

Buddhism as philosophy and psychology

Performance aspects of Tibetan Buddhism

“in the West” between 1959 and 1990

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La prise en considération de l'importance des institutions du bouddhisme tibétain apporte un éclairage neuf sur le bouddhisme en Occident. Désolidarisées de leur contexte politico-économique en Asie Centrale, celles-ci ont pu être partiellement rétablies “en exil” ou “en diaspora” en Inde. Cet article présente une synthèse de données issues de publications respectivement consacrées à l'essor du bouddhisme tibétain “en Occident” et aux activités des bouddhistes tibétains exilés en Inde. Les processus et données factuelles exposés sont simultanément rapportés à un contexte historique plus large, ce qui est rarement le cas dans les études actuelles sur le bouddhisme en Occident. En conséquence, l'accent est ici mis sur l'histoire du rétablissement (partiel) des institutions du bouddhisme tibétain, qui englobe son essor en Occident. Une structuration en “phases” des grandes lignes de développement du bouddhisme tibétain suggère que son succès “en Occident” révèle le déploiement de stratégies complexes qui visent à compenser son déclin en Asie Centrale. L'expression “en Occident” doit ainsi être comprise en termes géopolitiques plutôt que culturels. Dans la constellation géopolitique issue de la “guerre froide”, des formes de religion propres aux sociétés traditionnelles subsistent et sont actualisées comme ressources culturelles dans les sous-systèmes de la société occidentale moderne.

I. Introduction

A. General introduction

Historians and sociologists of religion interested in contemporary phenomena can hardly ignore that increasing numbers of people spend weekends and holidays of one or more calendar years on education by participating in programmes which are in content referring to various religious traditions. Part of the supply is explicitly designed for advanced education of therapists and teachers. The programmes on Buddhism are often (at least

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co-) designed and/or supervised by Rinpoches and Geshe¹. While these titles refer to institutions of Tibetan Buddhism, an analysis of the training courses conveys that their model and resource are traditional curricula for the training and socialisation of *élite* raised in respective specialised religious institutions. The dominance in supply reflects this central Asian tradition's success which made it the prominent co-designer of the History of Buddhism in the West within a couple of decades².

Meanwhile programme participants respectfully mention their teachers' background as "the great monastic universities in India", the historian of Buddhism might associate these with places flourishing a millennium ago, but a contemporary Buddhist participating in "Geshe's/Rinpoche's study programme" is referring to institutions established in the 1960s and 1970s, some of them bearing the same name as monastic complexes having flourished for centuries in Central Asia.

There are several reasons for emphasising the relevance of traditional institutions in Central Asia and re-establishing processes in exile in India as an important factor contributing to the rise of Buddhism in the West. Some studies on Tibetans in exile in India confirm that the economy of re-established monastic complexes is based on donations from Western benefactors. It is mentioned that all Tibetan Buddhist schools running institutions in Indian exile have offshoots abroad and that the respective manifestly re-established exile institutions are firmly bound into complex networks connecting them with centres in the West (Ström, 1997 :39). While focussing on the latter it can be shown, that the scope of activities usually includes projects on behalf of monastic institutions in Indian exile. There Tibetan Buddhist clergy receives training so that the respective networks and centres "in the West" have a potential as a labour market for Tibetan monks trained in specialised religious institutions in Asia.

Like in books which gave rise to a section called "Buddhism in the West" the author focussing on Tibetans in Indian exile mentions that centres "in the West" have been founded on request of Western disciples. This is correct in many ways. It fits with the Buddhist norm that a teacher teaches only on invitation or request, a view that came to be accepted by sociologists thus confirming that Buddhism is not a missionary religion. Moreover the teaching-on-request formula is correct concerning Tibetan monks activities abroad, because refugees in India would hardly been able to travel, teach and found centres without Western co-operating partners helping to overcome obstacles in the planning phase, like asking for visas etc. from countries, where authorities are not eagerly welcoming refugees and immigrants. Unfortunately the focus on the above outlined arguments and facts inadequately highlights the demand side and a view holding religion as private decision. Thus the impact is hidden arising from the requirements of specialised religious institutions which are dependent on

¹ On the supply and its context in Germany see HAHLEBOHM-HELMUS E., 2000.

² Statistic evidence concerning Germany up to 1991, see BAUMANN M., 1993, 417f , 423f.

