Buddhist Literary Heritage in India

Text and Context

Samīkṣikā Series
No. 1

General Editor
Sudha Gopalakrishnan

The Samīkṣikā Series is aimed at compiling the papers presented by the various scholars during the seminars organized by the National Mission for Manuscripts. The seminars provide an interactive forum for scholars to present to a large audience, ideas related to the knowledge contained in India's textual heritage.

In keeping with the title, the Samīkṣikā (research) Series is concerned with research papers of distinguished scholars and specialists in different intellectual disciplines of India.

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Edited by

Ratna Basu

National Mission for Manuscripts

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Preface

The National Mission for Manuscripts was launched in February 2003 by the Government of India, under the Ministry of Tourism and Culture, with the mandate of documenting, preserving and rendering accessible the vast reserves of manuscripts in India. The Mission, over the past four years is engaged in creating resource base for Indian manuscripts through nation-wide cultural mapping—national surveys of manuscripts, conservation and manuscriptology workshops, digitization projects, and outreach programmes with a view to bring scholars, researchers, and other interested people into the fold of manuscript studies.

Manuscripts in India go back a long way in history, with centuries of different writing cultures and practices making their way into the textual traditions of the country. In India, diverse knowledge traditions have emanated over centuries, in disciplines as extensive as philosophy, theology, art, literature or the sciences. This pluralism in experience, thought and practice has led to the flowering of diverse manuscript traditions, reflecting various canons of critical thinking and historiography.

In 2005, the Mission launched Samīkṣikā, its Seminar Series, to highlight various aspects of the Indian knowledge tradition as contained in the manuscripts of the past. Since then a number of seminars were conducted across the country, focussing on themes as diverse as medicine, architecture, the Nāṭyaśāstra, the

Mahābhārata. These seminars brought together scholars, researchers, students as well as interested audience on a common platform.

The current volume presents the proceedings of the Seminar on ***Buddhist Literary Heritage in India: Text and Context***. India, as the mother ground for the genesis of Buddhism, has seen varied traditions in Buddhist religious and philosophical thought. Extensive research and scholarly engagement with aspects of this corpus has produced over years significant texts on the Buddhist manuscript traditions in India. The Mission, in July 2005 organised this seminar in Kolkata, under the coordination of Calcutta University Manuscript Resource Centre, in collaboration with The Asiatic Society, Kolkata. As a forum for debate and discussion in Buddhist Studies, this seminar opened up fresh information on the Buddhist textual canons, and charted out new possibilities of research in the area. In this volume, we bring together the papers presented at the Seminar. With contributions from renowned scholars in the field, this volume seeks to make a contribution to the dissemination of knowledge resources on the Buddhist textual traditions in India.

Among the various themes engaged with in this collection are, the Tibetan tradition in Indian Buddhist literary canons, Buddhist cultural heritage in Sanskrit and Pali, Tantric and Sādhana literature, iconographic studies of the canons, as well as specific textual studies of various Buddhist texts. We hope that this anthology would contribute to ongoing research on Buddhist literary traditions in India.

Dr Sudha Gopalakrishnan

New Delhi, 2007

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The editing and publication of this Volume was coordinated by Dr. Sanghamitra Basu, with editorial supervision by Pandit Satkari Mukhopadhyaya and Dr. A. J. Thomas, Editor, Sahitya Akademi. We are thankful to Prof. Lokesh Chandra for his valuable advice and suggestions, as well as for providing some of the images used in this Volume. The Mission also acknowledges the inputs provided by its own team, including Dr. D. K. Rana, Ms. Sanjukta Sunderason, Mr. S. Shamshad Hussain and Ms. Neha Joshi.

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Key to Transliteration

VOWELS

अ *a*	आ *ā*	इ *i*	ई *ī*	उ *u*	ऊ *ū*
(b<u>u</u>t)	(p<u>a</u>lm)	(<u>i</u>t)	(b<u>ee</u>t)	(p<u>u</u>t)	(p<u>oo</u>l)
ऋ *ṛ*	ए *e*	ऐ *ai*	ओ *o*	औ *au*	
(<u>rh</u>ythm)	(Play)	(<u>ai</u>r)	(t<u>oe</u>)	(l<u>ou</u>d)	

CONSONANTS

Guttural	क *ka*	ख* *kha*	ग *ga*	घ *gha*	ङ *ṅa*
	(s<u>k</u>ate)	(bloc<u>kh</u>ead)	(<u>g</u>ate)	(<u>gh</u>ost)	(si<u>ng</u>)
Palatal	च *ca*	छ *cha*	ज *ja*	झ *jha*	ञ *ña*
	(<u>ch</u>unk)	(cat<u>ch</u> him)	(<u>J</u>ohn)	(hedge<u>h</u>og)	(bu<u>n</u>ch)
Cerebral	ट *ṭa*	ठ* *ṭha*	ड *ḍa*	ढ* *ḍha*	ण* *ṇa*
	(s<u>t</u>art)	(an<u>th</u>ill)	(<u>d</u>art)	(god<u>h</u>ead)	(u<u>n</u>der)
Dental	त *ta*	थ *tha*	द *da*	ध* *dha*	न *na*
	(pa<u>th</u>)	(<u>th</u>under)	(<u>th</u>at)	(brea<u>th</u>e)	(<u>n</u>umb)
Labial	प *pa*	फ* *pha*	ब *ba*	भ *bha*	म *ma*
	(s<u>p</u>in)	(<u>ph</u>ilosophy)	(bin)	(a<u>bh</u>or)	(much)
Semi-vowels	य *ya*	र *ra*	ल *la*	व *va*	
	(<u>y</u>oung)	(d<u>r</u>ama)	(<u>l</u>uck)	(<u>v</u>ile)	
Sibilants	श *śa*	ष *ṣa*	स *sa*	ह *ha*	
	(<u>sh</u>ove)	(bu<u>sh</u>el)	(<u>s</u>o)	(<u>h</u>um)	
Others	क्ष *kṣa*	त्र *tra*	ज्ञ *jña*	ळ* *ḷ*	ॠ* *ॡ*
	(*<u>kṣ</u>atriya*)	(*<u>tr</u>iśūla*)	(*<u>jñ</u>ānī*)	(*pla<u>y</u>*)	

अं (◌ं) *ṁ* or *ṃ anusvāra* (nasalisation of preceding vowel) like *saṁskṛti* or *saṃskṛti*

अः *visarga* = *ḥ* (aspiration of preceding vowel) like (*prātaḥ*)

ऽ *Avagraha* consonant #' consonant (like: *ime' vasthitā*)
Anusvāra at the end of a line is presented by *m* (म्) and not *ṁ*
*No exact English equivalents for these letters.

Introduction

Ratna Basu

It is remarkable that India, which does not profess to be a Buddhist country, never ceases to deliberate on Buddha's words and teachings including his moral, social, ethical precepts, the subtle epistemological discourses on logic, argumentative methodology, thought processes, supplemented by application in practice in its various modes. Along with these, the continuous process of getting access to and uncovering the hitherto unknown texts of literary merit—ranging from philosophical debates to creative literature in various forms of textual content goes on.

Buddhist heritage is, thus, not only a matter of interpretation and debate about the great master's direct preaching, canonized versions, or their interpretative texts; it also comprises exquisitely refined poetry, interesting narratives, original grammatical and lexicographical works and devotional hymns.

The Buddhist literary heritage in India had been, and still continues to be, an ever-progressing, increasing mass of literature of various categories produced by great minds down the centuries of the past two millennia and more. It is not a question of individual or sectarian faith—it is a matter of evaluating one of the most important socio-cultural aspects of our national identity, national

history and national existence in the global context.

The Indian mind would remain only partly understood in its historical context unless the background of the Buddhist literary heritage and its development down the ages are taken into account. The development of the cultural history of India as a whole would remain obscure if no attempt is made to unveil the hitherto overlooked and neglected areas of history and textual heritage through a holistic approach. The multidirectional aspects of the Buddhist texts and their dynamic journey in the global scene underline the importance of delving deep into the study of these texts. The texts which are already known are to be studied in a newer context; the yet to be known texts need to be deciphered and brought to light; the partially known and inadequately interpreted texts are to be evaluated in the light of all other related texts and historical contexts as well as corresponding interdependence.

Swami Vivekananda, one of the greatest thinkers India has produced, exhorted the Indians to turn back once again to that great heritage of the Buddha and Buddhism, to call back the Buddha to our nation and to our hearts. He added that until that is done, India could never hope to develop that internal strength, which all Indians wish and pray for. Gradually, this became the approach of all enlightened minds of India in the later decades of the last century. Thus, India feels a sense of pride in owning the Buddha as one of its glorious teachers, and in being the children of a country which produced the Buddha. The debate about the *real* birthplace, his *real* ethnic identity, etc. never stands in the way of such basic and spontaneous feeling of national identity. It is not difficult to imagine about similar awareness in the remote past as

well, which led consequently to the continuity of the composition and propagation, interpretation and journey of the Buddhist texts, and subsequently the masters of these branches of literary heritage, beyond the geographical boundaries of a particular country or nation. This is the context in which we are living and functioning today.

The most commonly known formula in Buddhism available in the colophon of each of the Buddhist texts refers to the master's knowledge of the entire range of conditioned things and their cessation.

> *ye dharmā hetuprabhavā hetuṃ teṣāṃ tathāgato hyavadat*
> *teṣām ca yo nirodha evaṃvādī mahāśramaṇaḥ*
>
> Whatever entities (*dharmas*) are produced from a cause, of these the *Tathāgata* explains the cause (*hetu*); and also that which is the cessation of these (*teṣāṃ yo nirodhaḥ*); thus declares the great recluse.

Lord Buddha's very first discourse at Sāranātha (i.e. Mṛgadāva of those days) expressed the content of his great realization; it can be read in the *Majjhimanikāya*, *Sutta* 26. J.G. Jenning's English translation is furnished below:

> . . . and being myself subjected to earthly existence, I perceived the wretchedness of what is subjected to earthly existence, and seeking the supreme peace of *nibbāṇam* not affected by earthly existence. Being myself subjected to decay, to disease, to death, to grief and defilement, I attained the supreme peace of *nibbāṇam* not affected by decay, disease, death, grief and defilement.
>
> And the knowledge (*jñānam*) now is a thing arose in me: "My liberation (*vimutti*) is established, separate existence (*jāti*) is terminated here; there is not now rebirth (*punabbhavo*)."

Though he felt that the world, so much given to sensuality and ordinary pleasures, might not understand him, still there might be a few whose minds were not fully covered by the dark veil of ignorance and attachment and who, with a little effort, could be made to join the path of seeing the truth. He decided to search them out and share his experience with them. His compassion was the guiding force for him to look for people and make them, in Buddhist terminology, *srotāpanna* — to share the same path of journey to reach the goal. The great master kept on narrating and explaining his own experiences, which were obviously with a tone of authority and directness, since nothing was based on hearsay, supposition or speculation.

Hence, he expounded the 'Four Noble Truths' (*catvāri āryasatyāni*) and the 'Eightfold Path' (*aṣṭāṅgika mārga*) to be followed by the person committed to this teaching, this realization, this goal. He illustrated the principles with narration of real events, happenings and experiences. These form actually the basis for the germination of the wide range of Buddhist texts of various types. And it remained as a continuous process of creative composition and discourse down the centuries by so many authors and interpreters. Hence, the historicity of the vast range of Buddhist literary heritage in the form of innumerable texts in different contextual links can be established right from its inception. Buddha's final exhortation to his closest disciple Ānanda consisted of advice on the basic stages of *śīla*, *samādhi*, and *prajñā* for attainment in spiritual life.

The whole range of canonical literature—with its nine, and later, twelve sections—elaborates and illustrates the basic teachings, the final target being the attainment of

realisation about the unreal and momentary world and the only real sublime void (*śūnyatā*). The six or ten perfections (*pāramitā*-s) are to be practised by everybody. The ten types of "bad deeds" (*daśākuśalakarman*) should be forsaken; the perfection of knowledge (*Prajñā-pāramitā*) is the highest goal to be achieved to get eternal release from the fetters of the cycles of birth and death (*saṃsāra*).

The universality of the highly philosophical and phenomenal concepts got wide access and appreciation across the boundaries and limits of all geo-political identities. Till date, this is an undenied reality in the Indian and global context about the Buddhist literary heritage. The deliberations re-establish once again that the subject will remain relevant not only in the current few decades, but in the coming centuries and keep the world busy for quite sometime, more so, in view of the large number of hitherto unpublished Buddhist texts.

An attempt has been made to select and present the papers according to the theme they represent. Thus "Buddhist Literary Texts" by Michael Hahn has found the opening slot for it lays out a kind of blueprint, as it were, for the arrangement of the papers to follow, and also for the expansion of sub-themes. The other papers that fall into place as elaboration on the theme of the creation and spread of Buddhist canons are: " Glimpses of Buddhist Canons and their Divisions" by Satkari Mukhopadhyaya, "Tibetan Tradition as Complementary to Indian Tradition" by Mrinal Kanti Gangopadhyay, "Buddhism and Indo-Tibetan Literature" by S.K. Pathak, "Buddhist Cultural Heritage in Pali and Sanskrit" by Baidyanath Labh and "Pali Literature of Pagan" by Devaprasad Guha. The chapters have been so arranged

that certain terminology, and arguments that come into later papers would have been introduced to the readers in the preceding papers. Esoteric branches of Buddhism are dealt with in "Aspects of Buddhist Tantric Texts: The Sādhana Literature" by Karunesh Shukla and "Tantras: Transcendence and Tumescence" by Lokesh Chandra. Papers dealing with specific aspects like a particular practice or text, follow next—"Suttas Expounding Vipassanā" by Angraj Chaudhary, "A Brief Analysis of the Content, Literary Style and Language of *Bhadrakalpāvadāna*" by Kakali Ghosh, "The text of the Vasundharāvratotpattyavadāna: A Sanskrit-Buddhist Narrative" by Ratna Basu and "The Implication of the Word 'Abhrānta' (non-illusory) in Dharmakīrti's Definition of Perception" by Sanjit Kumar Sadhukhan belong to this category. "Buddhism as Revealed in the Image Inscription of Early India" by Jagatpati Sarkar and "A Brief Survey of the Buddhist Literary Heritage contained in the Kurram Copper Casket Inscription" by Debarchana Sarkar, make up the rear.

It would not be out of context to conclude our introduction by quoting a few glowing remarks by another great mind of India, Swami Vivekananda:

> Let me tell you in conclusion a few words about one man who actually carried this teaching of karma-yoga into practice. That man is (the) Buddha. He is the one man who ever carried this into perfect practice. (The) Buddha had external motives to move them to unselfish action. The prophets of the world, with this single exception, may be divided into two sets, one set holding that they are incarnations of God come down on earth, and the other holding that they are only messengers from God; and both draw their impetus for work from outside, expect reward

from outside, however highly spiritual may be the language they use. But (the) Buddha is the only prophet who said, 'I do not care to know your various theories about God. What is the use of discussing all the subtle doctrines about the soul? Do good and be good. And this will take you to freedom and to whatever truth there is.' He was, in the conduct of his life, absolutely without personal motives; and what man worked more than he?

Show me in history one character who has soared so high above all. The whole human race has produced but one such character, such high philosophy, such wide sympathy. This great philosopher, preaching the highest philosophy, yet had the deepest sympathy for the lowest of animals, and never put forth any claims for himself. He is the ideal karma-yogī, acting entirely without motive, and the history of humanity shows him to have been the greatest man ever born; beyond compare the greatest combination of heart and brain that ever existed, the greatest soul-power that has ever been manifested. He is the first great reformer the world has seen. He was the first who dared to say, 'Believe not because some old manuscripts are produced, believe not because it is your national belief, because you have been made to believe it from your childhood; but reason it all out, and after you have analysed it, then, if you find that it will do good to one and all, believe it, live up to it, and help others to live up to it.' He works best who works without any motive, neither for money, nor for fame, nor for anything else; and when a man can do that, he will be a Buddha, and out of him will come the power to work in such a manner as will transform the world. This man represents the very highest ideal of karma-yoga (cf. *The Complete Works*, vol. I, 11th ed., pp. 116–18).

Keynote Address

Biswanath Banerjee

It is noteworthy that the region of Central Asia played a significant role in the development of the *Buddhavacana*. Textual evidences are there to indicate that the latest phase of Buddism known as *Kālacakrayāna* originated in this area and was carried to India in about the 10th century AD. The system found its way to Tibet via Kashmir and exercised a potent influence on the life, religion and culture of the Tibetans. This is a vastly unexplored field and an intensive study of the subject, with the help of the available Sanskrit texts and commentaries, will be of great importance. Tibetan chronicles and Tibetan commentaries with annotative supplements are expected to bring to light many forgotten chapters and missing links in the history of the development of Buddhism. Pagan Inscription of 1442 AD mentions two texts with the titles in Pali, which is suggestive of the system having been known in Upper Burma for quite sometime. Much has been said over the centuries on Indo-Chinese relations regarding trade-routes, cultural ties, religious influence, etc. and it does not need any further repetition. One fact, however, remains to be emphasized so far as our academic interest is concerned. Tibet and China are the two countries which have preserved vast treasures on Buddhist Studies. We know from historical

accounts that the Buddhist monks had to flee the country out of fear of foreign intruders and they carried with them Buddhist texts in good numbers. In the *vihāras,* translated versions of many texts were kept for study and these were also carried to different directions outside the country. Pilgrims are also reported to have taken with them many original and translated texts while leaving the respective centres. Natural calamities and adverse climatic conditions also destroyed many valuable texts. Owing to these factors many original texts have been lost to us forever, but a large number of such texts have been preserved in their Chinese and Tibetan translations. Some of these important texts, like the *Jñānaprasthāna-śāstra, Abhidharmāmṛta, Sāmmitiyaśāstra,* etc. have been recovered and retranslated into Sanskrit from Chinese and Tibetan. It will be a great task for the Society if a well-planned programme is launched to take up the job in right earnest. It is certainly an uphill task to get competent Chinese and Tibetan *pandits* with good knowledge of Sanskrit for the work, but the task has to be taken seriously. In my humble opinion, our Society is one of the very few institutions, not only in our country but in the whole world, to engage its attention in this type of academic pursuit.

Indo-Burmese (Myanmar) contacts appear to be quite old and Buddhism reached the land from eastern India directly as also from Sri Lanka and Cambodia. According to tradition, Burma received Buddhism about the fifth century AD considering its close proximity to India, with functioning land routes between India and Burma before the fifth century AD. The Indians used to go to Burma regularly both by land and sea mainly for trade and commerce. These Indian traders were sometimes

accompanied by the Brahmin priests and Buddhist monks who were perhaps responsible for introducing Indian law and religious beliefs, rituals and customs into the country. Theravāda Buddhism was mainly the religion, which had traces and influence of Mahāyāna as well as of Tantric elements. A religious group called *Aris* considered heretics by the Theravādins, practised the tantras and they were very likely to have gone over from Bengal and Orissa. Sanskrit and Pali inscriptions, images of Bodhisattvas and some other deities, rock-cut temples, etc. bear definite witness to Indian influences. The Kadamba script of South India is found to have been used in some Pali inscriptions. Indian Dharmaśāstras provided codes of ethical law to the country which, however, conformed to Buddhist ideas and not to the Brahmanic social system.

Archaeological finds with remains of a religious structure, images of the Buddha, inscribed terracottas and above all definite symbols of Buddhism like the *Dharmacakra* go to prove beyond doubt the existence of Buddhism in the Siamese country already in the first or second century AD. The Siamese belong to the Mongoloid race of Southern China. The earliest Thai state was founded in 1096 and in 1238, the Thais wrested Sukhothai from the Khmers of Angkor. Rāma Kanghaeng, son of Indrāditya, extended his dominion to the north and the east, keeping friendly relations with China. Having organized his administrative system, Rāma developed an official language with the amalgamation of Thai, Khmer and Malay dialects interspersed with Pali terms. Theravāda Buddhism was declared as the state religion and there are reports that the *Kaṭhina* festival was celebrated with much enthusiasm. Under royal

patronage, Pali language and Buddhism flourished all over the state with a firm footing and spread over to some Hindu states in the territory known as Laos. Many of these parts still possess local chronicles in Pali. The Thai king Rāma Mahādhārmikarāja was not only a great patron of Buddhism but himself became a Buddhist monk preaching Buddhist doctrine all over his kingdom. While Buddhism flourished in Siam and neighbouring regions, Brahmanism started to decline and gradually disappeared leaving its traces only in some names and public ceremonies and customs. Some ruined sanctuaries and fine sculptures indicate a strong influence of the Gupta period indicating a time when both Brahmanism and Buddhism flourished side by side. If properly studied and investigated, the area is sure to reveal some interesting accounts of Indian history and Buddhist-Brahmanical civilization and culture.

Annam or Vietnam was formerly known as Campā, a name given to the area perhaps by the Hindu colonists. A fine bronze image of the Buddha of the third century AD of the Amarāvatī school suggests the existence of Buddhism in the area. Buddhists there belonged to the Sammitīya school and probably were also the Sarvāstivāda followers. In or around the fifteenth century, the Chinese form of Buddhism and Islam replaced the other religions in the land. The Pālas of Bengal and the Cholas of the South had much influence on Java in religious matters and Bengal was perhaps responsible for the introduction of the tantra-form of Buddhism in the area.

It is interesting to note that the later phases of Buddhism became intimately connected with tantric elements to give rise to Vajrayāna and its offshoots. We have, however, no authentic account of the origin and

development of Vajrayāna. What exactly was Buddhist Tantricism, how, why and when did the original sayings of the Master became so much debased or transformed, how much was this form of Buddhism influenced by local conditions, what was the impact of foreign contacts on Buddism in general and Tantricism in particular, and above all, how a religion without any idea of God could itself deify the Buddha, are some of the important and significant queries to be resolved from the study of the texts published or unpublished. Reconstruction or restoration of the lost unpublished Sanskrit texts from Tibetan and Chinese versions is a long desideratum which the Asiatic Society can easily consider. However, this work has been taken up by the Central Institute for Higher Tibetan Studies, at Sarnath, Varanasi and quite a few lost Sanskrit texts, including Atiśa Dīpaṅkara's *Bodhipatha-pradīpa* and the commentary thereupon have been restored and published.

Studies of Jainism, Buddhism and Islam on the one hand, and Prakrit, Pali and Arabic/Persian scientifically on the other, have had a good tradition in the academic activities of the Society but unfortunately for quite some time these subjects seem to have been ignored. It is our common experience that in this part of the country, the twin religions of Jainism and Buddhism and the two languages of Prakrit and Pali have not been seriously undertaken either in the academic programmes or in the research activities of the universities and higher institutions, though the first full-fledged Post-graduate department of Pali was established in the University of Calcutta and renowned Pali scholars such as Prof. Beni Madhav Barua, Mm. Satish Chandra Vidyabhusan, and Prof. Anukul Chandra Banerjee taught in Calcutta. The

first Indian writer of the history of Pali literature and noted scholar of Buddhist studies, Dr Bimla Churn Law belonged to Calcutta.

1

Buddhist Literary Texts

MICHAEL HAHN

First of all, I would like to mention the places where the Indian Buddhist literary heritage can be found. To begin with, it may be noted that they are available in India itself. There are the manuscripts of the texts brought by B.H. Hodgson, a colonial British resident in Kathmandu. The manuscripts brought by him were donated to the Royal Asiatic Society, Calcutta; another part of these manuscripts were submitted to the University Library of Cambridge, while a smaller number of these were kept in the Bibliotheque Nationale in Paris. Many of the Buddhist texts, which were completely destroyed in India, were found to be excellently preserved in Nepal in the beginning of the nineteenth century.

The second place where Buddhist literary heritage of India is found is Central Asia. Travellers to Central Asia, especially to the areas of the Southern Silk Road, were offered fragments of very old manuscripts written in a number of different scripts and different languages, some of which were completely unknown. These were the remnants of the Buddhist literature of Central Asia, written in Sanskrit, brought there from India and copied and translated to various languages there. These include

Turkish, Khotanese, Sogdian, and till then a completely unknown language called Tokhanian. These manuscripts were brought first to England and France, and later expeditions were sent to Central Asia by Germany, Russia, Finland and also Japan.

The third place, where Indian Buddhist literary heritage can be found, is again from the Indian subcontinent—from Kashmir. In 1931, the remnants of a large number of manuscripts comprising circa 5000 folios, mainly on birch bark material, were found in a place called Gilgit. These manuscripts are now found scattered over in various institutions. In India, the collection is mainly preserved in the National Archives, New Delhi, the Jammu and Kashmir State Government Libraries and Research Department, Srinagar, and in a few other places as well; outside India, they have been preserved in Pakistan. Deriving its name from the name of the place where the collection was found, the manuscripts are called Gilgit manuscripts.

In the thirties of the last century, the Indian scholar and traveller Rahula Sankrityayana travelled to Tibet three times and got access to some collections of Tibetan manuscripts, wherein Sanskrit manuscripts were also kept. Actually, he seems to have been the first to ask himself the very simple and obvious question as to what had happened to the Sanskrit manuscripts, which were brought to Tibet for translating them into Tibetan, once the task of translation was over. It was quite clear that they were not thrown into the waste paper basket. On the contrary, they were carefully preserved and became objects of adoration. Thus, these manuscripts had well survived. Rahula photographed them as much as possible—sometimes copied them himself—and brought these back to India.

The quality of the shots taken is not always technically suited for legibility because of disturbance in the matter of light and focus adjustments. Further, the limitation of taking photographs was conditioned by extreme shortage of time and the Chinese condition that manuscripts were not permitted to be taken out of the particular rooms, where they were stored, to open spaces with more light, which could help making better photographic outputs. Many of these texts brought by Rahula Sankrityayana were subsequently edited either by himself or by various other collaborators and scholars like Prof. Samtani, Prof. Pradhan, Prof. Ananta Lal Thakur, Prof. Sanghasena Singh, Prof. Karunesh Shukla et al.

Thus, India, Nepal, Central Asia, and Tibet—these are the four main places where Indian Buddhist literary heritage is found. Beyond these, there are some other smaller collections of Buddhist texts and manuscripts preserved with care in various temples, institutes and monasteries of China and Japan.

While speaking on the Buddhist literary heritage preserved in Tibet, I would first mention about the Tibetan canonical literature called the *Kanjur* and *Tanjur*, which contain altogether 4,500 titles and texts. I believe, printed in modern technique and format of book production, these would be a bulk of at least 400,000 (four hundred thousand) pages of normal size. This is more than the bulk preserved in the Chinese Buddhist canon, which would by similar calculations amount to about 300,000 (three hundred thousand) pages.

The Tibetan canon contains a few original texts in Sanskrit language, transliterated in Tibetan script, with the Tibetan translation following the text. Among these texts where the Tibetan translation along with the

original Indian text is available, five are quite important.

(i) The first would be the text entitled *Īśvarakartṛtva-nirākṛti* attributed to Nāgārjuna. There are two printed editions of this text, one of them being from Calcutta.

(ii) The second is *Daṇḍakavṛttastotra* by Nāgārjuna; this has been edited by myself.

(iii) The third is *Jātakastava* (available only in the Derge version of the *Tanjur*) by one Kumārayaśas; this text was edited by Schakleton Bailey in 1954.

(iv) The fourth such text is Ratnākaraśānti's *Chando-ratnākara*, a text on Sanskrit metres, edited by a scholar in 1890, and by myself in 1982.

(v) The fifth is the *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā* of Kṣemendra; this is quite noteworthy that it was published in Calcutta during 1888–1930 in the *Bibliotheca Indica* series of the Asiatic Society, edited by Sarat Chandra Das et al.

It was often suspected that during the period between the years 1966 and 1977 many manuscripts were destroyed due to the so-called Cultural Revolution. The reality, however, does not speak so. Since 1980, it is revealed that most of the manuscripts of Tibet survived. Actually, Chau-en-Lei, the then Prime Minister of China is considered to be the 'protector' of these valuable documents. They were taken from Tibet to Beijing in China and duly photographed. Thereafter, the documents were again sent back to Tibet. These reveal that there is many more Buddhist texts and manuscripts lying in Tibet and China other than those which were photographed by Rahula Sankrityayana.

Considering the bulk of literature stored in Nepal and Tibet, it may be assessed how the research work used to

proceed. Only 60% of Nāgārjuna's *Ratnāvalī* is in Nepal, but the complete text is available in Tibet along with a complete commentary of Ajitamitra on it. Only 30% of Haribhaṭṭa's *Jātakamālā* is found in Tibet; ca. 70% is found in two other manuscripts. One long list of Sanskrit manuscripts has been found, which discloses 250 titles of various texts, which are not necessarily Buddhist literature, e.g. *Mahābhārata*, works of Kālidāsa, Śivasvāmin, etc. About ten years ago, a general compilation of Buddhist texts and titles, found in Tibet and kept in Beijing, uncovered these revealing state of affairs. A recent list of such manuscripts was seen by me, which records around one thousand titles. The texts include important ones like the *Saddharmasmṛtyupasthānasūtra*. These are mostly in excellent condition. These collections, I believe, surpass everything collected in Nepal, so far as Buddhist literary heritage and their collections in different countries are concerned.

In time, a justified question arises, which concerns the scholars—how to get access to these treasures of literary heritage. It is surely a matter of time, patience, and finance. Further, the treasures in Tibet is under the process of cataloguing before the completion of which, the Chinese Government system would not allow to get access to them or make them available for study by the scholars. The difference between placing restrictions for the purpose of caring for and preserving manuscripts (and their texts) as objects of protection and a situation that makes them available to researchers for serious textual studies need not be explained.

