THE SKYABS-MGON

—NIRMAL C. SINHA

1

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, luminous or precious conqueror), Kumbha (kun-ba, that is, omnipresence), Kong-sa (son of the highest Bhumi, that is, sovereign), Kyanggon Rin-po-che (skyabs-mgon rin-po-che, that is, precious lord of refuge) or Kyanggon BuK (skyabs-mgon sgug 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 speak of two titles, Kyanggon and Gyalwa Rimpoche (1). Charles Bell in enumerating the titles (2) gives priority to "The Precious Protector" (Kyanggon Rimpoche). The English text of the first Tibetan memorandum to the Simla Conference (10 October 1911) described the Dalai Lama as Precious Protector or Protector (3) 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 Gongpa 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.

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The terms Lama (ba-ma Skt. guru), Chang-chub-sampa (kyang-chub-sams-dpa’h Skt. bodhisattva), Chen-res-grub (gyen-res-grub Skt. avalokitesvara) and Kyangkon (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 Sastha 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. Mundaka 1.2.12 advises search for a Guru who is learned in the scriptures and has realized the Absolute. In Taittiriya, 1.11.12 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).

Kathas and Taittiriya are admittedly pre-Buddhist. Mundaka 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 Siddhartha Gautama (6).

Beihad-devata, a compendium of the deities and myths of the Rig Veda—composed acc. to Arthur Macfieonell 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 (6). Guru is
however an omnibus word connoting any superior while Acharya, unless 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 Smruti (like Manus or Dharmasutra like Apastamba or Guatama) (16). It is however necessary to notice the steady rise of the priest (Purohita: Brahma) as a superior (Guru) from early Vedic times. The Purohita 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 sacralist authority eliciting the temporal power as drawn by Jayaswal and Coomaraswamy cannot be so faithful to facts (11), the legend of Brahmana as the source of Kshatra was the nexus of social consensus. While the Brahmaryaka description of the Brahmana as 'the womb out of which the Kshatra issued' (13) was no doubt metaphorical, the Purohita of the Vedic consecration was the matrix for the Rajaguru in medieval Hindu Sastra.

Be it for intellectual or spiritual objective the first stage in striving was to attach oneself to a teacher. It is significant that after renunciation Prince Siddhartha did not immediately make for a retreat in the mountains or forests; he sought teachers and became disciple of Alara Kalama and Udraka Raksiputra successively. He no doubt rejected their doctrines (17) 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 Sasta of all mortals and gods' (15). Sasta like Guru is an omnibus word and would mean ruler (vasya karta/raja) and parent (pita) as well as a teacher versed in the Sutras. Sasta became the spillet 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; Sasta, that is, Guru had an intellectual or academic tone. With the growth of Tantra, grew the cult of spiritual preceptor and Sasta 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 Indian Civilization (c. 1500-1500 B.C.) as also to the Vedic Civilization (c. 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.
When Buddhism was split into two Vehicles (say in the first century after Christ), Mahayana had fully accepted Tantra. Nagerjuna, the discoverer of Prajnaparamita, 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 Sivaite hagiology. The Mathura Inscription (c. 380) speaks of adoration of Guru, lineage of Guru and even the gallery of Guru images (16). The Devi Bhagavata—though its extant texts were composed much later—expresses the sentiments of the age of saint Asanga and scholar Amaranatha as if to corroborate the data from the Mathura Inscription. It says "The Guru is Bhrama, the Guru is Vishnu and the Guru is Mahesvara. Salutation to the Guru who is the real Absolute" (17).

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 eighth century: Aryagardhika, Jnanasiddhi and Prajnapryaninschakasiddhi. "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 Dhammakaya".

"The Guru with requisite qualifications is nothing short of a ruler or a leader of the country" (18).

Buddhism in Tibet begins its victorious career with Padmasambhava (c. 750-800) and significantly in Tibet he is known as Guru Rinpoche or Mahasiddhu. Padmasambhava and Sambata-rakshita 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-rchang-by-ngag) says "The Lama is the Bodhila, the Lama is the Dharma and likewise the Lama is the Sangha".
To Ngaruwa is attributed this formula: "Abandon offerings to all others and make your sole offerings to the Lama. When the Lama is pleased you attain the wisdom of the omniscient" (20). Ngaruwa (1049-1133) begins a song on old age and death thus: "I bow at the feet of the teacher, the Buddha of the three tides" (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 Dras-pa-gyal-mthun (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 Himalayas to the Atlas, the image of the founder or early protector of the sect (Guru Rimpoche, Jo Atta, Mikraupa, Sakya Pandita or Tsong-kapa) 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 Buddha and a Buddhist. The Yellow Sect (dge-legs-pa) portrayal of the Buddhist field with Tsong-kapa (1357-1419) in the centre and Siddhartha Gautama among the surrounding host of all Buddhas and Bodhisattvas has sanctity in this sentiment. Tsong-kapa himself had enjoined (14):

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

Tsong-kapa's disciple envied 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-kyi-dbang (Bodhisattva).

