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—The Bulletin of Tibetology seeks to serve the specialist as well as the general reader with an interest in this field of study. The motif portraying the Stupa on the mountains suggests the dimensions of the field—

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ON BUDDHISTIC (HYBRID) SANSKRIT

—SUKUMAR SEN

I

Before the publication of Franklin Edgerton's *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary* (1953) the language of the scriptures of the Northern Buddhists—such as the *Mahāvastu*, the *Lalitavistara*, the *Divyāvadāna* etc—was known as Buddhistic Sanskrit. The amended nomenclature seems to have been accepted by scholars without a demur. But is the insertion of the word 'hybrid' at all necessary or desirable?

The early Buddhist scriptural works that seem to have been produced in the northern half of the sub-continent of India, as known to us, are either in Middle Indo-Aryan (Prakrit) or in a style of Sanskrit more or less removed from the language to which Pāṇini had set the standard. The Prakrit texts (mainly represented by the Kharosthi Dhammapada) are written in the current language in the North-Western mountainous region where Sanskrit did not appear to have been much cultivated before the Christian era progressed a few centuries. The Buddhist scriptural works in "Sanskrit" belonged to the plains of the Madhyadesa and to the eastern region. No manuscript of the "Sanskrit" texts is written in Kharosthi, which lacked the long vowels and therefore was unsuitable for Sanskrit. The Gilgit Manuscripts of the *Vinaya Vastu* (edited by N. Dutt) are written in the Brahmi script.

The northern Buddhist texts do not present an identical language or dialect but they do represent a language style where beside the pure (i.e. Paninian) Sanskrit words are used along with Old Indo-Aryan words not formed according to Pāṇini, the words that are Prakritic (i.e. Middle Indo-Aryan) and the words that present an Old Indo-Aryan base and a middle Indo-Aryan suffix (ending or formative) and *vice-versa*. But the proportion of the three types of words are not the same in the texts. In some texts the first type of words preponderates, in some the second type and in some the third type,—but all in different degrees. The three types may be thus illustrated.

(i) Old Indo-Aryan (not found in classical Sanskrit): *kampe* 'it trembled' (perfect ending but no reduplication of the root); *prēcchita* '(she was) asked' (the suffix *-ita* added to the present stem instead of the root); *imā* (neuter plural; Vedic); *praṇipatitvā* 'having dropped down and forward for salutation' (*-tvā* attached to a root compounded to prepositions); etc.

(ii) *ṛatana* 'jewel' (as in *saptaratanamayam*); *dāni* (for *idānīm*); *āsi* (for *āsīt*); *yenimā* (Sandhi form; for *yenemā*); etc.

(iii) (a) *Buddhāna* 'of the Buddhas' (*buddha*+MIA gen. pl. ending), *naravarasmīn* 'in the superior man' (*naravara*+MIA loc. sg. ending); *purāṇaśatehi* 'with a hundred purana coins' (*purāṇaśata*+MIA+*ehi* instr. pl. ending); *abhūsi* 'it occurred' (*a-bhū*+MIA ending, third per. sg.); etc.

(iii) (b) *bhesyati* 'it shall be' (OIA *bhū*+OIA-*īsyati*); *dhārenti* 'they hold' (MIA *dhāre*- \angle *dhāraya*+OIA-*anti*); *okasto* 'come down to' (MIA

okas- \angle ava-kas+OIA-ta); *okiritvā* 'having cast about' (MIA *okir- \angle avakr+-(i)iva*); etc.

Buddhistic Sanskrit is not a hybrid language although its words are often not homogeneous. The over all pattern or structure of the language is an Old Indo-Aryan language that was much akin to Sanskrit but unlike it was not rigidly controlled by the grammarians. It was a free kind of language that was used by ordinary men, not aspiring for Brahmanical scholarship or veneration. It was what may be called Spoken Sanskrit. By its nature it was an unstable literary or business language varying according to time and place. To call such a language 'hybrid' is not correct. Buddhistic Sanskrit was not an artificially made up language fashioned by fusing Sanskrit and the Prakrits. Any language whether spoken or literary, including the Pidgin and Creole etc has its distinct basic or seed language, however, inscrutable it may be. As regards the vocabulary there is no language which is not more or less heterodox. There is bound to be some borrowed element. In the case of Buddhistic Sanskrit its indebtedness in this respect is heavy. But that is only natural. Both Sanskrit and the Prakrits were influential contemporary speeches which controlled between them its career which ultimately vanished into Sanskrit.

Buddhistic Sanskrit was not a hieretic language; it was a general language, the spoken Sanskrit of the few centuries before and after Christ. It was used as an administrative language in Madhyadesa by Kanishka and his successors. The Sarnath Buddhist Image Inscription of Kanishka (*Epigraphia Indica* VIII p.173 ff), the Set-Mahet Image and Umbrella Staff Inscription of the same (*Ep. Ind.* VIII p. 180 f; p. 291), the Mathura Stone Inscription of Huvishka (*Ep. Ind.* XXI p. 60 f) etc are written in almost the same language as Buddhistic Sanskrit. It also appears in a few documents from Niya region. I quote below the Inscription of Huvishka which refers to the establishment of an alms or charity house. The date of the inscription is the year 28, probably the Saka year (=106 A.D.).

ayam puṇyaśālā pracinikana (=pracinikena) sarukamāna-putrena kharasālera-patinā vakana-patinā akṣayanīvi dinnā tuto (=tato) vṛddhito māsānumāsaṃ śuddhasya catudīśi puṇyaśā(lā)ṭaṃ brāhmaṇa-śatam pari-
viṣṭavyaṃ divase diva(se) ca puṇya-śālāye dvāramūle dhāriye sādyaṃ saktana
(=sadyaḥsaktūnām) āḍhaka 3 lavṛṇa (=lavaṇa) prastho 1 sakta (=śukta)
prastho 1 harita-kalāpaka-ghaṭakā 3 mallakā 5 etam anāḍhanām *kṛtena*
da (tavya) vabhakṣitana (=bubhukṣitānām) pīvasitana (=pīpāsītānām)
ya catra puṇyam taṃ devaputrasya sāhisya huviṣkasya yeṣaṃ ca devaputro
priyaḥ teṣaṃ api puṇya bhavatu sarvāyi ca pṛthiviye puṇya bhavatu akṣaya-
nīvi-dinnā.

'This hall of piety (i.e. charity house) is established as a perpetual endowment by Pracinaka the Lord of the Kharasālera the governor of charitable institutions, son of Sarukamāna. From out of that deposit (*vṛddhitā*) the interest (*śuddha*; Bengali *sud*) should be spent month by month for the maintenance of Brahmins (who come) from the four quarters to the hall of piety. Day by day at the gate of the hall of piety should be stocked freshly made (*sādyah*; Bengali *sājo*) barley meal 3 Āḍhakas, 1 Prastha of salt, 1 Prastha of tamarind (literally, acid stuff), 3 jars of green peas, and 5 earthenware bowls. These are for charity to the destitutes and also for the hungry and the thirsty. Whatever merit there is goes to the Son of Divinity, Sāhi

Huvishka. May there be merit also for those who are dear to his majesty, May there be merit for the entire earth. The perpetual gift is made

II

Spoken Sanskrit, the basic language of the typical Buddhistic Sanskrit, as for instance in the *Mahavastu*, has the following characteristics in general.

1. The Phonological pattern is almost the same as that of classical Sanskrit. There are, however, exceptions.

a. There are Middle Indo-Aryan vocables which show the expected simplification.

b. There is no rigidity of Sandhi rules. It follows the Sandhi rules of MIA. The final *visarga* after a vowel other than *a* is more often dropped than retained. The final *-aḥ* becomes more often *-o* than not; e.g. *nando ca bhikṣuḥ*; *vanato ānetvā*; etc.

c. The final *-n* generally becomes *-ṃ*. e.g. *bhagavaṃ*, *balavaṃ*, *mahat-tarakāṃ* (acc. pl. msc.); etc.

d. The length of the stem vowel is as often retained as not; e.g. *sarvābhibhū* 'All overcome' (nom.sg.); *sarvābhibhūṃ* (acc.sg.); *sarvābhibhuṣya*/*-bhūṣya* (gen. sg.). There is always metrical shortening when necessary.

e. There is often *samprasāraṇa* of *ya* and *va* : e.g. *virīyaṃ* (*vīryam*).

2. Morphological characteristics are as follows.

a. The dual number is replaced by the plural as in MIA e.g. *duve gandha-mahattarakāṃ* 'the two leading spice merchants' (acc.); *duve asthānsu* 'the two stayed'.

b. The noun stems ending in consonants are lost as in MIA, leaving a few fossils such as *raññāḥ*, *bhagavān*, *bhagavatā*, *arhan*, *arhatām*, etc. The gender remains unchanged. Thus : *pariṣā* (for *pariṣat*).

c. The *a*- declension influences all other non-feminine declensions. Thus : *ṛṣiṣya* (gen. sg.), *bhikṣuṣya* (gen. sg.), *bhrātarān* (acc. pl.).

d. The ablative singular is formed with the adverbial suffix *-tas*; e.g. *vanato* (for *vanāt*).

e. The regular locative singular ending for the non-feminine is *-smin*. But the regular form for the *a*-stems is also current; e.g. *lokamin* as well as *loke*.

f. The ending for the instrumental, dative, ablative, genitive and locative singular fem. is *-(a)ye* (*-yāi*, the OIA dative singular).

g. The ending for the instrumental, dative, ablative and locative plural for all stems is *-hi* (*-bhis*).

h. The personal pronouns have developed some additional forms such as *mamam* (acc. sg.), *maye*, *tvaye* (inst. sg.) etc.

i. In the conjugation of the verb the *Atmanepada* forms are replaced by the *Parasmaipada*, even in the passive voice. A few *Atmanepada* forms survive in the verses mainly.

j. The *-a-* (and *-aya-*) conjugation predominates. The *-ya-* conjugation survives in the passive. The other conjugations survive sporadically.

k. The root *bhū-* (*bhavati*) generally becomes *bho-* (*ho-*) and *bhe-*; e.g. *bhoti*, *bhoṣyati*, *bheṣyati*; etc.

l. The gerundial suffix *-tvā* generally stands for *-ya* also, e.g. *pratiśrutvā*. Sporadically *-ya* stands for *-tvā*, e.g. *bandhiya* (*bandhya*, for *baddhvā*).

There is an additional suffix *-tvāna*, e.g. *karitvāna*, *kṛtvāna*, *dattvāna*, *vijahitvāna*, etc.

m. There is only one form of the finite past tense. It is a mixture of the perfect, the aorist and the imperfect. There are also relics from the old; e.g. *abhūṣi* (3, sg. pl.); *asī* (1.3 sg.); etc.

3. The more important syntactical characteristics are as follows.

a. There are many new idioms in the use of the cases. Thus : *bhagavatā* (instr. of the cause) *te amanusyakā palānā* 'on account of the Lord the non-humans fled'; *kālena kālam* 'from time to time'; *imasya śatasahasrasya* (gen. of exchange) *kesaram* 'the perfume bought by hundred thousand coins'; etc.

b. The compound verb also presents fresh idioms. Thus : *āhāraṃ kariṣyāmi* 'I shall eat (it)'; *prahāraṃ dattvā* 'having beaten up.'

KONG-SPRUL YON-TAN RGYA-MTSHO

—TASHI DENSAPA

Kong-sprul Yon-tan Rgya-mtsho, the nineteenth century Bka'-brgyud-pa Bla-ma, is not an unfamiliar figure in the literature and religion of Tibet. His name appears in almost every literary text, as well as religious work, and it is verbalized daily in the chantings of numerous monks and laymen of both Bka'-brgyud-pa and Nying-ma-pa Sects. He was born in the Water Bird Year of the 14th cycle of the Tibetan lunar calendar (i.e. 1813 Christian Era) at Rong-rgyab in Zal-mo-sgang of Chu-bzhi sgang-grug in Kham (Eastern Tibet). His father, who passed away a few years after his birth, was Kyung-po Bla-ma Gyung-drung bstan-'zhin and his mother's name was Bkra-shis 'tsho. He was brought up by his step-father namely Bsod-nams 'phal, who taught him the basic education when he was 5 years old. From an early age the boy displayed his talents of learning and within a short period he was able to fluently read and write with perfection without much coaching.