It seems that the Buddhist literary heritage with its bulk of textual treasures may keep the researchers busy with scholarly work for not only the next few decades, but even centuries too.

2

Glimpses of Buddhist Canons and Their Divisions

SATKARI MUKHOPADHYAYA

yā devī sitapaṅkajāsanavarāsīnā'kṣamālākarā
vīṇājhaṅkṛtinaṣṭasarvajaḍatā smerapraphullānanā/
yā vākyārthapadapramāṇamahitā yā sarvavidyātmikā
tāṃ vācām adhidevatāṃ bhagavatīṃ vande sadā bhāratīm//

janmavyādhijarādiduḥkhanivahaiḥ saṃtapyamānān janān
magnān bhīmabhavārṇave tvaśaraṇānuddhartukāmo jinaḥ/
mārgaṃ yo 'ṣṭavidhaṃ hyupādiśad aho kāruṇyamūrtiḥ svayaṃ
vande taṃ sugataṃ sudharmasahitaṃ dharmaṃ ca mokṣapradam//

Buddhism is one of the great religions of the world. Not only by the number of its votaries but also by its lofty philosophy of humanism, its intellectual background, its commitment to the emancipation of the whole mankind, and its contribution to art, culture and literature, Bauddha Dharma, which is much more than a religion, is really great. It is, therefore, quite in the fitness of things that we try to know how the basic tenets of this great religion continued to be transmitted during the last twenty-six centuries.

The Buddhists have created, besides a vast number of philosophical and literary works, an equally vast canonical literature. As a matter of fact, the Buddhist canon is not

one, i.e. in only one version, but it is available in quite a few versions. The multiplicity of versions of the Buddhist canon is due to the fact that since the time of the Second Council (*dvitīyā saṃgīti*), i.e. within a century and a quarter from the *Mahāparinirvāṇa* of Gautama Buddha, the Saṃgha showed fissiparous signs. Schisms took place continuously, and by the time Aśoka embraced Buddhism, the Saṃgha had been divided and subdivided into eighteen sects (*nikāya*-s). Each of the sects, at least most of the major sects compiled their own canons, i.e. version of the *Buddha-vacana*. It may be mentioned here that all sects unanimously accept that the corpus of the *Buddha-vacana* is grouped under nine limbs (*navāṅga*), i.e. heads or types—they are, *sūtra*, *geya*, *vyākaraṇa*, *gāthā*, *undāna*, *itivṛttaka*, *jātaka*, *adbhūtadharma*, and *vedalla* (*vaipulya*).

Among all the sects of Buddhism, Sthaviravāda is believed to be the most orthodox one and votaries of this sect claim to have in their possession, the authentic teachings of the Buddha. Sthaviravāda was transplanted in Sri Lanka by Mahinda Thera and Saṅghamittā Therī, son and daughter of the Emperor Aśoka, and known in its Prakrit name '*Theravāda*'. Theravāda is a vibrant religious tradition even today, having many millions of followers in countries such as Sri Lanka, Myanmar, Thailand, Kampuchea, and Laos. Theravāda tradition has preserved their canon (*Tripiṭaka*), recorded in the Pali language (Pali is a modern name, its traditional name is 'Māgadhī') in its entirety.

While discussing the Buddhist canon and its divisions, it will not be out of place if the Theravāda Canon is taken up first.

It is well-known that the Buddhist canon is traditionally called *Tripiṭaka* (Pali: Tepiṭaka or Tipiṭaka) literally

meaning 'three baskets'. The Tripiṭaka is so called because it is divided into three divisions, viz. the Vinaya, the Sūtra (Sutta) and the Abhidharma (Abhidhamma). The Vinaya comprises the monastic rules, the Sūtra—general discourses, teachings for the monks and laity, and the Abhidharma—the Buddhist scholasticism. The Vinaya is built upon an earlier nucleus, named Prātimokṣa (Pātimokkha). The following table shows the internal divisions of the Pali *Tripiṭaka:*

I. VINAYA: Monastic Rules:
   1. *Suttavibhaṅga*
      (i) *Mahāvibhaṅga,* 227 rules for monks
      (ii) *Bhikkhunīvibhaṅga,* 311 rules for nuns
   2. *Khandakas*
      (i) *Mahāvagga*
      (ii) *Cullavagga*, rules for the Saṃgha based on Buddha's life
   3. *Parivāra*: accessory, appendix, index.

II. SUTTA: General Discourses: five Nikāyas:
   1. *Dīghanikāya*
   2. *Majjhimanikāya*
   3. *Saṃyuttanikāya*
   4. *Aṅguttaranikāya*
   5. *Khuddakanikāya*: fifteen books:
      (i) *Khuddakapāṭha*
      (ii) *Dhammapada*
      (iii) *Udāna*
      (iv) *Itivuttaka*
      (v) *Suttanipāta*
      (vi) *Vimānavatthu*
      (vii) *Petavatthu*
      (viii) *Theragāthā*

(ix) *Therīgāthā*
(x) *Jātaka*
(xi) *Niddesa: Culla-* and *Mahā-*
(xii) *Paṭisambhidāmagga*
(xiii) *Buddhavaṃsa*
(xiv) *Apādāna*
(xv) *Cariyāpiṭaka*

III. ABHIDHAMMA: Higher Religion, Scholasticism: seven books:
1. *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*
2. *Vibhaṅga*
3. *Dhātukathā*
4. *Puggalapaññatti*
5. *Kathāvatthu*
6. *Yamaka*
7. *Paṭṭhāna*

The Pali Canon has been the basis of a few early prose works, which have been, some times, considered to be parts of the canon. They are: *Peṭakopadesa*, *Nettippakaraṇa* and *Milindapañha*. Besides, there is a three-tier commentarial literature, on the *Tripiṭaka*:

1. *Aṭṭhakathā*, primary commentary on the *Tripiṭaka* texts.
2. *Mūlaṭīkā*, commentaries on the *Aṭṭhakathā*.
3. *Anuṭīkā*, commentaries on the *Mūlaṭīkā*.

There are other commentaries and super-commentaries also.

It is interesting to know how this vast Theravāda Canon was compiled and handed down. The Buddha did not leave anything of his teachings in written form, nor did his direct disciples. He taught orally and his direct disciples also transmitted them orally. The Buddhist

teachings were given systematic form through holding of different councils (*Saṃgīti*s), the first one immediately after his demise, the second one, after about one hundred years. The system of oral transmission of the Buddhist teachings continued for centuries. During Aśoka's time the Third Council was held, but even then the canon was not put down in writing. Mahinda Thera and Saṅghamittā Therī preached in Sri Lanka orally. We know from the *Mahāvaṃsa*, Pali chronicle of Sri Lanka, that during the reign of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya, in the 1st century BC, a council was convened where the theras recited the oral Theravāda *Tripiṭaka* which was then reduced to writing in the Pali language. The text reads:

> piṭakattayapāliṃ ca tassā aṭṭhakatham pi ca/
> mukhapāṭhena ānesuṃ pubbe bhikkhū mahāmatī//
> hāniṃ disvāna sattānaṃ tadā bhikkhū samāgatā/
> ciraṭṭhitatthaṃ dhammassa potthakesu likhāpayuṃ//
> —*Mahāvaṃsa* of Mahānāma, ed. Wilhelm Geiger, London: PTS, 1958 (rep.), 33.100–101.

Earlier monks of great intellect brought here all three Piṭakas and commentaries thereupon, orally. But having noticed the sharp decline (of the memory) of the contemporary people, the monks assembled in a *Saṃgīti* and got the text written down.

There is not much of a problem in accepting this theory of oral transmission of the Buddhist teaching till the 1st century BC except on two points: Emperor Aśoka (third century BC) issued a guideline for monks and nuns, in his Bairāt Inscription, that they should listen to the teaching (*dhamma paliyāya*) contained in the *Vinayasamukase*, *Aliyavasāṇi*, *Anāgatabhayāni*, *Munigāthā*, *Moneyasuta*, *Upatisarpasine*, and *Lahulovāde*. These teachings could not be exactly identified in the Pali *Tripiṭaka*. Was Aśoka hinting at any written text? Had

some portions of the teachings been written down by his time? The second point deserves serious consideration: the Pali *Abhidhammapiṭaka* includes one polemical text—the *Kathāvatthu*, ascribed to Aśoka's preceptor Moggaliputta Tissa. The work was composed with a view to supporting the Sthaviravāda and refuting the heretic views of other sects. If we accept the ascription as correct, then we have to believe that this text was added to the *Tripiṭaka* after the first century BC or at least some books of the canon had been written by Aśoka's time.

Now, the question arises—what language did the Buddha speak while preaching? It cannot be Pali, since the literary language Pali (Māgadhī) was not developed and standardized during the time of the Buddha, not even when Aśoka flourished. It was developed much later, most probably in Sri Lanka. It will be most logical to presume that the Buddha spoke early Prakrit dialects for delivering his sermons. There is an interesting episode recorded in the Vinaya text *Cullavagga*. It is narrated there that two Brahmin brothers, learned in the Vedic lore, named Yamela and Utekula, entered the Saṃgha as disciples of the Buddha. They complained to him, "monks from different clans, different castes and different families are entering the Saṃgha and they are defiling the teachings of the Buddha by discussing the *Buddha-vacana* in their respective dialects (*sakāya niruttiyā buddhavacanaṃ dusenti*). We shall record the teachings in Sanskrit versified forms (*chandasā āropema*)." But the Buddha turned down the proposal. He forbade such transformation of his teachings into Sanskrit, declaring that whoever would do so, would incur a sin (*āpatti dukkaṭāti*). He allowed the monks to preach the *Buddha-vacana* in their respective dialects (*anujānāmi bhikkhave*

sakāya niruttiyā buddhavacanaṃ pariyāpuṇitum iti). The commentator Buddhaghosa, however, interprets the phrase *sakā nirutti* as Māgadhī, i.e. Pali which he considers to be Buddha's own speech: *ettha sakāyanirutti nāma sammāsambuddhena vuttappakāro māgadhiko vohāro.* We cannot accept Buddhaghosa's interpretation, since it is not only unhistorical, Pali not having been developed in the lifetime of the Buddha, but also it is contradictory to the context and self-contradictory. When Yamela Utekula says '*sakā nirutti*', it means the own dialects of the monks, but when the Buddha allows '*sakā nirutti*' for preaching *Buddha-vacana,* then it is taken to mean Buddha's own speech, which, according to Buddhaghosa, is Māgadhī.

The theory of the Buddha's antagonism towards Sanskrit is discounted by historical facts. It has already been said that by the time of Emperor Aśoka, the Buddhist Saṃgha was divided into eighteen sects or *nikāya*-s. Most of them had their own canons. These canons which date back to an age as early as the first century AD, if not earlier, were written in Sanskrit, partly heavily laden with Prakritisms and partly in almost chaste Sanskrit. Did not the learned monks belonging to those non-Theravāda sects that flourished in the mainland know that Bhagavān Buddha had forbidden the use of Sanskrit?

We are going to describe the available portions of those Buddhist canons written in the mainland of the subcontinent. It is unfortunate that greater part of those canonical works are lost in India due to the vandalism which destroyed the vihāras in Nālandā, Vikramaśīlā, Udantapurī, and many others in Kashmir and Afghanistan. Much of those works have, however, been preserved in Chinese and Tibetan translations.

One set of canonical literature of Mahāyāna Buddhism is in a better state of preservation. Collectively they are called Navadharma and wrongly called Nepalese Navadharma, most probably due to the fact that the manuscripts of most of these works have been preserved in Nepal and there has been an unbroken tradition of their study till very recent times in that country. The nine works are:

1. *Lalitavistara*
2. *Samādhirājasūtra*
3. *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*
4. *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā* (many other *Prajñāpāramitās: Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā, Śatasāhasrikā,* etc.)
5. *Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra*
6. *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*
7. *Daśabhūmikasūtra*
8. *Suvarṇaprabhāsasūtra*
9. *Guhyasamājasūtra* or *Tathāgataguhyaka*

This is of course, not all of the Mahāyāna canonical literature. There was a vast Mahāyāna canonical literature in Sanskrit. A collection of Mahāyāna sūtras, *Mahāyāna-sūtrasaṃgraha*, has been edited by P.L. Vaidya and published in two volumes from Mithilā Vidyāpīṭha, Darbhanga (1961–64), under the series *Buddhist Sanskrit Texts* (nos. 17–18). This collection comprises, *inter alia*, the following important texts:

1. *Suvikrāntavikrāmiparipṛcchā nāma Sārdhadvisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* and six other minor *Prajñāpāramitās*
2. *Śālistambasūtra*
3. *Āryapratītyasamutpādasūtra*
4. *Rāṣṭrapālaparipṛcchā*
5. *Sukhāvatīvyūha* (two texts)

6. *Avalokiteśvaraguṇa-kāraṇḍavyūha*
7. *Arthaviniścayasūtra*
8. *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa*

The *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, a Mahāyāna compendium by Śāntideva quotes extensively from more than 110 Mahāyāna sūtras, out of which more than fifty are not available in original Sanskrit. Some of the important sūtras quoted in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* are:

1. *Akṣayamatisūtra*
2. *Adhyāsayasaṃcodanasūtra*
3. *Ākāśagarbhasūtra*
4. *Kāmāpavādasūtra*
5. *Kṣitigarbhasūtra*
6. *Caturdharmakasūtra*
7. *Daśadharmakasūtra*
8. *Bhadrakalpasūtra*
9. *Mañjuśrīvikrīḍitasūtra*
10. *Mahāmeghasūtra*
11. *Ratnakūṭasūtra*
12. *Ratnameghasūtra*
13. *Vajradhvajasūtra*
14. *Saddharmasmṛtyupasthānasūtra*
15. *Sāgaramatiparipṛcchāsūtra,* etc.

In all probability, the earliest schism divided the Saṃgha into two groups, viz. the Mahāsāṃghikas and the Sthaviravādins. The Mahāsāṃghikas were probably named Lokattaravādins, or the latter was a faction of the former. It may be believed that the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokattaravādins had a full-fledged canon of which only one text of their Vinaya, *Mahāvastu-avadāna*, has survived. Its identification is clear from one line in the first chapter of the work, which reads, '*āryamahāsāṃghikānāṃ lokottara-*

vādināṃ madhyadeśikānāṃ pāṭhena vinayapiṭakasya mahāvastuye ādi.' Though the text calls itself a part of the *Vinayapiṭaka*, it contains hagiographical accounts about the Buddha's life and also a lot of *jātaka* material. A *Pratimokṣasūtra* of this sect is also available.

The next important sect of the non-Sthaviravādin Buddhists is Sarvāstivāda, and its reformed version Mūlasarvāstivāda. The Sarvāstivāda flourished in Mathura, Kashmir and Gāndhāra and then spread to China and Central Asia. This sect created a vast canonical literature, including Vinaya, Sūtra and Abhidharma. Much of this literature is lost in its original Sanskrit, though most of its texts are preserved in Chinese and Tibetan translations.

The manuscript of the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya* forms a part of the ancient manuscript collection written in Gupta-Brāhmī characters, discovered by M. Aurel Stein in the Gilgit area which is now deposited with the National Archives of India, New Delhi. Professor Nalinaksha Dutt edited this Vinaya, in his *Gilgit Manuscripts*. The same text, *Mūlasarvāstivāda -vinayavastu*, has again been edited by Prof. Sitanshusekhar Bagchi, under *Buddhist Sanskrit Texts* (no. 16) from Darbhanga. This Vinaya is encyclopaedic in character; it has dealt with diverse themes, such as ethics, religion, philosophy, mythical stories, fables, parables, so on and so forth. This sect has many Prātimokṣasūtras which are the kernel of the Vinaya texts. The Sūtra literature of the Sarvāstivāda sect was also very extensive and popular in many parts of the Buddhist world, including China and Turkistan. Many fragments of the Sarvāstivādin literature have been discovered in Turfan and are now preserved in the Staats-bibliothek of Berlin. The following Vinaya and Sūtra texts

from this collection have been published:

1. *Bhikṣuṇī-prātimokṣa*, edited by Ernst Waldschmidt;
2. *Āṭānaṭikasūtra*, edited by Helmut Hoffmann;
3. *Pravāraṇa* (of Mūlasarvāstivādins and Sarvāstivādins), edited by Jin-IL-Chung;
4. *Vinayavibhaṅga* (zum Bhikṣupratimokṣa) of Sarvāstivādins, edited by Valentira Rosen;
5. *Karmavācanā,* edited by Herbert Härtel;
6. *Anavataptagāthā and Sthaviragāthā*, edited by Heinz Bechrt;
7. *Funfundzwanzig* (Twenty-five sūtras of the Nidānasaṃyukta), edited by Chandrabhal Tripathi;
8. *Saṃgītisūtra and its Commentary*, edited by Kusum Mittal, Valentina Stache-Rosen;
9. *Udānavarga*, edited by Franz Bernhard;
10. *Prātimokṣasūtra of the Sarvāstivādins*, edited by Georg von Simson;
11. *Upāliparipṛcchāsūtra of the Sarvāstivādins*, edited by Heinz Bechert; and
12. *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* (from Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādins, edited by Ernst Waldschmidt.

The Sarvāstivādins had a full-fledged canon. This canon was parallel to the Pali canon of the Theravādins. The divisions of the *Sūtrapiṭaka* of the Sarvāstivādins are called *āgama*s, not *nikāya*s, as in Pali. Therefore, we find Sarvāstivādin texts named *Dīrghāgama*, *Madhyamāgama*, *Saṃyuktāgama. Ekottarāgama* and *Kṣudrakāgama.* These *āgama*s were known, till the middle of the twentieth century only through their Chinese translations (vide Nanjio's Catalogue). But many fragments of their Sanskrit originals have been discovered in Turfan. Many Abhidharma texts in Sanskrit, in fragments, have been discovered there. These fragmentary texts have been

catalogued with extensive citations by scholars in Germany (vide *Sanskrithandschriften aus den Turfanfunden*, compiled and edited by various scholars, such as Ernst Waldschmidt, Walter Clawiter, Lore Sander Holzman, Heinz Bechert and Klaus Wille, published in eight volumes, under the series *Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland*, Wiesbaden and Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1965).

We cannot furnish more details about these texts within the limitations of this paper, the subject being *anantapāra* and the paper having *svalpam āyuḥ*.

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3

Buddhist Cultural Heritage in Pali and Sanskrit

BAIDYANATH LABH

'Heritage' is what one receives from one's ancestors or previous generations. It is a multi-dimensional concept which covers a large canvas including various aspects of life such as social, religious, philosophical, cultural, economic, etc. However, the present paper intends to highlight Buddhism and its deep cultural impact on humanity in general and Indian psyche in particular.

Time has proved beyond doubt that Buddhism is not simply a religion or religious faith or merely a philosophy, but a psycho-ethical system and a way of life as well. Even without becoming a Buddhist in the sectarian sense, a large chunk of human population believes in and practices the Buddha's message of ethics and values. The practitioners of *Vipassanā* are not necessarily Buddhists. Buddhism has surpassed the boundaries of 'sect' or 'religious faith'. Buddhism as an academic discipline has attracted a sizeable population towards its philosophy, social message, humanitarian outlook, rational thinking, history, archaeology, art and architecture, etc. The Buddha's images and specially his head is the most popular piece of art which we commonly see in drawing

rooms. The serenity of the Buddha's gaze evokes reverence as well as fascination and leaves a soothing effect on human mind.

Pali and Sanskrit Buddhist literatures confirm the unfathomable knowledge of the Buddha combined with equally deep and widened universal compassion (*karuṇā*) which showed a pragmatic approach towards solving the problems of life. The Buddha was indeed a pragmatic philosopher not only in its modern sense of taking care of man's material comforts, but in the spiritual sense of the term which gives importance to achieving internal peace and harmony and to getting rid of ubiquitous suffering which constantly burns mankind. As long as man passes through the chain of repeated existence, he takes birth again and again and suffers from physical as well as mental suffering. How to reduce and finally stop or annihilate sufferings was the core issue before him and he found its answer with the attainment of enlightenment under the Bodhi tree. His enlightenment proved to be extremely refreshing and cooling to mankind suffering from and burned by the fire of craving, ill-will and ignorance (*rāgaggi, dosaggi, mohaggi*). He discovered the root cause of the fire and also the way to extinguish it. He found that the root cause of this fire was a threefold desire, namely, sensual desire (*kāmataṇhā*), desire for taking birth (*bhavataṇhā*) and desire for wealth (*vibhavataṇhā*). He realized that if there is complete stoppage of desire, complete cessation of suffering becomes possible.

Thus, according to the Buddha, identification of the cause of miseries and efforts for their uprooting, are both equally important to bring about cessation of suffering. This was the reason for his equal emphasis on *pariyatti*

(theory) and *paṭipatti* (action or execution). We too know the four noble truths very well, but have not got rid of suffering. The question arises as to why it is so. And the simple answer is that it is due to our lack of practice of the eightfold path. We know that sweets are tasty, but that is not enough. One cannot know the taste, unless one tastes it. It is extremely necessary to know the theory, but equally necessary it is to translate the same into action.

The word '*Saṃskṛti*' (culture) has been derived from the root *kṛ* with the prefix *sam,* which speaks of 'refinement' of thought and action. Culture is related to historical evolution and development, which undergoes changes and transformations like many other things with passage of time. However, it is essentially different from civilization (Skt. *sabhyatā*). Notwithstanding various points of similarity between culture and civilization, the former is related to inner thoughts and their refinement, whereas the latter, i.e. civilization, reflects material progress. In this sense, culture may be said as based on values, refinement of taste, outlook, etc. Further, the factor of change is inherent in culture; changes may take place both ways — negative as well as positive. There are two distinct terms in Sanskrit — *saṃskṛti* and *vikṛti.* The former stands for refinement, whereas the latter for corruption, deformation, distortion, perversion and such negative changes. Though post-modernist thinkers accept negative changes too as a form of culture, from the Indian viewpoint, it is *vikṛti* (distortion or perversion) and not *saṃskṛti* (culture or refinement).[1]

However, it is not intended here to enter into argument whether distortion, deformation and perversion can be accepted as a form of culture or not, although in the post-modern era, all the distinctive

features of culture have undergone fundamental changes—the bridle of moral values has got loosened, consumerism has overpowered the basic ethics of human life and converted man into a saleable commodity while the media has transformed the privacy of home into a market and so on.

Amidst all these changes, let us ponder over the cultural elements of Buddhism and its message as well as qualities that we have inherited from our ancestors. As mentioned by L.M. Joshi, "A well-defined weltanschauung, originally peculiar to the Sramanic tradition, moral and ascetic ideas, religious practices and institutions, art and literature, education and learning, inspired the teachings of Śākyamuni Buddha, constitute what has been called the Buddhist Culture."[2]

When we consider Buddhism as a cultural heritage, a few points need clarification. Culture, as already discussed earlier, contains three principal points. First of all, it is the act of developing the moral, intellectual and aesthetic nature of man through education and discipline. Secondly, it is that familiarity with and taste for the fine arts, humanities and broad aspects of science that enlightens and refines the state or temper of mind, which such education and discipline tend to induce. Thirdly, it is such activities and objects, which are the effect in the artist, and the cause in the *rasika*s or savourer of a work of art, of the enlightenment and refinement referred to. Thus, culture comprises the act of cultivation, or education (literary 'bringing out'), the thing cultivated, in this case a mental state, and the fruits of such cultivation — in brief, work of science and art. Buddhism is obviously connected with culture in all these senses.

Buddhism arose as a protestant sort of religious and

philosophical tradition in the backdrop of the dominant Vedic or Brahmanical system with philosophical, religious and social components. Though Buddhism differs in approach towards the existence of a Creator God (Īśvara), Eternal Self (*śāśvata ātman*), and its transmigration to a new body as propounded by the Upanisadic philosophy and best reflected in the *Śrīmadbhagavadgītā*,[3] social classification on the basis of action and not by birth and so on, it definitely accommodated numerous elements and concepts of the Vedic philosophy, obviously because Buddhism arose on the Indian soil and in the Indian society.

Since they have a common background, Buddhism and Brahmanism share many common concepts and customs. As Coomaraswamy contends, 'the more profound is one's study of Buddhism and Brahmanism, the more difficult it becomes for him to distinguish between the two.'[4] P.V. Kane asserts that the Buddha himself was merely a reformer of the 'Hindu religion as practised during his time.'[5] In the opinion of T.W. Rhys Davids, 'Gotama was born, brought up, lived and died a Hindu and Buddhism grew and flourished within the fold of orthodox belief.'[6] K.N. Upadhyay maintains that 'Buddhism was a departure from the orthodoxy of the tradition, though not from the tradition as a whole.'[7] C.A.F. Rhys Davids has also opined that the Tripiṭakas do not show any rupture with the Brāhmaṇas and what the Buddha preached was in agreement with the central tenets of Brahmanism.[8] S. Radhakrishnan has held that the Buddha did not feel that he was announcing a new religion. He was born, grew up and died a Hindu. He was resting with a new emphasis on the ancient ideals of the Indo-Aryan civilization.[9] Buddhism obviously did not start off as a

new and independent religion. It was an offshoot of the already existing ancient faith of what is now called 'Hindu', perhaps a schism or a heresy. While on the fundamentals of metaphysics and ethics, the Buddha agreed with this faith he inherited, he protested against certain practices which were in vogue at that time.[10] The Buddha utilized the Hindu legacy to correct some of its aberrations. He came to fulfil and not to destroy.[11]

Buddhism as philosophical and religious thought systems, however, did exist and influenced a large section of the Indian population. The intellectual class of the society mostly coming from the Brāhmaṇa and Kṣatriya families, welcomed and accepted Buddhism. Sāriputta, Moggallāna, Kaccāyana, Mahākassapa, Ānanda, Bimbisāra, Ajātasattu, Pasenadi, Udayana, etc. became staunch followers of Buddhism, besides people from other sections of the Indian Society.

Despite having various points of commonality between the two, Buddhism had its own Sramanic distinction and with this tool, it made inroads into the Brahmanical society. However, it is deemed better and more appropriate to view this influence as cultural fusion and assimilation than any sort of invasion.[12]

Royals contemporary to the Buddha as well as of the post-Buddha period apparently regarded Buddhism as a part of the Indian cultural heritage. Aśoka, though personally a Buddhist, extended help and support to the Brāhmaṇas as well as the Śramaṇas. Similarly, Gupta rulers who were generally Paramabhāgavatas or Vaisnavites, patronized Buddhism as well. Narasiṃhagupta II was officially a Paramabhāgavata though according to Hiuen Tsang, he followed the path of the Buddha. Similarly Harṣa and Bhāskaravarman (Kāmarūpa) were

Saivites, but showed every respect to the Buddha. The Maitraka rulers were also generally Saivites, but gave lavish grants to the Buddhists. The Bhaumakara kings of Orissa and Karkoṭakas of Kashmir also followed Brahmanism, but patronized Buddhism as well. The common mass of ancient India worshipped Brahmanical and Buddhist deities simultaneously. Thus, despite the attempts of some modern Buddhist scholars to the contrary, it would seem that our ancestors looked upon Buddhism as part of the general indigenous cultural complex and philosophical base. Buddhism was no doubt an offshoot of the Sramanic tradition, which was certainly non-Vedic, but it was one of the two main strands of our religious tradition—of the various facts which collectively produced the complex fabric of the Indian culture.

Though the Upaniṣads, regarded as the culmination of the Vedic thought, speak of Brahman, Buddhism apparently denies the same (at least in the Theravāda tradition and Pali literature), but there seems to be an undeclared agreement between the two in criticizing the Vedic priest-craft, sacrificial slaughter of animals, etc. The Upaniṣads and Buddhism agree in recognizing the superiority of inner awakening over external rituals and textual learning and emphasizing the law of *karman* or the law of cause and effect and moral retribution or *dhyāna* and *yoga.*

Some modern scholars suggest that the Upanisadic concept of Ultimate Reality also called Brahman, *Ātman* or *Paramātman* especially in its absolute aspect, is similar to the Buddhist conception of the Ultimate Truth (*paramārtha satya*), called *nirvāṇa* and *asaṃskṛta.* The *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* speaks of the Reality (*bhūta*) as an 'indifinite and limitless mass of consciousness.' This

statement reminds us of the one found in the *Dīghanikāya* which describes consciousness as 'invisible, indefinite and shining everywhere.'[13] The notion of liberated saints (*yatis*) free from impurities (*kṣīṇadoṣa*) and passions (*vītarāga*) found in the Upaniṣads strongly reminds us of the Buddhist notion of Arhat and Bodhisattva who are regularly described as free from cankers (*khīṇāsava*). Development of the notion of the three-body doctrine (*trikāyavāda*) in Mahāyāna, the Buddha's declaration of having created the whole universe etc. as described in the *Kāraṇḍavyūha*,[14] speak of a common cultural and philosophical background for Brahmanism and Buddhism, despite the fact that the two propagate different philosophical ideas.[15]

Modern Hindu culture has great many elements of Buddhism. Hindus consider the Buddha to be a maker and reformer of Hinduism and worship him as an incarnation of Lord Viṣṇu in Kaliyuga. This part of Kaliyuga is rather considered to be the Buddha's era (*. . . dvitīyaparārdhe śrīśvetavārāhakalpe vaivasvata-manvantare' ṣṭāviṃśatitame kaliyuge kaliprathamacaraṇe bauddhāvatāre . . .*).[16] Hinduism has accepted almost all the great and noble elements of Buddhism. Although a section of Indian Buddhists denounces and often uses abusive language against Hinduism, its social evils and caste discrimination, it has deliberately overlooked the original Pali texts wherein the pantheon of Brahmanism has been accorded high respect. Amongst old Vedic gods, Maghavā (Indra) has been remembered respectfully by the Buddha—'*appamādena maghavā devānaṃ seṭṭhataṃ gato*'[17] '*. . . indaṃ' va naṃ devatā pūjayeyya.*'[18] Brahmā is regarded as the lord of this world, 'Sahampati Brahmā.'[19] Yakṣas, Gandharvas, Kinnaras and Nāgas, Hindu demi-

gods, have been described in many places in Pali literature. There is an important section on deities—*Devatāsaṃyutta* in the *Saṃyuttanikāya*—wherein the Buddha is seen preaching them. In the *Milindapañha*, hundreds of crores of Arhats go to Indra and request him to approach Devaputra Mahāsena and make him agree to take rebirth as Nāgasena.[20] Avalokiteśvara is called Maheśvara (an epithet of Śiva) and Mañjuśrī is often called Kumārabhūta (Kumāra Kārttikeya) in Buddhism. The Tantric pantheon of both the religions is almost identical. Tārā, Kālī, Cāmuṇḍā, Sarasvatī, Vārāhī, Mahākāla, Gaṇeśa, etc. are worshipped by both.[21]

Prior to Aśoka, Buddhism encountered the mighty Brahmanism and various other philosophical traditions. Despite that, it successfully attracted a large number of people from various sections of the Indian society. This trend continued during the period of Aśoka and even after, and it could co-exist with them. However, the point that I wish to highlight here is that it was through the efforts of Aśoka only that Buddhist missionaries were sent to various far flung areas and even abroad for propagation of Buddhist faith and culture. It is, to a large extent, due to these missionary activities that Buddhism became a prominent religion of a large part of mankind.