"A hero with Bodhi-chitta takes upon himself the burden of others" (15).

A Bodhisattva thus features in Tibetan imagery.

It is neither possible nor necessary to attempt an adequate exposition of the doctrine of Bodhisattva within the limits of this enquiry 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 (Jatakas aspiring for Bodhi). 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 apparitional bodies (Nirmanakayas) of the Absolute (Paramatma or Bodhi).

The concept of Nirmanakaya, the Mahayana thinkers affirmed, was as old as Gautama Buddha and modern scholars do not reject this belief(17). Gopinath Kaviraj-savant and seer, traces the concept to a period anterior to Gautama Buddha; he notices the usage Nirmanacchitta by the founder of Sankhya (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 Rig Veda(18).

The Sadrutama-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 (29) 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 Prajnaparamita (Transcendental Wisdom) in its earliest stage was a highly intellectual recipe for nihilism and quite beyond the grasp of the ordinary mind(30). In their endeavour to transform the doctrine for the highbrows and intellectuals into a religion for the masses, the varneshinkers (Acharayas) 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 (Bodhisattava). It was more desirable to awaken faith in a Bodhisattva (Manjusri, Avalokitesvara or Samantabhadra) than to meditate on an ethereal /hypothetic Kula (Akhobbhya, Amitabha or Vairocana). And between the two Bodhisattvas (celestial and terrestrial) the one near at hand would be naturally more prized.

The Manushi 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 So-Bhishavta would be a recluse or monk(32). The Sangha would therefore be better
described as the Gana of Bodhisattvas; an usage traceable in the Sūdhāramapundarīka(33).

The altruism of Bodhisattva found its classic exposition in Bodhisattvarājasaṃyogasūtra of Saṅgītāra (6th 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 Samsāra or material world (34).

The Bodhisattvabhūmi (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 emphasized as one of the five constant duties of a Bodhisattva (35). Saṅgītāra's Saṅgha-Samskṛtavrata quotes the Gauḍapādīya Saṃya to say that the resolve of the Bodhisattva in the foundation of all material and moral good, the annihilation of all poverty and the refuge of all beings (36).

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. Saṅgāyabhūti, the joint founder of the first monastery (Samye), is immortalized under the epithet “Bodhisattva as scholar” (37). The kings propagating the Dharma were recognized as Bodhisattva as well as Nirmānakaya. The element of hero in a Bodhisattva was emphasized in translating the term from Sanskrit into Tibetan; the suffix ‘dpa’ (i.e., ‘drep-ko’ or hero) was added after ‘byang-chub-sems’ instead of a simple ‘pa’ as adjectival termination (38). One might be a great man otherwise but his popularity would be assured only if he was called a Byang-chub-sems-dpa. A Guru (Lama) could be one par excellence if he was known to be a Bodhisattva (Byang-chub-sems-dpa). Down to our times a popular honorific for Byang-chub-sems-dpa, in Central Tibet at least, is Sprul-skru (Nirmānakaya). This has been so for the simple reason that a Sprul-skru of a celestial or terrestrial being was by and large “the ideal Man of the Mahayana”, the Saviour for this world at/ or the other world. The Lama as the custodian of the script, the organizer 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 layman could come very near the house of Lamas (ka-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 Theravada country to-day. Thus in times of distress refuge in the Bodhisattva-gana, the Bramaha-brang, was in the logic of history.
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 thus is like the moon 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

This verse composed in Bengal around 1050 could have been a
typical reflex of Tibetan mind in 1650 when the Great Fifth Incarnation of Avalokitesvara (byun-ras-greg-rig) “looked down from on high” the soaring palace-temple on Marpo Ri (Red Hill) which he called Potala.

