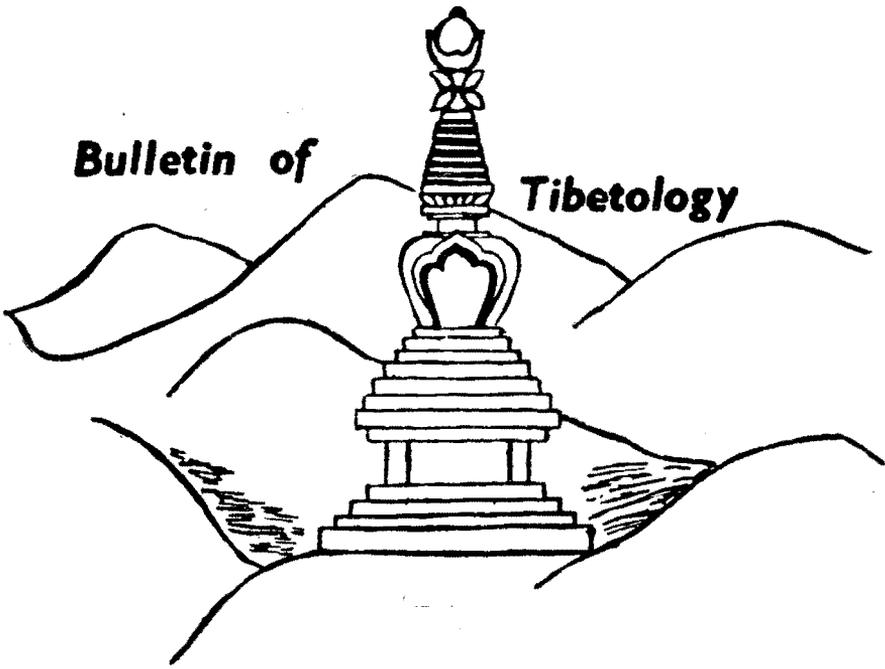


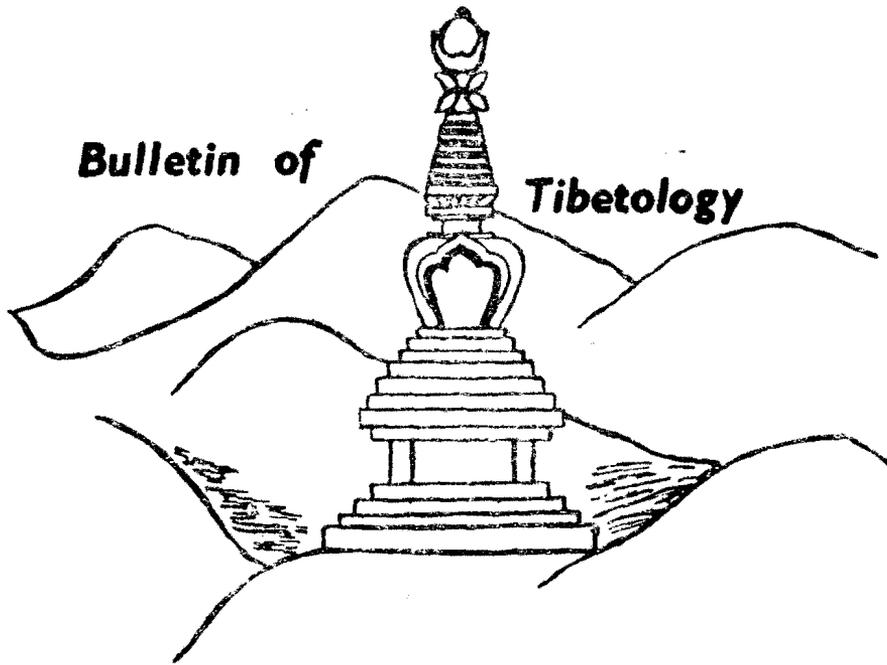
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CONTENTS

	Page
A METRICAL SUMMARY OF THE SADDHARMA-PUNDARIKA SUTRA IN GOSTANA DESA H. W. BAILEY	5
SMAN-GYI-BLA SIEGBERT HUMMEL	9
CONSIDERATION ON TANTRIC SPIRITUALITY THUBTEN TENDZIN	18
TIBET'S STATUS DURING THE WORLD WAR NIRMAL C. SINHA	31
NOTES & TOPICS	36

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A METRICAL SUMMARY OF THE SADDHARMA-PUNDARIKA SUTRA IN GOSTANA-DESA

— H. W. BAILEY

In the cities of the Sita (Tarim) basin in Chinese Turkestan, the cities of Khotan (Gostana, Khotana, Hvatana), Yarkand, Kashghar and Tumshuq (near Maralbashi), a people who called themselves Saka and of whom some still live in the inaccessible plateaus of the Pamirs, maintained a flourishing civilisation for about a thousand years. From the early centuries of our era they professed the Buddhist religion and philosophy introduced from India and for this period of nearly a thousand years, though under the power of Chinese, Heftal, Tibetans and again Chinese, they were possessed of independent states. It was ultimately the Turks coming down from the North in the tenth century who put an end to their kingdoms and overturned the Buddhist faith.

In the kingdom of Gostana, where the royal family Visa' ruled, have been discovered within the past seventy years a surprisingly large collection of manuscripts, some complete, others only in fragmentary texts. These testify to the existence of a copious literature among the Saka. The sacred service of the upasampada, the karmavacana was in the Indian language (E 13, 36 himduvanana hauna), but they were aware of the importance of translations into their own language to enable their fellows to understand the Indian books. Thus in P 2782, 44 hvamani hauna khu tye da arthi bvare means 'in language of Hvatana so that they can realise the meaning of this Dharma'. In these manuscripts we have references to and frequently translations of all the various types of Indian Buddhist literature. The serious sutras occur the vinaya; and the lighter tales of the Jatakastava (which has over fifty jataka tales), of the jataka of Nanda (known also in a Buddhist Sanskrit manuscript in the Cambridge University Library), the avadana-narrative of Sudhana and Manohara in verse, the avadana of Asoka and Kunala in prose. The philosophical works of the older Abhidharma are cited and the later sastra; tika, vibhasa, yogasastra, yogasthana, the eight prakarana. In translations (P 5538 b 28; Or 8212 162.37 in my *Khotanese Texts II 3*) we have in whole or in part such texts as the Suvarna-bhasa-Sutra, Bhadracarya-desana Sumukha-sutra, Suramgama-samadhi-sutra, Manjusrinairatmyavatara-sutra Vajracchedika and others. Of non-religious interest the material is less, but we find some lyrical poems, medical texts, a report of a journey from Gostana to the Adhithana 'capital' of Kasmira, and private letters.

It will be seen from these titles that in Gostana-desa the dominant literature was Mahayana and indeed the sravakayana was held definitely lower in esteem as an inferior way of salvation. Yet they recorded in their Annals (preserved in the Tibetan Li-yul-gyi lun-bstan-pa) that Gostana had sixteen Mahasanghika gtsug-lag-khan, vihara, besides the many royal foundations of the more developed faith of the Mahayana.

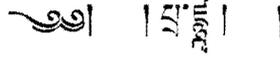
Gradually it has been possible to interpret the language of the Gostana and Tumshuq manuscripts. It is related to the language of Sogdiana and the Persian further west and therefore stands in some such relation to Sanskrit as a sister language. But in its course as a language of civilisation largely Indian the Indian vocabulary has been copiously called upon and probably one half of the Gostana vocabulary is either from the north-west Prakrit of Gandhara or from Buddhist Sanskrit.