When he was 3 years old, Gtsang sman-ri Mkhanpo Bsod-nams blo-dros took the first sample of Kong-sprul's hair as a sign of acceptance into the Sangha. At the age of 10 years he had mastered the art of calligraphy and copied 3 volumes of prayers. When he was 14 years he studied the subject of herbs and herbal medicine and learnt the art of diagnosis based on pulse reading and urine symptoms from Kar-ma Phun-tshogs a well-known physician. He learnt the basic forms of the graphic art of Sman-lugs tradition from a well-known Chab-mdo artist and sculptor at the age of 16 years. While staying in Zhe-chen Ri-khrod he received teachings and initiations in all the five sciences from Bla-ma 'Gyur-med Mthu-stobs Rnam-rgyal of Zhe-chen.

The local chief had observed the brilliance and talents of this youngster and had taken him along to Dpal-spungs. It was here on the 6th day of the 10th month of the Water Snake Year (1832) he received the monastic ordination (dge-slong) to embrace the Dharma as a profession for life, and take the vows of purity, celibacy and strictly to follow the rules and regulations as laid down in the Vinaya. In this auspicious ceremony the 9th Si-tu Pad-ma Nyin-byed dbang-po was the Mkhan-slod sbrags-ma and Dbon-rgan; Kar-ma Theg-mchog Bstan-'phel was Gsang Ston-pa; 'Tsho-byed Kar-ma Tshe-dpal was Dus-go ba'; Kar-ma Mkhas-bstun was Brda spro-dpa and Byang-'dren; and Kar-ma Thogs-med was Kha-skong. They conferred upon Kong-sprul the vows of Stod-bdul pan-chen lugs and gave him the name "Kar-ma Ngag-dbang Yon-tan Rgya-mtsho Phren-las Kun-khyab Dpal Bzang-po". The local chief being fully aware of the talents and quality of the youngster consulted the Si-tu about the possibility of this young man to be a reincarnate. And if so, requested the Si-tu to recognize him even before the gentry of Derge who were very powerful could take him away in their service. The Si-tu fully recognized and supported the idea, and after meditation announced his spiritual finding that the young boy was the reincarnate of one of the previous Si-tu's close disciples, Kong-po or Steng-sprul, as a result of which the youngster became known as Kong-sprul.

RIN-CHEN GTER-MDZOD

At a young age Kong-sprul had received the teachings and initiations of the Nying-ma-pa Sect and had known the dispersed and obscure sources. He foresaw the possibility of the traditions of Dbang (Initiation) and Lung (Precept) in the Gter-chos becoming extinct unless the writings were compiled into one collection. Therefore, in the Water Dog Year (1862) at the age of 40, he met Gter-chen Mchog-rgyur Gling-pa and 'Jam-dbyangs Mkhyan-brtse'i dbang-po whom he had met earlier and was constantly his encourager. With their cooperation and encouragement, Kong-sprul started the collection of all the Gter-chos, the discoveries made by all the well-known and authentic Gter-stons. Earlier in the Iron Bird Year (1861) he had a vision that one of the five treasures he had aimed at compiling must be named Gter-dzod; thus he named it Rin-chen Gter-dzod (store of precious gems). 'Jam-dbyangs Mkhyan-brtse also had the vision that it was destined that the Mdzod-linga must be compiled by Kong-sprul. On the 7th month of the Water Monkey Year (1872), having arranged all the collection of the Gter-chos he delivered the second Dbang and Lung of the Rin-chen Gter-dzod. Finally in 1880, with the help of Lhag-bsam Bstan-pa'i Rgyal-mtshan 40 volumes of the Gter-dzod was completed after proof-reading. By 1893 Kong-sprul had completed the entire compilation of the Dzod-linga (Five Treasures) and he records that all his longings and wishes have now been fulfilled.

MASTERS AND DISCIPLES

Among the numerous great masters from whom he received teachings and initiations, to mention a few, were :

The 14th Kar-ma-pa Theg-mchog Rdo-rje (1798-1868)
'Brug-chen Rin-po-che
Dpa'-bo-dtsug-lag Chos-rgyal (8th)
'Jam-dbyangs Mkhyen-brtse (1820-1892)
Gter-chen Mchog-rgyur Gling-pa (1829-1870)
Dbon-rgan Theg-mchog Bstan-'phel
Zla-bzang Rin-po-che
Smin-gling Khri-chen 'Gyur-med Yid-bzhin and his consort.

With his vast learning, Kong-sprul attracted many students from all the four Sects as well as the nobility, most of whom became great scholars in Tibet. We mention a few here :

From the Bka'-brgyud Sect

The 15th Kar-ma-pa Mkha-khyab Rdo-rje (1871-1922)
The 10th Si-tu Padma Kun-bzang (1854-1885)
The 11th Si-tu Padma Btang-mchog Rgyal-po (1886-1952)
The 9th Gnas-nang Dpa-bo-Gstug-lag Nyi-ma'i sde (?—1910)
Mkhan-chen Kar-ma Bkra-shis 'Od-zer
Kar-ma'i Mkhan-po Rin-chen Dar-rgyas
Ri-bo-che'i Rje-drng Phrin-las Byam-pa'i 'Byung-gnas
Stag-lung Ma Rin-po-che
Lhag-bsam Bstan-pa'i Rgyal-mtshan

From the Sa-skya Sect

Thar-rtse Dpon-slob 'Jam-dbyangs Blo-gter Dbang-po
Ngor Khang-sar Mkhan-chen Ngag-dbang Bsod-nams Rgyal-mtshan
Rdzong-sar Mnga'-ris Chos-rje Kun-dga' 'Jam-dbangs

From the Nying-ma Sect

The 5th Rdzogs-chen Rin-po-che
Dpal-yul Gsang-rgyas Bstan-'Dzin and Dza-ka-mchog
Sprul Kun-bzang Rnam-rgyal
'Ju Mi-pham 'Jam-dbyang Rnam-rgyal (1846-1912)
Rdo-grub-chen 'Jigs-med Bstan-pa'i Rgyal-mtshan
Rdzogs-chen Mkhan-po Dkon-mchog 'Od-zer
Nyag-bla Byang-chub Sems-dpa' Blo-gros Bzang-po
A-dzoms 'Brug-pa Rin-po-che 'Gro-'dul Dpa'-bo Rdo-rje (1842-1924)
Gter-ston Las-rab Gling-pa (1856-1926)
Sa-ngan Bstan-ri Sprul-sku Byang-chub Chos-seng

From the Dge-lugs Sect

Rgyud-smad Mkhan-po Dge-shes Ye-shes Gong-'phel
Brag-gyab Gdong-kong Sprul-sku Ngag dbang Dam-chos rgya-mtsho

From Nobility

Regent Ra-sgreng Ngag-dbang Ye-shes Tsul-khrim Rgyal-mtshan (1845-1955 Regency)
The King and Princes of Derge
And many other kings and princes of Kham and neighbouring countries.

Works of Kong-sprul

It appears, when one examines the record of Kong-sprul that he spent his lifetime receiving teachings and initiations; while when one looks at the record of his own students one would feel that he had devoted his lifetime giving initiations and precepts; yet in another one finds that he had devoted his lifetime in meditation and performing religious rites, on the other hand when one sees the list of books credited to him, one cannot but feel that Kong-sprul had spent his lifetime contributing to the Tibetan Religious Literature.

He has more than 90 volumes of Tibetan Religious Literature where he either was the editor or the author of these collected works. The important ones were :

Shes-bya' Mdzod 3 volumes
Bka' a' Mdzod 10 volumes
Zab-'mo Gter-Mdzod 61 volumes
Gdams-ngag Mdzod 10 volumes
Miscellaneous 7 volumes

Having spent most his life time in receiving teachings, giving teachings, collecting and rearranging rare writings and compiling them, as well as

writing explanatory notes, composing, and making clarification of deep and difficult teachings, he led a life of endless effort to preserve and spread the Dharma. He passed away, at the age of 87 in 1899. In addition to all these meritorious deeds he had performed, he even found time to help, restore and renovate old monasteries, paintings, to carve wood blocks, help the preservation of manuscripts and to enlighten and purify the Sangha.

This is but a very small fraction of the important events in the biography of Kong-sprul. If one intends to write a complete biography it would cover a number of volumes to justify his long and meritorious life.

MIPHAM ON RAMAYANA

—B. GHOSH

I

Late Fredric William Thomas, Boden Professor of Sanskrit, Oxford University, in his Kamala Lectures : Calcutta University paid tribute to Tibetan scholarship in Sanskrit literature. He highlighted the catholicity of Tibetan mind and the hard work the Tibetan scholars put in preserving in translation even purely Brahmanic works from India, the Land of Enlightenment. "From the first the Tibetan translators have refused to confine their interest to Buddhist literature. Even from Tun-Huang we have some copies of short versions of the Ramayana story comparable to popular version such as we find in the Mahabharata" (Thomas, *Indianism and its expansion*, Calcutta University : 1942, P. 84). The Ramayana story occurs in various forms in different periods of Tibetan literature.

Mipham (Mi-Pham 'Jam-dbyangs rnam-rgyal rgya-mtsho) a celebrated saint of Rnyingma-pa sect, an encyclopaedist and a polymath who flourished in 14th Tibetan Cycle (Rab-byung beginning with 1807 Christian era). In his study of Sanskrit literature Mipham did not omit notice of Brahmanical or Hindu classics and epics. He not only makes clear references to the Ramayana but also gives in his own words episodes and titbits from the Ramayana which were available to Tibetan scholarship from the early days of Translation.

I cull below two excerpts from Mipham's commentary on Dandin: Kavyadarsa (dbyug-pa-can : snyan-ngag-me-long). A free translation and notes and references in clarification conclude this article. As preface to the excerpts I take an opportunity to highlight the Sanskrit words which frequently occur in the two excerpts. For well-known reasons Mipham did not always attempt translation of these Sanskrit words into Tibetan. As is known to the specialist scholars of Tibetan literature, terms like Guru Ratna and Pandita, are often transcribed in Tibetan rather than presented in their Tibetan forms : Lama, Norbu, Khanpo. I also choose some Sanskrit-Tibetan compound forms from the two excerpts.

The excerpts are taken from the modern print, edited and published by Getse Tulku Kunga Lodoy of Khathok, New Delhi, 1969.

1. The purely Sanskrit words are :

Rā-ma-ṇa

Rā-ma

Rā-va-ṇa

Ra-ghu

Si-tā

U-mā

Bha-ra-tā

Se-tu — used in two different sense:

1. Canto

2. Bridge

Se-tu-bandha—Name of the Prākṛta Kāvya by Pravarasena.