changing politico-economic contexts and which for intra-traditional reasons are the authoritative source legitimating Lamas, Geshes and Rinpoches, who actively created supply “in the West”. The data given of travelling activities of high ranking Rinpoches in respective publications (esp. Fields, Batchelor, Coleman) show an important peak in the first half of the 1970s. These activities are usually connected with the quickly enlarging networks of centres, leaving the reader with the question “Why now and not 5 or 10 years later or sooner ? ”. Description and findings from an analysis of the centres’ unfolding activities³ can hardly be interpreted adequately without taking into account interdependencies with the career and problems of re-established institutions of Tibetan Buddhism in exile. This focus encourages looking at a broader context. Therefore the primary aim of this article is to increase awareness to what was going on politically in a specific geo-political constellation by listing up some dates and information⁴ and — rather by juxtaposition than by elaborate arguments — by constructing provokingly respective phases thus suggesting that the re-establishment process in India and the career of Tibetan Buddhism “in the West” are interconnected like the sides of the same coin in the purse of a era called cold war. *En passant* the focus on institutions and their politico-economic context should offer some arguments for explaining why this central Asian tradition became a dominant co-designer of Buddhism in the West in the course of a career seemingly beginning in the 1970s only and achieving much within 10 years including the development of complex and often professionally managed networks. This again should challenge any one-sided classification of Tibetan Buddhism as solely a part of “Buddhism in the West”. The main reason for confining this outline of aspects of the Career of Tibetan Buddhism in exile and “in the West” is of course the shift in geo-political constellation after 1989, because the fall of the iron curtain and the dissolution of the Soviet Union etc. offered a range of opportunities to Tibetan Buddhist institutions for revitalising century old communication structures in Central Eurasia which had hardly been accessible for generations.

B. Introduction of key terms and concepts

Mentioning specific communication structures and focussing on the phenomena indicated in this article’s title and introduction — Buddhism as philosophy and psychology in training courses inspired by traditional curricula — demand a short explanation of three Tibetan terms and one analytic device derived from systems theory.

³ This is part of the task dealt with in my dissertation project-publication forthcoming 2001.

⁴ All dates without reference given in the text, see PLOETZ (1999) and BUNDESZENTRALE (1997).

1. Patron-priest or Function/performance relation

The relevant term concerning the traditional concept for the relation between Tibetan Buddhist institutions and its context institutions is usually translated Patron-priest⁵, and can be explained as a relationship of exchange between hierarchy of Tibetan Buddhist schools and rulers in Central Asia since the 12th century, ceasing in 1911. After 1959 high ranking hierarchy in exile turned to new patrons in Europe, the Americas, Australia, Japan and Taiwan, there performing the role of the priest by giving religious instruction and initiations and in return receiving financial contributions and political support for the cause of Tibetan independence. It is mirrored also by increasingly larger geographical regions in which incarnate lamas are discovered (Lopez, 1998 :206). This summary from a tibetologist's point of view can easily be translated into the systems theory concepts terms "performance" and "function", if a formula is taken into account, which started its career in information on the first Tibetan Buddhist Centre, founded in Great Britain in 1967. The aim is explained as making «the primordial wisdom of Tibetan Buddhism available in the West and thereby ensuring the survival of the living tradition»: function refers to "pure religious communication", for example enlightenment. It is the aspect that religious institutions claim for themselves. For the line of argument concerning the career of Tibetan Buddhism's institutions between 1959 and 1989/90, function is to include the training of a body of religious experts in their respective institutions which furnish its clergy with the social construction of identity and role as members of a tradition tracing its roots back to the Buddha. Religious performance occurs when religion is applied to problems generated in other systems, for example political oppression. Through performance religion establishes its importance for the profane aspects by designing adequate structures for communication with other subsystems of modern society (Beyer, 1994 :80)⁶. Reformulating the Patron-priest (tib. : *tibyon mchod*) concept in terms of performance/function allows to ask some questions : What was available for designing new and more adequate performance in a setting offering a different structure than stratified societies had offered ? Which performance relationships, in the sense of answerable demand potential from other subsystems, were available and what opportunities were taken between 1959/60 and 1989/90 ?

⁵ Tibetan : *yon mchod*, a short cut from *yon bdag* (lit. master of donation = patron) and *mchod gnas* (lit. place of sacrifice = priest)

⁶ The short-cut explanation is based on Beyer's interpretation of concepts developed by Luhmann. Neither highlight the training of an elite as an important functional aspect. The stress on "tradition reaching back to the Buddha" is inspired by arguments in LOPEZ D.S., 1995, partially autobiographical discussion of inter-traditional position of graduates of buddhist studies as a type of "foreigner at the Lama's feet".

In order to facilitate the presentation of compilation of relevant information in phases according to shifts within the system of politics, an overview of broader and interrelated points of reference in other subsystems shall be given in advance :

- a) In the 1960s when anti-communism was gradually beyond its climax the Tibetan institutions fate (staff and buildings) could serve "in the West" as witnesses of the destructive forces of a rising communist/socialist form of government.
- b) Niches could be found in the unfolding structures within the subsystem of religion, especially during the rise of "inter-religious dialogue" in Europe and religious studies departments in North America.
- c) The development of specialisation within Buddhist studies termed Indo-Tibetan Buddhism offered niches for a handful of Tibetan Buddhists as specialists for their own tradition and brought about a new career track for Western academics.
- d) The interest in Buddhism had already manifested institutions.
- e) New approaches labelled transpersonal and humanistic within the Psychology/Therapy/Education complex offered niches.
- f) New religious and social movements were also developing positive representation of Tibet.