In the Mahayana pantheon, as 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 this suffering world. Yet his origin is obscure; Har Durl and Edward Conze find Märi and Mithra elements in the conception (42). However the basic Mahayana Sutras, the Sūndaramukunda, in the concluding chapters, depict Avalokitesvara in no uncertain light. He is undoubtedly a prominent Bodhisattva though he has to share this prominence with Manjusri. 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 revered by Avalokitesvara. Positive boon like a child to childless can like wise be obtained from Avalokitesvara. He can infallibly eradicate all mundane sufferings (43).

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

In the early Mahayana eight Bodhisattvas are prominent viz. Manjusri, Vajrapani, Avalokitesvara, Kshitigarbha, Sarvasvariavasishthabhi, Akanagoccha, Maitreya and Sarvatathabha. These are “a group of equal rank. Perhaps Manjusri is regarded as pramis intes pres. In the later Mahayana the oligarchy is changed into an absolute monarchy. Avalokitesvara is
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”. [Har Dayal(43).

The grandeur of Avalokiteshvara is depicted in *Avalokiteshvara-panchara-mudra-tuha* (abbr. *Karanadayuha*): the detailed descriptions of the sattva of the qualities of Avalokiteshvara. 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 Avalokiteshvara and is punctuated with his many exploits of rescue. The historic value of the *Karanadayuha* however lies in the exposition of the Six Mystic Syllables: OM MANI PADME HUM which Avalokiteshvara the creator of the world donated to the world(44).

In Tibet (and other Lamasist countries) OM MANI PADME HUM symbolizes the Dharma and even the formula about the origin of all objects. VE DHARMA HETU PRABHAVA, takes a second place. In Tibetan legend Avalokiteshvara 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 Bodhichittwa. 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 Sparwa-ras-grigs was naturally thought of as its protecting deity. The first great king Song-btsan-bamge (645-650) was recognized as the Sprül-sku (Nirmanakaya) of the Father of the People while his scholar-minister Thonmi Sambhota was found to be Hyan-dral (Manjusri). Only two of the great king’s successors were found to be Sprül-sku of the same. The incarnation of Sparwa-ras-grigs, the topmost of ninety one Byang-chub-sen-dpal, could not be a routine affair and his mortal forms were few and far between. The tradition about Sparwa-ras-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 theoanthropism with myriads of Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, Dharma-palas etc) when they described Sparwa-ras-grigs as the Sole God of the Land of Snow(44). Indian reformer Atisa and his Tibetan disciple Hbron-sten (1034-1064) reckoned with this spirit and enumerated the four Mgon-skabs (Lords of
Refuge; thus: Gautama Buddha, merciful Avalokiteshvara, goddess Tara and guardian of Faith Achala(46).

The three royal patrons of Dharma — Song-bstan-sgam-po, Khri-stong-de-btsan and Ra-pa-chen — were incarnations of Svyam-ras-gtugs and the next was dbrog-ston himself. The traditions, recorded in successive centuries, agree on these four names. The next name unanimously agreed in different traditions is that of Sa-chen Kungsh-mnyenpo (1097-1158). There was no attempt in any particular lineage (monachical or monastic) to have the incarnation to themselves(47). The followers of Trong-khapa (1357-1419) made the bold bid and got approval of all Tibetans to fourteen successive Sprul-skus of the Sole God of Tibet: Dge-dun-grub (1391-1475) to bstan-gron Pigs-mtshu (b. 1555).

V

"Lord, Thou art the most excellent Refuge to go for"
Dpa-chen-pa-ma-gnas-po

When the hierarchy of the Yellow Sect was accepted by people of all Sects as the incarnation of the Sole God of Tibet, the hierarchy'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 Trong-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 allen key which held together the different Sects and the dispersed areas. The plenitude potestatis of the Dalai Lama rested on the popular obedience while the potesta limitae of the Heavenly Kingdom (Dgah-lhon-pho-brag) originated in the Established Church(50). Each of the roles BLA-MA, BYANG-CHUB-SEMS-DPAH and SPYAN-RAS-GGZIG had sanction for exercise of temporal authority and the three roles combined in the hierarchy 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'etre 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 hierarchy as SKYABS-
MGGN. From the very beginning the grant of Skyabs (Skt. Sarana) has been the right as well as the obligation of Mgon (Skt. Nitha). As the Tibetan rendering of the Sadhanamaparvats报价 a devotee addressing the Buddha: "Mgon-po, Thou art the most excellent Skyabs!" (112). The Buddha had offered, as the Sakya Lama (Chos-rgyal-lobag-pa 1714-1780) puts it, "Skyabs to one who has no Mgon!" (12). Through parables and prophecies the Buddha had promised appearance at the end of the world or in time of distress (13), not unlike that in the Bhaavaparinaya (14).

