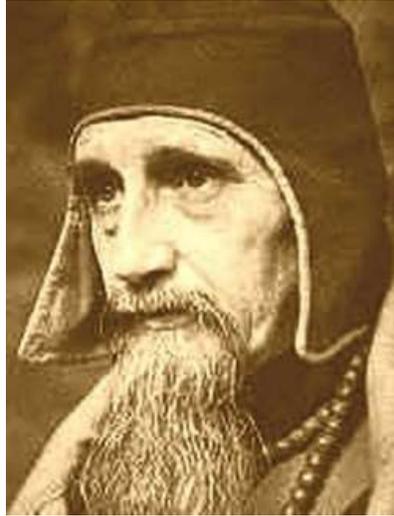


Lama Govinda's Quest for the Truth: A Summary of His Life - Part I

Iván Kovács



Life has no meaning in itself, but only in the meaning we give it. Like the clay in the artist's hands, we may convert it into a divine form, or merely into a vessel of temporary utility. Lama Govinda, 1969²

Abstract

This is the first installment of a two-part article dealing with the spiritual quest of Lama Govinda. It follows his life story from its beginnings in Europe to his late middle age in India and Tibet when he married Li Gotami, a Parsee woman, and with whom he undertook an expedition into Central Tibet. This expedition was preparatory to a second expedition which Govinda and Li were to undertake and which will be dealt with in Part II of this article. Wherever it was found appropriate, the summary was rendered more colorful and pertinent by quotations from Govinda's own writings, particularly his book *The Way of the White Clouds*. The discussion of a selection of his books dealing with Tibetan Buddhism is planned for a forthcoming article. A special mention and appreciation of Ken Winkler's biography of Govinda, *A Thousand Journeys*, needs to be made, as it was most helpful in giving this summary its basic structure.

Introduction

It is not often that one finds a western individual who is capable of retaining the best of his own culture and who can fully assimilate the essence of another. To be able to do this in such a way that two apparently contradictory paths are made to come together and then effortlessly merge is truly unique. Only a free spirit will assert that salvation is not to be found exclusively in one particular religion, and that different spiritual paths are merely

About the Author

Iván Kovács is qualified as a fine artist. As a writer he has published art criticism, short stories and poems, and more recently, articles of an esoteric nature. He is a reader of the classics and modern classics, a lover of world cinema, as well as classical and contemporary music. His lifelong interest in Esotericism was rounded off with several years of intensive study with the Arcane School.

culturally and geographically determined ways which all lead back to a common source. Such a free spirit is to be found in the person of Lama Anagarika Govinda, a rare individual who, despite his German origin and western heritage, was enterprising and bold enough to break with convention. He examined a wider range of options about the kind of spiritual path that he wanted to follow, and even before reaching maturity, he investigated all major faiths, and finally decided to opt for Buddhism.

Govinda's intellectual capacity and inborn creativity display a richness that is only found in multi-talented and ingenious individuals. His talents were equally evident whether he employed them as an artist or a poet, a writer or a philosopher. His knowledge and understanding of the Buddhist path to enlightenment as recorded in his various books remain to this day a testimony of a disciple who practiced what he believed, and as a consequence lived life to the fullest. He is an individual whose words carry great weight, thus in the following biography, whenever possible, and wherever appropriate, he is made to speak for himself.

Lama Govinda: A Citizen of Two Worlds

Family Background, Childhood and Youth

Lama Govinda (May 17 1898 – 14 January 1985), the son of a German father and Bolivian mother, was born Ernst Lothar Hoffmann in Waldheim, Germany. The family was quite well-to-do, and owned silver mines in South America as well as a cigar factory.³

Hoffmann was three years old when his mother died, and he and his older brother, Oscar, were brought up by their mother's sister, Matilde. Matilde spoke Spanish to the boys; their grandmother, a Huguenot from Bremen, spoke to them in French; and Matilde's husband, a German-Bolivian, preferred to speak German, with the result that the boys grew up trilingual.⁴

Being barely sixteen, Hoffmann was reading Plato and Schopenhauer, followed by the Christian mystics. Then, culturally further

afield, he made a study of the Upanishads, which finally led him to Buddhism. While Europe was in a state of ferment and unrest that would lead to the outbreak of World War I, Hoffmann made a comparative study of Christianity, Islam and Buddhism, in an attempt to determine which of the three appealed to him the most. At first, he had a strong predilection towards Christianity, but eventually he was won over by Buddhism which he believed had a morality that is based on individual freedom.⁵

Hoffmann's studies were abruptly interrupted in October 1916 when he was called up and sent to the Italian front where he was assigned to a heavy machine-gun company. Nothing is known about him whilst he was on active duty and his records only noted that he was admitted to a Milan hospital in 1918 after contracting tuberculosis. He was later transferred to a convalescent home in the Black Forest and discharged late in 1918, after which he resumed his studies in Freiburg Switzerland,⁶ where he studied philosophy, psychology and archaeology.⁷ Ken Winkler, his biographer, sums up his life thus far in *A Thousand Journeys* as:

Whatever Ernst Hoffmann learned through his experiences during the war, who his friends were, or how he socialized and spent his time is unknown. Up until this point of his life there are only the barest facts known about his family and his own thoughts and directions. Occasional references, mostly from a few surviving documents and his own recollections, are all that remain from this period.⁸

Capri: The Springboard to the Wider World

Hoffmann left Switzerland for Italy. On the one hand, this move was more advantageous for his health; on the other, it served as an opportunity to further his studies in Buddhism. It was at the University of Naples where he had the opportunity to study a Pali Canon that had been donated to the university by the King of Siam. To be able to follow this line of study Hoffmann first undertook to study Siamese. Then, to further his prospects, he crossed the Bay of Naples to Capri, which had become an

expatriate art colony. He found a job in a photographic studio, which was owned by a widow, Mrs. Habermann, who had not only lost her husband but also a daughter. She was an attractive woman, sympathetic toward the younger Hoffmann, whom she considered as a substitute for her own lost child who had died of tuberculosis. They felt genuine affection for each other, and Hoffmann began introducing her as his “foster mother.” Eventually, the two of them shared a small house, where Mrs. Habermann did the housekeeping. Hoffmann, in his turn, got involved in teaching at the local Berlitz school, and at one time served both as its director and only teacher.⁹