Although personally a Buddhist, Aśoka adopted a very liberal and broad attitude realizing the religious and cultural fabric of Indian life. He wanted the people to cultivate moral values such as observance of truth, restraint from committing wrong, showing kindness, charity, purity, gentleness, respect and obedience to elders and teachers, freedom to friends, kinsmen, acquainted ones and even to servants and slaves as prescribed by the Buddha in the Pali suttas (such as

Sigālovādasutta of *Dīghanikāya*, *Parābhavasutta* of *Suttanipāta*, etc.). He enjoined upon the people to control evil thoughts and passions, such as anger, ferocity, conceit, envy and misguided self-will. He advocated tolerance for all religious sects and denominations, and respect for all pious men, such as Śramaṇas, Brāhmaṇas, Ājīvikas and Jainas. He dedicated caves to Buddhists and Ājivikas. He wished that all religious faiths and sects should desist from self-praise and blaming others. He also drew up a list of different living beings, which were to be exempted from slaughter. He felt that the same consideration should be shown to female dogs and pigs that were bearing or suckling young ones. He laid down the rule that animals need not feed on other animals. He condemned contraction of animals and their branding on Buddhist holy days of Upoṣatha. He also set free prisoners from his prisons from time to time. He wanted all people to come closer to the gods in virtue and thus minimize differences between gods and men. Thus, he tried to inculcate true human values and culture among people of various religious faiths and develop perfect cultural harmony.

The Vaṃsa literature and Asokan edicts inform that religious missions were sent at his initiative to the land of the Yavanas (Ionian Greeks). Gandhāra, Kashmir and the Himalayan regions in the north; Aparāntaka, the western part of India; Vanavāsī and Mysore in the south and further south to the countries as far as Sri Lanka and Suvarṇabhumi (the Land of Gold, Malay and Sumātrā). These records dwell at length, particularly on the mission to Sri Lanka, where Aśoka's son Mahinda and daughter Saṃghamittā were sent to propagate the Buddha's message. Thus, his efforts made it possible to

spread and popularize the teachings of the Buddha outside India. It is he who paved the way for the Buddhist missionaries, occasionally followed by kings like Kaniṣka,to take the Buddhist faith and culture to Central Asia, China, Japan and Tibet in the north and to Myanmar, Thailand, Cambodia and other countries in the East and South-east. The reign of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya (29–17 BC) is an important landmark in the history of Buddhism in general and that of Sri Lanka in particular. The whole Pali Tipiṭaka, carrying on an oral tradition, was put down in writing for the first time in 29 BC or so during his reign, which still survives as the most authentic and sacred canon of the Buddhist faith. The Buddhist world owes a great debt to Sri Lanka. The Pali Tipiṭaka and the *Aṭṭhakathās* have been preserved in their entirety in this island and Sinhalese Buddhism has left a deep imprint upon Myanmar, Cambodia, Thailand, Laos, etc. where Theravāda is a living faith even today. Sri Lanka is not simply a passive recipient of the Faith; rather it has been contributing significantly towards dissemination of the same in and outside the island. Now, without going into further details of the introduction and development of Buddhism in different countries, it would be safer to say that today the world has developed into a complex and multi-cultural society. Wherever Buddhism went, it drew the attention of considerable sections of the mass because of its liberal, rational and universal appeal; and thereby encouraged human potential and self-confidence. It neither believed in superstition or blind conviction, not did it advocate forced conversion. The Buddha was perhaps the first historical personality, who suggested his audience to listen to him, but to follow him only if and when convinced. It generated a sense of

analysis and examination in the human mind and left a positive psycho-ethical impact on it.

With the origin of Mahāyāna, the philanthropic and altruistic commitment of the Bodhisattva expanded and liberalized the impact of Buddhism. Kaniṣka played a vital role in the spread of some sort of liberal form of Buddhism in Central Asia and China. A new form of Buddhism—Mahāyāna of far reaching consequence—also came to be evolved at the same time.

Some of the potential and prominent reasons behind the success of Buddhism may be cited here in brief as a result of which we have got the Buddhist cultural heritage. First, the Buddha preferred the language of the common mass in the place of Sanskrit (language of the élite), which was welcome and well-accepted by the common people. Secondly, having a rational and liberal outlook, it poses confidence in human dignity and therby encourages one's potential. Instead of searching for an unseen or invisible Almighty Creator and Saviour God, the Buddha preaches the creation of self-confidence and becoming one's own torch-bearer in the light of the noble Dhamma, '*attadīpā viharatha, attasaraṇā anaññasaraṇā, dhammadīpā dhammasaraṇā anaññasaraṇā.*'[22] Accordingly, the Buddha acts simply as a guide, and a person has to perform one's own good or bad actions oneself. If one acts according to the Buddha's teachings, one gets freed from the snare and clutch of Māra:

tumhehi kiccaṃ ātappaṃ, akkhātāro tathāgatā/
paṭipannā pamokkhanti, jhāyino mārabandhanā//[23]

The Lord holds that the individual is responsible for one's good or bad actions and none else, and therefore he advises one to abstain from committing immoral

actions, if one aspires to attain the Supreme Bliss, i.e. *Nibbāna:*

attā hi attano nātho, ko hi nātho paro siyā/
attanā'va sudantena, nāthaṃ labhati dullabhaṃ//[24]

Possessing qualities like faith, confidence and dignity, appealed to the people deeply and convincingly and drew a massive response from them. This element further helped Buddhism to survive as well as to flourish, even in different social, religious and cultural conditions.

Secondly, Buddhism advocates for the middle path, which in other words, stands for tolerance, adjustability, peaceful co-existence, non-violence, flexibility and friendliness without limitation. The essential characteristics of Buddhism proved to be a core quality and made it acceptable among various people and ethnic groups. Buddhism surpassed the limit and identity of simply a religious faith and on the whole became a cultural heritage, a legacy and a way of life.

Thirdly, because of its tolerant, flexible and socially assimilative attitude, Buddhism did not find much difficulty in adjustment with other religious faiths in India as well as outside, in the Buddhist atmosphere as well as outside its realm.

Fourthly, the Buddha's message is an invitation to all human being, to join the fold of universal brotherhood, to work in strength and harmony for the well-being and happiness of mankind (*bahujanahitāya bahujanasukhāya*). Buddhism encourages the sense of mutual understanding and co-operation among various religious denominations. From the Buddhist point of view, religious labels are not the most important aspect of people to be considered as religious.

Thus, Buddhism and Buddhist culture preserved in Pali, Sanskrit and several other languages and coming down to us through the ages as a great cultural heritage, surpasses all barriers of caste, creed and religious reservations and gives a pragmatic alternative of cultural assimilation, adjustability and fusion. It works indeed as a bridge among various religious faiths of the world. It is evident from the wider acceptability and ever growing popularity of Buddhism as a religion, as a way of life and as a fascinating academic discipline all over the world.

Notes

1. B. Labh., 'Buddhism—A Messenger of Cultural Adjustability in the Present World Scenario', presented in the 6th International Conference *Humanistic Buddhism and Culture*, University of the West Rosemead, California, USA (Jan. 10–14, 2005) and later published in the *His Lai Journal*, 2005.
2. L.M. Joshi, *Studies in the Buddhistic Culture of India*, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1987, p. 328.
3. *vāsāṃsi jīrṇāni yathā vihāya navāni gṛhṇāti naro 'parāṇi/*
   Tathā śarīrāṇi vihāya jīrṇānyanyāni saṃyāti navāni dehī//
   —Śrīmadbhagavadgītā, 2.22.
4. A.K. Coomaraswamy, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, Philosophical Library, New York, p. 45.
5. P.V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Poona, 1930–32.
6. T.W. Rhys Davids, *Buddhism: Its History and Literature*, London, 1926, pp. 83–85.
7. K.N. Upadhyay, *Early Buddhism and Bhagavadgītā*, Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, 1983. p. 105.
8. C.A.F. Rhys Davids, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, X, Calcutta, pp. 276–84.
9. S. Radhakrishnan, Foreword in '*2500 Years of Buddism*', P.V. Bapat (ed). Publication Division, Govt. of India, Delhi, 1971, p. ix.
10. Ibid., p.xiii.
11. Ibid., p.xiii.

12. B. Labh, "Buddhism: A Messenger of Cultural Adjustability in the Present World Scenario", op. cit.
13. *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, II, 4.12; *Dīghanikāya* (Nalanda edn.), vol. I, p. 190.
14. Bhagavānāha—"cakṣuṣoścandrādityāvutpannau, lalāṭānmaheśvaraḥ, skandhebhyo brahmādayaḥ, hṛdayānnārāyaṇaḥ, draṃṣṭrābhyām sarasvatī, mukhato vāyavo jātāḥ, dharaṇī pādābhyāṃ, varuṇaścodrāt. yadaite devā jātā, āryāvalokiteśvaro bodhisattvo mahāsattvo maheśvaram devaputrametadavocat—bhaviṣyasi tvaṃ maheśvaraḥ kaliyuge pratipanne. kaṣṭattvadhātusamutpanna ādideva ākhyāyase sraṣṭāraṃ kartāram, te sarvasattvā bodhimārgeṇa viprahīṇā bhaviṣyanti, ya īdṛśapṛthagjaneṣu sattveṣu sāṅkurvanti."—*Kāraṇḍavyūhaḥ, Mahāyānasūtrasaṅgrahaḥ*, Mithila Research Institute, Darbhanga, 1961, vol. I, p. 265.
15. *2500 Years of Buddhism*, p. 390.
16. *Nitya-pūjā-prakāśa*, Geeta Press, Gorakhpur, p. 19.
17. *Dhammapada*, 10.2 (verse 10/chapter 2).
18. *Suttanipāta,* Bhikshu Dharmarakshita (ed. & tr.), Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1977, p. 78.
19. *Mahāvaggapāli* (Brahmayācanakathā).
20. *Milindapañhapāli* (Bāhirakathā), Igatpuri ed.
21. Cf. S.R. Goyal, *A History of Indian Buddhism*, Kusumanjali Prakashan, Meerut, 1987, p. 273.
22. *Dīghanikāyapāli* (Igatpuri edn.), 1993, vol. 2, p. 78.
23. *Dhammapada*, 20.4.
24. Ibid., 12.4.

4

Tibetan Tradition as Complementary to Indian Tradition

Mrinal Kanti Gangopadhyay

According to traditional Tibetan accounts,[1] the Holy Doctrine or Buddhism was first introduced into Tibet in the reign of King Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po who ascended the throne in 629 AD. But in the beginning of the Doctrine, though religious books had become available in the country, there was no one to read, write or explain their meanings. Thus from the point of view of the propagation of the Doctrine, the introduction of literacy became a necessity. Here also all credit went to the same king. It took place during his reign and under his direct initiative. He sent one of his ministers, Thon-mi Sambhoṭa, the son of Anu, along with some companions, to India. The minister studied in Magadha the arts of both the Brahmins and the Buddhists under Devavitsiṃha and others. After a long period of study he came back to his own country in about 647 AD and the two most important things he did were to fashion a script for the Tibetans and to present them with a grammar.[2]

This work of Thon-mi Sambhoṭa proved to be a great impetus for the Tibetans and ushered in an era of great literary activity, which, to begin with, mainly consisted in

the translation of Indian works. With the newly acquired script and grammar, the Tibetans set themselves in right earnest to the holy task of translating Buddhist scriptures. The names of certain scholars who were brought to Tibet from India, Nepal and China to help the first group of Tibtan translators have also been mentioned. As Jāschke remarks: "His (Thon-mi Sambhoṭa's) invention of the Tibetan alphabet gave a twofold impulse: for several centuries the wisdom of India and the ingenuity of Tibet laboured in unison and with the greatest industry and enthusiasm at the work of translation. They had to grapple with the infinite wealth and refinement of Sanskrit, they had to save the independence of their own tongue, while they strove to subject it to the rule of scientific principles, and it is most remarkable, how they managed to produce translations at once literal and faithful to the spirit of the original."[3]

Though this translation work continued for centuries, almost till the end of the seventeenth century AD, it was actually in the reign of King Ral-pa-can, in the first half of the ninth century AD, that it reached its peak.[4]

The translations of Sanskrit works were undertaken in real earnest and on a very large scale. According to one estimate, more than half the books comprising the present *Tibetan Tripiṭaka* were translated about this time.[5] Newer and newer texts were taken up for translation and moreover, earlier translations that were found unsatisfactory were freely revised and re-edited. The king issued an order to the effect that uniformity, both in the use of technical terms and in modes of expression, was to be maintained; in no case were the rules of translation to be violated; and the titles were to be registered and written down so as to form an index. Most probably the

famous Sanskrit-Tibetan dictionary, the *Mahāvyutpatti*—in which the synonyms to be used in the translation of Buddhist works were first laid down—was prepared in the reign of Ral-pa-can.[6]

Each translation was generally a joint production of at least two scholars, one Indian, called *paṇḍita* and the other aTibetan, called *lo-tsa-ba* (translator, interpreter). In some cases, there was a third scholar, described as the 'corrector'. It appears that the translation was finalized after a good deal of discussion. There are also instances of the same text being translated more than once by different scholars.[7] According to a supplement attached to the Derge edition, the number of Indian scholars engaged in the translation work was 107 and that of scholars from Tibet 222.[8] However, since there are a number of works in which the names of the translators are not mentioned, it may be surmised that the actual number was greater. As it is well-known, all these translations are preserved even today in the two grand collections called the *Kanjur* and the *Tanjur*. They contain about 4,566 works, the former 1,108 and the latter 3,458, though some of them are only small tracts of a few lines.[9] These collections are preserved in xylographs, printed from wooden blocks on hand-made paper in red or black ink. These were prepared and preserved in different places in Tibet and we have thus a number of versions or editions, generally known by the name of the place of origin, e.g. the Derge edition, the Narthang edition, etc. The texts in the different editions often vary and the variations are not confined to single words or expressions only; even a long passage found in one edition may be conspicuous by its absence in another.[10]

As the primary aim of this literary activity was the propagation of the Doctrine, naturally, in the selection of works for translation, preference was given to all sorts of religious texts. However, as it is actually found, many texts on Buddhist logic and philosophy and also, many works of a secular character (both Buddhist and non-Buddhist) on a variety of subjects were translated with usual care. Thus, for example, the list of works translated includes: the *Meghadūta* of Kālidāsa, the *Kāvyādarśa* of Daṇḍin, the *Chandoratnākara* of Ratnākaraśānti, the *āryakośa* of Ravigupta, the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* of Vāgbhaṭa (with its commentary by Candranandana), the *Aśvāyurvedasaṃhitā* of Śālihotra, the *Citralakṣaṇa* of Nagnajit, the *Amarakośa* and its commentary called *Kāmadhenu*, the *Kalāpasūtra* and its *Vṛtti* by Durgasiṃha, the *Cāndravyākaraṇa* of Candragomin, the *Sārasvata-vyākaraṇa* of Anubhūtisvarūpācārya, etc.[11]

The most important point about the nature of these translations is that they are not mere translations, just expressing the sense in one language through another language. They are rather a word-for-word representation in Tibetan of a text in Sanskrit. In their anxiety to make a translation as close as possible to the original, the Tibetans adopted a special method which may well be called not 'translaton', but 'substitution'. An example may make the point clear. The Sanskrit words *svar*, *svarga*, *nāka*, *div*, *dyaus* and *tridiva* are synonymous and the English equivalent for all of them is 'heaven'. Simply from the English rendering 'heaven' it is not possible to be sure about the exact Sanskrit word in the original text, for it may be any one of the six. But the Tibetans made it a rule to use six different Tibetan words for the six Sanskrit words. Thus, *svar* is *mtho.ris*, *svarga* is *gnas.bzaṅ*,

nāka is *bde.ldaṅ*, *div* is *rol.gnas*, *dyaus* is *mkha*' and *tridiva* is *gsum.rtsen*. So it is possible to ascertain the exact Sanskrit word even from the Tibetan translation. Sometimes the substitution is almost mechanical, without any reference to the meaning. For example, the Sanskrit word *nakula* means a mongoose. The Tibetan for the same is *rigs.med*, *rigs* corresponding to *kula* and *med* to *na*. But the literal meaning of the Tibetan word is actually 'one without lineage or breed'. Moreover, there were definite rules for translation and for technical terms like *sūtra*, *dhātu*, *kāraka*, *pramāṇa*, *pratyakṣa,* etc., there were fixed Tibetan words so that uniformity could be maintained and confusion avoided. Thus with a little bit of ingenuity and careful consideration of the Tibetan version, it becomes possible to reconstruct almost verbatim the Sanskrit one.[12]

It becomes obvious, therefore, that for a comprehensive study of the development of Buddhist logic and philosophy, the Tibetan translations are indispensable and invaluable. Buddhist literature on the subject is quite extensive, for the active period of the Buddhist authors spanned over a thousand years roughly starting from Nāgārjuna (first century AD) and ending with Mokṣākaragupta (1100 AD) and they naturally produced a considerable number of valuable works. It is true that the originals of a number of texts on Buddhist logic and philosophy are now available; still there is no doubt that a considerable part of the literature remains preserved in the Tibetan only. For example, we still do not have the complete Sanskrit text of Diṅnāga's *Pramāṇasamuccaya* and its commentary by Jinendrabuddhi, the *Viśālāmalavatī*.[13] The *Pramāṇaviniścaya* of Dharmakīrti, a voluminous work written in prose and

verse and perhaps no less important than the *Pramāṇavārttika*, widely read and quoted by philosophers of the rival schools like Vācaspati, Bhāsarvajña, Prabhacandra, Mādhavācārya, Śrīdharācārya, etc., is not available in the original even now. And this is true of many other basic texts and commentaries by authors like Nāgārjuna, Āryadeva, Asaṅga, Maitreya, Vasubandhu, Sthiramati, Candrakīrti, Vinītadeva, Śubhagupta, Dharmottara and others.

Even when the Sanskrit original is available, the importance of these Tibetan translations cannot be overlooked, because they can render much help in settling the correct reading of the text even if a large number of manuscripts may fail to do so. Let us take the case of the *Pramāṇavārttika*. According to the Tibetan sources, the *Pramāṇavarttikakārikā* of Dharmakīrti was first translated by Subhūtiśrīśānti of India and dGe-ba'i-blo-gros. There was a later translation by Bhavyarāja of Kashmir and bLo-ldan-ses-rab of rṄog. Again, corrections were executed at Cakradhara in Vijayakṣetra (Kashmir) at the request of *rājā* Narapati. Further, there was a new translation by Śākyaśrībhadra and others and Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan-dpal-bzaṅ-po (Saskya *paṇḍita*: AD 1181–1250).[14] Besides, we have the following literature on this particular work most of which are preserved only in Tibetan: (a) *Pramāṇavārttikavṛtti* of Devendrabuddhi and its commentary, *Pramāṇavārttikaṭīkā* by his disciple Śākyabuddhi; (b) *Pramāṇavārttikālaṃkāra* of Prajñākaragupta and its commentaries, one by Jina or Jaya and another by Jāmari and (c) commentaries (partial) on the second and the third *parivarta*s of *Pramāṇavārttikakārikā*, by Ravigupta, the disciple of Prajñākaragupta.[15]

We have already noted that there were different editions of the *Tanjur* and the *Kanjur* executed at different times and at different places, and even the readings of the same text may vary from edition to edition. Thus, for example, both Vācaspati[16] and Bhāsarvajña[17] have apparently quoted a passage from Dharmakīrti's *Pramāṇaviniścaya* to explain the Buddhist view that there are only two kinds of objects of knowledge (*artha* or *prameya*). If we read the passages in the two works side by side, we can easily see that in spite of differences in certain expressions and sentence-construction they have quoted from the same text. The difference may be attributed to the fact that they had before them different editions of the text. The different versions of the Tibetan translation may serve as the different manuscripts of a work and naturally they should be taken into consideration while preparing an authentic version of the text.

For a better understanding of the non-Buddhist philosophical tradition, the utilisation of the Tibetan sources is a necessity. As it is well-known, the Vaiśeṣika[18] and the Nyāya[19] systems in particular, have developed to a great extent through a confrontation or clash of ideas with the Buddhists which went on for centuries. I shall give just one example. Both the Vaiśeṣika and the Nyāya admit that for the production of perceptual cognition (*pratyakṣa*) both the self-mind contact and the sense-object contact are essential. But from the evidence of the *Nyāyasūtra,* it is clear that there was a controversy as to their relative importance, some arguing for the priority of the former and some for that of the latter.[20] But how or why does this problem originate? Who are the advocates of the respective positions and what are their

arguments? For a clear answer to all this, we have to look into the first chapter of the *Pramāṇasamuccaya* and its commentary *Viśālāmalavatī*, where the whole matter is discussed with Vaiśeṣika theory of perception.[21]

Finally, it appears that there are some other areas also in which an examination of the Tibetan sources may prove profitable. Let us take, for example, the case of Sanskrit grammar. In the *Tanjur* we have the translations of the *Pāṇinivyākaraṇasūtra* of Pāṇini,[22] the *Prakriyākaumudī* of Rāmacandra,[23] the *Pāṇinidhātusūtra* of Bhīmasena, the *Kalāpasūtra* (attributed to Sarvavarman or Saptavarman or Iśvaravarman),[24] the *Kalāpasūtravṛtti* of Durgasiṃha,the *Kalāpalaghuvṛttau Śiṣyahitā* of Kīrtibodha or Yaśobhūti, the *Cāndravyākaraṇasūtra* of Candragomin, the *Sārasvatavyākaraṇasūtra* of Anubhūtisvarūpācārya (text in Sanskrit with translation in Tibetan and auto-commentary in Tibetan translation) etc.[25] There is also a translation of the *Mahābhāṣya*, but Patañjali is called Nāgarāja Vāsukiputra Śeṣa.[26] According to a legend recorded by Tārānātha, it appears that the *Mahābhāṣya* was composed partially by Vararuci.[27] In Tārānātha's History of Buddhism we have an account of Kālidāsa also. Apart from the Tibetan translation of the *Meghadūta*, the *Tanjur* contains a work called the *Maṅgalāṣṭaka*,[28] attributed to Kavimahā Kālidāsa of India and two *stuti*s to Sarasvatī,[29] attributed to Kālidāsa or Mahāpaṇḍita Kālidāsa, born in South India.

Let us hope that more and more enthusiastic scholars would come forward and delve deep into this treasure-house of the Tibetan Tripiṭaka with a view to retrieving a substantial part of our invaluable heritage and feel the thrill and joy of an explorer entering into a new continent with all its grandeur.

Notes

1. For example, *The Blue Annals*, Deb-ther-snon-po of Gos lo-tsa-ba, tr. G.N. Roerich, 2 vols., vol. I, p. 39; Bu-ston, *A History of Buddhism*, tr. E. Obermiller, 2 Parts, Part II, p. 185; Sum-pa, *dpag-bsam-ljoṅ-bzaṅ*, p. 167.
2. Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya, *Bhoṭaprakāśa*, Calcutta, 1939, intro, p. xx.
3. H.A. Jaschke, *A Tibetan-English Dictionary*, London, 1958, intro, p. iv.
4. Alaka Chattopadhyaya, *Atīśa and Tibet*, Calcutta, 1967. pp. 260 ff.
5. Muni Sri Jambuvijaya (ed.), *Vaiśeṣikasūtra of Kaṇāda*, Baroda 1982, *Saptamaṃ Pariśiṣṭam*, p. 160.
6. However, see Alaka Chattopadhyaya, *op. cit.*, pp. 261f.
7. E.g. the *Pramāṇavārttika* of Dharmakīrti, infra.
8. Muni Sri Jambuvijaya, *op.cit.,* p. 161.
9. For details, see Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya, *op. cit.*, intro., pp. xxvii f.
10. E.g. the *Pramāṇaviniścaya* of Dharmakīrti, infra.
11. Vidhusekhara Bhattacharya, *op. cit.*, intro., p. xxiv.
12. See also, my article, Reconstruction of Sanskrit Texts from Classical Tibetan in Prof. V.N. Jha (ed.), *Problems of Editing Ancient Texts*, Delhi, 1993.
13. Some selected portions of the *Pramāṇasamuccaya* and the *Viśālāmalatī* have been reconstructed by Muni Jambuvijaya. See *Dvādaśāraṃ Nayacakram*, part 1, Bombay 1966, *Bhoṭapariśiṣṭam* p. 97, and *Vaiśeṣikasūtra of Kaṇāda*, Baroda 1982, *Saptamam Pariśiṣṭam*, p. 169.
14. Alaka Chattopadhyaya (ed.), *Catalogue of Kanjur & Tanjur*, Calcutta, 1972. p. 247.
15. Ibid., p. 246.
16. *Nyāyadarśana of Gautama*, with Vātsyāyana's *Bhāṣya* etc., (ed.) Anantalal Thakur, Muzaffarpur, 1967, p. 304.
17. *Nyāyasāra*, p. 381, (ed.) Svami Yogindrananda, Varanasi, 1968.
18. *Vaiśeṣikasūtra*, 5. 2. 15.
19. *Nyāyasūtra*, 1. 1. 4.
20. *Nyāyasūtra*, 2. 1. 21ff.
21. See *Vaiśeṣikasūtra* of Kaṇāda, *Saptamaṃ Pariśiṣṭam*, (ed.) Muni Jambuvijaya, pp. 169 and 174.

22. mDo cxxxv 1. According to the colophon, the work was revealed to the author by Ārya Lokeśvara. The translators were Balabhadra of Kurukṣetra in Western India and Lo Ṅag-bdam-phun-tshogs-lhun-grub of Se-dkar. Translation was done in the Bras-spuṅs monastery in Central Tibet. The order of the *sūtra*s is totally different from that in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. It can be said to agree, more or less (though not exactly), with the order as in Rāmacandra's *Prakriyākaumudī*.
23. mDo cxxxv 2 and cxxxvi 1. (Translators same as in note 22 above). The work is said to be inspired by eight grammatical works. (*aṣṭa-mahā-śabda-sūtra*), namely, *Indravyākaraṇa* of Devendra, *Cāndravyākaraṇa* of Candragomin, *Piśalivyākaraṇa* of Āpiśali, *Śākaṭāyanavyākaraṇa* of Śākaṭāyana, *Pāṇinivyākaraṇa*, *Samantabhadravyākaraṇa* of Samantabhadra, *Patañjalivyākaraṇa* and *Manujendravyākarṇa*.
24. mDo cxvi 9. The order of the *sūtra*s agrees with the one found in the original Sanskrit.
25. See *Catalogue of Kanjur & Tanjur*, (ed.) Alaka Chattopadhyay, p. 495.
26. Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya (ed.), *Tārānātha's History of Buddhism in India*, Simla, 1970. p. 112 n. In Indian tradition also, the *Mahābhāṣya* is known as *Phaṇibhāṣya*.
27. Ibid., pp. 112-13.
28. rGyud, lxxxvi 93.
29. rGyud, lxxi 399 and lxxxii 57.

5

Buddhism and Indo-Tibetan Literature

A Survey of Xylographs and Manuscripts in India

S.K. PATHAK

Indo-Tibetan

A brief elucidation of the term 'Indo-Tibetan' may be relevant in this context. Fr. Hermann has used the term in an ethnic reference to the Himalayans of Tibeto-Mongoloid origin. Probodh Chandra Bagchi, however, used Indo-Tibetan in the historical context of India and Tibet. The two neighbouring countries have extensive cultural affinity since the seventh century AD. The Buddhists from India crossed the snowy mountain passes of the Himalayas and those from Tibet came to Āryadeśa (*'phags yul*), the land of the Buddha for pilgrimage and education.

Indo-Tibetan literature is of two types—(i) Indian literature in Tibet in the Tibetan language, and (ii) Tibetan literature in India in Indian languages. Indo-Tibetan literature has contributed greatly to the Buddhist literary heritage of India and that continues till date. A large number of xylographs and manuscripts are available

in many repositories in India. A survey of this literary material in manuscripts and in xylographs will give an idea of the Indo-Tibetan cultural legacy existing through the centuries.

