wildest and most picturesque in the world to finally enter the Gulf of Martban near Moulmein, Burma.

CENTRAL TIBET

Beyond these gorges of these great rivers of Central Asia we fly on into Central Tibet. Here the mountain ranges, now running generally from west to east, are more spectacular than ever. Above an extensive cloud cover, many jagged peaks lift their heads into the clear sky and are not far below our own flight level of 7,315 m/24,000 ft (see illustration). Finally we descend between the mountains and into the valley of the Yarlung Tsangpo (Chinese Yarlung Zangbo) River, which here provides a small plain, large enough to accommodate the air strip on which we land. While the Chinese have built a reported nine important military air fields in Tibet, this is the commercial field for Lhasa and all that is to be seen is a nondescript gray brick building and the aircraft from which we have disembarked, which will shortly depart on its return flight to Chengdu.

Here we stand for the first time on the soil of Tibet. In the valley are trees and green and yellow fields. On every side are the mountains, barren above the timber line (4,500 m/14,750 ft), but of many

colors of rock and soil. Above, the sky is of high-altitude clarity, deep blue, and piled with masses of white clouds.

THE YARLUNG TSANGPO

It is yet 110 km/68 mi from the airport to Lhasa. The road runs west along the banks of the Yarlung Tsangpo, the waters of the river high from the summer melting of the snows. At the crossing, where until recently there was only a ferry, there is now a long low bridge. From there the route is northeastward yet 60 km/38 mi up the right bank of the Kyi chu[5] (Chinese Gyiqu), commonly called the Lhasa River. To signal approach to the holy city, for so many centuries the goal of Tibetan Buddhist pilgrimage, there is a large rock-carved and painted Buddha figure in the cliff beside the river (see illustration).

LHASA

Finally around a spur of the mountains, 15 km/9 mi from Lhasa, the awesome Potala, long the residence of the spiritual and secular head of the Tibetan state, the Dalai Lama, comes into view, its golden roofs glittering in the sunlight, and we soon enter the long forbidden but now accessible city, itself 3,627 m/11,900 ft above sea level.

2

Land, People, and Language

THE political unit which is the Tibet (Xizang) Autonomous Region of the People's Republic of China has a maximum length of 2,000 km/1,200 mi from west to east, and 1,000 km/600 mi from north to south, with a total area of c. 470,000 sq mi. The entire area largely inhabited by Tibetan people and thus constituting the whole Tibetan cultural area is, however, much larger. It is a vast and lofty plateau which extends from the Kunlun Shan in the north to the Himalaya in the South, and from the Indian state of Ladakh in the west into the Chinese provinces of Qinghai and Sichuan in the east.

THE LOFTY LAND

In geological perspective, c. 600 million years ago a great sea called Poseidon and c.300 million years ago a smaller but still large sea called Tethys (of which the present Mediterranean is the remnant) extended over much of Asia including the Himalaya and the Tibetan plateau. Then c. 40 million years ago the folding of the earth's crust due to southward pressure against the plains of North India began to lift the whole region to its present great heights. Evidence of the earlier marine period lies in the fossil *ichthyosaur* found in South Tibet, the huge fish-lizard of 180 million years ago which swam in the Tethys sea.[1]

As it now exists the Tibetan plateau has an average elevation of c. 4,000 m/13,000 ft, but many of its mountains and its mountain ranges are of course individually much higher. In the south on the border with Nepal Mount Everest (Tibetan Chomolungma) is at

8,848 m/29,029 ft the highest mountain in the world. In the west Mount Kailasa (Tibetan Ti se, pron. Tisè, Chinese Kangrinboqè Feng[2]) at 6,714 m/22,028 ft is sacred in the indigenous Bon religion of Tibet, is in Hinduism the abode of Śiva and Parvati, and in both Hindu and Buddhist cosmology stands beneath the mythical Mount Meru (in Tibetan Ri rab, pron. Rirap), the heavenly summit which is the axis of the universe. Nearby to the southeast and fed by the snows of Mount Kailasa is Lake Manasarovara (Tibetan Ma pham, pron. Mapham,[3]) and this is "the most excellent lake of the mind," the divine receptacle of the universal mind force (manas).[4]

THE TSANGPO

Ninety km/56 mi to the east of Lake Manasarovara and 800 km/500 mi west of Lhasa is the Maryum *la*,[5] a pass 5,151 m/16,900 ft in elevation, which marks the main watershed between the east and the west, and between the Tsangpo and the Indus. In the vicinity of the pass the Jiemayangzong glacier and the Jiemayangzong River which flows from the glacier provide the main source of the gTsang chu or Tsangpo River.[6] In Tibetan the word tsangpo means the "purifier," and is applied to any large river, but above all to this one as the main river of Tibet. From its sources the stream flows eastward through southern Tibet on a course roughly parallel to and 160 km/100 mi north of the main Himalaya. The length of the river in Tibet is some 1,126 km/700 mi, of which 644 km/400 mi are navigable, and its average elevation is 3,658 m/12,000 ft. In the east the Tsangpo turns southward through tremendous gorges in the mountains and descends to the plains where it is known as the Brahmaputra and at last joins the Ganges to flow into the Bay of Bengal, thus completing a course of some 2,897 km/1,800 mi in all.

The most important tributaries of the Tsangpo are the Chaktak and the Raka which join it from the north far to the west of Xigaze, the Nyang which comes in from the south past Gyangze, the Kyi which descends from the north past Lhasa, and the Yar klungs (pron. Yarlung) which flows from the south to enter the Tsangpo at rTse thang (pron. Tsethang) about 97 km/60 mi southeast of Lhasa. From this last tributary the main river is known in this eastern stretch as the Yarlung Tsangpo, in Chinese the Yarlung Zangbo.

The valley of the Tsangpo and its tributary valleys provide main routes of travel and the only extensive agricultural regions of Tibet,

and are therefore the location of nearly all the large permanent settlements, including Lhasa, Xigaze, Gyangze, and Tsethang. In particular the Yarlung Valley is the most natural and shortest route connecting India and Tibet (although now little used for such travel), and was the home of the earliest Tibetan civilization under the early Tibetan kings. In the north, in a region of many salt lakes and on the inner plateau known as Chang Tang, where the elevations are from c. 4,500 m/15,000 ft to c. 5,500 m/18,000 ft, the population has always been largely nomadic.

THE INDUS AND THE SUTLEJ

West of the Maryum La in the vicinity of Mount Kailasa and Lake Manasarovara are the sources of the Indus and the Sutlej rivers. The Indus flows to the northwest through the western part of Tibet proper, crosses the present border into Kashmir, continues on the north side of the Zaskar (Zanskar) Mountains (the "snowy range" of the Himalaya) and, at a distance of 483 km/300 mi from its sources, passes Leh, the capital of Ladakh. Continuing still to the northwest, the river flows on the southern side of the Karakoram and, 30 km/19 mi short of Skardu, receives from the north the waters of the Shyok, a tributary nearly as large as itself which rises near the southern foot of the Karakoram Shankou,[7] a pass c. 5,486 m/18,000 ft in elevation and 120 km/75 mi southeast of K2 (Mount Godwin Austen, 8,611 m/28,250 ft) on the high road from Ladakh to Kashgar. One hundred km/62 mi northwest of Skardu and in sight of the Karakoram peak Rakaposhi (7,788 m/25,552 ft, midway between Gilgit and Hunza), the Indus changes its course to the southwest and continues in this direction all the way to the ocean. At this point it receives the Gilgit River from the northwest, in the Punjab it receives the Panjnad, the united stream made by the five rivers of the Punjab, and at last it flows into the Arabian Sea, at a total length comparable to that of the Brahmaputra of some 2,897 km/1,800 mi. As for the Sutlej, it too flows at first northwestward from the vicinity of Mount Kailasa and Lake Manasarovara, but then turns southwestward through the Shipki La (3,505 m/11.500 ft) into India to become one of the five rivers of the Punjab and, together with the others, to flow as the Panjnad into the Indus.

FROM KHAM TO LADAKH

In the entire Tibetan cultural area the main divisions are the Eastern, Northeastern, Central, West-Central, and Western regions. The Eastern Tibetan region is known as Khams (pron. Kham) and contains the towns of Batang (Patang) and Chab mdo (Chamdo). The Northeastern region is called A mdo (pron. Amdo) and is notable for the monastery of sKu 'bum (Kumbum). Together Amdo and Kham are called mDo khams (pron. Dokham).

Central Tibet is called *dBus* and is the area around Lha sa, the largest city and the capital of all of political Tibet. West-Central Tibet is known as gTsang (pron. Tsang) and contains gZhis kha rtse (Xigaze) and rGyal rtse (Gyangze), the second and third largest towns of the land.

To the west and extending beyond the border of the present political Tibet is the Western Tibetan region which is called mNga' ris (pron. Ngari). Another name for the western area is Zhang zhung (pron. Shangshung), a rather vague geographical designation normally used for the country west of Mount Kailasa but also sometimes made inclusive of a yet larger region extending from the west to the north and northeast. In Ngari there are four main districts. (1) Pu hrang (pron. Purang) is the district south and west of Lake Manasarovara and Mount Kailasa; (2) Gu ge (pron. Kukê) is farther west, with mTho gling (pron. Tholing, now also called Zanda) in the Upper Sutlej valley as its capital; (3) Zangs dkar (pron. Sangkar) is farther northwest, with Spi ti (pron. Spiti) and Spi lcogs (pron. Spichog, perhaps Lahul) to its south; and (4) La dwags (pron. Ladakh) is yet farther northwest, on the Indus, with sLe (pron. Leh) as its capital.

POPULATION

In the entire Tibetan cultural area and in the world there are said to be six million Tibetans. In "political" Tibet the population is presently reported by the Chinese as approximately 1,650,000, 96 per cent "ethnic" Tibetans, the rest members of more than ten so-called "minority" groups, Menpas, Denpas, Lopas, Sherpas, and others, the Menpas and the Sherpas both being Tibetan Buddhist in religion.[8] In exile in India and elsewhere are an estimated 100,000 Tibetans. In "political" Tibet under present circumstances there are

also many Han Chinese, with their military camps not only in border areas but also practically wherever there is a Tibetan population, and in Lhasa alone the Han military and civilian population is reportedly more than the Tibetan population.

As to the origin of the Tibetan people, this is generally sought by Western scholars in early nomadic non-Chinese tribes of Eastern Central Asia, and it is pointed out that this background still appears in the ability of the Tibetan people to handle horses, yaks, and other animals, their delight in open spaces and open air, their readiness to travel great distances, and their strong individualism.[9] Of his people the Fourteenth Dalai Lama says: "Tibetans are a distinct and separate race. Our physical appearance and our language and customs are entirely different from those of any of our neighbors. We have no ethnological connection with anyone else in our part of Asia."[10]

BON AND BUDDHISM

As to religion in Tibet, the main indigenous form which is prior to and other than Buddhism is called Bon (pron. Pön), and its adherents and especially its class of exorcists and priests are the bon po (pron. pön-po) i.e., the followers of Bon. For Buddhism there is no denominative word as such in Tibetan, but its adherents are called chos pa, i.e., the people of chos (pron. chhö), this term being the Tibetan equivalent of the Sanskrit *dharma* in its Buddhist sense of law, doctrine, teaching, truth, etc.

THE TIBETAN LANGUAGE

As for the Tibetan language, it is related to Burmese, Chinese, and Thai. It is spoken in many different dialects, including the dialects of Lhasa and the central districts of U and Tsang, the eastern dialects of Kham, and the western dialects of Ladakh and related areas.

The language was first reduced to writing under King Songtsen Gampo (died 649 CE). The king sent his minister, a layman named Thonmi Sambhota, to India to study and, after his return to Tibet, the minister formulated the present Tibetan alphabet. The letters are a form of the Indian Sanskrit characters of that period, and follow the same arrangement. There are thirty consonants and four vowel signs, and in Western books they are commonly transliterated into the Roman alphabet. Eight letters transliterated as *g*, *d*, *b*, *m*, *r*,

s, *l*, and the apostrophe ' are prefixes which are generally not pronounced. In transliteration therefore these are usually written in lower case characters and it is the first radical consonant—which may be the second or third letter of the syllable—which is written with a capital character. The name of the First Dalai Lama (1391-1475 CE), for example, is transliterated dGe 'dun grub and pronounced something like Gendüntrup. The alphabetization of such names and words may be either by the radical letter as is usual in Tibetan dictionaries, or as in English by the initial letter even if it is an unpronounced prefix, the latter way being simpler for the non-specialist in Tibetan. In the present book the transliteration, indicated pronunciation, and Index listing follow the usage of Giuseppe Tucci in his "The Religions of Tibet" and of Geoffrey B. Samuel in the Index of the same book. In the present book, after introduction at an appropriate point of the transliterated from together with its pronunciation, it is ordinarily the simpler form as pronounced in which the word or name appears.[11]

PINYIN

A further complication exists because of the incorporation of political Tibet into China as an Autonomous Region of the People's Republic of China and the consequent rewriting of many of the names in terms of Chinese usage. The Chinese language itself was formerly most familiarly romanized according to the system called Wade-Giles after two scholars of the nineteenth century, but on January 1, 1979 the system called Pinyin was adopted by the Chinese government as the only official system for all western languages, especially for personal and geographical names. Among the pronunciations which are more difficult to recognize in the new system are *q* to be pronounced as "ch" in cheek, and *x* to be pronounced as "sh" in she. Thus, for example, in place of the traditional Shigatse we now have Xigaze, and in place of the traditional Songtsen Gampo there is Song-zan-gan-bu. The National Geographic Society's Map of The People's Republic of China (Washington, 1980) uses the Pinyin system, and in the present book geographical names often follow or at least parenthetically recognize these spellings, but in personal names the traditional forms are more usually retained.

Many names and words also occur in forms transliterated from the Sanskrit. Here it may be noted that the letter *c* usually represents

a character which is to be pronounced as "ch," thus *acarya*, for example, is to be pronounced as *acharya* (and indeed in many books is often spelled in the latter way). Also Sanskrit ś and ṣ are both pronounced almost as "sh" in English, and in the present book are rendered as ś and *sh* respectively.

3

Literature and Historical Sources

WITH the reduction of the Tibetan language to written form by Thonmi Sambhota under King Songtsen Gampo (died 649 CE) there began also the production of Tibetan literature. This consisted in part in the translation of Buddhist texts, largely from Sanskrit, into Tibetan. Such work was done notably under all three of the great religious kings—as they are called in Tibetan Buddhist tradition—namely, Songtsen Gampo himself, Trhisong Detsen (755-797), and Trhitsuk Detsen better known by his honorific name Ralpacan (815-838).

THE TRANSLATORS

In many cases the translators went to India, as Thonmi Sambhota had done, to study and work, and they were also assisted in Tibet by Buddhist scholars who came there from India and also from China and Central Asia. Tibetans specially chosen and appointed for the task where known by the honorary title of lo tsa ba (pron. lotsava) or "translator." Those who went down into the heat of India found the climate difficult or even fatal, and many wore a special sun hat (nyi zhwa or sho khal), a long flat head covering which is still seen in Tibet on women as well as men. Through this great work of the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries the major Buddhist Sutras and Tantras were made available in Tibetan, and in not a few cases the Tibetan translations preserved texts the Sanskrit originals of which were later lost.

THE DUNHUANG TEXTS

Along with such translations there also arose an indigenous Tibetan literature, derived from ancient oral tradition and consisting in myths and legends about the origins of the country and its people, genealogical lists of its kings, state records, ritual texts, etc. Actual manuscript fragments containing some of these materials are among the great body of manuscripts which were obtained in 1907 by Aurel Stein in a long-sealed cache in the Caves of the Thousand Buddhas at Dunhuang in the Gansu province of China and were brought to Europe and divided between the India Office Library in London and the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. Some of this material was written on the backs of some of the many Chinese Buddhist scrolls in the collection, other of it was on the oblong sheets characteristic of the form of later Tibetan books. Around the middle of the eighth century, notably under King Trhisong Detsen (755-797), Tibet conquered much of Xinjiang and Gansu and held control for a hundred years, and these Tibetan texts from Dunhuang were probably written down in the eighth and ninth centuries.

The Dunhuang texts comprise Annals (Manuscripts No. 103 in London and No. 252 in Paris) covering the years 649-747; a list of the ancient Principalities of Tibet and a Genealogy of the Kings from the beginning down to Langdarma (838-842), here called 'U 'i dum brtan (Manuscript No. 249 in Paris); and a Chronicle extending from Trikum to Trhisong Detsen (Manuscript No. 250 in Paris). As far as they go, the texts reflect essentially the same outline of Tibetan history that is found in the later and more complete historical works.[1]

RINCHEN SANGPO

After interruption in the middle of the ninth century due to the persecution of Buddhism by King Langdarma (838-842), translation of Sanskrit Buddhist texts was resumed and new Tibetan Buddhist writings were produced as well.[2] Of the translators of this time one of the most illustrious was Rin chen bzang po (pron. Rinchhen Sangpo), (958-1055), under whose leadership a whole school of scholars and translators arose to render from Sanskrit into Tibetan not only Sutras and Tantras but also many of the numerous and extensive commentaries attached to these works. It is estimated that

by the thirteenth century nearly one thousand Indian panditas (scholars) and five hundred Tibetan lotsavas (translators) had worked together in this large labor.

In the eleventh century and contemporary with Rinchen Sangpo, Atiśa came from India to teach and write in Tibet, and Drokmi went from Tibet to India to study and returned to translate, while in that and the following century, in a line of succession from Drokmi, the other Tibetans Marpa, Milarepa, and Gampopa wrote influential works.

BUSTON

In the fourteenth century the Tibetan scholar Bu ston Rin chen grub pa or Bu ston Rin po che (pron. Putön Rinchhen Trup-pa or Putön Rimpoche), (1290-1364) was still honored with the title Buston lotsava, i.e., Buston the translator, but by then it was already a hundred years and more after the onslaught of Islam in Iadia at the end of the twelfth century, in which the Buddhist monasteries in that land were largely destroyed by the iconoclastic invaders and there was no more great development of Indian Buddhism nor rise there of great teachers, therefore by this time the period of translation mostly came to an end, and Tibetan Buddhism continued its own development largely in independence of further Indian connection.

KANJUR AND TANJUR

In the meantime the numerous texts were being brought together in various collections. From a surviving catalogue it is known that King Trhisong Detsen (755-797) established a collection of texts in his palace, and the same was done in various monasteries. An especially comprehensive collection was eventually established at the sNar thang (pron. Narthang) monastery (24 km/15 mi southwest of Xigaze), and this was most significantly expanded and edited by Buston, who did his main work at the monastery of Zha lu (pron. Shalu) (also not far from Xigaze.)

As compiled thus by Buston and other redactors to make an official collection, the entire body of texts is divided into two parts. The first part is the bKa' 'gyur (pron. Kangyur, in this book spelled Kanjur), which means "translations of the word (bKa', word or

speech, i.e., of the Buddha)." The Kanjur contains the whole Theravada and Mahayana literature, as well as the Tantras which are the foundation of the Vajrayana, all of which is taken as the authoritative word of the Buddha. The second part is the bsTan 'gyur (pron. Tengyur), which means "translations of treatises (bsTan, treatises, commentarial works)." In its complete form the Tanjur contains not only earlier translated commentaries but also newer works by Indian masters such as Atiśa and Tibetan scholars such as Drokmi and Buston, and also books on grammar, logic, poetry, art, mathematics, chronology, astrology, medicine, and other sciences, these latter subjects being regarded as proper objects of study on the way to Buddhist doctrines. Although a very important part of the entire collection, the Tanjur is sometimes considered as only semi-canonical in comparison with the fully canonical Kanjur.

NYINGMA EDITION

The first printed edition of the Kanjur was made at Peking (now Beijing) in 1410/1411, and the Tanjur was likewise printed there in the late seventeenth century. Of several editions printed in Tibet, that made in the eighteenth century in the Tibetan kingdom of sDe dge (pron. Derge), an important cultural center in Eastern Tibet (Kham), is considered the most comprehensive and most accurate. It is this Derge Canon, consisting of 4,502 texts, which is the basis, along with 598 supplementary Tibetan texts and 9 Chinese texts, of the Nyingma Edition of the complete Kanjur and Tanjur, published in 1981 in 120 volumes by Dharma Publishing, Berkeley, an edition which is now the most complete collection of Tibetan Buddhist scriptures available anywhere.[3]

THE BON KANJUR AND TANJUR

The development of the Tibetan Buddhist literature also gave an impetus to the followers of Bon to collect and write down their own early traditions which, in their content too, often reflect Buddhist influence. Like the Tibetan Buddhist canon the principal Bon collection is classified in two parts similarly known as the Kanjur and the Tanjur. The Kanjur is accepted as the inspired word of early Bon sages, translated from the language of Shangshung, and includes especially the biography and the revelations of the legendary

gShen rab (pron. Shenrap), considered the great reorganizer and systematizer of Bon in Tibet.

CHRONICLES (GYELRAP)

In the entire sweep of Tibetan Buddhist literature major categories are: chronicles based on genealogies of dynasties and families (rgyal rabs), annals (deb ther), religious histories (chos 'byung), biographies (rnam thar), hidden texts (gter ma), road descriptions (lam yig), and guides to holy places (dkar c'ag).

In the category of rgyal rabs (pron. gyelrap), the Bod kyi rgyal rabs (pron. Pökyi Gyelrap) was written by the Sakya-pa lama Grags pa rgyal mtshan or rJe btsun Grags pa rgyal mtshan (pron. Jetsün Trakpa Gyentsen) (1147-1216), and another work with the identical title was composed by the Sakya-pa lama 'Phags pa Blo gros rgyal mtshan (pron. Phakpa Lodro Gyentsen) (1235-1280). Substantial agreement of these works with the earlier Dunhuang texts indicates that the traditional account of Tibetan history was well founded.[4]

A later work is the Chronicles of the Kings of Ladakh (La dwags rgyal rabs, pron. Ladakh Gyelrap). This consists in its main extent of three divisions: the first division treats of cosmology and mythology (Parts I-III); the second division is a history of the Central Tibetan monarchy from its origins to its fall in 842 (Parts IV-V); and the third division gives the history of the independent kings of Ladakh up to 1842, while three added appendices bring the history on to 1886 (Parts IX-XI).[5]

ANNALS (TEPTHER)

Important annals (deb ther, pron. tepther) include the following: The Red Annals (Deb ther dmar po, pron. Tepther Marpo) were composed in 1346 by Kun dga' rdo rje (pron. Künga Dorje), a contemporary of Buston and himself a famous lama of the Kagyu-pa monastery of mTshal (pron. Tshel, a district lying east of Lhasa).[6]

The Blue Annals (Deb ther sngon po, pron. Tepther Ngönpo) constitute a very large and important work the full title of which is the Blue Annals, The Stages of the Appearance of the Doctrine and Preachers in the Land of Tibet. The work was composed

between 1476 and 1478 by the scholar and translator 'Gos lo tsa ba gZhon nu dpal, usually called simply the lo tsa ba of 'Gos, or 'Gos lo tsa ba (pron. Gos lotsava), i.e., Gos the translator (1392-1481). It is the usual practice of the author to indicate the sources of his information, thus he tells us that he drew upon the biographies of many Tibetan religious teachers and upon various chronicles, notably the Red Annals of Kunga Dorje and the History of Buddhism of Buston.[7]

The Blue Annals are especially valuable for the author's careful (although not always correct) notations of dates in Tibetan history. For many of these dates he counts backward from the year 1476 in which he was writing his work, or forward from some earlier point such as a date in the life of the famous king Songtsen Gampo. At this very important point of the genealogy and chronology of Songtsen Gampo and likewise in connection with the successors of Songtsen Gampo down to Langdarma (seventh to ninth centuries) Gos lotsava also provides correlations with the reigns of the contemporary Chinese emperors of the Tang Dynasty (618-917). Excerpts from the official Chinese history of the Tang Dynasty (the Tang-shu) were translated into Tibetan by a certain Lama Rin chen grags pa (pron. Rinchhen Trakpa) under the title rGya'i Yig tshang or Chinese Annals; passages from this work were reproduced by Kunga Dorje in his Red Annals; and Gos lotsava drew in this respect from the Red Annals.

THE CALENDAR

In respect of the calendar, the first month of the Tibetan year corresponds to February/March in the Western calendar, and the years are reckoned in terms of a Sexagenary Cycle, which was also used in China and elsewhere in Asia. In China the cycles were counted from the equivalent of 2277 BCE in the reign of the legendary emperor Yao. Beginning in 163 BCE it was also the custom for the emperor to give a collective name to the years of his reign, and Chinese dates also employ such periods (called *nien-hao*, "year name"). In Tibet the calendrical system was derived along with Buddhism mainly from India and in the form of the Indian *kalacakra* (wheel of time), and was adopted in 1027 CE. In the designation of the successive years of a sixty-year cycle there are used in both China

and Tibet five elements (fire, earth, iron, water, wood) and twelve animals (hare, dragon, serpent, horse, sheep, monkey, hen, dog, pig, mouse, ox, tiger). In the Tibetan Sexagenary Cycle the complete list of these designations of the sixty years is shown in Table 1. In the First Tibetan Cycle the first Fire-Hare year is 1027 CE and the last Fire-Tiger year is 1086; in the Sixteenth Cycle the first Fire-

Table 1. Years in the Tibetan Sexagenary Cycle

1. Fire-Hare	2. Earth-Dragon
3. Earth-Serpent	4. Iron-Horse
5. Iron-Sheep	6. Water-Monkey
7. Water-Hen	8. Wood-Dog
9. Wood-Pig	10. Fire-Mouse
11. Fire-Ox	12. Earth-Tiger
13. Earth-Hare	14. Iron-Dragon
15. Iron-Serpent	16. Water-Horse
17. Water-Sheep	18. Wood-Monkey
19. Wood-Hen	20. Fire-Dog
21. Fire-Pig	22. Earth-Mouse
23. Earth-Ox	24. Iron-Tiger
25. Iron-Hare	26. Water-Dragon
27. Water-Serpent	28. Wood-Horse
29. Wood-Sheep	30. Fire-Monkey
31. Fire-Hen	32. Earth-Dog
33. Earth-Pig	34. Iron-Mouse
35. Iron-Ox	36. Water-Tiger
37. Water-Hare	38. Wood-Dragon
39. Wood-Serpent	40. Fire-Horse
41. Fire-Sheep	42. Earth-Monkey
43. Earth-Hen	44. Iron-Dog
45. Iron-Pig	46. Water-Mouse
47. Water-Ox	48. Wood-Tiger
49. Wood-Hare	50. Fire-Dragon
51. Fire-Serpent	52. Earth-Horse
53. Earth-Sheep	54. Iron-Monkey
55. Iron-Hen	56. Water-Dog
57. Water-Pig	58. Wood-Mouse
59. Wood-Ox	60. Fire-Tiger

Hare year is 1927 and the last Fire-Tiger year is 1986 ($16 \times 60 = 960 + 1027 - 1 = 1986$). In the Eighth Cycle which began in 1447 it was between the Fire-Monkey and Earth-Dog years that Gos lotsava wrote his work, i.e., between the thirtieth and the thirty-second years of the cycle or between 1476 and 1478.[8]

Continuing to note compositions in the category of annals, the New Red Annals (Deb ther dmar po gsar ma) is a work the title of which is a conscious allusion to the Red Annals of Kunga Dorje, the contemporary of Buston. The new work was written by bSod nams grags pa (pron. Sönam Trakpa) 1478-1554). He was a contemporary of the Second Dalai Lama (1475-1542) and, like him, a member of the Geluk-pa. Along with the Red Annals of Kunga Dorje, the work of Sonam Trakpa is especially of value for history from the beginning of the supremacy of the Sakya-pa (which took its name from its chief monastery, southwest of Xigaze, founded in 1073) down to the time when power was being concentrated in the hands of the Dalai Lamas.[9]

RELIGIOUS HISTORIES (CHOSJUNG)

The term chos 'byung (pron. chhöjung), means literally "history of doctrine" (Tibetan chos being equivalent to Sanskrit *dharma*, thus the books so designated are essentially religious histories written from the standpoint of Buddhism. Of such works one of the most famous and most widely used is the History of Buddhism (Chos 'byung) by Buston, already named above as himself a translator and a major redactor of the Kanjur and Tanjur. Buston's History of Buddhism was finished in the year 1347, and it amounts to an introduction and table of contents for the Kanjur and Tanjur as these collections existed at that time. The entire work is in three parts: the fist part, called The Jewelry of Scripture, is a review of Buddhist teachings and a description of the kinds of treatises in which these teachings are embodied; the second part, called The History of Buddhism in India and Tibet, is the historical part proper, beginning with the life of Śakyamuni Buddha and ending with the work of the Tibetan lotsavas and the Indian panditas just before and in Buston's own time; and the third part is a systematic catalogue of the books, authors, and translators of all the literature then contained in the Kanjur and Tanjur.[10]

The History of Buddhism in India (rGya gar chos 'byung), written

by Taranatha in 1608, is one of the many works of this Tibetan author. He was born in 1575 in a family of lotsavas and was named Kun dga' snying po (pron. Künga Nyingpo), but became better known as Lama Taranatha or as Jo nang Taranatha, i.e., Taranatha of the Jo nang pa (pron. Chonang-pa) suborder of the Śakya-pa. His own chosen title for the history was literally "that which fulfills all desires", (dGos 'dod kun 'byung). While the subject relates to India, there are many brief scattered references to and correlations with Tibetan history. The subjects of Taranatha's other works range from grammar to iconography, and from the history and symbolism of the Kalacakra Tantra to his own life detailed in a year-by-year autobiography.[11]

A History of the Eastern Mongols entitled The Bejewelled Summary of the Origin of Khans (Qad-un ündüsün-ü Erdeni-yin Tobči), was completed in 1662 by Ssanang-ssetsen or Sagang Sechen (Sagang the Wise), a Mongol prince and scholar from the Ordos district of Southern Mongolia. This work begins with an account extending from the creation of the world to the death of Śakyamuni Buddha and the founding of Buddhism (Chapter 1), then recounts Tibetan history from the beginning to the fall of the monarchy, with special emphasis on the introduction and spread of Buddhism (Chapters 2-3), after which it goes on with Mongolian history (Chapters 4-10).[12]

BON HISTORY (TENJUNG)

The chos 'byung or "history of doctrine" category of works in Tibetan Buddhism is paralleled by a similarly oriented class of works in Bon, which is known as bstan 'byung (pron. tenjung), and which reflects the influence of Buddhism in content as well as form. Of these Bon works probably the most comprehensive is a book commonly called the Legs bshad mdzod (pron. Lek shadzod), this being a short form of a longer title meaning Treasury of Good Sayings that fully reveals the Origin of Bon. The author was bKra shis rGyal mtshan (pron. Trashi Gyentsen), who was born in Kham in 1859 and died in 1935. The work is composed in seven sections: the first is about the origin of the universe; the second is about the previous existences and historic life of gShen rab (pron. Shenrap), called Mi bo (pron. Miwo), "the man," and draws upon earlier biographies including the mDo ' dus (to be

mentioned below as one of the "hidden texts"); the third section gives the tantric doctrine of the "great perfection" (rdzogs chen, pron. dzokchhen), here said to have been taught by Shenrap in his previous existence as gSal ba (pron. Selba); the fourth contains genealogy; the fifth recounts the spread of Bon to Tibet and its persecution by the early Tibetan king Trikum, with the consequent hiding of Bon texts; the sixth tells of the restoration of Bon by a son of Trikum, and of a second persecution of Bon by King Trhisong Detsen (755-797), leading to further concealment of texts; and the seventh section recounts the rediscoveries of hidden texts at the beginning of the tenth century and the renewal of Bon with its various monastic establishments.[13]

BIOGRAPHIES (NAMTHAR)

The term rnam thar (pron. namthar) abbreviates the longer rnam par thar pa which is the Tibetan equivalent of the Sanskrit moksha or vimoksha, meaning "liberation," and this term is therefore used for the biography of a holy person whose life is thus considered as a process of liberation. In this category the Buston rNam thar is a Life of Buston, who has already been named above and was one of the most authoritative teachers and writers in Tibetan Buddhism (1290-1364). This Buston Namthar was composed in 1355-1356 by one of Buston's chief disciples, sGra tshad pa Rin chen rnam rgyal (pron. Tra Tshêpa Rinchhen Namgyal).[14]

HIDDEN TEXTS (TERMA)

Hidden texts are known by the term gter ma (pron. terma), which literally means "concealed treasure," and these are a part of the literature of both Buddhism and Bon in Tibet. Such texts were supposedly composed by early teachers and hidden away at the time of their composition or afterward, often in a time of persecution, in order that they might be preserved and finally brought to light in a more favorable time. In such a later time persons, supposedly predestined and inspired, were enabled to rediscover the long hidden documents and perhaps to translate them, if they were found in some other language, into Tibetan. Those who did this work are called by the term gter ston (pron. terchen), and this signifies a discoverer and teacher of concealed treasure.

THE PADMA SCROLL (PEMA THANGYIG)

Padmasambhava (Tibetan Pad ma 'byung gnas, pron. Pema Jungnê), the most eminent personage in the spiritual lineage of the Nyingma-pa order of Tibetan Buddhism, is supposed to have hidden away many such texts. His own biography, commonly known as the Pad ma thang vig (pron. Pema Thangyig) or Padma Scroll, is one of these hidden and rediscovered works. Padmasambhava is supposed to have dictated the text to his Tibetan wife named Ye shes mtsho rgyal (pron. Yeshê Tshogyal), herself regarded as an incarnation of Sarasvati, the goddess of learning. In the work it is related that after Padmasambhava hid many such "treasures," King Trhisong Detsen (755-797) asked him when these texts would come to light, and Padmasambhava replied with a long list of the future discoverers and the times when they would appear, and also gave advice for the discoverers and a description of their qualifications. It was more than five centuries later when the Padma Scroll was recovered from a place in the heart of a doorkeeper figure at a crystal rock cave in Yarlung where Padmasambhava had once celebrated a ritual. The finder was a tantric named O rgyan gling pa (pron. Orgyen Lingpa) (1323-c.1360), who both here and also at other places discovered many more "concealed treasures."[15]

THE BOOK OF THE DEAD (BARDO THODOL)

The Bar do thos grol (pron. Parto Thötrol, in this book spelled Bardo Thodol), popularly known as the Tibetan Book of the Dead, is also a rediscovered text. Like the preceding biography, this work is supposed to have been composed by Padmasambhava and written down by his wife Yeshe Tshogyal, along with a description of two mandalas of the forty-two peaceful deities and the fifty-eight wrathful deities who figure in the book. In this case the discoverer (terchen) who brought the book to light was Kar ma gLing pa (pron. Karma Lingpa), a tantric of the fourteenth century, who was regarded as an incarnation of a famous lotsava contemporary with Trhisong Detsen (755-797), the king under whom Padmasambhava worked in Tibet.

The book itself deals with the bar do or "in-between" state between death and rebirth, and is intended to be read to a dying or deceased person, or to be studied in the present lifetime in preparation for the time of death. The intermediate state is described as of

fortynine days duration (presumably a symbolic number, seven times seven). In that period it is determined by the response of the deceased to what is seen and heard, whether the deceased passes on into liberation or returns to another embodied life in one of the several worlds of birth and rebirth.[16]

THE BIOGRAPHY OF SHENRAP (SIDRID)

As indicated in the Treasury of Good Sayings that fully reveals the Origin of Bon, the Bon people also believe that many of their original teachings were hidden or lost during persecutions, especially the persecution in the eighth century, and were only rediscovered later as texts long concealed (gter ma) or were later transmitted orally as "whispered tradition" (snyan brgyud) through visionary revelations. The biography of Shenrap mentioned above as included in the Bon Kanjur is an example of such a work. The biography is known in three versions. The earliest and shortest version is the mDo 'dus (pron. Dodü), the "short sutra," a work in one volume with twenty-four chapters. It is said to have been translated by an eighth century sage from sTag gzig (pron. Tasi), a land located somewhere near present Afghanistan and Iran, and hidden by him in a chorten at Samye, where it was later rediscovered (probably in the eleventh century). The medium length text is the gZer mig (pron. Sermig), the "key for memory" according to one understanding of the name, a work in two volumes with eighteen chapters.[17] This text is also believed to have been translated at an early date and later rediscovered at Samye at about the same time as the shortest version. The longest version is the gZi brjid (pron. Sidrid), meaning The Glorious, a work in twelve volumes with sixty-one chapters. It is supposed to have been transmitted in a vision by a sage of the eighth century to bLo ldan snying po (pron. Lodan Nyingpo), the latter a well-known Bon author in Kham, who was born in about 1360 and was thus contemporary with Tsongkhapa (1357-1419).[18]

As told in the various forms of the biography, Shenrap went through previous existences much as the Buddha did, then from a heavenly existence as a certain gSal ba (pron. Selba) came down and was born on earth. Here his name (gShen rab) was really a title which means "the most excellent of the gshen," the gshen

(pron. shen) being the Bon priests or magicians. Shenrap's birth and early life were in a place called 'Ol mo lung rings (pron. Olmo lungring) in the land of Tasi. From there he went later through Zhang zhung (Shangshung) and into Tibet, where he contended successfully against the demons, much as Padmasambhava did, and taught the "nine ways" of Bon. Finally Shenrap rose to the highest bliss in the realm of the perfected gshen.

GUIDEBOOKS (LAMYIG AND KARCHAG)

The Tibetan Buddhist guidebooks called lam yig (pron. lamyig) meaning "road description," and dkar c'ag (pron. karchag) meaning "guide to holy places," were primarily intended for the use of pilgrims on their visits to sacred localities.

A work commonly known as The Temples of Lhasa is such a guide to Lhasa, which was composed by the Fifth Dalai Lama, Ngawang Lopsang Gyatsho (1617-1682), after return from a visit to the Chinese court in 1651-1653. The text is in the form of an extended prose commentary on a relatively short poem about Lhasa, the poem said to have been written originally by two monks of the Sera monastery. In terms of the 317 verses of the poem, the work praises Lhasa, founded by Songtsen Gampo and favored by the gods (Verses 1ff.), and describes the Tsuglakang (Verses 58ff.), the Ramoche (Verses 237ff.), the temple on the Iron Hill (Verses 250ff.), and the Potala palace on the Red Hill (Verses 254ff.), all built by Songtsen Gampo, together with their many images and treasures.[19]

The Shamba la'i lam yig (pron. Shambala Lamyig) or Description of the Road to Shambala was written in 1775 by the Third (or Sixth) Panchen Lama, bLo bzang dpal ldan ye shes (pron. Lopsang Pelden Yeshê) 1738-1780). Shambala, called bde 'byung (pron, dejung) or "source of bliss" in Tibetan, is described as lying north of the Si ta (pron. Sita) River (possibly to be identified with the Tarim River in Xinjiang) and as hidden behind a circle of snowy mountains. The king of Shambala is supposed to have been present in South India when the Buddha preached the Kalacakra Tantra, and this "wheel of time" doctrine is supposed to have been preserved in Shambala and eventually carried back to India and sixty years later brought from India to Tibet, the date of this last event being in 1026/1027, the date from which the Tibetan Sexagenary Cycle calendar begins. Shambala was perhaps originally a real place;

certainly later it became a mythical kingdom, and the way to Shambala could be conceived not only as a literal outward journey but also as an inner journey to a hidden kingdom of the mind.[20]

A work which is often referred to by a short form of its Tibetan title as the 'Dzam gling rgyas bshad (pron. Dzamling Gyeshad) is a geography of the world in general, with a major section on Tibet. The full title, given in a colophon, is Mirror which Illuminates All the Inanimate and Animate Things and Explains Fully the Great World. The colophon likewise names the author as bLa ma bTsan po (pron. Lama Tsenpo), a personage also known as sMin grol No mon han (pron. Mintröl Nomonhan), who was an incarnate lama of the dGa'ldan dam chos gling (pron. Ganden Tamchhöling) monastery in Amdo. The date of composition, also given in the colophon, was in the Iron-Dragon year of the fourteenth cycle, or 1820. The text begins with Nepal, India, and Tibet, and continues to China, Africa, the Middle East, Europe, the Americas, and Shambala. In the section on Tibet the author names a number of earlier sources which he employed, including the already-mentioned Blue Annals of Gos lotsava and the Description of the Road to Shambala by Ngawang Lopsang Gyatsho, as well as certain not otherwise identified "old chronicles of the Chinese." In outline the Tibet section proceeds from west to east, and is chiefly concerned with religious places, where not only the physical features are described but also important personages, events, and legends connected with the places are mentioned.[21]

Finally, there is a very important Guide to the Holy Places of Central Tibet which is called in its long Tibetan title a Short Summary of the Pure Names of Some of the Holy Places and Images of U and Tsang, called The Seed of Faith. The author of this work was born in Dokham (Amdo and Kham), i.e., Eastern/Northeastern Tibet, in the Fire-Dragon year of the fourteenth sexagenary cycle or 1820. At the age of twelve he became a novice and received a long monastic name which is commonly shortened to 'Jam dbyangs mK'yen brtse (pron. Jamyang Kyentse) or just mK'yen brtse (Kyentse). In 1840 he proceeded to Central Tibet and was ordained in the Nyingma-pa monastery sMin grol gling (pron. Mintröl-ling) (southeast of Lhasa and south of the Yarlung Tsangpo River). The year of his death was 1892, and in that same year his biography was written by an aged close associate, so that the details of his life are well known. As the biography

relates, in the course of his life Kyentse traveled very widely throughout Central Tibet and received initiations and experienced visions at many different monasteries. It is accordingly on the basis of his own pilgrim travels that in his Guide Kyentse gives concise accounts of routes and passes, temples and monasteries, for the guidance of other pilgrims going to the holy places of Central Tibet.[22]

MANUSCRIPTS AND PRINTED BOOKS

As to the form of Tibetan books, the first handwritten manuscripts were probably on palm leaves imported from India, some examples of which reportedly a thousand years old were, at least until recently, preserved in the library of the Potala in Lhasa. Such leaves were the prototype of the oblong sheets of paper on which the texts were later printed. After the first printing of the Kanjur in Peking in 1410/1411 the first printed editions made in Tibet were produced at the Narthang monastery, the Kanjur in 1731 and the Tanjur in 1742, while other editions were produced subsequently at Lhasa, Derge in Kham, Kumbum in Amdo, and elsewhere. The printing was done from carved wooden blocks, and the loose printed pages were placed between oblong boards and tied together to make the volumes, hundreds of which filled the library shelves of the great monasteries (see illustration). In the modern Chinese invasion of Tibet and in the Chinese Cultural Revolution many of the monasteries and much of this literature were destroyed. Now under slightly more lenient conditions wood printing blocks are again being carved, and printing resumed (see illustration).

4

The Early Kings of Tibet

AS told in the sources identified in Chapter 3, the story of what happened in Tibet moves from the mythological to the legendary to the historical, and we necessarily follow these sources and their manner of narration in order to recount the happenings as they are perceived in the Tibetan tradition itself.[1]

THE EMERGENCE OF THE LAND

Concerning the land of Tibet Gos lostava reports in the Blue Annals the story of an ancient personage who visited Tibet on successive occasions, on the first of which he found that the country was covered with water, then at his second visit the waters had subsided and there were fruit trees, forests, and wild animals. This account Gos lotsava himself considers a fiction, but the representation of the land as earlier submerged can have back of it the actual fact noted above in Chapter 2 that the region was indeed at an early time under the sea.

THE DESCENT OF THE PEOPLE

Concerning the first origin of the Tibetan people both Buston in his History of Buddhism in India and Tibet and Sonam Trakpa in his New Red Annals report the opinion that the people were the descendants of a monkey and a fiendess of a rock. In fuller statement of the matter is was held that the monkey was an incarnation of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara (in Tibet known as sPyan ras gzigs, pron. Chenrèsik) and the rock-demoness an incarnation of the goddess Tara (known in Tibet as sGrol ma, pron. Drölma). Since Chenresik

and Dolma are deemed the divine protectors of Tibet, it is evident that this myth reflects that supposed relationship.

THE AGES OF THE WORLD

Next, Buston, Gos lotsava, and Sonam Trakpa all refer to the Indian scheme of four world ages (*yugas*) of vast but decreasing length, of which the last and present age is the Kali *yuga* (rsod ldan in Tibetan). According to traditional Indian chronology the Kali Yuga began in the year corresponding to 3101 BCE shortly after the Mahabharata war in which the Pandavas won the great battle against the Kauravas on the plain of Kurukshetra. At the beginning of this last age, the Tibetan sources say, an Indian king named Rupati who was defeated in the battle fled with his warriors, all disguised as women, to the Land of the Snows, i.e., to Tibet. It was the descendants of these immigrants who became the people of Bod (pron. Pö). In the name Bod we probably have the original name of Tibet, and probably also the name of Bon (pron Pön), which is the name of the indigenous religion (*d* and *n* being frequently interchanged in Tibetan). Instead of the traditional date shortly before 3101 BCE for the Mahabharata battle at Kurukshetra, however, historical and astronomical considerations point to a more probable date, in round numbers, c. 1500 BCE. Therefore we may surmise that the account concerning Rupati and his warriors is in some degree a reflection of the existence of people—presumably then living as nomadic tribes—in Tibet around such a time as that.[2]

NYATRHI TSENPO

Over the people of Bod, the same Tibetan accounts go on to relate, there eventually arose a line of kings. Of these the first was gNya' khri btsan po (pron. Nyatrhi Tsenpo). As to the genealogy of this king, he is connected alternatively with three different dynasties in India, all going back to the time of Śakyamuni Buddha (nirvana c. 500 BCE),[3] and is said to have been the fifth son of Prasenajit the king of Kosala, or the fifth son of the youngest son of Bimbisara the king of Magadha, or the oldest son of Udayana the king of Vatsa. Continuing the story and in connection with Udayana ('Char byed in Tibetan), Buston relates that this son was born with distinctive marks in that his eyes closed from below (like those of a bird) and

his fingers were connected with a web. The king was frightened by these peculiarities and cast the child into the Ganges in a copper vessel, but the child was rescued and raised by a peasant, then eventually went away to the Himalaya and to Tibet. There the Bon-po found him, declared that he was a god (lha), and asked him, "Who are you?" and he replied, "A btsan po (pron. tsenpo)," which means "a mighty one." When they asked him further from whence he came, since he did not understand their language he pointed with his finger to the sky. Thereupon they placed him on a throne which they loaded on the necks of four men, and said that they would make him their king, and from this event he derived his full name of Nyatrhi Tsenpo, which means "the neck-enthroned mighty one."

With respect to this and many other names of the Tibetan kings, it may be observed that most of the names under which they are known are really titles or largely titles. Thus khri (pron. trhi) means throne; srong (pron. song) means righteous; and btsan or brtsan (pron. tsen) is the name of a class of deities, originally chiefly tribal gods in the Bon religion. The example of Khri lde gtsug brtsan (pron. Trhide Tsuktsen) to be cited in Chapter 5 will show that the kings usually took their official name when ascending the throne.

The genealogy of the kings found in the Dunhuang texts declares that Nyatrhi came down from the heights of the heavens on to a mountain named Lha ri gyang tho (pron. Lhari Gyangtho), which is a mountain in rKong po (pron. Kongpo), a region in Southeastern Tibet. Upon the occasion of this event the text says that Mount Ri rab (pron. Rirap), the mythical Mount Meru, bowed down nine times, and in the same context there is mention of the eponymous god of Mount Sham po lha rtse (pron. Shampo Lhatsè), the latter mountain, which is at the head of the Yar klungs (pron. Yarlung) Valley, being the place more often identified as the site of the descent of Nyatrhi.[4] In his narrative in the New Red Annals Sonam Trakpa states that Nyatrhi went to Sogs kha (pron. Sok-kha) in Yarlung and built there the palace of Yum bu bla sgang (pron. Yumbulagang), the oldest palace of Tibet. Sok-kha is the name of the region in the vicinity of the mountain Shampo Lhatse, and Yumbulagang (also Yum bu lha mkhar, pron. Yumbulhakhar) is still the name of a very ancient castle, reputedly the oldest surviving dwelling in Tibet, until destroyed during the Chinese Cultural Revolution 1966-69, which stood on a hill near the ancient royal burial ground at 'Phyong rgyas (pron. Chhongye), which will be described below.

THE YARLUNG DYNASTY

As ruling thus in the Yarlung Valley Nyatrhi Tsenpo is the first in a long series of forty-two kings, all known from this their early center as the Yarlung Dynasty. In spite of the obvious legendary embellishment of the story of Nyatrhi, the dynasty is at least in its later phases a historically well-known series of rulers which continued down to the fall of the Tibetan monarchy in 842. The alleged relationship of Nyatrhi Tsenpo with Prasenajit or Bimbisara or Udayana suggests that he was in fact himself Indian rather than Tibetan, and since those three well-known Indian kings were all contemporaries of Śakyamuni Buddha (nirvana c. 500 BCE) the date of Nyatrhi Tsenpo and the beginning of the dynasty which he inaugurated may be provisionally placed in the early fifth century BCE.

Of the kings of the Yarlung Dynasty, from the point of view of the Buddhist religious histories, the first twenty-seven reigned in pre-Buddhist times, i.e., in the times of the dominance of Bon, the twenty-eighth to the forty-first kings were Buddhists, and the last or forty-second king was the persecutor of Buddhism and, with no generally acknowledged heir, the end of the line. Indeed, from the Buddhist point of view, it is possible to consider that the last king did not even belong to the dynasty, and to speak of the dynasty as consisting of only forty-one kings.[5]

As Sonam Trakpa outlines the succession of the kings, the first seven after Nyatrhi had the same title as he of btsan po (pron. tsenpo) or "mighty one," and were also called the seven gNam gyi khri, i.e., the seven thrones (khri) of heaven (gnam, pron. nam). As such, like Nyatrhi, they were gods and possessed the ability and means of returning to heaven at the end of their life. In Bon belief heaven and earth were connected by a cord or rope (the dmu thag) and it was this which made such reascent possible. At death, therefore, the seven "heavenly thrones" simply vanished like rainbows, and their tombs were in heaven rather than on earth.

TRIKUM AND LONAM

While the preceding kings are associated with heaven (gnam), the next two (as Sonam Trakpa continues to outline the succession) are the two sTeng (pron. teng) of the upper regions. These are Gri gum

btsan po (pron. Trikum tsenpo) and his son sPu lde Gung rgyal, called sPu rgyal or sPu lde (pron. Pute Kung-gyel, Pugyel, Pute) for short. While at the outset Trikum still possessed divine powers and the magical endowment of transporting himself upon death to heaven, he lost this gift in a conflict with his minister and equerry, named Lo ngam (pron. Lonam).

As the story is told already in the Dunhuang chronicles, Lonam persuaded the king to divest himself of his magical powers, then resorted to a strategem to win the victory. Lonam fixed gold spear points on the horns of one hundred oxen and put sacks of ashes on their backs. The oxen fought together, the bags burst and the ashes enveloped the king, whereupon it was easily possible for Lonam to kill him. From this event the king received his name of Trikum, which means "killed by knife."[6]

THE FIRST PERSECUTION OF BON

While the Dunhuang chronicles and the other Buddhist histories preserve the story of the conflict of Trikum and Lonam they give little explanation of the cause of the conflict. Sonam Trakpa, for example, simply states that the king lost his reason and for no reason whatsoever fought with his minister. The history of Bon by Trashi Gyentsen called the Treasury of Good Sayings that fully reveals the Origin of Bon, however, explains that Trikum was murdered by Lonam as a punishment for Trikum's opposition to Bon during his reign. The good relations seen originally between Nyatrhi Tsenpo and the Bon-po who welcomed him had evidently continued between the further kings and the Bon priests, and Trikum himself is said to have practiced Bon up until his twenty-seventh year. Then, however, intense rivalry arose among the king who was proud of his great power and aflame with anger, the priests who were proud of their knowledge and aflame with pride, and the ministers who were proud of their intellect and aflame with jealousy. Thereupon the king thought seriously of abolishing Bon but, of its "nine ways," one and a half were allowed to continue, one and a half were hidden, and six were carried off to other places. Another version of the matter also cited in the Treasury of Good Sayings is that Trikum abolished all of Bon so that not even an echo of it was left, and banished its priests beyond the borders. At any rate it was in retribution for the persecution of Bon by the king that Lonam killed

Trikum. In the conflict the king not only lost his magical power but the cord connecting heaven and earth (the dmu thag) was also severed, hence it was impossible for Trikum to return bodily to heaven as his predecessors had done, and he left a corpse behind on earth and Lonam put the body in a copper box and threw it into the river.[7]

In the sequel of events as related in the Dunhuang chronicles, the Treasury of Good Sayings, and the other Tibetan sources, Lonam took the throne and held it for thirteen years,. while Trikum's sons (either two or three are named) were banished and deported to Kongpo (Southeastern Tibet). Meanwhile Trikum's widowed queen had another son whose name was Ru la skyes (pron. Rulakye), and he grew up and killed Lonam. One story is that he smeared poison on a white dog belonging to Lonam and sent the dog home, whereupon Lonam died from touching the dog. This son of the queen also found the other sons of Trikum who were in Kongpo, and they even recovered the body of Trikum from the Tsangpo River and built for it the first royal tomb at a place called Drang mo drang chung in Yarlung. The oldest of these sons of Trikum now took the throne as the next legitimate king in the Yarlung Dynasty succession. At this point this son is called Sha khri or Sha khyi (pron. Sha Trhi, Sha Chhi) and Bya khri or Bya khyi (pron Cha Trhi, Cha Chhi), and he is presumedly to be identified as the same as the already mentioned son of Trikum named sPu lde Gung rgyal (pron. Pute Kung-gyel).

CHONGYE AND THE TOMBS OF THE TIBETAN KINGS

The new king Sha Trhi/Pute Kung-gyel now built the castle of 'Phying ba sTag rtse '(pron. Chhingpa Taktse), which means the Tiger Peak of 'Phying ba. He also had his younger brother Rulakye as his minister, and during the time of this king and his minister the art of husbandry spread among the people, and silver, copper, and iron were mined. The castle just named was erected not far from the Yumbulagang palace attributed to Nyatrhi, and it remains as ancient ruins at 'Phyong rgyas (pron. Chongye). Chongye is the name of the valley of a river tributary to the Yarlung River, and also the name of the capital at this place. Below the castle on the other side of the river is the traditional location of the burials of all the Yarlung Dynasty kings from Trikum onwards, and in fact ten tumuli have been identified here as the tombs of the kings from Songtsen

Gampo (died 649) to Trhisong Detsen (755-797) and of two princes as well, all of whom died during the period from 650 to 815. Even after Songtsen Gampo moved the capital from Chongye to Lhasa, Chongye remained the center of a family of chiefs who claimed descent from the royal family of Za hor (pron. Zahor) in Bengal. With the rise c. 1400 of the Geluk-pa order these chiefs became supporters of the order, and it was from their family and in this place that the Fifth Dalai Lama (1617-1682) was born.[8]

Both Sonam Trakpa and the Treasury of Good Sayings tell us that under Sha Trhi/Pute Kung-gyel the religion of Bon was restored, Sonam Trakpa stating that at that time public affairs were guarded by the Bon, and the Treasury of Good Sayings quoting the king as saying that his father had hated Bon, but that he himself willed to let it be revived. Sonam Trakpa also states that it was at this time that Shenrap was born; he revised the Bon as it had been practiced in Shangshung and from that country divulged it in Tibet. In some Bon records, however, says Sonam Trekpa, it is stated that Shenrap appeared at the time of Nyatrhi Tsenpo.

In the continued outline of the succession of kings given by Sonam Trakpa, Sha Trhi/Pute Kung-gyel was followed by six Legs (pron. lek) who were associated with intermediate space (bar), eight lDe pron. de) of the earth (sa), and three bTsan (pron. tsen) from below. Thus the entire succession of the twenty-seven pre-Buddhist kings is divided into groups associated respectively with heaven, upper regions, intermediate space, earth, and lower world.

Of the last king of the last group the son and the twenty-eighth king in the entire succession beginning with Nyatrhi Tsenpo was Lhatho Thori, the first of the new series of Buddhist kings (the twenty-eighth to the forty-first in the entire succession).

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER 4

The Date of Śakyamuni Buddha

BUDDHA NIRVANA ERA (FROM 544 BCE)

IN the Blue Annals Gos lotsava identifies what he calls "the present . . . year" (i.e., the year in which he is writing) as equivalent to 1476 CE, and states that this year is the 2020th year after the nirvana of the Buddha.[1] This leads to a date of 544 BCE for the nirvana of the Buddha, and to the dates of 624-544 for his entire eighty years of life. This nirvana date of 544 BCE is that which is widely accepted in the Buddhist world and was the basis of the 2500th anniversary celebration of the nirvana on the full-moon day of May 1956.[2] In the current use of the Buddha Nirvana Era in India the year 2522, for example, began on May 22, 1976.[3]

MAHAVIRA NIRVANA ERA (FROM 527 BCE)

In an account of the life of the Buddha in the Tibetan 'dul ba (pron. dulwa), a division of the Tibetan Buddhist scriptures which corresponds with the Sanskrit Vinaya or monastic rules and is considered the probably oldest part of the Kanjur, it is stated that the Buddha was born on the same day as Pradyota, and that he attained enlightenment at the same time that Pradyota, acceded to the throne of Ujjayini.[4] Canda Pradyota is a well-known king of the kingdom of Avanti, which had its capital at Ujjayini (Ujjain in modern Malwa in India), and according to the Indian Puranas he ruled for twenty-three years and was succeeded by his son Palaka. Further, virtually unbroken and unanimous Jaina tradition affirms that the Tirthankara Mahavira died (at the age of seventy-two) on the same night that Pradyota died and was succeeded by Palaka, and that this was in 527 BCE. This is the date from which the Mahavira Nirvana Era

is still reckoned in India, leading to the 2500th anniversary celebration of the event by the entire Jaina community in the year 1974 CE, and with the year 2505 of the era, for example, beginning on October 31, 1978.[5]

BUDDHA NIRVANA c. 500 BCE

Since Pradyota reigned for twenty-three years, reckoned from his death in 527 BCE the beginning of his reign was in 550 and, according to the Tibetan statement just cited, this was also the date of the enlightenment of the Buddha. Since virtually all Buddhist tradition places the enlightenment of the Buddha at the age of thirty-five and his nirvana forty-five years later at the age of eighty years, the resultant date of the Buddha nirvana is 505 BCE. Closely similar dates for the death of the Buddha are calculated from the so-called "Khotan tradition" of Chinese Turkestan (502 BCE), and from a Burmese tradition (501 BCE). Given the nirvana of Mahavira in 527 BCE, such a date for the nirvana of the Buddha, in round numbers c. 500 BCE (with birth c. 580) accords very well with the representation in Buddhist sources (e.g., Digha Nikaya 2.209-210; 3.117; Majjhima Nikaya 2.243) that Mahavira died while the Buddha was still actively engaged in his own ministry.[6]

BUDDHA NIRVANA 487 (483)

Yet again a date of 487 (or 483) BCE is advanced for the nirvana of the Buddha on the basis of the Sri Lankan (Ceylonese) chronicles, the Dipavamsa (6.1) and the Mahavamsa (3.2; 5.21), and a closely comparable date of 487 on the basis of the so-called "dotted record of Guangzhou (Canton).[7] In comparison with the well-attested date of the nirvana of Mahavira in 527 BCE, however, this last date for the nirvana of the Buddha separates the deaths of the two teachers by forty years or more, and this makes it difficult to associate the recorded events in the lives of the two as closely as they appear to be associated in the sources which refer to them both.[8]

THE MIDDLE DATE

The middle date for the nirvana of the Buddha c. 500 BCE, with his entire life dated c. 580-c. 500, is therefore historically the most probable.

5

The First Period of the Propagation of the Doctrine, and the Buddhist Kings

AS the story is told in the continuation of the written sources already followed in Chapter 4, it was in the reign of Lha tho tho ri (pron. Lhatho Thori), the twenty-eighth king of the Yarlung Dynasty, that there was the first contact with Buddhism.[1]

LHATHO THORI

Up to this time the kingdom had been ruled by the Bon but, when Lhatho Thori was residing in the upper story of the palace Yumbulagang, a golden casket fell from the sky. When this was opened it was found to contain three things, namely, the Kaṛandavyuha Sutra (Za ma tog bkod pa in Tibetan), a work which is devoted to Avalokiteśvara, who became the patron Bodhisattva of Tibet, and which contains his mantra, om mani padme hum; the One Hundred Precepts concerning Worship (sPang skong phyag rgya pa); and a stupa of gold. The casket received the name of Mysterious Helper (gnyen, pron. nyen), and was worshiped by the king, with the beneficial effect that his life span was increased to one hundred twenty years.

