THE SKYABS-MGON
—NIRMAL C. SINHA

I

The incarnation of Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara is universally known as Dalai Lama.

The title Dalai Lama (tale bla-ma) is of Mongol origin meaning "vast as the ocean". The Manchu Emperor used this term; the Western envoys to the Manchu court got this usage from the Chinese while the Russians got this direct from the Mongols, Buriats and Kalmyks.

In Tibet (and Tibetan speaking countries) the Dalai Lama is variously called Gyalwa Rinpoche (rgyal-ba rin-po-che, that is, intu-\textit{nata} or precious conqueror); Kunlun (kun-lun, that is, omnipresence), Cong-su (one on the highest Bhumi, that is, sovereign), Kyanggon Rinpoche (skyabs-mgon rin-po-che, that is, precious lord of refuge) or Kyanggon Bul (skyabs-mgon sng०-g or inmost lord of refuge). The last, that is, Kyanggon appears to be the official designation or lawful title used in State-papers; other titles could be added in official correspondence etc.

British official report: about Tibet during the rule of Dalai Lama XIII speaks of two titles, Kyanggon and Gyalwa Rinpoche (1). Charles Bell in enumerating the titles (1) give priority to "The Precious Protector" (Kyanggon Rinpoche). The English text of the first Tibetan memorandum to the Simla Conference (10 October 1913) described the Dalai Lama as Precious Protector or Protector (1). In the famous petition (1913) to the Dalai Lama XIII praying for his long life Tibetans addressed him as Kyanggon (4). The present Dalai Lama, that is, Dalai Lama XIV uses the title Kyanggon with prefix Gongga in the Tibetan text of the Constitution promulgated on 10 March 1963 (5).

All dates are in Christian era.

Diacritical marks are not used. Passages in Sanskrit and Tibetan appended in the Notes are in respective scripts.

Pronunciation of Tibetan words as in Central dialect.
The terms Lama (ba-ma Skt. guru), Chang-chub-isampa (kyang-chub-chos-dpal Skt. bodhisattva), Chen-re-sik (gyen-rigs Skt. avolokitesvara) and Kyangmon (skyabs-mgon Skt. not known) are discussed in this paper, the second in the series 'Prolegomena to Lamaist Polity'. As in the previous paper the bearing of doctrinal terms on secular life is studied.

II

"Previous to the Lama even the name of the Buddha did not exist" (6).

The spirit enshrined in this Tibetan adage was neither un-Buddhist nor un-Indian; though it might have been equally true of pre-Buddhist Tibetan norm (Bon: Shaman) in which the priest wielded considerable power.

In India the veneration for the preceptor/teacher/master is traceable to the Vedic age; in early Vedic times the word Acharya was more popular while later the word Guru; the word Sasta was also current before the Buddha.

The indispensability of teacher is admitted in the Upanishads. The etymological meaning of the term Upanishad is "sitting down near", that is, sitting down near the teacher. There is an element of esoteric in the Upanishad as there is a process of dialectic therein. Both presume a teacher. This need is so obvious that there may be no need to use the word for teacher even. As in the most famous exhortation for "seeking the best teacher", the actual expression is "seeking the best", Katha 1, 3, 14. Mandala II, 2, 12 advises search for a Guru who is learned in the scriptures and has realized the Absolute. In Tantrayog, 1, 11; 2 the pupil on graduation is enjoined to be one to whom the Acharya is the Deva. The concluding verse of Svetasvatara declares that the highest mystery of the Vedanta reveals to the high souled seeker who has the highest devotion for the Deva and for his Guru as for Deva(7).

Katha and Tantrayog are admittedly pre-Buddhist. Mandala is a post-Buddhist work. The Svetasvatara, according to Nalinaksha Dutta, "is no doubt pre-Buddhist and very likely formed the basis of the teachings of Alara Kalita and Rudraka Ramaputra, the spiritual teachers of Siddharcha Gautama" (8).

Brahad-dvata, a compendium of the deities and myths of the Rig Veda—composed acc. to Arthur Macdonell after 500 B.C. but in style and diction a Vedic workmanship acc. to the same authority—uses both the terms Acharya and Guru and sometimes synonymously(9). Guru is
however an omnibus word connoting any superior while Acharya, unlike
repugnant to the context, is an intellectual superior like the teacher.
It is not relevant to present here the fine distinctions or descriptive
classifications of Smriti (like Manu) or Dharmasutra (like Aparastha or
Gotama) (16). It is however necessary to notice the steady rise of the
priest (Purohitā: Brahmana) as a superior (Guru) from early Vedic times.
The Purohitā was the indispensable authority at the consecration of the
king. Horizontal crystallization of society into Varna with Brahmana
on the top set the protocol between the priest and the king. Even
though the colourful picture of the sacerdotal authority erecting the
temporal power as drawn by Jayavali and Coomaraswamy cannot be so
faithful to facts (11), the legend of Brahmana as the source of Khatra was
the-rel of social consensus. While the Rekharatyanasahā description of
the Brahmana as "the womb out of which the Khatra issued" (13) was
no doubt metaphorical, the Purohitā of the Vedic consecration was the
matrix for the Rajaguru in medieval Hindu Rashtra.

Be it for intellectual or spiritual objective the first stage in stri-
vings was to attach oneself to a teacher. It is significant that after renun-
ciation Prince Siddhārtha did not immediately make for a retreat in the
mountains or forests, he sought teachers and became disciple of Alara
Kulana and Brahmadatta subsequently. He made no doubt rejecting
their doctrines (11) and through different disciplines and processes forged
his own way to Enlightenment. As at the beginning of his quest the Buddha
sought teachers so at its end he sought disciples and, before he began his
missionary life, converted his quondam associates, the five Brahmana
ascetics. "There was no Acharya equal to him" (14) and for nearly half
a century he was "the Satta o'all mortals and gods" (15). Satta like Guru
is an omnibus word and would mean ruler (asaru karta/rajya) and parent
(pita) as well as a teacher versed in the Sastras. Satta became the spi-
nal of Buddha in chaste expression. Later, when the Guru (preceptor/
teacher) was equated to the Buddha, Guru was a good synonym
for Buddha.

