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*Notes on the Lamaist Apocalypse**

Siegbert Hummel
Transl. G. Vogliotti

Shambhala (Tib. *Grub pa'i gnas chen po*¹ or *bDe byung*²) is the mythical kingdom of the Tibetans where the Kālacakra system of tantric Buddhism was practiced for some time, before finally coming to Tibet via India at the beginning of the 11th century.³ It is also believed to be the place from which the eschatology of the Lamaist apocalypse will be accomplished on earth. Although there are different views about the location of this mythical land, which the Tibetans believe to be a real and present geographical entity, it is generally thought to be a secret which can only be revealed by a selected few before the final apocalypse. H. Hoffmann (*op.cit.*, p.120) directs his search to East Turkestan. E. Abegg, in one of his works,⁴ believes it to be in the district of Morādābād, east of Delhi; in a later publication,⁵ he locates it in Orissa. J. Schubert (*op.cit.*, p.429), on the basis of material he collected, believes that the Lamaist geography points to northwest India and Tibet. On this subject, as in the whole problem posed by the Shambhala research, it will be important in future to clearly separate the Indian from the Tibetan tradition. We will discuss the Lamaist evolution of the legends of the future wonderland (also known in India), of the related eschatological events, and of the Golden Age to come.

This mythical land (Shambhala) is governed by the Kulikas (Tib. *rigs idan*), the rulers who claim a direct lineage to the Śākyas, each of whom is replaced by a successor every 100 years. During the reign of the 25th and last Kulika, Rudra, the apocalypse will be accomplished and Shambhala will be revealed to rule over the whole world. The close links of this legend and of the Kālacakra system with the Paṇ chen rin po che of bKra shis lhun po originate from a tradition according to which the Paṇ chen was the ruler of Shambhala in one of his previous incarnations. This explains the 3rd Paṇ chen's authorship of the *Sham bha la'i lam yig* (trans. by A. Grünwedel, see note 3), of which the Tibetan text is used for my quotations here.

Shortly before his death, Herman Consten confirmed to me that he had often personally heard these prophecies in Mongolia. The thesis we are dealing here with a variant of the Shambhala legend and of the related eschatological events, is supported by a note by Ossendowski⁶, according to which the Paṇ chen⁷ has a close relationship with the Kulika, "King of the World,"⁸ whereby he (Paṇ chen) is the only one who can decipher

* Translated from the German original published in *Archiv Orientalní* 26/2, pp.186-196, Prague, 1958, with the title "Anmerkungen zur Apokalypse des Lamaismus."

and execute a cryptic directive of the Kulika. The description given by Ossendowski (*op.cit.*, p.357, 359 f.) of the state of the world before the coming of the world ruler and the revelation of his kingdom, and of his victorious struggle against the supporters of Chaos, corresponds perfectly to the Lamaist accounts of the last Kulika and of the painful events that portend the advent of the Golden Age. Departing from the Lamaist accounts, the Mongolian tradition maintains that the mythical kingdom of the world ruler, which we identify with the currently still secret but openair Lamaist Shambhala, is to be sought in underground caves, from which the people of the Kulika will emerge to establish the Golden Age. This subterranean kingdom is called Agharti by Ossendowski.⁹

I have elsewhere exhaustively discussed the great importance of the cave as a place of holiness and a seat of divine or demonic beings in pre-Buddhist Tibet and in Lamaism.¹⁰ We obviously cannot rule out the possibility that a basis for the idea of an underground kingdom, compatible with these religious beliefs, exists in Mongolia. But in this case I believe direct contacts are hardly possible.¹¹ It is difficult to understand why similar motifs should not be present in the Tibetan accounts of Shambhala, especially since in Tibet—as opposed to Mongolia—ethnological and religio-historical conditions for the cave beliefs in fact exist, as I have tried to demonstrate (see note 10). Rather, there are indirect relations between the remnants of a cave belief in Tibet and the Kyffhäuser motif,¹² which we know from Iran in the form of the Keresáspa legend, and which has left marginal traces even in the Hindu versions of the Shambhala myth, as already noted by E. Abegg (*op.cit.*, p.111). On the other hand, a perfect correspondence with the Agharti legend is provided by Iranian stories of the subterranean realm of Yima, who will come out with his people in the final days of our time to introduce the Golden Age.¹³ The motif of the sleeping hero is missing in the Agharti legend, and is only of secondary importance in the Indian model of the Shambhala legend, and as such does not necessarily authorize us to assume direct links between India, Iran, and Mongolia. But this motif becomes one of the main themes in the Mongolian legend, which certainly is an influence of Iranian traditions, the savior coming from the underworld with his followers.¹⁴ The similarities with the Iranian Yima legend are so striking and the application of this motif to a certain belief is so evident that the possibility of a coincidence can be ruled out.

