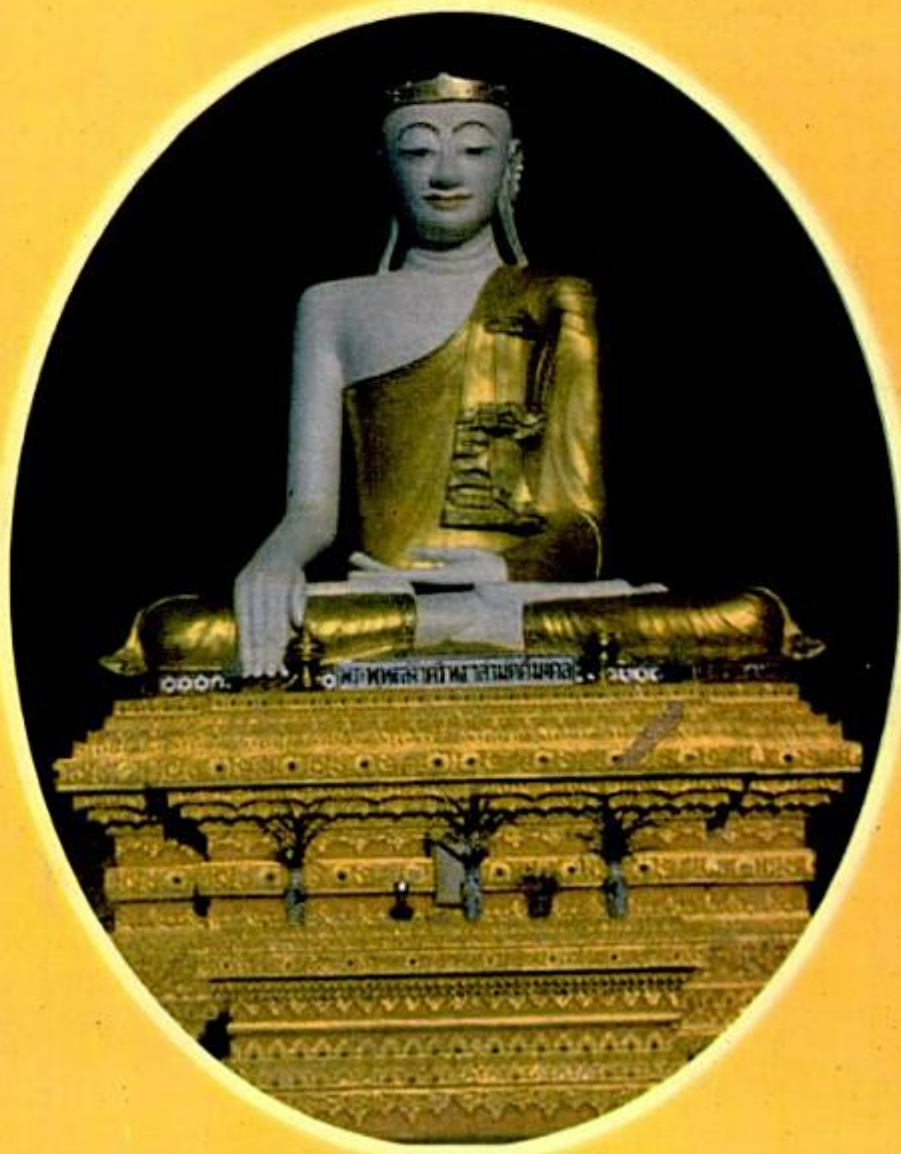


BUDDHIST SECTS AND SECTARIANISM



BIBHUTI BARUAH

This title is a historical analysis of origin and development of Buddhist sects and sectarianism in the history of the succession of schools, it is found that the first schism in the *sangha* was followed by a series of schisms leading to the formation of different sub-sects, and in the course of time eleven such sub-sects arose out of the *Theravada* while seven issued from the *Mahasanghikas*. All these branches of Buddhist sects appeared one after another in close succession which in three or four hundred years after the Buddha's parinirvana. Here, we focus on following important aspects: Growth and Ramification of Buddhist Sects and Sectarian Schools; Mahayana Buddhism, Theravada Buddhism, Tantric Buddhism, Yogacara, Newar Buddhism, Bhutanese Buddhist Sects, Protestant Buddhism, Nichiren Buddhism, Amida Buddhism, Tendai Buddhism, Shingon Buddhism, Zen Buddhism, Millennial Buddhism, There are different authorities, such as the traditions of the *Theravadins*, *Sammitiyas*, *Mahasanghikas*, and subsequently the Tibetan and Chinese translations which give us accounts of the origin of the different sects and sectarianism.

BUDDHIST SECTS AND SECTARIANISM

This One



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Bibhuti Baruah

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PREFACE

It appears that even during the lifetime of the Buddha, there were people who would not accept his authority. His cousins, Devadatta, out of jealousy for the Buddha conspired with King Ajatasatru and made attempts on his life. He also tried to create divisions in the Buddhist *Sangha* by demanding stricter conditions of life for Buddhist monks, such as living throughout the year under trees, foregoing meat and fish, and refusing all invitations from faithful adherents. There were also monks like Upananda, Channa Mettiya-Bhummajaka or Sadvargiya (Pāli: *Chabbaggiya*) who would take the earliest opportunity of transgressing the rules of the Vinaya. Besides, there is a perverse tendency among some people to oppose a rule simply because a rule has been laid down. Some like to live a life of ease and comfort and consequently all restrictions on individual freedom are looked at askance. For example, Subhadra, on hearing of the death of the Buddha, gave a sigh of relief saying that he would now no longer have to abide by 'do this do not do that'.

When the Buddha died, he left no one to take his place as the supreme authority. In fact he told his personal attendant, Ananda that the Dharma and the Vinaya would be the supreme authority in the future. All statements claimed to have been made by learned monks or the Sangha or even the Buddha himself have to be tested by direct reference to the words of the Buddha recorded in the suttas and the Vinaya.

When the first recital (*Sangiti*) of the Buddhist texts was made under the presidency of Mahakasyapa at Rajagṛha by five hundred monks, there were some, like Purana, or according to Tibetan sources, Gavampati, who did not approve them as they felt that what recorded there was not in agreement with what they had heard from the Buddha himself. Common interest arising from personal attachment to certain persons or groups of persons, or created by various causes, such as associations, studies, geographical regions as well as honest differences of opinion that gathered strength in the course of time, probably led to the formation of different sects or schools.

The Buddha's sayings and their commentaries were handed down orally from teachers to disciples. Unlike the Vedic texts, however, not enough care was taken for the preservation of the actual words of the Teacher, not to speak of their interpretations. In the *Mahāparinibbana-sutta*, the Teacher apprehended that his sayings might suffer distortion, and so, as noted above, he cautioned his disciples about the four ways in which his instructions were to be verified. A century is a long time, and about a hundred years after his passing, differences arose among the monks about the actual words of the Teacher and their interpretations. Once the monks took the liberty of bringing dissensions to the Sangha, they went on multiplying till the number

of sects reached the figure of eighteen in the second and third centuries after the Buddha's death. The first dissension was created by the Vajjian monks of Vaisali. It is stated in the *Vinaya (Cullavagga)* and in the Ceylonese Chronicles that the Second Council was held at Vaisali a century after the Buddha's *parinirvana* to discuss the breach of the ten rules of discipline (*dasa vatthuni*) by the Vajjian monks.

In the Tibetan and Chinese translations of *Vasumitra* and others quite a different account appears. Here the Council is said to have been convened on account of the differences of opinion among the monks regarding the five dogmas propounded by Mahadeva.

Mahadeva was the son of a brahmana of Mathura and was a man of great learning and wisdom. He received his ordination at Kukkutarama in Pataliputra and then became the head of the Sangha which was patronized by the king. His five dogmas were:

- (i) An Arhat may commit a sin by unconscious temptation.
- (ii) One may be an Arhat and not know it.
- (iii) An Arhat may have doubts on matters of doctrine.
- (iv) One cannot attain Arhatship without a teacher.
- (v) 'The noble ways' may begin by a shout, that is, one meditating seriously on religion may make such an exclamation as 'How sad!' and by so doing attain progress towards perfection- the path is attained by an exclamation of astonishment.

Traditions differ as to why the Second Council was called. All the accounts, however, record unanimously that a schism did take place about a century after the Buddha's *parinirvana* because of the efforts made by some monks for the relaxation of the stringent rules observed by the orthodox monks. The monks who deviated from the rules were later called the *Mahasanghikas*, while the orthodox monks were distinguished as the *Theravadins* (*Sthaviravadins*). It was rather a division between the conservative and the liberal. The hierarchic and the democratic. There is no room for doubt that the Council marked the evolution of new schools of thought.

The decision of the Council was in favour of the orthodox monks. The Vajjians refused to obey the decision of the majority and were expelled from the *Sangha*. In consequence, the Council came to an abrupt close, and the long feared schism came into being, threatening the solidarity of the *Sangha*. The monks who could not subscribe to the orthodox views convened another Council, in which ten thousand monks participated. Indeed, it was a great congregation of monks (*Mahasangiti*), for which they were called the *Mahasanghikas*, as distinguished from the orthodox monks, the *Theravadins* (*Sthaviravadins*). S. Beal writes, "and because in the assembly both common folk and Holy personages were mixed together, it was called the assembly of the great congregation".

All the Holy personages unanimously agreed to abide by the historic decision of their council. They were convinced that their decision was in conformity with the teachings of the Great Master and claimed more orthodoxy than the *Theravadins*. This occurred the first schism in the *Sangha* which accounted for the origin of the two sects -the *theravada* (*Sthaviravada*) and the *Mahasanghika*- in the early Buddhist *Sangha*. This split went on widening and in the course of time several sects came into existence out of those two primitive schools.

In the history of the succession of schools, it is found that the first schism in the *sangha* was followed by a series of schisms leading to the formation of different sub-sects, and in the course of time eleven such sub-sects arose out of the *Theravada* while seven issued from the *Mahāsāṃghikas*. Later, there appeared other sub-sects also. All these branches appeared one after another in close succession which in three or four hundred years after the Buddha's parinirvana.

There are different authorities, such as the traditions of the *Theravadins*, *Sammitiyas*, *Mahāsāṃghikas*, and subsequently the Tibetan and Chinese translations which give us accounts of the origin of the different sects and sectarianism. Although these traditions are not unanimous about the latter, a French scholar, M. Andre Bareau, has recently arrived at a fairly correct conclusion, on the basis of the information available in different traditions.

It is not possible here to give an account of all the different schools. Only a few important ones among these sects will, therefore, be considered. I am thankful to all those scholar whose works have been utilised in this compiled work.

Editor

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1

CONFLICT AND DEVELOPMENT: THE BUDDHIST ORDER AFTER BUDDHA'S DEATH

The Buddhist order had spread only within central India at the time of the Buddha's death. The Buddha's birthplace, Lumbini, and the place where he died, *Kusinagara*. Were both on the northern fringes of central India. *Buddhagaya*, where he attained enlightenment, was in the southern part of central India. The Deer Park at *Sarnath*, where he preached his first sermon, was in the western part of central India. These four sacred sites of reliquaries or memorials (*caitya*) soon flourished as pilgrimage centers. For early Buddhists, the term "central country" (*madhya-desa*), found in many Buddhist texts, referred to central India.

After the Buddha's death, missionaries spread Buddhism to the west and southwest. (The Vindhya Mountains blocked the spread of Buddhism to the south, and the east was tropical and undeveloped.) They were particularly successful in the southwest. Buddhism advanced more slowly in the west because this area was a stronghold of Brahmanism.

During the Buddha's lifetime, missionary activity is reported in the western part of India. One of the Buddha's ten chief disciples, *Mahakatyayana* (P. *Mahakaccayana*) was a native of Avanti (where Ujjayini was the capital). *Mahakatyayana* is said to have been especially adept at giving detailed explanations of the terse summaries of teachings that the Buddha's disciples had memorized. According to the *Agamas*, *Mahakatyayana* later returned to Avanti to preach. While he was in Avanti, *Mahakatyayana* ordained *Sronakotikarna* (P. *Sonakutikanna*), a native of *Aparantaka* (P. *Aparanta*), which was on the west coast of India. When *Sronakotikarna* was about to go to visit the Buddha in *Sravasti* (P. *Savathi*), *Mahakatyayana* requested that he ask the Buddha for permission to make five exceptions to the observance of the precepts. One of these permitted monks living in remote areas, where it was difficult to assemble the required number of monks, to ordain new monks with an order of five monks instead of the usual ten.

According to *Vinayas* of the Sthāvira lineage, *Sronakotikarna* was a disciple of *Mahakatyayana*. However, *vinayas* of the Mahasanghika lineage state that *Sronakotikarna* was a disciple of *Purna* (P. *Punna*), a native of *Surparaka* in *Sunaparantaka*. *Surparaka*, also known as *Sopara*, was a seaport on the west coast of India to the north of the modern city of Bombay. One of Asoka's edicts was discovered in this area. After *Purna* realized enlightenment, he returned to preach in his own country, where he made many disciples. The *Sutra* in which he tells the Buddha about his determination to spread Buddhism is widely known (Mn, no. 145).

Through his efforts, Buddhism was established in this area in western India. Stories about the many merchants who became Buddhists are found in the *Agamas*. Many of these converts had come to central India for business purposes, professed their faith in Buddhism, and then returned to their homes to preach their new religion. Such figures as *Purna* and *Mahakatyayana* are examples of this type of believer. A number of *sutras* describe how *Mahakatyayana* preached in Mathura (near Delhi) and Avanti.

The verses in the prologue to the *Parayana-vagga* (Chapter on the Road to the beyond) of the *Suttanipata* (Group of Discourses) relate the story of a Brahman named *Bavari*, who lived near the upper reaches of the Godavari River in the Deccan. When he heard about the Buddha, he sent sixteen disciples to listen to the Buddha's teaching. The disciples went from *Pratisthana* (P. Patitthana) on the Godavari River along the Southern Route (*Daksinapatha*), passing through *Ujjayini*, *Vidisa*, *Kausambi*, and *Saketa* on their way to *Sravasti*. The sixteen disciples of the Brahman questioned the Buddha, whose reply is said to be preserved as the *Parayana-vagga* of the *Suttanipata*. Both this chapter and the *Atthaka-vagga* of the *Suttanipata* are written in a very old style of Pali and are thus thought to belong to the oldest strata of the *Agamas*. However, when these chapters are compared with the language used in Asoka's edicts, it is impossible to determine which is earlier. Thus, although the *Parayana-vagga* is written in an early style of Pali. It cannot be proven that it was composed during the Buddha's life time. Moreover, the verses that comprise the prologue of the *Parayanavagga* were composed later than the verses that the Buddha is said to have spoken in the *Parayana-vagga* itself. Consequently, the prologue does not provide evidence that the Buddha's fame extended to the Deccan during his lifetime.

Passages such as these prove that Buddhism spread along the Southern Route after the Buddha's death. The birthplace of King Asoka's son Mahinda, who is credited with being the transmitter of Buddhism to Sri Lanka, is said to have been Ujjayini. The texts of Sri Lankan Buddhism are written in *Pali*, a language closely resembling that in one of Asoka's edicts found at Girnar on the Kathiawar Peninsula near Aparantak. Buddhism was obviously firmly established in this region by the time of King Asoka.

The Dates of the Buddha Death

The above discussion clearly demonstrates the difficulties of accepting the traditional Sri Lankan account of the early Buddhist order. Sri Lankan statements that the Buddha died 218 years before Ashoka's succession to the throne and that most of the schism in the orders had occurred by Ashoka's time are difficult to reconcile with other aspects of Buddhist institutional history. Since both the Northern and Southern traditions agree that only four or five generations passed between the Buddha's death and the time of Ashoka, a figure of approximately one century for this period seems reasonable. Moreover a survey of other primary source materials reveals that only the Sri Lankan tradition has maintained the longer period—the 218 years figure does not appear in materials from India proper. Moreover, the absence of the figure of 218 years in India is not due to lack of communication between Sri Lanka and India. A Sri Lankan King had the *Mahabodhi-sangharama* built at *Buddhagaya* as a residence for Sri Lankan Monks and Sri Lankan temple existed at *Nagarjunakonda*. Despite such ties, no mention of figure of 218 years is made in Indian sources.

Sources from India state that Ashoka became king around one hundred years after the Buddha's *nirvana*. Furthermore, the figure of 218 years is not the only one found in Sri Lanka. Fa-hien was Chinese Buddhist pilgrim who travelled to India and Sri Lanka and then returned to China in 416. He spent two years at the Abhayagiri monastery in Sri Lanka. In his travel diary, Fa-hsien noted that at the time of his arrival in Sri Lanka, monks there claimed that 1,497 years had elapsed since the Buddha's *nirvana* (T 51: 865a). Calculations based on this figure indicate that the Buddha's *nirvana* would have occurred sometime before 1000 B.C., a date not close to one based on a period of 218 years between the Buddha's death and Ashoka succession. The figure of 218 years was, thus, not even accepted by all Sri Lankan monks.

A survey of other primary source materials from India reveals that in most cases Ashoka's reign is dated one hundred years or slightly more after the Buddha's *nirvana*. Among the texts with a figure of one hundred years are the *Ta chuan-yen lun ching* (T 4: 309c, *Kalpanamanditika*) *Seng-chieh-lo-ch'a so-chi ching* (T-4:145a), *Hsien yu ching* (T 4: 368c, *Damamukanidanasutra*), *Tsa pi-yu ching* (T 4: 503b), *Chung - ching chuan tsa-p i-yu* (T 4: 541c), *Tsa a-han ching* (T 2: 162a, *Samyuktagama*), *Divyavadana* (p. 368; Vaidya ed., p. 232), *A-yu wang chuan* (T 50: 99c, *Ashokarajavadana*), *A-yu wang ching* (T 50: 132a, *Ashokarajasutra*), *Ta - chih - tu lin* (T 25: 70a, *Mahaprajnaparamitopadesa*), and the *Fen - pieh kung te lun* (T 25: 39a). In Hsuan-Tsang's travel diary, the period is one hundred years long and in I-ching's travel diary, it is only somewhat longer, thus indicating that the figure of approximately one hundred years was accepted in India at the time of their travels.

In the Tibetan translation of the *Samayabhedoparacanacakra*, Ashoka succession is said to have occurred one hundred years after the Buddha's *nirvana*, while in Huen-tsang's Chinese translation, the period is said to be more than one hundred years. Paramartha's Chinese translation, the *Pu chih-i lun* and another Chinese translation, the *Shih-pa-pu lun*, both have a figure of 11 years; however, in the Yuan and Ming dynasty editions of Paramartha's translation, the figure is changed to 160 years. According to the *Ta-fang-teng wu-hsing ching* (T 12:1097c; *Mahameghasutra*), 120 years elapsed between the Buddha's *nirvana* and Ashoka's succession. In the *Mo-ho-mo-yeh ching* (T 12:1013c, *Mahamayastura*), the period is stated to be less than 200 years. According to Bhavya's *Sde-pa tha-dad-par byed-pa dan rnam-par bsad-pa* (*Nikayabhedvibhanga-Vyakhyana*, Peking, no. 5640, a *Theravada* tradition dated the first major schism between the *Sthaviras* and *Mahasanghikas* as occurring 160 years after the Buddha's *nirvana* during Ashoka's reign.

Some scholars have relied heavily on Bhavya's figure of 160 years after the Buddha's death for the first schism. On the basis of the figure of 160 years, which occurs in the Yuan and Ming dynasty editions of the *Pu chih-i lun*, they have argued that the figures of 116 years or slightly more than one hundred found in other translation should be amended to 160 years. However, the Sung dynasty and the Korean edition of the *Pu chih-i lun*, both older than either the Yuan or the Ming dynasty editions of the text, have figures of 116 years. Since the evidence for the figure of 160 years is comparatively late and since no other materials with a figure of 160 years have been found the figure of 116 years or slightly more than one hundred years, must be accepted as more trustworthy. Moreover, Bhavya presents the figure of 160 years as only one of a number of theories. Finally, the 160-years must still be reconciled with the *Theravada* figure of 218 years. Thus, the evidence for the figure of 160 years is highly questionable.

On the basis of the development of the Buddhist order and Buddhist historical materials, then a figure of about one hundred years has been shown to be the most reasonable figure for the period between the death of the Buddha and the succession of Ashoka to the throne. However, an investigation of the reigns of the Kings of Magadha indicates that 116 years is too short, and thus many scholars favour a period of 218 years or advocate a compromise figure of 160 years. However, the three figures cannot all be adopted at the same time. For the purpose of discussing the history of the Buddhist order, since the 218 years figure presents many problems, the 116 years figure will be followed in this account.

It may conclude that after the death of the Buddha, the Buddhist order spread to the west and southwest. The Buddha's long-lived disciple Ananda was influential during this period. Later Ananda's disciple *Sanakavasi* was prominent in the western order: however, Buddhism had still (*P. Sabbakamin*) was prominent in the eastern order while Revata was influential in the west. At this time, the controversy over the ten point of *vinaya* arose, and the elders met in Vaisali to deliberate over the disputes and resolve them. Many monks did not submit to the council's decision, however, and the dispute later became a cause for the schism that resulted in the *Sthavira* and *Mahasanghika* schools. Thus, approximately one hundred years after the Buddha's death, there were already frequent disputes in the Buddhist orders in the various parts of India.

During *Sanakavasi's* later years, Buddhism spread to Mathura. A little more than one century after the Buddha's death, Ashoka came to the throne. *Sanakavasi* had already died, and Upagupta and Moggaliputta were the prominent monks in the order. When Ashoka converted to Buddhism, he invited the two teachers to his capital at Pataliputra. According to Northern sources, at Upagupta's urging, Ashoka travelled to Buddhist pilgrimage sites with Upagupta and erected *stupas* at various places. Asoka's pilgrimages are mentioned, in fact, in his inscriptions. According to Sri Lankan sources, Moggaliputta put an end to the disputes among the monks in Pataliputra and advocated the dispatch of missionaries to various lands. *Majjhantika* was sent to bring the teachings of Buddhism to Kashmir, Majjhima and Kassapagotta to the Himalayan region, and *Mahadeva* to southern India. Buddhism thus spread to all of India with Ashoka's conversion and assistance. During Ashoka's reign, the disputes within the order became more evident, but still not severe enough to cause a schism. Only after Ashoka's death did the actual schism of the order into the *Sthavira* and *Mahasanghika* schools occur, probably in part because of the decline of the Mauryan empire. Thus serious disputes arose within the early Buddhist order's ranks before Ashoka's reign, but the order did not actually split into schools until after Ashoka's death. The spread of Buddhism to all of India meant that regional differences were added to doctrinal difference with the result that further schisms occurred rapidly during the century after Ashoka's death.

Political Scenario

According to Sri Lankan sources, the Buddha died in the eighth year of the reign of King Ajatasatru, ruler of Magadha, who had succeeded to the throne after killing his father, King Bimbisara. Ajatasatru conquered much of central India and increased the power of Magadha. His dynasty continued for several generations until the people overthrew it during the reign of King Nagadasaka. One of Nagadasaka's ministers, Susunaga, was crowned as the new king and founded the Susunaga dynasty. During this period, Magadha conquered Avanti.

However, after a short time, the Susunaga dynasty was replaced by the Nanda dynasty, which then amassed great military power and conquered a large territory; extending its borders beyond India. However, it declined after only twenty-two years. In 327 B.C. Alexander the Great led a large army into northwestern India and conquered it. Instead of pressing on, however, he led his army out of India and died in Babylon in 323 B.C. Central India was spared conquest by Macedonian invasions, young Candragupta, with the aid of his prime minister Kautilya assembled troops, toppled the Nanda dynasty, and founded the Mauryan dynasty. He destroyed Macedonian power in northwestern India, conquered much of the rest of India, and thus established a strong kingdom, which he ruled for twenty-four years. Candragupta was succeeded by his son Bindusara, who ruled for twenty-eight years. Bindusara's son, Asoka, ascended the throne in 268 B.C.E.

According to the Sri Lankan chronicles, 218 years passed between the time of the Buddha's death and the year Asoka became king. In contrast, sources in the Northern tradition state that the time between these two events was only one hundred years. If the above account of the political situation in India is correct, one hundred years would seem to be too short for the time span between the Buddha's death and Ashoka's succession. In the *A-yu-wang chuan* (T 50-99c. *Asokarajavadana*), a work belonging to the Northern tradition of Buddhism, the names of twelve kings of Magadha are listed, beginning with Bimbisara and concluding with Susima, a contemporary of Ashoka. The duration of their reigns, however, are not listed, making it difficult to determine whether the figure of 100 years or 218 years is more trustworthy.

The many points in which the various accounts disagree prevent any of them from being considered an infallible source. Although the date in the Sri Lankan chronicles would seem to be more trustworthy than those in other accounts, even the Sri Lankan histories present many difficult problems when they are used to reconstruct a history of the early Buddhist order. Consequently, the problem of determining what period elapsed between the Buddha and Ashoka must remain unsolved for the present. The following account of the development of the Buddhist order relies upon both the Sri Lankan chronicles and the Northern sources.

The First Major Schism in the Order

After the Buddha's death, missionaries spread Buddhism from central India to the southwest along the Southern Route Buddhism was also transmitted to western India, where it flourished in Mathura (*Madhura*), a city on the banks of the Jamuna to the southeast of modern Delhi. Mathura is a considerable distance from Central India. Because it is the location where Krishna worship arose, it is a sacred place to Hindus. However Buddhism flourished there, and it was a stronghold of the *Sarvastivadin* School. According to scriptures, *Mahakatyayana* preached in Mathura. No *sutras* record the Buddha as preaching there. In fact, he stated that Mathura had five major problems that made it unpleasant to live in (such as being dusty and having many mad dogs), and he therefore avoided it. Since Mathura was far from Central India, it would take some time before Buddhism reached it.

Hundred years after the Buddha's death, at the time of the Second Council, Buddhism was still not strong in Mathura. The Second Council was held because the monks of Vaisali were said to have adopted ten practices that violated the precepts. When a dispute arose over these practices. Seven hundred monks assembled in Vaisali and determined that the monks of Vaisali were in error. Although deciding the status of the ten practices in question was the

main reason for the meeting, the *Dipavamsa*, a Sri Lankan chronicle, refers to the meeting as the Second Council because the canon was chanted after the other business had been completed. However, the Chapter on the Council of the Seven Hundred in the *Vinaya* states only that the meeting concerned the ten practices and does not consider it to be the Second Council. According to Pali sources the ten disputed practices and the rules they violated were as follows:

1. Carrying salt in an animal horn - violated a rule against the storing of food.
2. Taking food when the shadow on the sundial is two fingers past noon - violated a rule against eating after noon.
3. After eating, traveling to another village to eat another meal the same day - violating the rule against overeating.
4. Holding several fortnightly assemblies within the same boundaries (*sima*) - violated procedures requiring all monks within the *sima* to attend the same fortnightly assembly.
5. Confirming an ecclesiastical act in an incomplete assembly and obtaining approval from absent monks afterward - violated the rules of procedure at monastic meetings.
6. Citing habitual practice as the authority for violations of monastic procedures - violated the rules of procedures.
7. Drinking milk whey after meals - violated the rule against eating special food when one was not sick.
8. Drinking unfermented wine - violated the rule against drinking intoxicating beverages.
9. Using a mat with fringes - violated the rule concerning the measurements of rugs.
10. Accepting gold and silver - violated the rule prohibiting monks from receiving gold and silver.

All of these practices were banned in the full sets of precepts for monks. Because observing the full precepts would have required special efforts by the monks, the advocates of the ten practices were attempting to liberalize monastic practice. The argument concerning the tenth practice, whether monks could touch gold and silver, was especially bitter. In the following discussion, the story of the Second Council is summarized in accordance with the Council of seven hundred from the *Pali Vinaya*.

Approximately one century after the Buddha's death, a monk named *Yasas* (p. *Yasakakandakaputta*) was traveling in *Vaisali* when he noticed that the monks of that area were receiving alms of gold and silver directly from lay believers. When he pointed out to them that their activity was in violation of the rules in the *Vinaya*, the monks of *Vaisali* expelled him from the order. *Yasas* then traveled west to seek assistance.

Yasas appealed to monks from *Avanti*, *Pava* (*Patheyyaka*), and areas along the Southern Route. *Avanti* and other areas along the Southern Route had already been opened up to Buddhism by *Mahakatyayana* and *Purna* and thus must have been the sites of well-established orders by this time. The monks of *Pava* were probably from the western part of *Kausala*. This area was to the far west of *Sravasti* and included *Sankasya* and *Kanyakubja*. A little further to the west was *Mathura*. *Pava* was the site of a very strong Buddhist order at this

time. Thus, a century after the Buddha's death, Buddhism had spread beyond central India and was becoming an important force in Western India.

Among the influential monks in the west was an elder named *Sambhuta Sanavasi*, who lived on Mount Ahoganga. Another important elder was Revata, who was from Soreyya, a town on the upper reaches of the Ganges River near *Sankasya*, the center of the area around *Pava*. Because *Yasas* sought help in the west, the argument over the ten points of *vinaya* is often thought of as a dispute between the monks of the east and the west. However, because some monks in the east (Magadha and Vaisali) joined with those in the west in opposing the adoption of the ten points, the dispute should be viewed as one between a conservative group, which advocated a strict interpretation of the precepts, and a more liberal group, which wished to permit certain exception to the observance of the precepts.

The dissemination of Buddhism during the century after the Buddha's death led to an increase in the numbers of monks and its diffusion over a broader geographical area. Ample opportunities existed for differences of interpretation to lead to controversies involving the order. The conservative position prevailed at the council, probably because most of the elders favoured a conservative approach. Eventually, a decision was reached to appoint four monks from the west and four from the east to consider the ten points and judge their orthodoxy. The elders chosen as representatives ruled that all ten points should be rejected. Many monks, however, refused to accept their ruling, and their dissatisfaction contributed to a schism in the order.

The schism, often call the basic schism (Ch, *ken-pen fen-lieh*) resulted in the formation of two schools: the *Mahasanghika*, whose monks refused to accept the conservative ruling of the committee of eight monks, and the *Sthaviravada* (P. *Theravada*), whose monks agreed with the conservative ruling. The name *Mahasanghika* means "great assembly" and suggest that monks belonged to the liberal faction.

According to the *I-pu-tsung-lun-lun* (T-2031, *Samayabheda-paracanacakra*; hereafter cited as *Samaya*), a work by Vasumitra from the Northern tradition concerning the formation of the schools of *Hinayana* Buddhism and their doctrines, the cause of the basic schism was five teachings promulgated by *Mahadeva*. However, many modern scholars believe that *Mahadeva's* five points were in fact the cause of a latter schism and that they mistakenly were considered by Vasumitra to have been the cause of the basic schism.

According to the *Vinayas* of various schools and other sources the controversy over the ten points of practice occurred a century after the Buddha's death. Moreover, the Sri Lankan chronicles and the *Samaya* of the Northern tradition both date the basic schism to the same time. Still other stories concerning schisms in the order are recorded in Tibetan sources; however, both Northern and Southern (Pali) sources are in agreement that a schism that resulted in the formation of the *Mahasanghaika* and *Sthavira* schools occurred one century after the Buddha's death. Since the *Vinayas* of the *Theravada*, *Sarvastivadin*, *Mahisasaka*, and *Dharmaguptaka* schools all record that the controversy over the ten points of *vinaya* occurred one century after the Buddha's death, this dispute must be considered to be the cause of the basic schism.

The five points of doctrine advanced by *Mahadeva* may have added to the controversy surrounding the first schism. *Mahadeva* taught that (1) *arhats* may be sexually tempted,

(2) *arhats* have a residue of ignorance (3) *arhats* may have doubts, (4) *arhats* may attain enlightenment through the help of others, and (5) the path is attained with an exclamatory remark. The five points indicate that *Mahadeva* had a low opinion of the enlightenment of *arhats*. *Mahadeva's* five points of doctrine are included in the *Sarvastivadin School's Samaya* and *Mahavinnasa*, as well as the *Theravada* work, the *Kathavatthu*. *Mahadeva's* five points of doctrine thus are representative of the issues debated by the schools of *Hinayana Buddhism*.

In discussing the basic schism, the extent of Buddhism's spread in India and the difficulties in communication between areas of India must be taken into account. The schism probably did not occur over a period of days or months. Consequently, scholars cannot determine exactly when it occurred or at what point it was completed. However, the schism clearly did occur a little more than a century after the Buddha's death. As the dissension gradually spread and involved many of the orders in various parts of India, arguments over a number of different points arose. According to the *Samaya*, *Mahasanghika* doctrine included certain views on the bodies of the Buddha and the concept of the bodhisattva that might have drawn opposition from more conservative monks. However, these doctrines were probably developed by later *Mahasanghika* monks and do not represent *Mahasanghika* doctrine at the time of the basic schism.

Sanavasi and Monastic Lineages

The Second Council contained in the various *Vinayas* are in agreement about the identities of the senior monks of the Buddhist order approximately a century after the Buddha's death. In the east *Sarvakamin* was an important elder, and in the west *Revata* and *Sambhuta* was an important elder, and in the west *Revata* and *Sambhuta Sanavasi* were influential. The roles of these three men are stressed in the Sri Lankan sources and are related to the accounts of a monk named *Sanakavasi* in Northern sources.

In such Northern sources as the *Divyavadana*, *A-yu-wang chuan* (T-2042, *Asokarajavadana*), *A-yu-wang ching* (T-2043, *Asokarajasutra*), and *Ken-pen yu-pu lu tsa-shih* (T-1451, *Mulasarvastivada Vinayak Sudrakavastu*), the following patriarchal lineage is given: *Mahakasyapa*, *Ananda*, *Sanakavasi*, and *Upagupta*. The monk *Madhyantika* must also be mentioned. *Madhyantika* was a fellow student with *Sanakavasi* under *Ananda*, however, since *Madhyantika* became a disciple of *Ananda* just before *Ananda* died, *Madhyantika* should probably be considered a contemporary of *Upagupta*. *Sanakavasi*, *Madhyantika*, *Upagupta*, and others mentioned in these lineages are also discussed in Sri Lankan sources. In the following paragraphs, the roles of these men and the relation between the Northern and Sri Lankan accounts of them are analyzed.

Sambhuta Sanavasi is mentioned in the chapter on the Second Council in the *Pali Vinaya*. He was a disciple of *Ananda*, as was *Sanakavasi* who is mentioned in Northern sources. Both lived about one century after the Buddha's death. According to the *Pali Vinaya*, *Sanavasi* lived on Mount Ahoganga. *Sanakavasi* is said to have resided on Mount Urumunda in Mathura (*Divyavadana*, p. 349). Although the names of the two mountains were different, both mountains are said to have been reached by boat. (The name of Mount Ahoganga indicates that it was probably on the Ganges River.)

The name "Sanavasi" does not appear in the following list of patriarchs found in Sri Lankan sources; *Upali*, *Dasaka*, *Sonaka*, *Siggava* and *Moggaliputta Tissa*, *Ashoka's* teacher

Moggaliputta Tissa is said to have resided on Mount Ahoganga (*Smantapasadika*, p. 53). King Ashoka sent a boat to the mountain to bring Moggaliputta back to the capital. In contrast, Northern sources state both that *Sanakavasi's* disciple Upagupta was *Ashoka's* teacher and that Upagupta succeeded his teacher on Mount Urumunda. Moreover, according to Northern sources *Ashoka* sent for Upagupta with a boat and the boat then returned to *Pataliputra*.

Although the names of the two mountains are different, the accounts resemble each other in many ways *Sanakavasi* or Northern sources is not called "Sambhuta" as is *Sanavasi* of the Sri Lankan tradition. Although *Sanakavasi* and *Sambhuta Sanavasi* cannot be proven to be identical, since they were both *Ananda's* disciples and lived at the same time and in similar places, they probably were, in fact, the same person.

In Sri Lankan sources such as the *Dipavamsa*, *Mahavamsa* and the *Samantapasadika* the following lineage of *vinaya* masters is recorded *Upali*, *Dasaka*, *Sonaka*, *Siggava* and *Moggaliputta Tissa*. Since, according to Sri Lankan sources, *Moggaliputta Tissa* is said to have been *Ashoka's* teacher, five generations of teachers would have served between the death of the Buddha and the accession of *Ashoka* to the throne. In Northern sources, *Ashoka's* teacher is said to have been Upagupta, thus, according to Northern sources, four generations of teachers would have passed between the death of the Buddha and *Ashoka*. *Sambhuta Sanavasi* does not appear in the lineage in the Northern sources because as a disciple of *Ananda*, *Sanavasi* belonged to a different lineage. In contrast, the Sri Lankan lineage of *vinaya* masters was based on the fact that Moggaliputta's preceptor was Siggava and Siggava's preceptor was Sonka and so forth back to *Upali*. Consequently, there was no place in the Sri Lankan lineage to add *Ananda*.

According to the lineage found in Northern sources, *Upagupta's* preceptor was *Sanakavasi*, *Sanakavasi's* preceptor was *Ananda*, and *Ananda's* preceptor was *Mahakasyapa*. However, doubt exist about whether *Ananda's* preceptor was *Mahakasyapa*. According to the *Pali Vinaya*, *Ananda's* Preceptor was named *Belatthasyapa*, indicating that *Ananda's* preceptor probably was not *Mahakasyapa* (*Vinaya*, vol. 4, p.86). Why *Mahakasyapa* was listed as *Ananda's* preceptor must be considered further.

After the Buddha's death *Mahakasyapa* was probably the Buddha's most powerful disciple. *Mahakasyapa* presided over the First Council. Moreover, a number of stories in the *Agamas* demonstrate the respect held for *Mahakasyapa*. For example, in one story the Buddha shared his seat with *Mahakasyapa* and then had him preach. In another story, the Buddha exchanged his tattered robes for *Mahakasyapa's* large hempen robe (*Sanghati*). Since *Sariputra* and *Maudgalayana* had predeceased the Buddha, *Mahakasyapa* was recognized by everyone as the most influential figure in the Buddhist order after the Buddha's death. Consequently later when those in *Ananda's* lineage traced their spiritual ancestry, they did not mention *Ananda's* actual preceptor since he was almost completely unknown and did nothing to bolster *Ananda's* authority. Instead, they devised a legend in which *Mahakasyapa* bestowed the teaching on *Ananda*.

One of the major objection to the tradition that *Mahakasyapa* was *Ananda's* preceptor is that many legends suggesting that serious discord existed between *Mahakasyapa* and *Ananda* are found in the *Agamas* and *vinayas*. For example, according to the chapter on the First Council in the *Vinaya*, after the First Council, *Mahakasyapa* described several serious errors

made by *Ananda* and urged *Ananda* to confess them. Other stories concern criticism that *Ananda's* followers made against *Mahakasyapa* when he was older. *Mahakasyapa* was influential immediately after the Buddha's death, but later *Ananda's* followers gained in strength until they became the stronger faction.

Ananda had many strong connections with the orders in the west. In many episodes in the *Agamas*, he is described as staying and preaching to people at the *Ghositarāma* in *Kausambi*, in the western part of Central India. Since *Ananda* liked to proselytize in the west, he probably had many disciples there. When a committee of eight monks was chosen to investigate the points at issue at the Second council, six of the eight were *Ananda's* disciples. Because *Ananda* had lived longer than most of the Buddha's other immediate disciples, his disciples were among the eldest members of the order approximately one century after the Buddha's death.

The above account agrees with other information about *Ananda's* age. At the time of the Buddha's death, *Ananda* served as his personal attendant, a position probably not held by an elderly monk. According to the *ta-chih-tu-lun* (T-25:68a, *Mahaprajna-paramitopadesa*) and the commentary on the *Theragatha*, *Ananda* was the Buddha's attendant for twenty-five years. If *Ananda* had become the Buddha's attendant immediately after he was ordained, then he was probably forty-five years old at the Buddha's death and might well have lived for another thirty to forty years.

Ananda's disciple *Sanakavasi* was a native of *Rajagrha* according to Northern sources such as the *A-yu-wang ching* (T-2043, *Asokarajasutra*). He introduced Buddhism to Mathura in the west. Mount Urumunda, mentioned earlier, was in Mathura, and *Sanakavasi's* disciple *Upagupta* was a native of Mathura (*A-yu-wang chuan*, T-50:114b, 117b). Thus by the time *Sanakavasi*, Buddhism was spreading to Mathura.

According to Sri Lankan sources, most of the elders chosen to serve on the committee to decide the issue that arose at the time of the second Council traced their lineage back to *Upali* even while acknowledging that they were *Ananda's* disciples. This discrepancy probably occurs because Mahinda, the monk who transmitted Buddhism to Sri Lanka, was in *Upali's* lineage (*Upali, Dasaka, Sonaka, Siggava, Moggaliputtam Mahinda*). Mahinda's lineage was probably emphasized in Sri Lankan sources because Mahinda was one of the most important figures in Sri Lankan Buddhism. Lineage was a sacred issue for monks, and tracing a lineage back through a series of preceptors and disciples was an acknowledged way of proving the orthodoxy of a person's ordination.

Consequently, monks would not have forgotten or fabricated the lineage of Mahinda and his preceptor. The fact that monks such as *Sonaka* and *Siggava*, who are included in the lineage between *Upali* and *Moggaliputta Tissa*, do not appear as major figures in the history of the Buddhist order suggests that such lineage are probably authentic. The lineage should be understood as referring to the relationship between preceptor and disciples, not as indicating that figures such as *Sonaka* and *Siggava* were part of a lineage of monks who supervised the order.

According to Sri Lankan sources there were five generations of *vinaya* masters between the death of the Buddha and the time of *Ashoka*. According to Northern sources such as the *A-yu-wang chuan* (T-2042, *Ashokarajavadana*), because *Ananda's* disciple *Sanakavasi* was long

lived, *Ashoka's* teacher Upagupta was in the fourth generation after the Buddha. The lineage in the Northern sources from *Ananda* to *Sanakavasi* to *Upagupta* was based on the relationship of preceptor to disciple, reflecting the importance of ordinations, but the relationship between *Mahakasyapa* and *Ananda* was not one of preceptor to disciple. To explain this discrepancy, the lineage in Northern sources had to assume the format of being a transmission of the teaching rather than an ordination lineage. According to Northern sources, *Ashoka's* teacher was Upagupta of Mount Urumunda; in Sri Lankan sources *Ashoka's* teacher was Moggaliputta Tissa of Mount Ahoganga. Although the two teachers resemble each other in certain ways, they cannot reasonably be identified as the same person. Questions concerning whether only one monk or both monks were *Ashoka's* teacher remain unanswered at present.

Evidence from the lineage thus indicates that the Sri Lankan figure of 218 years for the period between the Buddha's death and *Ashoka's* succession is simply too long. The figure of 116 years found in Northern sources is much more reasonable.

Madhyantika and the Dispatch of Missionaries

The Northern and Southern (Sri Lankan) traditions agree on a number of points concerning *Madhyantika*. According to the Northern traditions, he was *Ananda's* last disciple. Approximately a hundred years after the Buddha's death, he went to Kashmir, where he built a place to meditate and live. Stories about him describe how he converted some evil dragons (*Naga*) in Kashmir to Buddhism, spread Buddhism among the people, and taught the people how to grow tulips to make their living.

According to the Sri Lankan traditions, missionaries from the Buddhist order were sent to various lands during the reign of *Ashoka* at the recommendation of Moggaliputta Tissa. Eminent monks were dispatched to nine areas, with Majjhantika going to Kashmir and Gandhara. Majjhantika took five monks with him to Kashmir and converted evil dragons there by using his superhuman powers and the people by teaching the *Asivisopama-sutta*. Majjhantika is probably the same person as the *Madhyantika* mentioned in the Northern sources. Since the *Madhyantika* mentioned in the Northern sources was said to be last disciple of *Ananda*, he could have been a contemporary of Upagupta. If Upagupta lived during *Ashoka's* reign, then the missionary activities of both men would have been assisted by *Ashoka's* support of Buddhism. Since Buddhism had spread to Mathura during this time then *Madhyantika* might very well have taken it farther north to Kashmir.

According to Sri Lanka chronicles, at the same time Majjhantika was proselytizing in Kashmir, other eminent monks from the order in Magadha were spreading Buddhism to other parts of India. Each eminent monk was sent with a group of five monks, since five was the minimum number required to perform full ordinations. A list of these eminent monks, the areas in which they proselytized and the *sutras* that they preached follows:

- Mahadeva* went to Mahisamandala and preached the *Devadutasutta*.
- Rakkhita* went to *Vanavasi* and preached the *Anamattagiyasutta*
- Dhammarakkhita* went to Aparantaka and preached the *Agghikhandupamasutta*
- Mahadhammarakkhita* went to *Maharatha* and preached the *Mahanaradakassapa-jataka*
- Maharakkhita* went to Yonaloka and preached the *Kalakaramasuttanta*.
- Majjhima* went to Himavantapadesa and preached the *Dhammacakkapavattanasutta*

Sonka and Uttara went to *Suvannabhumi* and preached the *Brahmajalasutta*.

Mahinda went to *Lankadipa* (Sri Lanka) and preached the *Culahatthipadopamasutta* and other *sutras*.

Mahisamandala, where *Mahadeva* was sent, seems to be to the south of the Narmada River, but it has also been identified with Mysore. According to the *Shan-Chien lu* (T-24 681c-82a), the Chinese translation of Buddha Ghosa's *Samantapasadika*, *Mahadeva* and *Majjhantika* were teacher (*acarya*) at Mahinda's full ordination. Episodes concerning two figures named *Mahadeva* are included in *Sarvastivadin* sources. *Mahadeva* is said to be both a monk who caused the schism between the *Sthavira* and *Mahasanghika* school by preaching his "five points" and *Mahasanghika* monk who lived at Mount Caitika and caused the schism that led to the formation of the Caitika School (which is related to the *Mahasanghika School*) by proclaiming the "five points". The former figure the monk responsible for the basic schism, is probably a fictional character. The latter lived approximately two centuries after the Buddha's death at Mount Caitika, along the middle part of the Krsna River in Andhra. It is unclear whether this *Mahadeva* should be identified with the monk of the same name who was dispatched as a missionary by Moggaliputta Tissa.

The place called 'Aparantaka' has been identified with a site on the west coast of India, an area previously opened to Buddhism by *Purna*. *Maharattha* is near Mumbai in Maharashtra; Yonaloka was in the north in the area where a number of Greeks lived. Himavantapadesa was in the Himalayan region, and *Suvannabhumi* was in eastern India near Burma.

Besides Majjhima, four other monks - Kassapagotta, Alakadeva, Dundubhissara, and Sahadeva - helped propagate Buddhism in the Himalayan areas. Among the funerary urns found at the second *stupa* at *sanci* were one for "*Kasapagota*" [*sic*] a teacher in the Himalayan area and other for the sage "*Majjhima*" [*sic*]. These archaeological finds provide additional evidence concerning Majjhima's activities in Himalayan areas.

Mahinda equipped himself for his journey to Sri Lanka at the Vidisa monastery (*P.Vedisagiri*) near *Sanci* bade farewell to his mother, and departed with five monks. From *Vidisa* he probably travelled to the west coast of India, boarded a ship going south, rounded the tip of the Indian Subcontinent, and landed in Sri Lanka. Because the dispatch of missionaries to various parts of India is proven in part by inscriptions, the scriptural account of the missionaries may be regarded as essentially factual.

To summarize Ananda opened Kausambi to Buddhism. One hundred years after the Buddha's death, Buddhism had spread to *Sankasya*, *Kanyakubja*, *Avanti* and along the Southern Route, Buddhism was subsequently introduced to Mathura by *Sanakavasi* and Upagupta. Missionaries were then dispatched to Kashmir, southern India, and the Himalayan region. Stories concerning the territory exposed to Buddhism during the lifetimes of *Sanakavasi* and Upagupta agree with the account of the dispatch of missionaries in the next period. Thus the missionaries were probably sent out between 100 to 150 years after the Buddha's death. If the Sri Lankan version of Buddhist history is followed in which 218 years elapsed between the Buddha's death and Ashoka's succession, then there would be a hundred year gap between *Sanakavasi* and Moggaliputta during which the order would have been virtually moribund.

The Dharma Preached by King Ashoka

The king believed the Buddhist teaching that all men were essentially equal. Hence, all men including himself, were to observe the Buddha's teaching (Dharma). People were to follow a moral code of compassion and sincerity. Among the recommended activities were having compassion for living beings, speaking the truth, acting with forbearance and patience, and helping the needy. Although these prescriptions are simple. Ashoka believed that they were immutable truth that all should follow. To transmit them to future generation, he had his idea edicts carved in stone.

The importance of respect for the lives of sentient beings was repeatedly started in Ashoka's edicts. Needless killing was prohibited. If animals were to be killed, pregnant and nursing animals were to be spared. Two types of hospitals were built in the country, one for animals and one for people. Medicinal plants were cultivated, trees planted alongside the roads, and wells dug. Places to rest and obtain drinking water were built for travellers (Rock Edict III). In these ways, Ashoka eased the lives of both men and animals and demonstrated his love and affection (*daya*) for all sentient beings.

In Ashoka's edicts, the importance of obedience to parents, teachers, and superiors was repeatedly stressed. Elders were to be treated with courtesy. Friends, scholars, brahmins, *sramanas*, poor people, servants, and slaves were to be treated properly, and the dignity of each person respected. In addition, alms were to be given to brahmins, *sramans*, and the poor. The king himself gave up the sport of hunting and embarked on Dharma tours (*dharma-yatra*) around the country (Rock Edict VII). On these tours, he visited religious authorities and scholars, gave alms, held interviews with the common people, and taught and admonished the people about the Dharma. These Dharma tours were Ashoka's greatest pleasure. For Ashoka, teaching or giving the Dharma (*dharma-dana*) to others constituted the most excellent form of alms giving and resulted in friendships based on the Dharma. By preaching the Dharma to others, a person would receive rewards in this life, and countless merits would be produced for his later lives. Along with the emphasis on giving the Dharma to others, Ashoka urged people to consume less and accumulate little, and thus control their desires.

Ashoka was especially diligent in his conduct of government affairs. He ordered that governmental problems be reported to him at any and all times, even when he was eating, in the women's quarters, or in his gardens. For Ashoka, conducting good government was the king's chief responsibility to the people of the country. Benefiting all the beings of the world and then increasing those benefits was the noblest task in the world. All the king's efforts to rule were thus expressions of his desire to repay his debts to other sentient beings. He wished to make people happy in this world and help them attain heaven in their future lives. He considered all sentient beings to be his children (Rock Edict Vi).

In the edicts, the Dharma was defined in a variety of ways, as goodness (*sadhu*), few passions (*alpasrav*), many good acts (*bahukalyana*), affection (*daya*) alms giving (*dana*), truth (*satya*), and purity of action (*sauca*). The realization of Dharma (*dharma-pratipatti*) was said to consist of affection, generosity in giving, purity, gentleness (*mardava*), and goodness: if a person engaged in almsgiving, but had not learned to control his senses (*samyama*) or lacked gratitude (*kriajnata*) or was without steadfast sincerity (*drdhabhaktita*), he was a base person.

Ashoka warned that brutality, inhumanity, anger, pride, and jealousy all led to even more defilements. "Good is not easy to accomplish. Anyone just beginning to do good will find it difficult," he stated. But then Ashoka noted that he had "accomplished many good deeds" (Rock Edicts IV-V).

Ashoka spread his views on the Dharma in two ways, through regulations concerning the Dharma (*dharma-niyama*) and quiet contemplation of the Dharma (*dharma-nidhyati*). Regulations concerning the Dharma were promulgated by the king. These laws were directed in particular against killing. Thus, through the force of law the people were made to observe Ashoka's views on taking life.

Contemplation of the Dharma involved quieting the mind and meditating on the Dharma. Through such contemplation the people would attain a deeper understanding of the prohibition on taking life and then apply it to their other actions. Quiet contemplation of the Dharma was considered to be superior to regulations enforcing the Dharma (Pillar Edict VII).

Ashoka emphasized the importance of not killing, of valuing all life, and of respecting people. Even a person sentenced to death was given a respite of three days for relatives to appeal or for the condemned to prepare for the next life. By the twenty-sixth year of his reign, Ashoka had already declared amnesties for prisoners twenty-five times (Pillar Edict V). The main teaching of Ashoka's Dharma, respect for life, was based on the realization that other beings were also alive and had feelings. The other virtues stressed by Ashoka—kindness, giving, truthfulness, purity of action, obedience to parents, just treatment of other, gratitude to society—all arose out of that basic realization. The contents of *Ashoka's* Dharma were rich indeed.

In order that the Dharma might always be practiced throughout the area he ruled, Ashoka appointed ministers of Dharma (*dharma-mahamatra*) who were to travel throughout the country every five years and ascertain that the Dharma was being preached (Separate Rock Edict I: Dhauri).

Because the longest edict, Rock Edict XIV, does not specifically state that Ashoka's Dharma was derived from Buddhism, some scholars have questioned whether it was Buddhist. However, the Dharma preached by Ashoka was not based upon any non-Buddhist tradition. For example, the term "dharma" was discussed in such Hindu *Dharma Sastra* works as the *Laws of Manu*, where it was used to mean law as in criminal and civil law. The term was also used in *Nyaya* thought, and both *dharma* and *adharma* were terms in Jaina philosophy. But in each case, the term was used in completely different ways from Ashoka's edicts. The term "*dharma*" was used in Vedic and Upanisadic literature with a meaning close but not identical to Ashoka's use. The central idea of the *Upanisads*, however, was the identity of Brahman and *atman*; the term "*dharma*" did not occupy the central position in *Upanisadic* thought as it did in Ashoka's thought.

In the *Bhagavad-Gita*, *dharma* was an element in the important term "*svadharma*" (one's own duty), which was used in the *Karmayoga* (way of Action) system. A variety of moral virtues was listed in the *Bhagavadgita*, many of them identical to those in Ashoka's edicts. However, war was commended in the *Bhagavad-gita*, whereas Ashoka disapproved of it.

In contrast to non-Buddhist religion, the term "Dharma" occupied a central place in Buddhist thought. It is one of the Three Jewels (*triratna*): the Buddha, his teaching (Dharma), and the order (*sangha*). The Minor Rock and Pillar Edicts reveal that Ashoka was a devoted Buddhist. Thus Ashoka's Dharma was clearly derived from Buddhism.

Ashoka's Support of the Buddhist Order

Although Ashoka had converted to Buddhism, he treated other religions fairly. Rock Edict XII states that he "gave alms (*dana*) and honored (*pūja*) both members of religious orders and the laity of all religious groups (*parasada*)." In Rock Edict VII, he declared that he "wished members of all religions to live every where in his kingdom." In Pillar Edict VII Ashoka noted that he had appointed ministers of Dharma to be responsible for affairs related to the Buddhist order. Other ministers of Dharma were responsible for the affairs of Brahmins, *Ajivikas*, or Jains (*Nirgranthas*).

Ashoka was fair in his treatment of all religions, but he was particularly devoted to Buddhism, as is illustrated by the inscriptions concerning his own life. Ashoka converted to Buddhism around the seventh year of his reign. According to the Minor Rock Edict from *Rupnath*, for the next two years he was not very devout in his practice, but then for a period of more than a year he "drew near to the order" (*sanghah upetah*) and practiced assiduously. The phrase "drew near to the order" probably indicated that Ashoka was affiliated with the Buddhist order and performed the same practices as a monk. According to Rock Edict VII, Ashoka went to "*Sambodhi*" (probably the *bodhi-tree* at *Buddhagaya*) in the tenth year of his reign. The *Nigalisagar* Pillar Edict recorded that in the fourteenth year of his reign, Ashoka had a *stupa* dedicated to the past Buddha *Konakamana* repaired and then personally made offerings at it. The *Lumbini* Pillar Edict recorded that sometime after the twentieth year of his reign, Ashoka travelled to the Buddha's birthplace and personally made offerings there. He then had a stone pillar set up and reduced the taxes of the people in that area. The edicts at *Sanci*, *Sarnath*, and *Kausambi* all warned against schisms in the order and declared that any monk or nun who tried to cause a schism would be defrocked. Warnings against schisms were included in the Minor Rock Edicts as well.

In the *Bairat* Edict, Ashoka paid honour to the order and then declared that he respected (*gaurava*) and put his faith (*prasada*) in the Three Jewels. He then stated that all of the Buddha's teachings were good, but that certain doctrines (*dharmaparyaya*) were particularly useful in ensuring that Buddhism would endure for a long time. The names of the following seven texts were then listed:

1. *Vinayasamukase* (The Superior Teaching of the *Vinaya*; *Vinaya*, vol. 1, p.7ff)
2. *Aliyavasani* (Noble Lineage; *AN*, IV: 28, vol. 2, p. 27)
3. *Anagata-bhayani* (Dangers of the Future; *AN*, V, Vol. 3, p. 100f.)
4. *Munigatha* (verses on Recluses; *Suttanipata*, vv. 207-221)
5. *Moneyasute* (Sutra on the Practice of Silence, *Suttanipata*, vv. 679-723)
6. *Upatisapasine* (Upatissa's Question, *Suttanipata* vv. 955-975)
7. *Laghulovada* (The Exhortation to *Rahula*, *MN*, no.61)

In order that the correct teaching might long endure, monks, nuns, laymen, and laywomen were to listen to these works frequently and reflect on their contents. The only edict concerning *stupas* relates how Ashoka repaired a *stupa* belonging to the past Buddha *Konakamana* (Konakamunig). However, in literary sources such as the *A-yu-wang ching* (T2043, *Ashokarajasutra*?) descriptions are found of how Ashoka made offerings to the Buddha's relics. In addition, Ashoka is said to have ordered 84,000 *stupas* built throughout the realm and to have benefited many people. At the urging of Upagupta, Ashoka embarked on a series of pilgrimages to pay homage at Buddhist sites, including *Lumbini*, the Dee Park at *Sarnasth*, *Buddhagaya*, and *Kusinagara*. At many of these sites he had *stupas* constructed. *Stupas* were also built for two of the Buddha's most important disciples, *Sariputra* and *Maudgalyayana*. Later, when the Chinese pilgrims Fa-hsien and *Hsuan-tsang* travelled through India, they reported that many of these *stupas* still remained. In more recent times, archaeologists have excavated and studied many *stupas* and discovered that the oldest parts of the *stupas* often date back to Ashoka's time indicating the accuracy of these records.

Because Ashoka was a fervent convert to Buddhism and strove to propagate it, he was praised and called "Dharma Ashoka" the ideology of Dharma propagated by Ashoka included many lofty ideals. Unfortunately, how extensively it spread among the people and how deeply it was understood by them remains unclear. Ashoka greatly aided the Buddhist order, recognizing that it contained people who put the Dharma into practice. However, as the order became wealthy, the discipline of those in it may well have begun to decline. Large gifts to the order became burdensome to the nation's economy.

According to the *A-yu-wang ching* and other sources, when Ashoka was old, his ministers and the prince acted against Ashoka and forbade any gifts to the order. In the end, Ashoka was allowed to give the order only half a myrobalan (*amalaka*) fruit, which he held in the palm of his hand. This legend indicates that Ashoka's career probably declined at the end of his life. In fact, the Mauryan empire lost much of its power and disappeared shortly after Ashoka's death. Yet Ashoka's Dharma cannot be judged as being without value because of the fate of his empire. Rather, his Dharma must be judged on its own merits.

The Third Council

As the above discussion indicates, a number of differences exist between the Northern and Southern accounts of the early Buddhist order. There are also important points of agreement between the different accounts. By the time of King Ashoka, there had been four or five generations of leaders of the *sangha*, and the propagation of Buddhism in Kashmir had begun. In the south, Buddhism had spread to the Deccan plateau. According to the Sri Lankan tradition, during Ashoka's reign missionaries were sent to various parts of India. However, a project of this magnitude probably could not have involved just one school of *Nikaya* (Hnayana) Buddhism, the Theravada. Moreover, according to the fifth chapter of the *Dipavamsa*, a Sri Lankan chronicle, many schisms occurred during the second century after the Buddha's death. These schisms eventually led to the eighteen schools of *Nikaya* Buddhism. According to the Sri Lankan account, the Caitika school of the *Mahasanghika* lineage (founded by *Mahadeva*) would already have been established in Andhra by the time of Ashoka's succession to the throne. The Dharmaguptaka and the *Kasyapiya* schools would have already split away from the *Sarvastivadin* School, and the Kashmiri *sarvastivadin* School would already have had a strong base.

In addition, according to the Sri Lankan tradition, other schools had been established by Ashoka's time, such as the *Mahisasakas*, *Dharmaguptakas*, *Sammattiyas*, and *Vatsiputriyas*, and had probably spread beyond central India. By the time of Ashoka, Buddhism had probably already spread throughout India and most of the schisms of *Nikaya* Buddhism had already occurred. It is doubtful whether missionaries would have been dispatched to these areas when Buddhism was already so firmly established in them. The accounts in the Sri Lankan chronicles of the schisms and the dispatch of the missionaries by Ashoka are clearly difficult to reconcile with each other.

If both the schisms and the dispatch of missionaries are historical events, then the Northern tradition's account is more reasonable. According to this account, the missionaries were dispatched before the schisms of *Nikaya* Buddhism. According to the Sri Lankan chronicles, bitter dissension was evident in the order during Ashoka time. However, such discord would probably have been resolved by a series of schisms that gave monks a choice of orders. A more natural order of events would place the dissension before the schisms. The Sri Lankan chronicles describe discord in the order at *Pataliputra* during Ashoka's reign, indicating that discord had broken out in the orders of central India.

To resolve the situation, Moggaliputta Tissa was summoned from Mount Ahoganga. The edicts of Ashoka from *Kausambi*, *Sanci*, and *Sarnath* strongly warned against schisms in the order, stating that monks who caused schisms were to be expelled and laicized. (The fact that the edicts were carved in stone suggests that the discord probably had been occurring for a long period.) The carved edicts warning against schisms were located at the strong holds of the western monks of Avanti and the Southern route at the time of the second council, and thus reflect the situation in Indian Buddhism after dispute over the "ten points" of *Vinaya* had occurred.

According to the Sri Lankan tradition, Moggaliputta Tissa was invited to Pataliputra, where he defrocked heretics and purified the order so that those remaining adhered to *Vibhajjhavada* doctrine. Later he assembled one thousand monks and convened the Third Council. To specify orthodox doctrinal positions, he compiled the *Kathavatthu* (Points of Controversy). These events occurred in approximately the eighteenth year of Ashoka reign. However, if most of the schism of *Nikaya* Buddhism had already occurred, as is stated in the Sri Lankan sources it is unlikely that the various orders could have been purified and forced to conform to *Vibhajjhavada* doctrine. Moggaliputta Tissa probably would not have been able to stop the arguments between the monks of *Kausambi*, *Sanci* and *Sarnath*. Moreover, if Moggaliputta Tissa did assemble one thousand monks and convene a council, he probably would not have selected monks from other schools. Consequently, the third council cannot be recognized as an event involving the Buddhist orders of all of India.

Since the *Kathavatthu* was compiled within the *Thervada* order, some sort of council must have been convened. However, the council was held not during Ashoka's reign, but approximately a century after Ashoka. Since the doctrines of the various schools of *Nikaya* Buddhism are examined and criticized in the *Kathavatthu*, this text must have been compiled after these schools arose, probably during the last half of the second B.C. If the Third Council is considered to be a historical event, it was a council held only within the *Theravada* school during the latter part of the second century B.C.

Sources and Classification of Sects

Dr. Bareau¹ has dealt with the different traditions of thought concerning the origin of sects chronologically, thus:

- I. The first epoch—Sinhalese traditions in the *Dipavamsa* (4th century A.D.), Buddhaghosa in his introduction to the commentary of the *Kathavatthu* added six sects to the list of *Dipavamsa*, viz *Rajagirikas*, *Siddhatthikas*, *Pubbaseliyas*, *Aparaseliyas* Haimavata, and *Vajiriya*, grouping the first four under the *Andhakas*. He attributed a number of views to the *Uttarapathakas*, *Hetuvadins* and the *Vetullakas*. Perhaps the Haimavatas and *Vajiriyas* were included in the *Uttarapathakas*. In the tradition are mentioned *Ekabboharikas*, *Pannattivadins*, and *Bahussutiyas* of the northern branch of the *Setiyavadins*, who belonged to the southern branch of the *Mahasanghikas*.
- II. The second epoch — The Sammitiya tradition of Bhavya placed the Haimavatas under the *Sthavira* group, and identified *Hetuvadins* with *Sarastivadins*. It followed the Sinhalese tradition in the concepting of the sub-sects of the *Mahasanghika*.
- III. The third epoch — Kashmirian traditions:
 - (a) *Sariputra -pariprccha-sutra* of the *Mahasanghikas*. The original text is not available. Its Chinese translations was made between 327 and 420 A.D.
 - (b) *Samaya -bhedoparacama* of Vasumitra of the *Sarvastivada* School. It has one Tibetan translation and three Chinese translation of about 400 A.D. In this tradition Haimavata is included in the *Sthavira* group.
 - (c) *Manjusri - pariprccha-sutra* available only in Chinese translation made in 518 A.D. by *Sanghapala*. In this text the Haimavatas appear as an offshoot of *Sarvastivada*. This text seems to have many errors. If its list be compared with that in the *Mahavyutpatri*. In this tradition, the sub-divisions of the *Mahasanghikas* are enlarged by the addition of *Lokottaravada*, *Aparasaila*, *Purvasaila* and *Uttarasaila*.²

Vinitadeva and the author of the *Bhiksuvarsagrapccha* divided the eighteen sects into five groups, thus:

- I-II. *Mahasanghikas* comprising *Purvasaila*, *Aparasaila* Haimavata, *Lokottaravada* and *Prajnapativada*.
- III. *Sarvastivadins* comprising *Mulasarvastivada*, *Kasyapiya*, *Mahisasaka*, *Dharmagupta*, *Bahusrutiya*, *Tamrasatiya* and a section of the *Vibhajyavada*.
- IV. *Sammitiya* comprising *Kaurukullaka*, *Avantaka* and *Vatsiputriya*.
- V. *Sthaviras* comprising *Jetavaniya*, *Abhaygirivasin* and *Mahaviharavasin*.

Vinitadeva's information and classification evidently point to a posterior date. He include some of the later schools in his enumeration and omits some of the older schools, which were probably extinct by his time, e.g., the *Ekavyavaharika*, *Gokulika*, *Dharmottariya*, and *Bhadrayanika*. Particularly noticeable is his inclusion of the Ceylonese sects like *Jetavaniya*³

(i.e. Sagalika of the *Mahavamsa*, v. 13) Abhayagirivasin⁴ (i.e. Dhammarucika of the *Mahavamsa*, v.13) and the *Mahaviharavasin*. The Jetavaniya it will be noted, come into existence as late the reign of *Mahasena* (5th Century A.D).

Taranatha in his 42nd chapter⁵ furnishes us with very important identifications of the different names of schools appearing in the lists of Bhavya. Vasumitra, Vinitadeva and others. After reproducing the several lists, he gives the following identifications:

- (i) *Kasyapiya* = *Suvarsaka*
- (ii) *Samkrantivadin* = *Uttariya* = *Tamrasatiya*.
- (iii) *Caityaka*=*Purvasaila* = Schools of *Mahadeva*
- (iv) *Lokkottaravada* = *Kaukkutika*
- (v) *Ekavyavaharika* is general name of the *Mahasanghikas*.
- (vi) *Kaurukullaka*, *Vatsiputriya*, *Dharmottariya*, *Bhadrayaniya* and *Channagarika* held almost similar views⁶

These identification help us to trace the *Uttarapathakas* of the *Kathavatthu*. This school should be identified with the *Uttariyas* of Bhavya and the *Samkrantivadin* of Vasumitra or *Samkrantikas* of the Pali texts. The *Sakrantivadins* were also known as the *Tamrasatiyas* probably on account of their copper-coloured robes. Out of these *Tamrasatiyas* or *Uttarapathakas* or *Samkrantivadin* or *Darstanikas* arose the *Sautrantikas*, who are often mentioned in the *Samkarabhasya*, *Sarvadarsanasangraha* and similar other works of the Brahmanic schools of philosophy. A comparison of the different lists of schools shows that their groupings quite agree with one another. The *Mahasanghika* branches may be sub-divided into two groups.

The first group comprised the original *Mahasanghikas*. *Ekavyavaharikas* and *Caityakas* or *Lokkottaravadin*. According to *Taranatha*. *Ekavyavaharikas* and the *Mahasanghikas* were almost identical. The chief centre of this group was at *Pataliputra*.