In the beginning Bhagavan was the most popular form of addressing
the Buddha; Satta, that is, Guru had an intellectual or academic tone.
With the growth of Tantra, grew the cult of spiritual preceptor and
Satta or Guru became a popular form for describing the Buddha,
the original preceptor. It is not necessary for the present context
to trace the beginnings of Tantra and digress into the several theories
which profess to cancel each other. It is sufficient to note that in one
form or other Tantra was known to the Hindu Civilization (c. 1500-1500 B.C.)
as also to the Vedic Civilization (1500 B.C. - ). Tantra
was thus in existence in the Buddha's time; it is not known in what
form and to what degree the Buddha accepted it. 

31
When Buddhism was split into two Vehicles (say in the first century after Christ), Mahayana had fully accepted Tantra. Nagarjuna, the discoverer of Prasangika-Tantra, furnished a new philosophy for Tantra by the doctrine of Sunyata, the corpus of legends about Nagarjuna's alchemy and magic cropped up later when the cult of Guru was in full swing. The second great figure, Asanga (c.350), was the founder of Yoga school in Buddhism. Curiously enough Tantra and Guru-cult characterized contemporary Brahmanical religion. There is positive epigraphic evidence on Shivaite hagiology. The Mathura Inscription (c.380) speaks of adoration of Guru, lineage of Guru and even the gallery of Guru images. The Devi Bhagavata—though its extant texts were composed much later—expresses the sentiments of the age of saint Asanga and scholar Amarashishkara as if to corroborate the data from the Mathura Inscription. It says "The Guru is Brahma, the Guru is Vishnu and the Guru is Mahesvara. Salutation to the Guru who is the real Absolute" (117).

The period which witnessed the spread of Buddhism in Tibet (c.600-1100) was roughly the period when Tantra was the dominant cult in India. There was regular flow of the fresh developments from India into Tibet. In such process the quest for the right teacher was natural. Buddhist treatises on Tantra gave full sanction to such. Extracts may be made from three works of the eighteenth century: Abhayajñāntii, Jñānajñāntii and Prajñāparamitāchāya-jñāntii.

"In this world and other worlds there is none better than a Guru through whose kind offices the wise obtain so many perfections".

"The Guru is Sugata, Buddha and Dharmakaya".

"The Guru with requisite qualifications is nothing short of a ruler or a leader of the country" (118).

Buddhism in Tibet begins its victorious career with Padmasambhava (c.750-830) and significantly in Tibet he is known as Guru Rinpoche or Mahaguru. Padmasambhava and Sants-ragshita ordained the first 'Lamas'. The Tibetan word Lama corresponded to the Sanskrit word Guru and as the term Guru was not to be indiscriminately applied so the term Lama has been through centuries used in respect of a few categories of monks and priests and even lay scholars.

Tibetan canonical literature based on Indian sources as well as the tracts and treatises composed by Tibetan scholars and priests bear testimony to the paramount position of the Lama. The tract on the Awakening of Supreme Bliss (bde-rtsog-byang-lha) says "The Lama is the Bodhikā, the Lama is the Dharm and likewise the Lama is the Sangha."
To Nagarjuna is attributed this formula: "Abandon offerings to all others and make your sole offerings to the Lama. When the Lama is pleased you gain the wisdom of the omniscient" (19). Mipham (1049-1123) begins a song on old age and death thus: "I bow at the feet of the teacher, the Buddha of the three times" (21). An ancient Tibetan proverb affirms that without the auspices of the Lama even the blessings of the Buddha do not operate (22). Sakya Lama Drags-pa-gyal-mi-bhan (1147-1216) enjoined that the first salutation should be to the feet of the Lama (13).

Tibetan liturgy and iconography fully reflect the paramount position of the Lama. In the temples and monasteries from the Himalaya to the Arctic, the image of the founder or early protector of the sect (Guru Rimpoché, Je Atto, Mipham, Sakya Pandita or Tsong-kha-pa) is conspicuous. Even the most illiterate devotee knows that this practice does not suggest any slight for the Buddha because the Guru is nearer than the Buddha. Besides the more literate is conscious that there is no distinction between a Bodhisattva and a Buddha. The Yellow Sect (dge-lugs-pa) portrayal of the Buddha field with Tsong-kha-pa (1357-1419) in the centre and Siddhartha Gautama among the surrounding host of all Buddhas and Bodhisattvas has sanctity in this sentiment. Tsong-kha-pa himself had enjoined (24):

whether for this life or the next one must follow the noble friend (Lama).

Tsong-kha-pa's disciples evinced ability to administer the temporal needs of those who sought refuge in the Lama. This role was in accord with the ideology of Byang-chub-ser-pha (Bodhisattva).

III

"A hero with Bodhi-chitta takes upon himself the burden of others" (25).

A Bodhisattva thus figures in Tibetan imagery.

It is neither possible nor necessary to attempt an adequate exposition of the doctrine of Bodhisattva within the limits of this inquiry into political theories and institutions. The stages in the history of the Bodhisattva concept—from the Bodhisattva (singular) of the Jataka to the Bodhisattva (collective) on the eve of Mahayana’s migration to Tibet—with its ever expanding contents and facets belong to the field of religion and philosophy (26). Facts precisely necessary for an understanding of Bodhisattva as an institution in the Sanskrit are culled here from the Indian context. Etymologically a Bodhisattva is an
Enlightenment-Being, as Gautama himself was in his numerous previous lives (Jataka aspiring for Bodh). In Mahayana a Bodhisattva could be either celestial or terrestrial and in each category there could be many as in a way all the Bodhisattvas in different categories and grades were phantom or apparition-like bodies (Nirmanakayas) of the Absolute (Paramatma or Bodh).