Another significant friendship that Hoffmann formed during this time was with Earl Brewster, the well-known American artist, who included the writer D. H. Lawrence among his friends. Buddhism was included among their common interests, and in fact, Brewster was so knowledgeable about this subject that in 1926, he wrote *The Life of Gotama – The Buddha*. Hoffmann was also a serious scholar on the subject of Buddhism. In 1920, he published *The Basic Ideas of Buddhism and Its Relationship to Ideas of God*. The book enjoyed a short-lived popularity in Europe, and was soon translated and published in Japan. A joint venture they undertook shortly after their newly formed friendship was to experiment with Satti-Pathana meditation, a discipline aimed at achieving mindfulness of body, feelings, consciousness, and mental phenomena.¹⁰ As they had no guides and no exercise courses available, they had to improvise constantly.¹¹

Hoffmann was also painting at this time. Apart from Brewster, he learned from various other artists in Capri, and with the added discipline of his meditation exercises, he soon developed a unique style of his own. Among his work at this time were experimental works done in pastels, and a variety of landscape scenes.¹² Viewing examples of his later works, his paintings have a strong element of geometric structure, and are variously reminiscent of the works of Paul Cézanne and Nicholas Roerich.

In 1922, Brewster traveled to Ceylon, which turned out to be the first of several trips to the

Orient. Hoffmann would have liked to join him, but due to a lack of money, his explorations were restricted to the study of Stone-Age structures of the locale, like the cylindrical stone *nuraghi* (megalithic edifices dating between 1900 – 730 BCE)¹³ of Sardinia, the cave towns in Tunisia and Morocco, and the megalithic structures in Malta.¹⁴

Finally, late in 1928, Hoffmann’s dream and ambition to visit the Orient became a reality. He managed to collect enough money to get himself and his foster mother to Ceylon. They sold everything they had, but the consulate informed them that they needed an extra specified amount to be allowed to land in Ceylon, which served as a safety measure to discourage unwanted immigrants. When Hoffmann returned home to discuss this problem with his neighbors and friends, someone — most likely Brewster — offered to give him the money, provided it would be returned upon his arrival.¹⁵

Encountering the Buddhism of Ceylon and Burma

After his arrival in Ceylon, where he was met by a Singhalese man, Desilva, Hoffmann traveled to his destination in the interior, the monastery of Polgasduwa. The place was in a state of semi-ruin, because its abbot, Nyanatikola Mahathera, had been forced into exile during the war. Like Hoffmann, the abbot was German-born, and willingly became Hoffmann’s guide and teacher, allowing him to take up his meditation and to continue his Pali studies. Hoffmann was convinced that here, at last, he had found the place where Buddhism was practiced in its purest form. The abbot gave him the name of Govinda, the name by which he shall be referred to from this point onwards.¹⁶

In March 1929, Govinda made a pilgrimage to Burma, and shortly after his arrival in Rangoon, he was joined by his abbot. Because the Theravadin communities in Asia kept close contact with each other, it was common practice for young monks of one country to be sent to another for study. Govinda’s abbot, Nyanatilok Mahathera, had himself been ordained in Burma twenty-six years before, and

had now come to pay his respects to his recently deceased guru. During their stay in Burma, Govinda and Nyanatilok Mahathera also visited Mandalay where they met U Khanti, a man of great enterprising spirit who had undertaken to restore the temples and pagodas on a sacred hill that had fallen into disrepair. Govinda was told by an attendant Bhikku (monk) that U Khanti was the reincarnation of King Mindon Min, the person who had originally commissioned the building of the temples and pagodas on the sacred hill, and Govinda readily believed him.¹⁷

It was during his visit to Burma that Govinda received the yellow robes of the *anagarika* (homeless one), as it had been his earnest wish to become a true monk. He and his abbot also visited the northern Shan States to escape the heat. They spent some time in the capital of Maymyo and then parted company, Govinda to attempt a trip up into China, and his teacher to return home. However, Govinda managed to get no further than Bhamo, where the caravan route into Yunnan began, and most probably due to lack of resources, decided to return to Ceylon.¹⁸

Upon his return to Ceylon, Govinda was on the lookout for more suitable quarters and was eventually given permission by a Singhalese tea planter to build himself a house on his estate. The house building proceeded at a leisurely pace, giving him ample time to continue his studies as well as attend to his responsibilities as General Secretary of the International Buddhist Union. It was in this capacity that he was asked to participate at an international Buddhist conference that was held in Darjeeling in north-east India. He had no idea what awaited him in India, and was convinced that the Bud-

dhism as it was practiced in Ceylon was the purest.¹⁹ He was under the impression that the Buddhism of India and Tibet had “degenerated into a system of demon-worship and weird beliefs.”²⁰ Whilst in Ceylon, Govinda had always felt that there was something missing.²¹

Now he was to encounter something which was to radically change the course of his life.

When the Disciple is Ready the Master Appears

Govinda’s radical change of opinion as regards Tibetan Buddhism came about when he was marooned in a Tibetan Buddhist monastery outside Darjeeling during a three-day storm. More precisely, his place of refuge was the Ghoom Monastery, which is perched atop a mountain spur that juts out over the deep valleys surrounding the Darjeeling area. While the storm was raging he was huddled in his

tropical robes and stared at the “weird world of Lamaism”. After the storm subsided, he could have returned to the outside world, but he didn’t. “Some inexplicable force,” he wrote, “seemed to keep me back, and the longer I stayed on in this magic world into which I had dropped by a strange concatenation of circumstances, the more I felt that a hitherto unknown form of reality was revealed to me and that I was on the threshold of a new life.”²²

During his stay at the monastery, Govinda was given permission to live in a corner of the temple.²³ This appeared to be the ideal location by means of which he could absorb and assimilate the spirit of the place, about which he wrote as follows:

The whole universe seems to be assembled in this temple, whose walls opened, as it were, into the depths of unheard-of dimen-

... religious truths and spiritual life are more a matter of transcending our habitual consciousness than of changing our opinions or building our convictions on strength of intellectual arguments and syllogisms . . . Spiritual life is based on inner awareness and experience, which no amount of thinking could create, thinking and reasoning merely being a process of digestion or mental assimilation which follows but does not precede the above-mentioned faculties.

sions. And in the midst of this thousand-eyed, form-filled universe, overbrimming (sic) with life and possibilities of conscious experience, I lived in a state of wonder, contemplating and absorbing an infinite variety of impressions without trying to define or reason out their meaning – accepting them, as one accepts the landscapes of a foreign country through which one travels.²⁴

As Govinda reflected upon his experience, he realized that:

