

Utopian Thought in Tibetan Buddhism: A Survey of the Śambhala Concept and its Sources

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Только закрою горячие веки –
Райские розы, райские река . . .
Где-то далече,
Как в забыты,
Нежные речи
Райской змеи,
И узнаю,
Грустная Ева
Царское древо,
В круглом раю.

Марина Цветаева

The Concept of the Hidden Kingdom of Śambhala

Śambhala, the “source of happiness”,¹ has long been known to scholars of Tibetan and Mongolian culture. The hidden kingdom of Śambhala is first mentioned in the letters of the Jesuits Stephen Cacella and John Cabral, who heard about a country called *Xembala* in Bhutan.² The story of Śambhala is closely connected with the history and teaching of the *Kālacakra-tantra*, a topic which I shall not treat here. The aim of the present article is not to give a detailed description of the kingdom of Śambhala or to deal with the legend in all its different aspects. After a short introduction to the idea of Śambhala and its eschatological horizon I shall draw a connection from the idea of Śambhala to similar European ideas of paradise on earth. In this respect the idea of Śambhala will be elucidated in terms of modern European philosophy, more precisely the philosophy of utopian ideas which

¹ Śambhala is also called *bDe 'byuñ* in Tibetan.

² Cf. C. Wessels, S. J., *Early Jesuit Travellers in Central Asia 1603–1721*, The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1924, pp. 147–8.

Ernst Bloch developed in his monumental, *Das Prinzip Hoffnung*.³ Secondly I present a bibliography of Tibetan and Mongolian texts on Śambhala which are available in European, Russian, and Mongolian libraries. This list of works on Śambhala is probably far from complete, but at least it will give a survey of the literature available.⁴

One of the earliest Tibetan texts which deals with the kingdom of Śambhala, the *sDom pa gsum gyi rab tu dbye ba* of Sa skya paṇḍita Kun dga' rgyal mtshan, describes it thus:

From the glorious Kālacakra:

“It is said that to the north of the river Si tā

There are snow-mountains.

Near to these mountains lies Śambha la.

[It has] ninety-six million cities,

Therein is the highest palace of the king,

Named Ka la pa.

The kings, who for the sake (of all beings) have attained an
apparition-body,

Preach the dharma for 800 years.

In [Śambhala] there are various kinds of woods and groves,

And many fruit-bearing trees.

At the time of the degeneration (of the dharma), āryadeśa

Will be filled with the religion of the Kla klo.

Then by the magic power of the Kla klo An army will be
conducted to Śambha la.

At that time the king named Drag po,

The apparition-body of Phyag na rdo rje,

Will conquer all the Kla klo.

Thereafter even in the middle of āryadeśa

The teaching of the Buddha will spread. So it is said.⁵

The *Kalāpavatara*, which dates back to the eleventh or thirteenth century,⁶ deals with the spiritual qualities of the place itself:

³ E. Bloch, *Das Prinzip Hoffnung*, 3 vols., Frankfurt 1977.

⁴ I would be grateful to the reader for any references to additional material not considered here.

⁵ fol. 32a,6–32b,3: *dpal ldan dus kyi 'khor lo las | chu bo si tā'i byañ phyogs na | ri bo gañs can yod par gsuñs | de yi 'gram na śambha la | groñ khyer bye ba dgu bcu drug | de na rgyal po'i pho brañ mchog | ka la pa źes bya ba yod | don sprul pa'i rgyal po rnams | lo grañs brgyad brgyar chos gsuñ ño | de na nags tshal sna tshogs dañ | bza' śin rab tu (du?) ma yod | snyigs ma'i dus su 'phags pa'i yul | kla klo'i chos kyis gañ bar 'gyur | de nas kla klo'i rdzu 'phrul gyis | śambha la ru dmag 'dren 'gyur | de tshe phyag na rdo rje yi | sprul pa drag po źes bya ba'i | rgyal pos kla klo kun bcom nas | 'phags pa'i yul gyi bar du yañ | sañs rgyas bstan pa spel bar gsuñs |*

⁶ Cf. the discussion about the dating of the *Kalāpāvatāra* by Bernbaum, *The Mythic Journey and its Symbolism: A Study of the Development of Buddhist Guidebooks to Śambhala in Relation to their Antecedents in Hindu Mythology*, Ph.D. thesis, University of California (Berkeley) 1985,

Concerning the place where the master of compassion
 With the body of three eyes dwells,
 It is well-known as Śambha la,
 Because it is marked with his dwelling.
 Where marked by Śambha la,
 The victory-banner that is marked with a lion
 Is like the well-known victory-banner of the lion,
 That is called the country of Śambha.
 Where there are no Kīa klo,
 Where truth is spoken [and] lies do not exist,
 Where the power of nothingness has grown weak,
 Where the power of compassion has increased in excellence.⁷

These two descriptions of the land of Śambhala give us not only information about the geographical circumstances of Śambhala, but also tell us something about its spiritual virtues. This mythical country lies somewhere north of the Himalayas and north of the river Sītā.⁸ The country has the form of an eight-petalled lotus, which is surrounded by two ranges of snow mountains.⁹ The capital of the kingdom, Kalāpa,¹⁰ is usually described in full detail, and the authors of the various guidebooks to Śambhala elaborate on its palaces of gold, silver, turquoise, pearl, moonstone, etc. South of Kalāpa is a sandalwood pleasure grove named Malaya. East of the grove is a miniature *Mi pham* lake, and west of the grove is a white lotus lake. The sandalwood pleasure grove lies between the two lakes, and in the middle of the grove is the famous Kālacakra-Maṇḍala that Sucandra, the first king of Śambhala, built.¹¹

pp. 129–33, and the criticism of his theory by J. R. Newman, *The Outer Wheel of Time: Vajrayāna Buddhist Cosmology in the Kālacakra tantra*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Wisconsin (Madison) 1987, pp. 201–4.

⁷ *gañ la snyiñ rje 'i bdag pa ni | mig gsum gzugs kyis gnas pa te | de yi gnas kyis mtshan (mchan) pas na | śambha la źes rab tu grags | gañ la śambha las mtshan pa | señ ges mtshan pa 'i rgyal mtshan ni | señ ge 'i rgyal mtshan rab grags ltar | śambha 'i yul źes de la brjod | gañ na kla klo med pa dan | bden smra brdzun pa ma yin dan | min pa 'i stobs ni nyams gyur la | snyiñ stobs yon tan rgyas pa yin |* cf. also Bernbaum's translation of the same verse section in *The Mythic Journey and its Symbolism*, p. 69.

⁸ The Sītā River seems to be the Tarim River in Eastern Turkestan; cf. J. R. Newman, "A Brief History of the Kalachakra", in: Geshe Lhundub Sopa, R. Jackson and J. Newman, *The Wheel of Time: The Kalachakra in Context*, Madison, WI: Deer Park Books, 1985 [pp. 51–90], pp. 54, 83–4, and n. 4.

⁹ According to Bernbaum, *The Mythic Journey and its Symbolism*, p. 110, this lotus form is first mentioned in the thirteenth century guidebook by Man luñ pa. Bernbaum found a copy of this important text in Zanskar, but so far it has not been published.

¹⁰ Kalāpa is often described rather as a palace and not a city. The Kalāpāvatāra focusses more attention on Kalāpa than on Śambhala itself. The latter is only mentioned three times in the text.

¹¹ Newman, "A Brief History of the Kalachakra", pp. 54–8, gives an excellent description of Śambhala with full details.

Within each of the eight lotus petals of Śambhala are 120 million villages, altogether, then, 960 million villages. Ten million villages are governed by one satrap. Altogether there are ninety-six satraps who all, like the *Kalki* of Śambhala, teach the *Kālacakra*. In Śambhala no evil is known. The people of the kingdom are naturally virtuous and good. Most of them obtain buddhahood during their life in Śambhala. They all listen to the Anuttara Yoga tantras, such as the *Kālacakra*, the *Hevajra* or the *Guhyasamāja*. Once somebody is born in Śambhala, he will never be reborn into a lower form of existence.