Two early elements of unfolding positive representations seemed to promise the stocks of hidden libraries and their custodians' learning to Buddhist studies and secret wisdom including esoteric practices handed down by Himalayan masters to other newly developing Western projects or differentiating subsystems, while dictionaries and some translations resulting from British colonial and Christian missionary ambitions in Asia, had already become available ⁷.

The inevitable danger for religion in this process of designing resource relationship is obvious : the impact on function might lead to the disappearance as a societal system. Concerning central functions of Tibetan Buddhists institutions, the opportunities diligently taken for designing performance relation by creating supply as cultural resource different subsystems should have born at least two promising results : a wide range of resources was available to religious institutions embarking on the exegesis project as a basis for securing the competence of adaptability and the re-design of performance relationship. Moreover new politico-economic foundation could be acquired and this enabled at least a partial re-establishment of monastic complexes, namely securing the function of training of elite along traditional models.

⁷ Discussion of representations of Tibet see DODIN & RÄTHER, Ed., 1997.

2. *The scholastic/philosophical (a.) and the tantric/ritualistic model (b.)*

Ideally in Tibetan Buddhism there are two complementary curricula reflecting its complementary pillars or sources. Both models are relevant in all Tibetan Buddhist schools, though differently cherished and handed down along school specific curricula.

a. What will be referred to as “*she*-training” in this article reflects the philosophico-dogmatic roots of Tibetan Buddhism in selected Mahayana texts and subsequent translations and commentaries etc. in Tibetan, bringing about highly formalised forms of communication like the so-called “debate” especially cherished in the Gelug pa school. Participant’s titles are often translated with the type description term “monk-scholar” and the adequate function or place within monastic complexes, the *shedra* (tib: *bshad grva*) is often translated as monastic university. Monasteries in Central Asia were complex institutions, the training of scholars being only one task, which was undertaken in certain monasteries only. Even in such large teaching monasteries it was estimated that only 10 per cent of the monks undertook the study of the respective curriculum (Lopez, 1998 :166). In exile re-establishments practically all monks are participating in this training.

b. The complementary training focuses on ritual and thus reflects Tibetan Buddhism’s roots in indian tantric tradition and autochthonous cults. This kind of training is said to be especially cherished with the Kagyü and Nyingma pa. There are different Western terms for this kind of training ; the well-known ones either convey the time-span for intensive training in seclusion, upon which all schools agree as adequate, or the title given after this period. Here the terms “three-years-retreat” and “Lama-training” will be neglected, favouring the term *drub*-training (tib. *bsgrubs*), thus stressing the role of ritual or as it is often seen “in the West”, the experiential focus. Explanations which explain a range of rituals as “contemplative” and “transformational practices” stress the relevance of psycho-physical levels and results either with respect to altered states of consciousness or as therapeutically helpful.

As can be shown concerning the demand potential from the side of Western projects, the *She*-training had a mutual relation with Buddhist studies developing specialisation. The *drub* or ritual/*tantra* training’s connotation as old wisdom etc. profited from transpersonal and humanistic psychology’s interest. The respective terminological connections Buddhism/philosophy and Buddhism/psychology or Buddhism as cultural resource for modern Western projects had already been pre-shaped in many ways⁸.

⁸ Sometimes mirrored in book titles, for example “Die psychologische Haltung der frühbuddhistischen Philosophie” — the psychological outlook in early buddhist philosophy — Vienna, 1962. This is a compilation of lectures on a Pali Scholastic compendium delivered by Lama Anagarika Govinda (E.L. Hoffmann) in the 1930s in India, based on studies undertaken before he found, still clad in the robes of a Theravada monk, his Tibetan Buddhist master in 1933 and embarked on the Vajrayana. Though informa-

II. Phases between 1959 and 1989

A. The exile after 1959

The year 1959 is usually given as the beginning of exile, though it is not the first time high ranking hierarchy sought exile. Referring to information on the *yon-mchod* concept and its reformulation in terms of function/performance, 1959 can be seen as the closing date of a process of gradual loss of all politico-economic basis for specialised religious institutions of Tibetan Buddhism in Central Asia or as the starting point of accelerating activity on behalf of "re-establishing" institutions with eyes fixed towards "the West". New potential niches along unfolding structures in the system of religion, an important step being the second Vaticanum (1962-65), are potentially available: ecumenical projects, thriving after contacts with a range of Christian churches/denominations etc. during world war II, further enlarged their scope by gradually embracing other "world" religions. Before the council officially began, the Vatican had condemned communism and acknowledged democratic forms of Government (1961).

While relief agencies like the Red Cross started to look after Tibetan refugees in India, the Tibetan exile Government was set up and Buddhist studies projects specialising on indo-tibetan Buddhism progressed "in the West" and offered niches for a few Geshes/Rinpoches or Lamas: G. Tucci, the foremost tibetologist at that time paved the way to Italy; in the USA a Sakya Rinpoche found occupation from 1960 onwards at the University of Washington Library and in 1961 the first graduate programme for Buddhist studies was established at Wisconsin (Lopez, 1998:159f), while Tibetan texts published in India started to be distributed to American University Libraries due to an agreement between the USA and India, allowing her to repay wheat in the form of books (Lopez, 1998:165).