2. The Sanskrit-Tibetan compound words found in the two excerpts :

Se-tus-bCings—Setubandha

Se-tu-bandha-Rā-me-śvar

rGyal-po-Rā-ma-ṇa

dGa'-byed-Rā-ma-ṇa

sPreu'i-rGyal-po-Ba-li-dang-mGrin-bzang—(Dinzang = Sugrīva)

sPrel-rGyal-Bā-li

Laṅka-mgrin-bcu .. Daśagrīva of Laṅkā

Laṅka'i-grong-khyer .. Laṅkā-puri

Laṅka-pu-rī'i-grong-khyer

Ra-ghu'i-rigs .. Raghuvamśa

Ra-ghu'i-bu .. Rāghava

Chung-ma-Si-tā

Lha-mo U-ma .. Goddess Umā

Chung-ma-ke-ke-ya .. Consort Kaikeyī

Ke-ke-ya'i-bu .. son of Kaikeyī (Bharata)

Srin-bo-Rā-va-ṇa

Rā-va-ṇa-ste-sgra-sgrogs .. Da-dog = Rāvaṇa

Rā-va-ṇa'i-nu-bo— .. Ravana's brother : Kumbhakarna

-Kumbha-ka-rna—

Te'i-mi-Zhes-pa-chu-srin .. Timi—weal

'Jam-bu'i-gling .. Jambudvīpa

No. 1

[illegible]

No. 2

ཀུ་ཆེ་བའི་ཀུན་ — བསམ་པ་ཀུ་ཆེ་བའི་ཀུན།

བསམ་པ་ཀུ་ཆེ་བའི་ཀུན་ནི། སྤྱིན་པོའི་ཀུལ་པོ་རྣམས་
 ཏ་མེ་སྒྲུ་སྒྲེགས་ཀྱི་བྱ་ལེས་པ་མ་གྱིན་པ་བརྟུ་ཡོད་པ་དེ་ལ་སྒྲུབ་བར་
 ཡུག་ ཆེན་པོས་ས་གསུམ་ལས་རྣམ་པར་ཀུལ་བ་ཆེན་པོའི་
 དངོས་གྲུབ་བྱིན་པས་འཇིག་རྟེན་གསུམ་བྱུང་བྱས་པ་དེ་
 ཡི་མགོ་གཙོད་པའི་བྱ་བའི་སྤྱོད་ཆེན་པོ་ཡང་སྒྲེས་བཟོད་པར་
 ལུས་པ་ཡི། རྣམ་ཏ་ལེས་དག་འབྱེད་དུ་གྲགས་པ་ར་སྒྲུབ་འཕྲུ་
 ལས་བྱུང་བའི་བྱ་དེས། རང་ཉིད་ཀྱི་སྒྲུ་མ་རྣམས་པ་རང་གི་
 ཡལ་ཤིང་རྟ་བརྟུ་པ་ཡིས་ཁྱོད་ཀུལ་སྤིད་པོར་ལ་རྒྱུད་སྤི་རྟ་དང་
 བཅས་པ་ནགས་སུ་སོང་ཤིག་ཅེས་པ་ཡི་བཀའ་གནང་བ་དེ་ལས་
 འདུལ་པར་མ་གྱུར་རྟེན་གསུམ་སུ་སོང་པོ་ལེས་པ། སྤྱིར་སྤྱིན་པོ་
 མ་གྱིན་བརྟུ་བསཏ་པ་ལ་མི་གཞུམ་པའི་སྒྲོ་ཅན་དེ་སྒྲུབས་ཀྱང་
 ཡལ་ཀྱི་བཀའ་དང་དུ་སྒྲུངས་རྟེན་ཀུལ་སྤིད་པོར་ནས་ནགས་སུ་

འཕྲོ་བཞི་བསམ་མ་རྒྱ་ཆེ་ལ། དེ་ལྟར་བརྗོད་པའི་ངག་སྒྲིབ་དེ་ནི་
 བསམ་མ་རྒྱ་ཆེ་བ་བརྗོད་པའི་རྒྱ་ནག་ནོ། འདི་ནི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཞག་མང་
 བོར་འཆད་སློལ་རྒྱ་གར་དུ་ (Folio-126(a) P-251) བྱུང་བར་གྲགས་
 གྲང་མདོར་བསྡུས་ཚམ་བརྗོད་ན། སྲིབ་པོ་རྒྱ་བ་ཆ་དེས་ལྟ་
 དབང་ཕྱག་ཆེན་པོ་ཡུན་རིང་དུ་བསྐྱུ་བས་ཀྱང་མ་གྲུབ་པས་
 རང་ཉིད་ལ་མགོ་བརྒྱ་ཡོད་པ་དེ་དེ་ནས་བཅད་པ་སྲིབ་སྲེག་ཡུལ་
 ཏེ། མགྲིབ་པའི་རྣམས་མཚམ་རེ་ལྷུས་པར་བྱས་པས་དེར་ཡང་
 ལྟ་མགྲིབ་བརྒྱུར་གྲགས། དེ་ནི་བྱང་ཀའ་བའི་སྒྲིབ་སྒྲིབས་ཆེན་
 པོ་དེ་ལ་དབང་ཕྱག་ཆེན་པོ་ལྟ་ནས་ལྟ་མོ་ལ་ལྟ་མ་ཁྱོད་པོ་ད་ལ་
 དེས་གྲུབ་བྱེད་ཅིག་ཅེས་བསྐྱོ་བ་ལྟར། དེ་དེ་ནི་གན་དུ་སོང་ནས་
 རི་འདོད་སྐྱབ་པར་ཁས་སྒྲུངས་བ་ལ། བདག་སྐྱོལ་དུ་ལས་དེས་
 གྲུབ་མི་འདོད་ཅེས་སྐྱས་པ་ལ་ལྟ་མ་ཁྱོས་ནས་མ་འོངས་པ་ན་ཁྱོད་
 གི་རྒྱ་ལ་སྲིད་བྱུང་མེད་ཀྱིས་འཛོམས་པར་གྲུབ་ཅིག་ཅེས་བརྗོད་
 བས་སྒྲིབ་དོ། སྐར་ཡང་ལྟ་ཆེན་པོས་རང་གི་བྱ་བར་པ་སྲེབ་ལྟེ་
 ག་དོང་ཅན་མངགས་པས་དེས་གྲུབ་ཅི་འདོད་ཀྱིས་པ་ལ། ད་སྲེབ་

ལས་དངོས་གྲུབ་ལོན་པར་མི་འདོད་ཟེར། དེ་ཡང་ཁྱོས་ནས་མ་
 རེདས་པ་ན་ཁྱོད་ཀྱི་ཀྱལ་གྱི་དཔྱེ་བྱས་བསྐྱལ་པར་གྱུར་ཅིག་ཅེས་
 བརྗོད་ནས་སོང་དོ། དེ་ནས་དབང་ཕྱུག་ཆེན་པོར་ཉིད་ཀྱི་ན་ནས་
 དེ་འི་མ་གྲིན་པ་ན་མས་སྒྲུབ་ཡང་མ་གོ་བོད་པ་ལྟར་པར་བྱིན་གྱིས་...
 བསྐྱབས་ནས་དཔྱེས་ཀྱི་རྟ་མགོ་མ་བཅད་པར་འཆི་བ་མེད་པ་དང་།
 ས་གསུམ་ལས་ན་མ་པར་རྒྱལ་བ་ཆེན་པོ་ཉིད་ལོས་གྲུབ་བྱིན་པས་
 འཇིག་རྟེན་གསུམ་བྱུང་དུ་འཁོལ་བར་ (Folio-126 (b) P-252)

གྱུར་ཏོ།

དེ་ག་ཞོམ་པར་བྱེད་པ་བྱུང་འདྲུག་གི་འདྲུག་པ་བརྩ་ཡི་
 བད་ཆོན་རྩུ་མ་གཉིས་ལས་བྱིམ་པ་འདོད་པ་དག་འབྱེད་རྩུ་མ་ཏ་ཞེས་
 བདེན། ར་སྒྱུ་ཞེས་པ་རིགས་ཀྱི་མིང་ཡིན་པས་འདི་ལ་ར་སྒྱུ་འི་བྱ་
 ཡང་ཟེར་དོ། དག་འབྱེད་རྩུ་མ་ཏ་དེའི་ཡལ་ནི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཤིང་རྟ་བརྩ་
 པ་ཞེས་བྱ་བདེ་ཡིན་ཅིང་། དེས་རྩུ་མ་ཏ་ལ་སྒྲུལ་པ། དས་ལྟོན་
 ལྟ་དང་ལྟ་མིན་གསལ་འབྱེད་པའི་སར་བྱིན་ཏེ་ལྟ་འི་ཕྱོགས་བཟུང་
 བས་ལྟ་མིན་དང་འཐབས་པས་ལྟ་མ་ཡིན་གྱི་མཆོན་ཆ་མང་པོ་

དེ་ལྟུང་ལ་ལྷན་པའི་མཁའ་པ་དེ། གྲོང་ཁྱེར་འཐབ་པ་མེད་པ་
 ཞེས་བྱ་བར་དེ་རྒྱུད་མ་གཤམ་གསལ་པའི་བྱེད་གཤམ་ལ་གཤམ་
 པའི་བྱེད་ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་ལྷ་པོ་རྩེ་རྩེ་ལ་རྒྱལ་མིང་བྱིན་ཟིན་པ་ལ། རྣམ་པ་ཁྱེད་
 རང་གི་རྒྱུད་མ་སྤྱི་རྒྱུད་དང་བཅས་ནས་སྤྱི་མེད་ཀྱི་གཅིས་བཀའ་སྤྱི་ལ་
 བཀ། བྱེད་གཤམ་དེ་ལྷ་བྱེད་དུ་ལོན་པའི་བསམ་མཁུ་ཆེ་བ་དང་...
 ལྷ་བཤེད་ཀྱི་རྒྱུད་མ་དང་བཅས་ནས་སྤྱི་མེད་དོ། འདི་ལྱེད་མ་སྤྱི་
 རྣམ་པ་དེ་ནི། སྤྱི་ལྷ་ལ་དུ་བྱུ་མ་མཚོར་སྤྱི་གཙུག་ཅན་ཞིག་སྤྱི་ལ་དེ་
 ཅིང་ལྷ་ལ་དེར་བཞག་ན། ལྷ་པོ་གྲོང་ཁྱེར་བཞུག་པའི་མཚོན་མ་
 ཤར་པས་སྤྱི་མེད་ཟེངས་སྤྱི་ལ་བཞུག་ནས་རྒྱལ་བ་སྤྱི་ལ་
 འཛམ་གྱི་སྤྱི་དུ་ཞིང་ལ་རྒྱུད་དཔལ་པའི་སྤྱི་ལ་ལྱིས་ནང་དུ་ཁྱེར་
 བྱེད་བཞིང་པ་ནས་སྤྱི་ལ་སྤྱི་ལ་དེ་ལ་ཁྱེད་ནས་བཞུག་པས་སྤྱི་
 མེད་ཁྱེད་ (Folio-127(a) P-253-Folio 127(b) missing)

བདས་ཀྱང་མ་ཟིན་པས་མིག་བཞུར་བ་ཡིན་པར་གོ་ནས་
 སྤྱི་རང་གནས་སྤྱི་ལོག་པ་ན། སྤྱི་རྣམ་གཞི་དང་བཅས་པ་འབོད་
 སྤྱི་གས་ཀྱིས་ཁྱེར་བར་དེ་གནས་ཐེས་བཅད་དེ་བྱིན་པ་དང་། ལུ་ལོ་