The accounts of the Tibetan perception of the last events of our present world system, as reported by R. Bleichsteiner and H. Hoffmann,¹⁵ are based on the apocalypse contained in the *Sham bha la'i lam yig*.¹⁶

The relevant chapter, based on the Tibetan text translated by A. Grünwedel, reads:¹⁷

In the end Rudra [the 25th Kulika] appears with the wheel [as symbol of the spreading of the Buddhist faith] on the lion throne [the Buddha throne]. For a short time he preaches the holy doctrine [Dharma]. But when he sees how the infidel Muslims (Tib. *Kla klo*) expand unrestrained in all the regions that have fallen under Mecca (Tib. *Ma kha*) and that form part of the holy land [Skr. *Āryadeśā*, Tib. *Thugs pa'i yul*, the Buddhist core land] south of the river Sitā, and how dangerous they become [for the Buddhist doctrine], then he, in perfect accordance with the words of the great commentary on the Sādhaka¹⁸ of the absolutely immutable prajñā [knowledge], will be unshakeable like a mountain and will remain in extended contemplation [Skr. *śamādhi*] on the mythical fabulous horse [a sort of Pegasus]. Then, south of the river Sitā, a huge army of all colors numbering 90 million, and 400,000 angry elephants eager for battle will appear. [And there will be] six regiments, each consisting of 21,170 [men and] many hundreds of thousands of golden chariots. [And there will appear], together with innumerable people on foot, riders on the so-called Śailaśva horses (Tib. *rDo'i rta*, cf. Grünwedel, *op.cit.*) with the might of the wind. Today they are called Daryā-ghorā (Tib. *rDar ya lu go ra*, cf. Grünwedel, *op.cit.*) by the inhabitants of the holy land [India]. These [animals] are all-knowing fabulous horses, as quick as lightning, that come from the ocean. With them the Kulika [of Shambhala] defeats in a great battle the Muslims in the land of Rum and subjugates the Mati (Tib. *Blo gros*)¹⁹ the teacher of the Islam. When the great general Hanuman and the great minister Candraputra (Tib. *Zla ba'i bu*, Grünwedel, *op.cit.*) and the heroes who are capable of opposing exceptional resistance against the enemy, have destroyed the best troops of the Muslims, and [when] the kings (Tib. *sa skyong*), elephants and horses [of the Kulika] have subjugated the kings, elephants and horses [of the enemy], and the twelve great gods [of the Kulika] [have subjugated] the divinities of agnosticism (Tib. *nag phyogs* = dark side) and the protectors of the Muslims, then their unity [of the Muslims] will collapse.²⁰ Following this, when, in accordance with the Golden Age (Tib. *rdzogs ldan*) the Buddha's doctrine spreads, then it is sure that men will reach an age of many hundred years, and corn will grow on uncultivated land even without ploughing. When the Golden Age has lasted one hundred years, then it is certain that at this point in time the great Wheel of Time [*Kālacakra*, cf. note 3] will be accomplished for all those who hear the holy doctrine from Kulika Rudra. At this same time in the holy land [India] the master Nāgārjuna²¹ will come back from Sukhāvati²² and enter into his previous body [i.e. incarnate himself] and thus the Buddha's doctrine will shine brightly. When in due course the unity of the Muslims has been broken into a dozen splinters, thanks to this the wonderful holy doctrine will propagate itself without bounds.

