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A ME\textsc{trical} SUMMARY OF THE SADHARMA-PUNDARIKA
SUTRA IN GOSTANA-DESA

- H. W. BAILEY

In the cities of the Sita (Taiim) basin in Chinese Turkestan, the cities of Khotan (Gosdka, Khotana, Khotana), Yarkand, Kashghar and Tumsuq (near Marabashi), a people who called themselves Saka and of whom some still live in the inaccessible plateaus of the Pamirs, maintained a flourishing civilization for about a thousand years. From the early centuries of Buddhism 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, Hottal, 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 Gosdana, where the royal family Vis\textsc{ra} 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 upasappada, the karmanagama was in the Indian language (E 13, 36 hinduvarana 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 hauna hauna kau dyasa da arthi hauna means 'in language of Hottal so that they can realize 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 Jatakas (which has over fifty Jataka tales), of the Jataka of Nanda (known also in a Buddhist Sanskrit manuscript in the Cambridge University Library), the evadana-narrative of Jhanaka and Manthaka in verse, the evadana of Asoka and Kunala in prose. The philosophical works of the older Abhidharma are cited and the later sastra: tika, vishnu, yoga-sutra, yoga-sutra, the eight prak\textsc{vana}. In translations (P 55.36 p 28; Or 821.102 37 in my Khotanese Texts II 3) we have in whole or in part such texts as the Suvarna bhava-sutra, Bhadra-carya-desana Sunuksha-sutra, Surangama-samadhi-sutra, Manjusrinaladbhutavatara-sutra, Vajracchedik\textsc{a} and others. Of non-religious interest the material is less, but we find some lyrical poems, medical texts, a report of a journey from Gosdka to the Adhibhavana 'capital' of Kasama, 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 Anna's (preserved in the Thibetan Li-yol-yi fun-batan-po) that Gostana had sixteen Mahananghiika gtsug lai than, vihara, besides the many royal foundations of the more developed Jnana 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 civilization 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 Saddharma-pundarika-sutra, the Lotus of the Good Dharma, from the Gostana texts. There is no proper translation, but in the manuscript P 2792 (published in *Khotanese Texts* III 56-61) from "sun-huang we find a metrical summary of the Saddharma-pundarika 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 Jana-patri, is named in lines 11-12: dyua tsayi sira, that will be a Chinese name Liua Tsai-sing, for whom the sutra had previously been explained. The summary (hambtsa—Sanskrit samara) 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 8212.162.52-59 (edited in *Khotanese Texts* II 5-6). The beginning cites the doctrine of the one vehicle, and the Buddhists' 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 harmipra~-. conjuction. It has the opening of a regular sutra: So I have heard, the teacher (master) was residing at one time upon the Gdhrakuta hill surrounded by a vast multitude of birds and bodhisattvas. He taught in nature, as in that of the burning house (parivarta 3). The Buddhists 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 Nivana. The sutra is stated in line 11 a mahavasuliya text, a variant of the word mahavajirupa. After the summary of the various parivartas the promise is made that he who has learned or reads and memorises the Saddharma-pundarika-sutra will in a second birth come into the para-sattva kriya 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. Dreden, and J. P. Amussen. Others await publication in Leningrad. Facsimiles have been published in several volumes. The interpretation has advanced 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 Gontana text that the name of the Bodhisattva Subhadhima 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 377-82.