B. Impetus for the prolongation of exile (1) and opportunities taken (1965-1969)(2)

1. *A threefold impetus from China*

As the decisive impetus which forced exile Tibetans to prepare for a prolonged stay in exile and brought about a first peak of activities resulting in manifestly re-establishing parts of traditional religious institutions, a threefold development has to be taken into consideration: in 1964 first tests of atomic weapons were undertaken by Chinese military, in 1965 the Autonomous Region of Tibet was officially established as part of the People's Republic of China and in 1966 the Central committee letter announcing the "Great proletarian cultural revolution" was issued. Pictures of destruction gradually arriving "in the West" should have been an important catalyst for the career of phrases demanding "preservation of endan-

tion on Govinda and the 1933 founded order Arya Maitreya Mandala is available (i.a. BAUMANN M., 1993, pp.146-163) their role for the rise of Tibetan Buddhism in the West has hardly been evaluated.

gered cultural heritage” in all kinds of papers connected with Tibet and Tibetan Buddhism.

2. Opportunities taken

The year 1967 saw 3 important foundations, which deserve to be interpreted as paradigmatic re-establishments for different reasons : the Central Institute for Higher Tibetan Studies (a. CIHTS), the Rikon Monastic Institute in Switzerland (b. Monastic Institute) and the “first Tibetan Centre “in the West” (c. Samye Ling Centre). Another less manifest and slower trend of resettling in exile/diaspora is activity on behalf of monastic complexes decaying in the Himalayas by resettling these in south Indian planes (d. Re-establishing Monastic complexes), while in 1969 the design of special supply for Westerners arriving in the northern exile regions is increasing (e. Foreigners at the Lama’s feet)

a) CIHTS, 1967

Initially the Central Institute is a *shedra*, though not established as part of a monastic complex but affiliated to Benares Sanskrit University where it is given a new additional task : supplying resources for a Western Buddhist studies project by training scholars able to “re-translate” Tibetan texts for the Buddhist studies project of “restoring” “lost” Sanskrit texts. The CIHTS offers training for monks from all Tibetan schools, supplied by teachers from all traditions soon including the Bön. Teachers were appointed by the Tibetan exile Government, school specific curricula were followed, but teaching organisation is rather in accordance with the Indian academic system (Ström, 1997 :43f). Paradigmatic here is the latter phenomenon and the matching choice of the term translating *shedra* : Higher Studies fits with the Indian Education Authorities’ spending which favoured “Higher studies”. The CIHTS became the model for gradually (re) founded *shedras*, also termed Institutes of Higher Studies, in gradually re-established monastic complexes. In 1988 the CIHTS was recognised as Indian University and some young lamas active in Western centres sometimes have titles according to the Indian academic system (Acharya, etc.), even if these young lamas studied in their respective school’s monasteries.

b) Monastic Institute Rikon, 1967

In Switzerland, where a group of Tibetan refugees had been accepted, Rikon Institute was planned and built in accordance with and including traditional Tibetan Buddhist advice and adequate ritual. The interesting point here is, that the foundation ceremony was prepared on two levels. Old Rinpoches invited from their Indian exile are said to have invested much scrutiny ensuring that all rituals etc. are done according to the ideal and to norms laid down in relevant text tradition. Within academia expertise was written in order to invite a specialised academic film company and gain the adequate funds for the documentation of the traditional rituals performed in Switzerland. When this was critically interpreted in a lecture (1999) on the career of the she-training as an example of degrading religious ceremony to the level of supply for Buddhist studies projects, the professor,

meanwhile emeritus, who had been active writing the expertise on behalf of the film project and had later drawn on this film document in his courses on Buddhist rituals, informed the author that the Rinpoches did not just consent to the film project, but had been highly interested in inviting the film team, thus rather pushing forward the documentation of their ceremonies⁹. Therefore another interpretation is adequate: the enacting of traditional ritual as it ought to be done, was performed paradigmatically by highest authorities eager to have their performance documented by an "objective" party and thus they purposely contributed to Buddhist studies resource archives. As the founding ceremony was performed by the heads of one of the three main Gelug monasteries, Rikon Institute can be seen as a re-establishment of an important institution of Tibetan Buddhism.

c) Samye Ling Centre, 1967

This centre in Great Britain is the result of two young Kagyü-pa Rinpoches' activities. Having been recognised as reincarnate abbots of smaller eastern monasteries they passed some time in exile in India and then came to Europe as students at University. Suddenly they changed their status from "some Asian student" to re-incarnate Himalayan masters and communicated identity among arriving Swamis, Gurus, Roshis etc. This situation and the choice of name for their centre is paradigmatic in many ways: in Tibetan historiography Samye Ling is associated and famous with the so-called first spread of Buddhism in Tibet more than a millennium ago.

