As Gorkha and Nepali are considered to be synonymous terms, so are Tamang and Lama. The term Gorkha became famous since the Anglo-Gorkha war (1814-16). In order to surmise vigorously an expansionist policy and to perpetuate British hegemony on Asia, the British adopted a policy of recruiting the Gorkhas in the British Army, acknowledging the fighting qualities of the Gorkhas.

It is presumed that the British recruitment policy was dictated by religious and communal considerations. As the Buddhists are the followers of the Lord Buddha, who had preached that ‘Non-violence is a great Dharma,’ the British considered the ‘psychosis’ of Buddhist community and adopted a policy not to recruit the Tamang Buddhists in the British Army.

During the last century, the Himalayan Kingdom of Nepal was perpetually under-developed; the economy was in a tottering condition and the people were illiterate and naturally superstitious. The poverty of the people of Nepal was the opportunity for the British, who needed first class soldiers at lowest pay roll. Since Tamang community was an integral part of Gokha population, they began to appear in the British Gorkha Army as Lenpas, and not as Tamangis. The British recruiting officer was satisfied that the caste name Lama was not in the banned group. The recruit was satisfied that he did not disown his Lamaist faith.

A study reveals that the Tamang community occupies a unique position in the social structure in Nepal, Darjeeling District and Siikim. Tamangs are Buddhists by religion, yet they are equally at ease with some social customs of the Nepali Hindus including the observance of festivals like Dasai (Dinga Puja) and Tihar (Binjai Tila). While performing the obscurities and religious ceremonies the Tamangs are guided by Buddhist Lamaistic rites and rituals, they follow Nepali Hindu pattern in social customs including the marriage ceremony.

Tamang scholars might be able to tell us about the connotation of the word ‘Tamang’. According to one school, Tamang is a corruption of the Tibetan word ‘Ta-margpo’, i.e. many hiraxes. This theory holds that groups of horsemen migrated from Tibet and settled down in Eastern Nepal and managed to take wives unto themselves. The offspring were the Tamangs. According to another school, the word ‘Tamang’ is the corrupt form of the Tibetan word Ta-margpo’, meaning thereby a herdsman looking after a herd of wild horse in the Himalayan
pasture. This Ta-marpo tribe crossed over the Himalayas and began to settle in Nepal. In the process of settlement, they married Gurkha women. The children born out of such marriages began to follow the religious practices of their fathers as well as the social customs of their mothers.

In Tamang sociological pattern, the Buddhist religious practices and Hindu social system co-existed and thrived which would explain the obvious paradox of Tamang society. The theory of mixed origin has been supported by Risley when he says, "The physical characteristics and the fact that their exogamous divisions bear Tibetan names seem to lend support to the opinion that they are descended from a Tibetan stock, modified more or less by admixture with Newar people."

The Tamang community has its own dialect and folk songs. The Damphu is a dance peculiar to Sikkims and Tamangs. The Tamang folk songs sung in harmony with the beating of Damphu (tambourine) are composed either in Tamang dialect or in Nepali language. In my primary school days I often heard my Tamang class friends singing:

'Bara Tamang Athara Jat
Goru ko Tauko Dhana ko Bhat.'

In simple language the song explains the Tamang tribe-cum-caste structure. The last line explains the food habit of Tamangs when it says that rice will go well with beef. Here again the Tamang scholars may throw light on Bara Tamang (twelve Tamangs) and Athara Jat (eighteen castes) in near future.

It is an interesting fact that Tamangs either write Lama or kindred names such as Moktan, Ghising, Bal, Yonjen etc. after their names. According to some the custom of using titles, such as Suhiba or Pradhan, or kindred names such as Moktan, originated in Darjeeling schools. The leading personalities of Tamang community in Sikkim write Lama after their names such as the late Mr. Dakman Lama, Mr. Setey Lama, Mr. N. D. Lama, Mr. Sanman Lama, Mr. Ramu Lama, Mr. Dibir Lama, Mr. Karnadhan Lama and so on and so forth. Besides the Lamas of Sikkim's monasteries, some members of the Bhutia-Lepcha community write Lama after their names, as the title Lama carries prestige and status. In 1920s however the word Lehra as surname was not much current. Ralph Turner, the famous Indologist, does not enter Lama as a surname in his encyclopaedic work: A Comparative and Etymological Dictionary of the Nepali Language (London 1931).

C. D. RAI
Professor B. R. Chatterji with his characteristic modesty confines his article (esp. pp. 23.6) to the two sites of which he has on-the-spot knowledge. A few observations, for the non-specialist reader of this Bulletin, may be made here.

