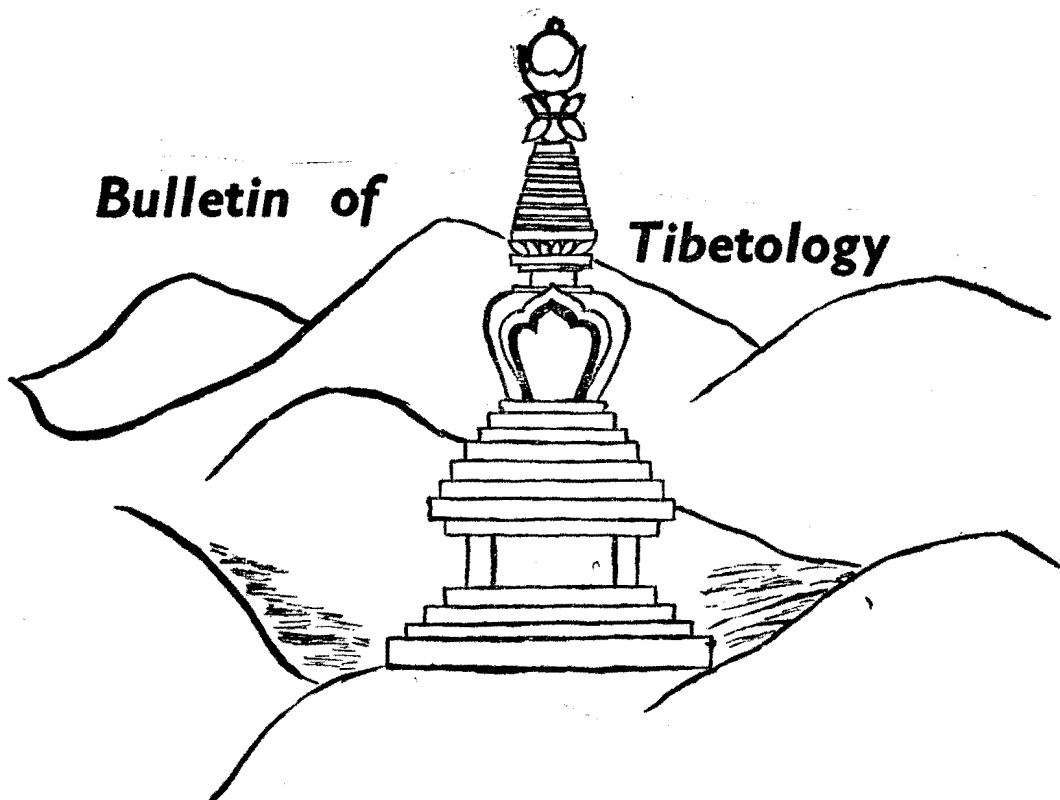


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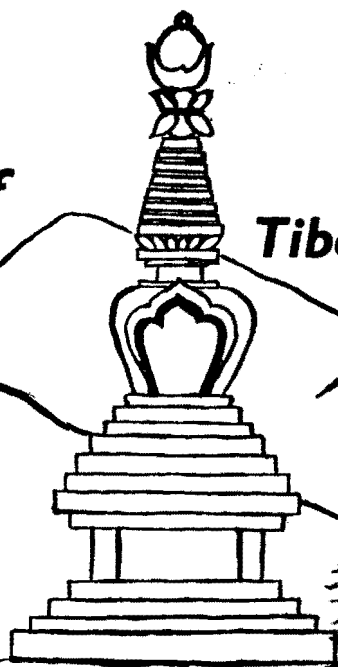
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ON TIBETOLOGY *

—PALDEN THONDUP NAMGYAL

I feel extremely honoured to address this galaxy and at the same time have my own reasons of diffidence. Though not a scholar I have the honour to represent a subject—Tibetology—the importance of which is well known to you. I happen to be the President of the Namgyal Institute of Tibetology of which I propose to speak a few words later.

Tibetology, that is, study of culture or cultures expressed through the medium of Po Key (Bod Sked=Tibetan language), is not confined to the geographical boundaries of Tibet only. Po Key, with variations of dialect, is spoken in many adjoining countries. In earlier days Po Key was the vehicle of the Doctrine of the Buddha in Mongolia. Till a hundred years ago Po Key was lingua franca in the eastern half of the mass of countries conventionally called Central Asia. The perimeter of Po Key thus indicates one of the many facets of Tibetology.

Po Key came into its own as the vehicle of the Buddha's message. I need not tell this gathering as to how Po Key came to preserve for posterity the treasures of Mahayana literature. As the repository of the sublime Doctrine of Nirvana and Sunyata, the humanitarianism of Bodhisattvavada and the canons of Buddhist iconography, Po Key has its own importance. The sacred collection Tanjur contains, besides works of strictly doctrinal interest, books on medicine, astrology, chemistry, poetry etc. If we add to this the associations of Tibetan culture with Indian, Iranian, Mongol and Han cultures Tibetology represents a variety of subjects each worthy of specialization.

As one interested in the promotion of Tibetology I consider this session of Oriental Congress in Russia very much in the fitness of things. Russian scholarship in Sanskrit and Tibetan

* Address at the XXV International Congress of Orientalists (Moscow, 12 August 1960); previously published in the *Proceedings* (Moscow 1963).

studies is as ancient as it is profound. For more than a century now Leningrad is reported to have the largest Tibetan collection outside Tibetan speaking countries. Numerous Russian scholars have made worthy contributions to appreciation of Mahayana. I may however mention only two. The great scholar Stcherbatsky in making a thorough exploration into Mahayana, in Sanskrit as well as Tibetan texts, found it necessary to visit Mahayana monasteries in the highlands of Asia and live with the Lamas. This scholar who astounded the Western World by tracing anticipations of thought mechanics of Kant, Hegel and Bradley in the philosophy of Nagarjuna, Vasubandhu and Dharmakirti,¹ built a small Buddhist Temple in Leningrad. I should also mention our friend late lamented Dr. George Roerich whom we miss here so much today.

With these prefatory remarks I may speak on the problems of a Tibetologist. The very first difficulty which a Tibetologist faces is that of non-availability of literary data. Study in the Mahayana monasteries and educational establishments has all along been pursued in an exclusive manner, that is, the cultivation of literature and learning of the particular sect with which the establishment is concerned. Such sectarian study was necessary for the field was so great and so much had to be acquired both in literary and spiritual treasures that specialization, to choose a modern word, was rather obligatory. Meditation (Sgom) for instance could not be cultivated without being attached to a particular sect or master. But as a result of this tradition nowhere in Sikkim, Bhutan, Tibet, Nepal or Mongolia there is a single repository of literature pertaining to all sects and schools. Scholars from the outside world who spend a few months or at best a couple of years in a Mahayana monastery naturally form somewhat incomplete notions of Mahayana. The Namgyal Institute of Tibetology, opened in October 1958, by His Excellency Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India, seeks to remove this deficiency. His Highness the Maharaja of Sikkim, whose patronage made the establishment of the Namgyal Institute of Tibetology possible, has by a Charter incorporated the Institute into an autonomous body and has given us powers to collect books of all the sects. His Highness, himself a staunch and devout follower of the Nyingma tradition, desires us to hold aloft the lamp of the Freedom of Mind which is the special legacy of the Buddha. This is indeed the first time that in a public establishment under Government auspices anywhere in the Tibetan speaking countries books of different sects are being stored and preserved in one

repository. Lamas of different sects work in our Institute and speak from same platform. Modern, non-Tibetan speaking, scholars who come to consult our collection have the advantage of collaboration from Lamas of all sects. We do not claim that we have in two years built a complete collection representing all schools and sects. Book production in Tibet is not exactly the same as in other countries. Blocks of xylographs have to be located in different monasteries, requisite paper is to be supplied and then prints are obtained. This is quite a job in normal times. Even before we could get our first orders complied with unhappy events took place in Tibet. So for more than a year we have not been able to procure any books. With the turn of normal times, now in sight, we propose to request Government of India and Government of China for provision of facilities to visit monastic presses in Tibet.