This model of the apocalypse in connection with the holy land of Shambhala can also be found in the recent parts of the Hindu *Mahābhārata*, which may have been completed by the 5th century A.D., hence before Tibet's conversion to Buddhism, and the formation of Lamaism. This also applies to the Mongolian accounts of Agharti, despite their different

are closely related to the great importance placed by Lamaism on the doctrine of Shambhala and the Golden Age. In fact, whilst the apocalypse always had a secondary importance in Hinduism, it stayed well in the foreground in the Yellow Church of Lamaism. The Hindu Kalki was doubtless the model for the Kulika Rudra and possibly also for some of Maitreya's features, at least concerning the basic theme of the Savior, but the belief in the coming of the Kulika Rudra goes beyond the doctrine of Maitreya. The Kulika lineage, of which Rudra is the last, also does not correspond to the incarnations of Viṣṇu, just as the sequence of the Buddhas, in which we expect Maitreya, cannot be compared in any way with the succession of the Kulika rulers of Shambhala. This was already noted by E. Abegg.²⁵ It is interesting to see how the colorful descriptions of the apocalypse, the Golden Age and the immediately foregoing sorrows have secured themselves a prominent place in the Lamaist faith, along with the Paradise of Amitābha and the Maitreya expectations. This fact cannot be explained by the Hindu tradition or even by the Indian Buddhist one. Conversely, some of the factors which have considerably enlivened and enriched the traditional apocalyptic picture and its impressiveness are not, as revealed by the meaning of the relevant imagery, Tibetan. Rather they seem to point to the classical areas of the apocalypse, and the homeland of the Middle Eastern Gnosis with direct, as yet not completely clear connections to the native land of Lamaism. This is particularly obvious in the description of the fortress-palace Kalāpa in the heart of Shambhala, the residence of the Kulika Rudra, as found in the *Sham bha la'i lam yig*.

In the Lamaist description the fortress-palace Kalāpa and the region of Shambhala around it represent a maṇḍala, and therefore can be seen as a diagram in which the parts are grouped around a center. This layout is known to us as cosmic world representation or as an explanation of cosmic or psychological interrelations from Tibetan paintings. In my *Lamaistische Studien*²⁶ I described such a Lamaist representation of the world at the center of which—surrounded by a precious wall adorned with jewels and with the colors of the rainbow—the palace of the gods can be seen on the central World Mountain; the Paradise Tree is also depicted.

Concerning Shambhala and its fortress Kalāpa, the following is said in the *Sham bha la'i lam yig*:²⁷ "This vast perfect country is round," and further on:

Among ice mountains and surrounded by thick *sāl* woods,²⁸ this round region is divided into three parts. Around this center and farther off, surrounded by a crown of ice mountains and woods, like the very core of a lotus flower, exactly in the center lies the Kalāpa palace. The distance from the palace walls

motifs. A detailed description of the Indian eschatology has been provided by E. Abegg (see note 4), albeit without dealing with the evolution and differentiation in the Lamaist accounts (which is perfectly understandable given the scope of the book). I will now discuss some of the most striking parallels.

The hero who introduces the Golden Age and destroys the unbelievers is an incarnation of Viṣṇu and, like Rudra holding the wheel in the Lamaist account, a world ruler (Skr. *cakravartin*). He was born in Shambhalagrama (Abegg, *Der Messiasglaube*, p.57 ff.). The motif of the incarnation (the typical hope in eschatological thought for a return of great heroes of the faith) also plays a role in the Lamaist apocalypse, whereby the reincarnation of Nāgārjuna has a special importance for the restoration of the Buddhist world order. When the Golden Age begins, anything that is sown will grow miraculously without human intervention (cf. Grünwedel, *op.cit.*, 47a2). In another version of this Hindu prophecy (Abegg, *op.cit.*, p.61, note 5) the hero of the final days will convert the Mlecchas (Tib. *Kla klo*), in order to finally establish the Brahmanic legal order. The Mlecchas are mentioned several times in the Tibetan version of Shambhala, in reference to the Muslims, allowing us to draw some conclusions about the date and place of origin of these narratives.

Even more striking similarities with the Lamaist tradition are offered by the Hindu *Kalki-Purāna*. E. Abegg (*op.cit.*, p.138), based on the reference to struggles between Viṣṇuism and Buddhism, suggests that parts of the *Kalki-Purāna* might date back to the 9th century. The hero is Kalki, similar to the Kulika of the Tibetan version. Kalki also has a wonderful horse²³ and a huge army equipped with horses, elephants and war chariots (cf. Grünwedel, *op.cit.*, 46b4). Like the Kulika, he lives in Shambhala. From there he exterminates the infidels²⁴ in a mortal battle.