Here it has seemed of interest to introduce the famous text of the Saddharmapundarika-sutra, the Lotus of the Good Dharma, from the Gostana texts. There is no proper translation, but in the manuscript P 2782 (published in *Khotanese Texts* III 58-61) from Tun-huang we find a metrical summary of the Saddharmapundarika referring very briefly to all the twenty-seven parivartas or chapters extant in Sanskrit and Tibetan and Chinese renderings. A patron of the text, probably therefore a danapati, is named in lines 11-12: dyau tceyi sina, that will be a Chinese name Liao Tsai-sing, for whom the sutra had previously been explained. The summary (hambista=Sanskrit samasa) refers only briefly to each parivarta, the whole occupies only 61 lines in the manuscript. A copy of the first nine lines is written also in the manuscript or 8212.162. 82-90 (edited in *Khotanese Texts* II 5-6). The beginning cites the doctrine of the one vehicle, and the Buddhas' path, and professes homage with faith; the mystery is stated to be very great, its meaning concealed. There are the three vehicles but the one hamgrantha—, conjunction. It has the opening of a regular sutra: So I have heard, the teacher (sastar) was residing at one time upon the Grdhrakuta hill surrounded by a vast multitude of rsis and bodhisattvas. He taught in parables, as in that of the burning house (parivarta 3). The Buddhas poured out the rain of mercy of the Dharma upon the beings and sent out rays of light like the moon and the sun. They prepared a smooth path to Nirvana. The sutra is styled in line 11 a mahavaitulya text, a variant of the word mahavai-pulya. After the summary of the various parivartas the promise is made that he who has learned or reads and memorises the Saddharmapundarika-sutra will in a second birth come into the parisuddha ksetra the pure fields of the Buddhas.

It is hardly possible here to give more details, but it is hoped that the texts will shortly be printed in translation with commentary. The actual texts themselves are now mostly in print in transcription in Latin letters in the works of E. Leumann, Sten Konow, H. W. Bailey, J. M. Dresden, and J. P. Asmussen. Others await publication in Leningrad. Facsimiles have been published in several volumes. The interpretation has advanced apace since the texts were first seen last century, but there are still many obscurities where the vocabulary is still unknown; and only long-continued effort will overcome all difficulties. The language itself is very interesting as a new member of the Indo-Iranian group of dialects. But the contents of the manuscripts hold much of great importance for the study of Buddhist literature. It is for instance from a Gostana text that the name of the Bodhisattva Subhadhimukta in the Vimalakirti-nirdesa-sutra is known where neither the Chinese nor the Tibetan translations give the original form of the name (edited in *Khotanese Texts* V 132 the Tibetan 377-8).

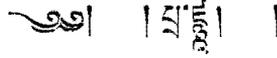
Four scholars have come to read these texts with me in Cambridge and there is a young scholar in Leningrad. A translation of all the texts with full commentary and a dictionary are seriously needed if full use is to be made of these fascinating manuscripts for Buddhist studies.

SOME PUBLICATIONS
FROM
NAMGYAL INSTITUTE OF TIBETOLOGY



PRAJNA or the famous Sanskrit-Tibetan Thesaurus-cum-Grammar was compiled by Tenzing Gyaltsen, a Khampa scholar educated in Nyingma and Sakya schools of Derge, in 1771 A.C. Though this book was preserved in xylograph few copies of the block-prints are found outside Tibet. The lexicon portions are now presented in modern format with Tibetan words in Tibetan script and Sanskrit words in Sanskrit script with an elaborate foreword by Professor Nalinaksha Dutt. Price: Rupees Twenty (India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim); Forty Shillings (other countries.)

October 1961.



The entire xylograph (637 pp: 21 inches x 4 inches) containing both lexicon and grammar parts is now presented by offset (photo-mechanic); most clear reproduction of any Tibetan xylograph ever made anywhere. A table of typographical errors etc., as found in the original (xylograph), compiled by late lamented Gegan Palden Gyaltsen (Mentsikhang : Lhasa and Enchay; Gangtok) makes the present publication an improvement upon the original. Price: Rupees Twenty Five (India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim); Fifty Shillings (other countries).

November 1962.

SMAN-GYI.BLA

—SIEGBERT HUMMEL

A Swiss private collection contains a bronze of sMan-gyi-bla (short: sMan-bla), the so-called Medicine Buddha.¹ This figure is remarkable, because sMan-bla is not represented here in the usual form of a Buddha or, as in Lamaist paintings, in the canonical garb of a Bodhisattva with a crown, but with a bLama-cap instead. What, however, proves that the seated figure is sMan-bla, is the medicinal fruit (Tib.: A-ru-ra=terminalia chebula) in his right hand, the alms-bowl in his left, and the eight accompanying figures at the foot of the lotus-pedestal which, according to ancient texts, are to be regarded as manifestations of sMan-bla's healing power, originally represented by a group of only six, later on seven Medicine Buddhas.²

sMan-bla is often found on Lamaist pictures (Tib. : Thang-ka), together with the Tibetan King Khri-srong-lde-btsan (755-797) and the great scholar Shantarakshita (Tib.: Zhi-ba-'tsho; Thams-cad-mkhyen-pa-zhi-ba-'tsho), who had been invited to Tibet by the King and who, together with Padmasambhava, was mainly responsible for the introduction of Buddhism in Tibet. The worship of the Medicine Buddha seems to be specially connected with Shantarakshita, and according to the La-dvags-rgyal-rabs, this cult was later on especially favoured by the King 'Od-srung in West-Tibet.³ In the Manjusrimulakalpa already Bhaishajyaguru appears as Bhaishajyavaiduryaraja in the rank of a Buddha. According to Pryluski, this work seems to have received its final form in the 8th [-10th] century; according to B. Bhattacharyya, however its first chapters go back to the second or third century A.D., and it is probable that it was translated into Tibetan already in the 8th century.⁴

The Chinese, and through it, the Japanese tradition, which contains the most ancient Chinese material, is of special importance for the history of Lamaist iconography.⁵ The famous bronzes of the Medicine Buddha in Japanese temples belong to the 7th century. Indian Sutras dealing with the cult of Bhaishajyaguru have been translated into Chinese already in the period from the 5th to the 7th century and were used in Japan in the 7th and 8th century. Among the early translations, the one made by Hsuan-Tsang was a favourite of the Emperor K'ang-Hsi. The Indian missionaries Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra, who came to China in the 8th century and were colleagues of Padmasambhava, played a considerable role in the cult of the Medicine Buddha in China.

In the 9th century the Yakushi cult in Japan reaches its full bloom. The oldest Japanese iconography shows Yakushi standing or sitting, with Abhaya-mudra of the right hand and Varada-mudra or Dhayana-mudra of the left, which latter often holds a medicine-vessel. The Lamaist iconography prefers the Myrobalan (Tib.: A-ru-ra; cfr. our statue) or a flowering twig in the right hand (varada-mudra) and the alms-bowl in the left. The bowl may contain pomegranate or a plant, generally a peach. The symbolical meaning of the peach or the pomegranate is prosperity and fertility.⁶

In the scripture on sMan-bla, which was printed on the order of the Chinese Emperor, the Medicine Buddha forms a popular trinity with Shakyamuni (Tib.: bsTan-pai-bdag-po-shakya-rgyal-po) and the so-called Dhyani-buddha Amitabha (Jap.: Amida). Besides these there are trinities in which Vairocana takes the place of Amitabha or into which Dipankara, one of the predecessors of Gautama Buddha has been accepted, and sometimes even Kubera, the God of Wealth.⁷

Here one notices Amitabha's Vairocana's and Dipankara's relationship to the concept of light, characteristic also of sMan-bla himself who, like Vairocana, if the latter does not occupy the centre of the cosmic Mandala, dominates the east and a paradise of light, similar to that of Amitabha. In this realm his closest associates, Suryaprabhadeva (Tib.: Nyi-ma-lha, Jap.: Nikko) and Chandraprabhadeva (Tib.: Zla-ba-lha, Jap.: Gwakko), have special functions as sun-and moon light.

In this connection we have to recall the original number of six Medicine Buddhas, forming the retinue of sMan-bla and originally representing his manifestations. This has its parallel in the Six Ameshas Spentas, the companions and hypostasies of Mazda in the Zoroastrian religion.⁸ But also the light-character of Amitabha and the 35 Buddhas of Forgiveness who help to open the entrance to the paradise of Amitabha, belong into this context. As to the Five Dhyani-buddhas, it may be said that they are similar to the five Light-Kings, associated with Mani, and the relations of the Dhyani-buddhas to their Bodhisattvas are similar to the doctrine of the Fravashis who are a kind of doubles of the human beings on earth.⁹ These Iranian parallels to the ideas connected with sMan-bla and his retinue, as well as the fact that the number of Dhyani-buddhas is five, may perhaps point to the origin of sMan-bla and to the regions which were the former centre of Mahayana teachings and their symbiosis with Western traditions.¹⁰

Round about this centre we may have to seek the homeland of Padmasambhava (Swat) among whose followers the worship of Amitabha was so popular that he himself was regarded as the Nirmanakaya of Amitabha. In the circles around Padmasambhava one can also observe a special partiality for the Medicine Buddha, and this all the more, if we remember Amoghavajra and Vajrabodhi with their influence upon the cult connected with Yakushi in Japan by way of China, or if we think of Shantarakshita, whose sister is believed to have been married to Padmasambhava.¹¹ The origin and the propagation of the worship of sMan-bla seems to have been closely connected with the origin and propagation of Amitabha.

