

THE SKYABS-MGON

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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 form; the Western envoys to the Manchu court got this usage from the Chinese while the Russians got this direct from the Mongols, Buriats and Kalmuks.

In Tibet (and Tibetan speaking countries) the Dalai Lama is variously called Gyalwa Rimpoche (rgyal-ba rin-poche, that is, jinaratna or precious conqueror), Kundun (kun-hdus, that is, omnipresence), Gong-sa (one on the highest Bhumi, that is, sovereign), Kyamgon Rimpoche (skyabs-mgon rin-poche, that is, precious lord of refuge) or Kyamgon Buk (skyabs-mgon sbug or inmost lord of refuge). The last, that is, Kyamgon appears to be the official designation or lawful title used in State-papers; other titles could be added in official correspondence etc.

British official reports about Tibet during the rule of Dalai Lama XIII speak of two titles, Kyamgon and Gyalwa Rimpoche (1). Charles Bell in enumerating the titles (2) gave priority to “The Precious Protector” (Kyamgon Rimpoche). The English text of the first Tibetan memorandum to the Simla Conference (10 October 1913) described the Dalai Lama as Precious Protector or Protector (3). In the famous petition (1932) to the Dalai Lama XIII praying for his long life Tibetans addressed him as Kyamgon (4). The present Dalai Lama, that is, Dalai Lama XIV uses the title Kyamgon with prefix Gongsa 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 (bla-ma Skt. guru), Chang-chub-sempa (byang-chub-sems-dpah Skt. bodhisattva), Chen-re-sik (spyen-ras-gzigs Skt. avalokitesvara) and Kyamgon (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* I, 3:14. *Mundaka* I, 2:12 advises search for a Guru who is learned in the scriptures and has realized the Absolute. In *Taittiriya*, I, 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 *Taittiriya* are admittedly pre-Buddhistic. *Mundaka* is a post-Buddha work. The *Svetasvatara*, according to Nalinaksha Dutta, "is no doubt pre-Buddhistic and very likely formed the basis of the teachings of Alara Kalama and Rudraka Ramaputra, the spiritual teachers of Siddhartha Gautama" (8).

Brihad-devata, 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, 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 Smriti (like Manu) or Dharmasutra (like Apastamba or Gautama) (10). It is however necessary to notice the steady rise of the priest (Purohita: Brahmana) 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 sacerdotal authority electing 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 reflex of social consensus. While the *Brihadaranyaka* description of the Brahmana as "the womb out of which the Kshatra issued" (12) was no doubt metaphorical, the Purohita 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 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 Rudraka Ramaputra successively. He no doubt rejected their doctrines (13) 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 (sasana karta/raja) and parent (pita) as well as a teacher versed in the Sastras. Sasta became the epithet 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 Indus Civilization (c.3500-1500 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.

When Buddhism was split into two Vehicles (say in the first century after Christ), Mahayana had fully accepted Tantra. Nagarjuna, the discoverer of Prajnaparamitra, 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 Saivite hagiolatry. 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 Amarasinha 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"(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: *Advayasiddhi*, *Jnanasiddhi* and *Prajnopayavinischayasiddhi*.

"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"(18).

Buddhism in Tibet begins its victorious career with Padmasambhava (c.750-800) and significantly in Tibet he is known as Guru Ratna or Mahaguru. Padmasambhava and Santa-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-mchog-byungba) says "The Lama is the Buddha, the Lama is the Dharma and likewise the Lama is the Sangha"

(19). 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 attain the wisdom of the omniscient" (20). Milarepa (1040-1123) 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-mtshan (1147-1216) enjoined that the first salutation should be to the feet of the Lama (23).

Tibetan liturgy and iconography fully reflect the paramount position of the Lama. In the temples and monasteries from the Himalayas to the Altai, the image of the founder or early preceptor of the sect (Guru Rimpoche, Jo Atisa, Milarepa, Sakya Pandita or Tsong-khapa) 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 Buddha. The Yellow Sect (dge-lugs-pa) portrayal of the Buddha-field with Tsong-khapa (1357-1419) in the centre and Siddhartha Gautama among the surrounding host of all Buddhas and Bodhisattvas has sanctity in this sentiment. Tsong-khapa himself had enjoined (24):

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

Tsong-khapa'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-sems-dpah (Bodhisattva).

III

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

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 Samsara 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 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 (Nirmanakaya) of the Absolute (Paramartha or Bodhi).