These Hindu ideas of the last events have left a mark in Buddhism. According to the *Digha-Nikāya* XXVI, a Golden Age is to be awaited, in which the devoted reach old age and live in peace (cf. Grünwedel, *op.cit.*, 47a4). In a majestic city with sumptuous palaces, reminiscent of the description of Shambhala, reigns the Cakravarti, who destroys the opponents of the faith. In this city Metteyya (Maitreya), parallel of Nāgārjuna in the Mahāyānic-Lamaist version, is born. Soon all the inhabitants of the land will be converted by him. The corn will grow without ploughing and sowing, and the land will be densely populated (E. Abegg, *op.cit.*, p.148 ff.; cf. Grünwedel, *op.cit.*, 41b6).

If we look at the Tibetan version, all these ideas have been enriched and developed by Lamaism. This was also the case for the somewhat distinctive Mongolian variant. The question of the origins of the additional motifs will be an interesting task for future research. These developments

which is also a maṇḍala.³⁵

There is a detail in the description of the Kalāpa throne that should not be overlooked. The fact that it corresponds to an almost identical remark in the Grail legend and in *St. John's Revelation* (4,6) is all the more significant, as it is only an incidental brush stroke in the large picture of the fortress. According to the Shambhala book (43a3), fishes in the water can be seen among other things in the polished floor around the throne, like a crystal mirror.³⁶ In the Grail fortress the paving material around the throne is crystal in which marine creatures can be seen, and in *St. John's Revelation* (4,6) before the throne in heavenly Jerusalem there is like a Sea of Glass, like crystal.³⁷ I cannot state with any certainty that this is a reminiscence (obviously unconscious) of the fisherman motif, but I do suspect it. In the Grail romances the lord of the Grail fortress is a fisherman (W. von Eschenbach 5, 225, No.9, 491), and W. Staerk even thinks of a connection between him and the Babylonian Adapa (*op.cit.*, p.55).

If we compare the bold image of the shining fortress on the crystal clear glacier ice, only accessible by way of secret and difficult paths through an almost impenetrable forest, with W. von Eschenbach's Grail fortress in the glitter of its precious stones, the similarities become even more striking. Percival can find his way through the darkness of the thick forest only thanks to his special faculties. Also the *Sham bha la'i lam yig* states that only a *sādhaka*, one initiated in the world of tantric wisdom, can reach Kalāpa, and only with great efforts. On the way he has to overcome the temptations of beautiful women, supernatural beings called Kinnaris,³⁸ just as Percival must pass his chastity test.

The hypothesis has been made that the Manichaeans created the Grail legend, or at least transmitted it to the East and West.³⁹ Without debating further this possibility here, we may certainly consider this as one of the possible ways by which, in ancient times, the Indian Shambhala tradition was enriched with Iranian beliefs, either in Tibet proper or in the bordering regions northwest of India. Undoubtedly Yima's wonder garden is just as relevant to the Shambhala legend as the subterranean kingdom, before the beginning of the Golden Age in the Mongolian legend of Agharti.

We mentioned already the citadel of the gods with its Paradise garden as peaceful environment. Quoting the *Sham bha la'i lam yig* again (43b5):

In that garden there is a wish-fulfilling lake in the east and the white lotus lake in the west. Due to the size of the 12 mile wide park with its lakes, one million woman-servants, each of them [as young and fresh] as the day of the eighth month, come from the city north of the palace.

to the surrounding mountains measures 500 miles. Gradually ascending from the wood belt on the horizon up into the glaciers for some days, the glacier proper at the top is reached. Since it does not thaw even in many years, it has assumed the properties of crystal.²⁹ On a wide and mightily resplendent mountain plateau is the Kalāpa palace.

Of this it is said (42b5):

If you ask [me] more about the external appearance of the palace, [then I have to say that this] is made of the most varied precious stones, and their light radiates one mile around it. Because this light mixes with the glitter of the ice mountains around, it shines through the night like the light of day.