The kingdom is ruled by the *Chos rgyal* and the *Kalkis* of Śambhala. The history of the country comes into light only with the emergence of the first *Chos rgyal*, Sucandra. It was Sucandra who together with his satraps came to Dhanyakataka in India to listen to the Buddha's teaching of the *Paramādibuddha*, the precious *Kālacakra*. After the Buddha's teachings Sucandra and his satraps returned to Śambhala, where the king composed a commentary on the *Paramādibuddha*. Sucandra also built the *Kālacakra* Maṇḍala south of Kalāpa. The seventh Dharma-king and first *Kalki*¹² of Śambhala, Yaśas, taught the inhabitants of the kingdom the

¹² For a discussion of the term *rigs ldan*, which by western scholars is usually translated *Kulika*, cf. Newman, "A Brief History of the Kalachakra", p. 83, n. 4. Newman draws a connection between the Hindu *Kalki* of Śambhala mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* and the different Purāṇas. He tells us, "The *Vimalaprabha* even refers to the *Kalkipurāṇam*, probably the latest of the *upapurāṇas*" (p. 83). This statement he does not prove. Newman is certainly correct to connect the Buddhist *Kalki* with the Hindu avatara *Kalki*. But as far as I know, the dating of the *Kalkipurāṇa* is still uncertain. R. C. Hazra believes it to be written in the seventeenth or eighteenth century, whereas A. C. Sastri tells us, "in all probability the *Kalki-Purāṇa* may have been composed during the ninth and tenth century A.D." (A. C. Śāstrī, *Kalkipurāṇam, for the first time critically edited by Prof. Dr. Asoke Chatterjee Śāstrī*, Sarasvatībhavanagrathamālā, Vol. 103, Varanasi 1972, p. iii). The *Kalki* of the Hindu myth is born in the village (*grāma*) Śambhala (Dvitiyodhyāyaḥ 4). At the end of the *kaliyuga* he will destroy the forces of the barbarians with his great army. *Kalki* is often presented as a theriomorphic figure, as an *avatāra* in horse-form (cf. E. Abegg, *Der Messiasglaube in Indien und Iran*, Berlin 1928, pp. 39–144, for a discussion of *Kalki* in all his forms, and his function). The connection between the last *Kalki* of Śambhala, Raudracakrin, and the horse, has already been discussed, cf. R. A. Stein, *Recherches sur l'épopée et le barde au Tibet*, Paris 1959, pp. 524–8). This reminds us of the "samdāhi of the best of the horses" (*smra mkhas rta mchog tiñ 'dzin, Grub mtha' šel gyi me loñ, Hor li śambha la rnam su grub mtha' byuñ tshul*, fol. 11b,4) which Raudracakrin possesses. The connection between the *Kalki* and his horse is also significant in the Mongolian context, where the idea of the last battle against the *Kla klo* had political connotations as well. Like the Buddhist *Kalki* Raudracakrin, the Hindu *Kalki* is an eschatological figure. M. Hulin characterizes him thus: "Kalkin est une figure complexe et, à certains égards, encore aujourd'hui mystérieuse. Il se présente comme un brahmane guerrier. ... L'imagerie religieuse populaire le fait apparaître dans les nuées, montant un cheval blanc et brandissant un glaive étincelant. ... Kalkin va donc prendre la tête de la petite troupe de ceux qui sont restés purs, qui sont demeurés sourds à l'appel des sirènes bouddhistes. Il affronte l'armée des méchants commandée par un certain Kali (en fait, le *kali-yaga* personnifié) au cours d'une grande bataille eschatologique" ("Décadence et renouvellement: la doctrine des âges du monde dans l'Hindouisme", in: *Eranos*, Vol. 54 (1985) [pp. 177–208], pp. 202–3).

laghutantra (abridged tantra) called *Śrī Kālacakra*, which has come down to us, whereas the *Paramādibuddha* Sucandra allegedly composed is lost.¹³ The son of Yaśas, Puṇḍarīka, wrote the most important commentary on the *Śrī Kālacakra*, the *Vimalaprabhā*. Both texts, the *Śrī Kālacakra* and the *Vimalaprabhā*, have come down to us in the original Sanskrit versions. Especially the *Vimalaprabhā* is extremely important for our understanding of the *Kālacakra* system.

The *Kālacakra* system was first introduced into India in the beginning of the eleventh century A.D.¹⁴ From then onwards the history of Śambhala seems to have been uneventful. It gradually turned into a hidden country which only a few, spiritually highly developed persons could find and enter. Some Tibetan texts give the accounts of pilgrims who went in search of the hidden land.¹⁵ In the early texts about Śambhala, for example Man luñ pa's guide-book, the pilgrims do not face any obstacles on the journey to the kingdom. The pilgrims physically go there. In later works the theme of the journey to the hidden land develops more and more into a topic of its own. The journey becomes difficult and dangerous, and only a selected few are able to reach the country. A shift from a physical to a spiritual journey takes place.¹⁶

In the *Kālacakra* texts Śambhala seems to be a remote, but nevertheless

¹³ Cf. J. R. Newman, "The Paramādibuddha (The Kālacakra Mūlatantra) and its Relation to the Early Kālacakra Literature", in: *Indo-Iranian Journal*, Vol. 30, No. 2 (1987), pp. 93–102.

¹⁴ For a brief history of the *Kālacakra* system cf. Newman, "A Brief History of the Kalachakra", pp. 65–78.

¹⁵ Cf. Bu ston rin chen grub, *Dus 'khor chos 'byuñ*, 56–7. mKhas grub rje's account of the Paṇḍitas' journey to Śambhala (*Dus 'khor 'jik chen*, 167–8) is based on Bu ston. dPa' bo gtsug lag phreñ ba also gives an account of Tsī lu pa's and other Paṇḍitas' journeys to Śambhala (*mKhas pa 'i dga' ston*, Chinese edition, 1485–93). E. Bernbaum, *The Mythic Journey and its Symbolism*, pp. 39–42, gives a translation of Bu ston's and mKhas grub rje's accounts (based on G. N. Roerich's *The Blue Annals*, Delhi 1979).

¹⁶ 'Gos lo tsā gives the following account of Kālacakrapāda's journey to Śambhala: "After he had acquired all the 'lower perfections' (eight in all), the Venerable One once told him: 'In the Northern Śambhala there exist many Tantras and commentaries taught and prophesied by the Buddha. Go in search of them and listen to them!' He then thought of going there. In the opinion of some scholars he had joined a caravan of merchants, and proceeded there. Some said that he was guided there by a phantom monk. Again some said that the Venerable Tara herself helped him. Again some said that when he decided to proceed to Śambhala, and was preparing (for the journey), he visited Śambhala in his vision, and obtained the doctrines from Arya Avalokiteśvara himself (Rigs-ldan Pad-ma dkar-po). This last statement should be accepted" (G. N. Roerich, *The Blue Annals*, pp. 756–7). (*thun moñ gi dños grub mtha' dag brnyes pa žig yin pa las | dus lan cig gi tshe na | rje btsun ma 'i žal nas | byañ phyogs śambha la na sañs rgyas kyes gsuñs śiñ luñ bstan pa 'i rgyud 'grel mañ po bžugs pas de tshol žiñ nyan du soñ žig gsuñ nas | der bžud par dgoñs pa dañ | de 'i tshe kha cig na re | tshoñ pa dañ sdebs nas gšegs so žes zer | kha cig na re sprul pa 'i dge sloñ cig gis khrid do žes zer žiñ | kha cig ni rje btsun ma nyid kyes rjes su gžuñ žes zer žiñ smra'o | kha cig na re | der bžud par bžed nas chas pa dañ dag pa 'i snañ ba la śambha la nyid du byon nas spyān ras gžigs dños la chos mams žus so žes gsuñ ba 'i bžed ma 'di gžuñ no | ; Der ther sñon po, Chinese Edition, Beijing 1985, 888, 19–889, 8.)*

real country. In all probability the Indian *Uttarakuru*, the northern country which is the abode of the blessed, provides the stereotype on which the description of Śambhala is based.¹⁷ Later on, after the thirteenth century, the idea of Śambhala is influenced by the Buddhist conception of a *buddhakṣetra*. It symbolizes the *kṣetra* of the ādibuddha in the person of the *Kālacakra* deity. The description of Śambhala shows similarities to the description of *Sukhāvātī* and *Potala*. But the idea of Śambhala differs in one important point from other Buddhist conceptions of a *buddhakṣetra* or even a *sbas yul*, a “hidden region” or “valley”. From Śambhala in the future, when Buddhism has degenerated in the world and the religion of the *mlecchas*¹⁸ has become strong, a powerful army will emerge under the leadership of the last *Kalki*, Raudracakrin.¹⁹ In an apocalyptic battle²⁰ Raudracakrin will destroy the forces of evil and restore the Buddhadharmā in the world. The victory over the barbarian forces will mark the beginning of a new *kṛtayuga*, the age of perfection. The Buddhadharmā will once again spread in *āryadeśa*, human lifespan will increase, and the paradisiac conditions of Śambhala will extend to the whole world.²¹

Śambhala is valued in the Tibetan and Mongolian context as a kind of paradise, but geographically located within the confines of the world (“somewhere to the north of Tibet”). Moreover, its relation to eschatological notions in Tibet and Mongolia has been used to carry political, prophetic connotations. This twofold aspect of the idea of Śambhala alludes to two different

¹⁷ Cf. G. Tucci, “Buddhist Notes”, in his, *Opera Minora*, Rome 1971, Part II [pp. 489–527], pp. 507–9. For a detailed analysis of the relation between Uttarakuru and Śambhala, see Bernbaum, *The Mythic Journey and its Symbolism*, pp. 155ff.