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 Gyaltset, a Khamsa scholar educated in Nyenma
and Sakyab schools of Dege, in 1771 A.D. Though this book was preser-
ved 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 Halfnaksha 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 in., as found in the original (xylograph),
compiled by late lamented Gesar, Palden Gyaltset (Menstikhang: Lhasa
and Kinchay: 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-GYILBLA

SIEGERT HUMMEL

A Swiss private collection contains a bronze of SMAN-gyi-blA (short: SMAN-blA), the so-called Medicine Buddha. This figure is remarkable, because SMAN-blA is not represented here in the usual form of a Buddha or, as in Lamast pictures, in the canonical garb of a Bodhisattva with a crown, but with a B.lama cap instead. What, however, proves that the seated figure is SMAN-blA is the medicinal fruit (Tib.: A-ru ra-termisia chebulica) in his right hand, the ams-bowl in his left, and the eight accompanying figures at the foot of the lotus-pestle 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.1

SMAN-blA is often found on Lamast pictures (Tib.: Thang-kha), together with the Tibetan King Khri-srong-lde-btsan (755-797) and the great scholar Shnam-skal-shi (Tib.: Dzha-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 Shnam-skal-shi, and according to the La-ruga-nong-ral-tha, the cult was later on especially favoured by the King "Od-yar-ang in West-Tibet.2 In the Manjushrimalaka already Bhaishajyaguru appears as Bhaishajyavardhavyaja in the rank of a Buddha. According to Przybiski, this work seems to have received its final form in the 8th [-10th] century; according to B. Bhattabharya, 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.3

The Chinese and through it the Japanese tradition, which contains the most ancient Chinese material, is of special importance for the history of Lamast 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-Tang was a favourite of the Emperor K'ang-Hi. The Indian missionaries Vasubodhi and Anaghavarna, 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.

9
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 Dhyanamudra of the left, which latter often holds a medicine-vessel. The Lamenist iconography prefers the Myoobafan (Tib : Ama-ra, cfr. ear statue) or a flowering twig in the right hand (Varada-mudra) and the amsa-bowl in the left. The bowl may contain pomegranate or a plant, generally a peach. The symbolic meaning of the peach or the pomegranate is prosperity and fertility.  

In the scriptures on sMan-bla, which was printed on the order of the Chinese Emperor, the Medicine Buddha forms a popular shrine with Vajrayamuni (Tib : dbTan-pa-chos-po-skyabs-rgyal-rig) and the so-called Dhyanibuddha Amitabha (Jap. ; Amidai). Besides these there are statues 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.

Here one notices Amitabha's Vairocana's and Dipankara's relationship to the concept of light, characteristic also of sMan-bla itself. 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 consort associate, Suryaprabhadeva (Tib. ; Rgyu-ma-dma, Jap. ; Nikko) and Chandraprabhadeva (Tib. ; Zla-ba-dma, 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 shrine of sMan-bla and originally representing his manifestations. This has its parallel in the Six Amshas (Spantes, the companions and hypostases of Mithra in the Zoroastrian religion). 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 in the Five Dhyanibuddhas, it may be said that they are similar to the five Light-Kings, associated with Mani, and the relations of the Dhyanibuddhas to their Bodhisattvas are similar to the doctrine of the Fravahirs who are a kind of doubles of the human beings on earth. These Iranian parallels to the ideas connected with sMan-bla and his ōhūcin, as well as the fact that the number of Dhyanibuddhas five, may perhaps point to the origin of sMan-bla and to the region 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 Yarushi in Japan by way of China, or if we think of Shantarakshita, whose sister is believed to have been married to Padmasambhava. 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 want. 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. : Mahayakshasapattis) 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 pictures in the Chinese book mentioned by us, we find that on the outermost circle, besides Suryarobha 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. 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 draw the attention of the reader upon the rare and remarkable iconography of sMan-bla, as demonstrated in the above-mentioned status 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 Bhaishajyagaru and Bhaishajyara have not yet, as in Japan (de Visser, I.c.) and as Pelliot (I.c.) remarks developed into two different entities, of which the first has the rank of a Buddha, the second (as distinct from the Manjusshika, I.c.) the rank of a Bodhisattva. Remarkable, however, is the Lama-cap, which must not be confused with the strange headgear of some Lamai deities resembling the cap which was worn by the French Jacobins.12