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, Saccouring the good, thrusting the evil back, And setting Virtue on her seat again.

(Edwin Arnold’s tran. in verse)

Such appearances (Nirmansakaya or Spurul-skul) was never so badly needed as in times of anarchy.

The kingdom built by Srong-btsan-sgam-po (c. 641-654) came to an end with the assassination of the apostate Glang-darms (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 its full resurgence, a phenomenon, with Atiśa’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 Sakya, did well. In grandeur and authority they soon surpassed and replaced the castles of the pastoral and nomadic lords. People oppressed by the decadent aristocrats or the ruling brighani came for refuge to their respective monasteries and the abbot did not disappoint them.

The rule of the Sakya Lamas or that of the Kagyu Lamas (and Phag-mo-gru-pa) needed no narration here (15). The Lama-izers of the thirteenth century and following saved Tibet from Mongol anarchy while all countries and peoples from Sera (Valupgra) to Phamahavi (Peking) had experienced these. Be it their mastery of occult or the impact of their Dharma on the ecstatic Mongol mind, the savages had proved their statesmanship; the Bodhisattvas as statesman became the the Rajaguru (Tseri or Rabda) of the most warlike dynasty on record in Asia and Europe. The Sword of Transcendental Knowledge—the Sakya Lamas were in the lineage of Manjusri—brought down the Sword of
raked power. The Adamantine Thunderbolts—the Kargyu Lamas were in the lineage of Vajradhara—calmed down the thunder from Atui-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 Choeg-rgyal (Dharmaraja) and was so in fact and forra. To the devotes in genera 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-mgon for reasons not clear today. In oral tradition down to our day the devotes are known to have called them so. In correspondence addressed to the Sakya hierarchy down to our day the title Skabs-mgon has been customary.

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

*Karanavyoha* was composed between fourth and seventh centuries.

Nagarjuna’s dates range from 50 B.C. to 250 A.C. Assaga 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 Manjatu).

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-‘dpon, Rab-hyung or Mikan-po. (The terminology does not affect the role and status of Guru).

The treatises *Mansi-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 sticks to the position till 1650.)

Likewise *Bkah-gdams-phags-chen* and *Bkah-gdams-lu-chen* attributed to Atiṣa 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 on Tibet (Calcutta 1910) lists (p.111) the titles thus: Kyanggon Rimpochhe, Gyelwa Rimpochhe, Bok Lama and Kyanggon Ruk. *Who’s Who in Tibet* (Calcutta 1958) lists (p.3) thus: Gyawa
Rimpoché, Kyabgon Rimpoché or Khandu. My own impression is that during the Regency, when there was no Dalai Lama functioning, the title gyatsho Rimpoché was in greater use. Lishing Athing Sonam Tölochen confirms this.


4. English translation of the petition and the Dalai Lama's reply will be found in Bell: op.cit pp 337-342.

5. दन्ति-कुर्मालम् ।
   स्वरुपे ।

6. विश्वासिधीति खेत्रिणः ।
   अकाराकुण्डश्रीमयिताश्री ।
   अभयमयाद्विभाषि-कुकुंकुरुकुमारणः ।
   विषयंकुटास्यामाविका-धर्मवर्गः ।

7. धर्मयोगान्तः ज्ञातः ज्ञातः वर्तमानसंग्राहः ।
   शुरुवः चार विशिष्टम् मूलयोगवस्तु ।
   प्रस्ताव्यति।
   शुभः श्रवणांश्च।
   शुभः श्रवणांश्च।


9. Arthur Macdonell's edition (Harvard Oriental Series) -
   *Achārya* II, 137; II & 143; IV, 1; 138; V, 39; VI, 9; & VIII, 90. *Guru*
   III, 143; IV, 601; V, 103 & 119; & VI, 35.

10. For *Achārya/Utpalabha/Guru* (different persons) Kane: *History of Dhimacharya* (Poona 1930-62), *Vo* II/ Pt I, pp.312-4 and Vol IV,
   p.14 may be seen.