Speaking of literary sources I need not tell you that even a complete bibliography of all printed works is not available. There are incomplete catalogues of different sects from printing establishments. But a long felt desideratum is a complete bibliography of all works, doctrinal and secular, in print or in manuscript. The Namgyal Institute of Tibetology has undertaken compilation of bibliography of printed works in the first instance.

Though good work has been done to bring to light many Tibetan works for about a century now, much has yet to be done. A considerable portion of the work done relates to Kanjur and Tanjur. There are other sacred collections which can be fruitfully studied. Rin Chen Ter Zod (Treasury of Revelations) which have not been studied so far may reveal many Agamas, Dharanis and other texts lost in India. The same is true of the collection which opens with Jam Gon.

For secular subjects literature of Tibet is very rich, a fact not much realized till recently. Sakya Kabum and Pao Tsug La Thengwa, for instance, contain much data for subjects like history and economy. PETECH has made a very happy beginning in this field.² Jam-Ling Gya-She, it is understood, is being printed and edited in University of Washington (Seattle).³ Good data may be available from Tibetan translation of Yuan Chwang's Travels. A systematic study of Chronicles and Annals is thus much needed. The result should be of use to students of Indolog and

Sinology also. Even Nam-Thars may yield data for history of other countries as TUCCI has so ably demonstrated from pilgrimages to Orgyan (Swat).⁴ A large part of Tibetan original works—that is, works not based on Indian or any other foreign sources—is in manuscript form. Studies in history and economy are primarily dependent on such original contributions. For an exploration of such material this Congress of Orientalists may form a team to visit monasteries in Tibet.

Tibetan literary and epigraphic data studied with similar Indian evidence may throw much light on the history of India. During the centuries following Harsha's death a number of Tibetan invasions are on record. But the chronology and extent of these invasions have yet to be settled. For one thing these were perhaps not expeditions for well-planned material gain. Tibetans, after conversion to Buddhism, looked upon India as the sacred land and a spirit of adventure stimulated them to reach Vajrasana and other sacred places in their own way. Indian records speak of Kambojas, identified by BANERJI and THOMAS with Tibetans,⁵ having ruled portions of Eastern India but not much of depredations. On the other hand a Kamboja ruler is said to have built a large and beautiful temple of Siva in Dinajpur.⁶

Literary sources are however not the only material with which Tibetology is concerned. Mahayana iconography and art provide a key not only to appreciation of doctrinal matter but also to a history of aesthetic ideas. Many contributions have been made particularly by BHATTACHARYA, FOUCHER, GETTY, GORDON, JISL, ROERICH and TUCCI.⁷ Even then a vast field remains unexplored. I should diffidently suggest a comparative study of art objects countrywise: Indo-Nepalese, Mongol and Chinese besides pure Tibetan. This will reveal contributions of different countries. I may just refer to two or three peculiarities within my knowledge. Dorje (Vajra) and Phurpa (Kila) are instruments of Indian origin⁸ but the iconic representation Yab-Yum Dorje Phurpa provides subject of research.⁹ Jam-Yang (Manjusri) is generally depicted with sword of wisdom in right hand and the book (Prajna-Paramita) in left hand. We have in a painted scroll, done by a previous Gyalwa Karmapa (1670 A. C.), Jam-Yang holding in two hands a pair of Wheels of Law. This is unique but not against canon. In Sadhanamala such representation is also prescribed.¹⁰ This Thangka with distinct Chinese influence is however the only such instance

known to us. Tara (Drolma) images in Tibet, Sikkim or Bhutan are generally after Indo-Nepalese patterns. There is however a Chinese Tara (Gya-nag Drolma) also popular in Tibet. Is it from Maha Cheena? " These are just a few points I submit to the consideration of scholars.

Speaking of the provenance of the images I may say that some of the finest sculptors were not Buddhists. Exquisite works, strictly according to canon, came to Tibet and Mongolia from Turkestan and Eastern Europe. This is reminiscent of the historical fact that Mahayana had in earlier days prevailed in these places.¹² This matter besides being of interest to students of art is an evidence of active trade relations between Tibet and the West.

While speaking of fine arts one may notice the finding of an authority on Indian music that one of the Indian ragas, BHOTTARAGA, is not of classical Aryan origin but is an adaptation from a Tibetan chord.¹³ Is it a relic of Tibetan inroads into north India? Tibetan contributions to Indian culture may be recalled in the poetic words of TAGORE: "a river belonging to a country is not fed by its own waters alone. The Tibetan Bramhaputra is a tributary to the Indian Ganges."¹⁴

If I have stressed the utilization of Tibetan data for research in history or fine arts it is not that religion has been adequately studied. There are still many obscure chapters in our knowledge of religion. There is, for instance, a widely prevalent notion that Buddhism came to Tibet during the reign of Srongtsen Gampo. Srongtsen Gampo is indeed the Asoka or the Constantine of Tibet but it would be contrary to facts to say that Buddhism first entered Tibet under his auspices. There is firm evidence to hold that Buddhist scriptures and Buddhist scholars had been coming at least five generations earlier to Tibet. King Lha Tho-tho-ri who ruled about 150 years before Srongtsen Gampo could not use these scholars and their books because of lack of script. Nevertheless there was no lack of respect in the Royal House for the Noble Doctrine from India.¹⁵ It is however difficult to fix the date of first entry of Buddhism. In view of close contact between Tibet and India from very early days as evidenced in the field of mystic practices and meditation and in view of Asokan missionaries having preached both in the Himavats and the borderlands up to Khotan,¹⁶ it may not be surprising if we discover that Buddhism made its first

entry in Asoka's time either through Nepal or through Ladakh. Asoka in Tibetan tradition occupies a niche which is not enjoyed by any other foreign king.

I have no intention to tire you with a long address. I have taken the liberty to present some ideas for exploration by academicians. It is, however, not to be understood that Tibetology concerns only students of religion, art and history. It provides a rich field to students of linguistics, ethnology, science and sociology as well. With these words I should conclude with greetings on behalf of India where the Buddha was destined to be born and on behalf of Sikkim and the Namgyal Institute of Tibetology where we strive to preserve the lamp of the Freedom of Mind as lit by the Buddha.