མོ་ཁ་དོག་ཁམ་སྒྲིང་ཞིང་རྒྱུད་པ་ན་བུན་ལྟར་བརྒྱུ་བས་པ་གཅིག
 དང་འབྲུད། དེ་གནས་འབབ་པ་ལྟར་བྱིན་པས་ལུང་དེའི་ལུན
 རྩེ་ཕུའི་རྒྱ་ལྟ་བུ་ལི་དང་མ་གྱིན་བཟང་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་གཉིས་དམག
 བོ་ཚོ་གས་དང་བཅས་ཏེ། རྒྱལ་སྤྱིད་ལ་མ་འཆམ་པར་གཡུལ
 འབྱོར་པའི་དམ་བ་ལས་བྱུང་བའི་རྒྱལ་གྱིས་རྩོག་པའི་རྒྱལ་ཡིན
 པར་འདུག དེར་བྱིན་པས་སྤྱེལ་རྒྱལ་མ་གྱིན་བཟང་གིས་དེ་
 བླམས་རྒྱལ་སྤྱིད་དོན་དུ་འཐབ་པ་ཡིན། ད་སྟེ་ཉིན་མ་གསུམ་གས་
 ཁོ་རང་རྒྱལ་བར་འབྱུར་བས་ཁྱོད་དེད་ཀྱི་གྲགས་བྱ་བར་རིགས
 ཟེར་བ་ལ། དག་འབྱོར་དེ་ནི་མདའ་འཕང་ཚད་པོ་ག་བ་དང་།
 པོ་ག་ཚད་འཆི་བ་དང་། ཞི་ཚད་ལྟར་སྤྱེས་པའི་དེ་མ་གྲུབ་གྲུབ
 པ་ཡིན་པས་དེས་མདའ་འཕངས་ཏེ་སྤྱེལ་རྒྱལ་བུ་ཡི་གསོད་པར
 ཁས་སྒྲུངས་སོ། འོན་ཀྱང་དེ་ཉི་མ་དང་པོར་སྤྱེལ་བའི་དམག་འཐབ་བའི་
 ལྟར་མོར་གཡེངས་པས་ལུས། གཉིས་པར་དེ་གཉིས་དབྱེ་བ་མ་
 ཞེས་ནས་མདའ་མ་འཕང་། ཉི་མ་གསུམ་པ་ལ་མི་ལྟུང་པའི་
 དེ་གཉིས་
 དམག་སྤྱེལ་བྱིན་བཟང་གི་དབྱལ་བ་ལ་མེ་ལོང་བཏགས་ཏེ། (Folio

-128(a)-P.255-Folio-128 (b) missing)

.....པས་པའོན་ཏེ་བྱས་ཟེར། དེ་ནས་དེ་སྡེ་དྲུ་ལྟེ་དྲུང་
 དུ་སོང་ནས་པོད་ག་ཀྱལ་རྒྱལ་ཁས་བཏང་བ་ཡིན། བྱོད་ཡུང་
 ང་དང་མ་ཉམ་དུ་འགྲོ་བྱས་པས་དེ་ཡིད་མ་ཆེས་པ་ལ་ལག་...
 ཉགས་སུ་ཀྱལ་པོ་འི་སོར་གདུབ་བསྟན། དེར་སྡེ་ཉམ་བདག་
 འབྲོས་ཅི་ལ་བྱུག། ཀྱལ་པོ་རང་ལ་མ་བྱུ་ཡོད་ན་སྟོན་ལ་སྒྲུངས་
 པར་དེགས་སོ་ཞེས་བྲིན་བསྟུར་པ་བྱེད་ནས་མཆོངས་གཅིག་
 གིས་རྒྱལ་ཁའི་མ་དུན་དུ་བྲིན། ཀྱལ་ཆོན་ན་མས་ཀྱལ་པོ་ལ་
 གསོལ་བས་ཀྱལ་པོ་ས་དེ་མ་ཐག་དུ་སྡེ་དྲུ་ལྟེ་དྲུང་མ་ག་ཆེན་པོ་
 བསྟུས་ནས་ཀྱལ་ཆོ་ཆེན་པོ་འི་འབྲུམ་དུ་སོང་སྟེ། དྲང་སྟོང་
 ཆེན་པོ་གྲོག་ མ་ཁར་བ་ལ་ཀྱལ་ཆོན་སྟོན་ཆགས་ཀྱི་དེགས་
 ཅི་འདྲ་ཡོད་ཅེས་དྲིས་པས། དཔག་ཆོད་བརྒྱའི་བྱོན་ཡོད་
 པའི་ཉེ་འཁྱིལ་ཞེས་པ་ཀུ་སྟོན་ཉ་མིད་དང་། དེ་ཉིད་མིད་པར་
 བྱེད་རྒྱལ་པ་དང་། དེ་ཡང་མིད་རྒྱལ་པ་སོགས་གདུག་པའི་
 མེམས་ཅན་དུ་མ་ཡོད་པར་བྱོས། དེ་ནས་ཀྱལ་ཆོ་ལ་སྟེལ་...
 དམག་ན་མས་སྟེལ་ནས་ཟམ་པ་བྱས་པར་བརྟེན་ནས་དགར་
 བྱེད་སྟོན་ཡུལ་དུ་བརྟེན། དེར་སང་ཡང་ཟམ་པའི་ཤུལ་...

ཡོད་ལ། དེར་ཀྱུ་གར་ཕྱི་པ་ནམས་ཀྱིས་གནས་ཆེན་ཞིག་རྒྱ་
 ཆེ་ཞིང་མཛུལ་བར་འགྲོ་བའི་སྒོ་ལ་ཡོད། ཕྱིན་པའི་བྲག་གིས་
 སྒྲགས་པ་ཡིན་ཟེར་མ་དོར་གྱི་ཐམས་ཅད་དམར་པོར་ཡོད་པ་
 འདིར་མིང་སེ་རྒྱ་བརྒྱ་ར་མེ་ཤར་ཞེས་གྲགས་ཏེ་ཀྱུ་གར་ལྟོ་ཕྱོད་
 ཀྱི་ (Folio-129(a) - P-257 - Folio-129(b) missing)

..... ཡང་གཡོ་སྒྱུ་རི་རིག་པ་སྟོན་ཕྱིར་ཁོང་ནམས་ལ་ཟེན་
 རྒྱ་བརྒྱ་ག་སྟེ། ཟློང་གྱི་ཕྱོགས་འདིར་བྲིམས་ཡོད་དམ་མེད། ཟློང་
 བ་རང་གི་བྲིམས་ལྷགས་བཞིན་རྒྱ་གསོད་ཟེར། ཟློང་རང་གི་བྲིམས་
 ལྷགས་གང་ཡིན་དྲིས་པས། བདག་གིས་ཡི་བྲིམས་ལྷགས་སྟུ་
 གསོད་ན་བང་མཛོད་རྒྱ་བརྒྱ་ག་སྟེ་བས་བཟུང་རྒྱུ་ཆད་ཕྱིན་དང་དེས་
 མཁྱིལ་པ་འགག་ནས་བདག་འཆིའོ། ཡི་ལྷགས་སྟུ་གསོད་
 བ་མཛུགས་ལ་ཁྱིལ་མར་གྱིས་སྒྲགས་པའི་རས་དྲིས་ལ་མེ་
 སྟོར་ཅིག་ཟེར་བས། ཡི་ལྷགས་སྟུ་གསོད་པར་གྲོས་མཐུན་པར་
 ཟུམ། དེར་སྟེ་རྒྱ་འཆི་བ་ཟློང་ནམས་ཀྱིས་མཐོང་ན་ལྟས་དན་

ཡིན་པས། རང་རང་གི་ཁྱིམ་དུ་ཡིག་ཟེར་བ་ལྟར་བྱས་པས་
 ལྟ་བུ་རེ་རེ་གོང་ཁྱེར་སྐུལ་བཞེགས་ལ་ཆའི་ལྷགས་ཤིང་བཅས་
 བ་མཛུགས་མའི་མེས་སྒྲུབ་ཅིག་ལ་བསྐྱེད་པས་པར་བྱས་པོ། དགའ་
 བྱེད་ཀྱིས་སྤྱི་དྲུག་པོས་རང་ཡུལ་དེས་ཀྱི་རྒྱ་མཚོ་ཆེན་པོ་གཞུ་
 མཚོ་ག་གིས་དཀྱུགས་ཤིང་བསྐྱོར་ནས་བཞག་པས་ལྟ་རི་མཐུས་
 མཚོ་སྒོ་དུ་བཞེས་བས་ཤིས་མི་ཡུལ་དུ་དེ་ནས་ཚུར་གྱུ་བཏང་ཡང་
 མི་འགོ་བར་སྒྱུར་ལྟོག་པས་མི་ཡུལ་དུ་སྤྱིན་པའི་གཞོན་པ་མི་ལྟུང་
 བ་དེའི་མཐུས་ཡིན་ཅེས་གསུངས་དེ་ནས་ཤོས་པས་ཐར་པ་དང་སྤྱིན་པོ་
 འགས་རྒྱུ་ཁ་དེའི་ལུ་བོ་ཀུ་སྒྲུ་ཀུ་ཞེས་པའི་དྲང་སྤྱང་བསམ་
 ཀའན་པ་དེའི་ན་བར་ཐོ་རྒྱུ་གསུངས་པས་ཉིད་དེ་བཞིན་ལས་མད་པར་
 བྱས་ཏེ་རྒྱ་བ་ཁ་བས་ད་མོགས་ལོ། (Folio-130(a) P.259)

[To be concluded]

FROM THERAVADA TO ZEN

—LAMA ANAGARIKA GOVINDA

In order to understand the sacred scriptures of Buddhism, we must to some extent be familiar with the living stream of tradition, as it has come down to us from the days of the Buddha, in an unbroken continuity. In spite of many differences in conception and formulation, even the comparatively later texts of the Mahâyâna are built upon the teachings of the earliest known tradition, which already was subdivided into eighteen different schools, of which each had its own canonical scriptures. However, only one of these canons has survived intact up to the present day, that of the Theravâdins, the teachings of the Elders. The reason for their survival was their insular seclusion in Ceylon, due to which they remained untouched by the spiritual and political revolutions on the mainland of India and the rest of Asia.

Until now the West has been mainly familiarized with the texts of this school, so that many people have formed the conviction that Theravâda is the only authentic form of Buddhism, as taught by the Buddha. We must remember, however, that not less than four centuries had passed before the Pâli Canon was put down in writing. Even if we want to trust the Indian capacity to pass on faithfully the words of great religious leaders orally from Guru to Chela for centuries on end, we must not forget that words are not lifeless objects, but that they, like all living things, are subject to the law of change and that they possess many meanings and associations of a spiritual and emotional nature, so that people of different temperaments, different background and different mentality—nothing to say of people belonging to different centuries—will associate different meanings or only a certain aspect of the original meaning with the same words.

This becomes evident by the fact that at the time when the Theravâda Canon was fixed, already eighteen different Buddhist schools had come into existence. No conscientious and unprejudiced scholar can overlook this fact, and therefore we must give to each of the different traditions as much credence as we are willing to give to the Theravâdins. Each of them has an equal claim of representing a true aspect of the teachings of the Buddha and a sincere effort to preserve as much as possible of the original words and thoughts of the Enlightened One. Only in this way can we obtain a complete and genuine picture of Buddhist thought and experience which reveals the whole wealth of Buddhist culture and its application in life. Such a complete picture does not only enrich our knowledge, but deepens the meaning and the importance of every single phase or school of Buddhism. Such a knowledge is equally essential for the understanding of the Pâli scriptures of the Theravâdins as for the other contemporary Hinayâna Schools and the Mahâyâna which finally took over the main stream of Buddhist tradition and carried it all over South East Asia, into the Far East and into Central Asia.

Only a detailed study of the Dharma-theory in the scriptures of the Sarvâstivâdins and of the Mahâyâna made it possible to see the teachings of the Theravâdins in their true perspective and to arrive at a deeper understanding of their philosophical and metaphysical foundations. The onesided

opinion of earlier scholars, that Buddhism is a purely rationalistic system without any metaphysical background—so to say floating in a kind of spiritual vacuum—represented the teachings of the Buddha as a cold intellectual doctrine, which fitted more into the European “Age of Reason” (which coincided with the beginnings of Buddhist research) than with a religion that inspired one third of humanity with hope and faith.