¹⁸ For a discussion of the *mlecchas*, who in the *Kālacakra-tantra* and the *Vimalaprabhā* are synonymous with the Muslims, cf. H. Hoffmann, “Kālacakra Studies I: Manichaeism, Christianity, and Islam in the Kālacakra Tantra”, in: *CAJ* 13 (1969), pp. 52–73, and “Kālacakra Studies I: Addenda et Corrigenda”, in: *CAJ* 15 (1971–2), pp. 298–301.

¹⁹ J. R. Newman, “A Brief History of the Kalachakra”, pp. 78–80, describes the future battle and the ensuing “Golden Age” in detail.

²⁰ The *Vimalaprabhā* and later texts locate the place of this last battle near the river Sītā, whereas the Third Pañ chen bla ma specifies it in the vicinity of *Rum* (Turkey or Persia) (*Śambhala la'i lam yig*, fol. 46b). *Rum* (here Byzantium) is also the place where Damdinsüren locates one of his four suspected Śambhalas, cf. Ts. Damdinsüren, “Neskol'ko slov o Kalačakre”, in: *Proceedings of the Csoma de Kőrös Memorial Symposium held at Mátrafüred 1976*, Budapest 1978 [pp. 59–63], p. 63.

²¹ The judgement of G. Tucci leaves aside this eschatological aspect of the idea of Śambhala: “... the Yellow sect composed its guides to Śambhala, viz. to the Kālacakra-paradise, which had, in the meantime, become a supreme ideal for most of its followers, in order to possess the counterpart of the holy O rgyan of the rival schools. The country itself was no longer a geographical reality to be exactly located in some part of the world; it was somewhere in the north, but as to where, that was practically a mere hypothesis” (“Travels of Tibetan pilgrims in the Swat valley”, in his, *Opera Minora*, Part II, q.v. [pp. 369–418], p. 371). The conception of the apocalyptic battle against the barbarians, who are most often identified with the Muslims (cf. *Vimalaprabhā*, 132, 3), includes the geographical reality of the kingdom of Śambhala, although this geographical reality is merely speculative.

conceptions of utopian thought in the European context. Ernst Bloch, in his *Das Prinzip Hoffnung*, tells us about geographical utopias (“geographische Utopien”) comprising the extremes between El Dorado, the place of everlasting material wealth, and Eden, the spiritual heaven on earth. The idea of Śambhala covers both elements. The country is described as extremely wealthy, its inhabitants as spiritually highly advanced. In the Mongolian chronicle *Bolur toli* (nineteenth century) we read,

The physique of the people born in that country is very beautiful. Their food, drink, clothing, and ornaments are very rich. Even people considered indigent have nearly a hundred treasure-houses of jewels. They live under kind laws. There is no killing or beating, no sickness or cattle pestilence. They are of a straightforward character, mentally alert, and fond of virtue. They all pay attention to the deep teaching of sutras and dharanis. When they die, they are reborn in a pure land, and not one goes to a bad destiny. Their noble king is supposed to bestow the empowerment of Kālacakra on the 15th day of the third month of every year and to teach the Kālacakratānta to all the blessed.²²

The pilgrims who set out to reach this promised land have to cope with many perils on their journey. The way to the paradise on earth is arduous and perilous.²³ This aspect the Tibetan conception has in common with Western ideas of paradise, where the paradise is always located close to a terrible place which brings disaster to those who dare to approach it. It is obvious that “die Angst dem Glück hier besonders benachbart ist”.²⁴ In the Tibetan

²² C. R. Bawden, “The Wish-Prayer for Shambhala Again”, in: *Monumenta Serica*, 36 (1984–5) [pp. 453–610], p. 463.

²³ In the *Rin spuñs naḡ dbañ 'jigs grogs kyis rañ gi yab la phul ba 'i zu phrin rig pa 'dzin pa 'i pho nya*, the way to Śambhala is described as follows: “Du wirst schmalen Pfaden folgen müssen, die sich nach Norden durch ein Labyrinth verräterischer Bergketten winden. Viele dieser Pfade enden in Tälern, aus denen es kein Zurück mehr gibt. Wenn du dem falschen Pfad folgst, wirst du dich hoffnungslos verirren ...; vor dir liegen viele Tage einer anstrengenden Reise durch einen düsteren und schrecklichen Wald. Rotten von Raubtieren mit feuerspeienden Augen und zottigen Mähnen aus blutigem und verfilztem Pelz durchziehen diesen Wald, nach dem Fleisch und Blut ihrer Opfer dürstend. Wenn du den Wald durchschreitest, wirst du sie überall knurren hören und vernehmen, wie sie die Knochen ihrer Opfer zerknacken. ... Aus der Dunkelheit werden von beiden Seiten Dämonen mit kupferroten Augen auf dich spähen. Tagsüber erscheinen Hexen in Menschengestalt, doch des Nachts nehmen sie die Gestalt von Löwen und Tigern an. Wie Boten des Todes werden Horden von geisterähnlichen, menschenfressenden Nachtwanderern versuchen, von deinem Fleisch zu naschen” (translation by E. Bernbaum, *Der Weg nach Shambhala. Auf der Suche nach dem sagenhaften Königreich im Himalaya*, Freiburg 1988, pp. 208–9).

²⁴ E. Bloch, *Das Prinzip Hoffnung*, Vol. 2, p. 884. Cf. also K. H. Börner, *Auf der Suche nach dem irdischen Paradies. Zur Ikonographie der geographischen Utopie*, Frankfurt 1984, p. 32, who writes about Hesiod: “Selbstverständlich liegen hier Glück und Angst nah beieinander: Elysium und Selige Inseln liegen erstens jenseits der Grenzen der bekannten Welt, jenseits

and Mongolian contexts only a few try to reach Śambhala, whereas the Western search for the promised land, where not only never-ending wealth, but also eternal peace is found, led to the great discoveries of the fifteenth century which changed the face of the known world. In contrast to early Greek and Western conceptions of Paradise, the legend of Śambhala accentuates the spiritual assessments which are necessary for the quest. In this respect the idea of Śambhala can be compared with the myth of the Holy Grail. Only a spiritually advanced seeker is able to find the mystical chalice of the Eucharist, which is filled with the blood of Christ.²⁵ In the Tibetan Buddhist context the *sādhaka* acquires “perfections” (*siddhi*) on his journey to Śambhala, just as in the quest for the Holy Grail the hero has to undergo certain rites of initiation which have their origin in the Celtic mythology.²⁶ The journey itself also represents a kind of initiation. Moreover, the Holy Grail is connected with the Isle of Avalon,²⁷ a mystic island far out in the Western Ocean, to which, after King Arthur’s final battle on the river Camlan, King Arthur was magically carried away.²⁸

In European thought we find many different legends and myths about legendary lands, paradises or islands somewhere in the unknown ocean, “the limits of the world”, and we always find someone who tries to get there, in spite of all the perils he may encounter on his journey. For example, the Irish monk Brendan undertook a voyage on the Atlantic Ocean in order to find the Christian paradise.²⁹ The legend tells us that in the end, after manifold adventures, Brendan found the island of paradise.³⁰ The element

der Säulen des Herkules, und ihnen ist zweitens der westliche Ozean vorgelagert, der graue und grauenhafte Atlantik, in dem die Sonne untergeht und stirbt . . . Außerdem werden die goldenen Schätze, etwa die Äpfel der Hesperiden, von schlangenhaften Dämonen bewacht. Das irdische Paradies bleibt trotz aller Schrecken eine über alle Ängste triumphierende Verlockung.”

²⁵ The eschatological notions of Śambhala are also reflected in the legend of the Holy Grail. As R. F. Treharne points out, “The Holy Grail, the sacred cup used by Christ and the Apostles at the Last Supper, and subsequently hidden and lost to human ken, became the ultimate objective of a quest in which all of the knights of Arthur’s Round Table were engaged. It was a quest which would continue until at length one of Arthur’s knights, the only utterly pure and faultless man among them, should discover the Grail and so . . . bring about the millennium in which all Christian souls would at last turn wholly to God” (*The Glastonbury Legends*, London 1975, p. 90).