NOTES

- 1 *Buddhist Logic* (Bibliotheca Buddhica, Leningrad 1930-32).
- 2 e.g. *Chronicles of Ladakh* (Calcutta 1939); *Missions of Bogle and Turner in Tibetan Texts : Young Pao* (1949-50); and *China and Tibet in early 18th Century* (Leiden 1950). Also noteworthy is Richardson : *Ancient Historical Edicts at Lasha* (London 1952).
- 3 Turrel Wylie.
- 4 *Travels of Tibetan Pilgrims to Swat Valley* (Calcutta 1940).
Memoirs : ASB V and Tibetan Texts Pt. I.
- 6 *Indian Antiquary* I and *JASB NS VII.*
- 7 Bhattacharyya : *Indian Buddhist Iconography* (Calcutta 1924 & 1958); Foucher : *l'Iconographie Bouddhique de l'Inde* (Paris 1900-5) and *Beginnings of Buddhist Art* (Oxford 1917); Getty : *Gods of Northern Buddhism* (Oxford 1914 & 1928); Gordon : *Iconography of Tibetan Lamaism* (New York 1939); Jisl : *Tibetan Art* (London 1959); Roerich : *Tibetan Paintings* (Paris 1952); Tucci : *Indo-Tibetica* (Rome 1932-41) and *Tibetan Painted Scrolls* (Rome 1949).
- 8 Vajra of the shape of a peg was not unknown e.g. an exhibit from Java in British Museum. Evans-Wentz describes Phurpa as Tibetan. *Tibetan Book of the Great Liberation* (Oxford 1954).
- 9 Bhattacharyya obviously considers Dorje Phurpa as non-Indian. He does not notice this in *Indian Buddhist Iconography*. Roerich, Tucci and Nebesky (*Oracles and Demons of Tibet* Oxford 1956) render Dorje Phurpa as Vajrakila.
- 10 Bhattacharyya.
- 11 Re : Mahacheena, Woodroffe : *Shakti and Shakta* and Shastri : *Cult of Tara* (Memoirs ASI : 20); also Bagchi : *Studies in the Tantras* (Calcutta 1939).

- 12 e.g. Koeppen.
- 13 Swami Prajnanananda.
- 14 *The Centre of Indian Culture* (Visvabharati 1919).
- 15 Tibetan authorities (Theb Ter Ngon Po, Gya Po Yig Tsang etc.) allude to pre Srong-tsen Gampo events about Buddhism.
- 16 The border tribes mentioned in Asokan records might have spread even beyond Pamirs and Oxus. Barua : *Asoka and His Inscriptions* (Calcutta 1946 & 1955.)

NIRVANA : SUNYATA : VIJNAPTIMATRATA*

—NALINAKSHA DUTT

I

HINAYANA

In Buddhism, external world or phenomenal existence is *Samskrta* (constituted) while that which is beyond phenomena is *Asamskrta* (unconstituted)-*Nirvana*, *Sunyata* or *Vijnaptimatrata*.

1. Theravada (early Buddhism)

The conception of Nirvana, as found in the early Pali texts, agrees with that of the Madhyamika, while the Vaibhasikas and the Yogacaras differed slightly from it. In several places in the Pali Nikayas, Nibbana is described as unborn, unoriginated, unconstituted, undecaying, undying, free from disease, grief and impurity; it is the supreme end that is attained by best exertion. It has also been described as the highest perfection (*accanta-nittham*) achievable by the utmost exertion (*yogakkhemam*). It is extremely subtle and too difficult to comprehend or visualize.

The inconceivability of Nibbana is finely expressed in the Sutta-nipata, in a few stanzas, running thus:—

“Just as the flame of a lamp struck by a gust of wind disappears and cannot be traced, so also does a perfect saint freed from name and form, disappears without leaving any trace.

That which disappears is immeasurable, *i. e.*, infinite, and hence there are no words by which it can be spoken of. As it is bereft of all dhammas it goes beyond the range of conventional language.”

*निर्वाण- शून्यता- विज्ञप्तिमात्रता ।

This article being set to type on exceptionally short notice diacritical marks could not be provided. Pali and Sanskrit words expressing categories and concepts are therefore set in Italic form; words like Bodhi, Hinayana and Mahayana are in Roman. Quotations and longer expressions are set in Devanagari script.

A statement similar in tone to the above-quoted stanzas was made by Anuruddha at the demise of Buddha. It is as following :—

“Like the extinguishing of a lamp,
Buddha’s mind became absolutely free.”²

Nibbana is absolutely separate and different from the world and its constituents. It is non-mental (*acetasika*) and wholly dissociated from mind (*citta-vippayutta*). The question of origin or non-origin does not arise in the case of Nibbana, because it is firm, eternal and changeless. It is the inconceivable transcendental reality.

A clear positive conception is found in the Udana, in which occurs the following statement :—

“O bhikkus, there is that space (*ayatanam*) where do not exist earth, water, fire and air; not spheres of infinite space, of infinite consciousness, of desirelessness, and of neither consciousness nor non-consciousness; neither this world nor next world; nor sun and moon, that, I say, is the end of suffering, (*i.e.*, Nibbana-dhatu), in which there is no coming, no going, no continuity, no decay and no origin; it is supportless, free from rebirth, and basisless.”³

Buddha was not an agnostic, neither did he keep anything secret, exoteric or esoteric. He had no *acariyamutthi*. He did visualize the Reality by attaining Bodhi (full enlightenment). He chalked out a programme of spiritual life to attain Bodhi, and he must have done it with a great object in view, which can never be eternal death or annihilation. His main difficulty was like the Upanisadic thinkers that the Reality could not be described in empirical terms. Buddha realized that Nibbana was inconceivable, and that any description of it would be conventional, and so he said that Nibbana the highest truth, could only be realized within one’s own self (*paccattam veditabbo vinnuhi* = *pratyatmyavedya*); it was inexpressible (*nippapanca*) and so no attempt should be made to describe it; it was so deep and subtle that it could not be communicated by one person to another. All that he could say about it was by negatives. In the *Mulapariyayasutta* of the

Majjhima Nikaya he said that no conception should be made of Nibbana nor of its attainment by any person as that would be admitting an entity and its relation to an individual. To say that it was either existing or non-existing would also be falling into the heresies of eternalism (*sassata*) or annihilationism (*uccheda*). Within these limitations, the form and nature of Nibbana had to be determined.

2. Sarvastivada.

The Sarvastivadins, being realists, though not naive materialists, have a slightly different conception of Nirvana. They recognize reality of seventy-five *dharmas*, of which seventy-two include both mental states and matter. They stoutly uphold Ksanikavada (theory of momentariness) and admit that these seventy-two *dharmas* are being reconstituted every moment and are always in a ceaseless dynamic state of flux or becoming. The remaining three *dharmas* are unconstituted (*asamskrta*) and as such they are reals and are not subject to change.