The second group of schools came into existence long after the *Mahasanghikas*. They became widely known as the *Saila* schools or the *Andhaka*⁷ and made their chief centre at *Amaravati* and *Nagarjunokonda*. With them maybe classed the *Bahusrutiya* and *Prajnapativadin*, as in doctrinal matters the former agreed more with the *Saila* schools than with the *Mahasanghikas*, while the latter had its origin as a protest against the doctrines of the *Bahusrutiya*s.

The third group of schools is formed by the earlier *Mahisa-sakas* and *Sarvastivadins* with the latter *Mahisasakas*. *Dharmaguptakas*, *Kasyapiyas*, *Samkrantikas* or *Uttarapathakas*⁸ or *Tamrasatiyas*.

The fourth group comprised the *Vajjiputrakas* or *Vatsiputriyas* with *Dharmottariyas*, *Bhadrayanikas*, *Channagarikas*, and *Sammitiyas* and also *Kaurukullakas*. In this group, practically all the schools merged in one viz., the *Vatsiputriyas*, otherwise known as the *Sammitiyas*.

The last group but the earliest in origin was the *Theravada* which, as *Vinitadeva* says, formed a group with the Ceylonese sects. viz., *Jettavaniya*. *Abhayagirivasins* and *Mahaviharavasins*.

Prof. Lamotte in his *Histoire du Bouddhisme Indien* (p.518) has furnished us with a tabular statement of the geographical distribution of the several schools on the basis of inscriptions discovered so far. According to this statement, the schools divided into several groups in our scheme are reproduced here.

Groups I & II

Comprising Mahasanghikas and its sub-sects Purvasila and Aparasaila (also known as Caityas), Haimavata, Lokottaravada and Pranjnapativada. The Saila schools are collectively known as the Andhakas which included Rajagirikas and Siddhatthikas.

I & II Mahasanghika

1. Mahasaghiya (Konow, p. 48): Lion Capital of Mathura (1st cen., A.D)
2. Mahasamghiga (Konow, p. 170): Wardak Vase, Year 51 of Kaniska (ca. 179 A.D.)
3. Mahasaghiya Satakarni (Luders, 1105): Karle Cave of the year 18 of Gautamiputra (Circa 106-130 A.D).
4. Mahasaghiya (Luders 1106): Karle Cave of the year 24 of Vasistiputra Puloma (ca. 130 - 159 A.D).
5. Ayirahamgha (EI. XX, p. 17): Pillar of Nagarjunikonda of the year 6 of Mathariputra Virapurasadatta of the Ikshvaku dynasty (ca. 250-275 A.D)
6. Ayirahagha (EI. XX, p. 20) Pillar of Nagarjunikonda (ca. 250-275 A.D).

Purvasaila and Aparasaila

1. Puva (s)eliya (EI, XXIV, p. 259) Pillar with Dharmacakra of Dharanikota: probable date of *Vasisthiputra Puloma* (ca. 130-159).
2. Puvaseliya (An. Rep ASI. 1923-24, p. 93): Allura (Kistna Dist).
3. Aparamahavinaseliya (EI, XX, p.17): *Nagarjunikonda* - Pillar of the year 6 of Mathariputra Virapurasadatta (ca. 250-275).
4. *Aparamahavinaseliya* (EI, p. 19): Pillar of Nagarjunikonda of the year 6 of the same king.
5. *Aparamahavinaseliya* (EI, XX, p. 21); Temple of Nagarjunikonda of the year 18 of the same king.
6. (Apa) raseliya (EI, XXVII, p. 4); Slab of Ghantasala formerly, Ukhasirivadhamana Bardamana of Ptolemy (VII, I, 93).
7. Aparisela (Luders 1020 with the correction in IHQ XVIII, 1942, p. 60); Kanheri Cave date as above.
8. Rajagirinivasika (Luder 125); Amaravati sculpture date as above.

Caityika or Sailas

1. Cetikiya (Luders 1248); Inscribed stone of Amarvati of the reign of Vasisthiputra Puloma. (ca. 130-159)
2. Cetika (Murti, No. 33, p. 278): slab of Amaravati (Date as above)

3. Cetiavamdaka (Luders 1223): sculpture of Amaravati (do)
4. Cetiavamdaka (Luders 1263): sculpture of Amaravati (do)
5. Cetika of Rajagiri (Luders 1250): sculpture of Amaravati (do)
6. Jadikiya (Luders 1244): Pillar of Amaravati (do)
7. Cetika (Luder, 1130): Nasik cave (do)
8. Cetika (Luders 1171): Junnar cave (do)
9. Seliya (Luders 1270): Pillar of Amaravati (do)
10. Mahavanseliya (Luders 1230): (do)
11. Mahavanasela (Luders 1272): sculpture of Amaravati (do)

Haimavata⁹

1. Hemavata (Luders, 156) L Crystal casket of Sonari Stupa of Sunga epoch, (2nd cent B.C)
2. Hemavata (Luders, 158): Steatite casket of Sonari stupa 2 of Sunga epoch (2nd cent B.C)
3. Hemavata (Luders, 655): Majumdar, 3: Steatite casket of Sanci stupa, Sunga epoch (2nd cent B.C)

Group III Sarvastivada

Comprising *Mulasarvastivada*, *Kasyapiya*, *Dharmagupta*, *Bahusrutiya*, *Tamrasatiya* and a section of *Vibhajyavada*.

Saravastivada

- 1 & 2. Saravastivatra (Konow, p. 48): Mathura Lion Capital (1st cent A.D).
3. Sarvastivatin (Konow, p. 137): Shah ji-ki-Dheri (Shrine of Kaniska) (ca 128-151).
4. Sa [rvbasti] vadati (Konow, p. 145): Zeda Pillar of Kaniska (circa 128-151).
5. Saravastivada (konow, p. 155): Copper stupa of Kurram (ca. 128-151).
6. Saravastivadin (Konow, p. 176): Inscribed potsherd of Dheri without date.
7. Sarvastivadin (Luders, 918-19): Buddhist statue of Kaman (no date).
8. Saravastivadin (Luders, 929): Buddhist balustrade of Sarnath.
9. Savasthiditya (Luders, 125): Buddhist statue of Mathura without date.

Kasyapiya

1. Ka... (Konow, p. 63): Inscribed pottery of Takht-i-Bahi (no date).
2. Kasavia (Konow, p. 88): Ladle of copper of Taxila, gift of Isparakka probably Aspavarma vassal of Azes II (ca. 5-19 A.D).
3. Kasyaviya (Konow, p. 89): Copper ladle of Bedadi in the kingdom of Urasa (no date):

4. Kassapiya (Konow, p. 122): A jug of Palatu Dheri (no date).
5. Kassapiya (Luders, 904): Buddhist cave of Pabhosa of the year 10; probably the fifth Sunga.
6. Sovasaka (Luders, 1106): Karle Cave of the year 24 of Vasisthiputra, Puloma (ca. 130-159).

Bahusrutiya

1. Bah (usuti) aka (Konow, p. 122): Jar of Palatu Dheri (no date)
2. Bahusutiya (EI, XX, p. 24): Pillar of Nagarjunaikonda of the reign of Mathariputra Virapurasadatta (ca 250-275).
3. Bahusutiya (EI, XXI, p. 62): Pillar of Nagarjunikonda of the year 2 of Ehuvala Santamula II of the Ikshvaku dynasty (end of the 3rd Century).

Vatsiputriya

1. Vatsiputrika (Luders 923): Buddhist Pillar of Sarnath of the Gupta epoch (4th cen.)

Mahisasaka

1. Mahi (sa) saka (EI, XX, p. 24): Pillar of Nagarjunikonda of the year ii of Enuvula Santamula II of the Ikshvaku dynasty (end of the 3rd cent).
2. Mahisasaka (EI, I, p. 238): Pillar of Kura at Salt Range (Panjab) of the reign of Toramana Shah Jauvia (end of the 5th cent).

Sautrantika

1. Sutamtika (Luders, 797): Pillar of Bharhut of the Sunga epoch (2nd cent. A.D.)
2. Sutatika (Luders, 635): Sanci of the Sunga epoch.
3. Sutatikini, Satatikini (Luders, 352, 319): Sanci of the sunga epoch.

Dharmottariya

1. Dhamutariya (Luders 1094-95): Gift of two pillars to the Dharmottariya school of Surparaka (without date).
2. Dhammuttariya (Luders, 1152): Junnar Cave (no date).

Bhadrayaniya

1. Bhadavaniya (Luders, 987): Kanheri Cave of the reign of Yajnasri Satakarni (ca. 174-203)
2. Bhadrajaniija (Luders, 1018): Kanheri Cave (Without date).
3. Bhadavaniya (Luders, 1123): Nasik Cave of the year 10 of Vasisthiputra Puloma (ca. 130-159).

Bhadayaniya (Luders, 1124): Nasik Cave of the years 19 and 22 of Vasisthiputra Puloma (ca, 130-159).

Sammatiya

1. Sammitiya (Luders, 923): Buddhist Pillar of Sarnath of the Gupta epoch (4th cent).

Sinhalese Theravada

1. Tambapa(m)naka (EI, XX, p. 22): Temple of Nagarjunikonda of the year 14 of Mathariputra Virapurasadatta of the Ikshvaku dynasty (ca. 250-275)

Doctrine of *Karma* and Sectarian Development

The centrality of the principle of karmic continuity and fruition in Indian Buddhism is such that one can easily understand the concern for formulating an intelligible and consisted explanation of this principle in the sectarian literature. The wide agreement about the principle of *karma* itself stands out in marked contrast to the disagreement about the manner or mechanism whereby that principle is effected. The aim of this paper is to isolate some central issues in the area of *karma* theory and grasp the manner in which concern for these issues either generated specific sectarian positions or imparted specific and significant dimensions thereto. Our understanding of sectarian development can perhaps be enriched if we focus on the particular *karma* doctrines (or, more appropriately, vocabularies explanatory of *karma* doctrine) of various schools. An analysis of the pertinent texts of the various schools of Indian Buddhism reveals common underlying problems as well as unique attempts at the solution of these problems.

In certain cases it is apparent that concern with *karma* doctrine or vocabulary explanatory thereof played a distinctly causal role in sectarian evolution. In other cases it is safer to say that the concern for an intelligible *karma* vocabulary was one among many complex factors that helped give decisive shape and substance to already distinct or emerging sectarian positions. Among the cases in which we can assign a causal role to *karma* theory in sectarian development are the *pudgalavadin* 'heresy' and the doctrine of *sarvastivada*. Two authoritative (though admittedly hostile) texts, the *Katha Vatthu* and the *Abhidharmakosabhasya* of *Vasubandhu* (hereafter cited as *Kosa*), document the obvious concern with establishing a mechanism of karmic continuity that generated these sectarian positions.¹⁰

The orthodox response to the ploy of the *pudgala* as the instrumentality of karmic continuity is widely known and requires no comment. The *Sarvastivadin* attempt of tie up the deed and the fruit by taking the position that past and future *dharma*s 'exist' met with equal resistance in many sectarian contexts. The *Kosa* lists several arguments in favour of their position. Of concern for our purposes is a *karma* related argument that raised the question with which the remainder of this paper will be concerned-how is there future fruition for virtuous and unvirtuous acts? For the *Vaibhasikas* one mechanism that would assure the workings of *karma* is the doctrine that past *dharma*s exist: "If the past did not exist, then how would there be fruit (or fruition, *phalam*) for auspicious and inauspicious acts in the future? Since, we say, at the time of the origination of the fruit the cause of maturation is not present."¹¹ On the one hand, we cannot deny the position that there is fruit for past morally qualifiable acts, and on the other, we cannot affirm that the cause of maturation is 'present' (occurring now, *varitamano*). From this the *Vaibhasikas* conclude that the past and the future 'exist' (*tasmat astyeva atitanagatam iti vaibhasik ah*).

The root problem that generated both *Pudgala*-and *Sarvastivada* as sectarian perspectives was also addressed by other schools. This problem is the description of the manner or mechanism whereby the trace, force or residue of defilement of virtue inheres in the

psychophysical stream without thereby pervading or continually coloring the moment-to-moment thoughts of that stream. Different sects gave different names to their theoretical candidates for the 'carrier of the Karma'. The KV for example contains references to several controversies about the notions of karmic residue (*anusaya*, Skt., *anusaya*) and its emergence into consciousness (*pariyutthana*) Skt., *pariyavasthana*)¹². The *Mahasanghikas* and *Sammitiyas* are said to have maintained that the residues of defilement are morally indeterminate (*abliyakata*, Skt., *avyakṛta*) and by nature dissociated from thought (*citta-vipayutta*, Skt., *viprayukta*). The Theravadin takes the position that only form (*rupa*) and *Nibbana* itself are so characterisable. This position will not do for the opponents who want to know how, then, one explains the mutual presence of defilements and virtuous thoughts in an average person. While the average person (*prthagjana*) is definitionally characterized by defilement (*klesa*), we cannot deny that he occasionally has virtuous thoughts and does virtuous deeds. Unless the residue of defilement is disassociated from thought, it will pervade the stream of moment-to-moment thoughts and render it impossible for him to entertain a virtuous thought.

The *Theravadin* admits that there cannot be both virtuous and unvirtuous thoughts before the mind at the same time and is forced to admit that residue is not by nature associated with thought (*na citta-sampayutta*). The opponents then conclude that if the residue is not *citta-sampayutta*, then it must be *citta-vipayutta*. At this point the Pali text of the controversy ends. However, if we consult the Pali Text Society translation of the same material we find an extra paragraph, the thrust of which is to give the last word and apparent victory to the *Theravadin*. The added material, for which there is no corresponding Pali, reads as follows: If, as you admit, such persons still possessed of lust while thinking moral or unmoral thoughts, your denial that lust is conjoined with those thoughts does not necessarily lead to the false conclusion that lust is independent of mind.¹³

Similar arguments are found elsewhere in the K.V. XIV, 5 concerns the assertion of the *Amdhakas* that residues are different from their emergencies into consciousness; IX, 4 concerns the assertion of the *Andhakas* and some of the *Uttarapathakas* that *anusaya* is without mental object (*anarammana*). These controversies all hinge on what seems to be the crucial issue in the elaboration of an intelligible karma doctrine-how is there inherence of defilement in the stream without moment-to-moment pervasion thereof? The *anusaya/pariyutthana* debate will come up again when we consider the role of karma doctrine and vocabulary in *Vaibhasika/Sautrantika* disputes.

The literature of the various sects reveals that several other theoretical entities, often held to be substantial (*dravya*) *dharma*s, were put forth to account for or describe the unseen and empirically unverifiable karmic link up of deed and fruit. The following schools are associated with the following entities: *Sammitiya*-the *avipranasa* or 'indestructible', a *dharma* of the *citta-viprayukta* class. *Sarvastivadin/Vaibhasika* tradition-*prapti* and *aprapti* or adhesion and non-adhesion, and the *avijnapti-rupa* or form that does not indicate. *Sautrantika* tradition-the *bija* or seed, the *ekarasa-skandha* or aggregate of unique essence, the *mulantika skandha* or proximate root aggregate and the *paramartha-pudgala*. *Yogacara/Vijnanavadin* tradition-the *alaya-vijnana* or store house consciousness. Again, the central question that these entities seem to have been constructed to answer is that of how the karmic force inheres in the psychophysical stream without thereby coloring or pervading each discrete moment of that

stream. What accounts for the 'idling' or non-active aspect of defilement when a given thought is of a virtuous or morally indeterminate nature? P.S. Jaini has put the problem well:¹⁴ If the *akusala-mulas* are not annihilated till the attainment of arhatship and if they are incompatible with the *Kusala-mulas*. How are we to explain the operation of *kusala-mulas* or of *kusala* volitions in a mundane (*laukika*) existence? Being incompatible they cannot operate successively, for succession demands a certain amount of homogeneity between the preceding and succeeding moments. If a *kusala-citta* were to follow and *akusala-citta*, then it will depend for its nature on a heterogeneous cause. This will amount to an admission of the unacceptable position that good springs out of evil or vice-versa.

The problem can be illustrated by the example of a criminal. Suppose that one decides to commit theft on a given day in the future. Nonetheless, between, the time of the decision to commit the crime and its actual commission, he may under-take various virtuous projects and have virtuous thoughts. How does account for the mutual presence of the virtuous thoughts and the unvirtuous resolution in the same stream? On the face of it, the problem seems to require some sort of subconscious realm wherein the temporarily non-functional inclinations, predispositions, etc., might reside. The need for such a realm is a factor that should not be overlooked in any treatment of the *alaya-vijnana* of the *Yogacara/Vijnanavada* tradition. This consciousness, the repository of all seeds (*sarvabijakam*), solves many of the problems that have been pointed out so far in connection with karma doctrine. The theory of the 'seed' or *bija* is developed by Vasubandhu in the *Kosa* and can best be understood when seen in the light of the *Vaibhasika* entities and theoretical constructs in opposition to which it was developed.

In the second chapter of the *Kosa*, *Karika* 36, the *Vaibhasika* list of *citta-rupa-viprayukta-samskaras* is given. While Vasubandhu criticises these *dharma*s and denies substantial (*dravya*) status to them, of particular interest for our purposes is his critique of *prapti*, the *dharma* of 'reach' or 'adhesion'. Despite the observation of Vasubandhu (*qua Sautrantika*) that these *dharma*s can neither be seen nor inferred, the *Vaibhasika* arguments in favour of their postulation are given. *Prapti* is said to be the cause that originates (*utpatti-hetu*) a specific nature in a given stream of consciousness at a given time.

Further, *prapti* is the cause that differentiates (*vyavastha-hetu*) the Noble one from the average person when the Noble one is characterised by mundane thoughts.¹⁵ The *Vaibhasika* position is that there is a qualitative difference between the Noble one and the average person, even if the Noble one is momentarily characterised by mundane or morally indeterminate thoughts. For them, the difference is the presence of certain auspicious *praptis* that result from meditational accomplishments, etc.

Vasubandhu accepts that there is a difference between the two, but denies that the entity *prapti* need be resorted to in order to describe this difference. As he puts it, the difference is merely the state of having destroyed or not having destroyed defilements.¹⁶ Without accepting the *Vaibhasika* proliferation of theoretical entities Vasubandhu accounts for the distinction between the two by referring to the qualitative transformation of the psychophysical stream. "Verily, the physical basis of the noble one has undergone transformation by virtue of the path of vision and the path of cultivation such that the defilements that are to be destroyed thereby no longer have the ability to shoot forth."¹⁷ At this point, the seed model is introduced:

"For this reason, one is called a destroyer of defilement for those defilements when the physical basis has the seeds in an impotent (or non-seminal) state, as in the case of burnt rice seeds.¹⁸ Further, as regards the notion of 'endowment' with this or nature, Vasubandhu says the following: "therefore, the expression 'endowed with' is appropriate just when there is the seed, undiminished, undamaged, and whole; there is no other substantial thing (involved in) the notion of endowment."¹⁹

As if inspired by the success of the Sautrantika unpacking or residual analysis of their pet *Karma* related *dharma*, the *Vaibhasikas* try to isolate the actual content of the seed and related concepts. Keeping in mind that the *Kosa* is ultimately a *pro-Sautrantika* work, we should not be surprised by the success with which the seed is defended. The dialogue is as follows: What, pray tell, is this seed? (Seed is)that name and form capable of originating fruition, either directly or mediately, by reason of the stream-transformation distinction. What, pray tell, is the this transformation? It is an alteration of the stream. What, pray tell, is this stream? It is the *Samskaras* of the past, present and future, made up of causes and fruits.²⁰

This dispute about *prapti* concludes with the *Sautrantika* observation that *prapti* is a designational (*prajnapti*) *dharma* and not a substantial (*dravya*) one. This observation reflects the broader *Sautrantika* concern for epistemological economy and opposition to the *Vaibhasika* proliferation of theoretical entities. Thus qualified the seed image is employed in the fifth chapter of the *Kosa* in the course of Vasubandhu's rather unique solution of the above-mentioned residue/emergence debate. The *Vaibhasikas* maintained that residue and emergence of defilement into consciousness are the same, despite a *sutra* passage that affirms their difference.²¹ Vasubandhu affirms their difference, but not as two substantial (*dravya*) dharmas.

In fact, he denies that residue is either *citta-samprayukta* or *citta-viprayukta*, since it is not a real *dharma* in the first place.²² The correct explanation is couched in terms of the seed, itself a mere designation for unseen and empirically unapproachable processes in the individual psychophysical stream.²³ His description of the manner in which defilement lies dormant is as follows: Verily, when defilement is dormant it is called residue, when it is awakened it is called emergence. And what is its dormant state? When it does not face (consciousness) it endures in the seed state. What is its awakening? It is the state of facing (or having presence in) (consciousness). And what, pray tell, is this seed state? It is the power to originate defilement, which power is engendered by defilement, that pertains to one who has attained existence. This is like the case of the power to originate the stations of mindfulness, which power is engendered by the knowledge based on experience, like the power of the sprout to originate kernels of rice, which power is itself engendered by kernels of rice.²⁴

If we are still in the dark about the mysterious working of karma, at least we are carrying less conceptual baggage around with us while there. The theory of the seed rests on the recognition that, at some point, perhaps the best that we can do is make designations about the workings and mechanisms of consciousness by recourse to theoretical entities, the employment of which will hopefully aid us in the task that necessitated their postulation in the first place. Of the theoretical entities developed by Freud, for example, one authority has made the following observation:

The reader should bear in mind that there are no sharp boundaries between the three systems. Just because they have different names does not mean that they are separate entities.

The names, id, ego and superego, actually signify nothing in themselves. They are merely a shorthand way of designating different processes, functions, mechanisms and dynamisms within the total personality.²⁵

In the case of Freud, the intentional structure that informed his choice of theoretical entities was clinical and his concept of personality development did not extend to more than one life. In the case of Vasubandhu, the aim is steriological²⁶ and the notion of the person includes development over many lives. Within these conceptual parameters I think that we have to credit Vasubandhu with the most complete and concise karma vocabulary to be found in non-Mahayana Buddhism. Perhaps the major weakness of the seed theory as it is developed in the *Kosa* is that we still do not know 'where' the seeds reside. That is, we do not yet have a fully developed notion of a subconscious realm wherein the seeds might find a comfortable home. We will turn to this problem after treating what is perhaps the most representative *Vaibhasika* entity pertinent to the Karma process—the *avijnapti-rupa* or 'form that does not indicate.' This highly anomalous *dharma* is the subject of intensive debate in the first 22 *Karika*s of the fourth chapter of the *Kosa*, the *Karma Nirdeśa*.

Unlike many of the other theoretical entities purported to play a role in the *Karma* process, the *avijnapti* is not classed by the *vaibhasikas* as a *citta-viprayuktasamskara*. Instead, it is put in the *rupa* or form aggregate. Its inclusion under the heading of form apparently assures its dissociation from thought, making possible inherence in the overall psychophysical stream without pervasion of the moment-to-moment thoughts. What then, is this curious *dharma* and how does it function in the *Karma* process? The eleventh *Karika* of the first chapter of the *Kosa* gives the *vaibhasika*'s brief introductory description of the entity. In short, it is held to be an interconnection, of a morally qualifiable nature, that arises in dependence on primary elements and pertains to one even if he be of distracted or unlike thoughts or momentarily devoid of thought as in certain meditational states.²⁷

Vasubandhu reserves comment on this entity until the fourth chapter when its *kriya* or activity is discussed. After establishing the canonical justification for including such an entity under the form heading, the *Vaibhasikas* proceed to advance arguments in favour of its substantial status. There are several arguments of concern for our purposes. For example, a *sutra* passage affirms the position that the merit of the 'son of the family or the daughter of the family' increases, even in the individual is sleeping, walking, etc. That is, regardless of the later states of mind of the individual, the merit abides and even increases. Thus, even if unvirtuous thoughts are entertained, the virtuous or meritorious influx resulting from certain acts is not necessarily thereby abrogated. According to the *Vaibhasikas*, the *avijnapti* is the mechanism whereby this process is possible. Unless there be a non-indication (*avijnapti*), the enhancement of merit for one who has other states of mind would not be possible.²⁸ Vasubandhu agrees that such increase of merit is possible, but denies that this mandates the postulation of the *avijnapti*. He accounts for the increase of the merit by reference to another *sutra* passage that describes the process in terms of a 'subtle transformation distinction' of the stream of the individual. This *sukshmaparinama-visesa* is nothing other than the functional 'stuff' to which the seed refers.

Another *Vaibhasika* argument in favour of the *Avijnapti* has to do with the manner in which the course of Karma (*Karma-patha*) is effected for the one who does not himself do

the morally qualifiable deed, but employs another to do it. The *avijnapti* is the *Vaibhasika* candidate for the effect or of this mutually accepted Karmic process. Vasubandhu again counters by referring to the subtle transformation of the stream. As far as he is concerned, the key element in the notion of the *Karmapatha* is the functional equivalent of the seed: "It is yonder stream distinction transformation that is called the course of Karma because it is the cause's approach to the effect."²⁹ The cause (morally qualifiable act) approaches (*upacar-*) the effect (*phala*) by means of a subtle transformation of the stream. To talk about the course of *Karma* is to talk about a series of distinct transformations within the stream that amounts to the phenomenal individual. Two other *Vaibhasika* arguments in favour of the *avijnapti* have to do with the manner in which the actional members of the Eightfold Path apply to one in meditation and the manner in which the restraint of the *pratimoka* ceremony applies to the monk or nun who later has morally unlike thoughts.

In both cases, the issue is inherence without pervasion. Vasubandhu accounts for both of these Karma related areas by reference to the stream of consciousness-distinction-transformation, the functional ancillary of the seed image.³⁰ As Stefan Anacker³¹ has pointed out, the Buddhist theory of meditation, which posits states devoid of thought and feelings, raises even further problems in the area of Karmic continuity. Thus, a domain of consciousness seems to be called for that will enable the continuance of the metaphorical seeds in even these sublime states. A later work of Vasubandhu, the *Karmasiddhiprakarana*, brings in this additional domain in the form of the *alaya-vijnana* or storehouse consciousness. Anacker suggests that Vasubandhu's position involved to include the *alaya* in order "to fill holes in the *karman*-theories maintained by the *Hinayana* scholastics..."³² Lamotte, the translator of the Chinese and Tibetan versions of the *Karmasiddhi*, suggests that Vasubandhu systematized a rudimentary theory of the store house consciousness from then current entities associated with the earlier *Sautrantika* and *Sutrapramanika* schools.³³

If the *alaya-vijnana* can be shown to not contradict any basic Indian Buddhist tenets, then it would appear that the basic problem of inherence without pervasion, even in light of the demands made by the *samjna-vedana-nirodha-samapatti*, is solved. This meditational state was traditionally regarded as being *acitta* (and thus, without *vijnana*). Vasubandhu qualifies the *acitta* status of this state by positing two mutually sustaining streams of *vijnana*- a *pravrtti* or functional stream and an *acaya* or accumulative stream³⁴ which is later identified with the *alaya-vijnana* of the *Yogacara/vijnanavada* tradition.³⁵ Our survey of Karma related theoretical entities will conclude with the following remarks from the *Karmasiddhi*: There are two sorts of thought—a repository thought (*acayacitta*), because it is the place where innumerable seeds (*apramanabija*) are stored; a multiple thought (*nanacitta*), because they function with different objects (*alambana*), aspects (*akara*) and modalities (*visesa*). Because the second thought is lacking in these states of meditation, etc., it is called without thought. Thus, when a chair has but one leg and the others are missing, one says that it is without legs.³⁶ That this *acayacitta* is the same as the *alaya-vijnana* is made clear in an adjacent passage: because that consciousness continues (*pratisamdadhati*), because it appropriates (*upadadati*) the body (*Kaya*), it is called the appropriating consciousness (*adanavijnana*). Because it is the retribution for acts done in past lives (*purvajanman*), it is also called the maturational fruit consciousness (*vipakaphalavijnana*).³⁷

As we have stated above, there seems to have been an ongoing need for a coherent theory of a subconscious realm in Buddhism in order to account for Karmic continuity. As a theoretical entity in a larger descriptive and salvational system, the *alayavijnana* seems appropriate to this task. That fundamental problems of verification, etc., still remain is obvious. Moreover, the curious relationship between the *alaya* and the other consciousness (neither the same as nor different from them, etc.) pointed out in such texts as the *Lankavatara sutra*, is highly reminiscent of the relationship that was held to exist between the heretical 'pudgala' and the other personality aggregates. These, however, are perhaps problems appropriate for another study. Our aim has been to trace the evolution of sectarian vocabularies related to the doctrine of *Karma*, not to champion one theoretical solution over another.

In conclusion, it would appear that our initial assertions about the instrumentality of Karma doctrine in sectarian evolution are justified and perhaps exemplified by the evolution of Vasubandhu's thought. His career encompassed activity within *Sarvastivadin/Vaibhasika*, *Sautrantika* and *Yogacara/Vijnanavadin* spheres. In each of these phases the role that Karma theory played in his overall soteriological and epistemological development cannot be over estimated. Thus it is the case that one fruitful avenue of exploration in the area of Buddhist sectarianism is that of Karma theory.

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1. Bureau, *Les Sects du Petit Vehicule* (BEFEO, 1956), pp. 16f.
2. Bureau, *op. cit.*, p. 6f.
3. *Vamsatthappakasini*, p. 175; Sagalika nama Mahasenaranno Jetavanavasino bhikkhu.
4. *Ibid*, It was founded in Ceylon during the reign of Vattagamani.
5. Schiefner, *op. cit.* pp. 270-74.
6. Taranatha tells us further that during the reign of the Pala king seven schools only were known. These were:
 - (i) Sammitiya comprising Vatsiputriya and Kaurukullaka.
 - (ii) Mahasanghika comprising Prajnapativada and Lokottaravada.
 - (iii) Sarvastivada comprising Tamrasatiya and Sarvastivada. The former became known as Darstantika, out of which developed the Sautrantika school. This corroborates Masuda's remark as against that of Louis de la Vallee Poussin that the Darstantikas preceded the Sautrantikas. See *Asia Major*, p. 67fn.
7. To the Andhakas should be added the Vetulyakas and the Hetuvadins according to the *Kathavathu*.
8. Vasumitra mentions Sautrantika as an alternative name for Samkrantikas or Sammkrantivada. See Masuda, *Asia Major*, II, p. 67 fn. The Sautrantikas are called Uttarapathakas in the *Kathavathu*. See *Infra*.
9. *Haimavatas*: scholars who have dealt with these sects differ in their opinions. While some place the *Haimavatas* as a sub-sect of the *Mahasanghikas*, other include them among the sub-sects of the *Sarvastivadins*.
10. Shwe Zan Aung and C.A.F. Rhys Davids, trans., *Points of Controversy*, London: Pali Text Society, 1960, pp. 26-35; Swami Dwarikadas Shahstri (ed.), *Abhidharmakasa and Bhasya of Acharya Vasubandhu with Sphutartha Commentary of Acarya Yasomitra*, Benares, *Buddha Bharati*, Vol. IV, 1973, p. 1, 214.

11. Kosa V. 25 and Bhasya:
*Yadi cattan na syat subhasubhasya karmanah phalam ayatyam katham syati/
na hi phalotpattikale vartamano vipakahetur astitit/.*
12. Aung and Rhys Davis trans, *Points of Controversy*, IX, 4; XI, 1; XIV, 5.
13. *Points of Controversy*, p. 255.
14. P.S. Jaini "The Sautrantika theory of Bija", Bulletin of the school of Oriental and African studies, University of London. Vol. XXII, p. 238; P.S Jaini, "The development of the Theory of the Viprayukta-Samskaras", B.S.O.A.S., Vol. XXII, pp. 531-547.
15. Kosa, II, 36 and Bhasya: *Kas caivam aha - utpattihetu praptir iti kim tarhi vyavasthahetuh prapti asatyam hi praptau lauk ikamanasanam arya-prthagjananam arya ime prthagjana ime iti na syad vyavasthanam.*
16. Kosa II, 36, Bhasya: *prahinaprahinaklesata visesad etad bhavitum arhati.*
17. Kosa II, 36, Bhasya: *Asraya hi sa aryanam darsanabhavana margasamaarthy at tatha paravrtto bhavati yatha na punas tatpraheyenam klesanam prarohasamartho bhavati.*
18. Kosa, II 36, Bhasya: *ato gnidagdhavrthivad abijibhuta asrayah klesanam prahinaklesa iti ucyate.*
19. Kosa, ii, 36, Bhasya: *tasmad bijam evatra anapoddhrtam anupahatam paripustam ca vasitvakale samanvagamakhyam labhate na anyad dravyam.*
20. Kosa, II, 36, Bhasya: *Kim punar idam bijam namal/ yannamarupam phalotpattau samartham saksat paramaryena va santatiparinamavisesat; Ko yam parinami nama. Santater anyathavam ka ceyam santatih hetuphalabhutatraiyadhyikah samskarahi/.*
21. P.S Jaini, "The Sautrantika Theory of Bija," p. 20 and Kosa, V. 2, Bhasya: *Tasya tatkamaragaparyavasthanam sthomasah samyaktvasumavahatam sanu sayam prahiyate iti.* The emergence of his desire for sensuality, when vigorously and rightly combatted is destroyed along with its residue."
22. Kosa, V., 2. Bhasya: *na ca anusaya samprayukto na viprayuktah tasyadravyantaravat/*
23. See Kosa, IV, 4 Bhasya for the admission that this entire area is *asamjnay amanah* or difficult to cognize, which is glossed by Yasomitra in his valuable commentary *duravabodha* or hard to understand.
24. Kosa, V, 2, Bhasya:
*prasupto hi kleśo nusaya ucyate prabudhah paryavasthanam.
ka ca tasya prasuptih asammukhibhutasya bijabhavanubandhah.
kah prabodhah. Sammukhibhavah. ko yam bijabhavo nama.
atmabhavasya klesaja klesotpadasaktih yatha anubhavajnanaja smryutpadanasaktih yatha
cankuradinam saliphalaja saliphalotpadasaktir iti.*
25. Calvin S. Hall, *A primer of Freudian Psychology* (New York: Mentor Books 1961,) pp 34-5.
26. On the generally neglected salvational dimension of Abhidhamma/ Aabhidharama texts see., e.g. Kosa, I, 3:
dharmam pravacayamantarona nasti klesanam yata upasantaye 'bhiupayah klesais ca bhramati bhavarnave tra lokas taddhetor ata uditah kilaisa sastra/.
27. Kosa, I, 11:
viksiaptacittakasyapi yo nubandhah subhasubhah mahabhutanyupadaya sa hyavijnaptirucyate
28. Kosa, IV, 4 Bhasya: *na cavijnaptim antarenanyamanaso pi punyasya abhivrdhir yujyate.*
29. Kosa, IV, 4 Bhasya: *Sa sau santatiparinamavisesah karmaphathah ityakhayate karye karanopacarat.*
30. See Kosa, IV 4 and Bhasya.

31. Stefan Anacker, "Vasubhandhu's Karamasiddhiprakarana and the Problem of the Highest Meditation," *Philosophy East and West*, XXII, 3 (July 1972), pp. 246-58.
32. Stefan Anacker, "Vasubandhu's Karmasiddhiprakaran," p. 247.
33. Etienne Lamotte, "Traite de la Demonstration de l' Acte," *Melanges Chinois et Bouddhiques*, Vol. IV, 1935-36, p. 170.
34. Etienne Lamotte, "Traite....," p. 245.
35. Etienne Lamotte, "Traite....," p. 247.
36. Etienne Lamotte, "Traite....," p. 245.
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GROWTH AND RAMIFICATION OF BUDDHIST SECTS AND SECTARIAN SCHOOLS

Referring to Buddhist sects and schools it is difficult to always distinguish the precise extension of the two terms, viz., sects and schools. They seem generally to denote the same sets or groups since different sectarian communities can be distinguished doctrinally also. Andreau Bareau has, however, tried to draw some distinction in their connotation. In obvious semblance to sect and school we have two terms in Buddhism, viz., *nikaya* and *acariyakula* or *acariyavada*.¹ In the opinion of Bareau, while *Nihaya* stand for *sect*, *acariyavada* comes nearest to school. He would explain *acariyavada* as the oral (*vada*) teaching of a master (*acariya*).² It is difficult, however, to accept this interpretation. *Acariyavada* literally means teachers' exposition. In the post-Canonical commentarial literature, the term is frequently employed to mean the body of expositions, interpretations and opinions of the well-known teachers of the past, i.e., orthodox and traditional commentarial matter.³ Curiously enough, it later came to denote varieties of teachings and interpretations of the Buddhist doctrine considered heterodox from the *Theravada*, point of view. This emerges from the fact that in the *Pali* commentaries and Ceylon chronicles, which uphold the *Theravada* tradition, all the Buddhist schools, except *Theravada*, are called *acariyavada*.⁴

It seems likely that sometimes a prominent master of the law was able to impose his interpretations over a certain community or section of monks so much so that they gradually drifted away to form body or sect of their own. It is tacitly assumed in the *Dipavamsa* that a seceding group ought to have an *acariya* or leader.⁵ Later, we know for certain that some of the Buddhist sects owe their names to individual teachers of different times.⁶ It is difficult, therefore, to hold that *acariyavada* exclusively denoted school as being something other than sect. A *Nikaya* is a group of persons holding the same beliefs and regulations. It is also a collection of objects like the *sutras* which is called *Nikaya*. Thus, though '*Nikaya*' and '*acariyavada*' seem to correspond somewhat in connotation to the terms sect and school respectively, it is difficult to accept that by using two distinct terms the Buddhist implied the kind of practical distinction between them as suggested by Bareau.

The Ceylonese chroniclers inform us that within a couple of centuries of the Buddha's demise, the Buddhist community was split into eighteen sects or schools.⁷ As older works do not make a mention of these sects, scholars, like T.W. Rhys Davids, are led to observe that: Suddenly in the 4th and 5th centuries we have the famous lists of 18 sects supposed to have

arisen and to have flourished before the Canon was closed. If we take all the evidence together, it is possible to draw only one conclusion. There were no sects in India in any proper use of that term. The number eighteen is fictitious and may very probably be derived from the eighteen causes of division set out in the *Anguttara Nikaya*.⁸ Poussin has, similarly, observed that "the Buddhist schools work on a common literary stock made up from mutual borrowings and they arrive at divergent conclusions even when they do not start from divergent dogmatical tenets. As a rule doctrinal contradictions do not disrupt the *samgha*. Thus if we consider the mutual relation of sects and their legal position as branches of the universal *samgha* leaving out of account doctrinal divergences which are not as such of paramount importance-sects are not to be contrasted as hostile body, with closed tradition"⁹ In making these remarks, these scholars seem to have arrived at hasty conclusions without, perhaps, a sufficient analysis of the available material. They have mainly three contentions in their observations:

- (1) Older works do not mention the sects.
- (2) The so-called Buddhist sects are not so in the proper sense of the term.
- (3) They are branches of the universal *Samgha* without distinctive organizations and without doctrinal divergences of any paramount importance.

As regards the lateness of the evidence, T.W. Rhys Davids has based his observation only on the literary evidence and that too merely of the Ceylonese Chronicles and other later works. The texts of the *Vinaya* and the *Sutta Pitakas* are, however, replete with terms and phrases which seem to imply nearly tendency towards sectarian division in the Order. But we have, in fact more than plausibility here. Rhy Davids has also overlooked those epigraphic sources which have an early bearing on the Buddhist sects. Curiously enough, we have direct *inscriptional* evidence datable to the early centuries of the Christian era where several early Buddhist sects are mentioned,¹⁰ and more indirect evidence going back to the second century B.C. In the *Sanchi* relic casket inscription there is reference to the *Hemavatacariya Gotiputa Kassapa-gota*.¹¹ It is probable that we have here an early glimpse of the *Haimavatas* and perhaps the *kasyapiyas*. There is, therefore, no inherent implausibility in the traditional assumption that, by the time the Canon came to be closed, various sects emerged and provided an occasion for the compilation of the *Kathavatthu*. It should also be remarked that there is common ground in the traditions of the different sects in holding that the differentiation of the sects had arisen early, mostly within the first two centuries of the *Nirvana* era.¹²

Regarding the second and the third observations, the position of the Buddhist sects cannot be said to be so arbitrary as these scholars would have us believe. It was owing primarily to the proliferation of a number of sects that Buddhist thought was enriched to such a remarkable extent. Granting that some of the sects did not have outstanding differences with some others and were, consequently, absorbed into larger units, it has to be borne in mind that certain sects which became prominent in course of time stood steadfastly on the basis of their own specific traits. They formulated propositions which had a sharply individual character. Even in the sphere of rules and regulations, though there was sufficient homogeneity, one should not assume that they were same in all the sects.

In fact, sometimes minor points of dispute over discipline divided the community in certain regions.¹³ Doctrinal controversies in which the various sectaries indulge in the *Kathavatthu* is

proof positive of the remarkable distinction in the points of view of the different Buddhist sects. C.A.F. Rhys Davids also calls the non-*Theravada* schools dummies and asserts that the ancient treatises on them by *Bhavya*, *Vasumitra* and *Vinitadeva* offer us only the dry disintegrated bones of doctrine. Yet the dummies appear to have been once alive and the dry bones clothed with flesh and blood. The records, doubtless, present a dry conspectus because they are the products of scholastic activity.

The subsequent emergence of Buddhist sects is in conformity with the picture we have in the early Canonical literature where there are interesting details about the definition, causes and consequences of schism (*samghabheda*) which sound like an intimation of the impending growth of the sects. Added to this, there are apprehensive remarks of the Buddha and some of the elders about the possibilities of schism as also some actual incidents referring to disruptive forces set into motion at an early date.

The Origin and Growth of Schism and Its Influence

In the *Dipavamsa*, where occurs the first complete list of the Buddhist sects, the key-words are *samghabheda* (schism) and *vada* (school or system).¹⁴ Earlier evidences of the term are, however, available in the Canon itself. Apart from some stray references in the *Nikayas*,¹⁵ in the *Cullasvagga* of the *Vinaya Pitaka* there is one full chapter¹⁶ devoted to the problem of schism dealing with the various details. In the words of the Buddha, schism is the most hateful crime in punishment of which an aeon (*kappa*) of suffering is inadequate.¹⁷ In some cases he goes so far as to forbid the reordination of such monks, who indulged in schism or followed the schismatics.¹⁸ Disputes over *Dhamma* and *Vinaya* were technically called *vivada*,¹⁹

It was a specific type of *vivada*, fulfilling certain preconditions that could cause a schism. A schism is properly initiated if at least nine or more than nine qualified monks are involved in it; a lesser number of monks can bring about only what is called dissension (*samgharaji*).²⁰ Difference of interpretation over *Dhamma*, *Vinaya* and *Pratimoksa*-in all eighteen points of difference of opinion,-provide valid grounds for the occurrence of schism.²¹ When the schism has occurred, the original Order would be divided into two *samghas* or communities, each holding its congregational ceremony in separate assemblies.²² This, however, seems to be a strictly orthodox view of the *Theravadins* that every schism is initiated with an evil intention to disrupt the unity of the Order and false doctrines are deliberately propounded by the schismatics.²³

In fact, the mere entertainment of a dissident view, which, in its turn, arises due to various reasons such as a difference of understanding or interpretation, was sufficient for a dispute to arise and thus give rise to a schism and doctrinal confrontation. Schism was perhaps rarely intended to be caused. It followed automatically if the confrontation was irreconcilable. Buddha's own verdict on this point seems to have been that initiating a schism in the order is not condemnable in itself. What is to be condemned is the evil intention, the mere willfulness to produce a schism without an adequate reason for it.²⁴

It is only a dishonest and intentional schismatic who cannot be saved from the fortune of the '*Niraya*' (Hell) and not all schismatics. The desirability of unity in the order is repeatedly emphasized in the Canon but the tacit assumption there is always that it should not be at the cost of the liberty of personal faith and conviction of the monks. Obviously, the restriction on the right to schism is only a moral, not a legal one.²⁵

Early Notices of Discordant

The Buddha seems to have taken a keen personal interest in the harmonious faring of the Order. In the *Majjhima Nikaya*, for instance, he asks Anuruddha as to whether or not the monks are living on friendly terms and as harmoniously as milk and water blend with each other.²⁶ This statement, on the part of Buddha, tends to assume some extra significance if we take into account various other apprehensive remarks made both by him and his senior disciples. It would then give the impression of some intimations of dissensions.

The *Samyutta Nikaya* records the Buddha to have said that in the course of time his followers would fail to understand the subtle points of his teaching, such as Void and would rather take as authoritative the simplified version of his followers and thus his own utterances would disappear.²⁷ To stem this tide, he exhorted the disciples to learn and grasp the doctrine as he had put before them.²⁸ With his keen insight, he could foresee the specific realms where two monks might differ and give rise to a controversy. He had the apprehension that there might arise some differences of opinion on *abhidhamma*, *ajjhajiva* and *adhi-patimokkha*. However, these would not be very significant but in case there arose any dispute over the fruits (*magga*), path (*patipada*) or the congregation (*Samgha*) it would be a matter of regret and harm.²⁹ Should there arise such an occasion, he recommended the guidance of senior monks.³⁰ Similarly, he once explained to Ananda that he taught *Dhamma* according to classification,³¹ which obviously, points to his analytical (*vibhajjavajji*) method of approach. He added in the same context that those of his followers who would not approve and agree with this would ultimately indulge in controversies and disputations.

In an anticipation of such developments, he seems to have devised certain measures for dealing with them.³² For verifying the correctness of his own teaching, when studied subsequently, he had suggested that it should be compared with the *Suttas* and the *Vinaya* learnt by heart by the monks.³³ A little before his passing away, he is said to have recommended abolishing the minor precepts and to have given an opportunity to the monks present to clarify their doubts if there were any about the Buddha, the Doctrine, the Path or the method, so that they might not have to repent afterwards.³⁴ It was also perhaps in the light of this that he finally decided not to appoint any successor after him and laid down that the *Dhamma* and the *Vinaya* ought to be taken as the teacher thenceforth.³⁵

The apprehensive remarks of some of the senior disciples of Buddha are still more suggestive. *Sariputta* pointed out at one place how there were several points which aroused jealousy among the monks and how things of this sort reflected upon the imperfection of those monks.³⁶ The death of *Nigantha Ataputta* and the subsequent dissensions in his Order seem to have evoked much concern among the senior Buddhist monks.³⁷ *Sariputta* related the whole story before the Order and added that there was, however, no possibility of such developments in their Order for the simple reason that the Norm had been very well laid down by the Buddha.³⁸ In the opinion of Mrs. Rhys Davids, this episode seems to have urged the elders to draw a summary of the kernel of the doctrine without losing much time.³⁹ For want of any evidence to the effect that the Canon was compiled in an abridged form also, it is difficult to suppose that this was actually done during the lifetime of the Buddha. The Buddhist Canon is supposed to have been compiled for the first time after the death of the Buddha during the deliberations of the first Council.⁴⁰ When Buddha was informed about the

developments in the Jain Order he is said to have warned *Ananda* to see to it that no such developments take place in the Order lest they should result in the woe of many.⁴¹

Deviations and Pernicious Views

There was a certain monk named Sunakkhatta who once approached the Buddha and informed him that he was going to leave the Order.⁴² Buddha allowed Sunakkhatta to go but not before he personally tried to persuade him to change his mind. After leaving the Order, Sunakkhatta is said to have openly criticized the Buddha, which the latter, however, took as praise and not criticism.⁴³ Similarly, thirty young disciples of *Ananda* left the Order and turned to low things.⁴⁴ The Buddha may have had such instances in mind when he observed that turning hostile to the teacher consisted in not listening to him, not lending a ready ear to what he says, not preparing the mind for profound knowledge but moving away from the teacher's instruction.⁴⁵

At a certain stage, the Buddha noted a tendency towards deviation even among the senior monks as they were not observing the ascetic life in the proper manner.⁴⁶ There were occasions when certain monks came to hold pernicious views. Arittha, for instance, is reported to have said that: 'So far as I understand the *Dhamma*, taught by the Lord, it is that following the stumbling-blocks there is no stumbling-block at all'.⁴⁷ Other monks were naturally alarmed at this and tried to dissuade him from his view. Another monks *Sati* similarly took it for granted that this consciousness itself runs on, and not another.⁴⁸ By consciousness, *Sati* meant that which speaks and feels everywhere, the fruition of deeds that are lovely and that are depraved.⁴⁹

It is rather curious that the Buddha's point of view should have been misunderstood and misrepresented in his own lifetime. King Prasenajit of Kosala sought the approval of the Buddha on a certain point which the former was given to understand to be the Buddha's view, and the Buddha clearly pointed out that this was a misrepresentation of his contention.⁵⁰

Dissension at Kausambi

At *Kausambi*, a very serious dissension is recorded to have ensued from a simple dispute amongst the monks. The story goes⁵¹ that there were two teachers at Kausambi, viz Dhammadhara and Vinayadhara, both expert in their respective fields, i.e., *Dhamma* and *Vinaya*. Dhammadhara once inadvertently committed a minor offense for which he expressed regret. This, however, was talked about much by Vinayadhara and his followers, which offend the Dhammadhars. As a result of this, there developed a great rift not only between the two groups of monks but also between the lay-devotees of the two teachers.

The Buddha, who was informed about it, tried to resolve the controversy but could not succeed. It was only when the Buddha retired to the forest, saying that he would better like to be served by elephants than by those quarrelling monks and lay-devotees, that the two warring groups realized their mistake and resolved the controversy.⁵² It appears from the *Nikaya* evidence that there were other occasions when such confrontation between the monks took place; and their occurrence was reported to the Buddha without much delay.⁵³

Devadatta Episode

A more serious dissension in the early history of the Buddhist Order was due to Devadatta. He was opposed to the lenient rules in the Buddhist Order and pleaded strongly for a more

stringent life for the monks. The Buddha refused to accept the suggestions of Devadatta. Thereupon Devadatta is said to have left for *Gayasisa*, perhaps, with a good following. It is added, however, that, at the instance of Buddha, *Sariputta* and *Mogallana* subsequently won the other monks over to the Buddha's side.⁵⁴ N. Dutt has rightly observed that 'the episode of Devadatta is almost a *Sanghobheda* though it is not recognized as such in the *Vinaya*'.⁵⁵ That it was as good as a *Sanghobheda* is indicated by the fact that the followers of Devadatta appear to have survived in later times. *Gotamaka* seems to be a class of such ascetics. In the opinion of Rhys Davids, *Gotamaka* monks were almost certainly the followers of some other member of the *Sakyan* clan, as distinct from the Buddha, and it is quite likely that they were the followers of Devadatta.⁵⁶ Fahsien noticed the existence of the followers of Devadatta in *Sravati*. These monks made offerings to three past Buddha except *Sakyamuni*.⁵⁷ Thus, it is quite probable that Devadatta and some of his disciples did not return to the Buddha's Order once they had deserted.

Subhadra's Remarks

When the news of the Buddha's passing away was communicated to his disciples, some of them were grief-stricken and others who were passionless and mindful bore the calamity and reflected on the impermanence of all things. But a certain monk Subhadra expressed a sigh of relief at the Buddha's demise. He remarked that it is not a matter to grieve and lament. The monks, according to him, were now free to do as they wished since the Buddha would not be there to dictate to them.⁵⁸ This expression on the part of Subhadra was alarming to others so much so that the First Buddhist Council appears to have been organized by *Mahakasyapa* on this count.⁵⁹

First Buddhist Council and the Dissenting Notes

The historicity of the first Buddhist Council⁶⁰ has been a keenly debated issue among the scholars. Oldenberg, followed by Franke, have doubted its historicity.⁶¹ Their objections had, however, been ruled out by Jacobi.⁶² Consequently, the scholars have since tended to agree that a Council did take place at *Rajagrha* soon after the *Mahaparinirvana* of the Buddha, though its transactions might not have been so comprehensive as to include the compilation of the *Sutta* and the *Vinaya Pitakas* in their entirety. It seems, however, that the elders must certainly have tried to recite together the whole of the *Dhamma* and the *Vinaya* at the earliest opportunity in view of the Buddha's last verdict that *Dhamma* and *Vinaya* would henceforth be their teacher.⁶³

According to the *Cullavagga*, the Council was held at *Rajagrha* in the second month of the rainy season. *Mahakasyapa* questioned *Upali* on the *Vinaya*. It has been suggested that from the various details of the *Vinaya* recital it would appear that questions were mainly asked concerning the *Pratimoksa*.⁶⁴ Similarly, *Ananda* was questioned by *Mahakasyapa* about the *Dhamma* and in this process the five *Nikayas* of the *Suttapitaka* were recited.⁶⁵

The subsequent course of the first Buddhist Council seems to be permeated by controversial notes and dissenting tendencies. When *Ananda* informed the councillors about the Buddha's instruction that minor rules of discipline could be abolished by the Order, there was a stirring controversy as to which rules should be taken as the minor ones.⁶⁶ This controversy was, however, resolved by *Mahakasyapa* who proposed that no unknown rule

should be laid down and no known one should be abrogated, lest they incur the disrespect of the outside people.⁶⁷ Then there was some rift among the members about the admission of *Ananda* to the Council.⁶⁸

A greater disagreement about the deliberations of the Council was still in store. At the end of the Council *Mahakasyapa* and others sought the approval of senior monks such as *Gavampati* and *Purana* over the texts settled at the Council as *Buddha vacana*.⁶⁹ *Gavampati* preferred to remain neutral,⁷⁰ which is interpreted as his hesitation to accept the canon recited by the members of the Council.⁷¹ *Purana*, on the other hand, straight forwardly refused to accept the recited text as the word of the Buddha. He, instead, expressed himself in favour of believing as the word of the Buddha what he himself had heard and learnt from the Buddha's own mouth.⁷²

This dissent on the part of *Purana* must have deepened further as a result of his insistence that eight rules relating to food be incorporated into the *Vinaya*, which was, however, not done. As pointed out by Przyluski and N.Dutt, these rules were not only upheld by the *Vinaya* of the *Mahisasakas* but they also recognized *Purana* as a distinguished teacher of his time.⁷³

Second Buddhist Council and the Great Schism

Unlike the preceding Council, there seems to be hardly any doubt left about the historicity of the second Buddhist Council.⁷⁴ The essential details are also almost fairly known. But there is a central controversy involved in this Council about the problem of the first schism in Buddhism, that is to say- did the great schism in Buddhism take place in this Council itself or was it a subsequent development to be associated with some other Council? The controversy arises owing to the two sets of mutually disagreeing traditions which we have at our disposal. The earliest notices about this Council are available in the *Cullavagga* of the *Pali Vinaya* and *Vinayaksudrakavastu*, the Tibetan translation of the *Sarvastivada Vinaya*. While the subsequent *Pali* tradition about the Council is derived from the *Cullavagga*, Bu-ston and *Taranatha* owe their information to the *Vinayak sudrakavastu*. The *Pali* tradition seems to imply that the first schism as also the rise of the *Mahasamghikas* occurred in the second Council held at *Vaisali*. There are scholars who take this tradition at its face value and suggest that the *Mahasamghikas* arose in the second Council itself.⁷⁵

Contrary to the *Pali* tradition, however, we have a second set of tradition consisting of the treatises of *Bhavya*, *Vasumitra* and *Vinitadeva* who also refer to a Council in their respective works and give an entirely different account of the first schism and the rise of the *Mahasamghikas*. Amongst other sources, Yuan Chwang's comments on this Council are also important in the sense that they are based upon the Chinese version of the *Vinayas* of *Mahasamghika* and other schools.⁷⁶ Apart from the works mentioned, some later works of the Buddhists, which make a mention of the Council, are *Mahavastu*, *Samadhiraja*, *Manjusrimulakalpa*, etc.⁷⁷ The origin of first schism and the rise of the *Mahasamghikas* is thus caught up in an inextricable tangle of tradition. It would be in the fitness of things to outline briefly the main traditions and analyze them for tracing the probable course and the origin of the great schism.

First Set of Traditions

According to the *Pali* tradition, a senior monk from *Kausambi* named *Yasa* noted at *Vaisali* that the *Vajjian* monks allowed as lawful ten rules which were against the *Vinaya*. On the

Upasatha day he found them asking the lay-disciples to give *Karsapana*, *Ardhakarsapana*, *Padakarsapana*, etc., to the *Samgha*.⁷⁸ *Yasa* protested strongly against this on which the Vajjian monks were so infuriated that they expelled *Yasa* from the *Samgha*.⁷⁹ Failing to find any support at *Vaisali*, *Yasa* left for *Kausambi* and from there he started mobilizing opinion against the un-Vinayic acts of the Vajjians. He sent messages to the monks staying at *Pava* and *Avanti* that unlawful activities were being practiced at *Vaisali*. *Yasa* himself went to *Ahoganga* to acquaint *Sambhuta Sanavasi* about it. The latter consented to participate in the settling of the dispute. *Yasa* was then joined by sixty *theras* from *Pava*, eighty-eight from *Avanti* and various others from different places.⁸⁰ It was decided to approach and win over to their side *Revata* of *Soreyya* who was the chief of the *Samgha* there. *Yasa* requested *Revata* to participate in the dispute and the latter agreed.⁸¹

In the meantime the Vajjian monks, apprehending the moves of *Yasa*, unsuccessfully attempted to win over the support of *Revata* by trying to appease and gratify him with various monkish presents.⁸² They, however, succeeded only in persuading *Uttara*, a young monk attendant of *Revata* to accept one robe and declare before the *Samgha* that the Buddha are born in the eastern countries whose monks conform to *Dharma* while that of *Pava* do not do so.⁸³ *Uttara* tried to make *Revata* say the same, but he refused. The Vajjians are also supposed to have attempted to convince King *Kalasoka* of *Pushpapura* that the monks of the western countries were making a sinister move to get possession of the Teacher's *Gandhakuri Mahavihara* at *Vaisali*. The king is said to have given up the idea of supporting them due to the intervention of his sister who was a *bhikkhuni*.⁸⁴ On the other hand, *Salha* of *Sahajati* and *thera Sarvakami* of *Vaisali*, a disciple of *Ananda*, also seem to have decided to support *Yasa*.⁸⁵

They all assembled at *Vaisali* to hold a Council for settling the points under dispute. As the deliberations of the Council started there was unusual uproar. It was decided to refer the issue to a select body of referees, in all eight in number, out of which four were selected from the orthodox party of the west and four from the unorthodox party of the east.⁸⁶ Elder *Ajita* was requested to preside.⁸⁷ This was done in accordance with the *Ubbahika* process as enjoined in the *Patimokkha*.⁸⁸ The ten point of the Vajjians were all found to be against the principles of *Vinaya*, save for the sixth which was sometimes permitted and sometimes not.⁸⁹ The unanimous resolution of the select body was put to the larger body of the Council and was confirmed.⁹⁰

The Ceylonese Chronicle *Dipavamsa* carries the story further.⁹¹ The Vajjian monks of *Vaisali* did not accept the solution passed by the Council. They held a separate Council, called *Mahasamgiti*, without making any discrimination of *Arahants* and non-*Arahant*. In view of the high number of attendance at the *Mahasamgiti*, which is given as 10,000.⁹² it seems likely that no such discrimination was really made. In this Council, the Vajjian monks are supposed to have carried out things according to their own wishes. They altered the course of the *sutra* in the *Vinaya* and the five *Nikayas*, removed some of them and interpolated new ones.⁹³ It is also added that they refused to accept the authenticity of *Parivara*, *Patisambidamagga*, *Niddesa*, certain *Jatakas* and six texts of the *Abhidhamma*.⁹⁴ But it is difficult to assume that these texts had really been compiled by that time.⁹⁵

The second set of traditions, preserved by *Bhavya*, *Vasumitra* and *Vinitadeva*, gives an entirely different account of the first schism in Buddhism and the rise of the *Mahasamghikas*.

Bhavya has recorded two traditions on the issue. According to the first, which is supposed to represent the *Sammatiya* viewpoint, an assembly was held at *Pataliputra* 137 years after the decease of Buddha in the reign Nanda or Mahapadmananda to settle a controversy over the five points of *Mahadeva* and it resulted into the rise of the *Mahasamghika* school.⁹⁶ The second tradition supposed to be that of the *Sthaviras*, asserts that the assembly was held 160 years after the Lord's decease at *Pataliputra* under Ashoka and the controversial issues involved in this Council gave rise to the *Mahasamghikas*.⁹⁷

Vasumitra, almost corroborating Bhavya, says that an assembly was held at *Pataliputra* under the patronage of Ashoka a 100 years after the demise of Buddha to discuss the five points of *Mahadeva*. As a sequel to this controversy, the schism took place and the *Mahasamghika* school originated.⁹⁸ *Vinitadeva* also associates the great schism with the rise of the *Mahasamghikas* with the controversy created by the five propositions of *Mahadeva*.⁹⁹ The mention of Ashoka as the ruling king of *Pataliputra* at the time of this controversy seems to be due to some confusion as indicated also by the record of Yuan Chwang.

According to Yuan Chwang, *Asoka* convened an assembly which was represented by 500 Arahants and 500 followers of *Mahadeva*.¹⁰⁰ The five points of *Mahadeva* were voted out by the Arahants, but a large body of ordinary ordained members supported these propositions. Elsewhere, Yuan Chwang mentions that the 10,000 ousted monks of the Council of *Kasyapa* held a *Mahasamgha* where they recited *Samyutta Pitaka* and *Dharani Pitaka* beside the *Tripitaka*.¹⁰¹ He refers to both the controversies, the one created by the ten un-Vinayicacts of the *Vajjians* and the other created by the five points of *Mahadeva*. Yuan Chwang obviously seems to have mixed up the episodes of the three Councils as we know that the 10,000 monks who later held a *Mahasamgha* were ousted from the second Council of *Vaisali* and not the first organized by *Kasyapa* at *Rajagṛha*. Similarly, he seems to have mistaken Ashoka for *Kaliasoka* altered the details of the second Council of *Vaisali* and the subsequent *Mahasamgha* that was held at *Pataliputra*.¹⁰²

It is gathered from the *Abhidharma-maha-vibhasalun* (Chapter 99)¹⁰³ that *Mahadeva* was a *brahmin* from *Mathura* and he received his ordination at *Kukkutarama* in *Pataliputra*. His zeal and abilities crowned him with the headship of the *Samgha* there. With the help of the ruling king who was his friend and patron, *Mahadeva* succeeded in ousting the senior monks from that monastery. And thereupon he started propagating his five propositions which are given as follows:¹⁰⁴

1. The Arahants are subject to temptation.¹⁰⁵
2. The Arahants may have residue of ignorance.¹⁰⁶
3. The Arahants may have doubts regarding certain things.¹⁰⁷
4. The Arahants gain knowledge through others' help.¹⁰⁸
5. The Path is attained by an exclamation (as aho).¹⁰⁹

These five points of *Mahadeva*, according to the second set of traditions, gave rise to a serious dispute leading, ultimately, to the first schism in Buddhism and the division of the order into two schools, i.e., the *Mahasamghika* and the *Theravada*. In the opinion of Lamotte, the tradition, which holds the five points of *Mahadeva* as responsible for the schism, is

evidently suggestive of a critical attitude of the emerging sect towards the elders who claimed Arahantship to be the highest attainment.¹¹⁰

Thus, we get two mutually disagreeing traditions about the great schism and the secession of the *Mahasamghikas*. A close scrutiny of the traditions, however, brings to light some remarkable points which help us reconcile the two traditions. As regards the first tradition, the *Vinaya* does not make any mention of the schism or the rise of the *mahasamghikas*. This significant development is alluded to only by the Ceylonese chronicle *Dipavamsa* which would have us believe that discontented Vajjians, the upholders of the ten un-Vinayic points, proceeded to hold another convention of their own known as the *Mahasamgha*.¹¹¹ Even this statement of the *Dipavamsa* implies that the great schism and the rise of the *Mahasamghikas* took place only after the second Council.¹¹² If we take the Council of Vaisali merely as the background of the great schism, the account of the other Ceylonese chronicle also becomes tangible. According to the *Mahavamsa*, *Kalasoka* was the Magadhan king at the time of the second Council, whose support the Vajjians had tried to enlist. Their move was foiled due to the intervention of the sister of king *Kalasoka*.¹¹³

On the basis of the preceding it seems to follow that there were two Councils held in the second century of Buddha's *Nirvana*. The first was the *Vaisali* Council attended by 700 monks held during the reign of *Kalasoka* to discuss the ten un-Vinayic practices of the Vajjian monks. It was followed after some time by another Council known as the *Mahasamgha* or *Mahasamgiti* attended by 10,000 monks. The great schism as also the rise of the *Mahasamghika* school seem to have occurred here.

It appears that it was in this subsequent Council or the *Mahasamgha* that the first doctrinal controversy arose in the Buddhist Order, due to the five proposition of *Mahadeva* resulting in the great schism and the birth of the *Mahasamghikas*. This will be in agreement with the traditions of *Bhavya*, *Vasumitra* and *Vinitadeva* that the original schism arose due to the five points of *Mahadeva* and not because of the ten un-Vinayic acts of the Vajjians. It may be noted that the mutual discrepancy of the two sets of traditions is reconciled if we accept the above hypothesis.

It may be recalled that the second Buddhist Council was held at Vaisali to discuss the ten practices of the Vajjian monks for which not only recognition was categorically refused but these acts were unanimously declared to be un-Vinayic.¹¹⁴ From the metaphysical point of view, the acts of the Vajjians hardly appear significant. But they do indicate the more liberal attitude of the eastern monks. The Vajjians were a people thoroughly imbued with the democratic traditions and were unlikely to submit to the exclusive powers and privileges claimed by the Arahants.¹¹⁵ Mrs. Rhys Davids remarks that the real point at issue was the individual, as well as, those of the provincial communities as against the prescriptions of a centralized hierarchy.¹¹⁶ Undoubted as the Vajjian monks liberal views were not acceptable to the orthodox majority, they must have been severely impeached by the latter as indicated by the details of the second Council. Naturally the liberal minded eastern monks were likely to drift away from the orthodox group and their conservative tradition.

In *Mahadeva* they seem to have found an able leader and champion of their viewpoint. Discomfited, thus, in the second Council, the eastern monks seem to have started, as a reaction, their campaign against the very same Arahants by calling in question their claims

and authority and seeking to prove their fallibility.¹¹⁷ In order to assert their views, it was in the fitness of things for the Vajjian monks to convene a *Mahasamgha* at *Pataliputra* where they could uphold their innovations with regard to the *Vinaya* and the *Dhamma*.¹¹⁸ This was most likely to give rise to a major controversy and to originate a schism in the Order.¹¹⁹ As a result of this, the Order became divided into two sections.

On the one hand was the large bulk of the eastern monks with its stronghold at *Vaisali* and *Pataliputra* and, on the other, was the section of the western monks stationed at *Kausambi*, *Mathura* and *Avanti*, a group in which the influence of the old *Sthaviras* was predominant. These two sections respectively became known as the *Mahasamghika* and the *Theravada* sects of Buddhism. Thus, the ecclesiastical cleavage that started in the Council of *Vaisali* due to the *Vinaya* controversy of the Vajjians was ultimately completed after some years in the Council of *Pataliputra* over the doctrinal controversy initiated by *Mahadeva*. The Council of *Pataliputra* was in all probability the same as the *Mahasamgha* of the *Dipavamsa* tradition¹²⁰ or the assembly, held some hundred and odd years after the *Mahaparinirvana*, as borne out by the testimony of Bhavya.¹²¹ Vassumitra,¹²² Vinitadeva¹²³ and Yuan Chwang.¹²⁴ It is perhaps due to some confusion and discrepancy that the name of the ruling king is sometimes given as Ashoka; otherwise as the first tradition of Bhavya informs us, Nanda or *Mahapadmananda* should have been the ruling king of *Pataliputra* at that time.¹²⁵

Evolution of the Early Buddhist Sects

The century that rolled in between the second and the third Councils seems to represent one of the most significant phases in the development of Buddhism. The traditional accounts would have us believe that eleven sects originated from the *Theravada* and seven sects from the *Mahasamghika*.¹²⁶

The genesis of these sects as also their inter-relationship has always posed a problem to the scholars. That is so because, 'inset in miscellaneous undated Buddhist works, there are traditional lists of schools and sects, each school supposed to have its own Canon'.¹²⁷ These traditions are confused and, at times, contradictory. Some attempts have been made to ascertain the stratification and affiliation of these sects but the problem still seems to be far from clear.¹²⁸ It is desirable, therefore, to analyze the various traditions and attempt an outline of the stratification and affiliation of the early Buddhist sects with the help of other sources, literary or epigraphic, wherever available.

A Study of the Traditions

On the sects and schools of the Buddhists, different traditions are preserved in the literature of the *Theravadins* the *Sammattiyas*, and the *Mahasamghikas* as also in the subsequent Chinese and Tibetan works and translations. They give divergent accounts about the origin, name and the order of secession of these schools.