²⁶ Cf. M. Eliade, *Das Mysterium der Wiedergeburt*, Zürich 1961, pp. 211–13.

²⁷ Cf. Treharne, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

²⁸ Around the year A.D. 1200 Robert de Boron wrote a long epic poem called *Joseph d’Arimathie* in which he tells how the Holy Grail, the chalice of the Eucharist, reached the British Isles. At the end of the poem he tells us that the Holy Grail will one day be brought to the western land of Avaron; cf. W. A. Nitze (ed.), *Robert de Boron. Le Roman de l’Estoire dou Graal*, Paris 1927, p. 112.

²⁹ For the first time in European thought Brendan’s *Navigatio* combined the motifs of the island and of paradise, cf. K. H. Börer, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

³⁰ Cf. the *Navigatio Sancti Brendani Abbatis*, one of the most famous books of the Middle Ages. The text of this search for paradise dates back to the eleventh century or even earlier; cf. R. Henning, *Terrae Incognitae*, 4 vols., Leiden 1944, 1950, 1953, 1956, Vol. II, pp. 99ff. Cf. also W. H. Babcock, *Legendary Islands of the Atlantic. A Study in Medieval Geography*, American

of anticipation in these Western utopian phantasies seems to be so strong that attempts are constantly made to reach the geographical space of desire.

Other elements in the idea of Śambhala remind us of similar oriental conceptions. The outer appearance of Śambhala, its snow-covered mountains, forests, and the miraculous groves are similar to the concept of the paradise in form of a garden³¹ which we already find in the Old Testament. The river Sītā, which marks the border to the hidden kingdom, serves as a line of demarcation between the outer world and Śambhala, the spiritual “heaven on earth”. The image of the river as border between two worlds is often used in mythology. One only has to think of the Greek Acheron, which has to be crossed in order to reach the Greek underworld.³²

Early texts, like the *Vimalaprabhā* or the *Lam yig* of Man luñ pa, do not describe Śambhala as a paradise on earth. They rather stress the spiritual qualities of the country and its inhabitants. Later works, especially the *smon lam*, the most popular texts on Śambhala among the Tibetan and Mongolian Buddhist lay people, concentrate on the paradisiac nature of the hidden kingdom. In the words of Gar-je Kham-sprul Rin-po-che, the people of Śambhala have great wealth, happiness and no sickness. The crops are good and everyone passes their time with Dharma. As all the kings are religious ones, there is not even a sign of non-virtue or evil in these lands. Even the words ‘war’ and ‘enmity’ are unknown. The happiness and joy can compete with that of the gods.”³³ These characteristics are also mentioned by Ovid, who describes paradisiac existence in similar terms.³⁴

As stated above, the idea of Śambhala provided the background for political connotations as well. In the late nineteenth century the Buryat monk Dorjieff talked the Thirteenth Dalai Lama into believing that Śambhala was Czarist Russia and the Czar, the ruler of Śambhala. The Kalmyk Lama Dambo Ul’janov even suggested that Kalāpa was to be Moscow.³⁵ He also

Geographical Research Series, No. 8, n.p., 1922 (reprint 1975). T. Severin demonstrated the probable historical reality of Brendan’s journey, cf. his account in: *The Brendan Voyage. The Greatest Adventure of the Sea since Kon-Tiki*, London 1979. For a description of Brendan’s journey, cf. K. H. Börner, *op. cit.*, pp. 54–6.

³¹ The Greek word *paradeisos* denotes a grove or pleasure-garden; cf. Börner, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

³² Tucci, “Buddhist Notes”, p. 506, also draws attention to the Cinvat bridge of the Iranian tradition as a line of demarcation.

³³ Gar-je K’am-trül Rinpoche, “Geography and History of Shambhala”, in: *The Tibet Journal*, Vol. 3, No. 3 (1978) [pp. 3–11], p. 7.

³⁴ Cf. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, w. 89ff: Aurea prima sata est aetas, quae vindice nullo, sponte sua, sine lege, fidei rectumque colebat. Poena metusque aberant; nec verba minacia fixo Aere legabantur, nec supplex turba timebat iudicis ora sui, sed erant sine vindice tuti. Nondum caesa suis, peregrinum ut viseret orbem, montribus in liquidas pinas descenderat undas; nullaque mortales praeter sua litora no rant. Nondum praesipites cingebant oppida fossae; non tuba directi, non aeris cornua flexi, non galeae, non ensis erat, sine militia usu mollia securae peragebant otia gentes.

³⁵ Cf. V. A. Aldošin, “Legendy o strane Śambala”, in: P. C. Bitkeev (ed.), *Filologičeskie issledovanija staropis’ennykh pamjatnikov*, Elista 1987 [pp. 19–33], p. 28.

drew a connection between the Buddha and the Romanovs.³⁶ As is well known, the Thirteenth Dalai Lama inclined rather towards the Russian than to the English side, an inclination which shaped the destiny of Tibet at the beginning of the twentieth century.

The political impact of the idea of Śambhala was even more utilized by the Mongolians. In the Mongolian chronicle *Bolur toli*,³⁷ the genealogy of Činggis Qan is traced back to the lineage of the Indian Śākyas, from whom the first king of Śambhala, Sucandra, also descends. Sucandra and Činggis Qan are both incarnations of the Bodhisattva Vajrapāni. Because of this relationship between the reigning dynasty and the *chos rgyal* and *Kalkis* of Śambhala the notion of the apocalyptic battle at the end of this *Kaliyuga* was employed during the struggle for independence in Outer Mongolia. Sukhe Bator, the Mongolian National Hero who in 1921 founded the Mongolian Peopled Republic, composed a marching-song for his troops in which he told his soldiers to be reborn as the warriors of the king of Śambhala.³⁸ Even the Communist party made use of the myth of Śambhala to justify their resolution not to install the ninth incarnation of the rJe btsun dam pa Khutukhtu:

The Jebtsundamba Khutukhtus have deserved extremely well of our Mongol religion and state, and when it came to the Eighth Incarnation, he freed Mongolia from Chinese oppression and laid the foundation for it to become a state. ... as there is a tradition that after the Eighth Incarnation he will not be reincarnated again, but thereafter will be reborn as the Great General Hanamand in the realm of Shambhala, there is no question of installing the subsequent, Ninth Incarnation.³⁹

In the 1930s, during the occupation by the Japanese, the Mongolians were told to search for Śambhala in Japan.⁴⁰

From the examples offered above, we may conclude that a certain shift in emphasis has taken place, from a *geographical* utopia to a *political* one. The mechanism behind the utopian concept of paradise on earth implies in fact a contradiction: on the one hand it indicates a longing back to paradisiac

³⁶ Cf. Ul'janov, *Predskazanie Buddy o dome Romanovych i kratkij očerk moich putešestvij v Tibet v 1904–1905gg.*, SPB, 1913. Unfortunately, this book is not available in German libraries. So far I have not been able to obtain a copy of it. Bernbaum states that in this work the lineage of the Romanovs is traced back to King Sucandra of Śambhala; cf. Bernbaum, *Der Weg nach Shambhala*, pp. 25, 280, n. 12.

³⁷ fol. 13r ff.

³⁸ Cf. Bernbaum, *Der Weg nach Śambhala*, pp. 25–6. For a description of the political situation in Mongolia in the early twenties of our century, cf. Bawden, *The Modern History of Mongolia*, London 1968, pp. 238ff.

³⁹ Cf. Bawden, *The Modern History of Mongolia*, pp. 262–3.

⁴⁰ Cf. Bawden, *op. cit.*, p. 262. For a discussion of the Utopian element in the establishment of the Manchukuo state, Cf. McCormack, “Manchukuo: Constructing the Past”, in: *East Asian History*, No. 2 (1991), pp. 105–4.

roots, while at the same time it entails conceptions of the future. These two aspects are inherent in the Tibetan Buddhist idea of Śambhala.