The three *dharmas* are :

- (i) *Akasa* (space) which remains eternally the same and never causes obstructions to any object, and neither any object, say a building, bring about any change in it.
- (ii) *Pratisamkhyā nirodha* denotes cessation of all possible unpurities resetting a being by means of perfect realization of the four *āryasatyas*, i.e., by supra mundane means (*lokottaramarga*). It is by positive effort that the cessation of impurities is effected.
- (iii) *Apratisamkhyā-nirodha* also denotes all possible cessation of impurities of a living being. The cessation is effected not necessarily by knowledge of the four truths, i.e., *lokottaramarga* but by moral and meditational practices, which neutralize the causes giving rise to impurities (*klesas*). It is therefore also an effort but not directly aimed at neutralization of impurities.

Yasomitra has explained the two *nirodhas* in detail. He writes that the inflow of impurities is completely stopped (*nirodha*) by knowledge (*pratisamkhyā*) of the four truths. It is the knowledge of four truths, that acts as a dam (*rhodabhuta*)

to the inflow of impurities into the mind of an Arhat. His object is to explain what "nirodha" means in such combinations as *anityata-nirodha*, *pratisamkhyā-nirodha* and *apratīsamkhyā-nirodha* and not the exposition of the highest truth, Nirvana, a synonym of which is Nirodha. What he intends to say is that worldly objects which have come into being (*dharmasthiti*) cease on account of the universal law of impermanence (*anityata-nirodha*); that inflow of impurities ceases when a person realizes the four truths (*pratisamkhyā-nirodha*), and that certain impurities of a spiritually advanced person cease for ever and will not re-appear even if he does not acquire knowledge of the four truths (*apratīsamkhyā-nirodha*). In these three compounded words, Nirodha refers to cessation of impurities and not to the Buddhist conception of Nirvana. Arhats acquire knowledge of the extinction of impurities (*ksaya-jñāna*) and realize that they would have no more rebirth (*anupada-jñāna*). In other words they are assured of Nirvana. According to the Sarvastivādins, the three *asamskrta dharmas* are reals and not subject to change like the *samskrta-dharmas*. They have neither past nor future (*adhva vinirmukta*) they are ever present (*pratyutpanna*). Hence they cannot be obtained (*prāpti*) like other fruits of sanctification (*sramanyaphalas*). They have neither increase or decrease as with *Akasa*. They are realized by the perfects within themselves, as do they realize the fleeting nature of the constituted seventy-two *dharmas*. It is immaculated, and has no basis for its support. It is not a matter (*vastu*).

The Sarvastivādins conceive of Nirvana as a positive reality while the Theravādins speak of Nirvana in negative terms as it is inexpressible in words which belong to the phenomenal sphere.

II

MAHAYANA

According to the Madhyamikas, external world is unreal and is only a mental creation (*prapañca*) of the unenlightened; from this it follows that according to them, there is only one Reality, the Truth as is realized by the enlightened within one's own self, and everything else is a mere convention (*samvrti/vikalpa*). According to the Yogacarins, the external world is a mere expansion of mind of an individual (*svacittādṛśya*). The Madhyamika conception of the Truth is nearly similar to that of the Theravādins, viz that it cannot be described

except by negatives. Nagarjuna's conception has been beautifully expressed in the following stanza :

“ That which is neither eschewed nor attained,
neither destructible nor eternal
has neither cessation nor origination
is called Nirvana. ”⁴

From this stanza, it is evident that Nirvana is absolute monism devoid of all possible attributes. It is neither positive nor negative and is beyond the scope of words.

Along with this stanza another stanza should be quoted to comprehend what Nagarjuna had in mind :

“Whatever is the end or limit of Nirvana
is also the end or limit of the phenomenal world
not the minutest difference exists between the two.”⁵

Nagarjuna is emphatic in his assertion that worldly existence (Samsara) and Nirvana are identical inasmuch as conventional terms like limited (*antavan*) or unlimited (*anantavan*), or both limited and unlimited, neither limited nor unlimited, neither eternal nor destructible, neither both eternal and destructible or neither eternal nor non-destructible are equally applicable to both worldly existence (Samsara) and Nirvana. These four propositions and also a few others are also mentioned in the Nikayas. One of such indeterminables, repeatedly mentioned in the Pali Nikayas is as follows :

“Whether Tathagata after death exists or not exists,
or both exists or not exists or
both neither exists nor not exists.”⁶

These four propositions, Buddha said, are not maintainable and should be laid aside (*avyakata*) as all these are questions like what are the shape and colour of a sky flower or of the son of a barren woman. All these questions cannot arise with regard to the unchangeable reality or the Truth or about anything which has no existence whatsoever. Nagarjuna wants to establish that Samsara and Nirvana are both reals, and do not admit of any attribute. But, as a matter of fact, the two are distinguished by a common man (*prthagjana*) the unenlightened, who suffers from mental aberration. The enlightened, a Tathagata, has no such disability, and hence he does not distinguish between Samsara and Nirvana.

To establish this thesis Nagarjuna has drawn support from the original sayings of Buddha.

Nagarjuna expresses his conception of the Truth by the word "Sunyata" which is applicable to both Samsara and Nirvana. By Sunyata, he means that the Truth is devoid (Sunya) of all attributes, even of *sat* (existence) as it would imply a negative (*asat*) to which according to Nagarjuna there is no corresponding object or being.

Nagarjuna was a philosopher of dialectics. In his works he assailed all possible views of the non-Madhyamikas by his dialectics. Buddha was not a dialectician, but he also did not give any indication about the conception of Nirvana or Tathagata (one who has attained Nirvana). All that he said about it is that it was an end of all impurities (*klesas*) of which the roots were attachment, hatred and delusion (*raga*, *dvesa* and *moha*) as also an end of beliefs in the existence of soul (*satkayadrsti*) in the efficacy of ritualistic observances (*sila vrataparamarsa*) and doubts about the teaching of Buddha (*vicikitas*). Whenever he was questioned about the beginning or end of existence, about finiteness or infinity of the world, about eternity or non-eternity of the world, or about the existence or non-existence of soul or about the nature of Tathagata after his Parinirvana he remained silent, saying only, that the problems were indeterminable. Nagarjuna, being a dialectician, had recourse to dialectics to assail all these problems and to establish that all of them were untenable from the Buddhist conception of the ultimate Truth. Nagarjuna's views therefore can be regarded as the true interpretation of the doctrine of early Buddhism: the Theravada (Sthaviravada).

YOGACARA

The Yogacarin conception of the Truth is similar to that of Nagarjuna inasmuch as the Yogacarins also relegate to the non-existent all positive and negative statements generally used in relation to the phenomenal objects and beings as also to the terms like *skandhas*, *dhatu*s, *ayatana*s, *pratitya samutpada*, *sramanyaphalas* and *nirvana*.