Gos lotsava and Sonam Trakpa go on to explain, however, that it was the Bon, who worshiped the sky, who said that the aforementioned items fell from the sky, whereas the objects and books were actually brought to Tibet by a pandita named Buddhirakshita (bLo sems atsho in Tibetan) and a lotsava named Li thi se (pron. Li Thisê). These personages may therefore have been the first

Buddhist missionaries to come to Tibet. Since Buddhirakshita is obviously an Indian name, and Li Thise may be a Nepalese name (Li in Tibetan probably meaning Nepal), it is suggested that Buddhism first came to Tibet from India by way of Nepal, which is in and of itself likely enough. Although these religious books had thus become available in Tibet there was no one at this time able to write, read, or explain the meaning of the texts, so the king could only place in the palace the things pertaining to religion, and the pandita and the lotsava went back. Nevertheless the king received in a dream a prophecy that in the fifth generation the meaning of the sacred texts would become known, this being a plain reference to his fifth successor, the famous Buddhist king Songtsen Gampo.

As to the date of Lhatho Thori, in his History of Buddhism in India the Tibetan Taranatha states that the king was a contemporary of Vasubandhu, the great Indian Buddhist philosopher of the fourth century CE, so Lhatho Thori must belong in the same century. In his Bejewelled Summary of the Origin of Khans the Mongolian historian Sagang Sechen dates the birth of Lhatho Thori more precisely in the equivalent of 347 CE and his accession at the age of twenty in 367. If Lhatho Thori lived 120 years as stated in the sources cited above and therefore died in 467, and if his next four successors had reigns of a not unreasonable average length of about forty years each, this would bring us very close to the fairly well-established (see below) accession date of Songtsen Gampo (629). Likewise, reckoning backward, for the twenty-seven kings prior to Lhatho Thori and back to the first of them, Nyatrhi Tsenpo (in the early fifth century BCE), the reigns of each would be of an also reasonable average length of slightly more than thirty years.[2]

Although in his day Lhatho Thori was unable to understand the meaning of the Buddhist texts and golden stupa which he received, Buston says that he witnessed "the dawn of the Highest Doctrine," and Gos lotsava calls the entire event "the beginning of the Holy Doctrine." For this reason Lhatho Thori is accorded a high place in Tibetan Buddhist religious history and is considered an incarnation of the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra, an honor shared with Songtsen Gampo as an incarnation of Avalokiteśvara, Trhisong Detsen as an incarnation of Manjuśri, and Ralpacan as an incarnation of Vajrapani. Actually, however, after the revival of its doctrines by Sha Trhi/Pute Kung-gyel, son of Trikum (as described above in Chapter 4), Bon was no doubt still flourishing in the time of Lhatho

Thori, and indeed the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra (Tibetan Kun tu bzang po, pron. Küntu Sangpo) is worshiped as a tantric deity in Bon as well as in Tibetan Buddhism.

NAMRI SONGTSEN

In the line of descent from Lhatho Thori his fourth successor and the thirty-second king in the Yarlung Dynasty was gNam ri srong brtsan (pron. Namri Songtsen), concerning whom Sonam Trakpa only notes that during his time salt was obtained from the Northern countries and astrology and medicine were introduced into Tibet from China. The Chronicles of the Kings of Ladakh (La dwags rGyal rabs), however, state that Namri Songtsen conquered two countries, gNya zhur and Gru gu, the latter probably identifiable with Turpan in Xinjiang, so his touch with the North was evidently of a military sort, and he may be recognized as probably the worthy predecessor of his son, Songtsen Gampo, in the unification of Tibet and the extension of its power.[3]

SONGTSEN GAMPO, THE FIRST GREAT RELIGIOUS KING

The son and successor of Namri Songtsen and thus the thirty-third king of the Yarlung Dynasty and the personage of the fifth generation from Lhatho Thori to whom the prophecy received by that king referred, was given at birth the name Khri lde srong brtsan (pron. Trhisong Detsen). Later because of his achievements he was called Srong brtsan sgam po (pron. Songtsen Gampo), meaning Songtsen the most accomplished. Because the original name of Trhisong Detsen is also the name of another later important king, it is by the more distinctive appellation of Songtsen Gampo that the present king is most commonly known.

For this famous king and his next successors, in addition to the written sources followed thus far, we may also consult relevant notices in the relatively early Bod kyi rgyal rabs (pron. Pökyi Gyelrap) by rJe btsun Grags pa rgyal mtshan (pron. Jetsün Trakpa Gyentsen) (1147-1216), and in the Bod kyi rgyal rabs (pron. Pökyi Gyelrap) by 'Phags pa Blo gros rgyal mtshan (pron. Phakpa Lodrö Gyentsen) (1235-1280). Also it may be recalled that at the point of Songtsen Gampo and his successors Gos lotsava was able, in his

Blue Annals, to draw for information upon Chinese sources as well as Tibetan.[4]

HIS DATE

According to the Dunhuang Annals Songtsen Gampo (there called Khri srong brtsan) died in the year corresponding to 649 CE (a Hen year) and his funeral was performed in 650 (a Dog year). These dates fall in the period of the Tang Dynasty in China, in which the first king was Kao-zu (Li Yuan) who founded the dynasty in 618, the second was Tai-zong (Li Shih-min) who took the throne in 626 upon the abdication of his father, and the third was Kao-zong (Li Chih) who succeeded his father Li Shih-min in 649. In synchronisms between Chinese and Tibetan dates provided by Gos lotsava in the Blue Annals the death of Songtsen Gampo is put in the Iron-Male-Dog year of Kao-zong (Li Chih), equivalent to 650, and Sonam Trakpa also places the death in the same Dog year of 650. On the basis of the early Dunhuang Annals we may assume that the actual death was in 649, and that 650 is really the funeral date.

As to the birth of Songtsen Gampo: Jetsun Trakpa Gyentsen, Phakpa Lodro Gyentsen, and Buston all state that Songtsen Gampo ascended the throne at the age of thirteen (the usual age for a Tibetan king), ruled for sixty-nine years, and died at the age of eighty-two. In several passages in the Blue Annals Gos lotsava reckons dates from the birth of Songtsen Gampo and either counts from 569 (e.g., in the year 618 Songtsen Gampo is said to be in his fiftieth year), which can be explained as arrived at by subtracting the reported eighty-two years of age from 650 as the year of death; or counts from 629 (e.g., the composition of his book in 1476-1478 is said to be 848-850 years after the birth of Songtsen Gampo), which, being exactly sixty years later, can be explained as an error of one sixty-year cycle from the earlier date (both 569 and 629 being Earth-Female-Ox years).

On the other hand, without noticing the contradiction with his statement that Songtsen Gampo lived for eighty-two years, Buston places the birth of Songtsen Gampo in the Fire-Female-Ox year corresponding to the year 617; and in the Bejewelled Summary of the Origin of Khans Sagang Sechen gives the same year. If the birth of Songtsen Gampo were in 617, his accession at the age of thirteen was in 629, and death in 649 was at the age of thirty-two (instead

of eighty-two). Actually this set of figures is confirmed by Gos lotsava himself in the section of the Blue Annals where he uses Chinese sources and tells about the marriage of Songtsen Gampo to the Chinese princess Wencheng (as will be set forth shortly below), and may be accepted as the most probable dates for Songtsen Gampo (see Table 2).[5]

Table 2. Dates in the Life of Songtsen Gampo

Birth of Songtsen Gampo		617
Accession at age thirteen		629
Nepalese princess requested and came, Songtsen Gampo being sixteen years of age		632
Chinese princess requested, Songtsen Gampo being eighteen years of age		634
War for eight years		
Wencheng came	641	
Wencheng lived in Tibet for six years	nine years	
Wencheng lived with Songtsen Gampo for three years		
Death of Songtsen Gampo		649

LHASA AND THE PALACE ON THE RED HILL

Upon his accession Songtsen Gampo made his residence, as Sonam Trakpa tells us, at the dMar po ri (pron. Marpori) or Red Hill. This is the most prominent hill in the plain, overlooking Lhasa, so the capital must have been shifted here from the Yarlung Valley at this time, and the king may be credited with the foundation of the city. As seen in a Dunhuang text which will be cited below in connection with King Trhide Tsuktsen, the original name of the city was Ra sa meaning "walled city," while Lhasa was a later name meaning "city of god" (Lha sa), and the name Lha ldan meaning "country of god" was also used.

The Chronicles of the Kings of Ladakh describe Songtsen Gampo as building one palace on the Red Hill and another on the nearby lCags po ri or Iron Hill, and connecting the two with an iron-chain bridge. Gos lotsava represents the name Potala for the king's palace on the Red Hill (which was also the later residence of the Dalai Lama) as going back to Songtsen Gampo. The name Potala is derived from a mountain of similar name near Amaravati in South India, a

mountain which was sacred in Hinduism to Śiva and in Buddhism was the abode of Avalokiteśvara. As we have already noted, Avalokiteśvara (in Tibetan sPyan ras gzigs, pron. Chenrêsik) was the patron Bodhisattva of Tibet and incarnate in Songtsen Gampo as later in the Dalai Lamas. Thus the Potala is appropriately the Abode of Avalokiteśvara.[6]

THONMI SAMBHOTA

As king, as Buston tells us, Songtsen Gampo brought under his power all the petty chieftains of the borderland, who expressed their submission by messages and offerings. At that time there was still no writing in Tibet, so (as noted already in Chapters 2 and 3) the king sent his minister Thon mi sam bho ta (pron. Thönmi Sambhota) with sixteen companions to India to study the art of writing. They took the script of Kashmir for a pattern, and reduced the letters of the Indian alphabet to thirty consonants and four vowels, thus producing the Tibetan writing which is still in use. After the new Tibetan alphabet was definitely formulated in a temple in Lhasa, Thonmi Sambhota went on to compose works on writing and grammar, and the king himself studied these earnestly. According to Sonam Trakpa, Thonmi Sambhota was able to call himself the first learned man in Tibet, a lamp that expels darkness, while the king was like the sun in the sky. With Songtsen Gampo an incarnation of Avalokiteśvara, Thonmi Sambhota was regarded as an incarnation of Manjuśri (in Tibetan 'Jam dbyangs, pron. Jamyang), the Bodhisattva of wisdom.

With the availability of writing a number of Buddhist books were now translated into Tibetan (as also noted in Chapter 3), and in the task Thonmi Sambhota was assisted by Indian helpers and a Chinese monk as well as by Tibetan pupils. One of the books translated was the Karandavyuha Sutra, the work about Avalokiteśvara which was already delivered to Lhatho Thori but without that earlier king being able to understand it. Now at this time, Buston informs us, the Tibetan subjects were disregarding the royal power, but Songtsen Gampo introduced laws in harmony with the ten Buddhist virtues and converted the Tibetans to Buddhism. Afterward there was obtained from South India a sandalwood statue of the eleven-faced Avalokiteśvara.

TRHISUN

With respect to the devotion of Songtsen Gampo to Buddhism, his marriages to a princess from Nepal and a princess from China, both of whom were strong Buddhists, were important as well as being, no doubt, politically significant. According to Sonam Trakpa the king was sixteen when he sent his ministers to the king of Nepal to ask for the hand of the king's daughter. If Songtsen Gampo were born in 617, the date given by Buston and Sagang Sechen, this year would be 632. The king of Nepal was 'Od zer go cha, a Tibetan rendering of the name of Amśuvarman. Amśuvarman is well-known in the history of Nepal, where the era which goes by his name is reckoned from 576 CE, and where his own inscriptions extend from 606 to 621, and there is no doubt that this is the king who is meant.[7] The daughter of the king is named Khri btsun (pron. Trhisün). In the Mongolian text of his Bejewelled Summary of the Origin of Khans, Sagang Sechen calls her Gribsun Güngjü (Princess Gribsun) and describes her as sixteen years of age at the time, of white complexion, fair and beautiful to look at, not entangled with doctrines of the world, but finding her strength in the Treasury of Jewels. As obviously a strong Buddhist, she brought with her as dowry images of Mi bskyod rdo rje (pron. Michödorje), i.e., the Tathagata Akshobhyavajra, of Byams pa (pron. Champa), i.e., Maitreya the future Buddha, and of sGrol ma (pron. Drölma) i.e., the goddess Tara, and Trhisun herself was considered an incarnation of one of the forms of Tara, namely, according to Sagang Sechen, of the White Tara.

WENCHENG

It was two years later, Sonam Trakpa tells us, when Songtsen Gampo was eighteen (therefore in 634 if the king were born in 617), that he sought the hand of the daughter of the ruler of China. At this point Gos lotsava is deriving information for his Blue Annals from Chinese sources, and we learn here that the Chinese ruler was Tai-zong (Li Shih-min), called Seng ge btsan po in Tibetan, the second emperor (626-649) of the Tang Dynasty, and the princess was Wencheng, in Tibetan called Mun sheng Kong jo. In the year Wood-Male-Horse (634) the Chinese emperor and the Tibetan king exchanged presents and made a treaty of friendship. A Tibetan request for a Chinese imperial princess to be sent as spouse for the

king was, however, not granted. War ensued and continued for about eight years. When the Tibetan troops came back, the minister mGar (pron. Gar) went to the Chinese court with presents of gold and precious stones and, in the Iron-Female-Ox year which was the fifteenth year of Tai-zong's reign period (nien-hao) called Chenkuan (641), the princess Wencheng was sent.[8]

It is precisely at this point—the coming of Wencheng to Tibet—that the fragment of Tibetan Annals found at Dunhuang begins. Calling the princess Mun sheng and the king Khri srong brtsan, the text says that the princess spent six years in Tibet before being presented to the king, and that she lived with the king for three years up to his death. Reckoned inclusively from her coming in 641, this leads to 649 as the already noted date of the death of Songtsen Gampo (Table 2). Like the princess Trhisun from Nepal, the princess Wencheng from China was also a Buddhist, and brought with her an image of Śakyamuni Buddha, and was herself considered an incarnation of the goddess Tara, in this case probably identifiable as the Green Tara.[9]

THE JOKHANG AND THE RAMOCHE

After recording the marriages of Songtsen Gampo with the Nepalese princess and the Chinese princess, Buston goes on with a story which explains the origin under this king of the two main temples in Lhasa, the Jokhang and the Ramoche. The Nepalese queen Trhisun observed the Tibetan landscape and thought it looked like a devil-woman who was fallen on her back. To avert the presumably evil influences of this situation, she desired to build a monastery but did not have the power of doing this, so evidently prevailed upon the king to do it. In fact, Buston says, a number of monasteries were then built upon various parts of the imaginary figure, and finally one at lake which apparently looked like the heart of the figure. Using goats to transport the earth, the lake was filled in and upon the level ground, the monastery of Lhasa was built. This was called the Ra sa 'Prul snang gi gTsug lag khang, a name commonly abbreviated and pronounced as the Tsuglagkhang of Rasa (i.e., of Lhasa). In her turn, says Buston, the Chinese queen Wencheng built the temple of Ra mo che (pron. Ramochê).

In fact, although Buston calls it a monastery, the Tsuglagkhang was probably in the first instance a temple, as Buston says the

Ramoche was, for the import of the whole narrative is that Songtsen Gampo built two temples at Lhasa, one in conjunction with his Nepalese queen (the Tsuglagkhang), and one in conjunction with his Chinese queen (the Ramoche). It is further plain in the course of the narrative that the statue of Śakyamuni Buddha which Princess Wencheng brought with her from China was placed in the Ramoche, so it is probable that the three statues (of Akshobhyavajra, Maitreya, and Tara) which Princess Trhisun brought with her from Nepal were placed in the Tsuglagkhang, and perhaps also the eleven-faced statue of Avalokiteśvara belonging to Songtsen Gampo. What is explicitly told by Buston is that when Songtsen Gampo died his Chinese queen had the Śakyamuni Buddha statue moved from the Ramoche to the Tsuglagkhang, where it was placed for protection behind a door covered with plaster. This statue was supposed to be a representation of Śakyamuni at the age of twelve, an image made in Magadha during the lifetime of the Buddha by Viśvakarman, the artisan of the gods, and later brought from India to China and then to Tibet. The statue was called the Jo bo (pron. Chowo, meaning "lord [Buddha]"), and with its presence in the Tsuglagkhang that temple became known as the Jokhang (house of the lord [Buddha]), and it is the main temple of Lhasa. In connection with the placing of the Śakyamuni statue in the Tsuglagkhang, Buston also states that the statues of the *two* tutelary deities were made to change places. In his Guide to the Holy Places of Central Tibet, Kyentse states that the statue of *Jo bo* Akshobhyavajra is in the Ramoche, therefore this must be the Akshobhyavajra statue brought to Tibet by the Nepalese wife of Songtsen Gampo, placed first in the Tsuglagkhang, and later exchanged with the Śakyamuni statue. It too, according to Kyentse, was a Jo bo, and it was in fact understood to be a statue of Śakyamuni at the age of eight, also made by Viśvakarman, and in comparison with the other statue as the Great Jo bo was known as the Little Jo bo.[10]

Summing up the relationships of Songtsen Gampo with his Nepalese and Chinese queens, Sonam Trakpa appears to give them much credit for the king's active sponsorship of Buddhism as well as for their own founding, respectively, of the Tsuglagkhang (the Jokhang) and the Ramoche, in each of which was placed one of the two Jo bo. The king, Sonam Trakpa says, became the patron of the Law, preached the six syllables of Chenresik (i.e. the mantra of Avalokiteśvara, om ma ni pad me hum), and founded many seminaries

for meditation and many temples. Under the king's reign there was a happy situation in which there was not even the name of famine, epidemics, and quarrels. For all of his accomplishments Songtsen Gampo is considered the first of the three great religious kings of Tibet.

GUNGSONG GUNGTSEN AND MANGSONG MANGTSEN

The two queens, Trhisun and Wencheng, of Songtsen Gampo, however, had no sons, and therefore the king married successively two other queens, but they also had no sons. Finally yet one more queen bore a son and he was installed as king (the thirty-fourth in the succession) at the age of thirteen, but passed away after only five years of reign, himself leaving a young son not yet of age. Thereupon Songtsen Gampo had to resume the rule, then on the eve of his own death charged the grandson with ruling according to the Law. The latter then ascended the throne at the customary age of thirteen (the thirty-fifth in the succession), ruled for fifteen years, and died at the age of twenty-seven. Although the names are inverted (probably due to some copyist's mistake) in Buston, Sonam Trakpa, and the Chronicles of the Kings of Ladakh, in the older sources (Jetsun Trakpa Gyentsen, Phakpa Lodro Gyentsen, and also Gos lotsava) the names are given as Gung srong gung brtsan (pron. Gungsong Gungtsen) for the son and Mang srong mang brtsan (pron. Mangsong Mangtsen) for the grandson, which may be accepted as the correct order. The Dunhuang Annals pass over Gungsong Gungtsen and name only Mangsong Mangtsen, and put the beginning of his reign in 650, so his death at the age of twenty-seven was in 676. His minister during his fifteen years of reign was mGar (pron. Gar), the same minister we have already met as dealing with China under Songtsen Gampo.

At this time, as Sonam Trakpa relates, the Chinese invaded Tibet and burned down the palace on the Red Hill, i.e., the Potala. In the Tsuglagkhang the Jo bo Śakyamuni was so well hidden that the Chinese could not get hold of it, but from the Ramoche they took away the Jo bo Akshobhyavajra for a half-day's march. The Tibetans responded by plundering Chinese territory, but in their attack the minister Gar, who was at the head of the troops, was killed. Gos lotsava notes especially that it was in the twenty-first year of Mangsong Mangtsen (670) that the Tibetan troops invaded the Tang

empire and conquered the entire country of the *yu gur gyi yul*, i.e., the Ugyurs of Xinjiang. It is also noted that the princess Wencheng, after spending forty years in Tibet, died in the year corresponding to 680.

TRHIDU SONGTSEN

It was just seven days, as Sonam Trakpa notes, after the death of Mangsong Mangtsen (676) that his son Khri 'du srong brtsan (pron. Trhidu Songtsen) was born, and Jetsun Trakpa Gyentsen and Phakpa Lodro Gyentsen say that he was elected king immediately after his birth and reigned for twenty-nine years (as the thirty-sixth king in the succession), thus to 704. Regents were necessarily in control in his earlier years, and it is no wonder that Sonam Trakpa speaks of no less than seven ministers of great strength in his time. It was in his time that one of his ministers, gNyan btsan ldem bu (pron. Nyentsen Dempu), son of the minister Gar, renewed the attack upon China.

On the whole, however, there must have been times of peace as well as times of war and, at the point of his earlier mention of the death of Gar, Sonam Trakpa characterizes the general situation by remarking that at times the sovereigns of China and Tibet had friendly relations, but at times fought with each other about their frontiers, and that with changing fortunes. At any rate the next Tibetan king was again, like Songtsen Gampo, to have a Chinese princess for his wife.

TRHIDE TSUKTSEN AND CHINCHENG

The son and successor of Trhidu Songtsen and thus the thirty-seventh king in the succession was Khri lde gtsug brtsan (pron. Trhide Tsuktsen), also known as Mes ag tshom. Jetsun Trakpa Gyentsen and Phakpa Lodro Gyentsen tell us that Trhide Tsuktsen was born in the spring of the same year toward the end of which his father died (704) and, upon his father's death, was himself immediately elected king. The Dunhuang Annals quite similarly place the father's death in the year equivalent to 704 and the son's election as king in 705, and go on to record that in 710 when he was six the Chinese princess Chincheng (in Tibetan Kim sheng Kong jo), originally intended for his father, arrived in Ra sa (i.e., Lhasa, the first mention

in the Dunhuang texts of the historic capital) and became his bride. He himself was enthroned in 712 at the age of eight, and it was at that time that he received his throne name of Khri lde gtsug brtsan (Trhide Tsuktsen).

Sonam Trakpa says that Trhide Tsuktsen rendered great services to the Buddhist teaching, in that he built many temples and had many books of the Law translated. In 739, as the Dunhuang Annals record, the Chinese wife Chincheng and also her son *Lhas bon* died; accordingly it was by another wife, whom the Dunhuang Genealogy names as Mang mo rje bzi steng, that the son of Trhide Tsuktsen was born who was to succeed him as the next king.

TRHISONG DETSEN, THE SECOND GREAT RELIGIOUS KING

This son and successor of Trhide Tsuktsen as the thirty-eighth king of the Yarlung Dynasty was Khri srong lde brtsan (pron. Trhisong Detsen), and the Dunhuang Annals put his birth in the year 742. The father died by violence in 755, a date which is beyond the end of the fragmentary Dunhuang Annals but is given by Gos lotsava in the Blue Annals. At that point Trhisong Detsen was thirteen years old, the customary age at which to take the throne, and he began a reign which, according to Jetsun Trakpa Gyentsen and Phakpa Lodro Gyentsen, extended for forty-three years until his death at the age of fifty-six, therefore probably in 797.[11]

THE ZHOL DORING INSCRIPTION

It was in the reign of Trhisong Detsen that Tibetan power was extended to its farthest point in China. This was in the year 763, when the Tibetan armies actually occupied Changan (modern Xian), the Chinese capital, and installed a puppet emperor who, however, only ruled for a brief time. The event and date are not only recorded by Gos lotsava in the Blue Annals, but the details of the happenings are also given in a contemporary inscription on a tall stone pillar (about 7 m/24 ft in height) in Lhasa, the rdo rings (pron. doring, meaning "ancient stone" or "stone from long ago") in the Zhol district at the south foot of the Potala hill. The inscription is composed in Tibetan, and was probably written in about 764. The text is inscribed on three sides of the pillar, beginning on the east and

continuing on the south and the north, corresponding with the usual way of going around an object of respect. The principal person named in the text is sTag sgra Klu khong, and he played a role under both Trhide Tsuktsen (704-755) and Trhisong Detsen (755-797).

KLU KHONG

The short east inscription serves as a preamble to the whole. It introduces Klu Khong as a minister in the government, and declares that "he devoted his mind to the difficult royal work and treating the outer and inner administration as equal, with impartial(strictness) towards the advantage of various parties and to great and small alike, he conferred many benefits upon the kingdom of the black-headed Tibetans."

The long south and north inscriptions continue with the records, respectively, of Klu Khong's achievements and of the rewards bestowed upon him and his family by the king. In the south inscription, which is of chief historical interest, the minister is called Nan Lam (probably a family name) Klu Khong, and it is said that in the time of King Trhide Tsuktsen he carried out confidential royal work. It seems that two hostile ministers accomplished the murder of Trhide Tsuktsen, and nearly did injury to Trhisong Detsen too, but Klu Khong brought the facts to light and saw the ministers condemned. Thereafter, in the time of King Trhisong Detsen, Klu Khong was in the king's confidence and "gave great counsel." The text continues about Klu Khong:

> He considered the troubles of the kingdom of China and was appointed general for the first attack in the direction of Khar Tsan. And, as he understood the arts of war, he continued to give advice. First Ha Zha belonging to China was subdued and a great extent of her dominion was cut off from China. China shivered in fear.

Although the specific places mentioned (Khar Tsan and Ha Zha) are not positively identifiable, they probably indicate advance of the Tibetans toward Kokonor and Lanzhou. Continuing, the text says that King Trhisong Detsen "conquered and held under his sway many districts and fortresses of China." China was compelled to pay tribute, and offered annually fifty thousand rolls of silk. At this point, however, the Chinese king Su-zong died (763) and was succeeded

by his son Tai-zong, and the latter was not able to pay the tribute to Tibet. "When the king (of Tibet) was grieved by this, Nan Lam Klu Khong took the principal lead in counsels for the launching of war by Tibet against the center of China, the Chinese king's palace at Keng Śi (Changan, modern Xian)."

Klu Khong and another person were appointed the two chief commanders, the Chinese capital was attacked, the Chinese forces were scattered, the Chinese ruler fled, and the Tibetans replaced him with the brother of the princess Chincheng as the new emperor of China (in which position it is otherwise known that he was soon displaced and killed).[12]

The Buddhist histories of course tell mostly about what Trhisong Detsen did in the field of religion. Having ascended the throne at the age of thirteen, the young king learned about Buddhism from the biographies of his predecessors, obtained sacred texts which had been hidden, expressed the wish to study them, and became full of faith. There was intrigue and conflict among the king's ministers, however, some of whom were evidently still supporters of Bon, while others were supporters of Buddhism. The leader of the group opposing Buddhism was Ma zhang Khrom pa skyes (pron. Mashang Trhompakye), but after he was eliminated (by being buried alive) by the ministers who favored Buddhism, Buddhism made good progress.

ŚANTARAKSHITA AND PADMASAMBHAVA

Very important for the advance of Buddhism at this time was the coming of Indian teachers (Sanskrit *acarya*, Tibetan slob dpon) to Tibet, of whom the most famous were Śantarakshita and Padmasambhava, both invited by Trhisong Detsen himself.

Śantarakshita was the head of the great Buddhist university at Nalanda in India. He is known especially from a very large work called *Tattvasangraha* which, along with a commentary by the author's disciple, another Indian named Kamalaśila, survives both in its Sanskrit original and in a Tibetan translation. In these works Śantarakshita and Kamalaśila both appear as great philosophers, devoted to the elaboration of the Mahayana Buddhist ideal of working for the universal liberation of all sentient beings.[13]

When he encountered difficulties in his work in Tibet it was Śantarakshita who suggested to Trhisong Detsen that Padmasambhava

also be invited to come there. The already-cited biography of Padmasambhava (Tibetan Pad ma 'byung gnas, pron. Pema Jungnè) called the Pad ma thang yig (pron. Pema Thangyig) or Padma Scroll, pictures him as the spiritual son of the Buddha Amitabha who, in many previous existences, learned and taught the Nine Vehicles of the Vajrayana. In his earthly existence as Padmasambhava he was born from a lotus flower (Sanskrit *padma*, Tibetan pad ma, pron. pema; hence his own name meaning "lotus born") in Lake Dhanakośa in the country of U rgyan (pron. Urgyen), which was the Sanskrit Uddiyana, ancient Swat, then under the rule of the blind King Indrabhuti. Eventually, after study and travel in many places and attainment of fame as a powerful exorcist, Padmasambhava accepted the invitation of King Trhisong Detsen to come to Tibet. There he was able to wield spells and charms by which many evil spirits hostile to Buddhism were subdued and even turned into formidable protectors of the faith.

Padmasambhava was married to Princess Mandarava, daughter of King Arshadara of the kingdom of Zahor (on the northwest frontier of Uddiyana), who shared many adventures with him; and to Ye shes mtsho rgyal (pron. Yeshè Tshogyal), who was earlier one of the queens of Trhisong Detsen, but became Padmasambhava's closest disciple and wife, mastered his complete teachings, and wrote down many of his texts including his biography, the Padma Scroll.[14]

SAMYE

Under Trhisong Detsen, Śantarakshita and Padmasambhava were together able to build the famous monastery of bSam yas (pron. Samyè) (on the north bank of the Yarlung Tsangpo 56 km/35 mi southeast of Lhasa). According to Buston, Śantarakshita took the monastery of Odantapuri in India as a model for Samye, and made a plan which contained the forms of Mount Sumeru and the twelve continents, and included temples, first of all the temple of Avalokiteśvara.

Sonam Trakpa says that the Samye temple was founded when Trhisong Detsen was twenty-two years old and completed twelve years later (Earth-Hare year to Iron-Hare year); reckoned from the king's birth in 742 these dates would be 763 and 775. At the monastery Tibetans themselves were now for the first time trained as monks,

the first of them under instruction by Śantarakshita himself, and the names of the first seven to attain ordination were recorded and their portraits painted on a wall of Samye. Finally in 779 Buddhism was recognized as the state religion and proclaimed as such in an edict by King Trhisong Detsen, inscribed on a pillar in front of the temple at Samye. For his many services to Buddhism Trhisong Detsen was considered the second great religious king of Tibet, and was held to be an incarnation of Manjuśri.[15]

THE SECOND PERSECUTION OF BON

From the point of view of Bon, what happened in these times was the second major persecution of Bon, the first having been that by Trikum, the eighth king in the Yarlung Dynasty (as told about in Chapter 4). According to the Treasury of Good Sayings that fully reveals the Origin of Bon, in order to decide between the claims to truth of Bon and of Buddhism Trhisong Detsen instigated a disputation and contest of miraculous powers between the priests of the two religions. The Bon source reports good results by the protagonists of Bon, but the king nevertheless decided in favor of Buddhism, declaring that it was good for both the here and the hereafter, and he decreed death or banishment for the Bon priests who would not accept it. The Bon-po were therefore widely scattered and either took their sacred texts with them or hid them away. Other Bon sources say that Trhisong Detsen began to abolish Bon in the year 783, concealment of their texts began in 785, and the completion of the abolition of Bon was by the king when he was forty-five years old, i.e., in 786.[16]

THE COUNCIL OF SAMYE

There was also a major debate within Buddhism itself, in what is known as the Council of Samye or the Council of Lhasa, which took place at Samye in 792-794. In the debate Kamalaśila represented the school of Śantarakshita and Padmasambhava and maintained what Sonam Trakpa calls "the gradual method," while this was opposed by a Chinese teacher known by the title of Hwa shang (pron. Hashang), who affirmed "the method of the sudden realization." The former was the position generally characteristic of the Mahayana, namely, that salvation is only attainable at the end of a

long process of spiritual development; the latter was the position of the Chinese Chan school (which became Zen in Japan), namely, the belief that, since the Buddha reality dwells within, it may be realized in an instant of sudden illumination. Although both themes actually continue to be found in Tibetan Buddhism, the recognized outcome of the debate was the defeat of the Chinese Hashang, and thus the main Buddhist tradition in Tibet was still to be linked not with Chinese Buddhism but with the Buddhism of India, from where Kamalaśila as well as Śantarakshita and Padmasambhava had come.[17]

TRHIDE SONGTSEN

From Jetsun Trakpa Gyentsen, Phakpa Lodro Gyentsen, and Sonam Trakpa we learn that Trhisong Detsen had three sons. The first, Mu ne btsan po (pron. Mune Tsenpo), reigned for one year and nine months (797-799), and was killed by his mother. The second, Mu tig tsan po (pron. Mutig Tsenpo), would have been the successor, but was killed by an enemy who frightened his horse and caused his death. The third, Khri lde srong brtsan (pron. Trhidê Songtsen), also called Sad na legs (pron. Sadna Lek), then took the throne for a relatively long reign (799-815), in which he is credited with a number of good works on behalf of Buddhism, but in which there were also many occasions of war with China.

RALPACAN, THE THIRD GREAT RELIGIOUS KING

According to Buston and Sonam Trakpa, Trhide Songtsen had five sons. The first took monastic vows, and the last two died young, leaving the second son named Khri bdu dum brtsan (pron. Trhidu Dumtsen) and better known as gLang dar ma (pron. Langdarma), and the third son named Khri gtsug lde brtsan (pron. Trhitsuk Detsen) and better known as Ral pa can (pron. Rêpachen). Although Langdarma was the older of these two, Sonam Trakpa tells us that he did not like the Law and the reign passed into the hands of Ralpacan when the latter was twelve years old. Both Jetsun Trakpa Gyentsen and Phakpa Lodro Gyentsen state that Ralpacan reigned for twenty-four years (815-838) and died at the age of thirty-six. He was the forty-first king of the Yarlung Dynasty.[18]

THE TABLET OF UNITY

In the course of his reign, Buston tells us, Ralpacan made war with China and was victorious, and the reports of his generals were written down on the rdo rings (pron. doring, meaning "ancient stone") at Lhasa. The record here referred to is no doubt that of the so-called Tablet of Unity, an inscription on a tall stone pillar (about 3.3 m/11 ft in height), which stands now enclosed within a protective wall a little to the northwest of the main western gate of the Jokhang temple in Lhasa.

On the pillar the east and west faces are the broader, the north and south faces the narrower. The text on the east face, facing the Jokhang, is in Tibetan only, and provides a preamble to the continuation on the text on the other faces of the pillar. This preamble gives an explanation of the historical circumstances which led to the making of a treaty of peace between Tibet and China. Included in the events of earlier history which are recalled are the marriages of the two Chinese princesses Wencheng and Chincheng to Songtsen Gampo and Trhide Tsuktsen repectively. Apparently on account of the establishment of such matrimonial alliances, the relationship between the king of Tibet and the king of China is described in the text by the terms "nephew and uncle." The east inscription also contains three dates corresponding to 821, 822, and 823, and these are the dates respectively when the peace treaty was ratified in China, when the treaty was ratified in Tibet, and when the stone pillar with the text of the treaty was set up in Lhasa.

The inscription on the west face of the pillar is in both Tibetan and Chinese, with the Chinese text to the right of the Tibetan, and this inscription contains the text of the treaty of peace. It shows that in fact in the settlement of affairs each country retained substantially the holdings it already had. The text reads in part:

> Tibet and China shall keep the frontiers of which they now hold possession. All to the east is the country of Great China. All to the west is assuredly the country of Great Tibet. Henceforth, on either side, there shall be no enmity, no making of war, and no seizure of territory. Should there be any suspicious person, he shall be arrested; his business shall be inquired into and he shall be escorted back. . . .
>
> Having established this great period in which Tibet shall be happy in the land of Tibet and China shall be happy in the

> land of China, and in order that the solemn agreement now made shall never be changed, the Three Precious ones, the assembly of Saints, the Sun and Moon, Planets and Stars have been invoked as witnesses. The solemn words have been uttered; animals have been sacrificed; the oath has been taken; and the agreement has been ratified. If the parties do not act in accordance with this agreement or if they violate it, whichever, be it Tibet or China, first commits an offence to damage it, any stratagem or guile undertaken in retaliation shall not be considered a breach of the agreement.

Finally there are also bilingual inscriptions, with the Tibetan and Chinese written in alternate paragraphs, on the north and south faces of the pillar, and these contain lists respectively of the Tibetan officials and of the Chinese officials who witnessed the treaty.[19]

With respect to the animal sacrifice which is mentioned, this was presumably in accordance with Bon custom, and it is noted that the Buddhist minister abstained from this archaic part of the ceremony and took his oath by invocation of the Buddha.

Further with regard to Ralpacan and Buddhism, by this time many different translations had been made of Buddhist texts both from India and from China, and the different renderings of words made the study of the Buddhist doctrine very difficult. Therefore Ralpacan instigated a new and very extensive undertaking in which the Hinayanistic scriptures (of the Sarvastivadins only) and the Mahayanistic scriptures should be translated afresh directly from the Sanskrit. The king also paid great honor to the Buddhist monks, allotted seven households to provide alms for each monk, and entrusted the government largely to his ministers, of whom the chief was the monk Bran ka Yon tan dpal (pron. Trenka Yonten Pel). Ralpacan himself was considered an incarnation of the Bodhisattva Vajrapani (Tibetan Phyag na rdo rje, pron. Chhana Dorje), and by virtue of his many activities on behalf of Buddhism is reckoned the third great religious king, along with Songtsen Gampo and Trhisong Detsen.

The jealousy of lay rivals of the favored monks was no doubt at least in part responsible for the opposition which arose, and the opposition was heightened by the spread of scandalous talk about the relationship of Ralpacan's queen, named dPal gyi nyang tshul (pron. Pelgyi Nyangtshul), and Trenka Yonten Pel. Also, according to the Chronicles of the Kings of Ladakh, four heretical brahmanas were involved in the secret machinations of the king's enemies. Finally, as a result of it all, the great Bran ka, as Buston calls the

monk, was murdered, the queen committed suicide, and Ralpacan was assassinated. Concerning what ensued, Sonam Trakpa says mournfully: "Following these events, the merits accumulated by Tibet dwindled like (the flame of) a lamp in which the oil is used up, and the royal rule (based upon) the ten virtuous actions was consumed like the stalks which bind a bundle of rotten straw, and sinful practice rose up like a gale in a forbidding country."

LANGDARMA AND THE ROOTING OUT OF THE DOCTRINE

Upon the assassination of Ralpacan his older brother Langdarma took the throne (838-842) as the forty-second and last king in the Yarlung succession which began with Nyatrhi Tsenpo. Described (as noted above) by Sonam Trakpa as not liking the Buddhist Law, Langdarma was no doubt an adherent of Bon and probably had been involved in the plots against Ralpacan. Once upon the throne Langdarma proceeded with violent actions against the Buddhists. As related by Buston, he ordered that all the monks were to renounce the religious life. Those who did not wish to do so were sent out to be hunters and, if they refused this assignment so contrary to Buddhist respect for all life, they were put to death. The famous Jo bo statue of Śakyamuni Buddha in the Tsuglagkhang (Jokhang) temple was found impossible to remove, so it was buried in sand, and the doors of the temple were barred, covered with plaster, and adorned with a picture of a monk drinking wine, and the doors of the Ramoche and the Samye temples were likewise plastered over. Translations of Buddhist works remained unachieved, and many sacred books were hidden amidst the rocks of Lhasa. "In such manner the Doctrine was rooted out."

THE REVENGE OF PELGYI DORJE

But after only a few years Langdarma himself was murdered. This was the work of a monk named dPal gyi rdo rje (pron. Pelgyi Dorje). As Buston tells the story, Pelgyi Dorje was practicing meditation in a mountain retreat when he was inspired to attempt the action.

> He mounted a white horse, having smeared it black with coal, put on a fur coat with the white side inward and the

> black one outward, took an iron bow and an iron arrow, came to Lhasa, saw the king as he was reading the inscriptions of the Long Stone, and dismounted before him . . . Having approached him, he lowered his knee and at the same time bent his bow. The king, in his turn, thought that he was saluting him. At the first salutation he bent the bow. At the second he fitted the arrow, and at the third he loosened the bowstring. The arrow struck the breast of the king. Pelgyi Dorje said: "I am the black demon Ya sh'er. If a sinful king is to be killed, it must be done in such a manner." With these words he fled. A great clamor arose in Lhasa: "The king has been murdered; hasten to the pursuit of the assassin!" Pelgyi Dorje then washed the horse in the lake . . . put on his coat, having turned it with the white part outward, and, saying: "Now I am the white demon of the skies," continued his flight. It was thus impossible for the pursuers to get hold of him.

As he fled Pelgyi Dorje carried some of the sacred scriptures with him, and went off to Kham. Of the panditas some were banished and some driven out of the country; the greater part of the lotsavas had fled, and others were killed by murderers who were sent to them. It was the end of the first period of the propagation of the Buddhist doctrine in Tibet.[20]

6

The Second Period of the Propagation of the Doctrine

WITH the death of Langdarma in 842 the long line of the kings of the Yarlung Dynasty came to the end of its rule in Central Tibet. Buddhism was "rooted out," as Buston said, and civil disturbance prevailed in the land for more than one hundred years. Yet as Buston and Gos lotsava go on with the story of the subsequent spread of the Buddhist doctrine in Tibet,[1] there were still Tibetan laymen who venerated the Three Jewels, and in this manner the temples of Lhasa and Samye and other Buddhist centers survived, while at least some monks escaped, as Pelgyi Dorje did, carrying sacred texts with them, to other and safer parts of the country, and thus revival was to come.

THE TIME OF THE RESTORATION

The time from the persecution to the revival of the doctrine is given variously in the chronicles. Buston tells of a woman seventy-six years of age who said that it was when she was six years of age that she last saw a monk, but Buston also reports that some were saying that from the time of the persecution to the time of the restoration 108 years had elapsed. Gos lotsava quotes another authority as stating: "From the year Iron-Female-Hen for 108 years there had been no Doctrine. During the 109th year, which was an Earth-Female-Hen year, the Doctrine reappeared."

The Iron-Female-Hen year in question can be either 841 or 901, and the Earth-Female-Hen year can be either 949 or 1009 (i.e., in

each case the alternate dates are one whole cycle of sixty years apart). Gos lotsava goes on to calculate his dates from 901 as the year of the persecution, but the probable dates of the reign of Langdarma (838-842) and of the life of Gongpa Rapsel, who was prominent in the revival (immediately below), make the earlier set of dates the more probable (persecution in 841, restoration in 949).[2]

THE THREE LEARNED MEN OF TIBET

At some time after the persecution, as Buston and Gos lotsava continue the account, three monks known as the "three learned men of Tibet" were engaged in meditation at the monastery of dPal Chu bo ri (pron. Pel Chubori) near Śamye. Their names were Rab gsal of gTsang (pron. Rapsè of Tsang), gYo dge 'byung of Bo dong (pron. Yo Gejung of Potong), and dMar Śakyamuni of sTod lung (pron. Mar Shakyamuni of Tölung), and they are often called simply Tsang, Yo, and Mar. When the three received news of what had happened, they loaded their Vinaya texts on a young mule and fled, first to Western Tibet and up to the Ugyur country, and then finally back to Amdo and Kham (Northeastern and Eastern Tibet).

THE ORDINATION OF GONGPA RAPSEL

There among the shepherd people a young man came in contact with the three meditators, and was so impressed by their example that he asked for ordination as a monk. When he was told that this required the presence of not less than five monks, he searched and found Pelgyi Dorje, the monk who had killed Langdarma, but Pelgyi Dorje said: "I have killed the king and cannot therefore fill up the number required." Nevertheless two Chinese monks were found, and they together with the three hermits made the necessary number, so the young applicant was ordained, received the monastic name of dGongs pa rab gsal (pron. Gongpa Rapsel), and eventually became so eminent in the doctrine as to be called the "great lama."

Having heard of these events, a number of men came to Eastern Tibet from the Central Tibetan province of U (the region of Lhasa) and the West Central province of Tsang (the region of Xigaze) and received ordination. The principal one of these was kLu mes (pron. Lumè), and he remained studying the Vinaya under a disciple

of Gongpa Rapsel named Grun Ye shes rgyal mtshan (pron. Trün Yeshé Gyentsen), but eventually they all returned to Central Tibet to spread the doctrine there. Being told that it was not proper to go to Lhasa since it had recently been a place of slaughter and massacre, they went instead to Samye, then scattered out to establish new religious centers in various places, as in turn their own disciples did likewise in yet further places.

Thus the revival of Buddhism developed strength in Eastern Tibet and spread from there back into Central Tibet. As for the date of these events, it is known that Trun Yeshe Gyentsen, the disciple of Gongpa Rapsel and the teacher of Lume, was a contemporary of Chao Hsuan-ti (905-907) of the Tang Dynasty in China, and therefore Gongpa Rapsel is provisionally dated in 832-915 (or 892-975) and Lume around 950-1025.[3]

YESHE O AND CHANGCHUP O

There were also very significant developments in Western Tibet. Although the Yarlung Dynasty came to an end in Central Tibet, descendants of the royal line established themselves in several small kingdoms in the West (as will be told in more detail in Chapter 12). At this point the most important was the kingdom of Gu ge (pron. Kuke) in the Upper Sutlej Valley, southeast of Ladakh. Here in the latter part of the tenth century and the first part of the eleventh century the two most important royal descendants and ruling personages were Ye shes 'od (pron. Yeshé Ö) and his grand-nephew Byang chub 'od (pron. Changchup Ö), both of whom lived as monk-kings while secular members of their families administered most of the practical affairs of the kingdom.

Buston and Gos lotsava tell us about what happened with respect to the advancement of Buddhism.[4] Yeshe O himself was called the "princely teacher" and was considered a manifestation of the Budhisattva Manjuśri. During his reign he built the "incomparable" monastery of mTho gling (pron. Tholing) in the Upper Sutlej Valley, and was the householder of numerous lotsavas and panditas. He also brought a learned acarya (teacher) named Dharmapala from India to spread the Buddhist doctrine.

YESHE O SENDS RINCHEN SANGPO TO INDIA

While Yeshe O was personally persuaded that the "vehicle of logic" (mtshan nyid theg pa) was the word of the Buddha, he was in doubt as to whether the Tantras were the true teaching, inasmuch as the tantric exorcists of his time indulged in perverse acts. Therefore Yeshe O chose twenty-one young men and sent them to India to study the Buddhist doctrine. Of the twenty-one only two survived to return to Tibet.

Of the two who came back to Tibet the more famous one was Rin chen bzang po (pron. Rinchhen Sangpo). He was born in the year equivalent to 958 CE, was ordained at the age of thirteen, i.e., in 970, and died in his ninety-eighth year, i.e., in 1055. During his life he made three trips to India, the first (to Kashmir) while young and probably soon after his ordination when sent by Yeshe O, a second to visit the Buddhist holy places in Magadha, and a third to Kashmir again. In all he spent seventeen years in India and studied with seventy-five Indian masters. From India he brought to Tibet a number of panditas, and he himself became known as the Great Translator. Also he was famed as the builder of 108 temples and chaples in Western Tibet. From his Indian studies Rinchen Sangpo evidently returned as an adherent of tantrism, for among the translations which he and his associates accomplished were many tantric texts including the Guhyasamaja and others, and he himself was credited with the first introduction in Tibet of a tantric system named after "transcendent consciousness" (Jnana, Tibetan ye shes, pron. yeshê).

OLD AND NEW TANTRAS

In view of Yeshe O's reservations as to the validity of some contemporary tantric practice, it may be assumed that it was at least to some extent a reformed version of tantrism which Rinchen Sangpo promoted. In fact in this time a distinction came to be made between the "old" Tantras (gSang sngags rnying ma, pron. Sang-ngak nying-ma) of the period before the persecution by Langdarma, and the "new" Tantras (gSang sngags gsar ma, pron. Sang-ngak sar-ma), and it was said that the translation of the latter was inaugurated by a teacher named Smriti. Smriti and a companion came from Nepal in the time of Yeshe O but, since they did not at that time know

the language, they roamed about in U and Tsang, and mriti became a shepherd; later, having became proficient in Tibetan, Smriti made many translations.

YESHE O SACRFICES HIS LIFE TO BRING TEACHERS

Yeshe O is also said to have had to do not only with the work of Rinchen Sangpo but also with the coming of Atiśa to Tibet. The story is that, although he had given up his kingdom, Yeshe O still acted as commander of the troops and, in this capacity, was captured by the enemy, the Turkic people called the Qarluq. They offered him freedom from prison if he would renounce Buddhism, or else provide a ransom in gold equal to the weight of his body. Gold was collected on his behalf but not enough to equal the weight of his head as well as the weight of the rest of his body. When his grandnephew Changchup O came to tell him that they would still try to obtain the remaining necessary gold, Yeshe O declared that he was then old and of no use to any one, so the gold which had been collected should be expended to invite panditas to Tibet in order to establish the Doctrine. This was done, and many Indian scholars were invited, among them Atiśa. Thus Yeshe O sacrificed his life for the advancement of Buddhism in his land.

THE LIFE OF ATIŚA

Concerning Atiśa, Buston and Gos lotsava continue to provide the basic information.[5] While he is best known as Atiśa this is really an honorary title meaning "the great lord," and his original name was Candragarbha and his monastic name was Dipankara (meaning "maker of light," the name of an earthly Buddha prior to Śakyamuni), also Dipankaraśrijnana (noble transcendent concsiousness maker of light). He was born in 982, the son of a king in Eastern India. In his childhood he had a vision of the goddess Tara, who became his tutelary deity. Later he went to Rajagriha, the capital of Magadha, and was initiated into the tantric cycle of Hevajra by Rahulaguhyavajra, a practitioner of this system at the Black Mountain (probably one of the famous seven hills near Rajagriha), and he also spent three years in Uddiyana (Swat), where he participated in tantric cermemonies. At this point he was being established

in the tantric methods of the Vajrayana or Tantrayana, but at the age of twenty-nine, in obedience to instruction received from Śakyamuni Buddha in a dream, he took up ordination and from then on studied the canonical scriptures and classical works of the Hinayana and Mahayana. At the age of thirty-one, after two years of study at the Buddhist university of Odantapuri, he had "mastered the problems of all schools." He then went abroad to study with the teacher gSer gling pa (pron. Ser Lingpa), a teacher in Suvarnadvipa (the general name for Sumatra, Java, and the islands of the Eastern Archipelago), probably the famous teacher Dharmakirti at Śrivijaya (Palembang). After twelve years Atiśa returned to India and became himself a famous teacher at the Buddhist university of Vikramaśila (both Odantapuri and Vikramaśila were destroyed by the Muslim invaders at the end of the twelfth century, and their sites are not definitely known).

CHANGCHUP O INVITES ATIŚA TO TIBET

It was Changchup O who invited Atiśa to come to Tibet. A Tibetan monk named Nag tsho Tshul khrims rgyal ba, usually called Nag tsho lo tsa ba (pron. Naktsho lotsava) and also known by the Sanskrit equivalent of his Tibetan name as Jayaśila, had gone to India to study, accompanied by another Tibetan named rGya bs Tson 'grus seng ge (pron. Gya Tontru Seng-gê) and also known in Sanskrit as Viryasimha, as his guide. When they returned Changchup O asked them to go back to India again and convey his invitation to Atiśa. It was the year 1040 and Atiśa was fifty-nine years of age. He was himself reluctant to accept the invitation, and the master of Vikramaśila was reluctant to allow him to go. Atiśa's tutelary deity, Tara, however, told him that great benefit would arise for the Doctrine from his going, although his own life would be shortened by twenty years. Considering the benefit which was promised to accrue for the Doctrine and for living beings, and also moved by the sad fate of Yeshe O, who had arranged to have the gold sent to make it possible for Indian teachers to come to Tibet, Atiśa decided that the shortening of his own life did not matter, and resolved to go. The master of Vikramaśila acquiesced, but required from Naktsho a promise that Atiśa would not remain in Tibet for more than three years.

Leaving Vikramaśila, Atiśa made a pilgrimage to Bodhgaya, then

set out for Tibet by way of Nepal. In Nepal he spent a year, making his center first at the ancient Buddhist sanctuary of Svayambhunath (near Kathmandu) and then at Palpa (modern Tansing near the Kali Gandaki River, west of Kathmandu and south of Muktinath). On the way to Palpa, Viryasimha, who was Atiśa's original choice as his translator, died, and Naktsho (Jayaśila) from then on served as Atiśa's translator and also his instructor in Tibetan.

From Western Nepal Atiśa's further way to Tibet was probably on a main pilgrim route, up the Karnali River, to the Khochar Gompa, a monastery on the left bank of the Karnali (19 km/12 mi southeast of Taklakot), where it is still remembered that Atiśa stayed during a rainy season, and on to Lake Manasarovara.[6]

ATIŚA MEETS RINCHEN SANGPO

From Lake Manasarovara Atiśa proceeded to the monastery of Tholing in the Upper Sutlej Valley, and there Changchup O (whom Gos lotsava here calls Lha bla ma (pron. Lha Lama) or "divine teacher," a usual honorific for the monk-rulers of Western Tibet), accorded Atiśa an elaborate welcome. At the monastery Rinchen Sangpo was Atiśa's host, and the two engaged in many discussions on religious questions. It was the year 1042 when Atiśa arrived in Tibet, and Rinchen Sangpo was eighty-five years of age, while Atiśa was sixty-one, but the older man soon acknowledged the superiority in philosophy and piety of the younger. The climax of the discussions came when Atiśa said to Rinchen Sangpo: 'O Great Translator! The sufferings of this phenomenal world are difficult to bear. One should labor for the benefit of all living beings. Now, pray practice meditation!" Thereupon Rinchen Sangpo erected a meditation cell (sgrub khang) with three doors and with inscriptions over the doors from the outer to the middle to the inner, respectively renouncing "attachment to this phenomenal world," "thought of self-interest," and any "ordinary thought," these apparently corresponding to the Hinayana, Mahayana, and Tantrayana, and indicating his newly balanced dedication, under Atiśa's instruction, to all three. After the departure of Atiśa from Western Tibet, Rinchen Sangpo practiced "one-pointed" meditation for ten years and attained the highest realization, then passed away at the age of ninety-eight (in the year 1055).

THE WORK OF ATIŚA IN WESTERN TIBET

In relation to Changchup O, Atiśa bestowed upon him, and also upon many others, numerous tantric initiations and many precepts as well, thus evidently combining the mystical and the ethical. For the use of the monk-king, Atiśa devised a special form of the Guhyasamaja Tantra, with Avalokiteśvara in his form as Lokeśvara (lord of the worlds) as the central divinity. Since there was disagreement on points of doctrine between various scholars in Tibet, Changchup O asked Aitśa to compose a treatise which could serve as an antidote for this situation. In response, working in the Tholing monastery, Atiśa wrote his *Bodhipathapradipa* (Tibetan Byang chub lam rim sgron me, pron. Changchup Lamrim Dromê) or Lamp for the Way of Enlightenment, a very compact work (of sixty-six verses) later expanded with a large commentary.

THE WORK OF ATIŚA IN CENTRAL TIBET

After working in Western Tibet for three years and having his teachings receive wide acceptance, Atiśa was preparing to return to India, as had been promised by Naktsho to the master of Vikramaśila, but was persuaded instead to proceed to Central Tibet. As the story is told in the Blue Annals, this was under the providence of Tara and at the invitation of 'Brom ston rGyal ba'i 'byung gnas (pron. Dromtön Gyelwè Jungnè), known as 'Brom for short (Drom).[7]

Drom (1005-1064) was a Tibetan lay disciple (upasaka, Tibetan dge bsnyen, pron. genyen), who by hard studies even while engaged in secular work became very learned and a very capable translator. When Drom learned that Atiśa was in Western Tibet, he journeyed there to meet him. At the same time Atiśa was advised by Tara that he would soon be meeting his future chief disciple. When Drom told Atiśa that there were many monasteries and many thousands of monks at Lhasa, Samye, and elsewhere in U (Central Tibet), Atiśa was impressed and Drom felt encouraged to ask him to come there. Naktsho, who had promised at Vikramaśila that Atiśa would not remain in Tibet for more than three years, was distressed, but Atiśa claimed that he was unable to carry out the promise, and later sent large gifts to Vikramaśila, which presumably compensated at least in part for the change in plans.

In Central Tibet Atiśa was welcomed by large delegations, and he visited many places. At Samye he was very pleased with the monastery, and stayed for a considerable time. He found there many Indian manuscripts which were no longer to be found in India, and expressed the opinion that Padmasambhava must have obtained them from the realm of the *asuras* (titans). With the continuing assistance of his faithful companion Naktsho, he himself prepared many translations. Also at Lhasa and other places he preached, made more translations, and composed his own writings, while his main center in the last years of his life at sNye thang (pron. Nethang) on the Kyi Chu some 19 km/12 mi below Lhasa.

There at Nethang in 1054, at the age of seventy-three, Atiśa "proceeded to Tushita [the heaven of the Bodhisattva Maitreya]." Reflecting the Sanskrit Atiśa (the great lord), he is calld in Tibetan Jo bo rje (pron. Chowo Jè) meaning "the noble lord," and he is also known as Phul byung (pron. Phuljung) meaning "the accomplished."[8]

7

Tibetan Buddhism: Its Philosophy

THE Buddhism which was taught in Tibet in the eighth century CE by Śantarakshita, Padmasambhava, and others in the First Propagation of the Doctrine, and in the tenth-eleventh centuries by Rinchen Sangpo, Atiśa, and others in the Second Propagation of the Doctrine, was in the ensuing time from the eleventh to the fifteenth century elaborated by a whole series of great Tibetan scholars, translators, authors, and founders of monasteries and monastic orders, and thus took on its own distinctive shape in both philosophy and organization.

THREE VEHICLES

In general Tibetan Buddhism recognizes three spiritual courses or ways toward enlightenment. The term *yana* (Tibetan theg pa) by which each of these is designated means literally the "vehicle" which carries the adherent along the path to liberation. The three are the Hinayana which is the lesser vehicle, preferably called by its adherents the Theravada or way of the elders; the Mahayana which is the greater vehicle; and the Vajrayana which is the diamond-like or adamantine vehicle.

It is believed that all three ways were taught by the Buddha himself in his turning of the wheel of the doctrine (*dharmacakra*, Tibetan chos kyi 'khor lo), which took place not just once but three times in succession on successively higher levels. The first time was in his first sermon to his first hearers in the Deer Park at Isipatana (Sarnath) near Varanasi (the Hinayana). The second time was to a celestial assembly on the Vulture's Peak (Gridharkuta) near Rajagriha (the Mahayana). The third time was in other

preachings, some on earth and some in various paradises (the Vajrayana). As all having been taught by the Buddha himself, the three vehicles are ultimately one.[1]

In all three vehicles it is assumed that the process of ordinary existence (*samsara*, Tibetan *'khor ba*) is a cycle of compulsory rebirths arising out of ignorance, controlled by action and result (*karma*, Tibetan las, pron. Lê), and characterized by unsatisfactoriness (*dukkha*). What is desired, therefore, is to come to enlightenment (*bodhi*, Tibetan byang chub, pron. changchup), in which liberation (*moksha* or *vimoksha*, Tibetan rnam par thar pa or rnam par, pron. nampar) from ignorance and rebirth is achieved, and the indescribable state of *nirvana* (Tibetan mya ngan las 'das pa) is attained, which is beyond the world of appearance and beyond all unsatisfactoriness.[2]

HINAYANA (THERAVADA)

According to the Hinayana (Tibetan theg pa dman pa or theg chung) Śakyamuni Buddha was a man who attained such enlightenment and taught these truths but, although he had extraordinary understanding, he was still only a human teacher and thus is to be revered but not worshiped. There were, however, also other Buddhas prior to Śakyamuni, and there is one yet to come in the future.

As for the practitioners of the Hinayana, there are two classes, namely, the classes of: (1) the *śravaka* (Tibetan nyan thos) or "hearer," who concentrates on meditation and understanding of basic Buddhist teachings, and (2) the *pratyekabuddha* (Tibetan rang sangs rgyas) or "solitary Buddha," who attains individual enlightenment by himself and does not teach others. There are also four levels of accomplishment, namely, the levels of : (1) the *srotapanna* or "stream-enterer," who begins on the way, (2) *sakridagamin* or "once-returner," who will experience one more rebirth, (3) the *anagamin* or "never-returner," who will not return to this world, and (4) the *arhat* (Tibetan gnas brten, pron. nèpten) or "worthy," who attains enlightenment and enters nirvana for himself. Since the Hinayana appears to offer deliverance only to the individual who perseveres in the way for himself, it is, from the point of view of the Mahayana, the "lesser" way.

MAHAYANA

In the Mahayana (Tibetan theg pa chen po) the Buddha is seen as no longer just a man, however remarkable, but as a transcendent being, and indeed there is an almost limitless number of such beings. The Buddha may also be conceived as having three bodies (*trikaya*), namely : (1) the *dharma-kaya* (*dharma*-body) is the essential form in which the Buddha is the impersonal Absolute; (2) the *sambhoga-kaya* (bliss-body) is the highest form in which the Buddha is manifest; and (3) the *nirmana-kaya* (formed-body) is the form which the Buddha assumes to do work on earth. Further, one may speak of the Adi- or First-Buddha as the original and ultimate impersonal Absolute, and then of the manifestations of the Adi-Buddha in the form of five cosmic Buddhas called the Five Tathagatas (*tathagata*) meaning thus come or thus gone, and being an epithet reportedly often used by Śakyamuni Buddha for himself). The Five Tathagatas are: Vairocana (brilliant), Akshobhya (imperturbable), Ratnasambhava (jewel-born), Amitabha (boundless light), and Amoghasiddi (infallible attainment). Furthermore, one may speak of the Tathagatas as manifest in the Bodhisattvas. Also along with all of these there are yet many other figures in the entire pantheon. Of these not a few, such as the goddess Tara for example, are derived from Hinduism, since originally the Buddhists and the Hindus were one and the same people.