The concept of Nirmanakaya, the Mahayana thinkers affirmed, was as old as Gautama Buddha and modern scholars do not reject this belief (27). Gopinath Kaviraj, savant and seer, 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 *Rig Veda* (28).

The *Saddharma-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 Bodhisattvas. The terrestrial Bodhisattva was immanent with the community of believers while the celestial was transcendental.

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 master-thinkers (Acharyas) 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 (Manjusri, Avalokitesvara or Samantabhadra) than to meditate on an ethereal/hypothetic Kula (Akshobhya, Amitabha or Vairochana). 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 Bodhisattva would be a recluse or monk (32). The Sangha would therefore be better

described as the Gana of Bodhisattvas; an usage traceable in the Saddhar-mapundarika(33).

The altruism of Bodhisattva found its classic exposition in *Bodhicharyavatara* of Santideva (8th 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 Samsara or material world (34).

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 emphasized as one of the five constant duties of a Bodhisattva(35). Santideva's *Siksha-Samuchchaya* quotes the *Gandavyuha Sutra* to say that the resolve of the Bodhisattva is the foundation of all material and moral good, the annihilator 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. Santarakshita, the joint founder of the first monastery (Samye), is immortalized under the epithet "Bodhisattva as scholar". The kings propagating the Dharma were recognized as Bodhisattva as well as Nirmanakaya. The element of hero in a Bodhisattva was emphasized in translating the term from Sanskrit into Tibetan; the suffix 'dpah' (i.e. 'daph-bo' 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 honorific for Byang-chub-sems-dpah, in Central Tibet at least, is Sprul-sku (Nirmanakaya). This has been so for the simple reason that a Sprul-sku of a celestial or terrestrial Being was by and large "the ideal Man of the Mahayana", the Saviour for this world and/ 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' (bla-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 Blamahi-brang, was in the logic of history.

IV

May Lokeshvara 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

Jnanasrimitra(39)

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 (spyen-ras-gzigs) "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 Dayal and Edward Conze find Magi and Mithra elements in the conception(40). However the basic Mahayana Sutra, the *Saddharmapundarika*, in the concluding chapters, depict Avalokitesvara in no uncertain light. He is decidedly 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 rescued by Avalokitesvara. Positive boon like a child to childless can likewise be obtained from Avalokitesvara. He can infallibly eradicate 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 Jnanasrimitra. To the afflicted mortals he is the jewel of the Bodhisattvas: he is the Sangha (Bodhisattva-Gana) Ratna.

In the early Mahayana eight Bodhisattvas are prominent viz. Manjusri, Vajrapani, Avalokitesvara, Kshitigarbha, Sarvanivaranavishkambhin, Akasagarbha, Maitreya and Samantabhadra. These are "a group of equal rank. Perhaps Manjusri is regarded as *primus inter pares*. 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 a rival". Har Dayal(42).

The grandeur of Avalokitesvara is depicted in *Avalokitesvara-gunakarnada-vyuha* (abbr. *Karandavyuha*): the detailed description of the basket of the qualities of Avalokitesvara. Its first 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 value of the *Karandavyuha* however lies in the exposition of the Six Mystic Syllables: OM MANI PADME HUM which Avalokitesvara the creator of the world donated to the world(44).

In Tibet (and other Lamaist countries) OM MANI PADME HUM symbolises the Dharma and even the formula about the origin of all objects, YE DHARMA HETU PRABHAVA, 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 Buddhahood. 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 Sphyan-ras-gzigs was naturally thought of as its protecting deity. The first great king Srong-btsan-sgam-po (c.605-650) was recognized as the Sprul-sku (Nirmanakaya) of the Father of the People while his scholar-minister Thonmi Sambhota was found to be Hjam-dpal (Manjusri). Only two of the great king's successors were found to be Sprul-sku of the same. The incarnation of Sphyan-ras-gzigs, the topmost of ninety one Byang-chub-sem-dpah, could not be a routine affair and his mortal forms were few and far between. The tradition about Sphyan-ras-gzigs 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 henotheism with myriads of Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, Dharmapalas etc) when they described Sphyan-ras-gzigs as the Sole God of the Land of Snow(45). Indian reformer Atisa and his Tibetan disciple Hbrom-ston (1003-1064) reckoned with this spirit and enumerated the four Mgon-skyabs (Lords of

Refuge) thus: Gautama Buddha, merciful Avalokitesvara, goddess Tara and guardian of faith Achala(46).