The traditionalists, referring to the early Buddhists sects and schools, may be classified into four groups on the basis of two things--generic identity among the concerned sects and general conformity in their traditions:

(Group A) *Theravada* traditions consisting of (i) *Dipavamsa* tradition; (ii) *Sammattiya* tradition as preserved by Bhavya in his third list; and (iii) Buddhaghosa's tradition as found in the *Kathavatthu-Atthakatha*.

(Group B) *Mahasamghika traditions* consisting of (i) *Sariputrapariprecchasutra* and (ii) the tradition preserved in the second list of Bhavya.

(Group C) *Sarvastivada traditions* consisting of (i) Vasumitra's *Samayabhedoparacanacakra* and (ii) the tradition preserved in the first list of Bhavya.

(Group D) *Mula-Sarvastivada traditions* consisting of (i) I-tsing's and (ii) *Vinitadeva's* traditions.

Group A—Theravada Traditions: According to *Dipavamsa*,¹²⁹ the first schism divided the Order into two schools, viz., *Mahasamghika* and *Theravada*. The *Mahasamghika* school was subsequently divided into *Gokulikas* and *Ekabyoharikas*. From the *Gokulikas* emerged the *Bahusuttikas* and the *Pannattis*, i.e., *Bahusuttikas* and *Pannattivadins* respectively.

Another school named *Cetiya* emerged from the *Mahasamghika* line. From the line of the elders, i.e., the *Theravada* school, arose the *Mahisasakas* and the *Vajjiputtakas*. Fourfold dissension arose among the *Vajjiputtakas* resulting in the rise of the *Dhammuttarikas*, *Bhaddayanikas*, *Channagarikas* and *Sammitis*. The *Mahisasakas* were subsequently divided into the *Sabbatthivadins* and the *Dhammaguttakas*. From the *Sabbatthivadins* originated the *Kassapikas*, the *Samkrantivadins* and the *Suttavadins*. Thus, seventeen schools originated from the original order, six of the *Mahasamghika* line and eleven from the *Theravada*. All these seventeen schools are described as schismatics while the *Theravada* is said to be the orthodox school.¹³⁰

The third list of Bhavya, which is said to constitute the *Sammatiya* tradition,¹³¹ agrees fully with the *Dipavamsa* as regards the *Mahasamghika* group of schools.¹³² So far as the *Theravada* or *Sthaviravada* school is concerned, it was divided, according to the *Sammatiya* tradition, into two schools, viz., *Mulasthavira* and *Haimavata*. The *Mulasthavira* gave rise to the *Sarvastivada* and the *Vatsiputriya*. From the *Sarvastivada* emerged the *Vihajjavada* and the *Sankrantivada*. The *Vihajjavada* further became divided into the *Mahisasaka*, the *Dharmaguptaka*, the *Tamrasatiya* and the *Kasyapiya*. The *Vatsiputriya*, on the other hand, gave rise to the *Mahagirika* and the *Sammatiya*. From the *Mahagirika* three other sects originated, viz., the *Dharmottara*, the *Bhadranyaniya* and the *Sannagarika*.¹³³

In the *Kathavatthu-Atthakatha* of Buddhaghosa, beside the eighteen names enumerated in the *Dipavamsa*, we have reference to certain new sects, viz., the *Rajagirika*, the *Siddhatthika*, the *base liya*, the *Aparaseliya*, the *Hemavata*, the *Vajjariya*, the *Uttarapathaka*, the *Hetuvada* and the *Vetullaka*.¹³⁴ The first four of the above appear to have been the sects of the *Andhakas* whose names occur in the inscriptions found from the region round about *Amaravati*. The name of the first six sects occur in the *Mahavamsa* as well.¹³⁵ The *Dipavamsa* also informs us that six sects, viz., the *Hemavatikas*, the *Rajagirikas*, the *Siddhatthas*. The *Pubba* and the *Aparaselikas* and a new *Rajagirika* arose successively.¹³⁶

Group B — Mahasamghika Tradition: The *Mahasamghika* tradition about the early Buddhist sects, seems to be partly represented in the *Sariputrapariprecchasutra*. This text was translated into Chinese in between A.D.317 and 420.¹³⁷ According to *Taranatha*, the *Mahasamghika* tradition is also preserved in the second list of Bhavya.¹³⁸

According to *Sariputrapariprecchasutra*, the first division resulted in the rise of the *Mahasamghika* and the *Theravada*. Whereas from the *Mahasamghika* emerged four sects, viz.,

the *Ekavyavaharika*, the *Lokottaravada*, the *Bahusrutika* and the *Prajñaptivada*, the *Theravada* gave rise to the *Vatsīputriya*, the *Kāsyāpiya*, the *Sutravada* or the *Sankrantika* and the *Sarvastivada*. From the *Vatsīputriyas* further emerged four sects, viz., the *Dharmopaka*, the *Bhadrāyānika*, the *Sammātiya* and the *Sannagarika*. Similarly from the *Sarvastivada* there emerged three other, i.e., the *Mahisasaka*, the *Dharmaguptaka* and the *Suvarsaka*.¹³⁹

According to the second list of Bhavya, the original Order became divided into three schools, viz., the *Sthaviravada*, the *Mahasamghika* and the *vibhajjavada*. From the *Sthaviravada* emerged the *Sarvastivada* and the *Vatsīputriya*. Whereas the *Sarvastivada* gave rise to the *Sautrantika*, the *Vatsīputriya* divided into four sects, i.e. the *Sammātiya*, the *Dharmottariya*, the *Bhadrāyāniya* and the *Sannagarika*. The *Mahasamghikas*, in their turn, gave rise to the *Purvasaila*, the *Aparasaila*, the *Rajagirika*, the *Hajmavata*, the *Chaitika*, the *Saddharthika* and the *Gokulika*. From the *Vibhajjavada* originated the *Mahisasaka*, the *Kāsyāpiya* the *Dharmaguptaka* and *Tamrasatiya*.¹⁴⁰

A comparison of the two lists would show that, While, according to *Sariputrapariprcchasutra*, there were two initial division, the second lists of Bhavya suggests three divisions. A part from this, there is substantial agreement between the two lists regarding other *Thervada* sects, save for the insertion of some new names. So far as the *Mahasamghika* sects are concerned, the tradition of Bhavya mentions some more names which are conspicuous by their absence in the *Sariputrapariprcchasutra*.¹⁴¹ These additional sects of Bhavya tradition, however, reflect its completeness as also its lateness. This also might be true in the case of new names of the *Theravada* line. The mention of *Sautrantika* instead of *Sutravadin* or *Sankrantika* seems to reinforce the suggestion.

Group C—Sarvastivada Tradition: The *Samayabhedoparaca-macakra* of Vasumitra preserves the *Sarvastivada* tradition on the evolution of Buddhist sects, which is very well-indicated by the fact that champion as Vasumitra was of the *Sarvastivada* sect, he assigns it a significant position and derives from it all the subsequent sects of the *Theravada* line.¹⁴² The text is available in the Tibetan and Chinese translations, the oldest of which may be assigned to sometime between A.D. 351-431.¹⁴³ Bhavya has preserved three lists out of which we have already discussed the second and the third. His first list seems to conform with the *Sarvastivada* tradition as preserved in the *Samayabhedo-paracanacakra*.¹⁴⁴

According to the *Samayabhedoparacanacakra*, the first schools to originate from the Order were the *Mahasamghika* and the *Sthaviravada*. The *Mahasamghika* school gave rise to the *Ekavyavaharika*, the *Kukkutika*, the *Bahusrutiya*, the *Prajñaptivada*, the *Caitika*, the *Aparasaila* and the *Uttarasaila*. From the *Sthaviravada* arose the *Sarvastivada* and the *Haimavata*. The *Sarvastivada* became divided into the *Vatsīputriya*, the *Mahisasaka*, the *Suvarsaka*, i.e., the *Kāsyāpiya* and the *Sautrantika* or the *Uttariya*. The *Vatsīputriya* school further gave rise to four others, i.e., the *Dharmottariya*, the *Bhadrāyāniya*, and the *Sannagarika*.¹⁴⁵ It is interesting to remark that the tradition of Vasumitra is in substantial agreement with the *Sariputrapariprcchasutra* and *Bureauhas* actually grouped it within the Kashmir tradition.¹⁴⁶

The first list of Bhavya also makes the earliest division into the *Mahasamghika* and the *Sthaviravada*. The *Mahasamghika* gave rise to the *Ekavyavaharika*, the *Lokottaravada*, the *Bahusrutiya*, the *Prajñaptivada*, the *Caitika*, the *Purvasaila* and the *Aparasaila*. And the *Sthaviravada* in their turn became divided into the *Sarvastivada*, the *Vatsīputriya*, the

Dharmottariya, the *Bhadrayaniya*, the *Sammatiya* (i.e., the *Avantaka* or the *Kurukullaka*), the *Mahisasaka*, the *Dharmaguptaka*, the *Dharmasuvarsaka* and the *Uttariya* or the *Sankrantivada*.¹⁴⁷ Bhavya omits the *Gokulika* sect of the *Mahasamghika* line which seems to have been referred to be *Vasumitra* as the *Kukkutika*. Bhavya has instead mentioned some new sects of the *Theravada* line such as the *Muruntaka*, the *Avantika* and the *Kurukullaka*.

Group D—Mula-Sarvastivada Tradition: I-tsing and *Vinitadeva* are said to represent the *Mula-Sarvastivada* tradition.¹⁴⁸ According to I-tsing, the first division resulted in the rise of four schools, viz., the *Arya-Mahasamghika*, the *Arya-Sthavira*, the *Arya-Mula-Sarvastivada* and the *Arya-Sammatiya*. From the *Arya-Mula-Sarvastivada* school emerged four schools, viz., the *Arya-Mula-Sarvastivada*, the *Dharmaguptaka*, the *Mahisasaka* and the *Kasyapiya*.¹⁴⁹

Vinitadeva also divides the original order into four schools, i.e., the *Mahasamghika*, the *Sarvastivada*, the *Sthavira* and the *Sammatiya*. The *Mahasamghika* school gave rise to the *Purvasaila*, the *Aparasaila*, the *Haimavata*, the *Lokottaravada* and the *Prajnapativada*. The *sarvastivada* gave rise to the *Mula-Sarvastivada*, the *Kasyapiya*, the *Mahisasaka*, the *Dharmaguptaka*, the *Bahusrutiya* the *Tamrasatiya* and the *Vibhajyavada*. The *Sthaviravada* gave rise to the *Jetavaniya*, the *Abhayagirivasin* and the *Mahaviharavasin*. And the last one, i.e., the *Sammatiya* gave rise to the *Kurukullaka*, the *Avantaka* and the *Vatsiputriya*.¹⁵⁰

With the help of the list furnished by *Vinitadeva*, it is possible to complete the list of I-tsing which does not mention the sub-sects of others except the *Mula-Sarvastivadins*. In *Vinitadeva's* tradition, however, *Haimavata* has been included in the *Mahasamghika* line as we find in the tradition of the *Mahasamghikas* themselves.

The tradition of the *Mahavyutpatti* seems to be almost the same as that of *Vinitadeva*, though there is some difference of opinion about the reading of certain names in the *Mahavyutpatti*.¹⁵¹ In the eleventh century Tibetan recension of the *Vasagraptcchasutra*, we have a similar tradition about the evolution of various sects, except for the minor alteration in the cases of the *Tamrasatiya* and the *Bahusrutiya* which are placed under the *Sammatis* instead of the *Sarvastivada*.¹⁵²

Stratification and Affiliation of Sects

The stratification and affiliation of Buddhist sects is rendered obscure due to divergent traditions recorded above. There have been attempts both early and late, to group and stratify the various sects. An early attempt was made by *Taranatha*¹⁵³ who would have us believe that

- (1) the *Kasyapiya* and the *Survarsaka* were two names of the same sect,
- (2) the *Sankrantivadin*, the *Uttariya* and the *Tamrasatiya* were identical,
- (3) *Mahadeva's* followers, the *Purvasailas* and the *Caitikas* were also identical,
- (4) the *Lokottaravadin* and the *Koukkutika* represent two names of the same sect.
- (5) the *Ekavyavaharika* was nothing but the *Mahasamghika*,
- (6) the *Kourukullaka*, the *Vastsiputriya*, the *Dharmottariya*, the *Bhadrayaniya* and the *Channagrika* all represent almost identical doctrines.

These groupings as suggested by *Taranatha* appear to be arbitrary. He has generally identified those sects which emerged from a common source. But the fact that they emerged

from a common source does not imply that they were identical among themselves. Their mention as specific sects speaks of their individuality which is substantiated by their theses and tenets discussed in the *Kathavatthu*. Among the recent researches, the work of A. Bareau deserves special mention¹⁵⁴ There is, however, some difficulty in commending all his groupings. According to him:

- (1) the *Mahisasakas*, the *Mahasamghikas*, the *Vibhajavadins* (described in the *Vibhasa*), the *Dharmaguptakas* and the *Andhrakas* appear to be mutually affiliated,
- (2) the *Theravada* of Ceylon and the *Sarvastivada* of Kashmir form another group,
- (3) the *Vatsiputriyas* and the *Sammatiyas* have great similarities,
- (4) *Drstantikas* and the *Sautrantikas* are mutually affiliated as also with the sects of group one.¹⁵⁵

In fact Bareau's affiliation of various sects is based upon his defective methodology in the analysis of the doctrines of various sects; otherwise he would have hardly suggested a relationship between the *Mahasamghikas* and the *Mahisasakas*.¹⁵⁶ We know it for certain that the *Mahisasakas*, arose from the *Sthaviravada* or the *Theravada* and their doctrines differ from that of the *Mahasamghikas*, although there are one or two theses in the *Kathavatthu* which, according to Buddhaghosa, were shared by the two sects.¹⁵⁷

Similarly the Japanese scholar Yamakami Sogen, who has attempted a classification of the systems of Buddhist thought, appears to be arbitrary in his conclusions. It may be observed that all his methods of classification lead to two division, i.e., the *Hinayana* and the *Mahayana*, although he calls them by different names. Even in his classification, he makes the matter more confusing by dividing the *Mahayana* into partially developed and fully developed groups placing the *Madhyamikas* and the *Vijnanavadins* in the first and the *Avatamsaka*, the *Dhyana* and the *Mantra* Schools as well as the *Tien-Tai* School of China in the second.¹⁵⁸ However, Sogen's defence lies in the fact that he deals with the developed and later stage of Buddhism identifying the *Sarvastivada* as the sole representative of early Buddhism.

The Mahasamghikas and their Sub-sects

From the account of the great schism and the genesis of Buddhist sects, as presented here, it may be concluded that dissensions over the tenets of the *Vinaya*, which shook the Order at the time of Second Council of *Vaisali*, found fulfilment ultimately at the *Mahasangiti* of *Pataliputra*. The *Samgha* became divided into two groups, viz., the *Mahasamghikas* and the *Theravadins*.¹⁵⁹ Emerging as a sect, the *Mahasamghikas* carved out a significant place for themselves by their zeal and enthusiasm. They made alterations in the arrangement and interpretation of the *Sutra* and *Vinaya* texts.¹⁶⁰ They refused to recognize some portions of the Canon as Buddha's word viz., *Parivara*, *Abhidharma*, *Patisambhida*, *Niddesa* and parts of the *Jataka*.¹⁶¹ Historically, these adjustments were, perhaps, necessary in view of the new interpretations they sought to make in matters of doctrine and discipline. We gather from Yuan Chwang that the *Mahasamghikas* had a complete Canon of their own which they divided into five parts, viz., *Sutra*, *Vinaya*, *Abhidharma*, *Dharani* and Miscellaneous.¹⁶²

In the beginning, the *Mahasamghikas* appear to have established centres at *Pataliputra* and *Vaisali* and from there they spread toward the north and the south. I-tsing found the

Mahasamghikas in Magadha and a small number of them in *Lata* and *Sindha* (western India) so also in northern, southern and eastern India.¹⁶³ The earliest epigraphic evidence about this sect is found in the *Mathura* Lion Capital inscription of the time of Saka Kshatrapa *Sodasa* which records that a teacher named *Buddhila* was given a gift so that he might teach the *Mahasamghikas*.¹⁶⁴ Some other inscriptions of a later date, recovered from the area of the *Mathura*, make a mention of this sect.¹⁶⁵ Inscriptions recovered from *Nagarjunikonda* and the cave temples of *Karle* in *Maharashtra* suggest these places to be *Mahasamghika* strongholds.¹⁶⁶ The *Mahasamghikas* differed widely from other sects on doctrinal matters as also in their rules of discipline,¹⁶⁷ e.g., they wore a yellow robe, the lower part of which was pulled tightly to the left.¹⁶⁸

However, as the *Mahasamghikas* were the first seceders from the Order, this tendency appears to have operated further among them and they seem to have soon divided into two sects, viz., the *Ekavyavaharikas* and the *Gokulikas* or the *Kukkutikas*. According to the northern traditions, this happened within the second century of the *Nirvana* of Buddha.¹⁶⁹

Ekavyavaharika: According to *Paramartha*, the *Ekavyavaharika* sect originated due to a dispute over the *Mahayana-sutras*.¹⁷⁰ It is, difficult, however, to accept the existence of *Mahayana-sutras* within the second or the third century of the *Nirvana* of Buddha. *Bhavya* informs us that the *Ekavyavaharikas* were thus known because they believed that the Buddha understands all things (*dharma*s) with a moments mind.¹⁷¹ It has been suggested that the term *vyavahara* in fact speech-oriented (*vak-paraka*) and it implies those who believed in the comprehensibility of *Dharma* or all *Dharma*s by one or one word alone or by eachword.¹⁷² The *kathavatthu-Atthakatha* does not attribute any views to this sect out of the *kathavatthu* theses.

Gokulikas or Kukkutikas: The *Gokulikas* of the *Theravada* tradition and the *Kukkulikas* of the northern tradition appear to be the same sect. It seems likely that this sect acquired the denomination *Kukkulika* or *Kukkutika* owing to the *Kukkutrarama* monastery of *Pataliputra* which was an early centre of the *Mahasamghikas*.¹⁷³ Gradually, the term appears to have been distorted from *Kaukkutika*, *Kaukkulika*, *Kukkulika* to *Gokulika*. It is gathered from the testimony of *Taranatha* that the *Gokulikas* disappeared in between the fourth and the ninth centuries.¹⁷⁴ It is possible that this sect was assimilated completely in the *Mahayana*.¹⁷⁵ The *Gokulikas* are attributed only one thesis in the *Kathavatthu* by the commentator, i.e., all conditioned things are like an 'inferno of ashes' (*anodhikatvakukkula*).¹⁷⁶

Lokottaravada: The *Sariputrapariprcchasutra* and *Samayabhedeoparacanacakra* suggest that the *Lokottaravada* also had its rise with the *Ekavyavaharikas* and the *Gokulikas*, i.e., within the second century of the Buddha's *Nirvana*. The *Theravada* tradition, however, while it does refer to the last two sects, is silent about the *Lokottaravada*. The *Sammatiya* tradition does not distinguish between the doctrines of the *Lokottaravada* and the *Ekavyavaharikas*. It is, in fact, difficult to distinguish the main tenets of the *Lokottaravada* from the doctrines of other *Mahasamghikas*.¹⁷⁷

It is probable, therefore, that instead of any doctrinal distinction from other *Mahasamghika* sects, the *Lokottaravadins* acquired a separate denomination due to geographical reasons. While the *Mahasamghikas* originated in the region of Magadha, the *Lokottaravadins* are known to have flourished in the north-west.¹⁷⁸ In the tradition of *Vasumitra* and *Vinitadeva*, the doctrines

of the *Lokottaravada*, the *Mahasamghika* and the *Ekavyavaharika* appear to be mutually associated.¹⁷⁹

This appears to strengthen *Taranatha's* view that the *Lokottaravada* was identical with the *Kaukkutika* and the *Ekavyavaharika*.¹⁸⁰ *Bareau*¹⁸¹ and *Dutt*¹⁸² have identified the *Lokottaravada* with the *Ekavyavaharika* and the *Caityaka* respectively. It is likely, therefore, that the *Mahasamghikas* themselves came to be known subsequently as the *Ekavyavaharika* and the *Lokottaravadins*. Although the *Kathavatthu* discusses certain theses, which lay down a supernatural conception of the Buddha, the *Kathavatthu-Atthakatha* attributes them to different *Mahasamghika* schools and does not refer to the *Lokottaravadins*.

Bahusrutiyas and Prajnaptivadins: The *Mahasamghika* school vigorously advocated the supramundane nature of the Buddha¹⁸³ and the Bodhisattvas and propounded the fallibility of the Arahants.¹⁸⁴ It was logical to ask then for an explanation for such statements in the *Sutras* which stood against the conception of a supramundane Buddha. In view of this, a distinction between *nitārtha* (profound) and *neyārtha* (superficial) was drawn which laid the basis of the doctrine of a duality of Truth, i.e., relative and Absolute.¹⁸⁵ According to *Paramartha*, thus, emerged a controversy among the *Mahasamghikas* which give rise to two new sects, i.e., the *Bahusrutiyas* and the *Prajnapativadins*.¹⁸⁶ According to the *Sariputrapariprcchasutra* and *Samayabhedoparacanacakra*, this division took place in the second century of the Nirvana of Buddha,¹⁸⁷ which, however, appears too early a date for their origin. The *Bahusrutiyas* are referred to in the inscriptions recovered from the regions of *Gandhara* and *Andhra*.¹⁸⁸ The *Kathavatthu* does not contain any doctrines of the two schools. According to *Paramartha*, the *Bahusrutiyas* attempted a syncretism between the doctrines of the *Hinayana* and the *Mahayana*, whereas the *Prajnapativadins*, in order to distinguish themselves from the *Bahusrutiyas*, preferred to be known as the *Bahusrutiya-Vibhajyavadins*.¹⁸⁹

Caitika: According to the northern tradition, this sect emerged about the end of the second century or in the beginning of the third century of the Nirvana of the Buddha.¹⁹⁰ It has been suggested, however, that the origin of *Caitikas* should be placed in the second century B.C.¹⁹¹ We owe it to the tradition of *Paramartha* that a certain *Mahadeva*, who was different from the famous *Mahadeva*, the champion of five points, noted some new tendencies among the *Mahasamghikas* and retired to the hills along with his followers.¹⁹² *Buddhaghosa* includes them among the *Andhakas* or *Andhrakas* which name seems to have gained currency owing to their stronghold at *Amaravati* in *Andhra*. The lay-followers of *Amaravati* and *Nagarjunikonda* were hospitable enough to provide them a large number of *caityas* of which the *Mahacaitya* of *Amaravati* was the foremost. It seems that these Buddhists, the followers of a second *Mahadeva*, acquired the designation of *Caitika* due to their association with these *caityas*. Although the *Kathavatthu* contains the doctrines of the *Purva* and *Aparasailas*, as also that of the *Andhakas*, no thesis is attributed to the *Caitikas* as such. The school, however, finds mention in several inscriptions.¹⁹³

Purvasaila and Aparasaila: The *Purvasaila* and *Aparasaila* sects are known from sufficiently old traditional references.¹⁹⁴ As in the case of the *Caitikas*, the inscriptional reference to the *Purvasailas* also been found at *Nagarjunikonda*.¹⁹⁵ *N. Dutt* is inclined to identify the *Caitikas* and the *Purvasailas*, on the one hand, with the *Caityasailas* and the *Uttarasailas*, on the other.¹⁹⁶ It may be observed, however, that apart from the *Caitika*, the

Purvasaila and the *Aparasaila* sects, the very supposition of the existence of the *Caityasailas* and the *Uttarasailas* seems to be doubtful. It is only the tradition of *Vasumitra* which refers to the *Uttarasailas*, but then it identifies the *Aparasailas* with the *Purvasailas*.¹⁹⁷ This seems to be a mistake arising out of some confusion as Bhavya took no time in correcting it by distinguishing the *Purvasaila* and the *Aparasaila* sects.¹⁹⁸ So far as a separate *Caityasaila* sect is concerned, it is not mentioned by any other tradition. What appears to be most plausible in this case is that the *Caitikas* themselves became known after some time by these two names, i.e., *Purvasaila* and *Aparasaila* due to their geographical location.¹⁹⁹

Among the *Mahasamghikas* of Andhra also emerged the champions of the *Vetulyaka*, the *Rajagirika* and the *Siddharthika* sects, the last two sometime in the third or the fourth century A.D.²⁰⁰ Thus, the *Mahasamghika* school and its doctrines initiated by the eastern monks at *Pataliputra* in the fourth century B.C., reached the country of Andhra by the end of the third century B.C., and flourished there subsequently in the form of various sects. In the course of this evolution, the famous *Mahayana* originated from the *Mahasamghika* line in about the first century B.C. The *Purvasailas*, the *Aparasailas*, the *Rajagirikas*, the *Siddharthikas* and the *Vetulyakas* appear to have been important sects of their time as would be evident from the fact that the doctrines of all of them are discussed in the *Kathavatthu*.²⁰¹

The Theravada Sects

Different traditions, as noted here, disagree more over the development of this group of sets as compared to the *Mahasamghikas*. They differ over the names, genealogy and affiliations of the various sects that branched off from time to time off the *Theravada* mainstream. The *Theravada* school was the earliest opponent of the unorthodox *Mahasamghikas*. Subsequently, while from the *Mahasamghika* group of school evolved such doctrines as the supramundane concept of Buddha and Bodhisattvas as also the doctrine of *Sunyata* of the *Mahayana*, the *Theravada* schools became absorbed into the explication and upholding of the existence of *samshṛta* and *asamshṛta* *Dharmas* and thus kept on developing the cardinal points of the *Abhidharma*.

Vatsiputriya: The first schism in the *Theravada* school, giving rise to the *Vatsiputriyas*, seems to have occurred at a place not very far from *Kausambi*. It appears from the confrontation of the *Dharmadhara* and *vinayadhara* monks of *Kausambi*, which came to pass during the lifetime of the Buddha, that the monkish community of that region was prone to schismatic tendencies.²⁰² The name *Vajjiputtaka* of the *Pali* tradition is still obscure. It is likely, however, that the *Vatsiputriya* may be a missanskritization from the *Pali* *Vajjiputtaka*, or else, the process may have been the other way round. Thus, the sect arose either among the *Vajjis* or in the *Vatsa* territory. Their secession from the *Theravada* school marks the first schism in this line. The *Vatsiputriyas*' central thesis consisted in their upholding the temporary existence of a self (*Prajñāpatisat-pudgala*) apart from the five *skandhas*.²⁰³ First controversy about the *pudgala* discussed in the *Kathavatthu* may be the earliest controversy on *pudgala* and the main concern of Monggaliputta Tissa seems to have been to criticize and refute the *Vatsiputriya* standpoint at the third Buddhist Council. It would follow logically that *Vatsiputriya* sect originated sometime before the third Council which finds support also from the traditional accounts as they establish the rise of sect within the second century of the demise of the Buddha.²⁰⁴

The Bhadrayaniya, the Dharmottariya, and the Sannagarika: Different tradition, noted previously, are unanimous on the point that from the *Vatsiputriyas*, arose four sects, viz., the *Bhadrayaniya*, the *Dharmottariya*, the *Sammatiya* and the *Sannagarika*. Out of these, the *Sammatiya* appears to have achieved special distinctions. References to the *Bhadrayaniya* and *Dharmottariya* sects occur in the inscriptions, datable to the second and third centuries A.D., recovered from places like Karle, Soparaka, *Junnar Nasika* and *Kanheri*.²⁰⁵ The *Tarkjvala* of Bhavaviveka makes a combined reference to these sects and says that the *Vatsiputriya Bhadrayaniya*, the *Dharma-Guptas* and the *Samkrantivadins* admits the reality of the individual.²⁰⁶ Vasumitra informs us that Dharmottariya, Bhadrayaniya and Channagarika differed regarding the attainments of an Arahant and consequently also on the chances of his fall from Arahant hood.²⁰⁷ The *Kathavatthu* records only one doctrine of the Bhadrayanikas and is silent about the others.²⁰⁸ The geographical location of these sects strengthens the suppositions that the Vatsiputriya school developed and evolved in the process of the spread of Buddhism from Kausambi towards the Aparanta.²⁰⁹

The Sammatiyas: Most of the traditions hold that this was the third sect to originate from the *Vatsiputriya*. Bareau attributes the rise of the *Sammatiyas* to the schism that occurred on account of a dissension over the *Abhidharmapitaka* of the *Vatsiputriyas* and dates this development somewhere in the first century B.C or A.D.²¹⁰ The followers of this sect regarded *Mahakatyayana* to be its propounder. This seems to be same Mahakatyayana, who had established the first Buddhist Order in Avanti (*Daksinaparha*) and had considered changes in the Vinaya to be inevitable in view of the differences in the discipline and behaviour of the local monks.²¹¹ The spread of the *Sammatiyas*, however, was not localized. Two inscriptions referring to it have been recovered from Mathura and Sarnath respectively.²¹² The second one which is a Gupta inscription, states that this school replaced the *Sarvastivadins* at Sarnath, who had established themselves there supplanting the *Theravadins*.²¹³ According to Yuan Chwang,²¹⁴ I-Tsing²¹⁵ and Vinitadeva,²¹⁶ this was the most prominent sect in the *Vatsiputriya* group about the seventh century. It is also gathered from Bhavya and Vinitadeva that about this time the sect became divided into two sub-sects viz. Avantaka and Kurukullaka.²¹⁷

Mahisasakas: This is a disputed issue as to which of the two, viz, the *Sarvastivada* and the *Mahisasaka*, was the older sect that subsequently gave rise to the other. While the Dipavansa affirms the *Mahisasaka* to be the original sect the *Sariputrapariprechasutra* and *Samayabhedoparacanacakra* put it the other way round.²¹⁸ N Dutt has pointed out that there were in fact two *Mahisasaka* schools, one earlier and the other later.²¹⁹ According to Prazyluski, the early *Mahisasaka* sect followed Purana, which seems to find support from the fact that special importance was attached to Purana in the *Mahisasaka Vinaya*.²²⁰ N. Dutt also suggests that the earlier *Mahisasakas* had emerged as a distinct sect soon after the first Council and hence were anterior to even the *Mahasamghika Sect*.²²¹ There is, however, no basis to believe that the dissent of Purana about the recital of the Canon in the First Council²²² originated a sect. In fact, the silence of *Sariputrapariprechasutra* and *Samayabhedoparacanacakra* about early *Mahisasakas* would be contrary to this supposition. The *Mahisasakas* would be contrary to this supposition. The *Mahisasaka* seem to have got this name due to their geographical location in Mahisamandal or Mahismati, i.e modern Maheswara on the bank of Narmada.²²³ Their reference occurs in the inscriptions found at Nagarjunikonda and Vanavasi.²²⁴ Fa-hsien discovered their *Vinaya Pitaka* at Ceylon.²²⁵ I-Tsing did not notice them anywhere in the proper

sense of the term.²²⁶ It is gathered from the traditions that the *Dharmaguptikas* originated from the *Mahisasaka*. The commentator of the *Kathavatthu* has attributed one of its theses to the *Mahisasaka* school and has associated it with several others.²²⁷ Curiously enough, *Kathavatthu* is silent about this sect.²²⁸

The Sarvastivada: The origin and rise of the Sarvastivada is a disputed subject. There seems to be reason in the hypothesis of Przyluski that the groups of monks, belonging to Kausambi, Avanti and Mathura, who joined Yasa during the second Council probably project the basis of the subsequent evolution of the *Theravada*, the *Mahisasaka* and the Sarvastivada sects.²²⁹ It may be noted that these places eventually turned out to be the centres of the three sects respectively. Mathura seems to have become the first seat of the *Sarvastivadins* not long after the second Council and it was Mathura that its influence spread over Northern India, particularly in Gandhara and Kashmir. During the reign of Ashoka, the famous monk Upagupta was the chief of the Samgha at Mathura and in Kashmir it was Madhyantika who had introduced and propagated Buddhism in that region.²³⁰

The geographical expansion of Sarvastivada was not limited towards the north only. There is inscription testimony to show that it had its centres as far east as Sarnath and Sravasti. The Sarvastivada sect finds mention in the Kamasi²³¹ and Setmahet Image²³² incriptions as also in the inscriptions on the Mathura Lion Capital.²³³ In the Sarnath inscription, it is stated that the *Sarvastivadins* ousted the *Theravadins* there and that they in turn were replaced by the *Sammattiyas* in A.D. 300.²³⁴ Fa-hsien noted this sect at Pataliputra and Yuan Chwang discovered them at far-off places such as Kashgar, Koucha, *Tamavasana* (Sialkot) and several other places on the northern frontier, in Matipur, Kanauj, a place near *Rajagrha*, etc.²³⁵ I-tsing found them in Lata, Sindha, southern and eastern India, Sumatra, Java China, Central Asia and Cochinchina.²³⁶ It is interesting to note that early traditions are silent about the *Mula-Sarvastivada* sect and that I-tsing is our first informant about it. This seems to suggest that this sect acquired a status only after the seventh century. The fundamental assertion of the *Sarvastivada* school, viz., "*Sarvam asti*" has been discussed at a great length in the *Kathavatthu*.²³⁷

Vibhajyavada: About the *Vibhajyavadins* it is noteworthy that they are not uniformly recorded by the traditions as a distinct sect nor any considerable period of time. The *Kathavatthu* is silent about the *Vibhajyavada* school. Some important tradition which refer to them are those *Sammattiyas* and the *Mahasamghikas*, i.e., the third and second lists of Bhavya. While, according to the *Sammattiya* tradition, *Vibhajyavada* like *Sankrantivada*, developed from the *Sarvastivada* sect, the *Mahasamghika* tradition (second list of Bhavya) would truncate early Buddhism into three schools i.e., the *Sthavira*, the *Mahasamghika* and the *Vibhajyavada* and would trace the origins of the *Mahisasaka*, the *Kasyapiya*, the *Dharmaguptaka* and the *Tamrasattiya* from the last school. It is well-known that at the time of the third Buddhist Council, all true Buddhists are described as *Vibhajyavadins*.²³⁸ On the contrary, the *Vibhasa* of the *Sarvastivadins* informs us that the *Vibhajyavadins* were heretics opposed to the *Sarvastivada Vaibhasikas*.²³⁹ It is given to understand that they rejected the *Sarvam asti* thesis of the *Sarvastivada* and instead held the view that the past which has not yet produced its fruits and the future do not exist.²⁴⁰ It was possibly due to their analytical attitude within the general framework of the *Sarvastivada* doctrine that they got the name of *Vibhajyavadins* or *Sarvastivada-Vibhajyavadins*.

Kasyapiyas: It appears from the traditional list that the *Kasyapiya* sect arose about the third century of the *Nirvana* of the Buddha from the Sthavira line precisely from the *Sarvastivada* sect.²⁴¹ The tradition of the *Sarvastivadins* identifies the *Kasyapiyas* with Suvarsaka (Vasumitra) and Dharmasuvarsaka (Bhavya's first list). Inscriptional evidence suggests their existence at Taxila and Bedali, i.e., about 200 kilometers north-west of Taxila during the third century A.D. and at *Palatu-Dheri-Jars* near Peshawar during the fifth century.²⁴² In the seventh century, however, Yuan Chwang and I-tsing noted their fragmentary survival in *Uddiyana*, *Kharachara* and *Khotan*,²⁴³ which suggests that they had perhaps degenerated and passed into the *Mahayana* school. The *Kathavatthu* (1.8) discusses their basic assertion that some of the past and future exist.

Sankrantika Or Sautrantika Or Sutradadin: Almost all traditions in their final analysis derive the *Sankrantikas* from the *Sarvastivada*, though there is some discrepancy about the order of their rise as also about their identity with the *Sautrantikas* and the *Sutradadins*.²⁴⁴ Vasumitra informs us that in the fourth century of the *Nirvana* of the Buddha originated the *Sautrantika* school which also became known as *Sankrantika* and *Uttariya*.²⁴⁵ Poussin is inclined to identify the *Sankrantikas* and the *Darstantikas*,²⁴⁶ but A. Bareau has cited the references of Vasubandhu and Vibhassa where the two sects have been placed distinctly.²⁴⁷ The *Kathavatthu* is silent about this school. The *Abhidharmakosa* and the treatise of Vasumitra, however, record a number of doctrines of this school.²⁴⁸ As the name of the sect suggests, they believed in the transmigration (*Sankranti*) of a substance from one life to another. According to them, out of the five *Skandhas* of an individual, there is only one subtle *Shandha* which transmigrates, as against the whole of the *Pudgala* of the *Vatsiputriyas* and the *Sammatiyas*.²⁴⁹

Tamrasatiyas: The *Sammatiyas* (Third list of Bhavya) traditions classify this sect along with three others, viz., the *Mahisasakas*, the *Dharmaguptas* and the *kasyapiyas* and derive it from *Vibhajyavada*. Thus, according to Bhavya, the *Tamrasatiya* was a sect distinct from the *Sautrantika*. *Vinitadeva*, however, places it with the *Sarvastivada* group of sects along with the *Mahisasaka*, the *Dharmaguptaka* etc., and says that the *Tamrasatiya* was identical with the *sautrantika*. The former classification seems to be untenable. In fact, it is doubtful to assume that *vibhajyavada* developed as a full-fledged school like the *Mahasamghika* and *Theravada* at an early date. It may be added that *Taranatha* considered the *Tamrasatiyas* as identical with the *sankrantivadins*, the *uttariya*, the *Sautrantikas* and the *Darstantikas*.²⁵⁰

Dharmaguptakas: All traditions noted here agree that the *Dharmaguptakas* branched off from the *mahisasakas*, possibly in the third century of the *Nirvana* of Buddha. It seems that they originated due to a controversy about the nature of the gift given to the Buddha and the *Samgha*.²⁵¹ According to *Paramartha*, they revered Dharmagupta, a disciple of *Mudgalyayana* as their propounder. They also maintained a Canon that had four to five *Pitakas* including a *Bodhisattva Pitaka* and a *Dharani Pitaka*.²⁵² We gather from the *Abhidharmakosa* that *Dharmaguptakas* did not accept the *Pratimoksa* rules of the *Sarvastivada* as authoritative on the contention that the original teachings of the Buddha were lost.²⁵³ Przyluski has located this sect in the north-west.²⁵⁴ Yuan Chwang and I-tsing noted their existence in *Uddiyana* and Central Asia but not on the mainland of India.²⁵⁵ The *Kathavatthu* does not notice any doctrine of this school.

Theravada: It seems from the traditional lists that one of the two earliest schools of Buddhism was known by the name of Thera or *Sthaviravada* from which seceded the various sects and schools. *Pali* tradition would go as far as to assert that *Theravada* was not schismatic.²⁵⁶ An alternative name that is sometimes given to *Theravada* is *Vibhajyavada*. Moggaliputta Tissa, the key-figure of the third Council, seems to have been instrumental in the development of this school. His compilation *kathavatthu* represents the *Theravada* point of view wherein it sought to refute the tenets of other schools.

Theravada is still a living sect in Ceylon, Burma, Siam, Cambodia and Laos. As regards the Ceylonese *Theravada*. Some of the sects of which are referred to in the traditional lists enumerated here, it is difficult to agree with the opinion that the Ceylonese *Theravada* was a late derivative from the original *Theravada*.²⁵⁷ In fact, the Ceylonese *Theravada* appears to be a very ancient school and reflects the *Mula-Sthaviravada* tradition to a remarkable degree.²⁵⁸ They reckon their history from the time of Ashoka which is supposed to be the period of the introduction of Buddhism in Ceylon.

It is in the list of *Vinitadeva* viz., the *Jetavaniya*, the *Abhayagirivasi* and the *Mahaviharavasi* have been enumerated.²⁵⁹ Yuan Chwang designated the *Mahaviharavasins* as the *Hinayana Sthaviras* and the *Abhayagirivasins* as the *Mahayana Sthaviras*.²⁶⁰ It is likely that the monastery of Abhayagiri remained for some time a centre of the *Vetulyakas*, the immediate forerunners of the *Mahayana*.²⁶¹

Other Sects Mentioned by Buddhaghosa

Buddhaghosa in his commentary on the *Kathavatthu* refers to certain sects which are conspicuous by their absence in other traditional lists. Beside the eighteen sects mentioned in the *Dipavamsa*, Buddhaghosa has also mentioned the *Rajagirika*, the *Siddhatthika*, the *Pubbaseliya*, the *Aparaseliya*, the *Haimavata*, the *Vajjiriya*, the *Uttarapathaka*, the *Hetuvada* and the *Vetullaka*.²⁶² He has assigned the first four in the group of Andhaka sects, which is corroborated by the inscriptional evidence suggesting their existence in the region of *Amaravati* in the Andhra.²⁶³ Of these, we have already discussed the *Purvasaila* and the *Aparasaila* sects. The rest may be discussed here excepting, however, the *Vajjiriya* about whom nothing is known beyond their name. It is probable that *Vajjiriya* stands for a compendious reference to 'Vajra' sects.

Rajagirika and Siddhatthika or Siddharthika: Buddhaghosa has put them under the four Andhaka sects. In the *Mahasamghika* tradition the *Rajagirika* and the *Siddharthika*, along with certain others. Form the group of sects which is said to originate from the *Mahasamghikas*.²⁶⁴ The *Rajagirika* sect seems to have derived its name from the monastery of *Rajagiri* which may have been situated somewhere close to *Amaravati*.²⁶⁵ *Siddharthika*, on the other hand, possibly denotes Lord Buddha's personal name *Siddhartha*. Buddhaghosa has attributed to the *Rajagirika* and the *Siddharthika* certain doctrines discussed in the seventh part of the *Kathavatthu*.²⁶⁶

Uttarapathaka: Save for its name, Buddhaghosa does not enlighten us with any other detail about this sect. In the opinion of Bareau, the *Uttarapathaka* region should be taken to signify the areas of Thaneswara and the whole of the Indus basin, i.e., the mountainous tract of the north-west.²⁶⁷ N. Dutt²⁶⁸ and B.C. Law²⁶⁹ would suggest that *Uttarapathaka* denoted

originally the high road running from Magadha to the north-west but that later on it implied the area west of *Prthudaka* (Peoha near Thaneswara) and Punjab including the regions of Kashmir and adjoining hill states beyond the Indus. The *Uttarapathaka* appears to have been an eclectic school upholding doctrines taken from both the *Mahasamghika* and the *Theravada* groups.²⁷⁰ An analysis of the tenets of this school, as contained in the *kathavatthu*, would show that a number of these tenets reflect a tendency towards the *Mahayanic* concept of the Buddhist doctrine. On the one hand, the school seeks to elevate the nature of the Buddha and the Bodhisattva,²⁷¹ and, on the other, it affirms the shortcomings of the Arahant²⁷² ideal. It is this school which raises the problem of the nature of 'thusness', i.e., *Tathata* in the *Kathavatthu*.²⁷³ It seems to us that Buddhaghosa has given the name *Uttarapathaka* to the same school that was earlier known as the *Lokottaravada* which propounded the transcendental conception of the Buddha. Yuan Chwang noticed the *Lokottaravada* school in *Bamiyan*,²⁷⁴ which fact also strengthens the hypothesis that they should have got an alternative name, i.e., *Uttarapathaka* in the course of time.

Hetuvada: Bhavya (first list) has identified the *Hetuvada* with the *Sarvastivada*.²⁷⁵ Buddhaghosa, who refers to this sect in his commentary, attributes to them several theses recorded in the *Kathavatthu*.²⁷⁶ Though it is not possible to make out their origin clearly, it seems, however, from their tenets that the *Hetuvada* was a sect different from the *Sarvastivada*.

Vetullaka: Buddhaghosa mentions this sect as the *Mahasunnavadins*. He has attributed a docetic thesis to this school as found in the *Kathavatthu*.²⁷⁷ The Ceylonese chronicles make mention of the *Vetullakas* as heretics whom the chroniclers noted at the Abhayagiri monastery of Ceylon.²⁷⁸ Their name *Vetulyaka* may be derived from 'Vaipulya' which seems to associate them with the *Mahayana*.²⁷⁹ The docetic theses of this school essentially tend to the *Mahayanic* point of view.

Haimavata: The name of this sect is conspicuous by its absence in some of the traditions such as *Dipavamsa* and *Sariputrapariprcchasastra*. Vasumitra identifies *Haimavata* with the rest of the *Sthavira vada* after the secession of the *Sarvastivada*. *Sammatiya* tradition, however, believes that this was the first sect to have separated from the *Sthaviravada*. A little later, *Mahasamghika* tradition, preserved by Bhavya, as also the tradition of *Vinitadeva* place the *Haimavata* with the *Mahasamghikas*. Buddhaghosa also puts them with the *Andhaka* sects.²⁸⁰ Although Vasumitra thinks that the *Haimavata* doctrine was very much akin to that of the *Sarvastivada*, he attributes to the former, five propositions of *Mahadeva* which formed the basis of the *Mahasamghikas*.²⁸¹ An interesting reference occurs on a relic casket inscription recovered from *Sanchi* wherein it has been said (1) *Sapurisasa Kasapagotasa savahemavataeariyasa* and (2) *Sapurisasa gotiputasa Kasapagotasa savhemavatacariyasa*.²⁸² This speaks of a certain Gotiput *Kasapagota* as the acarya of the Himalayan countries. Thus, the monks of *Kassapa-gotta* seem to have been responsible for the propagation of Buddhism in *Himavanta*. The preceding inscription appears to imply an early reference to the *Haimavatas* and perhaps to the *Kasyapiyas* also.

On the basis of this, Przyluski has identified the *Kasyapiya* and the *Haimavata* sects.²⁸³ Other scholars also support this identification on the ground that monks of the *Kasyapagotra* were the teachers of the *Haimavatas*.²⁸⁴ As we analyze the doctrines of this school, as found in the treatise of Vasumitra, it seems, however, that the *Haimavata* was an eclectic school which upheld certain doctrines both of the *Theravada* as well as the *Mahasamghika* line.²⁸⁵

From the foregoing discussion over the growth and ramification of the early Buddhist sects and schools, some important conclusions that appear to follow, may be summarized here. The first remarkable point about the Buddhist sects and schools is that there is an early growth of sectarianism in the community of monks (*Samgha*). In fact, the seeds of these sectarian tendencies clearly go back to the lifetime of the Buddha himself. The episode of Devadatta is an event exemplifying this tendency. As may be gleaned from the details of that episode, it seems to reflect the earliest confrontation of rigour *Versus* laxity or latitude in matters of discipline which, as we know, subsequently developed into a consistent point of controversy among the different sects of Buddhism. Besides, the existence of the Devadattakas in later times seems to imply that the first actual schism in the Buddhist Order occurred due to Devadatta, i.e., in the lifetime of the Buddha himself. The Canonical account, though, it furnishes the details of the episode, does not, however, recognize it as a schism in order.

Similarly, if we scrutinize the details of the first Buddhist Council which followed soon after the demise of the Buddha, we observe that the attitudes of *Mahakassapa* and *Purana* regarding the authenticity of the Canon reflect the conflict of personal opinion against Conciliar authority. The issue of dispute again relates to the points of *Vinaya* and perhaps foreshadows the later growth of the *Mahisasakas*, though not their explicit emergence at this time. It has been stated here that *Purana*, who upheld a dissenting opinion over the recitation of the Canon in the first Council, is later accorded an eminent position in the *Mahisasaka* sect.

The happenings of the second Buddhist Council of *Vaisali* and the *Mahasangiti* of *Pataliputra* appear to have ultimately resulted in the great schism in the Buddhist Order leading to its clear-cut division into the *Theravada* and the *Mahasamgika* schools. Thus, roughly about 150 years after the passing away of the Buddha, the first two of the Buddhist sects originated and set into motion a process in the course of which as many as eighteen sects emerged in Buddhism. It seems to us, on the testimony of the *Kathavatthu*, that most of the early Buddhist sects emerged by the second and third centuries of the *Nirvana* of the Buddha.

The third Buddhist Council was occasioned by the growth of divergent views and tenets as also a great deal of diversity in the interpretation of the Buddhist doctrines, a development totally unacceptable to the orthodox sections of the monks, especially because it had deleterious repercussions over the actual functioning and organization of the Order which was virtually split up into many discordant elements. In view of this, the *Theravadins* proceeded to dispute all those doctrines and tenets which they considered to be non-Buddhistic and alien. They sought to refute all such doctrines by compiling the famous book of the *Abhidharma Pitaka* called the *Kathavatthu*. How far the *Theravadins* succeeded in their venture it is difficult to assess, although, according to their own claims, no doctrine was perhaps left unrefuted. However, it appears from the text of the *kathavatthu* that most of the so-called alien views, instead of accepting defeat, claim to have vindicated their own genuineness.

Thus, the third Buddhist Council seems to have finally resulted in a parting of ways and to have helped the process of the crystallization of various early Buddhist sects and schools. It is interesting to note that the key sects appear to have arisen and established their strongholds at important Buddhist centres of that age. The *Vatsiputriyas* appear to have developed in the Vatsa country and the areas round about it with *Kausambi* as its main centre. The *sarvastivadins* found their growing centre at Mathura and from there they spread to the northern and north-western regions.

In the development of Buddhism from *Mathura* to the northern and north-western regions, there emerged quite a few sub-sects such as the *Kasyapiyas*, the *Uttarapathakas*, the *Haimavatas*, etc., in the evolution of which geographical factors seem to have played a considerable role, as the names of some of these sects suggest. The *Mahasamghikas* had their growth in the eastern region of *Vaisali* among the *Vajjian* monks and at *Pataliputra* and appear to have later spread towards Andhra and *Daksinapatha*. One of their sects found a location in *Bamiyan*. The Theravadins appear to have flourished in the region of *Avanti* and moved southwards to Ceylon. The nearness of *Pali* to the *girnari* dialect of *Asoka* may be recalled in this connection.

It is interesting to observe at this juncture that some of the theses discussed in the *Kathavatthu* are attributed in the fifth century by Buddhaghosa to some such sects which seem to have emerged later than the time of the compilation of the *Kathavatthu*. The *Vetulyakas*, the *Hetuvadins*, the *Pubbaseliyas*, the *Aparaseliyas*, the *Rajagirikas*, the *Siddharthikas*, etc., are generally held to belong to a later date. In fact, Buddhaghosa himself points out that the *Andhaka*, the *pubbaseliya*, the *Aparaseliya*, the *Rajagirika* and the *Siddharthika* schools, emerged later²⁸⁶. Buddhaghosa in his own time found the *Pubbaseliyas*, the *Aparaseliyas*, etc., as derived from the *Andhakas*. Elsewhere, he again says that six schools arose subsequently, viz., the *Hemavatika*, the *Rajagirika*, the *Siddharthika*, the *Pubbaseliya*, the *Aparaseliya* and the *Vajjiriya*.²⁸⁷

It is significant to note that he does not include these sects among the eighteen sects mentioned earlier.²⁸⁸ Similarly, he does not include the *Vetullakas* among the eighteen sects. It may, however, be observed that these sects may very well have required specific names at a stage later than the emergence of the basic conceptions which were adumbrated by more comprehensive sects earlier. There is nothing to warrant against the hypothesis that the basic doctrines with which they became associated should belong to the actual time of the compilation of the *Kathavatthu*.

The most significant point about these sects lies in their being sub-sects and not principal sects as their parent bodies were. In all probability, the doctrine associated with these so-called late sects were in the beginning, i.e., about the time of compilation of the *Kathavatthu*, perhaps in an undifferentiated stage and were thus held by the main sects. Slowly, however, sections within these sects crystallised round the specific doctrines and paved the way for their separation from the parent body. Their existence as specific sects in the time of Buddhaghosa is, therefore, quite likely.

It must be remembered in this connection that the *Katthavatthu* was in case compiled long before Buddhaghosa and the probable date of the emergence of the late sects named by him. Our hypothesis would reconcile the validity of Buddhaghosa's attribution with the fact that the whole Canon was written in Ceylon in the first century B.C. It would also, at the time, go to validate the tradition about the composition of the *Kathavatthu*.

As regards the problem of affiliation among the different sects, basically, two lines of development may be observed, viz., the *Theravada* and the *Mahasamghika*. The essential homogeneity in the basic tenets of the *Theravada* sects seems to sustain the hypothesis that the seeds of some of them had become manifest prior to the division of the Buddhist Order

into the *Theravada* and the *Mahasamghika* sects. And the fact that they still happened to differ mutually owes its development to the inherent possibilities of difference in the interpretation of the Buddha's gospel in the process of which they propagated cardinal doctrines of their own.

As regards the basic conformity in the attitude of the *Mahasamghika* group of schools, it may be pointed out that they were tending towards the evolution of a new phase of Buddhism, viz., *Mahayana* and thus a considerable number of their major doctrine are found to reflect a transitional stage from *Hinayana* to *Mahayana*. The basic motivation behind this tendency was the apotheosis of the Buddha and the Bodhisattva and the correspondence abasement of the Arahant. This tendency has some parallel, emotive rather than conceptual, to doctrine of *Avatara* growing up in the Bhakti cults.

The doctrinal differentiation of the more orthodox sects appears to have occurred in the course of the effort to evolve more precise definitions and classification of 'phenomena' (*dharma*s). Such 'analysis' is the central task of *Abhidharma* of which the *Theravada* and the *Sarvastivada* Canons give us perfected examples. The main cleavage between these two occurred over the ancient and inevitable problem of the relationship of change to permanence. It may be noted that the *Mahayana* (arising from the *Mahasamghikas*) avoids this dilemma by refusing to concede the reality of the *Dharma*s themselves. The *Mahasamghikas* already evidence their idealistic tendency by emphasizing *Dharma* more than the *Dharma*s, thus multiplying the number of *asamkhatas*.

While accepting the more realistic tendency of the *Theravadins* and the *Sarvastivadin*s, the *Vatsīputriyas* departed from this by seeking to be more consistent to the facts of experience on the subject of the Person (*Puggala*) without jettisoning the principle of impermanence as applied to 'spiritual substance' or psychic reality.

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3

MAHAYANA BUDDHISM

O rigin of the *Mahayana* movement took place somewhere around five hundred years after the death of the Buddha. Because of the death of reliable sources that would not give any clear or concrete picture of just how and why the movement came about, the subject is fraught with speculation. I would like here to sort out and review the various theories that have been put forward concerning its origin and try to determine what significance the appearance of *Mahayana* Buddhism has in the history of Buddhism as a whole.

The subject is one of great importance since, in my opinion at least, if the Mahayana movement had not occurred, it is unlikely that Buddhism would ever have spread east to China, Korea, and Japan. The Theravada school of Buddhism was, as we have seen, essentially a monastic order whose members deliberately removed themselves from ordinary society so that they could practice their rigorous discipline. This type of religious organization is by its very nature lacking in the proselytizing spirit and is difficult for the ordinary members of society to participate in.

Moreover, the Chinese and Japanese, in contrast to the Indians, tend to be of a practical and down-to-earth mind, and it is unlikely that Hinayana thought, with its dry psychological and metaphysical treatises, would have had a very great appeal to them. Even if it had been introduced to these countries, it would probably have been of interest only to a small proportion of the population and would almost certainly have died out long ago. We customarily speak of China, Korea, and Japan as countries that were "destined for Mahayana." This may seem a too deterministic way to state the matter, and yet it would in fact appear that it was only because Mahayana rather than Hinayana Buddhism was introduced to them that they in time became Buddhist.

Origins of the Mahayana Movement

In India as well, although we have seen how Buddhism flourished under the reign of King Ashoka in the third century B.C., Brahmanism from that time on began to regain power and Buddhism followed a path of steady decline. This occurred because, while Brahmanism was thoroughly integrated into Indian society as a whole, Buddhism showed an increasing tendency to withdraw and isolate itself from the general populace. At the same time it was beset by a spirit of sectarianism that precipitated repeated rifts in the religious organization, thus further isolating the various schools or sects of Buddhism from one another.

Glancing at the history of this period, we see that the Mauryan dynasty, of which Ashoka had been the outstanding ruler, came to an end around 180 B.C. It was replaced in western India by the Shunga dynasty, which was founded by a Brahman military leader and supported Brahmanism as the official doctrine of the state. Shortly after, around the middle of the first century B.C., a conqueror named King Kharavela appeared in the region of Kalinga in southeast India who was an enthusiastic follower of the Jain religion. As a result of these events, Buddhism was for a considerable period of time deprived of much of its support or subjected to outright persecution. During this period, as to say, the trend toward disunity continued, and it broke apart into eighteen or twenty different sects, which wrangled continuously with one another.

In any organization, there is nothing more to be feared than the sowers of internal dissension, those who would bring about disruption within the group. This is particularly true of groups founded upon certain ideological or philosophical principles, for internal factionalism and contention usually spell destruction for the principles upheld by the group. This occurs because the members of the organization become so engrossed in the struggle to maintain dominance and combat rival factions that ideological principles are forgotten and, as a result, cease to function effectively even within the group, much less receive proper dissemination out side it. It is particularly deplorable to see Buddhism fall victim to sectarianism resulting from the egoism of its practitioners, since one of its basic aims is to shed light upon the inner nature of man and help him learn to overcome the demon of egoism that lies within him.

The Mahayana movement that sprang up in many regions of India at this time may in one sense be seen as an attempt to reform the religion and to combat the factionalism and strife that had come characterize the Buddhist Order in its traditional form. It was Buddhist equivalent of the Reformation in Europe, a movement to restore vitality to the faith. That the Buddhist Order faced the danger of political antagonism or outright persecution only served to strengthen in the leaders of the Mahayana movement their consciousness of themselves as Buddhists and their determination to fight for their beliefs.

How to cope with political pressure was one of the most important questions facing the Buddhists at this time. And here I believe we may distinguish a subtle difference in the ways in which the Hinayana and the Mahayana schools responded to such pressure.

The Mahayana Buddhists, as we have seen, chose to refer to the Theravada school as the Hinayana or lesser Vehicle, a term surely intended as a mark of opprobrium. One reason for their disapproval, I believe, was that the Theravada tended to remain aloof from politics. Stated bluntly, we might say that its followers from reality and elected to take refuge in the seclusion of monastic life. For this reason their political position was characteristically vague and their attitude toward Brahmanism, which by now had become the state religion, more or less conciliatory.

Buddhists of the Mahayana school, on the other hand, disputed with the Brahmins and worked actively to oppose them. They conceived of Buddhism as a faith to be vigorously disseminated throughout society as a whole, not merely practiced by monks confined in a cloister. Various sutras and treatises of the Mahayana school describe the ideal king and the ways in which he should exercise power, and they do not hesitate to make political pronouncements on the basis of the ideals of Buddhism as embodied in the Dharma. The

political pressures brought to bear upon them were consequently all the greater, yet at the same time they demonstrated by their attitude that they possessed the energy and determination to combat these pressures and to challenge the existing social order. Herein, I would say, lies one of the differences that distinguished the Mahayana from the Hinayana school.

Though dissatisfaction with the apolitical attitude of the Hinayanaists was among the factors leading to the rise of the Mahayana school, the problem of the proper relationship between politics and religion is a highly complex one and cannot be settled in haste. No doubt the Theravadins and other sects of traditional Buddhism had their own reasons for remaining aloof from political concerns. They looked upon the preservation of the orthodox teachings of Buddhism and the transmission of these teachings to posterity as their most important function. They probably feared that if they took a stand in political matters, they would invite interference and repression to an extent that would endanger the realization of their aim.

We must remember that Shakyamuni himself was born a member of the kshatriya or ruling class, the eldest son of the king of the Shakya state and the logical successor to the throne. Nevertheless, he chose to relinquish his birthright and go out into the world as a wandering mendicant in order to seek a higher goal. He deliberately turned away from a political career so that he might learn to become a leader in the realm of the spirit and master the universal truths of human life. This was the stance he took, this was the task he set himself, one which concerned the eternal future of all mankind.

Let me clarify one point here. Although politics and religion exist on essentially quite different levels, I am not saying that for that reason it is proper or even permissible for a man of religion to hold himself aloof from social and political concerns. After Shakyamuni attained enlightenment under the Bodhi tree, he did not remain alone, gloating over his newfound truths. Instead he set out upon a journey to preach and spread the Dharma so that he might share his enlightenment and wisdom with all men and women everywhere.

The tendency among the Theravadins and other early sects of Buddhism was quite different from this. The monks of these sects, virtually removed from all secular power and authority, increasingly shut themselves up in the hills and forests, devoting all their attention to the study of the treatises of the *Abhidharma*. By doing this, they appear to have sought only their own spiritual advancement and to have taken no steps to assist the advancement of others by preaching and offering guidance.

Here again the followers of the Mahayana movement differed from the older sects, insisting that it was necessary not only to work at one's own religious practice and salvation but at the same time to disseminate the teachings as widely as possible among the masses who were sunk in misery and delusion. This, they asserted, was to act in the true spirit of Shakyamuni. The goal of the Hinayana Buddhist was to achieve the status of bodhisattva, the enlightened being who vows to help others to salvation.

Reading the Mahayana scriptures, one is invariably struck with the degree to which they are designed to challenge society. We will have occasion to examine this point more when we come to discuss the Vimalakirti Sutra, which centres about the famous lay believer Vimalakirti and describes the very active role he played in the society of his time. Because of this fact, scholars have been led to suggest that, while Hinayana Buddhism was centered about the

monastic community, Mahayana Buddhism was a movement that arose among the lay believers of the period.

This seems to me plausible enough, but I do not think we should regard Mahayana Buddhism as by any means a movement of the laity alone. We must remember that in India at the time we are discussing it was customary to hold monks in very high esteem, and it is unlikely that the laity would have proceeded entirely on their own without some sanction or support from members of the monastic community. Moreover, Mahayana displays a loftiness and complexity in doctrine that suggest the influence of the professional theologian and philosopher. My own guess would be that certain unusually keen and enlightened members of the monastic community dissatisfied with the attitude and practices of Hinayana Buddhism, joined forces with the more spirited and imaginative leaders among the laity in a cooperative venture to carry out reforms.

In the famous poet-monk Ashvaghosha and the philosopher Nagarjuna, we can see examples of outstanding monks who began as followers of the Hinayana and later shifted to the Mahayana. Ashvaghosha, who lived and wrote in the first or second century A.D., received his original ordination and training in the Sarvastivada school, one of the important branches of the Hinayana, but eventually became a Mahayana follower. Similarly, Nagarjuna, who lived in the second or third century A.D., and the fifth century philosopher Vasubandhu both began their careers as Hinayana monks and later went over to the Mahayana schools. However these men belong to the period when the Mahayana movement was developing and systematizing its vast body of doctrine.

In its initial period, there can be no doubt that the lay believers or at least certain extraordinary ones among them such as Vimalakirti, played a key role in the development of the movement.

Scholars have suggested that there may be some connection between the rise of the Mahayana and the passion for building stupas that swept over the laity at this time. From around the third century B.C to the third century A.D., when India was in a period of flourishing commercial activity, it became the custom for affluent members of the Buddhist laity to construct stupas or large earthen mounds commemorating the Buddha's death as an expression of their faith.

Following the demise of the Buddha, there was a growing tendency, especially among the lay believers to deify him, as may be seen in the attribution to him of the thirty-two distinguishing features and eighty physical characteristics, a subject which I have discussed in my earlier volume. Reflecting this tendency, stupas were raised all over the country, sometimes enshrining relics of the Buddha or of eminent monks and ceremonies of worship carried out around them. Such practices differed from those traditionally associated with the Theravadins and their derivative sects, and it has therefore been suggested that they are a manifestation of the early Mahayana movement. The surmise is that the stupas in time came to include living quarters for monks in attendance on them and that these monks constituted the beginning of the Mahayana Order.

As may be seen from the above review there were various interrelated factors that in time appear to have led to the rise of the Mahayana movement. But we are dealing with events

of two thousand or more years ago, for which only the scantiest kind of documentation exists, and we cannot hope, at this stage in our knowledge at least, to determine which factors were decisive or just how they were related to one another. The point we must not lose sight of is that the Mahayana movement did, as a matter of incontrovertible historical fact, arise at this time, and before long came to outshine the Hinayana in popularity and influence.

Differences Between the Mahayana and Hinayana Schools

The Mahayana and Hinayana schools are generally regarded as differing. In doing so, I hope also to throw somewhat more light upon the riddle of the origin of the Mahayana movement than I was able to in the preceding section. Scholars have already pointed out a number of ways in which the two schools of Buddhism differ. Here I would like to borrow from Dr. Hiromoto Mizuno his list of six points of difference between the *Abhidharma* or Hinayana schools and the Mahayana school in its initial period and to use these as the basis for my discussion.

The first point of difference, already mentioned earlier, is that the Hinayana had as its objective the attainment of the state of arhat or saint, the goal to be attained through the so-called way of the *shomon* or *shravaka*, the disciple who either hears the Buddhas's teachings in person or who diligently follows the Four Noble Truths and the Eightfold Path. In contrast to this, the Mahayana had as its objective the attainment of Buddhahood, a goal that could be obtained by observing the practices of the bodhisattva. Let us see exactly just what this means in terms of ideals and ways of life.

The monks of the Hinayana as a whole regarded the Buddha as existing on an incomparably higher level than themselves, one which they could not possibly hope to attain, and so they confined their efforts to the attainment of the relatively less exalted level of that arhat, the "perfect being." This view seems to have been a particular characteristic of the Buddhist Order in its earliest stages, and for this reason the monks of the Order concentrated upon the practice of the Four Noble Truths and the Eightfold Path, the basic philosophical and ethical principles of Buddhism as preached by Shakyamuni shortly after his enlightenment.

But even the level of arhat was considered to be very difficult to attain, and no matter how intensively one might devote oneself to religious practices, the chances of reaching true sainthood during one's lifetime were very slight. Man is a creature of desires, and even the most pious are constantly in danger of succumbing to temptation.

Because of this outlook, the members of the Hinayana sects hedged their lives about with a great number of rules and regulations, until their attention became wholly fixed upon matters of monastic discipline and the original aim of Buddhism, the bringing of salvation to all people, was entirely neglected. Moreover, though the goal of these early sects was to attain the stage of arhat, after the Buddha had passed away there seemed to be no certain way of determining who had actually reached that goal, and controversy broke out as to the exact nature of the arhat and the proofs of his arhatship, as in the so-called "Five Facts" concerning the arhat put forward by the monk Mahadeva of the Mahasanghika school.

In contrast, the Mahayana followers announced in effect that, without bothering with the stage of arhatship, they would set their sights upon attaining nothing short of Buddhahood. After all, they reasoned, Shakyamuni was not the only Buddha. So long as a man, any man,

carried out the practices of a bodhisattva in the same way that Shakyamuni had before he reached enlightenment, then he too should be able to reach enlightenment. In the Buddhist Order as it existed in the centuries immediately after Shakyamuni's death, this represented a truly astounding and revolutionary departure in thinking.

What, according to this way of thinking, are the practices of a bodhisattva that will lead one to enlightenment? They are customarily defined in terms of the six *Paramitas* or acts conducive to enlightenment, namely, donation, keeping of the precepts, perseverance, assiduity, meditation, and wisdom. Of these the most important is *dana* or donation, known in Japanese as *fuse*. But here the term does not have what was later to become its common meaning, that of the giving of donations of money and goods to the members of the Buddhist Order. The meaning is quite the opposite, a donation made by the bodhisattva to the suffering masses of humanity in the form of the Dharma. In effect, the bodhisattva goes out among the people to preach the truths of the Buddhist religion, employing the methods of *shakubuku* or *shoju*, depending upon which is appropriate to the occasion. It is important to understand the meaning of the word donation in this context, lest one imagine the bodhisattva as a person who, while preaching about the six *paramitas*, is in truth only interested in squeezing contributions out of the lay believers.

While we are on the question of terminology, let us examine the exact meaning of the word *bodhisattva*. The philosopher Nagarjuna in his *Mahaprajna-paramitopadesha* or *Daichide-ron* defines it as follows: "Because the bodhisattva in his heart profits himself and profits others; because he saves all sentient beings; because he understands the true nature of the myriad dharmas; because he carries out the way of perfect enlightenment; and because he is praised by all the saints and sages; therefore he is called 'bodhisattva.'"

The Sanskrit word *bodhisattva* has come into Japanese as *bodaisatta*, and is customarily abbreviated as *bosatsu*. Elsewhere in the *Mahaprajna-paramitopadesha* the following simple and lucid definition of the word is given:

"One who seeks the way of the Buddha in order to free all sentient beings from birth, old age, and death is called a bodhisattva."

The point to be noted in these definitions is that the bodhisattva does not strive to benefit himself alone. Rather he seeks out the Buddha way in order to be able to save all other beings. In this respect he differs essentially from the Hinayan ideals of the *shomon* or *shravaka* and the *engaku* or *pratyeka-Buddha*, both beings who are interested primarily in their own benefit and salvation. The *Mahaprajna-paramitopadesha* goes on to define the qualification of the bodhisattva in these words: "He takes the Great Vow, he does not allow his heart to be moved, and he never falters in his religious practices. Because of these three factors, he is called a bodhisattva."