BODHISATTVA

The concept of the *bodhisattva* (Tibetan byang chub sems dpa' pron. changchup sempa) or "enlightenment being" is especially decisive for the character of the Mahayana. Here it is held that enlightenment requires not only the cessation of ignorance but also the exercise of compassion (*karuna*) to work for the liberation of all sentient beings. The ideal is no longer that of the *arhat*, who attains enlightenment and enters nirvana for himself, but that of the one who, after attaining enlightenment, voluntarily remains in the world (no longer entangled in the *samsara* indeed, but also not vanished in nirvana) in order to work, by preaching and activity, for the deliverance of all. This is the Bodhisattva, and of great figures in this category there are many, among whom some of the most notable are Manjuśri (charming splendor), the

Bodhisattva of wisdom; Avalokiteśvara (the lord who looks down [with compassion]), also known as Lokeśvara (lord of the world); and Maitreya (benevolent), who waits in the Tushita heaven to come as the future Buddha on earth. Since the Mahayana aims thus at the ultimate deliverance of all beings it is the "greater" vehicle.[3]

VAJRAYANA

The Vajrayana (Tibetan rdo rje theg pa) takes its name from the *vajra*, a word which is translatable as either "thunderbolt" or "diamond." In Hinduism the *vajra* was a weapon of the gods, and its qualities were irresistible power and absolute immutability. In Tibetan *vajra* is rendered as rdo rje (pron. dorje), where rdo means "stone" and rje means "ruler," thus the dorje is the king of stones, i.e., the diamond, and the Vajrayana is most properly the diamond way or the adamantine way. As the thunderbolt the *vajra*/dorje may suggest the sudden and irresistible striking in of enlightenment; as the adamantine diamond it may suggest the indestructible quality of the doctrine and of the enlightenment to which it leads.

In the Vajrayana the fundamental structures of the Hinayana and the Mahayana remain basic (with the concepts of the overcoming of ignorance and the exercise of compassion), and it is held that the attainments envisaged in these vehicles are necessary, but it is further held that a more penetrating understanding and experience can be achieved. Pointers to such are found already in the Prajnaparamita literature and the Madhyamika and Yogacara schools of Mahayana Buddhism.

PRAJNAPARAMITA

The name *prajnaparamita* means perfection of wisdom (*prajna*, wisdom; *param*, beyond, farther side; *ita*, who has gone, has arrived at; hence literally, [feminine] wisdom that has gone beyond, has arrived at the far side). The texts which constitute the very large body of literature which goes by this name are found in both verse and prose form, and in works of greatly varying size, some the originals, some expansions and some only summaries of originals. The oldest text is the Perfection of Wisdom in 8,000

Lines, the earliest verses in which probably go back to around 100 years before the Common Era; of the shorter texts two of the finest are the Diamond Sutra in 300 Lines and the Heart Sutra in 25 or 14 Lines, both works of probably the fourth century of the Common Era.[4]

In this literature the most distinctive ideas are (1) that compassionate activity for the welfare of all living beings and for the attainment of liberation must employ a variety of appropriate methods called "skill in means" (*upaya*), which consist chiefly in the practice of six perfections (*paramitas*), namely, generosity, morality patience, perseverance, meditation, and wisdom); and (2) that the all-encompassing knowledge which will benefit all beings is the perception of "emptiness" (*śunyata*). This emptiness is also often defined as non-duality, meaning the absence of all discrimination and separateness, or the presence of sameness and identity in everything.[5]

Etymologically Sanskrit *śunya*, "empty" or "void," and *śunyata*, "emptiness" or "voidness," are derived from a root meaning to "swell," and thus something which is *śunya* may be "swelled" in outward appearance but inwardly is really nothing. Philosophically the doctrine of *śunyata* or emptiness recognizes that everything we know is conditioned in that it is related to something else, hence it does not have its own self. Spiritually, therefore, there is no substance in things to tie us to them, and the recognition of such emptiness is tantamount to deliverance from the sway of things.

MADHYAMIKA AND YOGACARA

The themes of compassion exercised through skill in means, and of wisdom that recognizes emptiness or non-duality, were further elaborated by Nagarjuna (Tibetan kLu sgrub) (c. 150 CE) and Aryadeva, the founders of the Madhyamika School. In respect of emptiness, Nagarjuna taught that all things even including consciousness lack independent reality and he undertook to demonstrate this by rigorous dialectic, showing, for example, that it is impossible to say of any single thing whether it exists or not, or both, or neither. It was because of thus taking a middle position between dialectic extremes that the school was known as the Madhyamika or Middle Way.[6]

The Yogacara school was founded by the brothers Asanga and

Vasubandhu (probably born toward the end of the fourth century), and taught that while the world of phenomena is unreal, consciousness (*vijnana*, Tibetan rnam shes, pron, namshé) is real and, since this consciousness is embraced in the Absolute Mind, union with the Absolute is ultimately attainable by the "yoga practice" (*yogacara*) from which this school derived its name.[7]

SKILLFUL MEANS AND COMPASSION, WISDOM AND EMPTINESS

In the Vajrayana, then, drawing upon the sources just noted, there is a symmetrical fourfold scheme. Skillful means (*upaya*, Tibetan thabs, pron. thap) are required for compassion (*karuna*, Tibetan snying rje, pron. nyingje) to be effective in the world. So also wisdom is required in the form of higher cognition (*prajna*, Tibetan shes rab, pron. sherap) to recognize emptiness (*śunyata*, Tibetan stong pa nyid, pron. tongpanyi), i.e., that everything which on the surface appears to be real is actually at the level of absolute truth without substance and void. Thus means and wisdom (*upaya* and *prajna*) appear as parallel in the fourfold scheme, and so do their correlates of compassion and emptiness (*karuna* and *śunyata*).[8]

THE MAHASIDDHAS

The concepts of emptiness and compassion need, however, it is held in the Vajrayana, a yet more incisive understanding. The experience of emptiness is not actually to be differentiated from the experience of the phenomenal world, for each has its own sacredness. Further, because of the sacredness of the world, any and all situations may be used to help sentient beings. Therefore the figure of the Bodhisattva merges in that of the *siddha* (Tibetan grub thob, pron. trupthop) or *mahasiddha*, the great accomplished one, who in his enlightenment may manifest any of many different lifestyles and may work with any aspect of the world to convey his teachings. Of such personages there was a group of famous yogins known as the Eighty-four Mahasiddhas, who were considered the source of the Vajrayana that was brought to Tibet, and among them were Nagarjuna, and Tilopa and Naropa, who will be met again below in Chapter 8.

YOGA AND TANTRA

As for the depth of experience with the Vajrayana seeks, the major emphasis of this way is less on the speculative and more on what may be called the psycho-experimental, and in this the vehicle draws upon the yogic methods of the Yogacara school already mentioned and is also related to the entire movement of tantrism, which arose in both Hinduism and Buddhism in the early centuries of the present era. By the use of yogic/tantric methods there is seen not only the possibility of making gradual progress toward enlightenment through many stages as in the Mahayana, but also the possibility of coming to a sudden realization of enlightenment as already self-existing in the person and in the world.

The Sanskrit word *tantra* may have the etymological meaning of "web," and is rendered in Tibetan as rgyud (pron. gyü), which literally means to "weave," and may be understood to suggest continuity between underlying reality and the path and goal of the practitioner. In particular the word is used to refer to both the books and the practices, of a mystical and esoteric sort, which embody the characteristic teachings of this way. While instruction in the way and its practices is vouchsafed to some extent in the books, it is best of all communicated orally by a qualified teacher (*guru*, in the Vajrayana often called a *vajra-guru*) to a devoted disciple. Because of its embodiment of the tantric tradition the Vajrayana is alternatively known as the Tantrayana.[9]

TANTRAYANA AND MANTRAYANA

In the yogic/tantric practice of the Vajrayana/Tantrayana the *mantra* is of such importance that the vehicle is also sometimes called the Mantrayana. The Sanskrit word *mantra* (Tibetan sngags, pron. ngak) means literally an instrument of thought. In this connection the energies of the universe are conceived as ideal, inaudible sounds, which can be visualized or written as letters or vocalized as sounds, and through such ritual formulas—usually in Sanskrit—a relationship can be established between the practitioner and the universal energies.

ELEMENTS OF PRACTICE

Other prominent elements in the practices of the Vajrayana/

Tantrayana/Mantrayana include the following: *asana* is "position" or bodily posture; *mudra* (Tibetan *phyag rgya*, pron. chhakgya) is symbol or gesture (literally "seal"); *pranayama* is breath control; *mandala* (Tibetan dkyil 'khor, pron. kilkor) is symbolic diagram; *abhisheka* (Tibetan dbang, pron. wang) is initiation or consecration in which a student is ritually introduced into relation to a particular tantric deity by his *vajra* master; *bhavana* (Tibetan sgom pron. gom) is meditation; *śamatha* (Tibetan zhi gnas, pron. shiné) is meditation to attain peaceful detachment; *vipaśyana* (Tibetan lhag mthong, pron. lhakthong) is insight; *prajnaparamita* (Tibetan shes rab phar phyin, pron. sherap pharchhin) is perfection of higher cognition; *sadhana* (Tibetan sgrup thabs, pron. grubthap) is tantric meditation, with *utpattikrama* (Tibetan bskyed rim, pron. kyèrim) as the arising or developing stage, which aims at the evocation of and union with the practitioner's deity, and *sampannakrama* (Tibetan rdzogs rim, pron. dzokrim) as the achievement stage in which visualization is dissolved and meditation is formless; and *mahamudra* (Tibetan phyag rgya chen mo, pron. chhakgya chhenmo) or the "great seal" is meditational teaching and practice in which all experience is transformed into a supreme consciousness of being and transcendental knowledge (*prajna*) and skillful means (*upaya*) are united.

ATIŚA ON THE VAJRAYANA/TANTRAYANA/ MANTRAYANA

The underlying configuration of concepts in the philosophy of the Vajrayana is stated very concisely in the *Bodhipathapradipa* of Atiśa which he composed at the request of King Changchup O. Atiśa writes (Verses 42, 45, 49):

> The nature of all things (*dharmas*), examined either as unities or as compounds, cannot be determined. Therefore, it is certain that they are void (*śunyata*).
>
> One quickly attains enlightenment (*bodhi*) not by mere meditation on the void (*nairatmya* [literally "non-selfness," i.e., essencelessness or contentlessness, synonymous with *śunyata*]) but by [first] acquiring in oneself the mastery of the *upayas* and [then] by meditation on *prajna*.
>
> *Prajna* without *upaya* and *upaya* without *prajna* are said to be unfree [literally "tied," i.e., one by itself cannot act]. Therefore do not ignore and [of them].

As for tantric practice, Atiśa insists that if one wishes to seek enlightenment by this path it is necessary to attain full insight into the real teachings of the Tantras, to purify all of one's actions and never indulge in any sinful act, and to have the guidance of the right guru, this teacher being one who himself has pure vows and full mastery of the correct procedures. When such a guru is fully pleased with his pupil, Atiśa says, the guru "confers the initiation that purifies all sins, [and] he [the initiate] becomes a fit receptacle for the *siddhis* [spiritual and supernatural attainments].[10]

TANTRIC SYSTEMS AND TEXTS

In the classification of tantric systems, they are commonly divided into four classes, although into six classes in the Nyingma-pa (as will be seen below in Chapter 8). The division into four classes is outlined, for example, in a work called Fundamentals of the Buddhist Tantras (in Tibetan rGyud sde spyi rnam, "explanation of features of Tantras as a class"), written by mKhas grub dGe legs dpal bzang, who is known more briefly as mKhas grub rje (pron. Khè-trup Jè) (1385-1438) and was the chief disciple in tantric studies of Tsongkhapa (1357-1419).[11] As named by Khe-trup Je the four classes are: (1) Kriya Tantra (Tibetan bya rgyud, pron. cha gyü), which emphasizes external and internal purification, with ritual acts, offerings, and formulas; (2) Carya Tantra (spyed rgyud, pron. chod gyü), in which there is a balance of external acts and internal meditation; (3) Yoga Tantra (rnal 'byer rgyud pron. naljor gyü), which is solely internal, with yogic exercises of body and mind; and (4) Anuttarayoga Tantra (bla na med rgyud, pron. lanamè gyü), which is the highest class of all, stressing the supreme importance of inner activity. In the Anuttarayoga Tantras Khe-trup Je distinguishes between the Father Tantra (pha rgyud) and the Mother Tantra (ma rgyud): the Father Tantra deals primarily with action or skillful "means" (*upaya*, thabs), considered as masculine; the Mother Tantra deals primarily with higher cognition or "wisdom" (*prajna*, shes rab), personified as feminine.[12]

As for tantric texts of the highest level (the Anuttarayoga Tantras and, in the Nyingma-pa, the Inner Tantras), four are basic, namely, in the "father" (*pha*) category the Guhyasamaja, and in the "mother" (*ma*) category the Cakrasamvara, the Hevajra, and the Kalacakra.

GUHYASAMAJA TANTRA

The Guhyasamaja (Tibetan gSang b'ai 'dus pa, pron. Sangwe Düpa; abbreviated gSang 'dus, pron. Sangdü) is, according to Khe-trup Je, the chief Tantra in the "father" category.[13]

As the book opens, the great Buddha reality, here called the lord Bodhicittavajra, is in the midst of an assembly of spiritual beings and, by the power of thought, is transformed into five cosmic Buddhas (the Five Tathagatas) who are seen, together with their five female consorts (*prajnas*), four gatekeepers, and other gods and goddesses, all in a great mandala.

THE ENLIGHTENMENT MIND

The term *bodhicitta* (Tibetan byang chub kyi sems, pron. chang-chup kyisem), which appears at the outset in the name of the original ultimate Buddha reality, is also prominent throughout the Tantra. The term means "enlightenment mind," and this mind is constituted of the comingling of *upaya/karuna* (skillful means/active compassion) and *prajna/śunyata* (wisdom/emptiness) in a union which is transcendent of all duality (hence called *advaya*, not two), and it is toward the attainment of this union that this Tantra is directed. As for the tutelary deity (yi dam) who presides over this tantric system and whose name is the name of the text, this is the tantric deity Guhyasamaja (Tibetan gSang 'dus, pron. Sangdü), whose name means "secret assembly" or "union of mystery." In visual representation, the deity is usually seen in a peaceable form, with multiple heads and arms, and seated in yab yum.

As well as being one of the most important, the Guhyasamaja is probably the oldest of the Tantras. According to Gos lotsava in the Blue Annals, the Guhyasamaja was studied by Nagarjuna and his disciples, who maintained that it "represented the essence of all the 84,000 doctrines [of the Buddha],"[14] and Buston tells us that it was one of the tantric books translated into Tibetan by Rinchen Sangpo. We have also noted (in Chapter 6) that Atiśa prepared a special form of the text for Changchup O, and the text was likewise a special object of study by Tsongkhapa (1357-1410).

SAMVARA TANTRA

The Samvara of Śri-Cakrasamvara (Tibetan dPal 'Khor lo bDe mchog, pron. Pel Khorlo Demchok; abbreviated bDe mchog, pron. Demchok) is, according to Khe-trup Je, the chief Tantra in the "mother" category.[16]

Samvara (Demchok), who gives his name to this text and is the yidam of this tantric system, belongs to the spiritual family of Akshobhya. He is known as the lord of the sacred mountain Kailasa (Tibetan Ti se, pron. Tisè), is normally seen in fierce manifestation, and in yab yum with the female deity (*dakini*, Tibetan mkha' 'gro ma, pron. khandroma) Vajravarahi (Tibetan rDo rje phag mo, pron. Dorje Phakmo).

THE PERFECT BLISS

The Tibetan name of the god and of the text, bDe mchog (pron. Demchok), means "perfect bliss" and describes the state of enlightenment, equivalent to the realization of the perfect truth, which the practitioner of this tantric system may hope to attain.

Along with the Guhyasamaja Tantra, the Samvara Tantra was studied by Tsongkhapa, and it is an especially favored text in the Kagyu-pa order.

HERUKA/HEVAJRA TANTRA

This Tantra is known either by the name Heruka or the name Hevajra.[17] The yidam Heruka is usually known, when in yab yum configuration, as Hevajra or Śri-Hevajra (Tibetan Kye rdo rje, pron. Kyè Dorje, or dPal Kye rdo rje, pron. Pel Kyè Dorje; also dGyes pa'i rdo rje, pron. Gyèpè Dorje), and is associated in fierce form with various dakinis, including Nairatmya the goddess of nonego, and Vajrayogini the adamantine yogini and Vajravarahi the adamantine female boar, the latter two being essentially aspects of one and the same deity and considered to represent the transformation of ignorance into knowledge and of passion into compassion.

As the text of the Hevajra Tantra opens the Buddha is found in blissful embrace with Vajrayogini, and from there divulges the esoteric teachings of this Tantra.

THE YOGIC BODY AND THE MYSTIC HEAT

A major theme is a subject which is also elsewhere widespread in tantrism, namely, the subject of what may be called the yogic body, with its three psycho-nervous channels, the one on the left corresponding with feminine *prajna*, the one on the right corresponding with masculine *upaya*, and the one in the center the place where the two may meet. The breath, representing the psycho-nervous vital force (*prana*, Tibetan rlung, pron. lung), passes up and down these channels, and the control of the breathing-process (pranayama), together with control of the thought-process, brings control over the vital force. At the base of the central channel is the dormant female power called the coiled one (*kundalini*) and, when aroused by the proper breath/thought process, she rises like a blazing fire through the central channel, spreads the mystic heat (gtum mo, pron. tummo; literally meaning fierce, wrathful) throughout the body and, in the uppermost region of the head, attains a mystic union which is the union of *prajna* with *upaya*, or the union of Nairatmya with Hevajra. The result is "great bliss" (*mahasukha*, Tibetan bde chen) which, like the "perfect bliss" of the Samvara Tantra, is the same as the attainment of perfect truth.

The meditational teaching of the Hevajra Tantra and its goal are also called the Great Seal (*mahamudra*, Tibetan phyag rgya chen po, pron. chhakgya chhenpo, or phyag chen, pron. chhakchhen), in which phyag is the higher cognition of emptiness, rgya is freedom from *samsara*, and chen po is their indivisibility. The yogin who performs this practice in complete self-control will succeed; seeking after the Great Seal he will gain thereby that eternal state.

The Hevajra Tantra is thought to have been composed c. 690. Atiśa it will be remembered (from Chapter 6) received the Hevajra initiation at the beginning of his career from the yogin Rahulaguhyavajra of the Black Mountain. Likewise the Tibetan 'Brog mi (pron. Drokmi) (992-1072) studied for eight years at the monastery of Vikramaśila in India under the teacher Śantipa, known as a Mahasiddha (great tantric adept), and was initiated into the Hevajra Tantra, on which Śantipa had written a commentary, while later when nearing his own fiftieth year Drokmi himself translated the Hevajra Tantra into Tibetan.[18] The text is especially favored in the Sakya-pa order.

KALACAKRA TANTRA

The Kalacakra Tantra takes its name from the *kalacakra* (Tibetan 'dus kyi 'khor lo, pron. dükyi khorlo), which is the "black wheel," i.e., the wheel of time or of death.[19] Kalacakra is also the name of the yidam of this tantric system, and he is usually seen as a fierce diety and in association with his dakini. As the name of the deity and of the Tantra suggest, the system has to do especially with overcoming the hazards of time and of death.

The doctrine of the Kalacakra Tantra is supposed to have been preached first by Śakyamuni Buddha, either just after his enlightenment or just before his death and final entry into nirvana. The place was at Śri Dhanyakataka (Tibetan dPal ldan 'Bras spungs, pron. Pelden Drepung) near the delta of the Kistna River in South India. On the occasion there was present a great assembly of gods and sages and among them was Sucandra, the king of the northern kingdom of Shambala. Sucandra is supposed to have asked the Buddha for the teaching and to have taken it back to Shambala where, a year later, it was recorded and preserved in the form of the Mulatantra or basic text in 12,000 verses.

SHAMBALA

In Shambala Sucandra was himself the first of a line of seven priest-kings, and they were succeeded by a line of twenty-five rulers known as Kulika or Kalki, the last of whom is expected to come yet in the future to establish a new golden age for the world. Under these kings the Kalacakra was kept in Shambala for more than a thousand years, and commentaries were written on it, then it was introduced into India and sixty years later brought from India into Tibet. The official introduction of the Kalacakra into Tibet is supposed to have been in 1027 CE, and this is the data from which the Tibetan calendar begins, this calendar with its Sexagenary Cycle being derived from the "wheel of time." According to this date the introduction of the Kalacakra into India, sixty years prior to its introduction into Tibet, would have been in 967, and another report to the effect that the "wheel of time" became effective in India in the time of King Mahapala of Bengal (c. 974-c. 1026) points to a not too dissimilar date.

In the Blue Annals the entire tenth book is devoted to the Kala-

cakra and its dissemination from Shambala to India and Tibet, and many persons are named (not without inconsistencies in the various traditions) who were instrumental in the spread of the doctrine. One line begins with the Adi-Buddha and comes down through Sucandra, Kulika Vijaya, the senior Kalacakrapada, the junior Kalacakrapada, and many others, to Vanaratna who was contemporary with Gos lotsava himself (1392-1481).

According to one story, the senior Kalacakrapada was the son of a yogini, who took him with her as a boy to Shambala. There a monk of beautiful appearance, who was actually a manifestation of Avalokiteśvara, blessed the youth, and he developed the ability to commit to memory a thousand verses of scripture every day. After memorizing the Kalacakra Tantra and its commentary, he proceeded to Madhyadeśa (Middle India), was ordained a monk with the name Tsilupa, wrote the Tantra and commentary in the form of a book, and entrusted the same to disciples. Among those who received the teaching from the senior Kalacakrapada (Tsilupa) was Naropa (1016-1100), then associated with the Buddhist centers at Nalanda and Phullahari, and later the teacher of the Tibetan Marpa (1012-1096). Among the famous later Tibetans who studied the Kalacakra were Buston (1290-1364) and Tsongkhapa (1357-1419), while the latter's disciple Khe-trup Je (1385-1438) wrote a commentary on the Tantra.

As for Vanaratna (Tibetan dPal Nags kyi rin chen, pron. Pel Nakkyi Rinchhen), he was born as the son of a king in East Bengal in 1384, was ordained a monk at the age of twenty, traveled widely and reached Tibet in 1426, where he was often called "the last pandita." He died in Nepal in 1468, and his cremated remains were disposed of in the burial ground near the Svayambhu stupa at Kathmandu. Writing in the Blue Annals about ten years after the death of Vanaratna, Gos lotsava says that this teacher seems to have been the most popular among the panditas who visited Tibet in later times, that the best of the initiations and precepts of the Kalacakra originated from him, and that he himself (Gos lotsava) received the Kalacakra initiation from him.[20]

In addition to dealing on a first level with the external world and being the source of the Tibetan calendar and system of astrology, the Kalacakra is concerned, like other Tantras, on a second level with the techniques for controlling the flow of energy in the psychic nervous system, and on a third level with the visua-

lizations of the tantric deities, by which the limitations of time may be transcended and nirvana experienced even here and now—provided one understands emptiness and devotes one's efforts to the welfare of all beings.

The Kalacakra Tantra is especially favored in the Geluk-pa order. Under the Panchen Lamas it was taught in the Trashilhunpo monastery at Xigaze, and the Third (or Sixth) Panchen Lama, Lopsang Pelden Yeshe, was the author in 1775 of the Description of the Road to Shambala (described above in Chapter 3), the most widely read guidebook to that mythical kingdom where the Kalacakra was so long preserved.

Under the Dalai Lamas there also developed a tradition of giving the Kalacakra initiation at occasional intervals to large public gatherings, and that has now been done even outside of Tibet. Such an initiation was conducted by the Fourteenth Dalai Lama at Bodhgaya in India around 1977, and at Madison, Wisconsin in the United States of America in 1981.[21]

8

Tibetan Buddhism: Its Orders

IN the organizational aspect of Tibetan Buddhism there are the categories of the ordained monk (*bhikshu*, Tibetan dge slong, pron. gelong) and nun (*bhikshuni*, Tibetan a ne, pron. ani), of the novice (*śramanera*, Tibetan dge tshul, pron. getshul), and of the lay disciple (*upasaka*, Tibetan dge bsnyen, pron. genyen). In some orders the monks may marry, in others not. Some monks live for a shorter or longer time in solitude in a hermitage (ri khrod, sgrub gnas); most live for most of the time in a monastery (*vihara*, Tibetan dgon pa, pron. gönpa, in this book spelled gompa), where the general name for the inmates is grwa pa, (pron. trapa). A nunnery is an a ne dgon pa (pron. ani gompa). The term gdan sa (pron. densa) designates the chief monastery of a monastic order.

In Tibetan the Sanskrit *guru* (teacher, master, especially of tantric practice) is translated as bla ma (pron. lama), and this term describes those who, whether monks or not, are qualified to guide disciples. Another name for a teacher is "spiritual friend" (*kalyanamitra*, Tibetan dge ba'i gshen gnyen), an abbreviation of which (dge bshes, pron. geshe) provides the name of an advanced degree in monastic studies. A master teacher, who is recognized (usually in his early childhood) as an incarnation of a great departed teacher or even of the Buddha, is designated by the term sprul sku (pron. trulku or tulku), and such an "incarnate" is usually the most honored figure in a monastery in which he is in residence. The administrative head of a monastery, however, is the *upadhyaya* or abbot and, at least in the Geluk-pa, he is usually neither an incarnation nor an ordinary monk but a holder of the geshe degree and known for his spiritual merit and learning. A title of honor for a personage of exalted status is rin po che (pron. rimpochè), which means "precious."

MONASTIC ORDERS

The monastic orders derive their names variously from such sources as the type of tradition they represent, the teacher who enunciated their characteristic doctrine, or their head monastery. In the name of an order the word pa as a component of the name means the "people" of a particular provenance, and may equally well be either included or omitted in the name. The spiritual "lineage" of an order is designated by the term rgyud pa (pron. gyü-pa), which literally means a "thread" or a linking up. It is considered that this linking up may begin with a lofty figure or lofty figures of the Buddhist pantheon and come on down in human tradition through the physical descent of successive leaders, through the successive reincarnations of earlier teachers, or through the passing on of teachings from master to pupil and so on.

There are four major orders and not a few suborders as follows:

1. NYINGMA-PA

The rNyingma-pa (pron. Nyingma-pa) are the "ancient ones."[1] The lineage of the order is described as beginning with the Adi-Buddha, who is known by various names as Samantabhadra (Tibetan Kun tu bzang po, pron. Küntu Sangpo), Vajradhara (Tibetan rDo rje 'chang, pron. Dorje Chhang), and Vajrasattva (Tibetan rDo rje sems dpa', pron. Dorje Sempa). The lineage enters the level of human tradition with dGa' rab rdo rje (pron. Garap Dorje), an Indian or Tibetan teacher considered an emanation of Vajrasattva. Garap Dorje taught his disciple 'Jam dpal bshes gnyen (pron. Jampè Shenyen), Jampe Shenyen taught Śri-Singha, and Śri-Singha taught Padmasambhava, the most eminent personage in the entire lineage, as well as Padmasambhava's contemporaries and associates, the Indian Vimalamitra, the Tibetan Vairocana, and King Trhisong Detsen (reigned 755-797).

Many others continued the lineage thereafter, and the transmission was not cut off even by the great persecution by King Langdarma (reigned 838-842). As related above in Chapter 6, the three monks, Tsang, Yo, and Mar, fled from the persecution, carrying their scriptural texts with them, and eventually won as their disciple dGongs pa rab gsal (Gongpa Rapsel). For a time after that the latter was the only ordained monk and the only holder of the

lineage, but from him the lineage passed on to mNga' ris pan chen (pron. Ngari Penchen) and to a long further series of persons.

Notable among the later bearers of the tradition are *Rong zom* Mahapandita, also known as Chos kyi bzang po (pron. Chhökyi Sangpo), of the early eleventh century, and kLong chen rab 'byams pa or kLong chen pa (pron. Longchen Rabjampa or Longchenpa) (1306-1363), these two being spoken of as respectively the eyes and the heart of the lineage.

The Discoverers (Terchen)

From the eleventh century onward not a few of the holders of the Nyingma-pa lineage are identified as discoverers (gter ston, pron. terchen) of concealed treasure (gter ma, pron. terma), i.e. (as described above in Chapter 3), they brought to light texts supposedly deriving from Padmasambhava and other early teachers, and long hidden.[2] Of these discoverers the first was Sangs rgyas bla ma (pron. Sang-gyè Lama). He was born in La stod (probably a region west of Xigaze and south of the Yarlung Tsangpo) about the time of the second half of the life of the great translator Rinchen Sangpo (958-1055) and remained on earth for about eighty years, thus may be dated c.1000–c.1080. In the course of his work he recovered concealed books from a temple at gLo bo (pron. Lobo) in mNga ris (pron. Ngari), i.e., in Western Tibet, and from several other hiding places.

In the long further series of such discoverers three who appeared in the twelfth to fourteenth centuries are known as "grand" terma masters, others in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries are "great" masters, and among them all from the twelfth to the nineteenth century five are singled out as the five "kings" of discoverers of concealed treasure.

The first of the "grand" terma masters and the first of the discoverers "kings" is Nyang ral Nyi ma 'od zer (pron. Nyangrè Nyima Oser) (1124-1192), whose name contains an allusion to "shining rays of light ('od zer)." The second "grand" master and the second discoverer "king" is Gu ru Chos kyi dbang phyug (pron. Guru Chökyi Wangchuk), (1212-1270), whose name alludes to "Dharma (chos) wealth." The prophecy concerning him in the Padma Scroll declared that in his time Tibet would be invaded by Mongolian warriors bringing great suffering to the land, and he himself was

credited with prophesying the invasion of the country which took place when Godan sent in his army in 1240 (see below in Chapter 9). The third "grand" master is Rig 'dzin, rGod ldem (pron. Riksin Gödem) (1337-1409), whose name refers to the possession of magical knowledge (rig 'dzin). Due to the concealed teachings which he brought forth welfare and happiness spread throughout Tibet, wars were averted, pestilences cut off, and many diseases cured, and he himself became famous all over Tibet like Padmasambhava.

The "great" terma masters were all gLing pas (pron. Lingpas). The first is O rgyan gLing pa (pron. Orgyen Lingpa) (1323–c.1360), the famous discoverer (already mentioned in Chapter 3) of the Padma Scroll, the biography of Padmasambhava, as well as of many other texts. A prophecy concerning his coming connected him with the time when the Phakmotru-pa would subdue the whole country, and he was in fact contemporary with Changchup Gyentsen (1302-1373), the founder of the Phakmotru-pa Dynasty, and he was highly respected by the Phakmotru-pa rulers (described below in Chapter 9).

Other "great" terma masters of the Lingpa line are: Sangs rgyas gLing pa (pron. Sang-grè Lingpa (1340-1396); rDo rje gLing pa (pron. Dorje Lingpa) (1346-1405), called the third discoverer "king"; Ratna gLing pa (pron. Retna Lingpa (1403-1479)); O rgyan Pad ma gLing pa (pron. Orgyen Pema Lingpa) (1450–?), known as the fourth discoverer "king"; Kar ma gLing pa (pron. Karma Lingpa) (14th century), famous as the discoverer of the Bardo Thodol, the work on the period between death and rebirth, supposedly composed originally by Padmasambhava; O rgyan gTer bdag gLing pa (pron. Orgyen Terdag Lingpa) (1634 or 1646-1714), who was first the disciple and later the teacher of the Fifth Dalai Lama (1617-1682); and 'Jigs med gLing pa (pron. Jigme Lingpa) (1729-1798). As for the fifth discoverer "king," this is 'Jam dbyangs mK'yen brtse (pron. Jamyang Kyentse) (1820-1892), already named (in Chapter 3) as the author of the Guide to the Holy Places of Central Tibet.

Nine Vehicles

In doctrine the Nyingma-pa school recognizes the same three vehicles already described (Hinayana, Mahayana, Vajrayana), but makes an arrangement of their component parts which results in an

outline of nine vehicles (theg pa rim pa dgu) in all. (i) The *śravakayana* and (ii) *pratyekabuddhayana* of the Hinayana, and (iii) the *bodhisattvayana* of the Mahayana are counted as the first three vehicles. Then, whereas there are four classes of Tantras in the Vajrayana as listed above in Chapter 7 (Kriya, Carya, Yoga, Anuttarayoga), here the Tantras are reckoned as six in number and count as six more vehicles to make the nine in all. These are three so-called Outer Tantras, namely, (iv) Kriya, dealing with ritual acts; (v) Carya, dealing with ritual acts and meditational practices; and (vi) Yoga, dealing with yogic disciplines; and three so-called Inner Tantras (in the place of the Anuttarayoga), namely, (vii) Mahayoga, dealing with spiritual development; (viii) Anuyoga, dealing with accomplished meditation and visionary experience; and (ix) Atiyoga, dealing with the final accomplishment on the tantric path. This final accomplishment is the realization of a state known as the "great achievement" (Tibetan rDzogs chen. pron. Dzokchen), and the way to it is the "method of achievement" (rDzogs rim, pron. dzokrim). Along with the "method of evocation" (bskyed rim, pron. kyèrim) named above in Chapter 7, this is the second and more advanced of the two main aspects of tantric practice, and the adherents of the Dzokchen school assign the highest place to the Atiyoga Tantra.

The Dzokchen School

The two main founders of the Dzokchen school in Tibet are considered to be Vimalamitra and Vairocana, already named just above as contemporaries of Padmasambhava and King Trhisong Detsen (reigned 755-797).[3] At the time Vimalamitra was at the court of King Indrabhuti in Uddiyana (Swat), and was known as the keeper of the secret doctrine (i.e., the Dzokchen doctrine). Trhisong Detsen's minister, the monk Nyang Ting nge 'dzin (pron. Nyang Tingnge dzin), who was an ancestor of the later Nyangre Nyima Oser (1124-1192, named just above as one of the discoverer "kings"), asked Trhisong Detsen to invite Vimalamitra to come to Tibet. It was against King Indrabhuti's wish that Vimalamitra accepted the invitation, and the Indians who desired not to see the secret doctrine spread, endeavored to prejudice the Tibetans against Vimalamitra. Nevertheless Vimalamitra was able to work successfully for thirteen years in Tibet, where he conveyed his teachings to both Trhisong

Detsen and Nyang Ting-nge dzin. Finally Vimalamitra retreated to China, and died there. Prior to his departure from Tibet, however, Vimalamitra founded the dBu ru zwa'i (pron. Urusvai) temple (80 km/50 mi northeast of Lhasa), and hid there the text which he had revealed, the sNying thig which, later rediscovered, is the basic of the Dzokchen school.

As for the Tibetan Vairocana, he was one of the first seven novices trained under Śantarakshita at Samye. Later King Trhisong Detsen sent him to India, and near Dhanakośa in Uddiyana (Swat) he met and studied under Śri-Singha, then returned to Tibet. Like Vimalamitra he suffered opposition occasioned by the Indians when they learned that he was transmitting the secret doctrine. At the instigation of the Bon-po the queen Tshe sPong bza' (pron. Tshe Pongsa), one of the wives of Trhisong Detsen, also opposed him and secured his banishment to Kham (Eastern Tibet), but he continued to teach there, and was long remembered. He too is credited with hiding away later rediscovered texts of the Dzokchen school.

Of other persons in the Nyingma-pa lineage mentioned above, the following were also important representatives of the Dzokchen school: Rong-zom Mahapandita (early eleventh century), Longchenpa (1306-1363), and the "discoverers," Nyangre Nyima Oser (1124-1192), Guru Chokyi Wangchuk (1212-1270), and Jigme Lingpa (1729-1798).

Nyingma-pa Monasteries

As to monasteries of the Nyingma-pa, the famous monastery of bSam yas (Samye), although founded by Padmasambhava and Śantarakshita under King Trhisong Detsen (755-797), came to be a center for Buddhist study open to all the schools, and otherwise for many centuries the Nyingma-pa had for the most part only small monastic communities, retreat centers and temples. Of such sort were no doubt the foundations of some of the earlier discoverers of concealed treasure, who are said to have built temples (e.g., Guru Chokyi Wangchuk, 1212-1270) or a monastery (e.g., Sanggye Lingpa, 1340-1396).

Only in the seventeenth century were the two primary Nyingma-pa monasteries established, as follows: The monastery of rDo rje brag (pron. Dorjetrak) (32km/20 mi south of Lhasa, north of the Yarlung Tsangpo) was founded in 1610 by Rig 'dzin Ngag gi dbang

po (pron. Riksin Ngagi Wangpo), a descendant of the "grand" discoverer Rig 'dzin rGod ldem (Riksin Godem) (1337-1409), named above. The monastery of sMin grol gling (pron. Mintröl-ling), (75 km/47 mi south-southeast of Lhasa, south of the Yarlung Tsangpo) was founded in 1676 by the "great" discoverer, O rgyan gTer bdag gLing pa (pron. Orgyen Terdag Lingpa) (1634 or 1646-1714), also named just above. Orgyen Terdag Lingpa was both a pupil and a teacher of the Fifth Dalai Lama (1617-1682), and the Fifth Dalai Lama was himself closely associated with the Mintrol-ling monastery. It was also at Mintrol-ling that Jamyang Kyentse (1820-1892) was ordained, who has been listed above as the fifth discoverer "king" and was the author of the Guide to the Holy Places of Central Tibet.

The Nine Vehicles of Bon

In connection with the nine vehicles of the Nyingma-pa noted above, it may be observed that Bon also speaks of nine vehicles, an enumeration probably patterned after that of the Nyingma-pa. These nine vehicles of Bon (theg pa rim pa dgu) represent as many sets of practices which Shenrap supposedly himself assigned to nine classes of Bon priests or magicians (the gshen, pron. shen). As outlined in the biography of Shenrap known as The Glorious (gZi-brjid, described above in Chapter 3), the nine Bon ways are the following.

The first is the "way of the shen of prediction (phya gshen)," and deals with omens and cures. The second is the "way of the shen of the visual world (snang gshen)," and deals with exorcism. The third is the "way of the shen of illusion ('phrul gshen)." and deals with overcoming enemies and demons. The fourth is the "way of the shen of existence (srid gshen)," and has to do with assistance to beings in the intermediate state (bar do) between death and rebirth. The fifth is the "way of the virtuous adherers (dge bsnyen gshen)," and refers to those who aid in the accumulation of merit. The sixth is the "way of the great ascetics (drang srong, corresponding to Sanskrit *rishi* or "seer")," and has to do with strict ascetic discipline; this is also called the "Bon of the swastika (Sanskrit *svastika*, Tibetan gyung drung, pron. yungdrung, the swastika being a widely used symbol in both Buddhism and Bon, but in Bon turned in the opposite or counterclockwise direction). The seventh is the "way of

the white letter A (a dkar, as the symbol of pure sound), and deals with tantric practice and secret mantras. The eighth is the "way of the primeval shen (ye gshen)." and describes the manner of worship and the process of meditation. The ninth is the "way of the highest tantra (bla na med, corresponding to Sanskrit *anuttara*)," and is often spoken of as the teaching of the "great achievement (rDzogs chen, pron. Dzokchen), the same Tibetan tantric tradition also associated with the Nyingma-pa.[4]

2. SAKYA-PA

The Sa skya pa (pron. Sakya-pa) derive their name from their chief monastery named Sa skya (Sakya) (on the Grum River 94 km/60 mi southwest of Xigaze). The lineage of the order[5] begins with the mythical descent to earth of three brothers who were "gods of clear light," and comes on down through many names and events to a legendary time when gods and demons were numerous in Tibet and were involved in various relationships, not always happy, with human beings. In that time and from a relationship between a demon and a married woman, whose husband quarreled with the demon, a divine son was born who became known as Jo bo 'Khon par skyes (pron. Chowo Khön Parskyè), meaning the "Lord born amidst quarrels." He was the ancestor of the noble Khon family, which was the leading family in the entire history of the Sakya-pa, and his own son, known as 'Khon dPal po che (pron. Khön Pelpo-chê), is a fully historical person, whom King Trhisong Detsen (755-797) selected as his confidential minister.

A son of Khon Pelpoche named 'Khon kLuhi dbang po (pron. Khön Luhi Wangpo) received special tantric initiations from Padmasamabhava, and became one of the seven sad mi or "tested men," as the first seven monks of the Tibetan monastic system were called. A grandson of Khon Pelpoche and a nephew of Khon Luhi Wangpo named rDo rje Rin po che (pron. Dorje Rimpochê), also received initiations from Padmasambhava as well as from his own uncle, and these "old" tantric teachings continued to be handed down in the Sakya-pa tradition.

Khon Konchok Gyelpo and the Sakya Monastery

During the persecution of Buddhism by Langdarma (838-842)

and after, the Khon family was scattered but maintained its identity and by the eleventh century began to emerge into new prominence. At that time a member of the family named Śakya bLo gros (pron. Shakya Lodrö) had two sons, the elder named Shes rab tshul khrims pron. Sherap Shulkhrim) and the younger known as 'Khon dkon mchog rgyal po (pron. Khön Könchok Gyelpo) (1034-1102), both of whom became monks. When the younger told the older of seeing a religious celebration which evidently included elements of non-Buddhist ritual, the brother charged him to adhere steadfastly to the correct tantric doctrine received from Padmasambhava and distinctively preserved by the Khon family. The brother also urged Konchok Gyelpo to go and further his studies under the famous Tibetan scholar 'Brog mi (pron. Drokmi) (992-1072). When Drokmi would not at first accept him, Konchok Gyelpo studied with another teacher, who prophesied that if Konchok Gyelpo would leave the monkhood and marry he would become the father of a very important son. After that teacher died, Drokmi accepted Konchok Gyelpo as a student and he was finally fully initiated. It was while he was still a monk, at the age of forty and in the year 1073, that Khon Konchok Gyelpo founded the monastery of Sakya which became the central establishment and seat of power (gdan sa, pron. densa) of the Sakya-pa.

Sakya Pandita

Later when Konchok Gyelpo married and at the age of fifty-nine had the prophesied son, the latter was Kun dga' snying po (pron. Künga Nyingpo) (born in 1092), who was afterward called Sa chen (Sachen) and recognized as an authoritative expounder of Sakya-pa religious doctrine. In turn a grandson of Sachen was Kun dga' rgyal mtshan (pron. Künga Gyentsen), better known simply as Sa skya Pandita (pron. Sakya Pendita), (1182-1251), whose very important role will be noted below in Chapter 9, when in the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries the Sakya-pa attained political supremacy in Tibet.

Of later great scholars and teachers among the Sakya-pa, one of the most notable was Rong ston sMra ba'i Seng ge (pron. Rongston Rawè Seng-gè) (1347-1449). He came from a Bon family in rGyal rong (pron. Gyelrong) in the extreme east of Tibet (in

Sichuan), studied in Central Tibet, and in 1435 founded in 'Phan yul (pron. Phenyül, a region north of Lhasa) a monastery named after Nalanda in India. In literary activity he wrote a large number of manuals of instruction and works of exegesis.

As for doctrine, it will be remembered from Chapter 7 that Drokmi Khon Konchok Gyelpo's teacher, was the translator into Tibetan of the Hevajra Tantra, and this Tantra remained a basic text of the Sakya-pa, and Hevajra (Tibetan Kye rdo rje, pron. Kyê Dorje) was the patron deity of the sect.

Jonang-pa and Taranatha

In the fourteenth century there also arose from a split in the Sakya-pa a suborder known as the Jo nang pa (pron. Chonang-pa). The founder was Shes rab rgyal mtshan (pron. Sherap Gyentsen) (1292-1361), himself a student of a Kashmiri pandita named Candranatha (Tibetan Zla ba mgon po, pron. Dawa Gompo). The name of the sect was derived from its head monastery, the Jo nang (Chonang) (about 160 km/100 mi northwest of Xigaze), which was founded by Phyogs las rnam rgyal (pron. Chhoklè Namgyel), (1306-1386). The sect placed its major emphasis on the Kalacakra Tantra. Its best known lama was Kun dga' snying po (pron. Künga Nyingpo), better known as Taranatha (born in 1575), the author of the History of Buddhism in India (described in Chapter 3).

3. KAGYU-PA

The bKa' brgyud pa (pron. Kagyü-pa) are the "command lineage," where bKa' (pron. ka, meaning "speech") refers to the oral instructions of the guru to his pupil, this relationship of the two being of special importance in this order, and described as the relationship of a spiritual father and son. The spiritual lineage of the Kagyu-pa[6] usually begins with the Adi-Buddha under the name of Vajradhara (Tibetan rDo rje 'chang, pron. Dorje Chhang), or sometimes it begins with the Heruka or tutelary deity (yidam) Cakrasamvara (Tibetan 'Khor lo bDe mchog, pron. Khorlo Demchhok) together with his dakini consort Vajrayogini (Tibetan rDo rje phag mo, pron. Dorje Phakmo).

Tilopa and Naropa

On the human level the lineage continues with the names of Tilopa (988-1069), Naropa (1016-1100), and Marpa (1012-1097). Tilopa was a famous Bengali Mahasiddha, to whom Naropa came as a pupil. The life of Naropa is related in a Tibetan biography of the late twelfth century.[7] As there told, Naropa was born in Bengal, went at the age of eleven to Kashmir to study, was married for some years, afterward lived and wrote at Phullahari near Nalanda, then joined the university at Nalanda where he was elected abbot (*upadhyaya*), but went off to find his personal guru in Tilopa, with whom he stayed for a dozen years. Tilopa subjected Naropa to severe disciplines, initiated him into the mysteries of the Cakrasamvara and Kalacakra Tantras, communicated to him the yogic system of the Mahamudra (Tibetan Phyag rgya chen mo, pron. Chhakgya chhenmo), which Tilopa had received from Dorje Chang, and taught Naropa six major topics (chos drug): mystic heat (gtum mo, pron. tummo); illusory body (sgyu lus); dream state (rmi lam); radiant light ('od gsal, pron. ösel); transference of consciousness ('pho ba); and the after-death state (bar do, pron. bardo).

Marpa Milarepa, and Gampopa

In turn the Tibetan Mar pa Chos kyi blo gros (pron. Marpa Chhökyi Lodrö), or Marpa for short, after earlier study with Drokmi, came as a pupil to Naropa, who was then himself a great mahasiddha and teaching at Phullahari. In all Marpa visited India three times and stayed with Naropa more than sixteen years, under whom he studied the Guhyasamaja Tantra, the Hevajra Tantra, "and the essence of all, Mahamudra [the Great Seal or Great Symbol]." From another mahasiddha named Maitripa, Marpa also received the tradition of composing the *doha*, a type of verse or song spontaneously made up by tantric practitioners as the direct expression of their personal feelings and realizations. This tradition Marpa later transmitted to his disciple Milarepa, who became Tibet's probably most famous yogin and poet.

Returning to Tibet, in the manner of the mahasiddha for whom many different lifestyles were equally acceptable, Marpa chose to live the life of an ordinary householder, with a wife and spiritual companion whom he married at the age of forty-two, and whom he

called Nairatmya (the consort of Hevajra). In line with his householder's manner of life, Marpa made it a point to be out plowing his fields when Milarepa first came looking for him. Yet Marpa also did a large work as collector and translator of texts, and in the composition of *dohas*. Above all he brought back to Tibet the "six topics of Naropa," and transmitted these to Milarepa as Milarepa did to his disciple Gampopa and to others. Thus Marpa "kindled the lamp of the Buddhist doctrine in the snowland of Tibet."[8]

The life of Marpa's disciple Mi la ras pa (pron. Milarêpa) (1040-1123) is narrated in a biography called the Mila Khabum, which was written by Milarepa's disciple Ras chung (pron. Rechung) (1084-1161), and Milarepa himself was the composer of many poems, one collection of which is called the Mila Grabum or Hundred Thousand Songs of Milarepa.[9] Under Marpa, Milarepa studied and was subjected to severe discipline, including the labor of building and repeatedly rebuilding the nine-story stone tower of Sras mkhar dgu thog (pron. Sekharguthok) which still stands in Lho brag (Southern Tibet). He persevered, however, in spite of everything, and was also often encouraged and sustained by the kindness of Marpa's wife, Nairatmya. Later Milarepa learned that in his absence his widowed mother and family had been enslaved by an evil uncle, and he went and took revenge by magical means. After that he turned to the life of a wandering yogin, and lived in many solitary places. By virtue of the inner mystic heat (gtum mo, pron. tummo) he was able to endure the coldest weather in only cotton clothing, hence his familiar name, Milarepa, "the cotton-clad Mila." Dwelling at Mount Kailasa and Lake Manasarovara, which were holy places of the Bon-po, he overcame them in magic contests and took possession in the name of Buddhism. Delighting in the surroundings of Nature, he sang of the mountain, blanketed with snow, as symbolizing the pure, white Buddhist doctrine, and the streams, flowing into the blue lake, as symbolizing deliverance to the realm of the Absolute.[10]

The chief disciple and successor of Milarepa was originally known as Dwags po lha rje (pron. Takpo Lha-je), i.e., Lha-je of the Takpo district in Eastern Tibet, but later, from the name of his hermitage and also as being a reincarnation of King Songtsen Gampo, he was called sGam po pa (pron. Gampopa), i.e., "the man of Gampo" (1079-1153). In his earlier life Gampopa learned medicine, married the daughter of a local chieftain, and had children but, after his

wife, son, and daughter all died of a pestilence, he became a monk of the Kadam-pa order. At the age of thirty-two he heard from three beggars of Milarepa, and made a long journey to find him and become his disciple. Under Milarepa Gampopa received the initiation of a *vajra-guru* and was ordained as a fully-qualified teacher of Tantra.[11] Gampopa was the author of a number of works, notably The Jewel Ornament of Liberation,[12] and The Precious Rosary.[13]

Together the Indian Tilopa and Naropa and the Tibetan Marpa, Milarepa, and Gampopa were the major teachers in the development of the Kagyu-pa school, and Gampopa is considered the founder in particular of the Kagyu-pa as a monastic order. The Kagyupa are not, however, a single monastic order but rather a whole group of suborders, each a part of the larger school but each with its own special emphasis and its own head monastery. Of these suborders we may name seven which arose in the latter half of the twelfth and in the thirteenth centuries, three which are known as "great" which arose through the work of Gampopa's three greatest immediate successors (Tusum Chenpa, Phakmotru-pa and Takpo Gomtsul), and four which are "lesser" which arose through the work of four of Phakmotru-pa's disciples.[14]

(i) *Karma Tusum Chenpa and the Karma-pa Suborder*

The Kagyu-pa suborder called the Kar ma pa (Karma-pa) was founded by Chos 'dzin dge 'phel Dus gsum mkhyen pa (pron. Chhöndzin Gemphel Tüsum Chhenpa), also known as Kar ma Dus gsum mkhyen pa (pron. Karma Tüsum Chhenpa) (1110-1193). He was born in Kham (Eastern Tibet), and became one of the earliest and most devoted disciples of Gampopa. In 1147, a few years before the death of Gampopa (1153), he founded the monastery of Kar ma gDan sa (pron. Karma Densa) in Kham, from which the sect took its name, and in 1189 he also founded what became the sect's even more important monastery of mTshur phu (pron. Tshurphu) (80 km/50 mi west-northwest of Lhasa).

Succession by Reincarnation: It was in the Karma-pa that the system of succession to leadership by reincarnation arose. At the time of his death in 1193 the founder, Karma Tusum Chenpa, prophesied his future rebirth, and this reincarnation was later recognized in Kar ma Pa kshi (pron. Karma Pakshi) (1206-1283). Thus a series

of incarnate head teachers of the suborder was instituted, and each had the title rGyal ba (pron. Gyelwa), meaning "victor" (the equivalent of Sanskrit *jina*). Thus Karma Tusum Chenpa became the First Gyelwa Karma-pa, Karma Pakshi the Second Gyelwa Karma-pa, and so on.

Black Hats and Red Hats: The First Gyelwa Karma-pa, Karma Tusum Chenpa, is said to have made for himself a crown or diadem (cod pan) out of the dark hair of a dakini and, because of this headdress. he was called "black hat" (zhwa nag, pron. shanak). When a division arose of the Karma-pa into two branches, his followers were all known as the "black hats," while the followers of a second series of incarnate lamas were from their differently colored headgear known as the "red hats" (zhwa dmar, pron. shamar). From this beginning it eventually became the popular but not entirely proper practice to call the members of all the earlier orders "red hats," in distinction from the members of the later Geluk-pa as "yellow hats" (zhwa ser, pron. shaser).[15]

Of the later personages in the lineage, the Eighth Gyelwa Karma-pa, named Mi bskyod rdo rje (pron. Mikyö Dorje) (1507-1554), was notable as the first compiler and editor of the work known in the short form of its title as The Ocean of Songs of the Kagyus (bKa' brgyud mgur mtsho, pron. Kagyü Gurtso). The work is based upon a series of visions of Mikyo Dorje which began in his thirty-second year, and it constitutes a large collection of songs (*dohas*) attributed to persons in the Kagyu-pa lineage as far back as the mahasiddha Tilopa (988-1069), the first guru in the lineage. After the time of Mikyo Dorje more songs were added, and the entire collection constitutes a valuable manual for use in the rituals of the Kagyu-pa as well as for individual study and use. Many of the songs present a view of the way to enlightenment which combines the gradual stage-by-stage progress of the Mahayana with the sudden realization of the *mahamudra* in the Vajrayana.[16]

The Tenth Gyelwa Karma-pa, named Chos dbyings rdo rje (pron. Chhöying Dorje) (1604-1674), lived in the time when, under the leadership of the Fifth Dalai Lama (1617-1682) and supported by the Mongol Gušri Khan, the Geluk-pa were gaining political supremacy in Tibet but were opposed by the local Tibetan kings of Tsang. Upon an occasion when Gušri Khan threatened invasion, Choying Dorje was instrumental in preventing such an incursion, although such inva-

sions occurred later. Choying Dorje was also helpful in reconciliation between the Kagyu-pa and the Geluk-pa, and was the recipient of honors from the Dalai Lama. On the whole, however, Choying Dorje endeavored to stay apart from the military and political struggles, traveled a great deal including pilgrimages to places where Milarepa had studied and practiced, and was himself known as a painter of tankas and religious murals.

The Sixteenth Gyelwa Karma-pa, named Rang byung rig pa'i, rdo rje (pron. Rangjung Rikpe Dorje), was born in 1924, during the Chinese Communist takeover of Tibet administered the affairs of the Karma-pa from residence in the Rumtek monastery in Sikkim, and died in a hospital in Chicago in the United States of America on November 5, 1981.

(ii) *Phakmotru-pa Suborder*

The Phag mo gru pa (pron. Phakmotru-pa) suborder of the Kagyu-pa was founded by 'Gro mgon Phag mo gru pa (pron. Dromgön Phakmotru-pa) (1110-1170). After earlier study with teachers of other orders including the Sakya-pa and the Kadam-pa, Phakmotru-pa came late in his own life to Gampopa and felt that only then he gained truly deep insight. In 1158, a few years after the death of Gampopa (1153), Phakmotru-pa founded the monastery of *mThel* (pron. Thil), as the head monastery (gDan sa Thel, pron. Densa Thil) of his sect (96 km/60 mi southeast of Lhasa in the valley of the Yarlung Tsangpo). At first the monastery consisted of only the grass hut in which Phakmotru-pa himself lived, surrounded by the huts of his followers. Later, however, with the support of a noble family named rLangs (pron. Lang) the monastery became powerful and wealthy, and in memory of its origin and its founder the original hut of Phakmotru-pa was built into the chief monastery temple. In the fourteenth century and notably under a member of the Lang family named Byang chub rgyal mishan (pron. Changchup Gyentsen) (1302-1373) the Phakmotru-pa suborder supplanted the Sakya-pa in political supremacy in Tibet.[17]

(iii) *Shang Rimpoche and the Tshal-pa Suborder*

The mTshal pa (pron. Tshel-pa). suborder of the Kagyu-pa was founded by Gampopa's nephew Dwags po sgom tshul (pron. Takpo

Gomtsül) (1116-1169) through his disciple Brtson 'grus grags pa (pron. Tsöndru Trakpa), also known as Zhang rin po che (pron. Shang Rimpochê) (1123-1193), the latter being the one who in 1175 founded the main monastery of the sect. This monastery was the Gung thang (pron. Kungthang) (32 km/20 mi east of Lhasa, south of the Kyi Chu) in the mTshal (pron. Tshal) district from which the suborder derived its name. The Tshal-pa were long in rivalry with the Sakya-pa. In 1207 when the envoys of Genghis Khan demanded the submission of Tibet to the Mongol conqueror, it was the abbot of Tshal who negotiated the surrender.

(iv) *Jigten Gompo and the Drigung-pa Suborder*

The 'Bri gung pa (pron. Drigung-pa) suborder of the Kagyu-pa looks to Phakmotru-pa's pupil 'Jig rten mgon po (pron. Jigten Gönpo), (1143-1217) as its founder. Although the establishment had a small beginning already in 1167 under Mi nyag sGom rin (pron. Minyak Gomrin), it was in 1179 that Jigten Gompo definitively established the 'Bri gung (Drigung) monastery (128 km/80 mi northeast of Lhasa) from which the sect took its name. Jigten Gompo was also himself known as 'Bri gung rin po che (pron. Drigung Rimpochê). Like the Tshal-pa, the Drigung-pa were long rivals of the Sakya-pa.

(v) *Ling Repa Pema Dorje and the Druk-pa Suborder*

The 'Brung pa (pron. Druk-pa) suborder of the Kagyu-pa was founded by the student of Phakmotru-pa named gLing ras pa Pad ma rdo rje (pron. Ling Rêpa Pema Dorje) (1128-1188). In about 1180 his disciple gTsang pa rgya ras pa (pron. Tsangpa Gyarêpa) (1161-1211) founded the main monastery of *Rwa lung* (pron. Relung, in this book spelled Ralung) (48 km/30 mi southeast of Gyangze) and the monastery of 'Brug (pron. Druk) (64 km/40 mi southwest of Lhasa), the latter the monastery from which the sect took its name. The legend is that the latter monastery received its name because a clap of thunder was heard at its founding (in Tibetan the word 'brug means "thunder)".

Padma Karpo: A later very famous scholar of the Druk-pa, considered the twenty-fourth guru in a direct line of succession from Marpa,

was Pad ma dkar po or Kun mkhyen Pad ma dkar po (pron. Pema Karpo or Künkhyen Pema Karpo, meaning White Lotus or Omniscient White Lotus) (1527–1592). His retreat center was at a place called the Essence of Perfection (Byang chub snying po, pron Changchup Nying-po) in the southern mountains of mKhar chu (pron. Khar-chu), in the southern part of Tibet (in the district of Lho brag, due south of Lhasa) and adjoining the eastern corner of Bhutan, from where he was inffuential in the introduction of the Druk-pa into Bhutan. He was a poet and the author of works on astrology, medicine, philosophy, and other subjects, and most importantly of a religious history (chos 'byung) called The Sun which Causes the Lotus of the Teaching to Open dealing chiefly with the Druk-pa sect, and of an epitome of the long handed-down teachings of the *mahamudrā*, the Great Seal or Great Symbol, which has always continued to be fundamental in the philosophy and yogic practice of the entire Kagyu-pa.[18]

The Druk-pa in Bhutan and Ladakh: After the death of Padma Karpo the Druk-pa community was divided by a conflict between two leaders at the Ralung monastery. One was dPag bsam dbang po (pron. Paksam Wangpo) (1593–1641), and he became the next incarnate head of Ralung, while the other was Nag dbang rnam rgyal (pron. Nakwang Namgyal), and he, as the loser in the confrontation, withdrew to Bhutan. In Bhutan Nakwang Namgyal continued the influence of the Druk-pa already initiated by Padma Karpo, and was able to displace some forms of the Nyingma-pa and establish the supremacy of the Druk-pa not only in spiritual but also in temporal affairs, himself being recognized by the Bhutanese as their first Dharma Raja (divine king). In fact Bhutan itself took its name (in Tibetan 'Brug yul, pron. Drukyul, meaning thunder dragon) from the name of the order. This supremacy of the Druk-pa was continued under a succession of reincarnate lamas and their regents, until replaced on the temporal side in the early twentieth century by a hereditary line of secular kings of Bhutan.