(i) Confrontation and coalescence of Buddhism (Mahayana) and Brahmanism (Svātva) in South-East Asia form an important chapter in the history of Indian religions. B. R. Chatterji himself collected much data. Vide his *India and Java* (Calcutta 1933) and *Indian Cultural Influence in Cambodia* (Calcutta 1925). Mention may be made of N. R. Ray: *Sambkrit Buddhism in Burma* (Calcutta 1936) and N. C. Majumdar: *Inscriptions of Kanhuja* (Calcutta 1953).

(v) Tholing/Thotling is variously spelt and explained in Tibetan sources. *Waddell: The Buddhism of Tibet* (Cambridge 1934) on page 283 and *Wyffa: The geography of Tibet* according to the *Prasang-gyung-rgyus-brta* (Rome 1952) on page 125 record such data. Chatterji records the Hindu tradition that the main temple of Tholing was the Adi Badrighath.


(iv) Researches made after Sri Sri Chandras Das have brought forth further information about Atisa as well as origins of Lama hierarchy. Vide Introduction to the reprint (Calcutta 1969) of *Indian Poetics in the Land of Sanu*, Giuseppe Tucci covers Atisa in *Indo-Tibetica* (Rome 1932–41) and *Tibetan Printed Scrolls* (Rome 1949).

(v) A prized item in the non-Tibetan collection of the *Nyingma Institute of Tibetology* is a commentary on *Prajnaparamita* by Ratnakasasanti, the teacher of Atisa. This is a palm leaf manuscript in Newari script and on paleographical grounds is dated to the eleventh century after Chieri. It is therefore nearly contemporaneous with Atisa (A 1054). It was obtained from a Sākyan monastery in October 1958.
LATE SHASHIBHUSHAN DASGUPTA
ON THE TANTRA

In Vol I, No. 2 of this Bulletin we started a symposium on the Tantra with an article by Professor Nalinaksha Dutt. In Vol II, No. 1 we had an article from Lama Angagribe Govinda. In Vol II, No. 2 wrote Mr. Marco Pallis. One principal point discussed by all these eminent authorities related to the question of kinship between the Hindu and Buddhist Tantra. In his article Marco Pallis referred to the views of late Dr. Shashibhushan Dasgupta. Extracts from Dasgupta’s Obscure Religious Cults (Calcutta 1912) are culled below. We express our thanks to Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay (6/1A Ranchharam Akrur Lane, Calcutta 12), publishers of this book, for their kind permission for the excerpts in extenso.

Dasgupta found that the different systems could be apprehended from three points, (i) One of the fundamental tenets of all the esoteric schools is to hold that the human body is the epitome of the universe; all truth (tattva) is contained within the body. (ii) Both the Hindu and the Buddhist Tantras have another fundamental feature common to them—a theological principle of duality in non-duality. Both Tantras held that ultimate reality has two aspects negative (śīrivī) and positive (śīravī). (iii) The Hindu metaphysical principles of Śiva-Sakti are as much manifested in the material world as the Buddhist metaphysical principles of Prajñā-Upāya. (See Obscure Religious Cults Introduction and An Introduction to Tantric Buddhism, Calcutta University 1956, Introduction).

The excerpts from Obscure Religious Cults are given under heads (i), (ii) & (iii).

(a) “The principles of the Siva and Sakti or Upaya and Prajña are represented by man and woman, and it is, therefore, that when through the process of Sadhana man and woman can realise their pure nature as Siva and Sakti, or Upaya and Prajña, the supreme bliss arising out of the Union of the two becomes the highest state whereby one can realise the ultimate nature of the absolute reality.”

(b) “.......

we have seen that the union of the Sakti with the Siva is what is meant by perfection in Tantric Yogas. Corresponding to this Siva-kundalini Sakti of the Hindu Tantras we find the conception
(iii) “The point to be emphasised here is that in the Buddhist tradition a tendency was manifest always to conceive the Supreme Lord in the image of Siva and the female counterpart of the Lord in the image of Sakti, and these Loro and Lady of the Buddhists were in still later times identified completely with the Siva and Sakti of the Hindus.”

(p. 281)

(b) “This conception of the Supreme Lord and the consort, as expounded in later Buddhism, developed itself into the idea of the Adi-Buddha and Adi-Prajna in the Nipalian Buddhism. This Adi-Buddha or the primordial Enlightened One is the self-created one (Swamyambhu) of the Swayambha purana. He is described there as the Lord Supreme, who is worshipped by all the gods, Yaksas and Raksas in the mountain of Goal-benga in the country of Nepal. He is described as of the nature of ultimate substance (dharma-dhatu). He is often conceived as Lord Varocana with the other four Tathagatas placed in the four quarters round him. Again, the Lord is often said to be Sakyamuni, who is called both Jagannatha as well as Dharma-raja. This Lord Supreme is called both Swayambhu (i.e., the self-originated one), and Simha (literally, the Lord of the Welfare), which is the most common epithet applied to Lord Siva; the name Siva also implies that the deity is worshiped itself. The Adi-Buddha, who is the Swayambhu and who is called the Dharmaraja is sometimes described as of the nature of the three jewels (tri-ratnakar).”