12. बहु भा द्रमस आज्ञानेवत तरमेद व प्रकाश। तरंगोऽध्यात्मिकत पुष्य वाणीवत देवता विषयङ्गनेवत वर्णणं स्वयं रत्नं वनस्पं शुभं दिवं स्नेहार्दिक स्नित्वं। नामात्मा अभिनव नामस ब्रह्म श्रीमोऽण्ड पदाधिकार्यसः परस्परौत्तरो राजस्य वते एव भूषिक्षण वते भूषिक्षण लिंगिक्षणम्॥

13. For the disciplines Gana-service learned from Akra Kalama and Rudraka Rucaputra see Dutt: Early Mosaic Buddhism, p.98. Radhakrishna sums up the situation thus: "He possibly learned from them the need for belief, good conduct, and the practice of meditation, though the content of their teaching seemed to him unsound"). The Dharmapada (London 1950), Introduction, p.7.
15. दें-नुक्यायानि शास्त्रि।

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

17. गुहाय: द्वारा मूर्तिप्राप्तिस्मृतिकुंडितः।

Present study is about impact of Dharma on the temporal milieu. No aspersions on the merits and needs of the institution (Guru) is meant. The most democratic religious movement in India (Sikh) accepted this institution in the preparatory stage. When Gandhi addressed Tagore as Gurudev it was certainly not a left-handed compliment.

18. आचारायदित्र प्रत्यक्षात् न जोयसे सहारायः।


Adhyayadhi cited in Benoytosh.
मूढ़िः भवेन पन्चः साधुः बापस सि ।
प्रहादमु ब्राह्मण तत्त्व ब्रह्म हृदयः सम्यकः ॥ २४ ॥
ब्रह्मार्णिं भगवानः मञ्जरीलालः ।
उ भवेन सन्नविंश्यायः स्वसंविश्यायः ॥ २५ ॥
प्रहादसन्योगीः महर्षिः हरिश्चन्द्रलालः ।
रहस्यविस्मिताः प्रहादं निरहस्यं ॥ २६ ॥
स गुणं विद्ययं विश्वं द्विद्विश्वं तत्त्वं ॥ २७ ॥
हुँ अरमणर्मणं सत्यं गुणं युद्धिर्मणं ।
सम्यकः सन्यासनं नृस्यहुन्नुवं वलि ॥ २८ ॥

प्रहादसिद्धः श्रीश्रीनिवेठ्ठी ।
शालिचन्द्राण्य गृहस्थं सर्वस्वं ।
प्रहादसिद्धः गृहस्थं वलि ।
प्रहादसिद्धः गृहस्थं सर्वस्वं ।
प्रहादसिद्धः गृहस्थं सर्वस्वं ॥ २९ ॥
प्रहादसिद्धः गृहस्थं सर्वस्वं ॥ ३० ॥
प्रहादसिद्धः गृहस्थं सर्वस्वं ॥ ३१ ॥
प्रहादसिद्धः गृहस्थं सर्वस्वं ॥ ३२ ॥
प्रहादसिद्धः गृहस्थं सर्वस्वं ॥ ३३ ॥
प्रहादसिद्धः गृहस्थं सर्वस्वं ॥ ३४ ॥
प्रहादसिद्धः गृहस्थं सर्वस्वं ॥ ३५ ॥

Feastinpugatindachakradhikajostojiddhi are reproduced in Benoytosh Bhattacarya: Two Epitome Works (Gaekwal Oriental Series).
For similar sentiments in Brahmanical Tantra, John Woodroffe (Arthur Avalon): Principles of Tantra (Madras 1960), chs XII & XIV and Introduction to Tantra Sutra (Madras 1956), pp 63-67 may be seen.
For the sublime aspects of Guru see also Max Arthur Meauliffe: The Sikh Religion (Oxford 1903).

22. उन्होंने अनुसंधान के भीतर अनुभव लिया था, क्योंकि उनके अनुसार निर्देशित नहीं किया जा सकता।

23. यह आश्चर्यकारी है कि उन्होंने अनुभव के भीतर अनुसार निर्देशित नहीं किया जा सकता।

24. उन्होंने अनुभव के भीतर अनुसार निर्देशित नहीं किया जा सकता, क्योंकि उन्होंने अनुभव के भीतर अनुसार निर्देशित नहीं किया जा सकता।

25. यह आश्चर्यकारी है कि उन्होंने अनुभव के भीतर अनुसार निर्देशित नहीं किया जा सकता।


28. Gopinath Kaviraj: *Aspects of Indian Thought* (Budhwan University 1946), pp. 137-47. This subject is involved with another "parallel
development' in Brahmansm and Buddhism : Atrvia and Tahagatagarbha. Considerations of space forbid any attempt to present the findings of Suzuki, Comze 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 Bodhisatva 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. ऋक्त्वगचित्तिवालय संसारीन्ती च नाहु।