The concept of Nirmanakaya, the Mahayana thinkers affirmed, was as old as Gautama Buddha and modern scholars do not reject this belief(17). Gopinath Karirajavant and see, traces the concept to a period anterior to Gautama Buddha; he notices the usage Nirmanachitta by the founder of Samkhya (i.e. Kapila who must have been a few generations earlier than Alara Kalama) and would find the beginnings of the doctrine of 'magical self-multiplicative power of the Supreme' in the Rg Veda(18).

The Saibhara-pundarika (composed in the first century B.C. and elaborated in the third & fourth centuries A.C.), one of the nine basic books of Mahayana and "the crown jewel of all Sutras", present (19) a glorious pageant of the Bodhisattvas: their might and majesty and their wisdom and compassion. If the book suffers from an ubiquity of Bodhisattvas it does not manipulate barriers between terrestrials and celestials. In fact the total effect of the pageant is to awaken faith in the terrestrial Bodhisattva. The terrestrial Bodhisattva was immanent with the community of believers while the celestial was transcendent.

The Prapuparamita (Transcendental Wisdom) in its earliest stage was a highly intellectual recipe for nihilism and quite beyond the grasp of the ordinary mind(20). In their endeavour to transform the doctrine for the highbrows and intellectuals into a religion for the masses, the monastic thinkers (Acharyyas) of Mahayana shifted the emphasis from Prajna (Wisdom) to Sraddha (Faith). Likewise the accent was shifted from the spiritual Conqueror (Jina) to the material Saviour (Bodhisattva). It was more desirable to awaken faith in a Bodhisattva (Manjari, Avalokitesvara or Samantabhadra) than to meditate on an ethereal/hypothetic Kula (Akhshobhya, Amitabha or Vairocana). And between the two Bodhisattvas (celestial and terrestrial) the one near at hand would be naturally more prized.

The Manushli Bodhisattva was in fact "the ideal Man of the Mahayana" as Edward Conze describes him(31). He could be householder or recluse; he could be reborn as a wealthy man or king. Obviously as a Nirmanakaya he could take any shape because his duties and functions would determine the choice. For preaching the Dharma the Bodhisattva would be a recluse or monk(32). The Sangha would therefore be better

34
described as the Gana of Bodhisattvas; an usage traceable in the Sutta-
mapudukka(13).

The altruism of Bodhisattva found its classic exposition in Bodhisattvabhumi of Saideva (4th century).—A Bodhisattva feels the joys and sorrows of others as his own; he loves and guards others as he,
loves and guards himself; he identifies with the poor and the lowly. A Bodhisattva’s resolve is of great use in the Sanghara or material
world (14).

The Bodhisattvabhumi (Asanga: c. 350) enumerates the acts of common welfare expected of a Bodhisattva; these include supply of material needs of life and provision of refuge. The grant of refuge is further emphasised as one of the five constant duties of a Bodhisattva(5). Saideva’s Sota-Samudaka quotes the Gandhara Sutra to say that the resolve of the Bodhisattva in the foundation of all material and moral
good, the annihilator of all poverty and the refuge of all beings(16).

Thus for the ordinary man, with ordinary intelligence and ordinary resources, the Bodhisattva could be the patron saint for their material welfare as well. In Tibet “the ideal Man of the Mahayana” became the national ideal. Santacshika, the joint founder of the first monastery (Sanye), is immortalised under the epithet “Bodhisattva
as scholar”’. The kings propagating the Dharma were recognized as Bodhisattva as well as Nirmakaya. The element of hero in a Bodhisattva was emphasized in translating the term from Sanskrit into Tibetans; the suffix ‘dpah’ (i.e. ‘dpah-ro or hero) was added after ‘byang-chub-
sems’ instead of a simple ‘pa’ as adjectival termination (37). One might be a great man otherwise but his popularity would be assured only if he was called a Byang-chub-sems-dpah. A Guru (Lama) could be one
par excellence if he was known to be a Bodhisattva (Byang-chub-sems-
dpah). Down to our times a popular hero for Bhanga-sems-dpah, in Central Tibet at least, is Spirul-sku (Nirmakaya). This has been so for the simple reason that a Sprul-sku of a celestial or terrestrial Being was by a large ‘the ideal Man of the Mahayana’, the Saviour for this world at(4) or the other world. The Lama as the custodian of the script, the ‘organiser of schools, the master of occult and the adviser of the king could no doubt be the Bodhisattva for the entire
community in times of distress. Besides the laaman could come very near the ‘house of Lasas’ (maha-brang) as much because of the socio-economic climate of Tibet(38) as for the needs of firm propagation; there was no distance between the monks and common men as was in India or in a Therivada country to-day. Thus in times of distress refuge in the Bodhisattva-gana, the Bramaha-brang, was in the logic of history.

35
May Lokesvara protect you as he sits,
surrounded by his mass of rays,
on Mount Potalaka, which echoes
with the roar of its deep caves;
who this is like the moor within the mass of waves
churned in the Sea of Milk by the mountain Mandara,
whirling with heavy roar
and unwavering because of its great speed

Jnanesmitri(19)

This verse composed in Bengal around 1050 could have been a
typical reflex of Tibetan mind in 1050 when the Great Fifth incensation
of Avalokitesvara (gnyen-ras-grub) “looked down from on high” the
soaring palace-temple on Marpo Ri (Red Hill) which he called Potala.