(p. 282)

(c) “In the Swayambhu-parama Prajna is described as the Sakti of Siva, as the mother of three worlds, the void of voids—the mother of the Buddhas—the mother of all the gods.”

(p. 341)

It is clear from the original sources used by Dauphane that Siva-Sakti and Prajna-upaya are inter-changeable expressions and corresponding concepts.

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of a fire-force of the Buddhists in the Nirmana-kaya and she is generally described as the Candali............... This Candali is the goddess Nairatma or Avadhutioka or Prajna............... 

(P.P. 99-100)

(ii)

(a) "These conceptions of Prajna and Upaya have important ontological and cosmological bearing on the four schools of Nepalese Buddhism. (The four schools are:— (i) Svabhavika, (ii) Ativarika, (iii) Kar-mika and (iv) Yatnika. The Svabhavika school holds that there is no immaterial ultimate truth in the form of the soul substance; matter is the primordial substance, from which the world proceeds. This matter as the ultimate substance has two modes which are called Pravrtti and Nivrtti, action and rest, dynamic and static, concrete and abstract.........

This Nivrtti is the Prajna and Pravrtti is the Upaya. We have seen that Prajna and Upaya are defined as the Adi Prajna and the Adi-Buddha, and the visible world is said to be created through their union, Buddha as the principle of active power first proceeds from Nivrtti or Adi-Prajna and then associates with her and from their union proceeds the actual visible world. The principle is symbolised as Prajna being first the mother and then the wife of Buddha.........In some of the Hindu Tantras also we find that the goddess has been given more prominence than Lord, the former being conceived as the first principle, In some places, it has been pointed out, the primordial lord is seen floating in water. What is this water? It is, according to some Tantras, Sakti, who is pervading the whole universe in the form of water. This belief influenced the Nepalese Buddhists also, who have often conceived of Adi-Prajna in the form of primordial water. (This is mentioned in some of the Tantras.)

This Adi-Buddha or Adi-Prajna or Adi-devi are the original father and mother of the world. In the Svacchandam-putama Prajna is described as the Sakti of Siva, as the mother of the three worlds, the void of the voids the mother of the Buddhists, mother of all the gods ................

............... we find a popular mixture of Purusa and Prakriti of the Samkhya system, of Siva and Sakti as we find Tantricism in general, and the Adi-Buddha and Adi-Prajna of the later Buddhism".

(pp. 340-341)
Notes & Topics

RElicS OF MADHYAMA AND KASYAPAGOTRA

In the last issue (Vol. III, No. 2) of this Bulletin, Professor Nar-\ninisitha Dutta in his article entitled 'Buddhism in Nepal', referring to the\ntwo great Asian missionaries who preached in the Himalayan regions,\nwrote: "relics of both of whom have been discovered in a relic-urn\nat Sanchi" (P. 27).

Nearly a century ago Alexander Cunningham and a team of engi-
nineers found the relics of ten Arahats in four statues within a big casket of\nwhite sandstone beneath a Stupa, adjacent to the Stupa in which the relics of Sariputra and Maudgalyayana were found. The names of the ten Anahats, inscribed on the caskets, inclu-
ded those of Madhyma and Kasyapagotra. While the Memoirs and\nReports of the Archaeological Survey of India preserve the details of dis-
covery and identification of the relics, the general reader will find\nin Valisinha: Buddhist Shrines in India (Coccutta 1948) a good acc-
count.

These relics were, however, later taken to the United Kingdom and\nkept in the Victoria & Albert Museum, South Kensington. The\nrelics of Sariputra and Maudgalyayana were returned to India, a few\nyears after India became independent and are now enshrined in Sanchi.\nThe relics of Madhyama and Kasyapagotra were returned in 1958. The\nGovernment of India, under the advice of the late Prime Minister Jaw-
anarajah Nehru, presented these relics to this Institute in Sikkim.

The caskets containing these relics were kept in the United Kingdom as memorials to the British discoverers. The Government of\nIndia, on short notice, had scored these in a Kashmir rose-wood casket. An artistocrat of Tibet now settled in India, Yabshi Phunzhung\nGompo Tseling, the leading representative of the House of Dalai Lama\nXl, has presented to the Namgyal Institute of Tibetology a beautiful\nsilver Stupa with carvings, gold mountings and gems for enshrinement of these relics.