The Great Vow is the vow the bodhisattva takes to bring salvation to all sentient beings. The taking of this vow, along with absolute firmness of purpose and an unflinching pursuit of religious practices, therefore, constitute the three conditions necessary to qualify one as a bodhisattva.

Let us turn now to the second point in which, according to Dr. Muzuno, the *Abhidharma* or Hinayana differs from early Mahayana Buddhism. He defines it in terms of a difference

between the emphasis upon karmic law, characteristic of the Hinayana, and that upon *gangya* or "vow and practice," characteristic of the Mahayana. The former is an essentially negative attitude, which seeks to escape from the suffering imposed by karma and transmigration by fleeing to another realm. The latter is a positive approach, which deliberately seeks to encounter suffering in order to fulfill the vow and practice of the bodhisattva and to attain Buddhahood.

This is a very important point of difference. Sakyamuni, of course, taught that existence is marked by suffering, but that is not the sum of his message. He went on to urge men not to try to escape from the sufferings of birth, old age, sickness, and death, but to face up to them boldly and in that way to overcome them. This, it seems to me, is the essential message of Buddhism.

Let me put it another way. There are two attitudes one may adopt with regard to the suffering imposed by human existence. One is to look upon it as being brought about by the law of karma, thus as something that binds and torments us. This is the attitude of the Hinayana followers, who endeavor, by cutting off delusions and breaking free from the world of transmigration and suffering, to reach a realm that is peaceful and free of pain. Therefore they work to attain the goal of *nirvana*, a state of peace and annihilation in which one is no longer subject to rebirth. Such persons may be said to look upon human life as something predetermined and imposed upon the individual by forces beyond his control.

By contrast, Mahayana followers look upon the sufferings of human existence as something which they have willfully vowed to undergo in order to assist others to attain salvation. They do not try to escape from the world of suffering but instead deliberately trust themselves into the most painful and degrading circumstances within that world so that they may take upon themselves the sufferings of all sentient beings. The famous lay believer Vimalakirti expressed this sense of mission of the bodhisattva when he said, "Because all sentient beings are sick, therefore I too am sick." The Hinayana attitude is passive and looks upon the conditions of life as imposed from the outside, but the approach of the bodhisattva is active and endeavors to impose its own conditions upon life.

The third point of difference pointed out by Dr. Mizuno is that, while the Hinayana aims for the improvement and advancement of the individual, the Mahayana aims for the improvement of society as a whole and for the salvation of all beings. This is a point already touched upon a number of times in our previous discussion and need not be discussed further here. We may only note that the terms *Mahayana* and *Hinayana* give symbolic expression to this point of difference, Mahayana meaning the "Great Vehicle," which conveys all sentient beings to salvation, Hinayana the "Lesser Vehicle," which is suitable only for the salvation of the single individual.

Needless to say, this terminology, expressive as it is, was the sole invention of the Mahayana school, which applied it to the earlier sects of Buddhism in the face of strong objections on their part. They attempted to retaliate, proclaiming that "Mahayana is not true Buddhism," but by this time the Mahayana movement had gained momentum and opposition proved ineffectual.

From what has been said so far, it is easy to see why the Mahayana teachings should have had great popular appeal, and it would seem that the mass of lay believers responded to

them with enthusiasm and support. Thus the Mahayana school was able to override the criticisms and attacks of the older sects and to rise to a position of dominance in Indian Buddhism.

Dr. Mizuno's fourth point of difference concerns the fact that the *Abhidharma* Buddhists on the whole placed great emphasis upon the exact wording of the whole placed great emphasis upon the exact wording of the scriptures and were scrupulously literal in their interpretation, while the Mahayana followers favored a much freer and more creative approach. The Hinayana sects, in their formalistic approach, expended great effort in the compiling of commentaries and exegetical works on the philological meaning of the text, works which came to be known collectively as the *Abhidharma*. The Mahayana followers, on the other hand, refusing to be bound by the literal meaning of the scriptures, insisted upon a more fluid and multidimensional approach and attempted to return to what they believed to be the original spirit of Buddhism as taught by Shakyamuni and to the interpretation of the canonical writings in the light of that spirit.

Both approaches have their advantages and disadvantages, and even in modern scholarship there is dispute as to which should be adopted. Textual discussions that lose sight of the life and reality underlying the text will naturally tend to become hopelessly engrossed in minute questions of philological interpretation. On the other hand, this does not excuse one from the necessity of making a careful and thorough study of the texts. The important point is to seek always to discover the basic spirit that informs them, and when one has determined this, to ask how that spirit can be translated into action in terms of present day reality. This, it seems to me, is the necessary approach if scholarship and philosophy are to be creative.

The fifth difference between the *Abhidharma* school and the early Mahayana is directly related to one described above. The *abhidharma*, as we might expect, tended to be largely theoretical and pedantic in direction, and at time to wander off into idle philosophical speculation completely divorced from question of practice. By contrast, the Mahayana in its early period valued faith and religious practice over theory and learning and insisted that any theories that may be set forth must be founded upon practice rather than empty speculation.

This is a point of extreme importance and one which anyone who considers himself a religious person must attend to carefully. The Buddhism taught by Shakyamuni did not have its origin in theoretical speculation or in academic learning. As the German philosopher Karl Jaspers put it, what the Buddha taught was not a system of epistemology but a way of salvation.

Surveying the intellectual and spiritual world of his time, Shakyamuni saw that the members of the Brahmanical class had sunk to the pursuit of theory for the sake of theory, learning for the sake of learning. This approach he rejected, and in order to overcome it, he left his home and went out among the common people. Any yet the Buddhist of the *Abhidharma* school allowed themselves to become engrossed in theoretical concerns in the same way as the Brahmins whom Shakamuni had critized, and neglected to think about applying their theories in practice through the conversion of the populace.

It is only natural, therefore, that the Mahayana Buddhists should have called for a return to the vital and practical approached of the faith in the time of Shakyamuni. Needless to say, they criticized the *Abhidharma* school for its strong theoretical tendency, contrasting it with

their own emphasis upon practice. This does not mean that they despised theory, but they did insist upon a theory that was vital and directly related to practice. And in the course of their long doctrinal disputes with the Brahmans and the members of the Hinayana sects, they succeeded in polishing and refining their theories until in the end Mahayana emerged as more subtle and convincing in matters of doctrine than the older sects. Theory and practice are the two wheels of the cart and the Mahayana Buddhists were careful to neglect neither.

The sixth and final point difference between the Hinayana and Mahayana, according to Dr. Mizuno, is that the former was essentially the concern of the monk, the specialist in the field, while the latter was designed to include the laity and the populace in general in its activities.

This is hardly more than a restatement of what has already been said above and needs no further comment here. I would merely like to note that this tendency on the part of the Hinayana to make Buddhism the preserve of the specialist seems to have been based upon a feeling that there was some fundamental social or hierarchical difference between the monastic community and the laity.

This is not an arbitrary view that I myself have arrived at. The Buddhist scholars Shoson Miyamoto, for example, expressed the same feeling when he described the early sects of Buddhism as tending toward a prejudiced and discriminatory outlook, one that is class conscious and typical of Aryan Brahmanism and of northern India in general. In other words, the Hinayana school devoted itself to the study of doctrine which it believed only monks, the specialists in the field, were capable of understanding and by adopting such an attitude it succeeded in shutting Buddhism off from society as a whole and making it the possession of a single group. Mahayana Buddhism, on the other hand, recognized no such rigid distinction between monk and layman and instead worked to make the religion more easily accessible to the populace as a whole and to disseminate it as widely as possible.

The Buddhist Renaissance

The rise of the Mahayana movement—the Buddhist Renaissance, if you will—is one of the most remarkable events in the history of the religion. We have outlined some of the factors involved in its origin and contributing to its success. Here I would like to call attention to another important factor which abetted its popularity, the role played by Buddhist poets and outstanding leaders and religious organizations among the laity.

The time we are dealing with, there began to appear a type of literature that seems to have been unknown in primitive Buddhism. This consists of *Jataka* or *Birth Stories*, tales in verse and prose describing the earlier existences of the Buddha when he was still a bodhisattva, and *Avadana* or legends dealing with the Buddha's disciples or outstandingly pious believers, because they emphasize the figure of the bodhisattva, and because their purpose seems clearly to popularize Buddhist teachings, these verses and fables would appear to have originated among a class of monks other than the *Abhidharma* followers, who, as we have seen, were secluded in their monasteries and engrossed in specialist studies. The stories are written in the Pali language.

In the early Vedic period in India, Sanskrit was the language of the Aryan peoples who occupied the north. By Shakyamuni's time, however, Sanskrit had become a highly regularized

and scholarly language but one spoken only among the Brahmins and members of the ruling class. The common people spoke a number of simpler languages derived from Sanskrit and known as Prakrits, among which Pali is one of the most important. Because Shakyamuni wished his teachings to become the property not of one privileged class in society but of all men in general, he employed the simple spoken language of the people in what ever region he visited and insisted that his disciples do the same. Thus Pali, one of the common dialects of the time, rather than Sanskrit, is the language in which the early Buddhist scriptures are written.

The same desire to reach out to the common people which had motivated Shakyamuni to employ everyday speech in his teachings also inspired the composition of the *Jataka* verses and tales we have mentioned above. They represent an attempt to present the ideas of Buddhism in terms that were lively and easy for the ordinary listener to understand. In the great Mahayana scriptures such as the Lotus Sutra, which we will be discussing in detail later on, the same aim is apparent in the frequent use of parables and other literary forms designed to make the text interesting and meaningful to the layman. The *gathas* or verse portions scattered throughout these works are an obvious example.

Here, it may be noted that the Indo-Aryan languages, such as Sanskrit and the dialects derived from it, are particularly suited for oral recitation. The early religious works of Brahmanism, such as the Vedic hymns, were constantly chanted and in the early centuries were handed down entirely by oral transmission. Even today, the recitations of the famous epic poem *Ramayana*, which enjoy such popularity among the Indian people, continue to give evidence of the same trait. The peoples of Indo-Aryan derivation in India seem to have been peculiarly sensitive to the musical appeal of language. For that reason, any thinker who hoped to spread his ideas among the populace would customarily cast them in poetic form, thereby giving them artistic appeal and at the same time making them easier to commit to memory.

Any system of thought, it seems to me, if it is to possess strength and vitality, must be capable of being presented to people in a genuinely interesting and enjoyable way. Needless to say, in order to gain a correct understanding of the profound philosophical principles that underlie Buddhism one must advance beyond the more popular works and master the technical treatises designed for the specialist. But to insure that Buddhism gains a true hold upon the hearts of the common people, it is imperative that it should also be able to present its teachings in a form that they take pleasure in listening to. In this sense the parables of the Buddhist scriptures, the solemn ceremonies, the hymns and rhymed verses represent practical means utilized by early Indian Buddhism in its efforts to capture the hearts of the populace.

Unfortunately, in Japan today the Buddhist scriptures are not presented to the people in a language that they can understand. Instead the ancient Chinese translations of the scriptures are simply intoned in Sino-Japanese pronunciation, so that scarcely anyone but the specialist can follow even the gist of what is being said. Sad to say, the very word for a Buddhist scripture, *okyo*, has in Japanese come to be a synonym for something incomprehensible.

In recent years we have seen a modest boom in books pertaining to Buddhism in Japan, and publishers have brought out works on the doctrines of the various sects and editions of the scriptures provided with detailed notes and commentary. This is highly commendable, but it seems to me it has gone about as far as it can go. What we need now is an outstanding literary figure whom can translate the ideals and philosophical principles of Buddhism into

the form and language best suited for the minds and hearts of modern Japanese. The same applies to the other countries and peoples of the world: wherever Buddhism is transmitted, it should be presented in the form most compatible with the tastes and temperaments of the people to whom it is addressed, though I realize that this may take many years to accomplish.

But to return to the India of two thousand years ago, one final point remains, that of whether there existed an organization of lay Buddhist believers, as distinct from the monastic orders of the various Hinayana sects.

I am strongly inclined to think that such an organization did exist, though we must await further study before we can attempt to say just what form it had. The Vimalakirti Sutra (discussed in the next chapter) centers around a highly enlightened and influential lay believer named Vimalakirti. Some scholars would view him as a purely fictitious figure, an embodiment of the ideal layman, but I wonder if he did not have his real-life models among the outstanding lay leaders of the Buddhist community. And I wonder if the Vimalakirti Sutra and works like it are not in fact the product of some kind of formal group or religious organization, though probably not one as tightly knit as the Sangha or Buddhist Order itself.

The Lotus Sutra as well, as we shall have occasion to discuss later, would seem to have been transmitted by a group or organization of highly enlightened laymen, who at times encountered considerable pressure from outside. Of course such organizations did not consist of laymen alone. They undoubtedly included monks as well but looked upon both monk and layman as essentially the same. And the real leadership of the group came, I would surmise, from enlightened laymen, men who believed in the equality of all peoples and social classes and who were dedicated to the realization had not existed in these early days, it is difficult to see how the Mahayanaists could have preserved and handed down such a large body of scriptures.

The exact organizational form of the early Mahayana, as well as the exact process by which it came into being, may, as we have seen, be clouded in historical uncertainty. Yet the fact remains: some five hundred years after the death of the Buddha, at a time when the Dharma which Shakyamuni had taught seemed almost in danger of extinction, this new movement did come to the fore in India, restoring vitality to the religion and carrying its teachings eastward through Central Asia to China and eventually to Japan. Its appearance, consequently, was of enormous significance, bringing about as it did a veritable Renaissance in Indian Buddhism, and its history is fraught with lessons of the greatest importance for us today.

Doctrinal Division of Mahayana and Hinayana

My only object here is to draw your attention to the great importance of the two terms *Mahayana* and *Hinayana*, which will help a better and clearer understanding of the subject. A detailed discussion of this topic is of ascribing interest to every student of Buddhism. It is reserved for my main book. Therefore, in this introductory note, I will give you a bare summary of the subject.

The terms *Mahayana* and *Hinayana* are known only to Northern Buddhism but not to Southern Buddhism. As a matter of fact, therefore, we never meet with such terms in the *Pali* canon of Southern Buddhism¹. But the terms frequently occur in the canon of *Mahayana* of Northern Buddhism. This *Mahayana* Buddhism, in my opinion, has been developed (or

manifested) in the period between the time of King *Asoka* and that of *Nagarjuna* (roughly 2nd century B.C. to 3rd century A.D.).²

For a clear conception, I would like to discuss the subject under three main heads, namely: (1) By whom or by which school exactly the terms *Mahayana* and *Hinayana* were first coined? (2) From What time the use of the terms, in their present sense came to be current? (3) Why they came to be so used? Let us now take up the first question. Etymologically, '*Mahayana*' means great vehicle and '*Hinayana*' means small vehicle. On the face of it, the terms are suggesting a relation of superiority and inferiority of some things. At the same time we understand at once that such relation or strictly a comparison should come up when a man or a school tried to assert superiority over a rival and attempted to reject the adversary's doctrine.

A clear study will convince us of an underlying doctrinal basis of difference for which the two terms stand against each other. In the history of Buddhism, we may receive two aspects of Buddhism, one is what we have termed Original Buddhism and another is the Developed Buddhism. By original Buddhism we mean the doctrine preached by Buddha himself in public; while Developed Buddhism means the doctrine which, though existing in Buddha's perception rather implicitly, was manifested and developed later on by his disciples and followers after his *Parinirvana*. However, these two different aspects of Buddhism are nothing but only manifestation of Buddha's two-fold perception of the world; that is to say, when Buddha attained Enlightenment he realized the Truth of the Universe. The Truth of the Universe can be presented from two points of view; one is Truth of the physical nature of this world and another is the Truth of the reality behind it. In other words, when he obtained Enlightenment he understood the real condition of the '*Samsara*' and at the same time he penetrated the reality of the Internal Universe.

The former I have called Buddha's Phenomenological perception and the latter his Ontological perception. Buddha we must remember was enlightened with both these truths. But the religious and philosophical conditions in India at that time only allowed him to preach the doctrines formulated from a Phenomenological point of view, and his Ontological perception was bound to be left in the hands of his disciples to be manifested afterwards when the proper time for it came. What we call Buddha's Ontological perception was merely formulated and manifested by his disciples and followers; therefore, sometimes we termed it as Developed Buddhism. But we should not forget that history records its growth, but not its origin. All the same, the idea of Developed Buddhism remained in Buddha's perception when he was preaching what is usually called Original Buddhism.

Now we see that the terms *Mahayana* and *Hinayana* are applied to two different sets of doctrines of Buddhism. That is to say, in relation of 'time,' the doctrines which are expressed by the term *Hinayana* were promulgated earlier during Buddha's life-time by himself, while the doctrines expressed by the term *Mahayana* were formulated by Buddha's disciples and followers after his death, were manifestations of his Introspectional perception. Again, in relation of 'space' these two aspects of Buddhism expressed by the terms *Mahayana* and *Hinayana* respectively represents Buddha's Introspectional perception and his Phenomenological perception.

Therefore, now it is clear that the terms *Mahayana* and *Hinayana* were applied undoubtedly later on, when the mutual conflict engendering a sense of superiority arose between

the Original and the Developed Buddhism in the shape of school. It is also clear that the school of Developed Buddhism wanted to display their own superiority over Original Buddhism, and they named their own school *Mahayana* or the Great Vehicle and called their opponents by the term *Hinayana* or Small Vehicle. Therefore, we see that the terms were coined and applied at a later stage for the first time by the school of Developed Buddhism or the *Mahayanists*. This is precisely the reason why we do not find such terms in the *Pali Nikayas* and Chinese translations of *Agmas*, but we do find innumerable mention of them in the *Mahayana sutras* and *sastras*. Now the great question may arise, "Who is the founder of the *Mahayana* Buddhism and school represented by it"? Many scholars are of opinion that the founder of *Mahayana* Buddhism and school is *Nagarjuna* but we should say that this is a great mistake.

If we look at the stupendous work called *Prajnaparamita sastra* and *Dasabumi-Vibhasa-sastra* of *Nagarjuna*, we actually find many *Mahayana sutras* which have been quoted by the author. And this will convince us at least that before *Nagarjuna* there were many *Mahayana sutras*. Therefore, it is beyond doubt that *Mahayana* Buddhism and its certain allied schools were already in existence before the time of *Nagarjuna*. Again, through *Paramartha's* introduction to the '*Nikaya-abalambanasastra*' of *Vasumitra* which exists only in a Chinese translation, we come to know that the *Mahasanghikas* used some *Mahayana sutras*. If this is a true fact, we are here assured that some of the *Mahayana sutras* were certainly existing, may be in a different form, even in the two centuries following Buddha's *Parinirvana* (i.e., 1st and 3rd centuries B.C.).

Not only that, if we compare the *Mahasanghika* doctrines with those of Developed Buddhism or *Mahayana*, a bit carefully, we see that both sets of doctrines are closely connected with each other. Again, at the same time we find that the ideas embodied in *Mahasanghika* school, are nothing but the aspect of Buddha's Ontological perception. Therefore, my opinion is that Buddha's Ontological perception has manifested itself as *Mahayana* Buddhism through the *Mahasanghika* school. Therefore, the origin of *Mahayana* doctrines in the last analysis is Buddha's perception in an incipient stage. But the full manifestation of the *Mahayana* doctrines is due to the *Mahasanghika* school which, as you see, acted as an intermediate stage from a historical point of view. Hence we can safely say that the *Mahasanghikas* were, in a certain sense, the founder of Mahayanism and at the same time the terms *Mahayana* and *Hinayana* were for the first time coined by the *Mahasanghikas* but used by the *Mahayanists* themselves. Our next problem is why the *Mahasanghikas* used such terms at all? In the course of this discourse, a question "when such terms were used?" naturally suggest itself.

According to both Southern and Northern Buddhist records, disciples of Buddha entertained different pinion. Even in his lifetime: but these they did individually.³ However, in course of time these different opinions found vent through different parties and schools at the Vaisali Council. Why these different parties and schools in Buddhism came to being will be all clear to us if we do not forget the fact that the *Mahasanghika* as liberal and advanced Buddhist had always a conflict of opinion with the *Sthaviras* or conservatives who loyally stuck to the original doctrine of Buddhism preached by the Master himself.

Hence, the doctrines of these two parties in every respect were different from each other. For this reason in the Vaisali Council, the *Sthaviras* excommunicated the *Mahasanghikas* or

the *Vajjian* monks and called them 'Papa Bhikkhus' and *Adhammavadins*. Henceforth the Mahasanghika party was growing in power and popularity each day in the Buddhist community; but this excommunication pained them much. Since that time Mahasanghikas began to search for such terms by which they could display the superiority of their own doctrines and reject other and after passing through many stages at last they hit upon the term '*Hinayana*' for the *Sthaviras* and called themselves *Mahayanists*. Now, let us consider "When these terms were first used?" Such full-fledged terms cannot be found all at once.

It is reasonable to conjecture that gradually the terms '*Mahayana*' and '*Hinayana*' must have come into vogue at a much later time when after many similar other terms were tried and rejected, to belittle the doctrines of *Sthavira-vada*. This is quite evident from the fact that we find the use of these terms in *Mahayana sutras* and *sastras* which were composed about the time of Nagarjuna and later on. Specially we find the use of these perfect comparative terms in the works of Nagarjuna. For example, he said in his *Prajnaparamita* sastra or commentary of *Mahaprajnaparamita-sutra*. "There are two kinds of Buddhism, one is *Hinayana* and the other is *Mahayana*."⁴

Of course, we meet with the terms '*Mahayana*' and '*Hinayana*' some time in the *Mahayana* sutras which definitely existed before the time of Nagarjuna, but there the terms were seldom used and even if used, it was not in a comparative sense of superiority and inferiority. From the above we can very well understand that the terms *Mahayana* and *Hinayana* practically came into use in their proper usual sense from the time of Nagarjuna.

Our next question would then be "How these terms have been formed by the Mahasanghika?" As we know every word has a history at its back, therefore, on the face of it terms like *Mahayana* and *Hinayana* did not come into use all on a sudden. As I have already said the Mahasanghikas, before they could finally arrive at these terms, passed through many similar other terms then what are these?

If we look at the *Mahayana* sutras we find many other terms like *Ekayana*, *Agrayana*, *Bhadrayana*, *Paramarthayana*, *Bodhisattvayana* and *Buddhayana*, as synonym of the term *Mahayana* among these *Ekayana*, *Buddhayana* and *Bodhisattvayana* have been used most frequently; and when the terms *Ekayana* was used in the place of the term *Mahayana* then the corresponding terms *Dviyana* or *Triyana* were used in the place of the term *Hinayana*. Similarly when the term *Bodhisattvayana* and the term *Buddhayana* were used for the term *Mahayana* were used for the term '*Hinayana*.'

Again, we see that the term '*Ekayana*' appears in the place where Buddha's Ontological doctrines⁵ are dealt with, while on the contrary when there is an indication of Buddha's personality or his theory upon human beings then the terms '*Buddhayana*' and '*Bodhisattvayana*' were used. Now, let us see which is the earlier one of these previous kinds of terms. We find in the *Pali-Nikayas* the term '*Ekayana*.' There it only indicates the '*Astangika-marga*.' Hence it is to be more correct, we may say that the term '*Ekayana*' has been used by Buddha himself and the *Sthaviras* in the lifetime of the Master as well as after His *Parinirvana*. From what has been said above we are at once led to the conclusion that as soon as the Mahasanghikas were excommunicated by the *Sthaviras*, the later attached contemptuous epithets to the name of the former and the former in their turn could not but borrow the term '*Ekayana*' from the *Nikayas*: Thereby they thought, that it would be the most

suitable term to distinguish themselves from the *Sthaviras* in the point of doctrine and at the same time to assert their own superiority.

Again, they called the *Sthaviras* by the name '*Dviyana*' to indicate their inferiority. But it appears to me that some time after the *Mahasanghikas* were puzzled to find that the term '*ekayana*' is common to both (both in the *Sthavira* and *Mahasanghika*), so that they once more began to search for another suitable term. This time they invented the term '*Buddhayana*' or '*Bodhisattvayana*.' But even at this stage too when they began to think a little deeply over these new terms they saw their shortcoming.

It was clear that the terms like '*Bodhisattvayana*' and '*Buddhayana*' only indicate a particular aspect of Buddhism, namely-Buddha's personality. But the doctrinal side was totally missed and left out of consideration. So they again began to search for yet another newer and more suitable term which would indicate both aspects of Buddhism, and at last they invented the terms '*Mahayana*' and '*Hinayana*.'

One very important point regarding the terms '*Mahayana*' and '*Hinayana*' must be here referred to. As a matter of fact the implication of these terms varied in the two periods, viz.-first in what we have called *Mahayana sutra* period (i.e., from *Mahasanghika* separation to the time of *Nagarjuna*) and second *Mahayana* school period (i.e., the time of *Nagarjuna*, *Maitreyanath*, *Asanga*, *Vasubandhu*, etc.).

As you know the terms were originally coined by the *Mahasanghikas* and in the *sutra* period they applied them to indicate a fundamental doctrinal difference, viz., Buddha's Ontological and Phenomenological perceptions respectively. However, in the time of *Nagarjuna* and later on, that is to say, when the *Madhyamika* school of *Nagarjuna* and the *Yogacara* school of *Maitreyanath*, *Asanga* and *Vasubandhu* came to be established (i.e., in the school period), the terms '*Mahayana*' and '*Hinayana*' began to change their connotation. They are henceforth applied not only in a sense of doctrinal difference of Buddha's perception, but at the same time they carry with them the sense of the relation of different schools: the *Mahayanists* went further and in the term '*mahayana*' they included only their schools like *Madhyamika*, *Yogacara*, etc., while in '*Hinayana*' they put in first not only the original doctrine of Buddha but at the same time *Sarvastivada* schools and secondly even the *Mahasanghika* school and as well as their allied schools.

Other important allied terms referred to above, will require elucidation for a thorough understanding of the doctrinal aspect of Buddhism. Therefore, let us next take them up only by one. These terms which should be noted here were quite unknown to Southern Buddhism.

The Terms *Vyaktayana*, *Guhayana*

These doctrinal terms indicate Buddha's mode or way of⁶ Preaching. Etymologically, *Vyakta-upadesa* means the exoteric doctrines and *Guhya-upadesa* means the esoteric doctrines that is to say, the former indicates the doctrines which Buddha preached publicly among all men, and the latter indicates the doctrines which Buddha preached in secret only for his advanced disciples. Therefore, *Nagarjuna* said in his *Prajnaparamita-sastra*:⁷

"There are two kinds of doctrines in Buddhism; one is the esoteric (*Guhya*), and another is exoteric (*Vyakta*)"⁸ These terms were for the first time invented and applied by *Nagarjuna*, the great teacher of *Mahayana*, with reference to the above.

But we should here bear in mind the fact that the meaning of these two terms have varied according as they were applied and confined to different schools, different countries, and different historical periods of the time. For example, the great teacher K'-i, sometimes also called K'-Ko-to-sh, the founder of the Thien-thai school in China in 597 A.D. He died in his sixty-seventh year) has applied these terms for a classification of whole Buddhism, in a more radical sense than that of *Nagarjuna*. But since the *Mantrayana* school was introduced into Japan from China in 805-6 A.D., the terms were applied in a very limited sense exclusively to that school and its own classification of Buddha's doctrine. Hence these terms became in course of time more and more complicated and at the same time, it began to bear a more and more limited sense than that of *Nagarjuna* and even of K'-i.

The *Mantrayana* school in Japan is mainly divided into two different schools: the first was established by the teacher *Ku-kai* who is better known by his posthumous little *Ko-bo-dai-shi*, and another school was established by the teacher *Ji-kaku-dai-shi*.⁹ Both these teachers applied the same terms differently. The former applied the terms in a narrow sectarian sense, that is to say, according to the teacher *Ku-kai*, the whole of Buddhism, either *Mahayana* or *Hinayana*, either Developed or Original Buddhism, as preached by the historical Buddha, belongs to the '*Vyakta-upadesa*'. While according to him:

1. An inconceivable number of thousands of kotis of aeons, never to be measured, is it since I reached superior (or first) enlightenment and never ceased to teach the law.
2. I roused many Bodhisattva and established them in Buddha-knowledge. I brought myriads of kotis of beings endless, to full ripeness in many kotis of aeons.
3. I show the place of extinction, I reveal to (all) beings a device to educate them, able it I do not become extinct at the time, and in this very place continue preaching the law."¹⁰

From a perusal of what is stated above we are surprised at the striking tone of identification between the *Mahasanghika* school and *Mahayanism* regarding the conception of Buddhology. The so-called three-kaya doctrine of *Nagarjuna*, *Maitreyanatha*, *Asainga*, *Vasubandhu* and *Asvaghosa* II is mainly based upon the *Avatamsaka-sutras* and said chapter of *Saddharmapundarika-sutra*.

Here, one thing we should bear in mind that among the *Mahayana sutras*, specially *Avatamsaka sutras* and said chapter of *Saddharmapundarika-sutra* were the only statements in which Buddha's Introspectional perception regarding his 'own personality' as well as 'human life' are fully expressed. That is to say, there Buddha has explained his perception on the reality of human life (or the solution of the question 'What is man?') through his own Buddha-like personality which has no beginning, no end. To sum up: the doctrines of the *Mahasanghika* schools regarding the cosmic existence and Buddhology have been identified with that of *Mahayanism* on the same conceptions. In other words, the doctrine of the *Mahasanghikas* on the cosmic existence has been identified with that of the *Prajnaparamita-sutras* and the *payakausalya-parivarta* of the *Saddharmapundarika-sutra*. And at the same time, the doctrine of the *Mahasanghikas* on the Buddha-kaya has been identified with that of *Avatamsakasutra* and the *Tathagatay usapramana-parivarta* of the *Saddharmapundarika-sutra*.

Thus, from the internal investigation, it has been clearly shown that both the *Mahasanghika* doctrines and the doctrines of *Mahayanism* are identical. It can also be proved that *Mahayana*

Buddhism is nothing but simply a developed form of the *Mahasanghika* doctrines. From my point of view, the *Mahayana* doctrines which have been manifested in *Mahayana sutra* form, have been coined by the men of the *Mahasanghika* school. Because, those *Mahayana sutras* are, it can be said, the records of Buddha's Introspectional perceptions. However, such perception could not assume form except through human agency, viz., advanced disciples or men like those of the *Mahasanghika* schools. Here a flood of light is thrown on the most important question. '*The origin of Mahayana Buddhism*,' because we have already seen that, from historical point of view, *mahayana* Buddhism originated in the *Mahasanghika* doctrines, but from the doctrinal point of view, *Mahayana* doctrine originated in the Buddha's perceptions. The relation between the idea of Buddha's Introspectional perception and the doctrine of *Mahayana sutras* regarding the cosmic existence.

Now let us see what relation can be found between the idea of Buddha's Ontological perception and the doctrines of *Mahayana sutras* regarding the cosmic existence, in order to make clear the point, that the doctrines of *Mahayana sutras* are nothing but only manifestation of Buddha's Introspectional perception regarding Ontology. And at the same time we shall understand also that the *Mahayana* doctrines, as ideas, existed originally in Buddha's Introspectional perceptions since the time of his Enlightenment.

The moment when Buddha attained the Enlightenment he obtained absolute truth. That very moment he understood also the external aspect of the world-the condition of this External world or '*Samsara*'-as well as the real condition of Internal world or real state of the world. From that very moment, the man *Siddhartha*, the son of *Suddhodana*, became the Buddha. He was no more an ordinary man but the 'Jina of all' (*Sabbabibhu*), the 'Knower of all' (*Sabbavidu*).¹¹ He was no more the son of *Suddhodana* but the father of the whole world.¹²

The absolute truth which he obtained, was the truth of the 'cosmic existence.' Because, without the cosmic existence no truth can exist. Of it there are naturally two aspects; one is the truth on the 'external,' another is 'internal.' So, there must be two aspects also in that absolute truth itself: One is the 'truth on the external world,' another is the 'truth on the internal world.' As soon as Buddha obtained that absolute truth, two kinds of perceptions on the two aspects of the said truth dawned upon him-the one the 'external aspect' according to me is Buddha's Phenomenological perception, while the other the 'internal aspect' is Buddha's Ontological perception.

But as a matter of fact, the time and the social circumstances in India at that time, allowed him to preach the doctrine only by his Phenomenological perception. Therefore, as I have already stated, he hesitated to reveal his Ontological perception to the mass. We know this also, that his Phenomenology had been preached in his lifetime through 'Four noble truths' and among them he has dealt chiefly and minutely with 'Suffering' (*dukkha*) and 'Its-cause' (*dukkha-samudaya*). Again, in order to make clear the former, he laid special stress upon what we call Threefold-doctrine, namely: 'All is impermanent' (*sarvam-anityani*), 'All is suffering' (*sarvam-dukkham*), and 'All is without ego' (*sarvam-anatmam*). And as regards the latter he dwelt upon what is called "Twelve-linked chain of causation (*dvadasa-pratitya-samutpada*). The path leading to its extinction (*Dukkha-nirodha-marga*) has also been pointed out by the enumeration of the 'Eightfold noble path' but he did not try to explain 'Its suppression' (*dukkha-nirodha*) or in other word '*Nirvana*' fully and well.

Because, though it bears a negative sense, yet it suggests an Ontological idea. And if he tried to deal minutely with this point, just is the same way as he did with the other three points, he would have to explain fully his Introspectional perception on Ontology which, however, was not favorable to the time and social condition then existing. This is the reason, I think, why his explanation on the 'Nirvana' was very scanty. In a word, Buddha, in his lifetime, has only shown to people the 'way to salvation' but not the real stage of salvation itself which he realized through his Introspectional perception. Of course, as a matter of fact, this 'way to salvation' is the most important master from religious standpoint, Because, without this, men can never realize themselves. And again, without such realization, they cannot obtain true perception and real salvation.

This is very reason why Buddha's movement regarded as the most important one and the most excellent religious revolution India has ever seen. From my point of view, Buddha's movement gave a new life and new light to India's religious thought. Therefore, it is not wrong to hold that his movement was the real centre in the history of India's religious and philosophical thought. However, from the point of Buddha's Introspectional perception, this Phenomenological doctrine was only a means or expedient doctrine (*upaya-dharma*) but not the reality itself. Here, a difficult question may arise: if Buddha's original teachings or doctrines mainly dealt with the Phenomenological perception, how then can we understand his Introspectional and Ontological doctrine upon the cosmic existence, etc. Of course, there is no positive and external statements regarding this point except a ratiocination. Therefore, if cosmic existences from the point of view of Buddha's Phenomenological perception, are 'Impermanent', and 'Suffering,' and 'Without ego,' then from the Ontological point of view which is quite opposite of the former, they should be 'Permanent' 'Happy,' and 'With a great ego,' -indicated throughout the *Mahayana-mahaparinirvana-sutra*.¹³ And the following statement of *Saddharma-pundarika-sutra* is the exact indication of Buddha's Ontological perception on cosmic existence:

"They shall reveal the stability of the Dharma, its being subjected to fixed rules, its unshakeable perpetuity in the world."¹⁵

In the Original form of Buddhism, there is no positive statement on such Ontological idea on cosmic existence as I have told before. However, we find reference to such ideas in negative sense scattered throughout the *Pali Nikayas* which are regarded as embodying statements much akin to the Original Buddhism. In the *Samyutta-Nikaya* it has been stated:

"*Yattha kho avuso na jayati na miyati na cavati na uppajjati, naham tam gamanema lokassa antam nateyyam dattheyyam patteyyan-ti vadamiti.*"¹⁶

"Where, friend, one does not get born, nor grow old, nor die, nor leave one sphere for another, nor get reborn:-that end of the world, I say, thou art not able by walking to come to know, nor to see, nor to see, nor to arrive at."¹⁷

In the *Anguttara-Nikaya* also we find the same statement as above.¹⁸ Again, in the *Samyutta-Nikaya*:

"*Yattha apo ca pathavi tejo vayo na gadhati, to sara nivattanti, ettha vattam na vattati, ettha namanca rupanca, asesam uparujjhati.*"¹⁹

"Where the four elements that cleave, and stretch, and burn, and move no further footing find. Hence ebb the flooding tides; here whirls no more. The whirlpool; here to utter ending comes. This compound thing of body and of mind."²⁰

Again, in the Udana:

*"Atthi bhikkhave tad ayatanam, yattha n'eva tpathavi na apo na tejo na vayo na akasanancayatana n'ayam loko na paraloko ubho candimasuriya, tad aham bhikkhave n'eva agatim vadami na gatim na thitim na cutim na upapattim, appatittham appavattam anarammanam eva tam, es'ev' anto dukkhassa'ti."*²¹

"There is, O monks, a sphere where there is neither earth, nor water, nor heat, nor air, nor the endless atmosphere neither this world, nor another world none of the sun and the moon; therefore, O monks, do I say that it is neither coming nor going, nor staying, nor sleeping, nor arising, but that it is unstable, unchanging, without any support. This, verily, is the end of suffering."²²

Again, in the same Udana:

*"Yattha apo ca pathavi vayo na gadhati, na tattha sukka jotanti, adicco nappakasati, na tattha candima bhati, tamo tattha na vijjati, yadaca attanavedi muni monena brahmauo, atha rupa arupa ca sukha dukkha pamuccatiti."*²²

"Where water, earth, heat or air enters not, the stars do not gleam there, nor does the sun shine, nor the moon and darkness exists not. When the Brahmana becomes a sage by silent meditation and realizes his own self, he becomes quit of form and formlessness, of happiness and suffering."

Again, in the Digha-Nikaya:

*"Vinnananan anidassanam anantam sabhatopaham,
Ettha apo ca pathavi tojo vayo na gadhati.
Ettha dighanca rassanca anum thulam subhasubham,
Ettha namanca rupanca asesam uparujjhati,
Vinnanassa nirodhen etth' etam uparujjhatiti."*²⁴

The intellect of Arahatsip, the invisible, the endless accessible from every side:

'There is it that earth, water, fire and wind,
And long and short, and fine and coarse,
Pure and impure, no footing find
Die out, leaving no trace behind.
When intellection ceases they all also cease.'²⁵

Therefore, the sense of 'Nirvana' in the Original form of Buddhism is 'in composite' (*asankhata*), 'unweakened' (*ajajjara*), 'stable' (*dhuva*), 'eternal' (*namata*). So, it should be "peaceful" (*khema*) as well as 'calm' (*santa*); then it must be 'final' (*parayana*) and 'true' (*sacca*).²⁶ So, we should not think that 'Nirvana' is extinction of something, but eternal reality of cosmic existence, which is really difficult for human language to express in the positive sense. Moreover, in the Phenomenological doctrine of Buddha (original form of Buddhism), it was not his aim to deal with the positive aspect of *Nirvana* from the negative point of view.

So it is said in the *Udana*:

"No ce tam bhikkhave abhaviṣṣa *ajataṃ abhutaṃ akataṃ asankhataṃ nayidha jataṣṣa bhutaṣṣa kataṣṣa sankhataṣṣa nissaranam pannayetha?*"²⁷

"If, O monks, that were not unborn, non-existent, not made, not compounded, would not the dissolution of the existent, the made, the compounded be comprehensible?"²⁸

Again, in the *Kathavatthu*:

"*Sabba-dhammanam tathata asankhata, nibbanam tanam, lenam, saranam, parayanam, accutam, amatam nibbanam, asankhataṃ.*"²⁹

"*Nibbana* is the deliverance, the safety, the refuge the highest path, the stability, the eternal cessation, the unfathomable."

So, it can, unmistakably, be held that the sense of '*Nirvana*' is consistent with the negative aspect of Buddha's Ontological perception. Here we should bear in mind one thing which is of vital importance in understanding Buddha's doctrines as well as Developed form of Buddhism- that whenever Ontological ideas are expressed in the negative way it is always done by the denial of all phenomenological existence; the case of '*Nirvana*' here is also the same. Such expression is found not only in the Buddhism but also in Vedantism, wherein '*Nirguna Brahmana*' has been expressed always in the negative by the term '*neti neti neti.*' Thus the Ontological-aspect in the Original form of Buddhism is found always in the state of denying or annihilating phenomenological existence.. So it is said in the *Suttanta*:

"*Ye te suttanta Tathagata bhasita gambhirarattha lokuttara sunnattapatismyutta, tesu bhannamanesuna sussissanti, na sotam odahissanti, na annaeittam upatthapessanti, na sotam odahissanti, na annaeittam upatthapessanti, ha ca te dhammam uggahetabbam pariyapunitabbam mannissanti.*"³⁰

"Those suttantas uttered by the Tathagata, deep, deep in meaning, not of the world, dealing with the void, to these when uttered, they will not listen, they will not lend a ready ear, they will not bring to them an understanding heart, they will not deem those doctrines that which should be learnt by heart, that which should be mastered."³¹

So, it is not strange that in the time of Buddha, *Nigrodha paribbajaka* used to designate Buddha's doctrine by the term '*Sunnagara-hata-pnna*' or the perception in the wisdom of emptiness.³²

Now we find that in the *Prajnaparanita-sutras*, such negative aspect of Buddha's Ontological perception is clearly expressed. The idea of '*Sanskrit-sunyata*,' '*Asanskrita-sunyata*' and '*Atyanta-Sunyata*,' embodied therein, is nothing but concrete explanation of Buddha's Ontological perception in the negative. This point has been clearly pointed out in the *Madhyamika-sastra* by *Nagarjuna* who was the systemizer of the *Sutra* thus:

"The real state of dharma is like *Nirvana*, indescribable, incomprehensible without birth or death, it is beyond the reach of thought or language for it is absolute."

The *Prajnaparamita-sutras* themselves, as we know, deal with Buddha's Ontological perception. This can be understood even from the meaning of the term '*Prajnaparamita*.' Etymologically, '*Prajnaparamita*' means the highest or the absolute wisdom of Buddha (which

he obtained under the Bodhi-tree). Of course Buddha's perception has bearing on two aspects-negative and positive- as has been referred to, many times, in the previous discussion. The 'Sunyata' idea of the *Prajnaparamita* is its negative aspect while the 'Dharma tathata' idea of it is the positive one. However, the main treatment of the *Prajnaparamita-sutras* was concerned with the exposition of the negative aspect of Buddha's Ontological perception. And the *Madhyamika* doctrine of *Nagarjuna* is the systematized doctrine of this negative idea.

Now, it is clear enough from the above statements, that Buddha's Ontological perception on the cosmic existence can be identified with the *Mahayana* doctrine or the Developed form of Buddhism in the negative aspect. Nay, we venture to go a step further and say that both the said ideas are not only identical but originally they were one and the same in the Buddha's perception.

Our next enquiry, then, is to find out the relation between Buddha's Ontological perception and the doctrine of the *Mahayana sutras* so far as their positive aspect is concerned. As we know from the above discussion, in the Original form of Buddhism, speaking generally, Buddha expressed his Ontological ideas in the negative. But occasionally, we came cross even certain positive aspect of his Ontological idea in the *Pali Nikayas*. For example, in the *Samyutta Nikaya*:

Ekayano ayam maggo sattanam visuddhiya, sokaparidevanam samatikkamaya dukkhadomanassanam atthangamaya nayassndhigamaya nibbanassa sacchikiriyaya...³⁴

"There is the one way to this path which exists for the purification of beings, for the overcoming of grief and lamentation, for doing away with sorrow and dejection, for the attainment of the knowable and the realization of *Nibbana*."³⁵

Again, in the same *Nikaya*:

"Jatipaccaya bhikk have jaramaranam, uppadava Tathagatanam anuppada va Tathagatanam, thita va sa dhatu dhammatthitata dhammaniyamata idapaccayata, tam Tathagato abhisambujjhati, abhisaneti, abhisambujjhita abhisametva acikkhati, deseti pannapeti, patthapeti vivarati vibhajati uttauikaroti passatati caha."³⁶

"Conditioned by rebirth is decay and death.... whether, Brethren, there be an arising of *Tathagatas*, or whether there be no such arising, in each this nature of things just stands, casual status, this casual that the orderliness, the relatedness of this to that. Concerning that the *Tathagata* is fully Enlightened, fully understanding he declares it, teaches it, reveals it, sets it forth, manifests, explains, makes it plain, saying; Buddha! Conditioned by this, that comes to be".³⁷

This iden is exactly the same with that of 'Dharmatathata' as expressed throughout the *Prajnaparamitasutras*, which reveals the expression of the positive aspect of the doctrine. We find, moreover, in one of the same *sutras* the following passage:

"Every existence (*sarva-dharma*) is 'all *sunyata*'. Therefore, there is nothing to recognize (*asamjna*), nothing to entreat (*apramahitam*), nothing to produce (*anuppado*), nothing to decay (*anirrodha*). Therefore, all existence is originally calm (*svabhava-nirvana*). Whether the Buddha come to this world or not, such a character of all existences (*Dharma-laksana*) is permanent".³⁸

At the very sight of the above passage, we can understand how exactly the idea expressed in it corresponds to that of the above quoted *Nikaya* passages? However, the positive idea of the Ontological perception has been fully manifested in the *Saddharmapundarikasutra*. So the *Upayakausalya-parivarta* of the same *sutra* states:

"The stability of the Dharma, its being subjected to fixed rule, its unshakable perpetuity in the world".⁴⁰

The idea expressed here is exactly the same as that of *Samyutta-Nikaya* and the *Prajnaparamita* passages, quoted above. But more complete expression of it is found in the *Tathagatayuspramana-parivarta* in the *Saddharmapundarika-sutra*:

"When creatures behold this world and imagine that it is burning, even then my Buddha-field is teeming with gods and men.

They dispose of manifold amusements, kotis of pleasure gardens, places, and aerial cars; (This field) is embellished by hills of gems and by trees abounding with blossoms and fruits.

And aloft gods are striking musical instruments and pouring a rain of *mandaras* by which they are covering me, the disciples and other sages who are striving after enlightenment. So in my field here, everlasting; but others fancy that it is burning."⁴²

In the *Mahayana Mahaparinirvana-sutras* which are regarded as belonging to a later composition in consideration of the *Saddharmapundarika-sutra* and *Prajnaparamita-sutras*, this positive Ontological perception of Buddha assumes concrete form in the terms '*Nitya*' or permanent, '*sukha*' or happy and '*Atma*' or Ego, as opposed to the terms '*Anitya*' '*Duhkha*' and '*Anatma*' of the Original form of Buddhism. Thus, the Buddha's Ontological perception on cosmic existence has been proved clearly to bear a close identity with the doctrine of *Mahayana sutras* so far as positive sense is concerned.

The Relation between the Buddha's Ontological Perception Upon His Own Personality and Mahayana Buddhology

The Buddha's ontological perception on the cosmic existence and its relation and its relation with the doctrine of *Mahayanasutras* have been discussed above. Our duty now will be to see what relation can be found between Buddha's Ontological perception on his 'own personality' and *Mahayana* 'Buddhology'. Before proceeding with the discussion, we should bear in mind, that from the Buddha's standpoint, there is no Buddhology. For, so-called Buddhology pertains to Buddha's personality itself. And his perception on his own personality turned but later on to be 'Buddhology' among his disciples.

As we know from the scriptures, the culminating moment of his meditation is the moment of the solution of questions regarding the truth of reality and at then same time the moment of the attainment of the said truth is the moment of Buddha's Enlightenment. At that very moment he obtained not only ontological perception upon cosmic existence, but at the same time he understood the real characteristic of his own personality. Thereupon, the man *Siddhartha*, the son of *Suddhodana* discovered himself no more as such, but as father of all no more as such ordinary human being but the '*Jina* of all, (*sabbabbibhu*), the '*Knower* of all' (*sabbavidu*). So it is said in the *Suttanta*:

"Sabbabhibhu sabbavidu ham asmi.
 Sabbesu dhammesu anupalitto.
 Sabbanjaho tanhakkhaye vimutte.
 Sayamabhinna kam uddiseyyam."⁴³

"I am the all-conqueror, the all-knower, I am free from all conditions, I have left all, and am emancipated through the destruction of desire. Having attained to supreme wisdom by my own self, whom shall I point out (as my teacher)."

This is because, at that very moment he himself found the truth, so it is said in the *Nikaya*:

"Dhammam hi so bhikkhu passati.
 Dhammam passento mam passati."⁴⁴

"One who understands the dhamma, also understands me and one who understands me, also understands dhamma."

The said absolute truth is eternal. Therefore, from the above quotation it is clear that as soon as Buddha discovered himself harmonized with Dharma or absolute truth, that very moment, through his Introspectional perception he realized for the first time, his own personality also to be eternal, having no beginning and no end (*anadi-ananta*). Over and above that perception he also, at that very moment, penetrated into the truth that he was originally possessed of Buddhahood. The idea of the oneness of both Buddha and Dharma is the basis of the conception of '*Dharma-kaya Buddha*' and the historical Buddha, thereby, becomes the '*Nirmana-kaya Buddha*' and finally these two combined together from what is called the '*Sambhoga-kaya Buddha*'.

Regarding the Buddhology of *Mahayanism* we have already entered into a discussion where the relation between the *Mahasanghika* and *Mahayana sutra* conception upon the *Buddha-Kaya* has been dealt with. So it is needless to restate it fully here again. However in order to make clear the point in issue a slight touch should be made. As we know, in the *Mahasanghika* Buddhology the '*Tri-kaya*' conception already existed in the bud and it began to bloom in the *Avatamsaka-sutras* and fully blossomed into flower in the *Tathagatayuspramanaparivarta* of *Saddarmapundarka-sutra*. So it has been said here:

"The *Tathagata* then, young men of good family, does what he has to do. The *Tathagata* who so long ago was perfectly Enlightened is unlimited in the duration of his life, he is everlasting. Without being extinct, the *Tathagata* makes a show of extinction, on behalf of those who have to be educated."⁴⁶

Thus, we arrive at a clear identification between the Buddha's perception on his own personality and *Mahayana* Buddhology. In the previous sections II and III, we have dealt with the relation subsisting between the Buddha's Ontological perception and the conception of *Mahasanghika* schools as well as that of *Mahayana sutras* regarding cosmic existence and Buddhology. And there we have also pointed out their agreement.

In this section, we shall have to discuss the conception of the "human life" as they exist in the Buddha's Ontological perception, doctrines of *Mahasanghika* school as well as that of *Mahayana sutras*. The conception of 'Human life' might have been explained in connection with the discussion of cosmic existence and Buddhology as noticed above. Because the 'human

life' is one of cosmic existences and conception of the same had already been revealed in the Buddha's Ontological perception through his personality as well as in *Mahayana* Buddhology.

However, I kept silence on this point in case of my previous discussions through fear of digressions. Therefore, I denote this special section in order to make the point clear. First of all, we should bear in mind that the conception of 'human life' is one of the most important problems in Buddhism. This is because every religion and philosophy owes their origin in the question of 'What is man'? Though there are many other ultimate questions as such -What is the world? What connection has the man with the world? Yet the question 'What is man?' is the most important one, for all other questions have a principal bearing upon it; because had there been no men on earth, why then other question would arise? So this question must be solved first, and with its solution, all other questions may be solved automatically. Therefore, it is no exaggeration to say that all the sages of India and other countries had been engaged in solving this question. Such was the case with Buddha also and his disciples. This is the reason why we attach much importance to this point. Moreover, the three problems regarding 'cosmic existence', 'Buddhology' and 'human life' are of vital importance among the early eighteen schools of Buddhism and those of *Mahayana* schools. And difference of opinions regarding these problems was the main cause of their separation.

Let us see, first, what was Buddha's Ontological perception on the 'human life'. As we know, at the moment of Buddha's Enlightenment, he himself discovered that he was no more an ordinary man but the Enlightened Buddha not only that, but at the same time he found his personality having no beginning, no end and even that he was originally Buddha. Such perception he obtained through the absolute truth. And again through this truth along with his Introspectional perception he also realized that all human lives too originally possessed Buddhahood. If all human beings had not the germ of Buddha-hood, then it would have been quite impossible for human Siddhartha to attain Buddha-hood and there would also have been no way by which men could attain that Buddha-hood. The idea is like that of potatoes which can never produce rice and of rice which can never become potato. So, it has been stated in the *Digha-Nikaya*:

" Buddhō so Bhagava bodhaya dhammam deseti,
 Danto " " damathaya " "
 Santo " " samathaya " "
 Tinno " " Taranaya " "
 Parinibbuto " parinibbanaya " "47

Enlightened is the Exalted One; he teaches the religion of Enlightenment. Self-mastered is the Exalted One; he teaches the religion of Self-mastery. Calm is the Enlightened One; he teaches the religion of Calm. Saved is the Enlightened One; he teaches the religion of Salvation. At peace is the Enlightened One; he teaches the religion of Peace.

If human beings had not possessed the germ of the Enlightenment, then what was the necessity of Buddha to preach Enlightenment for them. Therefore, from the above statement, it can be held beyond doubt that the conception on the 'human life' in the Buddha's Ontological perception was that of human beings possessing originally Buddha-hood. More concrete form of the same idea can be found in the *Samyutta-Nikaya*:

"Yec' *abbhatita sambuddha ye ca Buddha anagata, oy c' etarahi sambuddho bahunnam sokanasano.*

*Sabbe saddhammagaruno vihamso viharanti ca.
Atha pi viharissanti, esa Buddhana dhammata".*⁴⁸

"Those perfectly Awakened Ones that are past, the Enlightened Ones that have not been, and he that has become perfectly Awakened now, the dispeller of the misery of the many, all these preceptors of the Good Law existed, do exist and will exist- this is the nature of the Buddhas."⁴⁹

This statement indicates clearly that through the absolute truth, some realized their Buddhahood in the past, some realize it in the present, while others will realize it in future, thus showing that they were originally possessed of the germ of Buddha-hood. From the standpoint of the absolute truth, every one can be Buddha. Next, let us see what is the conception of the *Mahasanghika* school on the 'human life'. In the *Nikayabheda-dharmamati-chakra-sastra* (or *I-pu-tsum-lun-lun*) by Vasumitra.⁵⁰ It is stated:

"The nature of mind (of being) originally was pure (*vimala*), but it has been encumbered by suffering which did not exist originally, therefore, the mind became impure."⁵¹

This statement shows clearly that the original *Mahasanghikas*, the *Ekavyavaharika*, the *Lokottaravada* and the *Kaukkautika* schools held that all individual beings originally were possessed of 'pure mind.' The 'pure mind' here signifies what is called '*Buddha-sabbava*' of the *Mahayana* Buddhism; that is to say all human lives originally possessed the 'nature of Buddha.' This idea is clearly expressed in the *Mahayanaavatamsaka-sutra* where it is said: "The mind (universal mind), Buddha and human life are one and the same."⁵²

Therefore, this *Mahasanghika* conception, more or less, indicates Buddha's Ontological perception on the 'human life': and speaking generally, the conception of *Mahasanghika* can be identified with that of Buddha's perception regarding the problem at hand.

Lastly, let us see what is the conception of *Mahayana sutra* on the same point. Regarding this, the *Mahayana sutras*, the *Avatamsaka* and *Saddharmapundarika-sutras*, are specially important. The very statement "the mind (universal mind) Buddha and the human life are one and the same," "Buddha and the human life are one and the same," is the very expression of *Avatamsaka-sutra* on the idea. Again, throughout the same *Sutras*, we find such conception that all human lives unite with '*Dharma-kaya*,' that is to say, human lives exist within the '*Dharma-kaya*- Buddha,' therefore, it is not wrong to hold that in these *Sutras* Buddha's Ontological perception on human lives has been manifested more clearly than the doctrines of *Mahasanghika* schools. But concrete form of this conception can be found only in *Saddharmapundarikasutra*. It has been said there:

"This, O *Sariputra*, is the sole object, the sole aim, the sole purpose of his appearance in the world. Such then, *Sariputra*, is the sole object, the sole aim, the lofty object, the lofty aim of the *Tathagata*. And it is achieved by the *Tathagata*. And it is achieved by the *Tathagata*. For, *Sariputra*, I do show all creatures the sight of *Tathagata-knowledge*; I do open the eyes of creatures for the sight of *Tathagata-knowledge*, *Sariputra*; I do firmly establish the teaching of *Tathagata-knowledge* on the right part,"⁵³

In the above statement, the conception of *Mahayana* Buddhism on the 'human life' reached its highest zenith and here again Buddha's Ontological perception on the same point has been fully revealed. If all human lives had not possessed 'the nature of Buddha' as well as 'Buddha-hood' originally, then how could the Buddha, as stated in the *Sutra*, show, open, establish, and lead to the 'Buddha-knowledge.' Through the expression of this statement we therefore, come to know definitely that all human lives originally possessed 'Buddha's nature' as well as the germ of 'Buddha-hood.' Thus, Buddha's conception, the conception of *Mahasanghika* school and the conception of *Mahayana* sutras on the 'human life' has been shown to be nearly related.

The Mahayana

In the oldest *Mahayana* Sutras, such as the *Saddharmapundarika-sutra*, some portion of the *Prajnaparamita-sutra* and some portion of *Avatamsaka-sutras*, we come across the terms '*Ekayana*,' '*bodhisattvayana*' and '*Buddhayana*,' more frequently than the term '*Mahayana*' which is used not in the sense of comparison. While in the later *Mahayana* Sutras, the term *Mahayana* occurs more frequently than those terms and there this term has been used in the sense of comparison. From such application, it appears to me that the term '*Mahayana*' came into being in its current sense at a much later time. For, as I have already discussed, when the *Mahasanghikas* found that the term '*Ekayana*' was common to both the *Sthaviras* and the *Mahasanghikas* and Ontological perception (which the *Mahasanghikas* wanted to manifest) and at the same time Buddha's Phenomenological doctrine (which the *Sthaviras* loyally adhered to), they began to search for another suitable term to serve their purpose and as a result '*Bodhisattvayana*' and '*Buddhayana*' were coined. Again after some time they came to know that it indicated Buddha's Introspectional and Ontological perception on his 'own personality' as well as 'human life.'

But this is only one aspect of his perception and not the entirety of it. If Buddha's full Introspectional and Ontological perceptions are to be expressed by a single term, it should be necessary to find out such a term as can indicate both the aspects of Buddha's perception on the 'cosmic existence' as well as on 'human life.' Thus again the *Mahasanghikas* began to seek for a suitable term and at last they coined the term '*Mahayana*' to be applied to themselves and the term '*Hinayana*' for their opponents with a view to indicate of fact. It seems that these terms fulfilled their intentions for both purposes that is to say, the term, on the one hand, fairly distinguished them so far as doctrine and religions practices were concerned, while, on the other hand, the term '*Mahayana*' exactly indicated the sense of both the term '*Ekayana*' and *Buddhayana*.' For example, in the *prajnaparamita-sutra*, it has been said:

"For the men of *Mahayana*, the supreme way has been shown."⁵⁴

Again, in the same *Sutra*:

"Six-paramitas are the *Mahayana* of the *Bodhisattva*."⁵⁵

Again, in the *Saddharmapundarika-sutra*:

"In like manner, *Kasyapa*, is there but one vehicle, viz., *Mahayana*:⁵⁶ there is no second vehicle, no third."⁵⁷

Again, in the *Avatamsaka-sutra*:

"Desire, O monks, all people in the *Mahayana* can accomplish '*Sarvajana-marga*' without any hindrance and also desire, O monks, all people can arrive at the region of bliss by that *Sarvajana-yana*."⁵⁸

Again, in the *Samadhiraja-sutra*:

"With the object of attaining a Buddha's knowledge, I adore the *Mahayana* (great vehicle), which is neither destroyed nor made, which is devoid of stains and which cannot be described by words, I repeatedly bow down to the *Mahayana*, which is devoid of any contingency, non-conditioned, uncreated, and revered by the Buddhists."⁵⁹

Again, in the *Amitayurdhyana-sutra* it has been said:

"O my son in the law, thou hast practised the *Mahayana* doctrine; thou hast understood and believed the highest truth; therefore I now come to meet and welcome thee."

The above quotations show clearly that the term '*Mahayana*' has been applied in the sense of '*Ekayana*,' that is to say, it indicates Buddha's Ontological doctrine. On the other hand, it expresses other sense also, for example, in the *prajnaparamita-sutra*:

"The Bodhisattvas put on the armour of *Mahayana*, ornamented themselves with *Mahayana* and lived in the *Mahayana*."⁶¹

Again, in the same *Sutra*:

"The *Bodhisattvayana* is the *Mahayana*."⁶² Such statements are met with several times in the same *Sutras* as well as *Avatamsaka-sutras*.⁶³

Again, in the *Prajnaparamita-sutra*:

"Those who are learning *Mahayana*, though possessing human eye, yet are said to be endowed with the eye of Buddha. Since the '*Mahayana*' has been called '*Buddhayana*.'"⁶⁴

The above quotation clearly shows that the term '*Mahayana*' has been sometimes used to signify the term '*Buddhayana*,' that is to say, it sometimes expresses Buddha's Ontological perception on his own personality' as well as on 'human life.' Our next important discussion is to see how the *Mahasanghikas* found out the term '*Mahayana*.'

As we already discussed that when the Buddha obtained the absolute wisdom he realized himself as Buddha having no beginning and no end. At the same time, he, through his perception, could realize that all human beings possessed equal personality. The *Mahasanghikas* easily realized this deepest and highest perception and manifested it in their doctrines, and at the same time established: "All human beings possess Bodhisattvahood or Buddhahood." Here, the very word 'All' is the most important one regarding the origination of the term '*Mahayana*.' The term '*Mahayana*' means the 'Great Vehicle.' Then what does the word 'Great' signify here? It is the 'Vehicle' which can carry all human beings, and has, therefore, been called Great. The word All, again, has sometimes been expressed in the *Mahayana Sutras*, by the term '*Asamkhyā*' or numberless.

According to the Original form of Buddhism or *Hinayana*, the cultured men only attained the Arhatship and *Pratyeka-Buddhahood*, but not all human being, while on the contrary,

according to Developed or *Mahayana* Buddhism, all human beings or numberless beings can equally attain Buddhahood. In other words, through the 'doctrine' or *yana*, 'all' or 'numberless,' human beings will understand that they possess the germ of 'Buddha-hood.' And at the same time by the same, 'all' or numberless human beings can realize their Buddhahood. Hence Buddha's Introspectional and Ontological doctrine or Developed Buddhism has been termed as '*Mahayana*' or 'great vehicle.' This idea is clearly expressed in the *Astasahasrikaprajnaparamitasutra*:

"After this had been said the long-lived *Subhuti* spoke thus to the Lord: O Lord! O Lord! *Mahayana* is called the *Maha-yana* (great vehicle). It is called *Mahayana* because it will lead gods men and demons, being as spacious as the sky. Just as the sky may be a receptacle for immeasurable and innumerable objects, so also, O Lord, this vehicle (*Yana*) is a receptacle for immense and innumerable sentient beings (*sattvas*). In this speech, O Lord, the *Mahayana* is to be understood to be a receptacle for the Bodhisattvas alone. It is not seen whence it comes, whether it goes, and where it stops, Thus O Lord, neither the beginning, nor end, nor middle of the *Mahayana* is perceptible. This vehicle (*Yana*), O Lord, is of equal dimensions throughout. It is for these reasons that the *Mahayana* called *Mahayana* (Great vehicle).⁶⁵

Exactly the same statement is found in the *Dasasahasrika-prajnaparamita-sutra* in Chinese translation.⁶⁶

Thus, at last *Mahasanghikas* joined the term '*Mahayana*' for themselves in order to show their doctrinal superiority, and at the same time they found out, in the same process, the term '*Hinayana*' for their opponents to indicate their inferiority. Hence the terms '*Mahayana*' and '*Hinayana*' came into use.

Our next question is as to when these terms came into being? As we discussed above, the term '*Ekayana*' came to be used, at first, after the separation of the '*Mahasanghikas*' from the *Sthaviras*. The next term '*Bodhisattvayana*' or '*Buddhayana*' was found out about the time when the first separation took place in the *Mahasanghika* school within two hundred years after Buddha's *Parinirvana*.

According to me, the term '*Mahayana*' was coined just after '*Buddhayana*' or '*Bodhisattvayana*' came to be used. But we should bear in mind that the indication of the term '*Mahayana*' at that time was different from that of its later use. That is to say, at first it was used in the place of the term '*Ekayana*' as well as the term '*Buddhayana*' and thus we find, for example, in the *Saddharma-pundarika-sutra* stated:

"In like manner, *Kasyapa*, is there but one vehicle, viz., *Mahayana*: there is no second vehicle, and no third."⁶⁷

Here the term '*Mahayana*' is used in the place of *Ekayana*. In the same *Sutra*:

"These ones may be said to be those who, coveting the vehicle, fly from the triple world. Therefore, they are called Bodhisattvas, *Mahasattvas*."⁶⁷

Here the term *Mahayana* is used in the place *Bodhisattvayana*. Again, in the same *Sutra*:

"The *Tathagata*, the Arhat,...considering that he possesses great wealth of knowledge, power, and absence of hesitation, and that all beings are his children, leads them by no other vehicle than the Buddha-vehicle to full development."⁶⁹

Here, the term *Buddhaya* means *Mahayana*, the above quotations show clearly that the term '*Mahayana*' did not signify any comparison. However, in the later *Mahayana Sūtras*, the term *Mahayana* has been used in comparison with the term *Hinayana*. For example ubtge *Suvikrantavikrami-paripriccha* of the *Prajnaparamita-sutra* which is regarded to be a much later work, it is said:

"It indicates the supreme way for the men of '*Mahayana*' and does not preach the way of the *Sravakas* as well as *Pratyeka Buddhas*."

It indicates the way of the *Sravakas* so far as the men who are practising the *Hinayana* are concerned and shows the great way to men who desire to conduct the *Mahayana*.⁷⁰ Again, in the *Avatamsaka-sutra*:

"Perpetually give up the *Hinayana* and desire earnestly the *Mahayana*."⁷¹

Again, in the *Mahayana Mahaparinirvana-sutra*:

"Desire all people to light the light of *Mahayana* and put down the light of *Hinayana*."⁷²

Such comparison of the terms '*Mahayana*' and '*Hinayana*' was vigorously pushed forward at the time of *Nagarjuna* and later on.

To sum up, we have, after lengthy discussion, shown clearly a close relation among the Buddha's Ontological perception and the doctrines of *Mahasaughika* school as well as that of *Mahayana sutras* on the three points (i.e., on cosmic existence, Buddhology, and human life). And at the same time we have found out their doctrinal identification also. That is to say, Buddha's Introspectional and Ontological preception on the said three points, showing a close relation with the conception of *Mahasanghika* school and the doctrine of *Mahayana sutras* on the same points.

We can now arrive at a conclusion by holding that Buddha's Introspectional and Ontological perception transformed into the form of *Mahayana sutras* and it manifested in the *Mahayana* doctrines by the men of *Mahasanghika* school and their lineage. And at the same time we understand this also that such *Mahayana sutras* as existed before the time of *Nagarjuna* were compiled by *Mahasanghikas*. Hence it will not be going far away from historical truth to hold that, man of *Mahasanghika* schools were '*forefather of the Mahayanist*.'

At the end of this section, I would like to remind you one important feature in the *Mahayana sutras*. Among the many *Mahayana sutras*, *Prajnaparamita*, *Avatamsaka* and *Saddharmapundarika* and the like are the most important as well as representative in character. Among them *Prajnaparamita-sutras* mainly reveal Buddha's Introspectional and Ontological perception on the cosmic existence, while *Avatamsaka-sutras* mainly dwell upon Buddha's Introspectional and Ontological perception upon Buddha's own personality as well as human life. And lastly, both the conception of cosmic existences and Buddha's own personality as well as human lives has been again manifested fully and in concrete form, in the *Saddharmapundarika-sutra*. This is the reason, I think, why this *Sutra* has been regarded as the heart of whole *Mahayana Sūtras* by the founders of various sects of the Buddhism in China and Japan from the ancient time.

