CHHOS SRID GNYIS LDAN

—NIRMAL C. SINHA

A description of the traditional Tibetan government (1642-1951) was Chhos-srid-gnyis-ladan, that is, one which is possess of both Dharma (Chhoṣ) and samsara (Srid). While in organizational sense Chhos-srid-gnyis-ladan meant a dynasty of clerical and lay elements, in ideological sense it meant a synthesis. In this view Chhos-legs (the norm of Dharma) and byign-ten-legs (the norm of Samsara) are complementary components of the mundane norm. Was this concept in accordance with the traditions of Buddhism, Indian and Tibetan? For any discussion of this question, it is essential to underline that the word ‘religion’ is only one and an inadequate rendering of the word Dharma, and that the Tibetan word Chhos expresses the multiple and varied content of the Sanskrit form Dharma.²

(i)

The Brahmanical (Hindu) goal of liberation (Moksha) is to be attained through a balanced pursuit of virtue (Dharma), wealth (Artha) and pleasure (Kama).¹ For the man in society there is no inconsistency between Dharma and Artha or between Dharma and Kama as material well-being in the means for moral endeavour.¹ In Vaiseshika view, material prosperity (Abhidharma) as well as beatitude (Nirvāṇa) are realized through Dharma.⁴ Right from the Vedic times there has been a quest for harmony between the spiritual and the temporal needs of existence. In time this became the dominant ethos of Brahmanical (Hindu) civilization and had its reflection on the State.

In the Vedic scale of values Dharma was atonmost, the pursuit of sacrifices and rituals was superior to that of governments and war, and the priest was the kingmaker.⁵ This was soon challenged. In the interests of a frail and existence Rajasarg (science of government) was equated to Dhrimaṣāstra; Arthast navya (economics) and Dūnakātavya (politics) were duly admitted into the category of sublime sciences.⁶ It was realized that “when the polity becomes lifeless, the Three Vedas sink and all the Dharma completely decay”.⁷ Therefore the custodian of the polity, the Kšatriya Varna, effectively showed the supremacy of the Brahmana Varna. By a complex code of legal actions the

Concluding paper of the series ‘Prolegomena to Lamaist Policy’.

13
Brahmana perpetuated his first place and continued to be the power behind the throne. There was no stigma for the Brahmana to be engaged in Artha or Dharma as the Rajyavrata was sublimated into Rajadharm.

"The Rajadharm is the refuge of the entire world.
In Rajadharm is found every form of renunciation,
In Rajadharm is combined every faculty of learning." *Mahabharata*

These were not altogether idle sentiments or frothy expressions; the ethos for harmony between spiritual and temporal needs created an ideal of philosophy-king (Rajadharm). Charadragupta Maurva, who in his youth beat back the battalions of Seleukos Nikator, ended his days as a Jaina recluse. His grandson Asoka remains the solitary grandeur of a saint-king in the entire history of mankind. In medieval India, Shivaji the Maratha gained the esteem of his people more because of his code of renunciation (Bhaja Chanda) than because of his genius in war. When Gandhi in our own time applied the ideal of renunciation in politics he was recalling the traditional polity of India.

An idealistic view of politics as the Rajadharm not only sanctioned the participation in statecraft by the sages and seers; the priests and monks. The Rajadharm summoned the philosophers and priests to a high moral obligation.

* (ii) *

Buddhism began with a sharp antithesis between Politics and Ethics. The *Brahmashastra* lists the wrong means of livelihood and low acts—that is, the occupations forbidden to the monks and recluses— included Kshatravyapya. In Buddhist view Kshatravyapya involved violence and deceit, par菜ide and cannibalism; and vivid accounts of such crimes characteristic of the Kshatriya are found in *Mahabodhi Jataka, Mahavamso Jataka* and *Mahasanghika Jataka.*

Kshatradyama was in short Mithyasiga.

The Buddhist concept of politics as a diurnal science was no doubt due to the wars and intrigues rampant in Shodasa Mahajanapada (sixteen principalities in North India struggling for paramountcy) at the advent of Buddhism; Buddhist ethics (non-violence and quietude) reacted sharply to the Brahmanical statecraft codified in the *Artha* works. This disapproval of Kshatradyama continued into the Mahayana literature and the works of Aryadeva (*Chaturvachaka*), Asvaghosa (*Buddha- charita*) and Aryastra (*Jatakamala*) abound with exposition and con-
The reason for this accommodation is not to be traced in the Mahavira literature but in the national ethos which Buddhists could not altogether deny. Buddhism had to seek rapprochement between Politics and Ethics in its own way.