d) Re-establishing monastic complexes

While a few more Geshes and Lamas, mostly Tulkus from minor monasteries and lineage far from Lhasa, managed to "go West" and found jobs with Buddhist studies projects, another part of exile-clergy in India was busily planning the re-establishment of the great teaching monasteries near Lhasa and no more flourishing there but offered new opportunities in southern India where Tibetan refugee groups were gradually resettled as farmers by the Indian Government, which had just announced the "green" revolution (1968) with programmes successfully increasing agricultural output.

e) Foreigners at the Lama's feet

Meanwhile, in exile-regions in Sikkim, Nepal and north-eastern and north-western regions in India, especially in Darjeeling and Dharamsala, another part of Tibetan Buddhist clergy started designing supply which attracted foreigners passing by as tourists on the hippy trail and as students graduating in or as experts of Buddhist studies projects or intellectually active elsewhere. Before the turn of the decade meditation retreat huts run by Kagyu and Nyingma Lamas were housing Westerners in Darjeeling. In 1969, the year the Krishnamurti foundation was established in Great Brit-

⁹ I thank Prof. Sagaster for this information and for authorisation to mention his role. For a detailed description of Rituals etc. in Rikon, see VAN DYKE M., 1997. She mentions that the film team planned to document the rehearsal but got the original ceremony instead.

ain and Rajneesh/Bhagwan opened the ashram in Poona, in Kathmandu valley the Gelug Geshe/Rinpoche Yeshe and Zopa offered the first structured one-month meditation course cum teaching, and in Dharamsala Geshe Rabten started to teach Westerners on the request of the Dalai Lama, while one of His Holiness's translators in former discussions with Thomas Merton, Gary Snyder etc. is invited to travel in the USA, which some other lamas also managed to do, Thartang Tulku and Lama Kazi for example, and they are said to be asked for advice by members of circles which had evolved for example around the late Gurdieff. 1969 is the year of big anti-Vietnam-war riots, of the USA's first step in reducing troops in Vietnam and the year of the landing on the moon.

C. The travel-boom, its impetus and fruits

1. *The impetus (1971 onwards)*

In the general introduction to this paper it was mentioned, that in publications on "Buddhism in the West" a lot of dates for travel activities in the beginning 1970s are listed and connected with the sudden rise of Tibetan centres. The near-time event within the system of politics worth mentioning here is the replacement of National China/Taiwan by the People's Republic of China as one of the five permanent members of the UN-security council. The consequence concerning the Tibetan cause is obvious: no more chance to be heard in a forum that had previously, in 1960, demanded the end of all kinds of colonialism. Part of *détente* politics' progress was Western politicians going-east — in 1972 Nixon and in 1975 Helmut Schmidt met Deng Hsiao Ping in Peking. Schedules of high ranking Rinpoches had places "in the West" from where most of them returned to India. In Asia new threats and new chances had to be handled from 1971 onwards. All of a sudden new waves of refugees are arriving, this time as a consequence of the Indian/Pakistan war and the configuration of Bangla Desh.

2. *New "traditional" institutions (a, b), a further step "going West" (c), implicit performance of and obvious function in centres "in the West" and a shift in trends (d)*

a. In north-western Indian exile regions new institutions could be (re) founded. The Library of Tibetan works and Archives (LTWA) began to flourish from 1971 onwards and even received some funding from the Indian cultural department. While the Library was becoming a busy place where Tibetan and Western scholars work on translations, a teaching institution was founded in the vicinity of the Library in the midst of busy cosmopolitan life in upper Dharamsala in 1973. The Institute for Buddhist Dialectics (IBD) offers training along a Gelug she — curriculum, teaching is organised close to the CIHTS model and is to prepare students from Tibetan secular schools for administration tasks with the exile Government, though Westerners are welcome as teachers and students alike (Ström, 1997 :45 f).

b. In the USA Tschögyam Trungpa co-operates with Suzuki Roshi in the first seminar for mental health professionals arranged in 1971. These training courses have the *drub*-model and Suzuki's supply of Zen as cultural resource. Further adaptations of these courses became a core activity in Naropa institute founded in 1974, which continues to be portrayed as the only Buddhist inspired university in the West.

c. Very quickly a range of places where a high Rinpoche passed by or where disciples convened are turned into "meditation centres" formally founded according to the respective national legal regulations for private associations. Statutes and information sheets regularly have the cultural preservation argument, sometimes even mirrored in names or respective networks, for example "Foundation for the Preservation of the Mahayana tradition" (FPMT) which thus explicitly conveys the *she*-training's source. The network is a fruit of travelling activities done from 1974 onwards by the Rinpoches Zopa and Yeshe who had offered the first structured meditation courses cum teaching for Westerners in Nepal in 1969. The range of activities outlined on the level of statutes includes broad cultural and religious performance ambitions, especially in the direction of inter-religious dialogue and academic Buddhist studies.