In the Lankavatara (p.189-190) a Tathagata (one who has realized the Truth) is described thus: One who knows that the Truth or the Reality is neither permanent nor impermanent, neither effect nor cause, neither constituted nor unconstituted, neither intellect nor intelligible, neither characterized nor characteristics, neither signifiable nor signification, neither conglomeration of elements nor anything

different from such conglomeration, neither designable nor designation, neither identical nor different, neither both together nor not both together beyond all logical discussions. It is only a word (*vak*) which is unoriginated, consequently undecaying; that which is undecaying is similar to space (*akasa*) but space is neither effect nor cause and hence it is supportless (*niralambya*) and that which is supportless is beyond all possible speculations.⁷

In another passage of the Lankavatara (p. 105) space (*akasa*) has been mentioned as allied to the horns of a hare, or son of a barren woman which though non-existent are talked about by the foolish. Perhaps the author wanted to indicate that the Truth being absolutely attributeless is beyond all possible descriptions including even the attributes given to Nirvana by the Hinayanists. Two of the Hinayana attributes are *animitta* (signless) *yath abhutartha* which according to the Lankavatara (p. 200) is also a mental creation (*vikalpa*). The truth, the real Nirvana, can be realized only by one within his own self through transformation (*paravrtti*) of mind and mental states.⁸ The term "Sunyata" used in the early Mahayana texts as also by Nagarjuna is interpreted in the Lankavatara (p. 200, 202) as denoting the unreality of the phenomenal beings and objects. It is void not only of attributes but also of origination.⁹ Sunya or the Truth of the Yogacarin is non-originating and non-existent.¹⁰ The term "*tathata*" also has been interpreted in this text (p. 153) as beyond the range of mind (*citta-vinirmuktam*) and has been equated to attributelessness (*sunyata*) and to extreme end (*koti*) of existence. In the Trimsika (25) Vasubandhu explains "*tathata*" as "sameness at all times" (*sarvakalam tatha bhavat*) and with this particular meaning, he is prepared to accept "*tathata*" as an alternative term for *vijnaptimatratā* which according to Vasubandhu is the proper term for the Truth or the Reality. It should be noted that this term has nothing to do with *vijnanam* of a constituted being.

It seems that the terms like Nirvana, Sunyata and Tathata used in early Mahayana are accepted by the Yogacarins with a certain amount of reservation. The Truth or the Reality is nonexistent (*nishvabhava*) and inexpressible (*nisprapanca*). It is realizable only within one's own self.¹¹ In conclusion it may be stated that the conception of the ultimate Truth according to the Theravadins, the Madhyamikas and the Yogacarins is almost identical, but it is designated differently as Nirvana, Sunyata and Vijnaptimatratā.

NOTES

1. अच्ची यथा वातवेगेन खित्तो
अत्थं पलेति न उपेति संखं ।
एवं मुनी नामकाया विमुत्तो
अत्थं पलेति न उपेति संखं ॥

अत्थङ्गतस्स न पमाणमत्थि
येन नं वज्ज तं तस्स नत्थि ।
सब्बेसु धम्मेषु समूहेसु
समूहता वादपथा पि सब्बे ति ॥

Sutta-nipata 1074/6

2. पज्जोतस्स एव निब्बानं विमोखो
चेनसो अहू ति ।

Dighanikaya II, p. 157

3. अत्थि, भिक्खवे, तद् आयतनं यत्थ नेव पठवी न आपो न तेजो
न वायो न आकासानश्चायतनं न विज्जाणानश्चायतनं न आकिञ्चञ्चायतनं न नेवसञ्जा-
नासञ्जायतनं नायं लोको न परलोको न उभो चन्दिमसुरिया, तद् अहं भिक्खवे,
नेव आगतिं वदामि न गतिं न ठितिं न चुतिं न उपपत्तिं अप्पत्तिट्ठं अप्पवत्तं
अनारम्भणं एव तम् एसेवन्तो दुक्खस्सा ति ।

Udana 71

4. अप्रहीणमसम्प्राप्तमनुच्छिन्नमशाश्वतम् ।
अनिरुद्धमनुत्पन्नम् एतन्निर्वाणमुच्यते ॥

Madhyamaka Karika XXV, 3

cf. पुनरपरं महामते महापरिनिर्वाणमप्रहीणासम्प्राप्तितो
अनुच्छेदाशाश्वतो नैकार्थतो नानार्थतो निर्वाणमित्युच्यते ।

Lankavatara p. 99

5. निर्वाणस्य च या कोटिः, कोटिः संसरणस्य च ।
न तयोरन्तरं किञ्चित् सुसूक्ष्ममपि विद्यते ।

Madhyamaka Karika XXV, 20

6. होति तथागतो परं मरणा ?
नो होति तथागतो परं मरणा ?
होति च न होति तथागतो परं मरणा ?
न होति न न होति च तथागतो परं मरणा ?

Dighanikaya, I, p. 59

7. यद्वि न नित्यं नानित्यं न कार्यं न कारणं न संस्कृतं नासंस्कृतं न बुद्धिर्न बोद्धव्यं न लक्ष्यं न लक्षणं न स्कन्धा न स्कन्धेभ्योज्यं नाभिधेयं नाभिधानं नैकत्वान्यत्वोभयत्वानुभयत्व-सम्बद्धं तत् सर्वप्रमाणविनिवृत्तं यत् सर्वप्रमाणविनिवृत्तं तद् वाक्मालं सम्पद्यते यद् वाक्मालं तद् अनुत्पन्नं यद् अनुत्पन्नं तद् अनिरुद्धं यद् अनिरुद्धं तदाकाश-समम् आकाशं च न कार्यं न कारणं यत् न कार्यं न कारणं तन्निरालम्ब्यं यन्निरालम्ब्यं तत् सर्वप्रपञ्चातीतं यत् सर्वप्रपञ्चातीतं स तथागतः ।

Lankavatara pp. 189-90

8. तत्र निर्वाणमिति यथाभूतार्थस्यानदर्शनं विकल्प-चित्त-चैत-कलापस्य परावृत्तिपूर्वकं तथागत-स्व-प्रत्यात्मार्यज्ञानाधिगमं निर्वाणमिति वदामि ।

Lankavatara, p. 200

9. न जातु शून्यया शून्या किं त्वनुत्पाद-शून्यया ।

Lankavatara, p. 202

10. तस्माच्छून्यमनुत्पन्नं निःस्वभावं वदाम्यहम् ।

Lankavatara

11. प्रत्यात्म गतिकम्, प्रत्यात्म गति-गोचरं प्रत्यात्म-वेद्यं ।

= पञ्चत्तं वेदितव्यं विञ्छूहि ।

ON THE CARYĀPADAS IN TIBETAN

—RAM SINGH TOMAR

Of the various specimens of Apabhramsa language the compositions of the Vajrayani Siddhas have been studied most carefully by competent scholars. In 1916 Hara Prasad Shastri published these texts and since then scholars like Prabodh Chandra Bagchi, Rahula Sankrityayana, Muhammad Shahidullah and Sukumar Sen have made contributions to this subject. Important as these Caryapadas are for preserving traits of Eastern or Magadhi Apabhramsa their importance is greater for study of the esoteric doctrine (Vajrayana) and scholars have thus found these compositions useful from different stand-points. As poetry the compositions are not so remarkable notwithstanding the external form. These Apabhramsa texts are however only a fraction of what the Siddhas actually wrote. Many of their works are now lost in their original forms but are fortunately preserved in Tibetan translation (Bstan-Hgyur). Rahula Sankrityayana retranslated some of the works of Sarahapada from Tibetan into Hindi. These great Siddhas, Saraha and others, were held in high esteem by the Mahayanis and occupy a very high place in Tibetan tradition. Their compositions were incorporated in the Bstan-Hgyur, they were elaborately depicted in iconography (both paintings and sculptures) and Tibetan Tantric practices and rituals abound with the context of these great Siddhas.