The Buddhist antithesis between Politics and Ethics was all through involved with a quest for limited authority sublimated into righteous rule. This syndrome, as it may be described in current Western phrasing, is manifest right from the beginning in the Buddhist diction. CHAKRA and CHAKRABHUTA, SÁSAK and SÁSTA are expressions fraught with temporal implications. 'Chakra' is the symbol of power of a dynamic (victorious) ruler while 'Chakrabhuta' is the world ruler. 'Sásaka' is common to Dharma as well as Deya while 'Sasta' is master either as teacher or ruler. Before the Buddha, the term 'Sangha' was more used to denote occupational and political groups and less for a body of religious. When eventually Sangha became 'the Great Gana' it was the Suddhásangha. It was then an active participant in social, economic and even political affairs. The Sangha, as the Third Jewel, did not accept Yama or Arama; it was a combination partly patterned on the oligarchic republics.

Buddhist hostility to the Vartamasana had the best and the most significant expression in its attitude to the Vajrayana Vara. The Buddhists' Book of Genesis, Al horns Sunth, records the Buddha's discourse about the creation of social order. It is a highly scientific inquiry into the early history of man; the Buddha's accounts about origin of property and election of king amusingly anticipate the Western philosophers of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In this discourse while the monks and recluse are acclaimed as the best of men, the Kshatriya is revealed as the best of the social classes and the Brahmana is placed second.

The people, according to this discourse, fixed their choice for king on the most handsome and capable individual and called him Mahamama (one who is chosen by the multitude), Kshatriya (one who is lord of Kshetra-field), and Raja (one who gratifies others according to Dharma); peers of this man came to be called Kshatriya. Next came the Brahmins or the class engaged in Dharma (ordination).
and Adhyayana (teaching the sacred texts), then the Vaisya or the class engaged in trades and last the Sudra or the class engaged in herding and such low occupations.

The Buddha concluded his discourse thus:

The Kshatriya is the best among this folk
Who put their trust in lineage.
But one in wisdom and in virtue clothed
Is best of all among spirits and men.

(trans. Rhys Davids)

The precedence of the Kshatriya over the Brahmana was consistently followed in later literature (e.g. Vasishtha, Abhijñānashākuntaka and Buddhaghoṣha; Visuddhimagga; and daily incorporated into Pāli canon. The excess of the sentiment was however not the precedence over the Brahmana but the Kshatriya title to reign. Otherwise a democratic order open to merchants, courtesans and untouchables would not be so enthusiastic about Kshatriya birth of the Buddha. Nor would the Bhikshus and Sramanas anxiously record the Kshatriya origins of Asoka without such consideration.

While the Brahmanical works like the Puranas and Mādhavākhyāta describe the Mauryas as Sudras, the Buddhist works like Mahāparinibbāna Sutta, Dipavadinī and Mahāvamsa meticulously record details in support of the Kshatriya ancestry of the Mauryas. It is not unlikely that the Mauryas were not good Kshatriyas in Brahmanical view; Chandragupta the founder of the Maurya Empire had no inclination to enter into matrimonial alliance with the Yavana (Greek) nor did he perform the Assamedha sacrifice. The Brahmanical esteem for Chandragupta was based on an admiration for the low-born while the Buddhist description of Asoka's father as Kṣaṭā Kṣatriya Murtihābhisheka (an anointed Kshatriya king) to affirm the Maurya entitlement to sovereignty.

The emphasis on the Kshatriya birth was so deep that even after Nirvana the Buddha was honoured as a Kshatriya. King Milinda, identified with the Bactrian King Menander, is known to have asked Śāṇīvara Nagaena thus: "If Nagaena, the Blessed One were a Brahmana then he must have spoken falsely when he said he was a king. But if he were a king then he must have spoken falsely when he said he was a Brahmana. He must have been either a Kshatriya or a Brahmana. For he could not have belonged in the same birth to two castes. This too is a double-edged problem, now put to you which you have to solve".