The invitation of the Dalai Lama to public space like University Departments created diplomatic problems though a tour in 1973 could be organised. The Karmapa's first tour in 1974 is worth mentioning for different reasons which should shed some light on other travels done in the same year. The Karmapa had found his exile seat already before 1959 in Sikkim due to his schools historic ties with the royal houses of Sikkim and Bhutan. While the latter stayed a formally independent state, Sikkim was annexed by India in 1974, which is the year India displayed the possession of atomic weapons.

The Karmapa's tour was organised mainly by the Rinpoches who had founded the first Tibetan Centre Samye Ling, and in 1974 one of Tschögyam's activities' results in North America, the recently established Naropa institute could be consecrated and thus it can be counted as re-establishment. While travelling Gelug Geshes gave teachings mainly in the form of lectures, the Karmapa offered an auspicious ceremony to his Western audience. Instead explaining Buddhism he solemnly put on a black hat which is specific to his school, tradition and status.

With the growth of the networks of Tibetan Buddhism centres in the West, a further albeit less explicit aspect of performance on behalf of the Tibetan cause is manifest: the centres are, simply by their presence, the chance to maintain its visibility. Designed as private cultural or religious (minorities') associations diplomatic vicissitudes hardly pose problems when high ranking hierarchy want to travel or be present "in the West" since they can be invited in their role as religious advisors or representatives of cultural tradition.

These new centres also increase the opportunity for continuing traditional function and societal form in as much as the ideal design of centres is intended thus : a community formed by a Lama/Geshe and disciples living there also or near by. The Lama's close assistants/disciples had ideally already found in Asia as "foreigners at the Lama's feet", what a Lama residing in the West was continuing. Those disciples having participated in programmes at Darjeeling, Kathmandu and Dharamsala or having acquired knowledge or fluency of Tibetan at university, now act as translators, explaining Rinpoche's teachings and advice.

The constitution of *sangha* is according to information from "Buddhism in the West"-publications not only progressing with Tibetan Buddhism. An example could be Insight Meditation Centre, also established in the mid-seventies. Having found its place in a former catholic seminary house, it is not developing around the charisma of a single teacher but around a *sangha* or team of Western Buddhists and within a few years the elders of the Theravada begin to arrive (Fields, 1992 :320f). From now on various Buddhist traditions are present with their respective societal form at places in the West where non migrating groups from Asia have settled down.

d. One difference in trends concerning function/performance balance in the 1960s and the latter half of the 1970s is obvious : in the 1960s promising young Geshe and/or high ranking Rinpoches (Tulku System) found or created niches for part of their traditional roles in the West by diligently broadening their competence or by translating and re-interpreting elements of their tradition, thereby introducing new impetus for function and performance relation. While they continue this trend, those embarking on journeys in the 1970s, are members of the old generation or members of that generation which finished their specialisation in re-established institutions and these Buddhist clergy simply offer supply according to their comparatively late or less change-challenged traditional socialisation, focusing on traditional religious function and — due to a lack of fluency in foreign languages and modern education — delegating re-interpretation and the formulation of performance relation to their Western translators.

D. Entrusting tradition into the hands of Westerners or : the year 1976

A decisive development in the second half of the 1970s is the supply of more than short and adapted meditation courses. All of a sudden, both traditional training models are supplied in the West to Westerners by some members of the older generation of Rinpoches.

In 1976, the first steps in both complementary traditional training paths were offered "in the West". Kalu Rinpoche — it is not his first trip in the West, the trip in 1971 is said to have included a stopover at the Vatican — inaugurated the first *drub*-training (Lama-training/3-years-retreat) by ceremonially locking the doors of meditation huts in France. Lesson one of a school specific *she*-training (Geshe project) is given in Switzerland by Geshe Rabten and translated word-by-word also by Westerners clad in Tibetan monks' robes. The new centre's French designation should convey

the desired development according to the successful model in Benares : Institut des Hautes Études Tibétaines. Here people arrive and pass exams after having participated at a parallel training for example in the first centre in Germany, founded in Hamburg in 1977 immediately after procedures for establishing association concerning interests of non-residents had been facilitated due to the fact, that Articles of International law from 1966 became effective for the Federal Republic in 1976. The Hamburg association — a long-term fruit of Geshe Rabten's travels done officially on behalf of the affairs of Rikon institute in 1974 although he was one of the suppliers in Indian exile at the end of the 1960s — informs a larger audience in 1977 on the aims thus : "creating conditions ensuring that the teaching will not die with the teachers". The curriculum in Hamburg is regularly mentioned, though not directed at a broader public, in the centre's printed programmes as "academic study", "like in a monastic college in Tibet" "including debate in Tibetan". The resident Geshe, a member of the generation having acquired highest degrees in re-established institutions and immediately having been sent to Hamburg in 1979, when a Geshe with a job at University department had suddenly died, could draw on competent fair-skinned translators and assistants, partly wearing monks' robes within a couple of years due to this programme. While the Tibetan students at the IBD in Dharamsala were encouraged to attend courses at Indian universities parallel to their Buddhism curriculum, the Geshe in Hamburg encouraged his Geshe-project disciples to study at Hamburg university simultaneously.