In the Mahayana pantheon fully developed in India and followed
later in Tibet and Mongolia, also China and Japan, Avalokitesvara is the
protector and saviour of all living beings: the lord and sovereign of that
suffering world. Yet his origin is obscure; Har Dyal and Edward Conze
find Mañju and Mitra elements in the conception(40). However the
basic Mahayana Sutras, the Subhutiapundarikas, in the concluding chap-
ters, depict Avalokitesvara in no uncertain light. He is decidedly a
prominent Bodhisattva though he has to share this prominence with
Mañju. A full chapter (XXIV) is devoted to Avalokitesvara and his
powers and capabilities. Faced with any mortal danger—fire or water,
monster or demon, fall from precipice or hit with thunderbolt,
host of armed enemies or swords of executioners, witchcraft or fell
disease—the afflicted on mere invocation will be protected by Avalokites-
vara. Positive boon like a child to childless can like wise be obtained from
Avalokitesvara. He can infallibly exorcise all mundane sufferings(41).

His compassion is not a passive virtue or static quality; his is an
active personality, full of dynamism; he is “unwavering because of great
speed” to use the words of Jnanesmitri. To the afflicted mortals he
is the jewel of the Bodhisattvas; he is the Sungha (Bodhisattva Group)
Bane.

In the early Mahayana eight Bodhisattvas are prominent viz. Mañju,
Vajrapani, Avalokitesvara, Kshitigarbha, Sarvaivaraanavishakdhara, Aka-
ragachha, Manjreka and Sarantabhada. These are “a group of equal rank.
Perhaps Mañju is regarded as primus inter pares. In the later Mahayana
the oligarchy is changed into an absolute monarchy. Avalokitesvara is

36
first and the rest nowhere. He absorbs all the virtues, powers, functions and prerogatives of the other Bodhisattvas, because he is the Lord of Mercy. He occupies the supreme position in the Universe and reigns without rival".

The grandeur of Avalokitesvara is depicted in Avalokitesvara-pundarika-samudra-garaha (abhin. Kanandaraja): the detailed descriptions of the basin of the qualities of Avalokitesvara. Its text composition dates considerably earlier than the fourth century while the complete extant text (43) perhaps belongs to the seventh century. Its scheme is the glorification of the compassionate and mighty redeemer Avalokitesvara and is punctuated with his many exploits of rescue. The historic role of the Kanandaraja however lies in the exposition of the Six Mystic Syllables: OM MANI PADME HUM which Avalokitesvara is the creator of the world donated to the world (44).

In Tibet (and other Lamasite countries) OM MANI PADME HUM symbolizes the Dharma and even the formula about the origin of all objects. YE DHARMA HETU PRAHIKREVA, takes a second place. In Tibetan legend Avalokitesvara in his compassion took the shape of a monkey and begot the Tibetan race. (i.e. mankind). The ubiquitous notice of the Six Mystic Syllables — on rocks and boulders, stupas and temples, prayer wheels and altars—is in the present writer’s observation, a thanksgiving for the precious gift of human life, an opportunity for working towards Bodhidharma. Besides the legend is a reminder to modern science that a millennium before Charles Darwin, the Tibetan intuition grappled with the doctrines of ‘natural selection’ and ‘survival of the fittest’.

As the begetter of the Tibetan race Srap-nam-grigs was naturally thought of as its protecting deity. The first great king Song-btsan-sgampo (c. 645-650) was recognized as the Sprod-skru (Nirmakpya) of the Father of the People while his scholar-minister Thonsi Sambhava was found to be Hyan-dpal (Manjari). Only two of the great king’s successors were found to be Sprod-skru of the same. The incarnation of Sprod-nam-grigs, the topmost of ninety one Byang-chub-sun-dpal, could not be a mundane affair and his mortal forms were few and far between. The tradition about Sprod-nam-grigs however grew from strength to strength.

In their adoration for the Founder and Protector, the Tibetans moved towards the summit of monotheism (and not mere heathenism with myths of Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, Dharma and etc) when they described Sprod-nam-grigs as the sole God of the Land of Snows (44). Indian reformer Atisa and his Tibetan disciple Hbron-ston (1043-1064) reckoned with this spirit and enumerated the four Mgon-skabs (Lorek of
Refuge thus: Gautama Buddha, merciful avalokiteshvara, goddess Tara and guardian of faith Achala(46).

The three royal patrons of Dharma — Song-btsan-sgam-po, Khris-tsong-dde-btsan and Ral-pa-chen — were incarnations of Syan-ras-ggugs and the next was Rbron-ston himself. The traditions, recorded in successive centuries, agree on these four names. The next name unanimously agreed in different traditions is that of S-wchen Kun-khyah-myungpo (1092–1158). There was no attempt in any particular lineage (monastic or monastic) to have the incarnation to themselves(47). The followers of Tson-khapa (1357-1419) made the bold bid and got approval of all Tibetans to fourteen successive Spiral-skus of the Sole God of Tibet: Dge-dun-grub (1391–1475) to Bstan-bzin Rgya-mtsho (b. 1535).

"Lord, Thou art the most excellent Refuge to go for"