The three royal patrons of Dharma — Srong-btsan-sgam-po, Khri-srong-lde-btsan and Ral-pa-chen — were incarnations of Sypan-ras-gzigs and the next was Hbrom-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 Kungah-snyngpo (1092-1158). There was no attempt in any particular lineage (monarchical or monastic) to have the incarnation to themselves(47). The followers of Tsong-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-hdun-grub (1391-1475) to Bstan-hzin Rgya-mtsho (b.1935).

V

“Lord, Thou art the most excellent Refuge to go for”

Dam-chos-padma-dkar-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 monistic 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 Lama(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 greats, Fifth and Thirteenth Dalai Lamas, far from 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 silken tie which held together the different Sects and the dispersed areas. The *plenitudo potestatis* of the Dalai Lama rested on the popular obedience while the *potestas limitata* of the Heavenly Kingdom (Dgah-Idan-pho-brang) 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'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 hierarch as SKYABS-

MGON. From the very beginning the grant of Skyabs (Skt. Sarana) has been the right as well as the obligation of Mgon (Skt. Natha). As the Tibetan rendering of the *Saddharmapundarika* quotes a devotee addressing the Buddha: "Mgon-po, Thou art the most excellent Skyabs" (51). The Buddha had offered, as the Sakya Lama (Chos-rgyal-hphags-pa 1235-1280) put it, "Skyabs to one who has no Mgon" (52). Through parables and prophecies the Buddha had promised appearance at the end of the world or in time of distress (53), not unlike that in the *Bhagavadgita* (54)

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

(Edwin Arnold's tran. in verse)

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

The kingdom built by Srong-btsan-sgam-po (c.605-650) 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 Atisa's propagation (1042-1054). Second, both for their own protection as well as for that of their 'parish' the abbots of different sects began building monasteries; two sects, Kargyu and Sakya, 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 rising brigands came for refuge to their respective monasteries and the abbots did not disappoint them.

The rule of the Sakya Lamas or that of the Kargyu Lamas (and Phag-mo-gru-pas) needs no narration here (55). The Lama rulers of the thirteenth century and following saved Tibet from Mongol atrocities while all countries and peoples from Sarai (Volgograd) to Khanbalyk (Peking) had experienced these. Be it their mastery of occult or the impact of their Dharma on the eclectic Mongol mind, the saviours had proved their statesmanship; the Bodhisattva as statesman became the the Rajaguru (Tisri or Bakshi) 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

naked power. The Adamantine Thunderbolt—the Kargyu Lamas were in the lineage of Vajradhara—calmed down the thunder from Altai-Karakorum. 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-rgyal (Dharmaraja) and was so in fact and form. To the devotees in general a Lama ruler was Mgon-skyabs (Lord of Refuge) in both temporal and spiritual sense. These Lamas themselves did not use the epithet Mgon-skyabs or Skyabs-mgon for reasons not clear today. In oral tradition down to our day the devotees are known to have called them so. In correspondence addressed to the Sakya hierarch down to our day the title Skyabs-mgon has been customary(56).

Thus when the Yellow Sect rose into political ascendancy, from the Third Incarnation Bsonam Rgya-mtsho onwards, Skyabs-mgon was in current usage. If the Great Fifth made official use of the title, it was only appropriate for Spyan-ras-gzig: the Sole God and Protector of Tibet. The Dalai Lama was indeed the Skyabs-mgon *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.

Karandavyuha 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.

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

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, Slob-dpon, Rabbyung or Mkhan-po. (The terminology does not affect the role and status of Guru).

The treatises *Mani-bkash-bum* (attributed to seventh century) and *Padma-bkash-thang* (attributed to eighth century) were padded with later events, prophecies etc. till the seventeenth century. (This paper sums up the position till 1650.)

Likewise *Bkash-gdams-pha-chos* and *Bkash-gdams-bu-chos* 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 on Tibet* (Calcutta 1910) lists (p.115) the titles thus: Kyamgon Rimpoche, Gyalwa Rimpoche, Buk Lama and Kyamgon Buk. *Who's Who in Tibet* (Calcutta 1938) lists (p.1) thus: Gyawa

Rimpoché, Kyamgon Rimpoché or Kundun. My own impression is that during the Regency, when there was no Dalai Lama functioning, the title Gya(l)wa Rimpoché was in greater use. Libing Athing Sonam Tobden confirms this.