The year 1976 saw even more implantation of traditional elements in new context : Trungpa entrusted the fruits of his activities to a Western disciple in a rather traditional ceremony though orchestrated with a Beethoven theme instead of Tibetan ritual music (Fields, 1992 :337). Another implantation of tradition in the West worth mentioning, though without solemn inauguration ceremony but still to some extent evidencing the passing of part of Tibetan tradition into the hands of Westerners, takes place at University. Buddhist studies' programme graduates in North America had embarked, as opposed to the situation in Europe, on careers in booming religious studies departments and some offered courses modelled on Gelug monastic curricula. Sometimes even educational techniques like memorisation and formal debate got a chance, albeit on the level of a conversation drill and only in language classes for classical Tibetan (Lopez, 1998 :164-8). Students and teachers alike are said to contribute to a "rhetoric of urgency" flourishing since 18th century in relation to Tibet. In the later 1970s graduates in Buddhist studies «set off for India to study with Tibetan refugee lamas in an attempt to preserve endangered Tibetan culture» (Lopez, 1995 :17) and the re-establishments in Southern India become a cherished place for fieldwork. But obviously there were hardly any Geshes and Rinpoches achieving or being offered opportunities for a solid career in Western academia.

The book market offered more chances : new specialised presses started to flourish by publishing basic and key texts relevant to all the above mentioned new developments' requirements and fruits. Translations available at the time when traditional *she* and *drub*-training started to be supplied in the West mirror the range of competence and projects. Graduates of Buddhist studies programmes translated Buddhist texts and started to include sessions at the lamas feet while tape-recording his oral comments. But how should the promising experts trained in historico-philological and text-critical methods of Western academia evaluate what the other expert legitimated in another tradition offered on request, if his comment could not be localised in the text, ideally in its Sanskrit version. Thus the old master's name ended up in acknowledgements or footnotes and the young graduate's name could be read on the book cover ; while the publication earned the author an academic career, it helped Tibetan Buddhism to be acknowledged as belonging to world religions (Lopez, 1995 :280). Simultaneously publications became available showing a Tibetan and a non-Tibetan name side by side on the cover. In addition the commentary from within the tradition, the lama's word, could be part of the publication, for example a Foreword by the Dalai Lama. Disciples "in the West" started tape recording and writing down visiting Rinpoches' oral teachings and gradually books with Tibetan names on the cover are available.

While all the implantation in the West included a rather implicit fading out of parts of tradition, in Indian exile one of those parts of Tibetan Buddhism which poses obvious obstacles for Buddhist modernists and inter-Buddhist or inter-religious discourse and even induces attention to less cherished aspects of religious institutions with long history, was addressed explicitly : in 1976 the Dalai Lama announced the abolishment of the Shugden cult ¹⁰.

As the year 1976 seems to be important for the implantation of function aspects "in the West", another look on what was going on at the level of politics seems worthwhile : in 1976 Vietnam was re-uniting under a socialist state's flag and south-east Asian refugees started to become a substantial immigrant group especially in the USA after the surrender of Saigon and the US' forces quick retreat in April 1975. Moreover 1976 saw the Chinese-Russian border-conflicts and the convent of communist parties of Europe in Berlin, after in 1975 in Helsinki the closing act of the Council for Security and Co-operation in Europe had legitimated the status quo of People's Republics in Europe. Where else could be a safe place for the old tradition than "in the West" and what better region could there be than "Western" Europe, where sympathy for and interest in Buddhism had risen for more than a century parallel to the lack of interest in Christian tradition and where ethnic Buddhists having fled communism and having been received up to then adhered to the Central Asian traditions ?

¹⁰ For information see esp. LOPEZ D.S., 1998, p.191. Echoes of thus created discord within Tibetan exile communities and the Gelugpa school reached the West nearly two decades later.

E. Shifts in performance relations in the mid-1980s

Between 1983 and 1986 a range of impacts from different parts of the systems of politics had to be coped with and consequences were manifesting in re-established institutions and in Western centres alike. Economic requirements of exile institutions increased at a time when important rhetoric ("preservation of endangered cultural heritage") was losing reputation basis and could be juxtaposed by new rhetoric.