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1. Students of Buddhims are apt to be mistaken if they think that the terms *Mahayana* and *Hinayana* can divide Northern Buddhism from Southern Buddhism. The so-called Southern Buddhism belongs to *Hinayana*; while Northern Buddhism to *Mahayana*. But from the right and critical point of view, Southern Buddhism belongs to *Hinayana* only; however, in Northern Buddhism both *Mahayana* and *Hinayana* are existing simultaneously. Therefore, we can by no means hold that Northern Buddhism is the exclusive products of *Mahayana*.
2. This period may be conceived as the flowering or formative period of *Mahayanahism* in the course of which it was gradually manifesting itself.
3. Sir Asutosh Mookerjee silver Jubilee Volume, IV.
4. Wang Bundie, Vol. 5, p. 69a of Chinese Tripitaka.
5. When similar Ontological aspects of doctrines are indicated then some time the term 'Satya' occur for the term 'Mahayana'. In such case the term 'Upaya Kausalya' has been used in the place of the term 'Hinayana' such example we do find in the *Amritartha sutra*. In Wang Bundle, Vol. I., p. 3a of Chinese Tripitaka and *Tharmapundarika sutra*, Part I., p. 29, Bibliotheca Buddhica edition.
6. These are my restoration because, up to this time, I could not find out proper terms in Sanakrit text. In Japanese, the former is called 'Ken-Kyo' and latter is called 'Mikkyo'.
7. The commentary of *Prajnaparamita sutra*.
8. *Prajnaparamiti sutra*, fascicul 64 and 65 of Wang Bundle, Vol. I, p. 29a and Vol. 4, p. 25b of Chinese Tripitaka.
9. Ku-kai has founded his Mantrayana school on the mountain of Koya. J uka-ku was a great expander of the doctrine of Ten-dai sect in Japan after the great teacher Den-gyo. Both have introduced the same Mantrayana Buddhism from China but their opinions differed from each other.
10. B.B.E., XXI., p. 307
11. Sabbabhibhu sabbavida, Hammsini, M. N Vol. I, pp. 171, 227 and A.N. IV, p. 23.
12. "Eko, mhi sainmasambaddho" M.N. Vol. I, p. 171; again, "This triple world is my domain and those who in it are suffering from burning heat are my sons." (S.B.E. XXI, p. 88).
13. Nanjio's catalogue, p. 136, No. 545 and p. 139, No. 652: Nanjio's catalogue, p. 30, No. 114 etc.).
14. *Saddharmapanarika sutra* Part I, p. 53.
15. S.B.E., Vol. XVI, p. 53.
16. S.N. Part I, p. 61 (S.N. 236).
17. The book of the Kindred Sayings by Mrs. Rhys Davids, part I, p. 85.
18. A.N., Part II, p. 48 (A.N. IV, 45).
19. S.N. Part, I, p. 15 (137).
20. The Book of the Kindred Sayings, Par I, p. 23.
This passage according to me, may be rendered thus: As water earth, fire and air have no firm footing, so do the tides ebb and flow (i.e., have no firm footing), etc.
21. Udana, VIII.1.
22. Translated by my collengue Mr. Sailendranath Mitra, M.A.
23. Udana, I, p. 9.
24. D.N. Vol. I., p. 233 (D.N. II, Kevaddha).
25. Dialogues of the Buddha by Rhys Davids, Part I, pp. 413-484.

26. S.N. Part IV, pp. 369-373 (Asankhatam).
27. Udana VIII, 3; and Iti-vuttaka, 43.
28. Translated by my colleagues, Mr. Sailendranath Mitra M.A.
29. Kathavatthu, Vol. II, p. 583.
30. S.N. Part II, p. 267.
31. The Book of the Kindred Sayings, II, p. 179.
32. D.N. Vol III, p. 38, Udumbarika Sihonada sntianta.
33. Madhyamika-sastra, chap XVIII, karika 7.
34. S.N., Part V, pp. 167, 185 and A.N. III, p. 314.
35. Translated by my colleagues, Mr. Sailendranath Mitra, M.A.
36. S.N., Part II, p. 25.
37. The Books of the Kindred Sayings, II, p. 21.
38. Chinese translation of *Mahaprajnaparamita sutra*, Hoang Bundle, Vol. X, p. 60 of Chinese Tripitaka.
39. Saddharmapundarika sutra, Part I, p. 53.
40. S.B.E. Vol XVI, p. 53.
41. Saddharmapundarika sutra, pp. 324-5.
42. S.B.E., Vol. XXI, pp. 308-9.
43. M.N. Vol. I., p. 176.
44. Itivuttaka, 92 (p. 91).
46. S.B.E., XVI, p. 302.
47. D.N. Vol 55 (udanabarika).
48. S.N. 56, 24 (Part V., p. 403). The same expression we find in the *Prajnaparamita-sutra*, p. 396 *Bibliotheca Indica* Edition.
49. Translated by my collengue Mr. Sailendranath Mitra, M.A.
50. He is Vasumitra II and contemporary of King Kanishka II (about 140 A.D.)
51. Toyo Daigaku Edition, Tokyo, p. 91.
52. Tien Bundle, Vol 7. p. 57B, of Chinese Tripitaka.
53. S.B.E., XXI, p. 40.
54. Yash Bundle., Vol. 8, p. 67b of Chinese Tripitaka.
55. Yuch Bundle, Vol. I p. 206.
56. There are six manuscripts in Sanskrit, three among them mentioned the word *Mahayana*, while others mentioned the word *Buddhayana* in the place of *Mahayana*.
57. See S.B.E. XXI, p. 129.
58. Tien Bundle, Vol. 2, p. 23a of Chinese Tripitaka.
60. Samadhiraja sutra, p. 1 (B.T.S Edition).
61. S.B.E Vol. XI. IX, Pt. 3, p. 190.
62. Yuch Bundle, Vol. 7, p. 4a.
63. Yuch Bundle Vol. I. p. 18a.

64. *Prajnaparamita-sutra*; Yuch Bundle, Vol.3, pp. 24b, 25a, 26b, and Avatasaka sutra, Vol. I., p. 18a, Tien Bundle, Vol 2, p. 21b, Vol. 9.6b.
64. La Bundle, Vol. 5p. 29a. of Chinese Tripitaka.
65. *Bibliotheca Indica Edition*, p. 24.
66. Yuch Bundle, Vol. S.P. II, of Chinese Tripitaka.
67. S.B.E Vol. XXI, p. 120.
68. S.B.E., Vol XXI, p. 80.
69. *Ibid.*, p. 81.
70. Yuch Bundle, Vol. 8, p. 67b, and the same expression can be found in the same Bundle and the same Vol. p. 68a of Chinese Tripitaka.
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72. In Bundle, Vol. 5, p. 77a of *Chinese Tripitaka*.

THERAVADA BUDDHISM

All the teachings of the Buddha can be summed up in one word: Dhamma. The Sanskrit form of the word is *Dharma*, but in the Pali Language, which the Buddha spoke and in which all the Buddhist scriptures were written, it is softened to Dhamma. It means truth, that which really is. It also means law, the law which exists in a man's own heart and mind. It is the principle of righteousness. Therefore the Buddha appeals to man to be noble, pure, and charitable not in order to please any Supreme Being, but in order to be true to the highest in himself. Dhamma, the law of righteousness exists not only in a man's heart and mind, it exists in the universe also. All the universe is an embodiment and revelation of Dhamma. When the moon rises and sets, the rains come, the crops grow, the seasons change, it is because of Dhamma, for Dhamma is the law residing in the universe which makes matter act in the ways revealed by the studies of modern science in physics, chemistry, zoology, botany, and astronomy. Dhamma is the true nature of every existing thing, animate and inanimate.

If a man will live by Dhamma, he will escape misery and come to Nibbana, the final release from all suffering. It is not by any kind of prayer, nor by any ceremonies, nor by any appeal to a deity or a God that a man will discover the Dhamma which will lead him to his goal. He will discover it in only one way-by developing his own character. This development comes only through control of the mind and purification of the emotions. Until a man stills the storm in his heart, until he extends his loving-kindness to all beings, he will not be able to take even the first step toward his goal.

The Scriptures

The Teachings of the Buddha were called Dhamma because they enable one to realize truth. The doctrinal aspect of the Buddha's teachings has been preserved in the Pali scriptures called Tipitaka, which means the Three Baskets of the Canon. In English translation, they would fill more than a dozen large volumes. The Three Baskets are known as the Basket of Discipline (*Vinaya Pitaka*), the Basket of Discourses (*Sutta Pitaka*), and the Basket of Ultimate Things (*Abhidhamma Pitaka*). The Basket of Discipline (*Vinaya Pitaka*) deals mainly with the rules and regulations which govern the conduct of monks (*Bhikkhus*) and nuns (*Bhikkhunis*). It also gives a detailed account of the life and ministry of the Buddha and the development of the Sangha. This Pitaka is divided into five books:

1. Major Offenses (*Parajika*) including an explanation of how each rule was promulgated and listing special cases and exceptions.

2. Minor Offenses (*Pacittiya*) also with explanations and exceptions
3. The Great Section (*Mahavagga*) giving the rules for admission to the Sangha, ordination, dress, residence, and the rules for the performance of special monastic activities
4. The Small Section (*Cullavagga*) dealing with the treatment, offenses, and duties of teachers and novices, with special rules for nuns
5. Epitome of the *Vinaya Pitaka* (*Parivara*) containing a commentary primarily on the great Section (*Mahavagga*) and telling important stories about the events following the Enlightenment of the Buddha

The Second Basket, called the Basket of Discourses (*Sutta Pitaka*), contains the discourses delivered by the Buddha on various occasions. It is divided into five *Nikayas* or Collections:

1. Collection of Long Discourses (*Digha Nikaya*): thirty-four discourses in three series, many dealing with the training of the disciple
2. Collection of Medium-Length Discourses (*Majjhima Nikaya*): 152 discourses, many of which tell of the Buddha's austerities, his Enlightenment, and early teaching
3. Collection of Kindred Sayings (*Samyutta Nikaya*): these are divided according to subject:

Sagthavagga: Discourses in verse, or containing verses
 Nidhanavagga: Beginning with discourses on the chain of causation

Khandhavagga: On the five aggregates and on heresies

Salayatanavagga: Beginning with discourses on the six senses

Mahavagga: The great series, on the Noble Eightfold Path

4. Collection of Gradual Sayings (*Anguttara Nikaya*): In eleven divisions, beginning with discourses dealing with one thing-such as a quality-and going on with lists of pairs, then threes, and up to lists of eleven things
5. Collection of Short Discourses (*Khuddaka Nikaya*): This is the biggest volume, made up of fifteen books which contain the most exquisite parts of the entire canon:

Shorter Texts	(<i>Khuddaka Patha</i>)
The Way of Truth	(<i>Dhammapada</i>)
Heartfelt Sayings	(<i>Udana</i>)
"Thus Said" Discourses	(<i>Iti-vuttaka</i>)
Collected Discourses	(<i>Sutta Nipata</i>)
Stories of Celestial Mansions	(<i>Vimana Vatthu</i>)
Stories of Departed Spirits	(<i>Petavatthu</i>)
Psalms of the Brethren	(<i>Theragatha</i>)
Psalms of the Sister	(<i>Therigatha</i>)
Birth Stories	(<i>Jataka</i>)
Expositions	(<i>Niddesa</i>)

Analytical Knowledge	(<i>Patisambhida</i>)
Lives of Saints	(<i>Apadana</i>)
The History of the Buddha	(<i>Buddhavamsa</i>)
Modes of Conduct	(<i>Cariya Pitaka</i>)

The discourses in the *Sutta Pitaka*, the Second Basket, are given to suit the understanding and temperament of ordinary, untrained people and are therefore in conventional, simple language in the form of prescriptions. The Third Basket, the Basket of Ultimate Things (*Abhidhamma Pitaka*), deals with the higher philosophy of the Buddha and contains these seven books:

Enumeration of Phenomena	(<i>Dhammasangani</i>)
Book of Analysis	(<i>Vibhanga</i>)
Treatise on the Elements	(<i>Dhatukastha</i>)
Book of Human Types	(<i>Puggalapannatti</i>)
Points of Controversy	(<i>Kathavatthu</i>)
Book of Pairs	(<i>Yamaka</i>)
On Relations	(<i>Patthana</i>)

The *Abhidhamma Pitaka*, the Third Basket, is the most interesting to a deep thinker. It is a philosophy inasmuch as it deals with the most general causes and the principles which govern all things. It is also an ethical system because it enables one to realize the ultimate goal, Nibbana. And because it deals with the working of the mind, with thought processes and mental factors, it is also a system of psychology. *Abhidhamma* is therefore generally translated as the Psycho-ethical Philosophy of Buddhism.

In the *Abhidhamma Pitaka* all the basic doctrines of Buddhism are systematically elucidated from the philosophical, psychological, and physiological standpoint. A knowledge of the *Abhidhamma* is therefore essential to a clear understanding of the Buddhist Doctrine. *Abhidhamma* is highly prized by the profound students of Buddhist philosophy, but to the average student it seems to be dull and meaningless. This is because it is so extremely subtle in its analysis and technical in its treatment that it is very difficult to understand without the guidance of an able teacher. That is probably why the *Abhidhamma* is not so popular as the other two *Pitakas* among western Buddhists.

The versions of the Pali texts extant in *Theravada* Buddhist countries such as Burma, Ceylon, Thailand, Cambodia, and Laos differ only in a few unimportant grammatical forms or spellings of words. In substance and in meaning, and even in the very phrases employed, they are in complete agreement; there is no doubt that these versions represent the true Teaching of the Buddha as the originally gave it. The *Tipitaka* contains everything necessary to show forth the path to the ultimate goal, to *Nibbana*.

In addition to the Pali texts, there are commentaries on all of them by the Pali texts, there are commentaries on all of them by the early elders of the Buddhist Order and also sub commentaries written on the commentaries in the course of the centuries. It is true that these extra canonical works sometimes introduce a great deal of speculative matter, but they have

remained faithful to the original Doctrine and often give highly illuminating illustrations. The works of Buddhaghosha *Thera* (Elder) rank very high in exegetical literature.

Rationality of Buddhism

Buddhism is not a religion in the sense in which that word is commonly understood, for it is not a system of faith and worship. In Buddhism, there is no such thing as belief in a body of dogmas which have to be taken on faith, such as a belief in a Supreme Being, a Creator of the universe, the reality of an immortal soul a personal savior or archangels who are supposed to carry out the will of the Supreme Deity. It is true that there are different types of devas or spiritual beings mentioned in Buddhism, but they are beings like ourselves, subject to the same natural law of cause and effect. They are not immortal, nor do they control the destiny of mankind. The Buddha does not ask us to accept belief in any supernatural agency or anything that cannot be tested by experience.

Buddhism begins as a search for truth. It does not begin with unfounded assumptions concerning any god or First Cause, nor does it claim to present through any form of divine revelation the whole truth of the absolute beginning and end of mankind's spiritual pilgrimage. The Buddha himself searched with direct insight and discovered the nature of the cosmos, the causes of its arising and of its passing away, the real cause of suffering and a way in which it can be brought to an end. Having made those discoveries he proclaimed for the sake of all human beings the principles on which he had conducted his research so that all who wished to do so could follow his methods and know the final truth themselves.

Because the Buddha's way is the way of rationality, he did not ask for absolute faith in himself or his teachings. Rather, as he instructed the Kalamas, he said that we must not believe anything merely because it was handed down by tradition, or said by a great person, or commonly accepted, or even because the Buddha said it. The Buddha taught that we should believe only that which is true in the light of our own experience, that which conforms to reason and is conducive to the highest good and welfare of all beings. The follower of the Buddha is invited to doubt until he has examined all the evidence for the basic facts of the teaching and has himself experimented with them to see if they are true. Having proved by these means that they are true, he is able to accept them. One of the qualities of the Dhamma, the path of the Buddha, is that it is *Ehi Passiko*, "That which invites everyone to come and see for himself."

The Buddha teaches men to rely upon themselves in order to achieve their own deliverance, not to look to any external savior. He never puts himself forward as a mediator between us and our final deliverance, but he can tell us what to do, because he has done it himself and so knows the way. Unless we ourselves act, the Buddha cannot guide us to our goal. Even though a man may take refuge in the Buddha, as he expresses his intent in the simple ceremony of pledging himself to live a righteous life, it must not be with any blind faith that the Buddha can save him. The Buddha can point out the path; he can tell us of its difficulties and of the beauties which we will find as we tread the path; but he cannot tread it for us. We must tread the path ourselves. No one can purify or defile another person; each of us is responsible for his own purification or defilement. The Buddha says, "By oneself, indeed, is evil done; by oneself is one defiled; by oneself is evil left undone; by oneself, indeed, is one purified. Purity and impurity depend upon oneself-no one purifies another." (*Dhammapada*.)

Buddhist Devotion

The rationality of Buddhism is not by itself enough—there must also be devotion in order that the truth may be realized. In Buddhism, mere belief is dethroned and replaced by confidence (*Buddha*) based on knowledge of truth. Reason enables man to arrange and systematize knowledge in order to find truth, while confidence gives him determination to be true to his high ideals. Confidence or faith becomes superstition when it is not accompanied by reason, but reason without confidence would turn a man into a machine without feeling or enthusiasm for his ideals. Reason seeks disinterestedly to realize truth, but confidence molds a man's character and gives him strength of will to break all the barriers which hinder his progress in achieving his aims. While reason makes a man rejoice in truths he has already discovered, confidence gives him fresh courage and helps him onward to further conquests, to aspire to work strenuously for the realization of what has not yet been attained. It is this *saddha* which has the power to transform cold abstract rationalism into a philosophy of fervent hope, love and compassion. It is also this *saddha* which is the basis of the loving devotion to the great teacher, the Buddha, his teaching and his holy Sangha.

The object of devotion, in which every faithful follower of the Buddha puts his whole hope, is known as the Threefold Refuge: the Buddha—the Enlightened One; the Dhamma—his Doctrine; and the Sangha—the Order of his Noble Disciples. Every Buddhist religious meeting begins with the recitation in Pali of the formula of the Three Refuges:

I go to the Buddha for refuge.
I go to the Doctrine for refuge.
I go to the Sangha for refuge.

These three are also known among Buddhists as the Triple Gem, or the Three Jewels, using the word Gem or *Jewel* in the sense of that which pleases, that which gives delight, that which is precious, that which can give to humanity the real spiritual pleasure of a refuge against the evil powers of greed, ill will, and delusion. The Buddhist takes refuge in the Buddha because the Buddha had boundless compassion for man's weakness, sorrow, disappointment, and suffering, and because he found for all beings the path of deliverance by his own ceaseless effort through a long and painful struggle. The Buddha gave to men great encouragement and inspiration to fight against evil until it is overcome.

The Buddhist takes the Second Refuge, in the Dhamma, because it enables one who follows it to bring an end to all dissatisfaction and suffering through the attainment of Enlightenment, perfect wisdom and perfect equanimity. The best way to follow the Dhamma is to practice it in one's daily life. As we are all subject to birth, old age, sickness, dissatisfaction, sorrow, and death, we are all sick people. The Buddha is compared to an experienced and skillful physician, and the Dhamma is compared to the proper medicine. However efficient the Physician may be, and however wonderful the medicine may be, we cannot be cured unless and until we take the medicine ourselves. Realization is possible only through practice. The practice of the Dhamma is the only way in which one can truly express one's gratitude and veneration for the Buddha who, with infinite compassion, showed us the way to the end of all suffering. The Buddha said, "He honors me best who practices my teaching best."

The Buddhist takes the Third Refuge, in the Sangha, because the Sangha is the living stream through which the Dhamma flows to humanity. *Sangha* literally means group,

congregation, and is the name for the community of Noble Ones who have reached the stages of sanctity of which the last is perfect sainthood. It is also the name for the community of monks (Bhikkhus) who are striving to attain Arahantship by following the Dhamma. The Sangha is the point at which the Dhamma makes direct contact with humanity, it is the bridge between living man and absolute truth. The Buddha strongly emphasized the importance of the Sangha as a necessary institution for the good of mankind. If there had not been the Sangha, the Dhamma would have been a mere legend and tradition after the demise of the Buddha-it is the Sangha which has preserved not only the Word of the Master, but also the unique spirit of the Noble Teaching since the Master's passing away.

Non-Buddhists often ask whether or not Buddhists worship images. The answer is that the true Buddhists know who and what the Buddha is. They do not worship an image nor pray to it expecting any worldly boons or sensual pleasures while they are living or a pleasurable state of existence, such as heaven, after death. The images before which they kneel are only representations of one to whom they pay their homage in gratitude because he, through his own efforts and wisdom, discovered the way to real peace and made it known to all beings. The offerings they make are but symbols of their reverence for the Buddha and are a means of concentrating their minds on the significance of the words they are reciting. Just as people love to see the portrait of one dear to them when separated by death or distance, so do Buddhists love to have before them the representation of their Master, because this representation enables them to think of his virtues, his love and compassion for all beings, and the doctrine he taught.

The words they recite are meditations and not prayers. They recite to themselves the virtues of the Buddha, his Dhamma, and his Holy Order so that they may acquire such mental dispositions as are favorable to the attainment of similar qualities in their own minds, in however small a degree. The things they offer as they kneel are object lessons of the truth they are trying to realize in their meditation. This is one of the meditations used in the offering of flowers: "These flowers I offer in memory of the Buddha, the Holy One, the Supremely Enlightened One. These flowers are now fair in form, glorious in color, sweet in scent. Yet all will soon have passed away, their fair form withered, the bright hues faded, their scent gone. It is even so with all conditioned things which are subject to change and fact peace, which is real and everlasting."

The external forms of homage are not absolutely necessary for an intellectual who can easily focus his attention and visualize the Buddha, but they are very useful for the average man because they tend to concentrate his attention on the Buddha.

There are no prayers in Buddhism. Instead of prayers there are meditations for purifying the mind in order that truth can be realized. According to Buddhism, the universe is governed by everlasting, unchangeable laws of righteousness- not by any god or any Supreme Being who can hear and answer prayers. These laws are so perfect that no one, no god or man, can change them by praising them or by crying out against them. Sin is the direct consequence of man's ignorance of these laws. Ignorance creates sin, begets sorrow; this is an eternal sequence.

Buddhists do not believe that there is any creator god who has made his laws so imperfectly that they require continual rectification through the prayers of men. If one believes that the universe is governed by a changeable and changing god -rather than by eternal laws- one will have to try to persuade him to make it better. Such a belief in a changeable god

would mean a belief that his will is not always righteous, that his wrath has to be appeased, his mercy has to be aroused, his partiality has to be overcome. But for a Buddhist, the laws of righteousness which govern the universe are the same for all the same forever. A man's duty, therefore, is not to break those laws, nor to try to change them by prayers or any other means, but to try to understand them and to live in harmony with them.

All through the Buddha's teaching, repeated stress is laid on self-reliance and resolution. Buddhism makes man stand on his own feet, it arouses his self-confidence and energy. The Buddha again and again reminded his followers that there is no one, either in heaven or on earth, who can help them or free them from the result of their past evil deeds. "It is through unshaken perseverance, O monks, that I have reached the light, through unceasing effort that I have reached the peace supreme. If you also, O monks, will strive unceasingly, you too will within a short time reach the highest goal of holiness by understanding and realizing it yourselves."

Understanding that neither a god nor ceremonies can help or save him, the true Buddhist finds no place for prayer; he feels compelled to rely on his own efforts and thus gains self confidence. He sees that the tendency to rely on a god or any other imaginary power weakens man's confidence in his own power and lessens his sense of responsibility; he sees that blind faith in any authority leads to stagnation and spiritual lethargy. The Buddhist reaches his goal through perseverance in meditation rather than through prayer.

Dependent Origination

Through twenty-five centuries, Buddhism has combined rationality with devotion. A freedom of thought which rejects dogmatism has released mankind from the fetters of ignorance, and the practice of meditation has made possible the realization of *Nibbana*. Let us consider now the insights which the Buddha taught as a result of his great efforts which led to Enlightenment.

Buddhists believe that life is beginningless, that it has no ultimate origin, for the cause ever becomes the effect and the effect becomes the cause, and in the circle of cause and effect a first Cause or beginning is inconceivable. The Buddha positively states, "The origin of phenomenal existence is inconceivable, and the beginning of beings obstructed by ignorance and ensnared by craving is not to be discovered." (*Samyutta Nikaya*, II. 178.) For all beings, the cause becomes the effect and the effect becomes the cause, and thus birth is followed by death and death is followed by birth. Birth and death are two phases of the same life process.

According to Buddhism the universe evolved, but it did not evolve out of nothingness; it evolved out of the dispersed matter of a previous universe, and when this universe is dissolved, its dispersed matter-or, its residual energy which is continually renewing itself-will in time give rise to another universe in the same way. The process is therefore cyclical and continuous.

The universe is composed of millions of world-systems like our own solar system, each with its various planes of existence.

There are altogether thirty-one planes of existence in which beings are born according to their kammic energy, that is, according to the creative energies generated by their thoughts, words, and deeds. The four lowest plane of woeful states which are temporary, not everlasting;

the animal kingdom; the plane of ghost beings; and the plane of demons. Just above the four lowest planes are the Seven Happy States, made up of the plane of human beings and above them the six planes of the lower heavenly beings. These eleven lowest planes are all planes of desire. Above them are the twenty planes of existence of the higher heavenly beings.

The Wheel of Life, the process of life and death in the thirty-one planes of existence, is explained by the chain of causation, by the dependent origination (*paticcasamuppada*; in Sanskrit, *pratityasamutpada*) of all physical and psychical phenomena. Nothing exists independently; all phenomena, all beings and things, are effects which result from a complex of causes; they are dependent in their origination upon that combination of causes and have no identity apart from them.

This interdependence of all things, this process of dependent origination, operates in a universe governed by five orders:

1. The physical inorganic order-The unchanging order of seasons which cause wind and rains, and the nature of heat would belong to this order.
2. The order of germs and seeds, the physical organic order, may be illustrated by rice growing from rice seed, or the particular characteristics of certain fruits or trees. The scientific theories concerning cells deal with this order.
3. The order of act and result- In this order it is clear that desirable and undesirable acts produce corresponding good and bad results. As surely as water seeks its own level, so do acts produce inevitable results, not in the form of rewards or punishments, but as an innate sequence. This sequence of deed and result, known as *kamma*, is as natural and necessary as the way of the sun and the moon.
4. The order of the norm- Gravitation and other similar laws of nature, or the reasons for being good, may be included in this group. The order of the norm explains the natural phenomena occurring at the advent of a Bodhisattva in his last birth.
5. The order of mind or psychic law includes the processes of consciousness, the arising and perishing of consciousness, the constituents of consciousness, the powers of the mind and such mental powers. Telepathy, telesthesia, recognition, premonition, clairvoyance, thought- reading, and all psychic phenomena which are inexplicable to modern science are included in this order.

These five orders embrace everything in the world and every mental or physical phenomenon can be explained by them. They are laws in themselves and require no lawgiver. Within a universe governed by these five orders, life goes on in a cycle which is governed by the law of dependent origination, the twelve links in the chain of causation:

1. Ignorance is the first link in the chain of causation. It is ignorance of what things truly are and especially ignorance of the Four Noble Truths concerning the origin and cessation of suffering. Ignorance is the primary root of all evil; greed and anger, for instance, are always accompanied by ignorance. If a man could see clearly, he would do right, but in his ignorance he does evil things which prolong his wandering in the world of rebirths.

2. Through ignorance arise volitional activities, that is, all moral and immoral actions of body, speech, and mind arise through ignorance. Note that this second link in the causal chain includes moral as well as immoral actions, for both tend to prolong the cycle of rebirths.
3. Through volitional activities arises relinking consciousness, that is, the consciousness which is relinked to another existence. The moral and immoral actions are the causes of rebirth of a being, after death, in a new mother's womb.
4. Through relinking consciousness arise mind and matter. This is because without relinking consciousness there can be no continuing process of mental and physical existence. Mind and matter mean here the *kamma* determined results of mental and physical phenomena.
5. Through mind and matter arise the six senses, that is, the five physical sense organs and the mind.
6. Through the six senses arise the impressions, sensory and mental. Without the five physical sense organs there can be no sense impressions, and without the mind there can be no mental impressions.
7. Through impression arises feeling. Any feeling, whether agreeable, indifferent, or disagreeable, whether bodily or mental, is conditioned by impression.
8. Through feeling arises craving or desire (*tanha*). It is because of agreeable feelings that craving arises for pleasant, delightful sights, sounds, smells, tastes, contacts, and ideas.
9. Through craving arises attachment. There are four types of attachment common to man, attachment to sensuality, to false views, to wrong rites and ceremonies, and to self deception.
10. Through attachment arises the process of becoming; which manifests itself as the life force for future rebirth.
11. Through the process of becoming arises rebirth. Without the process of the life force generated through attachment, there could be no rebirth. This process of becoming is compared to the seed which generates the new being.
12. Through rebirth arise old age and death. Without rebirth there could be no old age and death with the inevitable consequences of sorrow, lamentation, pain, grief, and despair.

Of the twelve links in the chain, the twelve steps in dependent origination, note that the first two are determined by past experiences and are identical with past volitional activities performed under the influence of ignorance. The next four- relinking consciousness, mind and matter, six senses, sense impressions and feelings- are concerned with the present existence of a being, but are the results of past existence or past actions. The next three -craving, attachment, and the process of becoming-are also concerned with the present existence and are going on from moment to moment.

From this we see that although our present position in character and circumstances is the result of our past actions, what we shall be in the future depends upon what we do now, upon

how we face circumstances in the present. Thus it is within our power to alter or modify the quality of the life force that continues in the next birth. The last two links are the result, the sum total, of our present activities.

In this process of becoming, the turning of the Wheel of Life, cause and effect, past and present, birth and death, are dependent phases of the same process. This cycle continues until the two factors, ignorance and craving, which are the key-points of the Wheel, are totally annihilated. Of these two, ignorance is the main cause of the present existence and, therefore, if it is destroyed, the subsequent links all cease to arise in the future and the chain is broken. Since craving is the main cause of present activities, if it is destroyed, there will be no future birth and the life process ends; the Wheel of Life no longer turns. It is only when this great task is accomplished that the goal of Nibbana is won.

The understanding of dependent origination is basic to an understanding of Buddhism. The Buddha said, "Who so understands the dependent origination, understands the Law; and whose understands the Law, understands dependent origination." (*Majjhima Nikaya* 28.) This understanding of dependent origination makes clear the three fundamental characteristics of all existence—that existence is impermanent (*anicca*), substanceless (*anatta*), and full of suffering (*dukkha*).

The Buddha has summed up all physical and mental phenomena of existence in five groups, called the five aggregates or *Khandas* (*skandhas* in Sanskrit). "And what, in brief, are the Five Groups of Existence? They are corporeality, feeling, perception, mental formations, and consciousness." (*Digha Nikaya* 22.) Corporeality, or matter, is the visible form of the four invisible qualities or forces which are known as the essential elements:

1. The element of extension is the fundamental principle of matter. It is this element which enables objects to occupy space and which gives material objects the qualities of hardness and softness. It can be found in water, earth, fire, and air, but it is preponderant in earth and therefore is called the element of earth.
2. The element of cohesion is the one which coheres the scattered atoms of matter and forms them into mass or bulk. It is known as the element of water since it is preponderant there.
3. The element of heat matures all objects of matter; it includes cold since heat and cold are two phases of the same element. The preservation and decay of all material objects are due to this element. It is called the element of fire since it is preponderant in fire.
4. The element of motion is the power of supporting or resisting. It is the cause of movement and vibration and is known as the element of air.

These four elements are inter-related and inseparable. All forms of matter are composed of these elements; every material object is simply a combination of them in one proportion or another. When the same matter is changed into another form, the composite things formed are held to be mere conceptions presented to the mind by the particular shape or form. A piece of clay, for example, may be called a cup, a plate, or a pot, according to the several shapes it assumes, but these objects can be analyzed and reduced to the fundamental elements which

alone exist in an ultimate sense. The terms *cup*, or *plate*, are mere conceptions which have no separate essential substance other than the elements of which they are composed.

Mind, which is the most important part of a being, is essentially a stream of consciousness which is best described as thought. Thought, however, is not simply a physiological function but is a kind of energy, something like electricity. Thoughts and radiations of currents of thought are mental elements of the mental world which correspond to the four material elements of the world of matter. A being is essentially a manifestation of its thought forces which are in a state of flux.

If the forces of the thoughts are developed, they become, through the degrees of perfection which they attain, finer and higher energies of thought; and if they are further developed, they become sufficiently strong to overcome the gravitational sphere of the earth. The currents of thoughts which are not capable of overcoming the gravitational sphere of the earth remain within that sphere, within the sphere of existent things. But they will form a new type of life, for a current of thought, though subject to change, is not lost. It will continue to exist and will manifest itself in a new being of some kind according to its tendencies. In this way, this circulation of life and death goes on forever until it checked by the development of the mind.

The Buddha's analysis of the mind shows that the mind consists of four mental aggregates (*khandhas*): sensations or feelings; perceptions of sense objects or reaction to the senses; fifty types of mental formations, including tendencies and faculties; and consciousness, which is the fundamental factor of all the other three.

Thus, a being is a composition of the five aggregates of the mental and material forces which are changing all the time, not remaining the same for two successive moments. The Buddha said: "All corporeal phenomena, whether past, present or future, one's own or external, gross or subtle, lofty or low, far or near, all belong to the group of corporeality; all feelings belong to the group of feeling; all perceptions belong to the group of perception; all mental formations belong to the group of formations; all consciousness belongs to the group of consciousness." (*Majjhima Nikaya* 109.) Existing beings are made up of these five basic elements, and nothing else.

Is any one of the five aggregates the self or soul (*atta*)? The Buddha's answer is "No." Then what remains to be called the self or the soul? As has been said above, apart from the five aggregates there remains nothing to be called the soul. This is one of the three fundamental characteristics of all existence, the characteristic of substancelessness, of *anatta*, the absence of a permanent unchanging self or soul, the absence of any underlying substance which exists apart from the elements of which any existent thing is composed. It is this doctrine of *anatta*, no-soul, for which Buddhism stands and on which Buddhism differs from other religions. If the wheels and axles, the floorboards and sides, the shafts and all other parts are removed from a cart, what remains? The answer is nothing, and the combination of these parts is called a cart. In exactly the same way, the combination of the five aggregates is called a being which may assume as many names as it has shapes of forms and may vary as its physical and mental makeup changes.

If there is no self or soul, what is it that moves from life to life, growing all the time until it enters into the state of *Nibbana* which is the only unchanging reality?

The answer is that the uninterrupted process of psychophysical phenomena, which is composed of the five aggregates and is called a being, moves from life to life. The process of uninterrupted psycho-physical phenomena is constantly moving and changing like the current of a river. This state of constant change, this impermanence (*anicca*) is also one of the three fundamental characteristics of phenomenal existence. What is constantly changing cannot be restful, peaceful or satisfactory; and this unsatisfactory nature, this state of unrest or non-peace (*dukkha*) is the other fundamental characteristic of all phenomenal existence.

Returning now to the chain of interdependent causation, it is clear that phenomenal existence is only a combination of the basic elements, the aggregates, which are constantly combining and recombining with no underlying unchanging substance or soul to give them permanence. The main cause of the restlessness, the suffering, which is the lot of beings turning on the Wheel of Life, is carving of selfish desire for existence, which is one of the fifty mental formations. It is this desire which sets the life force in motion, which stimulates the mind and manifests itself in action. This action, called *kamma*, is in reality volition or will power, which is responsible for the creation of a being, for the binding of the five aggregates together. Without desire (*tanha*), however, the whole process would not be possible; therefore *tanha* is the real creator of a being, the chief builder of the house of the five aggregates which is called man, woman, I. It is only when this fact is realized and the main cause, desire, is annihilated that a being which is composed of the five aggregates, a being which is a process of psycho-physical phenomena, enters into the everlasting peace of *Nibbana*.

Karma

In this universe in which nothing is permanent, in which every existent being is a changing combination of the five aggregates, all change is governed by *kamma*. *Kamma* (*karma* in Sanskrit) is a Pali word meaning action. In its general sense, *kamma* means all good and bad actions. *Kamma* refers to all kinds of intentional actions whether mental, verbal, or physical, that is, all thoughts, words, and deeds. In its ultimate sense *kamma* means all moral and immoral volition. The Buddha says, "Mental volition, O Bhikkhus, is what I call action [*kamma*]. Having volition, one acts by body, speech, and thought." (*Anguttara Nikaya* III.415.)

Kamma, the order of cause and effect in action, is not determinism, nor it is an excuse for fatalism. The past influences the present, but does not dominate it. The past is the background against which life goes on from moment to moment; the past and the present influence the future. Only the present moment exists, and the responsibility for using the present moment for good or for ill lies with each individual.

We have seen in the discussion of dependent origination how the origination of existent things is a continuous process in which every existent being is an effect of previous causes. Every action produces an effect—it is cause first and effect afterwards. We therefore speak of *kamma* as "the law of cause and effect." Throwing a stone, for example, is an action. If the stone strikes a glass window and breaks it, the break is the effect of the action of throwing, but it is not the end, for the broken window will now be the cause of further trouble. Some of one's money will have to go to replace it, depriving one of the opportunity to save it or to use it for a desirable purpose, and the effect upon one is a feeling of disappointment. This may make one irritable and if one is not careful the irritability may become the cause of doing something else which is wrong.

There is no end to the result of action, no end to *kamma*, so we should be very careful about our actions, making sure that their effect will be good. It is therefore necessary for us to do a good, helpful action which will return to us in good *kamma* and thus make us strong enough to start a better *kamma*.

Throw a stone into a pond and see how the rings around the place where it strikes grow wider and wider until they become too wide for our eyes to follow. The little stone disturbs the water of the pond, but its action is not finished yet. When the tiny waves reach the edges of the pond, the water moves back until it pushes the stone that has disturbed it. The effects of our actions come back to us just as the waves do to the stone; and as long as we do our actions with evil intention, the new waves of effects come back to beat upon us and disturb us. If we are kind and keep ourselves peaceful, the returning waves of trouble will grow weaker and weaker until they die down and our good *kamma* will come back to us in blessing. If we sow a mango seed, a mango tree will come up and bear mangoes, and if we sow a chili seed, a chili plant will grow and produce chilis. The Buddha says:

According to the seed that's sown,
So is the fruit ye reap therefrom.
Doer of good will gather good,
Doer of evil, evil reaps.
Sown is the seed, and thou shalt taste
The fruit thereof.

(*Samyutta Nikaya*)

Everything that comes to us is right. Whenever anything pleasant comes to us and makes us happy, we may be sure that our *kamma* is indicating that what we have done is right. When anything hurts us or makes us unhappy, our *kamma* is showing us our mistake. We must never forget that *kamma* is always just-it neither loves nor hates, it does not reward or punish, it is never angry, never pleased. It is simply the law of cause and effect.

Kamma knows nothing about us. It does not know us any more than fire knows us when it burns us. It is the nature of fire to burn, to give out heat; and if we use it properly it gives us light, cooks our food, burns up things we want to destroy-but if we use it wrongly it burns us and our property. It is the nature of fire to burn and it is our responsibility to use it the right way. It is foolish to grow angry and blame fire when it burns us because we made a mistake. In this respect, *kamma* is like fire.

In the world around us there are many inequalities in the lot of man-some men are inferior and some superior, some perish in infancy and others live a full eighty years or more, some are handsome and others ugly, some are rich and others are paupers. What is the cause of the inequalities that exist in the world? Buddhists cannot believe that this variation is the result of blind chance for, like modern scientists, Buddhists believe that the world works in accordance with the laws of cause and effect. Nor can Buddhists believe that this inequality is due to a creator god.

One of the three divergent views that prevailed at the time of the Buddha was the belief that, "Whatsoever happiness or pain or neutral feeling the person experiences, all that is due to the creation of a Supreme Deity." Commenting on this fatalistic view the Buddha said: So,

then, owing to the creation of a Supreme Deity men will become murderers, thieves, unchaste, liars, slanderers, abusive, babblers, covetous, malicious, and perverse in views. Thus for those who fall back on the creation of a God as the essential reason, there is neither the desire to do, nor the effort to do, nor necessity to do this deed or abstain from that deed. (*Anguttara Nikaya* I. 158.)

According to Buddhism, the inequalities which exist in the world are due, to some extent, to the environment-which is itself shaped by cause and effect-and to a greater extent to causes, that is *kamma*, which are in the present, in the immediate past, and in the remote past. Man himself is responsible for his own happiness and misery; he creates his own heaven and hell. Shaped by the past, man chooses in the present those causes which shape his future. Man is master of his own destiny, child of his past, and parent of his future. *Kamma* is classified in four ways, with four subdivisions in each group:

- I. *Kamma* is classified according to the time in which results are produced. There is *kamma* which ripens in the same lifetime, *kamma* which ripens in the next life, and *kamma* which ripens in successive births. These three types of *kamma* are as bound to produce results as a seed is to sprout. But for a seed to sprout, certain auxiliary causes such as soil, rain, and sun are required. In the same way, for a *kamma* to produce an effect, several auxiliary causes such as suitable circumstances and surroundings are required. It sometimes happens that for want of such auxiliary causes *kamma* does not produce any result. This fourth type of *kamma* is called in effective *kamma*.
- II. *Kamma* is also classified according to its particular function. There is reproductive *kamma*, which conditions the future birth; supportive *kamma*, which assists or maintains the results of *kamma* which already exists; counteractive *kamma*, which suppresses or modifies the result of reproductive *kamma*; and there is destructive *kamma*, which destroys the force of existing *kamma* and substitutes its own resultants.
- III. *Kamma* is classified according to the priority of results:
 1. There is serious or weighty *kamma*, which produces its results in the present life or the next. When the *Kamma* is moral, the highly refined mental states called ecstasies are weighty because they produce results more speedily than the ordinary unrefined mental states. When the *kamma* is immoral, the five kinds of immediately effective serious crimes are weighty. These serious crimes are matricide, patricide, the murder of an Arahant, the wounding of a Buddha, and the creation of a schism in the *Sangha*.
 2. Death-proximate *kamma* is the action which one does at the moment before death, either physically or mentally by thinking of one's own previous good or bad action, by having good or bad thoughts. It is this *kamma* which, if there is no weighty *kamma*, determines the conditions of the next birth.
 3. Habitual *kamma* is the action which one constantly does. This *kamma*, in the absence of death-proximate *kamma* or weighty *kamma*, produces and determines the nature of the next birth.

4. Reserved *kamma* is the unexpended *kamma* of a particular being, and it conditions the next birth if there is no habitual *kamma* to operate.

IV. *Kamma* is classified according to the plane in which the results are produced- the plane of misery, the plane of the world of desire, the plane of form, and the plane of the formless.

1. Immoral *kamma* produces its effect in the plane of misery. Immoral *kamma* is rooted in greed, anger, and delusion and is expressed in ten immoral actions- killing, stealing, unchastity (these three are caused by deed); lying, slandering, harsh language, frivolous talk (These four are caused by word); covetousness, ill will, false view (these three are caused by mind). The evil effects of killing are short life, disease, constant grief caused by the separation from the loved ones, and constant fear. The evil effects of stealing are poverty, wretchedness, unfulfilled desires, and dependent livelihood. The evil effects of unchastity are the having of many enemies, getting undesirable wives, birth as a woman or as a eunuch. Lying results in being tormented by abusive speech, being subject to vilification, incredibility, and a stinking mouth. Slandering results in the dissolution of friendship without any sufficient cause. Harsh language results in being detested by others, although blameless, and a harsh voice. The effects of frivolous talk are deformities of the bodily organs and unacceptable speech. Covetousness leads to unfulfilled wishes. Ill will leads to ugliness, various diseases, and a detestable nature. False view means seeing things wrongly without understanding what they truly are, and it leads to base attachment, lack of wisdom, dull with, chronic diseases, and blameworthy ideas. (*Niddesa, Khuddaka Nikaya.*)
2. Good *kamma* produces its effect in the plane of desires. There are ten moral actions which produce good *kamma*-Generosity, morality, meditation, reverence, service, transference of merit, rejoicing in the merit of others, hearing the Doctrine, expounding the Doctrine, forming correct views. Generosity yields wealth; morality causes one to be born in noble families and in states of happiness; meditation gives birth in planes of form and formless planes and helps to gain higher knowledge and *Nibbana*. Reverence is the cause of noble parentage; service is the cause of a large retinue; transference of merit causes one to be able to give in abundance in future births; rejoicing in the merit of others is productive of joy wherever one is born. Both hearing and expounding the Doctrine are conducive to wisdom.
3. Good *kamma* which produces its effect in the planes of form is purely mental and is created in the five stage of process of meditation:

The first stage of ecstasy (*jhana*), which is made up of initial application, sustained application, rapture, happiness, and one pointedness of mind.

The second stage of ecstasy, which occurs with sustained application, rapture, happiness, and one-pointedness of mind.

The third stage of ecstasy, which occurs with rapture, happiness, and one-pointedness of mind. The fourth stage of ecstasy, which occurs with happiness and one-pointedness of mind.

The fifth stage of ecstasy, which occurs with equanimity and one-pointedness of mind.

4. Good *kamma* which produces its effect in the formless plane is of four types, which are also purely mental and done in the process of meditation -moral consciousness dwelling in the infinity of space, dwelling in the infinity of consciousness, dwelling on nothingness, and moral consciousness in which perception is so extremely subtle that it cannot be said whether it is or is not.

Kamma, as has been stated above, is not fate; it is not irrevocable destiny; it is not blind determinism. Nor is one bound to reap in just proportion all that one has sown. The actions of men are not absolutely irrevocable; in fact, only a few of them are. For example, when one fires a bullet from a rifle, one cannot call it back or turn it aside from its mark. But if, instead of a bullet through the air, it is an ivory ball on a billiard table that one sets moving with a cue, another ball can be sent after it to change its course, or, if one is quick enough, one might even get around to the other side of the table and send against it a ball which would meet it straight in the line of its course and bring it to a stop on the spot. With one's later action with the cue one modifies, or even in favourable circumstances entirely neutralizes, one's previous action. *Kamma* operates in the broad stream of life in much the same way. There, too, one's *kamma* of a later day may modify the effects of one's action *kamma* of a former day. If this were not so, there would be no possibility of man's ever getting free from all *kamma*; life would be a perpetually self- containing energy which could never come to an end.

Man has, therefore, a certain amount of free will and there is every possibility to mold his life or to modify his actions. Even the most vicious person can by his own free will and effort become the most virtuous person. One may at any moment change for the better or for the worse. But everything in the world, including man himself, is dependent on the conditions surrounding him, and without those conditions nothing whatsoever can arise or enter into existence. Man therefore has only a certain amount of free will and not absolute free will. According to Buddhist philosophy, everything mental or physical arises and passes away in accordance with the laws governing the conditions of his existence. If that were not so, there would be only chaos and blind chance. That this is not such a world of chaos and blind chance is shown by all the laws of nature which modern science has discovered.

The real, essential nature of action, that is, of *kamma*, is mental. When a given thought has arisen in one's mind a number of times, there is a definite tendency toward the recurrence of that thought. When a given act has been performed a number of times, there is a definite tendency toward the repetition of that act. Thus, each act, whether mental or physical, tends consistently to produce its like and to be in turn produced. If a man thinks a good thought, speaks a good word, does a good deed, the effect upon him is to increase the tendencies to goodness present in him, to make him a better man. If, on the contrary, he does a bad deed in thought or in speech or action, he has strengthened in himself his bad tendencies; he has

made himself a worse man. Having become a worse man, he will gravitate to the company of worse men in the future and incur all the unhappiness of varying kinds that attends life in such company. On the other hand, the man whose character is continually growing better will naturally tend to the companionship of the good and enjoy all the pleasantness and comforts and freedom from the ruder shocks of human life which such society provides.

In the case of a mentally cultured man, even the effect of a greater evil may be minimized, while the lesser evil of an uncultured man may produce its effect to the maximum according to the favorable and unfavorable conditions of his existence. The Buddha said:

"Here, O! Bhikkhus, a certain person is not disciplined in body, is not disciplined in morality, is not disciplined in mind, is not disciplined in wisdom, is with little good and less virtue, and lives painfully in consequence of trifles. Even a trivial evil act committed by such a person will lead him to a state of misery.

"Here, O Bhikkhus, a certain person is disciplined in body, is disciplined in morality, is disciplined in mind, is disciplined in wisdom, is with much good, is high souled, and lives without limitation. A similar evil act committed by such a person is expiated in this life itself and not even a small effect manifests itself (after death), not to say a great one.

"It is as if, O Bhikkhus, a man were to put a lump of salt into a small cup of water. What do you think, O Bhikkhus? Would now the small amount of water in this cup become saltish and undrinkable?"

"Yes, Lord."

"And why?"

"Because, Lord, there was very little water in the cup, and so it became saltish and undrinkable by this lump of salt."

"Suppose, O Bhikkhus, a man were to put a lump of salt into the river Ganges. What think you, O Bhikkhus, would now the river Ganges become saltish and undrinkable by the lump of salt?"

"Nay, indeed, Lord."

"And why not?"

"Because, Lord, the mass of water in the river Ganges is great, and so it would not become saltish and undrinkable."

"In exactly the same way, O Bhikkhus, we may have the case of a person who does some slight evil deed brings him to a state of misery; or again, O Bhikkhus, we may have the case of another person who does the same trivial misdeed, and expiates it in the present life. Not even a small effort manifests itself (after death), not to say of a great one."
(*Anguttara Nikaya*.)

The more we understand the law of *Kamma*, the more we see how careful we must be of our acts, words, and thoughts and how responsible we are for our fellow beings. Living in the light of this knowledge, we learn certain lessons from the doctrine of *kamma*.

From an understanding of *kamma* we learn patience. Knowing that the law of *kamma* is our great helper if we live by it, and that no harm can come to us if we work with it, knowing

also that it blesses us just at the right time, we learn the grand lesson of patience, we learn not to get excited, and we learn that impatience is a check to progress. In suffering, we know that we are paying a debt, and we learn, if we are wise, not to create more suffering for the future. In rejoicing, we are thankful for its sweetness, and we learn, if we are wise, to be still better. Patience brings forth peace, success, happiness, and security.

From an understanding of *kamma* we learn confidence. The law of *kamma* being just and perfect, it is not possible for an understanding person to be uneasy about it. If we are uneasy and have no confidence, it shows clearly that we have not grasped the reality of the law of *kamma*. We are really quite safe beneath its wings, and there is nothing to fear in all the wide universe except our own misdeeds. The law of *kamma* makes a man stand on his own feet and arouses his self-confidence. Confidence strengthens and deepens our peace and happiness and makes us comfortable and courageous. Wherever we go, *kamma* is our protector.

We gain self-reliance from an understanding of *kamma*. As we in the past have caused ourselves to be what we are now, so by what we do now will our future be determined. A knowledge of this fact, and that the glory of the future is limitless, gives us great self-reliance and takes away that tendency to appeal for external help which is really no help at all.

We also learn restraint when we understand *kamma*. Naturally, if we realize that the evil we do will return and strike us, we will be very careful lest we do or say or think something that it is not good, pure, and true. Knowledge of *kamma* will restrain us from doing wrong for our own sake or the sake of others.

The understanding of *kamma* gives us power. The more we make the doctrine of *kamma* a part of our lives, the more power we gain, not only to direct our future, but also to help our fellow beings more effectively. The practice of good *kamma*, when fully developed, will enable us to overcome evil and limitations, and to destroy all the fetters that keep us from our goal, *Nibbana*.

Universal Love

In order to create good *kamma*, to perform good actions, Buddhism emphasizes the importance of universal and all-embracing love-called *metta* in Pali. *Metta* is much deeper than good will. Some scholars interpret the meaning of *metta* as generous-mindedness, kindheartedness, or the sending out of thoughts of love to other. But, in the words of the Buddha, *metta* has a far wider significance and a more extensive application. It means a great deal more than loving kindness, harmlessness, and sympathy. It is not a mere feeling but a principle; it is not merely the radiating of benevolent thoughts but it is the doing of charitable actions. In the *Metta Sutta*, the Discourse on Universal Love, the Buddha says:

As a mother, even at the risk of her own life, protects and loves her child, her only child, so let a man cultivate love without measure toward all beings. Let him cultivate love without measure toward the whole world, above, below, and around, unstained, unmixed with any feeling of daring or opposing interests. Let a man remain steadfastly in this state of mind all the while he is awake, whether he be standing, walking, sitting, or laying down. This state of mind is the best in the world.

This is the model held up to mankind by the Buddha. This is the ideal of what man should be to man. This is an appeal to every mind and every heart and a call to service.

Consider the Buddha's illustration of a mother's love for her child. It is not mere loving-kindness, a mere expression of good will toward the child. Can language express the deathless love in a mother's heart? Is not this a love which will be expressed even at a peril to her own life?

Metta, therefore, is not simply a brotherly feeling; it is active benevolence, a love which is expressed and fulfilled in active ministry for the uplifting of fellow beings. Universal love goes hand in hand with helpfulness and a willingness to forego self interest in order to promote the welfare and happiness of mankind. As explained in the *Digha Nikaya*, *metta* embodies the virtues of unselfishness, charity, and active loving care for others. It is *metta* which in Buddhism is the basis for social progress.

It is *metta* which attempts to break all the barriers separating one from another. There is no reason to keep aloof from others merely because they belong to another religious persuasion or nationality. The true Buddhist exercises *metta*, universal love, toward every living being and identifies himself with all, making no distinction whatsoever with regard to caste, color, class, or sex. This practice is not the result of blind obedience to a religious commandment; it is the outcome of the understanding that all living beings, including animals, are subject to the same laws and conditions of existence. "As I am, so are they; as they are, so am I; Thus one should identify oneself with all that lives, and should not kill, nor hurt any living being."

The whole human family is so closely knit together that each unit is dependent upon other units for its growth and development. Life is a mighty wheel of perpetual motion. This wheel contains within it numberless small wheels, corresponding to the lives of individuals, each of which has a pattern of its own. The great wheel and the smaller wheels, the whole world and the individuals, are intimately and indissolubly linked.

To bring out the goodness in us, each one of us has to try to reproduce in his own wheel of life that pattern which is in harmony with the pattern of the great universal wheel. For all the wheels to revolve in harmony, the highest good in each must be developed. This is possible here and now by the performance of daily duties with kindness, courtesy, and truthfulness. The ideal that is placed before us is that of mutual service and practical brotherhood. Men, being in need of each other, should learn to love each other and bear each other's burdens. Mutual service is a perpetual call upon humanity, for we are bound alike by the bonds of humanity. To do good for the welfare of humanity is our holiest work.

Rebirth

The principle of dependent origination and the law of *kamma* provide the background for understanding the nature of rebirth. According to Buddhism, death is "the temporary end of a temporary phenomenon." It is not the complete annihilation of the being, for although the organic life has ceased, the kammic force which hitherto actuated it is not destroyed. Our physical forms are only the outward manifestations of the invisible kammic force. This force carries with it all the characteristics which usually lie latent but may rise to the surface at any moment. When the present form perishes, another form takes its place according to a good or bad volitional impulse—the *kamma* that was the most powerful—at the moment before death.

At death the kammic force remains entirely undisturbed by the disintegration of the physical body and the passing away of the present consciousness creates the conditions for

the coming into being of a fresh body in another birth. The stream of consciousness flows on like a river which is built up by its tributaries and dispenses its water to the countryside through which it passes. The continuity of flux at death is unbroken in point of time; there is no breach in the stream of consciousness, and therefore there is no room whatever for an intermediate stage between this life and the next. The only difference between the passing of one ordinary thought moment-or one unit of consciousness-to another and the passing of one dying thought moment to the rebirth-consciousness is that in ordinary thought the change is invisible, and in the death-rebirth moment a perceptible death occurs. Rebirth takes place immediately.

It may be asked whether the new place is always ready to receive this rebirth. The answer is yes, just as a point in the ground is always ready to receive the falling stone, so there is always an appropriate place to receive the rebirth which is conditioned by the natural law of *kamma*. Death being a momentary incident, rebirth is immediate. The transmission of the life force, the kammic force, may be compared to the sound wave which makes the tuning fork vibrate in response to a particular note. So long as the musical note sets up vibrations in the air, so long will the tuning fork which is responsive to that particular note vibrate in union. When the vibrations of the musical note cease, the tuning fork will cease to vibrate to that particular note. And so it is with that restless kammic force which continues to bring about births through appropriate germ plasmas or other life conditions until that restless kammic force ceases to exist in the peace of *Nibbana*.

In the words of the late Bhikkhu Silacara

This new being which is the present manifestation of the stream of *kamma* energy is not the same as, and has no identity with, the previous one in its line; the aggregate that makes up its composition being different from, and having no identity with, those that make up the being of its predecessor. And yet it is not an entirely different being, since it has the same stream of *kamma* energy, though modified perchance just by having shown itself in that last manifestation, which is now making its presence known in the sense-perceptible world as the new being.

If we were to obtain a quick motion picture of any particular individual's life from his birth to his death, the most striking fact that would attract our attention would be the changefulness that we would find running right through the series of pictures. The infant changes to the child, the child to the adult, and the adult to the decrepit old person who collapses in death. This change goes on in every part of the individual's body, and not only in the body but in the mind also. So much so that any adult who surveys his own existence will realize that the child that was is now no more. That child had a different body, in size as well as form, different likes and dislikes, different aspirations, and was almost a stranger to the present adult. And yet the adult is responsible for whatever he has done in his childhood because there is a continuity or identity in the process of life force from childhood to manhood.

In exactly the same way, the new being has the same stream of kammic energy or life force as its predecessor, and thus it is responsible for what ever its predecessor has done. This new being has a much identity with the previous one as the adult of today has with the child that he was; nothing less and nothing more. This is well expressed in the *Milinda-panha*,

the *Questions of King Milinda*. King Milinda asked Arahat Nagasena whether he who is re-born remains the same or becomes another:

"Neither the same nor another.", was the answer he received. "Suppose O King, that a man were to light a lamp, would it burn the night through?"

"Yes, might do so, Venerable Sir."

"Now, is it the same flame that burns in the first watch of the night, Sir, as in the seconds?"

"No, Venerable Sir."

"Or the same that burns in the second watch and in the third?"

"No Venerable Sir."

"Then is there one lamp in the first watch and another in the second and another in the third?"

"No, the light comes from the same lamp all the night through."

"Just so, O King, is the continuity of a person or a thing maintained. One passes away, another comes into being; and the rebirth is, as it were, simultaneous. Thus, neither as the same nor as another does a man go on to the last phase of his self-consciousness."

Asked for another illustration, Arahat Nagasena gives that of milk which, once it is taken from the cow, after a lapse of time turns first to curds, then from curds to butter, and then from butter to ghee. Just as it would not be correct to say that the milk was the same thing as the curds, or the butter, or the ghee, but that they are produced out of it, so, he points out, the continuity of a person or a thing is maintained in the same way.

There is also the illustration of the wave of water in the lake or the ocean. A certain mass of water is raised up as a wave. As the wave passes on, or seems to pass on, a moment or so later it is not the same mass of water that forms the wave, but a different mass altogether. And yet we speak of the wave passing on.

The present being, present existence, is conditioned by the way one faced circumstances in the last and in all past existences. One's present position in character and circumstances is the result of all that one has been up to the present- but what one will be in the future depends on what one does now in the present. The true Buddhist regards death as a momentary incident between one life and its successor and views its approach with calmness. His only concern is that his future should be such that the condition of that life may provide him with better opportunities for perfecting himself. Holding, as he does, the great doctrine of *kamma*, he perceives that it is within his power to alter or modify the quality of the life force that continues in the next birth, and that his future environment will depend entirely on what he does, on how he has behaved in this and in his previous lives.

Buddhism teaches that with the practice of meditation and concentration the memory can be trained. By meditation and mind culture one can acquire the power to see one's rebirth as a link, or a succession of links, in a chain of births; one can also acquire the power of looking back into one's previous lives. Not only this, but Buddhism goes further and teaches that with the attainment of *Nibbana* in this life itself, through enlightenment or true wisdom, one can reach the end of this chain of rebirths.

There are on record instances of people who have possessed wonderful memories, some for what they had once read, others for music, others for names. There are still others who have remembered their past lives. The average person's memory is very bad indeed, but the fact that they do not remember an activity in their past does not prove that it did not happen. The same is true of the memory of past lives. Some people, simply because they cannot remember past lives, deny that there have been any previous births.

To students of Buddhism this seems a very foolish position, for we are taught neither to accept nor reject any teaching until we have examined all the evidence for it and have experimented with it ourselves to see if it is true. Having proved by these means that a thing is true or untrue, a Buddhist should live according to the evidence; but he must never judge others or be impatient if they cannot see things as he does. He must be tolerant of all, even the intolerant, and he must always remember that what is proof to one is not proof to another. What each person needs is experience- to see, to hear, and to feel for himself- and he has no right to ask others to believe before they have also had experience.

It is common to read in the Buddhist literature the remarks of the Buddha and many of his disciples concerning their own past lives and those of others, and often, too, of their future lives. Having attained his final Enlightenment and developed higher spiritual powers, the Buddha declared, "I recall my varied lot in former existences as follows- first one life, then two lives, then three, four, five, ten, twenty, up to fifty lives; then a hundred, a thousand, a hundred thousand, and so forth." He also said, "With clairvoyant vision, I perceived beings disappearing from one state of existence and reappearing in another. I beheld the base and the noble, the beautiful and the ugly, and the happy passing according to their deeds." (*Sutta 36, Majjhima Nikaya* I.248.)

There are several discourses in which the Buddha clearly states that the beings who have done evil are born in woeful states, and those who have done good are born in blissful states. All the Jataka stories, which are not only interesting but are of psychological importance, deal with the Buddha's disciples who also developed certain higher spiritual powers and were able to remember their past lives to a great extent.

From the foregoing we can now answer the following three questions. Whence come we? We came out of the past, out of the things which we have done before, out of the past vices and virtues, out of the labours unfinished, out of the darkness of our own ignorance, out of our own desires. Thus, we come down to the present, bringing with us the virtues and the vices of the past. Why are we here?

We are here because of the past, for the past gives birth to the present and from the present is born the future. We were brought here by our own joys and our own sorrows, and most of all we were led here by our own desires and we will remain here until the last selfish desire is annihilated. To the wise man, the life he lives here is an opportunity to rid himself of the burden which he has accumulated in the past, to rid himself of his wrong notions, his wrong viewpoints, to rid himself of his wrong concepts of life and death-and, leaving them all behind, to place his feet upon the Middle Path.

Whither are we Going?

We go to the effects of our causation. Those whose labours are unfinished merely go around the Wheel of Life and return again to labour toward fuller completion. Those who

have followed the Middle Path and finished their labours reach the state of Nibbana, the complete cessation of sorrow. To unmask the great illusion is the of man. To stand in equilibrium in the midst of worldly things is the way of the Buddha. To contemplate life but never to be enmeshed within worldly life is the law of the Buddha. To go forth out of worldly life into the higher spiritual life is the advice of the Buddha. To be absorbed into what is real, permanent-into *Nibbana* is the end of the Buddhist way of life, the path of the Buddha.

The Noble Truths

The Buddha after his Enlightenment, showed the way all men can follow to bring an end to *Kamma*, to attain *Nibbana*. The Four Noble Truths, which explain that way, are given here in the words of the Buddha, brought together from various sources in the Pali canon. It is the through not understanding, not realizing four things that I, Disciples, as well as you, had to wander long through this round of rebirths and what are these four things? They are:

- The Noble Truth of Suffering (*dukkha*);
- The Noble Truth of the Origin of Suffering;
- The Noble Truth of the Extinction of Suffering;
- The Noble Truth of the path that leads to the Extinction of Suffering.

As long as the absolutely true knowledge and insight as regards these Four Noble Truth was not quite clear to me, so long was I not sure whether I had that supreme Enlightenment which is unsurpassed in all the hosts of ascetics and priests, heavenly beings and men. But soon as the absolutely true knowledge and insight as regards these Four Noble Truths had become perfectly clear to me, there arose in me the assurance that I had won that supreme Enlightenment unsurpassed.

And I discovered that profound truth, so difficult to perceive, difficult to understand, tranquilizing and sublime, which is not to be gained by mere reasoning, and is visible only to the wise. The world, however, is given to pleasure, delighted with pleasure, enchanted with pleasure. Truly such beings will hardly understand the law of conditionality, the Dependent Origination of everything; incomprehensible to them will also be the end of all formations, the forsaking of every substratum of rebirth, the fading away of craving, detachment, extinction, *Nibbana*. Yet, there are beings whose eyes are only a little covered with dust-they will understand the truth.

What, now, is the Noble Truth of Suffering? Birth is suffering; decay is suffering; death is suffering; sorrow, lamentation, pain, grief, and despair are suffering; not to get what one desires is suffering; in short, the five aggregates of existence are suffering.

What, now, is the Noble Truth of the Origin of Suffering? It is that craving which gives rise to fresh rebirth, and, bound up pleasure and lust, now here, now there, finds ever fresh delight. But where does this craving arise and take root? Wherever in the world there are delightful and pleasurable things, there this craving arises and takes root. Eye, ear, nose, tongue, body and pleasurable-there this craving arises and takes root. Visual objects, sounds, smell, tastes, bodily impressions and mind objects are delightful and pleasurable- there this craving arises and takes root. Consciousness, sense impression, feeling born of sense impression, perception, will, thinking, and reflecting are delightful and pleasurable- there this craving arises and takes root. This is called the Noble Truth of the Origin of Suffering.

What, now, is the Noble Truth of the Extinction of Suffering? It is the complete fading away and extinction of this craving, its forsaking and giving up, the liberation and detachment from it. But where may this craving vanish, where may it be extinguished? Wherever in the world there are delightful and pleasurable things, there this craving may vanish, there it may be extinguished. Be it in the past, present, or future, whosoever of the monks or priests regards the delightful and pleasurable things in the world as impermanent (*anicca*), miserable (*dukkha*), without a self (*anatta*), as a disease and cancer, it is he who overcomes craving. This, truly, is peace, this is the Highest, namely the end of all *Kamma* formation, the forsaking of every substratum of rebirth, the heading away of, detachment, extinction, *Nibbana*. The extinction of greed, the extinction of anger the extinction of delusion- this is indeed called *Nibbhana*.

And for a disciple thus freed (the Arahant), whose heart dwells peace, there is nothing to be added to what has been done, and naught more remains for him to do. Just as a rock of one solid mass remains unshaken by the wind, even so neither forms, nor sounds, nor odors, nor contacts of any kind, neither the desired nor the undesired, can cause such a one to waver. Steadfast is his mind, gained his deliverance. And he who has considered all the contraption this earth, and is no more disturbed by anything whatever in the world, the peaceful one, freed from rage sorrow and from longing, he has passed beyond birth and decay.

To give oneself up to Indulgence in sensual pleasure, the base, common, vulgar, unholy, unprofitable; and also to give oneself up to self mortification, the painful, unholy, unprofitable: both these two extremes the Perfect One has avoided and found out the Middle Path, which makes one both to see and to know, leads to peace, to discernment, to Enlightenment, to *Nibbana*.

What, now, is the Noble Truth of the Path that leads to the Extinction of Suffering? It is the Noble Eightfold Path, the way that leads to the extinction of suffering, namely: Right Understanding, Right Thought, Right Action, Right Livelihood, Right Effort, Right Mindfulness, Right Concentration. This is the middle Path which the Perfect One has found out, which makes one both to see and to know, which leads to peace, to discernment, to Enlightenment, to *Nibbana*. Free from pain and torture is this path, free from groaning and suffering; it is the perfect Path. Truly, like this path there is no other path to the purity of insight. If you follow this path, you will put an end to suffering. But each one has to struggle for himself; the perfect Ones have only pointed the way. Give ear, then, for the Immortal is found. I reveal, I set forth the Truth, As I reveal it to you, so act. And that Supreme Goal of the holy life, for the sake of which sons of good families rightly to forth from home to the homeless state: you will in no long time, in this very life, make known to yourself, realize, and make your own.

The Middle Path

The Eightfold Path is the Middle Path by which beings reach the goal of *Nibbana*:

1. Right understanding is understanding of the Four Truths-understanding the nature of suffering, the origin of suffering, the extinction of suffering, and the Path that leads to the extinction of suffering.
2. Right thought is thought which is free from lust, free from ill will, and free from cruelty. We should think about right things and not about wrong things; we should always keep in our minds thoughts which are high and beautiful. Right thought must

never have the slightest touch of evil in it. There are some people who would not deliberately think of anything impure or horrible, and yet they will cherish though which are on the brink of impurity and horror-not definitely evil, but certainly a little doubtful. Whenever there is anything which seems in the least suspicious or unkind, it must be shut out of thought. We must be quite sure that our thoughts are kind and good.

Another meaning of right thought is correct thought. Often we think untrue or wrong thoughts about persons just because of prejudice or ignorance; we think that a person is bad and therefore conclude that his actions must be evil. When we attribute motives to another person without foundation, we are thinking untrue about him, and our thought is not right thought. When we fix our attention on the evil in a man instead of the good, we strengthen and encourage the evil, while with right thought we would strengthen and encourage the good.

3. Right speech is abstaining from lying, from tale bearing, from harsh language, and from vain talk. A man who abstains from lying speaks the truth, is devoted to the truth, is reliable, worthy of confidence, is not a deceiver of men. When at a meeting, or among people, or in the midst of his relatives, or in society, or in the king's court and called upon as a witness to tell what he knows, if he knows nothing he says, "I know nothing"; if he has seen nothing, he answers, "I have seen nothing." Thus, he never knowingly speaks a lie either for his own advantage, or for another person's advantage, or for any advantage, or for any advantage whatsoever.