2. Charles Bell: *Portrait of the Dalai Lama* (London 1946), p.34.
3. Reproduced in *The Boundary Question between China and Tibet* (Peking 1940), pp.1-4.
4. English translation of the petition and the Dalai Lama's reply will be found in Bell: op.cit pp 377-382.

5. བོད་ཀྱི་ཅ་ཁྱིམ་ས། བོད་ཀྱི་ལོ་ ༢༠༩༠

6. ཁྱེད་མ་མེད་པའི་གོང་རེལ་ན། ཁྱེད་མ་མེད་ཀྱིས་བྱ་བའི་མིང་ཡང་མེད།
ཁྱེད་མ་མེད་ཀྱིས་བྱ་བའི་མིང་ཡང་མེད། ཁྱེད་མ་མེད་ཀྱིས་བྱ་བའི་མིང་ཡང་མེད།

7. उत्तिष्ठत जाग्रत प्राप्य वरान्निबोधत ।

क्षुरस्य धारा निशिता दुरत्यया दुर्गं पथस्तत्कवयो वदन्ति ॥

कठ १, ३: १४

परीक्ष्य लोकान् कर्मचितान् ब्राह्मणो निर्वेदमायान्नास्त्यकृतः कृतेन ।

तद्विज्ञानार्थं स गुरुमेवाभिगच्छेत् समित्पाणिः श्रोत्रियं ब्रह्मनिष्ठम् ॥

मुण्डक १, २ १२:

मातृदेवो भव, पितृदेवो भव, आचार्यदेवो भव, अतिथिदेवो भव, यानि अनवद्यानि कर्माणि तानि सेवितव्यानि, नो इतराणि, यानि अस्माकं सुचरितानि तानि त्वयोपास्यानि, नो इतराणि ॥

तैत्तिरीय १, ११: २

यस्य देवे परा भक्तिर्यथा देवे तथा गुरौ ।

तस्यैते कथिता ह्यर्थाः, प्रकाशन्ते महात्मनः, प्रकाशन्ते महात्मनः ॥

श्वेताश्वतर ६, २३

8. Nalinaksha Dutt: *Early Monastic Buddhism* (Calcutta 1960), p.24.

9. Arthur Macdonell's edition (Harvard Oriental Series) - Acharya ii, 132, 136 & 143; iv, 138; v, 39; vi, 9; & viii, 90. Guru iii, 142; iv, 60; v, 103 & 139; & vi, 35.

10. For Acharya/Upadhaya/Guru (different persons) Kane: *History of Dharmasastra* (Poona 1930-62), Vol II: Pt 1, pp.322-4 and Vol IV, p.24 may be seen.

Sabdakalpadruma (Radhakanta Deva) quotes *Kurnma Purana*—

गुरुवर्गो यथा,—

उपाध्यायः पिता ज्येष्ठभ्राता चैव महीपतिः ।
मातुलः श्वशुरस्वाता मातामहपितामहौ ॥
बन्धुज्यष्टः पितृव्यश्च पुंस्येते गुरवः स्मृताः ।
मातामही मातुलानी तथा मातुश्च सोदराः ॥
श्वश्रूः पितामही ज्येष्ठा धाली च गुरवः स्त्रीषु ।
इत्युक्तो गुरुवर्गोऽयं मातुलः पितुलः द्विजाः ॥
गुरूणाञ्चैव सर्वेषां पूज्याः पञ्च विशेषतः ।
तेषामाद्यास्तयः श्रेष्ठास्तेषां माता सुपूजिता ॥
यो भावयति या सूते येन विद्योर्पादश्यते ।
ज्येष्ठभ्राता च भर्ता च पञ्च ते गुरवः स्मृताः ॥
नास्ति पितृसमो देवो नास्ति मातृसमो गुरुः ।
तयोः प्रत्युपकारोऽपि न कथञ्चन विद्यते ।
मालुलाञ्च पितृव्याञ्च श्वशुरान्कृत्वित्वजो गुरून् ॥
असावहमिति ब्रूयुः प्रत्युत्थाय यवीयसः ।
कूर्मपुराणे उपविभागे ११ अध्यायः ॥

11. K.P. Jayaswal: *Hindi Polity* (Calcutta 1924 - Bangalore 1943) and A.K. Coomaraswamy : *Spiritual Authority and Temporal Power in the Indian Theory of Government* (New Haven 1942). For an objective view see U.N. Ghoshal: *Studies in Indian History and Culture* (Calcutta 1965) pp 211-236. A description of the ritual is in J.C. Heesterman: *The Ancient Indian Royal Consecration* (The Hague: 1957).