. . . religious truths and spiritual life are more a matter of transcending our habitual consciousness than of changing our opinions or building our convictions on strength of intellectual arguments and syllogisms . . . Spiritual life is based on inner awareness and experience, which no amount of thinking could create, thinking and reasoning merely being a process of digestion or mental assimilation which follows but does not precede the above-mentioned faculties.²⁵

Although a momentous awakening regarding the reality of the soul and the transcendence of one's ordinary consciousness takes place, more often than not, in solitude, Govinda was not entirely alone. He had befriended an old monk, Kachenla, who was the temple caretaker, and who acted as mentor and spiritual father to him. Kachenla's life seemed one of constant, humble devotion. He was continuously engaged in the service of the temple, which he considered part of his dharma. They would sit together while Kachenla taught Govinda how to unwrap and handle a sacred book, or the old man would show his pupil how to move within the monastery. In the evenings, the old monk would teach Govinda the prayers, and although Govinda couldn't understand them, it didn't bother Kachenla, as he believed that understanding would come later.²⁶

As Govinda was exploring the surroundings of Ghoom Monastery, he became aware of a small, square, yellow-colored building with a curved Chinese roof and a glassed-in veranda. Its front rested on stilts, and the only door, which was at the back, was closed. Kachenla told him that a great lama meditated there. Go-

vinda felt drawn towards this man, and wondered if his own spiritual transformation had something to do with him. He told Kachenla that he wished to become the man's pupil and Kachenla answered that he would speak with the abbot about it. The lama in question was Tomo Geshe Rimpoche.²⁷ In *A Thousand Journeys* Ken Winkler elaborates on the outcome which resulted from the meeting between Govinda and Tomo Geshe Rimpoche:

No other being would have as much effect on Govinda as this man. Their time together wouldn't be long, a few short weeks, but the Rimpoche offered a peace and harmony Govinda hadn't felt before and the *darshan* (literally a religious interchange) they experienced together was complete. "Merely to be in the man's presence," Govinda wrote, "seemed to be enough to dissolve all problems, to make them non-existent, like darkness in the presence of light."²⁸

Tomo Geshe Rimpoche was a well-known figure both inside and outside of Tibet, whose fame extended as far as Mongolia, China, Japan, India, Ceylon, and several Western countries, and he was loved and revered by all those who came into contact with him. In fact, he was considered to be a legendary figure whose previous incarnations purportedly included such famous teachers and holy men as Shari-putra, King Trisong Detzen, Milarepa, Khedrup Rimpoche, and Dragpa Gyaltzen.²⁹

Tomo Geshe Rimpoche's main objectives were to uphold the Buddha's tradition in its purest form, and serving his fellow human beings in his capacity as a teacher as well as a healer. Among his accomplishments were numerous monasteries that had been built, including the creation of several large Buddha statues that were commissioned to adorn their temples.³⁰

Thus, when they finally met, Govinda's admiration and awe of the Rimpoche were fully justified, because in every sense of the word he had found a guru who conformed to the norms of a true Master. Prior to Govinda's initiation they had several discussions during which the Rimpoche stressed the fact that the Bodhicitta (altruistic mind) was potentially present in all living beings. Based on this fundamental truth,

the Rimpoche urged Govinda never to regard himself as superior to others. “As soon, however,” the Rimpoche explained, “as we understand that we live in exactly that world which we deserve, we shall recognise the faults of others as our own.”³¹ Because Govinda’s knowledge of Buddhism was already extensive, the Rimpoche found it unnecessary to instruct his disciple in doctrinal matters, and instead, proceeded directly to teach him the practice of meditation, which in Govinda’s case was more important than theoretical knowledge.³²

There are no definite indicators in Govinda’s writings regarding the manner of his initiation, except the fact that he considered it as a highly significant and momentous event. In his book, *Prisoners of Shangri-la*, Donald S. Lopez, Jr. writes about it in a rather belittling way, stating that “(i)t is difficult to imagine what transpired between the Tibetan monk and the German traveller . . . who spoke no Tibetan, or what this ‘initiation’ may have been (it was perhaps the most preliminary of Buddhist rituals, the refuge ceremony) . . .”³³

Govinda, however, thought his initiation to be the pivotal moment in his life, but considering it a private matter, he was hesitant and vague when referring to it.³⁴ Yet, one feels that he is attempting to convey to his readers that such profound experiences are, indeed, possible, and to be expected when the time is ripe, thereby confirming the old occult truism that “when the disciple is ready the Master is ready also.”³⁵

An example of the extraordinary faculties of the Rimpoche, about which Govinda wrote, was demonstrated shortly before the Guru was to take his leave of Govinda and depart for Tibet. The Rimpoche, Govinda, and the interpreter who helped them communicate were sitting together in conversation, when the interpreter put a question of his own to the Rimpoche, and while the Rimpoche was busy answering it, Govinda was preoccupied with his own thoughts. In *The Way of the White Clouds* he wrote about it as follows:

I allowed myself to let my thoughts wander in other directions. In the course of this it

came to my mind that the day might not be far when the Guru would have to leave in order to return to his main monastery beyond the border, and that years might pass before I had another opportunity to sit at his feet. And in a sudden impulse I formulated in my mind the following request: “Please give me a visible sign of the inner bond that unites me with you, my Guru, something that beyond all words reminds me daily of your kindness and of the ultimate aim: be it a small image of the Buddha blessed by your hands or whatever you might think fit . . .” Hardly had I pronounced these words in my mind when the Guru, suddenly interrupting his talk, turned to me and said: “Before I leave I shall give you a small Buddha-image as remembrance.”³⁶

On the day of their parting the Rimpoche remained true to his words and presented Govinda with “a small but exquisitely finished terracotta statue of Buddha Sakyamuni”³⁷ which he had kept in his hands during his daily meditations. This parting gift from the Guru later proved to be much more than a simple token of remembrance, but turned out to be a powerful talisman that would pacify those people that Govinda was to meet on his travels. Those who initially suspected him of being a Chinese spy would show a drastic change in attitude on the production of the small Buddha-image. It even worked its magic with armed tribesmen with hostile intentions, miraculously turning them into agents of support and hospitality. To top it all, the image turned out to be the handiwork of the humblest and most devoted of the Rimpoche’s disciples, Kachenla, the old temple caretaker, whose remembrance for Govinda was inseparable from that of Tomo Geshe Rimpoche.³⁸

A Traveler in the Mountains of Western Tibet

It is not an easy task to summarize Govinda’s narrative of his travels in the vast expanses of Tibet. This is due to the fact that unlike many other travel writers, who often record in minute detail the hardships, altitudes, weather conditions, and routines of their journeys, Govinda’s observations are mostly written down

from the perspective of an artist, intuitive, and a visionary. His experiences are thus given shape from an elevated state of consciousness in which objectivity is minimized and the world is perceived with an inner eye, and a subjective vision, that is only possible for one who is in touch with the very core of his being.