Due to a more liberal politics in the People's Republic of China, Tibetans were allowed to visit relatives in India (and vice versa) and started to emigrate. Often these refugees/migrants end up in the re-established exile monasteries, where the problem how to feed, house, cloth and teach ever increasing numbers of new monks¹¹ and nuns had to be solved and new shedras were founded. Some more political decisions deserve mentioning though their impact potential on the development of Tibetan Buddhist institutions can hardly be evaluated, due to a lack of information: in India the focus for public spending on education was changing from 1986 onwards to the disadvantage of Higher Studies, rather preferring basic education¹² and high tech centres' development. Even less clear is — due to long-term potential — the impact from the 1984 agreement between GB and China concerning the status of Hong Kong after 1997 and the USA's 12/1983 announcement on leaving the UNESCO in the end of 1984. From 1983/4 onwards activities like Tibetan art exhibition projects and the staging of traditional dance and drama in the West seem to have increased significantly. More obvious is the rise of some rather new performance. Environmental awareness, which had no reference in exile publication prior to 1985 became a standard component of Tibetan independent literature (Lopez, 1998:199). The year 1985 also marks the turning point concerning the representation of Tibet having evolved in exile communities before the influx of new refugees and the increase of communication. Now the idealised notion of people unspoilt and pure was challenged (Ström, 1997:38). The rise of environmental awareness in Tibetan literature is somewhat parallel to the progresses the respective social movements "in the West" are making. In Federal Germany the green party won seats in the house of parliament in 1983 and from now on sporadic hearings on the Tibetan cause are possible. Concerning the public and professionally staged performance of Kalachakra ritual "in the West" and dedicated to peace, information available on first dates is not unanimous. In Europe the Dalai Lama's entrance with Kalachakra for peace should have been in Switzerland in 1985. In Federal Germany however the first such ritual was performed, even including the dedication of a *stupa* for peace, by Kalu Rinpoche near Bonn in 1984 already, the year when in Dresden, that is, in

¹¹ Sera : 1980 = 650, 1994 = ca 3000 (STRÖM A.K., 1997, p.41).

¹² An elementary school is added to the monastic complex in Southern India. (STRÖM A.K., 1997, p.46) Ström can not interpret this development adequately since he obviously did not take into account the shift in public spending on education in India.

the Democratic Republic of Germany, several thousands citizens had convened in the streets demanding peace.

Concerning the broader trends in centres in the West the picture is manifold. Buddhist circles in North America, where the Christian anti-cult league is becoming stronger, feel directly troubled less by this development but rather by information on scandalous behaviour of albeit mostly Western Buddhist teachers and a critical discussion on problematic implications of hierarchic structures and ethics is even contributing to the founding of new Buddhist journals. At that time such problems are not yet discussed in Tibetan centres flourishing in Europe, where development mirrors shifts in Indian exile institutions: fundraising projects are further developing and gradually more professionally managed thus providing more and more individual Western Buddhists either with opportunities to take care of individual recently immigrated monks or nuns by sending a fixed sum of money to India regularly or by sponsoring construction projects in monastic complexes where newly arrived Tibetans, often too old for primary schooling and therefore solely embarking on traditional curricula, are to be housed and taught. Gradually the number of these, who keep their orientation towards Central Asia, is surpassing the number of Westward-oriented monks having been socialised in India (Ström 1997 :39).

Although new local groups "studying and practising Buddhism" are forming "in the West", the increase of resident teachers slows down in the mid-1980s and some go back to India and sometimes even to central Asia. Gradually some of those members of Tibetan clergy who had managed to earn their living in the West especially by contributing to Buddhist studies projects at University departments, increased or even started only then activities in Buddhist centres. They give advice to local group members without the help of translators because these Rinpoches are often fluent in Western languages. Moreover they are well acquainted with problems their disciples are facing in daily life and also well aware of their disciples' competence from a wide range of modern Western professional training: Lama/Western disciple joint-venture projects are further developing. Gradually a new formula is gaining momentum, which will to some extent surpass the one that had stressed the relevance of preserving the living tradition and endangered culture. Instead of "like it had been in Tibet", this trend of authenticity argument is juxtaposed by the stress on supply of advice on how to practice Buddhism/the Dharma/meditation in daily life in the West and for individual well-being. The formulation of moral code arguments (Buddhist ethics) increased and at the end of the 1980s the career of new adaptations of *she* and *drub* training is manifesting: Study Programmes for Westerners with profession, family etc. Thus the supply of demanding traditional training courses became significantly complemented by new adaptations of both traditional models.

III. The close of three decades of solely going West

Studies on particularistic developments of Tibetan Buddhism after 1989 should be well advised, if two more factors are taken into account: the above mentioned opportunities for re-vitalising old communication structures in Central Eurasia and changes concerning the performance of Tibetan centres on behalf of the Tibet cause.

Among states reformulating constitution and re-designing identity after the dissolution of the Soviet Union Mongolia has to be mentioned especially. Even in areas within the borders of the People's Republic of China activities like development and restoration projects are welcome. Moreover the Tibet cause can be communicated more explicitly by more adequate networks than Tibetan Buddhist centres. In Europe the year 1989 is an important founding date of Tibet support groups, thus mirroring that EU directives guarantee unimpeded right to found unions, political parties etc. Adequately established associations find joint-venture potential with a range of potent non-government-organisations. Networks of Tibet support groups can invite the Dalai Lama in his role as a politician and simultaneously they facilitate the communication of critical views on the exile government's politics.

Intra-traditional conflicts and particularistic tendencies in the 1990s illustrate that the balance of function and performance is subject to a thorough re-designing process adjusting the institutions of Tibetan Buddhism to changing contexts.

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