(trans. Rhys Davids)

The sage was indeed on the horns of a dilemma and had to direct his logic to the common feature between 'a true Brahmana'
and 'a true Kshatriya'. Both are righteous beings; one is Emancipated and Enlightened through practice of righteousness and the other establishes himself and his dynasty through righteous rule.15

While any theological contradiction between a Buddha and a Raja was thus solved, Nagasena's answer lifted the Kathadrinarma from the level of Mathajiva (wrong means of livelihood) to that of Sia (morality). Nagasena's question, however unintended, was a logical sequence of the legend about the Buddha's birth. An immaculate Being was to be born and all prophesies from Mara's dream till the sage Asita's visit convinced that the immaculate Being was to be either a Chakravarti Raja (Universal Sovereign) or a Samyuk Satyadharma (Fully Enlightened).

Thus the edification of monarchy or the sublimation of statecraft in Mahayana literature was a continuation of the tradition expounded by Nagasena. In Mahayana thought the king was Dharma-raja and not merely Buddha-ratna. The climax was reached in Swarnamahendra Sutra which depicted the king as Devaputra. The Buddha's discourse about effective kingship yielded ground to Manu's divine creation. The Kshatriya now possessed an aura of divinity.16

Kshatriya-hood or royalty was merit worthy of a Bodhisattva. The greatest of India saints propagating in Tibet were born in the purple; Sattarakshita, Pañchinmathaka and Asita had renounced their temporal heritage to follow the trail of the Buddha. The Kshatriya origins of these teachers, not less than that of the Buddhists and Aoku, more due impression on Tibetan mind. The Tibetans could comprehend Kshatriya-Brâhmana equation of Nagasena, from the living examples of the Indian masters preaching on the spot.

States with Buddhism as 'established church' were few, if any, in India and not much is on record about the matter of Church and State. The fact of Sramana/Brâhmana participation in state business is however known. As from being a taboo such participation was a norm. When Buddhism was migrating across the Himalaya, both Buddhist and Brahmanical traditions had accepted Sramana/Brâhmana as the foundation of the state.

It will not be out of place to quote here a French scholar (Paul Mason-Quart) about the destiny of the Indian concepts of state,

"...the Brahmanic notion of dharma which implies the special constitution of each caste and maintains a social order rather than it encourages the appearance of a political spirit, and the Buddhist notion of dharma, which aims at a law applicable to all mankind..."
and makes for unlimited imperialism. The one conception stands
more of monarchy, the other leaps beyond it and aspires to world
empire . . . . . . . . . . . . .

Certain flaws in the above proposition are pointed out by the
leading Indian authority on the subject, Professor Upendra Nath
Ghoshal.18 The broad conclusion however stands firm that the
state in Buddhism could be more sovereign than its counterpart
in Brahmanism.

If the Buddhist notion of Dharma facilitated the growth of
state authority this must have been so in the interests of the Dharma.
The Sangha as a body or through individual members would thus have
no inhibition about kshatraya (scion of government).

(a)

"In Tibet Buddhist monks had the same rights as the laymen to
be appointed state officials, both military and civil.".

Yuan Shi's trans. Tucci19

This statement, from the Chinese chronicle about the 'barbarian'
dynasty (Mongol: Yuan), has an element of surprise since the monks
(particularly the Buddhist monks) could not be in the government of the
Celestial Empire nor could they ever share power with the Confucian
literati. When the Mongols made Tibet a part of their Empire, the
monks of Sakya and Kagyu sects were active participants in the politics
of their country; Lamas sharing power with the secular nobles was al-
ready a tradition. Qubilai Khan, resident in Khan Bilyk (later called
Peking), had to reckon with "the vastness, distance and difficulties of that
region inhabited by a wild and war-like population" and "decided to
rule it in accordance with local usage as to subdue the people".20 The
acceptance of "local usage" - the Buddhist monks as state officials - was
an imperative need of the Mongol imperialism as three quotes from the
Yuan Shi bear out.

Therefore, the justification of the Buddhist monks holding temporal
offices has to be sought not in the 'civilized' code of the Celestial
Empire but in the 'barbarian' tradition of Tibet.

The accepted date for first propagation of Buddhism in Tibet is
about the first quarter of the seventh century and that for the or-
dination of Tibetan monks is about the last quarter of the eighth century.
The Drepung (Sangha) was an established fact by about 1000; its
activities were not confined within the walls of the monasteries; the
monks were organizing the schools and advising the kings. When king

18
Gang-darma’s persecution of Buddhism reached the height, a monk assassinated the apostate (c. 842). The regicide was an act of piety for the monk and an act of redemptive compassion to the king. Persuaded people recalled the injunction of the scriptures about redress from disputes (Snawodragspa/parshodhama); forbearance and meditation cannot be practiced while harm is done to the Three Gems and the Spiritual Teachers are endangered. 