वोषणस्वातः गापः संपाताः यात्मां।

पारसूत्ताः स भूताः त्येषा स भस्म अवृत्त।

वोषणस्वातः।

ििषिकयात्माः काण्डम परावरणी भावान।

वायुवेयून्ताः स काण्डम श्वीकरणे भृस्थाः।

वोषणस्वातः।

विषाद्यित्वादाय संप्रेष्यमस्यमुपपः।

वायुवेयूषमात्माः जात्विज्ञानात्माः।

वर्षसुते स्वेष्याः सुरावाचिनाः।

विषाद्यित्वादाय उपदेशिविश्वायाः।

वोषणस्वातः। 13-10

35. अनाविसं दुर्जिताः दुर्जिताः स्वातान्त्र्यां तस्तन्त।

अनाविसं सदृशं [कु ज्ञितले 1] अत्यति तस्य तस्यां।

विषाद्यित्वादा।


36. तत्त्वाभावाचायमाहात्माः विदितताḥ। वोषणस्वातः च कृत्यात् व नस्त-सर्वसंचारताः।

केष्मुद्य सर्वं जगात् भ्रमणे विरोधात्। वर्षस्युद्रां श्रवणीन्त्रिविश्वायाः 47
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 on 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. *Mahayana sutra* lists 91 Bodhisattvas with 3-valokite-
svara as topmost

His numerous forms (including a set of 108 as in Nepal) and his two popular forms (4-handed as the Jewel of the Sangha and 11-headed as the Great Companion) express the paramountcy of Avalokitesvara. For these forms see Bhattacharyya: *op. cit.*, Walter Clark: *Two Lanamite Tantras* (Harvard 1937/New York 1965) and Alice Getty: *Guil of Northern Buddhism* (Oxford 1938/Tokyo 1962.)


45. चन्द्र ज्योति

46. [Text in Devanagari script]

47. The different traditions recording the lineage of Sjuan-ras-grags are found in Bhah-gani-pa-cho, Lnga-pa-chen-pshi-mde-dron, Kong-dol gong bhum etc. Giuseppe Tucci: Tibetan Printed Scrolls, Vol I may be seen.

Sarat Chandra Das in Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow (Calcutta 1943/1963) presents the current (1880-96) Gelegpa version of Atta having inspired and lhchen-ston having founded the Grad hierarchy (i.e. the lineage of the Dalai Lamas).

For a detailed exposition of the lineage of Sjuan-ras-grags 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 Gyayam Kunzang Dechen Tshomo, a daughter of the ancient Ragsa House and a considerable scholar herself.

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

50. There is a danger in using the terminology of Roman Law in connection with a medieval Asian society as I have shown in Tibet: Considerations 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 deride. 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 “Cerical 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 Kham 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 Khama grantry and bureaucrats besides refusing to pay taxes, their anxiety to send offerings to the Dalai Lama or to restore robbed baggage found to be Dalai Lama’s has gone into legend.

The Chinese (Manchu and Republican) drove to the west and consequent expansion of Inner Tibet (Chinese Tibet) were possible because of the Heavenly Kingdom’s hold over Khams, where large blocks of Old Sect believers lived. Khampa nationalist reforms programmes involving both Old Sects and Gelugpa 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 Bodhisatta 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 Khamgas did it with “tears, blood and sweat”. Their loyalty to the Dalai Lama was in pure devotion to his submission to the Heavenly Kings.

51. [ noen \[\text{\text{\textit{...}}} \]

52. [ noen \[\text{\text{\textit{...}}} \]

53. [ noen \[\text{\text{\textit{...}}} \]

The extract is made from Giuseppe Tucci’s edition (C.n-awd Oriental Series). Harshadra is dated in the eighth century by Bha\-\- Pond Stashi and in the tenth century by Maurice Winternitz.

54. [ noen \[\text{\text{\textit{...}}} \]

55. Giuseppe Tucci: Tibetan Painted Scrolls, Vol 1; and Hugh Richmond: The Karmapa Sect in Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society 1958:35 may be seen. The only Mongol invasion (1240) was a petty raid in comparison with invasions elsewhere.

56. Sec the model letter for Sakyi Gangma on page 69 in Therechik (ed.): Letter Writers, Kahun Shadb & Kedong Normang (Kailiopori,1910).

57. People of Inner Mongolia called the Dalai Lama Sakyab-\-nang. McHeg perhaps to distiguish him from others (like Panchen or Sakyab) also called Sakyab-nang.