A supporter of Paksam Wangpo was sTag tshang ras pa (pron. Taktshang Rèpa) (1574–1651), a scion of the Khon family in the Sakya-pa lineage, but himself a very important member of the Druk-pa. Taktshang Repa became a pupil of Lha rtse ba Nag dbang bzang po (pron. Lhatŝeba Wang Sangpo) (1546-1615), the incarnate lama of the bDe chen chos 'khor (pron. Dechen Chökhor, meaning "great bliss wheel of *dharma*) Druk-pa monastery in Central Tibet.

Lhatseba Wang Sangpo was himself much interested in Western Tibet, and he commissioned Taktshang Repa to spread the Druk-pa teachings in the West. Throughout the rest of his life Taktshang Repa gave his efforts to this task, and it was through his work that in Ladakh in particular the Druk-pa gained its great prominence, where the famous Hemis and other monasteries belong to this order.[19]

(vi) *Taklung Trashipel and the Taklung-pa Suborder*

The sTag lung pa (pron. Taklung-pa) suborder of the Kagyu-pa and its main monastery at sTag lung (pron. Taklung, meaning "tiger valley") (51 km/32 mi north of Lhasa) were founded in 1185 by a student of Phakmotru-pa known as sTag lung bKra shis dpel (pron. Taklung Trashipel (1142–1210)).

(vii) *Rimpoche Gyatsha and the Trhophu-pa Suborder*

The Khor phu pa (pron. Trhophu-pa) suborder of the Kagyu-pa and its monastery called Khro phu (pron. Trhophu) were founded by Phakmotru-pa's disciple known as Rin po che rGya tsha (pron. Rimpochê Gyatsha) (1118–1195).

Buston and the Shalu-pa: The famous translator and historian Bu ston (pron. Püton) was originally an adherent of the Trhophu-pa, but later resided and worked at the Zha lu (pron. Shalu) monastery (on the left bank of the Nyang Chu, 19 km/12 mi southeast of Xigaze). With its name taken from this place or from the name of their master, the followers of Buston formed the order called the Zha lu pa (pron. Shalu-pa), and also from the name of Bu ston known as the Bu lugs pa (pron. Puluk-pa) or for short the Bu pa (pron. Pu-pa).

4. KADAM-PA, NEW KADAM-PA, AND GELUK-PA

The bKa' gdams pa (pron. Kadam-pa) constitute the order "bound by command," and they developed into the gsar ma bKa' gdams pa (pron. Sarma Kadam-pa) or New Kadam-pa, also and best known as the dGe lugs pa (pron. Geluk-pa) or order of the "model of virtue" which, in distinction from the "red hat" (zhwa dmar, pron. shamar)

orders, is popularly known as the "yellow hat" (zhwa ser, pron. shaser) order.

Atiśa and Drom

In spiritual lineage the Kadam-pa derive from Atiśa, and his *Bodhipathapradipa* or Lamp for the Way of Enlightenment is a basic text of the school.[20] The actual foundation of the order was the work of 'Brom ston rGyal ba'i 'byung gnas (pron. Dromtön Gyelwè Jungnè) or 'Brom (pron. Drom) for short (1005–1064), the Tibetan lay disciple (*upasaka*, Tibetan dge bsnyen, pron. genyen) who, when Atiśa had worked in Western Tibet for three years and was about to return to India, persuaded him instead to come on to Central Tibet, where Atiśa worked for the remainder of his life.

In 1054 when Atiśa was approaching death at sNye thang (pron. Nethang) near Lhasa, he said to Drom as his closest disciple: "You should build a small monastery, and I shall entrust my teaching to you. Keep it !" Drom replied: "In general, I am unfit to do it, and in particular, I am only an *upasaka* unable to perform great works." Atiśa said: "Do the work according to my instructions! I shall bless you. Do not despair!"[21]

In obedience to the command of his master, Drom first built a monastery at Nethang and then (in 1056) a monastery at Rwa sgrengs (pron. Reting) (90 km/56 mi north of Lhasa), where he lived and taught for nine years until his death in 1064 at the age of sixty. During his lifetime not more than sixty "meditative ascetics" resided permanently at Reting, but they formed the nucleus of the Kadampa, with Reting continuing as its main monastery. Drom, it is said, taught the Doctrine with reference to the Four Noble Truths and, although he was very learned in the Tantras as well as the Sutras, he kept the Vajrayanic doctrine secret and did not teach it extensively. It was however, because the school believed and preached that the individual should practice the entire teaching of the Buddha (Sutra and Tantra) that they were called the Kadam-pa. Thus the components of the name bKa' gdams (pron. Kadam) may be understood in the sense that bKa' (pron. ka) or "speech" signifies the words of the Buddha, and gdams (pron. dam) means the "teaching" of all of those words.

After Drom several of the masters of his school were designated by the term yogin (Tibetan rnal 'byor pa, pron. nalchorpa) and, of

these, rNal 'byor pa chen po (pron. Nalchor Chenpo) (1015–1078) acted as abbot (*upadhyaya*) of Reting for fourteen years (1065–1078), during which time he was able to expand the monastery construction. He was succeeded by 'Dzeng dBang phyug rgyal mtshan (pron. Shenwangchhuk Gyentsen) (1016–1082), who was reputed to have great supernatural powers, and was abbot of Reting for five years (from 1078). Later there was a time when there was no abbot at Reting, and it was said that there was religious hunger at Reting. Again other persons had the post, and there were also those of the order who founded other monasteries. Among these were Po to pa Rin chen gsal (pron. Potopa Rinchhen Sel) (died 1105) who, after the death of Drom practiced meditation until the age of fifty, then preached the Doctrine, was abbot of Reting for three years, and in later life built the Po to (Poto) monastery in 'Phan yul (pron. Phenyül, a region north of Lhasa) and resided there; and gTum ston bLo gros grags pa (pron. Tumston Lotrö Trakpa), who founded the monastery of sNar thang (pron. Narthang) in 1153, and spent fourteen years there.[23]

Tsongkhapa

Of all the personages in the Kadam-pa lineage the most famous is Tsong kha pa bLo gros grags pa (pron. Tsongkhapa Lotrö Trakpa) (1357-1419), also known as rJe Rin po che (pron. Je Rimpochè) or the Precious Ruler.[24] As his name reflects, Tsongkhapa (Zongkaba in official Chinese transcription) was born in the district of Tsong kha (Tsongkha), meaning Onion Valley, in the vicinity of Lake Kokonor (Qinghai Hu) in Amdo (Northeastern Tibet), where in 1578 the sKu 'bum (pron. Kumbum) monastery was founded at his birthplace. At a very early age he received a consecration from Rol pa'i rDo rje (pron. Rolpe Dorje), who was the Fourth Gyelwa Karmapa (1340-1383), and as a boy of eight he received a further consecration and an introduction to the disciplinary rules (*pratimoksha*, Tibetan so sor) of the Vinaya, and to the Tantra, from a great *kalyanamitra* (spiritual friend) named Don grub rin chen (pron. Töntrup Rinchhen), who also gave him the monastic name of bLo bzang grags pa (pron. Lopsang Trakpa), in Sanskrit Sumatikirti.

At the age of sixteen Tsongkhapa went to Central Tibet and for many years studied with famous teachers of the Nyingma-pa Sakya-pa, Jonang-pa, Kagyu-pa, Tshal-pa, Phakmotru-pa, Shalu-pa, and

Kadam-pa. Especially influential were the Nyingma-pa Las kyi rDo rje (pron. Lèkyi Dorje), the Sakya-pa Red mda' pa (pron. Reddapa) who was a disciple of the Sakya-pa teacher Rongston Rawe Seng-ge (named above), and the Kadam-pa lamas Chos skyabs bzang po (pron. Chhökyap Sangpo) and dBu ma pa (pron. Buma-pa), the last two being those who especially introduced him to the traditions derived from Atiśa. The lama Buma-pa was also said to have brought Tsongkhapa into mystic communication with the Bodhisattva Manjuśri (Tibetan 'Jam dbyangs, pron. Jamyang), to whom Tsongkhapa turned for guidance at various points in his life. Tsongkhapa himself was also regarded as an incarnation of Manjuśri.

Ganden

At the age of twenty-five Tsongkhapa was ordained a full monk, and at the age of forty he joined the Kadam-pa monastery at Reting, where much of his own writing was done. At the age of fifty-three, in the year 1409, he inaugurated at the Jokhang temple in Lhasa the annual New Year festival called the Great Vow (sMon lam chen mo, pron. Monlam Chenmo), which was continued there until 1959. In the same year 1409 Tsongkhapa founded his own monastery, called Ri bo dGa' ldan (pron. Ribo Ganden), meaning "joyous mountain" (in Tibetan ri bo means mountain) and commonly known as Ganden (joyous), and here he became the head of his own order. From the name of the monastery the order was first known as the Ribo Ganden-pa, from its derivation from the tradition of Atiśa and Drom it was called the New Kadam-pa, and from its strictness in monastic discipline it was called the Geluk-pa or Model of Virtue, its best known name.

From the fact of Tsongkhapa's earlier studies across such a wide spectrum of monastic schools as indicated above, it seems evident that, although the several orders had their special emphases and also even conflicts in political relationships, in the basic structure of their beliefs they were all much the same. Thus, for example, in his own personal devotion Tsongkhapa was a votary of Tara (Tibetan sGrol ma, pron. Drölma), and she was the most prominent of the tantric goddesses not only in the Kadam-pa (where she was the tutelary deity of Atiśa), but also in the Sakya-pa (where her mantra is in the Hevajra Tantra), and in the Kagyu-pa (where Gampopa was her devotee). Likewise Tsongkhapa studied the major Tantras (Guh-

yasamaja, Samvara, Hevajra, Kalacakra), which were common property among the several orders, and himself received various tantric initiations and wrote tantric commentaries.

In the supervision of his order Tsongkhapa laid great weight upon compliance with the disciplinary rules of the Vinaya, re-introduced the prohibition of intoxicating liquors, and insisted on strict observance of celibacy by the members of the order. He likewise demanded serious doctrinal studies, and established a regular curriculum for the attainment of the advanced monastic degree, comparable to a doctorate, of dge bshes (pron. geshe).

In his literary work Tsongkhapa wrote several hundred treatises. Of these the two most important are the Byang chub lam rim chen mo (pron. Changchup Lamrim Chhenmo) or Great Way of Enlightenment, based on Atiśa's Lamp for the Way of Enlightenment, and the sNgags rim chen mo (pron. Ngakrim Chhenmo) or Great Way of Tantra, while other works were on the Prajnaparamita philosophy, on the "six topics of Naropa," etc.[25]

Prior to his death at Ganden in 1419 at the age of sixty-three, Tsongkhapa bestowed his hat and cloak upon his pupil rGyal tshab Dar ma rin chen (pron. Gyeltshab Darma Rinchhen), thus appointing him his successor as the abbot of the monastery and the head of the order. Next in the same succession was Tsongkhapa's younger pupil and his chief student in tantric studies, the already often mentioned mKhas grub rje (pron. Khê-trup Jê) (1385–1438), who was abbot of Ganden and leader of the sect from 1431 to 1438.

Of other personal disciples of Tsongkhapa, the best known are 'Jam dbyangs chos rje (pron. Jamyang Chö-je), (1397–1449), Byams chen chose rje (pron. Chamchen Chhö-je, and Tsongkhapa's own nephew, dGe 'dun grub (pron. Gendüntrup) (1391–1475).

Drepung and Sera

In 1416 Jamyang Cho-je founded the monastery of 'Bras spungs (pron. Drepung) (10 km/6 mi west of Lhasa), and became its first abbot. The name of the monastery was derived from Śri Dhanyakataka (Tibetan dPal ldan 'Bras spungs) in South India where the Buddha taught the esoteric doctrine of the Kalacakra Tantra.

In 1419 Chamchen Cho-je founded the monastery of Se ra (pron. Sera), this name being explained as literally the site of an enclosure of roses.

Genduntrup and Trashilhunpo

After the death of Khe-trup Je in 1438, Genduntrup succeeded him as the head of the order and, 1447, Genduntrup founded the monastery of bKra shis lhun po (pron. Trashilhunpo) near Xigaze, where he served as abbot until his own death in 1475. In time (as will be seen more fully in Chapter 9), Genduntrup was retroactively recognized as the First Dalai Lama, and Drepung became the residence of the early Dalai Lamas, while Trashilhunpo became the residence of the Panchen Lamas.

9

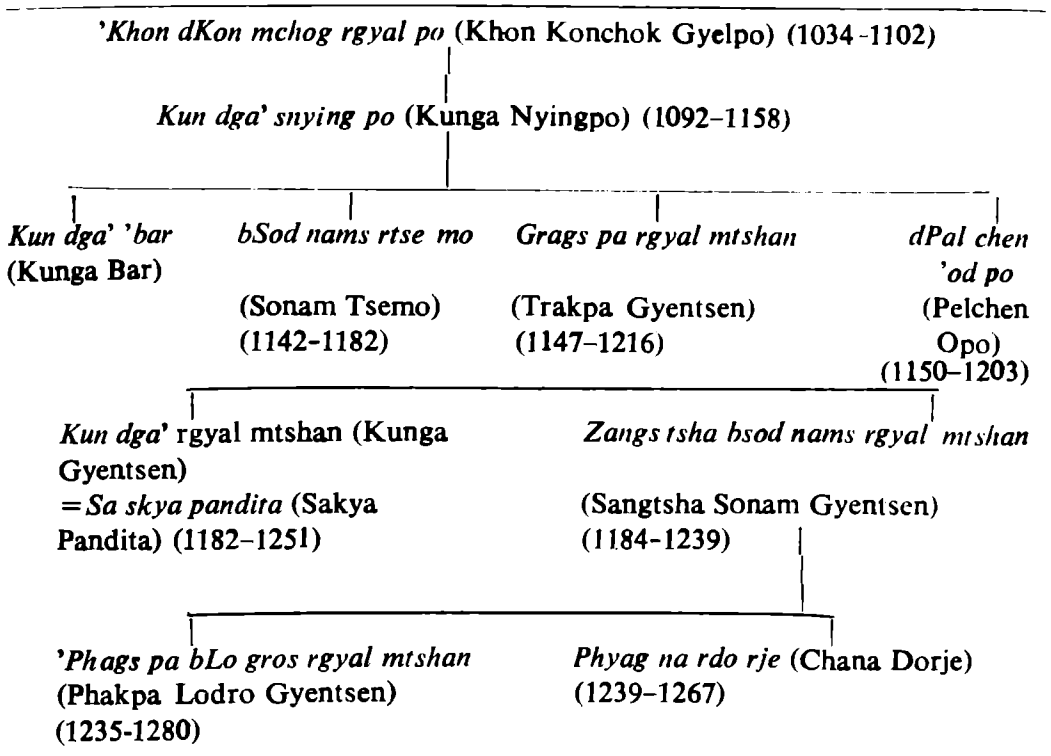
Later History of Tibet

WITH the establishment of the several orders and suborders of Tibetan Buddhism and their great monasteries, these monastic organizations and their heads gained economic and political power as well as religious significance, and in various parts of the country were variously allied with the landed aristocracy or even replaced the hereditary feudal nobility in importance. Under the circumstances there naturally also arose rivalries among the several groups. In the thirteenth century it was the Sakya-pa who gained the ascendancy and came to exercise a measure of political control as well as of spiritual leadership over the whole country which endured until the middle of the fourteenth century. Of the events which transpired and of the persons who figured in these events accounts are given in the Tibetan Red Annals, Blue Annals, and New Red Annals, and the Mongolian Bejewelled Summary of the Origin of Khans (all described above in Chapter 3).[1]

SAKYA-PA PERIOD

It has already been noted (in Chapter 8) that it was a member of the princely 'Khon (pron. Khön) family named dKon mchog rgyal po (pron. Könchok Gyelpo) (1034–1102) who in 1073 founded the monastery of Sa skya (pron. Sakya) from which, as its central establishment and seat of power (gdan sa, pron. densa), the Sa skya pa (Sakya-pa) order took its name; while Konchok Gyelpo also later married and had a son, Kun dga' snying po (pron. Künga Nyingpo), also called Sa chen (Sachen) (1092–1156) through whom the family line continued (as outlined in Table 3).

Table 3. Family Relationships of Sakya Pandita



Kunga Nyingpo (Sachen) in turn had four sons. The oldest, Kun dga' 'bar (pron. Künga Bar), went to India seeking religious instruction and died there. The next two, bSod nams rtse mo (pron. Sönam Tsemo) (1142–1182), and Grags pa rgyal mtshan (pron. Trakpa Gyentsen) (1147–1216), probably also devoted themselves to religion, and it was through the fourth and youngest, dPal chen 'od po (pron. Pelchen Öpo) (1150-1203), that the family line was continued. Pelchen Opo had two sons, Kun dga' rgyal mtshan (pron. Künga Gyentsen) (1182-1251) and Zangs tsha bsod nams rgyal mtshan (pron. Sangtsha Sönam Gyentsen), called Zangs tsha (pron. Sangtsha) for short (1184–1239). Here too the older son, Kunga Gyentsen, entered the religious life and eventually became the abbot of Sakya, attaining such a reputation that he was simply known as Sa skya pandita (pron. Sakya Pandita, meaning "the learned Sakya scholar"); while the younger son, Sangtsha Sonam Gyentsen, succeeded the father as the leading prince of the Sakya-pa. Sangtsha had five wives and seven children, of whom the most famous were the two sons, 'Phags pa bLo gros rgyal mtshan (pron. Phakpa Lodrö Gyentsen), usually known simply as 'Phags pa (Phakpa) (1235–1280), and Phyag na rdo rje (pron. Chhana Dorje) (1239–1267).

At the point of present concern it was Sakya Pandita and his two nephews, Phakpa and Chana Dorje, who played the chief roles, and this was in relation to Mongolia.

THE MONGOL CONNECTION

In the time of the emperor Aśoka (reigned 269-232 BCE) and following upon the Third Buddhist Council (concluded in 252 BCE) Buddhist missionaries went out in many directions and, in particular, a certain Majjhantika and other Elders went to Gandhara and Kashmir.[2] From there the doctrine was carried further on the trade routes over the Himalaya, the Karakoram, and the Hindu Kush into Central Asia, where Iranian peoples such as the Sogdians and the Śakas were converted from earlier Zoroastrian affiliation to Buddhism. The Sogdians were then notably active missionaries and spread Buddhism among neighboring peoples, especially among the Indo-European Tokharians and the Turkic Uygurs and, in turn, these peoples carried the doctrine among the Mongols. Tokharian influence may also be supposed in Tibet, for the mother of the famous Buddhist king Songtsen Gampo (died 649 CE) was a Tokharian princess 'Bri sa thod dkar (called Eke Samri Dugar in the Bejewelled Summary of the Origin of Khans), and in later time, in particular in the thirteenth and the sixteenth centuries, it was most importantly from Tibet that Buddhism was promulgated in Mongolia (as will be seen in what immediately follows).[3]

What happened was this. The Mongol chieftain Genghis (Cinggis in Mongolian) Khan (1162–1227), after preliminary victories over various tribes, was enthroned in the year 1206 as the ruler of a Mongol empire. Like many of his people Genghis Khan was still essentially a shamanist, but he treated the religions of the peoples he conquered with respect, and in his time not only did the Buddhist missionary activity from the west probably continue successfully but there was now also contact with Tibetan Buddhism. This came about in the first instance for political reasons. In the year after his enthronement as emperor Genghis Khan sent his military forces into the region of Amdo in the Northeast of Tibet. In order to halt the invaders' advance, a delegation of religious and secular authorities from the mTshal (pron. Tshel) monastery of the Kagyu-pa (which was located in the direction from which the invasion was coming) went out and offered submission and promised the payment

of tribute. Evidently having some knowledge of the importance of the Sakya-pa, Genghis Khan also sent an invitation to Sakya Pandita to come to see him, but this meeting did not materialize.

After a meteoric career Genghis Khan died (1227) and was succeeded as great khan in turn by his son Ogodai (1229), by Kuyuk (1246) son of Ogodai, and by Mangu (1252) and Kublai (1260-1294), both of the last being sons of Tuluy the youngest son of Genghis Khan.

In the time of the supreme rule of Ogodai and also of Kuyuk, Godan, who was Ogodai's second son, Kuyuk's younger brother, and Genghis Khan's grandson, was the governor of the province of Gansu. In 1240, when the Tibetans failed to pay the tribute they had promised to Genghis Khan, Godan sent his armies into Tibet nearly as far as to Kadam-pa monastery at Rwa sgrengs (pron. Reting), and thus to within 80 km/50 mi of Lhasa.

SAKYA PANDITA AND GODAN

By this time, with the death of his brother Sangtsha in the preceding year (1239), Sakya Pandita was not only the abbot of Sakya but also necessarily the guardian of Sangtsha's two very young sons and heirs and his own nephews, Phakpa (born in 1235) and Chana Dorje (born in 1239), and was thus himself not only a leading religious figure in Tibet but at the same time the representative of the political authority of the Sakya-pa. As such Sakya Pandita received in 1244 an invitation which amounted to a summons to the court of Godan at Lanzhou.

As cited in the New Red Annals, the letter of summons from Godan to Sakya Pandita began: "Order of myself, the king, exalted on account of his merits, increased by the power of the immortal Heaven, to the Sa skya pandita of Tibet Kun dga' rgyal mtshan," and then as quoted in several Tibetan texts the letter expressed Godan's wish to have a spiritual teacher come, acknowledged Sakya Pandita's undoubted desire to multiply benefits for the doctrine and for the all living beings, and urged him to come without regard for the difficulties of the journey, also not neglecting to intimate that if he did not come of his own accord force would be applied to bring him.[4]

According to the Red Annals and the Bejewelled Summary of the Origin of Khans, Godan was led to ask for the presence of Sakya

Pandita because he himself suffered from an illness for which no aid had availed, and was told of the wisdom of Sakya Pandita from whom he might hope for help. Likewise on his side Sakya Pandita was said to have been influenced by a prophecy by his uncle Trakpa Gyentsen who had foretold that at a later time from the North, a man whose language was different, and who wore a hat which looks like a falcon flying and shoes like the snout of a pig, would issue an invitation and render service to the teaching. So, thinking that the time had come for the fulfillment of the prophecy, Sakya Pandita went to the North and was able both to accomplish the healing of Godan and to disseminate the Buddhist religion throughout Mongolian territory.[5]

At his departure for the North, Sakya Pandita was sixty-three years of age, and he was accompanied on the journey by his two nephews, Phakpa and Chana Dorje, then ten and six years of age respectively. They left Sakya in 1244 were in Central Tibe. in 1245, reached Lanzhou in 1246, and in 1247 met with Prince Godan who was just getting back from attendance at the coronation ceremony of the great khan Kuyuk in the preceding year.

From the court of Godan, Sakya Pandita wrote back a letter to "all who speak the Tibetan language," and in this he described the irresistible power of the Mongols and explained the tribute which the Tibetan would have to pay to them, but he also pictured Godan as taking a friendly interest in the Buddhist religion.[6] Sakya Pandita himself remained at the court for the few remaining years of his life, and died there in 1251 at the age of seventy. In addition to his work for the religion Sakya Pandita is also credited with devising an alphabet for the Mongolian language, this alphabet being based on that of the Uygurs rather than that of the Tibetans.

PHAKPA AND KUBLAI KHAN

In the same year (1251) that Sakya Pandita died, Godan also died, and in the Mongolian empire the spotlight now falls on the two brothers, Mangu and Kublai, also grandsons of Genghis Khan. In 1252 in succession to Kuyuk (who died prematurely in 1248 and was followed by his widow as regent for three years) Mangu became the great khan, while his brother Kublai was governor in the border regions between China and Tibet. In the further expansion of the Mongolian empire both Kublai and Mangu campaigned against

China, and when Mangu died in the field (1259) Kublai was elected as his successor (1260). As the great khan Kublai was able in the same year (1260) to establish one of his capitals at what is now Beijing; in 1270 he became the emperor of China and in 1271 gave his dynasty the Chinese name of Ta Yüan, "Great Origin;" and with the final conquest in 1279 of the Sung Dynasty (960-1279) he brought all of China under the Mongol rule which lasted for nearly one hundred years (Yuan Dynasty 1279-1368).

As for Phakpa Lodro Gyentsen, the older of the two nephews who came originally with Sakya Pandita to the court of Godan, at the death of his uncle (1251) he himself, then seventeen years of age, was the leading figure of the Sakya-pa and, from his nineteenth year (1253) on, was the personal chaplain of Prince Kublai. Kublai was evidently converted to Buddhism, and Phakpa conferred upon him the initiation of Hevajra (Tibetan Kye rdo rje, pron. Kyè Dorje), the patron deity of the Sakya-pa. In an edict of 1254 Kublai speaks of the trust he has come to have in the religious Law, in the Sakya-pa, and in the master Phakpa; in 1260 when he became great khan Kublai appointed Phakpa "national preceptor" (Chinese kuo-shih) and not much later "imperial preceptor" (Chinese ti-shih), these titles meaning that Phakpa was entrusted with the spiritual direction first of the state and then of the entire empire; and in an edict of 1264 Kublai again speaks of his own careful observance of the rules of the religious Law and of his recognition of the purity of the way of Śakyamuni Buddha, and refers to the initiation received from Phakpa, whom he speaks of as the master to whom he entrusted the oversight of all monks. As a reward for the initiation conferred upon him in the mysteries of Hevajra, Kublai Khan offered Phakpa the three regions (chol kha) of Tibet, and thus in fact granted him the temporal as well as the spiritual authority over the entire land. The Red Annals describe the relationship between Kublai (Qubilai) and Phakpa by saying that the two were associated with one another, the former as the patron in material matters (yon), the latter as the spiritual superior who receives the offering (mchod, pron. chhö) from the former. "Like the sun and the moon in the sky," say the New Red Annals, "so were these two, the chaplain and the patron on earth; so they were famous."[7]

Under Phakpa in worldly matters there was a regent (dpon chen) for the immediate government of Tibet, and the center of administration as well as the religious center was at Sakya. The three

regions were also divided into thirteen myriarchies (a myriarchy, Tibetan khri skor, was a unit of ten thousand into which the Mongols divided their populations), and each myriarchy was under a myriarch (khri dpon) who commanded his own military forces and was himself directly responsible to the regent.

The first regent (dpon chen) named for Tibet by Kublai Khan was none other than Phakpa's younger brother, Chana Dorje, who had grown up at the Mongolian court, adopted Mongolian dress, and married Mongolian wives (a daughter of Godan and a daughter of Kublai Khan) as well as a Tibetan one; but already in 1267 at the age of only twenty-nine, Chana Dorje died in Sakya (perhaps from poison, it may be suspected, because of his foreign relationships). The next regent was Sha kya bzang po (pron. Shakya Sangpo), under whom a census of the population was made, so that the government's orders could be carried out and the taxes easily collected. With the high standing of the Sakya-pa at this time there was some thought that the activities of other sects should be prohibited, but Phakpa is credited with having obtained an order that those who practiced religion in Tibet could attend each to his own sect.

In 1265 when he was thirty-one years of age Phakpa went back to Tibet, four years later he returned to China and remained there for seven years. One of his activities was the invention of a new alphabet for the Mongolian language, this one based upon the Tibetan characters, and Kublai Khan made this official in 1269, but in the long run it proved less satisfactory than the one originated by Sakya Pandita. In 1276, forty-two years of age, Phakpa went again to Sakya. There he held a great council, and there in 1280, at the age of forty-six, he died, (it being possible here too to suspect other than natural causes for his death on account of his relationship with the Mongols).

LATER HISTORY OF THE SAKYA-PA

For nearly seventy-five years after the death of Phakpa (1280) his successors, the high lamas of Sakya, a series nearly twenty in number, continued to serve as in effect the priest-kings of Tibet as well as the spiritual advisers of the Mongol emperors in China. The succession to the position of ti-shih (imperial preceptor) was, however, sometimes confused, and the authority of the Sakya-pa was by no means uncontested, and their relationship with the Yuan Dynasty

was opposed by nationalistic aspirations in the country. The Drigung-pa suborder of the Kagyu-pa, for example, were strong rivals for political influence, and this led to a destruction of the Drigung monastery by the Sakya-pa generals in 1290.

The Blue Annals sum up the period by saying: "By the grace of the Teacher 'Phags pa (Phakpa), the Sa skya pas (Sakya-pas) acted as overlords of dBus (U), gTsang (Tsang), and Khams (Kham). But later, because of internal feuds among their descendants, their Doctrine did not last for more than seventy-five years."[8] The larger factors which also contributed to the end of the Sakya-pa supremacy were the decline and fall of the Yuan Dynasty (1271–1368) in China, which had been the patron and protector of the sect, and the rise to power of a rival noble family in Tibet, namely, the *Phag mo gru pa* (Phakmotru-pa), who defeated the Sakya-pa in outright battle in 1354. In spite of the loss of their rule of the whole country, however, the Sakya-pa continued on into the twentieth century as an important monastic order and also a virtually autonomous political entity, centered in the town and territory of their chief monastery (Sa skya gdan sa, pron. Sakya Densa) and also in some ten other areas elsewhere in Tibet.[9]

PHAKMOTRU-PA PERIOD

The noble family which arose to challenge and supplant the Sakya-pa in both religious and political leadership was that of the rLangs (pron. Lang), also known as the Phag mo gru pa (pron. Phakmotru-pa), with the gDan sa Thel (pron. Densa Thil) monastery which Phakmotru-pa (1110–1170) founded in 1158 as the center of their power. Although they were originally of the Kagyu-pa, the family also had connections with the Kadam-pa and the Sakya-pa, and then revolted against the Sakya-pa.

CHANGCHUP GYENTSEN

The member of the Lang family who led the revolt and founded the political power of the Phakmotru-pa was Byang chub rgyal mtshan (pron. Changchup Gyentsen) (1302-1373). After many struggles with various rivals and enemies it was he who finally defeated the Sakya-pa in a decisive battle in 1354 and emerged as the effective ruler of the country. The revolt against the Sakya-pa also

amounted to a casting off of the foreign relationships of the country in which the Sakya--pa were involved through their chaplain/patron connection with the Yuan Dynasty emperors of China. Changchup Gyentsen maintained a tenuous relationship with the Yuan Dynasty during its last remaining years, but by 1358 the office of *ti-shih* ceased to exist. In 1368 the last emperor of the Yuan Dynasty was driven out of China and the indigenous Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) arose, the leader of the revolt against the Mongols and the first Ming emperor being a former Buddhist monk, Chu Yuan-chang (known under his reign title as Hung Wu) and, from then on, neither China nor the Mongols exercised authority over Tibet. Evidently thinking of himself as restoring the ancient kingship of Tibet, Changchup Gyentsen assumed the Tibetan title of sDe srid (ruler), and he and his successors, a series of some eleven lamas of the Phakmotru-pa lineage, ruled the land in independence for a period of more than eighty years, from 1354 to 1435.[10]

KINGS OF TSANG

After the Sakya-pa and the Phakmotru-pa, both of whom had exercised authority on both the religious and the secular levels, there was a return to a secular monarchy. Centered in West-Central Tibet (gTsang, pron. Tsang) first at Rin spungs (pron. Rimpung) (128 km/80 mi southwest of Lhasa, south of the Yarlung Tsangpo) and then after 1435 at bSam grub rtse (pron. Samtruptse) (near Xigaze), the kings of the Rin spungs pa (pron. Rimpung-pa) ruled through four generations from 1435 to 1565, and then were followed by three gTsang-pa (pron. Tsang-pa) kings from 1566 to 1642. Although these were all secular rulers, they were strongly supported by the Karma-pa monastic order. Independence also continued to be maintained from subservience to any foreign power. Finally this whole period of some two centuries, sometime called that of "the second rule of kings," was brought to an end when in 1642 the last Tibetan king of Tsang was overthrown and taken prisoner by the Mongol Gušri Khan, and his territory was turned over to the Fifth Dalai Lama (1617–1682).

THE GELUK--PA, THE DALAI LAMAS, AND THE PANCHEN LAMAS

Returning to the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries and the later part of

the period of Phakmotru-pa dominance and the earlier part of the period of "the second rule of kings," it was at that time that the famous Tsongkhapa (1357–1419) came on the scene, and the Geluk-pa order arose, with its four great monasteries and successive heads: (1) Ganden, founded by Tsongkhapa in 1409, with its succeeding abbots and heads of the order, Gyeltshab Darma Rinchen (1419–1431) and Khe-trup Je (1431–1438); (2) Drepung, founded in 1416 by Jamyang Cho-je; (3) Sera founded in 1419 by Chamchen Cho-je; and (4) Trashilhunpo founded in 1447 by Genduntrup (1391–1475), who was the first abbot there (1447–1475) and already, from the death of Khe-trup Je (1438) onward, himself the head of the order.

After Genduntrup and possibly at his own suggestion, the succeeding heads of the Geluk-pa were chosen by the system of reincarnation, the system which was inaugurated in the Karma-pa suborder of the Kagyu-pa more than two hundred years before and was also used in other older orders. The first two of these successors to the headship of the order after Genduntrup were dGe 'dun rgya mtso (pron. Gendün Gyatsho) (1475–1542) and *bSod nams rgya mtsho* (pron. Sönam Gyatsho) (1543–1588), and in their time the Drepung monastery became the largest in the country and the principal seat of the heads of the order.

SONAM GYATSHO AND ALTAN KHAN

It was now nearly two hundred years since the last of the Mongol emperors of the Yuan Dynasty had been driven out of China, and in Mongolia there was no unified kingdom but only different confederations of tribes. Among the tribes nearest the Chinese border were the Ordos Mongols (north of the Great Wall in the Ordos region within the Great Bend of the Huang or Yellow River) and the Tumeds to the north of them. Over the Tumeds, with his capital at Köke Khota (Chinese Kuei-hua, 485 km/300 mi west-northwest of Beijing), the ruling prince at this time was Altan Khan, a descendant of Genghis Khan in the twenty-fifth generation (born in 1506), and an enemy of the Ming in China. While the Ming Dynasty was founded by a former Buddhist monk (Chu Yuan-chang), later Ming emperors were devoted to Taoism and persecuted the Buddhists including Tibetan Buddhist monks in China, and some of the latter fled across the border into Mongolia and established themselves there, where there are references to their arrival dating in 1547. There

was also touch with Tibetan Buddhism through military raids which Altan Khan carried out in the Kokonor region. With interest in Tibetan Buddhism evidently encouraged by such contacts, Altan Khan invited Sonam Gyatsho, as the head of the Geluk-pa order, to visit him, and the two met in the Kokonor region in 1578, a meeting which led to a mass conversion of the Tumed and Ordos Mongols (and later of other tribes as well), with Köke Khota becoming a leading center of Mongolian Buddhism.[11]

On the occasion of this meeting of Sonam Gyatsho and Altan Khan the two conferred honorary titles on each other. Altan Khan received the title Chos kyi rGyal po lHa'i Tshang pa (pron. Chhökyi Gyelpo Hai Tshangpa), meaning King of Religion, Majestic Purity; and Sonam Gyatsho received the title Ta le (now usually written as Dalai), which means Ocean (the same as the Tibetan rGya mtsho, pron. Gyatsho) and which is usually explained as meaning an Ocean of Wisdom. It was in this manner that Sonam Gyatsho became known as the Dalai Lama, and thereafter the same title was conferred retroactively on his two predecessors, so that Genduntrup is the First Dalai Lama (1391–1475), Gendun Gyatsho the Second Dalai Lama (1475–1542), and Sonam Gyatsho the Third Dalai Lama (1543-1587).

Sonam Gyatsho, the Third Dalai Lama, visited Mongolia again in 1586 and died there at the end of 1587. A few weeks later in the first month of the year 1588 his reincarnation was found in the person of a great grandson of Altan Khan named Yon tan rgya mtsho (pron. Yönten Gyatsho) (1588–1617), Yonten Gyatsho was duly installed in the position of the Fourth Dalai Lama and in the headship of the Drepung monastery, but enjoyed only a brief reign. This renewal of close relations between Tibet, in this case represented by the Geluk-pa, and the Mongols, was highly unwelcome to the kings of Tsang, whose maintenance of Tibetan independence under secular rule has been described just above, and was doubtless equally unwelcome to many others as well, and it may be surmised that the early death of the Fourth Dalai Lama was not due to natural causes.

After Yonten Gyatsho the Fifth Dalai Lama was found in the person of a child named Ngag dbang bLo bzang rgya mtsho (pron. Ngawang Lopsang Gyatsho) (1617–1682). The child was born at 'Phyong rgyas (pron. Chhongye, in this book spelled Chongye), the place of burial of the Yarlung Dynasty kings and, although he was recognized as the next Dalai Lama in the Geluk-pa succession, he

came from a family which belonged to the Nyingma-pa and also had connections with the Phakmotru-pa. From outside the country, the Mongols continued to support him as they had his predecessors, the Fourth Dalai Lama (the Mongolian Yonten Gyatsho) and the Third Dalai Lama (Sonam Gyatsho, the virtual vassal of Altan Khan). Understandably the king of Tsang together with his strong supporters the Karma-pa, and others, continued to oppose this foreign relationship

THE FIFTH DALAI LAMA AND GUŚRI KHAN

From among the Mongols it was now Guśri Khan (1582–1655) who played the chief role. He was a prince of the Qośot branch of the Western Mongols or Oirats (also called Dzungars), and in 1637 he established himself in the Kokonor region. In 1638 he paid a secret visit to the Fifth Dalai Lama in Lhasa; in 1641 he defeated the king of a principality called Be ri (pron. Peri) in Kham (Eastern Tibet), who was an adherent of the Bon religion, now strongly opposed by the Geluk-pa; and in 1642 he defeated, imprisoned, and eventually put to death the last king of Tsang. With these actions on behalf of the Geluk-pa and their incarnate head, Guśri Khan and the Fifth Dalai Lama became related in somewhat the same patron-chaplain fashion that had existed earlier between Kublai Khan and Phakpa, and between Altan Khan and Sonam Gyatsho. In this case, however, while Guśri Khan continued to provide protection if needed, he allowed the Fifth Dalai Lama virtually complete freedom in the administration of Tibet and, by the time Guśri Khan died in 1655, the Fifth Dalai Lama had extended his control over the entire country from Mount Kailasa in the west to Kham in the east, also taking over for the Geluk-pa not a few of the monasteries which had previously belonged to some of the other sects. Furthermore, after Guśri Khan was gone, his successors showed little interest in Tibet and, from then on, the Dalai Lamas were both the temporal and spiritual heads of the land.

In Tibetan the usual title of the Dalai Lama is rGyal ba rin po che (pron. Gyelwa Rimpochè), meaning "precious victor" or "precious protector", and understood as conveying the idea that the Dalai Lama is the refuge of the Tibetan people. Each new occupant of the position is determined by the recognition (through various signs) of the person as a reincarnation of his predecessor, and each Dalai

Lama is also, like the great Buddhist king Songtsen Gampo of long before, an incarnation of Avalokiteśvara (in Tibetan sPyan ras gzigs, pron. Chenrèsik), the Bodhisattva who looks down with infinite compassion and is the patron deity of Tibet, and each Dalai Lama is also therewith especially related to Tara/Dolma, the *prajna* of Avalokiteśvara and the "savioress." Since the new Dalai Lama is ordinarily recognized as such while still a very small child, the government ordinarily remains in the hands of a regent until the Dalai Lama is of age and given actual power (normally at eighteen years, the Fourteenth Dalai Lama due to special circumstances at sixteen). The complete list of the Dalai Lamas is shown in Table 4.

Table 4. The Dalai Lamas

1.	dGe 'dun grub, Genduntrup	1391–1475
2.	dGe 'dun rgya mtsho, Gendün Gyatsho	1475–1542
3.	bSod nams rgya mtsho, Sönam Gyatsho	1543–1587
4.	Yon tan rgya mtsho, Yönten Gyatsho	1588–1617
5.	Ngag dbang bLo bzang rgya mtsho, Ngawang Lopsang Gyatsho	1617–1682
6.	Tshangs dbyangs rgya mtsho, Tshangyang Gyatsho	1683–1706
7.	bsKal bzang rgya mtsho, Kelsang Gyatsho	1708–1757
8.	'Jam dpal rgya mtsho, Jampel Gyatsho	1758–1804
9.	Lung rtogs rgya mtsho, Lungtog Gyatsho	1806–1815
10.	Tshul khrims rgya mtsho, Tshulkhrim Gyatsho	1816–1837
11.	mKhas grub rgya mtsho, Khetrup Gyatsho	1838–1856
12.	'Phrin las rgya mtsho, Tchrinle Gyatsho	1856–1875
13.	Thub bstan ryga mtsho, Thuptan Gyatsho	1876–1933
14.	bsTan 'dzin rgya mtsho, Tendzin Gyatsho	1935–

THE PANCHEN LAMAS

In a related development there also came to be a second high spiritual head alongside the Dalai Lama. The Fifth Dalai Lama had been a pupil of an abbot of the Trashilhunpo monastery named bLo bzang chos kyi rgyal mtshan (pron. Lopsang Chhökyi Gyentsen), (1569–1662), and in his position of authority after 1642 the Fifth Dalai Lama, to show his gratitude to his teacher, conferred upon Lopsang Chokyi Gyentsen the title of Pan chen rin po che (pron. Penchen Rimpochè). This title means "precious great scholar" (Tibetan pan

chen being derived from the Sanskrit *mahapandita*, great scholar), while in Western accounts this dignitary is usually called the Panchen Lama or, from the monastery which is his official residence, the Trashi (short for Trashilhunpo) Lama.

Here too in respect to the Panchen Lama the system of succession by reincarnation applies, and the title was given retroactively to the three predecessors of Lopasng Chokyi Gyentsen beginning with mKhas grub rje (pron. Khê-trup Jê) (1385–1483) who thereby became the First Panchen Lama, while Lopsang Chokyi Gyentsen himself became the Fourth (instead of the First) Panchen Lama in the new series (shown in Table 5).

Table 5. The Panchen Lamas

1/4.	bLo bzang chos kyi rgyal mtshan, Lopsang Chokyi Gyentsen	1569–1662
2/5.	bLo bzang ye shes dpal bzang po, Lopsang Yeshe Pelsangpo	1663–1737
3/6.	bLo bzang dpal ldan ye shes, Lopsang Pelden Yeshe	1738–1780
4/7.	bLo bzang bstan pahi nyi ma, Lopsang Tenpahi Nyima	1781–1854
5/8.	bLo bzang dpal ldan chos kyi grags pa, Lopsang Pelden Chokyi Trakpa	1853–1882
6/9.	bLo bzang dGe legs rnam rgyal, Lopsang Gelek Namgyal	1883–1937
7/10.	bLo bzang chos kyi rgyal mtshan, Lopsang Chokyi Gyentsen	1938–

There are thus in Tibetan Buddhism two heads, the Dalai Lama historically combining spiritual and temporal authority, and the Panchen Lama representing spiritual authority. In the spiritual realm the Panchen Lama is actually of higher rank than the Dalai Lama, for the Panchen Lama is not only the reincarnation of his predecessor but also the incarnation of Amitabha (Tibetan 'Od dpag med, pron. Öpamê), the Tathagata of boundless light, and Amitabha is the head of the spiritual family in which Avalokiteśvara, of whom the Dalai Lama is an incarnation, is a Bodhisattva. In fact many of the Panchen Lamas have been notable scholars and writers. In common usage the respective titles of the two heads of Tibetan Buddhism are: Great Jewel, Boundless Light, His Serenity,

the Panchen Lama; and, Thunderbolt (or Diamond), Precious Protector, the Ocean, His Holiness, the Dalai Lama.[12]

In addition to the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama the abbot of the Ganden (dGa' ldan) monastery was also considered a third high religious authority. His title was dGa' ldan khri pa or supreme abbot of Ganden.

THE WORKS OF THE FIFTH DALAI LAMA

In China the Ming Dynasty (1368–1644) was succeeded by the Qing Dynasty of the Manchus (1644–1911), and it was the Fifth Dalai Lama who was continuing in power at the time of this transition.

As the Fifth Dalai Lama, Ngawang Lopsang Gyatsho (1617–1682) was not only a forceful and effective administrator who is remembered as having brought peace and unity to Tibet, but he was also a scholar who wrote many treatises, commentaries, poetic works, and a guide to Lhasa, and encouraged translations and other scholarly and cultural activities. Tradition likewise attributes various inventions and institutions to him, and remembers him as "the Great Fifth."

As a builder the Fifth Dalai Lama caused new temples to be erected and decayed monasteries to be restored. Most notably he began in 1645 the reconstruction of the Potala, which originated in the seventh century CE as the palace of Songtsen Gampo but in the meantime had been largely destroyed. By the time of the Fifth Dalai Lama's death the bulding was not yet complete, and he is said to have instructed his regent Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho (pron. Sang-gyè Gyatsho) (lived 1652–1705) to keep his decease a secret lest the work be stopped when it was known he was dead. So Sang-gye Gyatsho succeeded in concealing the death for sixteen years—from 1682 to 1697—during which time he himself was the actual ruler of Tibet, and in that time he carried on the building work until the Potala was finally completed in 1694.

As for relations with China, the Fifth Dalai Lama accepted an invitation from the first Manchu emperor Shun-chin (1644–1661) and visited China in 1651–1653, where he was apparently received as an independent ruler and showered with many honors, and without any indication of any Manchu overlordship of Tibet. In fact Shun-chin desired and received help from the Fifth Dalai Lama to

dissuade the Mongols from continuing attacks on China's north-eastern borders.

THE SIXTH TO THE THIRTEENTH DALAI LAMAS

When the Fifth Dalai Lama died in 1682 his successor as the Sixth Dalai Lama was discovered in the usual manner within a few years in the person of Tshangs dbyangs rgya mtsho (pron. Tshangyang Gyatsho) (1683–1706), and he was trained in childhood near Lhasa but not actually enthroned until 1696 after the completion of the work on the Potala, which was carried on under the circumstances described just above. In turn the Sixth Dalai Lama was succeeded by bsKal bzang rgya mtsho (pron. Kelsang Gyatsho) as the Seventh Dalai Lama (1708–1757).

With the end of the strong administration of the Fifth Dalai Lama and under the Sixth and Seventh Dalai Lamas there were disturbances within Tibet and developments outside the country which finally allowed Chinese intervention. In 1717 the Dzungar Oirats under lHa bzang, a grandson of Gušri Khan invaded Lhasa, and in 1720 the Manchu emperor K'ang-hsi (1662–1722) sent an army to occupy Lhasa, where they killed the Mongol prince, pulled down the walls of the city, installed a permanent Chinese garrison, and established a Chinese protectorate, administered by two Chinese residents (ambans) in Lhasa, an arrangement which lasted until the end of the Qing Dynasty in 1911.[13]

Although the Seventh Dalai Lama (1708–1757) kept aloof from politics, and the actual administration in these times was in the hands of regents who were themselves politically under the control of the Chinese residents, the Seventh Dalai Lama was himself a deeply religious and learned man, and is considered one of the most important of the Dalai Lamas. He was the builder of Norbulingka, the park with the summer palace of the Dalai Lamas. His regent from 1728 to 1747 was Pho lha nas bSod nam stobs rgyas (pron. Pholhanė Sönam Topgye) (lived 1689–1747), who came from the Drung po lha (pron. Drungpola) valley which runs west from the Gyangze-Xigaze road. Pholhane was a strong supporter of the Buddhist religion, and had the Kanjur and Tanjur printed in more than 300 volumes at the Narthang monastery (near Trashilhunpo), where an inscription calls him "the exalted, saintly king, through whom the creatures' happiness and welfare are promoted and the teaching of

the Buddha's law gains ground in the whole Jambudvipa".[14]

The Eighth to the Twelfth Dalai Lamas (1758–1875) were relatively unimportant or died young, but the Thirteenth Dalai Lama Thub bstan rgya mtsho, pron. Thupten Gyatsho) (1876–1933) was again of much importance. In his time the Chinese protectorate came to an end, yet China and now also Britain Russia made continuing and persistent attempts to interject themselves into Tibetan affairs. In 1904 Lhasa was occupied by the British (the military expedition under Colonel Francis Younghusband), and in 1910 the Chinese invaded the city and harassed the population. On the first occasion the Thirteenth Dalai Lama fled to Mongolia, on the second he escaped to India, where he issued a formal renunciation of the Manchu-Chinese government's claim to overlordship of Tibet. In the next year (1911) the Republic of China was inaugurated under Sun Yat-sen as its first president, and in 1913, encouraged by the British, Tibet again declared its independence, although the Chinese-Tibetan boundary was not set until 1928.[15]

THE FOURTEENTH DALAI LAMA

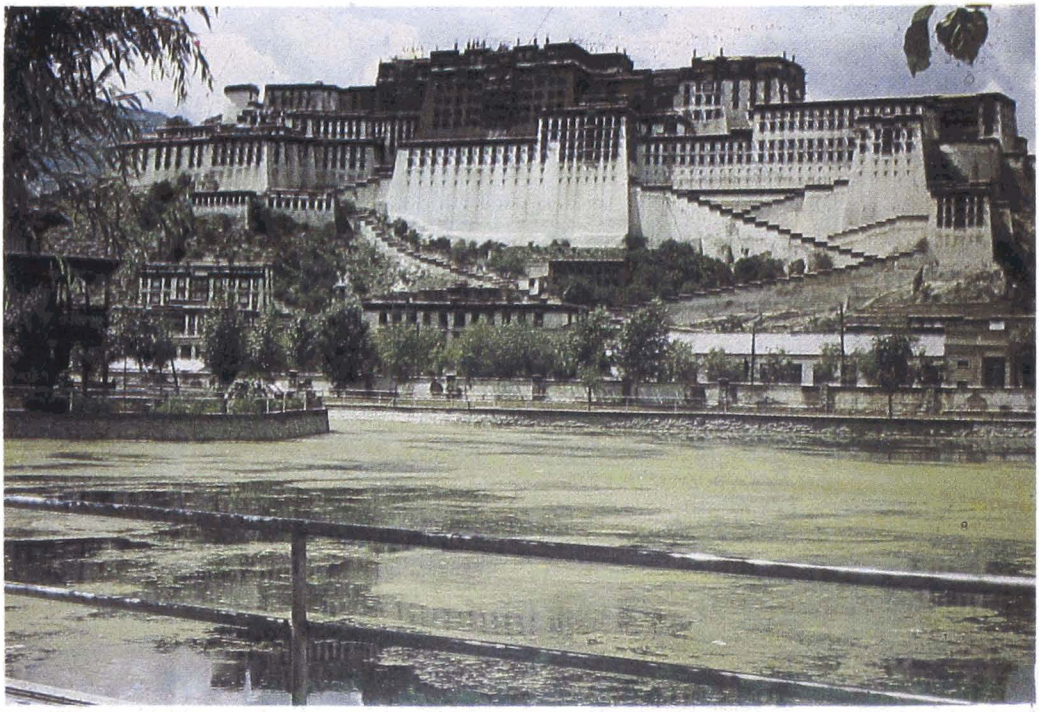
In a humble family in the village of Taktser in the district of Amdo (in northeastern ethnic Tibet but in the Chinese province of Qinghai, not far from Lake Kokonor (Qinghai Hu), an eldest son named Thubten Jigme Norbu (born in 1922) was recognized as a reincarnation of an ancient and famous monk Taktser and, himself known as Taktser Rimpoche, after study in the Drepung monastery near Lhasa, became (in 1949) the abbot of the Kumbum monastery in the same district as his native village; and a younger son (born in 1935)was recognized as a reincarnation of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama who had died two years before and, at the age of four and one-half years (in 1940) was enthroned in Lhasa as the Fourteenth Dalai Lama, his name being bsTan 'dzin rgya mtsho (pron. Tendzin Gyatsho).

TIBET BECOMES THE AUTONOMOUS REGION OF XIGANG OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

The reign of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama saw reforms undertaken in the ancient feudal structure of Tibetan society, but interrupted by

The Roof of the World.

Carved and Painted Buddha on the Road to Lhasa.



South Facade of the Potala.

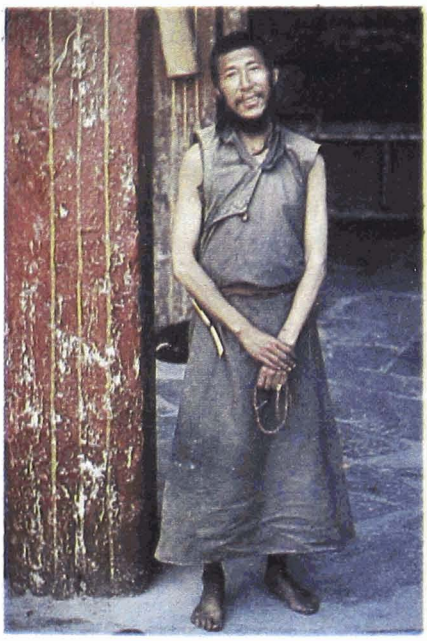
Golden Roofs on Top of the Jokhang.

Monks Carving Wooden Printing Blocks in the Trashilhunpo Monastery at Xigaze

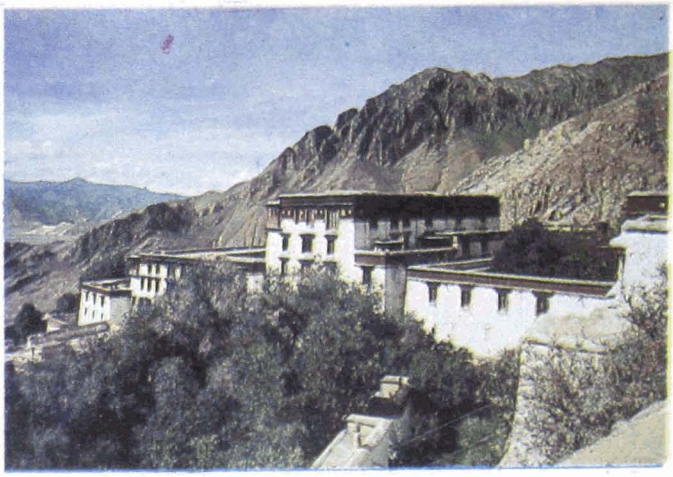
Statue of a Yellow Hat Monk beside a section of the Library of Buddhist Scriptures in Drepung Monastery, Lhasa.

The New Palace of the Dalai Lama in the Norbulingka Park.

Crocodiles head and Garuda on the Top of the Jokhang.



Visitor with Rosary in the Court of the Jokhang.



Dalai Lama's Palace of the Drepung Monastery.

Statues of Dalai Lamas in Drepung Monastery.

Wheel and Deer on Top of the First Assembly Hall of the Drepung Monastery.

Statue of Sakyamuni Buddha in Drepung Monastery.

Golden Towers on Top of the Second Assembly Hall of the Drepung Monastery.

Image of a Guardian Deity in the Drepung Monastery.

Statue of Sakyamuni Buddha in the Drepung Monastery

A Mandala of Amitayus in Drepung Monastery.

The General Assembly Hall of Sera Monastery.

Monk with Keys to the First Hall at Sera Monastery.

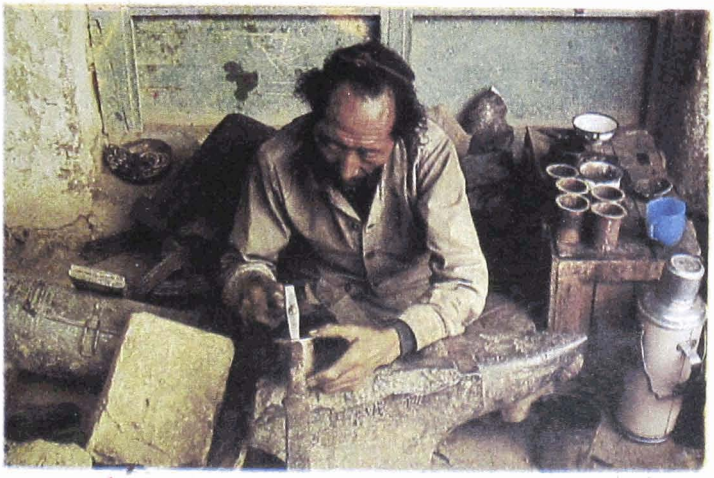
Wheel of Existence of Sera Monastery.

Wall Painting of Virupaksha, Red Guardian of the West, at the Sera Monastery.

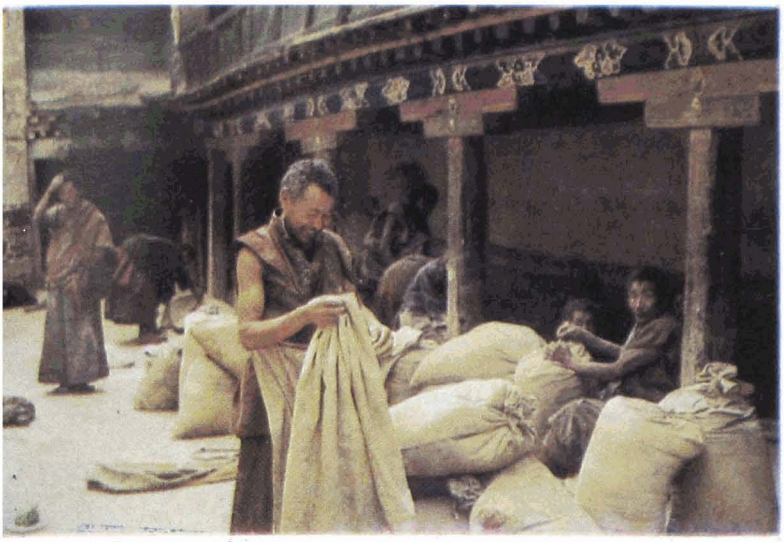
Monks preparing offerings in the First Hall at Sera Monastery.

Tibetan Woman outside her Home in Xigaze.

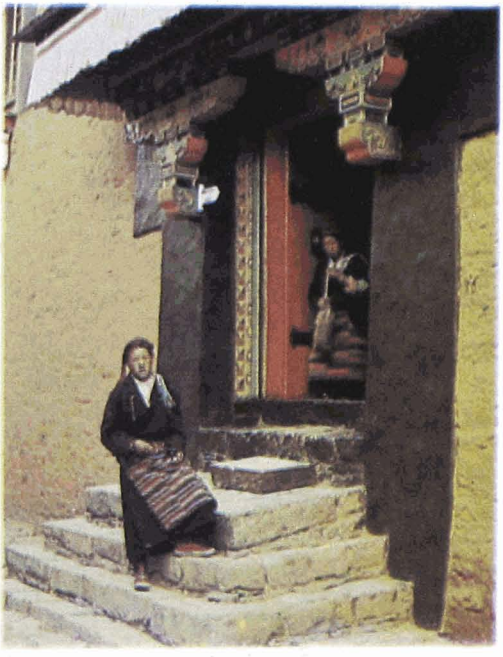
Courtyard of Trashilhunpo Monastery.



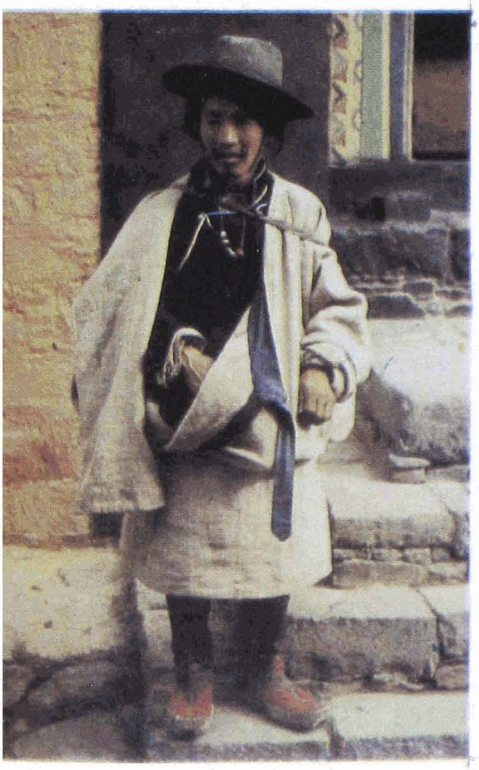
Tibetan Metal Worker in the People's Commune at Xigaze.



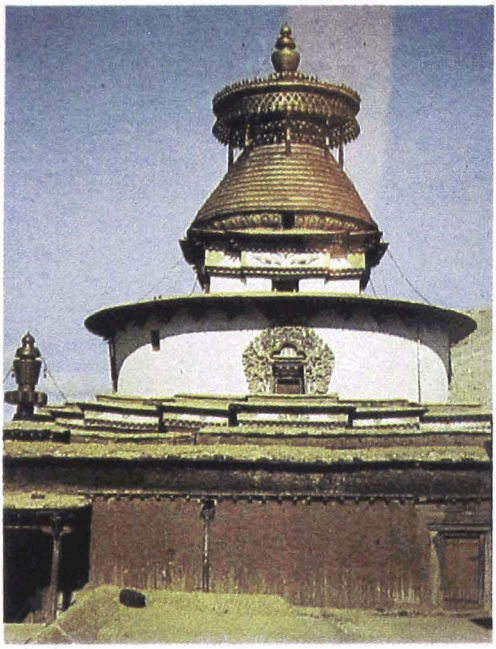
Monks working with Sacks of Barley in Trashilhunpo Monastery.