Literary material in xylographs and manuscripts

Indo-Tibetan Literature as preserved may be classified in four categories.

1. Xylographs of the *Kanjur* and *Tanjur* (*Ka-Tan*) have been brought from the Trans-Himalayan regions like Snar thang, Sde dge, Cone, Lithang, Phug brag, and Beijing besides other places. Taishun Mibu prepared a comparative list of the *Kanjur* in the three editions of Nathang, Derge and Peking along with that of Cone (*Memoirs of the Taisho University*, 1957). Some manuscripts of the *Ka-Tan* are available in monasteries like Stok and Tabo in India.
2. Xylographs of non-canonical texts based on the *Ka-Tan* ritual manuals are available in Indian repositaries like SRIT, Gangtok, Calcutta University, The Asiatic Society, Kolkata and National Library, Kolkata.
3. Manuscripts of thematic Buddhist exegetical texts by Tibetan authors, philosophers, literati and poets are available in the Indian Himalayas and in Tibetan Buddhist monasteries.
4. Manuscripts of stotras, liturgical and didactic works by eminent Buddhist teachers, and spontaneous outbursts of bliss in songs derived from introspection and meditation are available with the laity and lamas alike.

Xylographs and Manuscripts of Ka-Tan

They are available in different editions evolving through three successive stages. The establishment of *Sgra bsgyur grva* inside the Bsam yas monastery in the eighth century AD was a unique academic mission. After the Bsam-yas debate, Śāntarakṣita, a notable *ācārya* of Nalanda in Tibet, was entrusted to spread Indic Buddhism instead of that from the then China. The *ācārya* was given the epithet Bodhisattva for his dedication to Dharma in Tibet. Seven novice scholars (*Sad mi mi bdun*) were commissioned by Khrisrong lde btsan to become well-versed in Buddhism. Later on, translation methodology was evolved, besides the precise Tibetan equivalent of each Buddhist term. It was not a layman's task as the genius of the Sanskrit language is different from that of Tibetan. The strenuous efforts of the dedicated band of Sanskrit veterans from Kashmir, in collaboration with Tibetan language experts, prepared the *Mahāvyutpatti* (*Bye brag tu rtogs par byed pa*) and the *Nighaṇṭu* (*Sgra sbyor*). These were the manuals for maintaining uniformity of renderings. It may be noted that all the Buddhist texts in *Ka-Tan* are not from Sanskrit. Six *Ka-Tan* texts have been rendered into Tibetan from Chinese originals while 4563 texts in the *Ka-Tan* are translated from Sanskrit. The methodology of rendering the vast Buddhist literary materials in Tibetan, developed from the 8th century AD to the 15th century AD. This translation technique was initiated by the school for translation (*sgra bsgyur grva*) at the Bsam yas monastery established in 750 AD. Bilingual glossaries were prepared in collaboration by Indian pandits and Tibetan translators (*lo tsa ba*). The drafts were placed before the revisors (*zhu dag pa*). In the case of important

texts like the *Yum*, i.e. *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, seven revisions were carried out to ensure the best rendering.

The *Kanjur* is the *Buddhavacana* and the *Tanjur* comprises śāstra or works other than Buddha's sayings. Their broad divisions are mentioned later. The xylographic editions of *Ka-Tan*, do not agree completely with the manuscript *Kanjur* of Orgyan Ling family temple of the Dalai Lama VI (1683–1708) in the Tawang Monastery in Arunachal Pradesh.

The codification of each draft translation was followed rigorously. After the said procedure was over, the manuscript of each text was entered in the catalogue (*dkar chag*), with the following details: (i) category, (ii) title, (iii) author, (iv) number of chapters, (v) number of volumes, (vi) number of pages, (vii) whether the translated work is complete or not, (viii) name of the team who revised the text.

The translated works were preserved either in important temples or in a royal palace. For example, Ka ba Dpal brtsegs rig bdag and Dpal gyi lhun po were directed to preserve the *Kanjur* texts in the *Bka' smad* temple of 'Phang thang. Its catalogue was called *Bka' 'gyur rin po che' i dkar chag mgon pa*. It was the first catalogue of the *Kanjur* translated into Tibetan during the first phase of translation.

The *Kanjur*, together with its *dkar chag*, was printed from wood blocks in Beijing during the reign of the Chinese Emperor Yanli in 1549. Thereafter the *Tanjur* was published. Gradually, xylographic printing of the *Ka-Tan* was undertaken by different monastic centres at Snarthang, Sde dge, Ba rgya, Lithang, under the patronage of benevolent chieftains of Tibet. Copying of individual sūtras or the complete Canon was a

meritorious deed. The latest edition of the *Kanjur* was xylographed by the Zhol printery in Lhasa.

Buddhist literature in Tibetan has also been prevalent among the Buddhist Indo-Tibetans, called Bhotia, Bhutia, Bhote or Bhoti, Budi. During the last few decades, many migrants from Tibet have crossed the Himalayas on foot, settled in India and have become Indian nationals. The majority of them are Buddhists. The *Ka-Tan* is their Holy Scripture. They have contributed to the development of Buddhism in the areas they reside.

Contents of the *Kanjur* have been arranged under twelve heads as enumerated in the *Mahāvyutpatti*. In the Theravāda tradition the Buddha's sayings have nine heads. The *sūtras* are classified under different heads like *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtras*, *Ratnakūṭa-sūtras, Avataṃsaka-sūtras* and so on. The Tantra texts numbering 446 according to the Derge edition are classified into Anuttara-yoga, Advaya-tantra, Yoga-tantra, Caryā-tantra and Kriyā-tantra besides collections of Dhāraṇīs. The last section of the Tantra may be arranged according to the *kulas,* as Buston Rinpoche has done in his *General Consideration of the Tantras* (*Rgyud sde spyi' rnam par bzag*), in the second volume of his *Collected Works*. Slob bzang phrin las followed the same system in *Thob yig gsal ba' i me long*.

Literature based on the Ka-Tan

Translations from Indian texts in *Ka-Tan* gave rise to a vast non-canonical literature in the foregone millennium. Nalanda has shaped the mind of the Tibetans ever since Śāntarakṣita. A monastery named *Na len dra* was built in the vicinity of Lhasa.

Śāntarakṣita framed a master plan to introduce the academic tradition of Nalanda in Tibet. As per the

materials available, Nalanda had a syllabus of five major subjects (*rig gnas chen mo nga*) and several subsidiary subjects like lyrics, drama, rhetorics, prosody, lexicon, polity, didactics, mathematics, astronomy and astrology. The *Ka-Tan* have been considered as authoritative source materials to promote various academic developments in Tibet.

The visit of Atiśa Dipaṅkara to Tibet and the spiritual activities of his contemporary Rin chen bzang po in the Western Himalayas, particularly in Ladakh, Khu-nu (upper Kinnaur of Himachal Pradesh), Lahul and Spiti paved the way for the evolution of Indo-Tibetan literature based on the *Ka-Tan*, from the eleventh century onwards.

The Tibetan Canon (*Ka-Tan*) has three main divisions of *Sūtra*, *Vinaya* and *Tantra*. Tibetan follows the *Mūla-Sarvāstivāda Vinaya*. Seven *Abhidharma* treatises of the Sarvāstivādins are different from those of the Theravādins. The *Sarvāstivādin Abhidharma* treatises developed from the aphoristic teachings of the Buddha, and were commented in the *Mahāvibhāṣā*. Eminent exponents like Vasubandhu, the logicians Diṅnāga and Dharmakīrti had separate views on *Abhidharma*. Critical exposition of the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtras* promulgated *Abhisamaya* literature and it is preserved in the Tanjur collection.

Tantra is regarded as the epitome of the Buddha's teachings. Advayavajra's analysis of the multiple dimensions of Buddhism, though late, yet is of great significance. Padmasambhava, a contemporary of Śāntarakṣita visited Tibet and introduced numerous Tantra practices and rituals. Vimalamitra followed him and spread the Old Tantra (*rnying rgyud*). Adverse opinions about the Old Tantras (*Rnying rgyud*) led to new authorisations by Bu-ston rin chen grub. Marpa was

not satisfied with the old Tantra. He visited Nalanda and other places in search of learned teachers. He could meet Siddhas like Nāropa, Maitrīpa and learnt the New Tantras (*rgyud gsar ma*) from them. Meanwhile, the *Kālacakra-tantra* was translated into Tibetan by Gyi jo lo tsa ba in 1207 AD, according to Sum pa mkhan po (born 1704 AD).

'Khon dkon mchog rgyal po (b. 1035) founded the Sa-skya monastery in 1073 after being initiated by Virūpa of Bengal, who visited Tibet after Atiśa Dīpaṃkara. In due course, five major Tantric sects arose and they flourish till date; such as, *Rnying ma, Bka' brgyud, Sa skya, Bka' gdams* and *Dge lugs.*

The above Tantric schools claim direct lien to the Buddha. Monastic hierarchs and eminent teachers have composed exegetical works to probe their respective positions. The disciples of Atiśa Dīpaṃkara, like 'Brom ston and others did not sit idle. They interpreted the teachings of their masters without deviating from the *Ka-Tan.* Some important works of this category both in manuscripts and in xylographs are mentioned later. The Terton teachers of the Rnying ma sect have discovered some hidden texts that are supposed to have been disseminated by Padmasambhava and Vimalamitra during the Early Diffusion of Buddhism (*snga dar*).

During the Later Diffusion (*phyi dar*) of Buddhism, after the advent of Indian Buddhist masters like Virūpa, Atiśa, Smṛtijñānakīriti and others, important works were composed, such as, *Bka' gdam 'phags' chos, Sa skya bka' 'bum, Gams ngag mdzad,* the *Collected Works* of Jam dgon 'Khong sprul, Zangs dkar 'phag pa shes rab (b. 1060) contemporary of Rin Chen bzang po, 'Bri khungs skyab mgon of La dwags (14th cent. AD). In this connection two socio-religious factors became significant—firstly, the

downfall of Buddhist monasteries like Nalanda, Odantapuri, Vikramashila, Valabhi, Somapuri, Jagaddala, Rangamrittika and Ratnagiri in Magadha, Bangala, Odivisha and other parts of India. Many Buddhist scholars crossed the snowclad Himalayas and entered Tibet for asylum. They carried important works of Indian *ācāryas* or their own writings. Their presence in Tibet gave rise to a new dynamism among the Tibetan Buddhists. Secondly, the new Buddhist monastic institutions in the Himalayas encouraged better standards of life and Indo-Tibetan literature got a new impetus that continues till date.

Creativity and Denominations

Schisms in the Buddhist *saṃgha dge 'dun* played an important role under four eminent teachers namely, Padmasambhava, Nāropa, Virūpa and Atiśa. Four major schools flourished in Tibet since the 11th century AD: *Rnying ma, Bka' brgyud, Sa skya and Bka' gdams.* They had a precedent in the history of Buddhism. Eighteen Buddhist schools developed in India.

Since the Sa skya monastery had been favoured by the Yuan emperors of China, particularly Kubilai Khan and his successsors, there was a new turn in Tibetan intellectual life. New socio-economic structures were set up by each faction for practical means (*thabs* or *upāya*). They led to creativity in literature, arts and other sectors. Many exegetical writings arose for scriptural interpretations. They served to fortify the denominational interpretations of the various schools. (i) Doctrinal works belonging to various schools of Tibetan Buddhism to differentiate one from the other, as well as to sanctify their authority by giving them

historical transmission lineages; (ii) critical expositions of Buddhist philosophical tenets like *Mādhyamaka*, *Abhidhas*, *Vaibhāṣika, Yogācāra, Vijñaptimātratā* and Tantric manuals of esoteric experiences of eminent literati.

A new dimension of Tibetan literature arose out of the unparalleled path of *sādhanā* or spiritual awakening. It was not limited to sectarian doctrines like *marga-phala* (*lam 'bras*) of the Sa skya pas or *marga-karma* (*lam rim*) of the Dge lugs pas. Another category was collected works (*Gsung 'bum*) of the eminent teachers like Sa skya Paṇ chen (1182–1251 AD), Orgyan Ling pa, 'Brom ston (11th Cent.), Bo dong 'phags las rnam rgyal (1375–1451), Brug chen Pad ma dkar po (1527–92), Rmar Chen kun dge' lhun grub (1654–1725), Gang thang Dkon mchag bstan pa'i sgron me (1762–1823), Tsong kha pa (1375–1451), Rgyal ba Nga ba (1617–1682), and Dar ma rin chen, Mkhas grub rje dge legs dpal 'jig bral ye shes rdo rje.

Buddhist poets composed verses to elucidate the understanding of texts. The Tibetan translation of *Kāvyādarśa* of Daṇḍin on rhetorics nurtured their poetic style. Commentaries were written in Tibetan.

The secular nature of verses by Dalai Lama VI, though not Buddhistic, had a poetic splendour. The contributions of Mongolia born writers deserve special mention. Mongolians used to come to Tibet for higher studies in the monasteries of Sa skya, Sera, 'Bras spung, etc. Among them Spyan sna rin po che *alias* Lcan skya Qutuqtu (1390–1448 AD) was a forerunner. Their contributions were many-sided: history, grammar, rhetorics, Buddhist philosophy, logic, esoteric methods, Tantric rituals, arts and crafts, painting, iconometry and metallurgy. Technology developed in the Trans-Himalayan region along with that of Nepal and Bhutan.

Nalanda is said to have had crafts of icon-making with excellent polish and that made the Mahāvihāra economically self-sufficient. *Thangka* painting with its herbal and mineral colours prevailed as a part of ritual in which both monastic and householder artists were involved.

Literary expressions of spiritual experience

Esoteric Buddhist practitioners occasionally experienced spiritual joy and its literary expression burst out in the spontaneity of psychosomatic vibrations. Buddhist *siddhācāryas* have left songs with their spiritual outburst in Apabhraṃśa. Some of them were rendered into Tibetan. Numerous prayers and benedictory verses have enriched Tibetan literature. The spiritual songs (*gur ma*) of Milaraspa may be cited. Many such spiritual outbursts, *gur ma*, devotional prayers, *stotras* are available in manuscripts.

Cataloguing of xylographs and manuscripts

Tibetan material came to the notice of Europeans through Russian soldiers by the end of the 18th century. Several endeavours to unravel the contents of Tibetan literature prompted the preparation of catalogues by scholars. I.J. Schmidt's attempt might be the earliest, in the 19th century. It was followed in 1846 by analyses in *Bulletin historico-philologique de l' Academic Imperial des Sciences de St. Petersburg*, tome IV, nos. 6, 7, 8.

In India, Csoma de Körös was a pioneer in cataloguing the contents of the *Bkah hgyur* at the Asiatic Society. It was published in the *Asiatic Researches* (1836–39). The Library of Tibetan Works and Archives has been engaged in the preservation of Tibetan literary culture. Jampa

Samtan has prepared a catalogue of Phug brag edition of the *Kanjur*.

A joint venture of the compilation of a Union Catalogue of Tibetan material in India has been programmed for the last three decades in collaboration with the National Archives, New Delhi, National Library, Calcuta, Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts, New Delhi and Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies. In the first phase, the material preserved in Calcutta and around has been catalogued and is ready for publication. This catalogue covers not only the Ka-Tan texts of different editions but also indigenous works. Meanwhile, the authorities of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta have undertaken a project to list the Tibetan material in its museum.

After a study of the *Kanjur* manuscripts preserved in the Tabo monastery by Paul Harrison and Christiana Scherrer Schauh under the guidance of Steinkellner, a band of European scholars is preparing a standardized critical edition of the *Kanjur* and the *Tanjur* manuscripts. Helmut Eimer, Michael Hann, Paul Harrison, Peter Schilling, Jeoffrey Schoening, Jonathan Silk, Jens Braarvig, Johannes Schneider and others are engaged on this project. In China, the Tibetan *Tanjur* has been edited by consulting different editions.

A descriptive catalogue of the *Ka-Tan* texts is a long felt need for advanced Tibetan studies. A short resume of each text is necessary to advance Buddhist studies. To understand the multiple dimensions of Indian history and culture the *Ka-Tan* texts are valuable resources.

A number of Tibetan texts in the *Tanjur* have been restored or retranslated into Sanskrit. This project was initiated by Vidhusekhara Bhattacharya in Visva-Bharati

in the twenties of the last century. This trend has been followed vigorously by the Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies under the guidance of K. N. Mishra. Scholars are utilizing Sanskrit manuscripts of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta (collected by Hodgson, Rajendralala Mitra and Haraprasad Shastri) to prepare comparative Tibetan-Sanskrit editions. It opens a new vista in studying the Sanskrit manuscripts and their Tibetan renderings in different editions.

Vast literary resources belonging to *Rnying ma, Ka-gyu, Drukpa Ka*(*r*) *gu Sa*(*s*) *kya, Bka 'gdams and Dge lugs* lie mostly in manuscripts or in xylographs. Some of them have been catalogued but not properly studied. The vast source materials lying in the monasteries of Indian Himalayas are yet to be surveyed.

Writing materials and the art of calligraphy

Rahula Sankrityayana dealt with the writing materials of different manuscripts in the Trans-Himalayan region. The Kagate Bhotias of Darjeeling claim that their old profession of paper-making developed in Nepal and Tibet. China invented the processs of paper-making. Ordinary black and red ink was used for writing on such hand-made paper with a plane surface. The ink was locally prepared out of burnt corn mixed with bitter salt and herbal juice in order to protect them from worms.

To write with gold and silver fluids, the base material was usually made of leather dust and ragged cotton in a chemical process so as to produce a black surface. Professional artists who could do calligraphy in gold and silver were employed for designing valuable manuscripts, mostly in *dbu can* script. This script is similar to the late Gupta script. The ornamental script *Lantsha* (*rgyan yig*)

has close affinity with the *Rañjanā* script that entered Tibet via Nepal and Garhwal.

The cursive (*dbu med*) script is said to have originated from the roundish script. Besides the *dbu-med* script, the cereal-like script '*bru cha* is also used in manuscripts. Manuscripts of sacred texts in *dbu me tsukti dbu med' khyag bris* are not common and this script is used mostly in documents. Moreover, *hor yig* script is rarely used in Tibetan sacred writings.

Ka-Tan Xylographs and Manuscripts in India

Kanjur

1. Peking Xylograph (1737) in photographic edition (168 volumes)
   The Asiatic Society, Calcutta, University of Calcutta, Visva-Bharati, Santiniketan, Nava Nalanda Mahavihara, Delhi University.
2. Peking edn (1168–92) patronized by Kangshi Emperor.
3. Peking edn. of the Mongolian Kanjur: Sarasvati Vihara, New Delhi
4. Urga xylograph.Central Institure of Higher Tibetan Studies (CIHTS), Sarnath.
5. Snar thang edn. (100 vols) The Asiatic Society, Calcutta, Sanskrita Sahitya Parishad, Kolkata, University of Calcutta, Visva Bharati Santiniketan, Bihar Research Society (BRS), Patna, CIHTS, Sarnath; Library of Tibetan Works and Archives (LTWA), Dharmsala.
6. Ulan Bator mss. Kanjur Rgyal tse thems Spang ma.
7. Sde dge edn. (103 vols). University of Calcutta, Kolkata, CIHTS.
   Sarnath, Sikkim Research Institute of Tibetology

(SRIT), Gangtok (?), LTWA, Dharmsala, (Reproduced in India New Delhi 1975–80).

8. Cone edn. Bhutan House, Kalimpong, LTWA, Dharmsala.
9. Phug brag monastery mss. edn. (119 volumes). Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, Dharmsala.
10. Stog Palace mss. Kanjur Stog Palace, Ladakh.
11. Tabo mss. Kanjur (incomplete). Tabo monastery, Himachal Pradesh.
12. Orgya ling mss. Tawang monastery, Arunachal Pradesh.
13. Li thang 'jang sa tham (Eastern Tibet). Xylo edn (103 vols). Thup bstan sMin gcol gling monastery, Candragiri, Orissa. Microfiche available in Nepal and Japan.
14. Lha sa zhol par edn. (100). The Asiatic society, Calcutta, LTWA, Dharmsala, CIHTS, Sarnath, BRS (Patna).

Tanjur

1. Peking edn. Photographic reproduction, Tokyo, University of Calcutta, Asiatic Society, Calcutta, Visva Bharati, Santiniketan, Nava Nalanda Mahavihara, Delhi University.
2. Snar thang edn. The Asiatic Society, Calcutta, Visva Bharati Santiniketan, University of Calcutta.
3. Sde dge edn. CIHTS, Sarnath, SRIT, Gangtok (?), LTWA, Dharmsala.
4. Co-ne CIHTS, Sarnath, LTWA, Dharmsala.

Ka-Tan Xylographs and Manuscripts in Tibet

8th **Century AD:**'*Phang thang* Kanjur manuscripts (8 volumes) had been preserved in Bka' smad temple in

'Phang thang. It was catalogued by Dpal brtsegs and Dpal gyi lhug po during the reign of Khri srong lde btsan.

9th **Century AD:** *Ldan dkar* palace Kanjur (30 sections) with *dkar chag* by Dpal brtsegs, Khong yid dbang pos rung during Ra pa can's rule.

13th **Century AD:**'*Phag pa*'*l gser bris ma bka*' '*gyur*. Golden letter Kanjur prepared by 'Gro mgon 'phag pa blo gros rgyal 'mtshan (1235–1280 AD). It is said to have been preserved at Sde dgon near Sgral ma lha khang in Ldeng Khong of Khams. (*Central Asiatic Journal* XII,1–2, 1988 Helmut Eimer, A Note of the History of Tibetan Kanjur).

14th **Century AD:** (i) *Mchims 'Jam pa*'*l dpal byung*. The local chieftain took the initiative to collect the translated texts from different monasteries on the instructions of *lo tsa ba* Bsod nams od zer and others. It became the nucleus of the *Snar thang Kanjur* ' after revision. It is named Mchims Phu Palace Collection.

(ii) *Tsal pa Kanjur* mss. was edited by Bu ston Rin chen grub (1290–1360 AD). This collection was compiled by Tshal pa kun dga' rdo rje, the chieftain of Tsal pa. The *Tsal pa Kanjur*, thereafter was preserved in Tchingwa toktse ('*Phying bas tog rtse*) castle which was otherwise named Tchyongya ('Phyong rgyas) at Ra-sa where Tibetans had ruled before Srong-tsan-gam-po (d. 650 AD) who moved northward to Lhasa (abode of divine beings).

(iii) Kubilai Khan alias Ren Tsong of the Yuan Dynasty of China collected the translated Tibetan texts from Central Tibet. A *dkar chag* was prepared at Peking.

(iv) The Old Snar thang *Kanjur* manuscript was prepared after 1310, according to H. Eimer.

Two separate traditions of the Kanjur had developed in the 14th Century: Tsalpa manuscript of Eastern Kham and Narthang manuscript of Western Kham in Tibet.

15th **Century AD:** (i) Yang li Xylographs in 141 volumes printed from copper plate in 1410 AD. They were the earliest set xylographed under the Ming emperors of China. The manuscript is said to have been brought to Nanjing from Snarthang.

(ii) In Tibet Rab Kun bzang 'phags pa managed to copy the Kanjur in golden ink from the Snar thang mss. in 1431. It was called Thems spang ma or confidential edition. Subsequently several editions were prepared, like the Old Gyntse mss., Than pa che mss., Lbu ka mss. Probably 'Brug yul (Bhutan) mss. of the 16th century belonged to the same tradition.

(iii) Newak Sba thang (Eastern Kham) mss. were prepared after a thorough revision of the Snarthang mss. (?)

16th **Century AD:** (i) In China, another edition of the Kanjur was xylographed in the reign of Ming emperor Wang li along with the Tanjur.

(ii) *Stog pho brang* Kanjur in the Stok Palace in Ladakh was an edition of the *Thems spang ma* in collation with the Bhutanese edition ('Brug pa bka' 'gyur).

17th **Century AD:** (i) *Lithang* mss. in 107 volumes collated with Tsal pa Kanjur mss. were prepared between 1608–1614 AD. It was sponsored by Kar ma bka' 'brgyud teachers of the easternmost corner of Tibet.

(ii) Phug brag mss. in 119 volumes was compiled by an anonymous disciple of Gter bdag gling pa (1646–1714 AD).

18th **Century AD:** (i) *Sde dge* Kanjur xylograph in 102 volumes was prepared after collation with the first Narthang edition and the Lithang 'Jang sa tham edition initiated by Btson pa tshe ring.

Sde dge Tanjur xylograph edition was also printed, based

on the Bstan 'gyur mss. as revised by the Dalai lama V Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtcho at Mdo stod Lho Dzong.

(ii) *Cone* edition xylographed in Amdo between 1721–31 from the edition by Co ne rje btsun Grags pa zhabs grub.

(iii) In China, Quin long Kanjur was xylographed as a revised version of Lithang.

(iv) Pho lha nas Bsod names stobs rgyas arranged the revision of the Tanjur and had it copied in gold. It was called Bstan 'gyur gser bris ma. The Mongolian version of the Tibetan Kanjur was under preparation for about three hundred years and it was xylographed in *pothi* format in AD 1717–20.

19th **Century AD: (i)** *Ba rgya Bka' 'gyur* printed on the basis of Sde dge edition was kept in the Ra–rgya monastery with dkar chag by Panchen Lama VII bstan pa' l nyi ma.

(ii) Uighur version of the Kanjur came forth from the Quin long Kanjur in Uighur scripts.

20th **Century AD:(i)** Lhasa Kanjur, block printed between 1924–34 claims to be a revised edition of the Sde dge Kanjur. It has been reprinted by the Shes rig par khang, Dharmasala.

(ii) Khu Lun monastery (Dga' ldan bshad grub gling) of Ulaanbaator printed the Kanjur in 108 volumes based on the Derge edition.

(iii) The Kanjur in Mongolian was drafted in the 14th Cent. AD. Lcan Skya II Rol pa'l rdo rje revised it with the help of several scholars between 1741–49. He also had 228 volumes of the Tanjur translated, in collaboration with Dga ldan siregetu qutuqta Blo bzan bstan pa'l ni ma (1689–1746) during the reign of Manchu emperor Kao tsung (K'ien lung).

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6

Pali Literature of Pagan
(Pagan Period)

DEVAPRASAD GUHA

The rulers belonging to the Pagan Dynasty of Myanmar, with their capital at Pagan, ruled over their kingdom from AD 1044 to AD 1287. The first king of the family was Anawrahta, a Mahayanist by faith, who had as his primate a Talaing Buddhist monk, Shin Arahan by name. Noticing that the monarch was eager to enrich his own kingdom, Arahan advised him to ask for just a set of early Pali scriptures as also a small share of the bodily relics of the Buddha from his neighbour Manuha, the King of Thaton. The request was sternly refused in disparaging language. The violently enraged Pagan ruler, with a large army, attacked the territory of Manuha, defeated him hands down and held him and all his 30,000 subjects as captives. He returned to Pagan taking them with him as also the prized treasure of all the thirty sets of scriptures and the entire stock of sacred relics which Manuha so proudly possessed till then. Gardon Luce, whom the author has described elsewhere as 'the child of Pagan' does not seem to subscribe to this view. According to him, 'the influence of Shin Arahan was probably the chief agent in the changeover of the Pagan court from Tantrik

Mahayanism to Theravāda Buddhism.' Whatever that might be, the vanquished king of Thaton now started helping the victor Anawrahta wholeheartedly in all his noble endeavours. The result was not far to seek. The scriptures, brought from Thaton, were housed in the Pitakathtaik, a newly constructed building, and pagodas with sacred relics incised in them started dotting the valley with their heads raised. The fugitive monks from Thaton kept themselves busy with the study of their specialized subjects and started writing down their thoughts and observations on palm-leaves with stylos, not for any earthly fame or glory, but as the mark of merit.

Keeping the political discussion in the background, we can proceed to our main concern of finding out the details of the Pali compositions at Pagan during the reign of the Pagan Dynasty.

The *Kārikā*, a grammatical treatise composed at the request of Ñāṇagambhīra by Dhammasenāpati is known to be the earliest work of the kind. It was composed during the time of Kyanzitha (1084–1113), son of Anawrahta. He wrote two other works by name the *Etimāsadipani* and the *Manohara*. The nature of these works so far remains in oblivion. According to the *Pitakatthamaing*, a catalogue of books in the collection of King Mindon (1853–78), Ñāṇagambhīra composed a religious treatise called the *Tathāgatuppatti*.

During the regimes of the immediate successors of Anawrahta, learning of Pali took firm root in Pagan. In 1154 AD, during the regime of Alaungsithu, the grandson of Kyanzittha, Aggavaṃsa, a celebrated monk of Pagan, finished composing his monumental work, the *Saddanīti* which is even now a wonder among the Pali grammatical treatises, and in Myanmar it is still regarded a classic. It

is interesting to note that in the second part of the text, *Dhātumālā,* the author furnishes it with Sanskrit word—equivalents to Pali words. Forchhamer, Professor of Pali in the then Baptist College of Yangon,while speaking of Aggavaṃsa, said that he was a resident of a monastery in the northern plateau of Pagan, 'the cradle of Pali-Myanmarese literature.'

A few years after the composition of the *Saddanīti,* Uttarajīva, a celebrated Buddhist monk, returned to Sri Lanka, with a copy of *Saddanīti* and presented it to the Mahāvihāra. After going through it, the Mahāvihāra celebrated it as superior to any work of the kind written by Sri Lankan grammarians.