At the time when sMan-bla still lived as a Bodhisattva, who in honour of the Buddha allowed himself to be sacrificed as a burnt offering, he is said to have made twelve vows, in which he promised to bring light into the spiritual darkness of living beings and to lead those, who were driven hither and thither by their illusions, upon the way of the Buddha, so that they might find peace in the Mahayana. But he also wanted to look after the physical welfare of men, by healing the sick and the weak, freeing the prisoners, feeding the hungry, quenching the thirst of the thirsty, clothing the poor and providing them with the means of a life without want¹² His help also includes the cosmic relations of man, by protecting them from the dangers that threaten them from the influence of the stars or from the vicissitudes of the climate. For this reason the twelve great Generals of the Yakshas (Skt. : Mahayakshasena-pati) have offered their help to sMan-bla. With their armies they guard the treasures and forces of the earth as well as the cosmic powers of space. In this way the Yakshas become personifications of the means employed by physicians.

Thus it is logical if the Mandala of sMan-bla, which is shown in its eight separate parts by eight pictures¹³ in the Chinese book mentioned by us, we find that on the outermost circle, besides Suryaprabha and Chandraprabha, appear the twelve Yaksha Generals and the ten Lokapalas associated with them as representatives of the cosmic principles of order, the directive forces of the universe. In another context the Yaksha Generals are regarded to be the protectors of the zodiac.¹⁴ In a Mandala of the Medicine Buddha in the Uigur-Central-Asiatic art, the Generals carry the symbols of the representatives of the zodiac in their hair. Altogether it seems that there are relations between the twelve Yaksha Generals and the twelve signs of the zodiac,

At the beginning of this article we drew the attention of the reader upon the rare and remarkable iconography of sMan-bla, as demonstrated in the above-mentioned statue of a swiss private collection. There is no difficulty to understand the Bodhisattva-attire and its ornaments, since in Lamaism sMan bla is sometimes represented as a Bodhisattva, and since Bhaishajyaguru and Bhaishajaraja have not yet, as in Japan (de Visser, l.c.) and as Pelliot (l.c.) remarks developed into two different entities, of which the first has the rank of a Buddha, the second (as distinct from the Manjusrimulakalpa l.c.) the rank of a Bodhisattva. Remarkable, however, is the Lama-cap, which must not be confused with the strange headgear of some Lamaist deities, reminiscent of the cap which was worn by the French Jacobines.¹⁵

In Japan, Binzuru¹⁶ (Binzuru-Saina) a favourite popular deity of healing, is always shown with a cap. This Binzuru is regarded by some people as a manifestation of Yakushi. J. J. Rein gives a description of this cult¹⁷ in which the devotees bring the sick parts of their body in touch with the corresponding parts of the image. The same practice was followed in connection with the famous statue of sMan-bla on the ICags-po-ri near Lhasa, which was used to be invoked on the occasion of medical operations, during the preparation of medicines and during the collection of medical herbs.

But since Binzuru is meant to be one of the 16 (18) Sthaviras, namely Pindolabharadvaja, it would hardly be admissible to use his headgear as an explanation for the cap of sMan-bla. It is easier and simpler to seek the explanation in the fact that sMan-bla, being an abbreviation for sMan-gyi-bla-ma, perfectly corresponds to Yao-Shi (Skt. : Bhaishajya-Guru), which is to be translated with teacher or master and spiritual guide in the art of healing. Moreover, it is the special meaning of bLa-ma in Lamaism which accounts for the prominence of the Bhaishajyaguru, even in outer appearance, in contradistinction to the iconography of Indian, Chinese and Japanese Buddhism. This becomes evident in such passages as : "Bla-ma-med-pai-gong-rol-na sangs-rgyas-bya-ba'i-ming-yang-med" (Before the Lama there exists not even the name of the Buddha) and "sKal-pa-stong-gi-sangs-rgyas-kyang-bla-ma-dag-la-rten-nas-dug" (The Buddhas of thousand world-cycles lean upon the Lama).

The Ven. Lama Anagarika Govinda has drawn my attention upon the fact that the image of sMan-bla, discussed in this article, has his robe wrapped around his body in the wrong direction, i.e., from right to

left (cf. A. Grunwedel, *Mythologie des Buddhismus*, Leipzig 1900, Fig. 34 Padmasambhava). The cap is reminiscent of the Pad-zhva of Padmasambhava and of the sGrungs-zhva of the minstrels of the Ge-sar epic. Both of them, as also the similar headgear of some Lamaist deities (resembling the cap which was worn by the French Jacobins), go back upon non-Buddhistic traditions of the Eurasiatic region. The peaked central part of the cap points at connections with the concepts of the holy mountain in a similar way as the towerskull of the White Old Man and some Chinese fertility gods (cfr. S. Hummel, "Der Weisse Alte," in: *Sinologica* VI, 1960). We have already mentioned the origins of the ideas centering around sMan-bla in the country of Padmasambhava's birth. It does not seem likely that the image is a fake, since the back of the pedestal (in Sino-Tibetan style) shows traces of a Tibetan inscription (. . . . ming . . . 1ebskal tsh . . .) almost rubbed out by use, which indicates that the image was frequently handled. The image may belong to the Red Cap sect.¹⁸

NOTES

1. Also sMan-bla-rgyal-po and sMan-gyi-bla Beturya'i-'od-kyi-rgyal po; Skt : Bhaishajyaguru Vaiduryaprabhasa Tathagata, Bhaishajyaguru, Bhaishajaraja, Bhaishajyavaiduryaraja; Mongol : Otaci; Chinese : Yao-Shi-Liu-Li-Kuang-Ju-Lai, short : Yao-Shi-Fo; Japanese : Yaku-shi-nyorai.
2. M.W. de Visser, *Ancient Buddhism in Japan*, Leiden 1935, p.5, 18ff., 427, especially p. 542. The names and the iconographical colours of the retinue of sMan-bla in S. Hummel, *Der Medizin-Buddha und seine Begleiter* (in: *Sinologica*, II, 2, p. 81ff.), with special reference to 'sMan-bla'i-cho-ga'i-bsham-bkod kyi-lag-len-zur-du-bkol-ba'', a print published in Peking 1744 on the orders of the Chinese Emperor. The iconography of sMan-bla differs here from that given in *Bibliotheca-Buddhica*, Vol. V' only in regard to mTsan-legs-dpal, and from the version given by W. E. Clark, *Two Lamaist Pantheons*, Cambridge (M) 1937, B,137, only with regard to Chos-sgrags-rgya-mtsho'i-dby-angs. Concerning further works on the Medicine Buddha, translated in the 18th century into Chinese or Mongolian from Sanskrit or Tibetan, cfr. W. Heissig, *Die Pekingener lamaistischen Blockdrucke*, Wiesbaden 1954, p. 75 & 83; e.g. a work of the Pan-chen-Blo-bzang-chos-kyi-rgyal-mtshan.
3. *La-dvags-rgyal-rabs*, ed. A. H. Francke (in: *Journal & proc. of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, VI, I, Calcutta 1910).
4. A. Macdonald, *Le Manjusrimulakalpa*. Paris 1958, p.4 (Reviewed by S Hummel in: *Tribus* 12, p. 232 f)-B. Bhattacharya, *The Indian Buddhist Iconography*, 2nd, ed, Calcutta 1953, p. 14f. M. Lalou, *Iconographie des Etoffes Peintes (Pata) dans le Manjusrimulakalpa*, Paris 1930, p. 7, 35, table I.
5. P. Pelliot' Le Bhaishajyaguru (in: *Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient*, III, (1903, p. 33ff). M. W. de Visser, l.c. P. 5, 18ff., 427.
6. S Hummel, Mi-la-ras-pa und die bKa'-rgyud-pa Schule (in: *Kairos* V, 4, p. 305).
7. Further Chinese and Japanese representations in M. W. de Visser l. c. S. Hummel, *Der Medizinbuddha*.l.c.
8. On account of Central Asiatic concepts, according to which sMan-bla is also the Lord of the zodiac, G. Tucci (*Indo-Tibetica* Vol, III, Part I, Romæ 1935, p. 169) suspects that the number seven, consisting of sMan-bla and his six attendants, points towards planetary