On the decline of the Central dynasty and the break-up of the country into numerous principalities, the abbot of big monasteries exercised law and order in their respective localities. This became a normal feature long before the advent of the Mongols. Meanwhile Indian works on the role of Brahmans/Namans were under study; all these texts were not strictly canonical but were found worthy of incorporation into Tantras. One such was Rajanirvanam attributed to Chanskyag; the translator was Rinchen Rasagdo, the great monk-scholar who marked the regeneration of Buddhism in Tibet and cataloged with Atisa. Four successive verses of the Tibetan version (Chapter VIII) describing the limbs of society emphasize the parity between the ruler (rgyal-po) and the monk/priest (rgyud-byon/bras-gyud).

The king is the summit of Chhos
The monk/priest is the root
The root bears the fruit
Thus the root may not be hurt.

The king is the fruit of Chhos
The monk/priest is the flower
The flower bears the fruit
Thus the flower may not be damaged.

The king is the tree and the monk is the root
The ministers are the branches and the people the leaves
If the root is preserved, the tree does not perish
The monk/priest has thus to be well preserved.

All (interests/estates) being dependent on each other
The king preserves the monk
The Chhos, wealth and fame are attainted
When the monk is ever preserved.

These words not only affirmed the high status of the monk but also advised a patron-priest relationship between king and monk in the total interest of Chhos.

The Tibetan kings responsible for propagation of Buddhism, appropriately designated as Dharmaraja (Chhosregyal) and later recalled in
Mongolia to Chakravarthi, no doubt practiced patron-priest relationship. The regicide (c. 842) and the sequel created a new situation and the priest had to take a larger and a more direct part in temporal affairs. In the 13th century, when the Mongol Emperors and the Sakya Lamas formed patron-priest relations, the monks were more than priests and had added statecraft to their routine. The Sakya Lamas categorically approved such conduct as in the interests of Tibet.²⁵

The Sakya Pandita (c. 1182-1251) made the famous pronouncement that assercy of the acts of this world (bhiṣṛṇen-bya-ba) led to the path of the Sacred Doctrine. His nephew Ch'en-po lha-khysa (1135-1204) when accused of secular (Mongol) style of dress answered thus, "The Буддha had predicted the rise and fall of the Doctrine (according to exigencies of time); the happiness of the people would depend on their own Karma (and not on the style of dress); our (Lama) must behave (preach) in a way that suits (wins over) the other (devotee).

This elastic conduct (bhal-ba) no doubt varied dividends. Bya-ba-byi-brang sums up thus; "Under the auspices of the Patron (Chos-ba) and the Priest (Chos-lha-brang) the riches of Mongolia and China made Tibet the centre of the Sacred Doctrine."

About the administrative system during the Priest-Patron Regime the same work says: "Tibet was happy and the Sacred Doctrine glittered like a mirror because of the Two Laws, the Lama's Command and Emperor's Rule.²⁴ As there were two sets of laws—one for the Khane (domain of the church) and one for the Maše (domain of the state)—there were two sets of officials (monk and lay) not necessarily working exclusive of each other. The monks and the nobles were closely connected and there could not be any absolute separation between spiritual and temporal estates. Besides the Lamas held a good number of civil posts. The bya-ba, the Sakya hierarchy, was the meeting point of both ecclesiastical and civil jurisdictions.²⁵ Here was a government possessed of both Chos (Ölha-rnam) and sna (Samyaara).

The contemporary Mongol chroniclers noticed "the succession of Indian and Tibetan traditions" in "the principle of dual government."²⁶ The Mongol bias to affiliate much of Hinduist theories and institutions to India is well known. While the term of Chos srid-smyi-gdan may be traced to Indian thought, its practical application is no doubt a phenomenon of Tibetan history. While Indian scriptures contain sanction for the Sangha to engage itself in Rajatharana, Indian history had no institutional precedent for Tibet.
1. I have discussed the translation of Dharma into Chbos in my Tibet: Consideration on Inner Asia History (Calcutta 1963), pp.60-64.