12. ब्रह्म वा इदमग्र आसीदेकमेव तदेकं सन्न व्यभवत् । तच्छ्रेयोरूपमत्यसृजत क्षलं यान्येतानि देवता क्षलाणीन्द्रो वरुणः सोमो रुद्रः पर्यन्त्यो यमो मृत्युरीशान इति । तस्मात् क्षलात्परं नास्ति तस्माद्ब्राह्मणः क्षलियमधस्तादुपास्ते राजसूये क्षल एव तद्यशो दधाति संषा क्षलस्य योनिर्यद्ब्रह्म ॥

बृहदारण्यक १, ४: ११

Political ascendancy of the priestly houses can be noticed in Vedic society. Arthur Berriedale Keith: *The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads* (Harvard Oriental Series), pp 223-230 & 289-99. Also Macdonell: *Vedic Index*, entry on Purohita.

13. For the disciplines Gautama learned from Alara Kalama and Rudraka Ramaputra see Dutt: *Early Monastic Buddhism*, p.88. Radhakrishnan 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 Dhammapada* (London 1950-), Introduction, p.7.

14. न मे आचरियो अत्थि, सदिसो मे न विज्जति ।
सदेवकस्मिं लोकस्मिं, नत्थि मे पटिपुग्गलो ॥
मज्झिमनिकायो; धम्मचक्रपवत्तन ।
15. देव-मनुष्याणां शास्ता ।

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

17. गुरुर्ब्रह्मा गुरुर्विष्णुर्गुरुर्देवोमहेश्वरः ।
गुरुरेव परं ब्रह्म तस्मै श्रीगुरवे नमः ॥ देवीभागवत ।

Present study is about impact of Dharma on the temporal milieu. No aspersion 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 Gurudeva it was certainly not a left-handed compliment.

18. आचार्यात् परतरन्नास्ति बलोक्ये सचराचरे ।
यस्य प्रसादात् प्राप्यन्ते सिद्धयोऽनेकधा बुधैः ॥

Advayasiddhi cited in Benoytosh
Bhattacharyya : *Sadhanamala* (Gaekwad Oriental Series), Vol II p. lvi fn.

नमस्ते शून्यतागर्भं सर्वसङ्कल्पवर्जित ।
सर्वज्ञ ज्ञानसन्दोह ज्ञानमूर्ते नमोऽस्तु ते ॥ ९ ॥
जगदज्ञानविच्छेदिशुद्धतत्त्वार्थदेशक ।
धर्मनैरात्म्यसम्भूत वज्रसत्त्व नमोऽस्तु ते ॥ १० ॥
सम्बुद्धा बोधिसत्त्वाश्च [त्वत्तः] पारमितागुणाः ।
सम्भवन्ति सदा नाथ बोधिचित्त नमोऽस्तु ते ॥ ११ ॥
रत्नलयं महायानं त्वत्तः स्थावरजङ्गमम् ।
तन्धातुकमिदं सर्वं जगद्बीर नमोऽस्तु ते ॥ १२ ॥
चिन्तामणिरिवाद्भुत जगदिष्टार्थसिद्धये ।
सुगताज्ञाकर श्रीमन् बुद्धपुत्र नमोऽस्तु ते ॥ १३ ॥
जातं मेऽनुत्तरं तत्त्वं प्रसादात् ते गुणार्णव ।
वज्राभिषेकं सर्वज्ञ प्रसादं कुरु साम्प्रतम् ॥ १४ ॥
रहस्यं सर्वबुद्धानां दर्शितं धर्मवज्रिणा ।
यथा श्रीचित्तवज्रेण तथा नाथ प्रसीद मे ॥ १५ ॥
भवत्पादाम्बुजे त्यक्त्वा नान्या मे विद्यते गतिः ।
तस्मात् कुरु दयानाथ संसारगतिनिर्जित ॥ १६ ॥
प्रज्ञोपायविनिश्चयसिद्धिः तृतीयपरिच्छेद

गुरुप्रसादो यस्यास्ति स लभेत् तत्त्वमुत्तमम् ।
अन्यथा क्लिश्यते बालः चिरकालविमोहितः ॥ २३ ॥