- connections. Even if this were the case, it would be a later development, derived from quite different trends of thought. We shall revert to this subject in connection with the Yaksha Generals.
9. In connection with this and with regard to further parallels (for inst. the creation of Avalokitesvara through a ray of light emanating from Amitabha; cfr. a similar procedure concerning the Light-King of Mani) S. Hummel *Die lamaistischen Kultplastiken im Linden-Museum* (in : *Tribus* 11.).
 10. Cfr. G. Tucci, Preliminary Report on an Archaeological Survey in Swat (in : *East and West*, IX, 4); *Travels of Tibetan Pilgrims in the Swat Valley*. Calcutta 1940; The Tibetan White-Sun-Moon and Cognate Deities (in : *East and West*, XIV, 3-4). According to this, Padmasambhava propagated the worship of dKar-mo-nyi-zla in Tibet. This figure with the attributes of sun and moon is obviously a variation of a deity known in Central Asia and probably a product of Iranian Civilisation; cfr. in connection with this, Buddha with sun and moon a statue in Rotterdam (*Tentoonstelling Chineesche en Tibetansche Kunst*, Rotterdam 1938-1939, Table XXIII).
 11. Concerning Amitabha (Amitayus) in China and Amoghavajra, cfr. M. W. de Visser, l. c. p. 320. As to the origin of the cult of Amitabha, cfr. D. L. Snellgrove, *Buddhist Himalaya*, Oxford 1957, P. 186f.
 12. M. W. de Visser, l. c. p. 534.
 13. Cfr. the reconstruction of the Mandala in S. Hummel, *Der Medizinbuddha*, l. c. : 24 helpers on the outermost circle (3 in each of the eight pictures). Concerning the meaning of the well-known Bodhisattvas, who also accompany the sMan-bla cfr. R.F.G. Muller, *Die Krankheits und Heilgottheiten des Lamaismus* (in : *Anthropos*, 22, p. 956ff.)
 14. E. Waldschmidt, *Gandhara Kutscha Tarfan*, Leipzig 1925. p. 87f and Table 50; cfr. also S. Hummel, *Kosmische Strukturpläne der Tibeter* (in : *Geographia Helvetica* 1964, 1, p.34 ff.)
 15. S. Hummel *Die Jakobinermutze in der Umgebung des Yama* (in preparation).
 16. An illustration is published by Basil Hall Chamberlain & W. B. Mason in *A Handbook for Travellers in Japan* (Murray's Handbook), London 1899, p. 46
 17. J. J. Rein, *Japan: Travels and Researches*, London 1884, p. 458.

18. Bl. Chr. Olschak, Auf den Spuren uralten Heilwissens in Tibet (in : Ciba Symposium, Vol. XII, 3, p. 132) identify a resembling copper image with Padmasambhava. The complete inscription runs ; sNyigs-mai-'gro la-thugs-rje-yis/ 'jug-pa-yal-mang sman-gyi-blas / nad-gdon-dus-min-'chi-pa-sogs/ming-bral-bskal-thsoi-dbang-skur-shog / Concerning the translation (Olschak, 1, c.) snyigs-mai-'gro : degenerated beings of our Yuga, not sick men, dus-min-'chi : premature death, not death. sMan-bla is believed to have great power in liberating all beings from sickness, evil demons and untimely death.

CONSIDERATIONS ON TANTRIK SPIRITUALITY

—THUBTEN TENDZIN

There are three ways of considering the *Tantra*, each acceptable in its own degree : firstly, there is the relatively external way of scholarship, concerned largely with accumulating information and sifting source-material—here questions of influences and origins, and of historical affinities generally, will play a part; secondly, there is the essential and normal way of regarding *Tantra*, which can also be called the "traditional" way, under its twofold aspect of a wisdom (*prajna*) and a method (*upaya*) or, in other words, a metaphysical theory (lest we forget it, the primitive meaning of the Greek word *theoria* is "vision"—दर्शन=दृष्टि) together with its appropriate means of concentration, its yogic expedients; thirdly there is what might be described as a generalised "tantrik sense" whereby it is possible to recognise the existence, in places where the name of *Tantra* has been unknown, of analogous doctrines and methods, thus providing concurrent evidence in favour of the spiritual methods in question. Let us see how the *Tantra* will appear when viewed from each of these different angles.

Firstly, the scholarly approach : it should be pointed out, from the outset, that this manner of regarding the subject (or indeed any subject) can be given both a legitimate and an illegitimate form. The true value of scholarship in an ancillary one : it is obviously advantageous to the student, whether engaged in a strictly religious pursuit or otherwise, to be provided with reliable texts and references of various kinds, a task which he himself, lacking the detailed knowledge and training, could hardly undertake for himself; likewise it may be helpful, in an indirect way, to form a picture of the historical background of one's religion; and again, a discussion by experts of the exact bearing of the various technical terms figuring in one's texts can be very useful, since in course of time people often lose sight of certain shades of meaning these terms will have borne for the authors who first used them and which more or less thoughtless repetition may afterwards have blurred—this applies especially to translated texts. All this pertains to the cardinal Buddhist virtue of "mindfulness" in varying proportions, from which it can be seen that the conscientious scholar is able to render a very genuine service in this field.

The abusive employment of scholarship, on the other hand, which has become well-nigh all-invading in recent times, consists in examining sacred writings and other religious phenomena in the light, or rather in the darkness, of an inbuilt profane prejudice, with

the set purpose of reducing them, one and all, to the status of historical, anthropological or sociological accidents, by an explaining away of every transcendent element to be found there—revelation, inspiration, intellection—in purely humanistic terms. The latest and in many ways deadliest addition to this process of subversion is the psychological interpretation of religion, of which the Freudian and Jungian schools provide two representative forms, the one being avowedly materialistic and hostile, while the other affects a sympathetic attitude on the strength of a deftly nurtured system of equivocations, as between things of the spiritual and of the psychic order : the Tantrik doctrines have not escaped an attempted annexation to this point of view and the same applies to *Zen*. The fact is that nowadays even Oriental commentators, who might be expected to see further than their Western colleagues, often exhibit a most uncritical haste in adopting the latest exegetic aberrations and this trend has amounted, in many cases, to a regular intellectual stampede before the modern "scientism" or, in other words, to an urge towards religious and intellectual suicide. It is necessary to be warned of this danger, which is spreading far and wide on both sides of the globe today¹.

It is under the heading of scholarship, which here must be taken in a very broad sense, that a question is best discussed which has largely entered into the present symposium on the *Tantra* namely the relationship (if any) between its Buddhist and Hindu forms : admittedly, to answer a question like this fully, more than conventional scholarship is required; any attempted comment must in fact be accompanied by a certain metaphysical insight, able to look beyond the letter of texts and formulations to the underlying spirit in both the cases under comparison.

When the Tantrik writings first began to attract serious notice outside the Indian world, largely thanks to the outstanding studies of a late Chief Justice of Calcutta High Court, Sir John Woodroffe (better known by his pen-name of Arthur Avalon), the fact that he himself, as a Sanskritist in close touch with Bengali *pandits* devoted the greater part of his work to the Hindu *Shaktas* and their doctrines, led to a hasty assumption by many, that the Buddhist *Tantras*, which Arthur Avalon had barely touched on, were but an extension of the Hindu Tantrik corpus : the existence in both cases of an "erotic" symbolism, that is to say a representation of reality as the inter-play of a pair of conjoint principles respectively pictured as male and female, seemed to lend colour to the above conclusion : it hardly needs saying that this seeming polarisation into two divinities, as *Shiva* and *Shakti* in the one case and as the various Buddhas, with their female counterparts, in the other, implies no radical

dualism; the Tantrik point of view is *advaitic* through and through, so that it is only at the point of indistinguishable union (*maithuna*) of the male and female principles thus depicted that the truth is effectively to be found. The male divinity and his partner essentially *are* one another and can never be regarded apart; the static *is* the creative or productive power and *vice versa* and indeed, it is the very fact that a numerical unity has been avoided in the symbolism, in favour of the more subtle idea of non-duality, that makes the Tantrik symbolical language so peculiarly eloquent and its corresponding methods so effective in unloosing the hold of dualistic habit on the human mind².