In Japan, Binzuru11 (Binzuru-Sama) 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 cult12 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-povi 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 Pindalabhadravaja, it would hereby 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-pyi-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 Bhaishajyagaru, 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-pi-pang-rol-ma snga-rgyas-by-a-tu-s-ming-yang-med" (Before the Lama there exists not even the name of the Buddha) and "sKal-pa-ston-gi sangs-rgyas-kyung-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 4Grungs-zhva of the minstrels of the Ge-sar epic. Both of them as also the similar headgear of some Lamasist deities (resembling the cap which was worn by the French Jacobins), go back upon non-Buddhistic traditions of the Eurasian region. The peaked central part of the cap points at connections with the concepts of the holy mountain in a similar way as the towers of the White Old Man and some Chinese fertility gods (cfr. B. Hummel, "Der Weiße Alte," in: *Sinologica VI*, 1960). We have already mentioned the origins of the ideas centering around 4Man-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 . . ., tebo kel ish . . .) almost rubbed out by use, which indicates that the image was frequently handled. The image may belong to the Red Cap sect.17
1. Also sMan-bla'rygal-po and sMan-rgyi-bla 'Betunya.' "cd-kyi-rgyal ptc\eft: Bhaisajyaguru Vaiduryaprabhasa Tathagata, Bhaisajyaguru, Bhaisajyaguru, Bhaisajyavajra, Bhaisajyavajra; Mongo: l-gcig, Chinese: Yao-Shi-Liu-Li-Kuang-Ju-Lai, thng: 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 Gefleiter (in: Simanalepris, 4, 2, p. 81ff.), with special reference to "sMan-bla'cho-ga'i-bsham-blok kyi-bseg-len-zur-du bks-lu-brt"; a print published in Peking 1744 or 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 Tshos-a-grags-tsha-yare-tsho'is-rgyas-angs. Concerning further works on the Medicine Buddha, translated in the 18th century into Chinese or Mongolian from Sanskrit or Tibetan, cf. W. Heissig, Die Pekinger lamaistischen Blockdrucke, Wies- baden 1954, p. 75 & 83, e.g. a work of the Pan-chen-Blo-bzang-
chos-kyi-rgyal-mtshan.


7. Further Chinese and Japanese representations in M, W. de Visser 1. c, 5, Hummel, Der Medizinbuddha, l.c.

8. On account of Central Asiatic conceptions, according to which sMan-
bla is also the Lord of the zodiac, G. Tucci (India-Tibetica Vol, Ill, Part I, Roma 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 Yakhav Genala.

9. In connection with this and with regard to further parallels (for instance, the creation of Avriktesvares through a ray of light emanating from Ammitaba; 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 Kar-mo-myi-za 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 civilization; cfr. in connection with this, Buddha with sun and moon a statue in Rotterdam (Vorstelling Chinese en Tibetansche Kusen, Rotterdam 1935-1939 Table XXII).


13. Cfr. the reconstruction of the Mandala in S. Hummel, Der Medizinbuddha, I. 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 shtat-bri cfr. R.E.G. Muller, Die Krankheit und Heilgottthet des Lamaismus (in: Anthropos, 22. p. 95f).

14. E. Warnecke, Gesellschaftsformen, Leipzig 1925. p. 87f. and Tabi, 50; cfr. also S. Hummel, Kosmische Strukturanlage der Tibet (in: Geographia Helvetica 1931, 1, p. 34ff.).


15
RGYAN-DRUG MCHOG-GNYIS (Six Ornaments and Two Excellents) reproduces ancient scrolls (1670 A.C.) depicting Buddha, Nagarjuna, Aryadeva, Asanga, Vasubandhu, Dharmakirti, Gunaprabha and Sakyaprabha; reproductions are as per originals today after 300 years of display and worship with no attempt at restoration or retouching. The exposition in English presents the iconographical niceties and the theme of the paintings namely, the Mahayana Philosophy; the treatment is designed to meet also the needs of the general reader with an interest in Trans-Himalayan or Mahayana, A glottary in Sanskrit-Tibetan, a key to place names and a note on source material are appended, illustrated with five colour plates and thirteen monochromes. Price: Rupees Twenty Five (India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Nepal, Bhutan & Sikkim) or Fifty Shillings (other countries).