Dun-chos-palmo-phas-po

When the hierarch of the Yellow Sect was accepted by people of all Sects as the incarnation of the Sole God of Tibet, the hierarch’s title to the sole kingship or monastic sovereignty was a foregone conclusion, particularly because the other Sects did not accept the reforms introduced by Tsong-kha-pa and his two disciples. Loyalty to the Dalai Lamas(48) was in expectation to the topmost Bodhisattva who could protect against sufferings of this world and in gratitude to the father of the People; this would not demand surrender of doctrinal sentiments. The two great, Fifth and Thirteenth Dalai Lamas, for free supporting the Yellow Sect bigotry (which included suppression and forcible conversion of Old Sect monasteries), tolerated the Old Sect teachings and even drew upon these teachings(49). Thus for other Sects the Sole God was above the Established Church. The Dalai Lama was the alken tie which held together the different Sects and the dispersed areas. The plenitude potestas of the Dalai Lama rested on the popular obedience while the potesta liminiae of the Heavenly Kingdom (Dgah-lun-pha-brag) originated in the Established Church(50). Each of the roles BLA-MA, BYANG-CHUB-SEMS-DPAH and SPYAN-RAS-GZIGS had sanction for exercise of temporal authority and the three roles combined in the hierarch of Yellow Sect could render him the Rex in Western expression. But the monks of Ganden, Drepung and Sera had the genius to seek the raison d’être of political power in the fundamentals of the Dharma. They traced this back to the earliest teachings known and accepted over the entire Buddhist world in both Vehicles. They designated their hierarch as SKYAB-
MGGN. From the very beginning the grant of Skyabs (Sk. Saran) has been the right as well as the obligation of Mgon (Sk. Nara). As the Tibetan rendering of the Slobdonmogtserdo quotes a devotee addressing the Buddha: "Mgon-po, Thou art the most excellent Skyabs" (91). The Buddha had offered, as the Sakyas Lama (Chos-rgyal-lha-phags-pa 1727-1280) put it, "Skyabs to one who has no Mgon" (92). Through parables and prophecies the Buddha had promised appearance at the end of the world or in time of distress (93), not unlike that in the Bhagavadgita (94).

When Righteousness Declines, O Bharata! When Wickedness Is strong, I rise, from age to age, and take Visible shape, and move a man with men, Sackcuring the good, thrusting the evil back, And setting Virtue on her seat again.

(Edward Arnold's transl. in verse)

Such appearance (Nirmanakaya or Sprul-skra) was never so badly needed as in times of anarchy.

The kingdom built by Snang-btsan-sgam-po (c.641-650) came to an end with the assassination of the apostate Glang-darma (c.842). A process of slow but steady disintegration set in. There was no central power and the rise and fall of numerous principalities did not make for peace and security for the people. The native chronicles are as confused as the events for three centuries and a half (c.850-1200). Two facts stand out clearly. First, after a period of stagnation, the Dharma made a full resurgence, a renaissance, with Atisha's propagation (1047-1054). Second, both for their own protection as well as for that of their 'parish' the nobles of different sects began building monasteries; two sects, Kagyu and Sakyas, did well. In grandeur and authority they soon superseded and replaced the castles of the pastoral and nomadic lords. People oppressed by the decadent aristocrats or the thankgri-pa came for refuge to their respective monasteries and the abbot did not disappoint them.

The rule of the Sakyas Lamas or that of the Kagyu Lamas (and Phag-mo-gru-pa) needs no narration here (115). The Lama rulers of the thirteenth century and following saved Tibet from Mongol anarchy while all countries and peoples from Sri (Valaparisa) to Panchala (Peking) had experienced these. Be it their mastery of occult or the impact of their Dharma on the eclectic Mongol mind, the savages had proved their statesmanship; the Bodhisattva as statesman became the the Ragjaguru (Tusi or Bakshi) of the most warlike dynasty on record in Asia and Europe. The Sword of Transcendental Knowledge—the Sakyas Lamas were in the lineage of Manjuri—brought down the Sword of
raked power. The Adamantine Thunderbolts—the Kargyu Lamas were in the lineage of Vāradhāra—calmed down the thunder from Altai-Kara-korum. The Lamas not only saved Tibet from invasions; they made Tibet a first-class power of the day.

The titles of these Lamas, who organized full refuge from internal disorder and external aggression, are of direct interest in the present discussion. A Lama ruler would ipso-facto be Chos-rgyud (Dharmajra) and was so in fact and forra. To the devotess in general a Lama ruler was Mgon-skabs (Lord of Refuge) in both temporal and spiritual sense. These Lamas themselves did not use the epithet Mgon-skabs or Skabs-njöng for reasons not clear today. In oral tradition down to our day the devotess are known to have called them so. In correspondence addressed to the Sakya hierarchy down to our day the title Skabs-njöng has been customary(56).

Thus when the Yellow Sect rose into political ascendancy, from the Third Incarnation Bonam Rgya-mtsho onwards, Skabs-njöng was in current usage. If the Great Fifth made official use of the title, it was only appropriate for Snyan-ras-grg; the Sole God and Protector of Tibet. The Dalai Lama was indeed the Skabs-njöng par excellence(57).
NOTES

0. It is necessary to mention several theories and controversies if only to affirm that these theories do not affect the historicity or sequence of the events as narrated in this paper.

The various dates for Saddharmapundarika (chs I-XX) are first century B.C., first century A.C., and second century A.C. The later chapters (XXI-XXVII) are dated fourth century to sixth century.

Karandavyula was composed between fourth and seventh centuries.

Nagarjuna’s dates range from 58 B.C. to 150 A.C. Asanga is dated between 350 and 450 A.C.; definitely after Nagarjuna as in Tibetan tradition also.

Thonmi Sambhota was not the first to introduce Indic script into Tibet. It is even suggested (Roy Andrew Miller) that Thonmi is a fictitious figure. (Fact remains that adaptation of Indic script was finalized in the seventh century and if Stong-btsan-sgam-po had a scholarly minister the latter was apotheosized as Manjari).

No epigraphic or contemporary evidence is available so far to vouch for the usage Lama (bla-ma) in the seventh century and even in the eighth. In the beginning the word used was ban-de, Nobs-drup, Rab- byung or Mikhan-po. (The terminology does not affect the role and status of Guru).

The treatises Mani-bkah-bhum (attributed to seventh century) and Padma-bkah-thang (attributed to eighth century) were padded with later events, prophecies etc. till the seventeenth century. (This paper supports the position till 1670.)

Likewise Bkah-gdams-phas-chen and Bkah-gdams-bu-chen attributed to Atisa and his disciples were enlarged through centuries. (Narrative in this paper guards against anachronism.)