Prior to the publication of Arthur Avalon's series of volumes, the Tantrik practices and also their associated iconography had become a favourite target of vicious insinuation, firstly on the part of ignorant Western commentators, especially missionaries, obsessed with unclean suspicions wherever the word "sex" is even mentioned and, following their example, also on the part of Westernised Orientals; this prejudice has died hard and it is only in the last few years that the *Tantra* have begun to be regarded in the world at large as respectable, let alone as spiritually important, doctrines. It is largely thanks to observations carried out in the Tibetan field that this welcome, if belated change has come about. When one looks back to the end of last century and the early years of the present one, barring the lonely voice of Avalon, very few Western writers had a good word to say on the subject: typical examples of the then prevailing prejudice are Madame Blavatsky³ and Waddell⁴, to mention two well-known names. Even as late as 1936 an excellent scholar like the Japanese professor Tajima, himself an adherent of a Tantrik school (*Shingon*), voiced the current prejudice, not against Tantrism as a whole, but against the Tibetan form of it, by suggesting that whereas those Chinese and Japanese Tantrik doctrines he himself favoured had originated, historically speaking, from Nalanda the Tibetan ones, according to him, had mostly issued from Vikramashila which he wrote off as the home of relatively popular and superstitious beliefs and practices; his evidence for so thinking was, however, by no means clear. In any case, one is minded to ask, what about Naropa and his Six Doctrines, since he certainly belonged to Nalanda? And where would Marpa and Mila Repa and so much of Tibet's finest esoteric flowering have been without them? If a man as well informed as Professor Tajima could still echo, even slightly, these old prejudices, this but goes to show how thoroughly the various slanderers of *Tantra* had gone about their work of slinging mud. There is no doubt, however, that it is the "sexy" denigration of the erotic

symbolism that has chiefly helped to fog the issue, over and above whatever genuine problems the question of origins might have presented for more informed minds.

If I may be allowed here to strike a personal note, I should like to explain that when I first became aware of the place of *Tantra* in Tibetan tradition and art, my first impulse was to strike a blow in its defence, in opposition to the prejudiced reports still current at the time, as described above; in the first flush of discovery that such a thing as a Tantrik Buddhism existed and that it was a treasury of beautiful and eminently significant symbols I was ready to give tongue to my enthusiasm, but certainly was not competent to go very far on the interpretative side—Avalon's treatises were then almost my only source of information, and very precious they were at the time. That is why I readily resorted to Hindu usage, by referring to the *Yum* divinities as "Consort-Energies" when writing my first book *Peaks and Lamas*; too much, however, should not be read into this allusion, which was largely accidental and certainly did not amount to a technical appraisal of a definitive kind.

Even at that early date, however, I did perceive one thing, which others have since pointed out from a position of greater information, namely that the sexual symbolism, common to the Buddhist and Hindu *Tantra*, nevertheless exhibits a divergence, as between the two schools, touching the way in which the sexual attributions are respectively applied; that is to say, in Hindu Tantrism, *Shiva* (or any other male form of divinity) represents the static aspect while the corresponding female form represents the dynamic or creative aspect; hence her quality of *Shakti* female-energy⁵ which, in Hindu parlance, has become the generic term for all heavenly Consorts. In Buddhism, on the other hand the symbolical pairing takes on an impersonal form (which agrees with the Buddhist "spiritual economy" in general) and it also works the other way round inasmuch as here it is *prajna*, the female partner, who seems to indicate the more static aspect of the symbolism—"wisdom" is essentially a state or quality of being—while the male element in the syzygy is referred to as method (*upaya*) which, on the face of it, carries dynamic implications, since it is thanks to a deploying of the right means with their accompanying effort, that *prajna* is able to be realised in the heart of the *Sadhaka*. Moreover, the traditional assimilating of *upaya* to *compassion* (itself a dynamic conception) lends additional weight to the view that the Buddhist Tantrik symbolism works the opposite way to the Hindu: from which

some polemically-minded writers, filled with pro-Buddhist patriotism, have gladly drawn the conclusion that Buddhist Tantrism is something entirely alien to the Hindu Tantrism; to which they add as a rider, supported by rather tendentiously selected and interpreted evidence, that it is anterior in origin and that it was the Hindus who borrowed these methods from the Buddhists (as well as other things) and then imposed on them, *a posteriori* the specifically Hindu notion of power, *shakti*.

Without claiming to be a scholar myself, I do not consider an explanation of this kind necessary in order to account for the available evidence and the same applies in regard to criteria of a more profound kind. the truth would rather seem to be that what can, without abuse of language, be called the "Tantrik Revelation" belongs to both the great Indian traditions which it embraced, as it were in answer to a "cyclic need", in one providential overflowing of the Spirit in a manner that implies no derogation respecting the originality of either traditional form—rather let us see herein an example of that universal and divine Compassion which, in apparent disregard of all rationally delimited frontiers, provides what is needed for the salvation of suffering beings at a given time and place. It is not without reason that the Tantrik *Sadhanas*, wherever these are followed are regarded as a way most appropriate to the conditions of the present phase of the world cycle, where more primordial and, in a sense, more inflexible ways no longer fully match the need.

To sum up the above view : the representation of non-duality in the guise of a merging of male and female conjugal love, as well as the variously characteristic yogic practices connected therewith, is enough to prove the fundamental kinship between the Hindu and Buddhist *Tantra* and that despite some important divergencies as to detail. Granted this basic identity it is going too far, however, to try and establish a point to point correspondence in the respective symbolisms: *shakti* and *prajna* are not simply interchangeable ideas, and each of the two Tantrik currents has evidently given rise to some original features, consonantly with its own peculiar genius, so that the impersonal *prajna-upaya* relationship that has characterized *Mahayana* Buddhism on the one hand and the personified presentation characteristic of Hindu theism, *Shiva-Shakti*, on the other, have been able to grow out of the same erotic symbolism without risk of confusion in either direction. I doubt if one will get much nearer the truth of the matter than this⁶.

By way of illustrating what might be described as a "metaphysi-

cal subterfuge'', typical in its way, whereby an underlying identity is able to be discerned across an apparent expression of inter-religious rivalry, I would like to relate a rather amusing explanation given me by a Lama when I was staying near Shigatse in 1947 : we were speaking about the Kailas and its pilgrimage and I had just made the observation that the divinity dwelling on the sacred summit, *Demchhog* (བདེ་མཚོག = महासुख/सम्पन्न) for the Tibetans and Lord *Shiva*, for the Hindus, appeared to have much the same attributes : might one not infer from this, I asked, that *Demchhog* and *Shiva* are one and the same divinity and that each is, in effect, the other under a different name ? "Oh no" said the Lama 'you are mistaken in thinking thus. *Shiva* is the name of a Hindu god whom *Demchhog*, in the name of Buddhism, challenged and overcame, after which he appropriated his mountain and all his major and minor attributes, his *Yum* included"—a truly delightful way of by-passing traditional differences while seeming to make no concession to the other side. Nor must we overlook the fact that, according to this explanation, the Lady *Parvati* exchanged her former quality of *Shakti* for that of her new husband's *prajna* without turning a hair, which in a way sums up the whole position, but without trying to rationalise it in an unnecessary degree.