Uttarajīva was accompanied by his illustrious pupil Saddhammajotipāla, also known as Chapaṭa after the name of his village near Bassein which incidentally is Kusimanagara in Pali. Chapaṭa received his ordination from the Sīhalasaṃgha, stayed in the Island for years, religiously following the doctrine as handed down in the Mahāvihāra, and studying many authoritative ancient texts which had not yet entered Myanmar. He wrote eight books on diverse subjects. They are:

1. *Kaccāyanasuttaniddesa*—a treatise on grammar which explains the aphorisms of Kaccāyana, the famous grammarian.
2. *Saṅkhepavaṇṇanā* which appears to be a ṭīkā on the *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha.* It was the only one of his eight treatises that was written in Ceylon.

3-4. *Mātikatthadīpanī* and *Paṭṭhānagaṇānaya*, both of which deal with Abhidhamma.

5. *Nāmacāradīpanī* which seems to be a composition on ethics.
6. The *Sīmālaṅkāra* or *Sīmālaṅkaṭīkā*, a work on

boundaries and sites for religious ceremonies. It is a commentary on a work by the Sinhalese monk Vācissara.

7. *Vinayasamutthānadīpanī*, a work on Vinaya which was written at the request of his own preceptor.
8. *Gaṇṭhisāra,* a manual for study condensed from important Pali texts.

It may rather be too hasty to remark at this stage that the Burmese Fraternity took more interest in the Abhidhamma than the Sinhalese did. But this was certainly the case of the later period and there is no difference of opinion amongst scholars on this matter. Chapaṭa came back to Pagan along with four companions as a missionary with the conviction that the Mahāvihāra alone has maintained the legitimate line of descent, unbroken from teacher to teacher—*ācariya-paramparā*. But this claim was challenged by some of the monks of Pagan. They maintained that it was Shin Arahan who was in direct line from Sona and Uttara, and so they themselves, 'the followers of Arahan' alone were qualified to receive and confer *upasampadā*, and that 'the Mahāvihāra could confer no better ordination.' It is thus obvious that the older community overtly declined to be drawn into controversy with Chapaṭa's fold. It is to be noted that difference in attitude of two major factions did not cast any reflection on the political life of the country. The ruling monarch Narapatisithu, though an adherent of Mahāvihāra tradition, did not neglect the communities even though they denied to recognise the supremacy of Chapaṭa's faction. The royal bounties were equally shared by different monastic communities.

Turning to the contemporary scholastic climate or environment of Pagan, it becomes evident that the names

of grammatical texts follow close to one another. Saddhammasiri composed the *Saddatthabhedacintā,* wherein is found a glimpse of a culture which reminds one of Ariyavaṃsa. This treatise, says Mabel Bode, is based on Kaccāyana's aphorisms as also on Sanskrit authorities.

According to our estimate the *Nyāsa* which follows next is an important grammatical work. Also called the *Mukhamattadīpanī,* it was written by Vimalabuddhi who wrote a commentary on it as one on the *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha.*

The *Gandhavaṃsa* refers to a grammar called the *Liṅgatthavivaraṇa* written by Subhūticandana. He was follwed by Ñāṇasāgara with his *Liṅgatthappakaraṇappakāsaka* and by Uttama with *Liṅgatthavivarṇa-ṭīkā.* All these are grammatical texts. Uttama also wrote a commentary on the *Bālāvatāra,* the famous grammar by Vācissara of Ceylon.

The next Pagan grammarian whose work has been studied for centuries was a novice, Dhammasiri by name, who composed *Vaccavācaka* or *Vācavācaka* and a commentary on which was written by Saddhammanandi.

From the *Saddatthabheda-cintā* of Saddhammasiri, grew a number of glosses of which the best known happened to be the *Mahāṭīkā* of Abhaya who flourished during the Pagan Dynasty who also composed the *Sambandhacintāṭīkā,* a commentary on the *Sambandhacintā* by Saṅgharakkhita.

Narapati brought peace and encouraged acquisition of knowledge by the monks to study who longed for it. But there arose a discord soon after and meanwhile, Chapaṭa passed away. The four monks who accompanied him, separated from the consolidated body, which owed its origin to the able leadership of Chapaṭa, and once it

split apart, it never united again. Four new sects came into existence owing allegiance to the four associates of Chapaṭa. But the literary activities continued.

After Narapati, his son Kyawswa ascended the throne. The works which were produced during his time were mostly grammatical. But the *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha* was of course a principal subject of study. Kyawswa himself produced two works, the *Saddabindu* and the *Paramatthabindu*, both grammatical texts, while his daughter wrote a small treatise on Pali case-endings, titled the *Vibhattyattha*.

Two more kings of the Pagan Dynasty had ruled after Kyawswa, but not in Pagan. The first one was Sawhnit (1287–1298), the son of Kyawswa, while the second one Uzana II (1298–1325), Kyawswa's grandson. Sawhnit ruled over Pinya (Pali Vijayapura), while Uzana II, over Āvā (Pali Ratnapura). The domains of the above two were outside Pagan, and necessarily do not come within the realm of our present consideration.

The lamp of Pali scholarship that had been shining so brilliantly till about the end of the reign of Narapati started dimming afer his demise in 1254 AD, and became totally extinguished at Pagan when Kyawswa breathed his last.

7

Aspects of Buddhist Tantric Texts: The Sādhana Literature

KARUNESH SHUKLA

The religio-spiritual and the esoteric traditions of India are enshrined in the texts that have come down to us through the oral and the written transmission down the ages and form the core of our national literary heritage.[1] In their primary stages, these texts were orally transmitted. As in other spiritual traditions of the Middle East and Europe, namely the Hebrew, the Graeco-Roman, the Christian and the Islamic, and the traditions of the East, the texts in India were initially handed down through oral transmission. The Vedic texts are called *śruti*, based on oral tradition of transmission (*anuśrava* or *karṇaparamparā*).[2] The Buddhist Pali *Tripiṭaka*[3] and the Jaina *Āgamas* were also orally handed down to posterity and their texts were finalised in written form at a later date. It is in the second *Mahāsaṃgīti* and the later *Saṃgītis* that the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka* and other texts were almost settled and in the fourth *Saṃgīti,* held in Sri Lanka in the first century BC, the Pali *Tripiṭaka* was committed to writing.[4] In the recent past, the fifth and the sixth *Saṃgāyanas* of the Pali *Tripiṭaka* were held in Myanmar where the textual readings were finalised.[5] The Pali *Sūttas*

as well as the Mahāyāna canonical texts contain the preliminary remark at the beginning of the *suttas/sūtras,* '*evaṃ me sutaṃ*' or '*evaṃ mayā śrutam*', thus have I heard. The Jaina *Āgamas,* containing the text of Mahāvīra's teachings too were finally written down after the *vācanā*—literally, the reading or pronouncing the Master's teachings—and finalizing it for recording after a consensus opinion of the *munis,* monks and the scholars. This *vācanā,* the traditional records, took place at a much later date. Thus, the entire Indian textual tradition was oral in its primary stage and this tradition continues even today in some form.

Though evidence of writing in the initial *sūkta* stage may be referred to the *Akṣa-sūkta*[6] of the *Ṛg-Veda-saṃhitā* but *Īśāvāsya Upaniṣad*[7] (*Śukla Yajurveda-saṃhitā,* XL) and the *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad*[8] along with *Nirukta*[9] point to the Agamic tradition, mostly oral, amongst the *ṛṣis,* later scholarly tradition also confirms this.[10]

These texts have survived the vicissitudes of time. The perennial philosophy and the cultural tradition inherited through the Vedic, the Agamic and the Sramanic folds represent the core of our esoteric *sādhanā* which aims at self-revelation as the goal of spiritual quest.

The Buddhist textual tradition represents the teachings of Lord Buddha as analysed and presented in the matrix of systems and sub-systems. This tradition comprises, besides canonical Pali texts, the Mahāyānasūtras and the Prajñāpāramitā texts; the canonical Tantric literature, the *stotras,* the *mantras,* the *dhāraṇīs,* the *maṇḍalas* and the *sādhanas* besides the literary and technical texts in addition to the philosophical expositions, texts and treatises. Later Tantric texts, treatises, compendia and compositions of the eighty-four

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Siddhas and commentators and the expositors of the various traditional texts follow them.

But the number of the works surviving in their original form is very scanty and in most cases the texts are either translated into Asian languages or transliterated into Sino-Japanese scripts. The vast Tibetan translations preserved in the *Tanjur* and the *Kanjur* in their various recensions and the Chinese translations, are, therefore, the only basic and the authentic sources on which one could rely.

Thanks to the explorations made during the last two centuries in the land of snow, Tibet (Bhoṭa Deśa), the Devabhūmi Nepal, Central Asia, Mongolia, Turfan, Khotan and some South Asian countries by Hara Prasad Shastri, Sarat Chandra Das, Rajendra Lal Mitra, B.H. Hodgson, Ksoma de Kõros, Guiseppe Tucci, Rahula Sankrityayana, Raghuvira and many other scholars, have provided new vistas to the study of Buddhology in modern times. This has been, to quote Ananta Lal Thakur, 'the biggest achievement of the twentieth century scholarship'[11] which has made accessible some of the very important texts that were assumed to be lost.

The Tantric *Sādhanā* in the Indian Buddhist tradition is based on and pre-supposes the Mādhyamika and the Yogācāra spiritual practice.[12] The middle way[13] of the Buddha has been analysed as the way adhering neither to the extreme of the *śāśvata* (eternal), nor to that of the *uccheda* (annihilation).[14] The Mādhyamika view propounds the doctrine of *śūnyatā* (voidity) as the elimination of the dogmatic views regarding truth and reality.[15] This pre-supposes the doctrines of the non-intrinsic (*niḥsvabhāva*) character of the wordly objects (*bhāvas* or *dharmas*) and non-egoity, i.e. the *anātma* or

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the *nairātmya siddhānta.*[16]

On the other hand the Yogācāra system advocates the doctrine of the non-existence (*asattva*) of the phenomenal world.[17] Only *vijñāna* exists and the appearance of the outer world in the form of the *grāhya-grāhaka-vikalpa* is caused by *vāsanā* or latent mental impressions.[18]

The Truth is to be experienced within (*pratyātmavedya*). It cannot be described as ens, non-ens, both or neither. It is pure and undefiled. It neither decays (*nāvahīyate*) nor is an object to change (*vyeti*). It is *paramārthalakṣaṇa.*[19]

This is the stage of *paramārtha* (*pariniṣpannalakṣaṇa satya*). Its realization as pure consiousness (*vimala-vijñānadhātu*) is identical to *nirvāṇa.* The two lower stages of reality, in the Yogācāra Vijñānavāda, are either of dependent origin (*paratantra*) or appearance (*akhyātakhyānatā*).[20]

When the ubiquity of *citta* is attained by the practice of *mahākaruṇā* (universal compassion) through the purified and undefiled state of the *citta*, the entire universe appears futile and useless[21] and it is in this sense that the Yogācāra Vijñānavāda maintains the phenomenal world as non-existent (*asat*).

It is with the elimination of the *kleśāvaraṇa* and the outer *jñeyāvaraṇa* of the *citta* that the release from worldiness occurs. The true nature of *śunyatā*, non-intrinsic nature of the *dharmas*, which is described as suchness (*tathatā*), the reality in its final stage (*bhūtakoṭi*), unconditional (*animitta*) and transcendence (*paramārthatā*) is experienced with the help of true knowledge of afflictions (*saṃkleśa*), their purification (*vyavadāna*), and non-egoity (*nairātmya*).[22]

The Mādhyamika *ācāryas* further point out that the

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afflictions are caused by *satkāyadṛṣṭi,*[23] which is rooted in the notion of oneness and its eschewing along with the contemplation of *anātma* is the essential requirement for the eradication of the afflictions, dawn of insight (*prajñā*) and realization of *nirvāṇa.*

In this spiritual quest the *paramārtha*, the phenomena, the *śūnyatā* and the reality (*tattva*) are all to be experienced through insight (*prajñā*), meditation through the various *dhyāna* stages and the ten *citta-bhūmis* as delineated in the *Daśabhūmakasūtra*, the *Bhāvanākrama* and other texts.[24] The *āśrayaparāvṛtti* or the reversal of the pshychosis of the mental faculty leads to the realization of the *paramārtha*, and the attainment of Buddhahood.[25]

The Tantric *Sādhanā* or the *mantranaya* in the Buddhist tradition is represented by Vajrayāna. As pointed out, Vajrayāna formulates its doctrines on the basis of the Mādhyamika and the Yogācāra doctrines. Advayavajra, a noted Vajrayāna authority, says that the *tattva* is, devoid of the nature of the *śāsvata* and *uccheda* (*śāsvatocchedanirmuktaṃ tattvaṃ saugata-sammatam*).[26]

In the Vajrayāna tradition, *śūnyatā* has been equated with Vajra or the Adamantine element which only denotes its ineffable nature in the last stage of the spiritual quest (*nirvāṇa* or *mahāsukha*).[27]

The Yogācāra tradition had initiated the idea of the *prajñopāya,*[28] i.e. the duo of *śamatha* and *vipaśyanā, śūnyatā* and *karuṇā* as leading to the realization of *nirvāṇa* by the practice of the elimination of the mental defilements through *āśraya- parāvṛtti.*[29]

The Vajrayāna further propounds the doctrine of *yuganaddha* as the bipolar symbolism and duo of *prajñā* and *upāya*, *lalanā* and *rasanā*, *śūnyatā* and *karuṇā.* The

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rigorous training and practice of the control of the right and the left parts of the nervous system of the body and the plexuses (*cakras*) in the body, the *Āli* and *Kāli Prajñā* and *upāya*, *E* and *Vaṃ*, has been termed as *ālikālisamāyoga*, *yuganaddha*, or *prajñopāya*, and causes *sāmarasya*,[30] which Sarahapāda calls *sukharāja* the highest bliss.[31] This is a synonym of *nirvāṇadhātu* and has been symbolically equated to Bodhicitta (Semen Verile). This is a stage of Yogic practice wherein the oozing of the nectar (*amṛtasyanda*) in the spinal chord from the *suṣumṇā* occurs.[32]

This is only symbolic[33] and at a later date, when degeneration in the Tantric circles occurred, the spirit of the Tantric lore and the secrecy of the esoteric practices gradually disappeared.

The Vajrayāna developed as Kālacakrayāna and the Sahajayāna and its literature is found in the fourfold Tantras, namely the Yogatantra, the Kriyātantra, the Caryātantra and the Anuttarayogatantra.[34]

The Vajrayāna was meant for those adepts who had mastered the Mahāyāna practices through the two *kramas*,[35] namely the *utpattikrama* and the *utpannakrama*[36] and the secret lore of the Yogic *Sādhanā* was conceived as bi-polar yogic symbolism—what was in the outer world was conceived in the inner body. The principle '*yat piṇḍe tad brahmāṇḍe*' was followed and practised. The various Tantric texts in the later Vajrayāna, such as the *Kālacakratantra*, clearly state this fact.[37] Though the tradition of the *mantras*, *dhāraṇīs* and the *ṛddhiprātihārya* in the Buddhist tradition is very old, as old as the Buddha himself, its culmination in the Vajrayāna texts is visible with a different hermeneutic connotation.[38]

The Vajrayāna authors conceived five Dhyānī Buddhas,

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namely Amitābha, Akṣobhya, Vairocana, Amoghasiddhi and Ratnasambhava and their family, as Buddhist pantheon, was also conceived and developed. The seven Martyabuddhas are also mentioned as Vipaśyī, Śikhī, Viśvabhū, Krakucchanda, Kanakamuni, Kaśyapa and Śākyasiṃha. The consorts of the Buddhas are, Vipaśyantī, Śikhigāminī, Viśvadharā, Kakudvatī, Kaṇṭhamālinī, Mahīdharā and Yaśodharā.

Besides, seven Martya-bodhisattavas, twenty five bodhisattvas, deities of the Mañjuśrī family(13), Avalokiteśvara(15), Amitābha(2), Akṣobhya(2), Vairocana(01-Nāmasaṅgīti), Amoghasiddhi (01-Vajrāmṛta), Ratnasaṃbhava(02- Jambhala, Ucchuṣma Jambhala) and female deities are also conceived and enumerated.

Among the chief and popular Tantric deities, objects of canononical Tantric texts, *Sādhanas*, *Dhāraṇīs*, *stotras* and other categories of compositions, Caṇḍaroṣaṇa Heruka, Hevajra, Buddakapāla, Saṃvara, Saptākṣarā, Hayagrīva, Raktayamāri, Kṛṣṇayamāri, Jambhala, Ucchuṣma Jamabhala, Vighnāntaka, Vajrahuṃkāra, Bhūtaḍāmara, Vajra Jvarāntaka, Paramāśva, Yogāmbara and Kālacara, Mahākāla, Gaṇapati and Vajraghaṇṭā are mentioned as the chief deities of eulogy. Among the female deities Mahācīnatārā, Jāṅgulī, Parṇaśabarī, Prajñāpāramitā, Vajracarcikā, Mahāpratyaṅgirā, Dhvajāgrakeyūrā, Vasudhārā, Nairātmā, Jñānaḍākinī, Vajraḍākinī, Mārīcī, Vajravārāhī, various Mahasahara paramardivi, Mahāmāyurī, Ḍākinī, Khaṇḍarohā, Lama, Rūpiṇī Vetālī, Śabarī, Pukkasī, Ḍombī, Caṇḍālī and other forms of Tārā, Pratisarā, Mahāpratisarā may be mentioned who have either been eulogised or whose *sādhanas*, *maṇḍalas*, *stotras* or *dhāraṇīs* are known to have been composed by various *ācāryas*.

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Besides, the twelve *Pāramitā* deties, the light deities (*Jyotis*), the Gate-deities (*Dvāradevīs*), the eight *devīs*, the dance deities, the musical instrument deities, the twelve *vaśita devīs* and the *bhūmidevīs* (12), *pratisaṃvit devīs* (4), the Hindu or Paurāṇika deities(10), the *navagrahas*(the nine planets), the four Balabhadras, Yakṣas, Kinnaras, the twenty-eight *nakṣatras*, the *Kāla* deities (according to the *Kālacakramaṇḍala*), relating to the months of the traditional Indian Calender, the *tithis*, the *rāśis*, the *ṛtus* (weather) have been conceived and enumerated.[39] It would be seen, this pantheon has been conceived under Hindu or Sanātana Indian influence.

Mostly, the *Sādhnas* of important male and female deities are found, but the *Sādhanas*, however, of the *tithi, rāśi* and *ṛtu* deities are not known to have been composed. The Varṣāpaṇa *sādhanas* have been composed for attracting rains.

In course of time, the Tantric adepts, the philosophers, practitioners, teachers and the *Siddhācāryas* made it a point to eulogise their favourite deity, write a *Sādhana* to describe his form, *pūjā, maṇḍala* as well as *dhāraṇī* (in most cases).

While a fairly good number of *Sādhanas*[40] have survived in their original form, only a part of these has so far seen the light of the day. The *Sādhanamālā* contains three hundred twelve *Sādhanas*[41] and the *Sādhanasamuccaya*[42] is a collection of one hundred eighty-seven Sādhana texts, some of which are contained in the *Sādhanamālā* also.

Of the forty and odd principal deities, *Sādhanas* have been devoted to Saṃvara (*Saṃvararahasyaṃ nāma Durgatipariśodhana sādhana* by Kalahaṃasakumāra-pāda), Kālacakra (*Kālacakrabhagavatsādhanavidhi* by Dhakaraśānti), Hevajra (*Hevajra-sādhanopayikā* by

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Saroruhapāda, commented upon by Jālandharapāda), Haruka (*Varasādhana* by Kalahaṃsakumāra), Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa, Mahākāla, (1), Mahograheruka, Ādibuddha, Ekavīra, Vajrabhairava, Jambhala and others.

Abhayākaragupta wrote *Jambhalasādhanasaṅgraha*, Acalanātha and other teachers wrote a work *Sādhana-vidhāna*, Śabarapādakrama authored *Vajra-yoginīsādhana* and Kambalapāda commented upon the *Herukasādhana* or *Herukanidhāna-tantra*. His celebrated work entitled *Herukasādhanapañjikā* or *Sādhananidhāna* has been edited by us and is to be published shortly by the K.P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna.

While Anaṅgavajra composed *Ḍākinīguhyasamaya-sādhana,* the *Herukasādhana* of Bharamahara, and *Hevajrasādhana* of Ratnākaraśāntipāda are very important *sādhana* compositions.One *Ārya Amṛtaprabhā nāma sādhana* has also come down in its original Buddhist Sanskrit version; its Chinese version is also noted by Nanjio (no. 23 ii).

Sādhanas devoted to Vāk, Sarasvatī and Vajrasarsvatī are also available in the original along with those devoted to Ekavīra, Kumbha, Jñānaḍākinī, Tārā and other deities.[43] *Sādhanas* that have not survived in their original Sanskrit form, are known, through their Tibetan translations.

The *Sādhanas* are found in a fairly good number; they depict the nature of the respective deities they eulogise and describe their *maṇḍala* and *upāsanā*. The *maṇḍala* devoted to the deities contain a graphic picture of the *pūjā maṇḍala*, in various colours, the different deities in various directions as well as the secret mantras of the spiritual *sādhana*. *Maṇḍala* is, thus, a mystic circle, a magic diagram, a pictorial representation of the cosmic process

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and its forces wherein the deities, their female counterparts as spiritual signs and the guardians of the four quarters are shown.[44] G. Tucci says that *maṇḍalas* are meant to keep away the evil forces from the place of the *sādhanā* or the worship of the respective deity. "A *maṇḍala"*, he says, "delineates a consecrated superficies and protects it from invasion by disintegrating forces symbolized in demonical cycles."[45]

The *Sādhanas* gave an impetus to the iconography of the Tantric Buddhist deities on the one hand and their worship and depiction on the other. At a later stage, the scrolls and paintings that were made and were traditionally practised also, contain the *maṇḍala*, and the forms of these deities in many cases. The Tibetan Thangkā painting which were developed on the lines of the principles and theories propounded by Manthangpā (b. about the 830 AD) which also enjoins the rites of purification.[46] The Sādhana literature and the *maṇḍalas* described therein or in some other texts, had a deep impact on the art of Thangkā painting as well as the iconography of these deities. These are, so to say, the basic sources of the sculpture of the Tantric deities. But their use and study remained very limited all along.

While the *Sādhanas* describe and depict the nature of the individual deities and their graphic presentation and their eulogy, the *maṇḍalas* are also conceived through these *Sādhanas*. The *Niṣpannayogāvalī* of Abhayākaragupta (eleventh century AD), a comparatively late text, contains *maṇḍala* of these Tantric deities which were spiritually practised and artistically sketched and painted, engraved or sculpted.

The practice of the *maṇḍala* of the Buddhist Tantric deities is a unique feature of the Buddhist esoteric

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tradition. In the Tibetan tradition the spiritual initiation of the adept leads to the contemplation of the *maṇḍala*. This practice is continued even today and the traditional Thaṅgkās of these deities are prepared, and presented after the spiritual initiation of the artist, as it is very essential to remodel our own personality as Ananda Coomaraswamy puts it, both spiritually and chronologically, to make, understand, and evaluate any piece of art.[47]

Only a part of the vast Sādhana literature has survived and come down to us. While the *Sādhanamālā* has been published, the *Sādhanasamuccaya* containing *sādhanas* devoted to various deities has to see the light of day very soon.

Notes

1. Cf. *Nirukta*, I. 202, 2.
2. *Arthasaṅgraha* I; See, A.K. Coomaraswamy, 'The Vedanta and the Western Tradition', in *Selected papers*, ed. Roger Lipsey, London, I. 264-80, II.6; Réne Guenon, *Introduction to the Study of the Hindu Doctrines*, London, 1945, I. 87–89, A.K. Saren, *The Takamori Lectures*, Sarnath, 1999, Lecture 1.
3. Hajime Nakamura, *Indian Buddhism*, Delhi, 1987, p. 100–101; Sukumar Dutt, *Buddhist Monasticism*; N. Dutt, *Early Monastic Buddhism*.
4. The Pali *Tripiṭaka* text was finally committed to writing in the fourth Mahāsaṁgīti held in 29 BC in Ceylon; see Introduction to *Mahāvagga*, (Igatpuri Edition), 1998, p. xiii.
5. Ibid., *loc. cit.*
6. *Ṛg-Veda Saṃhitā*, X, 34.8–9.
7. *Īśāvāsya Upaniṣad*.
8. *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad*, 1.1–9.
9. *Nirukta, loc. cit.*
10. *Vākyapadīya*, I. 30; *Raghuvaṁśa*, X.
11. Introduction to *Ratnakīrtinibandhāvalī*, p. 1.
12. *Tattvaratnāvalī* by Advayavajra, pp. 23–26 (in *Advayavajra-saṅgraha* ed. B. Bhattacharya, Baroda, 1927).

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13. *Mahāvagga*, p.1., *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (Nalanda edn.), IV. 360–61.
14. *Mādhyamikakārikā*, V.1.
15. Ibid., XIII.8.
16. Ibid., vs. XIII.1–7.with *Prasannapadā* and *Akutobhayā*.
17. Vasubandhu, *Viṃśikā*, V.1.
18. Ibid., vs. 2ff. *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*, III. 33, 102–103.
19. *Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra*, VI.1
20. *Madhyāntavibhāga*, I. 15–16 with the commentary of Vasubandhu and the gloss of Sthiramati.
21. Ibid., I. 13–22.
22. *Madhyamakavṛtti*, XIII.8; *Madhyāntavibhāga*, *loc.cit.*
23. *Madhyamakavṛtti*, XVIII. 1ff; *Madhyamakāvatāra* VI. 120.
24. *Bhāvanākrama* in Tucci (ed.), *Minor Buddhist Texts*, p. 523; Sarnath (edn.), pp. 192–243.
25. *Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra*, IX. 37–46; *Triṁśikā*, vs. 28–29.
26. Karunesh Shukla, 'Heruka in Tantric Buddhism' in *Prajñāloka* I, p. 57.
27. *Advayavajrasaṃgraha.*
28. *Śrāvakabhūmi of Asaṅga*, (ed) K. Shukla, Patna, 1973.
29. *Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra*, IX, 37 ff., *Obscure Religious Cults*, pp. 36–37; *Triṃśikāvijñaptibhāṣya*, vs. 28–29; G.N. Kaviraj, Introduction to *Bauddhadarśana.*
30. *Sekoddeśaṭikā*, p. 63.
31. N. N. Upadhyay, *Tāntrik Bauddha Sādhanā aur Sāhitya*, pp. 148–49, 151 ff.
32. S.B. Dasgupta, *An Introduction to Tantric Buddhism*, pp. 161–65.
33. *Vajraśekhara*, Sarnath IHTS publication; Alex Wayman, *The Buddhist Tantras,* pp. 128 ff.
34. *Cakrasambhāratantra*, p. 32; *Obscure Religious Cults*, p. 24; *Introduction to Tantric Buddhism*, p. 52. ff.
35. S. Raipoche, Preface to *Bhāratīya Tantraśāstra*, p.ii.
36. Ibid., pp. 85–86; *Hevajra Tantra* I. 825, *Guhyasamājatantra*, XIII.
37. *Kālacakra Tantra*, IV.
38. Krunesh Shukla, 'Heruka in Tantric Buddhism', in *Prajñāloka* I.1, 1979, p. 5 ff.
39. B. Bhattacharya, *Indian Budhist Iconography* and introduction to *Buddhist Iconography;* Kamakshi Dwivedi, *Sādhana Sāhitya aur Tāntrika Devamaṇḍala*, Gorakhpur, 2005, Appendix I-57.
40. For Tibetan versions of these Sādhanas, see, (ed.) Alaka Chattopadhyaya, Taranatha's *History of Buddhism in India*, Simla,

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1979, Appendix.
41. (Ed.) B. Bhattacharya, Baroda 1925 (Vol. I), 1928 (Vol. II).
42. (Ed.) Karunesh Shukla (under print).
43. For detailed information vide *Dhīḥ,* vol. I-XXV, Sarnath, Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies publication, (ed.) Banaran Das, CIHTS, Sarnath, 2 vols. 1990, 1999.
44. Lal Mani Joshi, *Studies on Buddhist Culture of India*, Delhi, 1967, p. 345.
45. G. Tucci, *The Theory and Practice of the Maṇḍala*, London, 1961, p. 23.
46. Lokesh Chandra, Foreword to the *Sacred Art of Tibet*, Delhi, 1999 by Chandana Chakraborti; see also Lokesh Chandra's *Buddhist Iconography*, 2 vols.
47. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, 'On Buddhist Image', *Selected Papers,* II (ed) Roger Lipsey.