गुरुर्बुद्धो भवेत् धर्मः सङ्घश्चापि स एव हि ।
 प्रसादात् जायते तस्य यस्य रत्नत्रयं वरम् ॥ २४ ॥
 अज्ञानतिमिरान्धानामेष मार्गप्रदर्शकः ।
 स भवेत् सर्वसौख्याग्रथः सर्वकामप्रदायकः ॥ २५ ॥
 धर्मगम्भीरनिष्ठात्मा विविक्तकरुणात्मकः ।
 रत्नत्रयप्रतिष्ठार्थी धर्मदाने निरामिषः ॥ २६ ॥
 स गुरुः शिष्यसद्ग्राही सर्वबुद्धापुकारकः ।
 इत्युवाच जगन्नाथो नान्ये वं गुरवः स्मृताः ॥ २७ ॥
 यस्मान्न तत्समो ह्यस्ति पूजनीयो महामुनिः ।
 तस्मात् सर्वप्रयत्नन पूजयेद्गुरुवरं व्रती ॥ २८ ॥
 । ज्ञानसिद्धिः, प्रथमपरिच्छेदः ।

रत्नत्रयेषु बुद्धात्मा कृपावान् सर्वजन्तुषु ।
 त्यागादिसंयतो धीरः सर्वपुण्यमहोदयः ॥ २९ ॥
 बोधिचित्तसमुत्पन्नः प्रसन्नो गुणवान् सुधीः ।
 अक्रोधनो महोत्साहा धर्मगम्भीरनिश्चयः ॥ ३० ॥
 सयुक्तिकं धर्मदानं निरा[भा]सं सदा मतम् ।
 अल्पेच्छता सदा तस्य सम्भारद्वयसम्भृतः ॥ ३१ ॥
 गुरुरेष समाख्यातः सर्वबुद्धैः सर्वज्जिभिः ।
 स एव सर्वसत्त्वानां शासको लोकनायकः ॥ ३२ ॥

ज्ञानसिद्धिः, लयोदशपरिच्छेदः ।

Prainopayavinischayasiddhi and Jnanasiddhi are reproduced in Benoytosh Bhattacharyya : Two Vajrayana Works (Gaekwad Oriental Series).
 For similar sentiments in Brahmanical Tantra, John Woodroffe (Arthur Avalon): *Principles of Tantra* (Madras 1960), chs XIII & XIV and *Introduction to Tantra Sastra* (Madras 1956), pp 65-67 may be seen.
 For the sublime aspects of Guru see also Max Arthur Macauliffe: *The Sikh Religion* (Oxford 1909).

19. ।ब्र'म'सद'स'कुस'ब्र'म'केस' । ।ब्र'म'द'यो'र'दु'र'दे'व'वै'र'दे'
 [व'ग'र'र'गु'र' । कु'र'र'गु'र' । ।]
 20. ।म'के'र'द'व'स'म'स'उ'र'स'म'र'स'के' । ।ब्र'म'म'के'र'द'व'अ'र'द'व'ग'व'उ'र'
 । ।म'के'र'द'व'ग'गु'र'म'के'र'गु' । ।म'के'र'म'के'र'दे'व'व'व'र'र'गु'र'
 [व'स'र'र'गु'र' । कु'र' । ।]

development' in Brahmanism and Buddhism: Atman and Tathagatagarbha. Considerations of space forbid any attempt to present the findings of Suzuki, Conze and Gokhale.

29. A standard English translation is by Kern in *The Sacred Books of the East*. Nalinaksha 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 Prajnaparamita 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.

31. Edward Conze: *Buddhism Its Essence and Development* (Oxford 1951/53 etc), p 125.

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

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

34. बोधिप्रणिधिचित्तस्य संसारेऽपि फलं महत् ।

बोधिचर्यावितार, १; १७

अनाथानामहं नाथः सार्थवाहश्च यायिनां ।

पारेप्सूनां च नौभूतः सेतुः सङ्क्रम एव च ॥

बोधिचर्यावितार, ३; १७

हीनादिष्वात्मतां कृत्वा परत्वमपि चात्मनि ।

भावयेष्यां च मानं च निर्विकल्प्येन चेतसा ॥

बोधिचर्यावितार, ५; १४०

जगद्व्याधिप्रशमनं भैषज्यमिदमुत्तमं ।

भवाध्वभ्रमणश्रान्तो जगद्विश्रामपादपः ॥

दुर्गत्युत्तरणे सेतुः सामान्यः सर्वयायिनां ।

जगत्क्लेशेषमशमन उदितश्चित्तचन्द्रमाः ॥

बोधिचर्यावितार, ३; २६-३०

35. अनाथानां च दुःखितानां कृपणानामप्रतिशरणानां सनाथक्रियया ।

अनाथेषु सत्त्वेषु [दुःखितेषु च] अप्रतिशरणेषु सनाथक्रिया ।

बोधिसत्त्वभूमि ।

Nalinaksha Dutt's edition (Jayaswal Research Institute Series), pp. 194 & 197.