Having dwelt so long on this much canvassed question of affinities it will only be possible to touch briefly on the second of our three aspects of *Tantra*, on what was described at the outset as its normal or traditional aspect. In this connection it may well be asked, in view of the worldwide religious crisis going on today, whether any of the Tantrik *Sadhana*s still remain viable for men of the present generation and if so, what are the conditions allowing a man to opt for this way. The answer is that wherever the traditional structure has withstood the pressure of the times sufficiently to allow a would-be *Sadhaka* to find a *guru* qualified to initiate and give instruction there is no reason for him to hold off from following this line; let him profit from any discoverable opportunity while the going is good. If a door that is open today becomes closed tomorrow it will then be time to think again; but there is no reason to anticipate on this worser eventuality. Admittedly, the sacrilegious over-running of Tibet, the chosen home of *Tantra*, has left the adjoining countries sadly unsupported : it is as if a bountiful fountain of spiritual influence has suddenly dried up. It would be going too far, however, to say that all opportunities of this kind have disappeared in the neighbouring region; in Japan also, the Tantrik initiations of *Shingon* and *Tendai* still carry on, which is marvellous in a country where profane forms of education together

with industrialism have been developed to an extreme degree, as has happened there. It is these developments, fruits of the conjunction of an asuric substitute for *prajna* with a no less asuric *upaya* which everywhere constitute the greatest threat to religious life. Contemporary man, helpless slave of his own mechanical creations, remains as if suspended between two karmically interconnected explosions, the nuclear one and the "population explosion". Lacking all discernment, he diverts to the purveyors of rockets to the moon that admiration that once was offered to the Buddhas and the Saints. This fascination exerted on the human mind by trivialities inflated to monstrous proportions is in fact one of the characteristic notes of the fearful era foretold by Tsong Khapa (and also by the Scriptures of all peoples) "when impurity grows greater and greater" (ཉེན་མ་ཚེ་ཆེ་བའི་དུས་). This era is now upon us as part of our *karma*, which we cannot hope to by-pass but have to face: what then is the attitude required of us under these unavoidably distressing circumstances?

Surely the answer every true *Sadhaka* will give is this, namely that "the world is always the world even when times seem fair; so also *Bodhi* is *Bodhi* even in an accursed hour. Therefore, I myself, be I even left as the sole follower of the Way in a world grown hopelessly inattentive, shall continue to pursue the Way and not look back"—surely this is the only practical attitude for anyone to take up. under whatever circumstances: the essential message of the *Sutras* and *Tantras* does not differ from this.

Though it was natural to refer first, when broaching the above question, to the parents lands of *Tantra*, in Asia, it might also be asked whether, under the exceptional conditions now prevailing, some exporting of Tantrik methods might not take place in other directions, leading to a fresh local flowering; those who put these question are usually thinking of the dispersion of Tibetan Lamas in various alien lands, whereby some are hoping that a new impetus may be given to slumbering spiritual forces in the West. To such a question one can only answer that exceptional adaptations are always theoretically possible; they cannot be ruled out in principle. Humanly speaking, however, and on a more obvious showing, the kind of spiritual *upayas* that will be feasible under conditions where the environment is no longer traditionally receptive are likely to differ in various respects from those to which recourse can be had under circumstances of greater human normality; less complex spiritual instruments would seem to lend themselves best to so critical a situation.

Among *upayas* of this nature, requiring very little in the way of set conditions for their methodic utilisation, the various forms of "invocation" (*japa*) centred round the presence of a holy Name, focus of mantric power, are the first to come to mind. One characteristic example is the *Nembutsu*, the *mantra* belonging to *Shin* Buddhism in Japan and enshrining the name of *Amitabha Buddha* as its operative theme; it is moreover evident that the similar use of the *mantra* of *Chenrezig*, in Tibet, which could also be called the "quintessential invocation", is closely akin to the *Nembutsu* in intention, if only by reason of the principal relationship of the *Bodhisattva Chenrezig* and the Buddha *Opagmed (Amitabha)*, as proved "mythologically" by the origination of the former from the head of the latter. Similarly, in Eastern Christianity, we have the "Jesus Prayer", an invocatory formula the use of which by the contemplatives of Mount Athos is extremely reminiscent of certain Tantrik methods. Again, in the Islamic world, we find the invocation (*dhikr*) of the Supreme Name, which is the central *upaya* of the Sufic initiations and of the spiritual confraternities (*turuq*) attached to them. The important thing to note in every such case is that the formula invoked as *mantra* will always point to three possible levels of realisation: when used as a means of gaining merit, good *karma*, it has a relatively external applicability; it can also be used as a means of deepening piety, when it comes under the heading of a *bhaktic* support; lastly, the same formula can be the basis of a properly *jnanic* realisation (this implies a methodic invocation under guidance by a qualified Spiritual Master), whereby this *upaya* rejoins the methods of the *Tantras*, inasmuch as it is able to take one to the gate of Deliverance itself.

It is evident that, by comparison with the ways described above; the Tantrik meditations, which by the nature of things demand long periods, free from interruption for their normal accomplishment, remain relatively unadaptable; what is suitable in a spiritual summer may not be so in the wintry days of profane degeneration. To speculate on what is or is not any longer possible hardly falls within the scope of the present discussion; all one can do is to watch for signs and, where these appear to respond in the most appropriate way,

What, however, does deserve attention, not only within the Hindu-cum Buddhist world but also in the lands beyond, is what may fittingly be called "the Spirit of *Tantra*", our third category in the preamble to this essay. What then are the criteria wherewith to recognise that spirit, wherever it may occur? In its way, this question is important under all

circumstances and every man of spiritual intent stands to gain from its answering, even if his own way of realisation does not assume one of the forms coming under the Tantrik label. A short discussion of this question will therefore provide a natural conclusion to the present considerations on Tantrik spirituality.

Essentially one can speak of a "Tantrik sense" or a 'Tantrik spirit' (the former being the faculty wherewith to recognise the presence of the latter) in connection with any doctrine or method of which the conscious aim is a *transmutation* of the human soul in such a way as to enable the true Intelligence, the "mind of *Bodhi*" to emerge and take command. This process is properly an *alchemical* one, inasmuch as no element in the soul is actually to be destroyed or cut out; the Tantrik technique consists in putting to use whatever exists there, without exception; which in its turn implies the possibility of converting whatever is base or polluted into something pure and noble.

In medieval Europe, as also in the Islamic world, the alchemical sciences, were founded on this idea: according to the mineral symbolism they used, *lead*, the basest metal, was to be transmuted, quickly or by stages, into the solar metal, *gold*; in Hindu terms, this is a question of redressing the balance of the *gunas*, lead being the metal in which *tamas* predominates while gold is the most *sattvic* metal of all. In the course of this process certain other symbolical substances, notably *sulphur* and *mercury*, were called into play at various stages of the alchemical operation. If even in the Middle Ages the ignorant sometimes credited the alchemists with a literal intention of getting rich by manufacturing gold from lead, historians of modern science have displayed a similar ignorance in believing that Alchemy was simply a primitive attempt to do what the present-day chemist does and that the various materials referred to were what their names indicate and no more; it is thanks to a few investigators who have taken the trouble to study the alchemical writings with proper care and an open mind that this hitherto misunderstood science, so close to the *Tantra* in intention, has at last been cleared of the crude misconceptions that had gathered round it especially in modern times⁷.

A particularly important point to note in connection with Alchemy is the recognition, across all apparent differences, of a common essence linking together the two substances to be found at the beginning and end of the transmutative process. If the Alchemist in course of his investigations happens to find lead mixed in with other metals, he does not

hastily throw it on the scrap heap since, to his discerning eye, its leaden dullness already masks the potential radiance of pure gold. Therefore, he treasures it like the rest while considering the proper means for converting it into what by rights it should be; his attitude is typically "advaitic" and so is his technique. In fact, certain Alchemists have declared that lead, or any "base" metal, is essentially gold fallen sick; gold is lead free from all illness. One might well parallel this statement, from the Tantrik side, by saying that a worldly man is nothing but a sick Buddha; a Buddha is a man who has been wholly healed of his existential sickness.