Tibetan Young Women at the Entrance to the Champa (Maitreya) Hall of Trashilhunpo Monastery.



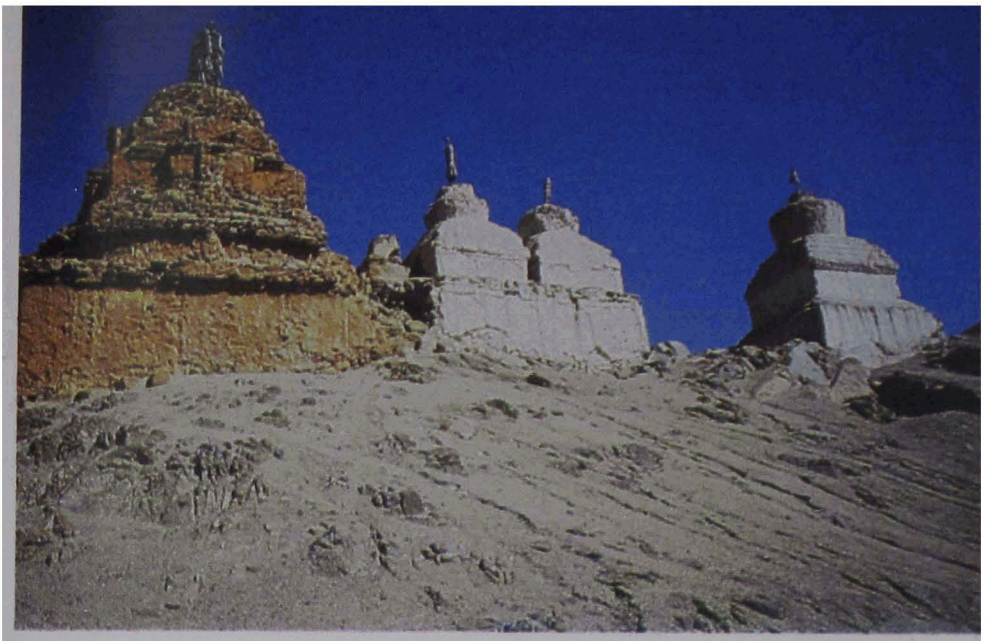
betan Man at the Entrance to the Champa (Maitreya) Hall of ashilhunpo Monastery.



The Kumbum Chorten at Gyangze.

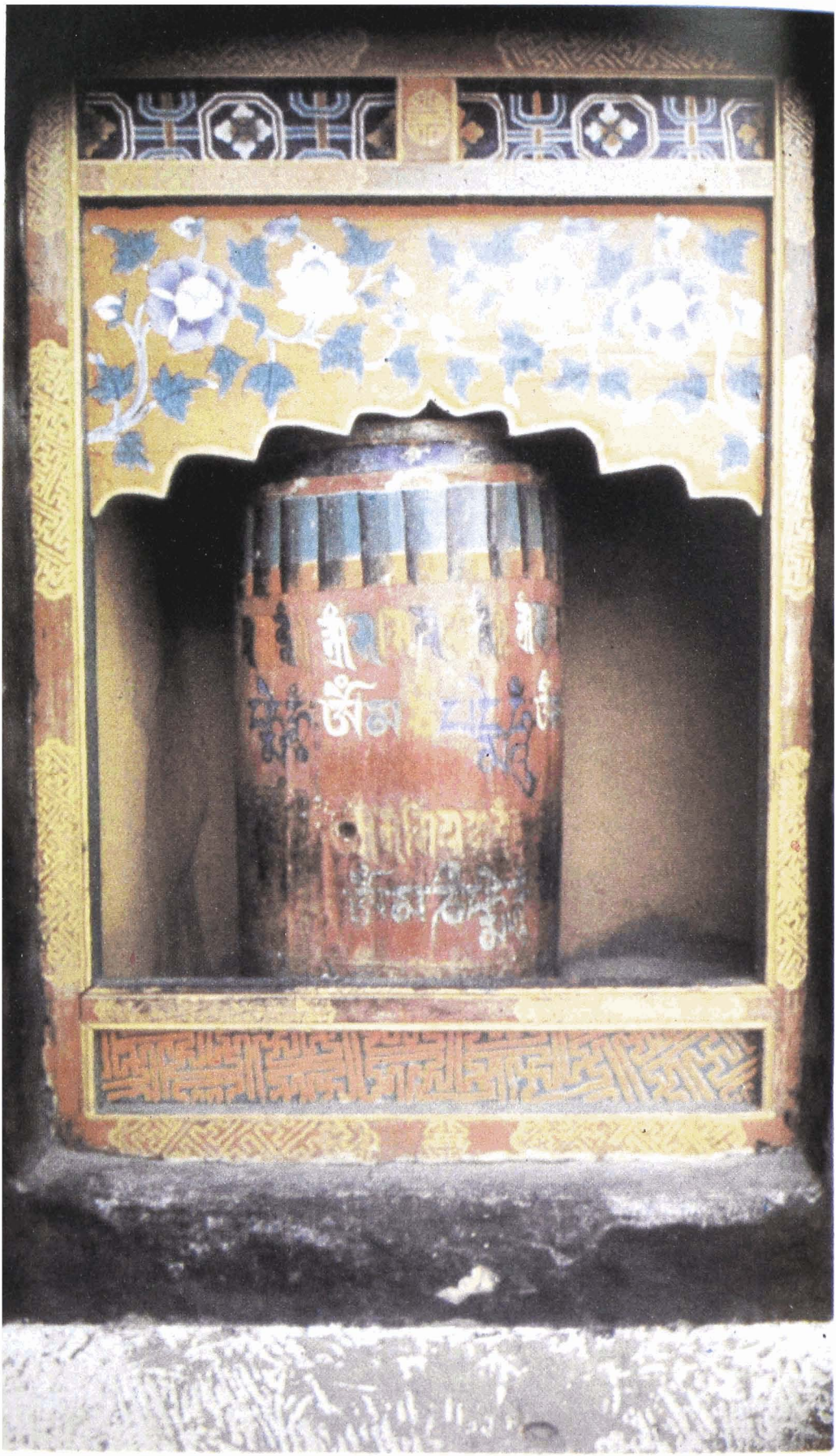
Looking toward the Leh Khar.

Ladakhi Women selling Vegetables in the Market in Leh.



Chortens at Leh.

Mani Wall, Chortens, and Monastery Buildings at Tiktse.



Large Painted Prayer Wheel at Tiktse Monastery.

Chinese invasion. The People's Republic of China was inaugurated on October 1, 1949, and on November 24, 1949 the Beijing Radio announced that the Tenth Panchen Lama (in Chinese called Banqen Erdini the Tenth), then about thirteen years of age, had appealed to Chairman Mao Zedong to "liberate" Tibet, while on September 30, 1950 on the first anniversary of the People's Republic of China Chairman Mao declared that Tibet "must be liberated." Under the pressure of these circumstances, in 1950 Thubten Jigme Norbu left his position in the Kumbum monastery for permanent residence abroad,[16] and the Fourteenth Dalai Lama assumed power in Lhasa although then barely sixteen years of age instead of the eighteen years when actual rule would normally begin. Even while China was still attempting to persuade the Fourteenth Dalai Lama to give up the idea of Tibetan independence, on October 7, 1950 Chinese troops invaded Eastern Tibet. In the decisive battle the important city of Chamdo was taken and Ngapoi Ngawang Jigme, the commander of the Tibetan forces, was captured. On May 23, 1951 Jigme signed with the Chinese a "seventeen-point agreement" for the "peaceful liberation of Xizang," which provided that "the Tibetan people shall return to the great family of the motherland—the People's Republic of China", in other words that Tibet should cease to exist as a nation.

In the spring of 1956 revolt broke out against the Chinese in the eastern border district of Kham, and in 1958–1959 became a full-scale but unsuccessful movement. On March 10, 1959 there was an uprising against the Chinese in Lhasa itself, on March 17 the first Chinese shells fell in the city and in that night the Fourteenth Dalai Lama fled. On March 20 the Chinese shelling was resumed, much of Norbulingka was destroyed, the western wing of the Potala was badly damaged and one shell fell in the hall of the funerary chorten of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama, the Chakpori medical college was almost razed to the ground, the golden roofs of the Jokhang were hit, and many houses in Lhasa were demolished or set on fire. The Fourteenth Dalai Lama, who had at first intended only to withdraw to some other place in Tibet, continued a perilous journey to India, to be followed by large numbers (estimated at 100,000) of Tibetan refugees who made their way to India and other countries, many of them regathering around the Fourteenth Dalai Lama where he made his center at Dharamsala in the extreme northwest of India. In September 1965 Tibet was proclaimed the Autonomous Region of

Xizang of the People's Republic of China. In the administration of the region Ngapoi Ngawang Jigme became the Chairman of the Standing Committee of the People's Congress of the Autonomous Region and in 1981 was also a Vice Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress of China.[17]

THE POSITION OF THE TENTH PANCHEN LAMA

The Tenth Panchen Lama was imprisoned in China in 1964, in 1975 was reported as doing forced labor under Chinese Communist Party officials in Beijing, in 1978 was released, in 1982 was allowed to visit Lhasa and Xigaze, and at that time was described as holding the posts of a Vice Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress of China and honorary President of the Chinese Buddhist Association. In an address at Lhasa in 1982 he was quoted as saying:

> I have come to Tibet to pray and worship. . . . I hope the teachings of the Buddha may spread further and all sentient beings find salvation and peace. It is the policy of the Party to allow freedom of religious belief. Therefore, you must pray with an open heart and sincere mind—discard non-virtuous deeds and adhere to virtuous deeds. In this way, we shall be able to revive the teachings of the Buddha in the Land of Snow.[18]

THE CHANGING PICTURE OF TIBET

In 1959 there were a reported 2,711 monasteries and 120,000 monks in Tibet. In the fighting during the rebellion many of the monasteries were destroyed, afterward others were dismantled for building materials, and on August 25, 1966 the Red Guards sacked the Jokhang, the main temple of Lhasa, and in the continuing Cultural Revolution they wrought destruction in many more monasteries and homes at Lhasa, Xigaze, and throughout the country. Because the monasteries were repositories of indigenous culture and science to a probably greater extent than even in medieval Europe, the losses were great. By 1979 reportedly only nine monasteries with resident monks remained, but in a reversal of Chinese position in March of that year the Jokhang was reopened for worship and slowly some of the monasteries began to be reestablished in their functions.

In 1981 on the thirtieth anniversary of the "seventeen-point

agreement" the Chinese Government summarized major achievements in Tibet in social and economic develpoment, especially including the abolition of serfdom, and in health and education, but also acknowledged serious mistakes which developed during the ten years of turmoil due to the "gang of four." The mistakes included the banning of the masses' religious activities, the destruction of most temples, and the loss or damage of important cultural relics. Referring to the 1975 Constitution of the People's Republic of China which says, "Citizens enjoy freedom to believe in religion and freedom not to believe in religion and to propagate atheism," a government spokesman said:

> It is necessary to implement the policy of religious freedom and respect the Tibetan people's religious beliefs, customs and habits. Buddhism is a deeply rooted religious belief among the masses of people in Xizang . . . We should never eliminate religion by means of administrative orders, nor should we force the people to believe in religion.[19]

THE HOPES OF THE FOURTEENTH DALAI LAMA

At this same thirtieth anniversary time in 1981, which was also the twenty-second anniversary of his own going into exile in 1959, the Fourteenth Dalai Lama observed in public statement that after thirty-odd years of actual experience of the Tibetan people under the domination of the Chinese, and twenty-odd years in which "the large masses of Tibetans left in Tibet have been subjected to the sufferings of death, hunger and exploitation which defies description," it would take some time to develop confidence in a new lenient line, but also declared:

> Finally, anger cannot be vanquished by anger, and past history has disappeared into the past. What is more relevant is that in the future there actually be real peace and happiness through developing a friendly and meaningful relation between China and Tibet. For this to be realized, it is important for both sides to work hard to have tolerant understanding and be open-minded.[20]

On the twenty-fourth anniversary of the Tibetan Uprising Day, March 10, 1983, the Fourteenth Dalai Lama stated:

> As a result of some changes in the policy in Tibet since 1979,

> slight improvements in food and working conditions and the usage of the Tibetan language have given the Tibetan people a breathing space. However, these improvements not only did not uniformly cover all towns, villages and various parts of Tibet, but even in the areas where the improvements are being implemented they are temporary, corrupted and inconsistent . . . On top of this, there is a widening gap and increasing differences between the Tibetan and Chinese . . . Tibetans continue to live in this very sad, unhappy and depressed state of mind. . .
>
> The six million Tibetan people must have the right to preserve and enhance their cultural identity and religious freedom, the right to determine their own destiny and manage their own affairs, and find fulfillment of their free self-expression, without interference from any quarter. This is reasonable and just.

Likewise in his statement for the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Tibetan Uprising Day, March 10, 1984, the Dalai Lama described the situation in Tibet as still "far from satisfactory," and told of another recent issue:

> Under the cover of a campaign to root out criminals, thousands of Tibetans were arrested, imprisoned and sent to hard labor camps, irrespective of whether they were innocent or guilty. Many were executed publicly as well as secretly. The present campaign of terror which the Chinese have unleashed in Tibet has once again made the Tibetan people live in a state of anxiety and fear. . . . Until now the number of Tibetans killed in action, executed, starved to death, tortured to death, and driven to suicide, add up to about one million deaths. . .
>
> I offer my prayers for the cessation of sickness, famine, conflict, disharmony, and human suffering, and for the achievement of peace and brotherhood.[21]

TIBETANS OUTSIDE OF TIBET

Of the estimated 100,000 Tibetan refugees who left their homeland in 1959 and after, in 1982 the great majority were reported as in various centers in India, a few thousand in Nepal and Bhutan each, perhaps three thousand in various parts of Europe, the larger number in Switzerland, and some hundreds in various centers in the United States and Canada.[22] In the several North American centers various orders are active, the Nyingma-pa, the Sakya-pa, and others, and the teachings and practices of Tibetan Buddhism are preserved and promulgated.[23]

10

Pantheon, Iconography, Symbols and Symbolic Objects

THE pantheon of the Vajrayana and of Tibetan Buddhism is even more numerous than that of the Mahayana. Included are Buddhist figures and also adopted Hindu, Bon, and indigenous deities and demons, as well as deified teachers and other great personages of the past, and these are represented, along with many symbols and symbolic objects, in sculptured images and paintings, the details of which are carefully defined in the standard iconography.[1]

SEVEN JEWELS AND EIGHT EMBLEMS

Among the symbols and symbolic objects, it is customary to speak especially of two groups, namely, the "seven jewels" (*saptaratna*, Tibetan rin chen ceda bdun, pron. rinchhen sedadun), which are (1) wheel (*cakra*, 'khor lo) (2) jewel (*ratna*, nor bu), (3) queen (*rajni*, bcun mo), (4) civil minister (*mantrin*, blon po), (5) elephant, usually white (*hastin*, glang po che), (6) horse (aśva, rta mchog), and (7) military commander (*senapati*, dmag dpon), all of these associated originally with a world ruler (*cakravartin*) and so also with a Buddha; and the "eight emblems" of good fortune (*ashtamangala*, Tibetan bkra śis rtags brgyad, pron. trashi tagya), which are (1) umbrella (*cattra*, gdugs), (2) two golden fishes (*suvarnamatsya*, gser na), (3) vase (kalaśa, bum pa), (4) lotus blossom (*padma*, pad ma), (5) conch (śankha, dung), (6) diamond-shaped mark (*śrivatsa*, dpal beu), (7) standard (*dhvaja*, rgyal mchan), and (8) golden wheel *suvarnacakra*, gser gyi 'khor lo).

Concerning these items it may be noted that the umbrella and

wheel are early symbols of kingship and world rule, and the wheel a symbol of the year and the order of the world, while the wheel is also especially associated with the Buddha who set the wheel of Buddhist doctrine (*dharmacakra*) in motion with his sermons, especially the first sermon at the Deer Park. It is further said that the Dharma Wheel was given to the Buddha by the king of the gods, Gyajin, and that two deer appeared as the wheel was being presented. This symbol, known as ridag choekor, is over the main entrance of almost every Tibetan monastery. The jewel stands for what is precious, and in its highest form as the wish-jewel (*cintamani*, nor bu rin po che) fulfills all wishes. As in Hinduism, the vase holds holy water, and is used in the daily cult. The conch is also blown in temple worship in both Hinduism and Buddhism, and is considered a fortunate symbol because of its white color and its normal convolution to the right, corresponding with the normal direction of circumambulation (*pradakshina*). The *śrivatsa* is well known in various forms in Hinduism and Jainism as well as Buddhism, and in one interpretation is a symbol in Buddhism of endless rebirth. The lotus flower, a virtually universal symbol in the ancient world, is of manifold significance. Growing out of the swamp, it suggests the unfolding of the spiritual life, and it is the emblem of many Bodhisattvas, especially of Padmapani, the holder of the lotus.

SWASTIKA AND SWORD, DORJE AND BELL

There are yet many other symbolic signs and objects. The swastika (*svastika*, gyung drung), which is an auspicious symbol of great antiquity, is in its form with the arms turned to the right a sign of the Buddha and often appears in place of the wheel, while in contrast with the arms turned to the left it is a mark of the Bon religion. The sword (*khadga*, ral gri) is the symbol of understanding which cuts through ignorance; accordingly it is especially the emblem of Manjuśri, the Bodhisattva of wisdom, and he holds the sword in his right hand, or it rises out of a lotus blossom.

Of all the symbols in the Vajrayana the most prominent is the *vajra* (Tibetan rdo rje, pron. dorje), the thunderbolt or diamond, from which the vehicle takes its chief name. As a visible object the dorje may appear as a stylized thunderbolt, with rays at either end, or as a nucleus from which on either side emerges a lotus blossom. In either case it may also be called a diamond scepter and be understood as standing for the radiance and indestructibility of enlighten-

ment. The double dorje (*viśvavajra*, Tibetan sna chogs rdo rje) is especially the attribute of the Bodhisattva Amoghasiddhi and of Tara his consort. In the symbolism of polarity the dorje and the bell (*ghanta*, Tibetan dril bu, pron. trilpu) are often together. In this conjunction the dorje is the male element and stands for *upaya*, skillful means, while the bell is the female element and stands for *prajna*, quiescent and intuitive wisdom, and it is the combination of the two which is necessary for enlightenment.[2]

THE FORMS OF IMAGES AND PAINTINGS

In the representation of the deities in images and paintings, the figures are shown, as in Hinduism too, both in normal anthropomorphic form and also with multiple heads and limbs, indicative of omnipresence, multiplication of powers, and varied functions and attributes. The deities may be seen in peaceable manifestation (zhi, pron. shi) as may encourage the approach and endeavor of the devotee and inspire nonaggression and gentleness; or in wrathful manifestation (khro bo, pron. trhopo, or drag po, pron. trakpo) as may be appropriate to guardians against evil or as may signify the destruction of hindrances to emancipation; or in manifestation both peaceable and wrathful (zhi khro, pron. shitrho) as may both attract and terrify.

As in tantric Hinduism, the male and female deities are often seen in the union which is called yab yum (the honorific terms for father and mother). Philosophically the male deity stands for *upaya* (skillful means) which expresses *karuna* (compassion), and the female deity stands for *prajna* (wisdom, higher cognition) which recognizes *śunyata* (emptiness), so the togetherness symbolizes the union of *upaya* and *prajna*, with their correlates of compassion and emptiness. In the union, in contrast with Hindu tantrism in which the male is conceived as passive and the female (*śakti*) as active, here the male is seen as active and the female as passive, and the female should not properly be called *śakti* (energy) but rather *mudra* (seal, symbol). Likewise one form of mandala shows two interlocked triangles as a symbol of the same union of the two polarities, in this case with the triangle pointing upward representing the masculine element and the triangle pointing downward representing the feminine element.

Sculpture is usually in metal (gold, silver, copper, zinc, and iron,

or combinations of the same, known collectively as bronzes), in clay (with beaten paper pulp added for hardening), and uniquely in butter or barley-flour kneaded with butter (gtor ma pron. torma). Statues are often gilded and highlighted with painted colors. Characteristic paintings are the murals on temple walls, and the scroll paintings called thang ka (pron. tanka), while the mandala (Tibetan dkyil 'khor pron. kilkhor) or symbolic diagram is painted and also sometimes built up in relief.

The names of the sculptors and painters who produced the works are rarely known; the artists may have been lay persons as well as monks. The iconographically detailed representations of the deities were no doubt based on long tradition, and may have been influenced as well by descriptions given by those to whom in trance and vision the deities appeared. In turn the images themselves provide a means of visualization in the process of meditation on the Vajrayana path. The term for the tantric ritual in which the chosen deity is rendered present to and helpful to the practitioner is *sadhana*, which means literally "the act of accomplishment." From the early centuries of the present era many tantric rituals were composed in India, and more than two hundred of these are collected in the *Sadhanamala*, the earliest extant manuscript of which bears a date equivalent to 1165 CE, while in Tibet many *sadhana* (sgrub thabs) texts are included in the Tanjur (bsTan 'gyur). In the texts are detailed descriptions of the form assumed by the deity upon be coming manifest to the devotee, including pose, gesture, dress color, and symbols, and these descriptions constitute authoritative guidance for the artist in the making of sculptures and paintings.[3]

According to their subject matter the paintings and sculptures are classified in the major categories of (1) Enlightened beings (Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, Arhats, Gurus, etc.); (2) Ishtadevatas (yi dam, personal deities, deities of tantric systems); (3) Dharmapalas (chos skyong, mgon po, guardians of the doctrine); (4) Lokapalas (rgyal chen bzhi, "four great kings," guardians of the four directions); (5) Goddesses; (6) Mandalas (dkyil 'khor); and (7) Illustrations of the teachings (srid pa'i 'khor lo, the wheel of existence).

THE ADI-BUDDHA

The Adi-Buddha, the primordial and supreme Buddha (in Tibetan the Buddha is sangs rgyas, pron. sang-gyê, the Adi-Buddha is dang

po sangs rgyas) is properly speaking beyond representation and without a personal name. but may also appear as a seated Buddha with crossed arms holding dorje and bell; or may be seen, dark blue in color, together with his *prajna*, Prajnaparamita; or may be identified with Vajradhara (rDo rje, 'chang, pron. Dorje Chhang), the holder of the thunderbolt/diamond scepter; or with Vajrasattva (rDo rje sems dpa', pron. Dorje Sempa), the adamantine being; or with Mahavairocana, a form of the Tathagata Vairocana; or with the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra; or with Kalacakra, who is also known as a yi dam (for the last three see immediately below).

THE FIVE TATHAGATAS

The Five Tathagatas are great cosmic Buddhas, who are emanations of the Adi-Buddha. Their name comes from the term *tathagatas* (Tibetan de bzhin Gshegs pa), which means "thus come" or "thus gone" (i.e., one who has attained a transcendent state), and was a term reportedly used by Śakyamuni Buddha as a designation for himself. The five are sometimes but not correctly called Dhyani (meditation) Buddhas. Each Tathagata has his own distinctive color, gesture (*mudra*), symbolic object. and bearer (*vahana*). Each has his own feminine consort, who stands for higher cognition (*prajna*, Tibetan shes rab, pron. sherap), and each has his further manifestations in a Bodhisattva and in a Manushi Buddha. Thus each Tathagata is the head of a spiritual family.

The Five Tathagatas are often visualized as arranged in the form of a mandala. (1) In the center usually is Vairocana (rNam par snang mdzad, pron. Nampar Nangdze), "brilliant light," shown as white in color, with the hands in the preaching gesture (*dharmacakramudra*), the wheel (*cakra*) as his symbol, and a lion as his bearer. (2) In the east is Akshobhya (Mi bskyod pa, pron. Michöpa), "unshakable," shown as blue in color, holding dorje and bell, with a pair of elephants as his bearers. Sometimes, as for example in the Guhyasamaja Tantra, the relative positions of Akshobhya and Vairocana are reversed and Akshobhya is in the center and Vairocana in the east. (3) In the south is Ratnasambhava (Rin chen 'byung ldan, pron. Rinchhen Jungden), "jewel being," shown as yellow in color, holding a bell and a magic jewel (*cintamani*), with a horse as bearer. (4) In the west is Amitabha ('Od dpag me, pron. Öpamè), "infinite light," shown as red in color, the hands in the

position of meditation (*dhyanamudra*) and holding a blue alms bowl, with a peacock as his bearer. A slightly variant form of Amitabha is Amitayus (Tshe dpag med, pron. Tshepame), "infinite life," never shown with a feminine consort. Amitabha (or Amitayus) is incarnate in the Panchen Lama. (5) In the north is Amoghasidhi (Don yod grub pa, pron. Tönyö Trup-pa), "infallible power," shown as green in color, making the gesture of reassurance (*abhayamudra*), holding the double dorje *višvavajra*), and with two mythical birds (*garuda*, mkha' lding, pron. khanding) as his bearers.

THE BODHISATTVAS

The Bodhisattvas who are emanations of the Five Tathagatas are the following: (1) Samantabhadra (Kun tu bzang po, pron. Küntu Sangpo), "all goodness," is a manifestation of Vairocana, and is shown in green color, with the hands in the gesture of argumentation (*vitarkamudra*), the lotus as his symbol, and the elephant as his bearer. (2) Vajrapani (Phyag na rdo rje, pron. Chhana Dorje), "holder of the thunderbolt/diamond scepter," is a manifestation of Akshobhya, and is usually shown as dark blue in color, with a crown of skulls and holding the dorje, and sometimes with a snake (*naga*) as bearer. (3) Ratnapani (Phyag na rin chen, pron. Chhana Rinchhen), "jewel bearer," is a manifestation of Ratnasambhava, and is shown as yellow in color with the hands in the gesture of meditation (*dhyanamudra*), and the magic jewel (*cintamani*) or the lotus as a symbol. (4) Avalokiteśvara (sPyan ras gzigs, pron. Chenrèsik), the "lord who looks down [with compassion]," is a manifestation of Amitabha, is shown in white color, has om mani padme hum as his mantra, is the special protector of Tibet, and is incarnate in King Songtsen Gampo and in the Dalai Lamas. He is represented in many different forms: as Padmapani (Phyag na pad ma, pron. Chhana Padma) he holds the lotus; as Amoghapasha he is a standing figure with six or eight arms, or a seated figure with twenty arms; as Ekadashamukha he has eleven heads, and there is a variant of this form called Sitatapatra in which he is seated and with two of twelve arms holds an umbrella; as Arya-Avalokiteśvara he has eleven heads and a thousand arms. The form with eleven heads is explained by the story that when Avalokiteśvara looked down upon the many beings in need of deliverance in the hell of Yama, the god of death, his head broke into ten pieces out of his great

compassion; these were put together by his spiritual father Amitabha; thus in the figure there are nine gentle faces arranged in three tiers of three each, above that one wrathful face and, at the top, the head of Amitabha, thus making eleven heads in all. With his thousand arms Arya-Avalokiteśvara holds numerous attributes with which to communicate unlimited love to suffering beings. (5) Viśvapani (Phyag na sna tshogs rdo rje, pron. Chhak-na na-tshö Dorje), "double thunderbolt/diamond scepter bearer," is a manifestation of Amoghasiddhi, and is shown in Green color, with the hands in the position of meditation (*dhyanamudra*), and with the double dorje (*viśvavajra*) as his symbol.

Other important Bodhisattvas are the following. (1) Manjuśri ('Jam dbyangs, pron. Jamyang), "charming splendor," is the Bodhisattva of wisdom and literature, and is shown in yellow, white, red, and black forms, with two lotus blossoms as his attributes, or with the sword (sometimes flaming) of knowledge in his right hand and the book of transcendent wisdom (*prajnaparamita*) in his left, incarnate in King Trhisong Detsen and in Tsongkhapa. (2) Kshitigarbha (Sahi snying po, pron. Sai Nying-po), "matrix of the earth," is the Bodhisattva of the earth, and is shown in green or white color, with a magic jewel (*cintamani*) and a staff (*khakkhara*) as his attributes, and a winged lion as his bearer.

THE MANUSHI BUDDHAS

The Manushi Buddhas (Tibetan sangs rgyas rab 'dun, pron. sang-gyè rabdün) are earthly or human Buddhas (in Sanskrit a *manusha* is an individual human being). In addition to the historical Buddha of the present world-age, Śakyamuni Buddha, the Hinayana speaks of six predecessors in earlier ages (Vipaśyin, Śikhim, Viśvabhu, Krakucchanda, Kanakamuni, Kaśyapa) and of one successor yet to come (Maitreya), making eight in all, while sometimes there is also one other at a very age (Dipankara), making nine in all. In the Mahayana and the Vajrayana there are also groups of twenty-four and fifty-two and "one thousand," and it is said that in fact in all ages there are as many Buddhas as grains of sand at the Ganges.

Of the Manushi Buddhas five in particular are considered as earthly manifestations in the spiritual families of the Five Tathagatas. (1) Krakucchanda ('Khor wa 'jigs pron. Khorwa-jik) is a manifestation of Vairocan and Samantabhadra. (2) Kanakamuni (gSer tub,

pron. Ser-thüp) is a manifestation of Akshobhya and Varjrapani. (3) Kaśyapa is a manifestation of Ratnasambhava and Ratnapani. (4) Śakyamuni (Shakya thub-pa, pron. Sha-cha thüp-pa) is a manifestation of Amitabha and Avalokiteśvara. (5) Maitreya (Byams pa, pron. Champa), "friendly," is a manifestation of Amoghasiddhi and Viśvapani, is waiting now as a Bodhisattva in the Tushita (dGa' ldan, pron. Ganden, meaning joyful) heaven, and will come as the future Buddha. In the larger group of twenty-four Manushi Buddhas the most prominent is Dipankara (Mar me mdsad, pron. Mar-me-dse), the "enlightener," who is said to have lived on earth in one of the very remote ages of past time.

THE ARHATS

A group of sixteen (or eighteen) *arhats* (Tibetan gnas brtan, pron. nêpten) is believed to have been entrusted by Śakyamuni Buddha with the continuing task of protecting the Doctrine and of being present to reward virtue wherever good deeds are done. Only finally at the coming of Maitreya will their task be completed, and all will then enter nirvana together. The lists of these *arhats* vary, but one Tibetan lists gives the names of the sixteen as: Rahula, Cudapanthaka, Pindolabharadvaja, Panthaka, Nagasena, Gopaka, Abheda, Angaja, Ajita, Vanavasin, Kalika, Vajriputra, Bhadra, Kanakavatsa, Kanakabharadvaja, and Bahula; to whom Hvasang and Dharmatala are sometimes added to make eighteen.[4]

PROTECTIVE DEITIES

Protective deities (Tibetan mgon po, pron. gompo) are very important in Tibetan Buddhism. They comprise several different classes.

YIDAMS

The Yidams (Sanskrit ishtadevata, Tibetan yi dam, yi dam lha) are tutelary or personal protective deities, chosen by the devotee for life or for a particular undertaking, and they are also the guardians of various schools or sects as well as the presiding deities of the several tantric systems and their initiations (as already noted above in Chapter 7). The yidam is usually represented together with his *prajna*, and it is considered that a tutelary god is more efficacious

if worshiped in company with his consort.

The Heruka (Tibetan khrag thung, pron. trhakthung) is an important type of yidam. The name means "blood-drinker," an appellation now sometimes explained as meaning that the Heruka drinks the blood of egoism, doubt, and dualistic confusion. Five Herukas are seen as manifestations of the Five Tathagatas, as follows: Vairocana/Buddhaheruka, Akshobhya/Vajraheruka, Ratnasambhava/Ratnaheruka, Amitabha/Padmaheruka, and Amoghasiddhi/Karmaheruka.

DHARMAPALAS

The Dharmapalas (Tibetan chos skyong, pron. chhö chyong) are protectors of the Doctrine (*dharma*). In this category a group of eight is especially notable, known as the eight terrible ones (Drag ched). The origin of their worship is supposed to go back to Padmasambhava who, when he conquered the malevolent gods he found in Tibet, spared those who promised to become protectors of the Buddhist doctrine. That most of them are portrayed in ferocious forms is because it is their work to bring fear to evil spirits. Among them the following are the most prominent. (1) Śridevi (dPal ldan lha mo, pron. Pelden Lhamo), "glorious goddess," the only feminine divinity among the eight terrible ones, is apparently a form of the Hindu Kali/Durga/Parvati, is a consort of Yama, is characteristically shown seated sideways on her horse or mule, with a human skull in her hand and necklaces of human skulls about her, and is considered the female guardian of the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama. (2) Hayagriva (rTa mgrin, pron. Tam din), "with the neck of a horse," has a horse's head as his distinctive mark. (3) Mahakala (dPal mgon phyag drug, pron. Pelgon Chhakdruk), the "great black" one, appears as the Buddhist form of the Hindu Śiva, and is represented in many different forms, usually with the trident as his symbol and with skulls in his headdress. (4) Yama (gShin rje, pron. Shinjè), is the god of the dead. (5) Yamantaka (gShin rje gshed, pron. Shinjè she) is the conqueror of the god of death. In his terrifying aspect Yamantaka is also known as Bhairava or Vajrabhairava ('Jigs byed or dPal rdo rje 'jigs byed, pron. Pel Dorje Jikje), and thus also appears to be related to Śiva, one of whose names is Bhairava (terrible). In Tibet Yamantaka is considered a ferocious emanation of Manjuśri, and he is the special

yidam of the Geluk-pa order. (6) Begtse (Beg tse), "coat of mail," is a war god of Central Asian (Mongolian) origin, and is also the patron of horses. On his journey in 1578 to visit Altan Khan and to receive the title of Dalai (as narrated above in Chapter 9), Sonam Gyatsho is supposed to have met this war demon as well as other Mongol gods and to have converted them and made them into protectors of *dharma*, just as Padmasambhava once did with the early gods of Tibet. (7) Kubera (Nam thos re), "ugly body," also known as Vaiśravana, is originally the Hindu god of riches and the treasures of earth such as gold, silver, and gems, and is also the lord of the earth spirits (*yakshas*) who guard the treasures hidden in the roots of trees. (8) Sitabrahma (Tshangs pa dkar po, pron. Tshangpa Karpo) is the White Brahma, the Tibetan form of the Hindu creator god.

LOKAPALAS

The Lokapalas ('Jig rten skyong, pron Jig-ten chyong) are "place guardians" or protective deities of the directions. There are four guardians of the four cardinal points, and they are also the kings of several classes of supernatural beings, as follows. In accordance with the standard iconography all four are normally shown as warriors, wearing costs of mail, boots, and headdress or crown, and they are distinguished by their different colors and particular attributes. (1) Virupaksha (Mig mi bzan, pron. Mig Midang), Guardian of the West and king of the serpent deities (nagas, Tibetan klu, pron. lu), is red in color and holds a serpent in his right hand and a jewel (*ratna*) in his left. (2) Vaiśravana (rNam thos sras, pron. Nam Thöse) or Kubera, Guardian of the North and king of the *yakshas*, is yellow in color and holds a banner of victory (*dhvaja*) and a mongoose (*nakula*). (3) Dhritarashtra (Yul 'khor bsrung, pron. Yül Khorsung), Guardian of the East and king of the celestial musicians called *gandharvas* (Tibetan dri za), is white color and holds a stringed instrument. (4) Virudhaka ('Phags skyes po, pron. Phak Kyepo), Guardian of the South and king of the malignant spirits called *kumbhanda* (Tibetan *grul* bum, pron. trulpum), is dark blue in color and holds a sword (*khadga*).

DAMCANS

The Damcans (dam can, meaning bound by vow) are deities of early Tibetan-Central Asian origin, taken into Buddhism as protective deities, where they especially watch over the keeping of vows, and protect monasteries and oracles. Reflecting their origin, they are normally mounted and garbed in Mongolian style apparel.

FEMININE DEITIES

Feminine divinities are numerous and important in Tibetan Bdudhism, and comprise many different groups.

PRAJNAS OF THE TATHAGATAS

The feminine consorts (*prajnas*) of the Five Tathagatas are the following. (1) Vajradhatviśvari (rDo rje dbyings kyi dbang phyug ma pron. Dorje Yingkyi Wangchhukma), "thunderbolt/diamond metal goddess," is the *prajna* of Vairocana. (2) Buddhalocana or Locana sPyan ma, pron. Chem-ma), "light," is the *prajna* of Akshobhya. (3) Mamaki (Ma ma ki), "motherling," is the *prajna* of Ratnasambhava. (4) Pandara (Gos dkar mo, pron. Gö Karmo), "yellow," is the *prajna* of Amitabha. (5) Tara (sGrol ma, pron. Drölma, here spelled Dolma), "star" or "savioress," is the *prajna* of Amoghasiddhi.

TARA/DOLMA

Tara/Dolma is known in five main forms (as well as many others), and the Taras are among the most powerful and beloved goddesses of the entire pantheon. (1) The White Tara (sGrol ma dkar po, pron. Drölma Karpo) or "white savioress" is probably (as noted above in Chapter 5) the form of Tara/Dolma incarnate in Trhisun, the Nepalese wife of King Songtsen Gampo. She is a companion of the Boddhisattva Avalokiteśvara and thus also closely related to the Dalai Lamas as themselves incarnations of Avalokitevśara. The white Tara/Dolma is usually seen seated, in white color, in peaceable manifestation, and with seven eyes, the two normal eyes and the eye of wisdom in the forehead, together with one eye each in the palms of the hands and soles of the feet. In a form called

Ushnisha Sitatapatra (gGugs dkar mo, pron. Duk Karmo) she has a thousand heads and arms, with an eye in the palm of each of the thousand hands as symbol of all-seeing compassion (this form of the goddess not to be confused with the thousand-armed form of Arya-Avalokiteśvara). (2) The Green Tara (sGrol ma ljang gu, pron. Drölma Jang-gu) or "green savioress" is probably the form of Tara/Dolma incarnate in Wencheng, the Chinese wife of King Songtsen Gampo. She is usually seen seated with the right leg hanging down, in green color, in peaceable manifestation, and with a dark blue lotus bud as a symbol. (3) The Blue Tara or Ekajata (Ral gcig ma, pron. Ral Chig-ma), meaning she who has but one chignon, is supposedly an early Tibetan goddess who was overcome by Padmasambhava. She is seen in blue color with a high red chignon, with from one to twelve heads and from two to twenty-four arms, and is terrifying in manifestation. (4) The Red Tara or Kurukulla (Ku ru ku le) is seen in red color, in a dancing form, and in terrifying manifestation. (5) The Yellow Tara or Bhrikuti (Khro gner can ma, pron. Tonyer Chem-ma), "she who frowns," is seen in yellow color, with one or more heads and up to eight arms, and in both peacable and terrifying manifestations.

In addition to Pelden Lhamo, mentioned above among the Dharmapalas, yet other important feminine divinities are the following: (1) Parnaśavari (Lo ma gyon ma, pron. Loma Gyön-ma), the goddess "dressed in leaves," may have been taken over from primitive forest tribes, and is considered a protector against epidemics and a follower of Tara. (2) Vasudhara (Nor rgyun ma, pron. Nor Gyün-ma) is an earth goddess and goddess of abundance. (3) Sarasvati (Dbyans can ma, pron. Yang Dhem-na), "having a melodious voice," is the Vedic river-goddess and the Hindu patroness of music, poetry, and art; in Tibet she is the *prajna* of Manjuśri; if she holds a dorje she is called Vajrasarasvati. (4) Ushnishavijaya (Nam rGyal ma, pron. Nam Gyelma) is called the queen of enlightenment and the mother of all Buddhas, and is a popular goddess of long life. (5) Prajnaparamita (*prajna* wisdom; *param* farther side, beyond; *ita*, has gone, has arrived at; in Tibetan Pha rol tu phyin pa, abbreviated Phar phyin, pron. Pharchhin) is she who has arrived on the far side, has gone beyond, i.e., the goddess of higher cognition or transcendent wisdom, and the personification of the

system of the same name and of the related Sutra which she regularly carries.

Many female deities are yidams. The peaceable are called by the term *bhagavati* (Tibetan bcom ldan 'das, pron. comdenda), the semi-wrathful and wrathful are called by the term *dakini* (Tibetan mkha' 'gro ma, pron. khandroma, literally one who goes in the sky).

DAKINIS

Five *dakinis* are the feminine consorts of the five Herukas, and are associated with the Five Tathagatas as follows: Vairocana/Buddhaheruka/Buddhadakini, Akshobhya/Vajraheruka/Vajradakini, Ratnasambhava/Ratnaheruka/Ratnadakini, Amitabha/Padmaheruka/Padmadakini, and Amoghasiddhi/Karmaheruka/Karmadakini. Of these, Vajradakini (Tibetan rDo rje mkhah hgro, pron. Dorje Khado) is especially prominent, and is also known as Vajrayogini (rDo rje rnal 'byor ma, pron. Dorje Naljorma) or the adamantine *yogini*. In another aspect she is called Vajravarahi (rDo rje phag mo, pron. Dorje Phakmo), or the adamantine female boar and is distinguished by an excrescence of the appearance of a boar near her right ear. Vajravarahi was notably believed to be incarnate in the series of abbesses of the bSam lding (pron. Samding) monastery on Lake *Yam drok* in Southern Tibet. Nairatmya (Tibetan dDag med ma, pron. Damema, meaning selflessness or nonego) is also an important *dakini*, and may be associated with the Adi-Buddha in his form as Vajrasattva, the adamantine being, or with Heruka/Hevajra. It will also be remembered that the name by which Marpa called his wife, the lady who played a great role in his life as his spiritual compa-nion, was Nairatmya.

OTHERS IN THE PANTHEON

Yet other figures are lesser deities (e.g., *kshetrapala* or "field-guardians" who guard villages and fields, and *dvarapala* or "gate-keepers"); demons of many different classes (bdud, pron. du", dmu, pron. mu, grul bum, pron. trulpum, etc.); the eighty-four *mahasiddhas* (Tibetan grub thob, pron. trupthop, meaning accomplished), who are great enlightened masters in the tantric tradition, among them Tilopa, Naropa, and Maitripa; founders of sects and schools, Padmasambhava, Atiśa, Tsongkhapa, and others; and other deified historical persons, lamas, Dalai and Panchen Lamas, etc.

11

Sites and Monuments in Tibet

IN Tibet the chief monuments of history and of Buddhism are palaces, monasteries, temples, and chortens, together with the various images, wall paintings, tankas, mandalas, and symbolic objects associated therewith.

STRUCTURES

In Tibetan terminology a palace is a pho brang or a mkhar (pron. khar), and a monastery is a dgon pa (pron. gönpa, or gompa), meaning a solitary place. At a monastery the main courtyard is a place for the monastic dance or mystery play (aCh'am, pron. Tscham) performed at many festivals of the year. The main assembly hall is called the 'du khang or 'du khang chen mo and is usually arranged with longitudinal rows of benches or cushions for the monks in their daily rituals. The hall may also be called the tshogs khang (pron. tschokhang), which refers to the tshogs pa or communal liturgy. Surrounding the main hall in a large monastery are monastic colleges or teaching establishment (grwa tshang), with their individual assembly halls ('du khang). Residential quarters are of course provided, and along with these there may also be hostels (khang tshan) for nonresident monks who come for visits or study. As a part of a monastic complex or as a separate institution a temple is a lha khang (god's house, lha being the general term for deity. A mgon khang (pron. gomkhang) is a chapel or temple for the class of gods known as the protective deities (mgon po, pron. gompo) and, among them, for the special deity (yi dam) of the sect.

As is characteristic of Tibetan buildings in general from the earliest times onward, both palace and monastery buildings are usually

constructed with massive inward-sloping walls, with windows wider at the bottom than at the top, and in several stories, with balconies and flat roofs. Residential quarters in the monasteries are usually painted white, chaples, temples, and assembly halls painted red.

On the main altar of a temple or chapel is ordinarily the image of the Buddha or Bodhisattva or other divinity to whom reverence is especially accorded and after whom the place may be named, and this figure may be surrounded by many lesser and attendant deities and/or disciples.

Frequently associated with temple or monastery, or again standing alone, is the stupa, in Tibetan called mchod rten (pron. chörten), which literally means an "offering holder." As the chorten is usually constructed in Tibet, steps lead up to a square base, above which a few more steps support a bulbous structure which may be surmounted by wheels or umbrellas (thirteen standing for the thirteen heavens), culminating in a crescent moon and sun or other ornamental top piece. The chorten may be a funerary monument (normally only for a prominent person, the disposition of the dead otherwise customarily being by burial, exposure to the vultures, etc.), or the chorten may simply contain sacred objects of any sort, including relics, images, tankas, leaves of sacred books, etc., which are put inside when the structure is built or inserted afterward through special openings. Some chortens are very large, themselves containing numerous chapels, and are called sku 'bum (pron. kumbum), meaning "hundred thousand image (chorten)." In ceremonial visit to a chorten or other scared object the normal circumambulation (*pradakshina*) is clockwise, keeping the object on the right.[1]

Often associated with the chorten, temple, or monastery is the so-called *mani*-wall, i.e., a wall built of innumerable stones and slabs with inscriptions such as the mantra, om ma ni pad me hum (variously interpreted, e.g., "Om [a sacred syllable of assent], the Jewel [of the Doctrine] in the Lotus [of the World], Hum [a syallable of concluding affirmation]").

Also found in such associations or at special points in the country side such as hilltops, crossroads, etc., is the lha tho (pron. lhato), also lha btsas (pron. lhaptse). This is in its early origin a heap of stones dedicated to a local deity and constituting a sort of spirit-shrine (lha, god or spirit; tho, a flat stone), and in its more developed form is built up in quadrangular form with three successively

smaller terraces, something like a small step pyramid, and with a stake or pole at the top.

GEOGRAPHY AND GUIDEBOOKS

Tibetan works of geography and of guidance for pilgrims to sacred sites and monuments have been described above in Chapter 3, namely, the Mirror which Illuminates All the Inanimate and Animate Things and Explains Fully the Great World, written by bLa ma bTsan po (pron. Lama Tsenpo) in 1820, a geography of the world with a long section on Tibet (hereafter referred to simply as Geography of Tibet);[2] the Guide to the Holy Places of Central Tibet, written by mK'yen brtse (pron. Kyentse) (1820–1892);[3] and The Temples of Lhasa, written by the Fifth Dalai Lama, Ngag dbang bLo bzang rgya mtsho (pron. Ngawang Lopsang Gyatsho) (1617–1682).[4]

SAMYE

The Samye (bSam yas) monastery, founded by Śantarakshita and Padmasambhava under King Trhisong Detsen (reigned 755–797), was the oldest Buddhist monastery in Tibet and the first in which Tibetans themselves were trained as monks. Although now destroyed, it is described by Buston, Lama Tsenpo, and Kyentse, and is pictured in a Tibetan tanka ascribed to the sixteenth-seventeenth century in the Albert L. Shelton Collection in the Newark Museum (Fig. 6).[5]

The location of the monastery is 56 km/35 mi southeast of Lhasa and about 5 km/3 mi north of the Yarlung Tsangpo River. The entire plan was said to have been patterned after the monastery of Odantapuri in India, and amounted to a great mandala, symbolizing the world as seen in Buddhist cosmology. The site was surrounded by a high circular stone wall 2.5 km/1.5 mi in circumference, with gates facing the four points of the compass, the wall standing for the circle of mountains that surrounds the universe. The large temple (dbu rtse) in the center had three stories and represented Mount Meru (Ri rab, pron. Rirap) in the center of the universe. Around it on its four sides in the four directions were four chapels (gling bzhi) which stood for the four main continents, and to the right and left of each of these was a lesser chapel (gling

p'ran), making eight of these in all to represent the eight subsidiary continents. On each of the four sides of the central buildings there was also a chorten, while yet other buildings belonged to the entire ensemble. In the first storey of the main temple there was a statue of *Jo bo* (pron. Chowo, meaning lord, and referring to Śakyamuni Buddha) as well as two more Buddhas, and in addition there was preserved as a sacred relic a round cup which was made from the skull of Śantarakshita.

NETHANG

The site of sNye thang (pron. Nyethang, in this book spelled Nethang) is on the ancient caravan route and the modern road which follow the Kyi Chu upstream to Lhasa, at a distance of about 20 km/12 mi short of Lhasa. This was a main center of the work of Atiśa in Central Tibet, as is recorded in the Blue Annals where Lhasa and two other less well-known places are also named: "Nethang, Lhasa, Yerpa and Lanpa are the places where the Master preached extensively the Doctrine." Nethang was also the place where "the Master proceeded to Tushita [the heaven of Maitreya Buddha]," i.e., the place where Atiśa died in 1054.[6]

Kyentse refers to the Kyi River (which he calls the Tsangpo) and writes concerning Nethang:

> At the very side of the road, going upstream along the caravan route, there is sNye thang the residence of Jo bo rje (Atiśa). Here, in the sNye thang or (monastery), some blessing-bestowing sacred symbols, such as the reliquary of Jo bo rje . . . can be seen inside a chapel. Below it there is a life-like statue of Jo bo rje, with the fingerprint of Jo bo rje himself, and the great tomb of Bla ma Dam pa bSod nams rgyal mtshan . . .[7]

Lama Dampa Sonam Gyentsen, the personage named at the end of the foregoing quotation, was a member of the Sakya-pa who lived 1312–1375 and for a short period just before his death was the teacher of Tsongkhapa, who was at that time a yout hand himself studying at Nethang.

In all, the plain at Nethang was marked with three temples. The first is the Dolma Lhakhang, which bears the name of Dolma/Tara, the goddess of whom Atiśa was a fervent devotee, and whose worship he spread in Tibet. The temple was damaged in the Cultural

Revolution, but when its treasures were intact they included Atiśa's robe preserved in a gilt bronze chorten, the relics of Marpa the master of Milarepa, statues representing Tara/Dolma in twenty-one manifestations, statues of the Buddhas of the past, present, and future, and statues of eight Bodhisattvas.

The second temple was the Kumbum Lhakhang, and it had two large chortens, one believed to contain the relics of Atiśa, as mentioned by Kyentse in his description of the Nethang monastery. Kyentse also spoke of a life-like statue of Atiśa, and it was flanked by figures of Atiśa's favorite pupils, 'Brom ston (Drom) and Nag tsho lo tsa ba (Naktsho lotsava), the former being the lay disciple who prevailed upon Atiśa to come to Central Tibet, and the latter being the monk who was sent originally to Vikramaśila in India to invite Atiśa to come in the first place to Tibet. Many pictures of Tara/Dolma also adorned the temple.

The third temple was dedicated to the sixteen *arhats* (Tibetan gnas brtan, pron. nèpten), the great saints whose task it is to protect the Doctrine and reward virtue until Maitreya comes. The temple contained statues of Śakyamuni, of Boddhisattvas, and of the *arhats*.[8]

LHASA

The city of Lhasa is situated at an elevation of 3,627 m/11,900 ft. in a plain surrounded by mountains on all sides, and is on the right bank of the Kyi Chu, tributary of the Yarlung Tsangpo. It is famed for its palaces, temples, and monasteries.

POTALA

Lhasa is dominated by the great palace on the Red Hill (dmar po ri, pron. marpori) built originally by King Songtsen Gampo in the seventh century CE, and occupied thereafter by his successors and later still, after rebuilding, by the Dalai Lamas. At the foot of the hill on the south side, in the Zhol district of the city, is the tall stone pillar (rdo rings, pron. doring, meaning "ancient stone") inscribed in Tibetan with the record concerning the minister Klu Khong and the events of 763 under King Trhisong Detsen. By the ninth century much of the palace on the hill was destroyed and little survived but the meditation cave of Songtsen Gampo and the chapel of Avaloki-

teśvara, then in 1645 the Fifth Dalai Lama (1617–1682) began the work of reconstruction and enlargement. The eleven-storied whitewashed part known as the White Palace (pho brang dkar po) was completed in 1653, and at that time the Fifth Dalai Lama moved from his previous residence in the Drepung monastery to the Potala, which remained from then on the official residence of the Dalai Lamas. The thirteen-storied red-painted Red Palace (pho brang dmar po) was started in 1690 by the regent Sang-gye Gyatsho who continued the work of the Fifth Dalai Lama, and was completed in 1694. Behind the palace on the north the Dargon King Lake was created in the depression made by the removal of the enormous amount of earth required for the mortar of the palace. On the south the so-called Two Glasses Lakes provide a favorable point from which to view the main south side of the Potala (See illustration).

It will be remembered from Chapter 5 that the Potala derived its name from the similar name of a mountain in South India which was sacred to Avalokiteśvara, the Boddhisattva who is the protector of Tibet and is incarnate in the Dalai Lamas, and thus the Potala is itself the palace of Avalokiteśvara. This understanding of the situation is reflected in the Geography of Tibet by Lama Tsenpo, when the author speaks of "the palace of the Dalai Lama in whom Avalokiteśvara displays himself through human gestures," i.e., through the Dalai Lama himself, the latter considered as the form assumed by Avalokiteśvara to do his work on earth (his *nirmana-kaya*).[9]

THE CHORTENS OF THE DALAI LAMAS

Contained in the Potala are the funerary chortens of all the Dalai Lamas from the Fifth to the Thirteenth, with the exception only of the Sixth (1683–1708), the latter having died on his way to Beijing and having been denied by the Chinese the burial otherwise considered as befitting his rank. As he describes the Potala, Kyentse mentions most of the chortens of the Dalai Lamas up to his own time (including that of the Eleventh Dalai Lama 1838–1856), calling them golden reliquaries (gser gdung), and he speaks especially of the chorten of the Fifth Dalai Lama, in front which was a reputed relic from a previous birth of the Buddha:

In the Potala, the palace of sPyan ras gzigs (Avalokiteś-

> vara), one may visit from above, from below, and in the middle, the golden reliquary of the Fifth Dalai Lama, (called) Unique Ornament of the world. Particularly, there are many marvelous things, such as, in front of the door of the tomb, a tusk of the Master when he took rebirth as an elephant.[10]

Kyentse also tells of a statue of Jo bo Lokeśvara (i.e., Avalokiteśvara as lord of the world) in the main chapel of the Potala, of the statues of several important personages, of a stone with the footprints of Padmasambhava from the pass on the border of Nepal where Padmasambhava crossed into Tibet at the invitation of King Trhisong Detsen, and of "a great number of other extraordinary esoteric images." In all, Kyentse says, there is an endless number of chapels,in some of which are mandalas built up in relief, and he also makes special mention of the cave at one end of the Potala where Songtsen Gampo, the religious king (chos rgyal), used to retire to meditate.

At the present time the Potala is maintained as virtually a museum under the government's Cultural Relics Commission. The vast structure stretches 366 m/1,200 ft from east to west and 335 m/1,100 ft from north to south, and rises in its maximum of thirteen stories to a height of 110 m/361 ft. The stone walls slope inward as they rise, the windows are wider at the bottom than the top, and the flat roofs are at various levels. In the interior are said to be one thousand rooms.

On its front (southern) side the Potala as approached by broad steep flights of steps. These lead to East Gate and the very large East Courtyard (called rNam rgyal, pron. Namgyel, meaning "perfect victor"). The courtyard was formerly the place of monastic dances observed by the Dalai Lama from a special chamber on the fifth floor of the building opposite, which is the East Main Hall.

The East Main Hall is the largest building of the White Palace, and it contains the throne of the Dalai Lama, where he used to confer with his counselors. The West Main Hall is the largest building of the Red Palace, and it contains the mountain cave which was the meditation cave of Songtsen Gampo, and the chapel of Avalokiteśvara, which are oldest parts of the Potala.

In the Great Chorten Hall the largest and most ornate of the eight funerary chortens of the Dalai Lamas are those of the Fifth Dalai Lama 14.85 m/49 ft high, and of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama

14 m/46 ft high, each of which rises through three stories, so that its top reaches to the level of a gallery at that height above the base. Each tomb is covered with gold and adorned with precious stones, and the monument of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama, standing in its own separate hall, is the most splendid of all. In the chapel of the Fifth Dalai Lama is also a small chorten said to contain the relics of Byang chub 'od (Changchup O), the king who invited Atiśa to come and teach in Tibet.

On the top of the Potala the places of the funerary chortens below are marked by golden roofs, which are visible from afar (see illustration). On the top too are bells and guardian animals, and on the parapet ornamental and protective towers, and embossed cylinder of gold, a golden bellshaped gyamtschen, explained as signifying the flourishing of Buddhism, and a cylindrical *thug*, fixed on a support, girded with black yak hair, enclosed by vertical and horizontal golden bands, and surmounted by a trident, an apotropaic device derived originally from the Tibetan folk religion.

In the Potala were dormitories for 154 resident monks, and on the highest level are the residential quarters of the Dalai Lama. In contrast with the dark interior of most of the palace, there is here a view of the sky and the mountains around, and the two parts of the living arrangements are known as the Eastern Sunshine Hall and the Western Sunshine Hall. Each part contains bedroom, reception room, prayer room, and *sutra*-chanting room.

Although the Potala has been plundered repeatedly in Mongol and Chinese invasions, its halls still contain many treasures of Tibetan Buddhism and art. Many wall paintings depict the development of Buddhism, the life of the Fifth Dalai Lama, the construction of the Potala, etc. Likewise there are many sculptured figures, e.g., an image of the Buddha bedecked with homage scarfs (k 'a btags) and honored with bowls of holy water and lighted lamps and candles, a statue of Tsongkhapa similarly reverenced in a chapel of the West Assembly Hall, and a statue of Songtsen Gampo together with the eleven-headed and thousand armed Avalokiteśvara in the chapel of his mountain cave. Also the exterior walls of the golden-roofed buildings on top of the Potala are covered with paintings in which the White Tara/Dolma, the companion of Avalokiteśvara, and Pelden Lhamo, the female protective deity who is especially the guardian of the Dalai Lama, are prominent.

THE IRON HILL

On the Iron Hill (lcags po ri, pron. Chakpori) not far to the southwest of the Potala, where Songtsen Gampo also built a palace, was a medical college which Lama Tsenpo mentions, and a temple with images of Amitayus, Avalokiteśvara, and Dolma which are mentioned by Kyentse although he does not explicitly speak of the temple itself.[11] The Chakpori medical college was still in existence into the twentieth century but the Iron Hill, often enough through the years the center of battles, is now the site of a Chinese military establishment. Not directly derived from the medical college but continuing the traditions of Tibetan medicine is the Hospital of Tibetan Medicine in Old Lhasa, established in 1915 and originally known as Menzinkang, meaning an institute of medicine and astronomical calculation. Attached to the hospital is the Institute of Tibetan Medicine in which are studied the records of Tibetan medicine going back for many centuries, and the astronomical research center in which the calculations basic to the Tibetan calendar are maintained.

NORBULINGKA

In 1755 the Seventh Dalai Lama (1708-1757) constructed a park called Norbulingka (garden of jewels) to the southwest of the Iron Hill, and in it a Summer Palace (Kesag Pochang) which was henceforth the summer residence of the Dalai Lamas, while the Potala remained the winter palace. In the reign of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama (1876-1933) the park was considerably enlarged, and in 1954-1956 the Fourteenth Dalai Lama built the New Palace, called Datanminchui Pochang, meaning "the eternally unchangeable palace" (Fig. 25). Once reserved for the Dalai Lama, the park is now open to the public. In the New Palace the North and South Halls are the religious halls of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama. Murals depict the story of the marriage of Princess Wencheng to Songtsen Gampo in 641, while a private study contains tantric paintings and statues. The golden throne of the Dalai Lama is in the North Hall; on one side a mural shows the Fourteenth Dalai Lama enthroned, with his mother, older brother, and other family members and officials; on the other side a mural depicts his predecessor, the Thirteenth Dalai Lama.

JOKHANG

The Jokhang is the temple originally called the Tsuglagkhang which was built in the seventh century by King Songtsen Gampo in conjunction with his Nepalese queen, into which was moved at his death Jo bo ("lord [Buddha]") statue which was brought from China by his Chinese queen, giving rise to the name Jokhang ("house of the lord [Buddha]") for the temple. The temple was enlarged in the early fourteenth century, and again in the seventeenth century by the Fifth Dalai Lama.

Opened again for worship in March 1979 for the first time in twenty years and now visited by large numbers of persons, the Jokhang stands in the center of Old Lhasa, and is surrounded by the circular street called the Parkhor, which means "around the temple," and is both a market street and a circumambulation route of pilgrims. The temple is three stories high, and Kyentse speaks of the many images which are placed "above, below, and in the middle of the temple" (i.e., in the three stories), and says that in the temple itself together with its enclosure "there is an immense quantity of symbols of the three planes."