Helmuth von Glasenapp, who is well-known for his impartial works on the history of Buddhist thought, says : “The fact that formerly nothing was known about the Dharma-theory, is the cause that many scholars missed a metaphysical foundation in the canonical discourses, and therefore declared the Buddha—according to their respective temperament—as an agnostic or a mere teacher of ethics, or they deduced from his silence about God, soul and other concepts which contradict the Dharma-theory, a mystic secret doctrine about *Ātman*, etc....” Even more outspoken is Glasenapp in another article, in which he explains the Buddhist concept of “*dhammas*” (the Pāli version of the Sanskrit term “*dharma*”) whose co-operation, according to their inherent law, brings about, what we conceive as “personality” and the “world” experienced by it. “This is a concept whose fundamental importance for the Buddhist view of the world and its doctrine of salvation has been revealed only in the course of the last thirty years. Since the word ‘*dhamma*’ (literally, the supporting element) has already in Pāli several meanings (universal law, righteousness, duty, property, object), one did not realize that besides these many meanings, it is used in the Pāli Canon also as terminus technicus for the ultimate, irreducible factors out of which everything is composed that we believe to perceive within and without ourselves. Since this fundamental concept of Buddhist philosophy had not been understood in its true significance, one could only appreciate the Buddha’s ethical principles and his doctrine of liberation; however, one could not realize that the practical side of Buddhism has a theoretical foundation, a ‘philosophy of becoming’, which is unique in the spiritual history of humanity, in so far as it explains everything that exists through the co-operation of only momentary existing forces, arising and disappearing in functional dependence of each other. Due to this Buddhism can renounce the concept of eternal substances (matter, soul, God) which in all other teachings form the supporting basis.”

Here we come to the core of the problem. What distinguished the Buddha from his contemporaries and what raised him above the general spiritual attitude of his country was his perception of the dynamic nature of reality. The four Noble Truths (consisting of the truth of suffering, of its origin, of its annihilation and of the way leading to the annihilation of suffering) as well as the Eightfold Path towards liberation form the general Indian frame of his teachings, but not what gives Buddhism its specific character. But when the Buddha put the *anattā*-idea into the centre of his teaching, he took the decisive step from a static to a dynamic view of the world, from an emphasis of ‘being’ to an emphasis on ‘becoming’, from the concept of an unchangeable, permanent ‘I’ (ego) to the realisation of the interdependence of all forms and aspects of life and the capacity of the individual to grow beyond himself and his self-created limitations. Thus the unsurmountable contrast between ‘I’ and ‘world’, ‘mind’ and ‘matter’, ‘substance’ and ‘appearance’, ‘the eternal’ and the ‘impermanent’, etc., was eliminated.

The doctrine of the Buddha is the antithesis of the concept of ‘substance’, which has governed human thought for millennia. Just as Einstein’s

theory of relativity influenced and changed the entire mode of modern thinking, in a similar way the anâtman-idea of the Buddha caused a revolution in Indian thought. This did not imply a negation of the religious principles of the past or a skeptical attitude towards metaphysical values; it was more in the nature of a re-valuation of these ideas in the light of experience and of a new spiritual perspective. The Buddha never doubted the continuity of life beyond death, nor the existence and attainability of higher states of existence and their influence on human life. He did not doubt the existence of a moral law, not that of a universe governed by equally strict and unalterable laws, and the world in which he lived was for him not merely a material phenomenon, but a manifestation of living and conscious forces. It was a world which was thoroughly alive with psychic forces, in a way which is unimaginable to people of our times. This becomes all too apparent in the 'soulless' and equally uninspiring interpretation of Buddhism by modern Buddhists, who confound the anâtman-idea with 'soullessness', a term which conveys a totally wrong impression. How can we speak about Buddhist psychology without presupposing a 'psyche'? The Buddha rejected the idea of an eternal, unchangeable soul-substance, existing as a separate entity or monade, but he never denied the existence of consciously directed spiritual and psychic forces, which in spite of their constant flow and change of form and appearance retained their continuity and organic unity. Man is not a mere mechanism of elements that have been thrown together by blind chance, but he is a conscious organism following its own inherent rules, in which individual tendencies and universal laws are in constant co-operation.

The Buddha freed the world of its "thingishness" as well as of its mere "illusionness" by opposing a dogmatically hardened and misunderstood 'âtmavâda'—which originally was born from an experience of inner reality, the living breath of the universe within us,—but which in the course of time had frozen into the concept of an unchangeable individual self. The Buddha replaced the idea of an immutable, eternal soul monade, incapable of growth and development, with the conception of a spiritual consciousness yearning for freedom and highest enlightenment and capable of attaining this supreme goal in the course of a continuous process of becoming and dissolving.

In this process of transformation we find not only the source of transience and suffering, but also the source of all spiritual life and growth. When the Buddha spoke about this suffering, it was not an outcome of pessimism or 'Weltschmerz', but due to the realization that unless we recognize the nature and cause of our suffering, which is only another word for our imperfection and our wrong attitude, we could not make use of the tremendous potentialities of our mind and attain a state of perfect enlightenment which would reveal the universality of our innermost being. This realisation was not founded on logical conclusions, but on the Buddha's own experience in the attainment of illumination, in which he transcended the limitations of individuality by overcoming the illusion of egohood. This does not mean that his individuality was annihilated, but only that he did not mistake it any more as the essence of his being, but only as a vehicle, a necessary means to become conscious of his universality, the universality of the all-embracing mind.

Looking back from this experience of highest reality and self-realisation, the Enlightened One saw the world in a reversed perspective (reversed from the point of view of the ordinary man), namely in the perspective of

the anâtman-idea; and lo, this apparently inescapable, solid and substantial world dissolved into a whirling nebulous mass of insubstantial, eternally rotating elements of continually arising and disintegrating forms. The momentariness of these elements of existence (*dharmas*) which make up the river of life and of all phenomena, make it impossible to apply to them concepts like 'being' and 'non-being'. "The world, o Kaccâna, is given to dualism, to the 'it is' and the 'it is not'. He, however, o Kaccâna, who has realized with perfect wisdom how things arise in this world, for him there is no 'it is not' in the world. And he, o Kaccâna, who realizes with perfect wisdom how things disappear in this world, for him there is no 'it is' in the world." (Samyutta Nikâya II, 17)

'Being' and 'non-being' can only be applied to things or substances existing 'in themselves', i.e., to absolute units, as represented by our abstract concepts, but never to anything real or actual, because no thing and no being can exist in itself or for itself, but only in relationship to other things or beings, to conscious or unconscious forces of the universe. Concepts like 'identity' and 'non-identity' therefore lose their meaning. It was for this reason that the Sage Nagasena answered King Milinda's question, whether the doer is identical with the reaper of the fruit of his action (whether in this or in a following life) : "Na ca so, na ca añño." "He is neither the same, nor a different one."

The Buddha, therefore, replaces the concepts of identity and non-identity (which both represent extremes of abstract thought) by the formula of Dependent Origination (*pratītyasamutpāda*). This was much more than the proclamation of a scientific law of causation, as superficial observers maintained in order to prove the similarity to their own soulless and mechanistic world-view. Their causality presupposes a purely time-conditioned, unalterable sequence of events, i.e., a necessary and predictable course of action.

The *pratītyasamutpāda*, however, is not confined to a sequence in time, but can also be interpreted as a simultaneous co-operation of all its links, in so far as each of them represents the sum total of all the others, seen under a particular aspect. In other words : from the point of view of time and of the course of individual existence, i.e., from the mundane point of view, the formula of Dependent Origination can be interpreted causally, not however, from the standpoint of highest truth (*paramârtha*).

The causal interpretation is to a certain extent a concession towards a more popular understanding, which requires a concrete example related to actual life, and not a strictly logical, scientific formula. We, therefore, find even in the Pâli texts no uniformity in the presentation of this formula, in which sometimes several links are left out and where even the reversability of the sequence of certain links has been pointed out. This is not due to lack of logical thinking as some critics assumed, but shows that the originators of these different formulations wanted to demonstrate that they were not concerned with a strictly time-conditioned sequence of phenomena which would follow each other with mechanical necessity. What they wanted to point out was the non-substantiality and relativity of all individual phenomena. None of them exists in its own nature, independent of all the other factors of life. Therefore they are described as *sûnyam* : empty of self-nature, non-absolute.

But since no first beginning of any individual or of any inner or outer phenomena can be found, it means that each of them has the totality of the

universe at its base. Or, if we want to express this from the standpoint of time, we could say that each of these phenomena, and especially every individual, has an infinite past and is therefore based on an infinity of relations, which do not and cannot exclude anything that ever existed or is liable to come into existence. All individuals, (or rather all that has an individual existence) have therefore the whole universe as their common ground, and this universality becomes conscious in the experience of enlightenment, in which the individual awakens to his true all-embracing nature.

In order to become conscious of this all-embracing nature, we have to empty ourselves from all conceptual thought and discriminating perception. This emptiness (*śūnyatā*) is not a negative property, but a state of freedom from impediments and limitations, a state of spontaneous receptivity in which we open us to the all-inclusive reality of a higher dimension. Here we realize the *śūnyatā* which forms the central concept of the Prajñā-pāramitā Sūtra. Far from being the expression of a nihilistic philosophy, which denies all reality, it is the logical consequence of the *anātman* doctrine of non-substantiality. *Śūnyatā* is the emptiness of all conceptual designations and at the same time the recognition of a higher, incommensurable and undefinable reality, which can only be experienced in the state of perfect enlightenment.

While we are able to come to an understanding of relativity by way of reasoning, the experience of universality and completeness can only be attained when all conceptual thought (*kalpana*), all word-thinking has come to rest. The realisation of the teachings of the Prajñā-pāramitā-sūtra can only come about on the path of meditative practice (*yogācāra*), through a transformation of our consciousness. Meditation in this sense is therefore no more a search after intellectual solutions or an analysis of worldly phenomena with worldly means—which would merely be a moving around in circles—but a breaking out from this circle, an abandoning of our thought-habits in order “to reach the other shore” (as it has not only been said in the *Prajñā-pāramitā-hridaya*, but already in the ancient Sutta Nipāta). This requires a complete reversal or spiritual transformation, a “turning about in the deepest seat of our consciousness”, as expressed in the Lankāvatāra-Sūtra. This reversal brings about a new spiritual outlook, similar to what the Buddha experienced when returning from the Tree of Enlightenment. A new dimension of consciousness is being opened by this experience, which transcends the limits of mundane thought.

The exploration of this consciousness, which goes beyond the boundaries of individual existence, is the special merit of the *Vijñānavādins* or *Yogācārins*, as they were also called, because they were not content merely with a theoretical exploration, but regarded practical experience as the only legitimate way for the acquisition of true knowledge. For them not the thought-process, but the consciousness itself is the ultimate judge of reality, and the deeper we descend into this reality, the clearer will its true nature reveal itself—a nature, before which all words turn back, because only negations like ‘infinity’, ‘timelessness’, ‘emptiness’ and the like, can hint at the enormity of this experience. In the universality of this primordial ground of consciousness, the *Vijñānavādins* discovered the source of all forms of existence, their dependent origination and transformation, and also their coming to rest in the state of perfect enlightenment.

If we want to give credence to the early scriptures of Buddhism, which without exception agree in their description of the *Buddha's Enlightenment*,

we can have no doubt that here we are confronted with an experience of such all-embracing universality that all limitations of time and space were transcended and with them the illusions of the substantiality of our empirical world and of our separate egohood.