Together with the idea of transmutation, on which all alchemical processes depend, has gone a certain attitude towards the ethical prescriptions of religion which, in the case of the *Tantra*, is among those features that have on occasion provoked accusations of moral laxity of the kind alluded to earlier in this essay. This attitude consists in regarding even a person's vices as a source of latent power, as a virtue misapplied but still utilisable if one knows the proper way to handle it; simply to suppress the outward expression of a vicious tendency, by a single-handed effort of the will carried out when in a state of relative unawareness, may not be the most effective way to rid the soul of the tendency in question—not to mention the danger of letting in another and worse evil in order to fill a vacuum created in a psychic substance not yet conditioned to attract a compensating element from a purely spiritual direction: Christ's story of the seven devils rushing in to occupy the house left empty after the expulsion of the single previous devilish occupant provides a vivid illustration of this particular danger. The Tantrik or Alchemical healer bases certain of his practices on an awareness that by comparison with the characteristic slipperiness of human thought, a passion often displays a relatively simple and graspable character, such as allows of its being made to serve as the "raw material" of an alchemical operation in its early stages; to handle a passionate element provisionally as an *upaya* for an avowedly spiritual purpose does not in the least imply a condoning of passion as such and, still less, any writing down of the virtue whereof that passion is the negative reflexion or shadow. All such a healer does is to view any particular passion in relation to the process of purification considered as a whole, which may sometimes require that it be tolerated provisionally for reasons of psychic equilibrium, though certainly not excused in itself. The true Tantrik practitioner is interested in an integral regeneration, nothing less; that is why, for him, every property of body and mind will have its proper place there, the art being to know how to put each thing in its place, without omission or suppression of any utilisable factor, be appearances as they will. Individual abuses apart, it is

in the light of this general principle that those Tantrik practices must be judged which have been the occasion of "scandal" to the conventional moralists; anyone who approaches the question in this way will need no further convincing that the Tantrik tradition is as much concerned as exoteric religion with the promotion and practice of the virtues; only its manner of pursuing this purpose goes deeper than symptoms, than the mere form of acts. being in fact most concerned with the medium in which these acts are able to arise, which it tries to transmute so that only virtue is able to survive there.

A virtue, for one engaged on any esoteric path, is primarily a mode of knowing or, to be more accurate, a factor dispositive to Enlightenment. Similarly, a vice will be rated as a factor of ignorance, or as a cause of thickening the existential veil between the human subject and the light; this way of regarding good and evil is a properly "intellectual" (*jnanic*) one, the usual perspective of merit and demerit being by comparison, relatively external and dualistic, but not wholly untrue for that—indeed far from it. To practice a virtue is then like clearing a window in the soul, to indulge a vice is like smearing that same window with dirt; that is why the practice of the virtues is not less important for one pursuing the *jnanic* way than for the *karma yogin* or the *bhakta* (for the latter it is pleasing or offending the Beloved that counts); more or less enigmatic references in the Tantrik writings to the man for whom the distinction between good and evil has ceased to matter need not deceive anyone on that score.

No better description of *Tantra*, in a European language, can be found than to call it an "alchemical science of the soul" whereby the lead of samsaric existence becomes transmuted into what it already is in principle, namely the *Bodhic* gold, eternally gleaming.

NOTES

1. In this connection, attention can fittingly be drawn to a very important article published in the quarterly review *Tomorrow*, from the pen of Mr. Titus Burckhardt, in which, among other things, the theories of Jung are critically examined: the article is entitled *Cosmology and Modern Science* and appeared in the summer and autumn numbers 1964 and in the winter number 1965 of the journal in question; part iii deals with the psychological theories concerning religion. Another

work containing similar criticism is *Western Psychology and Hindu Sadhana* by Dr. Hans Jacob (published by Allen and Unwin, London); the author is himself an eminent psychiatrist who at one time studied under Jung, but later came to discover both the fallacies underlying so much of Western psychological teaching and also the vast superiority of the Hindu and Buddhist handling of the human *psyche*.

2. The Chinese symbolism of *Yin-Yang* conveys a similar message : here *Yin*; the female principle portrayed as dark in hue and representing the passive and potential side of things (*Shakti* might well be rendered as 'potency') and *Yang* the male, light in hue and representing their active or essential side, are combined in a circular diagram (in its way a kind of *mandala*) the interlocked halves of which evidently correspond to the state of *maithuna*; each half moreover displays one tiny spot of the opposing colour whereby is indicated the non-dualistic interpenetration of the principles thus depicted.
3. See *The Voice of the Silence*, where the Tantrik methods are repeatedly stigmatised as dark and unsavoury; it is evident that the lady founder of the Theosophical Society accepted the current libels without the least suspicion that they were tainted. Incidentally, this attitude of hers shows up the absurdity of the claim that *The Voice of the Silence* was a translation, or shall we say a free adaptation, of an ancient Tibetan scripture. Anti-Tantrik sentiments in a supposedly Tibetan context take a lot of swallowing, to say nothing of the obviously European flavour of the whole text.
4. See his *Lamaism* (Heffer) which despite its much factual material is a regular tissue of misleading statements prompted by sectarian dislike. Waddell's persistent rendering of the female Wrathful Deities as "fiendesses" is but one example of the lengths to which his own prejudices carried that writer.
5. It might be mentioned in passing, as an instructive example of "spiritual coincidence", that in the Christian Church under its Orthodox (Eastern) form the doctrine of the "Divine Energies", first fully expounded by the great 14th century doctor St. Gregory Palamas, is distinctly reminiscent of the Hindu idea of *Shakti* which the word "energy" admirably render. According to the Palamite theology God creates the world, not by His Essence, but by His Energies.

6. Similar views have been expressed by Dr, S. B. Dasgupta in his abundantly documented *Introduction to Tantric Buddhism* published by the University of Calcutta in 1950; second edition in 1958. This distinguished scholar, while readily admitting the greater extent and variety of the Buddhist Tantrik literature as compared with the Hindu, nevertheless maintains and, as it seems to me, substantiates the thesis that "Tantricism, whether Hindu or Buddhistic... are fundamentally the same". He certainly does not overlook any of the differences of expression and practice that distinguish the two traditions. His appraisal of the basic theology behind the symbolism is clear and concise, while the wealth of illustration and commentary is of the most satisfying proportions. It is noteworthy that here and there in this book the author refers to one or other Buddhist goddess as the *shakti* of her corresponding male divinity; the content shows, in every case, that here he is making a purely conventional use of the term, as is but natural in one Indian-born; had he been speaking of the Hellenic gods, he would doubtless have referred to Hera as the *shakti* of Zeus; nothing further is to be read into this proceeding on his part, which explains itself at a glance. All that one can usefully add is to say that, given the slight verbal inaccuracy in introducing the term *shakti* into a Buddhist context, the word "consort" (which exactly renders the Tibetan *Yum*) is to be preferred as precluding all possible terminological confusions.

7. One of the most authoritative, as well as intelligible works on the subject now available is *Alchimie*, by Titus Burckhardt, the same author whose name figured in note 1, the publisher is Walter-Verlag, of Oiten and Freiburg in Breisgau. This book, which is copiously documented, exists at present in German and Italian; as English translation is much to be desired.

TIBET'S STATUS DURING THE WORLD WAR

—NIRMAL C. SINHA

I

While the scholars of Tibetan history and culture generally uphold Tibetan sovereignty in the past the scholars of Chinese history and culture generally reject this. For instance, a well-known scholar of Chinese civilization finds the Chinese claim "quite unchallengeable" for the simple reason that "No Chinese government, least of all that of the Kuomintang, has ever renounced China's rights over Tibet". (Fitzgerald: *The Birth of Communist China*, Pelican 1964, p. 245) "To the Chinese all territory which had once acknowledged the Empire as lord, all territory which had been part of China, was forever Chinese" (Ibid, p. 198)

In Vol. I, No. 1 of this *Bulletin* a brief survey of Tibet's status in historical times was made. Now it is proposed to notice certain facts from the history of the Second World War; these facts throw light on Tibet's status a few years before the Sino-Tibetan Agreement for Liberation of Tibet (23 May 1951).

II

From the middle of the nineteenth century many Western countries were in enjoyment of extra-territorial rights in China. While similar rights in other Eastern countries came to be abrogated with the rise of such countries (Japan 1899, Turkey 1923, Siam 1927 and Persia 1928) and while Belgium, Italy, Poland, Spain and Denmark relinquished their extra-territorial rights in China in pursuance of the recommendations of the Washington Conference (1921), Great Britain and U.S.A, continued their extra-territoriality in China till the Second World War. This was notwithstanding a Chinese Government Mandate of 1929 (December) that on and after New Year's (1 January 1930) "all foreign nationals in the territory of China who are enjoying extra-territorial privileges shall abide by the laws, ordinances and regulations" of the Chinese Government. The promulgation was more in keeping with the tradition and mystique of Chinese state-craft than with the realities of the prospects. There was no question of the Red Barbarians answering the call when even the Yellow Barbarians in Tibet and Mongolia had long ceased to kowtow to the mandates from Peking.