Right speech requires that a man avoid tale bearing. What he has heard here, does not repeat there, so as to cause dissension. Thus he unites those who are divided, and those who are divided, and those who are united, he encourages. Concord gladdens him; he rejoices in concord and spreads concord by his words. He also avoids harsh language- rather, he speaks such words as are gentle, soothing to the ear and loving, words which go to the heart, are courteous and friendly and agreeable to many. And, finally, he avoids vain talk; he speaks at the right time, in accordance with the facts, speaks what is useful, speaks about the law and the discipline. His speech is like a treasure, uttered at the right moment accompanied by arguments which are moderate and full of sense.

4. Right action is abstaining from killing, from stealing, and from unlawful sexual intercourse. The man who follows the path does not kill living beings; he has no stick or weapon, is conscientious, full of sympathy, and is anxious for the welfare of all living beings. He does not steal -what another person possesses of goods and chattels in the town, village, or in the jungle, that he does not take away with thievish intent. He avoids unlawful sexual intercourse; he has no intercourse with such persons as are still under the protection of father, mother, brother, sister, or relatives, nor with married women, nor with female convicts, nor with betrothed girls.
5. Right livelihood is the right way of earning a living, that which causes no harm to any living thing. It affects such trades as those of the butcher or fisherman, but reaches much farther than that. We should not obtain our livelihood by harming any creature,

and therefore the selling of alcohol is not a right means of livelihood because the seller is living on the harm he does to other people. Further, the merchant who in the course of his trade is dishonest, who is cheating the people, is not following the right means of livelihood. The merchant has a right to a reasonable profit, the lawyer and doctor have a right to a reasonable fee, but all must be trustworthy and look to their duties.

6. Right effort includes four great efforts, the efforts to avoid, to overcome, to develop, and to maintain. The disciple must strengthen his will to avoid the arising of evil, unwholesome things that have not yet arisen. Thus, when he perceives a form with the eye, a sound with the ear, an odor with the nose, a taste with the tongue, an impression with the body, or an object with the mind, he neither adheres to the whole or its parts. He watches over and restrains his senses, striving to ward off that through which evil and unwholesome things might arise. When he has control over the senses, he experiences an inward feeling of joy into which no evil thing can enter. In addition to the effort to avoid, the disciple must make the effort to overcome the evil, unwholesome things which have already arisen. He must also make the effort to arouse wholesome things which have not yet arisen, and, finally, to maintain the wholesome things that have already arisen, not let them disappear but rather bring them to growth, to maturity, and to the full perfection of development.
7. Right mindfulness- contemplation on the four fundamentals of mindfulness- contemplation on the body, feeling, mind, and mind objects. The only way that leads to the attainment of purity, to the overcoming of sorrow and lamentation, to the end of pain and grief, to the entering upon the right path and the realization of *Nibbana*, is the contemplation on the four fundamentals of mindfulness. Vigilant attention leads us to see correctly and to attain a point of view from which we can see beyond the pairs of opposites. He who does not practice attention is the plaything of the multiple influences with which he comes in contact, he is like a drifting cork which is at the mercy of the waves, he unconsciously submits to the action of his physical and psychical environment; he is a corpse. We must be conscious of our movements and acts, both physical and mental. Nothing of what goes on in us should escape attention. We must be conscious of the feelings which are occurring in us; we must investigate them and search for their causes. We must be aware of anger when we are angry, find its cause, and foresee its results. In this way we can check all feelings such as envy, sensuality, and anxiety. When we perform a charitable deed, we must also question ourselves as to our motives. The result of this kind of question will often be a changing of selfish moral values. The practice of perfect attention is a means of learning to know oneself, to know the world in which one lives, and consequently to acquire right understanding.
8. Right concentration is concentration on a single object which is associated with wholesome consciousness. The four fundamentals of mindfulness which constitute the seventh step of the Path are the objects of concentration, and the four great efforts of the sixth step are the prerequisites for concentration. The practicing and cultivating of mindfulness is the development of concentration.

Three Stages of Development

All the teachings of the Buddha can be summed up in one verse which embodies the three stages on the grand path that leads to *Nibbana*:

To refrain from all evil,
To do what is good,
To purify the mind.
This is the teaching of the Buddhas.

There are three stages of development for a Buddhist -morality is the first stage, concentration the second, and wisdom the third. The eight steps of the Eightfold path are classified under these three stages. Morality includes right speech, right effort, right mindfulness, and right concentration; and wisdom includes the first two steps, right understanding, and right thought. Although wisdom is in one sense the beginning of the Eightfold path, in a more important sense it is the outcome.

There are three stages of development because there are three stages of defilement which must be overcome. In the first stage, defilements are not manifest in words or deeds, but lie latent in each being; in the second stage they come up from the latent state to the level of thoughts, emotions, and feelings when they are awakened by an object, pleasant or unpleasant; in the third stage they become fierce and ungovernable and produce evil actions.

The three stages of development dispel the three stages of defilement. Morality can dispel only the defilements of evil actions, but leaves untouched the defilements of the two lower levels, so they could rise again. Therefore, morality is called the temporary putting away of defilements. The development of concentration can dispel only the second defilements of thoughts, emotions and feelings. It can be effective for a considerable time, for it is more powerful than morality; but since the defilements which are latent are not dispelled, the defilements of the second level could arise again. Therefore the putting away by concentration is called the putting away to a distance.

The defilements of the first level, the latent defilements, are dispelled by wisdom, by insight. They are untouched by morality or concentration, but when dispelled through insight will never arise again. Getting rid of them by wisdom is like cutting a tree by the root; therefore, the putting away by insight is called the cutting away.

Since the three stages of development are interdependent and interrelated, they should be practiced at the same time. For example, when living a moral life, it is easier to have right concentration and right understanding. The practice of right contraction helps one to live rightly and to understand things rightly; and in the same way, the practice of right understanding helps one to live rightly and to concentrate rightly. On the other hand, they cannot be practiced separately, for it is impossible to live a moral life without concentration- which is mind control- and without right understanding; in the same way, concentration and wisdom always require the other two stages.

The first of the rules of discipline (morality) prescribed for the lay disciples are the five precepts; not to kill, not to steal, not to commit any sexual misconduct, not to lie, and not to take any intoxicating liquor or drugs. These are not Buddha's commandments, which it would

be considered a sin to break. They represent the preliminary ideals of a vitreous life which a man will accept wholeheartedly if he is to call himself a Buddhist. He does not make a promise to the Buddha to obey the precepts; he gives the promise to himself. The pledge is phrased, "accept the precept to refrain from taking life."

Each man repeats the precepts puts himself on his honor to do his best not to break them. And if he break them the only repentance which is constructive is to make the pledge to himself again as many times as is necessary, day after day, month after month, year after year, until he wins the struggle against his lower nature. A man must win the goal of purity and nobility by himself. Neither the Buddha, or angels, nor any god can bring a man to deliverance. The practice of the moral life is the very core and essence of Buddhism. A person of right of understanding who realizes the laws of cause and effect may accept the precepts and then go on a steep further and cultivate sense restraint, since he realizes that overindulgence in sensual pleasures is a hindrance to moral and spiritual progress.

The spiritual man who has learned to practice morality and master his sense is inclined to move to the second stage on the path to *Nibbana*. The stage of control and culture of the mind which brings a higher and more lasting happiness through concentration higher happiness can be attained through *jhanas* (*dhyanas* in Sanskrit). The word *jhana* comes from a root which may mean "to think closely of an object," or "to burn adverse things which hinder spiritual progress." It has been translated as trance, absorption, or ecstasy, but it is best thought of as a special, extramundane experience.

The spiritual man who seeks the second stage of development selects one of the recommended objects of concentration which appeals to his temperament and concentrates on it for days, weeks, months or even years until he is able to visualize it without difficulty. When he can visualize it without looking at it, he continues concentration on it until he develops it in to a conceptualized object at which stage he has attained proximate concentration. At that point overcome temporarily the five hindrances of sensual desires, hatred, sloth restlessness and worry, and doubts. By continuing in the discipline of concentration he eventually attains the five stages of *jhana* and easily develops the five supernormal powers celestial eye, celestial ear, remembrance of past births, reading thoughts of others and various psychic powers.

The monk of the spiritual man who has reached such high levels of experience through the *jhanas* is highly refined; yet that man is not entirely free from evil tendencies because concentration can only overcome temporarily the evil tendencies of the second stage of defilements. Since the evil tendencies of the first stage - the latent defilements - still remain untouched, the defilements of the second stage - the thoughts, emotions, and feelings aroused by sense objects - would arise again.

Morality makes a man gentle in his words and deeds; concentration controls the mind and makes him calm, serene, and steady; and wisdom enables him to overcome all the defilements completely.

The spiritual man who has reached the third stage on the path to *Nibbana*, the stage of wisdom or insight, tries to understand the real nature of his self and of the things of the world in general. With his highly purified mind he begins to realize that there is no ego-

principle or persistent identity of a self or substratum in either internal or external phenomena. He perceives that both mind and matter, which make up his personality, are in a state of constant flux; he sees that all conditioned things are impermanent (*anicca*), subject to suffering (*dukkha*), and void of self-existence (*anatta*). To him then comes the knowledge that every form of worldly pleasure is only a prelude to pain and that everything is in a state of flux and can not be the source of real, permanent happiness.

The aspirant then concentrates on the three characteristics of existence - impermanence, suffering and non-ego. Having neither attachment nor aversion for worldly things, he intently keeps on developing insight into both internal and external phenomena until he eliminates the three fetters of self-illusion, doubts and clinging to vain rites and rituals. It is only when he destroys these three fetters completely that he realizes *Nibbana*, for the first time in his existence. At this stage he is called one who has entered the stream leads to *Nibbana*, for just as a stream inevitably towards the ocean, so the aspirant will with certainty attain his final enlightenment. But because he was not eradicated the remaining seven fetters, he may be reborn as many as seven times.

When the aspirant has developed deeper insight and weakened the next two fetters-sensual craving and ill will-he comes a Once -returner because if he does not obtain final release in this present life he will be reborn in the world of desires only once. When those two fetters are completely discarded the aspirant becomes a Non-returner, one who will not be reborn in this world or any of the realms of sense pleasures, but if he does not attain his final Enlightenment in this life he will be reborn in one of the higher, suitable planes and pass from there to *Nibbanaa*.

The fourth stage is that of Arahant, the perfected saint who completely annihilates the remaining five fetters of craving for existence in the world of form, craving for existence in the immaterial world, pride or conceit, restlessness, and ignorance. He then realize that rebirth is exhausted, the Holy life is fulfilled and what was to be done has been done. This is the highest holiest peace and end of greed, hatred and delusion. The Arahant stands on heights more than celestial, realizing the unutterable bliss of *Nibbana*. There is nothing in him to cause him to be born again, or grow old again, or die again. There is nothing more for him to do, for he has shown that man can follow the Path of the Buddha to *Nibbana*.

Nibbana

Nibbana is the result of the cessation of craving, of selfish desires. It may also be defined as the extinction of lust, hatred, and ignorance. The Pali word *Nibbana* is formed of *ni* and *vana*. *Ni* is a negative particle and *vana* means craving or selfish desire. *Nibbana* therefore literally means the absence of craving. The Sanskrit word *Nirvana* comes from the root *va* which means to blow, and the prefix *nir* which means off or out. Hence, *Nirvana* in its Sanskrit form means "the Blowing out". It is understood to mean the blowing out of the flame of personal desire.

The predominance of the negative explanation of *Nibbana* resulted in the mistaken notion that it is "nothingness" or annihilation". However, in the *Pitakas* we find many positive definitions of *Nibbana*, such as Highest Refuge, Safety, Unique, Absolute Purity, Supramundane, Security, Emancipation, Peace, and the like. *Nibbana* is therefore not a negative

concept because it is the cessation of craving a "blowing out", for it is a blowing out man's desires, and that blowing out of desires leaves a man free. Nibbana is freedom, but not freedom from circumstances; it is freedom from the bonds with which we have bound ourselves to circumstances. That man is free who is strong enough to say, "Whatever comes I accept as best."

Freedom does not mean that one can do everything that can be imagined, that one can defeat a lion with a slap of the hand. Freedom to do anything we wish is not freedom, for that means a return to the bondage of our wishes, our desires. Freedom means that one cannot be made a slave to any one or anything because one is free from personal desire, free from resentment, anger, pride, fear, impatience - free from all craving. Such a man's binding emotion have been blown out like so many candles. That man is free here on earth. He has reached Nibbana in this world.

Theravada Countries

Against the background of the history of Buddhism told by the Venerable Bhikkhu Kashyap of Nalanda and the outline of the beliefs of *Theravada* Buddhism by the Venerable Bhikkhu Thittila of Rangoon, let us consider in more details the influence of Buddhism in Theravada countries and the practices of the people who follow Theravada - that is, who follow the Doctrine of the Elders as determined by the five hundred Arahats as the first Great Council.

When, at the end of the Third Great Council, the bearers of the *Dhamma* were sent by Ashoka to the countries of southern Asia, they went forth representing a simple and sincere teaching which had spread throughout much of India. As in the Buddha's time, the Buddhist community consisted of four groups of people - the monks (*Bhikkhus*), nuns (*Bhikkunis*), male lay devotees (*Upasakas*), and female lay devotees (*Upasikas*).

There was no Buddhist patriarch or religious head who had power over the Sangha in those days. Every group of monks was under the guidance of a qualified elderly monks, and the power of governing the whole Sangha was vested in the community of elderly monks who headed the local groups. Every fortnight, the monks and nuns gathered to recite the rule of conduct (*Patimokkha*), and every rainy season they gathered in one place for three months of study and meditation. During the months between rainy seasons the members of the Sangha wandered from place to place along with their guiding elders. The fortnightly recitation of the rules of conduct and other duties of the Sangha, such as ordination, were carried on at a place called a *seema*, a small area marked off by pillars to indicate that it was set aside for such ceremonies. Nuns lived apart from the monks except when they came to receive instruction from one of the elders. In the early days there were no rituals, no images to worship, no elaborates religious festivals. In short, they lived a very simple life with the sole aim of attaining Arahatsip as soon as possible.

Although at the time that Ashoka's bearers of the *Dhamma* were selected the *Mahasanghika* school had broken away from the *Theravada* position and was beginning to use Sanskrit as the means of instruction, there was no serious difference among Buddhist as to doctrine. The teachings which prevailed at the time of when Buddhism spread to southern Asia were concerned with impermanence, suffering, non substantiality; the Four Noble Truths; the Eightfold Path; dependent origination - the Buddha's exposition of how one's past, present,

and the future lives are connected by the law of cause and effect; the thirty-seven constituents of Enlightenment-such meditations, will energy, mindfulness and so on; and *kamma* and rebirth-making clear that *kamma* is not mere outward action but includes the volition which rouses one to do a deed and which causes rebirth.

It is from this simple Indian background and with these beliefs that the bearers of the *Dhamma* set out two and half centuries after the Buddha to carry his teaching to the North, the West, the South and the East.

Srilanka

Arahat Mahinda came to Ceylon with six companions and was received with great honor by King Tissa. He taught the *Dhamma* with such energy and appeal that before long almost the whole of Ceylon had embraced Buddhism, many men had joined the *Sangha*, many monasteries and stupas had been built, including the famous *Mahavihara* monastery and the Thuparama stupa in which enshrined the Buddha's collarbone and other relics. When some royal ladies also wished to join the Sangha, Emperor Ashoka Mahinda's request, the nun Sanghamitta to found the order of nuns. She brought with her the shoot from the sacred bodhi tree at Buddhagaya which was planted at Anuradhapura and is still there to this day.

For more than a century after Arahat Mahinda passed away- toward the end of the third century after the Buddha, or early in the third century B.C.-the rulers of Ceylon did their best to bring in a golden era of Buddhism in Ceylon. They were interrupted by two invasions by the Dravidian Hindu forces of southern India, but were finally successful in driving them back and were able to devote their attention to uplifting Buddhism in the island. There followed several centuries in which many pious kings caused monasteries to be built and maintained and did much for the progress of Buddhism in Ceylon. In those days there were large numbers of monks and nuns with some monasteries caring for as many as a thousand Bhikkhus. The majority of the Bhikkhus devoted their whole time to the practice of yoga and, it is said, there were many Arahats in those days.

In the ninth year of the reign of King Kit-Sirimevan, 854 B.E. (A.D. 310) the tooth relic was brought to Ceylon from India and received by the king with highest honors. He had it placed in an urn of pure crystal in the Temple of the tooth Relic in Kandy, where it is the object of pious pilgrimage to the present day. His benevolent rule was followed by that of his son, Buddha, who led an ideal Buddhist life, treating his subjects as a mother would treat her children. The Mahavamsa, the poor by gifts of money, those of the rich by protecting their property and their life. Great in discernment, he treated the goods with winning friendliness, the wicked with sternness, and the sick with remedies." His son, King Mahanama, who ruled from 953-975 B.E. (A.D.409-431), was ruler when Ceylon was visited by Buddhaghosha, the famous Indian scholar, and by the early Chinese scholar, Fa Hsien.

Buddhaghosa was, according to the Mahavamsa, born a Brahman in a village near Buddhagaya and later converted to *Theravada* Buddhism. He became a great scholar, grammarian, linguist, and philosopher. Urged on by his teacher, he came to Ceylon to translate the commentaries from Sinhalese into Pali. He settled at mahavihara monastery and not only wrote a commentary called *Visuddhi Magga* but also translated most of the Sinhalese commentaries into Pali. When he had finished his work, he returned to India and, according

to the Burmese tradition, he returned to Burma by way of Thaton. About one hundred years after Buddhaghosa another famous Indian scholar, Dhammapala, wrote additional commentaries which are in use today.

For almost five hundred years, from the twelfth to the seventeenth centuries after the Buddha (sixth to eleventh centuries A.D.), Ceylon experienced a period of disturbances due to Indian invasions and internal disruptions which disorganized the government and forced the removal of the capital from Anuradhapura to Polonnaruwa. During this time the order of nuns ceased to exist, and Buddhism was so degenerate that when King Vijaya-bahu in 1609 B.E. (A.D. 1065) sought to restore Buddhism, hardly five ordained monks were to be found. The king corrected the situation by bringing ordained Bhikkhus from southern Burma to restore the ceremony of ordination in Ceylon, and thousands of pious people joined the revived Sangha. There followed a period of two centuries in which the doctrinal divisions within the Sangha were curbed by the rulers, Buddhism became once more influential, and many new commentaries were written. During this period, the first *Sangharaja* or ruler of the entire Sangha, was appointed by the king; he was Sariputta Sangharaja, noted for his commentaries and other religious writings.

From the beginning of the nineteenth century after the Buddha until the coming of the Portuguese (around A.D. 1250 to 1505), the invasions from India which disturbed the country made it difficult for Buddhism to continue its growth, but it maintained its strength in the face of many obstacles. It was during this period, in 2019 B.E. (A.D.1475), that a delegation of Bhikkhus came from Burma to receive the higher ordination and took back to Burma copies of all the available Pali scriptures.

The situation of the Buddhism worsened after the arrival of the Portuguese in Ceylon, for the invaders exploited the internal rivalries in the country and in the areas which they controlled attempted to force conversions to Catholicism. Under the Portuguese the people were miserable, and the progress of the nation was stopped. At one time, monks were again brought from Burma to restore the higher ordination, and thus the struggle to maintain the national religion and culture continued.

In an attempt to overthrow the Portuguese, the Dutch were invited to the island, but when the Portuguese left the island forever in 2200 B.E. (A.D.1656) the Dutch took their place. They sought to establish Protestantism and to prohibit Buddhism but were not successful. Urged on by the pious and energetic Bhikku Saranamkara, the king in 2294 B.E. (A.D.1750) sent an embassy to Thailand to bring back a delegation of ten Bhikkhus who held an ordination ceremony in Kandy at which over three thousand persons were ordained. At the same time, Bhikkhu Saranamkara was appointed *Sangharaja* by the king.

The British displaced the Dutch rule in the maritime provinces in 2340 B.E. (A.D. 1796), and nineteen years later the British rule was extended throughout the island. At first this gave greater freedom to the Sangha and in the course of the next few years several groups of Bhikkhus went to Burma to receive higher ordination and returned to establish centers in Ceylon where the ordination could be continued. The British during the first half century of their rule were responsible by treaty for the internal protection of Buddhism, but owing to the opposition of Christian authorities the government gave up all connections with Buddhist affairs, and

Christian missionaries became very active, even criticizing Buddhism publicly. The reaction which set in has stimulated revival of Buddhism which continues in Ceylon to the present.

Buddhism in Ceylon has suffered a great deal from the anti-Buddhist movements encouraged by foreign governments for more than three hundred years. It was an understanding of this situation which led many Buddhists, who are a majority in Ceylon, to seek independence for the sole purpose of gaining back their national religion. But the Buddhist public today does not feel that its government has been sufficiently active in supporting Buddhism. Even so, the vitality and enthusiasm of Buddhism in Ceylon is such that the more there is opposition from anti-Buddhist or political bodies, the more energetic the Buddhist leaders become in protecting their national religion and culture.

Buddhism in Ceylon has always been predominantly *Theravada*. Arahata Mahinda brought the pure *Theravada* teachings direct from the Third Great Council, and there was no division until late in the fifth century of the Buddhist era (first century B.C.). When a monk who had been disciplined for breaking some minor rules of conduct withdrew and later formed a school associated with the *Mahasanghikas*. Three hundred years later the king had the books of the heretical sects examined and destroyed and the monks who professed heretical doctrines were banned from the island. About a generation later a heretical monk from India persuaded the king to accept the doctrines of a *Mahayana* sect and to seek to impose them on the *Sangha*, he was not successful and queen had the heretical books burned. Some remnants of *Mahayana* Buddhism remained in Ceylon until 1700 B.E.(A.D. 1156), when it was overcome largely due to the vigorous preaching of a learned *Theravada Bhikku* who came to Ceylon from southern India.

About 1400 B.E. (A.D. 856), a tantric monk from India made a vigorous attempt to establish tantric Buddhism in Ceylon and converted the king, but his efforts were unsuccessful and *Tantrayana* was never an important part of Buddhist practices in the island. The minor differences within *Theravada* Buddhism in Ceylon are historical in origin, dependable on whether the higher ordination came back to Ceylon from Thailand or from Burma.

Theravada in Burma

Historians differ as to when Buddhism came to Burma. The chronicles of Ceylon and an ancient commentary say that the two Asokan bearers of the *Dhamma*, Sona Thera and Uttara Thera, evangelized Suvanna-Bhumi. Some scholars identify Suvanna-Bhumi with Thaton in southern Burma while others identify it with Nakorn Pathom in Thailand. Inscriptions in Pali found in southern Burma indicate that *Theravada* Burma Buddhism was known there by the sixth century after the Buddha (first century B.C.). This is supported by the Tibetan historian Taranatha who states that *Theravada* was preached from the time of Ashoka onward in Pagan, Burma, and in Indo-China. Somewhat later the pupils of Vasubandhu introduced his *Mahayana* system to Burma, and *Mahayana* and *Theravada* existed side by side for centuries.

A part from these details, nothing important is mentioned in Burmese history until the year 946 B.E. (A.D.402), when it is said in the Burmese chronicles that Buddhaghosha visited Ceylon and after finishing his task returned to Burma, bringing his commentaries and the original texts of the *Tipitaka*. After that many Pali scholars appeared in Burma and wrote books on Pali grammar and Abhidhamma.

Burma was first united into one country under King Anawrahta (*Anuruddha*) of the fabulous city of Pagan, which was a great center of Buddhist culture from 1588 B.E. (A.D. 1044) until it was abandoned after the invasion by the forces of Kublai Khan in 1831 B.E. (A.D. 1287). In King Anawrahta's time-he died in 1621 B.E. (A.D. 1077)- the prevailing religion in northern Burma was *Mahayana* with a considerable amount of *Tantrayana* from Tibet and a background of Hinduism. Under the guidance of a *Theravada Bhikkhu*, he decided to bring *Theravada* to his kingdom and for copies of the Dhamma from the ruler of Thaton in southern Burma. When 'the request was refused, he conquered Thaton and brought back to Pagan thirty sets of the Tipitaka and 30,000 captives. Part of building which was used as a library for the Tipitaka still exists in the abandoned capital of Pagan.

Although there is evidence in the ruins of Pagan that Theravada existed for a time side by side with *Mahayana*, *Tantrayana*, and *Hindusim*, it slowly became the chosen path of the people of Burma. At the height of Pagan's influence, several Bhikkhus went to Ceylon to study and returned to found schools of Theravada which continued for several centuries After the fall of Pagan, although the country was in disorder, Theravada Buddhism continued to grow and experienced a major revival under King Dhammacation who ruled from 2004 to 2035 B.E. (A.D. 1460 to 1491) In his time there were six schools of Theravada Buddhism, one from Cambodia and five from Ceylon, so he brought Bhikkhus from Ceylon and had all the Burmese bhikkhus reordained in one sect. After that time Buddhism was firmly established in Burma and the study of Abhidhamma flourished.

Two centuries later a controversy grew up which caused a serious division among the Bhikkhus. It had always been the custom for Bhikkhus to go out fully clad, with both shoulders covered, but some began to keep the right shoulder bare when they walked on the streets. A bitter controversy grew up which divided the monks into the rival one-shouldered and fully-clad sects. After a public hearing before the king, he ruled in favour of the fully-clad sect and appointed a Sangharaja to maintain discipline in the Sangha.

During the last century the vitality of Buddhism in Burma was such that Bhikkhus came from Ceylon to receive higher ordination and take it back to their country; the four great *Nikayas* were translated into Burmese; the Fifth Great Council was held in Mandalay, and the *Tipitaka* was inscribed on stone tablets sheltered in shrines at the foot of Mandalay Hill. For a time the Sangharaja was elected, but since the coming of the Burmese Republic the government has appointed a Superior for each of the three Burmese sects. During all this time a great many books on Buddhism have been written by Burmese scholars.

Theravada Thailand

According to the traditions of Thailand, Buddhism was first introduced to Nakorn Pathom in Siam around 300 B.E. (244 B.C.) by the Asokan bearers of the Dhamma, Sona and Uttara. An inscription of about the tenth century after the Buddha (fourth century A.D.) found at Kedah indicates that there was Buddhism in Thailand at that time. The Chinese pilgrim I-Ching, four centuries later, reports that Buddhism had been prevalent there in early days but was destroyed by a wicked ruler.

The Siamese, who call themselves Thai (free), were Buddhists even before they established themselves in their present country in the nineteenth century after the Buddha (thirteenth century

A.D.). They had been influenced by Hinduism and *Mahāyāna* Buddhism, according to some historians, when they were under Cambodian rule. *Theravada* Buddhism was re-established in the Siam area under Burmese rule in the seventeenth century after the Buddha (eleventh century A.D.), before the Thais came to power. Ever since the establishment of the Thai government at Ayuthia at the beginning of the twentieth century after the Buddha (middle of the fourteenth century A.D.), Thailand has been a Buddhist land.

At the time that Ayuthia became the capital, the ruler sent a mission to Ceylon to bring back a learned Bhikkhu who was a master of the Tipitaka and qualified to bring the *Theravada* ordination to the Bhikkhus of Thailand. Step by step the *Theravada* temples increased in number and the ancient Hindu temples were adapted to Buddhist uses. The remnants of *Mahayana* Buddhism were converted to *Theravada*, and the fame of the Thai Buddhists spread throughout the Buddhist world. Three centuries after the founding of Ayuthia as the capital of Thailand, in 2294 B.E. (A.D. 1750), when the king of Ceylon wished to revive Buddhism in his land, he sent to Thailand for Bhikkhus who could re-establish the higher ordination, and the Siamese ordination has been in use in Ceylon to the present time.

A few years later, in 2310 B.E. (A.D. 1766), after the Burmese invaded Thailand, there followed a period in which the country was disorganized and Buddhism declined. Ayuthia fell, and when the Burmese were repelled, the new capital was established at Bangkok. After the new capital was built, a convocation of Bhikkhus was held there for the study and preservation of the Tipitaka. From that time to the present, the rulers of Thailand have encouraged and aided Buddhism by building and maintaining monasteries, by having the Tipitakas transliterated into Thai characters, and by reforming the Sangha and appointing able Sangharajas to govern the order. During all these years, the people of Thailand have fortunately been free from outside political domination. The Portuguese and French held concessions in Thailand temporarily, but they were soon expelled; able diplomatic negotiations with China from the time of the Ming Dynasty forestalled invasions from that side.

Theravada Buddhism is the state religion of Thailand with the king as the hereditary Upholder of the Faith; his spiritual counterpart is the Sangharaja who is appointed by the king and given jurisdiction over the monks. The Sangharaja appoints a council of ten members which includes the heads of the four administrative boards: Sangha Administration, Propaganda, Education, Public Works. There is also a Consultative Assembly of forty-five members which acts in an advisory capacity as representatives of the 165,000 monks from 20,000 monasteries in Thailand. The Government Department of Religious Affairs is responsible for the promotion of religious projects and the care of monasteries and monks. It has a large printing plant for publishing book on Buddhism; it makes an appropriation for the upkeep of temples and the provision of hospitals for Bhikkhus; it operates centers of higher learning for Buddhist monks as well as an institute for training Bhikkhus in administration, education, and evangelization. Free passes are given to Bhikkhus on public transportation to aid them in carrying out their religious duties. The National Institute of Culture, supported by the government, seeks to foster Buddhist culture in Thailand by all suitable means.

Theravada Laos and Cambodia

There is little known about the history of Buddhism in Laos which would distinguish it from Cambodia and Thailand. Today, Laos is a strong *Theravada* country, very similar to

Cambodia in its practices. The Khmer culture, which formed the basis for the country known today as Cambodia, extended at one time from the Bay of Bengal to the Chinese sea, and while it shows evidences of influence by the Chinese, the Hindus, and the Monk, it was a distinctive culture which is revealed in the ruins and art objects which are still available for study.

As long ago as the fifth century after the Buddha (first century B.C.), Hindu traders had settled in the area which is now known as Cambodia. Images of Vishnu and the Buddha have been found which can be dated as early as the tenth century after the Buddha (fifth century A.D.), indicating that Buddhism was established in Cambodia by that time, at least. Examples of Gupta art from northern India have been found, dating back to the eleventh century after the Buddha (sixth century A.D.) The peak of the culture in Cambodia was reached in the days of Angkor, the great city which existed from the fifteenth century after the Buddha (ninth century A.D.) until it was abandoned in 1976 B.E. (A.D.1432).

Mahayana Buddhism and Hinduism existed side by side during the Anghor period in Cambodia, sometimes living peacefully together and sometimes in conflict. *Theravada* Buddhism, which had been strong in the early centuries, was almost lost from Cambodia before the founding of Anghor, but returned in the eighteenth century after the Buddha (thirteen century A.D.) and two centuries later had supplanted *Mahayana* Buddhism-which before that time had overcome Hinduism in Cambodia. *Theravada* Buddhism has been the religion of Cambodia ever since, accepting the Pali Cannon for its authority and following practices similar to those of Burma and Thailand

There are numerous monasteries in which from thirty to fifty monks lead an excellent way of life which has won the high regard of the laity. They observe the rules of the discipline, serve as schoolmasters and scholars, and meditate daily before the Buddha which is placed in the shrine room of each monastery.

The Theravada Sangha

The strength of *Theravada* Buddhism in Ceylon, Burma, Thailand, Laos, and Cambodia lies in the Sangha, the Order which was established by the Buddha twenty-five hundred years ago. According to the Buddha, rapid progress in spiritual life and the handing down of his doctrine to posterity are not easy for a layman who is leading a household life with all the impediments it places in the way of spirituality. He saw that only an order of monks who devoted their whole lives to the Dhamma could successfully transmit the teachings and attain Arahatsip. Therefore he founded the Sangha, the Order of monks who break away from all worldly bonds, the Order made up of the homeless ones.

As the occasion demanded, the Buddha promulgated a code of discipline for the internal government of the Sangha, the admission to the Order, duties of the Bhikkhus, the annual place of residence at the rainy season, and the like. There are also the thirteen practices which are to be followed, according to the inclination of each Bhikku, as a means of creating in the follower of the Buddha such qualities as fewness of wishes, contentment, a desire for solitude ones which should be characteristic of a Bhikkhu.

Anyone worthy of admission is welcome to enter the sangha and to leave it whenever he wishes; he need only be in good health, neither blind nor deaf, and to have the permission of

his parents. Before a members of the Sangha receives full ordination he is known as a novice; then he is called a Bhikkhu. After ten year he becomes a *Thera*, or Elder, and twenty years after he receives full ordination he is known as a *Maha Thera*, or Great Elder. In Ceylon, a person who joins the Sangha is expected to remain in the Order for life, and it is considered a disgrace to leave the robe; but in the other *Theravada* countries it is common for people to enter the Sangha for a few months or years and then return to the life of a householder. In Thailand and Cambodia in particular all young men are urged to spend at least one rainy season in the Sangha receiving their moral instruction from the Elders of the order.

A person who joins the Sangha repeats the Three Jewels: I take refuge in the Buddha, I take refuge in the Dhamma, I take refuge in the Sangha. Bhikkhus are not bound by any vow of obedience to a higher supreme authority, nor by a creedal statement, nor by rituals. Bhikkhus should have complete mastery over themselves; and if they fail in achieving such mastery, there is no absolution, and no form of creed or ritual can bring them salvation. The obedience expected of a Bhikkhu is to the Dhamma; to his seniors in the Sangha he owes only a respectful submission. The rules governing his life in the Sangha are clearly stated in the *Vinaya Pitaka* and regularly recited. In all *Theravada* countries the Pali Canon is the guide for monks and laymen.

Whenever there is a group of Bhikkhus, the ordained members should meet together twice a month on every new- moon day and full-moon day, within the boundary of the seema which has been marked off as suitable place, and there recite together the 227 precepts and prohibitions by which their lives are governed and confess their failures. In some monasteries it is customary for the novices to assemble once a day to recite the rules governing their lives and to confess any lapse on their part. In the early days Bhikkhus were expected to wander from place to place, except during the rainy season to wander from to remain in one place and spend their time in meditation and self- examination. From the Buddha's point of view, a lonely life in a forest or in an empty room or under a tree is the most convenient and suitable for a Bhikkhu, but because the pious laymen wished to provide suitable monasteries near villages, the Buddha permitted his disciples to accept them.

In modern times the Bhikkhus use monasteries as permanent residences and travel about only when they wish to; but in all *Theravada* countries they observe the three months of residence during the rainy season. Although some Buddhist monasteries have become wealthy, the majority of the monks in *Theravada* countries observe their religious vows quite well.

Bhikkhus must abstain entirely from drugs and intoxicating liquors; some permit themselves to use tobacco, but most do not. Neither monk nor novice should eat and sold food between noon and following morning if he becomes hungry, he may drink tea and eat sugar, honey, or butter. The usual way for a monk to get his food is to go bowl in hand from house to house on his silent begging round. He is to accept whatever food is given him, but should not eat meat which has been specially prepared for him; otherwise he can eat meat when it is given to him. All members of the Sangha must, of course, remain chaste in thought and deed. A Bhikkhu may not touch a woman nor converse with a woman unless a third person is present.

A monk can rightfully keep as his personal possessions eight articles: one undergarment, two robes, a belt, an alms bowl, a small knife or razor, a needle, and a water strainer. His robes should be prepared from cloth offered to him by the laity or from castoff rags. First they must be torn into pieces and then sewed together and dyed yellow or yellowish brown to render them commercially valueless. Books and other things, including even houses and land, may be accepted and used as the common property of the Sangha. Some Bhikkhus, in Thailand for instance, never touch money; if a layman wishes to put money at their disposal, he gives it to a keeper who spends it as directed.

If a Bhikkhu contravenes a rule, he must confess it at the daily or fortnightly chanting of the rules governing the Sangha. If it is a minor departure, the confession is sufficient; if it is a transgression of some weight, a slight penance which he willingly observes will be imposed upon him. If it is one of the four major transgressions- sexual intercourse, stealing, killing a human being, or deceiving by claiming trances or attainment of sainthood or higher spiritual qualities- the punishment is to require him to leave the robe and return to the household life. If a charge is to be brought against a Bhikkhu, first his consent must be taken and then the charge must be examined by a chapter of Bhikkhus. Their decision must be determined by the *Dhamma*, for no one can change or add to the existing Law.

The structure of the Sangha is basically democratic with decisions reached by the assembled Bhikkhus acting in accord with the *Dhamma*. When there is a difference of opinion as to the interpretation of any of the Teachings recorded in the Tipitaka or commentaries, the Sangha must follow the eight rules for correct interpretation as given by the Buddha. The Dhamma of the Buddha are:

1. The Dhamma that will eliminate pleasure in anything.
2. The Dhamma that will eliminate attachment to worldly things.
3. The Dhamma that will not make you accumulate sins or worldly things.
4. The Dhamma that will make you moderate in your desires.
5. The Dhamma that will make you satisfied with what you have.
6. The Dhamma that will make you like solitude.
7. The Dhamma that will make you persevere, be diligent, to attain *Nibbana*.
8. The Dhamma that will make you easy to be fed, will keep you from requiring luxuries.

The Bhikkhus of a monastery select a senior monk to head their organization and look after the details of monastic life. Monasteries which are associated in a school may select a *Maha Thera* to serve as the guiding head for all of their institutions. There is no one office which oversees all monasteries which follow *Theravada* Buddhism. In Ceylon each sect has its own head, and there is consultation between them on common concerns. In Burma the Sasana Council, which is made up of leading Buddhists, monks and laymen, serves as an advisory body for all followers of the Dhamma. In Thailand they have a Sangharaja who is chosen by the heads of the major monastic groups, approved by the Ministry of Education, and appointed by the king. In turn, the Sangharaja chooses Bhikkhus who will fill the chief positions in the Sangha, and they are approved by the government.

Sects in Theravada

The sectarian differences within *Theravada* Buddhism have no particular significance either for organizational responsibility or for beliefs- they reflect historical origins and minor variations in practices. While in *Mahayana* Buddhism the various sects reflect different rituals, philosophies, and scriptures, in *Theravada* there is a unity throughout Ceylon, Burma, Thailand, Laos, and Cambodia based on the Pali *Tipitaka* and commentaries which are accepted in the same way by all Buddhists.

In Ceylon the Sangha is divided into three sects-Siamese, Amarapura, and Ramanya-named after the countries from which their ordination was introduced to Ceylon. The Siamese sect was started in 2297 B.E. (A.D. 1753), when the king of Ceylon brought a delegation of ten Bhikkhus from Ayuthia in Thailand, and over three thousand people were ordained at Kandy. That sect is sometimes called the Upali-vamsa since the leader of the Thai Bhikkhus was Phra Upali. The Amarapura sect was founded when a group of novices went to Amarapura in Burma and after receiving higher ordination there returned to establish the Amarapura sect in Ceylon in 2345 B.E. (A.D.1801). The Ramanya sect was founded a few years later by seven novices who went to the Ramanya country of southern Burma and returned to establish a new center for ordination in Ceylon.

Although all three sects accept the same of discipline, the Amarapura sect is stricter in practice than the Siamese sect, and the Ramanya sect, in appearance, is the strictest of all. All these sects are practically alike except for a few minor details regarding the use of robes and umbrellas. One division of the Siamese sect requires its members to cover only the left shoulder when they are in the temple premises or when they go out from the monastery. The members of one branch of the Ramanya sect do not use the ordination umbrella used by Bhikkhus of the Amarapura sect and by the other branch of the Ramanya, but they use a special umbrella made of palmyra leaves. The Siamese sect ordains only the people who belong to the highest level of society, called *Govi-gama*, while the other two sects do not regard caste distinction as a rule. But all monks are hospitably received in all monasteries, regardless of their sect affiliation.

In Burma, in the reign of King Dhammaceti in the twenty first century after the Buddha (fifteenth century A.D.) the five existing sects-one from Cambodia and four from Ceylon-were combined by the king in one sect which received its higher ordination from Ceylon. In modern times there are three sects in Burma-*Sudhamma*, *Swedjin*, and *Dvara*. The *Swedjin* sect is somewhat stricter than the *Sudhamma*, and the *Dvara* sect follows the strictest discipline of all. The *Dvaras* never use umbrellas; instead they use a large fan made of palmyra leaf. Apart from this there is no important difference between these sects.

In Thailand there are two sects, the *Maha Nikaya* (Great Sect) and *Dhammayuttika Nikaya* (Sect of the Followers of the Dhamma). The *Dhammayuttikas* are a reform sect, about a century old, smaller and more strict; they will not touch money, are not permitted to prepare their own food and to go where liquor is served, ride on trolleys, or wear shoes, but they may carry an umbrella. The members of the *Maha Nikaya* are more lax in these matters. Both sects follow the 227 rules of the *Vinaya Pitaka* but have slight differences in their every day life. The monks of the *Maha Nikaya* confess twice a day, morning and evening, while the monks of the *Dhammayuttika Nikaya* make their confession only when they feel guilty of a

transgression of the rules. *Maha Nikaya* monks recite the Patimokkha at the fortnightly service in a closed room while the *Dhammayuttikas* chant and confess publicly.

In Cambodia there is no sect distinction worth mentioning. In times past both *Tantrayana* and *Mahayana* have been found in some of the *Theravada* countries, but today the Buddhism of Ceylon, Burma, Thailand, Laos, and Cambodia is almost exclusively *Theravada*, based on the Pali Canon. The only *Mahayana* deity that has entered the worship of ordinary Buddhists in *Theravada* countries is *Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara*. In Ceylon he is known as *Natha-deva* and mistaken by the majority for the Buddha yet to come, *Bodhisattva Maitreya*. The figure of *Avalokitesvara* usually is found in the shrine room near the Buddha image.

The Bhikkhus in *Theravada* countries spend their time in the observance of the discipline of the *Vinaya Pitaka*, in study of the *Tipitaka* and the commentaries, in meditation in teaching novices and laymen, and in various forms of service to the community. The members of the Sangha bend all their energies toward following the path to Enlightenment which was taught by the Buddha.

Images and Shrines

In the self-discipline of the monk, in the following of the *Dhamma*, the most important activity is meditation, which is described in detail at the end of this chapter. Meditation is an active striving toward the goal of *Nibbana*; it is not worship in the sense in which that word is normally used in the English language. But some people mistake Buddhists for idol worshipers because there are images of the Buddha in the shrines. That is quite far from the truth. Not a single *Theravada* Buddhist deifies the image of the Buddha. The respect paid to the Buddha image is nothing more than the general practice of cultured people to honor a statue or monument of a great personage with flowers, incense, and similar signs of veneration. The words said by a Buddhist before the image are a meditation on the virtues of the Buddha, an expression of aspiration for similar virtues. The respect and honor paid to a bodhi tree, also, is an expression of gratitude, for it was under the shadow of a bodhi tree that the Bodhisattva attained *Buddhahood*.

According to the Pali Canon, there are three objects which may properly be objects of Devotion—the relics of the body of the Buddha, the things constructed on his account, such as images, and the articles the Buddha used, such as his girdle or his alms bowl. The relics of the body of the Buddha, such as his collarbone or locks of his hair, have been enshrined in *stupas*, *dagobas* or *pagodas* in *Theravada* countries. Perhaps the most famous of the relics is the Sacred Tooth which has been at Kandy in Ceylon for over fifteen centuries.

The greatest number of pagodas have been erected in Burma where the extremely religious and pious Burmans have added to the beauty of the landscape by building numerous pagodas throughout the countryside. The structure of a pagoda is made up of four parts: the square terrace, usually made of brick; then the polygonal plinth on which rests the bell-shaped body divided into two parts by an ornamental band; finally, there is the cone-shaped spire which often has a metal crown and is gilded. Symbolically, the base of the pagoda represents Mount Meru with its five terraces; the plinth and the two sections of the bell-shaped body represent the three realms of the sensual, corporeal, and immaterial; the spire represents the Buddha. Another interpretation of the symbolism of the pagoda in Burma is that the square base

represents the heavens of the four guardian deities of the four directions, the eight-sided plinth represents the *Tushita* heaven where the future Buddha resides, and the upper part of the pagoda represents *Nibbana*.

The veneration of the footprint of the Buddha is regarded by the common folk of Buddhism as next in importance to the veneration of relics. In almost every country in Asia where Buddhism has prevailed there is at least one of the supposed impressions of the Buddha's foot. According to the Buddhist tradition of Ceylon, the Buddha was supposed to have impressed his footprint on the bank of the Narmada river in South India, on Mount Elumalei near Tirupati in South India, on Adam's Peak, Sri-Pada, in Ceylon, and in Yonaka-pura, which is probably Gandhara. There is a sculpture of the footprint marked with a wheel symbol on one of the gateways at Sanchi, and there are sculptured footprints at Amaravati, indicating that the veneration of the footprint came into Buddhism very early. In many temples in all Buddhist lands there are facsimiles of the Buddha's footprint as objects of veneration.

It is said that the first statue of the Buddha was made of sandalwood at the order of a king during the life of the Buddha. Fa hsien, the Chinese pilgrim who visited India in the tenth century after the Buddha (fifth century A.D.), said that he saw that image and that it was the model for all statues of the Buddha made after that time. This account, however, is rejected by scholars, for they find no evidence for any Buddha statues until at least three centuries after the demise of the Buddha. Some scholars say that the first Buddha images were made six centuries after the Buddha (first century A.D.), during the time of King Kaniska of Gandhara, and were of Bactrian-Greek origin; and other scholars say that prior to the images which show Greek influences there were large, fine Buddha images in Madhura, Sarnath, Anuradhapura, and many other places. However that may be, it seems certain that the erecting of Buddha images started after the time of Asoka.

Before the time of Asoka, the representations of the Buddha were symbolic, using a lotus, a bodhi tree, a wheel, or a stupa whenever the Buddha's presence was to be indicated. Examples of the symbolic representations of the Buddha have been found at Amaravati, Sanchi, and Bharhut. When the anthropomorphic school of Buddhist art arose, it spread quickly throughout the Buddhist world and has been the basis for the great art which has been inspired wherever Buddhism is known. Although the use of stone and brick in building was known in India long before the Asokan era, it was the genius of Buddhism that inspired a new art and architectural development. The image of the Buddha expresses the deep-rooted inspiration which moved the followers of the Buddha to create glorious stupas, pagodas, images, and paintings as monuments to the Enlightened One. The creative energy of Buddhism transformed the literature and arts of all the countries where it prevailed.

One result of the widespread adoption of the image of the Buddha as an object of veneration was that each nation seems to have created its images according to its own ideas of beauty. There is the early Grecian form of Gandhara and the characteristic Gupta image, and it has been noted that in Burma and Thailand especially the images resemble a well-proportioned native of those countries. In *Mahayana* countries, too, images typical of Tibet, China, and Japan have been created.

In all the Buddhist world there is a recognizable similarity in the postures of the Buddha images. The standing figures in Burma and Thailand commonly have the right hand on the

chest and the left hand holding the skirt of the robe; some have both hands open and pointing down with palms in the front. In Ceylon the standing figures usually have the right hand held up with the open palm to the front in the blessing posture.

Seated images are the most common, showing the Buddha seated cross-legged with the soles of the feet upward, often with an aureole behind the head. The position of the hands indicates the different moods of the Buddha. When the left hand is laying open upon the upturned soles of the feet and the right hand rests over the right knee with palm down and fingers pointed downward, it is known as the Earth-touching mood, indicating the strength which comes from the earth. When the palms are held upward on the lap, one over the other, it is known as the Meditation mood. The Blessing mood is indicated by sitting with the left palm upward on the lap and the right hand with open palm uplifted to about the level of the chin. The Teaching mood is shown by a figure which has the thumb of the right hand touching the tip of the forefinger with the other fingers straightened and pointed upward. It is also known as the Teaching mood when both palms are held to gather in front of the breast with the little finger of the left hand held between the thumb and forefinger of the right hand.

The third characteristic posture of Buddha images is the reclining Buddha, showing the Buddha at the moment of his passing into *Parinibbana*, the *Nibbana* of no return. It is an image which, by its very nature, is a great inspiration to the followers of the Buddha.

A feature of the Buddha images which varies from country to country is the dress. Almost all of the ancient Buddha figures in Ceylon have only their left shoulder covered-the only exception being one figure with both shoulders fully covered painted on the wall of the shrine room of Dambulla. In all other countries Buddha figures are seen either with the left shoulder covered or with both shoulders fully covered. The ancient Buddha figures found in China, Tibet, Burma, and Thailand have the covering that is characteristic of the Kaniskan era; but in later times the covering of the body of, the Buddha images has varied considerably.

Shrines also contain images of Arahats whose accomplishments are such that meditating on them will be an encouragement to members of the Sangha and laymen as well. Frequently the walls of the shrines are adorned with pictures illustrating the *Jataka* tales and episodes from the life of the Buddha and his Arahata followers. Such works of art serve as objects of devotion and as a means of instruction for the laymen who visit the shrines.

Lay Followers

While a lay follower does not expect to attain *Nibbana* in this life, he can hope to attain the first stage of the Holy Path to *Nibbana* in his present existence. The most obvious practices of a lay follower of the Buddha would be the repetition of the Triple Refuge formulae on various occasion. The keeping of the five precepts-refraining from killing, stealing, unlawful sexual indulgence, bad speech, and drinking liquor-and, on the fortnightly *Uposatha* days when the monks recite the rules of conduct, keeping the eight precepts-that is, the five precepts including celibacy, plus refraining from taking food after noon, enjoying music, garlands, perfumes, and the like, and using high or luxurious seats or beds. The lay followers strive for peace and tranquillity in their domestic life and seek to follow the instructions concerning their duties given by the Buddha. A brief summary of those instruction, taken from the *Vyagghapajja* and the *Sigalovada Sutta*, is given here by way of illustration:

Four requisites for earning wealth: dauntless energy in wealth, mindfulness in keeping what is earned, simple living, and keeping company with good people.

Four bad actions to be avoided: killing, stealing, unlawful sexual indulgence, and falsehood

Four ways of doing injustice to be avoided: doing injustice due to particularity, or due to hatred, or due to fear, or due to ignorance (that is, through deception).

Six things leading to loss of wealth which are to be avoided: abdication to drinking liquor, to walking in the streets at untimely hours, to visiting feasts, to gambling, to bad companions, or to laziness.

Ministry to parents: A child should minister to his parents by supporting them, doing his duties, continuing the family line, acting in such a way as to be worthily of his inheritance, and offering alms in honor of the departed parents.

Ministry of parents to their children: Restraining them from the bad, exhorting them to do good, giving them a good education, arranging a suitable marriage in due time, handing over the inheritance to them at the proper time.

Ministry of students to teacher: Rising before the teacher, attending to the needs of the teacher, listening attentively, doing personal service to the teacher, and carefully receiving instruction.

Ministry of teacher to students: Giving the students the best training, showing them how to grasp things well, teaching them suitable arts and science, introducing them to their friends and companions, keeping them safe in every day.

Ministry of husband to wife: Honoring her, avoiding disrespect, being faithful to her, entrusting his treasure to her custody, providing her with garments and ornaments.

Ministry of wife to husband: Doing her duties in perfect order, treating the friends and relatives of her husband generously and hospitably, being faithful to him, protecting carefully the treasure entrusted to her, and doing all her duties diligently.

Ministry to friends and companions: Showing generosity, speaking courteously, promoting good, treating them with equality, and being truthful to them.

Ministry of friends and companions in return: Looking after him when he is careless, safeguarding his property when he is negligent, rendering assistance when he is in trouble, and protecting his children and advancing their welfare.

Ministry to servants and employees: Appointing work to them according to their strength, providing them with food and wages, tending them in sickness, sharing special dainties with them, and giving them rest and holidays at the proper times.

Ministry of servants and employees to their master: Rising before him., going to sleep after him, taking only what is given, carrying out his orders promptly and with pleasure, and giving him a good report.

Ministry to members of the Sangha: Speaking to them with affection, showing friendliness in deed, thinking of them respectfully, being generous in supplying their wants readily, providing them with their material needs.

Ministry of members of the Sangha to lay devotee: Dissuading him from evil, exporting him to the good, loving him with a kind heart, teaching him what he has not heard and making clear what he has already heard, pointing out to him the path to a happy state.

In addition to these obligations, it is customary for devout lay followers to have a small shrine in their homes as a reminder of the Dhamma, to visit the temple to pay respect to the Buddha because of his excellent virtues, and on occasion to go to the preaching hall near the monasteries to listen respectfully to the teachings expounded by the Bhikkhus. As the opportunity arises, the lay follower or Bhikkhus may make a pilgrimage to one of the many places of pilgrimage in India and the *Theravada* countries such as the Temple of the Tooth in Kandy, the bodhi tree at Anaradhapura, the Shwedagon Pagoda in Rangoon or the beautiful temple of the Emerald Buddha in Bangkok. Pilgrimages are not only taken for the purpose of acquiring merit, but also as an expression of devotion and a means of strengthening one's resolve to follow the Path which was taught by the Master.

Customs and Ceremonies

The most important of the many ceremonies associated with one's life from birth to death are the and cremation. At the age of puberty it is customary to have ceremony which indicates that a child has reached a new period of life. In Thailand, for instance, it takes the form of the tonsure ceremony. On the first day, Buddhist monks are invited to the home and seated on a raised platform. The child then enters dressed in his best clothes and accompanied by appropriate music and, after saluting the monks, place his head upon a cushion while the leading monk ties a cotton cord around the topknot. Then all the people repeat the Triple Refuge and the five precepts. After that religious ceremony, all the guests are entertained for the rest of the day. On the second day the Bhikkhus return and chant *Parittas*, the sayings of the Buddha which have been selected because they create in the hearers a suitable psychic condition. On the third day, again, the monks chant passages from the Canon, and the topknot is cut off by the guest of highest rank. In Thailand the long hairs severed from the head are saved until the child makes his first pilgrimage to the shrine of the Buddha's footprint at Prabat, and then they are offered to the footprint to be used as a brush for sweeping the holy shrine; the short hairs are put in a tiny boat made from banana leaves and cast into the nearest stream to float to the sea.

The people of *Theravada* countries, being staunch followers of the Buddha, are able to look at death in a way which controls their sorrow. They see that death is inevitable, that the body dies but the process of mind joins another body prepared by the force of the *kamma* of the dying person and appears in a new form. They know that it is the nature of all composed things to be decomposed. In Ceylon the body is put in a coffin and taken to the century in a procession which sometimes is accompanied by special, solemn music. It may be either buried or cremated. Monks are invited to lead the assembled people in repeating the Triple Refuge and the five Precepts. After this, all the monks chant the famous verse which expresses the nature of the impermanence of all component things. Then a piece of cloth is offered to the Sangha in the name of the departed one, which is followed by consoling talk. Then they bury the coffin, or have some near relative of the departed one set fire to the funeral pyre.

In the other hand, *Theravada* countries the body is usually cremated, but the body of a man who has committed suicide is buried. The body of a monk or a man of high rank is

cremated with much honor. Immediately after death the body is bathed, embalmed, and put in an urn where it may be kept at the most as long as two years. The funereal ceremonies last for at least three days. A special wooden pavilion is erected for the cremation; other buildings are erected for the guests and for theatrical plays and music programs. Before the cremation, the coffin is usually placed within the temple premises, and monks read verses from the *Tipitaka*. On the third day, the guest of highest rank leads the way to the funeral pyre and sets fire to it. After the cremation, the ashes are collected and put in an urn which is kept by the relatives in a special place reserved for it in their home.

The most elaborate funeral ceremonies are reserved for a monk or a very religious person, and in Burma these ceremonies are the most elaborate of all. As soon as the body is embalmed it may sometimes be gilded and placed in a coffin or chest and exposed to the veneration of the people. If it is kept for some months or a year or so, during that time there will be a continual festival of music and plays with people flocking day and night to participate in the festival. They offer money, foods, and other necessities to defray the expenses of the festival. Finally, the coffin is carried in a great procession to the cremation ground. An offering of cloth and other necessities is made to the monks, after which the coffin is placed on the pyre and burned.

Marriage is a family ceremony, not a religious ceremony. Often the parents arrange the marriage, although sometimes the initiative is taken by a young man with the consent of his parents. Although the ceremony is not religious, it is not held during the three months of the rainy season when the monks are not moving about, and frequently monks are invited to the ceremony to chant from the Canon and to give their blessings to the young couple. The ceremony is performed by the elder men of the family.

When a young man enters the Sangha, or when there is an ordination, elaborate ceremonies are held at the monastery, gifts are given to the monks, and the scriptures are chanted. There are other special ceremonies at the monastery or temple for the erection of a Buddha image, for the opening or marking of the eyes of such an image, and in some places there is an annual day for gifts when the villagers collect all things necessary for the monks and take them to the monastery in a grand procession. On all these occasions the monks chant from the *Tipitaka* and bless the people.

Festivals

Of all the Buddhist festivals, Wesak is the highest. It comes at the full-moon time which usually falls in May and is in memory of the birth, Enlightenment, and passing away of the Buddha. Houses and even streets are decorated, many people observed the eight precepts, make offerings to monks, give alms to the poor, and receive instruction from the monks. It is observed usually for at least two days.

The rainy season festival is held in all *Theravada* countries beginning in July and ending on the full-moon day which usually falls in October. During those three months the monks retire to a monastery and do not travel; their time is spent in study and meditation. The laymen in Burma, Thailand, Cambodia, and Laos take much more interest in the rainy season than they do in Ceylon, for in those countries it is a time which is earnestly devoted to the *Dhamma*. Many men join the order for the three months and spend a solemn time mostly devoted to

meditation. No social life, no marriages, no feasts take place at this time. When the three-month period ends, the greatest feast of the year is held together with an offering of alms and robes to the monks. This festival of offering the robes to the monks who observed the rainy season retreat may last as long as a month in some countries. The ceremony is performed in Ceylon but not on such a grand scale as in the other *Theravada* countries.

The New Year festival, which is held in March or April, comes at the time of the Hindu New year based on the old solar calendar and is more national in character. In Ceylon it begins with a visit to the temple and then lasts for three days with every kind of amusement. In the other *Theravada* countries it is a water-throwing festival at which the main function is the throwing of water at each other whenever the people meet. On this occasion they entertain *Bhikkhus* and their relatives with much honor and respect.

In Laos and Cambodia, there are processions headed by young men with sacred umbrellas and with the chief monk followed by the rest of the monks from the local monastery; as they pass along the street, women on both sides throw water on the procession. They come at last to the pagoda, pay honor to the Buddha, and then fall back and watch the dances, which are mostly national.

There are other local festivals in each country, such as those in Ceylon which commemorate the arrival of the Buddha in Ceylon, and the festival of the tooth relic of the Buddha in Kandy. In Thailand, there are annual pilgrimages to ancient Buddhist sites and in October the big fairs at the Golden Mount and Nakorn Pathom. Similar festivals in other countries fill the year with occasions which serve as reminders of the teachings of the *Dhamma* and its glorious history.

Non-Buddhist Custom

Many examples of Hindu influence and of spirit worship can be found in *Theravada* countries among the common people. The Buddhists who pay respect to nature spirits, the spirits of the deceased, and Hindu deities such as Brahma or Ganesha, and who consult astrologers and sorcerers know that none of these deities or practices have anything to do with the Buddhist way of life. They know that this paying of honor to such deities does nothing for them on their way to *Nibbana*; they only expect from them some little help in living this present life with success. They look to these deities and these practices for help in their worldly needs in this life in much the same way that the strong might be expected to help those of lower rank. They understand that to keep such practices is not against the Buddha's teachings, for they remember his admonition to the *Vajjins*:

"So long, Ananda, as the *Vajjins* honor, esteem, revere, and support *Vajjian* shrines in town and country and allow not the proper offerings and rites, as formerly given and performed, to fall into desuetude.... so long may the *Vajjins* be expected not to decline but to prosper." (*Mahaparinibbana Sutta*.)

In the courtyards of many ancient Buddhist temples there is a shrine housing such Hindu deities as Siva, Vishnu, Vibhishana, or Ganesa. In some places the Hindu image may be under the same roof as the Buddha image, sometimes with the Hindu deities standing on both sides of the Buddha image saluting the Buddha. In some temples in Thailand the stories from the *Ramayana* epic of the Hindus are told in pictures on the walls. These Hindu deities are honored

as beings on a plane higher than the human plane, capable of aiding the worldly aims of the present existence.

Many customs inherited from the Indian settlers in *Theravada* countries are still practiced today. For instance, in Thailand when a child is born, they first wash it and then bind its arms with consecrated cotton and get its horoscope cast by an astrologer. The first name given the child is an ugly one so that it may be preserved from the jealousy of evil spirits; an amulet in the shape of a metal plate with a diagram of mystic signs is hung around its neck. From the astrologer they learn the auspicious times for naming the child, feeding it rice for the first time, teaching it the alphabet, and such other acts, just as the custom is in India. Many people in all *Theravada* countries consult astrologers for advice as to auspicious times for new undertakings, and palmistry and kindred arts are commonly resorted to.

At times of illness, medical practices learned from the Ayurvedic medicine of Hinduism are often followed. It is a common practice when someone is ill to invite a Bhikkhu to come and chant *Parittas*, appropriate passages from the Cannon, but not for the purpose of warding off evil spirits as some people think: it is done to create a healthy psychic condition which will bring relief and confidence to the patient.

Hindu practices are still retained in the coronation ceremonies of Thailand and Cambodia, together with Buddhist customs which have been added. The same tendency is found in the law, as in Burma, where the ancient Hindu code of Manu was revised, omitting the Hindu rites, and then improved step by step through the centuries by the addition of Buddhist interpretation.

It is only natural that the area which was for centuries known as Farther India should retain Indian customs which do not conflict with the Buddhist culture of those lands today.

Paying honor to spirits as well as to deities is found in almost all Buddhist countries. These are the nature spirits inhabiting trees, mountains, rivers, and the like; they are not evil, but are sometimes vindictive. According to Buddhist commentaries, almost all trees are inhabited by some sort of spirit or ghost whether weak or powerful. Some people light a lamp regularly every day under a tree or in a particular reserved place in honor of such a spirit, for they believe that the spirit will sometimes give help when needed. The most famous spirit of this type in Ceylon is Sumana, the deity of Sri-Pada, the mountain popularly known as Adam's Peak.

These spirits are known as *nats* in Burma and as *phis* in Thailand. Some are the spirits dwelling in trees and in houses; others are heroes who have passed away and live on a higher plane. In Thailand the spirits of those who have passed away may be good or bad—the bad spirits may be the kind who can be kept under control by sorceress, they may be the kind who can be kept under control by sorcerers, they may be the ghosts of departed persons, and they may be the deities of the higher realms who cannot be easily seen by men. In Cambodia the spirit worship is very similar to that in Thailand. In Ceylon an example of a spirit which is a hero who has passed away is Vibhishana, venerated at Kelaniya and other shrines.

In Thailand, it is believed that the spirits of departed persons are mostly harmful and always do more harm than good. Ignorant folk believe that the ghosts of infants who died immediately after birth might sometimes do much harm to the mother; the ghosts of those

who died a violent death are horrible. Sorcerers in Thailand make use of them for various purpose and make them familiar. The good spirits are honored with shrines; in Thailand and Cambodia there is a shrine at the top of a pole at most houses to honor the spirit which protects the house. Some of the spirits in Cambodia and Thailand are known by ancient Hindu names. To quench their wrath or to gain their favor for the purpose of gaining some success in this very life, the people make a variety of offerings to them.

There are also many kinds of sorcerers who practice black magic. In Thailand they are astrologers who sometimes are able to make the spirits under their control enter another's body and do much harm to him. In Cambodia they practice astrology and prepare charms against black magicians. The worst kind of sorceresses are known as *Sri Ap* in Cambodia and as *Sung-ma* in Burma; their heads along with their alimentary canals, so they say, move about and feed on excrement; they are very much dreaded by people and if found are exiled or punished severely. There are also sorcerers who prepare amulets as protection against illness and misfortune; some are made of consecrated cotton threads or of gold or silver plates with Buddhist formulas or a symbolic design engraved on them. In Burma, Thailand, and Cambodia there are those who believe that a ball of solidified mercury, prepared according to some secret alchemic system, will bring them various powers, such as invulnerability.

Many practices associated with the worship of spirits and duties are designed to bring success in agricultural activities. In Cambodia the Kradak festival is held in the eighth month in ordinary years; food is offered at night to the moon, and then the women kneel on the ground and salute the moon three times and pray to all deities to accept their offerings. In October they celebrate the water festival, praying that the river will overflow and fertilize the country. In Thailand they hold a Brahmanic ceremony in the beginning of May before they begin plowing and sowing grain. In this festival the minister of agriculture goes to a chosen field in procession and puts his hands on a plow drawn by two white oxen and breaks the earth then four elderly women of the royal family sow the first grain. After the harvest, grains of rice are burned and offered to the deities. It is common in all *Theravada* countries to have a festival and to venerate the deities at the time of plowing, planting, and harvesting, but these ceremonies are not Buddhist in origin.

Although many people are blinded by attachment to worldly things and seeks success in their worldly objectives by calling upon deities and spirits for help in this life, all Buddhist recognize that the attainment of the ultimate goal can come only by following the Eightfold Path which culminates in meditation.

Meditation

Two things, O brethren, are conducive to knowledge. What are the two? Tranquillity and insight. When tranquillity is developed, what happens? Mind is developed. When mind is developed, what happens? Whatever passion there is, is abandoned. When insight is developed, what happens? Right understanding is developed. When right understanding is developed, what happens? Whatever ignorance there is, is abandoned. The mind soiled with passion is not freed. When there is soiling through ignorance, right understanding is not developed. Thus through unstaining of passion there is freedom of mind, and through unstaining of ignorance there is freedom of right understanding (*Anguttara Nikaya*). These words of the Buddha make

it clear that the only way to culture and the perfection of the mind is meditation, and that meditation is of two kinds—the kind which leads to tranquillity (*samatha*) and the kind which leads to insight (*Vipassana*).

The meditation which leads to tranquillity is based on practices which were to a large extent known and used by ascetics before the appearance of the Buddha. Because such practices bring a calmness and serenity to the mind and help to turn the mind away from depravities, and because the habit of fixing the mind on an object is useful for the developed of mental processes, the Buddha recommended to his followers the way of meditation which leads to tranquillity. By itself, this method is not sufficient, but it serves as a useful preparation for the second kind of meditation, of meditation which leads to insight.

According to *The Path of Purity (Visuddhi Magga)*, by Buddhaghosha, there are forty subjects of meditation suggested to the followers of the Dhamma for the developed of tranquillity. The disciple should choose for his meditation the subjects which suit his temperament and character, making the selection under the guidance of a competent teacher if possible, but in the end relying upon his experience as a guide. People are divided into six classes according to their temperament- the lustful, the hot tempered, the easily deluded, the self-confident, the quick-witted, and those of discursive mind.

The forty subjects of meditation are divided into the ten devices, the ten impurities, the ten recollections, the four sublime states, the four immaterial states, the one notion, and the one analysis. The ten devices:

1. Earth device- a circle made of dawn-colored clay, generally a span and four inches in diameter.
2. Water device-a bowl of clean water.
3. Fire device-a bright flame appearing through a hole.
4. Air device-the perception of air shaking and swaying the top of a tree
5. Blue device-a circle of blue cloth or the like.
6. Yellow device-a circle of yellow cloth or the like
7. Red device-a circle of red cloth or the like
8. White device-a circle of white cloth or the like
9. Light device-light falling through a circular hole
10. Space device-a limited space of a prescribed dimension, seen through an opening

The ten impurities:

1. A swollen corpse
2. A discolored, blue-green corpse
3. A corpse full of pus
4. A fissured corpse
5. A corpse mangled by dogs or other animals

6. A corpse with dismembered limbs
7. A corpse with its limbs partly destroyed and scattered
8. A corpse covered here and there with blood
9. A worm-infested corpse
10. A skeleton

The ten recollection are the recollection of:

1. The virtues of the Buddha
2. The merits of the Dhamma
3. The Order of the Holy Disciples of the Buddha
4. The merits of the observance of the precepts
5. The merits of liberality
6. The equality between one's self and the duties in regard to the virtues
7. Death- that is, mindfulness of the fact that everyone is subject to inevitable death
8. The body- that is, mindfulness regarding the body
9. Respiration- that is, mindfulness of respiration
10. Peace of mind- that is condition of the attributes of peace of mind

The four sublime states are the development of:

1. Universal love, amity (metta)
2. Compassion (*karuna*)
3. The happiness of others
4. Equanimity

The four immaterial stages are the attainment of:

1. Infinite space
2. Infinite consciousness
3. Nothingness
4. Neither perception nor non-perception

Of these forty exercises in meditation which lead to tranquillity, the ten impurities and the mindfulness regarding the body are suitable for a person of lustful temperament. The four sublime state and the four color devices are suitable for the hot-tempered. The mindfulness as to respiration is suitable for men of discursive mind and for those who are easily deluded. The first six recollections are suitable for the person to whom confidence comes easily. For those who are quick fitted, the suitable exercises are mindfulness as to death, the cognition of the attributes of peace of mind, meditation on the loathsomeness of food, and the one analysis. The remaining exercises are suitable for all. In choosing a device as an object of meditation,

those who are easily deluded should choose a wide one, and a person of discursive nature should choose a little one of a span and four inches in diameter.