This Lamaist description instinctively is reminiscent of the Grail fortress in Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Percival*.³⁰ If we compare the Grail legend with the narrative in the *Sham bha la'i lam yig*, we will see some obvious parallels. The Grail is kept in the Grail fortress, and it contains a wonderful food. Also the life of the inhabitants of Shambhala is supernaturally prolonged, as revealed in the relevant apocalypse.³¹ In the Judaic eschatology the Garden of Paradise is also connected with the eternal life (e.g. in *Enoch* 62,14; the mark of Paradise in *Matth.* 8,11), and in the Mithraic mysteries the holy food prolongs life (*Justin Apology*, I, 66). There are probably connections between the Gnostic food and drink and the Babylonian ideas of "bread of life," and "water of life,"³² and moreover between the Garden of God with its jewels in the Babylonian myth³³ and the ideas of Paradise in the more recent Oriental apocalyptic literature. The heavenly Jerusalem (*Rev. St. John* 21,2; *Sirach Baruch* 4 and IV *Esdras* 10), with its Babylonian and Middle Eastern tradition connected with the doctrine of the last events, has a parallel in the Grail fortress—as W. Staerk (*op.cit.*) has demonstrated—but also in the Kalāpa palace of the Shambhala legend.

Shambhala also has a heavenly garden offering all sorts of pleasures and delights around its fortress. The fact that it is on a mountain like the Grail castle on Mont Salvage (Munsalvaesche) could suggest a parallel in the Gilgamesh epic³⁴ (see also *Ezekiel* 28, 13 ff.). The main similarity is with Yima's Garden, which is supposed to be located on a high mountain. The fabulous castle, like Kalāpa and the whole land of Shambhala, is the residence of the righteous (cf. *Ethiopian Enoch Book* 39). Because the Shambhala legend unites the idea of the divine mountain Meru with those of the Paradise of long life originating from the syncretic, Gnostic-oriental cultural milieu, we are authorized to relate the parallels in the Grail legend with the same Middle Eastern traditions. Also noteworthy is that the citadel of the gods, both in the Middle East and India as well as Lamaism, is based on the Sumerian stepped towers, the plan view of

The final battle of the Kulika reveals traditions of a dualistic *Weltanschauung* as well. Kulika Rudra with his marvelously shining body fights with his supporters against the gods of the enemy, who are called "those of the dark side" (Tib. *nag phyogs*; Grünwedel, *op.cit.*, 47a2). The dividing or uniting element is only determined by the respective attitudes towards religion, and is not based for instance on nationality. After the battle comes the fearsome final judgement and the establishment of the Golden Age, the happy period of the faithful, the restoration of the deranged world order.⁵⁰ The reader of *Der Weg nach Šambhala* might get the impression that with the victory over the enemies of the Dharma, the final target of world development is reached, rather than just one of its phases. But such an arrangement into a course of events aimed at a target, developing towards an end, which is linked to the hope for the apocalypse, could only be explained by Iranian ideas, not Hindu or Buddhist *Weltanschauungen*. For this reason, in Hinduism the apocalypse together with Kalki, is of secondary importance, and in Buddhism it is similarly overshadowed by the hope for Maitreya. Only in Lamaism does it take a prominent role. But this could be attributed to the lively relations that once existed between North and Central Asia on one side and Asia Minor on the other.⁵¹ This is also evidenced by contributions that the Middle Eastern traditions brought to the apocalyptic images in the Tibetan version of the Šambhala legend.

Notes

1. The great magical place.
2. Where the bliss originates.
3. On the Kālacakra system see A. Grünwedel, *Der Weg nach Šambhala*, Munich, 1915; R. Bleichsteiner, *Die Gelbe Kirche*, Vienna, 1937, cf. index on p.264; J. Schubert, "Das Wunschgebet um Šambhala," in *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientalforschung*, I, 3, Berlin, 1953, p.430 ff.; and H. Hoffmann, *Die Religionen Tibets*, Freiburg, 1956, cf. index on p.199.
4. E. Abegg, *Der Messiasglaube in Indien und Iran*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1928, p.58 note 1.
5. E. Abegg, *Die Indiensammlung d. Universität Zürich*, Zürich, 1935, p.64.
6. F. Ossendowski, *Tiere, Menschen und Götter*, Frankfurt, 1924, p.355.
7. Incorrectly called Tashi-lama.
8. Skr. *cakravartin*, title of the Kulika in the corresponding Indian narratives.
9. Cf. Mongolian *ağar* = mine, depth, quarry (?). According to A. David-Neel, *Arjapa*, Leipzig, 1950, p.256 (ibid., *La vie surhumaine de Gutsar de Ling*, Paris, 1931 p.lix), nowadays the Tibetans look for Šambhala near Siberia. From the north, considered the mystic direction, the Tibetans also await the return of the hero Ge sar. Without mixing up these apocalyptic expectations with those concerning Šambhala, the return of Ge sar has many similarities with the