It also needs to be taken into consideration that the events as narrated by Govinda in *The Way of the White Clouds* start with his sojourn at Ghoom Monastery and his momentous meeting with his guru, Tomo Geshe Rimpoche, followed by his extensive travels in Tibet, but the actual writing down of these events only happened some thirty years later. One can assume that the narration is the product of someone who had matured and grown wiser over the years, and was thus supported by the reflections and insights of an individual who is able to extract the spiritual essence of what he aptly labels a "Pilgrim's Life."³⁹

Nowhere is this more evident than when he writes that "(t)he machine made time of modern man has not made him the master but the slave of time; the more he tries to 'save' time, the less he possesses it . . . Only he who accepts it in its fullness, in its eternal and life-giving rhythm, in which its continuity consists, can master it and make it his own . . . Nowhere have I experienced this deeper than . . . under the open skies of Tibet, in the vastness of its solitudes, the clarity of its atmosphere, the luminosity of its colours and the plastic, almost abstract, purity of its mountain forms."⁴⁰

In many ways, Govinda was duplicating the experiences and insights of his guru, Tomo Geshe Rimpoche, who had had a clear understanding "that realisation could only be found in the stillness and solitude of nature."⁴¹ Most people cannot bear to be alone, and shy away from solitude as something undesirable, while many spiritual masters and gurus, as diverse as the Master Djwhal Khul; and Don Juan Matus, a Yaqui Indian shaman from Mexico, attest to the importance of solitude. The Tibetan Master speaks about this "not (as) the solitude of a separative spirit, but the solitude that comes from the ability to be non-separative, and from the faculty of identification with the soul of all

beings and of all forms."⁴² Don Juan, more bluntly, but unequivocally, tells his pupil, Carlos Castaneda that "(b)eyond a certain point, the only joy of a *warrior-traveller* is his aloneness."⁴³

In his own words, Govinda elucidates his general impressions as a traveler in Tibet in the following way:

The great rhythm of nature pervades everything, and man is woven into it with mind and body. Even his imagination does not belong so much to the realm of the individual as to the soul of the landscape, in which the rhythm of the universe is condensed into a melody of irresistible charm. Imagination here becomes an adequate expression of reality on the plane of human consciousness, and this consciousness seems to communicate itself from individual to individual till it forms a spiritual atmosphere that envelops the whole of Tibet.⁴⁴

And even more specifically, as regards consciousness, Govinda informs the reader that:

Consciousness seems to be raised to a higher level, where the obstacles and disturbances of our ordinary life do not exist, except as a faint memory of things which have lost all their importance and attraction. At the same time one becomes more sensitive and open to new forms of reality; the intuitive qualities of our mind are awakened and stimulated – in short, there are all the conditions for attaining the higher stages of meditation or *dhyana*.⁴⁵

Finally, Govinda's reflections about the Tibetan environment and its relation to the individual reach their climax, as he explains that one's capacity for concentration and self-observation as well as one's psychic sensitivity tends to be increased "a hundredfold in the vastness, solitude, and silence of nature," which he likens to a concave mirror that not only enlarges and reflects one's innermost feeling and emotions but concentrates them in one focal point: one's own consciousness. This symbiosis is finally explained by him as "the immensity of nature and its timeless rhythm (that) reflect the similar properties of our deepest mind."⁴⁶

Anagarika, the Homeless One

It was during the next few years that Govinda lived up to his name, Anagarika, *the homeless one*, during which time his life followed a course that can best be described as erratic. It started upon his return from Western Tibet, and despite teaching assignments at the University of Patna and Shantiniketan, the school which was founded by Nobel prize winner and poet, Rabindranath Tagore, in western Bengal, Govinda never stayed in one place for long.⁴⁷ He participated in debates about Eastern culture and also wrote articles on a regular basis for the *Mahabodhi*, a journal of the Mahabodhi Society in Calcutta.⁴⁸ These articles appeared almost on a monthly basis and were, as Ken Winkler, put it “somewhat lofty in content, though his earnestness is just as evident as his determination to present his views on Buddhism. He remained a quiet, scholarly writer, pedantic in his articles and deeply committed to explaining his findings.”⁴⁹

Whilst he was teaching at Shantiniketan, Govinda counted two prominent Indian women among his pupils. One of them was Indira Nehru, at the time a motherless girl, whose father, Jawaharlal Nehru, was often in jail under British rule, but who would become India’s first Prime Minister once India became independent of Britain. Years later, she would follow in her father’s footsteps and become Prime Minister herself, but in these early years of India’s struggle to gain independence, Govinda was teaching her French. She and Govinda remained friends until her death.⁵⁰

The other woman with whom Govinda made acquaintance “was a rich, outspoken and very attractive Parsee (Indian follower of the Iranian prophet Zoroaster) from Bombay named Rati Petit. Daughter of an industrialist and raised in a very privileged household, she had been to school in England and was determined to become an artist.”⁵¹ She had been a student at the Slade School of Art in London, but her studies there had to be abandoned due to illness. Nevertheless, she then managed to study with several artists in India, and won several awards for her camera work. Her independence can best be described as that which is dis-

played by a truly free spirit. Publicly, she would come to be known as Li Gotami.⁵²

Of these two women, it was Rati Petit who made the strongest impression on Govinda. Their first meeting took place early one morning as Rati Petit was walking by the covered porch of the hostel where Govinda had his living quarters. The light was a rose-gold color that is so particular to rural India, and Rati Petit remembers that as she walked by “a door opened and out strolled this handsome, smiling foreigner dressed in the burgundy robes of a monk.” She recalled asking herself who this “bright merry person” might be, and in retrospect (at least on her part) remembered the incident as very romantic.⁵³ Ken Winkler describes Rati Petit and Govinda’s early relationship as follows:

Considering how direct Rati was, it isn’t surprising they met, let alone married ten years later. However, she was a student and, despite what else she might have been, she acted with respect towards teachers. Her forward nature was tempered with a social awareness that bordered on shyness, a characteristic not uncommon with well-brought-up Indian girls.⁵⁴