The entrance porch has finely carved wooden pillars which appear to have been the work of Nepalese craftsmen. Here both men and women prostrate themselves before entering the interior. The central courtyard on the ground level in the interior is open to the sky and now completely bare but overhung by a banner with the Wheel and the Deer, and here the visitor prepares to visit the chapels roundabout (see illustration). There are three chapels on the left and right sides of the court, and at the far side is the shrine with the most highly venerated image of Śakyamuni Buddha, the Jo bo Śakyamuni or the Jo bo rinpoche. This is believed to be the very statue which (as narrated above in Chapter 5) was brought to Tibet by Princess Wencheng in the seventh century, was first in the Ramoche and was then moved into the Tsuglagkhang (now the Jokhang). As it exists the statue is 2 m/6.6 ft high, golden, with a gold crown and a gold aura encrusted with precious stones.

In the chaples of the Jokhang are many other images. In view of the origin of the temple special interest attaches to statues in a chapel on the first level above the ground level, which were commissioned by the Fifth Dalai Lama, of King Songtsen Gampo and, on his left, his Chinese wife Wencheng and, on his right, his Nepa-

lese wife Trhisum. On the top floor of the temple is a statue of the future Buddha Maitreya (Champa); once on the top floor but now below in the stone courtyard is a statue of Śridevi or Pelden Lhamo. In the cellar of the last hall of the temple is a gate, believed to communicate with the mysterious subterranean lake over which the Jokhang was built, a gate where formerly on the Tibetan New Year propitiatory offerings were made to the lake. The top of the Jokhang is adorned with golden roofs and ornaments, guardian animals (see illustration), and the Wheel of the Law and from the top there is a view across the flat roofs to the houses of Old Lhasa to the Potala.[12]

In front of the Jokhang is the Tablet of Unity, the stone pillar inscribed in Tibetan and Chinese with the text of the peace treaty between Tibet and China dated in 821-823 CE, but the pillar is now enclosed within protective brick walls and virtually inaccessible. In front of the Jokhang is also the so-called Princess Willow, traditionally said to have been planted personally by Princess Wencheg to symbolize the friendship between China and Tibet, but the tree now appears to be entirely dead.

RAMOCHE

The Ramoche is the temple which was built by King Songtsen Gampo in conjunction with his Chinese queen Wencheng. As explained above in Chapter 5, the famous Great Jo bo statue of Śakyamuni at the age of twelve, brought to Tibet by Wencheng, was originally here but was later placed in the Tsuglagkhang (which became the Jokhang), while the Akshobhyavajra statue brought to Tibet by Songtsen Gampo's Nepalese queen Trhisun and placed in the Tsuglagkhang was moved in exchange and placed in the Ramoche, where it was called the Little Jo bo and thought to be a statue of Śakyamuni at the age of eight. The Ramoche was also said to be the burial place of the Chinese queen. In view of its history the Ramoche was the second temple in order of importance after the Tsuglagkhang (Jokhang).

The location of the Ramoche was at the north side of Lhasa and it was, like the Jokhang, a building of three stories. As at the Jokhang the front porch was built with carved wooden pillars of apparently Nepalese workmanship, and here the porch was also adorned with wall paintings of the Four Guardians (*lokapalas*) of

the cardinal points. There were also paintings on the walls of the main hall, and these included a picture of pho lha nas bSod nams stobs rgyas (pron. Pholhanê Sönam Topgye), the Regent (1728-1747) of the Seventh Dalai Lama, therefore these paintings must have been not earlier than the eighteenth century in date. In the time of the Chinese Cultural Revolution the Ramoche was damaged and the Little Jo bo statue was broken and part carried off to China, but this has been returned and the statue and the temple at least partially restored.[13]

MONASTERIES

The three greatest monasteries in the vicinity of Lhasa were the dGa' ldan (pron. Ganden), the 'Bras spungs (pron. Drepung), and the Se ra (pron. Sera), all belonging to the Geluk-pa or Yellow Sect, the order of the Dalai Lama. At their height in earlier days they officially had 3,300, 7,700, and 6,600 monks respectively, and in fact probably housed many more. In 1962 both the Sera and the Drepung were recognized as historic monuments under the special protection of the Autonomous Region of Tibet.

GANDEN

The Ganden (dGa' ldan) was located 40 km/25 mi to the east-northeast of Lhasa, on a hill of 4,267 m/14,000 ft elevation south of the Kyi Chu. The monastery was founded in 1409 by Tsongkhapa, the founder of the Geluk-pa order, and is named (dGa' ldan, the joyful) from the Tibetan name of the Tushita heaven where the future Buddha, Maitreya (Champa), resides. Tsongkhapa was the first abbot, and the simple quarters in which he lived were long preserved—dark rooms with low ceilings and walls covered with paintings. Tsongkhapa died here in 1419, and his remains were preserved in a golden funerary chorten, which was flanked by the tombs of two of his main disciples. After the original foundation, many more buildings were constructed and statues consecrated by the successors of Tsongkhapa. In contrast with the custom in most of the other great Tibetan monasteries, at Ganden the position of the superior was determined not by heredity nor by reincarnation but by election from among the most learned monks. Kyentse mentions numerous objects and countless symbols which were to be

seen at Ganden, but does not describe any of these in detail.

Under the Chinese and in the Cultural Revolution the buildings of Ganden were razed to the ground, and all the priceless articles of the monastery—gold, silver, precious stones, and metals—were carried off to China. In 1982 Tibetan volunteers were undertaking rebuilding.[14]

DREPUNG

The Drepung ('Bras spungs) monastery is 10 km/6 mi west of Lhasa, in a valley framed by mountains on three sides. The name comes from the place in South India (Śri Dhanyakataka, in Tibetan dPal ldan 'Bras spungs, pron. Pelden Drepung) where the Buddha taught the esoteric doctrine of the Kalacakra Tantra. The monastery was founded in 1416 by a personal disciple of Tsongkhapa known as 'Jam dbyangs (pron. Jamyang), this first part of his long name being the Tibetan name of the Bodhisattva Manjuśri. Jamyang was born in 1397, served as the first abbot of the monastery, and died in 1449 at the age of seventy-one years. The monastery preserved what Kyentse calls "the little sleeping cell" of 'Jam dbyangs, and Kyentse also speaks of the four colleges of the monastery, of its printing house, and of its many sacred images. Of the images the foremost, says Kyentse, is that of 'Jigs byed (pron. Jikje), i.e., Bhairava, the terrific aspect of the tantric deity Yamantaka, adopted as the protecting divinity of the Geluk-pa. Inside the image, Kyentse explains, are relics of Rwa lo tsa ba. This personage was the most famous of the masters who taught the cycle of Yamantaka. His personal name was rDo rje grags (pron. Dorje Trak), and he flourished around 1076, performing a tremendous activity as translator, teacher, and restorer of temples and monasteries, to whose libraries he gave countless books. Another remarkable statue reported by Kyentse at Drepung was a talking image of Dolma, who was the tutelary deity of Atiśa and closely associated with the Dalai Lamas, whose residence was here prior to the reconstruction of the Potala by the Fifth Dalai Lama. Not far away was also the temple called Nechung Chos-kyong, which was the seat of the state oracle.

At Drepung several of the assembly halls and much of the residential quarters and the western wing which was the residence of the Dalai Lamas still stand (see illustration). On top of the first assembly hall are the usual Golden Wheel and Deer (see illustration)

Inside, among a profusion of objects, are a statue of Tsongkhapa the founder of the Geluk-pa, statues of several of the Dalai Lamas, (see illustration), an image of Champa (Maitreya) the future Buddha especially worshiped at Drepung as the protecting deity of the monastery, a statue of a member of the Geluk-pa wearing the yellow hat of the order, a statue of Śakyamuni Buddha (see illustration), an image of Chenresik (Avalokiteśvara) with one face and six arms, a small golden chorten, and a great black Mahakala.

A steep stone path leads on up to the second assembly hall, on the top of which are golden towers (see illustration) like those on the top of the Potala. Inside, in the entrance hall, are long hanging cylinders of various-colored cloth, which are usual objects for the interior decoration of a temple (lha khang nang rgyan). Statues and images in the hall include those of a guardian deity (see illustration), of Jamyang the founder of Drepung with a small Śakyamuni Buddha beside him, of Champa (Maitreya) the future Buddha, and of Śakyamuni Buddha in a chapel called the Jokhang (see illustration).

At the third assembly hall a small chapel remains as the oldest surviving part of Drepung and contains now very faded murals. In the main hall a tanka is mounted directly overhead (see illustration), Yamantaka is seen in an image with multiple heads and arms, and Śakymuni Buddha is portrayed in a large wall painting.

One other prized treasure at Drepung is a white conch shell, concerning which this story is told. In ancient times when Śakyamuni Buddha lived, a *brahmana* boy (who was Tsongkhapa in an earlier existence) presented him with a crystal rosary and prayed to him, whereupon the Buddha drew from his right side this white conch shell and gave it to the lad with the prediction that in the future the boy would be one who would work for the Buddha's religion and be president of the *dharma* when it would spread in the Himalaya country. The conch shell was later hidden in a hill in Tibet, and eventually found and placed in the monastery.

In comparison with the thousands of monks who were formerly in residence at Drepung (officially 7,700, actually it is said more than 10,000) there were reportedly in 1981 some 200 plus a few neophytes. The Drepung monastery has also been reestablished, however, at Mundgod in South India, a complex of eight villages where some 4,000 Tibetan refugees are settled. Here Drepung, Sera, and Ganden monks hold their sessions in a main assembly hall which accommodates more than 3,000, and the annual New Year's prayer festival,

the Monlam Chenmo inaugurated by Tsongkhapa in Lhasa in 1409, is celebrated with an attendance of more than 10,000 Tibetan devotees.[15]

SERA

The Sera (Se ra) monastery is 5 km/3 mi north of Lhasa, in the valley at the foot of Wudu Mountain. The monastery was founded in 1419 by a prominent disciple of Tsongkhapa named Byams chen chos rje (pron. Chamchen Chhö-je, in this book spelled Chamchen Cho-je), who also founded a monastery called Ha yan si in China. At first the monastery here was small and surrounded by an enclosure of wild rose bushes, hence became known as Se ra, "wild rose fence." Kyentse speaks of Sera as divided into two colleges, and as having a great assembly hall with an endless number of sacred symbols. The most famous object, he says, was a magic dagger which once belonged to an Indian sage before it was found in Tibet, where it was considered a supreme symbol of the *Vajra*/dorje (thunderbolt/diamond scepter). Kyentse also notes a sacred place on the slope of the hills west of Sera which was a meditation spot of King Songtsen Gampo and a hermitage of the very first Tibetan monks. Of Sera, Drepung, and Ganden, along with Trashilhunpo, Kyentse says that these are "the four great monasteries."[16]

Under the Chinese and in the Cultural Revolution the entire rear portion of Sera was destroyed and only the front portion remains, while at the same time most of the treasures of the monastery were also looted or destroyed. A reported approximately 200 monks are again now in residence, and engaged in the tasks of the monastery such as the making of the candles which burn in front of the images (see illustrations). At some of the windows there are flowers, and on the roofs of the first hall and of the great general assembly hall there are still the usual golden towers.

THE WHEEL OF EXISTENCE

At the left end of the porch of the first large hall is a painting of the Wheel of Worldy Existence (Sanskrit *bhavacakra*, Tibetan srid pa'i 'khor lo), a diagram believed to have been drawn first by the Buddha himself, and a picture to be found in the vestibule of many Tibetan monasteries and temples. As seen here at Sera, a monster

demon, usually identified as Yama the god of death, clutches the whole wheel (see illustration). In the smallest circle at the center a hog, a snake, and a cook symbolize the three cardinal sins of ignorance, anger, and lust, and are biting each other's tails to show that these evils are inseparably connected. In the narrow circle around the innermost circle the light half at the viewer's left shows figures ascending to higher levels of existence, the dark half at the right shows figures descending to lower levels. The six main segments of the wheel depict the six worlds of existence. In the upper half are the relatively happier realms of the gods (in the center), the *asuras* or demigods (at the right), and human beings (at the left). In the lower half are the more wretched realms of the animals (at the left), the *pretas* or hungry ghosts (at the right), and those tortured in hells (at the center). In the outer rim of the wheel twelve scenes depict the chain of cause and effect, a blind woman (ignorance), a potter (deeds forming *karma*), a monkey (restless consciousness), two men in a boat (mind and body), a house with six windows (the six senses), a pair of lovers (contact), an arrow piercing the eye of a man (feeling), a drinker served by a woman (thirst and craving), a man gathering fruit (grasping of and clinging to desired objects), a *maithuna* scene of "pairing" (a new process of becoming), a woman giving birth (rebirth in a new existence), and a man carrying a corpse on his back (death). But all of the forms of existence shown in the entire wheel, even that of the gods at the top, are transient, and that is why the whole wheel is held in his claws by the god of death.[17]

THE GUARDIANS OF THE DIRECTIONS

On the same porch at Sera are also paintings of the *lokapalas* who are the Four Guardians of the four cardinal directions, namely, the Guardians of West (Virupaksha) and North (Virśravana) to the left of the central doorway, of East (Dhritarashtra) and South (Virudakha) to the right of the doorway, all depicted in accordance with the standard iconography described above in Chapter 10. Arranged in this sequence, the viewer of the pictures goes from west to north to east to south, which is the proper clockwise direction of circumambulation in respect to any sacred object.

XIGAZE

Xigaze (gZhis kha rtse) is about 340 km/210 mi west-southwest of Lhasa on the south side of the Yarlung Tsangpo at the confluence therewith of the Nyang Chu (Nian Chu), and is after Lhasa the second largest town in Tibet (see illustrations.)

TRASHILHUNPO

The bKra shis lhun po (pron. Trashilhunpo, in the official Chinese transcription Za shen lun bu) monastery is located on the side of the Dubu Mountain west of Xigaze. The monastery was founded in 1447 by Genduntrup, Tsongkhapa's nephew and disciple, who became (retroactively) the First Dalai Lama. Later the Fifth Dalai Lama conferred upon his former teacher the abbot of the monastery, Lopsang Chokyi Gyentsen (1569-1662) the title of Panchen, thus inaugurating the series of Panchen Lamas, for all of whom Trashilhunpo remained the official residence. With the retroactive application of the title to three predecessors, Lopsang Chokyi Gyentsen became the Fourth Panchen Lama, and he and the Fifth and Sixth (in this numbering) made major additions to the Trashilhunpo monastery, as was also done by the Fifth and Thirteenth Dalai Lamas.

In his description of Trashilhunpo Kyentse speaks first of the principal image of the monastery, a great statue of Byams pa, i.e., Champa (Maitreya), the future Buddha. The monastery, Kyentse goes on, also contains the tombs and relics of Lopsang Chokyi Gyentsen the Fourth (or First) Panchen Lama and of his next three successors, the Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh (or Second, Third, and Fourth) of the series. Other images are another of Champa/Maitreya and one of Tara/Dolma. Other sacred symbols are a famous jewel, a knife which belonged to the great mystic Milarepa, and the robes of several ancient members of the Kadam-pa, the order which derived from Atiśa (died 1054) and Drom (1008-1064) and was eventually reorganized by Tsongkhapa as the Geluk-pa.

Along with Drepung, Sera, and Ganden, Trashilhunpo was one of the four chief monasteries of the Geluk-pa and, after the Potala, it is considered the second greatest example of Tibetan architecture. It is marked by extensive residential quarters, many golden roofs, and a large courtyard (see illustration).

As remarked by Kyentse, the most famous image at Trashilhunpo was that of Champa (Maitreya). The Champa temple is in the west part of the monastery, (see illustrations) and is a hall which was built in 1914 by the Thirteenth Dalai Lama. The hall is 30 m/98 ft high, and the great statue in it, made of gold-plated bronze, is 26.8 m/88 ft high. The present statue is said to have been made by the Ninth (or Sixth) Panchen Lama, Gelek Namgyal (1883-1937), but since Kyentse already mentions a "great Maitreya" it may be that the present statue is a reconstruction of an earlier and already large image. Many other statues—of Śakyamuni and his disciples, of Tsongkhapa and his disciples, and others—fill the many halls and chapels of the entire monastery. In addition to the tombs of the several Panchen Lamas listed by Kyentse, among which that of the Fourth Panchen Lama is the largest, there is also in one of the chapels the silver funerary chorten of the First Dalai Lama, Genduntrup. At one side of the monastery, against the mountain side, is a very large and lofty tower with a vast expanse of wall called the go ku pea or the "stored silken pictures," on which formerly at certain festivals great tankas were hung with gigantic pictures of Champa (Maitreya) and other Buddhist deities.

In the eastern part of the monastery is the residential palace of the Panchen Lamas. In 1923, however, the Ninth (or Sixth) Panchen Lama, Gelek Namgyal (1883-1937) withdrew to China, and the Tenth (or Seventh) Panchen Lama, Chokyi Gyentsen (1938-), has also continued to reside in Beijing. At its height Trashilhunpo was reported as the residence of 8,000 monks, but the monastery was damaged in the Cultural Revolution, and many of its valued scriptures destroyed. Now open again, in 1981 the monastery was said to have 600 monks and half a dozen neophytes (see illustration), and many visitors and pilgrims are coming to it. Learned monks are carving wooden printing blocks in order to reprint the scriptures, drums and horns are played in the Incantation Hall, and *sutras* are chanted in the Congregation Hall where, at breaks in the lengthy ceremonies, participants are refreshed by buttered tea poured from large copper pots.[18]

GYANGZE

Gyangze (rGyal rtse) is on the right bank of the Nyang Chu, 80 km/50 mi upstream from Xigaze, on the main road from India to Lhasa

by way of the Chumbi Valley, and is the third largest town in Tibet.

PALKHOR CHOIDE

At its height in Buddhist history Gyangze was divided into a secular town and a monastic city. The monastic complex was named dPal 'Khor chos sde (pron. Pel-khorlo chhöde, in this book spelled Palkhor Choide), dPal 'Khor being the name of the important guardian deity Samvara, and the title choide meaning a "religious place" and being especially applied to temple-monasteries within a village or town. While many of the monastic living quarters have been destroyed, the main central temple still stands, and immediately adjacent to it is a very large chorten (about 33 m/107 ft high) known as the Kumbum or "hundred thousand image chorten" (sku 'bum mchod rten).

The builder of Palkhor Choide, named by Kyentse, was Rab brtan kun bzang 'phags. He was born in 1389, became the second prince of his period in Gyangze, and founded the temple in 1418 and the chorten in 1427. The work was under the inspiration of the Sakya-pa order, and with the advice of Khe-trup Je, the chief disciple of Tsongkhapa in tantric studies.

Kyentse speaks of sixteen colleges at the Palkhor Choide, and the institutions known there prior to his time were in fact seven of the Geluk-pa, four of the Sakya-pa, one of the school of Buston, and four of the school of the Kalacakra, or sixteen in all. Now the temple belongs to the Yellow Sect, but among the statues in it are several of Red Hat personages. The foremost symbol mentioned by Kyentse is a great Buddha in the assembly hall of the monastery, and in fact the main image in the temple now is a very large figure of Śakyamuni Buddha, crowned as a prince. This was said to be a copy of the *Jo bo* statue of Śakyamuni brought to Tibet from China by Princess Wenchen and housed in the Jokhang in Lhasa.

Kyentse also states that inside the great chorten there is a chapel with several deities of the sGrub thabs brgya rtsa, the book so named being the fundamental liturgical work of the Sakya-pa. Kyentse goes on to say: "Numerous realizations and cult acts of the four classes of Tantra take place here." The "realizations" (*sadhana*, sgrub thabs) are the experiences of the meditator who

evokes a deity and causes it to merge with him. The "cult acts" are the accompanying worship (*puja*).

In fact the Kumbum chorten is built up as a great mandala. It rises on five terraces said to represent the five steps to enlightenment, these support a circular portion in the middle, above which four pairs of the all-seeing eyes of the Buddha look out in the four directions, and yet above are thirteen rings said to symbolize the stages of advancement toward Buddhahood, while at the very top are sun and half-moon standing for wisdom and active compassion, the combination of which is the essence of Tantra. Inside the chorten are 108 separate chapels, each with numerous sculptures, images of Buddhist deities, and wall paintings, and a circular way up which allows the pilgrim to make a literal and a spiritual ascent from plane to plane toward the highest.[19]

12

Western Tibet: Beginnings and the First Dynasty of Ladakh

FOR historical purposes Western Tibet may be defined as the region west of the Maryum La, including Lake Manasarovara and Mount Kailasa and lying in the upper valleys of the Sutlej and Indus rivers, between the Karakoram to the north and the Himalaya to the south. The Tibetan name for Western Tibet is mNga' ris (pron. Ngari) or sTod mNga' ris (Upper Ngari). This includes La dwags (pron. Ladakh) also called Mar yul (Maryul) or Mang yul (Mangyul), Zangs dkar (pron. Sangkar), south of Ladakh, Gu ge (pron. Kukê), southeast of Zanskar in the Upper Sutlej Valley, Pu hrang (pron. Purang) southeast of Guge near Lake Manasarovara, and some neighboring areas. The name Zhang zhung (pron. Shangshung) also usually connotes Western Tibet but is rather vaguely defined and sometimes means an even larger region in the West.

Of these several regions Ladakh is historically central, and is the chief subject of Chapters 12-14. Ladakh is divided into two parts, La dwags stod or Upper Ladakh (around Leh), and La dwags smad or Lower Ladakh (farther down the Indus Valley). As a Trans-himalayan country Ladakh is surrounded by lofty snow peaks, but much of the land is extremely barren.

For the history of Western Tibet in relation to Central Tibet the main sources are those already cited in Chapter 3, namely, the Pokyi Gyelrap by the Sakya-pa lama Trakpa Gyentsen, the work of the same name by the Sakya-pa lama Phakpa Lodro Gyentsen, the History of Buddhism in India and Tibet by Buston, the Blue Annals by Gos lotsava, and the New Red Annals by Sonam

Trakpa. For Ladakh in particular the chief source is the work also already described in Chapter 3, the Chronicles of the Kings of Ladakh (La dwags rGyal rabs, pron. Ladakh Gyelrap), along with which a Minor Chronicle (dPag bsam ljon bzang) also provides information about kings of Guge.[1]

THE YARLUNG DYNASTY AND WESTERN TIBET

In the time of the Yarlung Dynasty in Central Tibet, Songtsen Gampo (died 649 CE) is said by Buston to have brought under his power all the petty chieftains of the borderland, who offered him presents and sent messages of submission, so it may be that Ladakh and/or adjacent regions were among these areas and came under some kind of overlordship of the king of Tibet at that time.[2]

More specifically the Chronicles of the Kings of Ladakh state that Trhisong Detsen (reigned 755-797) conquered not only China to the east (as is also recorded on the Zhol rdo rings in Lhasa) but also sBal ti (Baltistan) and Bru zha (pron. Trusha, the Tibetan name for modern Gilgit and neighboring regions) in the west as well as other areas in the north and south. It is probable, therefore, that such nearer regions as Ladakh and Guge were also included in these conquests, and so they probably remained under at least the loose suzerainty of Central Tibet until the breakup of the empire at the murder of Langdarma in 842.[3]

OSUNG AND YUMTEN

When Langdarma died, Buston and Sonam Trakpa tell us, the younger wife of Langdarma was expecting a child, and when this child was born it was a boy who was named gNam lde (pron. Namde), but is better known as 'Od srungs (pron. ösung), he being thus the real heir to the throne. The eldest wife of Langdarma, however, quickly obtained another recently born child and claimed that it was her own son, just born. This one was named Khri lde (pron. Trhidè), but was generally known as Yum brten (pron. Yumten), meaning "supported by his mother" (yum being an honorific term for mother). Upon growing up these two, Yumten and Osung, struggled for power, the unity of the kingdom was destroyed, and in the ensuing time the descendants of Yumten ruled in the East and the descendants of Osung in the West.

In their respective histories Trakpa Gyentsen and Phakpa Lodro Gyentsen tell us that Osung lived for sixty-three years (843-905), while Yumten died at the age of thirty-six. Trakpa Gyentsen characterizes the situation by saying that the period when these two princes lived was the beginning of a bad time: the outer boundaries of the land escaped from Tibetan authority, and in Tibet there was internal strife.

With respect to religion, Yumten continued to support Bon, but Osung appealed to Pelgyi Dorje, the murderer of his father, for help and, by the blessing of the Buddhas, it is said, obtained the sovereignty, and thereafter reestablished the religious ceremonies and buildings. Whether there was in fact such an immediate restoration of Buddhism may be questionable, but at any rate the descendants of Osung who ruled in the West as the kings of Guge were soon to do much for the full victory of Buddhism.[4]

PELKHORTSEN

The son of Osung was dPal 'Khor btsan (pron. Pelkhortsen). From Trakpa Gyentsen and Phakpa Lodro Gyentsen we learn that Pelkhortsen was born in 893; when he was thirteen his father died; he reigned for eighteen years, during which time he founded many temples and was devoted to the Buddhist Law, thus in effect reproving the actions of his grandfather (Langdarma). The Chronicles of the Kings of Ladakh likewise credit Pelkhortsen with the erection of eight monasteries in Western Tibet and the encouragement of the translation of scriptures such as the *Prajnaparamita*. Pelkhortsen's life and reign were relatively short, however, for he died in 923 at the age of thirty-one. Gos lotsava and the Minor Chronicle (dPag bsam ljon bzang, which begins at this point) provide the information that Pelkhortsen was murdered by his subjects and lost control of dBus (U) and gTsang (Tsang), i.e., Central and West-Central Tibet.

Pelkhortsen had two sons, sKyid lde Nyi ma mgon (pron. Kyide Nyima Gön) the son of his chief queen, and Khri bKra shis rtsegs dpal (pron. Tritrashtregpel) the son of a lesser queen. But at this point, Trakpa Gyentsen tells us, the Tibetan institutions were troubled and the times decayed. In the year 929 there was a rebellion, the royal dominions were divided between the two sons, and Kyide Nyima Gon went off to sTod mNga' ris (Western Tibet).

KYIDE NYIMA GON

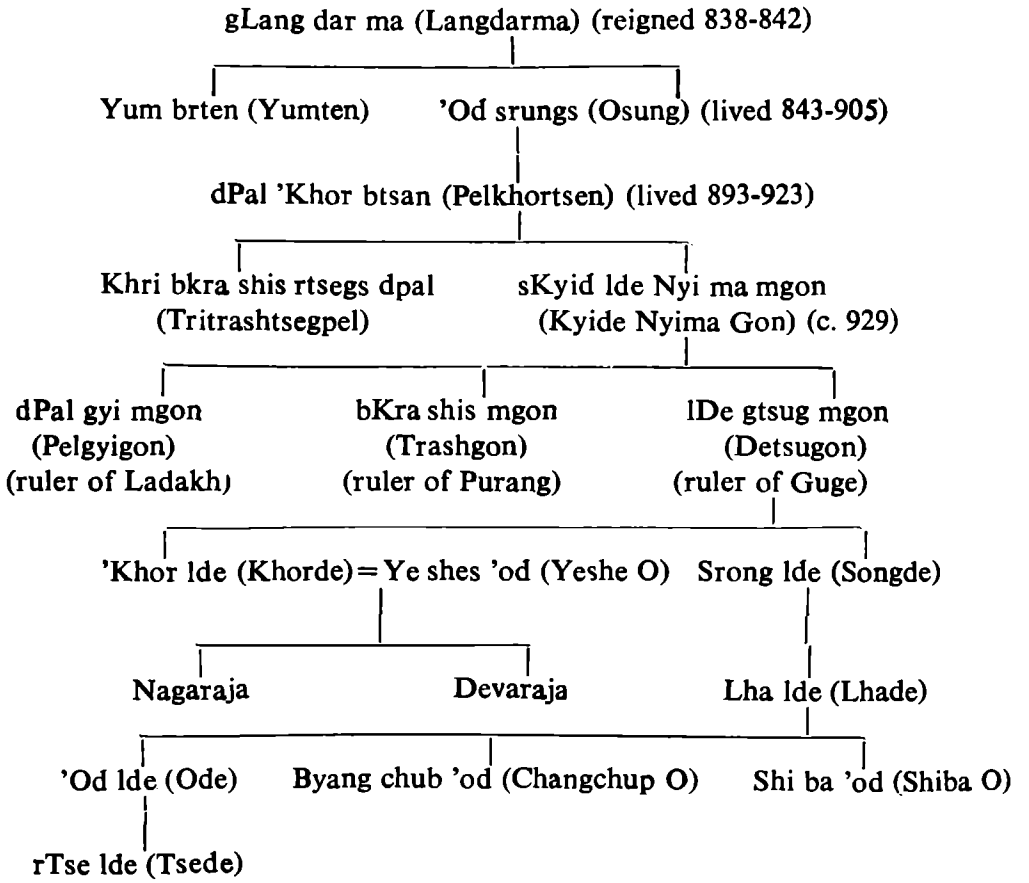
In their narratives of these events Buston says that Kyide Nyima Gon was banished to Western Tibet, but the Chronicles of the Kings of Ladakh picture him more positively as going there accompanied by many mounted horsemen. For the time being, according to the Chronicles of the Kings of Ladakh, Kyide Nyima Gon left Maryul (Ladakh) undisturbed. Upper Ladakh (La dwags stod), we are told, was then held by the descendants of Ge sar (pron. Kèsar), the latter being a mythological warrior king, the hero of a widely disseminated Tibetan epic.[5] The king of Purang, however, invited Kyide Nyima Gon to his realm and offered him his daughter as wife. She may have been the heir to the throne, so by this marriage Kyide Nyima Gon probably became master of Purang, for we are told that in Purang he built a palace (which Gos lotsava also mentions in the Blue Annals) and erected a capital. Then he conquered Ngari completely (the name Ngari here probably including Guge, Zanskar, and Ladakh, as well as Purang), "and ruled in accordance with the faith." Kyide Nyima Gon (c. 929) was, therefore, the founder of a kingdom which included most of Western Tibet.

Kyide Nyima Gon had three sons, and eventually divided his kingdom among them. As set forth in the Chronicles of the Kings of Ladakh, the oldest son named dPal gyi mgon (pron. Pelgyigon) received Maryul (i.e., Ladakh), its territory extending from the town and district of Ru thogs (now Rodakh) in the east to the Kha che'i la or Kashmir Pass (presumably the Zoji La, the first pass, 3,529 m/11,578 ft, on the road from Srinagar to Kargil) in the west; the second son, named bKra shis mgon (pron. Trashgön), received Guge, Purang, and some additional territory; and the third son, named lDe gtsug mgon (pron. Detsugön) received Zanskar together with Spi ti (Spiti), Spi lcogs (perhaps Lahul), and some other places. In its account of the kings of Guge the Minor Chronicle, however, while it agrees that the second son (Trashgon) received Purang, says that it was the third son (Detsugon) who received Guge. Since as far as is known Trashgon died without issue it may be surmised—to reconcile the apparently conflicting data—that upon Trashgon's death his kingdom was seized by Detsugon and thereafter held by the latter and his descendants.

THE KINGDOM OF GUGE

The Blue Annals and the Minor Chronicle now follow on down the line of Kyide Nyima Gon's descendants through his son Detsugon to give a sequence of more than twenty kings of Guge. Of these it is the first several who are the most important for our present narrative, and Table 6 shows their line of descent from Langdarma on down.[6]

Table 6. Genealogical Table of Rulers of Western Tibet



As shown in the table, Detsugon, ruler of Guge, had two sons, 'Khor lde (pron. Khorde) who was eventually ordained with the religious name of Ye shes 'od (pron. Yeshè Ö), and Srong lde (pron. Songde). Yeshe O had two sons who also became monks under the names of Nagaraja and Devaraja, and Yeshe O accordingly entrusted the practical affairs of government to his own younger brother Songde, while he himself occupied the position of a monk-king. Songde was in turn succeeded by a son named Lha lde (pron.

Lhade), and Lhade had three sons, of whom the first named 'Od lde (pron. Öde) reigned, while the other two, Byang chub 'od (pron. Changchup Ö) and Shi ba 'od (pron. Shiba Ö) received ordination and lived as royal monks.[7]

YESHE O AND RINCHEN SANGPO

As has been noted already in connection with the Second Period of the Propagation of the Doctrine in Tibet (in Chapter 6), it was Yeshe O who sent the young Tibetan Rin chen bzang po (pron. Rinchen Sangpo) (lived 958-1055) to Kashmir around 970 to continue his study of Buddhist doctrine and bring back teachers and artists with him to Western Tibet. Likewise it was Changchup O who invited from India the famous teacher Atiśa (982-1054), who arrived in Western Tibet in 1042.[8]

In the time of Yeshe O and Changchup O the capital of Guge was at mTho gling (pron. Tholing) in the valley of the Upper Sutlej, and both Buston and Gos lotsava credit Yeshe O with the construction of the famous monastery at this place, which Gos lotsava describes as "the incomparable and miraculous *vihara*." There is little doubt that Yeshe O's building work was done in conjunction with Rinchen Sangpo, for in all Rinchen Sangpo is credited in the tradition not only with his notable work as a scholar and translator but also with the erection of 108 monasteries, temples, and chapels in the lands under the rule of the king of Guge and in neighboring regions including Ladakh.[9]

CHANGCHUP O AND ATIŚA

Having been invited to Tibet by Changchup O, it was naturally to Tholing that Atiśa came, and it was in Tholing that Atiśa had the meeting with Rinchen Sangpo which resulted in the acknowledgement by the then aged Rinchen Sangpo of the superiority in doctrinal knowledge of the younger Atiśa. Also it was while still at Tholing and before proceeding to Central Tibet that Atiśa, at the request of Changchup O, wrote his short but very influential work, the *Bodhipathapradipa*, the colophon of which concludes with the statement: "This book is written in the Tholing temple of Shangshung [Western Tibet]."[10]

THE COUNCIL OF THE FIRE-DRAGON YEAR

The son and successor of Ode as king of Guge was rTse lde (pron. Tsêde), and during his reign a great religious council (chos 'khor, literally "wheel of the *dharma*") was convened at the Tabo monastery in the Lower Spiti Valley. The time was in the Fire-Male-Dragon year equivalent to 1076 CE, and the gathering was known as the Council of the Fire-Dragon Year. In attendance were great scholars not only from throughout Western Tibet but also from U (West-Central Tibet), Tsang (Central Tibet), and Kham (Eastern Tibet). As a pan-Tibetan assemblage the council was evidently of much significance for the revival of Buddhism throughout all of Tibet, and Gos lotsava says of the delegates that "each of them set in motion the Wheel of the Doctrine."[11]

THE FIRST DYNASTY OF LADAKH

Turning now to Ladakh, we have seen that when Kyide Nyima Gon divided his extensive holdings in Western Tibet among his three sons, it was to the oldest son named Pelgyigon that he gave Maryul, i.e., Ladakh. It is Pelgyigon, therefore, who may be recognized as the founder and organizer of the Ladakhi kingdom, and the Chronicles of the Kings of Ladakh give an account of him and his successors, in a sequence of eighteen kings in all, as constituting the First Dynasty of Ladakh.

It will be remembered that Trakpa Gyentsen speaks of a rebellion in the year 929, after which Kyide Nyima Gon went to Western Tibet. Allowing time for Pelgyigon, the son of Kyide Nyima Gon, to come on the scene and to receive Ladakh in the division of his father's kingdom, we may put the foundation of the Ladakhi kingdom and the inauguration of the First Dynasty of Ladakh by Pelgyigon in approximately 950. After that the first fixed point in chronology is provided by a synchronism which will be noted below in the reign of dNos grub mgon (pron. Ngostrup), the thirteenth king in the First Dynasty of Ladakh, which shows that this ruler was on the throne c. 1215. If we count sixteen kings (Osung, Pelkhortsen, Kyide Nyima Gon, and thirteen kings of the First Dynasty) from the death of Langdarma (842) to the reign of Ngostrup, this gives an average length of reign of slightly less than twenty-four years. Likewise in the Second Dynasty of

Ladakh at the point of some of the best established dates, we have from the accession of Seng ge rnam rgyal (pron. Senge Namgyal) in 1616 to the deposition of Tshe dpal rnam rgyal (pron. Tshepel Namgyal) in 1837 a series of nine kings in a period of 221 years, which makes an average length of reign of somewhat more than twenty-four years. Therefore, while individual reigns doubtless varied greatly, we may take a round figure of twenty-five years as the average length of reign and, where other evidence is lacking, use this for the purpose of rough estimates of the dates of the kings in the First Dynasty of Ladakh.[12]

LHACHEN PELGYIGON

Prefixed to the name of Pelgyigon as king of Ladakh is usually the term lha chen (pron. lhachen, meaning great god). Since this is an epithet rather than a component part of the name it may be omitted, but in fact continues to occur also with the names of many of the succeeding kings of the First and Second Ladakhi dynasties, and then drops out after that. It seems usually to have been applied only to the oldest son with the sense of the heir apparent and, when it is not found, it may be suspected that the king in question was not the oldest son of the preceding king.

Lhachen Pelgyigon made his residence at least in part in Shey, a site on a rocky ridge above the Indus plain about 15km/9 mi upstream from Leh. Along with Shey, the other residence of the early kings of the First Ladakhi Dynasty was at Sa bu (Sabu), in a valley only about 8 km/5 mi southeast of Leh. At both Shey and Sabu there are remains of fortifications of these early times.

LHACHEN CHANGCHUP SEMPA

In the succession beginning with Pelgyigon the fourth king was Lha chen Byang chub sems dpa' (pron. Lhachen Changchup Sempa). With a rough reckoning of an average of twenty-five years per reign from the beginning of the dynasty c. 950, his dates should be approximately 1025-1050. In this case he was probably contemporary with Rinchen Sangpo (958-1055), who went to Kashmir c. 970 and after his return worked for the balance of his life in Western Tibet; and with Atiśa (982-1054), who arrived in Western Tibet from India in 1042 and worked in Western and Central Tibet until

his death. Since Rinchen Sangpo is credited with building temples in Ladakh as well as in Guge, it is well possible that some of this work was done in conjuncion with Changchup Sempa. In the monastery of Tabo in the Lower Spiti Valley an inscription has been understood to state that this monastery was restored by Changchup O forty-six years after it was founded by Changchup Sempa, but since Spiti probably belonged to Guge rather than to Ladakh at this time it is alternatively held that the reference should be to Yeshe O rather than to Changchup Sempa. In the inscription are also the names of Rinchen Sangpo and Atiśa, the latter called by his Tibetan name Phul byung (pron. Phuljung).[13] Likewise at the monastery of 'A lci (pron. Alchi) in Ladakh an inscription in the main assembly hall been understood as mentioning King Changchup Sempa, along with the contemporary scholars Drom (1003-1064) the disciple of Atiśa, and Marpa (1012-1096), as well as a certain 'A lci pa (pron. Alchi-pa), presumably a person of local importance. On the other side of a doorway from the inscription, a painting depicts a king with his queen and son, and has been taken for a picture of Changchup Sempa with his wife and son, the latter probably the next king Lhachen Gyalpo. Again, however, the identification is not certain. At any rate the ruined monastery at Nyar ma (Nyarma) in Ladakh is recognized as certainly attributable to Rinchen Sangpo, and many others are at least popularly attributed to him, so it is indeed likely that Rinchen Sangpo did some of his work under Changchup Sempa.[14]

LHACHEN GYALPO

The son and successor of Changchup Sempa and the fifth king in the First Ladakhi Dynasty was Lha chen rGyal po (pron. Lhachen Gyalpo). The Chronicles of the Kings of Ladakh state that the monastery of Li kyir (pron. Likir, across the Indus about 8 km/5 mi north of Alchi) was built in his time and was the center of a brotherhood of monks, while from one hundred to five hundred recluses lived at the lakes near Mount Kailasa and were provided by the king with the necessaries of life. In the present Likir monastery there is a long historical inscription which dates in the time of King Tshewang Namgyal II (1753-1782), who repaired the building after a conflagration, and this text also states that the monastery was founded by King Lhachen Gyalpo. In addition the

inscription names a lama Lha dbang chos rje as a founder of the monastery. This personage is probably identical with Lha dbang bLo gros chos rje (pron. Lhawang Lodrö Chhöje), a famous pupil of Tsongkhapa in the fifteenth century, and it may be understood that he refounded the monastery as an establishment of the Geluk-pa order.[15]

LHACHEN UTPALA

The son and successor of Lhachen Gyalpo was Lha chen Utpala, whose Sanskrit name evidently reflects close cultural relations with India at the time. Lhachen Utpala was the sixth king in the succession from Pelgyigon, and probably ruled in the second half of the eleventh century. As far as extending the kingdom is concerned he was evidently one of the strongest kings of the First Dynasty of Ladakh. The Chronicles of the Kings of Ladakh state that he invaded Nun ti (Kulu, south of Zanskar and including Lahul and Spiti), where the king of that district bound himself by an oath to pay tribute to the king of Ladakh, "so long as [the glaciers of] Ti se [Mount Kailasa] do not melt away, nor the lake Ma pham [Manasarovara] dry up." Lhachen Utpala also subjugated bLo (pron. Lo, modern Mustang, now in Nepal), Purang, and several localities in Baltistan. All of these territories then paid an annual tribute and their representatives came to the audience (*darbar*) of the king, so Ladakh was evidently at this time a strong power in Western Tibet.

After Utpala the next several kings of Ladakh are mentioned only briefly in the Chronicles of the Kings of Ladakh, and may have had only short reigns. The seventh king Lha chen Nag lug (pron. Lhachen Nakluk), for example, built the castle of Kha la tse (Khalatse), the ruins of which are still on the right bank of the Indus 84 km/52 mi below Leh (at the bridge on the road which comes from Srinagar via Kargil to Leh).

LHACHEN NGOSTRUP

The thirteenth king was Lha chen dNgos grub (pron. Lhachen Ngostrup). It is in his region that the chronological synchronism referred to above can be established, and this is in connection with the life of 'Jig rten mgon po (pron. Jigten Gompo) (1143-1217). The latter is known as the founder in 1167 of the 'Bri gung (pron.

Drigung) monastery and of the sect of the same name, the Drigung-pa (a suborder of the Kagyu-pa). In a history written in 1896 by a Drigung-pa scholar concerning the hermitages of this sect in the region of Lake Manasarovara and Mount Kailasa it is stated that when he was seventy-three years of age, i.e., in 1215, Jigten Gompo sent a certain person to that region in order to build a monastery there, and that the patrons of the enterprise on that occasion were the kings of Guge, Purang, and Manyul (Ladakh), and the last king named is none other than Ngostrup. Ngostrup was therefore on the throne of Ladakh at that date (1215).[16]

The record concerning Ngostrup in the Chronicles of the Kings of Ladakh emphasizes a number of his religious activities. He repaired temples, offered presents of gold, silver, copper, coral, pearls, etc., to the lord of the three worlds (either Buddha or Avalokiteśvara), and caused tantric texts (gsang sngags, pron. sang ngak) and the Kanjur to be copied. If the date here assigned to Ngostrup is correct, it was yet some time before Buston (1290-1364) would make his compilation of the relatively complete Kanjur, so Ngostrup no doubt dealt with one of the earlier forms of the collection. It is also mentioned in the Chronicles of the Kings of Ladakh that in the time of Ngostrup Buddhist novices began to go to Tsang and U (West-Central and Central Tibet) to study. It was not long before the date here assigned to Ngostrup (1215) that Genghis Khan received the submission of Tibet proper (1207) and Mongol overlordship ensued, but nothing is said of this here and in Ladakh the effects must have been slight.

LHACHEN TRHITSUKDE

After Ngostrup the next available chronological synchronism is in the reign of the seventeenth king of the dynasty, namely, Lha chen 'Grags 'bum lde (pron. Lhachen Trakbumde) who, as will be seen below, was contemporary with Tsongkhapa (1357-1419) the founder (c. 1409) of the Geluk-pa, and who therefore is himself to be placed at the beginning of the fifteenth century. Between Ngostrup c. 1215 and Trakbumde here at this point the Chronicles of the Kings of Ladakh list only three kings which would require them to have had reigns of more than fifty years each, so it may be that several names have dropped out.[17]

Of the three kings just mentioned the third and the immediate

predecessor of Trakbumde is Lha chen Khri gtsug lde (pron. Lhachen Trhitsukde). He is remembered in the Chronicles of the Kings of Ladakh for the building of a row of 108 chortens at sLe, and two rows of 108 Chortens each at *Sa bu* (Sabu). Sabu has already been identified as an early capital, along with Shey, of the earlier kings of the First Ladakhi Dynasty. The name sLe, which occurs here for the first time in the Chronicles of the Kings of Ladakh, is the name which is now rendered as Leh, and Leh (10 km/6 mi northwest of Sabu) was now probably also becoming a royal residence. At any rate Trakbumde, the next king, is found holding audience there, and with the unification of the kingdom and the founding of the Namgyal Dynasty by King Bhagan (c. 1460-c. 1485) and the building of the royal citadel on the Namgyal Peak at Leh by Trashi Namgyal (c. 1555-c.1575) Leh became unquestionably the main capital of Ladakh as it has been ever since.

LHACHEN TRAKBUMDE

Of the two sons of Trhitsukde, the older was Lha chen 'Grags 'bum lde (pron. Lhachen Trakbumde) who succeeded his father and ruled as the seventeenth and next to last king of the First Ladakhi Dynasty, while the younger brother, 'Grags pa 'bum (pron. Trakpabum), established at the same time a small collateral branch of the kingdom in Lower Ladakh, with two capitals at Ba sgo (Basgo) (on a northern tributary of the Indus, 30 km/19 mi below Leh) and at gTing mo sgang (pron. Tingmosgang) (on a northern tributary of the Indus, 27 km/17 mi west of Basgo and 10 km/6 mi short of the castle at Khalatse).

Concerning Lhachen Trakbumde the record in the Chronicles of the Kings of Ladakh is relatively full and wholly concerned with his religious activities, including the building of many temples and monasteries. In Leh, which seems to have been his main residence, "for the sake of his reputation with posterity," he erected the Red Temple. In it was a statue of rGyal ba Byams pa (pron. Gyelwa Champa), i.e., the future Buddha Maitreya, in a very large size such as Maitreya will be in his eighth year, and on his right and left were images of 'Jam dbyangs (pron. Jamyang) and Phyag na rdo rje (pron. Chana Dorje), i.e., Manjuśri and Vajrapani, each one story high. This Red Temple, dedicated to Maitreya, still stands in Leh not far from the main castle (the Leh Khar) and, as dating from the time of Lhachen Trakbumde, ranks as the oldest temple

in Leh. In Leh the king also built a three-tiered temple on the pattern of the one at Tholing. Outside the city he rebuilt and enlarged an already existing chorten and made 108 chapels on the inside; this is the chorten of Tehu gser po (now pron. Tisseru) or the Golden Crag (3 km/2 mi north of Leh and just above the Sankar monastery). In the valley below Leh there was a crag resembling an elephant, and at this place the king settled a small brotherhood of monks, which continued as the Elephant monastery in the suburb south of Leh called dGar ba (pron. Garba). Trakbumde also had copies made of several scriptures including the *Lankavatara Sutra*.[18]

THE GELUK-PA IN LADAKH

During the reign of Trakbumde two ascetics arrived in Ladakh, who had been sent by Tsongkhapa (1357-1419) and were carrying a copy made personally by Tsonghapa of the *Amitayurdhyana Sutra*, a work of meditation on the Tathagata Amitayus (Tibetan Tshe dpag med, pron. Tshepame). Tsongkhapa had told his emissaries to give the book to either of two persons, either to the one called 'Grags pa (i.e., Trakpabum) or to the one called *Lde* (i.e., Trakbumde). Trakpabum was at the time in Nub ra (Nubra, the region to the north of Central Ladakh), and the two ascetics came there first but, when they entered the presence of the king, he paid no attention to them. Accordingly they went on to Leh, and there on the morrow Trakbumde admitted to his audience (*darbar*) any who wished to come. When the two ascetics came into his presence the king rose and went to meet them, they made over the present of the book from Tsongkhapa, and the king was delighted with it. "Taking the precious law of Buddha for his guide, he built the monastery of dPe thub . . . Having built it, he caused many brotherhoods of monks to settle [in the country]."

This monastery, the name of which is now commonly rendered as Pitok or Spituk, is on an isolated rock overlooking the Indus, 8 km/5 mi southwest of Leh on the Leh-Srinagar road. With the welcome by Trakbumde for the messengers of Tsongkhapa and with the establishment of the Spituk monastery, the first Geluk-pa monastery in Ladakh, the order which Tsongkhapa had founded only so recently spread rapidly in Ladakh, where it still today shares the leadership with the even more prominent Druk-pa suborder of the Kagyu-pa. As noted above, it is the synchronism with Tsongkhapa

which places Trakbumde at the beginning of the fifteenth century and, on the assumption of the average twenty-five years reign, Trakbumde may be tentatively dated c. 1410-c. 1435.[19]

LOTROI CHOGDEN

Trakbumde was succeeded by his son bLo gros mchog ldan (pron. Lotroi Chogden). It is known that Lotroi Chogden sent presents to the First Dalai Lama (1391-1475); and in a work on the teachers and monasteries of the Geluk-pa, written in 1698 by Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho (pron. Sang-gye Gyatsho) (1652-1705) the regent for the Fifth Dalai Lama (1617-1682), Lotroi Chogden is described as the ṗatron of a certain Geluk-pa scholar who was himself a pupil of Tsongkhapa's well-known disciple mKhas grub rje (pron. Khê-trup Jè) (1385-1438). From these synchronisms Lotroi Chogden may be dated about the middle of the fifteenth century, say tentatively, to allow for a sequence of twenty-five year average length reigns, in c. 1435-c. 1460.

MUSLIM INVASIONS

As for events in the reign of Lotroi Chogden, the record in the Chronicles of the Kings of Ladakh provides only a list of war booty brought from Guge, but information in the *Rajatarangini* in Kashmir suggests the hypothesis that Ladakh was first attacked at this time by the Muslim Kashmiris and then forced to join the invaders in further battle against Guge. At any rate, from this time onward for more than a century there were many invasions of Ladakh, chiefly by Kashmiri and Mongol Muslims. Although these incursions are generally passed over in silence in the Chronicles of the Kings of Ladakh, the most notable of them are known from the Memoirs of the Central Asian adventurer Mirza Haidar, who invaded Ladakh in 1532 and occupied the country for several years in which time he also made an unsuccessful invasion of Central Tibet, and who returned for two more invasions of Ladakh in 1545 and 1548 prior to his death in 1551.

As for Lotroi Chogden himself, the end of his reign came when he was deposed and imprisoned by a prince descended from another branch of the royal family, namely, Lhachen Bhagan (as will be

related at the beginning of Chapter 13). Thus Lotroi Chogden was the eighteenth king (as listed in the Chronicles of the Kings of Ladakh) in the succession from Pelgyigon and the last king of the First Dynasty of Ladakh.[20]

13

Western Tibet: The Second Dynasty of Ladakh

IT will be remembered from Chapter 12 that 'Grags bum lde (Trakbumde), ruling at Leh (c. 1410-c. 1435), had a younger brother, 'Grags pa'bum (Trakpadum), who at the same time ruled a small branch of the kingdom with capitals in Lower Ladakh at Ba sgo (Basgo) and gTing mo sgang (Tingmosgang). At about the same time that Trakbumde was succeeded at Leh by his son bLo gros mchog ldan (Lotroi Chogden) (c. 1435-c. 1460), Trakpadum was succeeded in his small kingdom by his son Lha chen Bha ra (Lhachen Bhara) and then by his grandson Lha chen Bha gan (Lhachen Bhagan), both of whom bear Indian names which presumably attest the cultural influence of India in this time.

LHACHEN BHAGAN AND THE FOUNDING OF THE NAMGYAL DYNASTY

While the Chronicles of the Kings of Ladakh tell only briefly of Bhara and Bhagan, they describe Bhagan as being "very fond of fighting," and state that he formed an alliance with the people of sLe (Leh) and deposed and subjugated Lotroi Chogden and his brothers. Thus Bhagan became the ruler of the whole kingdom, and as such the nineteenth king in the sequence from Pelgyigon, and the founder and first king of the Second Dynasty of Ladakh. Assuming a continuing sequence of reigns of an average length of twenty-five years, the reign of Bhagan may be tentatively dated c. 1460-c. 1485. With his alliance with the people of Leh and subjugation of Lotroi Chogden, it may be assumed that Leh continued

as the capital of the newly unified kingdom, and this is confirmed by the major building works in Leh of Bhagan's successors in the Namgyal Dynasty.

According to the Chronicles of the Kings of Ladakh, Bhagan had two sons to each of whom he gave the title rNam rgyal (pron. Namgyel, in this book spelled Namgyal), meaning "perfect victor." In the Chronicles of the Kings of Ladakh this title continues to be found in the names of all the kings of the Second Dynasty of Ladakh, on account of which this is also called the Namgyal Dynasty. In the dynasty the Chronicles of the Kings of Ladakh list a sequence of fourteen kings (c. 1460-1842).[1]

According to the Chronicles of the Kings of Ladakh, the two sons of Lhachen Bhagan were Lha chen Lha dbang rnam rgyal (pron. Lhachen Lhawang Namgyal) and bKra shis rnam rgyal (pron. Trashi Namgyal). The older was strong but the younger was crafty and caused his brother to be blinded and sent off with his wife to live in a village in Zanskar, while he himself usurped the throne to reign as the twentieth king in the succession from Pelgyigon and the second king of the Second Dynasty of Ladakh.

TRASHI NAMGYAL

In its account of the reign of Trashi Namgyal the Chronicles of the Kings of Ladakh relate that he fought against an invading force of Hor (Mongols) and killed many. He erected a castle on the summit of the rNam rgyal rTse mo (pron. Namgyal Tsemo), the main peak overlooking Leh, and just below it built a mGon khang (pron. Gomkhang) or temple of the protective deities (mgon po, pron. gompo). At the feet of the images of these guardian divinities he laid the corpses of the slain Mongols; so by the building of this temple he obtained power to command the services of the demon who turns back hostile armies.

With respect to the Buddhist orders, Trashi Namgyal sent gifts to the monasteries in Tibet of Drigung, Sakya, Ganden, Lhasa, and Samye, but among the several orders evidently had preference for the Drigung-pa. In particular he invited to Ladakh a famous Drigung-pa lama named Chos rje lDan ma (pron. Chhöje Denma), and then, in association with him, built a monastery at Phyi dbang (pron. Phyang, 16 km/10 mi northwest of Leh). The older Lamayuru monastery, originally a Kadam-pa foundation, was

probably also taken over at this time for the Drigung-pa, and these two, Lamayuru and Phyang, are still the two main Drigung-pa centers in Ladakh. At the spot from which the Phyany monastery could first be seen the king set up a tall prayer flag and ordered that whatever offender should escape thither should be free. He made a rule regarding the number of children who were to be sent by every village to become monks (usually one from a family). He introduced a treatise of tantric doctrine (the bsGrub rgyud), and caused the two canonical collections, the Kanjur and Tanjur, to be copied, as well as many other books. He erected many chortens.

Choje Denma, the Drigung-pa lama who came to Ladakh in the reign of Trashi Namgyal, is recognized as the same as lDan ma Kun dga' grags pa (pron. Denma Künga Trakpa) who appears in the already cited history, written by a Drigung-pa scholar in 1896, as at one time the head of the Drigung-pa hermitages in the Manasarovara-Kailasa region. In the history one of the patrons of Denma is a king of Guge named 'Jig rten dbang phyug (pron. Jigten Wangchhuk), and this king is known to have been on the throne of Guge in 1540 and 1555. From this and other evidence Trashi Namgyal will have to be dated in the sixteenth century, say c. 1555-c. 1575, and cannot have been a son of Bhagan; rather the names of perhaps three intervening kings must have been omitted in the Chronicles of the Kings of Ladakh.[2] Perhaps the omission was due to the reluctance of the Chronicles of the Kings of Ladakh to recognize the foreign invasions of Ladakh (noted above at the end of Chapter 12) which must have taken place in the times of those intervening kings. In the absence of positive information about the hypothetical intervening kings we will continue to number the known kings of the dynasty as they are listed in the Chronicles of the Kings of Ladakh.

TSHEWANG NAMGYAL

Trashi Namgyal died childless and it was the three sons of Lhachen Lhawang Namgyal, the older brother whom he had displaced, who were the heirs in succession to the throne. Of these nephews of Trashi Namgyal the oldest and the first to hold the throne and thus to reign as the twenty-first king in the succession from Pelgyigon and the third king of the Second Dynasty of Ladakh was Tshe dbang rnam rgyal (pron. Tshewang Namgyal) (tentatively dated

c. 1575-c. 1595). The Chronicles of the Kings of Ladakh credit him with a number of successful military expeditions to the west and the south, and state that under him "all Mar yul (Maryul, i.e., Ladakh) grew much in extent and flourished," while Guge in particular had to pay annual tribute.

Religiously, Tshewang Namgyal is called an "incarnate king," and was supposed to be an incarnation of Phyag na rdo rje (pron. Chana Dorje), i.e., the Bodhisattva Vajrapani. The king declared that, after the pattern of Lhasa and Tholing, his ancestors had placed the bones of the Buddha-elephant (supposed relics from a previous birth of the Buddha as an elephant) on the Namgyal Tsemo hill at Leh, but since people were not going there to worship he would himself build a monastery and establish the doctrine of the Buddha on a basis similar to what it had under his ancestor Ral pa can (pron. Repachen), the third great religious king of the Yarlung Dynasty. "But," say the Chronicles of the Kings of Ladakh in conclusion of the section on Tshewang Namgyal, "as his work on earth was finished, he went to heaven." In spite of that unfulfilled work, Tshewang Namgyal did build a Maitreya temple at Basgo, and in the paintings in this temple there is a portrait (on the entrance wall to the right) of himself together with his two younger brothers who succeeded him in turn as king.[3]

JAMYANG NAMGYAL

Tshewang Namgyal died childless and the next in line for the succession as the twenty-second king in the series from Pelgyigon was his next brother, the second of Trashi Namgyal's nephews, named rNam rgyal mgon po (pron. Namgyal Gönpo). The Chronicles of the Kings of Ladakh pass quite over him, however, and perhaps he was only a colleague of the third brother for a brief coreign (say c. 1595-c. 1600). The third brother and the third nephew of Trashi Namgyal, whose reign is described in the Chronicles of the Kings of Ladakh, was 'Jam dbyangs rnam rgyal (pron. Jamyang [the Tibetan name of the Bodhisattva Manjuśri] Namgyal), and he was on the throne (tentatively c. 1595-1616) as the twenty-third king in the sequence from Pelgyigon and the fifth king of the Second Dynasty of Ladakh.

The situation after the death of Tshewang Namgyal and at the accession of Jamyang Namgyal was difficult. The Chronicles of

the Kings of Ladakh begin this part of the record by saying: "Upon this all the vassal princes in one place after another lifted up their heads. 'Jam dbyangs rnam rgyal (Jamyang Namgyal) reigned. But the time had now come when the period of darkness should supervene, the period when royal supremacy should well-nigh be destroyed."

THE BALTISTAN DISASTER

The great disaster the approach of which is thus intimated in the Chronicles of the Kings of Ladakh came about as the result of an unfortunate attempt of Jamyang Namgyal to intervene with military force in a dispute between two rulers in Pu rig (Purig), the district adjacent to Lower Ladakh (i.e., down the Indus to the northwest) and thus in the direction of Baltistan. This led to a confrontation with Baltistan, where Ali Mir was on the throne in Skardu and was the most powerful monarch ever to occupy that position. Winter came on, and Jamyang Namgyal and his army were immobilized in the snow-blocked passes and valleys and compelled to surrender. Then (presumably in the next spring) Muslim Baltistan invaded Buddhist Ladakh, left defenceless by its absent king and army. "All Ladakh was overrun by sBal tis (Baltis), who burnt all the religious books with fire, threw some into the water, destroyed all the monasteries, whereupon they again returned to their own country." In the terms of the peace which was thereafter concluded, Jamyang Namgyal took as wife Ali Mir's daughter whose name was rGyal Kha thun (pron. Gyal Khatun), and who, from the Buddhist point of view was considered an incarnation of the White Tara/Dolma. After Ali Mir saw in a dream that his daughter would become the mother of the future Ladakhi king Seng ge rnam rgyal (pron. Senge Namgyal), he gave Jamyang Namgyal leave to return home with his army and resume his royal functions.