The following describes the interior of the palace (43a2):

The throne is made of gold, of Jambunada gold, preciously adorned with the [above mentioned]⁴⁰ jewels.⁴¹

And further on (43a4):

A precious, multicolored railing of sandalwood around the throne emanates a pleasant scent one mile around. If one counts the carpets and cushions of cotton and silk, worthy of a tycoon, and all the rest of immeasurable worth,⁴² then let it [only] be briefly [stressed] that concerning the value of each single apartment, the big city is as rich as if it were covered with gold. Not to mention other things, the king's attire consists, [inter alia] of a plume made of the color of lion hair,⁴³ and of a crown of Jambunada gold. His arm and ankle bands are richly adorned with precious stones, each of which is worth a price of ten million ounces. Their light compounds with that emanating from the Kulika's body⁴⁴ and reaches as far as the Cakravala,⁴⁵ so that even Indra has difficulties to bear this shine.

In the retinue of the Kulika, according to 43b2 and 3, there is "a multitude of queens."⁴⁶ Thanks to the help of the Kinnaris,⁴⁷ he [the Kulika] enjoys "an abundance of presents and of most varied foods."

This short insight into the Paradise of Šambhala—like the description of the divine citadel and of the eschatological dispute, including its Mongolian version—contains unmistakable traces of Iranian traditions. Moreover, the Iranian influence is not only evidenced by the Kulika's diadem which recalls the Persian royal insignia, but also by the fact that the Kulika joins the battle on horseback and not on a chariot. E. Abegg points out that the figure of the riding hero is alien to the Indian epic.⁴⁸ Also the fabulous horses (cf. Grünwedel, *op.cit.*, 46b5), if understood as winged beings—which the Indian miniatures seem to support—originally came from the Middle Eastern mythology. This also applies to the wonderful horse (Tib. *ra mchog*) of the Kulika and to the mount of the Kalki in the Indian accounts (cf. Grünwedel, *op.cit.*, 46b4). According to the *Šambha la'i lam yig*, the supernatural savior animals of the army, the Daryāghorā horses, come from the ocean, echoing the eschatological ideas of the more recent Avesta, for the Savior, Saoshyant, who will reestablish the legal order in the final days, also comes from the water, just as in the Judaic apocalypse (IV. *Esdra*s 13) the Messiah rises from the sea to destroy the enemies and to reinstate the law. The influence of Iranian beliefs on the Judaism of the exile and thereafter is considerable, and has also left its mark in the Jewish eschatological movements around the beginning of our era. The *Weltanschauung* of the whole apocalyptic literature is permeated by dualism. Expectations for the return of Zarathustra were connected with the hope for Saoshyant.⁴⁹