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8

Tantras: Transcendence and Tumescence

LOKESH CHANDRA

Originating in India, the Tantras spread far and wide to Tibet and Mangolia, China, Korea and Japan, as well as to the countries of Southeast Asia. The Tantras are a culmination of the evolution from Vedic ritual and thought, to the enunciation of Brahman in the Upaniṣads, to the development of domestic and state rites in the Smṛtis and Purāṇas, and finally to their multiple traditions in the overflow of Tantric epiphanies. Indic thought had no Revelation (with a capital R) and no constraints of a monocentric Supreme. The constant unfolding of new ideas, the cosmos of infinite time, and the relationship of the human, the natural, the cosmic and the divine were undergoing radical transformation all the time. Human evolution from animal existence to an ever-rising development, from the language of needs to an ascent to philosophical abstractions, from ritual to sophistication, from the individual to the cosmic—all was incorporated in Tantric art, thought and ritual. As man tilled the soil, he looked up to the sky for rain for bumper crops. Agriculture gave him a Heaven above and an Earth below. The *Ṛgveda* speaks of sky the Father and earth

the Mother (*Dyauṣ pitā Pṛthivī mātā*). Life was surrounded by Nature, both in its benign aspect and in the fury of its elements. The vehemence of natural phenomena gave humans the feeling of an overwhelming Super-order. Thus life and nature led the mind to a nexus of existence and transcendence. These realities created syndromes in our perceptions. The transformation of biological needs engendered patterns of thought. Ever-evolving sophistication of language gave voice to inner silences. Body and mind, words and ideas, human societies and natural surrounds, our earth and the universe—all of them converged into a Transcendent Divine. It was a versatile *poiesis,* ever on the move, ever deepening, rising higher and higher to newer sensitivities. As a plant arises from the soil, so does metaphysics rise unto higher realms of Being. India's dedication to forests and rivers, to the whole of nature and the beyond, became the ineffable emergence of cosmic energy. The flowing rivers and raining heavens did not breed dead sands of dogmas. Polycentrism emerged from the flow of rivers on whose banks the sages of India meditated on Life and the Yonder, on time as ever-flowing, and on the universe as flux. There were always territories where travellers had never gone, and they were domains for sages to explore. From the Vedas to the Upaniṣads, the Purāṇas, and the Tantras was the unending unity of a mindscape that enriched life, giving it a substance and a meaning. India saw the synergy of the *laukika* dimension of the daily life of this world and the *lokottara* dimension beyond existence. The realities of Becoming found their sublimation and blessing in the vision, the *darśana*, of the four levels of the Tantras:

(i) *Jñāna* or Knowledge of the nature of Ultimate

Reality in the richness of myths and multiplicity of deities. It is Philosophy and Transcendence.

(ii) *Kriyā* or Ritual to celebrate the interface of humans and thought.

(iii) *Caryā* or Ethics to deepen morality in all social relations.

(iv) *Yoga* or Meditation leading to *Bodhi*.

The configuration of a Buddhist *maṇḍala* has squares and circles. The square parts of the *maṇḍala* are a two-dimensional diagram of a sanctum dedicated to a central deity and its Olympian assembly. It has four gates in the four directions. The inner portion of the diagram has square structures which are the walls, pillars and other architectural elements of the sanctum. The round parts are psychic elements. Its innermost psychic core is constituted by the eight-petalled lotus of the heart of the devotee wherein the Deity with his/her acolytes resides. The other psychic elements are also round, like the outermost circle of fire to burn the sins of the mediator. The *vajrāvalī* or circle of *vajras* represents the solidity of the adamantine plane wherein the Vajrayāna practitioner has become a vajra-being, a *vajra-sattva*, one empowered to undertake Vajrayāna practices and rituals. The circle of lotuses, *padmāvalī*, is the purity of heart with which the devotee approaches the sanctum. Thus the psychic components of the circles of fire, *vajras* and lotuses in the *maṇḍala* are round, while the solid material components of the architectonic temple are square. A *maṇḍala* is thus a square and a circle, the squared material space and the circularity of psycho-spheres.

The Buddhist Tantras were dominated by the concept of Light: the five luminous elements, the *pañca-raśmi* of the *Guhyasamāja*, are at the basis of cosmic evolution.

The supreme reality is essential light (*ḥod.gsal* in Tibetan). The luminous epiphany is the centre of the mystic process as described in the *Samājottara* chapter of the *Guhyasamāja*. Infinite Light is Amitābha. While Sukhāvatī, the Western Paradise of Amitābha was devoid of women, Abhirati, the Eastern Paradise of Akṣobhya had beauties (*strīratna*) involving orgiastic traditions. The cults of Amitābha and Akṣobhya were collateral as their Pure Lands of the West and the East were natural pairs. The cult of Amitābha evolved into Vairocana and Mahāvairocana: the phototropic Tantras, called Outer Tantras in the Nyingmapa tradition of Tibet. The cult of Akṣobhya developed into the yab.yum deities in the Anuttara-yoga Tantras, the erototropic Tantras, like the Guhyasamāja, with their orgiastic symbolism and practices, termed Inner Tantras by the Nyingmapa sect. They lead to a spontaneous stream of ecstatic wisdom, the indescribable awakened state, the illusory nature of all phenomena, the exhilarating sense of freedom from the prison of ego, and the yoginī revels.

Kye ho! Wonderful!
When one experiences reality
The whole sky cannot contain her bliss.

The Tantras are a union of the human, the cosmic and the divine. It is the coming together of *pravṛtti* and *nivṛtti*, the exchange of indulgence and reticence. It is reintegration of the universe and a visualisation in the perfection of the Beyond. Tantras are the depths in the innermost being of sentience where the mind and universe move into ever-widening awakening. The aim is to enlarge consciousness by growing into the bosom of Universal Nature, into one's own physicality and self-

realization, into the realization of the essential unity of the worldiness and the consciousness of humans. The Tantras entrust with us roots whence life may be enriched. We have to know a Life greater than our own.

The development of the Tantras is from the mysterious orgies of the dark jungles of India to the mutability of the Absolute in the ideal form as the Logos (*dharmakāya*), as perceptible perfection (*sambhoga-kāya*), and as phenomenal body (*nirmāṇa-kāya*). In the amorous embrace of the *yab.yum* deities, the male divinity represents *karuṇā* or compassion, while the female stands for *prajñā* or wisdom. It is a lightning intuition of the Truth, united with the altruistic force of compassion. The serene and terrifying aspects of deities are to combat and overcome the forces of evil. Extreme serenity and extreme passion, the most abstract defined by the most carnal, the invisible and intangible in the intoxication of the senses: it is the oneness of the mind of the universe and of the divine in the living non-duality of the basest and the noblest. The body itself is a divine mansion (*maṇḍala*). The yoginī Niguma says:

> The divine male and divine female unite . . .
> Spiritual ecstasy increases;
> The elixir of union, blue in colour,
> Fills the body from the heart downward, . . .
> Purifying causes of misery and mental defilements

Tantras have also been the politics of eternity in the web of power. Tantric rites were intimately connected with royal sustenance in a complex symbolism of divine favour and religious reverence. They provided vibrant self-confidence to the elite, united the aristocracy and the people in wars or defence against external threats, and became charismatic assurance of victory. Cults and

power converged in the iconography of the Tantric deities. King Siṇḍok came to the throne in 929, and he is regarded as the founder of a new dynasty in East Java which lasted till 1222. He granted the freehold of Vañjaṅ to a great Buddhist guru Śrī Sambara Suryāvaraṇa who had attained all *siddhis* and had perfectly realized the Tantra Vajradhātu Subhūti. Śrī Sambara refers to the Twelve-armed Sambara (described e.g. in the *Niṣpanna-yogāvalī,* maṇḍala 12). Suryāvaraṇa must have conducted potent Sambara rites to ensure the blessings of Samyak-sambuddha. In the year 935, King Siṇḍok founded the Buddhist monastery of Jayāmṛta at a place called Añjuk in the inscription. Añjuk is Ṅ-añjuk with the definite article *ṅ* prefixed. A large hoard of about ninety statuettes was discovered from here. These statuettes wear crowns, while in Japan and Tibet they are without diadems. The crowns indicate that they were cast for a royal rite. Eighteen statuettes of the tenth century from Surocolo, Central Java, also wear crowns and should have been sculpted for a royal ceremony. They pertain to the *maṇḍalas* of Vajrasattva and of the sixteen-armed Hevajra. This Hevajra holds weapons and is significantly called Kyai.rdor.mtshon.cha.can 'Hevajra with weapons' in the Tibetan tradition. Surocolo is Surācala 'the Divine Mountain' or Sumeru. The Hevajra-maṇḍala of Surocolo should have been commissioned for an important state ritual by a king. Emperor Kubilai Khan underwent initiation into the rites of Hevajra (Herbert Franke, *From Tribal Chieftain to Universal Emperor and God: The legitimation of the Yuan Dynasty*, p.59). Around 1920, E.E. Schliefer saw a number of fine life-size bronzes, which have been identified by P.H. Pott as the *maṇḍala* of Hevajra created for Kubilai Khan before he dispatched

a naval expedition to Southeast Asia. King Kṛtanagara was initiated as Vajrabhairava in 1275. King Kṛtanagara and his queen Bajradevī were posthumously figured together as one statue of Vairocana and Locanā (*hyaṅ Verocana Locanā Iviriraṅ ekarcca prakāśeṅ prajā*: *Nāgarakṛtāgama* 43.6). Vairocana was associated with notions of kingship: the Sutasoma Kakavin speaks of Prince Sutasoma and Princess Candrāvatī as Mahāvairocana and Locanā. Kāpālika images have been found at Caṇḍī Singasari dating back to the thirteenth century. The image of Bhairava from this Caṇḍī stands on skulls (*kapāla*), holds a skull in his left hand, and wears a garland of severed heads (Jan Fontein, *The Sculpture* of *Indonesia* pp. 162–63). According to the chronicle of Pararaton, there was Pūrva-patapan sanctuary at Singasari where King Kṛtanagara performed Tantric ceremonies. This Bhairava could be his portrait statue. King Rājasanagara had the ceremony of the maṇḍala of Sarvajña conducted in 1362. Sarvajña is a synonym of Sarvavid Vairocana who holds a cakra in his hands (W.E. Clark, *Two Lamaistic Pantheons*, 1.114). The cakra pertains to a cakravartin. Caṇḍī Sukuh of the fifteenth century represents the largest great Śaiva Tantric ceremonies by an Indonesian king. The gigantic Liṅga at Caṇḍī Sukuh was a divine evocation for establishing the state. The Tantric cults of Hevajra, Saṃvara (also known as Cakrasamvara), Vairocana, as well as Kāpālika and other Śaiva rites were auspicious rituals for preemption of impending military threats, for victories, for legitimation, and for empowerment by divine forces.

Tantras summon us to ensphere ourselves in the Heart of Divinized Humanity, wherein we perceive the fusion of the Eternal Spirit, the earth, the sky, and the stars, in

the long pilgrimage of living, where the body and the spiritual self are one, where gods make love in the midst of fire, where purity and orgy are fragments of life and liberation.

9

Suttas Expounding Vipassanā

ANGRAJ CHOUDHARY

Vipassanā, the Sanskrit equivalent of which is *Vipaśyanā*, means insight. It is a technique of meditation discovered by the super scientist Buddha, which enables a meditator to see things as they are. This becomes possible by systematically and dispassionately observing sensations within self.

During the time of the Buddha and even before him the technique to achieve concentration of mind was known as *samatha* (serenity). Siddhārtha Gautama who had left home in quest of the cessation of sufferings went to two renowned teachers of his time. Both of them were experts of the *samatha* system of meditation. Āḷāra Kālāma taught him the seventh stage of meditation known as *ākiñcāyatana*, which is one of the four *arūpāvacara* meditations while Uddaka Rāmaputta taught him the eighth stage of meditation known as *neva saññā nāsaññāyatana*. Siddhārtha Gautama soon learnt these types of meditation but he was not satisfied with them. He learnt how to concentrate his mind by practising the meditations but he was not happy as it did not help him to get rid of sufferings and to uproot the cause of sufferings. In short, that was not going to give him peace

of mind. He also knew that it was not going to liberate him from the cycle of birth and death. Thus he came to this conclusion: "This Dhamma does not lead to disenchantment, to dispassion, to cessation, to peace, to direct knowledge, to enlightenment, to Nibbāna." Moreover it occurred to him that he would reappear in the base of nothingness where the life span is sixty thousand aeons but after the exhaustion of that life span he must pass away to be reborn in a lower world. Similarly the eighth stage of meditation also did not satisfy him as its practice could ensure his birth in a higher plane of life but could not ensure his freedom from bondage. Siddhārtha had left home to find a way out of sufferings and that was possible only when the cycle of birth and death is surpassed. But when he found that even the highest stages of meditation only led to higher planes of rebirth and not to genuine enlightenment, he was dissatisfied.

From the *Ariyapariyesanā-sutta* or the *Pāsarāsi-sutta*, it becomes clear that dissatisfied as he was, he again went out to make a quest for the wholesome and the supreme state of sublime peace. He practised different kinds of austerities prevalent in those days. As a result, he became thin, emaciated and weak. In that physical state he realized the futility of practising austere penances. One of the most important things about Siddhārtha Gautama was that he lost no occasion to learn from his experiences. Indulgence in sensual pleasures was as inefficacious in achieving *nibbāna*, 'the unborn, unaging, unailing deathless, sorrowless and undefiled supreme security from bondage' as practising penances. He followed the middle path and a day came when he attained *nibbāna*. The knowledge and vision arose in him and he knew.

'My deliverance is unshakeable, this is my last birth; there is no renewal of being.'

How did Siddhārtha Gautama attain enlightenment and become the Buddha? If he was not satisfied with the *samatha* type of meditation and if he did not find it leading to the peace of mind how could he attain enlightenment and peace of mind? What type of meditation did he actually practise to remove the cause of sufferings and attain the supreme peace? The answer to this question is found in the *Mahāsaccaka-sutta*, *Bodhirājakumara-sutta*, *Saṅgārava-sutta* and in the *Ariyapariyesanā-sutta.*

From these *suttas*, it is clear that by practising, he could not attain 'superhuman states as also knowledge and vision worthy of the noble ones.' So he asked himself, "Could there be another path to enlightenment?" Then he recalled the day, when, in the shade of a rose-apple tree, he had entered upon and abided in the first *jhāna* and being sure of the path, he entered upon and abided in the other three *rūpāvacara jhānas*. He achieved concentration of mind. This concentrated mind was 'purified, bright, unblemished, rid of imperfection, malleable, wieldy, steady and imperturbable.' He directed this mind to the knowledge of the recollection of past lives (*pubbenivāsānussati ñāṇa*) and thus attained true knowledge. 'Ignorance was banished and true knowledge arose, darkness was banished and light arose, as happens in one who abides diligent, ardent, and resolute.' Then he directed his mind to knowledge of the passing away and reappearance of beings (*cuttūpāda ñāṇa*). Again he had the same experience. Then he directed his mind to the knowledge of the destruction of the taints and directly knew the four noble truths. He saw suffering, its cause,

its cessation and the way leading to its cessation.When he knew and saw thus, his mind was liberated from the taint of sensual desire (*kāmāsava*), from the taint of being (*bhavāsava*) and from the taint of ignorance (*avijjāsava*). Then this knowledge dawned upon him, "It is liberated." He came to know that directly. "Birth is destroyed, the holy life has been lived, what had to be done has been done, there is no more coming to any state of being."

In this context, two words are very important to mention. They are *jāna* (to know) and *passa* (to see). He knows and sees directly. Whatever he says, he says from his own experience and not from intellect. When he says 'birth is destroyed', he knows that birth is really destroyed because its cause is extirpated. This makes the Buddha a unique philosopher, quite different from other philosophers of the world, who propound their philosophies. So when the Buddha says that his birth is destroyed, he has seen it. He does not infer it. This is real *darśana* and not philosophy. The philosophy of the Buddha is born out of his direct experience, *yathābhūta ñāṇa dassana.* It is the result of his experiential wisdom (*bhāvanāmaya paññā*), not of received wisdom(*sutamaya paññā*) and intellectual wisdom or analysis (*cintāmaya paññā*).

Another very important thing is to be noted here. When these different kinds of knowledge arose in him, some kind of pleasant feeling also emerged with it and it lingered without invading his mind (*uppannā sukhā vedanā cittaṃ na pariyādāya tiṭṭhati*). What does it mean? It means that the habit of mind to enjoy the pleasant feelings continuously, was broken and he was no longer asking for more of them in order to multiply his misery. This could be possible because he had already mastered

the four *rūpāvacara* meditations the last being accompanied by *upekkhā* (equanimity) and *ekaggatā* (one-pointedness or concertration of mind). He had also mastered all the four *arūpāvacara jhānas*. As a result, he had developed equanimity (*upekkhā*). So he would not react to pleasant feeling and ask for more of it. He also knew from his own experience that the pleasant feeling that he had when he attained the first three supernormal powers did not last. So he must have experienced *aniccatā* (impermanence). From the second noble truth which is equivalent to the law of dependent origination (*paṭiccasamuppāda*), he learnt how suffering is caused and how it can be ended. He learnt from it that *vedanā* gives rise to *taṇhā*. As far as he was concerned, *vedanā* could no longer give rise to *taṇhā* as he had achieved equanimity. *Vedanā* could not invade his mind, could not overpower him as he had understood the impermanent nature of even pleasant feelings and no longer hankered after them.He developed non-attachment (*anāsakti* or *vairāgya*) to them. He discovered the path by walking on which suffering can be eroded. As he had perfected *pāramī*s and as his mind was pure and bright, the cause of suffering and how to eliminate it must have dawned upon him in a flash. The Buddha, after attaining the three *abhiññā*s (higher knowledge or supernormal powers), said: "the pleasant feeling that arose in me did not invade my mind and remain." By saying this he must have concluded that nothing is permanent. Even pleasant feelings do not last for ever. And the second conclusion he must have drawn was that, it is craving for pleasant feelings that cause suffeing because they do not last forever. They are in a constant state of flux.

This great experience of the Buddha gave rise to the

technique of *vipassanā* meditation. His mind was purified and bright. So he could conclude, from the law of dependent origination, that *vedanā* (sensation) gives rise to *taṇhā* (craving) because of ignorance. Those who do not know that everything in this world is impermanent, hanker after the worldly objects and allow their cravings to continue and consequently bring suffering on themselves. But those who have rent the curtain of darkness (ignorance), no longer crave and multiply their miseries. So the Buddha directed his mind to look within and see for himself all that went on there. He realized that the pleasant feeling that had arisen in him when he had attained the three supernormal powers, did not overpower him because of his equanimity. He also experienced the impermanent nature of his pleasant sensation. This is the beginning of *vipassanā* meditation.

By practising *samatha*, it is not possible for anyone to know the real nature of things. It brings the mind under control by diverting it from the situation, which compels one to react with craving and aversion. A person can otherwise control anger by diverting his mind on any external object or by uttering some words or mantras repeatedly. But *samatha* works at the superficial level of mind, without going very deep. Siddhārtha Gautama realized that *samatha* can control the conscious mind to some extent but not the unconscious mind which he named as *anusaya*. Although *samatha* helps to prevent new *saṅkhāras* (formations), the old *saṅkhāra*s do remain and one while reacting unconsciously to them, multiplies one's miseries. *Saṅkhāra* is not only a blind reaction of the mind but is also the result of that action. In other words, both the seeds and fruits are called *saṅkhāras*. One has to develop *paññā* (wisdom) in order to see the

impermanent nature of *saṅkhāra*s and then only he can be detached from suffering. The Buddha said:

sabbe saṅkhārā aniccāti, yadā paññāya passati/
atha nibbindati dukkhe, esa maggo visuddhiyā//

It is clear from this verse that the Buddha regards wisdom as the best spiritual instrument to purify one's mind and free oneself from suffering. It is only wisdom that can lead one to understand the transitory nature of *saṅkhāra*s. He came to the conclusion that one can attain wisdom by practising *vipassanā* which means to look within and to realise the mind-matter phenomena that constitute personality.

Then comes the question: how did the Buddha make an improvement on the *samatha* type of meditation? *Samatha* leads to the development of serenity, whereas *vipassanā* discovered by the Buddha leads to the development of insight. The Buddha did not altogether undermine the importance of *samathā* but he made it a foundation and preparation for insight meditation. Just as with a focused torch one can see things clearly in the darkness, so with a concentrated mind one can see the mind-matter phenomena more clearly. When a meditator looks within to see what is happening, there he can see more clearly if his mind is concentrated. Apart from this, there is a great difference between *samatha* and *vipassanā*. I would like to quote Bhikkhu Bodhi here who brings out the differences between them. He says: "Whereas in serenity meditation, the meditator attempts to focus upon a single uniform object abstracted from actual experience, in insight meditation the endeavour is made to contemplate, from a position of detached observation, the ever shifting flux of experience itself in order to penetrate through to the essential nature of bodily and

mental phenomena."

It can be easily concluded that Siddhārtha Gautama practised *vipassanā* and attained *nibbāṇa*. He directed his pure and bright mind inward and saw things in their true nature. He recognized the worldly objects as impermanent (*anicca*), painful and not Self. As he said in one of the *sutta*s, "*yaṃ aniccaṃ, taṃ dukkhaṃ, yaṃ dukkhaṃ tadanattā*", i.e. what is impermanent is painful and what is painful is not Self. This realisation leads one to dispassion. *Vipassanā* meditation helped him come out of all the sufferings in a way *samatha* could never have done.

Later the Buddha made one more improvement on *samatha*. Instead of achieving concentration of mind with the aid of an external object, he showed that it can be done with the help of *ānāpāna*, i.e. observing the incoming and out-going breath. Besides, this object of meditation, as it is not external, is always with oneself. There is no question of the absence of the object of meditation. It is always there with oneself.

All that has been said above gives the background in which the Buddha discovered *vipassanā*. It is not that he stumbled upon it but he learnt it from his own experiences. The law of dependent origination made it clear to him that by blindly reacting to *vedanā* one generates *taṇhā* which gives rise to *upādāna* (grasping) which in turn causes *bhava* (becoming) and *jāti* (birth) etc.

Vipassanā teaches how to stop this vicious circle of birth, suffering and death. It teaches us not to react blindly and create a *saṅkhāra*. Whenever a sensation appears, liking or disliking begins. If it is a pleasant sensation we like it to be continued so that we can have more of it. This is craving. When an unpleasant sensation appears

we want to get rid of it as soon as possible. This is aversion. We react to them blindly and thus create *saṅkhāras*, which work as seeds to produce more fruits and an unending chain of suffering starts. The first thing therefore to learn is not to react. We also should know why we should not react. For this, we have to understand at the experiential level that even pleasant sensations are transitory. If they are transitory why hanker after them?

The two important characteristics of *vipassanā* are full awareness (*sati* and *sampajañña*) and equanimity. Awareness comprises both mindfulness (*sati*) and understanding the three characteristics—*anicca*, *dukkha* and *anatta* (*sampajañña*) and equanimity (*upekkhā*) means calmness and composure, i.e. not to lose one's balance of mind.

Before we speak about the *suttas* expounding *vipassanā*, let us know briefly the mechanism of its working and why does *vipassanā* work that way. To clearly understand it, let us understand how our mind works. Our mind has four major segments or aggregates. They are *viññāṇa* (consciousnesss), *sanñā* (perception), *vedanā* (sensation) and *saṅkhāra* (reaction). The function of *viññāṇa* is to cognize, just to know without making any differentiations. When a sound comes in contact with the ear, this segment of mind just notes that a sound has come. Then the second part of mind called *saññā* becomes alert. It knows from its past experience that this sound contains praise or abuse. The third part of mind, *vedanā*, starts working at once. Sound produces sensation. This sensation is either pleasant or unpleasant, or, neither pleasant nor unpleasant, i.e. neutral. When perception recognizes and evaluates the sound, sensations become pleasant or unpleasant. Sensations arise on the body and are felt by

the mind. This function of the mind is called *vedanā*. Then the fourth part of the mind called *saṅkhāra* starts working.Then we begin to react. If the sensations are pleasant, we want more of them and if they are unpleasant we dislike them and want them no more. Thus we start a process of multiplying our misery. The momentary liking of a pleasant sensation develops into craving. Similarly the momentary disliking of an unpleasant sensation develops into aversion. Our reactions may vary from light, deep and very deep and they leave the impressions accordingly. Strong reactions create deep impressions. The nature of our next life is determined by these powerful impressions. At the end of life these deep impressions are bound to come up in the mind and the mind of the next life will have the same qualities of sweetness or bitterness. Thus we are responsible for the kind of life we are going to have next.

So the first thing to learn is that we should not react to the sensations that we feel. We should learn to remain equanimous. If we remain equanimous we will not create deep impressions. By being mindful, one can remain indifferent to sensations and can avoid forming deep impressions. So awareness is the first aspect of *vipassanā*. This awareness will dissolve the barrier between the conscious and unconscious mind. Our conscious mind does not know what is happening at the unconscious level of mind. The gap between the two is caused by our ignorance. If we cultivate and develop awareness, our conscious mind will know what is happening at the unconscious level. The second aspect is to remain equanimous to pleasant sensations or unpleasant ones. This habit of remaining equanimous can be strengthened if we know reality at the experiential level. Our

bhāvanāmayā paññā can help us here. If we keep on observing sensations with awareness it will not take us long to understand that they are impermanent (*anicca*). Unpleasant sensations arise to pass away. So is the case with the pleasant ones. This understanding of their impermanent nature (*aniccatā*) makes us detached. We develop dispassion and become non-attached even to those objects or events, which cause pleasant sensations, let alone to those objects or events which cause unpleasant ones. We begin to feel genuine *vairāgya*.

We must understand one more aspect of *vipassanā*. This is observation of sensations. People may well ask why observe sensation? Why not something else? The answer lies in understanding the nature of sensations. The Buddha said, "Whatever arises in the mind is accompanied by sensation (*sabbe dhammā vedanā-samosaraṇā*). If we want to know the truth about ourselves, we have to understand our physical and psychic aspects. We can directly know our physical aspect by being aware of sensations. The physical aspect of our body and sensation are inseparable. Similarly we can directly know our psychic aspect by being aware of the contents of mind such as thought, emotion, hope, fear, anger etc. Besides, the two aspects, physical and psychic, are also closely related to each other. Therefore it can well be concluded that sensations act as a bridge between mind and matter. How do we know that we are angry? How do we know we are happy? It is by observing our sensations. Whatever we do, sensations are always there. They are bound to arise. All kinds of sensations are bound to arise. The Buddha said, "Through the sky blow many different winds, from east and west, from north and south, dust-laden or dustless, cold or hot, fierce gales or gentle

breezes—many winds blow. In the same way, in the body sensations arise—pleasant, unpleasant or neutral. When a meditator practising ardently, does not neglect his faculty of thorough understanding, then such a wise person fully comprehends sensations. Having fully comprehended them, he becomes freed from all impurities in this very life. At life's end, such a person, being established in Dhamma and understanding sensations perfectly, attains the indescribable stage beyond the conditioned world."

The Buddha gave so much importance to *vedanā* as it has both mental and physical aspects. Our mind experiences sensations which are inextricably related to the physical element. Sensations arise in this very body. So we feel sensations, pleasant or unpleasant, and learn to remain equanimous.

Vipassanā also teaches us to see things as they are. If we learn to have our sensations without making a reaction to them, we come to know that they are impermanent. They arise to fade and pass away. This direct observation at the experiential level makes us relinquish our attachment to them. As a consequence we develop detachment and by becoming detached we become liberated.

As a person, while in the process of meditation, gradually experiences the impermanence of the worldly objects, the reality dawns upon him. He knows that everything is impermanent and he does not lust for anything. He abides without being inflamed by lust. His cravings diminish, his bodily and mental fevers are abandoned and he experiences physical and mental pleasure. The views, the intentions, the efforts, and concentration of such a person are revealed right in its

true sense. But his physical and vocal actions and his livelihood have already been purified prior to the undertaking of *vipassanā* meditation. In this way he develops the noble eightfold path. Then follows the development of the four foundations of mindfulness (*satipaṭṭhānas*), the four kinds of right striving or effort (*sammappadhānas*), the four bases for spiritual power (*iddhipādas*), the five faculties (*indriyas*), the five powers (*balas*) and the seven enlightenment factors (*bojjhaṅgas*). Thus he perfects all the thirty seven factors of enlightenment. *Samatha* (serenity) and *vipassanā* (insight) yoked together to help him develop all these factors (see *Mahāsaḷāyatanika-sutta*, M.N. Sutta no. 149).

Let us understand how our not reacting to any sensation and remaining equanimous helps us to eradicate our miseries. The following quotation from Sri Satyanarain Goenka's discourse will make it amply clear: "Any moment in which one does not generate a new *saṅkhāra*, one of the old ones will arise on the surface of the mind, and along with it a sensation will srart within the body. If one remains equanimous, it passes away and another old reaction arises in its place. One continues to remain equanimous to physical sensations and the old *saṅkhāra*s continue to arise and pass away, one after another." (*The Discourses Summaries*, p.27). The processs of how to get rid of old *saṅkhāras* can be clearly understood with the help of an example. If we do not add fuel to the burning fire what will happen? The fuel that is there will be consumed and then the fire will go out. If we do not create new *saṅkhāras* by remaining equanimous, the old *saṅkhāras* will come on the surface of the mind and they will also die out. This is what we do in *vipassanā. Phussa phussa vyantikaroti*—it means that we

get rid of old *saṅkhāras* by just observing them without making any reaction.

Vipassanā means, to see mindfully but not to react. What the Buddha said to Bāhiya Dāruciriya explains *vipassanā* clearly. '*Diṭṭhe diṭṭhamattaṃ, sute sutamattaṃ, mute mutamattaṃ, viññāte viññātamattaṃ*'—which means, in your seeing there must be only seeing and nothing else. Similarly in your hearing, smelling, tasting, touching and cognizing there must be only hearing, smelling, tasting, touching and cognizing. All these activities must be done equanimously so that no *saṅkhāra*s are created to bind us to the wheel of birth and death.

Vipassanā is a technique of meditation, a very powerful tool to purify oneself from all impurities by just being aware of ourselves. We also develop *paññā* (wisdom) by understanding the reality as it is. By observing sensations we come to know that they are *anicca*, *dukkha* and *anatta*. So our *sanñā* changed into *paññā*. Whatever we learn from *vipassanā*, we do so at the experiential level by observing all that happen to us. We develop wisdom through direct experience, not through intellectual discussion or listening to others. This self-observation leads to self-transformation. By practicing *vipassanā* we cease to create new *saṅkhāra*s and eliminate those which lie deep within us. *Khīṇaṃ purāṇaṃ, navaṃ natthi sambhavaṃ*—no new *saṅkhāra* is generated and the old *saṅkhāra*s that come up on the surface of the mind to continue the flow of life, die out.