2. वादिकाणां: समभेद शेषाणा: दो छ एकसेक छ बनो अष्टक: ।

3. धार्मिक दार्ष्य: बाधू गर्यते धार्मिक ।

4. वाहिकमुद्रावर्गे वासिलिचे: ग: धर्म: ।


6. For Brahmanical (Hindu) attitudes to political science and statecraft see U.N. Ghoshal: A History of Indian Political Ideas (Oxford 1959) and P.V. Kane: History of Dharmasastra (Poona 1920-61), Vol III, Chs 1 & 10.

7. गतो: दशी यािवाती हुळाएँ समें धान्य: प्राप्तेऽप्रविष्टः।

8. विषय वैदिकीपाय राजाचं: परावर्ती ।

9. ध्रुव:समुन्नदु: रोधिनिकम


11. Ghoshal locates an instance in Jatakamala of Aryantra; Indian Political Ideas (cited under note 6 above), pp. 139-41.

12. See Gokuilas De; Democracy in Early Buddhist Sangha (Calcutta 1953) and Ghoshal; Indian History & Culture (cited under note 6 above), pp. 360-65.

13. भाविती भूजु अभावति, ये योगद्विगमिति।
विषयाएवरवासम्यो, त्री भूजु रूपमालो न।

अनुमानः: शाक्तनिन्द

Eng. Trans. in Rhyu Davids; Dialogues, Pt II, p. 94.

14. The conflicting opinions about the ancestry of the Mauryas may be read in Hira Prasad Sastri’s paper in Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for 1910 and Hemchandra Raychaudhuri; Political History of Asintha India (Calcutta 1953), pp. 194, 266-8 & 355-6.

15. Eng. Trans. in Rhyu Davids; The Questions of King Milinda (Sacred Books of the East), Dilemna no 48.

William Tarn; The Greeks in Sascia and India (Cambridge 1948/1951) holds that Menander was not a Buddhist but contends on numismatic evidence that Menander proclaimed himself a Chakravarti in a Buddhist sort (pp. 361-66). Ghoshal; Indian Political Ideas, p. 363., note 5 and A.K. Narain; The Indo-Greeks (Oxford 1957), p. 98 reject this. In my submission the Chakra on Menander’s coin could symbolize either Dharma or Danda and possibly did symbolize both. To substantiate this, it is not necessary to answer whether Menander was a Buddhist in a denotational sense or whether Menander could have claimed Dharmavijaya. I contend that Dakra is common to both Buddha (Brahmana) and Chakravarti (Kalatriya). Nagesna’s Brahmans-Kalatriya equation could have no better motif for a coin or an ensign than Chakra.

16. An exhaustive and critical note on the epitph: Desvpatra is found in the contribution by F.W. Thomas to B.C. Law, Volante, Part II, (Poona 1946). The usage, according to Thomas, may be traced back to Nagarjuna’s time. Re: Desvpatra as Kshatina title, Ravichandhuri rightly insists on Chinese and Greek influence, Political History, pp. 518-9. Divine Right was much in the air; the Brahmana and the Saka-Yavana no doubt communicated the new fangled concept
to the Buddha engaged in meditation of the Kshatriya.

As the Brahmanical theorists had to formulate Divine Creation in accordance with the Brahmanical notion of Deva, the Buddhist theorists had to respect the Buddhist notion of Deva. The Mahayana world of gods (Devadāka) is a kingdom ruled by Indra and 32 'royal gods'; this assembly of 33 Devasjaedra recalls oligarchic republics like Sakya or Lichchāvī. Thus the the Devaputra, according to Svavatāprabhakṣetra Suttra, was a kīra made up of the contributions of Indra and his 32 colleagues. Ghoshal finds this an adaptation of Māra's Divine Creation of the temporal ruler of the essences of the Regents of the Quarter, Indian Political Ideas, p. 266.

The origin of Devaputra was indeed most high; the word Nemi suggests Nirvana; a Nirvana may contain features of more than one Deva or Bodhisattva with well-known significance: Devaputra is the quintessence of the Divine Royalty in its totality. The numerous character of the prince and son (13) or the legend of 10,000 Devapurās does not suggest a numerous clan of similar deities as Thomas thinks; in Mahāyana myriad of Bodhisattvas are usual. It is not warranted to equate Devaputra with minor deities (like the Dākapāla or with Könkhyins (like those of Kucha-Khotan). The nāla's 'putra' is not demeaning. Manjusri Kokurabhatta is more belowed than Manjusri, either form Jina (Buddha) or Jinaputra (Buddhapatra) may be used to describe a saint or a hierarch and I have experienced in the monasteries of Tibet, Franklin Edgerton regards Devaputra as a synonym of Deva. Dictionary of Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit. In the above extract from Svavatāprabhakṣetra both forms Deva and Devaputra are used.