Giuseppe Tucci: Tibetan Painted Scrolls (Rome 1949) discusses the traditions of Tibetan literature.

1. Military Report of Tibet (Calcutta 1910) lists p.113 the titles thus: Kyanggon Rimpochhe, Gyalwa Rimpochhe, Buk Lama and Kyanggon Buk. Who’s Who in Tibet (Calcutta 1938) lists p.3 thus: Gyalwa
Rimpoche, Kyabgon Rimpoche or Kundun. My own impression is
that during the Regency, when there was no Dalai Lama functioning,
the title Gyalwa Rimpoche was in greater use. Lhing Ating Sonam
Tobchön confirms this.

3. Reproduced in The Boundary Question between China and Tibet
(Peking 1946), pp.1-4.
4. English translation of the petition and the Dalai Lama's reply
will be found in Bell: op.cit pp 337-338.

5. नेपाल कमल/नेपाल / कल originate.

6. नेपाल कमल/नेपाल / जनक / नेपाल कमल/नेपाल / कल / कल

7. राजा आए प्रथम वर्षवीकरण

8. राजा आए प्रथम वर्षवीकरण

9. Arthar Macdonell's edition (Harved Oriental Series) -
Acharya Ii, 117; vi, 156 & 157; vi, 138; vi, 139; vi, 91; & viii, 90.
Guru III, 143; iv, 601; v, 103 & 109; & vii, 35.

10. For Acharya/Upaniṣada/Guru (different persons) Kane: History
of Dharmaśāstra (Poona 1930-62), Vol II: Pt I, pp.312-4 and Vol IV,
p.14 may be seen.
Sabdhakshpadma (Radhakanta Datta) quotes Kanna Parama-

and A.K. Coovuraruwra: 'Spthapta Anuratri and Temporal Power in the
Indian Theory of Government (New Haven 1947). For an objective view
see U.N. Ghoshal: Studies in Indian History and Culture (Calcutta 1969).
pp 231-236. A description of the ritual is in J.C. Heesterman: The
Ancient Indian Royal Coronation (The Hague 1957).

12. The word 'Tsasala' is also used to describe the term 'Bakthi'.

13. For the discipline of Guna, learned from Akra Kajuma and
Rudrata Rasupatra see Dutt: Early Mosaic Buddhism, p.88. Radha-
krishnan sums up the situation thus: "He possibly learnt from them
the need for belief, good conduct, and the practice of meditation, though
the content of their teaching seemed to him unsound". The Dharmap-

Political secession of the priestly houses can be noticed in Vedic society. Arthur Berriedale Keith: The Religion and Philosophy of the
Also Macdonell, Fede Index, entry on Purandar. 

11. 14: 11
14. न है अनुषंप्तोऽत्सं, सदेश में न है विज्ञात। गृहस्थीसिंह सोहसिंह, निसिंह न है नवम्भुर्गको।
मातकालिन्योऽह भमखक्यक्यन।

15. देर-नुमायला शाश्व।

16. The inscription as read by Devadatta Ramakrishna Bhandarkar is reproduced in Epigraphic indices, Vol.XXI.

17. गृहस्थाना गृहस्थानद्वारपूर्वाकर्षणः।
गृहस्थान द्वार पूर्वाकर्षणम्।

dhâma prabhâmitā
dhâma prabhâmitā
dhâma prabhâmitā
dhâma prabhâmitā
dhâma prabhâmitā
dhâma prabhâmitā
dhâma prabhâmitā
dhâma prabhâmitā
dhâma prabhâmitā
dhâma prabhâmitā
dhâma prabhâmitā
dhâma prabhâmitā
dhâma prabhâmitā
dhâma prabhâmitā
dhâma prabhâmitā
dhâma prabhâmitā
dhâma prabhâmitā
dhâma prabhâmitā
dhâma prabhâmitā
dhâma prabhâmitā
dhâma prabhâmitā
dhâma prabhâmitाः
dhâma prabhâmitाः
dhâma prabhâmitाः
dhâma prabhâmitाः
dhâma prabhâmitाः
dhâma prabhâmitाः
dhâma prabhâmitाः
dhâma prabhâmitाः
dhâma prabhâmitाः
dhâma prabhâmitाः
dhâma prabhâmitाः
dhâma prabhâmitाः
dhâma prabhâmitाः
dhâma prabhâmitाः
dhâma prabhâmitाः
dhâma prabhâmitाः
dhâma prabhâmitाः
dhâma prabhâmitाः
dhâma prabhâmitाः
dhâma prabhâmitाः
dhâma prabhâmitाः
dhâma prabhâmitाः
dhâma prabhâmitाः
dhâma prabhâmitाः
dhâma prabhâmitाः
dhâma prabhâmitाः
dhâma prabhâmitाः
dhâma prabhâmitाः
dhâma prabhâmitाः
dhâma prabhâmitाः
dhâma prabhâmitाः
dhâma prabhâmitाः
dhâma prabhâmitाः
dhâma prabhâmitाः
dhâma prabhâmitाः
dhâma prabhामक्यक्यन।

18. आचार्याने पत्राश्राधाः के नोकरी सक्राराः।
द्वार आश्वास्त्र बापुरे निकड़तीनेको मुखः।

Adhyayadhish cited in Boneytosh Bhattacharyya: Setubandha (Gorakshad Orienta Series), Vol II p. liv fn.