Recognizing this experience as the real starting point of Buddhism and not only as a distant, more or less theoretical aim or ideal, the followers of Ch'an Buddhism in China and of Zen in Japan, try to go back to the very origin of Buddhist tradition by insisting on the spontaneity of the human mind, which basically is not different from that of the Buddha, if only we can free it from the cobwebs of habitual thought and prejudice. They maintain that we have to replace book-knowledge by direct experience, scholarliness by intuition, and the historical Buddha by the Buddha within us, i.e., by the awakening of the potentialities of our own mind which will lead to the realisation of perfect enlightenment. It is a courageous attempt, which requires complete self-dedication and complete surrender of one's whole being, without reservations, without holding back anything to which our ego can cling. It is like playing 'va banque' on the spiritual plane, a game in which one may gain everything or lose everything,—because to miss the aim even by a hair's breadth is equal to being world's apart from it. The Ch'an practice has therefore been compared to with a leap into a bottomless abyss, with a letting go of all familiar ideas and prejudices. The precipice is the unfathomable depth of our own consciousness, which yawns beyond the narrow circle of our egocentric world of illusions. In order to find the courage to leap into the depth, we require a certain inner preparation and a spiritual stimulus that is strong enough to take the risk. Unless the mind has become mature enough to recognize or to become aware of its own depth there will be no urge to explore it and no faith in the final result of this daring undertaking. It is here where the faith in the Buddha, as one who has gone this way (this is the meaning of the appellation 'Tathagata'), comes in, a faith that is justified by the result and the example of his life and the lasting effect it had on all who followed him. But unless we are ready to take the risks which the Buddha took, when he set out on his lonely way to enlightenment in the forest of Uruvela, nothing can be gained. Those who feel content in their ignorance or in their limited knowledge, will have no inclination to take this risk, either because they have not yet reached the point where the problem begins or because they trust the flimsy superstructure of their logical speculations under which the problem has been buried. The former know nothing of the gaping abyss, the latter believe that they can bridge it intellectually.

The follower of Ch'an or Zen, however, knows that all logical and philosophical solutions and definitions are limited and onesided, because reality lies beyond all contradictory, mutually exclusive pairs of opposites with which our two-dimensional logic deals. He therefore uses his thought-activity only as a means to become conscious of the unthinkable and to realize the problematic character of the world and the mystery of his own existence, without expecting solutions which go beyond the limited nature of his intellect. He therefore tries to avoid ready-made mental associations and judgements and endeavours to remain in a state of pure contemplation, seeing things as if he were seeing them for the first time, spontaneously, without prejudice, free from likes or dislikes.

Then everything will become a wonder and a door to the great mystery of life, behind which the wealth of the whole universe is hidden, together

with the Great Emptiness which makes this plenitude possible, though it may frighten us, because it is so inconceivable to our senses and appears so abysmal to our ego-centered consciousness, bent as it is to maintain its own identity. If we could give up this egocentric discriminating and dissecting attitude of our intellect even for one moment, the true nature of all things would manifest themselves "like the sun that rises through empty space and illuminates the whole universe unhindered and without limits." In other words, as soon as we succeed in silencing the restless activity of our intellect and give a chance to our intuition, the pure all-embracing spirit in us will manifest itself. We need not shun sense-activities or the perception of sense-objects, but only our ego-conditioned judgements and attitudes. We must understand that the true spirit (the depth-consciousness) expresses itself in these perceptions and sense-activities, without being dependent on them. One should not form judgements on the ground of such perceptions, nor should one allow one's thoughts to be determined and led by them. And yet one should abstain from imagining the universal consciousness as something separate from them or to renounce them in the pursuance of religious aims. (This is why asceticism was rejected by the Buddha and replaced by a control, but not by a suppression of the senses.) One should neither cling to them, nor renounce them, neither dwell upon them nor reject them, but one should remain independent of everything that is either above or below us or around us. There is no place in which Ch'an (*dhyâna*, the way of inner vision) could not be practised, because it is not concerned with an ascetic negation of the senses or the material world as conceived by the senses, but with the gaining of a deeper, wider, more universal consciousness, which comprises both sides of reality: the finite and the infinite, the material and the immaterial, mind and matter, form and the formless, the impermanent and the eternal, the conditioned and the unconditioned.

The more and the longer we can abstain from seeing things habitually, the more we shall realize their inconceivable, essentially unlimited nature. Habit kills intuition, because habit prevents living experience, direct perception. When our thinking has advanced to the point where the existential problem arises, we should not allow ourselves to be satisfied with intellectual solutions or lose ourselves in the pursuance of facts and figures, proofs and abstract truths, which are incontrovertible but have no bearing on life or which—as in the case of science—create more problems than what they can solve. But we should have the courage to penetrate to the very limits of thought, where words become paradoxes and logic turns against itself.

In the moment in which we open our inner eye—instead of looking outward into a world of apparent material reality—illusion disappears and we suddenly become aware of true reality. This is why the Dhyâna-school speaks of 'sudden enlightenment'. It is a reversal of our perspective, a new orientation, which leads to a revaluation of all values. Due to this the world of sense-perception loses its absoluteness and substantiality, and takes its rightful place in the order of relative and time-conditioned phenomena. Here begins the path of the Buddha, the path towards the realisation of Buddhahood within ourselves, as represented by the main meditation schools of Mahâyâna Buddhism like Ch'an and Zen.

Meditation was always the main requisite of the Buddhist doctrine of liberation. However, the more the different techniques of meditation, their psychological definitions and their metaphysical and philosophical principles

were explained, classified and fixed in commentaries and sub-commentaries, the more the practice of meditation was neglected and suffocated by theoretical discussions, and moral rules and regulations and endless recitations of sacred texts. The reaction was a revolt against scriptures and learnedness and a return to a more spontaneous and direct experience. The pedantry of scholastic thought and intellectual logic was countered by the weapon of the paradox, which like a sharp sword, cut through the knots of artificially created problems, with the speed of a flash of lightning that gives us a glimpse of the true nature of things. The paradox, however, is a double-edged sword. As soon as it becomes a matter of routine, it destroys the very thing which it helped to reveal. The force of a paradox, like that of a sword, lies in the unexpectedness and speed with which it is handled—otherwise it is not better than the knife in the hand of a butcher.

As an example for the ideal use of paradoxes, we may mention the Sûtra of the Sixth Patriarch. He succeeded in expressing the spiritual attitude of Ch'an in a way which neither offends our commonsense nor attempts to make commonsense the measure of all things. The reader of this scripture is introduced from the very beginning into the right atmosphere, which enables him to rise from the plane of his every-day consciousness to the spontaneous participation in the reality of a higher level of consciousness. The figure of the Sixth Patriarch impresses one by his natural spontaneity, which should be inherent in every human being and with which the unprejudiced reader can easily identify himself. In this way he is able to participate inwardly in the experiences and teachings of the Sixth Patriarch, whose very life has become a symbol of Ch'an Buddhism at its best.

The novice of Kwang-tung, whose mind was not yet burdened by any philosophical problem, penetrates spontaneously into the centre of spiritual life: the experience of Buddhahood. This experience does not depend on monastic rules and learnedness, on asceticism and virtuousness, on book-knowledge and the recitation of sacred texts, but only on the realisation of the living spirit within us.

The Sixth Patriarch attained to a state of spontaneous enlightenment without study and book-knowledge, though on the other hand it was through listening to the recitation of the Diamond Sûtra that his interest was aroused and his spiritual eye was opened. Spontaneous experience, therefore, can very well be the product of an ancient hallowed tradition, if this tradition contains symbols of a supra-mental reality of formulations which lead the mind beyond the narrow circle of mundane reasoning. In the unexpected clash between a sensitive mind and such symbols and formulations the doors of inner perception are suddenly opened and enable the individual to identify himself with this supra-mental reality contained in those mysterious formulations and symbols.

The Sixth Patriarch came from a good but impoverished family in Kwang-tung. One day while he was selling fire-wood on the market of Kanton, he listened to the recitation of the Diamond Sûtra, and this evoked such a deep response in him, that he decided to enter a monastery of the Ch'an school, whose abbot was the Fifth Patriarch. He became a novice there, and as such he was given the lowliest work in the monastery's stable and kitchen. One day the abbot called up all his disciples in order to choose his successor. He asked them to write a stanza about the innermost nature of the mind,

However, nobody dared to do this, with the exception of the learned Shin-shau whom everybody regarded already as the successor of the Fifth Patriarch. He wrote his verse on the wall of the corridor, in order to find out the opinion of the Patriarch and to announce his authorship only if the Patriarch was pleased with the stanza. The Patriarch, however, though he praised the lines, asked Shin-shau to meditate upon them a few days more and then to write another stanza which showed that its author had passed through 'the gate of enlightenment', in other words, that he had really experienced what he wrote about.

Two days later it happened that a young man, who passed by the room, in which the young novice from Kwang-tung was husking rice, recited aloud the stanza of Shin-shau. The novice thereupon went into the corridor where Shin-shau had written his stanza and asked a visitor, whom he met there by chance, to read the verse for him, since he himself could neither read nor write. After the visitor had read out the verse to him, the novice said that he had also composed a stanza and asked him to write it under the lines of Shin-shau.

When the other monks saw the new stanza, they were filled with wonder and said to each other: "How was it possible that we allowed such an enlightened person to work for us?"—The Patriarch, however, who feared the jealousy of the other monks, who might harm the novice, if they knew that he was to become his successor, erased the stanza with one of his sandals and asked the young man to call on him during the night. When everybody in the monastery was deep asleep, he gave the novice the insignias of his future office and made him the Sixth Patriarch. He then bade him to leave the monastery at once and to return only after the passing away of the Fifth Patriarch. He did so, and when he returned with the robes of office, he was recognized as the Sixth Patriarch.

Let us now consider the stanzas of Shin-shau and of the Sixth Patriarch, because they give us a valuable insight into the mental attitude of the Ch'an School. The stanza of Shin-shau ran:

"Our body is like a bodhi-tree,
Our mind like a clear mirror;
From hour to hour it must be cleansed,
So that no dust can collect upon it."

This verse does not only show a pedantic concern for the preservation of the purity of the 'inner mirror' (the Original Mind—which is at any rate beyond 'purity' and 'impurity'), but apart from this it shows that the author of this stanza does not speak from his own experience, but only as a man of letters, because this verse is based on a saying in the Svetasvatara Upanishad:

"Just as a mirror, that was covered with dust
Shines forth like fire, if it is cleansed,
In the same way will he, who has realized the nature of
the soul,
Attain the goal and liberate himself from grief."

Thus Shin-shau was only repeating the standpoint of the Upanishads, without having experienced the reality of the Original Mind, while the young novice, who had grasped the quintessence of the Diamond Sūtra in an act of direct

perception, had experienced in that moment the true nature of the mind. This is shown by his stanza, which at the same time rejects that of Shin-shau by revealing the Buddhist point of view, as understood by the masters of Ch'an:

"The Bodhi is not a tree at all,
Nor is the mind a case of mirrors.
When everything is empty,
Where could the dust collect?"

The Original Mind, realized as the "Buddha Mind" or the principle of '*bodhi*', which is a latent property of every consciousness, is not only a reflection of the universe—something that 'mirrors' the universe—but it is the universal reality itself. To the limited intellect it can only appear as a kind of metaphysical emptiness, the absence of all qualities and possibilities of definition. '*Bodhi*' is therefore not something that has originated or grown like a tree, neither is the mind a mere mirror, which only reflects reality in a secondary capacity. Since the mind is itself the all-embracing emptiness (*śūnyatā*), where could dust ever collect? "The essence of the mind is great, we say, because it embraces all things, for all things are of our nature." Thus it is not a question to improve or to cleanse our mind, but to become conscious of its universality. What we can improve is our intellect, our limited individual consciousness. This, however, can never lead us beyond its own limits, because we remain in the strictly circumscribed circle of its inherent laws (of time and space, of logic and causality). Only the leap across the boundary, the giving up of all those contents which fetter us to those laws, can give us the experience of the totality of the spirit and the realisation of its true nature, which is what we call Enlightenment.