Devaputra, in my submission, is not a title characteristic of local or minor kings; and whoever received this title was not a king claiming divinity. Devaputra is not an elective ruler and has divine title, possibly of pluralistic origin (Greek, Iranian, Chinese, Hsüan Nu and Brahmanic).

The point for notice is the apotheosis of the Kshatriya, that is, the progress from popular cast to divine status. In Aggana Suttra the Kshatriya is Mahāamātā. In Vaśivanta.

23

18. Ghoshal: *Indian Political Ideas* pp. 73, 124 & 220.


In 1268 the Mongol (Yuan) dynasty in China was overthrown and succeeded by a native (Ming) dynasty. In the beginning of 1369, Emperor Tai-tsu, founder of the Ming dynasty, ordered the court to compile the official history (Shih) of the Yuan. Sixteen Yuan scholars worked on the Yuan documents and completed the work in a year; the work was supervised by the Emperor himself. The Yuan-Shih preserves a valuable record of Tibet and Tibetan government during the Mongol (Yuan) period. (Ignorant of the language I owe my knowledge of Chinese historiography to the works of Charles Gardner, Carrington Goodrich and Lien-Shen Yang. Beauley and Pulleyblank (ed): *Historians of China and Japan* (London 1961) contains on pp. 44-59 a critique of the annals from the Tang to the Ming from the pen of Lien-Shen Yang.)


21. [Verse 1 in Sanskrit]

22. [Verse 2 in Sanskrit]

24
31. প্রেম প্রকাশ তো আমার মনে পড়ে বারো বছর ধরে ছিল আমার সঙ্গে বসে থাকতে।

32. আমাদের মধ্যে একজন ব্যক্তি যে বলে থাকে, তাকে কিছু বলে তার কাছে আসে বলে।

33. তাহলে আমি বলে যে, সে যে ব্যক্তির সঙ্গে কিছু বললেন, তার কাছে আসে তার কাছে আসে।

34. এখন আমি বলি যে, সে আমার কাছে আসে না, আমি তার কাছে আসি।
A description of the Sakya administrative system is not called for here. Chinese and Mongol chronicles besides Tibetan literature provide data for considerable study. Tucci: op. cit., pp. 11-19 may be seen for a brief notice.

Extracts from two Chinese state papers may be made in corroboration of the Tibetan claims about equality in status between the Mongol Emperor and the Sakya Lama.

The official history (Yuan Shih), compiled immediately after the overthrow of the Yuan, states: "The orders of the Ti-shih, Imperial Master (=Sakya Lama), and of the Emperor were equally valid in Tibet. For a hundred years the Emperors showed the greatest respect and confidence for the Imperial Master. The Emperors and all the princes took the vow and used to salute the Imperial Master, kneeling to receive his blessing. In the Court gatherings, when the different officials took place allotted according to their rank, the Imperial Master sat next to the Emperor. Each Emperor on ascending the throne, publicly addressed a message of praise and protection to the Imperial Master". (trans. Tucci).

The Manchu Emperor Chien-lung in his famous Dissertation on Lamaism, inscribed in 1797 on a marble stele in Yung-ho-kung (the Lamaist Cathedral in Peking), said: "During the Yuan dynasty the Lamas were worshiped in a way that interfered with the government. This led to abuses which no one dared to question. For instance decrees given by the Teacher of the Emperor and the Emperor the same force as the decrees emanating from the Court. At official audiences, while all the officials had to stand at places assigned to them according to rank, the teacher of the Emperor alone was allowed to remain seated in his place of honour in the corner. His disciples bore titles such as Minister of Interior, Minister of Finance, Duke of the Empire. There was an unbroken succession of them who carried vails of jade or gold. Presuming on their prestige, they carried themselves haughtily and ostentatiously which resulted everywhere in great vexations difficult to describe here exhaustively". Eng. trans. in P.D. Leising: Yung-ho-kung (Stockholm 1941), p. 19.
The inference is unavoidable that the Patron-Priest relations between the Mongol Emperor and the Tibetan Teacher did not much affect the authority (? sovereignty) of the Teacher in the Teacher's homeland.