In the Tantra (rgyud) section of Bstan-Hgyur under the heading རྒྱུད་པའི་གླུ་འཁོལ་པ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ། || the Caryapadas

are preserved. Bagchi reproduced the Tibetan rendering of the original Caryas in the *Journal of the Department of Letters: Calcutta University* 1935. Bagchi had only the Narthang edition of Bstan-Hgyur; obviously the other editions were not available to him when he revised the work in 1956 (Visva Bharati). Bagchi had thus no opportunity to check or compare the readings of the rather badly printed Narthang edition. Besides there are some lacunas in the Narthang edition. These lacunas can now be located since other editions of Bstan-Hgyur and a photo-mechanic reprint (Japan) are available.

The author of the present article has the opportunity to consult the beautiful Sdedge prints in the collections of the Namgyal Institute of Tibetology at Gangtok. A comparison with the translations as preserved in this edition may be fruitful and some improvements in the texts or translations would suggest themselves. In Carya 7 in the penultimate line in Narthang edition is the rendering འཕྲུལ་པ་ལྟར་གྱི་ལྷ་མོ་། འདྲི་ནི་ཀློག་ཀྱིས་ བཞི་ཤོ་བྲང་མུ། ॥ ; Sdedge reads ཉི་ in place of ལྷ་ ; this gives a meaning which is much nearer the original as in the original the word is निभडि (near). In Carya 14 in line 2 पार करेइ is rendered as རྒྱུ་ (to cross) in Narthang edition while in Sdedge the reading is རྒྱུ་ meaning मुक्ति . In Carya 20 in line 5 for पूडा the Narthang rendering is བདུས་ meaning क्रोधी while Sdedge reads བདུས་ which means लिप्त which better suits the context. In Carya 21 in line 2 अमिअ भखअ मुसा करअ अहारा is better rendered in Sdedge as བདུད་ཅིང་ཁ་ཟས་ which means अमृतं भक्षति ; in line 5 खणअ गाती (खनति गतिं) the Sdedge rendering is ཅིག་པ་འབྲུགས་ with the meaning 'makes a hole in the wall' more reasonable. Examples may be multiplied to provide with improvements in the text or meaning.

In the Narthang edition, a portion of the commentary of Carya 12, the entire Carya 13 and a part of the Sanskrit commentary of the same are not found. Such gaps may perhaps be attributed to the carelessness of the carvers of Narthang blocks. The Sdedge edition furnishes us with the missing portions.

The original Carya 13 (in Apabhramsa) and its Tibetan rendering (as in Sdedge edition p. 172, Vol. ལྷ་མོ་ཞི་) are presented here with a translation into Sanskrit from the Tibetan rendering. This, it is hoped, will indicate the great value of Tibetan translations for reading correctly the extant Apabhramsa texts on this subject.

राग कामोद कृष्णाचार्यपादानाम् ।
तिशरण णावी किअ अठक मारी ।
निअ देह करुण शून मेहेरी ।
तरित्ता भवजलधि जिमकरि माअ सुइना ।
माअ वेणी तरङ्ग म मुनिआ ॥ ध्रु पद ॥
पञ्च तथागत किअ केडुआल ।
बाहअ काअ काह्लिल माआजाल ॥ ध्रु ॥
गन्धपरसरस जइसों तइसों ।
निंद विहुने सुइना जइसो ॥ ध्रु ॥
चिअ कण्णहार सुणत माङ्गे
चलिल काह्ल महासुख साङ्गे ॥ ध्रु ॥

TIBETAN RENDERING

འདྲེན་པ་སྒྲིན་པ་ཞེས་བྱ་བའི་སྒྲུང་བྱང་ས་ཀླག་པོ་ཞེས་ཀྱི་འོ།
 སྒྲུབ་ས་གཤམ་གྱང་བྱས་གཞིན་ཀྱ་མ་¹ནམས་བརྒྱད།
 སང་ལུས་སྤྱིང་སྤྱིང་པའི་རྒྱང་ས་མན།²
 སྤྱིད་མཚོ་ལས་སྤོ་སྤྱུ་ས་སྤི་ལས་བཞིན།
 སལུས་སྤྱིང་བམས་རྒྱ་སྤུམ་ཡོང་མི་ཤེས།
 དེ་བཞིན་གཤེགས་པ་ལྷ་ཡིས་མཉེན་པ་བྱས།
 ཀྱུན་ལུས་ནི་སྤྱུ་འལྲུལ་ལས་སྤོལ་བྱེད།
 རྩིས་ག་རེ་ནི་རྩི་དེ་རྩའོ།
 བཞིན་ནི་མེད་ཀྱང་སྤི་ལས་དེ་བཞིན་ནོ།
 མཐས་ཀྱས་མཉེན་པས་སྤྱིང་ཉིད་གྱུར་འཇུག་ལ།
 ཞེན་ནས་ཀྱུན་བདེ་བ་ཆེན་པོ་འི་གྲོགས།

SANSKRIT
(restored from Tibetan)

कामोद राग कृष्णाचार्यपादानाम् ।
त्रिशरण नौका कृत्वा अष्ट कुमार्यः ।
निजदेहे करुणाशून्यते महिले ॥
भवजलधिः तीर्ण माया स्वप्नवत् ।
मध्ये सरोवरे तरंगो मया न ज्ञातः ॥
पञ्च तथागतं केनिपातं (कृत्वा) ।
कृष्णस्य कायं मायाजालेन पारं गच्छति ॥
गन्धस्पर्शरसाऽपि यादृशः तादृशः ।
निद्राविहीने स्वप्नसदृशः ॥
चित्तं कर्णधारः शून्यतानौकायाम् ।
समारोप्य कृष्णो महानन्दसंगे ॥

NOTES

1. བཞེན་ལྔ་མ་ means maiden, ལྔ་མ་བརྒྱུད་ means all eight ;
that is, eight maidens. In the extant version of the
original the corresponding expression is འཇམ་མའི་
meaning having killed the eight. This however does
not make any clear sense. The Tibetan translation
preserves the correct meaning and thus in the original
the reading should be འཇམ་ལྔ་མའི་ । The commentary
in Tibetan mentions བཞེན་ འཇམ་ལྔ་མའི་ ।
2. ལྔ་མ་ཅན་ means one who has a consort while in the
original the corresponding word is མེའི་ (lady). The
Tibetan translation gives the meaning that one's own
body has the ladies Karuna and Shunyata.

[The Tibetan commentary makes such readings
warranted since the symbolic meanings of
the words maiden and consort are clearly
implied as in esoteric literature.]