There are three stages of the meditation which leads to tranquillity. The first stage is called the preliminary stage and can be attained by any one of the forty meditations. The second stage is called the accessory stage and can be attained through the first eight recollections, the one notion, and the one analysis. The third stage is called the stage of absorption and can be attained through using the rest of the forty meditations. There are nine levels of the stage of absorption (*jhana*), five (or four, according to another classification) belonging to the realm of form, and four belonging to the formless realm. The levels of absorption pertaining to the realm of form can be attained through the ten devices and the respiration exercise. Meditation on the ten impurities and mindfulness concerning the body will attain only the first level of the realm of form; meditation on the first three sublime practices-love, compassion, and the happiness of other-will attain only the first four levels of absorption in the realm of form; meditation on the fourth sublime practice-equanimity-will bring attainment of the fifth level of absorption in the realm of form. Meditation which relies on the four immaterial states will attain the four levels of absorption belonging to the formless realm. As an example, let us now consider a brief account of the way in which meditation on the earth device is used in the meditation which leads to tranquillity.

First, the beginner must establish himself perfectly in pure conduct so there will be no distractions caused by his actions, and he will be sure that his self-restraint is not endangered from any side. At the same time, he should so guard the gates of his senses that he may not be attracted or fascinated by anything which is perceived by his senses. Then, he should be constantly mindful of himself and be self-possessed in all his movements. By such preliminary practices he reaches the state of being content with what ever happens to be his lot, and his mind becomes inclined toward simplicity and fewness of wants. It is only after that preparation that he can select a proper object for meditation, as recommended by his spiritual teacher, and begin to practice meditation.

If he selects the earth device for his object, he must make the device with clay the color of the dawn which he smears on a piece of cloth or some convenient surface in a circle a span and four inches in diameter. Then he places the circle at a distance of about a yard and a half from his seat. He gazes at it and repeats its name all the time, trying to grasp it by the mind. When it is thoroughly grasped by the mind, an image of it appears before the mind, and as he continues to look at it and grasp it the after-image arises. The after-image then appears to be bursting the grasped mental image and is a thousand times more brilliant than it was at first; this is called the transformed after-image. By a repetition of the process of grasping the image of the earth device and then the after-image, the process of mental hindrances subsides.

When he sees in himself the absence of mental hindrances, joy arises and because of the joy, interest arises. When the mind is interested, the body becomes calm. When he experiences the calmness, he experiences comfort, and his mind becomes concentrated. Then, free from low and sensuous mental states, he enters upon the first absorption (*jhana*) which is endowed with initial and sustained application, interest, and comfort born of quietude. After mastering this absorption, he goes on further in his practice and brings about the quiescence of initial

and sustained application and attains to the second level of absorption which is endowed with inward placidity, unification of the mind, interest, and comfort born of concentration. This, too, he masters and continues his practices and attains to the third level of absorption at which interest fades and he becomes equable and mindful and feels bodily comfort. Again, as a result of further practice, he rejects ease and pain and enters upon the fourth level of absorption which is endowed with equanimity and individualization.

When he has elevated, his mind by passing through those four levels of absorption, he can, if likes, develop his supernormal powers such as clair voyance, thought reading, remembrance of past lives, levitation, and such. Whether or not he decides to develop these powers, he can go on with his meditation, for those powers are not of any help in attaining the next levels of absorption. A person who sees the evils of the physical body, whether gross or subtle, and prefers to exist purely in a mental state—to be a spirit—follows the path that leads to such a state. Such a person sees the disadvantages even of the level of absorption he has thus far attained and attempts to go farther.

To attain the next levels of absorption, he spreads the object of the previous absorption—that is, the transformed after-image—as far and wide as possible throughout the space he can imagine; then he removes it so that he may see the empty space. Then he fixes his mind on the very same mental space and repeatedly turns to it and impinges on it until his mind becomes firmly fixed in the mental space, and thus he attains to the first level of the formless absorption. He masters that level by entering it and rising from it over and over again, and then if he wishes to rise higher, he takes for his object the consciousness which was fixed on the infinite space and attempts to fix the mind on this new object.

After some effort, he succeeds in fixing his mind on the consciousness with which he viewed the mental space and attains the second level of absorption in the realm of the formless. After the mastery of this level, he tries to elevate the mind to a more subtle level. He stops attending to the object of infinite consciousness and attempts to fix his mind on its absence—on “nothingness.” When he is successful, he attains the third level of absorption in the formless, known as the realm of nothingness.

When he has mastered the third level, he attempts to attain the fourth stage of formless absorption which is the culmination of the meditation which leads to tranquillity. He enters the third level of formless absorption and rises from it and observes the condition of his immediately previous absorption-consciousness. As he repeatedly reflects upon that condition, his mind becomes most subtle and he attains to the state of mind which is called “neither consciousness nor unconsciousness.” It is called that because the grossness of consciousness is absent, and it exists in the most subtle form ever possible.

The persons who have attained to any of the four levels of the formless absorption are destined to be reborn in comparable pure mental states or realms. When the force of their meditation which elevated them to that state has been exhausted, they will come down again and be born among men. Thus it is seen that the attainments of the method of meditation which leads to tranquillity are still worldly, and that is why they were not highly praised by the Buddha.

We have described earlier the first kinds of meditation—the meditation which leads to tranquillity. Let us turn now to the second kind of meditation—the meditation which leads to

insight. This is Buddhist meditation, the meditation which leads the follower further and further away from worldliness and awakens the mind to awareness of the real nature of the living being. Some persons develop insight and attain Arahatsip by starting with the meditation which leads to tranquillity and gaining insight from one of the levels of absorption-they are known as those who have made tranquillity of the mind their vehicle. But none of the levels of absorption discussed above is absolutely necessary to Arahatsip because even without it some are able to attain Arahatsip-they are called the dry-visioned, the ones who attained Arahatsip by the meditation which leads to insight.

In the meditation which leads to tranquillity there are forty exercises, but in the meditation which leads to insight, there are only three-meditation on the impermanence, suffering, and non substantiality (*anicca, dukkha, and anatta*) of life in the world.

The meditator who seeks to practice the meditation which leads to insight, if he has already developed any of the levels of absorption, enters any stage of absorption and from it analyses the factors and qualities of that stage and tries to understand their impermanence, suffering, and non substantiality. If he has not attained any level of absorption, he will analyze his own life. Either way, he will see by analyzing his own self that the so-called being or self is nothing but a process of flux of mental and material states which are interdependent. By analysis he sees that they are but a stream of causes and effects. Then he examines and scrutinizes the nature of the causes and effects very minutely, and at last he realizes the avidness or emptiness of the life of all living beings, either human or divine. The whole universe appears to him as a mere flux, as mere vibrations which are void of any entity. With the attainment of this realization, craving for such an existence wanes, vanishes, and ceases to be. The opposite side of this illusory existence dawns before his mind, and the path which he has been following reaches its culmination. This, in Buddhist terminology, is the Realization of the Four Truths.

The Realization of the Four Truths occurs four times. On the first occasion, the meditator discerns the ill, the suffering of life; then the false view concerning the ego-entity and any scepticism concerning the Buddha and all his teachings vanish away from him forever, *Nibbana* gleams before his mind, and all the eight factors of the Path appear together in his mind. This experience is called the Entering of the Stream, for anyone who reaches this state will never fall back into worldliness and is destined to become an Arahatsip. That fourfold experience-the understanding of suffering, loss of false views, glimpse of *Nibbana*, and grasping of the Eightfold Path-occurs within one flash of thought and is immediately followed by two or three thought - moments in which he experiences the bliss of *Nibbana*. Those moments are called the fruit-consciousness of the Stream-winner's Path. After those thought-moments he engages in retrospection, reviewing the Holy stage of the Path which has been attained, the fruits enjoyed, *Nibbana* intuited, the mental depravities already got rid of in the first stage, and the depravities to be got rid of in the future.

When in that retrospection he sees the depravities to be removed, he goes on with his practice of contemplation, and on the second occasion he discerns once more the ills of existence and consequently slackens his sensual attachment, his anger, and delusion; he sees *Nibbana* and develops the Path. When one has attained this second stage, he is called a Once-returned because, since he has lessened his attachments that much, he will be reborn only once in the sensual world. This brief thought-moment is followed by its fruit-consciousness

two or three times, and then he engages in the process of retrospection as before. As he sees in his retrospection that his realization is still not perfect, he continues his contemplation, and at the moment of reaching the next stage he sees the ills of existence clearer than before, eradicates desire for sensual pleasure, and ends all ill will; he sees *Nibbana* face to face, and the factors of the Path appear unitedly in his mind at one moment. Because he will never be reborn to the sensual plane after this insight, he is called a Never-returner. This thought-moment at the third stage of progress is followed by its fruit-moments and by the process of retrospection.

Through the process of retrospection after attaining the third stage of insight he sees that there are still some mental depravities to be removed, so he returns to his usual practice of meditation. Now at last he reaches the culmination of his meditative practice; he realizes perfectly the ills of existence, eradicates all the remaining weaknesses of the mind, sees *Nibbana* as it is, and all the factors of the Path appear in his mind simultaneously. This stage is called the Path of Arahatsip. It also is followed by its fruit-consciousness two or three times, and then follows the process of retrospection upon the Path, its fruition, *Nibbana*, and the eradication of all passions.

A person who has attained to this final stage has become an Arahata and has nothing more to do for he has now reached the end of the Path. He is free of passion and lives a selfless life doing his pure service to frail mortals. This stage of insight is the goal of the Path expounded by the Buddha.

5

TANTRIC BUDDHISM

From the *Parinirvana* of the Buddha to the sack of *Nalanda* by the Muslims in 1197A.D., that is in about seventeen centuries, Indian Buddhism passed through three main phases—*Hinayana*, *Mahayana* and *Vajrayana* (Esoteric or *Tantric* Buddhism), each with its own characteristic features and ideals. But these phases were not mutually exclusive. Each earlier *yāna* besides continuing to exist independently was also partially incorporated in the later. The religion expounded in the Tantras is a peculiar mixture of mystic syllables (*mantras*), magical diagrams (*yantras*), ritualistic circles (*mandalas*), physical gestures (*mudras*), sex-play (*maithuna*), psycho-physical discipline (*yoga*), a fearful pantheon, elaborate worship and ritualism, magical sorcery, necromancy, symbolism, astrology, alchemy, coefficient of female element and a monastic philosophy.

Meaning of Tantricism

The Tantra influenced the Buddhist and the Hindus alike. In essentials the Tantras of the Buddhists, *Saivas*, *Saktas*, and the *Bhagavatas* show a remarkable agreement in theory and practice; the only difference is of terminology and of background and tradition. It was during the *Tantrica* age that *Brahmanical* and Buddhist traditions completely coalesced and gave birth to what is now called Hinduism. The first European scholar who rehabilitated the *Tantras* (especially the Hindu Tantras of the *Kundalini Yoga*) in modern times was Sir John Woodroffe, who published his famous series of works on *Tantricism* under the pseudonym of Arthur Avalon.¹

Tantricism has excited contradictory attitudes and evaluations in modern times. Some scholars condemn it as magical, superstitious and obscene whereas others it as scientific and profoundly spiritual. The word *tantra* means a text as well as a system of *Sadhana* and *Siddhi*. Monier-Williams in his *Dictionary* describe the *tantras* as a class of works teaching magical and mystical formularies. In the Vedic texts the word *tantra* occurs in the sense of a loom. The *Srautasutras* use the word in the sense of a process of work containing many parts. In the *Mimamsa* tradition also *tantra* is an act-process—method of doing or making something. In the *Mahabhashya* of *Patanjali* the word *tantra* signifies a branch knowledge, while the writers on the sciences of polity and medicine use of the word *Tantraniryukti* to mean 'canons', 'propositions', 'principles', 'expositions' etc.² It is also used for a book (e.g. The *Panchatantra*). The *Amarakosha* refers to the various scientific treatises as *tantrani*³ and *Sankara* uses the word *tantra* in the sense of a philosophical system.⁴ In the religious sense *Tantra*

first came to mean 'the scripture by which knowledge is spread' (*tanyate vistaryate jnanam anena its tantram*).⁵

In the *Kasikavrtti* the word 'tantra' is derived from the root *tan*, to spread, though some later writers derive it from the root *tatrt* or *tantr* meaning origination or knowledge. In the next stage it was defined as a class of texts which promulgates profound matters concerning *tattva* (Science of the cosmic principles) and *mantra* (the science of mystic sound) (*Kamikagama*).⁶

Tantric Literature

The Buddhist Tantras of the *Vajrayana* phase constitute a vast literature, of which the most extensive portion now extant, counting basic works and commentaries, is among the Tibetan translation from Sanskrit in the Kanjur and Tanjur, supplement by a huge Tibetan indigenous literature. The *Guhyasamaja-tantra*, *Hevajratantra*, *Srichakra-samdharatantra-tattvasamgraha*, *Kalachakrat Tantra*, *Taratantra* and *Manjusrimulakalpa* are well-known Buddhist *Tantrika* texts. The *Manjusrimulakalpa* is a *Mantrayana* text. The *Sadhanamala* is a collection of 32 short texts of *Vajrayana* ritual and worship written mostly by the Buddhist *siddhas* whose number is said to be 84. The *Dolhakośa* of *Saraha*, *Jñānsiddhi* of *Indrabhūti*, *Prajñopāyavinīśchayasiddhi* of *Anangavajra*, the *Sekoddesatika* of *Naropa*, the *Advayavajrasamgraha* of *Advayavajra*, *Advayasiddhi* of *Lakshmi*, *Sahajasiddhi* of *Dombi Heruka*, and a number of songs (*dohas*) of esoteric teachers of Buddhist tradition have been published in modern times.

The study of Tantras is to be set with unusual difficulties. Most of this literature could be neutral as far as history is concerned. That is to say, it neither actively seeks to preserve accurate chronicles nor does it intentionally attempt to fabricate them. Like most other authors of ancient Indian religious texts, the human authors of the Buddhist Tantras omitted their personal names and ascribed the authorship to a celestial Buddha. Their language and style also cause considerable difficulties. While resembling the sutras in literary form they differ from them in dealing with ritual and yoga rather than with ethics and philosophy and in being unintelligible without the traditional commentary. Moreover, the techniques they prescribe can be practiced only when, through the rite of *abhisheka*, the requisite power has been transmitted to the disciple by the guru.⁷ The Buddhist Tantras have been classified variously. According to one classification they belong to four categories:

- (i) *Kriya-tantras*, which treat ceremonies at the building of temples, erection of the images of gods, etc.;
- (ii) *Charya-tantras*, which treat the practical cult;
- (iii) *Yoga-Tantras*, which deal with the practice of Yoga; and
- (iv) *Anuttara-yoga-tantras*, which deal with higher mysticism.

According to another classification all the tantras belong to five classes:

- (1) *Kriya-tantra*,
- (2) *Yoga-Tantra*,
- (3) *Mahayoga-tantra*,

(4) *Anuyoga-tantra*, and

(5) *Atiyoga-tantra*.

According to Hajime Nakamura,⁸ a still another classification is possible in terms of form, although not exactly systematized:

(1) *Mula-tantra*: A *Mula-tantra* is the *nirdesa* (explanation);

(2) *Laghu-tantra* or *Alpa-tantra*: the *Laghu-tantra* is the *uddesa* (enumeration of the subject-matter);

(3) *Akhyata-tantra*. Explanatory of another tantra;

(4) *Uttara-tantra*, Commentarial;

(5) *Uttarottara-tantra* (Placed after *Uttara-tantra* and also commentarial).

Basic Tenets of Tantra

The affirmation of the material world, the dogma that all gods together with the supreme truth reside in the human body; the assumption of the principle of an apparent duality in an essential non-duality; the dogma of the coefficient female partner (*saktisahacarya*) as a *sine qua non* in the process of liberation; a radical ethics that every thing is pure for a pure man or *omnia sancta sanctis*; and, above all, the concept of the *summum bonum* of life in terms of the Great Delight (*mahasukha*) born of the union (*yab-yum*) of 'male' (*upaya*) and 'female' (*prajna*)-would appear to be some of the fundamental postulates of 'Tantricism' or 'Esoterism' of the Buddhists and the Hindus alike.⁹ In *Tantricism* debased practices like the use of five *makaras* (i.e. the five practices the names of which begin with the letter 'ma'), *mudra* (finger gestures of physical postures) and *maithuna* (sexual intercourse) were openly recommended and were apparently indulged in even by men who supposedly led highly religious lives. In the *Guhyasamaja*, not only falsehood and theft but even murder is recommended.

A fair idea of the general *Tantrica* principles may be had from the *Mahanirvana Tantra*, one of the most popular and well-known *Tantrica* texts. According to it Brahman is nothing but *Sakti*, the eternal dynamic source of all beings. "It is perceived that all life proceeds from the womb of a woman; so we should think of the ultimate creative principles in terms of the 'mother' and not of the 'father'. Philosophical concepts like *Prakriti* and *Maya*, and mythological figures like *Parvati Durga*, *Lakshmi* and *Radha* constitute the female principle of creation, and are merely different names of the *Jaganmata* (Mother of the Word). All gods, including *Brahma*, *Vishnu*, and *Siva*, are contained in and issue out of the Divine Mother. This sect, therefore, looks upon every woman as an incarnation of the Universal Mother."¹⁰ In Buddhist *Tantricism* *Upaya* and *Prajna* correspond to the Hindu principles of *Siva* and *Sakti* respectively.¹¹ When *Siva* is worshiped, His consort is also worshiped; for the two are inseparable. For the same reason, when *Sakti* is worshiped *Siva* is also worshiped.¹²

Thus, *Saktivada* forms the corner-stone of the philosophy of all the branches of the Tantras. The activities of *Sakti*, the Primordial Female Energy, underlies the variegated forms and phenomena of the universe. It is through these forms that man can ascend and find his consummation with the Universal Principle.¹³

Was Tantricism Foreign in Origin?

According to several scholars *Tantricism* was of foreign origin. H.P. Sastri believed that "Tantra came from outside India. Most probably it came with the *Magi*-priests of the Scythians." Bhattacharya opines that "The introduction of *Sakti* worship in religion is so un-Indian that we are constrained to admit it as an external or foreign influence."¹⁴ P.C. Bagchi also points out to some possible foreign elements, especially Tibetan, in the Tantras. He feels that the mystics of India used to have regular intercourse with Tibet; it is for this reason that we find in the Tantras vestiges of *Lamaist* doctrines.¹⁵ In recent years, Alex Wayman has attempted to prove the existence of some Graeco-Roman concepts in the Buddhist Tantras.¹⁶

But most of the scholars generally trace the origin of *Tantricism* in the pre-Buddhist religion of India. According to John Woodroffe, Tantra is that development of the Vaidika *karmakanda* which under the name of the *Tantrasastra* is the scripture of the Kali age.¹⁷ According to Charles Eliot *Tantricism* is a species of religious magic, rather than principle.¹⁸ Monier-Williams sees the origin of *Tantricism* in the popularity of the *Sankhya* theory of Pursha and Prakrti.¹⁹ Gopinatha Kaviraja believes that the *Tantrica Mantrasastra* is rooted in Vedic religion.²⁰ According to G.C Pande, the earliest religion of man was more or less *Tantrica* in nature. He has pointed out that a large number of *Tantrica* elements may be traced in the pre-Buddhist religion of India.²¹ L.M. Joshi follows him closely.²²

It has rightly been pointed out by modern scholars that the most important aspect of *Tantricism* is the dogma of *saktisahacharya*²³ which has always been closely related with the cult of the mother goddess on the one hand, and the phallic worship and *Saiva* cult, on the other. But, as we have seen, both these elements were present in the Indus religion which consisted of the cult of the Mother Goddess, worship of *linga* and *yoni*, sexual dualism (the concept of the duality of the Male and Female principles of creation) and the practice of Yoga.

All these elements were components of an undifferentiated religious and ritualistic complex, which subsequently came to be known as the *Tantrica* tradition. In the Vedic religion also many elements of *Tantricism* already existed, many others were successfully absorbed and some others unsuccessfully tried to become legitimized by the sacred texts. Numerous rituals mainly sexual in character, designed to secure the fertility of fields, are recognized in the *Vedas*. For them ingenious explanations were offered later on. Practices like *marana vasikarana* etc. are distinctly mentioned in the different parts of the Vedic literature. Many of the Atharvanika practices of witchcraft are almost identical with similar practices of the Tantras.

The Vedic texts prescribe *Somayajnas* and *Haviryajnas* which included libations and drinks of intoxicating liquor. The *SB* states that wine is always pure and hence purifies the sacrificer. The rite of home was itself adopted by esoteric Buddhism with some modification.²⁴ The ritual of purifying the body by uttering some mantras as *Bijas* while meditating the divinities on certain part of the body and touching those parts as prescribed in the Vedic texts corresponds to the *Tantrica nyasa*. The use of apparently meaningless mystic sounds like *khat*, *phat*, *hum*, etc. are also found in Vedic texts.²⁵

The Vedic literature shows that both phallic worship and the worship of mother goddess had acquired increasingly greater acceptance in the Vedic society itself. A large number of

Tantrica elements, such as mantras, sacrifice, priestly sorcery and magical charms, use of wine, worship of semi-divine and demoniac beings, ect. were known to the Vedic people. About a dozen hymns of the *RV* itself are concerned with magic. Magic is the main and essential subject-matter of the *Atharva Veda*. In the *Tai. Upa.* (1.7), the entire universe (macrocosm) is equated with the human body (microcosm). In the *Br. Upa.* (1.1.1) the 'sacrificial horse' is compared with the universe. A similar symbolic account of the human body is given in the *Cha. Upa.* (VIII.1.3) while the *Svetasvatara* (II.12) presupposes a 'Siddha body'.²⁶ The *Panchavidyas* described in the *Upanishads* also have obvious *Tantrica* significance.²⁷

From these facts it is apparent that a large number of elements of *Tantricism*, both theoretical and practical, had early indigenous origin, though in its evolved form it was certainly a later development. Although later *Tantrica* writers wanted to base their doctrines on the *Vedas*, the orthodox followers of the Vedic tradition invariably stressed their anti-Vedic character. The common obsession of many modern educated people, both foreign and Indian, is also that the *Tantras* should be evaluated apart from a general scheme of values to which Hinduism subscribes.

Further, in the popular mind *Saktism* and Tantra have become so much identified that the word Tantra is almost reserved for the religious literature of the *Saktas* while the term *Agama* is confined to that of the *Saivas* and *Samhita*, *Kanda* or *Ratra* to that of the *Vaishnavas*. Winternitz says: "When we speak of Tantra, we think primarily of the sacred books of the *Saktas*." It has also been argued that the conventional division of the *Brahmanical* religious literature was into *Veda*, *Smṛti*, *Purana* and Tantra, arranged in chronological order and assigned to the four ages of the world. Against this view it has rightly been pointed out by scholars like John Woodroffe, Gopinatha Kaviraja, G.C. Pande and a host of others that:

- (a) The *Tantras* regard themselves as *Veda*, *Śruti* or *Agama*, 'revelation', as opposed to *Smṛti* or *Nigama*, 'tradition'. They are usually defined as '*Śrūtisakhavishesah*', a particular branch of the *Vedas*. According to Bagchi one of the oldest *Tantras* available in manuscript form, *Nisvasatattva Samhita*, holds that the Tantra is the culmination of the esoteric science of the *Vedānta* and the *Samkhya*.²⁸ The *Pingalamata*, which is an equally old *Tantrica* text, say that 'the Tantra, first communicated by *Siva*, came down through tradition. It is *Agama* with the characteristics of *Chandas* (*Vedas*).' The *Prapanchasara* and other *Tantras* cite *Vaidika mahavakyas* and mantras; and as mantras are a part of the *vedas*, says the *Meru Tantra*, the Tantra is a part of the *Vedas*. The *Niruttara Tantra* calls Tantra the fifth *veda*, and *kaulachara* the fifth *asrama*, which follows all others. The *Matsyasukta-mahatantra* says that the disciple must be of pure soul and a knower of the *Vedas*. He who is devoid of *Vaidika-kriya* is disqualified. The *Gandharva Tantra* says that the *Tantrica sadhaka* must be a believer in the *Vedas*, ever attached to Brahman, living in Brahman and taking shelter with Brahman. The *Kularnava Tantra* described the Tantra as *Vedatmaka* (Vedic in spirit) and says that there is no knowledge higher than that of the *Vedas* and no doctrine equal to the *Kaula*.²⁹

According to the *Rudrayamala* the supreme goddess is of the *Atharvavedic* group. The *Kularnava* also emphasizes the Vedic origin of Tantra. *Bhaskararya* considers the *Tantras* to be the supplements of the *Upanishads*. *Natananandanatha*, in his

commentary on the *Kamakalavilasa*, has attempted to trace the origin of the *Tantrica* mantras to the Vedas. *Lakshmidhara* has quoted extracts from the *TS* and explained them as having reference to *Srividya*. The use of the Vedic mantras in the *Tantrica* practices suggests the same things. We also come across *Tantrica* adaptation of the Vedic *Gayatrimantras* for invocation of different deities.³⁰

- (b) The division of *Brahmanical* literature into *Veda*, *Smṛti*, *Purana* and *Tantra* does not mean that these different types have nothing in common between them. While some *Tantras* are modelled after *Puranas* some portions of the *Purana* literature read almost like a *Tantra* manual. It means that the *Tantrica* forms existed during, if not before, the *Puranas*. Therefore the theory that the *Tantrica* age followed the *Pauranika* age is not wholly correct.
- (c) The attitude in the *Tantras* is basically similar to that of the Vedas. The religion of the Vedic *Samhitas* was ritualistic. In course of time it developed into a highly mystical ritual, as sort of magical operation, independent of the gods, efficacious by its own force, and capable of producing good as well as bad effects. Correct recitation of the mantras was its most important aspect. The *Tantrica sadhana* also seeks attainment of ascendancy over the forces of nature by esoteric ritual of the Vedic type, as well as by esoteric *Yaugika* practices, its aim being the union of *Siva* and *Sakti*. The beginning of this type of esoteric ritual is found as early as the *Bradhmanas* and the *Upanishads*. *Kullukabhatta* in his commentary on *Manu* II.1 divided traditional knowledge into Vedic and *Tantrica*, and this division was not baseless. But in course of time this double framework ceased to be double and was assimilated into one organic whole.³¹
- (d) The 'left-handed' practices (*vamachara*), do not exhaust the whole content of *Tantricism*. The *Kalarnava Tantra*, for instance describes as many as seven paths or *acharas*, starting with *Vedachara* and ending with *Kaula*. Some other *Tantras* add two more namely *aghora* and *yoga*. Actually the word 'tantra' is as wide as it is varied, and embraces not only the *Sakta*, but the *Saiva*, *Vaishnava*, *Saura*, *Ganapatya* and Buddhist forms (with their numerous subspecies) also. That being so, it will not do to look upon the *Tantra* simply as a gift of China, Tibet or some other foreign source.³²

Did the Buddha Teach Tantricism Himself?

Here it may be noted that the *Tantras* themselves, whether Hindu or Buddhist, usually make no claim to historicity.³³ They claim to be revelation and the Hindu *Tantras* are often equated with the Vedas. As regards the Buddhist *Tantras*, they are traced to the Buddha himself. According to the *Sekoddesatika*, a comment on the *Sekoddesa* section of the *Kalachakratanttra*, *Mantrayana* was first taught by Buddha *Dipankara* and was adapted for our age by *Sakyamuni* Buddha. At the request of Suchandra, king of Sambhala, Gautama Buddha convened a Council at Sri Dhanyakataka, turned the Wheel of Law for the third time and delivered a discourse on esoteric path or *Mantranaya* (*Mantrayana*), just as he had earlier delivered discourses on the *Hinayana* and the *Prajnaparamitanaya* (*Mahayana*), respectively at Rshipattan and at Grdhrakuta. However, the Tibetan authorities give different dates for this event-according to

some of them it took place in the first year of the sambodhi, according to others in the sixteenth year after sambodhi and according to a third tradition only shortly before the *parinirvana*.

But as pointed out by Joshi the tradition of a third Dharmachakra-pravartana, like that of a second, is apparently a later fabrication. There is no reliable proof to show that the Buddha ever went to the *Andhra* region. The *Manjusrimulakalpa*, possibly the earliest *Vaipulyasutra*, which contains many elements of the *Mantrayana*, does not know the third turning of the Wheel of Law, although it is aware of *Sriparyvata* and *Sri Dhanyakataka* as the centres for the practice of *mantra-siddhi*. The *Guhyasamajatantra*, perhaps the earliest known Buddhist Tantra, which gives all essential elements of *Tantricism*, also does not refer to it. Rather it seems to contradict the *Tantrica* Buddhist tradition when it states that *Dipankara* Buddhas did not teach the tenets of the *Guhyasamaja* and give a graphic description of the astonishment and shock to the bodhisattva when they heard the radical *Tantrica* teachings.³⁴

However, despite these facts, the *Tantrica* Buddhists attribute a number of *sadhanas* and mantras to Gautama Buddha and make him a *Tantrica* of the first order going to the extent that he had discovered himself the great truth that the Buddha hood abides in the female organ and had delivered the secret discourse while enjoying the blissful state with the *Vajrayogini*.³⁵ Some modern scholars such as B. Bhattacharya also believe that "the *Tantras* and *Mantras*, *Mudras* and *Dharanis* were taught by the Buddha to the lay-brethren."³⁶ But the *Tantrica sadhanas* cannot be regarded as Buddha's creations or revelation. As pointed out by Winternitz³⁷ there is no proof to believe in the existence of *Tantras*, *mandalas* and *dharnis* in the age of Buddha. The Buddha discouraged superstition and blind faith and encouraged the spirit of critical enquiry. The *Kevattasutta* shows that he was not in favour of magical and superhuman feats, and regarded these as black arts. In the *Brahmajalasutta* a long list of pseudo-sciences is given which the Buddha apparently condemned as low arts.

But the supposition that the Buddha was generally disinclined towards magic and mantras does not mean that he did not believe in their efficacy or that the early Buddhism was completely free of those elements which later on acquired the form of *Tantricism*. If those elements existed in the Indian society in the Vedic, nay even in the pre-Vedic period and were present in the Brahmanical and even Jaina³⁸ societies in the age of early Buddhism, how can it be maintained that the Buddha and his followers remained immune from them, specially in view of the fact that in later ages *Tantricism* transformed Buddhism beyond recognition? It is true that in the *Brahmajalasutta*, the *Kevattasutta*, etc. the Buddha condemns certain magical arts as *triachchhana vijja* or *michchha-ajiva*, but their very condemnation proves their existence.

Further, the Buddhists claimed that the aspirant for arhathood attains some supernatural powers (*iddhis*). The Buddha himself recognized *iddhis*, and practiced *asphanakayoga*. He took recourse to the display of superhuman feats to influence the laity. He is said to have converted the Jatilas by living in a room with a dragon whom he converted into an insect, showed the miracle of sending the same pot of fire to several mendicants who were suffering from cold while taking bath in a river, walked on a river, and converted Nanda by showing him heavenly nymphs. In the *Patikasutta* he boasts of his miraculous powers. His disciple *Moggallana* was also famous for such powers.³⁹

In the *Digha Nikaya* there is a complete sutta (*Atanattya*) which is described as *paritta* or *rakkha* (protecting spell) to be memorized for averting evils. Most of these *parittas* were

incorporated in the *Mahamayuri*, an Esoteric text. A form of Esoteric Buddhism in incipient stage is also found in the *Mahasamaya suttanta* of the *Digha Nikaya*.⁴⁰ According to the *Vinaya Pitaka Bharadvaja*, a disciple of the Buddha, rose up into the air miraculously and brought down the begging bowl which was held high above by a *setthi*. In the *Chullavagga* V.6 a mantra is given as being prescribed by the Buddha to be used as a means of warding off the fear of snake bite. The *Trisarana* formula was also recited to ward off dangers and bring prosperity.⁴²

In a slightly later period, the magical spells or *dharanis* formed a section of the *Mahasanghika* texts. In the *Mulasarvastivada Vinaya*, the *Mahamayuridharani* appears in extension. Thus it is evident that the mind of the early Buddhists was not fully disabused of the belief in the efficacy of mantras and *mantraic* rituals. The Buddha did not permit the use of mantras, *mantraic* rituals, and of fish, wine, association with the opposite sex, etc. on the part of the monks; yet it appears that there were many who violated his instructions in secret. It led to the emergence of secret (*guhya*) conclaves of Buddhist monks who secretly practiced things that were forbidden by the Buddha. In course of time these secret conclaves developed into big organizations known as *Guhyasamajas* which composed their own text known as the *Guhyasamajatantra*.

Historical Evolution of Tantrica Buddhism

The generally accepted view among modern scholars is that the *Tantrica* Buddhism appeared in the seventh century A.D. However B.Bhattacharya, Tucci, Gopinatha Kaviraja and G.C.Pande are inclined to push the date of the emergence of Buddhist esoterism back to the time of Maitreya and Asanga.⁴³ Rahula Sankrityayana has also drawn attention to the great antiquity of the *Mantrayana*.⁴⁴ In proof, these scholars recall that *Taranatha* believed that the *Tantras* and *Tantrica* ideas of a secret nature were as old as the time of the *Mahayana* teacher *Nagarjuna* and that they were handed down from gurus to disciples secretly for nearly three hundred years. Further, there are strong Tibetan and Chinese traditions concerning the intimate connection of *Asanga* with *Maitreyanatha* and of both with esoteric Buddhism.⁴⁵

Further, there are a number of texts which are *Tantrica* or semi-*Tantrica* in nature and belong to pre-700 A.D. period. The earliest available texts on *Tantrica* Buddhism are the *Guhyasamajatantra* (3rd cent. A.D.)⁴⁶ and the *Manjusrimulakalpa*. The former deals with yoga (ordinary meditation) and *anuttarayoga* (*Tantrica* forms of meditation), and the latter with *mudras* (finger and bodily poses), *mandalas* (mystic diagrams), *mantras* (mystical spells), *kriyas* (rites), *charyas* (duties of an officiating priest in worship), *sila* (observance of moral precepts), *vratas* (vows), *sauchachara* (cleanliness in acts), *niyama* (religious observances), *homa* (offering of oblations), *japa* (muttering of prayers) and *dhyana* (meditation).

The *Manjusrimulakalpa* also gives directions for painting of the different gods and goddesses of the *Tantrica* pantheon.⁴⁷ Thus it reflects not only the developed popular *Mahayanism*, but also shows the growth of *Tantrica* ritual and worship. Though this work was revised in the post-Gupta period, its original form may be as early as the second century A.D. Among other early *Tantrica* texts are also included the *Karandavyuhasutra*, which possibly existed before the 4th century A.D., the *Nilakanthadharani*, discovered from Central Asia, and the *Mahapratyangiradharani*, which invokes *Tara* and probably belongs to the 6th century A.D.

From the above discussion it is apparent that the *Tantrika* Buddhism had made its appearance several hundred years before 7th century A.D. Actually the beginning of *Tantrika* Buddhism appears to be connected with the beginnings of the *Mahayana*. Indeed the Tibetans never made any difference between *Mahayana* and *Vajrayana*⁴⁸ and *Nagarjuna* himself described the *Mahayana* as *guhya* (esoteric).

Centres of Tantrika Buddhism

According to B. Bhattacharya, S.K. De, Winternitz, etc. the original home of *Tantrika* Buddhism was Eastern India, specially Bengal (*Vanga* and *Samatata* region), Assam and Orissa⁴⁹ *Nalanda Vikramasila*, Odantapuri were its great centres in the *Pala* period. But Rahula Sankrtyayana believes that *Mantrayana* and *Vajrayana* originated around *Sripurvata*, and *Dhanyakataka* in Andhra.⁵⁰ In the *Tantras* there is a tradition that *Kamakhyā*, *Srihatta*, *Uddiyana* and *Purnagiri* were the centres (*Saktapithas*) of esotericism where *Sakti* worship was first revealed⁵¹ B. Bhattacharya places all these *Pithas* in eastern India, locating *Uddiyana* of this list in *Vanga Samatata* region.⁵² According to L.M. Joshi, however, Buddhist *Tantricism* originated at two places-in the far south and the north-west.⁵³ The early association of esotericism with Andhra is indicated by the following facts:

- (1) According to *Ashtasahasrika* the older *Prajnaparamita* text, the *Prajnaparamitanaya*, which gave birth to *Mantrayana*, originated in *Dakshinapatha*.
- (2) The *Sekoddesatika* records that *Mantrayana* was promulgated in *Sri Dhanyakataka*.
- (3) The various Buddhist traditions associate *Nagarjuna*, who rescued the esoteric science, with *Sripurvata*.
- (4) The *Mahasanghikas* who, according to Yuan Chwang, had a whole *Pitaka* of *dharanis*, flourished in Andhra.
- (5) The *Aryamanjusrimulakalpa* was discovered, and was probably composed also, in South India.
- (6) Yuan Chwang records that *Bhavaviveka* went to *Dhanayakataka* where he recited the *Vijrapanidharani* for a long time.
- (7) The *Harshacharita* and the *Kadambari* of *Bana*, the *Malatimadhava* of *Bhavabhuti* and the *Rajatarangini* of *Kalhana* record that *Sripurvata* was a great centre of *Tantra* and *Mantra*.

Another great early centre of *Tantricism* was *Uddiyana* or *Udyana*, mentioned as one of the four *Tantrika Pithas*. Many scholars identify *Uddiyana* with Orissa (Odisha) or locate it in *Vanga-Samatata* region,⁵⁴ but Waddell, Levi, Tucci, Bagchi and Joshi have shown that it was the same as *Udyana* of Yuan Chwang and was identical with the modern Swat Valley in Pakistan.⁵⁵ Yuan Chwang says that the people of *Udyana* held magical arts and spells in high esteem. The Pali canon mentions *Gandharivijja* as an art of sorcery and exorcism. Yuan Chwang relates the legends concerning four sacred places in *Uddiyana* where the Buddha in his former existences dismembered his limbs (cf. the legend concerning the dismemberment of the body of *Sati*, *Siva's* wife). The archaeological explorations and excavations have also yielded *Tantrika* antiquities in the North-West. Lastly, *Asanga* (who had much to do with esotericism),

Padmasambhava (the apostle of Tibetan Buddhism), *Indrabhuti* (a *Tantrica* author) and *Chankuna* (the exorcist Prime Minister of *Lalitaditya* of Kashmir), all belonged to the *Tukhara* country.

Was Tantricism Originally Brahmanical or Buddhist?

Before we proceed further, the question whether or not *Tantricism* was introduced in Buddhism as a result of the *Brahmanical* influence may briefly be discussed. According to Austin Waddell *Buddhist Tantricism* is nothing but *Saiva* idolatry, *Sakti* worship and demonology. On the other hand, B. Bhattacharya, in his *Introduction to Buddhist Esoterism*, has concluded that the Buddhists were the first to introduce the Tantras into their religion, and that the Hindus borrowed them from the Buddhists in later times. According to *Anagarika Govinda* also, the influence of *Tantrica* Buddhism upon Hinduism was so profound that up to the present day the majority of Western scholars have laboured under the impression that *Tantricism* is a Hinduistic creation which was taken over later by more or less decadent Buddhist schools. "To declare Buddhist *Tantrism* as an offshoot of *Saivism*," he asserts, "is only possible for those who have no first-hand knowledge of *Tantric* literature. A comparison of the Hindu Tantras with those of Buddhism (which are mostly preserved in Tibetan and which therefore for long remained unnoticed by Indologists) not only shows an astonishing divergence of methods and aims, in spite of external similarities, but proves the spiritual and historical priority and originality of the Buddhist Tantras."⁵⁶ But we do not agree with both these views. We feel that the question of the priority of Buddhist *Tantricism* over *Brahmanical Tantricism* should not be raised at all because both of them developed concomitantly out of the seeds which are traced to the religious ideas of the pre-Buddhist period (*supra*).

Main Features of Tantrica Buddhism

The first main characteristic feature of *Tantrica* Buddhism is the use of *mantras*. Actually mantras are so fundamental for *Tantrica* Buddhism that in its primary stage it is often called *Mantrayana*. The term *mantra* means a 'hymn' or 'prayer' sacred to a deity; it is also understood to mean a 'spell', a 'charm' or an 'incantation'. A mantra is a symbol. Thus 'Pram' symbolizes the *Prajnaparamita*. A mantra often symbolically represents a deity or even Reality. Thus 'Om' denotes the Lord through its sound. The *Manjusrimulakalpa* is full of mantras and their merits. The *Guhyasamaja* and the *Hevajratantra* each devote a whole chapter to Mantracharya.

The mantras appear to have developed from *dharanis*. The *Mahasanghikas* are known to have developed a *Dharani Pitaka*. The *dharanis* are found quoted in several early *Mahayana* texts. A number of manuscripts discovered in Gilgit and assignable on palaeographical grounds to the 5th and the 6th centuries A.D., contain *dharanis*⁵⁷ and mantras. The contents of the texts are obviously older than their script. The *Karandavyuha* attributes a *dharani* to the Buddha. The *lankavatara* contains many magical formulae and the *Bodhisattvabhumi* dwells at length on the meaning and mystic aspect of the syllables.⁵⁸

Besides the mantras, a vast and varied pantheon is another characteristic feature of *Tantrica* Buddhism. Although the *Mahayanists* had been worshipping Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, some demi-gods and a number of deified sages since long yet the further evolution of a well-classified Buddhist pantheon may well be attributed to the *Tantrica* phase of Buddhism. In

the *Tantrika* Buddhist texts is usually given an elaborate discussion on complex liturgy, iconography and theology of the *Dhyani* Buddha (Akshobhaya, Vairochana, Amitabha, Ratnasambhava and Amoghasiddhi). Each of them is associated with one *Sakti* or female counterpart with a human Buddha, a Bodhisattva, a family, a seed-syllable, an element, a colour, a skandha, a vehicle, a particular direction and location in the human body.⁵⁹

The *Sakti-worship* is the *raison d'être* of *Tantricism*. According to some scholars,⁶⁰ the main difference between *Brahmanical* and Buddhist *Tantricism* is that the latter is not *Saktism*. The concept of divine power, of the creative female aspect of *Siva*, does not play any role in Buddhism. To the Buddhists *sakti* is *maya*, the very power that creates illusion from which only *prajna* can liberate us. But we fail to agree with this observation. The Buddhists emphasize *Sakti-sahacharya* as much as the Hindu *Tantrikists* do, and even believe that the *Sakyamuni* had himself discovered that the Buddhahood abides in female organ and had delivered the secret doctrine while in the blissful state with the *Vajrayogini*. To quote L.M. Joshi: "one of the important aspects of Buddhist *Tantrika* culture is its emphasis on the female counterpart; we may call it '*Sakti-Worship*' or worship of female energy, or association with coefficient female partner in spiritual effort. The consensus of opinion among acknowledged scholars is that *Sakti-sadhana* is the essence of Tantra, whether Hinduistic or Buddhistic."⁶¹

In *Tantricism* *sadhana* means calling forth a god or goddess usually by means of repetitive recitation of the appropriate mantra and by meditating over his or her form or symbol. A large number of *sadhanas* now available in mixed Sanskrit contain eulogies of various deities, their prayers, different forms, iconographic details, attributes, mantras and modes of worship, etc.⁶²

An important concept of *Tantricism* is that of *madala*. Literally mandala means circle. But in *Tantricism* it technically signifies one of the subtlest concepts of Indian mysticism. Here mandala denotes 'an idealised representation of existence', a 'mystic circle', a magical diagram', or 'a sphere of divinity'. "A *mandala*", says Tucci, "delineates a consecrated superficies and protects it from invasion by disintegrating forces symbolized in demoniacal cycles."⁶³ Almost every *Tantrika* text described the importance of guru or teacher. It is impossible to tread the path of *sadhana* without the guidance and kindness of the guru. Guru has to be respected and obeyed as the very incarnation of Truth; he is to be revered as the Lord.

In *Tantrika* Buddhism, the supreme Reality is often described as the *Unity of Prajna* (Wisdom) and *Upaya* (Means); it is the 'Non-Dual', 'Two-in-One', the state of final realization. "*Prajna* is the same as *sunyata* (voidness) and *upaya* is the same as *karuna* (compassion); these two terms are very well-known to *Mahayana* sutras. Bodhisattva is the embodiment of both wisdom and compassion; by means of *Prajnaparamita* or Transcendental Gnosis, he realizes the voidness of the phenomenal things and knows that this *samsara* is ephemeral and miserable. Out of *karuna* or compassion he endeavours for the salvation of suffering beings."⁶⁴

In *Tantrika* Buddhism *nirvana* is envisaged as *mahasukha*. That is to say, the Ultimate Reality is of the nature of Great Bliss supreme bliss among all forms of bliss. *Mahasukha* is the essential nature of the final Truth. It is the state of unity of *sunyata* and *Karuna* of *prana* and *upaya*; *mahasukha* is *Prajnopaya*, the nondual fusion of wisdom and means. *Mahasukha* is the wisdom of all the Tathagatas, and by nature is self-knowable (*sva-samvedya*). It is

described negatively also. Thus Saraha says that *Mahasukha* is essencelessness (*nihsvabhava*), indescribable (*akatha*) and devoid of self and not-self.

The language of the Buddhist *Tantrica* texts is a mixed variety of Sanskrit but its import is 'special', 'cryptic' and 'mystic'. It is called *Sandhabhasa* by which is meant a linguistic device of that circle of initiates which employs among its members some intentional symbols and signs called 'Choma'. It refers to the real meaning of a text as opposed to its superficial meaning.

Mantrayana: *Tantrica* Buddhism assumed several forms and produced several schools. As noted above its earliest stage is usually called *Mantrayana*. Strictly speaking the *Mantrayana* concerns itself with *mantras* (words of a certain combination, pronounced in a certain manner) and *yantras* (magic circles) and includes such things as *dharanis* (memorized prayers), *mala mantras* (garland of charms), *hrdaya mantras* (short charms), etc. It believes that mystic forces are generated by the recitation of mantras and that, with the help of these mystic forces, the worshiper can obtain whatever he desires, such as wealth, victory, siddhis, and even mukti. The yantras or magic circles are related with mantras because a yantra cannot bestow any power unless the aksharas of appropriate mantras are placed at their appropriate places in it. The *Aryamanjusrimulakalpa*, the *Guhyasamajatantra* and the *Saddharmapundarika* are full of mantras and *dharanis* and as these were composed in the second or third century A.D. or thereabouts, as a school *Mantrayana* is regarded as old as the time of *Nagarjuna*.

Vajrayana: In the *Guhyasamaja*, there is an account of the phenomenal world, which is said to have emanated from the original *Tathagata* or the Reality. The five *skandhas* of the early Buddhists, as also the impurities, like *raga*, *dvesha* and *moha*, are personified as so many buddhas, issuing out of the original *Tathagata*, called '*bodhichittavajrasthagata*'⁶⁶ Hence, the source of all the buddhas is the *Vajra*, which is identical with *Sunyata* or the Reality. But in the *Vajrayana* *Sunyata* is something positive (which *Indrabhuti* takes as *Mahasukha*, while *Anangavajra* defines it as *Prajnapaya*).⁶⁷ Being characteristicless, *Vajra* is incapable of leading us to the Truth; therefore from time to time it converts itself into *kaya-vak-chitta-vajra* and teaches the way that is *Vajrayana* (the Admantine or Diamond path). Thus the *Vajrayanists* accept the *Yogachara* view about the three *kayas* (bodies) of the Buddha and like the *Madhyamikas*, identify *Sunyata* or *Vajra* with *samsara* (phenomenal world). The *Vajrayana sadhakas* were taught that excreta, urine, etc. are not different from any good food; nor any woman, whether mother or a sister or other's wife or a girl of low caste, from any other enjoyable woman.

Though hideous in many respects, the *Vajrayana* made many contributions to Buddhism. Some Hindus were also impressed by its doctrines, deities, mantras, *sadhanas*, etc. It introduced elements of yoga into ordinary worship, gave a regular system of mantras, and produced an exquisite art.

Cult of Siddhacharyas

The idea of *siddhi* (psychic and supernatural power) is common to all Indian religious systems. The *Brahmanical* texts speak of eight siddhis. The Buddhist texts speak of ten kinds of powers (*iddhi*, *rdhhi* or *abhijna*) such as to project mind-made image of oneself, to become invisible, to pass through solid things such as wall, to penetrate solid ground as if it were

water, to walk on water, to fly through the air, to touch sun and moon, to ascend into the highest heavens, etc.⁶⁸

The Buddhist *Tantrikists*, who flourished between the eighth and twelfth centuries, developed the theory of eighty-four Siddhas, who had attained supernatural powers through the practice of yoga. The *Varnaratnakara* of *Jyotirisvara* (14th century) mentions them while the Tibetan sources give a systematic biographical sketch of each of them. Their names are (1) *Luhi* or *Luhi-pa*, (2) *Lila-pa*, (3) *Virupa*, (4) *Dombi-pa*, (5) *Sabara* (*Sabari*)-*pa*, (6) *Saraha-pa* (*Rahula-Bhadra*), (7) *Kankali-pa*, (8) *Mina-pa*, (9) *Goraksha-pa*, (10) *Chaurangi-pa*, (11) *Vina-pa*, (12) *Santi-pa*, (13) *Tanti-pa*, (14) *Charmari* (*Charmari*)-*pa*, (15) *Khadga-pa*, (16) *Nagarjuna*, (17) *Kanho-pa*, (18) *Karnari-pa* (*Aryadeva*), (19) *Thagana-pa*, (20) *Naro-pa* (*Nadapada*), (21) *Sali-pa* (*Srgala-pada*), (22) *Tilo-pa* (*Tailika-pada*), (23) *Chhatra-pa*, (24) *Bhadra-pa* (25) *Dvikhandi-pa*, (26) *Ajogi-pa*, (27) *Kada-pada* (*Kala-pa*, (28) *Dhovi-pa*, (29) *Kankana-pa*, (30) *Kambala-pa*, (31) *Gengi-pa* (*Tenki-pa*), (32) *Chhade-pa*, (33) *Tandhi-pa*, (34) *Kukkuri-pa*, (35) *Chujbi* (*Kusuli*)-*pa*, (36) *Dharma-pa*, (37) *Mahi-pa*, (38) *Achinti-pa*, (39) *Babhahi* or *Bhalaha-pa*, (40) *Nalina-pa*, (41) *Bhusuku-pa*, (42) *Indrabhuti*, (43) *Megnapada* (*Meko-pa*), (44) *Kuthari-pa* or *Kuthali-pa*, (45) *Karmara-pa*, (46) *Jalandhara-pa*, (47) *Rahula-pa*, (48) *Garbhari-pa*, (49) *Dhakari-pa*, (50) *Medini-pa*, (51) *Pankaja-pa*, (52) *Ghanta-pa* (53) *Yogipa*, (54) *Cheluka-pa*, (55) *Vaguri* (*Gundari*)-*pa*, (56) *Lunchaka-pa*, (57) *Nirguna-pa*, (58) *Jayananda*, (59) *Charpati-pa*, (60) *Champakapa*, (61) *Vishana* (*Bhikhana*)-*pa*, (62) *Bhali* (*Teli*, *Taili*)-*pa*, (63) *Kumari-pa*, (64) *Charslati* or *Chavari* or *Javari-pa*, (65) *Manibhadra* (*Yogini*), (66) *Mekhala-pa* (*Yogini*), (67) *Mankhala-pa* (*Yogini*), (68) *Kalakala-pa* (69) *Kanthadi-pa*, (70) *Daudi* or *Dhahuli-pa*, (71) *Udhali-pa*, (72) *Kapala-pa*, (73) *Kila-pa*, (74) *Pushkara* or *Sagara-pa*, (75) *Sarvabhaksha-pa*, (76) *Nagabodhi-pa*, (77) *Darikapa*, (78) *Puttali* or *Putuli-pa*, (79) *Panaha* or *Upanaha-pa*, (80) *Kokali-pa*, (81) *Ananga-pa*, (82) *Lakshminkara* (*Yogini*), (83) *Samudrapa*, and (84) *Bhali* or *Vyali-pa*.

According to some scholars the list of eighty-four Siddhas has no historical value. They argue that on account of the mystic implication of the number eighty-four so many names, whether fictitious or historical, have been put together to make up a list. But it is also a fact that many teachers mentioned in this list were actual personages, known in the Buddhist world of those days for their learning and spiritual attainments. Many texts or songs composed by them have been preserved partially in original but mostly in Tibetan translations.

As regards the dates of the various Siddhas, the first of them namely *Luhi-pa* was, in all likelihood, the same as *Matsyendranatha* of other traditions,⁶⁹ who flourished about the beginning of the 10th century A.D. Siddha *Nagarjuna* lived in the tenth century, and *charpati* also belonged to about the same time. *Tilo-pa* was a contemporary of King *Mahipala I* of Bengal (988A.D.—1038A.D.) and *Naropa* was his disciple. *Jalandhara-pa* and *Kanho-pa* lived also about the middle of the eleventh century. Thus the most famous Siddhacharyas belonged to the tenth and eleventh centuries though some of them probably flourished in the twelfth.⁷⁰ The great majority of them may apparently be assigned to the eleventh century.

The general trend of the teachings of the *Siddhacharyas* was *Tantrica*. Nobody, except a qualified guru was allowed to initiate the disciple in the mysteries of their *siddhand*. The guru had to find out the special spiritual aptitude of the disciple and suggest to him the mode of *Sadhana* most suitable for him. *Kula* symbolized the special spiritual leaning of a disciple.

There were five such *Kulas*, technically called *dombi*, *nati*, *rajaki*, *chandali*, and *brahmani*. The nature of these *kulas* was determined by the five basic elements (*mahabhutas*). The five *kulas* are thus the five aspects of *prajna*. The *sakti* assumes five different forms according to the predominance of each of the five *skandhas* or constituents. The best way for the initiate is to follow up his special *kula* or *sakti* during his *sadhana*.

The *Siddha Sadhana* involved the practice of a new form of yoga developed by the *Siddhacharyas*. According to it, there are thirty two nerve-channels (*nadis*) within the body. The psychic energy, which has its seat below the *nabhi* (navel), flows up into the topmost station within the head called *mahasukhasthana* (the place of great bliss) through these channels. Various names are given to the *nadis* such as *lalana*, *rasana*, *avadhuti*, *provana*, *krshnarupini*, *samanya*, *pavaki*, *sumand*, *kamini*, etc.⁷¹ There are also a number of other stations, called either lotuses or wheels, within the body. They are compared with the places of pilgrimage like *Uddiyana*, *Jalandhara*, *Purnagiri* and *Kamarupa*. In its upward march the psychic energy has to pass through them.

The ultimate goal of *sadhana* is the attainment of the state of *sahaja* which is one of great blissfulness, without beginning and without end, free from duality. In this state the *sadhaka* finds himself to be the sole reality, identical with the universe, identical with the Buddha—a being who is ever free. Everything else dwindles into non-entity.

The attainment of the highest goal also meant certain physical perfections. Therefore a good deal of emphasis was placed on the *kaya-sadhana* involving trans-substantiation of the body. Later followers of the *Siddhacharyas* carried it to the extreme and concerned themselves only with the means of attaining a perfect, changeless and imperishable body which would help them to live long. It could be attained in various ways, the most important of them being an upward movement of the *bodhichitta* (semen virile).

The cultivation of the *bodhichitta* was related with certain alchemical practices. *Siddha Nagarjuna* was famous for introducing alchemy in matters of *sadhana*. The *Siddhacharyas* introduced many other innovations in spiritual exercises, but at present it is difficult to follow them on account of the symbolic character of the language in which they are described.

Nathism: *Nathism* derived its inspiration from *Vajrayana* and the 84 *Siddhas*. The propounders of the *Natha* school Hinduized the teachings of the Buddhist Tantras. Actually *Tantricism* proved to be a great synthesizing force and the synthesis of *Saivism* and Buddhism is best reflected in the *Natha* sect⁷² The *Nathas* were originally nine in number. Sometimes they are included in the list of the eighty four *Siddhas* of the Buddhists, though it will be a mistake to believe that the *Natha* school was substantially the same as the *Tantrika* Buddhism. The *Nathas* introduced many new theories in the sphere of *hathayoga* and *yoga* which were different from those propounded in the Tantras.

During the middle of the seventh century *Nathism* became popular through the teachings and mystic songs of the eighty-four *siddhas*. It travelled to Nepal and Tibet and *Tantrika* works were translated into Tibetan. Some of its works also travelled to China and are now found in their Chinese translations.

Sahajayana: The *Vajrayana* also gave rise to several later *Yanas* such as the *Sahajayana* and *Kalachakrayana*. The *Sahajayana* is believed to have started with the great *Siddha* Saraha.

By *Sahajayana* he meant easy path. According to him perfection can be attained which eating, drinking and merry-making. It implied rejection of religious formalities for obtaining *nirvana*.⁷⁴ *Lakshminkaradevik* (A.D. 729), the sister of King *Indrabhuti* of *Uddiyana*, was another great *Sahajayanist*. She declared in her *Advayasiddhi* that no suffering, fasting, rites, bathing purification, or obedience to the rules of society are necessary for the purpose of obtaining emancipation. It is useless to bow down before the images of gods which are made of wood, stone, or mud. The worshipper should offer worship only to his own body where all gods reside. The movement exerted great influence on Vaishnavism also.⁷⁵

Kalachakrayana: The *Kalachakrayana* seems to be a later development of the *Vajrayana*. According to the *Kalacharatantra* and its commentary *Vimalaprabha* written by *Pundarika*, *Kala* or Time is a phenomenal expression of *Karuna* and *Chakra* is the world of objects. *Kalachakra* is a fierce deity, an embodiment of *Sunyata*⁷⁶ and *Karuna* (compassion), embraced by the *Sakti* or goddess *Prajna*. Thus *Kalachakrayana* represents the philosophical conception of *advaya* or non-duality, a union of *Prajna* and *Upaya*. *Kalachakra* is regarded as the *Adibuddha* or the progenitor even of the Buddhas, that is to say, the *Dhyani* Buddhas. The doctrine that in "one's own body, the whole world is manifest" has a resemblance with the doctrines of the *Sahajayana* and *Nathism*. The system became popular in the eastern and Himalayan regions.

Here reference may also be made to the Dharma cult, the followers of which mainly came from the lower strata of society- the *Domas*, *Chandalas*, etc. it derived its main elements from Buddhism-*Vajrayana* and *Mantrayana*.⁷⁸

Criticism of Buddhist Tantricism

Buddhist *Tantricism* has been severely criticized by a number of modern scholars. According to N. Dutt, in *Tantricism* "The religion lost itself in the maze of mysticism and was engulfed by a host of *mudras* (finger-gestures and ceremonies), *mandalas* (mystical diagrams), *kriyas* (rites and ceremonies) and *charyas* (meditational practices and observances for external and internal purity). The teachings of one of the noblest minds were thus deformed into a system of magical spells, exorcisms, spirit-beliefs, and worship of demons and divinities." Further, "in the name of religion and philosophy, necessity and circumstances have debased human mind to the lowest conceivable vulgarity."⁷⁹ Many other scholars including Kern, R.L. Mitra, Winternitz, Charles Eliot and Poussin have denounced the *Tantrica* practice of *Sakti-sahacharya*, ceremony of secret initiation of young *yogins* and *yoginis*, and the use of the diverse kinds of food and drinks including flesh and wine, that find frequent mention in the pages of esoteric texts. B. Byattacharya stigmatises the Tantras as examples of 'the worst immorality and sin' and *Tantricism* as a 'disease'.

However many critics of *Tantricism* have conceded that the *Tantrica sadhana* "did confer on the adepts some superhuman powers and also led many to the realization of high spiritual states" and that *Tantricism* also "envisaged something very deep and subtle to be realized by those who were initiated into the secrets by their spiritual teachers." It has also been pointed out that the Tantras themselves make it quite clear that their language is not to be interpreted literally and that the darker aspects of their practices were not meant for ordinary men. Then there are a number of scholars who have showered great praise on *Tantricism*. According to Tucci, apart from some exceptions, "the Tantras contain one of the highest expressions of

Indian mysticism, which may appear to us rather strange in its outward form, chiefly because we do not always understand the symbolical language in which they are written." Snellgrove and Lama Anagarika Govinda⁸⁰ have also tried to defend *Tantricism* from the attack launched against it by modern scholars. To us it appears that despite our ignorance about the mysteries of *Tantricism* it cannot be denied that whatever is known about it is sufficient to generate a sense of repulsion. The doctrines that the Buddhahood resides in the female organ, that lust is crushed by lust, that *Nirvana* is found in the embrace of a young girl and that a mother or sister is not different from any other enjoyable girl and that the use of the five *makaras* is essential in religious practices can hardly be defended despite the sublime heights which the philosophy of Tantra obviously touched.

Tantrica Religion as a Factor of Social Change

The Tantras appear to have specially spread among the outcastes, voluntary outcastes and carefree wanderers. The *Tantrica* thinkers reflect a disregard for caste system. In the *Kularnavatantra*, caste is regarded as a *pasa* which a *sadhaka* has to cut off. In many cases Tantrica priestly functions were performed by people of low castes.⁸¹ In the works of the Siddhas *Nairatmya* is imagined as a *Dombi* girl. In a song *Kanho-pa* sings that he is going to marry the *Dombi*. After marrying her, he will escape from further birth and will get the *anuttara* world as dowry. He spends his time in sexual union with her in the company of *Yoginis*. He lives in her company day and night. The *Yogi*, who enjoys the company of the *Dombi* is maddened by *Sahaja* bliss and does not leave her even for a moment. Likewise, *Bhusuku-pa* fancies the *avadhuti*, representing the process to the *mahasukha* as a *Chandala* woman, and claims to have married her. *Dombi-pa* conceives a *Matanga* girl as plying the boat in the middle of the *Ganga* and the *Yamuna*. She stands for *nairatmya*, which leads man through the middle course to the final bliss. *Sabara-pa* treats *nairatmya* and *sunyata* as a *Sabari* girl residing in *mahasukhasthan*. According to *Indrabhuti*, women of low castes and degraded families like the *Chandalas* are eminently suitable for esoteric *sadhana*. The *Guhyasamajatantra* especially recommends the daughters of washer men for this purpose.⁸²

The fact that a large number out of the 84 Siddhas reportedly belonged to lower castes (about half of them being of the rank of *Domba*, *Chamara*, *Chandala*, washer man, oilman, tailor, fisherman, wood-cutter, cobbler, and so forth) also indicates that *Tantricism* was chiefly patronized by the members of the inferior classes. Some women also became Siddhas. *Lakshminkara*, sister of King *Indrabhuti*, lived at Sambhalanagara: *Manibhadra* was a maid-servant of Magadha; *Kalakala-pa* belonged to *Devikota* (North Bengal) and *Mekhala-pa* was the daughter of a householder of Agachenagar. Evidently the Siddhas cared little for conventions and social taboos and taught that all classes are one, there being no difference between a man and woman, a *Brahmana* and a *Domba*, a king and a slave. Some of them, including *Saraha* or *Rahulabhadra*, who was a *Brahmana* by caste, became outcastes voluntarily. *Saraha* is said to have married the daughter of an arrow maker who belonged to a mean caste. In his very first *doha* he attacks his own former high caste. He also disregarded intellectualism and externals of religion. The use of the local vernaculars- *Apabhramsa* instead of Sanskrit was another aspect of the same mentality.

Saraha had studied at Nalanda under *Haribhadra*, who was a pupil of the famous scholar and missionary *Santarakshita*. *Haribhadra* was a contemporary of King *Dharmapala* (770-

815 A.D.). Hence Saraha also flourishes during his reign. After completing his studies, he took to *Tantrika* practices and rose in revolt against the distinction of high-class and low-class people. He believed that the depressed high placed castes. He proclaimed the spiritual potentiality of the lower classes and their equality with other people.⁸³ The *Brahmanas*, he observed, read the Vedas in vain and do not know the essence of things. Proclaiming the futility of the inhibitions of dining and drinking, Saraha enjoined on the people to take food at the house of the *Chandala*. Thus, he initiated a powerful movement of the lower classes against social injustice. Soon this movement gained momentum. Other Yogins also, who included both the *Sahajavani* Siddhas and *Nathas*, knew no system of caste and went all-out against it. At the time of Muslim conquest, it swept through the whole country. It shook the very style of thinking and living and convulsed the mind and heart of the people. The entire population of the country was seized by this mental and spiritual unrest. The psychology of the masses passed through a deep crisis and the system of values, concepts and standards of life was put in the melting-pot.

Thus, it is clear that the Siddhas thought in terms of the lower, outcaste and untouchable people. All their imageries and conceptions centered on the lower classes and their discourses breathed their atmosphere.⁸⁴ Their doctrines were, in the words of Louis Renou, "esoteric as well as democratic, as they do not recognize distinctions of caste or sect. They are a kind of free masonry."⁸⁵

Tantric Buddhism in China

Tantric or esoteric Buddhism has had a less prominent place in constituting the mainstream.⁸⁶ Owing its distinctive character more to its rituals and meditative practices than to its philosophy, it did not win an intellectual following like that of T'ien-t'ai and Hua-yen; nor did it enjoy the sustained acceptance accorded the other "schools of practice," Ch'an and Pure Land. Nevertheless, Tantric Buddhism had greater influence in China than has often been granted. Buddhist texts containing references to Tantric practices, as well as monks acquainted with certain Tantric techniques, appeared early in Chinese Buddhist history and contributed much to the popularity of Buddhism in China.

During the T'ang Dynasty (618-906), both foreign and Chinese masters spread this form of Buddhism and in the eighth and ninth centuries under imperial patronage it became one of the leading sects of Chinese Buddhism. Thereafter, although as a distinct movement it waned, elements of Tantric Buddhist ritual and belief survived until the present century, diffused throughout Chinese Buddhism. It should further be noted that, while the Chinese appear to have added little to the Indian Tantric Buddhism they received, the Tantric sect of the Tang dynasty played a pivotal role in the founding of the Japanese esoteric traditions of Shingon and Tendai, which developed along distinctive lines and still flourish today.

Since Tantric Buddhism existed only briefly as an identifiable movement in China, materials for its study are relatively limited, if not in quantity, at least in kind. Apart from biographies of monks, the chief sources of information are the extant translations of Tantric texts from Sanskrit into Chinese. Since these translations can be dated, it is possible to trace the spread of Tantric Buddhism into China. Japanese scholars have established a distinction between Miscellaneous Tantric texts, on the one hand, and pure or systematic texts, on the other. In general, texts in the miscellaneous category were compiled in India before the seventh

century C.E. and incorporate elements of Tantric practice that already had a long history in Hinduism: *dharanis*, *mantras* (incantations), *mudras* (hand gestures) and the worship of deities.

Though presented as pronouncements of the historical Buddha, these texts have little to do with traditional Buddhist teachings; rather, they are concerned primarily with the magical attainment of blessings and the avoidance of misfortune. The pure or systematic texts, in contrast, were formed in the seventh and following centuries and represent a stage at which Tantric practices adopted from Hinduism were thoroughly rationalized in *Mahayana* Buddhist doctrinal terms. The principal texts of this type introduced into China are the *Mahavairocana Sutra* and the several texts grouped under the title of the *Vajrasekhara Sutra*, is the most important.⁸⁶

In these later texts, the Buddha *Mahavairocana*, a personification of the true nature of all that exists, is the protagonist. His name may be translated "Great Luminous One." Various Buddhas and bodhisattvas are introduced as *Mahavairocana's* manifestations and guidelines are provided for their depiction in sacred diagrams known as mandalas. In Tantric practice, these Buddhas and bodhisattvas serve, along with certain other objects, as the focus of a complex type of meditation that aims above all at the sudden attainment of Buddhahood. The meditation has a three-part structure, involving the use of *dharanis* and *mudras* in conjunction with specific objects of concentration. Through this technique, known as the practice of the Three Mysteries (*san-mi*, the individual is enabled to realize his true, Buddha nature by symbolically identifying with *Mahavairocana* (or any of his manifestations) in body, speech, and mind.⁸⁷

The first miscellaneous Tantric texts reached China around the third century C.E. In 230, the Indian monk known as Chu Lu-yen translated the *Mo-tengch'ieh ching* (T 21.399-410), a text that contains several *dharanis*, gives instructions for divination according to the stars, and teaches a rite involving the use of fire that may reflect the influence of the Hindu *homa* or fire ritual. In the fourth century, the introduction of miscellaneous Tantric literature and practices was continued mainly by Central Asian missionaries such as the monk Dharmaraksa, better known for his translations of the *Lotus Sutra* and the *Perfection of Wisdom* in 25,000 lines; fo-t'u-teng in North China and *Srimitra* in the South, famous for their magical powers and for their knowledge of *Dharanis*, and T, an-wu-lan, a translator of works containing *dharanis* for curing illness and rites for making and stopping rain.⁸⁸

The influx of such texts increased in the fifth through seventh centuries. The magical emphasis remained, but there is evidence of a growing prominence of Buddhist doctrine in these texts and of an increasing systematization of ritual. Thus, the *Ta-chi ching* (T 13. 1-408), translated by Dharmaraksema (d. 433), ranks *dharani* with morality, meditation, and wisdom as a practice in which a bodhisattva excels. In the second half of the fifth century, T'an-yao, who oversaw the Buddhist artwork done at the Yun-kang caves, translated large parts of the *Ta-chi-i s.hen-clou ching* (T 21.568-80), which not only describes the preparation of an area in which Buddhist images are to be arranged and presented with offerings (as in certain mandalas), but also points out that each "deity" has its own particular function.

