

People's Party, recently founded in Urga with the help of Russian revolutionaries, appeared in Verkhneudinsk to request Soviet support for liberation from China. The Soviet government found itself in a dilemma. They could not turn down the Mongols' appeal without discrediting their own claim to be the champion of the oppressed peoples; at the same time, they could not afford to antagonize the Chinese, then the most important nation in the Far Eastern anti-imperialist struggle. The Mongol delegates were kept waiting in great impatience for four months.

Suddenly, at the end of October, the Mongols were assured of Soviet support, because Ungern-Sternberg had entered Mongolia to use it as the base for counter-revolutionary offensive. In February 1921, he captured Urga from the Chinese and revived the Government of the Living Buddha. The Soviet leaders were convinced that Ungern was a tool for Japanese ambition. Japanese activists in Siberia were giving Ungern assurance of Japanese support, defying the official policy against an immediate expansion.

The Chinese refused Soviet proposals for a joint campaign against Ungern, and Soviet troops marched on Urga with the Mongolian People's Army, defeating Ungern and the Mongol troops of the Living Buddha's government, achieving a rapid revolution (July).

Though the Soviet fear of Japanese offensive was, at that time, somewhat exaggerated, the creation of the Mongolian People's Republic, in view of the later Japanese invasion of China, served to secure Soviet survival by preventing Japanese occupation of Outer Mongolia.

An article on the same subject, Fujiko Isono "Soviet Russia and the Mongolian Revolution of 1921", is found in *Past and Present*, Number 83, May 1979 (Oxford, England).

## On the Mādhyamika Philosophy of Tsoñ kha pa

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The Mādhyamika philosophy of Tsoñ kha pa (1357-1419), the founder of the *dGe lugs pa* sect of Tibetan Buddhism, was criticized by Go ram pa (1429-1489), a scholar of the *Sa skya pa* sect, in his *lTa bañi śan ḥbyed (TŚ)*. The aim of this paper is to clarify the theories on the Mādhyamika

philosophy which are peculiar to Tsoñ kha pa and to analyze the source of those theories through a study of the accounts in *TŚ*. According to *TŚ*, the theories peculiar to Tsoñ kha pa, which are not accepted by Go ram pa, are as follows:

Theory A: absolute negation is the highest reality. Theory B: the Svātantrika school of the Mādhyamika philosophy accepts that conventional reality is a product of one's distinctive being by own-characteristic. Theory C: the Prāsaṅgika school of the Mādhyamika philosophy accepts that the conventional reality is established through verbal activity. Theory D: the apprehension of objects as real is an obstruction of defilement. Theory E: the obstruction of recognition is the product of the defilement. Theory F: the *śrāvakas* and the *pratyekabuddhas* also understand the non-substantiality of all objects. Theory G: destruction is real. Theory H: store-consciousness does not exist in conventional terms. Theory I: self-cognition does not exist in conventional terms. Theory J: the Svātantrika school must employ the independent argument in order to prove the non-substantiality of objects, while the Prāsaṅgika school must not employ it.

Although it is certain that these ten theories are found in the main works of Tsoñ kha pa, some of these theories seem to have been advocated earlier by the Mādhyamika philosophers preceding Tsoñ kha pa, such as Candrakīrti (c. 600-650) and Red mdaḥ ba (1349-1412). Therefore, theory B only, which is not found in their works, can be determined as the theory peculiar to Tsoñ kha pa. Because theory B is not found in *gSer phreñ*, which Tsoñ kha pa wrote before he met with dBu ma pa, and because it is stated in *TŚ* that Tsoñ kha pa contrived the peculiar theories as mentioned above after he got inspiration from Mañjuśrī with the aid of dBu ma pa, we can conclude that theory B, the theory peculiar to Tsoñ kha pa, was produced by his contact with dBu ma pa.