The Sources

Many works, belonging to different literary categories, deal with Śambhala. The overwhelming majority of them are written in Tibetan, but we also find a variety of texts in the Mongolian language. These texts may be divided into the following nine literary categories.⁴¹

I. TEXTS IN TIBETAN

1. Canonical works⁴²

- 1.1. *Parama-ādibuddhoddhrita-śrī-kālacakra-nāma-tantrarāja*. (Short title: *Kālacakra-tantrarāja*). Tibetan title: *mChog gi dañ po 'i sañs rgyas las phyuñ ba rgyud kyi rgyal po dpal dus kyi 'khor lo źes bya ba*.⁴³
- 1.2. *Vimalaprabhā-nāma mūlatantrānusārīnī dvādaśasāhasrikā-laghukālacakra-tantrarāja-ṭīkā*. (Short title: *Vimalaprabhā*). Tibetan title: *bsDus pa 'i rgyud kyi rgyal po dus kyi 'khor lo 'i 'grel bsad rtsa ba 'i rgyud kyi rjes su 'jug pa stoñ phrag bcu gnyis pa dri ma med pa 'i 'od ces bya ba*.⁴⁴

⁴¹ In the following I do not enumerate texts which deal only in passing with the kingdom of Śambhala or just mention its name

⁴² Also common to the three works listed in this category is the fact that they were originally written in Sanskrit and later translated into Tibetan. We have therefore two versions of these works.

⁴³ Translated by Somanātha around A.D. 1026, *bKa' 'gyur*, rgyud, No. 4. Mongolian title: *Angqan-u degedü burqan-ača arγayсан coγ-tu čay-un kürdün neretü dandaris-un qayan* (L. Ligeti, *Catalogue du Kanjur Mongol Imprimé*; Vol. I: Catalogue, No. 3 (3), Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica III, Budapest 1942–4, p. 2). The Sanskrit and the Tibetan versions are extant; cf. Raghu Vira and Lokesh Chandra, *Kālacakra Tantra and Other Texts, Pt. I*, Śata Piṭaka Series, No. 69, New Delhi 1956. The first chapter, the *Lokadhātupatala*, contains a short description of Śambhala, its history and the eschatological prophecies connected with the kingdom. Newman, *The Outer Wheel of Time*, gives a translation *cum* annotation of the verses relevant to our theme (Śri Kālacakra 1.150–70, pp. 578–655). He also uses Bu ston's, Padminī's (*Padminī-nāma-panjikā*, *bsTan 'gyur*, No. 2667) and mKhas grub rje's commentaries in his notes to the translation.

⁴⁴ *bsTan 'gyur*, No. 2064. The *Vimalaprabhā* is supposedly composed by Puṇḍarīka, the second Kalki of Śambhala and son of Yaśas, who according to legend composed the *Kālacakra-tantrarāja*. It was allegedly translated by Somanātha in the eleventh century. The *Vimalaprabhā* describes Śambhala in detail, including the two Maṇḍalas the kings of Śambhala built.

1.3. *Kalāpāvātāra*. Tibetan title: *Ka lā par 'jug pa*.⁴⁵

2. Commentaries on the *Kālacakra-tantra*

2.1 *mChog gi dañ po 'i sañs rgyas las phyuñ ba rgyud kyi rgyal po chen po dpal dus kyi 'khor lo 'i bsdus pa 'i rgyud gi sla 'i mchan bcas*. Author: Bu ston Rin chen grub (1290–1364).⁴⁶

2.2 *'Jig rten khams kyi le 'u 'i 'grel bśad dri ma med pa 'i od mchan bcas*. Author: Bu ston Rin chen grub.⁴⁷

2.3 *dPal dus kyi 'khor lo 'i 'grel chen dri med pa 'i 'od gyi rgya cher bśad pa de kho na nyid snañ bar byed*. (Short title: *Dus 'khor fik chen*). Author: mKhas grub dge legs dpal bzañ po (1385–1438).⁴⁸

2.4 *Dus 'khor spyi don bstan pa 'i rgya mtsho* (1467). Author: sTag tshañ lo tsā ba Śes rab rin chen.⁴⁹

2.5 *Dus kyi 'khor lo 'i lo rgyus dañ sambhala 'i žiñ bkod bcas*. Author: Kloñ rdol bla ma Ņag dbañ blo bzañ (1719–1805).⁵⁰

2.6 *rGyal ba tsoñ kha pa 'i lugs dañ mthun pa rnam phyogs gcig tu btus pa 'i dpal dus kyi 'khor lo 'i min gi rnam grañs*. Author: Kloñ rdol bla ma Ņag dbañ blo bzañ.⁵¹

⁴⁵ This guidebook, preserved in the *bsTan 'gyur*, No. 149, to the capital of Śambhala, Kalāpa, was translated in the 17th century from the original Sanskrit into Tibetan by the famous Tāranātha. The Sanskrit original is lost. The *Kalāpāvātāra* presented the most important source for the *Śambha la 'i lam yig* of the Third Pañ chen bla ma Blo bzañ dpal ldan ye śes. Bernbaum, *The Mythic Journey and its Symbolism*, pp. 42–81, gives a translation of this work. For discussion of the dating of the work, see above, p. 80, n. 6.

⁴⁶ In: Lokesh Chandra (ed.), *The Collected Works of Bu-ston*, New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1965, Pt. 1, pp. 1–299. This work, which was very influential on later authors of *Kālacakra* texts, comments on the *Kālacakratantra-rāja*.

⁴⁷ In: Lokesh Chandra, *op. cit.*, pp. 301–603. The work concentrates on the first chapter of the *Vimalaprabhā*, the *Lokadhātupatala*.

⁴⁸ In: *The Collected Works (Gsung 'bum) of the Lord Mkhas-grub Rje Dge-legs-dpal-bzang-po*, repr. from 1897 Lhasa Dga' ldan-phun.tshogs-gling blocks (New Delhi: Mongolian Lama Gurudeva, 1980), 2:97–1114. The text was written in 1434; for a discussion of the date of composition, cf. Vostrikov, *Tibetskaja Istoričeskaja Literatura*, Moscow 1962, p. 239, n. 363. It is a very detailed commentary on the *Vimalaprabhā*, which “in addition to extensive discussions of the history and prophecy of Śambhala ... includes important accounts of legendary journeys of Indian pandits to Śambhala in search of the *Kālacakra* teachings” (Bernbaum, *The Mythic Journey and its Symbolism*, p. 29).

⁴⁹ sTag tshañ lo tsā ba Śes rab rin chen, *Dus 'khor spyi don bstan pa 'i rgya mtsho*, rep. Trayang and Jamyang Samten (New Delhi: Trayang and Jamyang Samten, 1973). The author gives a general description of Śambhala and tells us the legend of Śākya Śambha, a relative of the Buddha who according to a widespread legend founded Śambhala.

⁵⁰ In: *Tibetan Buddhist Studies of Klong-rdol bla-ma Ngag-dbang blo-bzang*, ed. Ven. Dalama (Mussorie: Ven. Dalama, 1963), 1:125–52. The text contains the *Śambha la 'i smon lam* of the Third Pañ chen bla ma.

⁵¹ *op. cit.*, 1:152–81. Bernbaum (*The Mythic Journey and its Symbolism*, p. 30) characterizes the two works of Kloñ rdol bla ma (2.5. and 2.6.) as follows: “These commentaries on the *Kālacakra* and Śambhala present a good compilation and summary of earlier works on the subjects in a particularly clear and easy-to-read style. Together they provide a detailed description and history of the kingdom.”

3. *Histories of Religion*⁵²

- 3.1 *sDom pa gsum gyi rab tu dbye ba*. Author: Sa skya paṇḍita Kun dga' rgyal mtshan (1182–1251).⁵³
- 3.2 *Dus 'khor chos 'byuñ rgyud sde 'i zab don sgo 'byed rin chert gus pa 'i lde mig*. Author: Bu ston Rin chen grub.⁵⁴
- 3.3 *Dam pa 'i chos kyi 'khor lo bsgyur ba rnams kyi byuñ ba gsal bar byed pa mkhas pa 'i dga' ston*. (Short title: *mKhas pa 'i dga' ston*). Author: dPa' bo gtsug lag phreñ ba (1503–65).⁵⁵
- 3.4 *Chos 'byuñ bstan pa 'i pad ma rgyas pa 'i nyin byed ces bya ba* (1575). Author: Padma dkar po.⁵⁶
- 3.5 *dPal dus kyi 'khor lo 'i chos skor gyi 'byuñ khuñs nyer mkho*. Author: Tāranātha.⁵⁷
- 3.6 *dPag bsam ljon bzañ* (1748). Author: Sum pa mkhan po Ye śes dpal 'byor.⁵⁸
- 3.7 *Yoñs 'dzin dam pa rje btsun blo bzañ tshul khrims dpal bzañ po 'i gsuñ las rgyan drug mchog gnyis kyi rnam thar dañ grub mtha' bži so so 'i lugs kyi gži lam 'bras gsum gyi rnam gžag le tshan chos 'byuñ | rigs ldan drag po 'byon tshul*. Author: Blo bzañ tshul khrims *alias* 'Broñ rtse yoñs 'dzin.⁵⁹

⁵² This survey of doctrinal histories does not contain the *Deb ther sñon po*, because Gos lo tsā ba in his chapter on the Kālacakra-Doctrine (*Dus kyi 'khor lo 'i skabs*, 885–982 in the new Chinese edition of the *Deb ther sñon po*, Beijing 1985) does not give a description of the kingdom of Śambhala. He only mentions the journey of some Paṇḍitas to the kingdom.