But the exigencies of war in which China was uplifted to the level of the Four Allies demanded the abrogation of British and American extra-territoriality in China. Besides being an infringement of

her sovereignty and a symbol of her inferiority, such extra-territoriality was considered to be the *fons et origo* of all the evils of China (Chiang Kai-shek : *China's Destiny*, first published in March 1943.) When on 11 January 1943 U.S.A. and Great Britain relinquished such rights and privileges China became full sovereign on her own territory. What was the precise extent of this territory ?

While U.S.A. had extra-territorial rights in China, Great Britain had such rights in Tibet as well. A notice of the treaty between Great Britain and China of 11 January 1943 (*v. British Parly. Papers 1943, Cmd. 6456*) is therefore relevant for the study of Tibet's status. Yet this document has so far escaped the attention of the diplomat, the lawyer or the historian enquiring into the subject.

Article I of the Treaty described, for the High Contracting Parties. For China the expression was "all the territories of the Republic of China". Now if Tibet was one of these territories Tibet came under the purview of the Treaty leading to the abrogation of British extra-territoriality in Tibet. The Truth was however otherwise. There was absolutely no mention of Tibet or British rights in Tibet anywhere in the Treaty or in the Notes exchanged.

On the other hand the British rights in Tibet continued unabated till 1947 when such rights passed on to the succeeding state of independent India. So neither by specific mention nor by any implication, Tibet could be considered on 11 January 1943 as a territory of China. It is clear from the context that "all the territories of the Republic of China" was not just a Mandarin phraseology,

[Hong Kong, for instance, was not discussed at the conference table (Reuter Telegram, London, even date ; Hong Kong being a part of British sovereignty from August 1842 not a territory of China under international law; from 25 December 1941 till 30 August 1945 it was under Japanese occupation; on 30 August 1945 Hong Kong reverted to British sovereignty,]

There were indeed grave considerations, legal or moral, which ruled out discussion of Tibet at the Chungking conference. Precise nature of these considerations is not known. What is known is that all through the war Great Britain and U. S. A. were pro-China and yet Tibet, as much as Mongolia, could not be called a territory of China. It is noteworthy that *China's Destiny*, which was under print when the negotiations about extra-territoriality were taken in hand, contained the

Chinese claims to Mongolia and Tibet and the Chinese edition (March 1943) had even a map showing Mongolia and Tibet as Chinese territory.

The British extra-territoriality in Tibet was not much less extraordinary than that in China proper. The British rights in Tibet were based on treaties concluded between Great Britain and Tibet : (1) Lhasa convention of 7 September, 1904 and (2) Simla Convention of 3 July, 1914 (along with the Trade Regulations of even date). It is not necessary to extract here all the relevant clauses from these Conventions which are found in the British official publication, Aitchison : *Treaties, Engagements etc.* Vol XIV [Calcutta 1929] and are also reproduced in Richardson : *Tibet and Its History* (Oxford 1929). These extra-territorial rights may be described thus : (i) Trade Marts at Yatung, Gyantse and Gartok to facilitate trade between British and Tibetan subjects; (ii) Armed escorts (military personnel) for British Trade Agents; (iii) Special procedure for trial of disputes between British and Tibetan subjects; (iv) British jurisdiction for disputes between British subjects; (v) British Posts and Telegraphs from Indian frontier to the Trade Marts; and (vi) No Tibetan forts and fortifications on the highways connecting the Indian frontier with Gyantse and Lhasa.

The Chungking Treaty of 11 January 1943 did not cover the above rights nor did these rights lapse to any degree. Armed escorts were maintained notwithstanding the advice of Indian Army Hq. against keeping them away from their units particularly during the War. Special jurisdictional procedures were meticulously followed and disputes involving British subjects were tried by British Trade Agents; one such BTA, a Sikkimese in British foreign service, recalls several cases affecting person and property till 1947. British Posts and Telegraphs had to cope with larger demands on their resources. Increased British control over trade was necessitated to open new outlets for Tibetan wool. Even though anachronistic the British extra-territorial rights in Tibet were operating in 1947. Independent India succeeded to these rights and exercised these as and when necessary for nearly six years.

The Agreement between India and China of 29 April 1954 (along with the Notes exchanged), which terminated these extra-territorial rights devolving upon India, referred to the then existing military escorts and postal, telegraph and public telephone services but curiously enough did not mention the legal basis of the capitulations. For India the Treaty of 29 April 1954 was a spiritual transaction in which all hereditaments of British imperialism including the documentary vestiges were relinquished;

for China it was a diplomatic victory so much so that Tibet's title to negotiate treaties could be later challenged in China's boundary disputes with India. The point for consideration here is that as cooked documents do not establish new facts so lacunae in documents cannot black out established facts and their legal significance.

The Chungking Treaty of 11 January, 1943 between Great Britain and China bears testimony to the status of Tibet during the Second World War. The Peking Treaty of 29 April, 1954 between India and China bears testimony to the status of Tibet after Liberation. The change in status was effected by the Sino-Tibetan Agreement of 23 May, 1951 for Liberation. (Richardson : op. cit. given these two documents in extenso)

There are other facts which bear testimony to the status of Tibet during the Second World War.

III

While in the First World War Great Britain and her Allies received a positive and generous support from Tibet, in the Second the Allies had Tibetan prayers for restoration of peace. Tibet did not participate in this War and in spite of all promises and threats from Great Britain, USA and China she remained neutral throughout. Tibet vis-a-vis China was thus more like Ireland (Irish Free State) and less like India (British India and Indian States) vis-a-vis Great Britain.

Now it is a commonplace of international law that in war all the territories of a belligerent become "region of war"; if any territory is outside this region that territory is not within the sovereignty of the belligerent concerned. This is true of all territories, colonies, protectorates, trusts and mandates; even a state under suzerainty falls within this region. (Oppenheim: *International Law*, Vol 2, Sect 71) If Tibet was neutral, that is outside China's region of war, then she had ceased to be under China's suzerainty even. Tibet is sometimes called China's marginal territory (Lattimore); the War found that Tibet was beyond the margin of Chinese suzerainty.

I intend to write separately on Tibet between 1942 and 1945 with details from certain series of unpublished papers. All that I need say here is that Tibet professed and practised neutrality during this war. The mounting overtures and pressures of 1942-44 were politely and firmly handled by the Office of Foreign Affairs at Lhasa; this office was set up in 1942 as an answer to the Chinese innovation of designating their Lhasa agency as a branch of the Commission for Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs. All Anglo-American proposals for supply routes and overland transport of war materials through Tibet were turned down. Large cash offerings to temples and monasteries were of no avail. American officials could not even obtain visas for Tibet on Chinese recommendation and British recommendation had to certify that such American officials were not connected with the prosecution of the war. Tibet's monk officials and feudal bureaucrats indeed ensured that Tibet was not involved in any unneutral service;

Notes & Topics

ON TANTRA

In Vol. 1, No. 2 we started a symposium on the Tantras : the different systems and their contents, their origins and affinities, with an introductory paper by Professor Nalinaksha Dutt.

Dutt in concluding said : 'These two parallel conceptions in the Hindu and Buddhist Tantric systems brought about the coalescence of the two systems in South-East Asia. In India particularly it is one of the many causes for the merging of Buddhism in Hinduism leading ultimately to the disappearance of Buddhism from India'.

Lama Anagarika Govinda in his article in Vol. II, No. 1 said : "By confusing Buddhist Tantrism with the Saktism of the Hindu Tantras a basic misconception has been created which up to the present day has prevented a clear understanding of the Vajrayana and its symbolism, in iconography as well as in literature, especially that of the Siddhas".

Mr. Marco Pallis, writing under his Buddhist name of Thubten Tenzin, says in the present issue (p. 22) . "the representation of non-duality in the guise of a merging of male and female conjugal love, as well as the variously characteristic yogic practices connected therewith, is enough to prove the fundamental kinship between the Hindu and Buddhist Tantra and that despite some important divergencies as to detail".

We expect to present a few more contributions on the various issues and facets of the Tantra.

In note 6 of his article (p. 29) Marco Pallis refers to Dr. S. B. Dasgupta. This very distinguished scholar passed away untimely on 21 July 1964. It is proposed to cull some extracts from his writings after we have obtained necessary permission from those who hold copy right.

NCS

Bulletin of Tibetology

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