April 1952.
CONSIDERATIONS ON TANTRIK SPIRITUALITY

—THUBTEN TENDZIN

These 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 (*prajña*) and a method (*sāraṇa*); or, in other words, a metaphysical unity (lest we forget it, the primitive meaning of the Greek word *theāra* is “vision” — θεα — ἰΔάηάή) 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, intellect—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 syncretistic attitude on the strength of a defiantly nurtured system of equivalence. 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 today.1

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 respecti- vely pictured as male and female, seemed to lend colour to the above conclusion; it hardly needs saying that this seeming polarization into two divinities, as Shiva and Shakti in one case and as the various Bud- dhas, with their female counterparts, in the other, implies no radical
dualism the Tantrik point of view is arduous through and through so that it is only at the point of indistinguishable union (nairutpuna) of the male and female principles thus described 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 symbotical language so peculiarly eloquent and its corresponding methods so effective in unlocking the hold of dualistic habit on the human mind.

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 innuocation, 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 Orientalists; 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 Blavatsky and Waddell; 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 these Chinese and Japanese Tantrik doctrines he himself favoured had originated, historically speaking, from Nalanda the Tibetan ones, according to him, had mostly issued from Vivramashila 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 slanders at Tantra had gone about their work of stinging 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 reverted to Hindu usage, by referring to the Yum divinities as "Consent-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-energy, which, in Hindu parlance, has become the generic term for all heavenly Consorts. In Buddhism, on the other hand the symbolic 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 realized in the heart of the Jneshtha. 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 pre-Buddhist patriotism, have gleefully 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 interpetose 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 if 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 Communion 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 Sastras, 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 ineffable ways no longer fully match the need.

To sum up the above view: the representation of co-nudity 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 Tantras and met despite some important divergences as to detail. Created, the basic identity it is going together, however, to try and establish a point to point correspondence in the respective symbolisms: shakti and prana 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 prajnā-vidya relationship that has characterized Mahayana Buddhism on the one hand and the sensitized 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 this.

By way of illustrating what might be described as a "instrophysi-
cal subterfuges”, typical in its way, whereby an underlying identity is able to be discerned across an apparent expression of intense religious rivalry, I would like to relate a rather amusing explanation given me by a Lama when I was staying near Szigetos in 1947: we were speaking about the Kalies and their pilgrimage and I had just made the observation that the divinity dwelling on the sacred summit, Demchok (דףוש), 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 Demchok 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 Demchok, 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 sakti 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 connexion it may well be asked, in view of the worldwide religious crisis going on today, whether any of the Tantrik Sachhas 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 Sachha 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 too late to think again: but there is no reason to anticipate on this wiser 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 imitations of Shingon and Tantra 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 asriic substitute for \textit{prajas} with a no less asriic upaya which everywhere constitute the greatest threat to religious life. Contemporary man, helpless slave of his own mechanical creations, remains as it suspended between two karmically interconnected explosions, the nuclear one and the "population explosion". Lacking all discernment, he diverts to the purveyors of rockets the moon that admiration that once was offered to the Buddhas and the Saints. This fascination exerted on the human mind by trivialities related 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" (১৯১২২২৫২২ অংশের প্রতি \textit{কর্মঃ}, which we cannot hope to by-pass but have to face; what then is the attitude required of us under these unavoidably disturbing circumstances?"

Surely the answer every true \textit{Sadhaka} will give is this, namely that "the world is always the world even when times seem fair; so also \textit{Bodhi} is \textit{Bodhi} even in an accused house. 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 \textit{Sutras} and \textit{Tantras} does not differ from this.