18. An expert in the tantric knowledge.
19. Cf. A. Grünwedel, *Die Legenden des Nä ro pa*, Leipzig, 1933, index on p.205.
20. A scene from a Lamaist painting of this battle is shown in F.D. Lessing, *Mongolen*, Berlin, 1935, with a description on p.186 f.
21. Important Mahāyāna teacher; possibly about 100 A.D.
22. The interim Paradise in the western land of the Dhyaṇi Buddha Amitābha.
23. We will return to this horse in a different context. The *rta mchog* of our Tibetan version (46b4) is to be understood as winged; cf. S. Das, *A Tibetan-English Dictionary*, Calcutta, 1951, p.531.
24. Mlecchas refers here to Muslims, but also to Buddhists. On the Mlecchas cf. M. Hermanns, *The Indo-Tibetans*, Bombay, 1954, p.116.
25. E. Abegg, *Der Messiasglaube*, end of p.241 ff.
26. Leipzig, 1950, p.40 and Fig. 4; see also chapter XII. Also S. Hummel, *Geschichte der tibetischen Kunst*, Leipzig, 1953, p.57 ff.; *ibid.*, *Die lamaistische Kunst in der Umwelt von Tibet*, Leipzig, 1955, p.31 f. For similar cosmic city plans cf. W. Ruben, *Einführung in die Indienkunde*, Berlin, 1954, p.67 and E. Unger, *Orten-tierungssymbolik*, Berlin, 1937, Ch.1.
27. Using the text edited by Grünwedel, *op.cit.*, 42a6-42b2. See also the full description of a Tibetan painting (*ihang ka*) depicting Shambhala in S. Hummel, "Die lamaistischen Malereien und Bilddrucke im Linden-Museum," *Tribus* 16, Stuttgart, 1967, p.130 ff. and Fig. 10.
28. *Shorea robusta*.
29. *Chu shel*; see S.C. Das, *op.cit.*, p.421.
30. Especially Book V, 225/226 and 250 (Wolfram von Eschenbach, 3, K. Lachmann's edition, Berlin, 1872. An illustration of Shambhala can be seen in M. Hermanns, *Mythen und Mysterien der Tibeter*, Cologne, 1956, Fig. 34.
31. Probably by means of the legendary corn *ma rmos pa'i lo tog*; see also Chags med rin po che, *mDzad pa'i kun rāzogs g.ya sel me long*, 8b.
32. See also the full bibliographical references in W. Staerk, *Über den Ursprung der Gralslegende*, Tübingen, 1903, and also H. Zimmer in *Arch. f. Rel. Wiss.* II, Tübingen, 1899, p.165 ff. and Wechsler, *Gräl (in Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Tübingen, 1910).
33. P. Haupt, *Das babylonische Nimrodepos*, Leipzig, 1884, p.63.
34. P. Jensen, *Keilinschriften Bibliothek* VI, 1, Berlin, 1898, p.161 ff.
35. S. Hummel, *Geschichte der tibetischen Kunst*, *op.cit.*
36. *Dwangs shel gyi mchog me long*. See also S. Hummel, "Das kristallene Meer in der Kathedrale von Lhasa," *Oriens Extremus* 9, Wiesbaden, 1962, pp.90-96 (for the English translation see below pp.79-87).
37. Καὶ ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου ὡς θάλασσα ὑάλιν^η ὁμοία χρυσάλλω (*Novum testamentum Graece*, ed. D.E. Nestle, 15th edition, Stuttgart, 1932).
38. The following is said about the Kinnaris and the Sādha (41a2 and 3):
sgrub pa po la snyan pa'i glu dang mdzes pa'i gzugs kyis 'drid pa...
mi g.yo ba'i sems dang stong pa nyid kyī zil gyis mnan te 'gro bar
bya'o
10. S. Hummel, "Die heilige Höhle in Tibet," *Anthropos* 52, Posieux, 1957.
11. Possible similarities certainly should not lead us to think of archaic ideas about subterranean dwarf peoples, since these are absent in Tibet. Wherever we find mention of dwarves in Tibet, it seems to refer to the small races in the southeast Tibetan border region, rather than to the elflike beings that populate European mythology (cf. E. Schäfer, *Unbekanntes Tibet*, 4th edition, Berlin, 1938, Fig. on p.288). As a confirmation of this, the reports of dwarves in W. Eberhard (*Kultur und Siedlung der Randvölker Chinas*, Leiden, 1942, p.183) locate these dwarfish races in China's southwest. According to M. Hermanns, the dwarves in the oral traditions of A mdo are small people of past times (personal communication to the author, dated 1.6.1957). Only in West Tibet have dwarf legends cropped up which correspond with European mythological ideas, and which should perhaps be considered an external influence. S.H. Ribbach (*Drogya Nangyal*, Munich-Planegg, 1940, p.42) writes that elves live among the ruins of Ba lu mkhar, with long beards, sticks, and strange caps, barring the way with legs astride and scaring travellers. According to H. Harrer, similar dwarf legends are lacking in Central Tibet (personal communication to the author dated 8.5.1957).
12. The Kyffhäuser are low mountains south of the Harz in Germany. Legend has it that the Emperor (Frederick II or Frederick I Barbarossa) sleeps in the mountain's cave, because of a spell. His awakening will mark a new age of the German Empire, or the liberation of the world from the Antichrist. (Translator's note).
13. This and further parallels can be seen in E. Abegg, *Der Messiasglaube*, p.111, note 3.
14. The motif of the "swallowing" is certainly at the base of the Kyffhäuser motif and relevant legends, including those connected with the holy cave. To a certain extent we may be dealing with solar shamanic, North Asian ideas, like those attested in the belief in an animal hero who swallows and gives birth, at the foot of the mountain of clans. These beliefs may have merged, as for instance in Tibet, with palaeomongoloid and basically lunar traditions, or like in Iran and Tibet, with similar Gnostic ideas from the Mediterranean area. On this subject see S. Hummel "Die heilige Höhle in Tibet" (*op.cit.*); *ibid.*, "Heilige Berge in Tibet," *Anthropos* 52, Posieux, 1957; *ibid.*, "Die südlichen Salomo-Inseln und die Dongson-Kulture," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 83/1, Braunschweig, 1958. Since all these ideas are clearly part of archaic traditions, it will be difficult to throw light on the individual connections.
15. R. Bleichsteiner, *op.cit.*, p.228; H. Hoffmann, *op.cit.*, p.120 ff.
16. A. Grünwedel, *Der Weg nach Sambhala*, pp.78-79 = 46b-47a.
17. In square brackets I provide additions or clarifications to simplify the reading, in round brackets the corresponding word of the Tibetan text of my translation.