36. तथार्यगण्डव्यूहसूत्रेऽपि वर्णितं । बोधित्तं हि कुलपुत्र वा जभूतं सर्वबुद्धचर्याणां ।
क्षेत्रभूतं सर्वजगच्छुक्लृप्तमविरोहणतया । धरणिभूतं सर्वलोकप्रतिशरणतया ।

यावत्पितृभूतं सर्वबोधिसत्त्वारक्षणतया “पेयालं ॥ वैश्रवणभूतं सर्वदारि-
द्र्यसंछेदनतया । चिन्तामणिराजभूतं सर्वार्थसंसाधनतया । भद्रघटभूतं सर्वा-
भिप्रायपरिपूरणतया । शक्तिभूतं क्लेशशत्रुविजयाय ।
.. .. इति हि कुलपुत्र
बोधिचित्तमेमिश्रान्यैश्चाप्रमाणैर्गुणविशेषैः समन्वागतमिति ॥

शिक्षासमुच्चय ।

Bendall's edition (Bibliotheca Buddhica, Petrograd/The Hague), pp 5-6.

37. “The hero as Bodhisattva” would be the appropriate English form for Tibetan expression Byang-chub-sems-dpah. 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.

39. English translation is that of Daniel H.H. Ingalls: *An Anthology of Sanskrit Court Poetry* (Harvard Oriental Series), p.64. The original text, read by Kosambi & Gokhale, is in *Subhasitaratnakosa* (Harvard Oriental Series).

अत्युद्गाढरयस्थिराकृतिघनध्वानभ्रमन्मन्दर—

क्षुब्धक्षारधिबीचिसंचयगतप्राप्तेयपादोपमः ।

श्रीमत्पोतलके गभीरविवृतिध्वानप्रतिध्वानिते

सान्द्रस्वांशुचयश्रिया बल्यितो लोकेश्वरः पातु वः ॥ ३ ॥

लोकेश्वरव्रज्या; ज्ञानश्रीमिल ।

40. Har Dayal: *Bodhisattva Doctrine* (cited under Note 26), p.48 and Edward Conze: *Buddhism* (cited under Note 31), p. 147. Benoytosh Bhattacharyya: *Indian Buddhist Iconography* (Calcutta 1958), p. 143 traces the concept to Asoka's time.

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. *Mahavyutpatti* lists 91 Bodhisattvas with Avalokitesvara 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 Compassion) express the paramountcy of Avalokitesvara. For these forms see Bhattacharyya: op.cit, Walter Clark: *Two Lamaistic Pantheons* (Harvard 1937/New York 1965) and Alice Getty: *Gods of Northern Buddhism* (Oxford 1928/Tokyo 1962.)

43. Satyabrata Samasrami ed: *Karandavyuha* (Calcutta 1873).
44. Edward J. Thomas: *The History of Buddhist Thought* (London 1951), pp. 187-94 gives a brief account in English.

45. བཀའ་ཚན་ལྟ་བུ་གཅིག

46. །ཐུབ་ཆེན་ཡེ་ཤེས་སྒྲོལ་མ་དང་། །ཐུགས་རྩེ་ཆེན་པོ་མི་གཡོ་བ།
 །སྤྱི་བ་མེད་པའི་མགོན་ཐུབས་བཞི། །སྤྱི་བོར་སྤངས་ནས་ཕྱོད་བཅིངོ།
 [བཀའ་བདམས་པ་ཆོས། ཅ]

47. The different traditions recording the lineage of Spyān-ras-gzigs are found in *Bksh-gdams-pha-chos*, *Lnga-pa-chen-pohi-mdzad-rnam*, *Klong-rdol gsung hbum* etc. Giuseppe Tucci: *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, Vol I may be seen.