As I said above, the two aspects of *vipassanā* are awareness and equanimity. The technique, as to how to cultivate them, has been expounded by the Buddha in several *suttas* of the *Suttapiṭaka*. The most important *sutta* is the *Satipaṭṭhāna-sutta* collected in the *Majjhimanikāya*.

This *sutta* is also found in the *Dīghanikāya* and because the section on the four noble truths is amplified here it is called the *Mahāsatipaṭṭhāna-sutta*.

This *sutta* contains the quintessence of the Buddha's teaching. I call it the action plan of his philosophy. How to put this philosophy into practice has been described here in detail. This *sutta* trains our mind to live with full awareness and also without craving and aversion. This *sutta* is so important that the Buddha said: "*Ekāyano ayaṃ, bhikkhave, maggo sattānaṃ visuddhiyā, sokaparidevānaṃ samatikkamāya, dukkhadomanassānaṃ atthaṅgamāya, ñāṇassa adhigamāya, nibbānassa sacchikiriyāya, yadidaṃ cattaro satipaṭṭhānā."* (Bhikkhus, this is the direct path for the purification, for surmounting sorrow and lamentation, for the disappearance of pain and grief, for the attainment of the true path, for the attainment of nibbāṇa, the four foundations of mindfulness). *Ekāyano maggo* has been variously interpreted. Both *ayana* and *magga* are synonymous. The question arises then why it is *ekāyano maggo*? Ven Som renders it as the only way. Ven Nāṇapoṇika renders it as the sole way. Bhikkhu Nāṇamoli renders it as "a path that goes in one way only." I would like to render it as the path meant for one way traffic, as is clear from the words like *uttarāyaṇa and dakṣiṇāyana*. The implication is that if some one takes this path, he is sure to reach the goal, to *nibbāṇa*. There is no returning. The path is spiritually very efficient. It helps you go on it very smoothly. This is confirmed by what the Buddha said about its efficacy. "Let alone seven years, bhikkhus, if anyone should develop these four foundations in such a way for six years. . . . for five years. . . . for four years. . . . for one year, one of two fruits could be expected for him, either final knowledge here

and now, or if there is a trace of clinging left, non return. . . . Let alone one year. . . . let alone half a month, bhikkhus, if any one should develop these four foundations in such a way for seven days, one of two fruits could be expected . . . non-return. (*tiṭṭhatu, satta vassāni . . . cha vassāni . . . pañcavassāni . . .* etc.)."

Satipaṭṭhāna either means establishing mindfulness, or the objective domain of mindfulness. As I have shown above one of the two aspects of *vipassanā* is mindfulness. *Satipaṭṭhāna* helps to develop it. Mindfulness is developed by contemplating on body (*kāyānupassanā*), on sensations (*vedanānupassanā*), on mind (*cittānupassanā*) and on dhamma or mind objects (*dhammānupassanā*).

What does *kāyānupassanā* mean? A meditator who intends to practice *kāyānupassanā* goes to a forest or to the root of a tree or to an empty hut and after going there, sits down cross legged, keeps his body erect and establishes mindfulness. Mindfully he breathes in and mindfully he breathes out. When he breathes in a deep breath, he understands that he breathes in a deep breath and when he breathes in a shallow breath he understands he breathes in a shallow breath. A similar thing happens to him when he breathes out a deep breath or a shallow breath. Then he goes on to train himself thinking this—'while feeling the whole body, I shall breathe in or while feeling the whole body I shall breathe out.' He also trains himself like this, 'with the body activities undisturbed, I shall breathe in and breathe out.' Thus he dwells observing body in body internally, or he dwells observing body in body externally or he dwells observing body in body internally and externally. Thus he dwells observing the phenomenon of arising and passing away in the body. In this way his awareness is established: 'This is body!'

When he develops this kind of awareness, there is mere understanding along with mere awareness. Thus he lives detached without clinging anything in the world. He clearly understands body experientially at the level of sensations. He understands body in its true nature, its characteristic of arising and passing away. He does not identify this body with the body of a male or that of a female, nor does he regard it as old or young or beautiful and ugly, nor has he any attachment towards 'I' 'me' or 'mine'. He develops the same kind of understanding and detachment with regard to sensations (*vedanā*) mind (*citta*) and mental contents (*dhamma*). He sees them in a detached manner and sees them as impermanent (*anicca*).

A meditator, while doing *kāyānupassanā* (contemplation of the body), is mindful of breathing and contemplates on the four *iriyāpathas* such as walking, standing, sitting and lying down. Then he develops full awareness (*sammapajañña*) with regard to going forward (*abhikkante*), returning (*paṭikkante*), looking ahead (*ālokite*), looking away (*vilokite*), flexing (*samiñjite*), extending (*pasārite*), wearing one's robe and carrying the outer robe and bowl, (*saṅghāṭipatta - cīvara - dhārane*), eating, drinking, defecating, urinating, waking up, talking and keeping silent. In short, there is no activity of the body of which he is not fully aware.

In this context, the Pali word used by the Buddha is *pajānāti* which means to know deeply, to know with wisdom. There are different levels of knowing and this depends upon at what stage of spiritual development one belongs. *Jānāti, sañjānāti, pajānāti, parijānāti, sampajānāti* and *abhijānāti* are terms used by the Buddha to indicate the quantum of spiritual progresss made by a meditator.

The next exercise is—'to contemplate body is to see its foulnesss'. What is this body? It is full of impurities of different kinds, which are covered with a skin. For a person who is attached to this body, this exercise of contemplating on the foulnesss of body makes him detached. Then he contemplates on the elements such as *paṭhavī, āpo, tejo* and *vāyu* of which this body is made. The last exercise of *Kāyānupassanā* is contemplating on the dead bodies in a charnel ground and their different decompositions. This observation can go a long way in making a person free from a great amount of sensual desire. This contemplation fully dissects physical beauty and makes one non-attached. Thus by doing *kāyānupassanā*, a meditator develops full awareness and wisdom; as he sees its impermanence and foulnesṣ *kāyānupassanā* also leads him to develop non-attachment (*vairāgya*).

Vedanānupassanā (contemplation of sensations) helps a meditator experience impernanence (*aniccatā*) and thus helps him to develop non-attachment to even those things, which cause pleasant sensations. *Vedanānupassanā* also helps him to develop equanimity to a great extent.

With the help of *cittānupassanā* (contemplation of mind), a meditator experiences different states of mind such as *sarāgaṃ cittaṃ, sadosaṃ cittaṃ, samohaṃ cittaṃ* and their opposites such as *vītarāgaṃ cittaṃ vītadosaṃ cittaṃ* and *vītamohaṃ cittaṃ*. As the body is experienced by means of what arises in the body i.e. sensations, so the mind is experienced only when some mental contents such as craving and aversion etc. are present in it. This contemplation also helps a meditator experience *aniccatā*, which paves the path for developing non-attachment. As a consequence, he drives out craving and aversion.

Dhammānupassanā (contemplation of mental contents) helps a meditator observe sense desire (*kāmacchanda*), ill will (*vyāpāda*), sloth and torpor(*thīnamiddha*), flurry and worry (*uddhacca kukkucca*)) and doubt (*vicikicchā*). He sees how they arise and pass away and consequently experiences *aniccatā*. Similarly he perceives deeply all the five aggregates such as *rūpa, vedanā, saññā, saṅkhāra* and *viññāṇa* and twelve sense spheres. He experiences their arising and passing away and thus experiences *aniccatā*. This direct knowledge leads him to develop non-attachment.

Observation of *bojjhaṅgas* (factors of enlightenment) also helps him develop full awareness. Then he directs his mind to fully understand the four noble truths. Thus he develops full awareness and understands *aniccatā* at the experiential level.

In short, the four *anupassanās* enable a mediatator to develop full awarness and directly realize impermanence. This realisation goes a long way in making him non-attached. And the state of non-attachment frees him from cravings and aversion—the root cause of suffering. That is why it is said that continuous awareness makes a meditator free from impurities and ultimately frees him from the cycle of birth and death, i.e. makes him realize *nibbāna*—the summum bonum of human life.

The other *sutta* which expounds *vipassanā* is the *Ānāpānasati-sutta*. This *sutta* shows how the practice of attentive breathing fulfils all four foundations of mindfulness, not only *kāyānupassanā* as shown in the *Satipaṭṭhāna-sutta* but also the other three *anupassanās*. How does *ānāpāna sati* (attentive breathing developed and cultivated) establish the other three foundations of mindfulness?

When a meditator understands that he is breathing in or breathing out a deep or shallow breath or when he decides that he shall breathe in or breathe out the whole body of breath or when he aims that he shall breathe in and breathe out tranquillising the bodily formation, he abides by contemplating on the body as a body, ardent, fully aware and mindful, getting rid of all cravings and aversion. When he trains himself that he shall breathe in and breathe out experiencing rapture and pleasure or when he trains himself that he shall breathe in or breathe out experiencing the mental formation, then he abides by comtemplating on feelings as feelings, ardent, fully aware and mindful, having put away craving and aversion for the world. This is how he fulfils *vedanānupassanā*. How does he fulfil *cittānupassanā* i.e. contemplating on mind as mind? When he trains himself that he shall breathe in and breathe out experiencing the mind, gladdening the mind, concentrating the mind and liberating the mind, then he abides by contemplating on mind as mind, ardent, fully aware and mindful, getting rid of desire and aversion. Again when he trains himself that he shall breathe in and breathe out contemplating on impermanence, contemplating on fading away, contemplating on cessation and relinquishment, then he abides by contemplating on mind-objects or dhammas, ardent, fully aware and mindful, free from greed (craving) and grief (aversion).

In this way when the four foundations of mindfulness are developed, the seven factors of enlightenment (*sati, dhammavicaya, viriya, pīti, passaddhi, samādhi* and *upekkhā*) are also developed and cultivated.

The *Mahāhatthipadopama-sutta*, the *Mahārāhulovāda-sutta* and the *Dhātuvibhaṅga-sutta,* set for the detailed

instructions on the contemplation of the six elements, viz. earth, fire, water, air, ether and mind, contain illuminating passages on the technique to contemplate on sensations.

In the *Alagaddūpama-sutta* and in the *Mahāpuṇṇama-sutta,* the Buddha used the five *khandha*s (*rūpa, vedanā,* etc.) as the base for insight contemplation. In the *Saḷāyatanavibhaṅga-sutta* and in the *Mahāyatanika-sutta*, six sense bases have been made the basis for contemplating inwardly.

In conclusion, there are many *suttas* in the *Sutta Piṭaka* which elaborately describe how to establish mindfulness, because without this, a meditator can not experience the reality of this world; in other words, he cannot have *yathābhūtañāṇa dassana* and develop non-attachment, get rid of craving and aversion and free himself from the bondage of suffering.

10

A Brief Analysis of the Content, Literary Style and Language of the *Bhadrakalpāvadāna*

KAKALI GHOSH

The *Bhadrakalpāvadāna* (BhKA) is one of the brilliant collections of narrative texts of Buddhist tradition in the Sanskrit Language.

Initiative for the reconstruction and study of the hitherto unpublished text has been taken in recent times, from which we came to know that two manuscripts of the text, both in Newari script, are available; one is preserved in the Asiatic Society (Hodgson Collection, B 40) and the other in the Royal Archives, Kathmandu, Nepal. The latter, containing thirty seven *avadāna*-tales in 470 folios with a colophon, reveals the fact that the former, which contains twenty six *avadāna*-tales in 237 folios, is incomplete.

That a large number of *avadāna*s, narrated in the BhKA are related to Buddha Śākyasiṃha, when he was still a human being and it increases the value of the text. The title of the text '*Bhadrakalpāvadāna*', i.e. '*Avadāna* from the good age of the world' (as translated by Maurice Winternitz[1]), could therefore easily be justified.

The title may also be proved to be perfect by taking the meaning of '*bhadra*' as good or best and *kalpa* as scriptures, rules, purpose or desire.

The first chapter entitled 'Svapurapratyāgama-prasthāna' or 'Svapurapratyāgamana' illustrates the devotions of different deities including Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva, who appeared before Lord Buddha in the *trayodaśī-tithi* of the month of *Āṣāḍha*, to praise Him. In this chapter, we see Lord Buddha first admonishing the deities for their negligence in performing certain duties as instructed by the Creator at the time of creation and then to impart the principles of Buddhist Theology and the merits of those principles as well. For example, he advised Brahmā, the creator:

brahmavihārābhāvatvān na kṛtaṃ lokapālanam/
mokṣārthaṃ pālituṃ lokaṃ bhava brahmavihārikaḥ//
(BhKA 1. 51)

Addressing all the deities He uttered the ultimate truth before them which would lead them to the ultimate goal:

śṛṇudhvaṃ sakalā devā yad dharmaṃ mokṣamārgikam/
bhave caturmahāduḥkhaṃ janurvyādhijarāntakam/
tanmocanārthaṃ mokṣārthaṃ bhajadhvaṃ śrītriratnakam//
(Ibid., 1. 127)

Thus the merits of the principles of Buddhism, being illustrated, give another justification to the title 'Bhadrakalpāvadāna'.

Again the merits of offering homage to Lord Buddha through uttering verses are also praised in a few portions. e.g. the merits of the verses, uttered by Lord Śiva as explained are:

paṭhanti ye jināgrato vinirmitaṃ hareṇa tat/
supañcapañcacāmaraṃ trikālam eva māṅgalam//

sukīrtidharmasaṃyuktā lasanti saptavṛddhayoḥ/
vrajanti te sukhāvatīṃ sukhena sukhāvatīm//
(Ibid., 1. 125)

If these laudatory verses are taken as scriptures, another justification of the title 'Bhadrakalpāvadāna' could be shown, for the merits of those scriptures are suggested here.

The topic which has been proposed to be narrated in the first chapter actually starts from the second chapter. It is noteworthy that the *avadāna*s begin to be narrated from the second chapter of the BhKA.

The second and the following four chapters mainly describe the state of Yaśodharā, the wife of Śākyasiṃha after His renunciation. R.L. Mitra in his *The Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal*[2] has noted that 'the first story is that of Yaśodharā, the forsaken wife of Lord Buddha.'

The chapters *Yaśodharāgarbhasaṃdhāraṇa*, *Devadatta-kāmalobhonmattabhūta*, *Gopātīrthapravartana*, *Gopā-pratyāgamana*, *Gopāgnipātana* and *Gopābhṛgupātana* depict Devadatta's advances for Yaśodharā's love, and how cruelty arose in him from his failure in achieving her love which led him to make several attempts to take her life. But all his attempts were in vain. Yaśodharā, by the power of her pervious meritorious deeds like performance of ritualistic vows etc., was rescued repeatedly and was always offered a secured shelter.

The merits of performing rites, which are nevertheless *sādhu-niyama*s, being narrated here, give the title 'Bhadrkalpāvadāna' a justification from another point of view.

The meaning *sādhu-abhiprāya*, i.e. 'noble purpose' of the word *bhadrakalpa* is probably suggested in a few tales —e.g. *Supriyasārthavāhajātaka*, where the tale of success

of a noble purpose of Supriya is narrated.

A number of *subhāṣita*s are scattered in the text which resemble the floating verses introduced by the poets of earlier eras.

The BhKA is a Buddhist text of Vajrayāna tradition. In the first chapter the Vajrayāna theory of cosmology has been introduced through the speeches of Lord Buddha before the deities who came to praise Him.

The principles and certain concepts of Buddhist theology, e.g. *āryasatya*, *nairātmyavāda*, *kṣaṇikatvavāda*, *caturbrahmavihāra,* etc. are illustrated through the words of Lord Buddha Himself probably with the purpose of influencing the common people more fruitfully.

Narrative Structure

A twofold narrative structure could be found as the basis of this work. The common frame of Aśoka-Upagupta conversation is taken as the basic structure of the narrative work. And we, the readers, listeners or observers, in this anonymous poetic creation, get Jayaśrī as the narrator and Jinaśrī as the listener, who, on behalf of all the devotees and followers, wanted to know some of the anecdotes recounted by Upagupta to the inquisitive royal pupil Aśoka.

The narrative structure as a whole, gives a clear indication of continuous oral transmission as reflected in the BhKA, which may be represented by the following chart:

1. Upagupta imparted knowledge to King Aśoka as well as many devotees gathered in an assembly,

   . . . upagupta samabravīt/
   aśoka śrūyatāṃ sādhu saṃkṣepāt kathyate mayā//
   (Ibid., 1. 15)

2. The teacher of Jayaśrī might have received the knowledge either directly from Upagupta or inherited the same from some other source.
3. Jayaśrī, being requested by Jinaśrī, proposed to impart to his disciples, the knowledge, or to narrate the stories which he had received from his teacher,
. . . jayaśrīrādiśan mudā/
śrūyatām kathyate śiṣyā gurūpadeśataḥ kathām//
(Ibid. 1.6)

4. The poet, in the course of narrating the knowledge which he obtained by succession, also has to narrate the process of succession of the said knowledge.

The incidents or episodes narrated within this narrative outline are decorated with a series of monologues and dialogues of different characters.

A series of monologues and dialogues in various expressions give BhKA the shape of a colourful garland.

All those series of dialogues express with felicity the desired sentiments and create an audio-visual effect which touches the heart of common people, the target connoisseurs, because of their simplicity and appropriateness of diction, and the dramatic effect.

The BhKA is a veritable storehouse of poetic sentiments and figures of speech. The poetic composition despite its simplicity is not at all deprived of ornamentation of speech, i.e. *alaṃkāra*s. The dominant sentiment of the text is *vīrarasa* but *karuṇa*, *bhayānaka*, *raudra* and *śṛṅgāra,* etc. are also present in the work as subsidiary *rasa*s.

Though the language and the style of the BhKA are very simple, it is not devoid of poetic imageries and sentiments; rather the text of BhKA is in fact enriched with several poetic imageries.

Albeit the language of the BhKA is very simple and nearer to the colloquial languages of common people, but its deviation from grammatical usages notably from the standpoint of Paninian Grammar is quite obvious. A few examples of such deviations are given below:

The syntax in some verses of the BhKA is very critical and confusing. A fusion of active and passive voice is often found.

Like many other Sanskrit Buddhist texts, interchange in the use of *ktvā* and *lyap* and confusion because of the conjugational *parasmaipada* forms of *ātmanepadī* roots are quite regular in the BhKA.

Departures from the rules of case-endings in usages could be found very often in the text.

Other peculiarities

1. *śrīghanīṃ dharmyāṃ* (ibid., 1.2a). Here *śrīghanīṃ* is in the second case-ending form but *dharmyām* is probably the seventh case-ending of *dharmī*.
2. *kenacid bhojayed akam* (ibid., 2.). It is syntactically confusing, because *kartṛ* is in passive voice, but *bhojayed* is in active voice. May the reading be *kenacid bhojaye 'dakam*, by taking the meaning of *adaka* (*the root ad*) food?
3. *vṛddhāyāṃ maraṇe cāpi* (ibid.). Here *vṛddhāyāṃ* is used to denote *vārdhakye*.
4. *mātṛpitarau kṣaṇenāhitatāṃ bhavet* (ibid.). Here *mātṛpitarau* is in dual but *bhavet* is in singular form.
5. *bhavārṇavapratārakam* (ibid.). The word *pratāraka* means *cheat* in common usage; but here in this context it means *prakṛṣṭa tāraka*, i.e. great saviour.
6. *kathā sudhāmayo 'dhunā* (ibid.). Here *kathā* is in feminine gender, whereas the corresponding adjective *sudhāmaya* is in the masculine.

7. *la* in the place of *ra* could often be traced, which is probably the result of the peculiarity of pronunciation. E.g., *jāla* instead of *jāra* (ibid. 5.12c), *nilaya* instead of *niraya* (ibid), *devala* instead of *devara* (ibid., 3.153c).

This is a brief documentation of our primary observations. Detailed study may enlighten us more about the language of the BhKA.

References

Winternitz, Maurice, *History of Indian Literature*, Trans., S. Ketkar and H. Kohn, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, Delhi, 1991 (3rd ed.), vol. II, pp. 291 ff.

Mitra, Rajendralala, *The Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal*, Sanskrit Pustak Bhandar, Calcutta, 1971 (rpt.), p. 42.

11

The Text of the *Vasundharāvratotpattyavadāna* A Sanskrit Buddhist Narrative

RATNA BASU

The hitherto unpublished text of the *Vasundharāvratotpattyavadāna* (VVA) is available in the holding of the Asiatic Society, Kolkata (ms. no. B 44 in the B. H. Hodgson Collection of Sanskrit Buddhist Texts brought from Nepalese sources).This manuscript has been documented in detail by R. L. Mitra in the well-known work, *The Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal*, pp. 266–270 (Calcutta 1882, rpt. 1971). The present author is involved in preparing a text-critical edition of the text available in the aforementioned collection in Newari script.

The text of VVA, a Buddhist *avadāna* of later period, deserves our attention for its style of narration in verses which are suited to musical tune, for a language which is rich in diction and often takes the freedom of deviating from the Paninian grammatical forms to suit the metrical measure and tune, so that it does not stand in the way of the understanding of the listener. The socio-cultural tradition of worshipping Mother Earth as Goddess is for

invoking peace and prosperity.

The rites and rituals performed to adore and worship the deity Vasundharā are widely in practice in the Nepalese and Eastern Indian socio-cultural tradition. This deity, whose name 'Vasundharā', etymologically means possessed of (obviously for bestowing on the worshippers and devotees) *vasu,* wealth, prosperity and precious materials in abundance. Following the rituals and worshipping this deity in order to ensure peace and prosperity in the family and in the society is still a living practice in the above-noted regions of the Indian sub-continent both in the Buddhist as well as in the Puranic, i.e. the so-called Hindu socio-cultural heritage. The practice of offering *pūjā* and all requisite oblations to the deity on the particular days of particular months of the year as prescribed is current in these socio-cultural groups. Further, offerings to this deity on occasions such as marriage and related rites of Nepalese and Eastern Indian societies of the Bengalees, Oriyas, Maithilees and so on are in practice.

The present paper endeavours to evaluate the textual evidences related to the origin and spread of this ritualistic practice as available in the collection of "The Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal" [*Cf.* Mitra, R.L., *The Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal*, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1882; Sanskrit Pustak Bhandar, Calcutta 1971 (rpt.)]

At the very outset not less than 108 (One hundred and eight) names of the deity is recorded in the text *Vasundharāṣṭottaraśatanāma* (VAN) (ms. no. B 49; 1b-4a1, B.H. Hodgson Collection. The Asiatic Society, Kolkata). Among these 108 names, the commonest is *Vasudhārā,* the name or epithet by which the rites are generally

known and performed by the socio-cultural groups, amongst whom her worship is found to be a living tradition. The other names etymologically having the same root √*dhṛ*, (to contain, to hold) are the following: *Vasudhārī, Vasudharā, Vasudharī, Vasundharī, Vasuśrī* and *Dharaṇī*. Some other names are *Śrīkarī, Bhūtamātā, Kīrti, Caṇḍī, Ajitā, Vidyā, Raudrī, Kaumārī, Vāgīśvarī, Yoginī, Manoharī, Buddhamārgadarśanī, Vedamātā, Sarasvatī, Viśālākṣī* and the six *pāramitā*s one by one, *dāna, śīla, kṣānti*, etc.

The complete tradition, background and historicity of the cultural context of this deity along with her associates and the rites and rituals performed for her propitiation, cannot be gathered by taking into consideration solely the text *Vasundharā-vratotpattyavadāna* (ms. no. B 44. ibid.). One has to not only take note of, but venture upon the not very easy task of a detailed, in-depth textual study of at least three other texts in the said collection of Sanskrit Buddhist Literature, which are yet unpublished. The texts are:

1. *Vasundharāṣṭottaraśatanāma* (ms. no. B 49)
2. *Sucandrāvadāna* (ms. no. B 21)
3. *Vasudhārādhāraṇī*

While the *Sucandrāvadāna*, a small text of fifteen folia illustrates through a narrative how Lord Buddha Himself directs one of His distressed devotees to perform the *Vasudhārā* rite, whereby the merchant regained all his former wealth, influence and prosperity. Thereafter, the process and procedure of performing the *Vasudhārā* worship is sketched in minute details.

The text *Vasundharāvratotpattyavadāna* (VVA), a still longer one containing twenty three folia recounts a very interesting *avadāna* story to delineate the background,

the revelation and introduction of the real procedure of performing the *Vasundharā* rite. Here the deity *Vasundharā* or *Vasudhārā* is associated with *Mahālakṣmī* and *Kumārī* and thus elevating *Vasundharā* (or *Vasudhārā*) to the dimension of the trio or threefold form of the deity of prosperity, wealth in abundance and above all worldly peace and even something beyond all these.

The text of VVA deserves our special attention along with the other two in view of the following:

1. The narrative and the narrative structure.
2. The socio-cultural aspects those become clear in the narration.
3. Narrative style and spirit of communication.
4. The Language.

Among the special features of the language, the following observations may be made in summing up:

1. Temporal adverbs. E.g., *ekasamaye* in place of *ekadā*, *ekasmin dine* in place of *ekadā*.
2. *Upasarga*. The use of the *upasarga* '*pra*' for indicating and emphasizing something extremely negative, i.e. as the term of superlative in the negative context. E.g., *prakṛtaṃ pāpam* (VVA 248a, 262a, 270c); *pravṛttānta-* here *pra* is used to convey the idea of detailing or complication of description.
3. Use of more than one *upasarga*. E.g., *abhyanumoditaḥ*(ibid. 225b), *rājñīṃ samupāyātam apaśyat* (ibid. 246b), *te 'pi tāṃ samupāyātaṃ ṛṣṭvopetyaivam abrūvan* (ibid. 247), *samupādiśat* (ibid. 271d)
4. Idiom Association of the root *car* or *cār* in causative, in one or many *upasarga*s.
5. The destination, i.e. the object (*īpsitatama*) of the root *gam* almost always appearing not as *karman* but as *adhikaraṇa* and in seventh case-ending.

6. *Ātmanepada* in the place of *parasmaipada*. E.g., √*car* in *Ātmanepada* as *carevahi* (ibid. 38d), *carāmahe* (ibid. 88d), *carāvahe* (ibid. 166d, 190b), *carasva* (ibid. 191b), *cerire* (ibid. 230d), *care* (ibid. 298d); √*sthā* in *Ātmanepada* as *tiṣṭhadhvam* (ibid. 87a), *tiṣṭhāvahe* (ibid. 240d), *ud*-√*sthā* in *Ātmanepada* as *udatiṣṭhata* (ibid. 71d) meaning physical uprising; √*pracch* in *ātmanepada* as *apṛcchata* (ibid. 86d, 117b, 222d), *paripṛcchatām* (ibid. 245b); √*iṣ* in *ātmanepada* as *samīcchire* (ibid. 10d), *samaicchanta* (ibid. 145d), *aicchata* (ibid. 225d); √*vad* in *ātmanepada* as *ahaṃ vade* (ibid. 181d), *vadasva me* (ibid. 207b, 223d); √*vraj* in *ātmanepada* as . . . *aham ādyasūtraṃ dhṛtvā vraje drutam* (ibid. 166ab); . . . *ahaṃ śanair iha samāvraje* (ibid. 179d); √*dhāv* in *ātmanepada* as *rājānam abhyadhāvatām* (ibid. 65d) [*Cf. Devīmāhātmyam* (*Durgāsaptaśatī*) en passim]; √*hṛ* in *ātmanepada* as *harevahi* (ibid. 51d).
7. *Parasmaipada* in the place of *ātmanepada*. E.g., √*arth* in *parasmaipada* as *prārthayet* (ibid. 11d, 107d) most probably in analogy to *arpayet* (ibid. 105d), *samarcayet* (ibid. 104b), *viśodhayet* (ibid. 102d), *pravāhayet* (ibid. 109d), *toṣayet* (ibid. 111d); √*labh* in *parasmaipada* as *labhāmi* (ibid. 86a)
8. *Ktvā* in the place of *lyap*. E.g., *praṇatvā*(ibid. 37a), *proktvā* (ibid. 43d, 127a), *prabodhitvā* (ibid.), *prārthayitvā* (ibid. 107b).
9. Secondary suffix *itac* in the place of primary suffix *kta* again most probably in analogy with *granthita* (ibid.), *ṣoḍaśabheditaḥ sūtraḥ* (probably *bheda+itac*), *ruṣito 'bhavat* (ibid. 205b), *praroṣitā* (*pra roṣa+itac*, not *pra* √*ruṣ+kta*); *pramuditaḥ pramoditaḥ]* (ibid.) (the text intends to mean that everybody was

experiencing pleasure)

10. Conjugational form of passive voice in the sentence of active voice. E.g., *jñāyase* (ibid. 135) in the place of *jānāsi* (*na me rājan imaṃ yuktaṃ kathaṃ na jñāyase prabho*)
11. Omission of suffix-ending. E.g. *paścimā diśi* (ibid. 60c) instead of *paścimāyāṃ diśi* to save the metre.
12. Double *sandhi*. E.g. *śukarovāca* < *śukaraḥ uvāca* (ibid. 245).
13. Difficult cases: (a) *paurā nṛpāyātaṃ dṛśṭvā pratyudyagmuḥ tad antike* (ibid.). This is a case of contraction of *nṛpam āyātaṃ* or *nṛpamāyātaṃ; devīṃ tvaṃ sahasānaya* (ibid. 218d). This should be taken as *sahasā ānaya*, unless the text cannot be interpreted without *abhilokana* and/or *abhyapalokana* - keen and in-depth observation of the text and its context. Similarly, in.*rājā tāṃ draṣṭuṃ sahasāgamat* (ibid. 220cd), it should be read as *sahasā agamat* and not *sahasā ā āgamat*. (b) The uncommon word '*ka*' is used to mean 'water'. E.g., *sarasi tīre gatvā pītvā tat kaṃ ca* (ibid). (c) *ṽraj* en passim in the place of √*gam*. E.g., *devīha nā vrajet kila* (219b), *devīṃ draṣṭum ihā vrajāmi hi* (ibid. 239b); √*vraj* in sense of √*car*. E.g., *vāñchantīha samāvraje* (ibid. 244d). √*car* in sense of √*gam*. E.g., *devīr natvā tato 'carat* (ibid. 115b), . . . *laṅghitvā sahasācarat* (ibid. 229b), . . . *tathetyanyatra sācarat* (ibid. 241d, 245d); √*laṅgh* in the place of *yāpi*. E.g., *tato rātrau smaran devīṃ jāgareṇa vyalaṅghayet* (ibid. 108cd); √*sṛ* in the place of √*gam*. E.g., *śanair dheyaṃ samālabhya samādhāya samāsara* (ibid. 184cd), *tataḥ sā sahasotthāya nimbavana upāsarat* (ibid. 228ab). (d) The word '*sahasā*' used in the sense of *kṣipram*,

drutam, *jhaṭiti,* i.e. then and there, not in the sense of suddenly en passim. (e) The word '*sena* ' is used to mean '*sainya* '. '*bhavān* ' has been used with verb in 2nd person. E.g., *ājaṃ tāvat prakṣālaya bhavān* (ibid. 141d). (f) The suffux '*tasil* ' is used to denote seventh case-ending. E.g, *ratasamāptitaḥ* (ibid. 106b). (g) Use of the word '*manoramya*' in the place of '*manorama*'. E.g. *gṛhaṃ cāpi manoramyaṃ śrīdapuram ivābhavat/* (ibid. 204ab), *tatrodyānaṃ manoramyaṃ dṛṣṭvā dvārāntike yayau/* (ibid. 221ab). Use of the word '*aparādhatā* ' to mean '*aparādha* ' (ibid. 261d). (h) Use of *pra-ā-cˇar+ṇic* (ibid.) or *nir-√car+ṇic* as *nirācārayat* (ibid. 130) to mean propagate or circulate. (i) *prāṇayiṣyāvahe* (< *pra-ā-√nī+ṇic*) (ibid.), whereby it is itself is a corrupt *ṇijanta* form; the *ātmanepada* form *neṣyāvahe* is not questionable, that being *nayiṣyāvahe* is more complicated since, neither is it a *ṇijanta* form nor a normal, i.e. *aṇijanta*, form.