⁵³ In: *The Complete Works of the Great Masters of the Sa Skya Sect of the Tibetan Buddhism*, ed. Bsod-nams rgya-mtsho (Tokyo: Tōyō Bunko, 1968), 5:297–320. The relevant passage about Śambhala is on fol. 32a,6–32b,3.

⁵⁴ In: *The Collected Works of Bu-ston*, Pt. 4, pp. 53ff. Bu ston records the journeys of Indian Paṇḍitas to the hidden kingdom of Śambhala in order to acquire the Kālacakra teachings. mKhas grub rje's account of the Paṇḍitas' journeys is based on Bu ston's description.

⁵⁵ In section 5, *chos byuñ mkhas pa 'i dga' ston gyi yan lag lña pa yul spyi dañ bye brag ma phye bar śes bya 'i gtso bo rig gnas lña ji ltar byuñ tshul bśad pa*, pp. 1485–93 of the Chinese edition, Beijing 1986. dPa' bo gtsug lag phreñ ba describes the outer appearance of Śambhala, and he gives a brief account of its history. He even mentions the tale of Sakya Śambha ka, after whom the kingdom was given its name. The description of the last battle between the Kla klo and the forces of the Kalki Rudracakrin is given in detail (pp. 1489–91). dPa' bo gtsug lag also tells us of the journey of Tsī lu pa and other Paṇḍits to the land of Śambhala.

⁵⁶ Lokesh Chandra (ed.), *Tibetan Chronicle of Padma-dkar-po*, New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1968, pp. 205–26. Padma dkar po depicts the history of Śambhala and the eschatological ideas which are connected with the kingdom.

⁵⁷ In: *The Collected Works (Gsuñ 'Bum) of Jo-nañ Rje-btsun Kun-dga'-snyin-po (Tāranātha)*. Reproduced from the Rare Pre-19th Century Prints from the Rtag-brtan Phun-tshogs-gliñ blocks belonging to the Stog Palace Collection, Ladakh: C. Namgyal and Tsewang Taru, 1984, Vol. 2, pp. 1–43.

⁵⁸ Sumpa Khan-po Yece Pal Jor, *Pag Sam Jon Zang (Dpag bsam ljon bzang)*, ed. Sarat Chandra Das, Calcutta: Presidency Jail Press, 1908. The *Re'u mig* of the same author lists the kings of Śambhala and the years in which they ascended to the throne.

⁵⁹ I have not been able to consult this work. It is described in Shastri, *Catalogue of the Library of Tibetan Works and Archives*, Vol. II, S. No. 119 (LTWA No. Pa–2103), pp. 114–15. According

3.8 *Grub mtha' thams cad kyi khuñs dañ 'dod tshul ston pa legs bśad śel gyi me loñ* (1802). Author: Thu'u bkvan Blo bzañ chos kyi nyi ma.⁶⁰

4. *Autobiographies*

4.1 *rGyal khams pa tā ra nā thas bdag nyid kyi rnam thar ñes par brjod pa'i deb gter śin tu źib mo ma bcos lhug pa'i rtogs brjod ces bya ba bźugs*. Author: Author: Tāranātha.⁶¹

5. *Lists of the Kalki-kings of Śambhala*

5.1 *Rigs ldan grags pa'i rtogs pa. ... Kyil ba'i zla ba*.⁶²

5.2 *Śambha lar chos rgyal rigs ldan rnams byon tshul dañ bstan pa'i gnas tshad bcas legs par bśad pa blo ldan rna bar mñar ba'i bdud rtsi źes bya ba*. Author: Blo bzañ dam chos rgya mtsho.⁶³

5.3 *bsTan pa'i sbyin bdag byuñ tshul gyi miñ gi grañs*. Author: Kloñ rdol bla ma Ñag dbañ blo bzañ.⁶⁴

5.4 *Dañ po'i sañs rgyas dpal dus kyi 'khor lo'i lo rgyus dañ miñ gi rnam grañs*. Author: Kloñ rdol bla ma Ñag dbañ blo bzañ.⁶⁵

5.5 *Śambha la'i chos rgyal bdun dañ rigs ldan nyi śu rtsa lña ste sum cu rtsa gnyis*. Author: Kañ thog Tshe dbañ nor bu.⁶⁶

6. *Guides (lam yig) to Śambhala*

6.1 *Kalāpāvātāra*.⁶⁷

to Shastri the text contains a list of the Kulika kings of Śambhala.

⁶⁰ In: *gSuñ 'bum* of rJe btsun bla ma dam pa Thu'u bkvan blo bzañ chos kyi nyi ma dpal bzañ po, Vol. 2 (*kha*), Chapter 12: *Hor li śambha la rnams grub mtha' byuñ tshul grub don bśad pas mjug bsdud ba dañ bcas pa bźugs so*, foll. 9v–13r.

⁶¹ In: *The Collected Works (Gsuñ 'Bum) of Jo nañ Rje-btsun Kun-dga'-snyin-po (Tāranātha)*, Vol. 1, pp. 682,5–683,1.

⁶² This text has not been available to me. It is listed in Waddell, “Tibetan Manuscripts and Books”, No. 346, p. 109, under the description, “Tale of Kulika [Manjuśrī] kīrti, King of Shambhala [1 vol., B. M., T, 118 (2)] ... T. Rigs ldan grags pa'i rtogs pa ... Kyil ba'i zla ba, Pr.; ff. 3.”

⁶³ The work was published in New Delhi by Ngawang Sopa, 1975, and described by Shastri, *Catalogue of the Library of Tibetan Works and Archives*, Vol. II, p. 114.

⁶⁴ Cf. Smith, *Tibetan Catalogue of the University of Washington*, Vol. I, Seattle, n.d., p. 37. On foll. 18r–19r we find a list of the Kalki Kings of Śambhala.

⁶⁵ In: *Tibetan Buddhist Studies*, 1: 232–62. The text is described by Smith, *Tibetan Catalogue*, Vol. I, p. 28: “Contents: (I.a) The universe and its makeup according to the Kālacakra (ff. 1v–3v); (b) The mystical realm of 6. and its kings (ff. 3v–8v); (c) The promulgation of the Kālacakra doctrine in 6. (ff. 8v–9r).”

⁶⁶ In: *Collected Works of Kah-Thog Tshe-dbang Norbu*, Vol. IV, Dalhousie: Damcho Sangpo, 1977, pp. 641,1–642,5.

⁶⁷ The *Kalāpāvātāra* is described above under 1. *Canonical works*, entry 1.3., p. 88.

- 6.2 *Śambha la pa'i lam yig*. Author: Man luñ pa.⁶⁸
- 6.3 *Śam bha la'i žin bkod pa*. Author: unknown.⁶⁹
- 6.4 *Rin spuñs ñag dbañ 'jigs grags kyis rañ gi yab la phul ba'i žu phrin rig pa 'dzin pa'i pho nya*. Author: Rin spuñs Ñag dbañ 'jigs grags.⁷⁰
- 6.5 *Grub pa'i gnas chen po śambhala'i rnam bśad 'phags yul gyi rtogs brjod dañ bcas*. (Short title: *Śambhala'i lam yig*). Author: Third Pañ chen bla ma Blo bzañ dpal ldan ye śes.⁷¹
- 6.6 *Śam bha la'i groñ du rgyas [?] mdzad pa*.⁷²

7. Astrological Texts

As already noted by Bernbaum, astrological and medicinal texts often belong to the Kālacakra teachings, and therefore they refer to Śambhala “as a means of establishing their own authority and legitimacy.”⁷³ The most outstanding work of this category is surely the *Vaidūrya dkar po* of the regent Sañs rgyas rgya mtsho. In the introduction to his work the author gives a short description of the Kālacakra and a list of the kings of Śambhala.⁷⁴ Sañs rgyas rgya mtsho seems to have been particularly interested in questions concerning Śambhala, because in the *gSuñ 'bum* of Sum pa mkhan po ye

⁶⁸ Man luñ pa was born in 1239. The date of his death is unknown. The famous *Śam bha la'i lam yig* of the Third Pañ chen bla ma is based upon his work. Berthold Laufer translated a portion of this, probably the oldest guidebook to Śambhala in his, “Zur buddhistischen Litteratur der Uiguren” (*T'oung Pao* 8 (1907), pp. 391–409). Bernbaum tells us that he found a copy of this text in Zanskar. It is an anonymous, undated manuscript of twenty folios (cf. Bernbaum, *The Mythic Journey and its Symbolism*, pp. 37–9, 87–8, nn. 63–80).