Sarat Chandra Das in *Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow* (Calcutta 1893/1965) presents the current (1880-90) Gelugpa version of Atisa having inspired and Hbrom-ston having founded the Grand Hierarchy (i.e. the lineage of the Dalai Lamas).

For a detailed exposition of the lineage of Spyān-ras-gzig down to Dalai Lama VII as in a set of painted scrolls from Peking, see Toni Schmid: *Saviours 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) are 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. 173-4. I have it on the authority of several trustworthy monks and scholars in Central Tibet that Dalai Lama XIII, in spite of the

puritan Pha-bong-kha, was most deeply tolerant of Old Sect teachings. This is confirmed by Denzong Gyalyum Kunzang Dechen Tshomo, a daughter of the ancient Ragasha 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 (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.)

50. There is a danger in using the terminology of Roman Law in connexion 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 define. 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 "Central Tibet" government. Loyalty to the Dalai Lama as 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 Lhasa gentry 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) 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 programmes 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 1960) gives some interesting details.

When the Khampas realized that the Liberation would be completed with the end of their Dharma and Bodhisattva 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.

The Dalai Lama's Flight is rightly prized as a remarkable feat of bravery and organization. The Khampas did it with "tears, blood and sweat". Their loyalty to the Dalai Lama was in inverse ratio to their submission to the Heavenly Kingdom.

51. མཐོན་པོ་ཁྱེད་ལ་རབ་དུ་སྐྱབས་སུ་མཆི། [བཀའ་འགྲུལ་ མདོ་སྡེ། ༩]

52. མཐོན་པོ་ཁྱེད་ལ་རབ་དུ་མཆི་བ་སྐྱབས་པོ་ཁྱེས། [ས་སྐྱ་བཀའ་འགྲུལ། ༥]

53. भगवा एतदवोच—“इध, महाराज, तथागतो लोके उप्पज्जति अरहं, सम्मा-सम्बुद्धो, विजावरणसम्पन्नो, सुगतो, लोकविदू, अनुत्तरो, पुरिसदम्मसारथि, सत्था देवमनुस्सानं, बुद्धो, भगवा । सो इमं लोकं सदेवकं समारकं सब्रह्मकं सस्समणब्राह्मणिं पजं सदेवमनुस्सं सयं अभिञ्जा सच्छिक्त्वा पवेदेति । सो धम्मं देसेति आदिकल्याणं मज्जेक्कल्याणं परियोसानकल्याणं सात्थं सब्बज्जनं, केवलपरिपुण्णं परिसुद्धं ब्रह्मचरियं पकासेति ।

दीधनिकायो; पणीततरसामञ्जफलं ।

तदनु येन शाक्यमुनितथागतादिरूपेणासंसारं सर्वलोकधातुषु सत्त्वानां समीहितमर्थं समङ्करोत्यसौ कायःप्रबन्धतयाऽनुपरतो नैर्माणिको बुद्धस्य भगवतः सर्वबालजनसाधारण-श्रुतार्थाऽवसातव्यः । तथा चोक्तम् ।

करोति येन चित्राणि हितानि जगतः समम् ।

आभवात्सोऽनुपच्छिन्नः कायो नैर्माणिको मुनेः ॥ ३३ ॥

हरिभद्ररचित अभिसमयालङ्कारालोक ।

पृ: ५३२

The extract is made from Giuseppe Tucci's edition (Caekwad Oriental Series). Haribhadra is dated in the eighth century by Haraprasad Shastri and in the tenth century by Maurice Winternitz.

54. यदा यदा हि धर्मस्य ग्लानिर्भवति भारत ।

अभ्युत्थानम् अधर्मस्य तदाऽत्मानं सृजाम्यहम् ॥ ७ ॥

परित्राणाय साधूनां विनाशाय च दुष्कृताम् ।

धर्मसंस्थापनार्थाय संभवामि युगे युगे ॥ ८ ॥

भगवद्गीता, चतुर्थअध्याय ।

55. Giuseppe Tucci: *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, Vol I; and Hugh Richardson: *The Karmapa Sect in Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1958-59 may be seen. The only Mongol invasion (1240) was a petty raid in comparison with invasions elsewhere.

56. See the model letter for Sakya Gongma on page 69 in Tharchin (ed.): *Letter Writers, Kalon Shadra & Kadrong Nornang* (Kalimpong, 1956).

57. The people of Inner Mongolia called the Dalai Lama Skyabs-mgon Mchog perhaps to distinguish him from others (like Panchen or Sakya) also called Skyabs-mgon.