The friendship between Rati and Govinda developed gradually. Rati, as she admitted to Ken Winkler, became a Buddhist at this time. This was instigated by her study of “easy-to-read-books” about Buddhism, rather than the more complex material—which she could not understand—that Govinda pored over.⁵⁵ Nevertheless, Govinda took her interest in Buddhism seriously enough to take her along with him when he went to Sarnath in 1936 to meet with his guru, Tomo Geshe.⁵⁶ In his book, *The Way of the White Clouds*, Govinda wrote that Tomo Geshe had prophesied that the marriage between Rati and Govinda would take place in 1947, but Govinda had kept this to himself, for which, as Rati later admitted, she was grateful.⁵⁷ In the interim much was to happen that kept their lives occupied, and Shantiniketan did not prevent Govinda from traveling, but was seen by him as a convenient base from which to explore the surrounding countryside.⁵⁸

Of all the places that Govinda visited, Darjeeling, and neighboring Ghoom remained as his favorite places of retreat. Ghoom was also where his foster mother, Mrs. Habermann, had settled down. While Ghoom provided Govinda with an anchoring spot, his foster mother always remained in the background, and Govinda referred to her only briefly and occasionally in his writings. It was also in Ghoom where some of Govinda's friends from his Capri days came to visit, resulting in lively discussions and exchange of information about their different worlds.

Another teaching post presented to Govinda at this time came from the University of Patna. The courses he presented there were for post-graduate students in Pali-Buddhism, and Govinda's notes were published within a year of his appointment under the title of *The Psychological Attitude of Early Buddhist Philosophy*.⁵⁹ For testimony of his expertise and confidence regarding his subject matter one only needs to turn to his introduction, in which he gives this clear and concise definition of Buddhism:

Buddhism is religion; as an intellectual formulation of this experience it is philosophy; as a result of systematic self-observation it is psychology; as a norm of behaviour, resulting from an inner conviction or attitude based on the aforesaid properties, it is ethics; and as a principle of outer conduct, it is morality.⁶⁰

Whenever opportunity allowed, Govinda would go into the mountains. In Sikkim, the Indian state in the Himalayas, he befriended the Maharaja, who not only welcomed him into his home, but also aided Govinda with men and materials, so that he could explore the region. It was off the beaten track where he found numerous hermitages inhabited by cave

dwelling hermits who, like the famous Tibetan Saint, Milarepa, sought enlightenment by means of solitude. One of the most well-known of these hermits whom Govinda had the opportunity to meet was the Gomchen of Lachen, who had been the guru of Alexandra

David-Neel, the French explorer and Tibetologist, famous for her books *Magic and Mystery in Tibet, My Journey to Lhasa*, etc.⁶¹

The meeting between Govinda and the Gomchen was brief, but fruitful. They were in agreement that "it is not the robe or the shaven head but the overcoming of selfish desires that makes the saint" and "the knowledge that springs from the experience of ultimate reality in

meditation . . . Mere goodness and morality without wisdom is as useless as knowledge without goodness." In his own words, Govinda summarized this visit in *The Way of the White Clouds* as follows:

I shall never forget the peace of his hermitage amidst the eternal snows and the lesson he taught me: that we cannot face the Great Void before we have the strength and the greatness to fill it with our entire being. Then the Void is not a negation merely of our limited personality, but the Plenum-Void which includes, embraces, and nourishes it, like the womb of space in which the light moves eternally without ever being lost.⁶²

The Passing Away of Tomo Geshe and Govinda's Reflections on Life, Death, and Rebirth

It was shortly before this inspiring visit with the Gomchen that Govinda's own guru, Tomo Geshe had passed away. Although the loss of his beloved teacher was deeply felt by Govinda, he refused to be demonstrative about it, and bore his sorrow in silence.⁶³ However, this

momentous incident gave rise to serious reflection and contemplation about life, death, and rebirth on Govinda's part, and we are fortunate enough to share his insights as they have been recorded in his writings. In *The Way of the White Clouds*, Govinda devotes an entire section of his book to this subject, entitled *Death and Rebirth*, which is subdivided into eight chapters, and in all, totals 41 pages.⁶⁴

At the end of the chapter, which Govinda devoted to the passing away of his guru, Tomo Geshe, he formulates his ideas about the very purpose of the path to liberation, and in this regard contrasts the two approaches, one followed by the mystic, the other by what many esotericists would identify as the approach of the occultist. He expresses his thoughts on these distinctions as follows:

The purpose of Buddhist meditation, therefore, is not merely to sink back into the 'uncreated' state, into a state of complete tranquilisation with a vacant mind [mysticism]; it is not a regression into the 'unconscious' or the exploration of the past, but a process of *transformation*, of *transcendence*, in which we become fully conscious of the present, of the infinite powers and possibilities of the mind, in order to become masters of our own destiny, by cultivating those qualities which lead to the realisation of our timeless nature: to enlightenment [occultism].⁶⁵

Before his passing away Tomo Geshe had told his disciples not to grieve when he dies, because in a very short time they could look for his return. The question of Tomo Geshe's rebirth was of such an importance to Tibetans that even the State Oracle of Náchung in Lhasa had been invoked. The oracle was so detailed that he not only gave the name of the town (Gangtok), but also the year in which the boy was born (1937), the exact age of his parents, the description of the house in which they lived, and even identified the two fruit-trees which stood in front of their house. All that remained was to send a delegation of monk-officials to verify his findings. The final proof to verify the newly reincarnated identity of Tomo Geshe happened according to the tradi-

tional test by which various monastic articles such as rosaries, vajras, bells, teacups, wooden bowls, and other objects were spread before the boy, from which he had to pick out those that had exclusively belonged to the late Tomo Geshe.⁶⁶

As regards the successful conclusion of the identification of Tomo Geshe's new incarnation, Govinda sums it up simply and objectively with the following words:

The father, who saw all these proofs and remembered the many signs of the boy's extraordinary intelligence and unusual behaviour which had often surprised him, was finally convinced and – though it was with a heavy heart – he finally gave his consent that the boy should go with the delegation to his monastery in Tibet.⁶⁷

In Govinda's musings about rebirth, he points out the part that individuality plays in relation to consciousness, and how such an individual consciousness is related to universal consciousness:

The highest consciousness is the product of the widest range of experience: the amplitude between the poles of universality and individuality . . . Individuality is not only the necessary and complementary opposite of universality but the focal point through which alone universality can be experienced. The suppression of individuality, the philosophical or religious denial of its value or importance, can only lead to a state of complete indifference and dissolution, which may be a liberation from suffering, but a negative one, as it deprives us of the highest experience towards which the process of individuation seems to aim: the experience of perfect enlightenment or Buddhahood in which the universality of our true being is realised.⁶⁸