The true nature of our mind embraces all that lives. The Bodhisattva-vow to free all living beings is therefore not as presumptuous as it sounds. It is not born from the illusion that a mortal man could set himself up as the saviour of all beings or the redeemer of the whole world, but it is an outcome of the realisation that only in the state of enlightenment we shall be able to become one with all that lives. In this act of unification we liberate ourselves and all living beings which are potentially present and are part of it in the deepest sense. This is the reason, why according to the teachings of the Mahāyāna, the liberation from one's own sufferings, the mere extinction of the will to live and of all desires, is regarded as insufficient, and why the striving after perfect enlightenment (*samyak-sambodhi*) is regarded as the only goal worthy of a follower of the Buddha. As long as we despise the world and merely try to escape from it, we have neither overcome it nor mastered it and are far from having attained liberation. Therefore it is said: "This world is the Buddha-world, within which enlightenment can be found. To search after enlightenment by separating oneself from the world is as foolish as searching for the horn of a hare." For: "He who treads earnestly the path of the world, will not see the faults of the world."

In a similar way we should not imagine that by the suppression of thought or of our intellectual faculties we can attain enlightenment. "It is a great mistake to suppress all thought" says Wai-Lang, the Sixth Patriarch. Ch'an is the way to overcome the limitations of our intellectual attitude. But first we must have developed our intellect, our capacity to think, to reason and to discern, before we are able to appreciate Ch'an. We cannot overcome or go beyond the intellect, if we never 'had one', i.e., if we never developed and

mastered it; because only what we master is really our own. The intellect is as necessary for the overcoming of mere emotionality and muddleheadedness, as intuition is necessary for overcoming the limitations of the intellect and its discriminations.

Reason, the highest property of the intellect, is what guides our purposive thought. Purposes, however, are limited; and therefore reason can only operate in what is limited. Wisdom (*prajñā*) alone can accept and intuitively realize the unlimited, the timeless and infinite, by renouncing explanations and by recognizing the mystery, which can only be felt, experienced and finally realised in life—but which can never be defined. Wisdom has its roots in experience, in the realisation of our innermost being. Reason has its roots in thought. Yet wisdom will not despise either thought or reason, but will use them where they belong, namely in the realm of purposeful action as well as for science and for co-ordinating our sense-impressions, perceptions, sensations, feelings and emotions into a meaningful whole.

Here the creative side of our thought comes into play, which converts the raw material of experience into a reasonable world. How big or how small this world is, depends on the creative faculty of the individual mind. The small mind lives in the world of his ephemeral needs and desires, the great mind in the infinity of the universe and in the constant awareness of that fathomless mystery which gives depth and width to his life and thus prevents him from mistaking his sense-world for ultimate reality. He, however, who has penetrated to the limits of thought dares to take the leap into the Great Emptiness, the primordial ground of his own boundless being.

THE SIMLA CONVENTION 1914 : A CHINESE PUZZLE

NIRMAL C. SINHA

I

Among the important events of 1914 is the Simla Convention dated the 3rd July 1914. Three parties participated in a conference in Simla which ended in a tripartite agreement in draft form in March-April 1914. The three parties were India, China and Tibet.

After the draft agreement was ready, disputes between China and Tibet cropped up on two points : (1) the borders between China and Tibet and (2) the degree and nature of Chinese suzerainty over the Dalai Lama's government. These disputes were not solved in protracted consultations through the summer months of 1914. The British and the Tibetan delegates even then wanted to sign and ratify the draft agreed previously. The Chinese delegate, Ivan Chen, refused to sign and wanted further authorization from Peking for signature. Ivan Chen walked out of the conference on 3rd July 1914 and proceeded to Calcutta en route to China. The British and Tibetan delegates signed the agreement and by further affirmative documents ratified the Convention as binding between the British Government in India and the Dalai Lama's Government in Tibet. Though the original draft for the agreement describing the three parties and detailing the rights and privileges of the three parties was retained, a declaration was added that China would not be entitled to any rights and privileges as a suzerain power in Tibet if she failed to sign or ratify the tripartite agreement.

The war of 1914 followed the Simla Convention in a matter of weeks and since Great Britain and China were on the same side as allies, neither Great Britain nor China made any positive declarations about China's rights and privileges outside the Simla Convention. China, however, informally questioned the validity of the Simla Convention, but never pressed the point for clarification. The same position was continued later by KMT China. During the Second World War, China would more often refer to the provisions of the Simla Convention and put pressure on the Allies, particularly, Britain and America, for recognition of China's suzerainty over Tibet. The question of borders between India and Tibet was not pressed so much. The British Prime Minister, Winston Churchill, was even persuaded to make a statement at the Pacific Council in Washington (May 1943) that "no one contests the Chinese suzerainty in Tibet". The British Foreign Office did not find this statement of the British P.M. to be wrong. But their subordinates in the Government of India, namely, the British officials in the Indian Civil Service, pointed out in secret communications to Anthony Eden, the British Foreign Minister, that China had no rights in Tibet unless China signed or otherwise accepted the provisions about Sino-Tibetan relations in the Simla Convention. In short, according to the British Officers in India, China could not have

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unqualified control over Tibet without any proper treaty or agreement between Tibet and China. This point of view could not be altogether rejected by the British Foreign Office and shortly afterwards (July 1943) Anthony Eden made a statement in answer to Chinese request for clarification, that the Chinese suzerainty in Tibet was conditional and in no case unlimited. At the end of the war, KMT China again raised this question and was given hearing in the Press outside China simply because China had been admitted into the club of the Four Great Powers which destroyed the three Axis Powers (Germany, Italy and Japan). In 1947 March, an Asian Relations Conference was held in New Delhi. There were delegations from different Asian countries which included the Moslem republics of USSR and Tibet. In the conference hall was a big map of Asia which depicted Tibet as quite separate from China. The delegates from China protested against the presence of Tibetan delegates as a distinct group and the map of Asia as on the wall of the conference room. The map had to be removed though the Tibetan delegates continued. Ever since that event, the Chinese point of view about Tibet and about the Simla Convention has been circulating wider and wider; and when the People's Republic of China took over from the corrupt KMT regime, the former also took over all the antique claims of China about neighbouring countries. An important claim was based on the Chinese objection to the Simla Convention.

The Government of India did not care to assess the implications of Chinese claims, and, on the other hand, were too friendly towards China as a country which was the victim of Western imperialism as much as India. Thus in 1954 when India made a fresh treaty about trade and pilgrimage in Tibet, the Government of India, deliberately or carelessly, ignored the Simla Convention as "a relic of British imperialism". The Simla Convention and the documents attached to this agreement not only provided for trade and pilgrimage but also laid down the frontiers between India and Tibet in the east. This frontier is the so-called McMahon Line named after Sir Arthur Henry McMahon who was the chief delegate of the British government and was also the Chairman of the Tripartite Conference. Years later, when China disputed India's northern borders both in the east and in the west and when the Government of India referred to the eastern border as finally settled in the Simla Conference, China simply refused to acknowledge the validity or legality of the Simla Convention. China indirectly demanded to know why India had not referred to the Simla Convention or the McMahon Line in the Sino-Indian Agreement of 1954.

II

The Simla Convention has been criticised on several grounds : (1) a tripartite agreement signed by two parties is invalid *ab initio*; (2) the Simla Convention was not signed by the Tibetan delegate; (3) the Simla Convention was merely initialled by the British and Tibetan delegates; and (4) Tibet had no right to sign the agreement when China had walked out.

We now reply to these arguments one by one.

(1) A tripartite agreement signed by two parties is not necessarily invalid *ab initio*. If there is nothing repugnant or contradictory in the text of a tripartite agreement, such agreement is fully enforceable between two signatory parties so far as the liabilities and rights of the two parties are

concerned. In the text of the Simla Convention the rights and liabilities of the two parties are very clearly stated : and the fact of third party having left the conference table could not and did not affect the position of the other two parties.

(2) The Simla Convention was signed by the Tibetan delegate even though the Chinese delegate advised the Tibetan delegate not to proceed further. The contention of the Tibetan delegate was that Tibet was represented at the Simla Conference on Tibet's own rights as a treaty-making state. Tibet did not come to the conference as a subordinate and subsidiary authority under the new Republic of China. Therefore Tibet had the right to sign or refuse to sign an agreement on Tibet's own jurisdiction. The full signature of Lonchen Shatra, the Tibetan delegate, is on the Simla Agreement for anybody's inspection even in 1974.

(3) It is true that the British plenipotentiary, Sir Arthur Henry McMahon, put his initials—A.H.M.—and desired that the Tibetan plenipotentiary should also put his initials in Tibetan. But since initialling is not only difficult but also impolite in Tibetan usage, the Tibetan plenipotentiary Lonchen Shatra put his full signature describing his lineage even. After the signature, the British delegate put a note : initial and added at the bottom "owing to it not being possible to write initials in Tibetan, the mark of the Lonchen at this place is his signature". This was to ensure that the two signatories should follow one uniform practice. Why the British wanted initials in place of signature is a quite different matter which is discussed later. Here it is only noted that uniformity in the procedure of signature is very much obligatory in treaties and agreements between two or more countries.

Initials can very much be good substitute for signature if followed by the seal of the country concerned. And, in fact, in a rule regarding interpretation of conventions much later, the League of Nations had given its considered judgement that initials could be as much valid as full signatures in documents and treaties. [Geneva Convention on the Law of Treaties, Art. 12(2)]

The British delegate was asking for the initials for the simple reason that the Chinese delegate was also asked to put his initials and to report to Peking for ratification. The Chinese delegate, Ivan Chen, was perhaps in the earlier stage inclined to adopt this procedure, but later with the opening of the month of July, he could smell sulphur in the atmosphere and he very much anticipated that the British would be involved in a war with Germany before the month was out and, therefore, the British who happened to be patrons of the Chinese Republic, would not much bother about this. However, it became an obsession later on with the Chinese authorities during the KMT period when they could not re-establish their suzerainty over Tibet. After World War II, pro-Chinese scholars in Britain took over this obsession with initials. A brilliant young scholar, Alstair Lamb, straightway rejected the authority of initials and conveniently ignoring the Geneva Convention on the Law of Treaties wrote a number of research papers on the Simla Convention and later on produced the famous book called *The McMahon Line* (1966). In this book as well as in his earlier papers, he consistently spelt "initialed" for "initialled". His first publications were from England and the spelling with single 'l' was undoubtedly most un-English. Lamb insisted on spelling like this to condemn the whole affair of initialling. When his famous *McMahon Line* in two volumes came out from North America there was justification

for this American spelling. Meanwhile, much mischief has been caused to the claims of both India and Tibet by this argument about initials. The argument, unfortunately, was followed by many scholars in Indian universities.

(4) Thus we come to the only positive argument against the Simla Convention that Tibet had no right to sign independent of China or in the absence of China. In fact, this is the only argument which has been officially advanced by the People's Republic of China. It is a mark of Chinese diplomacy that in their non-official publications as also in the writings of sponsored scholars, the legality of the signature is not much discussed. There is a heavy and noisy propaganda in the non-official and demi-official writings that the treaty was not signed at all and that initials were not good enough to make these as strong as signatures. Some scholars, later on, had even made researches to prove that the Simla Convention being not properly signed and ratified between India and Tibet, was later on put into cold storage in the British Foreign Office and that a considerable section of opinion in the British Foreign Office considered the Simla Convention as dead and defunct. Interesting sidelights on this point can be found in Neville Maxwell's *India's China War* (1970).

In Chinese official statements, they admit that the Simla Convention was signed by the Tibetan delegate. But they reject the right of the Tibetan delegate to sign or ratify such an agreement without authority from Peking. The most important document is found in the Indian White Paper containing the *Report of the Officials of the Governments of India and the People's Republic of China on the Boundary Question* (New Delhi, 1961) and in the Chinese Red Paper containing *Report of the Officials of the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of India on the Boundary Question*, (Peking n.d.—1962).

“Premier Chou En-lai and Chinese officials do not deny the fact that the then Tibet local representative signed the Simla Convention, but that they have always clearly pointed out at the same time that this is illegal and that Tibet has no right to conclude treaties separately.” [*Indian White Paper* page CR 26; *Chinese Red Paper*, page 30.]