The result of this ill-fated adventure abroad was that all Ladakh was laid waste and, according to the Chronicles of the Kings of Ladakh, Jamyang Namgyal thereafter gave up thought of any more military expeditions and devoted himself to the welfare of his own country, particularly to some kind of revision of the taxation system, and to propagation of the religion of the Buddha. Two sons, born to him by Tshe ring rgyal mo (pron. Tshering Gyalmo), the wife whom he had already married before marrying the daughter of

Ali Mir; were sent off to U and Tsang (Central and West-Central Tibet) with rich gifts for the Jo bo Rin po che (pron. Chowo Rimpoche, presumably meaning the famous Buddha image in the Jo bo khang, the Jokhang temple in Lhasa), as well as for the Geluk-pa monastery at 'Bras spungs (Drepung) and for the Druk-pa monastery at Rwa lung (pron. Relung, located southeast of Gyangze), and prayer flags for the Geluk-pa monastery at dGa' ldan (Ganden).

THE DRUK-PA IN LADAKH

The king also invited to Ladakh the incarnate lama of the Druk-pa at Ralung, named dPag bsam dbang po (pron. Paksam Wangpo) (1593-1641), but as far as we know the latter did not actually undertake the journey; and the king caused copies of books of the Kagyu-pa (the order of which the Druk-pa was a suborder) to be written in gold, silver, and copper; thus, in contrast with the furtherance of the Geluk-pa by Trakbumde (c.1410-c.1435) Jamyang Namgyal gave a strong impetus for the ascendancy of the Druk-pa in his realm. He wished too to rebuild whatever had been destroyed by the Baltis, but died too soon to accomplish this purpose, leaving much to be by his son and successor.

SENGE NAMGYAL

When Jamyang Namgyal married Gyal Khatun, the daughter of Ali Mir of Baltistan, it was required of him that she should become his first queen and that his two sons already born by his other wife should be excluded from the succession, this no doubt being the underlying reason why these two sons were sent off to carry gifts to the monasteries in West-Central and Central Tibet. Of two sons born by the new queen the first was Seng ge rnam rgyal (pron. Senge Namgyal), supposedly foreseen in a dream by Ali Mir, and he became the next king, the twenty-fourth in succession from Pelgyigon and the sixth in the Second Dynasty of Ladakh.

Senge Namgyal is known from a relatively full account in the Chronicles of the Kings of Ladakh and also from a number of inscriptions and some outside sources, being undoubtedly the greatest of the Ladakhi kings. From these sources it is established that his death was in 1642 at the end of a reign of twenty-six years, hence his accession was in 1616. Senge Namgyal is described as of great

physical prowess and warlike ability. He probably came to the throne while quite young (with his mother Gyal Khatun as regent during his earliest years), and when yet a young man led an expedition to the south and east against the "back pastures" of Guge and brought back from the northern slopes of *Ti se* (Mount Kailasa) ponies, yaks, goats, and sheep, and filled his own land with them, Later he made intermittent war against Central Guge, and eventually established his supremacy over that ancient kingdom. In the other direction, to the north and west, lay Baltistan, and he himself was, as we have seen, a Balti on his mother's side, thus at the outset he seems to have enjoyed friendly relationships here.

THE SHADOW OF THE MUGHAL EMPIRE

Between Ladakh and Baltistan, however, was Purig, where Senge Namgyal's father Jamyang Namgyal had suffered disaster. Evidently unmindful of that, late in his reign Senge Namgyal invaded and conquered Purig. By this time the mighty Mughal empire had been established (1526) in India, and Jahangir (1605-1627) and Shah Jahan (1628-1658) were Senge Namgyal's contemporaries, both of whom had intentions of conquest in the northern regions, and both Kashmir and Baltistan were already under Mughal sway. In Baltistan the subject ruler was Adam Khan, and in Kashmir the Mughal governor was Zafar Khan. So when Senge Namgyal invaded Purig (in the direction of Baltistan), Adam Khan asked Zafar Khan for help, and there were battles at mKhar bu (Kharbu) in Purig between Mughal forces and the forces of Senge Namgyal. The Chronicles of the Kings of Ladakh claim victory for the Ladakhi army, with the killing of many Hor (here meaning Mughal soldiers), but the results were evidently at best inconclusive, and other sources indicate that Senge Namgyal not only had to abandon any thought he might have had of conquering Baltistan but also had to promise to pay tribute to the Mughal court.

In the southeast the conquest of Guge by Senge Namygal brought the Ladakhi empire into contact with the kingdom of gTsang (Tsang) in West-Central Tibet, where at this time the king was gTsang pa Karma bstan skyong (pron. Tsangpa Karma-tenkyong) with his capital near Xigaze. A Mongol incursion in the region led Senge Namgyal to march east of the Maryum La and as far as the

Chaktak tributary of the Tsangpo, where Tsangpa Karma-tenkyong sent him gifts of many mule-loads of gold, silver, and tea. Further danger from the Mongols brought Senge Namgyal on a final campaign into Guge, at the end of which he returned as far as *Wam le* (Hanle), a village in Upper Ladakh, where he died, less than fifty years of age, at a date equivalent to November 27, 1642.

TAKTSHANG REPA

In the time of Jamyang Namgyal (c.1595-1616), Senge Namgyal (1616-1642), and Deldan Namgyal (1647-c.1694), the Druka-pa suborder of the Kagyu-pa became very influential in Ladakh. As we have seen, Paksam Wangpo (1593-1641), the incarnate lama of the Druk-pa monastery at Ralung, was invited to Ladakh by Jamyang Namgyal, but probably did not come. Lhatseba Wang Sangpo (1546-1615), however, whom we have also met (in Chapter 8) as the incarnate lama of the Druk-pa monastery at Dechen Chokhor in Central Tibet, did instigate one of his pupils to undertake a far-reaching work in the West. The latter was sTag tshang ras pa (pron. Taktshang Rèpa) (1574-1651), who appears prominently at this point in the Chronicles of the Kings of Ladakh, and is also known from an account which he himself wrote of his travels, and from his biography which was completed in 1663 by another monk at the request of King Deldan Namgyal.[4]

Taktshang Repa derived his name from the Tigernest Cave (sTag tshang) in Bhutan where he spent years in meditation and was said to have attained the vision of all the Eighty-four Indian Mahasiddhas, and was himself recognized as a great "perfected one" (siddha, Tibetan grub thob, pron. trupthop). It was in 1613, after he had already traveled widely in Central and Eastern Tibet and into China, Taktshang Repa set out for the West. He passed through Zanskar in the time of Jamyang Namgyal, who invited him to Ladakh, but he went on at the time to Uddiyana (Swat), then came back (probably late in 1616) through Kashmir and Zanskar to Ladakh, where he thereafter spent much time during the reign of Senge Namgyal and into the reign of Deldan Namgyal.

THE WORKS OF SENGE NAMGYAL

In conjunction with Taktshang Repa, Senge Namgyal and also in

his turn Deldan Namgyal did many works for the furtherance of Buddism. At the instigation of Taktshang Repa and in order to carry out an unfulfilled intention of his father Jamyang Namgyal (and thus to perform a meritorious action which would benefit the deceased in the beyond) Senge Namgyal erected at Basgo a copper and gilt image of Byams pa (Champa, the future Buddha, Maitreya) said to be as big as Maitreya would be in his eighth year, and still to be seen there, three stories high, in the gSer zangs (pron. Serzang) or Gold and Copper Temple. Similarly to carry out an unfulfilled intention of his mother Gyal Khatun (and to bring her benefit) Senge Namgyal sent rich gifts to bLo bzang chos kyi rgyal mtshan (pron. Lopsang Chhökyi Gyentsen) (1569-1662), the Fourth (or First) Panchen Lama at Trashilhunpo. To many other monasteries in West-Central and Central Tibet many other gifts were sent. Of "innumerable monasteries," which were completed, the chief was the Byang chub bsam gling (pron. Changchup Sampling) monastery at Hemis.

Of secular buildings erected by Senge Namgyal the chief was his nine-story castle (mkhar, pron. khar) called the sLe chen dpal (pron. Leh Chenpel) and now known simply as the Leh Khar, on the slope of the Namgyal Tsemo, the peak overlooking the town of Leh below. Other works with which he is credited were a mchod rten (chorten) six stories high, with copper and gilt prayer-wheels; and three *mani*-walls.

As the sponsor of so many works for Buddhism, Senge Namgyal was called the *dharmaraja*, "the king of faith." With reference to him and to the great *siddha*, Taktshang Repa, who was associated with him, it was asked, "In the whole world is there a king like Senge or a lama like sTag, the priest and the donor, sun and moon, a pair?" and in allusion to their names (senge, lion; stag, tiger) it was said, "The king was like a lion, and the lama like a tiger." Certainly the independent empire of Ladakh was at its height under Senge Namgyal and, with the work of Taktshang Repa too, it could properly be said that "the law of Buddha made progress and flourished." But it was not in all respects so to continue.

LHACHEN DELDAN NAMGYAL

Senge Namgyal was married to a princess from Ru shod (a district now called Rupshu, in the south between Ladakh and Lahul and

Spiti) named bsKal bzang sGrol ma (pron. Kelsan Dölma) and considered an incarnation of Tara/Dolma, and they were the parents of three sons. After Senge Namgyal died in 1642 at less than fifty years of age, Kelsang Dolma seems to have acted for some time as queen-regent for the three sons, and only in 1647 was the kingdom actually divided among the three. The first son, Lha chen bDe ldan rnam rgyal (pron. Lhachen Deldan Namgyal) received the most of Upper and Lower Ladakh, and reigned (1647-c. 1694) as the twenty-fifth king in the succession from Pelgyigon and the seventh in the Second Dynasty of Ladakh; the second son became a monk with the name Indrabodhi (also Indra Namgyal) and the most promising disciple of Taktshang Repa and, upon the advice of the latter, was entrusted with the rule of Guge; and the third son, bDe mchog rnam rgyal (pron. Dechhög Namgyal) was given the rule of Zanskar and Spiti.

The list of lands which, according to the Chronicles of the Kings of Ladakh, were united under the sway of Deldan Namgyal and were by him "protected . . . like children." indicates that at first he maintained and even somewhat extended the limits of the large region which came to him. Likewise the Chronicles of the Kings of Ladakh state that Deldan Namgyal erected many buildings on behalf of Buddhism. At Shey he made an image of Śakya thub pa (i.e., Buddha) of copper and gilt, three stories high (still to be seen in the monastery at Shey); and a chorten five stories high, with thirteen prayer wheels (the usual number in Ladakh). At the head of the lTe bar (now pron. Tewar) Gorge, near Leh, he built a long *mani*-wall with a chorten at either end (now 589 m/1,931 ft in length, 1.8 to 2.4 m/6 to 7.8 ft in height, 12 m/39 ft in breadth, the most conspicuous such wall in the whole country). At the Leh Khar he put up a copper and gilt image of sPyan ras gzigs (Chenresik, Avalokiteśvara) two stories high; and built an assembly hall, and a silver chorten two stories high.

THE PRESSURE OF ISLAM

But Aurangzeb (1658-1707) was now the ruler of the Mughal empire, and it appears that the earlier promise of Senge Namgyal to pay tribute to the Mughal court had not been kept, a situation which Aurangzeb was evidently not prepared to accept. Accordingly, as sources other than the Chronicles of the Kings of Ladakh indicate,

the Mughals put military pressure on Ladakh and demanded of Deldan Namgyal not only submission but also acceptance of Islam. Deldan Namgyal capitulated, Ladakh fell definitely under the suzerainty of the Mughals, and a mosque was built in Leh (the Leh Mosque in the market below the Leh Khar, erected according to a Persian inscription in the mosque in A.H. 1077, i.e., in 1666/1667 CE).

DELEK NAMGYAL

There is evidence that Deldan Namgyal himself lived to a relatively old age and died about 1694, but already sometime before c. 1680 turned over the actual administration of the kingdom to his oldest son. This was bDe legs rnam rgyal (pron. Delek Namgyal), and he appears in the Chronicles of the Kings of Ladakh as the twenty-sixth ruler in the succession from Pelgyigon and the eighth in the Second Dynasty of Ladakh. It is probable, however, that his actual position was only that of a prince associated with his father, and this for a relatively short time (c. 1680-c. 1691), and that he died before his father.

THE DISPUTE WITH LHASA

In spite of the official admission of Islam into the country under Deldan Namgyal, the Ladakhi king remained the protector of the Buddhist Druk-pa order and, as such, in about 1677 Deldan Namgyal took the side of the Druk-pa ruler of Bhutan in a dispute of the latter with the Geluk-pa authorities in Lhasa (the Fifth Dalai Lama [1617-1682] and his advisers). This provoked an invasion of Ladakh by Tibetan and Mongol forces, to resist which Delek Namgyal asked help from the Mughal ruler of Kashmir. Ladakh was thereby rescued from the invaders, but the results were nevertheless disastrous. In a treaty with Kashmir in 1683 Delek Namgyal became obligated to pay tribute to Kashmir and to continue the acceptance of Islam, to signify which (at least nominally) he himself took the name of Aqabat Mahmud Khan. In a treaty with Lhasa in 1684 Ladakh lost more than half of its territory, and the new frontier was fixed near bDe mchog (Demchok) on the Indus (approximately the present border). At the same time it was acknowledged that Kashmir was a non-Buddhist country, while Tibet was

a Buddhist country; therefore, since the quarrel between Ladakh and Tibet was now a thing of the past, in order to guard the frontier between non-Buddhist and Buddhist countries the Ladakhi king gave promise not again to call in foreign armies.[5]

Although the Chronicles of the Kings of Ladakh claim that the reign of Delek Namgyal ended with the kingdom flourishing as before and enjoying "the highest felicity of virtue and happiness," it is plain that the country was in fact not only reduced in extent but also impoverished in economy and declining toward its end as an independent kingdom. After the deaths of Delek Namgyal (c. 1691) and Deldan Namgyal (c. 1694) there were yet six more kings in the Second Dynasty of Ladakh, and the Chronicles of the Kings of Ladakh give relatively full accounts of their reigns. The times were, however, marked by both internal troubles and attacks from outside. In contrast with the great works of earlier times, architecture was restricted and the arts of sculpture and wall painting declined, although under the last one of all the kings there is still mention of palace-building and the making of great images of gold and copper and silver.

TSHEPEL NAMGYAL AND THE LOSS OF INDEPENDENCE

The last king, the thirty-second in the succession from Pelgyigon and the fourteenth in the Second Dynasty of Ladakh, was Tshe dpal rnam rgyal (pron. Tshepel Namgyal) (1802-1840). In this time Ranjit Singh, the Sikh monarch of the Punjab, annexed Kashmir (1819) and conferred the small principality of Jammu on his associate, Gulab Singh (1792-1857), a Hindu Rajput of the Dogra tribe in Jammu. In the extension of his power, in 1834 Gulab Singh sent his army under his commander Zorawar Singh against Ladakh. In the course of the wars Tshepel Namgyal was deposed in 1837, reinstated in 1839 and died in 1840, while Zorawar Singh perished in combat in 1841. With the conclusion of the Dogra conquest, in 1842 Ladakh was incorporated in the dominions of Gulab Singh who, in 1846, became ruler also of Kashmir. Thus Ladakh remains today a part of the combined state of Jammu and Kashmir, and therewith now also a part of India. In 1959-1962 the Chinese penetrated and occupied certain areas in the northeast,

particularly Aksai Chin, which is still claimed by India but reckoned by the Chinese as a part of Xinjiang.

With the loss of Ladakhi independence the monarchy was abolished and the royal family, deprived of power, withdrew to the palace of Stok, which was built in 1825 on the left side of the Indus (14 km/9 mi from Leh). There the next to the last of the one time ruling dynasty, the Raja Kun bzang rnam rgyal (pron. Kunsang Namgyal), born in 1926, died in 1974, and is memorialized in a large chorten. Being without offspring he was succeeded by his brother, the Raja 'Phrin las rnam rgyal (pron. Phrinlas Namgyal), who was born in 1931. Meanwhile the widow of the deceased raja, Rani Parvati Devi Stok; continues to reside in Stok, and also goes to her family home of Manali (475 km/295 mi to the south) for winter residence. Also at one time she represented Ladakh in the Indian parliament.

As for the present people of Ladakh, they are regarded in terms of anthropometry as a mixed race, partly Dardic (Indo-European from Dardistan, i.e., the region around Gilgit) and partly Tibetan; in terms of religious statistics they are 45 per cent Muslim (largely in the western regions), and 54 per cent Buddhist (in the area of Leh 69 per cent Buddhist).

14

Sites and Monuments in Western Tibet (Ladakh)

THOLING IN GUGE

THE monastery at mTho gling (Tholing) in Guge, famous for its associations with Yeshe O, Changchup O, Rinchen Sangpo, and Atiśa, is at a site 68 km/40 mi south of Gartok in the gorge of the Upper Sutlej (here called the Langchen Khambab), before the river crosses the Himalaya on its way to India and the Punjab. The monastery was said to have been modeled after the Samye monastery in Central Tibet, as the Samye monastery was itself modeled after the Odantapuri monastery in India. The Tholing temple was called the Golden House (gSer khang), reportedly because a golden chorten on its eastern side reflected onto the temple the rays of the rising sun. The precinct is still marked by numerous chortens, both large and small, and the main temple hall still displays many frescoes, and a three-storied building contains a large built-up mandala.[1]

TABO IN SPITI

The monastery of Tabo, reportedly founded by Rinchen Sangpo in association with Changchup Sempa or perhaps more probably with Yeshe O, renovated by Changchup O forty-six years later, and the place of meeting of the Council of the Fire-Dragon Year (1076 CE), stands on a terrace in the Lower Spiti Valley, 5 km/3 mi from the village of Lhari. In the vicinity are many long rows of small chortens, often 108 in a row. The monastery includes seven temple-

halls and more than twenty chortens, all enclosed within a high mud wall (about 96 m/314 ft by 78 m/257 ft in dimensions). In the principal hall (about 20 m/64 ft by 11 m/35 ft) the principal image is a white stucco seated statue of the four-armed Vairocana (rNam par snang mdzad, pron. Nampar Nangdze), usually the central figure among the Five Tathagatas, which are so important in tantric Buddhism and were especially prominent in the time of Rinchen Sangpo. In the apse behind Vairocana are four standing stucco figures of his associates, and a seated figure of Śakyamuni on a lion throne, with flying figures above. The walls are covered with paintings of Indian and Tibetan subjects, and one has the inscription, "province of Gu ge." Other inscriptions on the walls include the one already cited in Chapter 12 which tells of the renovation of the monastery by Changchup O forty-six years after its foundation. A smaller hall to the left of the main hall has paintings of the Four Guardians of the directions distributed on the walls on both sides of the door, and in the interior are wall paintings of the life of Śakyamuni Buddha. To the right of the main hall a smaller hall contains a huge stucco seated statue of the future Buddha Maitreya (Byams pa, Champa), and another smaller hall is called by the name of 'Bromston (Dromton, Drom), the disciple of Atiśa and founder of the Kadam-pa. In yet another hall the pictures include Tsongkhapa, the founder of the Geluk-pa, to which order this monastery came in time to belong.[2]

FROM THE ZOJI LA TO LEH

The road from Srinagar to Leh (434 km/270 mi long) climbs out of the valley of Kashmir by the Sindh River, crosses the Zoji La (3,529 m/11,578 ft, 324 km/201 mi from Leh), the Namika La (3,719 m/12,200 ft, 175 km/109 mi from Leh), and the Fatu La (4, 108 m/13,479 ft, 139 km/86 mi from Leh), and then at a distance of 124 km/77 mi from Leh reaches the monastery of Lamayuru.[3]

LAMAYURU

The site of the Lamayuru monastery is on a precipitous cliff at an elevation of 3,800 m/12,500 ft. Legend has it that there was once a lake at the foot of the cliff inhabited by snake-spirits of the Bon religion who were driven away by a wandering Buddhist ascetic

who offered them grains of rice which marvelously formed themselves into a swastika (Tibetan gYung drung, pron. Yundrun) on the surface of the water; the arms of the swastika were turned to the right making the sign of the Buddha, in contrast with the opposite arrangement of the Bon swastika, and the Bon spirits were compelled to flee, being in addition pursued by three lions that came out of the lake. From this the monastery is also known as the gYung drung dgon pa (pron. Yundrun Gönpa) or the Swastika Gompa.

In the layout of the monastery, a mani-wall and a group of large and small chortens lead up to the entrance, the courtyard, and the later main building. Down the slope some 200 m/650 ft is the older Seng ge Lha khang or Lion Temple, supposedly marking the spot where the three mysterious lions came out of the lake to pursue the Bon spirits. In the main room the central feature is Vairocana, seated on a lion throne, with the other four Tathagatas associated with him seated against the back wall, two on either side. With the cult of Vairocana especially typical of the time of Rinchen Sangpo, it is probable that the monastery as represented by this building dates from his time, i.e., the early eleventh century, and may have been one of the many (traditionally numbering 108) monasteries, temples, and chapels which Rinchen Sangpo is said to have founded throughout Western Tibet and Ladakh. Over the head of vairocana is the mythical eagle-like bird called garuda (Tibetan khyung, pron. chhung), and it is shown in a horned form, which is characteristic in Bon, and this and other features at Lamayuru suggest that the place was originally a Bon sanctuary. In the mgon kang (Gomkhang) of the Sengge Lhakhang are figures of protective deities, including an early Tibetan deity, Dorje Legpa, riding on a lion, and a terrifying four-armed Mahakala (Great Black). Farther down the hill from the Sengge Lhakhang the are ruins (probably also of the eleventh century) of the Lotsava Lhakhang or Temple of the Translator, the name of which honors Rinchen Sangpo as the Great Translator.

The main building probably dates from the sixteenth century, and contains an inner ceremonial court and several different chapels. A separate square temple not far away is the Chenresik Lhakhang, dedicated to Avalokiteśvara, and it contains a large image (2.2 m/7.2 ft in height) of the Bodhisattva in his form wiht eleven heads and a thousand arms. Accompanying figures are eight smaller Bodhisattvas, Śakyamuni Buddha, and Tathagatas with their *prajnas*.

While Rinchen Sangpo belongs to the lineage of the Kadam-pa and as a Buddhist establishment Lamayuru belonged at the outset to this order, the monastery came later to belong to the Drigung-pa suborder of the Kagyu-pa. This probably came to pass under King Trashi Namgyal (c. 1555-c. 1575) at about the same time that he built the Phyang monastery in association with the Drigung-pa lama lDan ma (Denma). As at Phyang, the area around Lamayuru was declared a sanctuary for any wrongdoer who could escape to it, hence the full name of the monastery is gYung drung Thar pa gling (pron. Yundrun Tharpaling), meaning Swastika Freedom Land. The Kagyu-pa, to which the Drigung-pa suborder belongs, traces its spiritual lineage back through Gampopa, Milarepa, and Marpa, to Naropa, disciple of Tilopa (988-1069), and Naropa is believed to have spent many years at Lamayuru in meditation. In the right side wall of one room in the main building a small opening (about 1 m/3 ft square) is known as Naropa's cave.[4]

TINGMOSGANG

Beyond Lamayuru the road descends into the valley of the Indus and at a point 97 km/60 mi short of Leh crosses to the right bank of the river by the bridge at Khalatse (now Khalse), near which are the ruins of the castle built by Lhachen Naklug, as well as the ruins of a fort of Zorawar. Some 11 km/7 mi farther along, the road reaches the village of Nyur-la and up a side valley 3 km/ 2 mi to the north is the site of gTing mo sgang (pron. Tingmosgang). Tingmosgang and Basgo, it will be remembered, were the two capitals of the western branch of the First Ladakhi Dynasty under King Trakpabum (younger brother of Lhachen Trakbumde, c. 1410-c. 1435). with whose grandson, Lhachen Bhagan (c. 1460-c. 1485), the two parts of the kingdom were again united in the Second Ladakhi or Namgyal Dynasty. Although Leh then became the capital, the two western sites remained of some royal interest.

On the summit of the hill at Tingmosgang are the ruins of the ancient castle and two temples, the Chenresik Lhakhang dedicated to Avalokiteśvara, and the Guru Lhakhang dedicated to Padmasambhava as the Gu ru Rin po che (pron. Kuru Rimpochè, meaning Precious Teacher). The former temple contains several statues of Avalokiteśvara including a small marble figure (40 cm/ 15.7 in high) of him as Lokeśvara (lord of the world), perhaps

brought from India, and two large eleven-headed figures (about 2m/6.5 ft high). The latter temple contains a main image of Padmasambhava (2 m/6.5 ft high), with his two goddess wives (the Indian Mandarava and the Tibetan Yeshe Tshogyal) on either side, as well as other deities. Also wall paintings depict Śakyamuni, Padmasambhava, Vajrapani, and others. The two temples are supposed to have been built under kings of the Namgyal Dynasty in the sixteenth or seventeenth century, and they belong to the Druk-pa suborder of the Kagyu-pa. Below these temples is the two-story-Lhakhang Marpo (Lha khang dmar po) or Red Temple, dedicated to Champa (Maitreya), with a colossal statue of the future Buddha reaching up into the second story. Murals in the upper story depict Marpa, Milarepa, and Gampopa, and inscriptions praise Tsongkhapa, and connect the site with King Trakpabum. The Geluk-pa order now controls this temple.[5]

ALCHI

Some 24 km/15 mi beyond the village of Nyur-la the road reaches the town of Saspol (62 km/39 mi from Leh), and near the town but across the Indus on the left bank of the river (which is crossed by a bridge with the ruins of an ancient fort on the crags above), is the monastery of 'A lci (pron. Alchi). Here also the original monastery is generally attributed to the time of Rinchen Sangpo, and the inscription and picture in the main assembly hall ('du khang) mentioned above (in Chapter 12) have been held to represent the contemporary king Changchup O. Other inscriptions in the same hall attribute the construction of the existing building to a certain sKal ldan Shes rab (pron. Kelden Sherap), who had studied in the monastery at Nyarma (south of Leh), the latter being one of the monasteries most certainly attributable to Rinchen Sangpo. Thus it appears that Nyarma was already in existence when Kelden Sherap did his work at Alchi, and the monastery as he built it may be supposed to belong to the middle of the eleventh century. The same inscriptions also credit Kelden Sherap with the construction of the bridge and the fort above the bridge.

A three-storied temple next to the main assembly hall to the south was probably built at or near the same time as the assembly hall. It contains an inscription naming a monk Tshul khrims 'od (pron. Tshul Trhimö) as the founder of the temple, and also an

inscription recording repair of the building in the time of King Trashi Namgyal (c. 1555-c. 1575). It was perhaps at least partly because of the Mongol invasions which took place in this time that Alchi appears to have been from then on virtually abandoned, with only a few monks from the not-too-far distant Likir monastery serving still now as custodians.

The Alchi monastery precinct overhangs the Indus at the north and extends some 100 m/328 ft to the south, where at its widest it is some 40 m/130 ft in width, the entire area being mostly surrounded by a wall. All together the buildings comprise the assembly hall with its courtyard, and five temples, as well as three large chortens.

In the assembly hall ('du khang) the central figure in the central shrine is a seated statue of the four-faced Vairocana, with the other Tathagatas seated against the side walls of the sanctuary, on the viewer's left Akshobhya below and Ratnasambhava above, on the right Amitabha above and Amoghasiddhi below. Beside and above the throne of Varirocana are eight goddesses, and round about are also yet other images. On the walls of the hall are no less than six mandalas, and paintings of Manjuśri, Prajnaparamita, Mahakala, and many Buddhas.

In the three-storied temple (Tibetan gSum brtsegs, pron. Sum-tsek, meaning "three tier") there is a chorten in the center and around it on three sides very large Bodhisattva statues, the chief one opposite the entrance being Champa/Maitreya (4.6 m/15 ft in height), with Avalokiteśvara on the left and Manjuśri on the right (each 4 m/13 ft in height). All the figures are four-armed, and all wear elaborately decorated lower garments. Murals and mandalas also fill the walls of the several stories of the temple.

Two more temples to the south are the Lha khang So ma (Lhakhang Soma) or New Temple (probably twelfth or thireenth century in date), with a central mural depicting Vairocana in virtually the guise of the preaching Śakyamuni; and the Kanjur Lhakhang, containing a statue of Champa/Maitreya and volumes of the Tibetan canon. Two more temples to the north of the assembly hall are the Lotsava Lhakhang, dedicated to Rinchen Sangpo as the Great Translator, with a central image and mural of Śakyamuni and a mural of Rinchen Sangpo; and the Majuśri Lhakhang, with a large fourfold image of Manjuśri. The three chortens in the monastery compound are relatively large and contain interior passages,

decorated with paintings of Rinchen Sangpo together with Indian teachers, and with the Buddha and other figures.[6]

LIKIR

The Li kyir (pron. Likir) monastery is across the Indus for Alchi and 9.5 km/6 mi north of Saspol and 52 km/31 mi west of Leh. As noted above in Chapter 12, the Chronicles of the Kings of Ladakh state that Likir was built in the time of Lhachen Gyalpo (the father of Lhachen Utpala, middle of the eleventh century), while an inscription in the monastery names both the king and also a monk named Lhawang Choje as the founders, and the latter, known as a famous disciple of Tsongkhapa, was no doubt the one who in the fifteenth century refounded the monastery as a Geluk-pa institution. The main assembly hall contains statues of Śakyamuni, Maitreya, and Tsongkhapa with two disciples; a smaller assembly hall contains a main image of the eleven-headed Avalokiteśvara.[7]

BASGO

Upstream from Saspol, the town nearest the Alchi and Likir monasteries, the Indus makes a southward curve while the road cuts across some high country and comes back to the river eventually at the town of Nyemo (36 km/22 mi from Leh), where the Zanskar River flows into the Indus through a large cleft in the rock known as the Nyemo Gateway. In the intervening high country 20 km/12 mi from Saspol and 42 km/26 mi short of Leh is Ba sgo (Basgo), western capital along with Tingmosgang under King Trakpabum.

The precipitous rock on which is the ruined citadel of the ancient city is known as Rab brtan lha rtse (pron. Rapten Lhatsè), meaning "divine peak of great stability." In the midst of the ruins of the fort are two temples. The higher one is the Byams pa lha khang (pron. Champa Lhakhang) or Maitreya temple. Over the entrance doorway is a mural of Vajrapani, holding *vajra*/dorje and bell, and with the guardians of the four directions on either side of him. To the left are scenes from the life of Śakyamuni, and to the right is an inscribed portrait of Tshewang Namgyal (c. 1575-c. 1595) together with his two younger brothers who succeeded him in turn, and with ladies of the royal family and attendants. The picture is evidently an indication that Tshewang Namgyal was the builder of

the temple, although the Chronicles of the Kings of Ladakh do not mention such a work by the king. The dress of the royal personages is Kashmiri/Mughal in style, reflecting the foreign influences of the time. In the temple the main image is of Maitreya, with an attendant Bodhisattva on either side.

The lower temple on the other side of the fort is the gSer zangs (pron. Sersang), meaning "gold and copper." The reference is to the books of the Tibetan Buddhist canon, written in part in letters of gold, silver, and copper, which are preserved in this temple as the library of the ancient kings, and King Senge Namgyal (c. 1575-c.1595) is credited with providing these books as well as making the very large statue of Maitreya (4 m/13 ft high) which is the main image in the temple. On the wall behind the head of Maitreya are paintings of Tilopa, Naropa, Marpa, and Milarepa, representing the spiritual lineage of the Kagyu-pa, and Basgo is now considered a possession of the Druk-pa suborder of the Kagyu-pa.

Near the Sersang temple is yet a third but much smaller temple also dedicated to Maitreya. An inscription indicates that this was dedicated by bsKal bzang sGrol ma (pron. Kelsang Drölma) in the Water-Horse year equivalent to 1642 CE. This donor Kelsang, considered an incarnation of Tara/Dolma, was the Balti princess who was married to Senge Namgyal (1616-1642), just as his father Jamyang Namgyal was married to the daughter of Ali Mir of Baltistan.[8]

PHYANG

The site of Phyi dbang (Phyang) is a hilltop in a side valley north of the Indus 16 km/10 mi northwest of Leh. In the account in the Chronicles of the Kings of Ladakh of the early successors of Nyatrhi Tsenpo in the Yarlung Dynasty, at the point of the tenth and following rulers in the line, we meet a group of six Legs (pron. Leks) or "good ones." Where the third name of these Leks should appear (which, if it were there, would actually make seven names) there is a blank, and then the statement: "By that king the palace of Phyi dbang sTag rtse (pron. Phyang Taktse) was built. That was the commencement of building palaces and forts." If the Phyang castle, to which this apparently refers, were indeed built at this early time in the empire inaugurated by Nyatrhi Tsenpo, it would be a very early capital in Ladakh.

As for the large monastery at Phyang, we have already seen (in Chapter 13) that the Chronicles of the Kings of Ladakh attribute its foundation to King Trashi Namgyal (c. 1555-c. 1575) in association with the famous Drigung-pa lama lDan ma (Denma); thus Phyang and Lamayuru are the two main Drigung-pa monasteries in Ladakh.

The first large building of the Phyang monastery is the Lhakhang Nyingma or Old Temple, probably dating from the foundation of the monastery. The statues in the main hall represent Jigten Gompo, the founder of the Drigung-pa, and other high lamas in their characteristic high red hats, as well as various divinities. The wall paintings likewise depict Jigten Gompo, along with Atiśa, the Five Tathagatas, and others, as well as a mandala with interlocking triangles symbolizing the union of masculine *upaya* and feminine *prajna*. The smaller room at the west end of the main hall is the Gomkhang or temple of the protective deities. At the center of the images is Mahakala as the great black four-armed guardian of the Doctrine, flanked by other wrathful deities, while the well-preserved wall paintings (probably also from the sixteenth century) portray deities of the Bardo as well as figures of the spiritual lineage of the Kagyu-pa, beginning with Vajradhara and various Mahasiddhas.

Farther to the west in the entire complex is a four-story building with the monastery kitchen, library, etc., and beyond this is the Dukhang, which is the new assembly hall. In the entry hall of the Dukhang wall paintings picture the home monastery of the Drigung-pa in Central Tibet, the Wheel of Existence, and the Four Guardians of the directions, while in the main room in addition to wall paintings of Buddhas and Kagyu-pa yogins there is a collection of Kashmiri Buddhist bronzes attributed to the eighth to the tenth centuries, which were possibly in the possession of the Phyang castle before the monastery was built.[9]

SPITUK

The dPe thub (now pron. Pitok or Spituk) monastery founded by Lhachen Trakbumde (c. 1410-c. 1435) as the first Geluk-pa monastery in Ladakh, is built on the slope and summit of an isolated rock overlooking the Indus, 8 km/5 mi below Leh on the Leh-Srinagar road. In the main temple two long rows of low seats run the length of the hall to a throne at the far end which is reserved for

the Dalai Lama upon the occasion of a visit. To the left of the throne is a large image of rDo rje 'jigs byed (pron. Dorje Jikchè) or Vajrabhairava, a tantric deity considered the active and ferocious aspect of Manjuśri and especially prominent in the Geluk-pa and also in the Sakya-pa; and to the right an eleven-headed Avalokiteśvara. In a small chapel behind the throne are images of Tsongkhapa with two disciples, and of Śakyamuni, Avalokiteśvara, and Atiśa. Higher on the rock are several smaller temples, is one of which are images of the tantric deities bDe mchog (pron. Demchok) or Samvara, gSang ba 'dus pa (pron. Sangwe Düpa) or Guhyasamaja, and Vajrabhairava; in another image of Tsongkhapa with copies of his written works; and another in the twenty-one forms of Tara/Dolma. Near the top of the rock is the Gomkhang or chapel of the protective deities of the monastery. Here are images carved out of black stone of Vajrabhairava, of the six-armed Mahakala, and of the goddess dPal ldan lha mo (pron. Pelden Lhamo) on her horse, the deity apparently derived from Kali/Durga/Parvati in Hinduism. In fact this chapel is popularly known as the Kali Temple. Subsidiary to Spituk are three smaller monasteries, Sankar, Stok, and Saphud, all close to Leh.[10]

LEH

The city of sLe (pron. Leh) is situated at the apex of a triangular plateau on the northern edge of the Indus Valley at an elevation of 3,522 m/11,555 ft, and on the historic caravan routes not only coming from Kashmir and Baltistan in the west and northwest but also leading on eastward to Lhasa in Central Tibet and northward to Yarkand (now Shache) in Xinjiang. The city looks to the south across the Indus River to the Himalayan range dominated by Stok Peak, and is itself overlooked from the northeast by the steep rocky ridge and high summit named for the Namgyal Dynasty, the rNam rgyal rtse mo (pron. Namgyal Tsemo) or Namgyal Peak.

It will be remembered that under Pelgyigon and his successors in the First Dynasty of Ladakh in the tenth century and following the capitals were at Shey and Sabu in the Upper Indus Valley, while under Lhachen Trakpabum and a branch of the dynasty in the late fourteenth century there were also two capitals of that branch at Basgo and Tingmosgang in Lower Ladakh. As for Leh (near Sabu) it is first mentioned in the Chronicles of the Kings of Ladakh

under Lhachen Trhitsukde (the predecessor of Lhachen Trakbumde, c. 1410-c. 1435), and then, when Lhachen Bhagan (c. 1460-c. 1485) accomplished the unification of the kingdom and the establishment of the Namgyal Dynasty, Leh became the capital of the dynasty, with Trashi Namgyal (c. 1555-c. 1575) building the citadel on the summit of Namgyal Peak, and Senge Namgyal (1616-1642) building the later palace (the Leh Khar) on the lower slope of the peak (see illustration).

At the approach to Leh from the Indus Valley and from the modern airport there is a long *mani*-wall, around which the ancient pilgrim path of several kilometers now leads in part into forbidden military areas. The city itself was at one time surrounded by a wall with three gates, and one of the gates still stands not far from the market and uphill toward the Leh Khar.

NAMGYAL PEAK

On the summit of the Namgyal Peak high above the city are the ruins of the fortified palace built by Trashi Namgyal (c. 1555-c. 1575), still of impressive magnitude and the anchor point for long strings of colorful prayer flags. Immediately below the fort is the Gomkhang, a small temple of the protective deities, also built by Trashi Namgyal after his victory over the Mongols. On the left entrance wall of the chapel wall paintings depict Trashi Namgyal and his male followers in Turkish-Mongolian dress, with accompanying women in traditional local dress. The protective deities within are the terrifying eight-headed Yamantaka, the six-armed Mahakala, Kubera (Vaiśravana) on a lion, Begtse with a human head in his hand, Yama with a bull's head, Pelden Lhamo on her mount, and Kshetrepala on a dog. Immediately below the Gomkhang is another small temple, the Champa Lhakhang, dedicated to Maitreya, the future Buddha. This is a red building, two stories high in the front and three stories high in the back. The interior is dominated by a huge statue of Maitreya, seated in the Western position with the legs hanging down (*bhadrasana*). Wall paintings depict Śakyamuni Buddha, with attendants.

THE LEH KHAR

Much lower down on the slope of the Namgyal Peak and directly

above the city below is the Leh Khar (mkhar, castle), the palace which was built by Senge Namgyal (1616-1642), to which the royal residence was then transferred from the citadel above on the summit of the peak. The palace rises to a height of nine stories and contains some one hundred rooms. The palace entrance is the Lion Portal, so-called from the lion-heads in the wood carving around the door. At the fifth floor level there is a court open to the south and provided with small wooden balconies. In general appearance the Leh Khar bears some resemblance to the Potala in Lhasa, but was built already some years before the Potala was completed (the White Palace in 1653, the Red Palace in 1694). From the top of the Leh Khar there is a wide view over the city of Leh, the Indus Valley, and to Stok Peak in the Himalayan range beyond.

In the palace there is a small temple (the Khar Lhakhang), which is in the charge of the Druk-pa Kagyu-pa. It consists of a small entrance room and a hall rising to two stories in the center. The major figure in the center is a statue more than 2 m/6.5 ft high, of Ushnisha Sitatapatra (Tibetan Duk Karmo), the form of the White Tara/Dolma with a thousand heads and arms (not to be confused with the thousand-armed form of Avalokiteśvara). On either side of her are smaller figures of Śakyamuni and Padmasambhava. At the left side wall are a chorten, a golden Tara/Dolma, and as protective deity the red Padmaheruka (the wrathful manifestation of Amitabha, whose color is also red) in yab yum with Padmadakini (Tibetan Pad ma mkhah hgro, pron. Pema Khado). On the walls are bookcases with volumes of sacred texts. A copper and gilt image of Avalokiteśvara two stories high and a silver chorten two stories high, which Senge Namgyal's son and successor Lhachen Deldan Namgyal is said to have put up in the palace, are, however, no longer to be seen.

In comparison with the temples near the fortifications on the summit of Namgyal Peak, there is also a group of lower temples in the vicinity of the Leh Khar. Below the southwestern end of the palace is a large chorten, and near it is the small Guru Lhakhang, dedicated to Padmasambhava as the Precious Teacher (Gu ru Rin po che). It contains his cult image in a height of some 2 m/6.5 ft. Below the southeastern end of the palace is the Lhakhang Soma or New Temple, which was erected only a few years before the Dogra invasion in the nineteenth century and is there-

fore the newest of the several temples in this lower group. The main image in this temple is of Śakyamuni Buddha, and wall paintings depict the Buddha in the midst of the Sixteen Arhats, and Padmasambhava in both peaceful and wrathful manifestations. The temple is under the administration of the Druk-pa Kagyu-pa of the Hemis monastery, while Geluk-pa monks from Tiktse and Nyingma-pa monks from Trakthok also participate in the annual February dance rituals of the Tscham-mysteries performed in the court of this temple.

Farther east from the Leh Khar is the Chenresik Lhakhang, a large temple probably built c. 1700, with a large image (3.5 m/11.5 ft high) of Avalokiteśvara and many wall paintings of Buddhas and personages of the Druk-pa Kagyu-pa lineage, Tilopa, Naropa, Marpa, Milarepa, Gampopa, and others. Just below the Chenresik Lhakhang is the somewhat smaller Champa Lhakhang, which contains a two-story high image of the seated Maitreya. This building is identifiable as the Red Temple described above in Chapter 12 as erected by Lhachen Trakbumde (c. 1410-c. 1435) and provided with a very large statue of the future Buddha. As built at that time, this must be the oldest temple in Leh. It is not to be confused with the very similar but later Maitreya temple (Champa Lhakhang), also colored red, which is up near the top of the Namgyal Peak.

In addition to the Maitreya temple near the top of Namgyal Peak and the Maitreya temple near the Leh Khar, both of which were associated with the royal palaces in those two places, there is yet a third temple dedicated to the same future Buddha, which stands in the town below the Leh Khar. This was also built in the time of King Senge Namgyal, and was a temple for the general populace. The chief image is Maitreya, flanked by Manjuśri the Bodhisattva of wisdom and Avalokiteśvara the Bodhisattva of compassion, making a much-favored triad. Wall paintings depict Padmasambhava, Tsongkhapa, Sakya Pandita, and many deities. On down in the present town there is also a New Temple (Lhakhang Soma), built for the present populace in 1957 by the Buddhist Society of Ladakh. The main building is a large relatively plain assembly hall, with exterior painted decoration above the many windows and prayer wheels set in the exterior walls. The cult image is a large jewel bedecked Jo Rin po che (pron. Cho Rimpochè), i.e., a crowned Śakyamuni, said to have been brought from Tibet.

Many chortens and lhatos also mark ridges, intersections, and other points in and around the city, a large chorten of red brick (see illustration), for example, probably dating from Namgyal times. In the town are also two mosques, the older being the one built originally by Deldan Namgyal in 1666/1667 when he submitted to the Mughals. Behind the market place is the Herrnhuter Mission, the Christian Church center growing out of the work of the Moravian mission established in Leh in 1864.[11]

SANKAR

The gSang mkhar (pron. Sankar) monastery is 3 km/1.8 mi north of Leh, and was established toward the end of the nineteenth century as a place of seclusion and meditative quiet in a landscape of trees, fields, and gardens. The main hall ('du khang) contains two rows of benches for the monks, an elevated seat for the abbot in front of the rear wall, and in the left corner a veiled image of Yamantaka/Vajrabhairava, the ferocious aspect of Manjuśri, especially revered in the Geluk-pa. Wall paintings on the entrance wall depict protective deities, on the left wall Buddhas, and on the right wall Śakyamuni Buddha in the midst of the Sixteen Arhats. The Dolkar Lhakhang or Temple of the White Tara/Dolma (sGrol ma dkar po, pron. Drölma Karpo) is notable for its more than lifesize images in upper and lower levels of the highly reverenced "savioress" in her tantric form as Ushnisha Sitatapatra with a thousand heads and arms as the embodiment of limitless compassion (not to be confused with Arya-Avalokiteśvara).

SHEY

Upstream from Leh at a distance of about 9 km/5.5 mi on the right bank of the Indus and near the village of Choglamsar, is the Sonam Ling Tibetan refugee camp, and 6 km/4 mi farther along is the lofty rocky ridge which is the site of Shey, its name deriving from the earlier Shel (slel, crystal, glass, referring to the bright color of the rocks). Along with Sa bu (Sabu, 8 km/5 mi southeast of Leh), Shey was the most ancient capital of Ladakh, perhaps the capital of the earliest kings who were supposed to be descended from the mythological king Ge sar (pron. Kesar), perhaps the capital of Kyide Nyima Gon (c. 929) after he conquered

Ladakh, and most probably the capital of Kyide Nyima Gon's oldest son Lhachen Pelgyigon (c. 950) to whom in the division of his kingdom Kyide Nyima Gon gave Ladakh, and thereafter the capital of the succeeding kings of the First Dynasty of Ladakh. Also after the unification of the kingdom by Lhachen Bhagan (c. 1460-c. 1485) and the transfer of the main capital to Leh, the palace at Shey remained a secondary royal residence and also the seat of the state oracle. Until 1834 and the invasion of Zorawar Singh ancient custom required that the heir apparent to the throne of Ladakh be born at Shey, and the royal estate of Stok, where the descendants of the royal family have resided since that time, is on the far side of the Indus (which is crossed by a bridge at Chog-lamsar).

Confirmatory of the antiquity of the site at Shey, the most ancient royal rock inscriptions in Ladakh are found here; they are believed to be of Kyide Nyima Gon's time, although they do not contain his name; but they do use the early title btsan po (tsenpo). There are also Buddhist rock carvings, probably tenth century in date, on the rocks beside the caravan and pilgrim route (and the modern road) near Shey. These include standing figures of the Five Tathagatas in a group, and a standing figure of Śakyamuni Buddha.

The most ancient ruins of fortifications at Shey are high on the ridge; the existing palace and temple buildings are lower down but still high above the Indus plain below. It was here that Lhachen Deldan Namgyal (c. 1642-c. 1694) did his building work, with the erection of a high chorten and a lofty Buddha image of copper and gilt, as mentioned in the Chronicles of the Kings of Ladakh.

Beside the main palace building at Shey is a large chorten, and behind the palace at a distance of only a few meters/yards is the temple complex. Here the large assembly hall ('du khang) is now relatively empty, but has old wall paintings of Buddhas and mandalas, and a picture of Taktshang Repa, the Druk-pa lama who was contemporary with Senge Namgyal and Deldan Namgyal and was instrumental in the making of a great image of Maitreya at Basgo, and in the foundation of the monastery at Hemis. Adjacent to the hall is the two-story palace temple, the Shakya Thubpa Lhakhang, built by Deldan Namgyal and named for Deldan Namgyal's enormous golden image of Śakyamuni Buddha which it contains. The statue is of gilded copper sheets and gold, 12 m/40 ft

in height, the largest golden Buddha statue in Ladakh. The figure is seated on a lotus base in the lower story of the building, and the shoulders and head rise above the surrounding floor of the upper story. To the left in the upper level is Pelden Lhamo shown in blue on her mule-mount, and to the right is a Damcan on a red horse.

Below the palace and the palace-temple and 400 m/1,300 ft farther along the road at Shey are two more temples. Here the small Shakya Thubpa Lhakhang was built by Senge Namgyal, and contains a seated figure of Śakyamuni Buddha about 1 m/3 ft high, while wall paintings depict Śakyamuni with his disciples Śariputra and Maudgalyayana as well as Padmasambhava and also the Sixteen Arhats. The second temple is of two stories and said to have been built by the princess Kelsang from Baltistan, the wife of Senge Namgyal. It contains a seated figure of Amitayus, the Buddha of "infinite life," and wall paintings of the Thousand Buddhas.

Annually in August Shey is the site of the Shel Srub Lha, a festival of thanksgiving for harvest, in which the first of the grain is symbolically offered to the goddess Vajravarahi (Dorje Phakmo, here called Dorje Tschenmo).[12]

TIKTSE

At a distance of 5 km/3 mi beyond Shey on a prominent hill on the right bank of the Indus, with a sweeping view from Spituk in the northwest to the ravine that leads to Hemis in the southeast, is the monastery of Khri rtse (pron. Tiktse), belonging to the Geluk-pa. As we have seen (in Chapter 12), the Geluk-pa were introduced into Ladakh by emissaries from Tsongkhapa (1357-1419) himself, and the first Geluk-pa monastery (Spituk) was founded under King Trakbumde (c. 1410-c. 1435), with the order spreading rapidly thereafter, so it is probable that the Tiktse monastery was founded not much later, at all events probably before the middle of the fifteenth century.

At the foot of the hill at Tiktse are a long *mani*-wall and many chortens, while the main buildings are on the slope and summit of the hill, and comprise residential quarters, assembly halls, and temples, (see illustration). The present approach-road leads up from the valley to the east side of the main complex of assembly halls and temples, and is marked at a lower level by a lhato of the early

Tibetan protective deity Shugdan, and near the top by a chorten. From the top of the monastery, ornamented with the usual golden towers, there is a sweeping view over the Indus Valley.

On the south side of the main complex of assembly halls and temples there is a large court enclosed on the east and north by the fronts of the adjacent buildings, and on the other two sides provided with covered galleries for the spectators at the monastic rituals, especially the winter-time Tscham-mysteries which are performed here as at Leh and elsewhere. From the court, steps lead up to the porch in front of the main assembly hall (the tshogs khang, pron. Tschokhang). Here there is a very large painted prayer wheel (see illustration) and, as at many other monasteries, the walls of the porch are painted with representations of the Four Guardians of the directions and with the Wheel of Existence. The hall is marked by its wooden beams and columns, two of which are enlarged to provide a platform halfway up, on one of which platforms is Yama the god of death, and on the other Amitayus the Buddha of long life. In front of the back wall is an elevated seat for the Dalai Lama (or for his imaginary presence), and a lower seat for the abbot of the monastery. Wall paintings show such figures as Śakyamuni Buddha and the Sixteen Arhats, many protective deities and others.

At the back of the Tschokhang is the Tsankhang or room of the peaceful deities, with images of Śakyamuni Buddha, Manjuśri, Maitreya, and the eleven-headed Avalokiteśvara (Ekadashamukha). Adjacent to the Tschokhang to the east is the Gomkhang or room of the protective deities, in which are figures of Yamantaka/Vajrabhairava with many heads and arms, trampling demons and enemies of the religion underfoot, of Yama, of Pelden Lhamo, of Mahakala, and others, all most of the time hidden behind cloth hangings. In the front of the Gomkhang a monk chants in honor of Yamantaka.

At the east side of the main courtyard is the Champa Lakhang or Maitreya Temple, a relatively new building, in which the very large image of the future Buddha, head crowned with the Five Tathagatas, (see illustration) rises through two stories. On the upper walls are paintings of many famous Buddhist teachers.

Part way down the front slope of the hill at Tiktse is the Dukhang Karpo or White Assembly Hall. This is a very long one-story building, and contains only a few statues (Maitreya, Śakyamuni),

but many wall paintings. Of the paintings the older, probably from the middle of the sixteenth century, are on the north long wall. They depict the Adi-Buddha Vajradhara holding the *vajra*/dorje and bell, flanked by the Bodhisattvas Avalokiteśvara and Vajrapani and surrounded by the Eighty-four Mahasiddhas; Śakyamuni Buddha flanked by the Sixteen Arhats and his disciples Śariputra and Maudgalyayana; Tsongkhapa and his disciples; a triad of the White Tara/Dolma, Ushnishavijaya, and Amitayus, all three considered deities of long life; and yet many other figures. Likewise the other three walls are filled with many paintings, but of later date and lesser quality. To the left, somewhat above the Dukhang Karpo is the Tschomo Lhakhang or Temple of the Nuns, which is also adorned with many interior wall paintings, probably dating from the sixteenth century.[13]

NYARMA, STAKNA, MATRO, TRAKTHOK

Beyond Tiktse and off the road in a side valley are the ruins of the fort and monastery of *Nyar ma* (Nyarma), the monastery definitely accepted as one of the first established by Rinchen Sangpo and dating therefore from not long after 1000 CE. Only 8 km/5 mi farther upstream from Tiktse but across in the plain on the left bank of the Indus is the Druk-pa monastery of sTag sna (pron. Stakna), which contains images of several Druk-pa lamas, including the famed historian Pad ma dkar po (pron. Pema Karpo) (1526-1592), who was probably responsible for the foundation of the monastery. At the edge of the same plain in a southern valley 5 km/3 mi south of Stakna, is the monastery of Ma spro (pron. Matro), the only Śakya-pa monastery in Ladakh, probably founded around the year 1300.

Some 15 km/9 mi on up the right bank of the Indus and then some 6.5 km/4 mi up a tributary valley to the northeast is the site of the Brag thog (pron. Tranthok) monastery, which is the only Nyingma-pa monastery in Ladakh. The name means "top of the rocks," and in the rock is a cave (6 m/20 ft square) which is supposed (like many other caves from Ladakh to Bhutan) to have been a place of meditation on the part of Padmasambhava. In the center of the cave are images of Padmasambhava and Avalokiteśvara. The monastery is laid out immediately adjacent to this cave, and comprises a large court for ritual performances, a Kanjur Lakhang or

library, and a Dukhang or assembly hall. In the assembly hall are images of Padmasambhava and of the yi dam Cakrasamvara in yab yum with his dakini Dorje Phakmo. Wall paintings depict the life and works of Padmasambhava, and also many of the terrifying manifestations which appear in the Bardo between death and rebirth according to the Bardo Thodol, the "book of the dead" supposed to have been composed by Padmasambhava and written down by his wife Yeshe Tshogyal.[14]

HEMIS

At a total distance of 45 km/28 mi from Leh, and some 7.5 km/4.7 mi up the secluded Shang valley on the left side the Indus (crossed by a bridge at Karu), is the famous Byang chub bsam gling dgon pa (pron. Changchup Samling Gönpa, commonly known as the Hemis (from Sanskrit *hima* snow) monastery, the most famous institution of the Druk-pa Kagyu-pa order in Ladakh.

The founder of the monastery was sTag tshang ras pa (pron. Taktshang Rêpa) (1574-1651), the famous Druk-pa *siddha* who, as described above in Chapter 13, worked in Western Tibet in the time of the Ladakhi kings Jamyang Namgyal (c.1595-1616), Senge Namgyal (1616-1642), and Deldan Namgyal (c.1647-c.1694). It was particularly in association with Senge Namgyal that Taktshang Repa devoted himself to the building of Hemis. Early in his time in Ladakh Taktshang Repa is said to have spent several years (probably 1617-1620) in a simple hermitage at the site; the main communal hall (tshogs khang, pron. tschokhang) was built in 1630; the even larger assembly hall ('du khang chen mo, pron. dukhang chenmo), decorated with paintings, was consecrated in 1638. Hemis is also where on January 29, 1651, at the age of more than seventy-six years, Taktshang Repa died and was buried. Impressive death rites were conducted, five monks were appointed permanently to read sacred texts near the chorten containing his relics, and in 1655 a great ceremony of remembrance was conducted in the presence of King Deldan Namgyal. Ever since, the succeeding heads of the monastery have been considered the reincarnations of Taktshang Repa, and bear his name. By virtue of these associations with the several kings Hemis was considered the royal monastery of Ladakh; and also the successors of Taktshang Repa's master, Lhatseba Wang Sangpo of the Dechen Chokhor monastery in Tibet, became

the hereditary preceptors or chaplains (dbu bla) of the Ladakhi kings. In part, no doubt, because of its relatively secluded location, the Hemis monastery escaped the destruction which befell so many of the other Buddhist centers in Ladakh in Zorawar's invasions in 1834 and following, and the monastery still preserves many ancient materials.[15]

The approach to Hemis is up along a small poplar-lined stream, and is marked by a succession of *mani*-walls and chortens. In front of the main monastery building a long rectangular courtyard with three tall flag masts and with spectators' galleries on three sides provides place for monastic dance rituals. The court is entered by steps at the northwest corner, and a large prayer wheel is immediately at the right hand. Fronting on the court is a long, large building of three and four stories in height. In this building the first hall on the right is the Dukhang Chenmo or great assembly hall. The porch is decorated as so often with the Four Guardians of the directions and the Wheel of Existence, but the inner hall is presently virtually empty. The next hall to the left is the Tschokhang for communal assembly. Here too the veranda shows the Four Guardians and the Wheel of Existence. Within in the first part of the hall is a golden seated Śakyamuni Buddha some 5 m/16 ft high, and in the back part of the hall is a row of some 8 m/26 ft high chortens which contain the relics of several deceased incarnate heads of the monastery. On the right wall are bookcases with many volumes of the Kanjur and Tanjur.

Yet farther at the left end of the same building, with separate access from the courtyard in front, is the Lhakhang Nyingma or Old Temple. While this room is practically bare of furnishings, its walls are covered with paintings which probably come from the time of the building of the monastery in the early seventeenth century. Notable is the portrait of Taktshang Repa in elegant white and gold garb, the great *siddha* being here often called Shambunath, i.e., the lord of the mythical land of Shambala, the home of the Kalacakra system. Other pictures are of the Eighty-four Mahasiddhas, Milarepa, Śakyamuni, and the Adi-Buddha Vajradhara, with whom the spiritual lineage of the Kagyu-pa begins.

On the roof of the large main building and looking toward the rocky hills above are several subsidiary temples. In the Taktshang Repa Lhakhang there is a statue of the founder of the monastery, alongside a large gold and silver chorten containing

his relics. Other figures in the room are of Senge Namgyal, Śakyamuni, Mahakala, and some of the incarnate abbots of the monastery. The Zabkhang (gZab khang) or Elegant Room contains in its lower level a collection of Kashmiri Buddhist bronzes, and in its upper level the central figure of the Adi-Buddha of the Kagyu-pa (Vajradhara, Dorje Chang), and superimposed rows of clay images of Druk-pa personages. All together the Hemis monastery preserves a wealth of sacred images, and especially many early tankas, one of which is said to be the largest in existence, and is exhibited in public only once in eleven years (the last time in 1980).