Govinda's musing and contemplations about rebirth reach their conclusion when he asks why the universe should bring into being individual forms of life and consciousness if it were not consistent with or inherent in its very spirit or nature. He answers this by asserting that "(t)he very fact of our individual existence

must have a meaningful place in the order of the universe and cannot be brushed aside as a deplorable accident or a mere illusion . . .” He posits further that preceding any explanations either from religious, philosophical, or psychological quarters, one needs to consider the conviction that people had, not only as regards the survival of individual consciousness beyond death, but also of a return, or rebirth, into the human world.⁶⁹

Internment and the War Years

After having come to terms with Tomo Geshe’s death Govinda returned to Ghoom, where he and his stepmother, Mrs. Habermann became hosts for many European visitors and travellers. Among them were refugees, and many professional people such as intellectuals, artists, and university professors who were “an articulate, observant group of survivors. While their presence as anti-Nazis (or at least pro-selves) didn’t start any immediate divisions in the local German communities, they made people very aware of the dangers they had just left.”⁷⁰

Ken Winkler relates how a peculiar story appeared at the time which would continue long after the war. An English follower of Krishna Prem, the British professor who lived the life of a saduh near Almora, told of a German-Jewish girl who had been a guest at the Govinda home in Ghoom. She related having seen many National Socialist publications there that had been left behind by some visitors, and was worried that someone might misunderstand the reason of their existence in the Govinda home. However, Govinda wasn’t worried, having spoken out in no uncertain terms against the Nazis, and having held very clear views as regards their intentions.⁷¹ As it would turn out later, the British were far from casual regarding such matters, and would use such information to build their case in favor of Govinda’s internment. Other factors that likely contributed to his internment were the fact that his father was German, and that he was friends with the Nehru family.⁷²

Before the above-mentioned unfortunate event was to take place, an unsuspecting Govinda was as ever on the move. On a trip to Almora,

which is about 1300 kilometers west of Ghoom in the state of Uttarakhand, he met the American Tibetologist, Dr Walter Evans-Wentz, who was also an Oxford scholar, and who is best known for making known *The Tibetan Book of the Dead* in the West.^{73 74} Govinda and Evans-Wentz became friends, and Govinda even went so far as to help Evans-Wentz pick out a site for a property which Evans-Wentz intended as a suitable location for an ashram.⁷⁵ The place which they finally decided on was called Kasar Devi, a rising jut of land at the end of what would popularly come to be known as “Crank’s Ridge,” when the hippies started to frequent it in the sixties.⁷⁶

The acquisition of the above-mentioned property was to change the lives of both men, and was to have far-reaching consequences. All that needs to be said at this stage is that when Govinda returned to Almora sometime later, Evans-Wentz had left for home on the last passenger ship out of Bombay, afraid that his funds might be cut off in case hostilities should break out with the build-up to the impending war. Kasar Devi now had a stone-block house, but all the bad news coming from Europe made several other expatriates flee the area as well, so that Govinda’s visit was cut short, and he had no choice but to return to Ghoom.⁷⁷

The war began with Germany’s invasion of Poland on 1 September 1939, followed by Britain’s declaration of war against Germany.⁷⁸ Ken Winkler writes that “(t)he results were felt immediately, even in India, where civil and military contingency plans were put in effect.”⁷⁹ German and Italian men were rounded up within hours all over India and the nationals of the Axis powers of every political background were taken to detention camps. Because Govinda was the holder of a British passport, it appeared that, for the time being, at least, he was exempt from being treated as a potentially subversive foreigner.⁸⁰

What Govinda didn’t know is that he had been under surveillance all along by the Darjeeling police. But sometime after the outbreak of the war, the British finally stopped wavering, and in 1942, he was forcefully taken from his home in Ghoom. His status as a British subject, (de-

spite the fact that he had been naturalized since 1938),⁸¹ was brushed aside, and within a few days, he became a victim of incarceration, which was to last until the end of the war.⁸² First an inmate of a detention center in Deolali, Govinda was then moved to Ahmednagar, and finally to a permanent internment camp in Premnagar near Dehra Dun, which is a large upland valley on the Siwalik Hills north of New Dehli. There he became one of about two thousand inmates who were hailing from several Axis countries.⁸³

Since no distinction had been made by the British as regards the various factions of inmates, trouble soon broke out. A small minority in the camp, of which Govinda was a part, had little in common with the National Socialist majority, and was almost immediately set upon, giving the British no choice but to separate them. Thus this smaller group, numbering a little over a hundred, were given their own section. They largely consisted of tourists, engineers, teachers, missionaries, as well as a German Theravadin monk from Ceylon called Nyanaponika Mahathera, in whom Govinda found an ideal companion. The two of them soon settled in and partitioned off an area of the barrack, complete with an improvised shrine consisting of a Buddha image, brass water bowls, and oil lamps.⁸⁴

Ken Winkler writes that Govinda and Nyanaponika became close friends, and quotes the latter to have said that “(o)n a very few occasions, we had quite lively arguments on doctrinal differences, these were never unfriendly and we always were aware of our common ground as dedicated Buddhists.”⁸⁵ Govinda, true to his scholarly nature, did not remain intellectually idle, and undertook several tasks in this regard. One such task was the compilation of a Tibetan, Sanskrit, Pali and English glossary of Buddhist terms; another, aiding Nyanaponika with his study of Sanskrit. It was probably due to their peaceful behavior as inmates that the British later allowed them to receive passes, which gave them the opportunity to leave the camp twice a week, and to explore the town and countryside outside the camp between 8 a.m. and 5 p.m.⁸⁶

It is worth mentioning at this point that in another part of the camp two very different companions, the mountaineers, Heinrich Harrer and Peter Aufschnaiter, managed to escape their British captors, and after months of adventures that were characterized by the harshest conditions and dangers, successfully traveled across Tibet, and were eventually granted asylum in Lhasa. A faithful record of their activities would later be written down by Harrer, and made public in his well-known book, *Seven Years in Tibet*.⁸⁷ Juxtaposing Harrer and Govinda, Winkler makes the following comment:

At first glance, it's surprising that two men who helped shape Western views of Tibet would have so little in common, but Harrer and Govinda lived at opposite ends of the camp and represented two philosophies that were worlds apart.⁸⁸