⁶⁹ The text is not available. Roerich, “Studies in the Kālacakra I”, *JUHRS*, Vol. 2 (1932), p. 15, tells us that this text is found in the Tibetan Collection of the Library of the Himalayan Research Institute. In his opinion, this was written somewhere in western Tibet and is based on the *'Grel chen* of mKhas-grub-rje and the first Pañ chen Blo bzañ chos kyī rgyal mtshan.

⁷⁰ Rin spuñs Ñag dbañ 'jigs grags, *Rin spuñs ñag dbañ 'jigs grags kyis rañ gi yab la phul ba'i žu phrin rig pa 'dzin pa'i pho nya*. 39 folio, reprod. and publ. in Dharamsala 1974 (LTWA). This poem has been partially translated by Bernbaum, *Der Weg nach Shambhala*, pp. 207–13.

⁷¹ This most famous of all guides to the kingdom of Śambhala has been translated by A. Grünwedel in his, *Der Weg nach Śambhala (Shambha la'i lam yig) des dritten Gross-Lama von bKra shis lhun po bLo bzang dPal ldan Ye shes aus dem tibetischen Original übersetzt, und mit dem Texte herausgegeben*, *Abhandlungen der Königlichen Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 29, ??: n.p., 1915. Grünwedel also published the Tibetan text in Latin transcription. His translation cannot be recommended, and unfortunately many scholars who dealt with Śambhala relied heavily on his erroneous translation. For my research I consulted the manuscript of the *Śambhala'i lam yig*, which is preserved in Budapest and of which Professor Uray-Kőhalmi kindly sent me a Microfilm. The manuscript is described in detail by Tersék, *Collection of Tibetan MSS and Xylographs of Alexander Csoma de Kőrös*, *Oriental Studies*, No. 3, Budapest 1976, pp. 78–80.

⁷² This text was brought to my attention by Dr. Rudolf Kaschewsky, Seminar für Sprach- und Kulturwissenschaften Zentralasiens, Universität Bonn. It is preserved at the Lindenmuseum Stuttgart (Inv.Nr. 72 184).

⁷³ Bernbaum, *The Mythic Journey and its Symbolism*, p. 32.

⁷⁴ T. TSEPAL TAIKHANG (ed.), *The Vaidūrya dkar po of Sde-srid Sangs-rgyas-rgya-mtsho*, 1, New Delhi: T. Tsepal Taikhang, 1972, pp. 5–10.

śes dpal 'byor we find that he and Sañs rgyas rgya mtsho exchanged some letters about problems concerning the kingdom of Śambhala.⁷⁵

8. Prayers (*smon lam*) for Rebirth in Śambhala

- 8.1 *Śam bha lar skye ba'i smon lam rig 'dzin groñ du bgrod pa'i them skas Zes bya ba.* Author: Roñ tha Blo bzañ dam chos rgya mtsho.⁷⁶
- 8.2 *Śam bha lar skye ba'i smon lam.* Author: Third Pañ chen bla ma Blo bzañ dpal ldan ye śes.⁷⁷
- 8.3 *rJe btsun blo bzañ dpal ldan ye śes kyis mdzad pa'i śambha la'i smon lam gyi bgrel pa rigs ldan źal bzañ blta'i śel dkar me loñ źes bya ba bźugs so.* Author: Blo bzañ dpal ldan bstan pa'i nyi ma phyogs las rnam rgyal dpal bzañ po.⁷⁸
- 8.4 *Tshe rabs rjes 'dzin dañ śam smon zuñ 'brel stoñ gzugs rol gar la gsum.* Author: Sixth Pañ chen bla ma Bio bzañ thub bstan chos kyi nyi ma (1883–1937).⁷⁹
- 8.5 *Śam smon 'gyur med bde ba la gnyis.* Author: Sixth Pañ chen bla ma Blo bzañ thub bstan chos kyi nyi ma.⁸⁰
- 8.6 *Śam smon dag źiñ bgrod pa'i pho nya la gnyis.* Author: Sixth Pañ chen bla ma Blo bzañ thub bstan chos kyi nyi ma.⁸¹
- 8.7 *Śam smon bde chen dpal 'bar la gnyis.* Author: Sixth Pañ chen bla ma Blo bzañ thub bstan chos kyi nyi ma.⁸²
- 8.8 *Śam smon rnam kun mchog ldan mar gnyis.* Author: Sixth Pañ chen bla ma lo bzañ thub bstan chos kyi nyi ma.⁸³
- 8.9 *Śam smon rigs ldan źal bzañ blta ba'i me loñ la gsum.* Author: Sixth Pañ chen bla ma lo bzañ thub bstan chos kyi nyi ma.⁸⁴

⁷⁵ This letter exchange is found in Vol. 8 of the *gSuñ 'bum* of Sum pa mkhan po.

⁷⁶ In: *The Collected Works (Gsung 'bum) of Blo-bzang-dam-chos-rgya-mtsho, Rong-tha Che-tshang Sprul-sku*, repr. by Ngawang Sopa. New Delhi: Ngawang Sopa, 1975, Vol. 6, pp. 462–8. The work, which was composed after 1595, is written in a very poetic style. It describes the kingdom of Śambhala in detail and also gives an exposition of its history and the eschatological expectations which are centred on Śambhala.

⁷⁷ This, the most famous and influential prayer for rebirth in Śambhala, was written around 1775. It is quoted in Kloñ rdol bla ma Nag dbañ blo bzañ's *Śambhala'i źin bkod (Tibetan Buddhist Studies*, ed. Ven. Dalama, Mussoorie 1963, 1:150–1). D. P. Jackson, *The 'Miscellaneous Series' of Tibetan Texts in the Bihar Research Society, Patna: A Handlist*, Tibetan and Indo-Tibetan Studies, 2, Stuttgart 1989, No. 1471–2 (B. No. 565), p. 212, describes a xylograph of the prayer, an edition from Kun bde gliñ.

⁷⁸ This work has not been available to me. It is preserved in the collection of V. L. Uspenskij (rukopis' no. 47 iz sobraniya V. L. Uspenskogo).

⁷⁹ *gSuñ 'bum*, Vol. I, pp. 247–52.

⁸⁰ *op. cit.*, pp. 243–6.

⁸¹ *op. cit.*, pp. 253–6.

⁸² *op. cit.*, pp. 257–60.

⁸³ *op. cit.*, pp. 266–8.

⁸⁴ *op. cit.*, pp. 275–9.

- 8.10 *Śambha la 'i smon tshig bde chen dpal 'bar zes bya ba bźugs*. Author: Sixth Paṅ chen bla ma Blo bzañ thub bstan chos kyi nyi ma.⁸⁵
- 8.11 *Śambha la 'i žiñ bkod dañ chos rgyal rigs ldan gyi bla ma 'i rnal 'byor rjes 'dzin gsol 'debs 'chi kha 'i gdams pa smon lam bcas la gsum*. Author: the Sixth Paṅ chen bla ma Blo bzañ thub bstan chos kyi nyi ma.⁸⁶
- 8.12 *Śambha lar skye ba 'i smon lam dag žiñ bgrod pa 'i pho nya zes bya ba bźugs so*. Author: Sixth Paṅ chen bla ma Blo bzañ thub bstan chos kyi nyi ma.⁸⁷
- 8.13 *Śiñ bza' pañđi tā ho thog thun bźus dor stsal ba 'i śam smon rigs ldan źal bzañ lta ba 'i me loñ*. Author: Sixth Paṅ chen bla ma Blo bzañ thub bstan chos kyi nyi ma.⁸⁸
- 8.14 ⁸⁹ *Śam bha la 'i žiñ du skye pa 'i 'dzin pa 'i smon lam*.⁹⁰
- 8.15 *Śam bha la yi smon lam bźugs so*.⁹¹
- 8.16 *Śambha lai smon lam bźugs so*.⁹²
- 8.17 *Śambha-la-ħi-Smon-Lam-ħgrel-Ba*. Author: Bstan-Pahi-nima.⁹³
- 8.18 *Ka lā par 'jug pi smon tshig mgyogs 'gro 'i pho nya zes bya ba dañ rdza rtsi gi gtam rgyud bcas bźugs so*. Author: 'Broñ rtse yoñs 'dzin blo bzañ tshul khirms.⁹⁴

9. Geographical texts

- 9.1 *'Dzam gliñ rgyas bśad*. Author: sMin grol no mo ban *alias* Bla ma

⁸⁵ *op. cit.*, pp. 257–60.