Social Importance

The first human being who realized the glory of the deity *Vasundharā* (or *Vasudhārā*) was the attendant, *sena,* of the king. He was adored and honoured as the first priest by the king who invited the *sena* to perform the first ritual of the goddess *Vasudhārā*. Further, he was accepted by the king as the first preacher of this *vrata:*

"*senādyārabhya śāstā tvaṃ* (ibid., 134a)", "*bho sena yad bhavācchāstā mama sanmārgadeśakaḥ* (ibid., 142ab)", "*upādhyāyaṃ vinā svābhimataś caritavyaṃ vrataṃ katham/ tad enaṃ senam evātra pravāhya sad guruṃ kuru//* (ibid., 148).

The ms. nos and descriptions of the three unpublished

texts of B.H. Hodgson Collection are available in and collected from Mitra, R.L. *The Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal*. Calcutta: Sanskrit Pustak Bhandar, 1971 (rpt.).

The ms. nos and descriptions as available are as follows:

1. *Vasundharāṣṭottaraśatanāma*: ms. no. B 49 (ibid., p. 270).

Substance, Nepalese paper, 7.5 × 3 inches. Folia, 3. Lines on a page, 5. Extent in ślokas, 30. Character, Newari. Date, ? Appearance, fresh. Verse. Incorrect.

R.L. Mitra notes the content of the text as follows:

"One hundred and eight epithets forming hymn in praise of *Vasundharā*, apparently meant for the presiding divinity of the earth or *Pṛthvī Devī*, but her abode is said to be in the *Tuṣita* heaven as described in the next preceding work."

2. *Vasundharāvratotpattyavadāna:* ms. no. B 44 (ibid., p. 266).

Substance, Nepalese paper,11 × 7.5 inches. Folia, 23. Lines on a page, 5. Extent in ślokas, 350. Character, Newari. Date, N.S. 923. Appearance, old. Verse. Incorrect.

R. L. Mitra notes the content of the text as follows:

"On the origin of a fast in honour of a goddess named *Vasundharā*. The account is said to have been imparted to Ānanda by Śākya himself during his sojourn in the monastery of *Ghoshīrā*, in the suburbs of *Kauśāmbī*; but the work is palpably a modern one. The goddess claims the threefold form of *Vasundharā* or the earth, *Mahā Lakṣmī* or great prosperity, and *Kumārī* or the virgin."

3. *Sucandrāvadāna:* ms. no. B 21 (ibid. p. 227–28).

Substance, Nepalese paper, 11.5 × 4 inches. Folia, 15. Lines on a page, 7. Extent in ślokas, 300. Character, Newari. Date, N.S. 245. Appearance, old. Verse. Incorrect.

R. L. Mitra notes the content of the text as follows:

"A story in praise of the *Vasundharā* rite. *Suchandra*, a man of great wealth and numerous progeny, was engaged in commerce, and some of his children held high offices under government. His youngest son was very vicious; . . . .

Suchandra wished to go and see the Lord, but he had nothing at home wherewith to buy proper offerings for him. His wife found a bit of iron chain at the mouth of a rat-hole. With this he bought a few flowers, and prayed to the Lord. The Lord, gratified by his devotion, directed him to perform the *Vasundharā* rite, whereby he regained his former wealth and influence, and prospered in every way."

12

The Implication of the Word *abhrānta* (non-illusory) in Dharmakīrti's Definition of Perception

Sanjit Kumar Sadhukhan

To define valid knowledge by applying different verbal techniques, in order to exclude the undesirable erroneous knowledge, has been one of the prime efforts of the logicians of all the Indian philosophical schools. In the *Nyāyasūtra* (1.1.4), we find Gautama put the term *avyabhicārin,* to exclude erroneous perception, though all the preconditions of generating right perception is set in the definition. In Vasubandhu's definition of perception '*tato'rthād vijñānaṃ pratyakṣam*'; *tataḥ arthāt* 'from that object only' has been explained in such a way that erroneous knowledge is excluded. This way we may gather some more definitions to the same effect.

The Buddhist philosopher Dharmakīrti (AD 600–660) is a well-known figure in the world of Indian philosophy as he has been discussed in almost all the classical works of all the major systems of Indian philosophy. His views on various topics that have become the subjects of discussion in rival philosophical works include the nature

of perception and inference, the nature of instrumental cause (*karaṇatva padārtha*), denial of convergence of many instruments of valid knowledge on the same subject (*pramāṇa-saṃplava-niṣedha*), refutation of the universal (*sāmānya*), two-*pramāṇa* theory (*pramāṇa-dvaividhya-niyama*), momentariness of everything (*kṣaṇikatvavāda*), point of defeat (*nigrahasthāna*) and so on. Among them the nature of perception has been one of the most contentious topics between the Buddhists and other philosophers. Here in the definition of perception also, Dharmakīrti tried to exclude erroneous knowledge. He defined perception in his *Nyāyabindu: "pratyakṣaṃ kalpanāpoḍham abhrāntam.*" In the present paper the contributor tries to exposit the objective of Dharmakīrti behind the inclusion of the term '*abhrānta*' in the definition.

Perception has been defined to be knowledge, which is free from mental construction or rather not a mental construction (*kalpanāpoḍha*) and is not illusory (*abhrānta*). Mental construction is knowledge, which is capable of coalescing with a verbal expression. And illusion is knowledge arising from morbid vision (*timira*) or rapid circular movement (*āśubhramaṇa*) or from travel in a boat (*nauyāna*) or one arising from physical disorder (*saṃkṣobha*). Thus the knowledge, not capable of being called it (i.e. the knowledge) by a word, and at the same time not erroneous, is called perception. Comparing the Tibetan source of the *Pramāṇa-viniścaya,* we find the same contention of the philosophers in the definition there, "*pratyakṣaṃ kalpanāpoḍham abhrāntam*, i.e. *timira-āśubhramaṇa-nauyāna-saṃkṣobha-ādyanāhita-vibhramam avikalpakam jñānaṃ pratyakṣam.*"

We now may explain the matter of *kalpanāpoḍha* and

abhrānta. The Buddhist philosophers think that the knowledge, which comes directly from the object, in the very first moment, is called perception. The knowledge of subsequent moments that we can express by using verbal expression, quality, etc. is not perception. Such as when we say 'It is a cow', the knowledge is a mental construction of a universal knowledge. If there had been no remembrance of cowness (a mental construction of the universal knowledge), there would not be any connection of the world with true knowledge of cow. Or, when we say, 'It is white', the knowledge is a mental construction of a quality. Or, when we say, 'It is moving', the knowledge is a mental construction of an action.Thus, when we say, 'This is Caitra', it is a mental construction of an object. Or, when we say, 'This is a man with a stick', the knowledge is a mental construction of a substance. These are not accepted as perception for the simple reason that neither do the terms reside in the objects, nor are the objects identical with the terms. So how can the knowledge coalesce with a word? There arises the necessity of excluding these types of knowledge from the scope of perception. Here lies the need of introducing the expression *kalpanāpoḍham* in the definition of perception.

But in spite of being free from mental construction, knowledge is not entitled to be a perception, unless it becomes *abhrānta* (non-illusory). There are some instances where knowledge that arises in the very first moment and obviously without any mental construction, practically without having any scope of coalescing with a verbal expression, cannot be admitted as perception. As for example:

(i) Morbid vision (*timira*): It is an eye disease in which

most probably, the pupil or cornea of an eye is disintegrated and that is why a person affected by it sees double moon.

(ii) Rapid circular movement (*āśubhramaṇa*): If a firebrand is moved rapidly in a circular way, a person will see it as a round firebrand from a distance.

(iii) Travelling in a boat (*nauyāna*): If a person travels fast in the still water of a pool, he/she sees the objects on the ground as moving.

(iv) Physical disorder (*saṃkṣobha*): If a person suffers from disturbance of gaseous (*vāyu*) and the bilious (*pitta*) elements in the body he/she sees something burning or tastes some sweet thing as bitter.

So there was need to exclude the erroneous knowledge from the scope of perception. And Dignāga did not accept the word *abhrānta* in his definition of perception. Therefore, the question arises, whether Dharmakīrti has the support of tradition for his definition or not. Logically, erroneous knowledge cannot be admitted as perception. Though Dignāga did not include the word *abhrānta* in his definition, the *ācārya* nevertheless wanted to exclude erroneous knowledge and for doing so, he has mentioned four types of pseudo-perception:

(i) Illusion (*bhrānti*), as in the case of knowledge of water in mirage.

(ii) Phenomenal knowledge (*saṃvṛtisat*), as in the case of the knowledge, 'It is a big black jar.' An object endowed with universal-particular imagery. So all the knowledge with mental construction will fall in this group. Inference as well as the knowledge related to inference, e.g. the knowledge of fire in the hill and the knowledge of fire where the

symptoms having the same characteristics, have to be included in the group of phenomenal knowledge.

(iii) Remembrance (*smārta*) and wishful knowledge (*ābhilāṣika*) and recognition (*pratyabhijñāna*)

(iv) Knowledge generated through morbid vision (*timira*).

So Dignāga surely intended the designation, non-illusory, for perception. Bhāsarvajña in his *Nyāyabhūṣaṇa* clearly recorded the Buddhist position in this way. And Dharmakīrti's works also tell us the same without any disagreement with this explanation.

But the matter did not fade away so easily in the Buddhist circle itself. All of us know that Dharmakīrti belongs to the Sautrāntika school of Buddhist philosophy and Dignāga to the Yogācāra school. The former school admits the reality of external objects but the latter does not. And Dharmakīrti's *Pramāṇavīrttika* is considered to be a commentary on Dignāga's *Pramāṇasamuccaya*. Asaṅga, the founder of the Yogācāra school accepted the term *abhrānta* in the definition. But Dignāga left it out from his definition. Then why did Dharmakīrti again spell it out in his definition? Did Dharmakīrti deviate from his grand-preceptor?

The commentators of Dharmakīrti's works are locked in a controversy. Vinītadeva has his conviction that Dharmakīrti's definition of perception is intended to be acceptable to both the Yogācāra and the Suatrāntika schools. But the Yogācāra pioneer, Dignāga has not accepted the word in his definition. So, according to him, the interpretation of the word *abhrānta* in Dharmakīrti's definition has to be explained this way: Here *abhrānta* means 'not illusory', i.e. which is neither contradictory

in respect of the knowledge 'that makes one reach the object' (*prāpaka*), nor in respect of the object supporting a cognition (*ālambana viṣaya*). Here the contention of the Buddhist is that when in the first moment, knowledge comes with mental construction, there the object is *prāpya,* i.e. the object that may be obtained. The knowledge containing the *prāpya* object is called *prāpaka.* Vinītadeva says that the *abhrānta* is to be understood in this way; otherwise it would lead to the repudiation of the Yogācāra view. Because according to their peculiar doctrine, there is no existence of external objects. So in the perception, all *ālambana* objects are illusory. Then to explain *abhrānta* as non-illusory, even in the case of *ālambana* objects, will repudiate the above view. Dharmakīrti's *Nyāyabindu* would be composed with the intention of explaining the views of both the Sautrāntika and the Yogācāra schools and for that, *abhrānta* must be considered in connection with *prāpya* object in the *prāpaka* knowledge.

The other expression *kalpanāpoḍha,* according to Vinītadeva, is added to the definition in order to exclude the knowledge by inference.

The addition of the term *abhrānta* in the definition of perception was strongly contested in the Buddhist schools and is evident from Durvekamiśra's commentary, the *Dharmottarapradīpa.* As the way of explaining the definition without the expression of *abhrānta* can well exclude the illusory knowledge in the Yogācāra school, why is the same way not followed in the Suatrāntika school also? The objection is quite logical. That is why Dharmottara, another celebrated commentator of Dharmakīrti's work discovered a different intention of the philosopher regarding the addition of the word

abhrānta in the definition. He says that, the two expressions are necessary—not to exclude inference, but to avoid ambiguity. We did not come to know precisely who had the misconception about the matter before Dharmakīrti, for which the philosopher had to define the perception in this way. But we can presume from the commentary of Durveka that there was controversy regarding the things to be excluded (*vyavacchedya*) by the two expressions. Vinītadeva perhaps represented them in the controversy in the later period.

Now we may put forward the exposition of Dharmottara in this matter. The commentator says, yes, the *abhrānta* excludes the illusory knowledge like double moon, circling firebrand, etc. but if *abhrānta* has the only purpose of excluding something, it must exclude inference only, because, as the perception is under the purview of right knowledge (*pramāṇa*), there is no scope for illusory knowledge to come into the picture. Then *abhrānta* is to be admitted for the purpose of excluding inference only. But actually the word *kalpanāpoḍha* excludes inference. Then *abhrānta* becomes redundant. Now, what is the actual purpose of putting the word *abhrānta*?

(i) The word *abhrānta* has a specific purpose to exclude misconception about illusion. If a person moves in a boat in the still water of a pool, he sees the trees on the bank moving. This knowledge (obviously the knowledge of the first moment) would be perceptual as there is no connection of verbal construction, and the person moving towards them actually gets to see the trees at last and the knowledge leading to them would be *saṃvādaka*. But it is a clear case of illusion because when he

comes to the bank, he does not find any place where the trees were found to be moving. The place he finds now was not perceived by him at the time of travelling in the boat. This knowledge of moving trees is an illusory knowledge. Getting to see the trees does not mean that the knowledge, which showed the moving tree, is valid. But the knowledge that led to the trees is right. In order to remove this type of misconception about the illusory knowledge, the philosopher added the word *abhrānta* in his definition.

(ii) The word *abhrānta* may exclude inferential knowledge also. In the inferential knowledge, the apprehended object (*grāhya*) is not real but the real object is ascertained (*adhyavasita*) in the next immediate knowledge. And that is why the inferential knowledge is considered an illusory knowledge (*bhrānta*). But here perception is not at variance with the real nature of the object. Now the other word *kalpanāpoḍha* is there to remove the misconception on mental construction, i.e. the mental construction cannot be regarded as perception.

(iii) Now there is another misconception about the word *abhrānta. Abhrānta* is explained by Vinītadeva as being *avisaṃvādaka,* i.e. one which points to an attainable object. But Dharmottara says, this sense is already understood, as the perception is in the purview of the *pramāṇa*, i.e. valid knowledge. A *pramāṇa* is knowledge which points to an attainable object. So the word *abhrānta,* having the same meaning, would serve no additional purpose. Therefore the meaning of the word is different.

The word means that perception is not at variance with direct reality. And it is against the thought that a determinate knowledge with verbal expression is a valid knowledge. *Abhrānta* must be associated with the first momentary knowledge where efficiency of an object is perceived.

(iv) We find a *ṭippaṇī* of an anonymous commentator on Dharmottara's commentary. Here the commentator solves the problem of the Sautrāntikas by admitting the definition, but not that of the Yogācāras.

Dharmottara's detailed explanation in this matter can be found in his commentary on the *Pramāṇaviniścaya* but as this work is not easily available, we cannot come to a definite conclusion. We have heard about the discovery of its manuscript. Its publication can enrich our information about the ancient intellectual treasure of the Buddhists in India. Furthermore, the study of the voluminous commentaries by Devendrabuddhi, Jina, Yamāri, Śākyabuddhi, Śaṃkarānandana and Ravigupta available in Tibetan translation will no doubt add much to this topic.

13

Buddhism as Revealed in the Image Inscriptions of Early India

JAGATPATI SARKAR

Religious faith and belief have come down to men, induced by natural phenomena at the dawn of human life on earth. Tree spirit, animal devotion, devotion to air, fire, sky, sun and moon, etc. have grown in course of time. Assuring the nature and function of the various wonderful events of nature, various deities were formed and worshipped. In course of time, the different sects were formed following divergent views and ideas.

Buddhism came to importance in India since third century BC. Like Jainism, it appeared as a protest against the Brahmanical religion. It stressed upon the good moral conduct and practice of austerities. Buddhism believes that the cycle of birth, death and rebirth, is the root of all evils and henceforth, complete emancipation from rebirth is the only way of salvation for the soul. According to Lord Buddha, the founder of this religion, it can be attained by *aṣṭāṅgikamārga* (i.e. the eightfold ways of conduct). *Ahiṃsā* (non-violence) and *prema* (love) are the two valuable pillars upon which this great religion was established. There was no place for casteism in Buddhism. Therefore we see the images of the Buddha

or Bodhisattva being dedicated by a trader, the *śreshṭhin* or the *mahādaṇḍanāyaka*, a commander of forces or a military governor on one hand and by iron-mongers, perfume dealers, dyers, goldsmiths, timber-merchants and other people of the subaltern class of society on the other. Buddhism was never a class-oriented religion but it was the religion by the people, of the people and for the people. From a good number of image inscriptions, it can be proved that Buddhism was widely accepted by all sections of the people of India and it played a very important role in the life of the people of that time. Women played an important role in the Buddhist scheme of things. Ladies were found to have donated various images of the Bodhisattvas and the Buddhist nuns also played an important role in the society. Many of the images of Bodhisattvas were installed by them.

The Mathura Museum Buddhist Image Inscription says: "In the year 17, in the 4th (month) of the rainy season, on the . . . day, on this date, the housewife of goldsmith Dharmaka, the female lay member Nagapiya (Nāgapriya) sets up a Bodhisattva in her own *Chatyakuti* for the acceptance of the *dharmagutaka* (Dharmaguptaka) teachers." It records the installation of a Bodhisattva image by Nāgapriya, the housewife of goldsmith Dharmaka, in her own *caityakuṭi* for the acceptance of the Dharmaguptaka teachers in the year 17.

Another Mathura Amitābha Buddha Image Inscription of Huviṣka of his reigning year, twenty-six, says: "On the 26 day, second month of rainy season in the year 20(6) (106 AD) on this occasion the image of Amitābha Buddha was installed by Nāgarakṣita, son of Buddhabala, grandson of the merchant Sattvaka and grandson (daughter's son) of the trader Balakīrti for the worship

of all Buddhas; whatsoever merit is in this charity let it be for listening to the supreme knowledge of the Buddha."

The Ral-Bhadar Mound Buddhist Image Inscription of the year thirty-one says: "In the year 31 of Huviṣka, in the 4th (month) of winter, on the 20th day, the gift of khuda (and). . . . The female pupil of the nun Dinna (Datta)."

A Buddha image inscription recording Kāyastha says: "This image of Śākyamuni Buddha was set up for the welfare of all beings by Yasa, daughter of Grahadina, mother of Hasti and Datta and housewife of goldsmith Kāyastha Bhattapriya who is the son of Bhattisena and grandson of Bhattihasti." This is probably the earliest reference by *Kāyastha* but this is not known whether it stands for some community, caste or profession.

Another Mathura Museum Buddhist image inscription says:

(i) (Upasi) kaye namdaye Kshtrapasa.
(ii) . . . (Bo)dhist(va) Visata (re).

It seems that the donor of the image was a female relative of a Satrap (Kṣatrapa).

Yet another Mathura Museum Buddhist Image inscription of the year four says: "On the 4th day . . . year of the reign of Mahārāja Kaṇiṣka, on this day the image gifted by Mahādaṇḍanāyaka Hummiyaka at the Śaka Vihāra for the welfare and happiness of (his) parents."

The early Buddhists represented the Buddha by means of symbols, like his foot-prints, the Bodhi-tree, parasol, stūpa, etc. But later, with the development of the Mahāyāna doctrines in Buddhism, the image of the Buddha was developed and worshipped for the purpose of obtaining single-minded devotion to be adhered to

through the medium of concrete symbols. Gradually a number of monasteries grew up where monks and nuns lived and carried on their studies and meditaion. The Saṃgha institution with a monastic discipline was the most remarkable contribution of Buddhism in Indian culture. In course of time, various sects developed in Buddhism too. There were four schools—Mahāsāṅghika, Sthavira, Sarvāstivāda and Sammitīya, which were mainly concerned with the Mahāyāna (meant for more advancement) and the Hīnayāna (meant for less advancement) sects of Buddhism. Numerous images of the Buddha, standing or seated in *bhūsparśa-mudrā* or *Vajrāsana*, as found all over India, prove the great popularity of icon worship in India. In the Mahāyāna Pantheon Ādi-Buddha and his consort Ādi-Prajñā Pāramitā, the universal father and the universal mother, are depicted. Five Dhyāni-Buddhas called Pañca-tathāgatas, viz. Vairocana, Akṣobhya, Ratnasambhava, Amitābha and Amoghasiddhi emanate from the universal pair of Buddha and Prajñā Pāramitā. Two Bodhisattvas, Mañjuśrī and Maitreya, occupied a prominent position in the Mahāyāna Pantheon. The five Bodhisattvas had their own energies (consorts) and these consorts were known as Tārās.

Royal and private donations, by way of land and money, were made to the Saṃgha for the worship of Lord Buddha and for its maintenance. Buddhism was then the popular religion and it satisfied the demands of the people. In course of time, many Hindu deities had their place in the pantheon of Buddhism and Buddhism also accepted the deities of the Hindu pantheon to meet the needs of this popular religion.

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14

A Brief survey of the Buddhist Literary Heritage Contained in the Kurram Copper Casket Inscription

DEBARCHANA SARKAR

Text[1]

सं 20(+1) मसस अवदुनकस दि 20 इशे क्षनंमि श्वेड्वर्म यशपुत्र तनुवकंमि रंञंमि नवविहरंमि अचर्यन सर्वस्तिवदन परिग्रहंमि थुबंमि भग्रवतस शाक्यमुनिस शरिर प्रदिठवेदि यथ वुत भग्रवद अविजप्रचग्र-संकरं संकरप्रचग्र विञन विञन-प्रचग्र नमरुव नमरुवप्रचग्र षड्यदन षड्यदनप्रचग्र फष फष-प्रचग्र वेदन वेदनप्रचग्र तष्ण तष्णप्रचग्र उवदन उवदनप्रचग्र भव भवप्रचग्र जदि जदिप्रचग्र जरमरनशोग्रपरिदेवदुखदोर्मनस्त-उपग्रस। एवं अस केवलस दुखकंधस संमुदए भवदि सर्वसत्वन पुयए अय च प्रतिचसंमुपते। लिखिद महिफतिएन सर्वसत्वन पुयए।

Text Sanskritised

संवत्सरे एकविंशे 21 मासस्य अवदुनकस्य (अवदुनकाख्यस्य यवनानां मासस्य; Audunaios, corresponding roughly to Indian Pausha-Magha) दिवसे विंशे 20 अस्मिन् क्षणे श्वैत्रवर्मा यशःपुत्रः तनुवके (स्वकीये) रम्ये नवविहारे आचार्याणां सर्वास्तिवादिनां परिग्रहे (ग्रहाय) स्तूपे भगवतः शाक्यमुनेः शरीरं प्रतिष्ठापयति। यथा उक्तं भगवता –''अविद्याप्रत्ययात् (कारणात्) संस्काराः, संस्कारप्रत्ययात् विज्ञानम्, विज्ञानप्रत्ययात् नामरूपे, नामरूपप्रत्ययात् षडायतनानि, षडायतनप्रत्ययात् स्पर्शः, स्पर्शप्रत्ययात् वेदना, वेदनाप्रत्ययात् तृष्णा, तृष्णाप्रत्ययात् उपादानम्, उपादानप्रत्ययात् भवः, भवप्रत्ययात् जातिः, जातिप्रत्ययात् जरामरणशोकपरिदेवदुःखदौर्मनस्योपायासाः एवम् अस्य केवलस्य (समग्रस्य) दुःखस्कन्धस्य (दुःखसमूहस्य) समुदयः (उत्पत्तिः) भवति।'' सर्वसत्त्वानां पूजायै अयं च प्रतीत्यसमुत्पादः (श्वैत्रवर्मणा लेखितः)। लिखितः (च) महीपतिकेन सर्वसत्त्वानां पूजायै।

This inscription is engraved on a copper casket containing a relic of Lord Buddha. It is written in Kharoṣṭī script and Prakrit language. It is found at Kurram near Peshawar. The inscription bears the date 'year 21', probably of the Śaka era, i.e. 99 AD. It is stated here that a person named Śeḍravarma (= Sanskrit Śvaitravarman) established the relic of Lord Śākyamuni, in a stūpa, in his own beautiful new vihāra, in favour of the Sarvāstivādin ācāryas. He writes a quotation for engraving it on the copper casket containing the relic, in honour of all the creatures. The quotation actually purports to the *Pratītyasamutpāda* (*Praticasaṃmutpata* in Prakrit here and *Paṭiccasamuppāda* in Pali) formula. It is popularly known as the 'formula of causality.' The Pali-English Dictionary[2] edited by T. W. Rhys Davids and William Stede gives the literary meaning of this term as 'arising on the grounds of (a preceding cause)', happening by way of cause, working of cause and effect, chain of causation, causal genesis, dependent origination, theory of the twelve causes. This formula is also called the *Nidāna* doctrine (*Nidāna* = basis, ground, i.e cause) or the *paccayākāra* (related condition), and is referred to in the *Suttas* as *Ariya-nāya* (the noble method). The oldest account of this principle is found in the *Mahāpadāna-sutta* of the *Dīghanikāya* (II.30). Ten items are mentioned here to constitute the chain and they are arranged in a backward order, starting from the appearance of *dukkha* in this world of old age and death, towards the original cause of it, in *viññāṇa*. The identical chain occurs in the *Saṃyutta nikāya* (II. 104). In later developments *avijjā* and *saṃkhāra* are added before *viññāṇa* to raise the number of constituents to twelve. It proves that the formula stated in the inscription must have belonged to

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some canonical text. It has been translated by Konow in the following manner: " in interconnextion with delusion, the saṃskāras with the saṃskāras, consciousness with consciousness, name and form with name and form, the six organs with the six organs, touch with touch, sensation with sensation, thirst with thirst, grasping; with grasping, life with life, birth with birth, decay, death, grief, lamentation, suffering, dejection, despair."[3] The unique importance of this inscription lies in the fact that the famous Buddhist formula of *Pratītyasamutpāda* occurs here in a local Prakrit dialect of the North Western Frontier Province.[4] Dr. Radhagovinda Basak aptly remarks, " It, moreover, reminds us of the fragment of the manuscripts of Prakrit version of the Pali Dhammapada discovered at Khotam in the Kharoṣṭhī script and composed in a Prakrit dialect (Gāndhārī Prākrit) originating in the north-west of India, which has been ascribed to the first/ second century AD."[5]

Notes

1. The text and the Sanskrit rendering have been taken from D.C. Sircar's *Select Inscriptions, bearing on Indian History and Civilization*, vol. I, University of Calcutta, Calcutta, 1965, pp. 148–49.
2. Oriental Books Reprint Corporation, New Delhi, 1975.
3. Sten Konow. *Kharoshṭī Inscriptions*, Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi, 1991; (rep) *Corpus Inscriptionun Indicarum*, vol. II, pt. 1, p.155.
4. R.G. Basak. 'Inscriptions: their literary value', *Cultural Heritage of India*, vol. V, (ed) Suniti Kumar Chatterji, Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture, Calcutta, 1978, p. 393.
5. Ibid.

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