मनोहर शृणुनागय: संस्कृताङ्गाः।
संवेग भीमायो: काम्यो: भीमाय: ३ १।
अध्यात्माश्रयिः सुस्माः।
सम्बंधनमहस्याय: काम्यो: भीमाय: ३ २।

dhâma prabhâmitā
dhâma prabhâmitā
dhâma prabhâmitā
dhâma prabhâmitā
dhâma prabhâmitā
dhâma prabhâmitā
dhâma prabhâmitā
dhâma prabhâmitā
dhâma prabhâmitā
dhâma prabhâmitाः
dhâma prabhâmitाः
dhâma prabhाय: ३ १।

dhâma prabhाय: ३ १।

dhâma prabhाय: ३ १।

dhâma prabhाय: ३ १।

dhâma prabhाय: ३ १।

dhâma prabhाय: ३ १।

dhâma prabhाय: ३ १।

dhâma prabhाय: ३ १।

dhâma prabhाय: ३ १।

dhâma prabhाय: ३ १।

dhâma prabhाय: ३ १।

dhâma prabhाय: ३ १।

dhâma prabhाय: ३ १।

dhâma prabhाय: ३ १।

dhâma prabhाय: ३ १।

dhâma prabhाय: ३ १।

dhâma prabhाय: ३ १।

dhâma prabhाय: ३ १।

dhâma prabhाय: ३ १।

dhâma prabhाय: ३ १।

dhâma prabhाय: ३ १।

dhâma prabhाय: ३ १।

dhâma prabhाय: ३ १।

dhâma prabhाय: ३ १।

dhâma prabhाय: ३ १।

dhâma prabhाय: ३ १।

dhâma prabhाय: ३ १।

dhâma prabhाय: ३ १।

dhâma prabhाय: ३ १।

dhâma prabhाय: ३ १।

dhâma prabhाय: ३ १।

dhâma prabhाय: ३ १।

dhâma prabhाय: ३ १।

dhांस्कृतां श्रीमत्यः संहस्त्रा यहं निश्चितेऽनं भीमाय: ३ १।

द्वाराघरे कुटे अवश्य बाह्यातिन्याशिरसेन ३ २।

बुधसाहो ज्ञापितम ३ २।
Feitimsayatiritsu-jatpiriddha and Jatrapiriddhi are reproduced in Benoytosh Bhattarcharya : Two Tegyana Works (Gaekwad Oriental Series).
For similar sentiments in Brahmanical Tantra, John Woodroffe (Arthur Avalon): Principles of Tantra (Madras 1960), chs XII & XIV and Introduction to Tantra Sutras (Madras 1956), pp 63-67 may be seen.
For the sublime aspects of Guru see also Max Arthur Macauliffe: The Sikh Religion (Oxford 1909).

19. भ्रातार्काः हृदयगताः प्रियांताः [भ्रातार्काः हृदयगताः प्रियांताः]

20. संवेदितः प्रकाश्युक्तिः पुनः हृदयमेव च [संवेदितः प्रकाश्युक्तिः पुनः हृदयमेव च]

22. नामितानीतिक बुद्धिमत्त पाहिक रूपमा स्पष्टित गरिन्छ 
अर्थमा नोक्तेको सारहर्द्दयमा रहेको हामी?

23. निजीको क्रियाजातीको नयाःमध्यमानुसार गरिन्छ?

24. नामितानीतिक बुद्धिमत्त पाहिक रूपमा स्पष्टित गरिन्छ 
अर्थमा नोक्तेको सारहर्द्दयमा रहेको हामी?

25. नामितानीतिक बुद्धिमत्त पाहिक रूपमा स्पष्टित गरिन्छ 
अर्थमा नोक्तेको सारहर्द्दयमा रहेको हामी?


28. Gopinath Kaviraj: *Aspects of Indian Thought* (Burdwan University 1946), pp. 137-137. This subject is involved with another parallel
development' in Brahmanism and Buddhism: Atrma and Tathagatagarbha. Considerations of space forbid any attempt to present the findings of Suzuki, Comse and Gokhale.

29. A standard English translation is by Kern in *The Sacred Books of the East*. Nalinakaha Dutt (and Mironov) edition of the text (Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta) is followed in this paper.

30. In this paragraph I generally follow the analysis and chronology of Edward Conze: The Development of Prajna paramita Thought in Buddhism and Culture (Suzuki Ninetieth Birthday Volume 1960) and *The Prajnaparamita Literature* (The Hague 1960). The accent on Manushi Bodhisattva is my own.


32. *Saddharmapundarika*, ch I, verses 13-43

33. *Saddharmapundarika*, ch IX, lines preceding verse 12; ch XIV, para two; ch XX, para three.

34. भोजिर्यात्मकत्वं संता रीति फलं महा।

35. अनाधिकाराः नगम: सार्यवायु सादिः

36. तथाप्रयासमुत्सुवणी वरिष्ठाः भोजिर्यात्मकाः छोड़नारा विविधवरोपयम्

37. वरीरशब्दामः समुदायसाधनम्

38. विनाशायमंद्सलाहसुः

39. विनाशायमंद्सलाहसुः

40. अनाधिकाराः दु:खिनाः कृपानानामहादाहस्यम्

41. अनाधिकाराः दु:खिनाः कृपानामहादाहस्यम्

42. अनाधिकाराः दु:खिनाः कृपानामहादाहस्यम्

43. अनाधिकाराः दु:खिनाः कृपानामहादाहस्यम्

44. अनाधिकाराः दु:खिनाः कृपानामहादाहस्यम्

45. अनाधिकाराः दु:खिनाः कृपानामहादाहस्यम्

46. अनाधिकाराः दु:खिनाः कृपानामहादाहस्यम्

47. अनाधिकाराः दु:खिनाः कृपानामहादाहस्यम्
37. "The hero as Bodhisattva" would be the appropriate English form for Tibetan expression Byang-chub-sems-dpal. A Tibetan dissertation on Heroes and Hero-Worship would be oz the hero par excellence, Bodhisattva.

38. This question of the Tibetan ecology and Mahayana is under detailed study elsewhere.


41. Saddharmapundarika ch XXIV particularly the verses at the end. Verse 25 sums up Avalokitesvara as saviour, refuge and recourse in death disaster and calamity.