Though it was natural to refer first when broaching the above question, to the parent lands of \textit{Tantras} in Asia, it might also be asked whether, under the exceptional conditions now prevailing, hence exporting of \textit{Tantrik} methods might not take place in other directions, leading to a fresh local flowering; those who put these questions are usually thinking of the dispersal of Tibetan Lamas in various alien lands, whereby some are hoping that a new impetus may be given to crumbling 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 no more obvious showing, the kind of \textit{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 meditative utilization, 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 Amitabha (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 theme of the Sufic initiations and of the spiritual fraternities (tarag) 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 realization: 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 realization (this implies a meditative 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 unadapted; 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 whereby to recognize 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 wherein 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 Boddhi" 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 rare 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 satvic 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 crossed 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 Tantric in intention, has at last been cleared of the crude misconceptions that had gathered round it especially in modern times.

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 leader
dullness already masks the potential radiance of pure gold. Therefore, he
treasures it like the rest while considering the proper means for conver-
ting it into what by rights it should be; his attitude is typically "advatic" 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 his 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 pres-
criptions 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 slipperness 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 reflection 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

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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 esoteric 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” (jnānī) 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 jnānī way than for the karma yogin or the bhaktī (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 this 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 Budhīc 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 1564 and in the winter number 1565 of the journal in question; part it deals with the psychological theories concerning religion. Another
work containing similar criticism is *Western Psychology and Hindu
Soul* 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 superi-
ority 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 interpretation 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 beliefs without the
least suspicion that they were tainted. Incidently, this attitude of
hers shows up the absurdity of the claim that *The Voice of the Silence*
was a translation, or shall we say the free adaptation, of an ancient
Tibetan scripture. Anti-Tantrik sentiments in a supposedly Tibetan
text 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
deliria. Waddell’s persistent rendering of the female Wrathful Deities
as “fiendesses” is but one example of the lengths to which his own
prejudices carried him as 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.

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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 admiring the greater extent and variety of the Buddhist Tantric literature as compared with the Hindu, nevertheless maintains and, as it seems to me, substantiates the thesis that "Tantricism, whether Hindu or Buddhist... 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 context shows, in every case, that here he is making a purely conventional use of the term, as it 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 Olten 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.
TIET'S STATUS DURING THE WORLD WAR

—NIRMAL C. SINHA

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 1944 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).

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 1859, 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 \textit{fons et origo} of all the evils of China (Chiang Kai-shek: \textit{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 (\textit{v. British Parly. Papers 1943, Cmd. 6465}) 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 1 of the Treaty described, for the High Contracting Parties, Tibet as "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,

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

There were indeed grave considerations, legal or moral, which ruled out discussion of Tibet at the Chungking conference. Precise nature of those 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 \textit{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) the Convention of 7 September, 1904 and (2) Simla Convention of 3 July, 1914 (along with the Trade Regulations of some date). It is not necessary to extract here all the relevant clauses from these Conventions which are found in the British official publication, Alchetson: Treaties, Engagements etc., Val XII (Calcutta 1929) and are also reproduced in Richardson: Tibet and Its History (Oxford 1929). These extra-terrestrial rights may be described thus: (i) trade routes at Yatung, Gantse 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, Sikkimese in British foreign service, recalls severe 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 anarchistic 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 23 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.
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 despite 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 monks officials and feudal bureaucrats indeed ensured that Tibet was not involved in any unrivalled 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 Nallakshmi Dutt.

Dutt in concluding said: "The 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".

Lars Anagarks Govinda in his article in Vol. II, No. 1 said: "By confusing Buddhist Tantrism with the Sakimism 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 oneduality in the guile of a merging of male and female conjugal love, as well as the variously characteristic yantra practices connected therewith, is enough to prove the fundamental kinship between the Hindu and Buddhist Tantras 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 8 of his article (p. 23) Marco Pallis refers to Dr. S. B. Dragupata. This very distinguished scholar passed away untimely on 21 July 1964. It is proposed to cut some extracts from his writings after we have obtained necessary permission from those who hold copy right.

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