⁸⁶ *op. cit.*, pp. 238–42.

⁸⁷ *op. cit.*, pp. 253–6.

⁸⁸ *op. cit.*, pp. 275–9.

⁸⁹ The entries 8.14.–8.18. cannot be specified further. The texts are not available in the Library of the Seminar für Sprach- und Kulturwissenschaft Zentralasiens, Universität Bonn. For the sake of completeness I nevertheless mention them here.

⁹⁰ MS., 4 foll., in: Helmut Eimer, *Tibetica Stockholmiensa. Handliste der tibetischen Texte der Sven-Hedin-Stiftung und des Ethnographischen Museums zu Stockholm* [materials from the period 1972–8, n.d., n.p. given, but in fact Bonn, 1986.], p. 216 (H. 6037.0).

⁹¹ MS., 5 foll., in: R. de Nebesky-Wojkowitz, *Catalogue of the Collections of Tibetan Blockprints and Manuscripts in the National Museum of Ethnology (Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde), Leiden – Holland*, Leiden 1953, Inv. No. 2740/M 49, No. 1491, p. 254.

⁹² 4 foll., two copies. In: Nebesky-Wojkowitz, *op. cit.*, Inv. No. Br.79/H 330 and 2740/H 425, No. 725, p. 184.

⁹³ No. 556, in: Gopi Raman Choudhary (comp.), *The Catalogue of the Tibetan Texts in the Bihar Research Society*, ed. Aniruddha Iha, Patna: Bihar Research Society, n.d., Vol. I, p. 93. Choudhary describes the text as follows: “Lines 6, letters 77, leaves 10a. Block: Bkra-shis-lhun-po.”

⁹⁴ The text is described by Smith, *Tibetan Catalogue*, Vol. I, p. 96–7. It consists of 26 foll. The second name of the author is Bya bral ba Ma ti shī la. He lived in the 18th century and was a pupil of the Third Paṅ chen bla ma and probably the tutor of the Fourth. Two copies of the same text are listed in Nebesky-Wojkowitz, *op. cit.*, No. 2, p. 1 (Inv. No. 2740/H 269 and H 527).

btsan po (died 1839).⁹⁵

9.2 *A Geography and History of Šambhala*. Author: Gar rje Kham sprul Rin po che.⁹⁶

There also seems to exist an oral tradition about the kingdom of Šambhala. Bernbaum⁹⁷ states that folktales about Šambhala are popular in Tibet, but he does not give a concrete example of such a tale, as he apparently did not collect these folktales. If the assumption of the existence of an oral tradition proves to be correct, then this material must be collected as soon as possible, because this tradition is vanishing quickly. Finally, we have to mention the paintings of the kingdom of Šambhala and its kings in mural paintings and *than ka*.⁹⁸ They were very popular in Tibet before the Chinese occupation.

II. TEXTS IN MONGOLIAN

1. *Histories of Religion*

1.1 *Šambala-yin qayan-u učir*.⁹⁹

1.2 *Šambala-yin 25-duyar qayan-u lalo-nar-i nomuγadqaqu teüke*.¹⁰⁰

1.3 *Bolur toli*. Author: Ĵimbadorji.¹⁰¹

2. *Prayers for Rebirth in Šambhala (iriügel)*

⁹⁵ This work, which was composed in 1820, has incorporated a lot of geographical information from western sources. It mixes the idea of Šambhala with Christopher Columbus who according to the text came from Genoa in the country of Šambhala (cf. also the article by T. W. Wylie, “Was Christopher Columbus from Šambhala?”, *Bulletin of the Institute of China Border Area Studies* [Taipei], No. 1 (July 1970), pp. 24–34). The ‘*Dzam gliñ rgyas šad*’ has been translated by Wylie in: *The Geography of Tibet according to the ‘Dzam-gling-rgyas-bšhad. Text and English Translation*, Rome: IsMEO, 1962. The passage concerning Šambhala is on Foll. 144b–146a.

⁹⁶ This small work, which I know only in English translation, was translated by Sherpa Tulku and Alexander Berzin, in: *The Tibet Journal* 3 (August 1978), pp. 6–8.

⁹⁷ Bernbaum, *The Mythic Journey and its Symbolism*, pp. 35–6.

⁹⁸ Cf. G. Tacci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, Rome 1949, Tanka no. 178, plates 211–13, and Bernbaum, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

⁹⁹ “This text is listed in the *Catalogue of the State Library*, Ulan Bator, 1937 (P. 175). It is a manuscript and consists of 51 foll. As, unfortunately, I do not have the opportunity to examine the text, I have to infer from the title that the work may deal with the history of the kingdom of Šambhala and its kings. The length of the text also suggests a kind of religious history.

¹⁰⁰ This manuscript of 18 foll. is also preserved in Ulan Bator (cf. *Catalogue of the State Library*, Ulan Bator, 1937, P. 175). As can be seen from the title, the work contains a list of the twenty-five rulers of Šambhala and their teaching of the *dharma* to the Unbelievers.

¹⁰¹ Only the third book of this Mongolian chronicle has been published, cf. W. Heissig (ed.), *Bolur Toli “Spiegel aus Bergkristall” von Ĵimbadorji (1834–1837)*, *Buck III: Geschichte der Mongolen*, Monumenta Linguarum Asiae Maiores, Series Nova, Vol. III, Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard, 1962. See also Ts. Damdinsüren, “Ülger domgijn ĵargalant oron Šambal” [Šambhala, the Happy Land of the Legends], in: *Zentralasiatische Studien*, 11 (1977), pp. 351–87. Pučkovskij, in his *Mongol’skie, Burjat-Mongol’skie i Ojratskie rukopisi i ksilografiy Instituta Vostokovedenija*, Vol. I, Istorija, pravo, Moscow–Leningrad 1957, pp. 60–8, gives a detailed description of the text (F 305); in Vol. 3, p. 63, he mentions Šambhala.

- 2.1. *Umaratu śambhala-yin oron-a törökü irüger orośibai*. Author: Third Paṅ chen bla ma Blo bzañ dpal ldan ye śes.¹⁰²
- 2.2. *Śambala-yin irügel*.¹⁰³
- 2.3. *Śambala-yin oron-u jokiyal*.¹⁰⁴
- 2.4. *Śambala-yin oron-u jokiyangγui bayidal ba qaγan-u üye daraya nuγud-un nom*.¹⁰⁵
- 2.5. *Nemejü jokiyaysan śambhala-yin silüg*. Author: Sixth Paṅ chen bla ma Blo bzañ chos kyi nyi ma.
- 2.6. *Ka-la-pa-yin jalbaril orośiba*.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰² Heissig, in *Mongolische Handschriften, Blockdrucke, Landkarten. = Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland*, Vol. I, Wiesbaden 1961, item 483, p. 259, describes the work in detail. The *irügel* is listed as HS. or. 265 of the PrSB, Berlin. The Seminar für Sprach- und Kulturwissenschaften Zentralasiens, Universität Bonn, also has a copy of the text (classmark: X 15/44).

¹⁰³ I cannot specify this *irügel* further, because it is not available to me. It is listed in the *Catalogue of the State Library*, Ulan Bator, 1937 (P. 192) and consists of 5 foll.

¹⁰⁴ A manuscript of 7 foll., listed in the *Catalogue of the State Library*, Ulan Bator, 1937 (P. 187).

¹⁰⁵ Also listed in the *Catalogue of the State Library*, Ulan Bator, 1937.

¹⁰⁶ 2 foll. *The prayer is found in the work*, Dbus-yin nom-un aimayyeke ba-a nuγud-tur nomlaysan-u nom-un yabudal-un jerge sayin qubitan-u qoyulai-yin čimeg kemegdekü, in *Tibetan*, dBus 'gyur chos sde che chuñ rnam su gsuñ ba'i chos spyod kyi rim pa skal bzañ mgrin rgyan źes bya ba bźugs. *The text is described in Farquhar*, *Mongolian Manuscripts and Xylographs in Washington*, No. 27, p. 194.