As soon as the war ended in Europe, Govinda was among the first detainees to be released, likely due to the fact that he caused no trouble during his internment, and was, after all, a naturalized British subject. As regards his fellow inmate, Nyanaponika, they remained friends, but after Govinda left the camp, they only met once more—in Germany twenty-five years later.⁸⁹

A Union of Soul Mates

According to Ken Winkler, there is no precise record of all the places that Govinda visited in the two years following his release from internment, but he writes that Shantiniketan was definitely a place of refuge for him, even if for a short time. It is also assumed that he attempted to return to Ghoom, but due to the restrictions that were imposed around the border areas at the time, he may not have gained permission to go home directly. His foster mother, Mrs. Habermann, had spent the war years in a hotel in Darjeeling.⁹⁰

Govinda also spent a considerable time in Calcutta, which had become a place where many refugees from diverse countries got together. However, the city was gripped by intrigue, and had become a hotbed of communal and political agitation. Nevertheless, it is there that Govinda used his contacts in the artistic

world to exhibit his work in Bombay the following year. The war and his internment had interrupted his Tibetan studies and his long-held ambition to investigate the restoration and stabilization of Buddhism in the Tsaparang region of Western Tibet. But his financial situation and poor health made these aims remote.⁹¹

At this point, a few words need to be said about Govinda's old-time pupil, Li Gotami. While Govinda sat out the war in an internment camp, she had remained at Shantiniketan to further her studies in art by becoming the personal pupil of Abanindranath Tagore, who was considered a great art master. At this stage of her life, Li Gotami was a beautiful woman in her mid-thirties, who had already been married and divorced, and who was now living an active social and cultural life. Under Tagore's tutelage, she learned about all matters of art. However, he eventually advised her to specialize in Tibetan pictures, or to write and illustrate fantasies and children's books, assuring her that she would shine if she followed his advice. Evidently such advice was not without foundation, because Li Gotami's busy schedule also allowed for studying the techniques of Tibetan fresco and tanka painting under Tibetan artists, for which she seemed to show a special aptitude.⁹²

When Govinda returned to Shantiniketan to recuperate from the hardships of the war, he and Li Gotami renewed their friendship. It was also revealed that she had kept secret faith in Buddhism, which gave Govinda the opportunity to instruct her in Tibetan iconography and religious thought. As their relationship deepened, marriage now became a possibility, and shortly thereafter, as Govinda's guru, the Rimpoche had predicted, it became a certainty.⁹³

As strange as it may sound, Govinda and Li Gotami's marriage was legitimized no less than four times. And as related by Li Gotami to Ken Winkler, one of these marriages was performed by Govinda himself, who in his capacity as a lama was authorized to perform the rite. Two civil ceremonies were also supposed to have taken place, one in Bombay and one in Darjeeling.⁹⁴ The fourth ceremony, the most

important from a Buddhist point of view, was performed by the Ajo Rimpoche in the Tse-Choling monastery in the Chumbi Valley, concurrent with Govinda and Li Gotami's initiation into the Kagyupa order of Tibetan Buddhism.⁹⁵

The last-mentioned wedding ceremony and the related circumstances under which it took place are worth describing in a little more detail, as it took place when Govinda and Li Gotami were on their way to Gyantse, where Govinda intended to get passes that would allow them to go to Tsaparang. Ken Winkler writes about the launch of these plans as follows:

In addition to their settling in and getting used to each other, Govinda busily petitioned the authorities to travel to Gyantse, the large trading town in southern Tibet. His plans for Tsaparang were galvanising and he now understood the only way to get the required passes (*lamjig*) and the cooperation from local officials was to camp on the front doorstep of the officials concerned.⁹⁶

As Govinda and Li Gotami advanced on their journey to Gyantse they had to go via the Chumbi and Tomo valleys, and consequently stop over at the Tse-Choling monastery. Govinda had brought with him a letter of introduction to the abbot of Tse-Choling, Ajorepa Rimpoche, who was considered an incarnation of an eighth-century Siddha known as Dombi-Heruka.⁹⁷

Ajo Rimpoche, as Govinda saw him, was as significant a religious teacher as Govinda's first guru, Tomo Geshe. What he had to impart to Govinda and Li Gotami by means of their initiation and wedding ceremony, was looked upon as a continuation of Govinda's spiritual unfoldment, and as much valued as his initiation that he had received from Tomo Geshe.⁹⁸

Govinda does not provide the details of their initiation, and only mentions that much trouble was taken as regards the preceding preparations. He mentions that the most important aspects consisted of the meditation techniques and visualizations which they were taught dai-

ly.⁹⁹ Li Gotami was a little less reserved, but nevertheless guarded, when relating her experiences in her correspondence with her sister Coomie. In her letter she explained that the seven factors of enlightenment as represented by the seven lights and seven water bowls that were on the altar during the ceremony stood for wisdom; the active side of the intellect; the intellect as represented by speech; love and compassion; and the remembrance of a historical and transcendental wisdom.¹⁰⁰

Govinda summed up this important interlude on their journey into Tibet's interior as follows:

We also found plenty of work to do besides our devotional practices, as there were books to study, notes to be taken, woodcuts to be printed and some outstanding frescoes to be copied or traced in outline . . . Also outside the monastery there was plenty to do in the way of sketching and photographing. We certainly had not one dull moment, and in-between we had ample opportunities of discussing religious questions with Ajo Rimpoche . . .¹⁰¹

After their spiritually enriching interlude at Tse-Choling monastery the Govindas continued their journey, and finally arrived in Gyantse on 1 September 1947. Ken Winkler describes Gyantse as a large town and major trading center consisting of about 50,000 inhabitants, which is divided into secular and religious sections. Due to its commercial importance, there were several governmental offices, and it was thus by appealing to these authorities that Govinda hoped to gain permission to travel to parts of Tibet that could only be accessed by means of the necessary passes.¹⁰²

The time it took to wait for the needed documentation for their proposed exploration into the western regions of Tibet, and more specifically, Tsaparang, was about four months, a period that the Govindas utilized by exploring the vicinity and visiting retreats and monasteries. There were also religious ceremonies and festivals in which they partook, not to mention invitations to tea. Li took countless photographs during this period, taking shots of any-

thing of interest, including those that were taken of dancers and performers of mystery plays. Finally, "after a cold, white Christmas, their permits arrived and towards the end of January 1948, they left Gyantse."¹⁰³ By the time they returned to India it was spring, during which time they visited Ghoom and Calcutta, and preoccupied themselves with packing and planning for their trip back into Tibet, and more specifically, their intended visit to Tsaparang.¹⁰⁴

Conclusion

Up to this point, Govinda's life had been highly eventful and instructive in preparation for a life of discipleship in the service of Buddhism. Now with Li by his side, the two of them would prove to become a very effective husband and wife team capable of facing the toughest and most challenging tasks, namely the arduous expedition to Tsaparang. After nearly a year of work in Tholing and Tsaparang, in Western Tibet, they managed to trace and catalogue the first authentic artworks and frescos of the region, dating as far back as the eleventh century, so that future generations could appreciate the splendors of a once great and highly evolved culture. Their experiences and accomplishments will be discussed in greater detail in Part II of this series. Part II will also discuss Govinda's and Li's life after their farewell to Tibet, and their interaction with the wider world as emissaries of Tibetan Buddhism. The article will conclude with Govinda's death in the San Francisco Zen Centre in California, his final place of refuge.