They try to lead astray the Sadhaka with their sweet songs and their nice bodies...; but he has to overcome them with unshakable determination and with the Void, and move on.

39. W. Henning, "Neue Materialien zur Geschichte des Manichäismus," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 90, p.1 ff. We should also consider the Manichaean influence on the Tibetan Bar do doctrine and the meaning of the original light in it. (P. Poucha, "Das tibetische Totenbuch," *Archiv Orientalní* XX, Prague, 1952).
40. Emerald, crystal, diamond.
41. Cf. the *Kalki-Purāna*, where Indra builds a beautiful palace for the Kalki (=Kulika), richly decorated with precious stones and surrounded by beautiful gardens.
42. Literally: one billion.
43. Compare the Persian state coat of arms (in: *Brockhaus' Konversations Lexicon*, new impression 1920: Persien).
44. This also applies to the Kalki's body in the *Kalki-Purāna*.
45. The outer ring wall of the world system.
46. *bisat mo'i 'khor rgya chen po*.
47. The celestial musicians belonging to the retinue of the god of riches Kubera.
48. E. Abegg, *Der Messiasglaube*, p.139.
49. E. Lehmann, "Die Perser," in "Chantepie de la Saussaye," *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte*, 4th edition, Tübingen, 1925, Vol.2, p.254. Compare to Nāgārjuna's return (Grünwedel, *op.cit.*, 47a4).
50. Cf. E. Lehmann in "Chantepie de la Saussaye," *op.cit.*, Vol.1, p.109 f.
51. It seems that the archaeologically relatively unexplored Afghanistan may have played a vital role as a crossroads of Middle Eastern and even Egyptian traditions. Here the various *Anschauungen* from the West and from Central Asia and India were collected. Thus, it is interesting that the Egyptian motif of the monkey by the scales of the dead, which does not match with the Manichaean after-death ideas, resurfaces in the Lamaist judgement of the dead, despite not being attested in Turkestan or in India. We can tentatively assume that the bridge by which this idea reached Tibet was Afghanistan. See also S. Hummel, "Zum Ursprung der Totengerichts- und Höllenvorstellungen bei den Tibetern," (*Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft und Religionswissenschaft* 42/1, Münster, 1958) and the relevant hints to contacts between India and Egypt (on this subject see also R. Grousset, *Histoire de l'extrême-orient*, Paris, 1929: maritime connections between Egypt and India in Strabo). On the archaeological importance of Afghanistan see also A. Bombaci, Chazni (*East and West* VIII/3, Rome, 1957). Contacts between Afghanistan and Egypt might have been established as early as the 20th, 15th, and 13th centuries B.C. They were certainly in place by the time of Darius I, as is also confirmed by archaeological finds (see S. Morenz and J. Schubert, *Der Gott auf der Blume*, Ascona, 1954, p.148 ff).

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