HISTORICAL STATUS OF TIBET *

—NIRMAI. C. SINHA

In the Seventh and Eighth Centuries A. D. Tibet emerges as a mighty military power often carrying raids and expeditions into India and China. In 763 the Tibetans captured Sian (Chang-an), the then capital of China and for nearly seventy years (781-848) they ruled the Tun-huang region. Tibet's eminence as a great power was attained under the line of her Religious Kings (Song-tsen-Gam-po to Ral-pa-chen, circa 620-820) who enacted a veritable renaissance in the life and thought of the country by invention of an alphabet (based on Indic Brahmi script), introduction of Buddhism (Mahayana) and systematic patronage of literature and fine arts. Tibet became an active agency of a new civilization all over the highlands of Asia. In the process, however, her military spirit and ancient skill in war far from making any proportionate progress declined. Besides in the reaction against the apostasy of king Lang Darma (d. 842) the monarchy became discredited, the central power collapsed and the country was parcelled into numerous lay and monastic principalities.

Thus when (1200) the Mongols launched their world conquests from the Altai Karakoram, Tibet — though intellectually and culturally quite ripe to be the teacher and the priest of the Mongols — was quite unfit to ward off the Mongol menace. The Tibetan chiefs bought peace with Jenghiz Khan by despatch of a joint delegation with an offer of submission (1207). Within thirty years Tibet captured her captor; the abbots of Sakya sect converted the Mongol imperial family to Buddhism and the Sakya Lama became the priest of the Mongol Emperor (1230-1244, sometime later the Sakya Lama was recognized by Kublai

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Khan as the ruler of Central Tibet. The Mongols were then engaged in a permanent conquest of Northern China. In 1278 the Chinese Sung Dynasty was finally overthrown and Kublai Khan became the Emperor of China. The relation between the Mongol Emperor and the Sakya Lama, which was anterior to the Mongol conquest of China and the transfer of Mongol metropolis to Peking, continued as before. The Mongol dynasty in China was supplanted by a Chinese (Ming) dynasty in 1368.

The Mongol chiefs in Mongolia and Chinese borderlands however continued active contact with Tibetan Lamas. A new sect called Gelugpa (Yellow), founded by Tsong-khapa who came from Koko Nor region (a region just adjacent to Mongolia), gained the devotion of these Mongol chiefs; the Sakya Lamas meanwhile declined both in power and prestige. The third Gelugpa hierarch visited (1578) Mongolia and converted the leading chief Altan Khan, the well-known scourge of Chinese (Ming) emperors. Altan Khan called the Gelugpa hierarch Dalai Lama and recognized the Dalai Lama as the ruler of Central Tibet. In 1644 a foreign (Manchu) dynasty overthrew the Mings. The Manchus immediately sought to participate in Tibetan politics. The Mongol Khan (Gusri) acted swiftly and confirmed the Dalai Lama (the Fifth) as an independent ruler (1645).

The Manchus had evinced interest in Tibet even before they had settled in Peking. Gusri Khan incident taught them that the central power in Tibet was the Dalai Lama. Besides, the Manchu felt, the institution of Dalai Lama had a special usefulness. The Mongols in Mongolia and elsewhere held the Dalai Lama in high respect. Manchu (and not Chinese) imperial interest thus necessitated a close relation with the Dalai Lama. In 1652 the Dalai Lama was persuaded to call upon the Manchu Emperor in Peking. While the wise Manchu received the Dalai Lama as the King of Tibet, the court annalists recorded, in typical Chinese manner, that the Lama came to pay homage. The Manchu (then nationalized as Ching) Emperor became paramount authority for Tibet only in the 1720s when succession disputes regarding the office of the Dalai Lama and dissensions between Tibetans and Mongols induced and called for foreign intervention. For a little over one hundred years the Manchu or Ching paramountcy was a fact though Tibet never became a part of Chinese territory. In 1855, when the Gurkhas invaded Tibet, the paramountcy had liquidated itself by

corruption and inefficiency, and Tibet had to fend for itself. Powers other than the Manchu Emperor were then looming large on the horizon of Tibet; Britain and Russia had by that time become neighbours of Tibet. The ghost of Manchu paramountcy was laid in 1911 with the Expulsion of the Manchus.

II

The relationship between the Manchu Emperor and the Dalai Lama was a patron-priest relationship following the precedent of Altan Khan and the Gelugpa hierarch or Kublai Khan and the Sakya hierarch. It involved two personalities possessing the same faith, one its exponent and priest and the other its lay devotee and protector. It did not involve any confederation, to use a modern term, between the two countries. The relationship had produced a firm political superiority, call it hegemony or paramountcy, for the patron, that is, the Manchu Emperor, only for about a century and a quarter from 1720. This paramountcy was dead from the middle of the Nineteenth Century. When in 1911 the Manchu Empire fell, the Manchu dynasty was expelled from Peking and a republican regime was set up, the theoretical paramountcy of the Manchu Emperor over the Dalai Lama was automatically liquidated. That the republican regime in China could keep alive the doctrine of paramountcy was not a little due to the British diplomacy in Asia. It is therefore necessary to describe this phenomenon.

British Government in India and their controlling authorities in London had a dread of Russian expansion all over the highlands of Asia not excluding Tibet; this dread had its justification in British point of view. In contacting the the Dalai Lama or Tibetan authorities, Russia had a decided advantage over Britain. Among her motley population, Russia counted a good number of Buddhists (Buriats and Kalmuks) who made frequent trips, for pilgrimage as well as trade, to Lhasa as to Urga (Ulan Bator). In the second half of the Nineteenth Century the Mongols were gravitating from the Manchus to the Romanovs. Would the Bodpas (Tibetans) follow the same line?

A primary reason for British contact with Tibet was to open China and to trade with China from the west by overland. Britain's anxiety was to trade with China, and not with Tibet so much, so as to turn the adverse balance of

eastern trade. When Britain did eventually open China and gained substantial advantages by the Treaty of Nanking (1842) Tibet took a second place in the Far Eastern diplomacy of Britain. The British diplomats in China got the Chinese point of view about China's interests and affairs in Central Asia. Verbiage and bombast of Chinese annals and archives were not altogether unknown to the British in China; they had discovered in the list of tributaries of the Manchu dynasty the following entries - Britain, Holland, Portugal and Russia besides the Pope. Nevertheless, the British in their own interests accepted the Chinese doctrine of Tibet as a vassal state,

In 1876 Britain made a treaty with China for exploration across Tibet, from India to China or from China to India. When some years later Britain proposed to despatch a mission Tibet flatly refused. Since China could not help in the matter Britain sent the proposed mission equipped with a military escort. It led to an armed conflict with Tibet inside the territories of Sikkim. It was now a matter of 'face' for China. The upshot was the curious treaty of 1890 regarding Sikkim. It not only assumed that China was paramount power over Tibet but also that directly or through Tibet, China could decide the Sikkim-Tibet borders. Britain gave away Chumbi valley which was an integral part of Sikkim and the nucleus of the kingdom of Sikkim.

Britain was all out to recognize China as the paramount authority for Tibet and Tibetan affairs. Tibet left alone might be victim of Russian expansionism. Therefore the shadow of Chinese paramountcy, called suzerainty by Britain, was made to lengthen over the land of Lamas. But such fiction alone could not guarantee the security which Britain looked for. China again failed to enable Britain to establish trading rights in Tibet as in the mainland of China. On the other hand, Russian agents could visit Tibet rather often. So in 1903-4, an armed mission was despatched to Lhasa. Tibetans put up resistance, admittedly ill-equipped and unorganized. The British Mission reached Lhasa on August 3, 1904 and dictated a treaty on September 7, 1904. China was not there to protect the vassal state and the provisions of the two Anglo-Chinese Conventions (1890 & 1893) had to be ratified by this treaty between Britain and Tibet. That was ample evidence that China had ceased to be paramount power with Tibet.