¹ Image of Lama Anagarkia Govinda. Permission granted for non-profit educational uses only.

² <http://www.spaceandmotion.com/Philosophy-Lama-Govinda.htm> (accessed August 30, 2014).

³ <http://donaldsimons.blogspot.com/2011/04/lama-anagarika-govinda.html> (accessed September 1, 2014).

⁴ Ken Winkler, *A Thousand Journeys* (Shaftesbury: Element Books Limited, 1990), 2-3.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 3-4.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 4-5.

- 7 <http://www.arya-maitreya-mandala.org/content/lamagovinda.htm> (accessed September 5, 2014).
- 8 Ken Winkler, *A Thousand Journeys*, 5.
- 9 Ibid., 6-7.
- 10 <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Satipatthana> (accessed August 25, 2015).
- 11 Ken Winkler, *A Thousand Journeys*, 8.
- 12 Ibid., 8.
- 13 <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nuraghe> (accessed September 7, 2014).
- 14 Ken Winkler, *A Thousand Journeys*, 9.
- 15 Ibid., 11.
- 16 Ibid., 13-14.
- 17 Ibid., 15-16.
- 18 Ibid., 17.
- 19 Ibid., 18-19.
- 20 Lama Anagarika Govinda, *The Way of the White Clouds* (1966; reprint; London: Rider, 2006), 13.
- 21 Ken Winkler, *A Thousand Journeys*, 19.
- 22 Lama Anagarika Govinda, *The Way of the White Clouds*, 13.
- 23 Ibid., 14.
- 24 Ibid., 15-16.
- 25 Ibid., 16.
- 26 Ken Winkler, *A Thousand Journeys*, 22- 23.
- 27 Ibid., 23.
- 28 Ibid., 23.
- 29 <http://www.nyackbuddhism.org/rinpoche.html> (accessed December 2, 2014).
- 30 <http://www.nyackbuddhism.org/rinpoche.html> (accessed December 2, 2014).
- 31 Lama Anagarika Govinda, *The Way of the White Clouds*, 34.
- 32 Ken Winkler, *A Thousand Journeys*, 25.
- 33 Donald S. Lopez, *Prisoners of Shangri-la*, (1998; Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1999), 60.
- 34 Lama Anagarika Govinda, *The Way of the White Clouds*, 36-37.
- 35 Mabel Collins, *Light on the Path*, (London: The Theosophical Publishing House Ltd, 1971), 14.
- 36 Lama Anagarika Govinda, *The Way of the White Clouds*, 38.
- 37 Ibid., 39.
- 38 Ibid., 39- 40.
- 39 Ibid., 57.
- 40 Ibid., 60- 61.
- 41 Ken Winkler, *A Thousand Journeys*, 24.
- 42 Alice A. Bailey, *The Externalisation of the Hierarchy*, (1957; New York: Lucis Publishing Company, 1972), 682- 683.
- 43 Carlos Castaneda, *The Active Side of Infinity*, (1998; New York: Harper Perennial, 2000), 261.
- 44 Lama Anagarika Govinda, *The Way of the White Clouds*, 62.
- 45 Ibid., 62.
- 46 Ibid., 70.
- 47 Ken Winkler, *A Thousand Journeys*, 36.
- 48 Ibid., 37-38.
- 49 Ibid., 38.
- 50 Ibid., 40.
- 51 Ibid., 39.
- 52 Ibid., 39.
- 53 Ibid., 40.
- 54 Ibid., 40.
- 55 Ibid., 41.
- 56 Ibid., 41.
- 57 Ibid., 60-61.
- 58 Ibid., 41.
- 59 Ibid., 42.
- 60 Lama Anagarika Govinda, *The Psychological Attitude of Early Buddhist Philosophy*, (Rider, 1969) 12.
- 61 Iván Kovács, *Alexandra David-Néel: The Life and Work of an Early Romancer of Tibet*, (The Esoteric Quarterly, Winter 2014).
- 62 Ibid., 103.
- 63 Ken Winkler, *A Thousand Journeys*, 46.
- 64 Lama Anagarika Govinda, *The Way of the White Clouds*, 109- 151.
- 65 Ibid., 114 (terms in brackets added by this author).
- 66 Ibid., 120-121.
- 67 Ibid., 121.
- 68 Ibid., 124.
- 69 Ibid., 125.
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- 71 Ibid., 49.
- 72 Ibid., 54.
- 73 http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Walter_Evans-Wentz (accessed February 18, 2015).
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- 76 http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Crank's_Ridge (accessed February 18, 2015).
- 77 Ken Winkler, *A Thousand Journeys*, 50.
- 78 http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Invasion_of_Poland (accessed February 22, 2015).
- 79 Ken Winkler, *A Thousand Journeys*, 51.
- 80 Ibid.
- 81 Ibid., 55.

82 Ibid., 51-53.
83 Ibid., 55.
84 Ibid.
85 Ibid.
86 Ibid., 56.
87 Ibid., 57.
88 Ibid.
89 Ibid.
90 Ibid., 58.
91 Ibid., 58-59.
92 Ibid., 59-60.
93 Ibid., 60-61.
94 Ibid., 61.

95 Ibid., 66.
96 Ibid., 61.
97 Ibid., 66.
98 Lama Anagarika Govinda, *The Way of the White Clouds*, 156.
99 Ken Winkler, *A Thousand Journeys*, 67.
100 Ibid., 67.
101 Lama Anagarika Govinda, *The Way of the White Clouds*, 166- 167.
102 Ken Winkler, *A Thousand Journeys*, 71.
103 Ibid., 74.
104 Ibid., 76.