III

In the 1930s when the Government of India was revising and bringing up to date the official publication known as *Aitchison's Treaties and Engagements*, during the first stage of compilation the Simla Convention was dropped. This was because the British Government in India, under informal instructions of the Home Government, i.e., the British Foreign Office, was out to pamper China and fondly expected China to come to the conference table and sign the Simla Convention. The Republic of China was facing systematic invasions from Japan and it was in the interests of British Power in Asia to prop up the weak and corrupt Republic. The British were even willing to let China come back to Tibet as the suzerain Power and this could be possible only if China signed the Simla Convention.

While waiting for China's ratification or signature was no doubt good diplomacy, the fact of the Simla Convention between India and Tibet could not be ignored without serious consequences. The two signatory parties, India and Tibet, were carrying on trade and pilgrimage under the terms of the Simla Convention; and if the agreement was defunct, all transactions between India and Tibet would be illegal. Besides, one solid gain out of the

Simla conference, that is, the affirmation of the customary boundary between India and Tibet in the east, would be lost. Therefore, British officials in India, particularly, Olaf Caroe and Hugh Richardson, advised strongly for the inclusion of the Simla Convention in the forthcoming edition of *Aitchison's Treaties*. The relevant volume had, however, been printed off. The print was called back and a fresh print made in which the Simla Convention and the connected documents were included. There was nothing secret in this matter. Besides British officials, Indian and Tibetan officials on either side knew about it.

In the 1960's the pro-Chinese scholars of Britain and India made much out of the fact of the cancelled print of *Aitchison's Treaties* : relevant volume. In 1969-70, Neville Maxwell raised a hue and cry over this affair which, in the words of Maxwell and his Indian friends, came to be described variously as "mysterious", "conspiratorial", "afterthought", "fraudulent", "fake", and even "spurious". Now the whole matter boils down to a tempest in a teapot when we remember that the People's Republic of China and that Prime Minister Chou En-lai, have officially, on several occasions, admitted not only the existence of the Simla Convention as a signed document but also that Tibet had signed the agreement. It is therefore, not necessary to argue further whether the Simla Convention was a 'fraud', 'fake' or 'spurious'.

When the new generation of British scholars, like Alastair Lamb and Neville Maxwell, speak about the imperialistic designs of British officials in Asia and name Olaf Caroe and Hugh Richardson as imperialists there is a touch of the British sense of justice in the researches of the new generation. The Indian scholars are easily misled to accept the researches and conclusions of Lamb or Maxwell as innocent protests. The Indian scholars are yet to realize that Lamb and Maxwell are also Britons and they may also have their interests in creating further discord and disagreement between India and China.

The truth of the matter lies in the uncomfortable fact of Tibet's claims to independence. If Tibet could sign an agreement in July 1914, Tibet was no doubt an independent country on that day. The scholars as well as diplomats of the People's Republic of China very much want the agreement to be accepted as a document of history but a document with "illegal signature". It serves the cause of China as the suzerain Power if China's contention is admitted by India that Tibet signed the document without any authority or jurisdiction. Thus even if Sir Olaf Caroe from his retirement or the late Sir Arthur Henry McMahon from his grave would come to New Delhi or Peking and say that the Simla Convention was not a fact, the People's Republic of China will call it a fact of history. In short, if the Simla Convention is legal, it serves the cause of Tibet; if the Simla Convention is illegal, it serves the cause of China.

From this one can easily notice the great diplomatic blunder on the part of the Government of India, when in 1954 India surrendered all special rights and privileges in the Tibet Region of China without referring to the document under which the Republic of India was enjoying these special rights and privileges as the successor to the British empire in India. Indian scholars toeing the line of Lamb and Maxwell condone the crime by denying the historic fact of the Simla Convention. And our eastern Himalayan frontiers called the McMahon Line are disputed by the new generation of British scholars professing to atone for the sins of their forbears; a profession which no doubt deeply influences the fellow travellers all over the former British Empire in the East.

NOTES & TOPICS

NEW SERIES

The *Bulletin* appears after nearly six years of irregular frequency. The new series will continue the lines and features of the old.

A new feature will be book reviews. In the next issue reprints of two classic works, Waddell : *Lhasa and Its Mysteries* and Marco Pallis: *Peaks and Lamas*, will be noticed.

Several scholars intimately associated with us passed away in the past few years and have so far remained unnoticed in the pages of the *Bulletin*. This issue carries an obituary of Yapshi Pheunkhang Gompo Tsering. Next issue will present an obituary of Professor Nalinaksha Dutt.

The past few years marked anniversaries/centenaries of events of relevance to us. The Simla Convention was a fact of sixty years in 1974. The Thirteenth Dalai Lama was born in 1876. An article on the Simla Convention appears in this issue. Next issue will present a biography of The Thirteenth Dalai Lama.

NCS

MIXED SANSKRIT

Mixed words and formations as in Sanskrit are discussed in the article "On Buddhistic Hybrid Sanskrit". The article "Mipham on Ramayana" has a number of formations made out of Sanskrit and Tibetan words. The general reader of the *Bulletin* would perhaps like information on such usage in Tibetan language as in classical period of Tibetan literature not only absorbed a considerable number of Sanskrit words or words of Indic origin but also very remarkably adapted the legends and myths, the idiom and imagery from India. The article on Mipham illustrates how the Ramayana was honoured in Buddhist Tibet while in India today questions are raised about the antiquity or authenticity of the epic. Likewise the Indic words like GURU, PANDITA, MANI, MAYURA or CHANDANA even if proved to be of non-Vedic stock are the most prized loanwords in Tibetan usage down to this day.

Though all Sanskrit (or Indic) words—including even a large number of proper names like Asoka or Vaisali—were most meticulously rendered into Tibetan, the preference for the original form in respect of words like JAMBUDVIPA, GURU or DHARMA persisted all through in Tibet and Mongolia. There was indeed a high endeavour in both these lands to affiliate all intellectual and moral strivings to Indic models.

A dozen Tibetan formations, as grew under Sanskrit influence, are given here.

འཛམ་གྲུ་གླིང་	གུ་རུ་རིན་པོ་ཆེ
པད་འབྲུང་	པདྨ་དཀར་པོ་
པཎ་ཆེན་	བྲམ་བེ་
དེ་རྩེ་པ་ལམ་	ཤར་རི་ལྷ་
དོམ་བྲེད་པ་	ཤེ་རྩེ་
ཨ་རི་ཤ་	ཤར་ལྷ་པ་

Jambuling is made of Sanskrit Jambu and Tibetan for Dvipa; Guru Rimpoche is made of Sanskrit Guru and Tibetan for Ratna; Pejung is made of Sanskrit Padma (Pe) and Tibetan for Sambhava; Pemakarmo is made of Sanskrit Padma and Tibetan for Sveta; Panchen is made of Sanskrit Pandita (Pan) and Tibetan for Maha; Damze is made of Sanskrit Brahman (pronounced Dam in Tibetan) and Tibetan for crest or superior; Dorjephalam is made of Tibetan for Vajra and Sanskrit Phalam; Saribu is made of Sanskrit Sari and Tibetan for Putra; Homjepa is made of Sanskrit Homa and Tibetan for "do offer (sacrifices)"; Senge is just a Tibetanized form of Sanskrit Simha; Atisa is most likely a Tibetan nomenclature for Srijnana Dipankara; and Sambhala is a mixed word denoting the mystic land.

[Dorjephalam is Tibetan for the admantine stone; diamond in Tibetan imagery is associated with soil struck by lightning. Kalachakra Tantra which Atisa preached in Tibet was reputedly from Sambhala; Sambhala is located on the north or northwest of Tibet.]

NCS

DHARMA : THERAVADA : MAHAYANA

The article "From Theravada to Zen", in this issue, is found to be well within our field of study and in keeping with definitions of 'Chhos' and 'Tibetology' in the Charter of Incorporation of Sikkim Research Institute of Tibetology. Extracts from the Charter are made below :

"Chhos in Tibetan is equivalent to Dharma in Sanskrit but is generally used among Tibetan speaking peoples in a special sense as the Doctrine of the Buddha".

"In our belief and in deference to the teachings of all the Sangrgyes (Buddhas) and Changchub Sempas (Bodhisattvas), Chhos is eternal and all-embracing. Study of the doctrines of other Sects and Schools such as Theravada, Jaina and Brahmana may enable us, however, to see more clearly the historical development of Chhos. May the great catholicity of Chhos enlighten the quest of the Sikkim Research Institute of Tibetology".

"The word Tibetology is used as a convenient and conventional term meaning the study of Chhos and the culture and all arts and sciences associated with Chhos. Tibetology has thus linguistic and cultural connotations, not limited to any regional boundaries".

NCS

OBITUARY : YAPSHI PHEUNKHANG GOMPO TSERING

Yapshi Pheuntsok Khangsar Sey Gompo Tsering Dondub passed away at Calcutta on 3rd December 1973. He was a Founder Member of the Sikkim Research Institute of Tibetology and for several terms a Member of the General Council/Executive Board of the Institute. In Tibetan expression he may be appropriately described as a Dhogpo and a Jindag of the Institute and the *Bulletin*.

Sey Gompo Tsering was born in 1918 to Gung Tashi Dorji and Lhacham Yangchen Dolkar, the Pheunkhangs of Lhasa. The Pheunkhang family was blessed in 1838 with the incarnation of Avalokitesvara (Chenrezi), that is, the 11th Dalai Lama; and with the installation of the incarnation on the Golden Throne in 1843 the family came to be ennobled and described as the Great (Father's) Family or Yapshi. In Tibet the nobles or Patricians are strictly confined to the successive Houses where the Avalokitesvara has appeared and the highest secular officials often come from the Yapshi families. Thus for a century, from the middle of the nineteenth till the middle of the twentieth, the Pheunkhangs have served the Government of the Land of Snows and very much contributed to Tibet's attainment of independence from Manchu or Han imperialism. Much before they had shifted to Lhasa, and for generations, the Pheunkhangs of Myinyak Gharthar were known for their pursuits of arts and letters. The Pheunkhangs of Lhasa were thus aristocrats par excellence.

Born to such heritage Sey Gompo Tsering went to Dharpoling Grammar School at the age of 7 and joined Tsekhong (Accounts/Finance Department) as a probationer when just 15. He simultaneously attended the schools at

Drepung and Myintsikhang and continued his scholastic pursuits long after he entered Government service. In 1941 Monlam he was the Yador, that is, Honorary Commandant over the historic festival. Same year Sey Gampo Tsering was married to SeymoLa Pema Tsedeun, eldest daughter of Maharaja Tashi Namgyal of Sikkim. In 1942 he was appointed Governor of Gyantse where he did the term of 3 years and a 2 years extension. His integrity in administration of public funds as his love for the commonman was a byword all over Tibet.

In summer 1947 his father Yapshi Pheunkhang Gung was imprisoned under suspicion of conspiracy against the Regent Tak-Dak Rimpoche and after a few days Sey Gampo Tsering was also put in prison. Later both were found innocent and released from the prisons. Both were re-instated to their former positions. In 1950 Sey Gampo Tsering was appointed officer in charge of Trade between India and Tibet and served as such for about 6 years. By 1956 he had permanently shifted to India and mostly stayed in Gangtok, Kalimpong and Calcutta. Long before the Dalai Lama's flight he had sought a home in the Land of Enlightenment and in his prognostication he had a clear picture of shape of things to come in Tibet as early as 1955 November when I met him first.

I had known him ever since as a great scholar and a true believer in his own Dharma. I profited enormously from his vast and authentic knowledge of Tibet, its history and its religion. My indebtedness to Yapshi Pheunkhang Gampo Tsering is much both in my own studies on Tibet and in building up this Institute of Tibetan studies. Along with all my colleagues in this Institute I mourn the loss of a sincere friend and a great patron of this Institute.

NIRMAL C. SINHA

Besides eminent Tibetan, and
Tibetan-speaking, monks and
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