42. Pp. 45-46. Mahavatsupatti lists 91 Bodhisattvas with 3-valokitesvara as topmost.

His numerous forms (including a set of 108 as in Nepal) and his two popular forms (a handed as the Jewel of the Sangha and 11-headed as the Great Compassion) express the paramountcy of Avalokitesvara. For these forms see Bhattacharyya: op.cit, Walter Clark: Two Lanasttic Paintings (Harvard 1937/New York 1965) and Alice Getty: Guia of Northern Buddhism (Oxford 1918/Tokyo 1962.)


45. दशभर्त्त्युपतिः

46. अष्टकंपपतिः अष्टकंपपतिः अष्टकंपपतिः अष्टकंपपतिः अष्टकंपपतिः

47. The different traditions recording the lineage of Spyan-ras-grzigs are found in Bhad-giam-pa-chos, Lugs-pa-chen-pshi-medred-rnam, Kong-med gnyi-brum etc. Giuseppe Tucci: Tibetan Painted Scrolls, Vol I may be seen.

Sarat Chandra Das on Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow (Calcutta 1903/1945) presents the current (1890-96) Gelugpa version of Atita having inspired and IIbrom-ston having founded the Graduated Hierarchy (i.e. the lineage of the Dalai Lama).

For a detailed exposition of the lineage of Spyan-ras-grzigs down to Dalai Lama VII as in a set of painted scrolls from Peking, see Tom Schmid: Savites of Mankind (Stockholm 1961).

48. ‘Loyalty to the Dalai Lama’ is the subject matter of an elaborate study shortly. It is not capable of presentation within the limits of this paper. Besides brevity is ruled out when ideas and institutions of one language (Tibetan) see expressed in another (English). For a satisfactory account of ‘The Dalai Lama: His function, his associates and his birth’ Marco Pallis had to resort to Sanskrit, Tibetan, Greek and Latin coinage in his The Way and the Mountain (London 1960).

It may be noted here that the Tibetan loyalty to the Dalai Lama is deeper though different in quality than loyalty to the national emblem in modern (Western) sense. It is not to be confused with the personality cult which a modern nation sports today.

49. This is little recognized by even the Tibetologists. Helmut Hoffmann in The Religions of Tibet (London 1961) is an exception; he makes clear reference to Dalai Lama V’s deep interest in Old Sect teachings, pp. 177-4. I have it on the authority of several trustworthy monks and scholars in Central Tibet that Dalai Lama XIII, inspite of the
puritas. Pha-bong-kha, was most deeply tolerant of Old Sect teachings. This is confirmed by Denzong Gyalmyin Kunzang Dechen Tshomo, a daughter of the ancient Ragsarl House and a considerable scholar herself.

During my visits in Central Tibet twelve years ago I learned that the present Dalai Lama (XIV) and the present Karmapa Lama (XVI) had made such friendly relations which reduced the ancient tension between the Gelugpa and the Kargyupa. (The Karmapa lineage began in 1110 while the Gelugpa in 1391.)

There is a danger in using the terminology of Roman Law in connexion with a medieval Asian society as I have shown in Tibet: Consideration on Inner Asian History (Calcutta, 1967), pp. 19-25. A few Latin expressions are used now with confidence in their suitability.

The Dalai Lama enjoyed absolute homage and allegiance, a plenitude of powers which it would be sacrilege for a Tibetan to desire. The government called the Heavenly Kingdom had somewhat limited powers arising from (a) several instruments of executive working as checks and balances and (b) its fundamental weakness of being a Gelugpa oriented “Cencal Tibet” government. Loyalty to the Dalai Lama is distinct from loyalty to the Heavenly Kingdom may be illustrated from the Khampa attitude.

It is well known that the tribes of Khams were not law abiding. What is not so well known is that they were not loyal or submissive to the Heavenly Kingdom and its agents. While the Khampas had no compunction in robbing the Khams granary and bureaucrats besides refusing to pay taxes, their anxiety to send offerings to the Dalai Lama or to restore robbed baggage bound to be Dalai Lama’s has gone into legend.

The Chinese (Manchu and Republican) drive to the west and consequent expansion of Inner Tibet (Chinese Tibet) were possible because of the Heavenly Kingdom’s loose hold over Khams, where large blocs of Old Sect believers lived. Khampa nationalist reforms programs involving both Old Sects and Gelug had early support from the Chinese; this made the Chinese Liberation of Khams easy. George Patterson: Tibet in Revolt (London 1966) gives some interesting details.

When the Khampas realized that the Liberation would be completed with the end of their Dharma and Bodhiatsa Avalokitesvara, they did not wait for the word from the Heavenly Kingdom. The Khampa revolt (1956-59) was a typical Khampa affair. They crowned their movement with the escorting of the incarnation into safety (March 1959) and several in the escort party returned to fight and die in typical Khampa fashion.

50
The Dalai Lama’s Flight is rightly prized as a remarkable feat of bravery and organization. The Khamdijas did it with “tears, blood and sweat”. Their loyalty to the Dalai Lama was in inverse ratio to their submission to the Heino only Kings.

51. [Image: 101x543 to 505x1183]

52. [Image: 101x543 to 505x1183]

53. [Image: 101x543 to 505x1183]

54. The extract is made from Giuseppe Tucci’s edition (Cock-wad Oriental Series). Haribhadra is dated in the eighth century by Ugyen Shastri and in the tenth century by Maurice Winternitz.

55. Giuseppe Tucci: Tibetan Painted Scrolls, Vol 1 and Hugh Richardson: The Karmapa Sect in Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society 1958-59 may be seen. The only Mongol invasion (1246) was a petty raid in comparison with invasions elsewhere.


57. The people of Inner Mongolia called the Dalai Lama Sakyabning. McHarg perhaps to distinguish him from others (like Panchen or Sakyab) also called Sakyabning.