Yet a year and a half later (April 1906) Britain raised the suzerainty issue and made a treaty with China regarding Tibet in confirmation of Anglo-Tibetan Treaty (September 1904). If however China was in reality the suzerain, the Anglo-Chinese Treaty (April 1906) should have been the last word about Tibet. But in 1907 (August 31) Britain and Russia concluded a treaty regarding each other's intentions and interests not only about Persia and Afganistan but also Tibet. The real issue was not Chinese suzerainty but Anglo-Russian conflict.

Even after the Anglo-Russian Entente, Britain remained anxious about Russian intentions and continued to oppose Tibet *vis-a-vis* China. When, during his exile in India (1910-12) the 13th Dalai Lama solicited British support for Tibetan independence, British authorities told him that His Majesty the King Emperor "regrets that he is unable to interfere between Dalai Lama and his suzerain".

The Chinese Revolution, called Expulsion of the Manchu, broke out in 1911. The remnants of Manchu troops in Tibet were repatriated to China under the auspices of British Government in India (1912). The Dalai Lama returned from India and entered Lhasa in January 1913. The Patron-Priest relationship was now lost for ever. The Dalai Lama made a formal declaration of independence.

Shortly afterwards, news of a treaty concluded in January 1913 between Tibet and Mongolia (which had become fully independent of Manchu Empire in 1911) reached the outside world. Britain sought to reject the report as unfounded and later the treaty as invalid, since Tibet was "not independent" and thus not capable of making treaties. The real reason for British opposition was the attainment of Mongolian independence under Russian support and its likely repercussions on Tibet.

Yet in keeping with facts of the matter, Britain sat in a tripartite conference (Simla 1913-14) with China and Tibet "to settle by mutual agreement various questions concerning the interests of their several States on the Continent of Asia". When at the end of the deliberations, Chinese delegate refused to sign the entire agreement because of the inacceptability of the clauses regarding the Sino-Tibetan frontier, Britain and Tibet signed the Convention and jointly declared China debar-

red from the privileges accruing from the Convention. Among such benefits was the recognition of China's suzerainty over Tibet.

Such was the position till the rise of Japanese expansionism in the 1930s when both Britain and the United States were engaged in aiding and propping up China. It thus became a fair proposition, in Anglo-American view, to ignore the independence of Tibet and to strengthen the status of China on all fronts.

During the War (1939-45) China was admitted into the counsels of the leading Allies. In the Pacific Council in Washington (1943) the British Prime Minister (Winston Churchill) assured China that "no one contests Chinese suzerainty". The British Foreign Minister (Anthony Eden) followed this in an explanatory memorandum that China's suzerainty over Tibet was not unconditional or absolute.

The Tripartite Convention (Simla 1914) recognized China's suzerainty over Tibet but had determined its limitations in no uncertain terms. Thus the autonomy of Outer Tibet (that is, Tibet under Dalai Lama's rule) was recognized, its territorial integrity confirmed and non-interference in its administration guaranteed. China engaged not to convert Tibet into a Chinese province and not to send troops to Tibet. Tibet had never accepted the British theory of Chinese suzerainty and when China failed to ratify the Tripartite Convention, Britain and Tibet by a joint declaration debarred China from the benefits of the Convention. It is therefore not a little curious that nearly 30 years after this Britain spoke of (nominal) Chinese suzerainty.

III

The term suzerainty does not feature as a firm and precise category in the minds of jurists and is not capable of an absolute definition. In practice as well as in theory its content has varied in the relations between different European powers who all inherited concepts and usages of Roman jurisprudence. In the context of Asia the very application of the term suzerainty was liable to be inappropriate and confusing. The partron-priest relationship between the Manchu Emperor and the Dalai Lama was not a matter to be identified with any concept of Roman or European jurisprudence.

The Manchu Emperor, or his government at Peking, exercised suzerainty in Tibet in modern Western sense, that is, beyond the field of patron-priest relationship, only once. This was in 1909-10 when after some years of preparation the Chinese launched an invasion of Tibet. This was, the Chinese said, to reform the administration. The reformist activities of the army of occupation were however characterized by so much excess that Chao Erh-feng, the commander of the expedition, earned the sobriquet Butcher. Before the expedition reached Lhasa the Dalai Lama left for India and sought asylum with the British Government. While the Dalai Lama declared that the patron-priest relationship had ended with the invasion, the Chinese deposed him. The Tibetans put up a total non-cooperation with the Chinese and even the Panchen Lama refused to head a temporary administration. The Chinese found that it was a grave blunder to depose the Dalai Lama. The revolution in China broke out shortly and the Dalai Lama returned. He now made a formal declaration that he was ruler of Tibet under the orders of the Buddha. The Dalai Lama XIII ruled for the rest of his life (1913-33) as an independent ruler and gave no quarters to any theory of suzerainty-British or Chinese.

The Tibetan contention that China had no suzerainty over Tibet finds support from certain undisputed facts.

Tibet was not bound by any treaties or agreements which China made with any third power. Tibet thus flatly refused to abide by the Anglo-Chinese agreements (1876, 1890 & 1893) and the rights which Britain obtained under these agreements had to be validated by the Lhasa Convention (1904).

Chinese visas did not enable foreigners entry into Tibet. This was as true of the last decades of the Nineteenth Century, when Rockhill, Bonvalot and others had to resort to other means, as of the Second World War when U. S. officials found their Chinese visas useless. In 1939 Tibet refused admission to a Chinese diplomat (Wu Chung Hsin) even. On the other hand Tibetan passports had validity abroad.

China's participation in the War did not involve Tibet; Tibet remained neutral and in spite of strong pressure from Britain and U.S.A. refused passage for arms supply to China.

For all this we have to go back to 1913 when Republican China agreed to sit at Simla Conference with Tibet as a treaty-making power; Tibet's sovereignty was thereby admitted.

Inferences have been drawn from the institution of tributes to the Manchu court. Whatever were the implications of such practice, no tributes were despatched after the Manchus went out.

There were no Ambans (Chinese Residents) during the sovereign regime of the Dalai Lama XIII (1913-33). On his death a delegation came from Peking to mourn and managed to dig in under one plea or other. The successive Chinese Commissioners could not however make Tibet an integral part of China as was clearly borne out by Tibet's neutrality during the War. In 1949 the Chinese Mission was expelled.

Tibet as an independent country had its own currency and customs, its own postal service and telegraph and its own civil service and its own army.

In 1950 China, that is, the People's Republic of China, invaded Tibet and placed it under regular military occupation. By the Sino-Tibetan Treaty of 1951 (May 23) Tibet was made to surrender its independence to China. Tibet became Tibet Region of China.

The requirement of a treaty bore eloquent testimony to the historical status of Tibet. The claims of "liberation" were intrinsically insufficient to regularize what was an annexation. Remedy lay in the formality of an "agreement" between the so-called great motherland (China) and the so-called national minority (Tibet).

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