With a reported 500 monks belonging to Hemis and its branches, this is the largest monastic establishment in Ladakh, and its annual festival, the Tscham mysteries of Hemis Gompa, held every year on the birthday of Padmasambhava in the fifth Buddhist month (usually in May or June) is the largest such Buddhist celebration in Ladakh. The mask dances of this festival recall the conflicts of Padmasambhava with the demonic forces of the Tibetan highlands, and thus the memory and influence of the Lotus Born Guru live on here and elsewhere in the West Tibetan mountain land of Ladakh.[16]

Time Line

(Many dates are approximate)

Tibet

600 million years ago	Poseidon sea
300 million years ago	Tethys sea
180 million years ago	Ichthyosaur
40 million years ago	Uplift of the Himalaya and the Tibetan plateau

BCE

3101	Beginning of the Kali Yuga
1500	Mahabharata War
	Nomadic tribes in Tibet
527	Nirvana of Mahavira
500	Nirvana of Śakyamuni Buddha
	Bon pos in Tibet
	Forty-two kings in the Yarlung Dynasty
	Twenty-seven kings in pre-Buddhist times
Early fifth century	Nyatrhi Tsenpo
	Trikum
	First Persecution of Bon
269-232	Reign of Aśoka
252	Third Buddhist Council

CE

100-200	Nagarjuna and Aryadeva found the Madhyamika school
Late fourth century	Asanga and Vasubandhu found the Yogacara school
	First Period of the Propagation of the Doctrine
	Fourteen kings in Buddhist times
367-467	Reign of Lhatho Thori
629-649	Reign of Songtsen Gampo, the first great religious king
632	Coming of Trhisun from Nepal
641	Coming of Wencheng from China
676-704	Reign of Trhidu Songtsen
680	Death of Wencheng
704-755	Reign of Trhide Tsuktsen
710	Coming of Chincheng from China
739	Death of Chincheng
755-797	Reign of Trhisong Detsen, the second great religious king
763	Tibetan occupation of Changan
	Zhol Doring Inscription
	Śantarakshita
	Padmasambhava
775	Completion of Samye
779	Recognition of Buddhism as the state religion of Tibet
783-786	Second persecution of Bon
792-794	Council of Samye
815-838	Reign of Ralpacan, the third great religious king
838-842	Reign of Langdarma, the forty-second and last king of the Yarlung Dynasty
	Rooting out of the Doctrine
	Second Period of the Propagation of the Doctrine
832-915	Gonga Rapsel
950-1025	Lume
	Yeshe O
958-1055	Rinchen Sangpo
970	He is ordained and sent by Yeshe O on his first trip to India

	Changchup O
982-1054	Atiśa
1042	He arrives in Western Tibet at the invitation of Changchup O
1045	He proceeds to Central Tibet at the request of Drom
988-1069	Tilopa
992-1072	Drokmi
1005-1064	Drom
1012-1097	Marpa
1016-1100	Naropa
1027	Introduction of the Kalacakra into Tibet
1040-1123	Milarepa
1079-1153	Gampopa
	Later History
1162-1227	Genghis Khan
1206	He becomes ruler of the Mongol empire
1207	His army invades Tibet
1182-1251	Sakya Pandita
1240	Godan invades Tibet
1247	Sakya Pandita meets with Godan
1235-1280	Phakpa
1253	He becomes religious instructor of Prince Kublai
1239-1267	Chana Dorje
1260-1294	Kublai Khan supreme ruler of the Mongols
1279-1368	Yuan (Mongol) Dynasty in China
1290	The Sakya-pa destroy the Drigung monastery
129C-1364	Buston
1302-1373	Changchup Gyentsen
	He establishes the political power of the Phakmotru-pa
1354	The Phakmotru-pa defeat the Sakya-pa in battle
1357-1419	Tsongkhapa
1409	He founds the Ganden monastery
1416	Drepung monastery founded by Jamyang Cho-je
1419	Sera monastery founded by Chamchen Cho-je
1447	Trashilhunpo monastery founded by Gendentrup
1392-1481	Gos lotsava
1368-1644	Ming Dynasty in China
1435-1565	Kings of Rimpung-pa

1566-1642	Kings of Tsang
1578	Sonam Gyatsho meets with Altan Khan and receives the title of Dalai
1642	Guśri Khan ends the rule of Tibetan kings
1617-1682	The Fifth Dalai Lama
1642	He gives the title of Panchen Lama to Lopsang Chokyi Gyentsen
1644-1911	The Qing Dynasty of the Manchus in China
1720	Chinese occcupation of Lhasa
1876-1933	The Thirteenth Dalai Lama
1904	British occupation of Lhasa
1935-	The Fourteenth Dalai Lama
1949	Inauguration of the People's Republic of China
1950	Chinese invasion of Tibet
1951	Seventeen-point Agreement
1956	Revolt in Kham
1959	Uprising in Lhasa The Fourteenth Dalai Lama goes into exile
1965	Tibet proclaimed the Autonomous Region of Xizang in the People's Republic of China
1966-1976	Cultural Revolution
1979	Reopening of the Jokhang in Lhasa
1983	Twenty-fourth anniversary of Tibetan Uprising Day

Western Tibet

843-905	Osung
893-923	Pelkhortsen
929	Kyide Nyima Gon goes to Western Tibet
950-1460	First Dynasty of Ladakh
950	Lhachen Pelgyigon, first king of the First Dynasty of Ladakh
1025-1050	Lhachen Changchup Sempa
Second half of eleventh century	Lhachen Utpala
1076	Council of the Fire Dragon Year
1215	Lhachen Ngostrop
1410-1435	Lhachen Trakbumde

1435-1460	Lotroi Chogden
1460-1842	Second Dynasty of Ladakh, the Namgyal Dynasty
1460-1485	Lhachen Bhagan
1532, 1545, and 1548	Invasions of Ladakh by Mirza Haidar
1555-1575	Trashi Namgyal
1575-1595	Tshewang Namgyal
1595-1616	Jamyang Namgyal
1616-1642	Senge Namgyal
1647-1694	Lhachen Deldan Namgyal
1574-1651	Taktshang Repa
1526-1857	Mughal empire in India
1605-1627	Jahangir
1628-1658	Shah Jahan
1658-1707	Aurangzeb
1666-1667	Leh Mosque
1680-1691	Delek Namgyal
1683	Treaty with Kashmir
1684	Treaty with Lhasa
1802-1840	Tshepel Namgyal
1819	Ranjit Singh annexes Kashmir
1792-1857	Gulab Singh, a Rajput of the Dogra tribe in Jammu He receives Jammu from Ranjit Singh
1834	He sends Zorawar Singh to invade Ladakh
1841	Death of Zorawar Singh
1842	Conclusion of the Dogra conquest of Ladakh, and incorporation of Ladakh in the dominions of Gulab Singh
1846	Gulab Singh becomes ruler of Kashmir as well as of Jammu, thus Ladakh belongs to Jammu and Kashmir, and to India
1864	Establishment of the Moravian Mission
1959-1962	Chinese invasion of Northeastern Ladakh (Aksai Chin)
1926-1974	Raja Kunsang Namgyal
1931-	Raja Phrinlas Namgyal

List of Abbreviations

ACS	Ancient Civilizations Series, ed. Jean Marcadé (Nagel Publishers, Geneva).
AMG	Annales du Musée Guimet.
ANLA	Annals of the Nyingma Lineage in America (Dharma Publishing).
AOS	American Oriental Series.
ASI	Archaeological Survey of India.
BB	Bibliotheca Buddhica.
BH	Bibliotheca Himalayica.
CLS	The Clear Light Series (Shambala, Berkeley).
CSS	The Chowkhamba Sanskrit Studies.
EAW	East and West (Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente).
EB	Encyclopaedia of Buddhism, ed. G.P. Malalasekera and (1979-) Jotiya Dhirasekera (Government of Sri Lanka, 1961ff.).
ERCEW	Ethical and Religious Classics of East and West.
GOS	Gaekwad's Oriental Series (Oriental Institute, Baroda).
IHQ	The Indian Historical Quarterly.
IIM	Indo-Iranian Monographs.
JMG	Jñānapīṭha Mūrtidevī Granthamālā.
JRAS	The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.
JUHRI	Journal of Urusvati Himalayan Research Institute (Roerich Museum, New York City).
LOS	London Oriental Series.
MKB	Materialien zur Kunde des Buddhismus.
MS	Monumenta Serica, Journal of Oriental Studies.
MTB	Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko (Oriental Library, Tokyo)

MTH	Monumenta Tibetica Historica.
NG	National Geographic.
NT	News Tibet (Office of Tibet, 901 Second Avenue, New York City, NY 10017).
OR	Orientations (Pacific Magazines Ltd., Hong Kong).
PMSOP	Publications of the Mongolia Society, Occasional Papers (Mongolia Society, Bloomington, Indiana).
SIS	Soviet Indology Series.
SOR	Serie Orientale Roma (Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed, Estremo Oriente, Rome).
SPS	Śata-Pitaka Series (International Academy of Indian Culture, New Delhi).
SR	Symbolik der Religionen, ed. Ferdinand Herrmann (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann).
TTS	Tibetan Translation Series (Dharma Publishing).
WTS	The Wisdom of Tibet Series (Harper and Row).

Notes

1. Flight into Tibet

1. Chinese shan means mountain or range of mountains.

2. Richard Burdsall and Arthur Emmons, "Men Against the Clouds" (New York: Harper, 1935).

3. Chinese hu means lake.

4. Valrae Reynolds, "Tibet, A Lost World, The Newark Museum Collection of Tibetan Art and Ethnography" (New York: The American Federation of Arts; Bloomington and London: Indiana University Press, 1978; Valrae Reynolds, 'From a Lost World: Tibetan Costumes and Textiles,' in OR 12, 3, March 1981.

5. In Tibetan chu means river.

2. Land, People, and Language

1. Richard Carrington, 'The Mediterranean' (New York: Viking Press, 1971), p. 55; Kyuya Fukada in Yoshikazu Shirakawa, 'Himalayas' (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1971, concise edition 1977), p. 11; Khrili Chodra in Ngapo Ngawang Jigmei, et al., 'Tibet' (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1981), p. 49 and Fig. 27; Zhang Mingtao and other members of the Multidisciplinary Research Team of the Qinghai-Tibet Plateau, Chinese Academy of Sciences, 'The Roof of the World, Exploring the Mysteries of the Qinghai-Tibet Plateau' (New York: Harry N. Abrams; Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1982), pp. 37ff. In geological terms the sea called Poseidon existed in the Primary rock period from the Paleozoic era and the Cambrian period onward, and the sea called Tethys (the wife of Oceanus) existed in the Secondary rock period and the Mesozoic era and into the Eocene epoch of the Cenozoic era. Thus from the Cambrian to the Eocene the Himalayan region was beneath the sea. Then in the Tertiary period came the major

movements of mountain building, beginning toward the close of the Eocene, with a second phase in the Miocene and a third phase in the Pliocene.

2. Chinese feng means mount, peak.

3. Chinese yumco means lake.

4. Swami Pranavananda, 'Exploration in Tibet' (Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1950).

5. Tibetan la means pass.

6. Tibetan chu means water or river. For the determination of the main source of the Yarlung Tsangpo see Zhang et al., 'The Roof of the World', pp. 104, 110 f.

7. Chinese shankou means pass.

8. Cai Xiansheng in Jigmei, et al., Tibet, pp. 132-155.

9. David Snellgrove and Hugh Richardson, 'A Cultural History of Tibet' (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1968), p. 21.

10. 'My Land and My People, The Autobiography of His Holiness the Dalai Lama of Tibet', ed. David Howarth (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1962), pp. 51f. Quoted by permission of Weidenfeld and Nicolson.

11. Giuseppe Tucci, 'The Religions of Tibet' (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1980). Note also that in the present book in accordance with Western usage historical dates are usually given in or correlated with the Common Era (abbreviated BCE for before the Common Era and CE for in the Common Era), and where dates are given without these abbreviations it may be understood that the reference is to the Common Era.

3. Literature and Historical Sources

1. J. Bacot, F.W. Thomas, and Ch. Toussaint, 'Documents de Touen-houang relatifs à l'histoire du Tibet' (AMG 51) (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1940-46), pp. 9-75, Annals, pp. 79-89 Principalities and Genealogy, pp. 93-170 Chronicle; cf. Giuseppe Tucci, "The Validity of Tibetan Historical Tradition," in 'India Antiqua, A Volume of Oriental Studies presented by His Friends and Pupils to Jean Philippe Vogel' (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1947), pp. 309-322.

2. Lokesh Chandra, 'Materials for a History of Tibetan Literature' (SPS 28-30) (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 3 vols., 1963).

3. 'The Nyingma Edition of the sDe-dge bKa'-'gyur and bsTan-

'gyur,' edited and produced by Tarthang Tulku (Berkeley: Dharma Publishing, 1981); "The Nyingma Edition of the Derge Kanjur and Tanjur," by the Dharma Publishing Staff, in *Gesar* Spring/Summer 1982, pp. 21-24; Jack Petranker, "Production of the Nyingma Edition, "in *Gesar* Spring/Summer 1982, pp. 25-27.

4. From each of these two works the sections dealing with the history of Tibet beginning with King Songtsen Gampo are translated and evaluated in comparison with the Tunhuang texts by Giuseppe Tucci, "The Validity of Tibetan Historical Tradition," in *India Antiqua* (see above in n. 1).

5. Emil Schlagintweit, "Die Könige von Tibet," in *Abhandlungen der philosophisch-philologischen Classe der königlich bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 10, 2 (1866), pp. 791-879; A.H. Francke, 'Antiquities of Indian Tibet, 2, The Chronicles of Ladakh and Minor Chronicles' (ASI 50) New Delhi: S. Chand, 1926, reprint 1972); Luciano Petech, 'A Study on the Chronicles of Ladakh', Supplement to IHQ 13 (1937) and 15 (1939); Luciano Petech, 'The Kingdom of Ladakh c. 950-1842 A.D.' (SOR 51) (Rome: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1977).

6. Shoju Inaba, "The Lineage of the Sa skya pa, A Chapter of the Red Annals, "in MTB 22 (1963), pp. 107-123.

7. George N. Roerich, 'The Blue Annals' (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2d ed. 1976); Turrell V. Wylie, 'A Place Name Index to George N. Roerich's Translation of The Blue Annals' (SOR 15) (Rome: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1957).

8. Since each element in the designation of the years of the sixty-year cycle occurs twice in succession, the first occurrence is considered to carry with it the connotation "male" and the second occurrence the connotation "female" (corresponding in fact to even and odd years respectively), and thus the full name, for example, of the year in which Gos lotsava finished his work is Earth-Male-Dog (1478 CE). For the Chinese history of the Tang Dynasty see S.W. Bushell, "The Early History of Tibet, From Chinese Sources," in JRAS New Series 12 (1880). pp. 435-541. For the equivalence of dates in the Sexagenary Cycles and in the Common Era (CE) see A. von Staël-Holstein, "On the Sexagenary Cycle of the Tibetans," in MS 1 (1935-36) pp. 277-314. For Gos lotsava's Chinese correlations see Roerich, The Blue Annals, pp. vii, xviii-xix, 47ff.

9. Giuseppe Tucci, 'Deb t'er dmar po gsar ma, Tibetan Chronicles' by bSod nams grags pa, 1, Tibetan Text, Emendations to

the Text, English Translation and an Appendix containing two Minor Chronicles (SOR 24) (Rome: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1971).

10. E. Obermiller, 'History of Buddhism' (Chos-ḥbyung) by Bu-ston, 1. The Jewelry of Scripture, 2, The History of Buddhism in India and Tibet (MKB 18, 19) (Heidelberg: O. Harrassowitz, 2 vols., 1931-32).

11. Lama Chimpa and Alaka Chattopadhyaya, 'Taranatha's History of Buddhism in India', ed. Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya (Simla: Indian Institute of Advanced Study, 1970); Lokesh Chandra, 'Materials for a History of Tibetan Literature', 1 (SPS 28), pp 19f.

12. Sagang Sechen, 'The Bejewelled Summary of the Origin of Khans (Qad-un ündüsün-ü Erdeni-yin Tobči), A History of the Eastern Mongols to 1662', Part One: Chapters One through Five, From the Creation of the World to the Death of Genghis Khan (1227), tr. John R. Krueger, PMSOP 2 (2d ed. 1967).

13. Samten G. Karmay, 'The Treasury of Good Sayings: A Tibetan History of Bon' (LOS 26) (London: Oxford University Press, 1972).

14. D.S. Ruegg, 'The Life of Bu ston Rin po che, With the Tibetan Text of the Bu ston rNam thar' (SOR 34) (Rome: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente. 1966).

15. Kenneth Douglas and Gyendolyn Bays, 'The Life and Liberation of Padmasambhava, Padma bKa'i Thang, As Recorded by Yeshe Tsogyal, Rediscovered by Terchen Urgyan Lingpa' (Berkeley: Dharma Publishing, 2 vols., 1978); for what Padmasambhava told about the "concealed treasures" see pp. 610-643. For the "discoverers" see Eva M. Dargyay, The Rise of Esoteric Buddhism in Tibet (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1977), and for Urgyan Lingpa see No. 7, pp. 123-128.

16. 'The Tibetan Book of the Dead: The Great Liberation through hearing in the Bardo,' by Guru Rinpoche according to Karma Lingpa, A new translation from the Tibetan with commentary by Francesca Freemantle and Chögyam Trungpa (CLS) (Berkeley: Shambala, 1975). For the "discoverer" Karma Lingpa see Dargyay, 'The Rise of Esoteric Buddhism in Tibet', No. 13, pp. 151-153.

17. Helmut Hoffmann, 'The Religions of Tibet' (New York: Macmillan, 1961), pp. 85-97.

18. David L. Snellgrove, 'The Nine Ways of Bon, Excerpts from gZi-brjid' (LOS 18) (London: Oxford University Press, 1967).

19. Albert Grünwedel, 'Die Tempel von Lhasa, Gedicht des ersten Dalailama, für Pilger bestimmt' (Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Kl., 10:1 [1919], No. 14) (Heidelberg: Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1919).

20. Albert Grünwedel, 'Der Weg nach Śamghala' (Abhandlungen der königlich bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 29, 3, Munich, 1915); Edwin Bernbaum, 'The Way to Shambhala' (Garden City: Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1980).

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1. J. Bacot, F.W. Thomas, and Ch. Toussaint, 'Documents de Touen-houang relatifs à l'histoire du Tibet' (AMG 51) (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1940-46), pp. 79ff.; E. Obermiller, 'History of Buddhism' (Chos-ḥbyung) by Bu-ston, 2, The History of Buddhism in India and Tibet (MKB 19) (Heidelberg: O. Harrassowitz, 1932), pp. 181 ff.; George N. Roerich, 'The Blue Annals' (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2d, 1976), pp. 35ff.; Giuseppe Tucci, 'Deb t'er dmar po gsar ma,' Tibetan Chronicles by bSod nams gags pa, 1, Tibetan Text, Emendations to the Text, English Translation and an Appendix containing two Minor Chronicles (SOR 24) (Rome: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1971), pp. 141ff.; Emil Schlagintweit, "Die Könige von Tibet," in Abhandlungen der philosophisch-philologischen Classe der königlich bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 10, 2, (1866), pp. 830 ff.; A.H. Francke, 'Antiquities of Indian Tibet', 2. The Chronicles of Ladakh and Minor Chronicles (ASI 50) (New Delhi: S. Chand, 1926, reprint 1972), pp. 29ff.; cf. Luciano Petech, 'A Study on the Chronicles of Ladakh', Supplement to IHQ 13 (1937), pp. 1-38; and 15 (1939), pp. 39-95.

2. The Kali yuga remains in current use in India, and in this era the year 5079, for example, began on April 15, 1978 CE. For this

date see 'The Indian Ephemeris and Nautical Almanac for the Year 1978' (issued under the authority of the Director General of Observatories, New Delhi), p. xiv; and for the Indian eras in general see also L.D. Swamikannu Pillai, 'An Indian Ephemeris', A.D. 700 to A.D. 2000 (Madras: Superintendent, Government Press, 8 vols., 1915-22). The Mahabharata battle is dated c. 1559 BCE by Muni Shri Nagrajji, 'The Contemporaneity and the Chronology of Mahāvīra and Buddha' (New Delhi: Today and Tomorrow's Book Agency, 1970), p. 112; and c. 1424 BCE by S.B. Roy, 'Ancient India, A Chronological Study 1500-400 B.C.' (New Delhi: Institute of Chronology, Monograph No. 2, 1975), pp. iv, 8, 74.

3. For the date of Śakyamuni Buddha see the Appendix to this Chapter.

4. Bacot, Thomas, and Toussaint, 'Documents de Touen-houang relatifs à l'histoire du Tibet', p. 86.

5. Erik Haarh, 'The Yar-Luṅ Dynasty' (Copenhagen: G.E.C. Gad, 1969).

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7. Samten G. Karmay, 'The Treasury of Good Sayings: A Tibetan History of Bon' (LOS 26) (London: Oxford University Press, 1972), pp. 58-69.

8. Alfonsa Ferrari, Luciano Petech, and Hugh Richardson, 'mK-'yen brtse's Guide to the Holy Places of Central Tibet' (SOR 16) (Rome: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1958), pp. 52. 130 n. 282-285; Giuseppe Tucci, 'The Tombs of the Tibetan Kings' (SOR 1) (Rome: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1950); Giuseppe Tucci, 'To Lhasa and Beyond' (Rome: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, 1956), pp. 139-142; Giuseppe Tucci, 'Transhimalaya' (ACS) (Geneva: Nagel Publishers, 1973), pp. 73f.

Appendix to Chapter 4

The Date of Śakyamuni Buddha

1. George N. Roerich, 'The Blue Annals' (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2d ed. 1976), p. 1063.

2. P.V. Bapat, ed., '2500 Years of Buddhism' (Delhi: Government of India, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Publications Division, first published on the occasion of the 2500 th anniversary of the Mahāparinirvāṇa of Buddha, May 1956, reprinted 1959), p.v.

3. 'The Indian Ephemeris and Nautical Almanac for the Year 1978' (issued under the authority of the Director General of Observatories, New Delhi), p. xiv.

4. The 'dul ba iii. f. 460 a; xi. f. 106 a, cited in W. Woodville Rockhill, 'The Life of the Buddha and the Early History of His Order derived from Tibetan Works in the Bkah-hgyur and Bstan-hgyur' (Varanasi: Orientalia Indica, originally published 1884, first Indian reprint 1972), pp. 17, 32 n. 1.

5. Kailash Chand Jain, 'Lord Mahāvīra and His Times' (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1974), pp. 84-86; Hiralal Jain and A.N. Upadhya, 'Mahāvīra, His Times and His Philosophy of Life' (JMG English Series, 2) (New Delhi: Bharatiya Jnanpith, published on the occasion of the celebration of the 2500th Nirvāṇa of Bhagvān Mahāvīra, 1974); 'The Indian Ephemeris and Nautical Almanac for the Year 1978', p. xiv.

6. Muni Shri Nagrajji, 'The Contemporaneity and the Chronology of Mahāvīra and Buddha' (New Delhi: Today and Tomorrow's Book Agency, 1970), pp. 121-123, 133-135.

7. Bimala Church Law, 'The Chronicle of the Island of Ceylon or the Dipavamsa' (The Ceylon Historical Journal, Vol. VII—July 1957 to April 1958—Nos. 1-4) (Maharagama: Saman Press, 1959), p. 170; Wilhelm Geiger, 'The Mahāvaṃsa or The Great Chronicle of Ceylon' (1912, reprinted Colombo: Ceylon Government Information Department, 1950), pp. xxiv, xlvi, 14, 27.

8. Nagrajji, 'The Contemporaneity and the Chronology of Mahāvīra and Buddha', pp. 61, 91.

5. The First Period of the Propagation of the Doctrine, and the Buddhist Kings

1. J. Bacot, F.W. Thomas, and Ch. Toussaint, 'Documents de Touen-houang relatifs à l'histoire du Tibet' (AMG 51) (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1940-46), pp. 88f.; E. Obermiller, 'History of Buddhism (Chos-ḥbyung) by Bu-ston', 2, The History of Buddhism in India and Tibet (MKB 19) (Heidelberg: O. Harrassowitz, 1932), pp. 182ff.; George N. Roerich, 'The Blue Annals' (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2d ed. 1976), pp. 38ff.; Giuseppe Tucci, 'Deb t'er dmar po gsar ma, Tibetan Chronicles by bSod nams grags pa', 1, Tibetan Text, Emendations to the Text, English Translation and an Appendix containing two Minor Chronicles

(SOR 24) (Rome: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1971), pp. 143f.; A.H. Francke, 'Antiquities of Indian Tibet', 2, The Chronicles of Ladakh and Minor Chronicles (ASI 50) (New Delhi: S. Chand, 1926, reprint 1972), pp. 30ff.

2. Lama Chimpa and Alaka Chattopadhyaya, 'Taranatha's History of Buddhism in India,' ed. Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya (Simla: Indian Institute of Advanced Study, 1970), p. 175; Sagang Sechen, 'The Bejewelled Summary of the Origin of Khans (Qad-un ündüsün-ü Erdeni-yin Tobči). A History of the Eastern Mongols to 1662', Part One: Chapters One through Five, From the Creation of the World to the Death of Genghis Khan (1227), tr. John R. Krueger, PMSOP 2 (2d ed. 1967), p. 19; W. Woodville Rockhill, 'The Life of the Buddha and the Early History of His Order dervided from Tibetan Works in the Bkah-hgyur and Bstan-hgyur' (Varanasi: Orientalia Indica, originally published 1884, first Indian reprint 1972), pp. 209f.

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5. Bacot, Thomas, and Toussaint, 'Documents de Touen-houang relatifs à l'histoire du Tibet,' pp. 29f.; Roerich, 'The Blue Annals,' pp. ix-xiii, 49, citing Isaak Jakob Schmidt, 'Geschichte der Ost-Mongolen und ihres Fürstenhauses verfasst von Ssanang Ssetsen Chungtaidschi der Ordus' (St. Petersburg and Leipzig, reprinted The Hague, 1961), pp. 28f.; Tucci, 'Deb t'er dmar po gsar ma, Tibetan Chronicles by bSod nams grags pa,' I, pp. 149f. and n. 4; Tucci, "The Validity of Tibetan Historical Tradition," in 'India Antiqua, A Volume of Oriental Studies presented by His Friends and Pupils to Jean Philippe Vogel,' pp. 311, 315; Obermiller, 'The History of Buddhism in India and Tibet,' pp. 183, 185. For

the dates from the death of Songtsen Gampo (649 CE) and onward see Giuseppe Tucci, 'Transhimalaya' (ACS) (Geneva: Nagel Publishers, 1973), pp. 208f.; Giuseppe Tucci, 'The Religions of Tibet' (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1950), pp. 249-256. For the Chinese rulers see Herbert A. Giles, 'A Chinese Biographical Dictionary' (London: Bernard Quaritch; Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh, 1898), p. 477 No. 1239 (Li Yuan); pp. 461f. No. 1196 (Li Shih-min); pp. 424 f. No. 1109 (Li Chih).

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9. Stephen Beyer, 'The Cult of Tārā, Magic and Ritual in Tibet' (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), pp. 5f., 9f. For the goddess Bhrikuti, with whom the Nepalese princess was also sometimes identified, see Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, 'The Indian Buddhist Iconography, mainly based on the Sadhanamala and Cognate Tantric Texts of Rituals' (Calcutta: K. L. Mukhopadhyay, 1968), pp. 152f.

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11. Bacot, Thomas, and Toussaint, 'Documents de Touen-houang relalifs à l'histoire du Tibet,' pp. 51f.; Roerich, 'The Blue Annals,' p. 51; Tucci, "The Validity of Tibetan Historical Tradition," in 'India Antiqua, A Volume of Oriental Studies presented by His Friends and Pupils to Jean Philippe Vogel,' pp. 314f. The figure in Jetsun Trakpa Gyentsen's text for the length of reign of Trhisong

Detsen of thirteen years (instead of forty-three) is presumably a copyist's error.

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13. Embar Krishnamacharya, 'Tattvasaṅgraha of Śāntarakṣita with the Commentary of Kamalaśīla' (GOS 30-31) (Baroda: Central Library, 1926), and see pp. X-CLVI for the lives of Śantarakshita and Kamalaśila and the contents of the book.

14. Kenneth Douglas and Gyendolyn Bays, 'The Life and Liberation of Padmasambhava,' Padma bKa'i Thang, 'As Recorded by Yeshe Tsogyal, Rediscovered by Terchen Urgyan Lingpa' (Berkeley: Dharma Publishing, 2 vols., 1978). For the treatise 'The Seeing of Reality,' attributed to Padmasambhava and translated by Lama Karma Sumbhon Paul and Lama Lobzang Mingyur Dorje, see W. Y. Evans-Wentz, 'The Tibetan Book of the Great Liberation' (London: Oxford University Press, 1954), pp. 193-240.

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17. P. Demiéville, 'Le Concile de Lhasa' (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1952); Tucci, 'The Religions of Tibet,' pp. 13f.

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19. Richardson, 'Ancient Historical Edicits at Lhasa,' pp. 35-82.

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6. The Second Period of the Propagation of the Doctrine

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2. For the dates given by Gos lotsava see Roerich, 'The Blue Annals,' pp. xiv-xv.

3. For these and later dates see Giuseppe Tucci, 'The Religions of Tibet' (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1980), pp. 250ff., 258 n. 4.

4. Obermiller. 'The History of Buddhism in India and Tibet.' pp. 212-214; Roerich, 'The Blue Annals', pp. 68-71, 84, 204f., 244f.. 351-354, 372f.

5. Obermiller, 'The History of Buddhism in India and Tibet,' pp. 213f.; Roerich, 'The Blue Annals,' pp. 241-327.

6. Swami Pranavananda, 'Exploration in Tibet' (Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1950), pp. 96f. and Map 1.

7. Roerich, 'The Blue Annals,' pp. 251-267.

8. Alaka Chattopadhyaya, 'Atiśa and Tibet, Life and Works of Dipaṃkara Śrijñāna in relation to the History and Religion of Tibet. With Tibetan Sources translated under Professor Lama Chimpa' (Calcutta: Indian Studies: Past and Present, 1967). This work contains translations of selected writings of Atiśa, including the 'Bodhipathapradipa.' Doboom Tulku and Glenn H. Mullin, 'Atisha and Buddhism in Tibet' (New Delhi: Tibet House, 1983).

7. Tibetan Buddhism: Its Philosophy

1. E. Obermiller, 'History of Buddhism' (Chos-ḥbyung) by Buston, 2, 'The History of Buddhism in India and Tibet' (MKB 19)

(Heidelberg: O. Harrassowitz, 1932), pp. 41-56; Ferdinand D. Lessing and Alex Wayman, 'Mkhas Grub Rje's Fundamentals of the Buddhist Tantras, Rgyud sde spyihi rnam par gźag pa rgyas par brjod' (IIM 8) (The Hague: Mouton, 1968), pp. 41-49.

2. For the concept of *nirvana* as expounded by the Fourteenth Dalai Lama see 'My Land and My People, The Autobiography of His Holiness the Dalai Lama,' ed., David Howarth (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1962), p. 222: "Samsara . . . implies a bondage. Nirvana implies a liberation from this bondage . . . The causes of Samsara are Karma and delusion. If the roots of delusion are thoroughly extracted, if creation of new Karma to cause rebirth in the Samsara is brought to an end, if there are no more delusions to fertilize the residual Karmas of the past; then the continual rebirth of the suffering being will cease. But such a being will not cease to exist. It has hitherto existed in a body with a mortal residue, a body given birth by previous Karma and delusion. After the cessation of rebirth, after the liberation from Samsara and the achievement of Nirvana, it will continue to have consciousness and a spiritual body free of delusion. This is the meaning of the true cessation of suffering." Quoted by permission of Weidenfeld and Nicolson, Publishers.

3. Har Dayal, The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature' (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1970); Leslie S. Kawamura, ed., 'The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhism' (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1981).

4. Edward Conze, 'The Perfection of Wisdom in Eight Thousand Lines and Its Verse Summary' (Bolinas: Four Seasons Foundation, 1973); Edward Conze, 'Buddhist Wisdom Books, containing The Diamond Sutra and The Heart Sutra' (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1958); Edward Conze, 'The Short Prajñāpāramitā Texts' (London: Luzac, 1973) Edward Conze, 'The Prajñāpāramitā Literature' ('S-Gravenhage: Mouton, 1960).

5. Edward Conze, 'Selected Savings from the Perfection of Wisdom' (London: The Buddhist Society, 1955), pp. 32ff., 74ff., 100ff.

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of the Four Mindfulnesses' (WTS 2) (New York: Harper and Row, 1975); Vasudev Gokhale, 'Aksara-Catakam, The Hundred Letters, A Madhyamaka Text by Āryadeva after Chinese and Tibetan Materials' (MKB 14) (Heidelberg: O. Harrassowitz, 1930).

7. Edward Conze, 'Abhisamayālankāra' (SOR 6) (Rome: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1954); Janice Dean Willis, 'On Knowing Reality: the Tattvārtha chapter of Asanga's Bodhisattvabhumi' (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979); Clarence H. Hamilton, 'Wei Shih Er Shih Lun or The Treatise in Twenty Stanzas on Representation-Only by Vasubandhu, Translated from the Chinese Version of Hsüan Tsang, Tripitaka Master of the T'ang Dynasty' (AOS 13) (New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1938, reprinted Kraus Reprint Corporation, 1967); Th. Stcherbatsky, 'Madhyānta-Vibhaṅga, Discourse on Discrimination between Middle and Extreme' (SIS 5, reprint BB 30) (Calcutta: Indian Studies: Past and Present, 1971).

8. For "emptiness" see Frederick J. Streng, 'Emptiness, A Study in Religious Meaning' (Nashville and New York: Abingdon Press, 1967); Winston L. King, "Sunyata as a Master Symbol," in 'Numen, International Review for the History of Religions' (Leiden: E. J. Brill), 17 (1970), pp. 95-104; Hans Waldenfels, 'Absolute Nothingness' (New York/Ramsey: Paulist Press, 1980). For the effect of the doctrine in Tibetan life see Giuseppe Tucci, 'Tibet, Land of Snows' (New York: Stein and Day, 1967), p. 15: "The most distinctive characteristic the Tibetan derived from his Buddhist faith was a sense of the fundamental vanity of things . . . the conviction that the world is tongpanyi, emptiness; an emptiness stripping all substantially from what we think of as 'being', which is nothing but appearance. But the presence of this void did not cast a veil of grief over things so much as restore them to proper proportions. . . . If everything is empty, so is pain; pleasure and pain are illusory appearances . . . And so there is no cause for grief; on the contrary, the outcome of these assumptions is a certain lightness . . . Moreover the fact of sharing in a transcendent reality is present, conscious or not, within each of us; for each is of the same substance or essence as the Buddha-nature. This belief turned man into an ambiguous creature—partaking of an atemporality which defies every definition, yet caught up in a time-span that measures his own illusoriness and that of all he does." Quoted by permission of Stein and Day, Publishers.

9. Agehananda Bharati, 'The Tantric Tradition' (London: Rider,

1965); Herbert V. Guenther, 'The Tantric View of Life' (CLS) (Berkeley and London: Shambala, 1972); Shashi Bhushan Dasgupta, 'An Introduction to Tantric Buddhism' (Berkeley and London: Shambala, 1974, originally published by Calcutta University Press, 1950); Geshe Lhundup Sopa and Jeffrey Hopkins, 'Practice and Theory of Tibetan Buddhism' (New York: Grove Press 1976); Jeffrey Hopkins, 'Tantra in Tibet, The Great Exposition of Secret Mantra' (WTS 3, 4) (London: George Allen and Unwin, 2 vols., 1977, 1981).

10. Alaka Chattopadhyaya, 'Atiśa and Tibet, Life and Works of Dipaṃkara Śrijñana in relation to the History and Religion of Tibet, With Tibetan Sources translated under Professor Lama Chimpa' (Calcutta: Indian Studies: Past and Present, 1967), pp. 530-535; EB 1, pp. 311-315.

11. Ferdinand D. Lessing and Alex Wayman, 'Mkhas Grub Rje's Fundamentals of the Buddhist Tantras' (IIM 8) (The Hague: Mouton, 1968).

12. For examples of meditations taken from the practices of Kriya Tantra and the Anuttarayoga Tantra and from texts of the Nyingma-pa, Sakya-pa, Kagyu-pa, and Geluk-pa, see Janice Dean Willis, 'The Diamond Light of the Eastern Dawn, A Collection of Tibetan Buddhist Meditations' (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1972), pp. 65-119; cf. Edward Conze, 'Buddhist Meditation' (ERCEW13) (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1956), pp. 133-139.

13. Benoytosh Bhattacharya, 'Guhyasamaja Tantra or Tathagataguhyaka' (GOS 53) (Baroda: Oriental Institute, 2d ed. 1967); cf Benoytosh Bhattacharya, 'An Introduction to Buddhist Esoterism' (CSS 46) (Varanasi: Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, 2d ed. 1964).

14. Roerich, 'The Blue Annals,' p. 358.

15. Obermiller, 'The History of Buddhism in India and Tibet,' p. 213.

16. Lessing and Wayman, 'Mkhas Grub Rje's Fundamentals of the Buddhist Tantras,' p. 267.

17. D.L. Snellgrove, 'The Hevajra Tantra' (LOS 6) (London: Oxford University Press, 2 vols., 1959).

18. Roerich, 'The Blue Annals,' pp. 205, 242.

19. Georges de Roerich "Studies in the Kalacakra," in JUHRI 2 (1932), pp. 11-22; Helmut Hoffmann, 'The Religions of Tibet' (New York: Macmillan, 1961), pp. 124-130.

20. Roerich, 'The Blue Annals,' pp. 753-838, especially pp. 755-

763 (for Kalacakrapada/Tsilupa), 797-805 (for Vanaratna), and 802 (for the lineage from the Adi-Buddha to Vanaratna).

21. For the Kalacakra Initiation at Bodhgaya see Ernest Haas and Gisela Minke, 'Himalayan Pilgrimage' (New York: Viking Press, A Studio Book, 1978), pp. 155ff.; for the Initiation in Madison, Wisconsin see 'Snow Lion' (Kensington, California: Ewam Choden Tibetan Buddhist Center Newsletter), April-June 1961. pp. 8f.

8. Tibetan Buddhism: Its Orders

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2. Eva M. Dargyay, 'The Rise of Esoteric Buddhism in Tibet' (Delhi: Motilal Banarasidass, 1977), pp. 92-209, Nos. 2, 4-5, 7-13, 16, 19-21, 23.

3. Ibid., pp. 16-61; George N. Roerich, 'The Blue Annals' (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2d ed. 1976), pp. 107f., 168, 191f.

4. David L. Snellgrove, 'The Nine Ways of Bon' (LOS 18) (London: Oxford University Press, 1967).

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6. For the spiritual lineage of the Kagyu-pa see 'The Rain of Wisdom, The Vajra Songs of the Kagyü Gurus, translated by the Nālandā Translation Committee under the direction of Chögyam Trungpa (Boulder and London: Shambhala, 1980), pp. 309-333.

7. Herbert V. Guenther, 'The Life and Teaching of Nāropa' translated from the original Tibetan with a Philosophical Commentary based on the Oral Transmission (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963).

8. Ibid., pp. 99-108.

9. Garma C. C. Chang, 'The Hundred Thousand Songs of Milarepa' (New York: University Books, 2 vols., 1962); Lobsang P. Lhalungpa, 'The Life of Milarepa (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1977). Stories and Songs from the Oral Lineage of Jetsun Milarepa are

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11. Chang, 'The Hundred Thousand Songs of Milarepa,' 2, pp. 463-497.

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13. W.Y. Evans-Wentz, 'Tibetan Yoga and Secret Doctrines, or Seven Books of Wisdom of the Great Path, according to the Late Lāma Kazi Dawa-Samdup's English Rendering' (London: Oxford University Press, 1935), pp. 67-100.

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Lāma Kazi Dawa-Samdup's English Rendering (London: Oxford University Press, 1935), pp. 101-154.

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20. For the spiritual lineage of Atiśa, Drom, and the Kadam-pa see Roerich, ' The Blue Annals,' pp. 241-327.

21. Ibid., p. 261.

22. Ibid., p. 268.

23. Ibid., pp. 282f.

24. Ibid., pp. 1073-1080; Sarat Chandra Das 'Contributions on the Religion and History of Tibet' (BH 3,1) New Delhi: Mañjuśrī Publishing House, first published 1881-82, reprinted 1970) pp. 145-149, "Life and Legend of Tsoṅ Khapa (Lo-ssaṅ-tagpa), The Great Buddhist Reformer of Tibet."

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4. Tucci, 'Deb t'er dmar po gsar ma,' Tibetan Chronicles by bSod dams grags pa, 1 (SOR 24), p. 184; Schuh, 'Erlasse und Sendschreiben mongolischer Herrscher für tibetische Geistliche' (MTH 3, 1), pp. 34-36.

5. Inaba, "The Lineage of the Sa skya pa, A Chapter of the Red Annals," in MTB 22 (1963), p. 108; Sagang Sechen, 'The Bejewelled Summary of the Origin of Khans,' tr. Krueger (PMSOP 2), p. 74.

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15. For the Seventh to the Thirteenth Dalai Lamas see Helmut Hoffman, Stanley Frye, Thubten J. Norbu, and Ho-chin Yang, Tibet, A Handbook (Indiana University Asian Studies Research Institute, Oriental Series, 2) (Bloomington: Indiana University Research Center for the Language Sciences, no date), pp. 61-70.

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18. *Virupa* (Kensington, California: Ewam Choden Tibetan

Buddhist Center), 3, 2, Spring 1976, p. 13, citing the November 1975 issue of *Sheja*, a Tibetan language magazine published in Dharamsala, India; Warren Duncan, "Tibet Today," in OR 12, 3, March 1981, pp. 23-27; NT 17, 3 (September-December 1982), pp. 1ff., by Tinley Nyandak.

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3. The 'Sadhanamala' is edited by B. Bhattacharyya in GOS 26, 41, cf. B. Bhattacharyya, 'The Indian Buddhist Iconography,' 2d ed. 1968). See also Antoinette K. Gordon, 'The Iconography of Tibetan Lamaism' (Rutland and Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle, rev. ed. 1959); Alice Getty, 'The Gods of Northern Buddhism (Rutland and Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle, 1962); Antoinette K. Gordon, 'Tibetan Religious Art' (New York: Paragon Book Reprint Corp., 2d ed with introduction by Thubten Jigme Norbu, 1963); Walter Eugene Clark, 'Two Lamaistic Pantheons' (New York: Paragon Book Reprint Corp., 2 vols. bound in one, 1965); F. Sierksma, 'Tibet's Terrifying Deities' (Rutland and Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle, 1966); Helmut Hoffmann, 'Symbolik der tibetischen Religionen und des Schamanismus' (in SR 12, 1967); Dipak Chandra Bhattacharyya, 'Tantric Buddhist Iconographic Sources' (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1974); Marie-Thérèse de Mallmann, 'Introduction a l'iconographie du tântrisme bouddhique' (Bibliothèque du Centre de Recherches sur l'Asie Centrale et la Haute Asie, 1) (Paris: Librarie Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1975).

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2. Turrell V. Wylie, 'The Geography of Tibet according to the 'Dzam-gling-rgyas-bshad' (SOR 25) (Rome: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1962).

3. Alfonsa Ferrari, Luciano Petech, and Hugh Richardson, 'mK'yen brtse's Guide to the Holy Places of Central Tibet' (SOR 16) (Rome: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1958).

4. Albert Grünwedel, 'Die Tempel von Lhasa, Gedicht des ersten Dalailama, für Pilger bestimmt' (Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Kl., 10:1 [1919], No. 14) (Heidelberg: Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1919).

5. E. Obermiller, 'History of Buddhism' (Chos-hbyung) by Buston, 2, The History of Buddhism in India and Tibet (MKB 19) (Heidelberg: O. Harrassowitz, 1932), pp. 189f.; Wylie, 'The Geography of Tibet according to the 'Dzam-gling-rgyas-bshad,' p. 491; Ferrari, 'mK'yen brtse's Guide to the Holy Places of Central Tibet,' pp. 44f., 113f. n. 124-135; Tucci, 'To Lhasa and Beyond,' pp. 119-121; Giuseppe Tucci, "The Symbolism of the Temples of bSam yas," in EAW 6, 4 (January 1956), pp 279-281; Giuseppe Tucci, 'Transhimalaya' (ACS) (Geneva: Nagel Publishers, 1973), pp. 64, 89.

6. George N. Roerich, 'The Blue Annals' (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2d ed. 1976), pp. 260f.

7. Ferrari, 'mK'yen brtse's Guide to the Holy Places of Central Tibet,' pp. 72, 165 n. 668-671.

8. Tucci, 'To Lhasa and Beyond,' pp. 70f. For a photograph of the tomb of Atiśa see Charles Bell, 'The Religion of Tibet (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1931), facing p. 58.

9. Wylie, 'The Geography of Tibet according to the 'Dzam-gling-rgyas-bshad', p. 81.

10. Ferrari, 'mK'yen brtse's Guide to the Holy Places of Central Tibet,' pp. 40, 88-91, n. 47-59. The previous birth of the Buddha to which there is allusion is that recounted in the Caddanta Jataka, for which see E.B. Cowell, ed., 'The Jātaka, or Stories of the Buddha's Former Births' (PTS) (London: Routledge and K. Paul, 6 vols. in 3, 1973), 5, pp. 20-31, No. 514.

11. Wylie, The Geography of Tibet according to the "Dzam-gling-rgyas-bshad,' p. 81; Ferrari, 'mK'yen brtse's Guide to the Holy Places of Central Tibet, pp. 41, 91f. n. 60-61; Tucci, 'To Lhasa and Beyond,' p. 92.

12. Ferrari, 'mK'yen brtse's Guide to the Holy Places of Central Tibet,' pp. 39 f. 85-91 n. 38-59; Tucci, 'To Lhasa and Beyond', pp. 89f. For pictures of the existing Jo bo Śakyamuni image see NG 157, 2 (February 1980), p. 246; Manshih Yonfan, 'Tibet, A Distant Horizon' (Hong Kong: Yonfan Studio Ltd., San Lian Publishing Co. Ltd., 1981). p. 133; and for a description see E.H.C. Walsh, "The Image of Buddha in the Jo-wo-Khang Temple at Lhasa," in JRAS 1938, pp. 535-540. For the theory that the original statue was destroyed in the Dzungar invasion in 1717 and that the present image is a later replacement see Tucci, 'To Lhasa and Beyond,' p. 89; Ferrari, 'mK'yen brtse's Guide to the Holy Places of Central Tibet,' p. 86 n. 39. The Venerable Lama Lobzang, Ladakh Bauddha

Vihara, Delhi, however, tells me that there is no evidence of such a destruction during the Dzungar invasion and that from all its aspects the existing image may be judged to be the original. He adds: "The so-called replica-image is in regards to Jowo Mi- 'Gro-gSung-Byung (just behind the image of Sakya Muni Buddha) which is made of clay. It is said that the original was given away to Jang Xing Sonam Rabtan."

13. Obermiller, The History of Buddhism in India and Tibet, p. 185; Ferrari, 'mK'yen brtse's Guide to the Holy Places of Central Tibet,' pp. 40, 87 n. 45-46; Tucci, 'To Lhasa and Beyond,' pp. 90f. Strictly speaking Akshobhyavajra (Mi bskyod rdo rje), whose statue was brought to Tibet by Princess Trhisun, is one of the Five Tathagatas (see in Chapter 10 and Helmut Hoffmann, 'Symbolik der tibetischen Religionen und des Schamanismus,' SR 12, 1967, pp. 14f.); in the Guhyasamaja Tantra he occupies the center of the mandala in which these five cosmic Buddhas are represented; under Akshobhya his usual Bodhisattva is Vajrapani (Phyag na rdo rje), but in some schools is Vajrasattva (rDo rje sems dpa) who is more or less identical with Vajradhara (rDo rje 'chang) and is often equated with the Adibuddha. Vajrapani was the special guardian of Śakyamuni Buddha, and the latter was in the last analysis a manifestation of the ultimate Buddha, therefore it was not difficult to arrive at an identification of Trhisun's Jo bo Mi bskyod rdo rje in the Ramoche as a representation of Śakyamuni Buddha in the form of the Little Jo bo.

14. Ferrari, 'mK'yen brtse's Guide to the Holy Places of Central Tibet,' pp. 43, 107f. n. 107-109; Tucci, 'To Lhasa and Beyond,' pp. 102, 106, 110-112; Ngawang J. Topgyal in NT 18, 1 (January-April 1983), pp. 6f. with photographs of Ganden in 1959 and its ruins in 1980.

15. Ferrari, 'mK'yen brtse's Guide to the Holy Places of Central Tibet,' pp. 41f., 96-98 n. 75-80; Tucci, 'To Lhasa and Beyond', pp. 104-106. For Rwa lo tsa ba rDo rje grags see Roerich, 'The Blue Annals,' pp. 374-380. For the story of the conch shell see Sarat Chandra Das, 'Contributions on the Religion and History of Tibet' (BH 3, 1) (New Delhi: Manjuśrī Publishing House, reprint 1970), Part VI, "Life and Legend of Tsoñ Khapa (Lo-ssañ-tagpa), The Great Buddhist Reformer of Tibet," p. 149. For the Drepung monastery at Mundgod in South India and the annual Monlam

Chenmo festival at that place see Tinley Nyandak in NT 18, 1 (January-April 1983), pp. 8f.

16. Ferrari, 'mK'yen brtse's Guide to the Holy Places of Central Tibet, pp. 42, 99-102 n. 81-87; Tucci, 'To Lhasa and Beyond,' p. 106; Ngawang J. Topgyal (a former monk at Sera) in NT 18, 1 (January-April 1983), p. 7.

17. Lama Anagarika Govinda, 'Foundations of Tibetan Mysticism' (London: Rider, 1959), pp. 236-247; Antoinette K. Gordon, 'Tibetan Religious Art' (New York: Paragon Book Reprint Corp., 2d ed. with introduction by Thubten Jigme Norbu, 1963), pp. 20-23; F. Sierksma, 'Tibet's Terrifying Deities' (Rutland and Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle, 1966), pp. 279f., No. 36.

18. Ferrari, 'mK'yen brtse's Guide to the Holy Places of Central Tibet,' pp. 61, 144f. n. 444-453; Tucci, 'To Lhasa and Beyond,' pp. 155-157. For a photograph of the Maitreya (Champa) statue at Trashilhunpo see Yonfan, 'Tibet, A Distant Horizon,' p. 148.

19. Ferrari, 'mK'yen brtse's Guide to the Holy Places of Central Tibet,' pp. 59, 141f. n. 411-418; Tucci, 'To Lhasa and Beyond,' pp. 41f.; Li Gotami Govinda, 'Tibet in Pictures' (Berkeley: Dharma Publishing, 2 vols., 1979), 1, pp. 74-98. The number 108 may represent the 12 signs of the zodiac × 9 planets.

12. Western Tibet: Beginnings and the First Dynasty of Ladakh

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lich bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften,' 10, 2 (1866), pp. 791-879; A. H. Francke, 'Antiquities of Indian Tibet,' 2, The Chronicles of Ladakh and Minor Chronicles (ASI 50) (New Delhi: S. Chand, 1926, reprint 1972); Luciano Petech, 'A Study on the Chronicles of Ladakh,' Supplement to IHQ 15 (1939), pp. 98-189; Luciano Petech, 'The Kingdom of Ladakh c. 950-1842 A.D. (SOR 51) (Rome: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1977).

2. Obermiller, 'The History of Buddhism in India and Tibet,' p. 183.

3. Francke, 'The Chronicles of Ladakh and Minor Chronicles,' p. 87.

4. Petech, 'A Study on the Chronicles of Ladakh,' Supplement to IHQ 15 (1939), pp. 83f.

5. R. A. Stein, "L'épopée tibétaine de Gesar dans sa version lamaique" in AMG 61 (1956); Alexandra David-Neel and the Lama Yongden, 'The Superhuman Life of Gesar of Ling' (London: Rider, rev. ed. 1959).

6. For the genealogical table see Francke, 'The Chronicles of Ladakh and Minor Chronicles,' pp. 168f.; Alaka Chattopadhyaya, 'Atiśa and Tlbet, Life and Works of Dipaṃkara Śrijñāna in relation to the History and Religion of Tibet,' With Tibetan Sources translated under Professor Lama Chimpa (Calcutta: Indian Studies: Past and Present, 1967), p. 285.

7. Roerich, 'The Blue Annals,' pp. 37f.; Francke, 'The Chronicles of Ladakh and Minor Chronicles,' pp. 168f. (note that here in the genealogical table on p. 170 Changchup O appears as brother rather than son of Lhade, and thus as nephew rather than grandnephew of Yeshe O.

8. Obermiller, 'The History of Buddhism in India and Tibet,' pp. 212f.; Roerich, 'The Blue Annals,' pp. 68f.

9. Giuseppe Tucci "Indo-Tibetica' (Rome: Reale Accademie d'Italia, "Studi e Documenti," 7 vols., 1932-41), 1 (1932), pp. 51, 61, 66; David L. Snellgrove and Tadeusz Skorupski, 'The Cultural Heritage of Ladakh,' 1, Central Ladakh (Warminster: Aris and Phillips, 1977), pp. 15, 19.

10. Roerich, 'The Blue Annals', pp. 247-250; Chattopadhyaya, 'Atiśa and Tibet,' pp. 325-344, 535.

11. Roerich, 'The Blue Annals', p. 70.

12. For genealogical tables of the First and Second Dynasties of Ladakh see Petech, 'A Study on the Chronicles of Ladakh,' Supple-

ment to IHQ 15 (1939), pp. 166f. (with dates based on the supposition of reigns averaging thirty years in length). For the estimate of an average length of reign in round numbers of twenty-five years, and for the dates of kings in our Chapters 12 and 13, see Petech, 'The Kingdom of Ladakh c. 950-1842 A.D.,' especially p. 20.

13. A. H. Francke, 'Antiquities of Indian Tibet,' 1, Personal Narrative (ASI 38) (Calcutta: Superintendent Government Printing, India, 1914), p. 41; Petech, 'A Study on the Chronicles of Ladakh,' Supplement to IHQ 15 (1939), p. 109.

14. Francke, 'Antiquities of Indian Tibet,' 1, Personal Narrative, pp. 90f.; Petech, 'Indo-Tibetica,' 2 (1933), pp. 63f.; Snellgrove and Skorupski, 'The Cultural Heritage of Ladakh,' 1, pp. 15, 19.

15. Francke, 'Antiquities of Indian Tibet,' 1, Personal Narrative, p. 88.

16. Petech, 'The Kingdom of Ladakh c. 950-1842 A. D.' pp. 19, 175 (Ti-se).

17. Petech, 'The Kingdom of Ladakh c. 950-1842 A. D.,' pp. 20f.

18. Snellgrove and Skorupski, 'The Cultural Heritage of Ladakh,' 1, pp. 82, 84, 102f.

19. Petech, 'A Study on the Chronicles of Ladakh,' Supplement to IHQ 15 (1939), p. 114; Petech, 'The Kingdom of Ladakh c. 950-1842 A.D'. p. 22.

20. Petech, 'A Study on the Chronicles of Ladakh,' Supplement to IHQ 15 (1939), pp. 116f., 119ff.; Petech, 'The Kingdom of Ladakh c. 950-1842 A. D.,' pp. 23f., 26f.

13. Western Tibet: The Second Dynasty of Ladakh

1. A.H. Francke, 'Antiquities of Indian Tibet, 2, The Chronicles of Ladakh and Minor Chronicles' (ASI 50) (New Delhi: S. Chand, 1926, reprint 1972), pp. 102-127; Luciano Petech, 'A Study on the Chronicles of Ladakh,' Supplement to IHQ 15 (1939), genealogical table on p. 167; for revised dates and the dates used in the present book see Luciano Petech, 'The Kingdom of Ladakh c. 950-1842 A.D.' (SOR 51) (Rome: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1977), pp. 14ff. and genealogical table on pp. 171f.

2. Petech, 'The Kingdom of Ladakh c. 950-1842 A.D.,' pp. 29f.

3. David L. Snellgrove and Tadeusz Skorupski, 'The Cultural Heritage of Ladakh,' 1, Central Ladakh (Warminster: Aris and Phillips, 1977), p. 85 and Fig. 75.

4. Petech, 'The Kingdom of Ladakh c. 950-1842 A.D.,' pp. 34f., 38-45, 57-60.

5. Zahiruddin Ahmad, "New Light on the Tibet-Ladakh-Mughal War of 1679-1684," in EAW 18 (1968), pp. 340-361.

14. Sites and Monuments in Western Tibet (Ladakh)

1. Helmut Hoffmann, 'The Religions of Tibet' (New York: Macmillan, 1961), p. 117: Li Gotami Govinda, 'Tibet in Pictures' (Berkeley: Dharma Publishing, 2 vols. 1979), 2, pp. 147-151.

2. A.H. Francke, 'Antiquities of Indian Tibet,' 1, Personal Narrative (ASI 38) (Calcutta: Superintendent Government Printing, India, 1914), pp. 37-42, with plan of the monastery; David Snellgrove and Hugh Richardson, 'A Cultural History of Tibet' (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1968), pp. 113f. and illustrations on pp. 81f.; Madanjeet Singh, 'Himalayan Art' (UNESCO Art Books) (Greenwich: New York Graphic Society, 1968), p. 118 and Plate on p. 111.

3. For the sites and monuments in Ladakh see David L. Snellgrove and Tadeusz Skorupski, 'The Cultural Heritage of Ladakh', 1, Central Ladakh (Warminster: Aris and Phillips, 1977); F.M. Hassnain, Masato Oki, and Tokan D. Sumi, 'Ladakh: The Moonland (New Delhi: Light and Life Publishers, 2d ed. 1977); Rolf and Margret Schettler, 'Kashmir, Ladakh and Zanskar' (Victoria, Australia: Lonely Planet Publications, 1981); Rajesh Bedi and Ramesh Bedi, 'Ladakh, The Trans-Himalayan Kingdom' (New Delhi: Roli Books International, 1981); and most especially for all sites Anneliese and Peter Keilhauer, 'Ladakh and Zanskar, Lamaistische Klosterkultur im Land zwischen Indien und Tibet' (Köln: DuMont Buchverlag, 2d ed. 1982).

4. Snellgrove and Skorupski, 'The Cultural Heritage of Ladakh,' 1, pp. 20f.; Singh, 'Himalayan Art,' p. 80 and Plates on pp. 71, 72.

5. Snellgrove and Skorupski, 'The Cultural Heritage of Ladakh,' 1, pp. 102-104.

6. Francke, 'Antiquities of Indian Tibet,' 1, Personal Narrative, pp. 89-92; Snellgrove and Skorupski, 'The Cultural Heritage of Ladakh,' 1, pp. 23-80, with plan of the monastery; Singh, Himalayan Art, pp. 67, 70, 95f., and Plates on pp. 27, 42, 60, 61, 84, 85.

7. Francke, 'Antiquities of Indian Tibet.' 1, Personal Narrative,

p. 88; A.H. Francke, 'Antiquities of Indian Tibet,' 2. The Chronicles of Ladakh and Minor Chronicles (ASI 50) (New Delhi: S. Chand, 1926, reprint 1972), p. 95; Snellgrove and Skorupski, 'The Cultural Heritage of Ladakh,' 1, p. 119.

8. Francke, 'Antiquities of Indian Tibet,' 1, Personal Narrative, pp. 86f.; Snellgrove and Skorupski, 'The Cultural Heritage of Ladakh,' 1, pp. 93-97.

9. Francke, 'The Chronicles of Ladakh and Minor Chronicles,' pp. 80, 103; Francke, 'Antiquities of Indian Tibet,' 1, Personal Narrative, p. 85; Snellgrove and Skorupski, 'The Cultural Heritage of Ladakh,' 1, pp. 123-125; Singh, 'Himalayan Art,' pp. 54-59 with Plates on pp. 53, 55.

10. Snellgrove and Skorupski, 'The Cultural Heritage of Lakakh,' 1, pp. 107-110.

11. Francke, Antiquities of Indian Tibet,' 1, Personal Narrative, pp. 76-78, 83; Snellgrove and Skorupski, 'The Cultural Heritage of Ladakh,' 1, pp. 84, 99-102.

12. Francke, 'The Chronicles of Ladakh and Minor Chronicles,' pp. 93 n., 102 n., 113; Francke, 'Antiquities of Indian Tibet,' 1, 'Personal Narrative,' p. 68; Hassnain, Oki, and Sumi, 'Ladakh: The Moonland,' pp. 68, 80; Snellgrove and Skorupski, 'The Cultural Heritage of Ladakh,' 1, p. 4.

13. Snellgrove and Skorupski, 'The Cultural Heritage of Ladakh,' 1, pp. 115-117; Singh, 'Himalayan Art,' Plates on pp. 24f., 44, 66, 76, 77, 79, 82.

14. Snellgrove and Skorupski, 'The Cultural Heritage of Ladakh,' 1, pp. 4, 131-133.

15. Francke, 'The Chronicles of Ladakh and Minor Chronicles,' pp. 109, 281 n. for p. 166 (for sTag tshang ras pa and his spiritual descendants); Luciano Petech, 'The Kingdom of Ladakh c. 950-1842 A.D.' (SOR 51) (Rome: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1977), pp. 35, 52, 59f.; and see p. 52 n. 4 and p. 120 for an inscription at Hemis previously thought to commemorate the foundation of Hemis by Senge Namgyal but now to be dated instead in the eighteenth century.

16. William O. Douglas, 'Beyond the High Himalayas' (Garden City: Doubleday, 1952), pp. 143-165; Hassnain, Oki, and Sumi, 'Ladakh: The Moonland,' p. 69; Snellgrove and Skorupski, 'The Cultural Heritage of Ladakh,' 1, pp. 126-130; Singh, 'Himalayan Art,' pp. 87f. and Plates on pp. 94, 96, 97. In summary, according

to the orders to which they belong, the main monasteries in Ladakh are: (1) Nyingma-pa: Trakthok; (2) Sakya-pa: Matro; (3) Drigung-pa suborder of the Kagyu-pa: Lamayuru, Phyang; (4) Druk-pa suborder of the Kagyu-pa: Tingmosgang, Basgo, Lhakhang Soma in Leh, Shey, Stakna, Hemis; (5) Geluk-pa: Tingmosgang (Maitreya temple), Likir and Alchi, Spituk, Sankar, Tiktse. For some original documents filmed under difficulties in some of the monasteries in Ladakh and Zanskar as well as Central Tibet in 1975 see Dieter Schuh, 'Urkunden und Sendschreiben aus Zentraltibet, Ladakh und Zanskar,' 1, Faksimiles, Mit einer ausführlichen Einleitung herausgegeben (MTH 3, 2) (St. Augustin: VGH Wissenschaftsverlag, 1976), pp. 23ff.

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Tibetan words and names are ordinarily listed in the index in their approximate pronunciation form (following Tucci); transcription of the Tibetan is at their first occurrence in the text