By the seventh century, texts were being introduced that reflect the mature techniques and goals of Tantric Buddhism. Chih-t' ung's translation of the *Ch'ien-yen ch'ien-pi-ching* (T 20.83-90), is one of the first to state that the ultimate aim of Tantric practice is the rapid attainment of Buddhahood. The *To-lo-ni chi ching* (T 18.785-898), translated by Atigupta,

discusses the *Mahayana* doctrine of emptiness and indicates in detail how numerous Buddhas and bodhisattvas are to be depicted and employed in Tantric ritual and meditation.

By the end of this century, the stage had been set for the introduction of so-called pure Tantric Buddhism. The Indian Tantric master *Subhakarasiṃha* (shan-wu-wei, 637-735) and his Chinese disciple I-hsing (683-727) transmitted the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra*. Vajrabodhi (Chin-kang-chih, 671-741), and his disciple, Amoghavajra (Pu-k'ung, 705-774) introduced texts of the Vajrasekhara line. These men were responsible for bringing Tantric Buddhism to its height of popularity in China.

Subhakarasiṃha and I-hsing

According to the biography, Subhakarasiṃha was a native of Northeast India and was the son of royalty.⁸⁹ He was apparently a precocious child; we are told that he took control of his father's army when he was ten and ascended the throne at thirteen. However, a struggle for power broke out between Subhakarasiṃha and his brothers. Although he emerged victorious, he decided to turn over the government to the eldest of his brothers and enter Buddhist clergy. As a monk, he travelled widely, studying and displaying various magical powers, but he finally settled at the great Buddhist university of *Nalanda*, where he was instructed by Dharmagupta in the practice of the Three Mysteries. He took to the road again, visiting pilgrimage sites and teaching nonbelievers "to look for the Buddha within themselves." Dharmagupta then ordered him to go to China. On his way, he lectured on the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra* to the Turkish and Tibetan people he encountered.

When he arrived in the thriving capital of Ch'ang-an in 716, he was already eighty years old. Emperor Hsuan-tsung (712—756) received the venerable monk at the palace and bestowed on him the title "Teacher of the Country" (*kuo-shih*). Subhakarasiṃha is said to have "caused the emperor to enter the way of the *Tathagata*," but it appears that Hsuan-tsung was more impressed by the feats of magic that the monk performed than by his instructions regarding the attainment of Buddhahood. Even before the Tantric master had arrived, Hsuan-tsung had developed a strong interest in Taoist magic, and he maintained that interest until his death. In Chang-an, Subhakarasiṃha produced his first translation, the *Hsu-kung-tsang ch'iu-wen-ch'ih fa*, a text containing a *dharani* that promised to increase the practitioner's powers of memory (T20.601-3).

In 724, he accompanied the emperor to Loyang, where he continued his work. In 725, he made his most important contribution to the spread of Tantric Buddhism, completing the translation of the *mahāvairocana Sūtra* (T 18.1-55).⁹⁰ The Sanskrit text had been sent from India thirty years earlier by the Chinese monk Wu-hsing, who had died on the way home. The first fascicle sets forth the philosophy on which the *sūtra* is based; it stresses that knowing one's mind as it really is constitutes enlightenment, and it offers an analysis of the various levels of spiritual awakening. The next six fascicles present the *mandala* (known as the Womb or Matrixmandala) and the Tantric practices that lead the individual to the realization of the innate, enlightened mind. The mandala based on this text depicts *Mahāvairocana* seated on an eight-petal lotus, surrounded by four major Buddhas and their attendant bodhisattvas, and then, beyond the perimeter of the lotus, by numerous other bodhisattvas and lesser deities.

Subhakarasiṃha's disciple, I-hsing, is one of the most remarkable figures in Chinese Buddhist history. As a young man, he studied the Chinese classics, and he was later known

for his knowledge of Taoism. He lost his parents when he was twenty-one and began his career in Buddhism as a monk of the Ch'an sect, at one point training under the famous Northern Ch'an master, P'u-chi. By the time his interests had turned to Tantric Buddhism, he not only had studied monastic discipline and the teachings of the Tien-t'ai sect, but he had distinguished himself in Mathematics and astronomy to such a degree that in 721 Emperor Hsuan-tsung called upon him to reform the calendar. I-hsing began his study of Tantric Buddhism with Vajrabodhi, who arrived in Ch'ang-an in 719. Vajrabodhi initiated him into practices associated with the Vajrasekhara textual line. By 724, I-hsing joined Subhakarasiṃha in Loyang. He helped with the translation of the *Mahavairocana Sutra*, and then went on to compile the work that secured his place in Tantric Buddhist history: a twenty fascicle commentary on the *Sutra*, reportedly based on lectures given by Subhakarasiṃha (T 39.579-690).⁹¹ No comparable commentary exists for any of the *Vajrasekhara* texts, a fact that does much to explain the great popularity of the *Mahavairocana Sutra* in the later Tantric tradition, not only in China, but also in Japan. Shortly after finishing the project, this multifaceted genius passed away, preceding his master in death by eight years.

Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra

Little can be said with confidence about Vajrabodhi's birthplace or family background. As a boy, he entered the Buddhist clergy and studied at Nalanda. In the following years, he read widely in Buddhist literature, acquiring a thorough knowledge of both *Hinayana* and *Mahayana* doctrine and monastic discipline. At the age of thirty-one he received initiation into the Vajrasekhara line of Tantric Buddhism in south India. In the course of his travels in India, Vajrabodhi heard of the growing popularity of Buddhism in China and set his mind on going there to missionize. With the aid of a South Indian King, he set out from Sri Lanka by sea, finally reaching Ch'ang-an in 719 and Loyang in 720. No sooner had he arrived than he began to erect *abhiseka*, or initiation, platforms, replete with mandalas, and to spread Tantric Buddhism.

Vajrabodhi quickly came to the attention of Emperor Hsuan-tsung, and, like Subhakarasiṃha, he was called upon to demonstrate his superhuman powers. He is said to have caused rain to fall on one occasion and, on another, to have saved the life of the emperor's twenty-fifth daughter, who was diagnosed as having a terminal illness. During the twenty-one years he was active in China, he introduced over twenty sutras and ritual manuals, almost all in the Vajrasekhara textual line. The most important of these was his translation of the opening section of the *Tattvasaṃgraha Sutra* (T 18.223-53). In contrast to the *Mahavairocana Sutra*, this work has no philosophical prologue. From the outset, it is concerned with describing the mandala and the meditational practices understood to lead to enlightenment. The mandala, known as the Diamond, is made up of various subsections or "assemblies"; in its central assembly are five Buddhas- *Mahavairocana*, Akṣobhya, Ratnasambhava, Amitabha, and Amoghasiddhi- symbolizing the five types of wisdom characteristic of an enlightened mind.

Of Vajrabodhi's several disciples, the most distinguished was Amoghavajra, who appears to have done more to advance the cause of Tantric Buddhism than any of the masters so far discussed. Amoghavajra was born in 705, most probably in Central Asia. His father was a Brahmin from North India; his mother came from Samarkand. After his father's death, he was raised in his mother's homeland until he was ten years old, when he was taken to China by his maternal uncle.

It was in Ch'ang-an, 719, that he met Vajrabodhi and entered the Buddhist clergy. His first training was in Sanskrit and monastic discipline, and only after several years had passed was he initiated into the practices of the Vajrasekhara line of Tantric Buddhism. Amoghavajra served his master until the latter's death, but then in 743 he set off for India and Sri Lanka to collect Tantric material. While in Sri Lanka, he received further instruction in Tantric Buddhism from a certain Samantabhadra. In 746 he returned to Ch'ang-an, bringing with him over five hundred *Sutras* and commentaries. By the time of his death, in 774, he had translated over one hundred of these texts and established a reputation as one of the greatest translators in Chinese Buddhist history.

Among his most influential products was his translation of the opening section of the *Tattvasamgraha Sutra* (T 18.207-23),⁹² a more complete version than Vajrabodhi's; in later years it was this version that served as the principal source for the depiction of the Diamond Mandala. Amoghavajra also worked to spread Tantric Buddhism through the establishment of initiation platforms in temples both within and outside the capital, and all three of the emperors who ruled during his lifetime turned to him for the rainmaking and healing miracles they had come to expect from the Tantric monks. When General An Lu-shan rose in rebellion in 755, Amoghavajra was also called upon to perform rituals for the protection of the state. At the time of the monk's death, Tai-tsung cancelled all court activities for three days.

Of Amoghavajra's many outstanding disciples, it was one of the youngest, Hui-kuo (746-805), who had the greatest influence on later Tantric history in East Asia. Two aspects of his career are particularly important. First, Hui-kuo appears to have consciously sought to unify the two lineages of Tantric Buddhism. He had received initiation into the Vajrasekhara line from Amoghavajra, and from Hsuan-ch'ao, a disciple of Subhakarasiṃha, he received the transmission of the *Mahavairocana Sutra* and a related text, the *Susiddhikara Sutra* (T 18.603-33). While earlier Tantric masters may have had knowledge of both lineages, they tended to specialize in one. Hui-kuo seems to have been the first to hold that they were of equal value. In the immediately following generations, it was common for monks to receive initiation into both. Second, Hui-kuo contributed to the spread of Tantric Buddhism outside China. Among his disciples was the Japanese monk *Kukai* (774-835), founder of the Shingon sect of Esoteric Buddhism. The founder of the Japanese Tendai sect, *Saicho* (767-822), also studied Tantric Buddhism during his stay in China. However, almost nothing is known about his teacher, Shun-hsiao, and the precise character of the transmission he received is unclear.⁹³ It was not until the monks Ennin (794-864) and Enchin (814-891) visited China and studied with later figures in Hui-kuo's line that Esoteric Buddhism was fully integrated into Japanese Tendai teachings.

The Tantric school did not share in the recovery of Buddhism in the Sung period (960-1279), although some new translations were made, among them a complete version of the *Tattvasamgraha* by Shih-hu (late tenth century) (T18.341-445). During the Yuan dynasty (1280-1368), Tibetan Tantric Buddhism was introduced, but neither the translations nor the contact with Tibet had a reinvigorating effect. Nevertheless, Tantric Buddhism retained a place in the tradition, as can be seen from the careers of two major Buddhist figures of the Ming dynasty (1368-1644), Chu-hung (1535-1615) and Hanshan (1546-1623).⁹⁴ Reflecting the general character of Buddhism in this period, they taught a syncretism of Pure Land, Ch'an, and the doctrinal schools; they emphasized the importance of monastic discipline and they paid

particular attention to the needs of lay Buddhists. Furthermore, both chu-hung and Han-shan were practitioners of Tantric Buddhism. They performed the Tantric ritual for rain as well as a rite known as "the feeding of the burning mouths (or hungry ghosts)", a popular ritual for taming malevolent spirits. As the character of these rites suggests, in this period as before, it was the mundane benefits of Tantric ritual that appear to have held the greatest appeal.

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86. The term 'Tantric' is derived from the Sanskrit *tantra*, which refers to the ritual and meditation manuals characteristically associated with this movements in India after the eighth century. In Chinese, the appellations Mi. "Esoteric", or Chemyen, "True Word", are used to refer to the sect. The former reflects the secrets nature of the transmission of its teachings; the latter is a translation of *dharani* or *mantra*.
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6

YOGACARA

Yogacara, a school of Buddhist philosophy founded by the brothers Asanga and Vasubandhu in the fifth century, focuses on a critical and reflective understanding of mind, both deluded and awakened. It attempts to make explicit the structure of consciousness and to sketch the dynamic progression toward conversion and awakening. Assanga and Vasubandhu, as well as the semilegendary Maitreya, who is reported to have been Asanga's mentor and to whom various texts are ascribed, were deeply influenced by the *prajnaparamita* scriptures and their central teaching that all things are empty. They were also steeped in *Madhyamika* thought: Asanga and Sthiramati (sixth century), wrote commentaries on Nagarjuna's Stanzas on the Middle. The notions of emptiness and dependent co-arising and the theme of the two truths are central in *Yogacara* thinking and meditation.

But the *yogacara* thinkers did not simply comment on *Madhyamika* thought. They attempted to ground insight into emptiness in a critical understanding of the mind, articulated in a sophisticated theoretical discourse. *Nagarjuna* had rejected all theory and all views (*drsti*) as illusory and had negated them by the dialectic of emptiness. Asanga's aim was to revive theory as dependently co-arising understanding through rethinking the meaning of emptiness. *Yogacara* is thus a partial reaffirmation of the validity of abhidharmic analyses and expositions. It no longer presupposes the naive realism of *Hinayana* Abhidharma, but attempts to make explicit the underlying structure and dynamic functioning of consciousness, as witnessed in the title of its foundational scripture, *The Scripture on the Explication of Underlying Meaning* (*Sambhinirmocanasutra*).

The *Yogacara* turn toward conscious interiority, which took place more than a millennium before Kant, was triggered by and evolved within a specifically religious problematic. The *Madhyamika* practice of logical refutation through insight into emptiness called into question all truth claims, even those most central to Buddhist doctrine, such as the Four Noble Truths, branding them as illusory "views." *Nagarjuna* and *Aryadeva* practiced a constant vigilance against the setting up of any view as true, insisting that the truth of ultimate meaning goes beyond any verbal or logical formulation.

They recommended a thorough deconstruction of all prior theory, all abhidharmic belief in fixed essences (*suabhava*) of things. Their aim was to open up anew the experience of realizing awakening by the negation and removal of clinging to verbalized truth. This focus on emptiness and negation was constantly in tension with the affirmative value of dependent

co-arising. *Madhyamika* explicitly rejected nihilism (*nastivada*), and claimed to affirm neither being nor nothingness. Yet the idea that everything was empty was a source of despondency and consternation to practitioners, as *The Analysis of the Jeweled Lineage*, a text that brings together *Tathagatagarbha* themes, reports.¹ In a world of negation and essencelessness, there appears to be no refuge and no sure path to cessation. No doctrinal discourse can maintain its validity and no scriptures can present words of awakening.

The tension created by these problems led some to the affirmation of an ultimate reality beyond the scope of emptiness. The texts of the *Tathagatagarbha* lineage affirm the ultimate, non-empty (*asunya*) reality of the dharmabody, of the seed or womb (*garbha*) of awakening present originally in all sentient beings. A specifically Buddhist version of Indian monism was developed, negating the *Prajnaparamita* and *Madhyamika* notion of emptiness by reducing its applicability to defiled states, not the originally pure seed or Buddha-nature.² Although the pre-Asangan *Yogacara* texts of Maitreya appear to have been influenced heavily by these *Tathagatagarbha* ideas,³ the classical *Yogacara* thinkers, Asanga and Vasubandhu, did not follow this monistic option. They based their thought on the *Prajnaparamita* teachings and accepted their notion of emptiness.

But the problem remained. How could one enunciate doctrine without falling into illusory views? Did not the Buddha's teachings remain valid? If things are affirmed to all be empty, how can one validate the basic insight into emptiness? *Madhyamikas* asserted that they were not asserting anything and so had need to validate anything. It was sufficient, Aryadeva argued, to disclose the logical errors in other's assertions without offering any "view" of one's own. Yet *Madhyamika* did function as a deconstructive method by basing itself on insight into the emptiness and silence of ultimate meaning. That emptiness is then identified with dependent co-arising; ultimate meaning is held in constant tension with and differentiation from worldly convention. These views needed to be more convincingly grounded. In seeking to steer a course between the perception of nihilism and the monistic assertion of an ultimate, non-empty reality, Asanga was led to turn his attention to the internal structure and genesis of both illusion and awakening to ground insight into emptiness in the dependently co-arisen structure of understanding, and to sketch a path toward the realization of "the conversion of support," that is, of consciousness, from illusion to awakening. *Yogacara* spirituality is thus a reflective, critical spirituality. While affirming the conventional validity of dependently co-arisen insight and doctrinal formulation, it maintains the centrality of ultimately meaningful emptiness.

The Structure of Consciousness

The *Yogacara* analysis of the structure of consciousness centers on two themes:

- (1) the container consciousness (*alaya-vijnana*) in its constant interplay with the active consciousness (*pravritti-vijnana*) of thinking (*manas*) and perception;
- (2) the three patterns (*trilaksana*) or natures (*trisvabhava*) of its functioning.

The container consciousness marks the initial thrust of the *Yogacara* thinkers into the realm of interiority. *Nagarjuna* had criticized all verbal attempts at explanation as fabrication (*prapanca*) based on clinging to essences. *The Explication of Underlying Meaning* proffers its teaching on the container consciousness as a critical understanding of the internal genesis of such fabrication. In each and every sentient being the container consciousness is a

storehouse of karmic seeds which, having accumulated from the distant past, form the habitual proclivities according to which each being discriminates and verbally fabricates images and names. Underlying the actively conscious process of thinking, the latent seed impressions deposited in the container consciousness subtly and subconsciously program our minds to construct images and ideas believed to correspond to real essences existing apart from the mind. The container consciousness is the foundational substructure of all mental operations, which, since it is not mediated in words or images, remains unknown in those operations. It accounts for the unity of the different activities of the mind.⁵ for the actual consciousnesses of thinking and perception arise in virtue of its basic seed-programming.

Thus the differing perceptions and thoughts of a saint and a criminal are traced to these preconscious habitual proclivities planted in their minds through their differing experiences and actions. The self-justifying reasoning of a thief, that he merely responds wisely to an unfair world, results from latent seeds of greed, anger, and delusion, in the same way as the compassionate practices of a *bodhisattva* result from the implantation of good seeds. But the interplay between the latent container consciousness and the manifested actual consciousnesses of thinking and perceiving is not a one-way process, for the karmic actions of sentient beings plant new seeds in and remove old seeds from the container consciousness. A thief may become a bodhisattva, although it may take him a long period of time to plant and cultivate good seeds. The relationship between the container and active consciousnesses is thus one of interdependence, like that of two reeds resting upon each other. The structure of mind is synergistic, for its functional unity relies on the interdependence of the container consciousness with all its latent seeds and the active consciousnesses with all the conscious acts and thoughts of the life-death cycle.

A further characteristic of the interdependent structure of mind is the mutual reliance between insight (*arsana*) and image (*nimitta*) in the occurrence of knowing. All the active operations of thinking and perceiving appear through insight into image. Without image, whether visual or auditory, no insight occurs. Without insight, the image remains unthought. All conscious knowing takes the form of a subjective knower (*grahaka*) apprehending an objective known (*grabya*) because it arises through insight into images. Since interdependence is the basic structure of mind, the basic pattern of consciousness is the other-dependent pattern (*paratantra-laksana*). This other dependent pattern has both a defiled and a pure aspect inasmuch as it is the pivotal structure of mind accounting for both illusion and awakening. Yet in actual experience the other-dependent pattern gravitates toward illusion because of the latent seeds in the container consciousness. Thus emerges the second basic pattern of consciousness, described in *The Analysis of the Middle and Extremes* as "unreal imagining" (*abbuta-parikalpa*), in which pattern meaning is extroverted in a duality of subject standing over against object- as if meaning were a property of things correctly understood. The other-dependent pattern is the act of imagining what is unreal, experienced initially only in the context of the illusory, imagined pattern.

The imagined pattern (*parikalpita-laksana*) is the mistaken grasping of images or insights as if they themselves independently pictured or captured real "meaning units" (*dharma*s). It is the state of living within an imagined world due to a failure to realize the other-dependent relationship between image and insight. When images are themselves taken to represent

objective realities. They close off any possibility of insight. Thus one clings to the imagined reality of fame, profit, etc. (or God, Buddha, etc.) with the tenacity of a fundamentalist faith closed to further questioning. When insights are taken to capture reality and truth they become views asserted in forgetfulness of their image a base conditioned by and dependent on a host of differing linguistic and cultural factors. Furthermore, the imagined pattern functions in disregard of the latent seeds which condition and program the habitual proclivities of our imagining and thinking. It mistakes the insight-image structure of other-dependent knowing for the basic structure of reality. Thus the imagined pattern is likened to dreams, mirages, magical tricks—all of which imply the presence of a seemingly self-enclosed image assumed mistakenly to picture reality. Conversely, propositions and theories become “imagined” when they abstract from their dependency on their language image base and pretend to detect true essences in things.

The third basic pattern of consciousness, the perfected pattern (*parinispānalakṣaṇa*) is insight into the illusory nature of imagined realities and recovery of the basic other-dependent pattern of mind. It replaces the naive realism of the imagined pattern with critical awareness of the interdependent structure of mind. The theme of conscious-construction only (*Vijnapti-mātra*) sums up this critical understanding.

The *Yogācāra* refrain that all things are conscious-construction-only has often been taken to imply an idealist negation of the objective reality of the external world in favor of the inner reality of consciousness. Indeed, it is not difficult to adduce textual passages that do deny “objective” reality and reduce all things to conscious constructs or ideas (*Vijnapti*).⁶ However, Asaṅga and Vasubandhu negate not only objective reality but also the reality of a subjective knower: the duality of subject and external object is declared to be entirely illusory and nonexistent. The theory of conscious-construction-only understands the genesis of imagined thinking in terms not of the given reality of things but of the appearances of image and insight clung to by the seed impressions of the container consciousness as if they constituted a real object standing over against a real subject. It rejects picture images of reality in favor of a critical awareness of the other-dependent relationships that condition all human thinking.

This turning away from the imagined pattern to the perfected pattern upon the pivoting base of the other-dependent pattern is the conversion of support (*āśraya-parivṛtti*) wherein one gains insight into the emptiness and nonbeing of what is imagined and into the dependent co-arisen being of what is dependently co-arisen. The sixth-century commentator Sthiramati offers a threefold analysis of conversion as encompassing a conversion of mind (*citta-āśraya-parivṛtti*), a conversion of path (*mārga-āśraya-parivṛtti*), and a conversion of the proclivities (*daustbulya-āśraya-parivṛtti*).

The conversion of mind is the turning away from the imagined pattern to the perfected pattern whereby one attains insight into the empty and dependently co-arisen being of consciousness and all the meanings it generates. *Nāgārjuna* thought that emptiness is a designation (*prajñapti*) referring to the essenceless being of dependent co-arising. *Asaṅga* teaches that it is an idea, a conscious construct (*vijnapti*) based on the other-dependent structure of mind. In virtue of this conversion the path constructed in its serial stages is itself implied and seen as representing no rigid or fixed progression. The worldly path (*laukika-mārga*) that goes from here to there is converted into a transcendent path (*lokottaramārga*) of no-abiding,

of bodhisattva practice. It is the recovery of the originally present, dependently co-arising practice engaged in deeds of compassion. The conversion of the proclivities is the eradication of the defiled seeds in the container consciousness; liberation for unhindered bodhisattva practice requires this total deprogramming of karmic seeds.

The Spiritual Dynamic

The above account of the structure of mind is at the service of the spiritual dynamism of conversion, whose movement is from insight into emptiness to a reaffirmation of being in the context of emptiness. *The Analysis of the Middle and Extremeness* teaches that the middle path consists in a movement through illusory being to insight into the non-being of emptiness, and then on to a realization of the being of emptiness.⁷ The other dependent unreal imagining that marks the unawakened mind appears in the dichotomy of subject, presenting being as real essences to the mind. Its imagined being as an essential object over against an essentialist subject is declared to be nonexistent. But, while the *Prajnaparamita* scriptures and *Madhyamika* philosophy stop at insight into emptiness, exercising therein a constant vigilance lest any essentialist view reappear, the *Yogacara* author here goes on to reaffirm that within the other-dependent unreal imagining of everyday thinking, emptiness does exist, that is, the other-dependent pattern underlying the illusory genesis of views is not itself nonexistent.

Being, shorn of essentialism, is apprehended anew in the context of emptiness: "Therefore all things are said to be neither empty, nor not empty, because of being, non-being, and being—this is the middle path" (*Madhyantavibhaga* 1.2). The theme of the three patterns allows *Asanga* and *Vasubandhu* both to negate imagined being through insight into the emptiness of the objective reality of the subject-object dichotomy and to reaffirm dependently co-arising being through conversion to the fully perfected pattern. The *Yogacara* thinkers were then able to discourse on the "wondrous being" of emptiness and could resurrect Abhidharma theory in light of emptiness. Thus they not only inherited the two-truth theme of *Nagarjuna* but were able to stress the conventional validity of conventional truth more than was possible in *Madhyamika*. It is valid in terms of its dependently co-arising language base seen as a construct-of-understanding-only.

Asanga in his *Summary of the great Vehicle* teaches that dharma-body, the ineffable content of conversion, is characterized by the nonduality of existence and nonexistence, since all things are nonexistent—that is, empty—while their character of being empty does exist.⁸ The commentator *Asvabhava* goes so far as to say that dharma-body has "emptiness as its essence."⁹ Here emptiness, the negation of essence, is described as the essence of awakening, suggesting the nonessential being of empty dependent co-arising. *Hsuan Tsang* in his rather interpretative translation of this passage defines the ontological issue in terms of the three patterns, explaining that the imagined pattern does not exist, but that the pattern "revealed by emptiness does exist."¹⁰ *Asanga* further states that Buddhas "are characterized by the non-existence of existence."¹¹ Thus, while there are no Buddhas, they do not exist. Again *Asvabhava* explains that there are no Buddhas because the imagined pattern of other-dependent consciousness is not nonexistent, but that they do not simply not exist because the perfected pattern does exist. Thus the nonexistence of existence refers to the ultimate stage of awakening attained by emptiness.

Yogacara spirituality thus acquires a critical understanding of being in the context of emptiness through an interiorization of the *Prajnaparamita* notion of emptiness as the negation

of the deluded, imagined pattern that generates belief in the essential reality of self and things. Where the *Tathagatagarbha* texts limit the scope of emptiness quantitatively to affirm a non-empty ultimate reality, Asanga limits its scope qualitatively to negate all understanding within the imagined pattern. Freed from the specter of nihilism, he can understand all doctrine and all path practice as "only" doctrine and "only" path practice. Valid doctrine and practice remain always worldly and conventional and, being dependently co-arisen, can never pretend to an absolute validity, for ultimate meaning remains transcendent to any conditioned formulation. Asanga summarizes his understanding of *Mahayana* in three points:

- (1) dependent co-arising,, which he identifies with the structure of the container consciousness functioning in synergy with the active consciousnesses;
- (2) dependently co-arisen states, which he identifies with the three patterns in which dependently co-arising consciousness functions;
- (3) an explanation of what has been declared in the scriptures, which he identifies with conventionally valid interpretations of the meanings and intentions of scriptural teachings.¹²

The Bodies of Awakening

The critical focus of *Yogacara* thinking is carried over into its understanding of wisdom and the three bodies of awakening (*buddha-trikaya*). The tendency among *pre-Asangan Yogacara* thinkers to adopt *Tathagatagarbha* themes surfaces again in their interpretations of wisdom and the Buddha bodies. *The Ornament of the Scriptures of the Great Vehicle* presents a "three Buddha bodies of essence (*svabhavika-kaya*), enjoyment (*sambhogika-kaya*), and transformation (*Nirmanakaya*) as issuing from the ultimate Dharma realm, suggesting a single, all-inclusive and not empty ultimate reality as the essence underlying all states of awakening and all buddha bodies.¹³ In the presence of such an essential reality, wisdom consists in sweeping away the non essential impurities that block insight. Thus both the imagined patterns and the other-dependent pattern fall away upon the attainment of the pattern of full perfection.

But such an interpretation did not go unchallenged. Sthiramati reports that "some explain Dharma body as the well-purified dharma realm entirely removed from all adventitious defilement, "while others explain Dharma body as excellent wisdom, functioning in an unattached and unobstructed manner in regard to all the knowable."¹⁴ The first opinion is that found in texts like the *Ornament of the Scriptures*, while the second is that of Asanga himself, who in the last chapter "On Wisdom" in his *Summary of the Great Vehicle* explains "the excellence of wisdom as the three bodies of Buddha." He seems concerned throughout this chapter lest people abandon practice, claiming that they are "originally" awakened. In the very last paragraph of the chapter he rejects the proposition that no effort is needed in order to attain awakening, "Since Dharma body of Buddhas is beginningless, not distinct [from sentient beings], and infinite."

For Asanga Vasubandhu the fundamental dharma-body, as well as the other two bodies which are grounded on and issue from dharma-body, is not a reality beyond the scope of emptiness, as in some of the *tathagatagarbha* texts. Rather, it is the existence of emptiness, realized through conversion as the wisdom content of full perfection, that is, empty of any imagined being, of any notion of an essentialist absolute. Dharma-body is wisdom attained

through conversion in contacting the ultimate realm of imageless and ineffable emptiness. The enjoyment-body, which is the consequent issuance of dharma-body wisdom experienced by meditating bodhisattvas, is also brought within the scope of emptiness. During the time of *Asanga* and *Vasubandhu*, many *Mahayana* devotional cults to various Buddhas and their Pure Lands flourished. *Asanga* understood these Buddhas and Pure Lands in terms of his critical understanding of the mind of wisdom. They are, he asserts, "Nothing but conscious constructs flowing from wisdom" (*Jnana-nisyanda- vijnapti-matra*).¹⁵ As such, just as with their ground, dharmabody, all Buddhas of the *Mahayana* devotional cults are themselves empty of imagined being and cannot be clung to in religious imaginings.

The transformation-body, both in *Yogacara* and in earlier texts, is a magically wrought creation of the ineffable and invisible dharma-body. It is perceptible to common sentient beings. The historical Buddha was seen as the prime example of such a transformation. The entire "being" and life course of *Sakyamuni* were then explained as skillfully created fictions aimed at leading sentient beings toward awakening. Thus, the three bodied reflect *Asanga's* understanding of the structure of wisdom in realizing ultimately meaningful emptiness and in embodying that realization in conventionally skillful and dependently co-arising manifestations through enjoyment-bodies to meditating bodhisattvas (i.e., practitioners) and transformation-bodies to common sentient beings.

Chinese Yogacara

When the first *Yogacara* texts were translated into Chinese shortly after the beginning of the fifth century, Neo-Taoist thought, such as that of Wang Pi (226-249) and Kuo Hsiang (d.312), has become the dominant philosophic trend among literate Chinese. Thus, when the Buddhist monk-scholars employed their method of "matching concepts" (ko-i), the Chinese concepts involved were Neo-Taoist versions of Chuang-tzu and Lao-tzu. This process of matching concepts was not, however, a simple aligning of Buddhist doctrinal notions with Neo-Taoist parallels. Indian Buddhism was not a monolithic set of defined ideas agreed upon by all. It represented a long and at times tortuous process of doctrinal development moving in different directions and based on different texts. These texts were introduced into China in a haphazard fashion, presenting to the Chinese a bewildering array of scriptural and commentarial sources. They needed to be rearranged in China, producing the *p'an'chiao* schools of buddhist thinking.

Furthermore, ideas could not simply be matched, because the concerns and meaning contexts of Chinese philosophic questioning were not those of Indian thinking. Philosophic discussion, as with all things, co-arises dependently. Interests vary and meaningful speech is conditioned by consensual contexts of meaning. This can be seen in one of the very earliest pieces of Buddhist apologetic in China, Mou-tzu's *Treatise on Alleviating Doubts*.¹⁶ Mou-tzu proceeds not by Indian analyses and reasoning but by showing that Buddhist doctrines and practices are in harmony with the classics and their teachings, relying on an accumulation of many examples from Chinese history to bring home each Buddhist point. While such argumentation was, it can be assumed, cogent to Chinese scholars and literati, it would have been meaningless to Indian thinkers.

Moreover, the general tenor of Neo-Taoist thinking was strongly ontological. "The Mysterious Learning" (*hsuan-hsueh*), based on earlier Taoist cosmological descriptions,

presented its insights by constructing interlocking insights into the ineffable *tao* as the ground of all that is. A close Indian analogue for this ontological orientation could be found in Abhidharma, not in its enunciated positions but in its ontological thrust toward evolving all inclusive world views, a fact that accounts for the comparatively early translation of such texts as Vasubandhu's *Treasury of Abhidharma*. But more attractive to the Chinese were the *Tathagaragarbha* teachings whose mystic affirmation of the non-empty reality of the ultimate seed or womb (*garbha*) recalls the Neo-Taoist insistence on the ineffability of the *tao*.

The core *Mahayana* texts, however, were based on *Prajnaparamita* insight into the falsification of all worldviews and on the rejection of any non-empty essence anywhere. *Nagarjuna's Madhyamika* use of a rigorously reasoned dialectic of negation in favor of unfabricated and immediate insight into the emptiness of all dependently co-arising beings moved in a context that denies meaning to all views. The *Yogacara* turn toward conscious interiority and examination of the structure and functioning of consciousness moved in a context of critical awareness wherein meaning had to be grounded within conscious operations as empty and dependently co-arisen. These meaning contexts did not find ready parallels in Chinese thinking. Obvious misrepresentations of Buddhist doctrine were with time and further study easily corrected. But subtle changes in the way central doctrinal themes were understood and doctrinal meanings constructed were more difficult to recognize and probably impossible to correct in the absence of the Indian context.

A prime example of the resultant transmutation was the equation of the Indian notion of emptiness, *sunyata*, with the neo-Taoist theme of non-being or nothingness, *wu*. For Wang Pi non-being was understood as the one, integrating basis and source for all the multiple and phenomenal beings. Thus the earliest Chinese understandings of emptiness, represented in "The Six Houses," often patterned their interpretation of emptiness on this Neo-Taoist notion of *wu*, despite that fact that in Indian thought emptiness was the negation of both being and non-being.¹⁷

The Ti-Lun and She-Lun Schools

The *Yogacara* thinking of Asanga, Vasubandhu, and later commentators underwent a similar contextual transmutation. In the absence of the critical focus of Indian *Yogacara*, their thought had to be matched with the more ontological questions of Chinese thinkers; hence the first Indian texts to be translated tended to be those which amalgamated *Yogacara* themes with the *Tathagatagarbha* teaching of the one pure reality behind all phenomenal appearances. One of the earliest *Yogacara* texts introduced into China was *The Lankavatara Sutra* (The Scripture on Entry into Lanka) translated by Gunabhadra in 443, a rather disunified scripture which in different sections both identify the container consciousness with the *Tathagata-garbha* and treat it without any such reference.¹⁸

The early sixth-century dispute in the Ti-lun school, which was based on Vasubandhu's *Exposition of the Ten Stages* (*Sbib-ti ching-lun*), between Boddhiruci and Ratnamati reflects a similar tension. While translating the *Exposition of the Ten Stages*, from which the school derives its name (....ti....lun), these two men argued over the proper understanding of the container consciousness, whether it was ultimately real and pure or completely defiled and to be eliminated upon realization of the ultimately pure mind. The fact that neither party questioned the reality of that ultimately pure mind seems to reflect not only the

Tathagatagarbha teaching of *Lankavatara Sutra*, but also the Neo-Taoist affirmation of the reality of the primal *tao*.

This Ti-lun school was soon eclipsed by the prodigious efforts of *Paramartha* (499-569), an Indian scholar monk who arrived in Nankai (Canton) in 546. Two of his translations, *Asanga's Summary of the Great Vehicle* (*She Ta-ch'eng lun*) and *Vasubandhu's Commentary* on the same formed the basis for the establishment of the She-lun school of *Yogacara*. *Paramartha* accepted the reality of the pure mind of the *Tathagata-garbha* behind all phenomenal defilements. This inspired his rather frequent insertions and additions into the texts of *Asanga* and *Vasubandhu*. Indeed, he concludes his translation of *Vasubandhu's Commentary* by quoting the concluding verses from *The Analysis of the Jeweled Lineage*, the main treatise of the *Tathagatagarbha* lineage, as if to suggest that *Yogacara* leads to the affirmation of the non-empty reality of the *garbha*.¹⁹ In his more exegetical works, *The Evolution of Consciousness* (*Chuan-shib lun*), *The three Non-Natures* (*San Wu-hsing lun*), and *The Appearance of Consciousness* (*Hsien-shib lun*),²⁰ he identifies a ninth pure consciousness (*amala-vijnana*) of suchness as a separate, nonempty reality apart from and realized only upon the eradication of the container and active consciousnesses.

This not only repeats the Ti-lun position of *Ratnamati* but also recalls the pre-Asangan Indian sources, especially the *Maitreya ornament of the Scriptures of the Great Vehicle*.²¹ *Paramartha* appears to belong to the lineage of the *Maitreya* texts that synthesize a critical understanding of defiled consciousness with the noncritical affirmation of the originally pure mind. Just as *Maitreya's Ornament of the Scriptures of the Great Vehicle* treated the other-dependent pattern only as "the basis of the error" of the imagined pattern,²² so *Paramartha* treats the other-dependent pattern as the subjective side of dualistic consciousness dependent on the linguistic projections of imagined essences in naming intended objects.

Thus, for *Paramartha* not only is the imagined pattern eliminated upon the realization of awakening, but the other-dependent pattern itself, since it is but one pole in illusory dualism, is also completely eradicated. This differs radically from *Asanga's* presentation of other-dependent consciousness as embodying both an impure, imagined aspect and a purified, perfected aspect realized upon the conversion of support.²³ *Paramartha* further presents a formulation of the structure of consciousness quite different from any of his Indian predecessors. He describes three levels:

- (1) the container (*alaya*) consciousness as the storehouse of seed impressions,
- (2) the appropriating (*adana*) consciousness (which in *Asanga* is synonymous with the container) as a distinct level of conscious clinging to and making one's own the illusions projected in virtue of the seed impressions, and
- (3) the six-sense consciousnesses as perceptual illusions due to that appropriation.²⁴

The realization of Pure Consciousness is then the sweeping away of the entire eight consciousnesses. In place of the conversion of support, *Paramartha* uses the term "pure consciousness" to emphasize the discontinuity of this awakening with all prior consciousness.²⁵ One attains the *amala* consciousness of suchness as a distinct ninth level, a level which alone is real and true. This pure consciousness is "permanent and undefiled,"²⁶ terms used frequently to describe the *tathagata-garbha*.

Asanga explains the conversion of support as a pivoting and purification of the other-dependent pattern of consciousness, but *Paramartha* holds that such consciousness is completely eliminated, to be replaced by awareness of a separate pure consciousness now unencumbered by defilement. One first, he says, "dispenses with sense objects in order to empty the mind," and then when "both the sense object and consciousness are dissolved, this is identical with the true nature (*tattva* or *tathata*).

The true nature is identical with Pure Consciousness (*amala-vijnana*).²⁷ The same thrust is seen in his translations of Vasubandhu's *Treatise on the Buddha Nature*, a text that may have been authored by *Paramartha* himself,²⁸ and in his translation of *The Awakening of Mahayana Faith*, a synthesis of *Yogacara* themes under the dominant rubric of the one pure mind of the *garbha*, which enjoyed immense popularity in China.²⁹ The basic intent of *Paramartha* was then to restrict the critical *Yogacara* understanding of *Asanga* to defiled consciousness and to stress the ontological reality of the pure mind, the *garbha*, or the true nature as not empty. In so doing, he not only reclaimed the pre-*Asangan* thought of some of the Maitreyan corpus, but also managed to present *Yogacara* Buddhism in terms easily accessible to Chinese ontological thinking.

The Fa Hsiang School

The presence of a number of *Yogacara* texts with their varying interpretations caused Hsuan Tsang (596-664) to become confused. Journeying to India to resolve his doubts, he arrived at *Nalanda* in 634, where he immersed himself in studying the Dharmapala lineage of *Yogacara* thought. Through Hsuan Tsang and his disciple Ch'i (646-682), *Dharmapala's* (530-561) thought became the basis for all later East Asian *yogacara* under the name of the Fa Hsiang School, a name derived from the basic *Explication of Underlying Meaning* in its treatment of the patterns (*hsiang*) of the mental states (*fa*), that is, the three patterns of consciousness.

Yet *Dharmapala's* role in India seems to have been more circumscribed, for his texts are extant only in four Chinese translations, the principal of which is *The Complete Meaning of Conscious Construction Only* (*Ch'eng Wei-shih lun*), which became the textbook for all of East Asian *yogacara*.³⁰ Influenced by the *Yogacara* dialectician and epistemologist *Dignaga* (480-540), *Dharmapala* championed the conventional validity of other-dependent understanding, arguing against any attempt to subsume or eliminate other-dependency into a monistic *Tathagatagarbha* notion.

In his theory of the four aspects (*bhaga*) of understanding, the first two aspects are those presented by earlier *Yogacara* thinkers: insight (*darsana*) and image (*nimitta*) as the subjective and objective appearances of understanding. The third aspect, the self-realization (*svasamvitti*) of insight into image—that is, the conscious awareness implicit in gaining insight into image—comes from *Dignaga*. He himself added a fourth aspect, the realization of that self-realization (*svasamvitti-samvitti*), that is, a critical awareness of the entire process. But for *Dharmapala*, insight and image are themselves not illusory but other-dependent.

In contrast to *Paramartha*, for whom the subject-object dichotomy implies a totally false duality to be eliminated upon the attainment of pure consciousness, in *Dharmapala* and Hsuan Tsang they become imagined only when one clings to either as denoting an essential subject

or essential objects. Thus *Dharmapala* follows *Asanga* in distinguishing defiled and purified aspects within the other-dependent pattern of consciousness. He is then able to emphasize a valid role for conventional truth, expressed in conventional words and ideas and to hold that the structure of consciousness perdures into awakening and wisdom.³¹

He accounted for the possibility of defiled consciousness becoming awakened and purified by maintaining that the container consciousness contained not only impure seeds of illusion, but also pure seeds which, through cultivation in the path, mature until awakening. Here he departs from *Asanga*, who held that the container consciousness, itself completely incapable of bringing about awakening or purification, nevertheless could hear and attend to the doctrine, become gradually transformed by its permeations, and attain conversion because such permeations come from hearing doctrine as an outflow from the most pure Dharma realm.³²

Hsuan Tsang's translation efforts, enjoying imperial patronage, soon outpaced and overshadowed the earlier *She-lun* school, and through the systematization of Ch'i and later scholars, such as the Korean monk Wonch'uk, made Fa Hsiang the orthodox version of *Yogacara* throughout East Asia.

While *Hsuan Tsang's* translations and interpretations are on the whole more faithful to *Asanga* and *Vasubandhu*, he seems to have been less attuned to Chinese philosophic concerns. Fa Hsiang, while beyond challenge in its doctrinal sophistication, tended to become a rigid and scholastic orthodoxy, for the Indian critical context behind the *Yogacara* endeavor had been lost in China. Fa Hsiang was transmitted in China and Japan apparently without any felt need for new ideas or reinterpretation, signaling a system in decline. By contrast, *Paramartha's* *Yogacara-Tathagatagarbha* notions, with their all inclusive dynamism of the reality of the Pure Mind behind all phenomenal defilements, although disappearing as an independent school in China, spread in other schools, such as *Hua-yen*. Its notion of Pure Consciousness was more attuned to Chinese mystic thinking and practice.

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22. *Mahayana-sutralamkara, Expose de la Doctrine du Grand Vehicule* trans. Sylvain Levi. (Paris Champion, 1907) 158. Note also that the *Samdhinirmocanasutra* also speaks of destroying the container consciousness, but without any accompanying notion of a pure Mind or *garbha*. See *Samdhinirmocanasutra: L'Explication des Mysteres* trans. Etienne Lamotte (Paris: Maisonneuve, 1935) 197.
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NEWAR BUDDHISM

Buddhism and Hinduism, both religions, are equally built on worship. Worship is perhaps the religious act *par excellence*, and pervades Newar society, both within and outside the organized frame of the two scriptural religions. Worship is, in fact, fundamental to each of the three Ways of traditional Newar Buddhism. Before proceeding in the next section to a preliminary discussion of the Three Ways, worship as such must be described. Worship means 'worship of the gods,' and many Newars say that religion (*Dharma*) means worshipping the gods. By extension, however, worship is also offered to *Gurus*, elders, younger brothers (by elder sisters), and other superiors. As *Ostor* notes for Bengal, in offering *puja* to a god there is an explicit analogy with receiving a guest, and *puja* is built around service, respect, and honor.'

The simplest worship consists of bowing one's head with one's hands together; also indicative of respect, though not constituting worship as such, is the practice of keeping the deity or other superior to one's right. If offerings are made the simplest is a few grains of rice or, nowadays, a coin. A more elaborate worship is accomplished by offering a set of five things together called the Five Offerings (*pancopacara puja*): flowers, incense, light red vermilion or yellow saffron powder, and food (e.g. rice, sweets, or fruit).¹ To these may be added an offering of water representing the bathing of the feet (*padayargha* or *argha*). And thread tied in a circle (*jajaka*) which represents cloth. In his book on materials required for Buddhist *pujas* in Kathmandu, Ratna Kaji Vajracharya distinguishes the Five Offerings from the Five Gifts (*pancopahara*): the latter are five substances meant to satisfy the five senses, viz. the Mirror for form, the bell for sound, vermilion or saffron paste for smell, food for taste and thread (*jajaka*) for touch.

All the offerings so far considered may be made by an individual on his or her own; but in rituals which require the specialist services of a priest the number of offerings increases rapidly. Some offerings are kept at home by each family, others may be bought at shops which specialize in the sale of ritual requisites, and some are so unusual—such as the rhinoceros meat required when performing Ancestor Worship—that the priest will bring along a minute quantity himself. As noted above, certain deities accept animal sacrifice: the various Hindu goddesses (e.g. the Eight Mother Goddesses and the Nine Durgas)—Bhairava, Ganes, and Bhimsen. To sacrifice an animal to high and pure deities—Mahadeva (Siva), *Narayana* (*Visnu*), the Buddha or *bodhisattvas*—would be a heinous sin. Tantric deities do not normally receive actual blood sacrifice, but must be offered coked meat and alcohol.

The offerings made in worship must be new and fresh (*pu ma juye* 'not used'). Offering a half-eaten banana would be a terrible insult, contradicting the basic emotional attitude of worship: respectful acknowledgment of one's inferiority and often only implicitly, a request for protection. Likewise the offering must be kept pure (*sudha, ni*), that is it must be kept away from contact with impurity, a category which as in the rest of South Asia, includes saliva, excrement, menstruating women, dogs, leather. Untouchables, the soles of the feet, and so on. When worship has been performed it is usual to receive back some of the offerings as a blessing (*prasad*): red or yellow powder (*sinhah*) as a spot on the forehead, flowers to put behind the ear (right for men, left for women), water or food including in certain circumstances the meat of a sacrificed animal to consume.

Most Newars just laugh when asked if the *prasad* could be considered the god's polluted food (*cipa*). They have never thought of it that way. Subarna Man Tuladhar's response to this suggestion was to say: Certainly not; it is supposed to be a symbol (*pratik*) of the god'. In support of this interpretation one can cite the fact that food which is to be offered to a particular deity is often first worshipped as that deity (as, for instance, in the *Kumari Puja*). In asking this question I had in mind Babb's theory that *prasad* is considered to be the divinity's polluted food. Fuller has criticized this interpretation convincingly, pointing out that the relationship between temple priest and deity is more like that of wife to husband than of low caste to high. Furthermore, food exchange is not central to worship in temples: devotees receive powder, flowers, and holy water, but only occasionally are they given items of food. This is so in Nepal also. It is only in complex rituals. Participated in as a group, that the consumption of food is essential. It will be seen below how, after a Tantric ritual, the *human participants*' polluted food must itself be worshipped and deposited at a Remains Deity.

Worship is divided in the *Mahayanist* scheme of things into seven limbs (*anga*). The Newar Buddhist is not explicitly taught this, but it is expounded in a set of Sanskrit verses (*gatha*), called the *Bhadracarī*, which are extremely well known, being recited regularly on behalf of a dead person and sometimes by pious Buddhists as part of their daily devotions.² Before the introduction of printing, this text, sometimes reduced to its opening and concluding verses, was frequently copied by hand:

Vandana-pujana-desanataya anumodhanadhyesuna-yacanataya
Yac ca subham mayi samcitu kim cit bodhayanamayami ahu sarvam.

By means of (i) Bowing down, (ii) Making offerings, (iii) Confession of Sins. (iv) Rejoicing in merit, (iv) Requesting teaching, and (vi) Entreating, whatever merit I accumulate, all that I dedicate towards enlightenment.³

The seventh limb of worship is the Dedication of Merit to others (*parinamana*), which occurs at the end of the verses, when the merit gained by reciting is transferred to the dead person. Of the seven limbs, the first two are connected to the act of Worship itself (Bowing down and making offerings); the rest are clearly designed to tie this act of worship in to an altruistic moral system. This scheme continues in Tibet (Dhargyey 1974: 214-2): the sixth limb, Entreating, is explained as 'requesting the Guru to live long' (*Ibid*: 220). Among the Newars there is a popular ritual (the *satwah puja*) to *Avalokitesvara* and *Tara*, often performed before the chariot of *Karunamaya-Matsyendranath*: it is named (according to the learned) after these seven branches of worship.⁴

Verses five and six of the Bhadracarī describe vividly the act of worship as indeed it is practised today:

*Puspavarebhih ca malyavarebhih vadya-vilepana-chatra-varebhih
Dipavarebhih ca dhupavarebhih pujatanesu jinana karomi
Vastravarenhih ca gandhavarebhih curnaputebhih ca merusamebhih
Sarvavisista-viyuha-varebhih pujatanesu jinana karomi*

With the best of flowers and the best of garlands, with the best of music, unguents, and parasols.

With the best of lamps and incense I worship the Victorious Ones [i.e. the Buddhas].

With the best of garments and the best of perfumes, and ground powder⁵ piled high as Mount Meru,

With all the best and outstanding splendours I worship the Victorious Ones.

What I have called ritual is often just a complex form of worship, so complex that it requires a class of specialists to perform it. In the case of Newar Buddhism and Hinduism this is true in the very specific sense that rituals are built up out of numerous small individual acts of worship arranged in sets. In these complex rituals the priest tells his patron what offering to make and utters the relevant salutation in Sanskrit on his behalf.

Ways of Newer Buddhism

The analysis of Newar Buddhism is arranged according to three levels. These levels, called *yana*, Skt. 'way' form a ritual and ideological hierarchy. From lowest to highest they are: the Way of the Disciples (*śrāvakayāna*), the Great Way (*mahāyāna*), and the Diamond Way (*vajrayāna*). These three levels also represent a historical development, the Disciples' Way being the earliest and the Diamond Way the latest form of Buddhism. Thus the doctrine of different Ways does not merely integrate different practices within a single overall structure: it also provides a religious interpretation of Buddhism's own history. Here I give a brief and schematic summary of this history, so that the analysis which follows will make sense.

Mahāyāna Buddhism, or the Buddhism of the Great Way, arose around the turn of the common era.⁶ It saw itself as just that, a greater and more catholic way than the Buddhism taught up till then. The word *Yana* is often translated as 'vehicle', so that books on Buddhism refer to the Great Vehicle and the Lesser Vehicle. I prefer to translate the word as 'way', which highlights the fact that *yana* has the same stereological implications as *marga*, path; the former, however, is used only to describe subdivisions within Buddhism and never, like the latter, for non-Buddhist teachings.

Of all the pre-*Mahāyāna* Buddhist schools in India (which traditionally numbered eighteen but in fact were more numerous) only one has survived, the *Theravāda*. Its name means 'doctrine of the elders' (from Pali *thera* Skt. *śthavira*), which expresses the fact that it was proud to be the most conservative of all the ancient Buddhist schools. Modern scholarship has popularized the term *Hinayāna*. Lesser Way, for the pre-*Mahāyānist* schools, since this represents the balancing term for Great Way'. However, since the word '*Hinayāna*' has pejorative overtones, and was indeed a polemical invention of the *Mahāyāna*, it is only used in a *Mahāyānist* context. Buddhists from Sri Lanka, Burma, and Thailand always refer to their own religion as *Theravāda* Buddhism, never as *Hinayāna*.

The *Mahayana* went beyond early Buddhism in two fundamental ways, one philosophical one theological (perhaps one should say Buddhological). Philosophically it put the doctrine of the emptiness (*sunyata*) of all phenomena in the central position previously occupied by the earlier doctrine of non-self (*anatma*), which had been, and is still by *Theravada* Buddhists. Applied principally to the human individual.⁷ *Mahayana* Buddhists criticized the non-*Mahayana* schools for raising their analysis of the constituent elements of the universe into a philosophic realism. Through the application of a radical negative dialectic attacking all views. It claimed to represent the Buddha's true teaching of the Middle Way. By emphasizing the conditional nature of all things. Even ultimately of the Buddhist scriptures themselves, the early *Mahayana* paved the way for the subsequent development of Buddhist idealism: and it also provided a large part of the philosophical justification for the mystic antinomianism of the Tantras.

Even more important than this philosophical paradigm shift was a change in attitude to the *bodhisattva*. In all forms of Buddhism three types of enlightened being are recognized: the *samyaksambuddha*, a fully enlightened Buddha who discovers the way to *nirvana* and teaches it to others: the *pratyekabuddha*, Solitary Buddha, who attains enlightenment but does not teach others; and the *arhat*, someone who reaches *nirvana* by following the teaching he (and it is usually he) has learnt from a fully enlightened Buddha. Both in *Theravada* Buddhism and in the *Mahayana* one who aims at becoming a fully enlightened Buddha has to work his way over many rebirths, gradually acquiring the merit to fulfil his intention; and during these many rebirths in which he aims at becoming a *samyaksambuddha* he is known as a *bodhisattva*.

The crucial innovation of the *Mahayana* was to expand the application of the *bodhisattva* concept. In *Theravada* Buddhism it applies, in the fourth and lowest stage (*kaliyuga*) of our world-age, only to *Sakyamuni* Buddha and to the future Buddha, Maitreya. *Theravada* Buddhists encounter the *bodhisattva* only Rebirth (*Jataka*) stories of the Buddha's previous lives. Perhaps the most popular and at the same time most poignant is the story of the future Buddha as Prince Visvantara, who went so far in gift-giving that he not only gave away all his material possessions but his wife and children too. The story is well known to both *Theravada* and *Mahayana* Buddhists. But in *Theravada* Buddhism the *bodhisattva*- are exemplary (albeit exaggerated) for all *Theravada* Buddhists, his status is not.

Mahayana Buddhism made *bodhisattva*-hood the aim of all good Buddhists; *Mahayana* Buddhists take a vow to become a Buddha for the sake of all beings and to strive for the welfare of others.⁸ Some of the early texts of the *Mahayana* refer to it as the *bodhisattvayana*, the Way of the Bodhisattvas, and thus oppose it to the *pratyekabuddhayana*, the Way of the Solitary Buddhas and to the *sravakayana*, the Way of the Disciples (literally hearers', because they merely hear the law as preached by a fully enlightened Buddha: Dayal 1970:10-11). At the same time *Mahayana* texts point out that there is only one path and one Buddha, and that the *Mahayana* represents only an elaboration, and not a rejection, of the *Sravakayana*. These texts are known and quoted by Newar Buddhist *pandits*.⁹

The integration of these different Ways within one framework means that the goal of attaining enlightenment for oneself, as in the *Sravakayana*, is considered both selfish and undesirable. For the *Mahayana* the *nirvana* of the 'disciples' is merely a resting place' and not the final goal.¹⁰ The *Mahayana* ideal of Buddha-hood for all is also understood by other Newars.

Riley-Smith, who worked with the image-casting *Sakyas* of *Uku Bahah*, asked one of his informants whether the recently deceased senior of *Uku Bahah* would become a *bodhisattva*: He may become a Buddha. All men may become Buddhas through *dharma*, which takes away *pap* [sin] (laughter). *Pap* is like mud around a *dya* [*dyah*, god', a *murti* (statue), isn't it? When the mud is broken the Buddha is seen.¹¹ I asked Jog Maya, 'which is the easiest Way (*yana*)?' She replied: There are three Ways: the Disciples' Way, the Great Way and the Diamond Way. There's also the Way of the Solitary (Buddhas). Pundits say that one shouldn't mock others. All are the Buddha's teaching, whichever you practise. The Great Way is higher, though The Disciples' Way is easiest because they only have to worship the Buddha, whereas in the Great Way there are *Tara* and all the rest, and one has to read so many books. The [*Theravada*] monks say that getting to the stage of being an *arhat* (*arhatpad*) is enough, but in the Great Way one has to attain the stage of complete enlightenment (*samyak sambudhapad*). To reach that one has to be a *Bodhisattva* and fulfil the Ten Perfections. The monks say that all one has to do is to meditate (*do bhavana*), and the Perfections too.

The concept of the *bodhisattva* was extremely fertile, for it managed to unite two phenomena which are sociologically quite distinct. On the one hand it provided an altruistic rationale for increasing involvement in lay and worldly religious action on the part of Buddhist clergy (whether celibate or not) and indeed accelerated the development of a married clergy (since the *bodhisattva* of the Rebirth stories is many things including women¹² and animals—but only rarely a monk). On the other hand, the *bodhisattva* doctrine permitted the development of pantheon of Buddhist saints whose essential nature and whose iconographic form was often derived from attributes of the Buddha.

These *Bodhisattvas* are so compassionate that they will answer the call of any being who invokes their aid and so advanced spiritually that they have the power to do so at will. The most important of these is Avalokitesvara. As he is usually known in the West. He became the patron saint of Tibet and has virtually the same status in the Kathmandu Valley. Newar Buddhists call him *Karunamaya*, embodiment of compassion. The second most important *bodhisattva* is *Manjusri*, *bodhisattva* of wisdom, with whom Avalokitesvara is often paired. As a secondary elaboration, in Tibet high lamas are considered to be *bodhisattvas* and elsewhere (Nepal, Sri Lanka, Thailand, China) kings are too.¹³ *Bodhisattvas* such as *Avalokitesvara* and *Manjusri*, unlike *Sakyamuni* himself, are not thought of as human beings with a history of rebirths and gradual spiritual attainment. They appeared suddenly in South Asian history, as they do to the unsophisticated Buddhist layman today as fully formed divinities to be petitioned.

Harrison suggests that the development of these celestial *bodhisattvas* as they are often called occurred only after the emergence of the *bodhisattva* as a stereological ideal. Whatever the order of their emergence, the cult of the celestial *bodhisattvas* was intended to satisfy lay religious needs, whereas 'teachings about the actual practice of the *Bodhisattva* career are directed primarily towards monks' (Snellgrove 1987:63). With the rise of the *Vajrayana*, however, even the householder was enabled to follow this path.

It summarizes the most important Ways as conceived by Newar Buddhists. The term *Pratyekabuddhayana* (Way of the Solitary Buddhas) is a scholarly elaboration. Solitary Buddhas do not, by definition establish the teaching. They merely practise it. From a sociological point of view the Way of the Solitary Buddhas simply expresses the belief of Buddhists that

somewhere there always are, even in periods when Buddhism is not established as a religion, holy men attaining enlightenment. Consequently *Hinayana* and *Sravakayana* are virtually synonymous. I retain the latter term since it is the one preferred by Newar Buddhists. They usually list the Ways thus: *Sravakayana*, *Pratyekabuddhayana*, *Mahayana*, and *Vajrayana*. The final Way shown in the table, *Sahajayana*, the way of the Innate (Bliss) is a category normally cited only by learned *Vajracaryas*.¹⁴

The older generation of Newar Buddhists use *Sravakayana* to refer to Theravada monks established in Nepal since the 1950s. For the sake of clarity I shall not copy their usage, but retain *Sravakayana* for the monastic part of traditional Newar Buddhist practice. One must remember, however, that the equivalence of *Theravada* and *Sravakayana* is an important part of *Mahayanist* ideology. The term '*Mahayana*' is sometimes, though less systematically, used by Newars to refer to Tibetan Buddhism, as opposed to the *Vajrayana* Buddhism of Nepal. The reason for this must be that Newar Buddhists, as laymen patronizing Tibetan monks, tend to come in contact only with the *Mahayanist* side of Tibetan Buddhism. (In fact, Tibetan Buddhism is no less *Vajrayanist* than that of the Newars.)

Vajrayana and '*Tantrayana*' refer to Buddhism based on the Tantras. These texts were composed or redacted later than the basic *Sutras* of *Mahayana* Buddhism. Snellgrove (1957: 56) writes that Tibetan Buddhist practitioners (i.e. monks or lamas) sometimes ask whether one follows the *Sutras* or the Tantras, in other words, whether one practises according to the *Mahayana* or the *Vajrayana*. In Nepal, since so much of religion is ascribed not achieved, this is not a usual question. There is rather a feeling, articulated to me by several Newar Buddhists, that *Sakyas* follow the *Mahayana* and *Vajracaryas* follow the *Vajrayana*. This is rather inexact, though the reason for the association should become clear in what follows.

The Diamond Way is in fact a specialized, privileged, and esoteric path within the Great Way. Ideologically it means that the practitioner of the Diamond Way attempts to fulfil the Great Way by other means. These means may be frightening and dangerous, and are at least burdensome and difficult. But if successful they enable the practitioner to attain enlightenment in this life, rather than over the many thousands of lives required to attain Buddha-hood in the Great Way.

The different deities of Newar Buddhism can be assigned to different Ways: the Buddha, *Sakyamuni*, belongs to the Way of the Disciples, the *bodhisattvas* to the Great way, and Great Buddha *Vajrasattva* and the esoteric deities to the Diamond Way. Similarly the architecture of the Buddhist monastery, with its three shrines, to *Sakyamuni*, to the *bodhisattva* *Amoghapaśa* *Lokesvara*, and the Tantric shrine, was several times explained to me as reflecting the same hierarchy. It has been mentioned above that the Three Ways also provide a model of Buddhist history. As a matter of historical fact the types of Buddhism represented by the Three Ways did arise in that order. Even though the later texts present themselves as taught by the Buddha himself, some Newars do see the Great Way and Diamond Way as a later adaptation of the Way of the Disciples; that is, they understand the conceptual levels as simultaneously expressing a chronological development. This may be due to the influence of the *Theravada* monks and nuns now active in Nepal, but it may equally be due to more traditional teachings. Newar *Pandits* explain that the Buddha himself taught the Three Ways, but in sequential order and in different places. Furthermore, this structure of the Three Ways is built into Newar rituals and

in particular to the sequence whereby a young *Vajracarya* passes first through Monastic Initiation, then becomes a householder, and finally undergoes the Consecration of a Vajra-master (Locke 1975: 18). On the traditional Newar Buddhist view, then, all Three Ways were taught by the Buddha; the differences between them are explained by the fact that the Buddha adapted his message to the capabilities and needs of his listeners.

TABLE 1
Summary of the different practices falling under the head of the
Three Ways (*yana*) in Newar Buddhism

The way of the Disciples (<i>Sravakayana</i>):	Monasticism ascetic rule-observance worship of the Buddha
The Great Way (<i>Mahayana</i>)	Worship of all the gods. fulfilment of hereditary householder duties including festivals and life-cycle rites. acquiring merit through donations (<i>dan</i>), cultivation of the moral perfections in accord with the ideal of the <i>bodhistva</i>
The Diamond Way (<i>Vajrayana</i>)	Worship of Tantric deities, taking Tantric Initiation (<i>diksa</i>) acquiring magical powers and advanced spiritual states by strict rule-bound devotion to power ful deities or their exoteric manifestations

Doctrine of Newar Buddhism

We have seen above that Buddhism and Hinduism are defined in Newar culture as alternative paths (*marga*), but also as doctrines or creeds (*mata*). They are primarily sets of practices, but the idea persists that they are founded each on their own set of doctrines laid down by, or revealed to, their founder. There are, however, no institutional means for overseeing doctrine, and the unity and uniformity of Newar Buddhism are ensured by loyalty to the *Vajracaryas'* rituals rather than to doctrine.

Before describing the role of doctrine in Newar Buddhist practice, it is worth considering briefly the question of ritual uniformity. The only organization even remotely resembling a church in Newar Buddhism is the *Acarya Guthi* (Association of all *Vajracaryas*) of Kathmandu.¹⁵ In Lalitpur there is no association of all *vajracaryas* of the city, but each monastery with large numbers of *Vajracarya* members has its own Association of *Vajracaryas*. Traditionally these associations were supposed to regulate ritual and oversee relations between

priests and their parishioners. Today the associations never seem to exert authority on these matters and continue only their ritual and status functions. The probable reasons for this are the decline of deference towards priests and the decreasing importance of ritual. Even in the heyday of traditional Newar Buddhism, however, there certainly existed different ritual traditions. The *Vajracaryas* of *Bu Bahah*, and *Vajracaryas* of other monasteries taught by them, perform rites in one way; the *Vajracaryas* of *Kwa Bahah* perform the same rites with certain variants and in a slightly different order. There is no body in Lalitpur with the authority to arbitrate between these different traditions. The existence of the Association of all *Vajracaryas* in Kathmandu may mean that there are fewer variants there in the way that Buddhist rituals are performed.

As far as the laity is concerned, these differences are unimportant. They are usually ignorant of them. Priests, on the other hand, know that rituals are performed differently by the priests of other monasteries and occasionally discuss the differences. They also know that every ritual has shorter, more basic forms and longer, more elaborate versions. They do not dilate on the different ways rituals are performed to the laity. The idea that ritual ought to be uniform certainly exists.¹⁶ In spite of surface differences there is a unity of fundamental principle underlying all Newar Buddhist ritual.

Ritual is taught to young *Vajracaryas* by their fathers or uncles, or by a learned teacher chosen for the purpose. They are made to memorize the Sanskrit utterances accompanying each ritual gesture or act. Doctrine is only taught in an *ad hoc* way, so that the practising priest can answer casual questions about the ritual asked by the laity. The laity receives no explicit teaching on doctrine. Laymen and women particularly women, are taught by their mothers to make basic offerings. All other learning is a matter of personal choice.

In the past, before the establishment of schools, boys of the high, literate castes would practise their writing skills by copying religious texts. These would often be Sanskrit hymns (*stotra*, *tutah*) recited in worship, but the *Canakya Sara Samgraha* (proverbs and other worldly wisdom ascribed to *Canakya*) was a very popular beginners' text both for Buddhists and for Hindus. Among Buddhists, the *Bhadracari*, the *Namasamgiti*, and explanations of the Ten Unproductive Sins with Newari glosses were all copied frequently.

On certain occasions learned *Vajracaryas* are invited to read and explain popular texts, usually Rebirth stories (*jataka* and *avadana*). Through this medium doctrinal notions are diffused. These readings are rare, however, compared to the preaching of the modern *Theravada* movement. There are also a few discussion groups who meet to read and discuss canonical texts under the guidance of a *guru*. Nowadays they use printed versions, e.g. of commentaries on the *Bodhicaryavatara*. Such study, for those who were interested, no doubt took place in the past also. In short, learning doctrine was an informal and *ad hoc* process, a matter of personal choice. By contrast, at different levels according to background and gender, a basic minimum knowledge of ritual was explicitly taught in the family.

Consequently, opinions on doctrinal matters vary widely. All admit that there are others who know more than they do, and discussion of doctrine is open-ended and tolerant.¹⁷ Nonetheless certain key notions are held in common. An attempt must therefore be made to sketch these notions.

Religious Behaviour

Dharma is used in Newari equally for any religious observance and, more generally, for morally and religiously good behaviour, the opposite of *papsin*.¹⁸ The first sense of *dharma* may be illustrated by the *Vajracarya* priest who said: 'Whatever *dharma* you do, you must always begin by performing the *guru mandala*.' The colloquial term for an Observance, *dhala*, otherwise known as *vrata*, derives from *dharma*. So, to perform the Observance of a god goddess is literally to activate (*dane*) their *dharma*. The second meaning of *dharma* is obvious in the negative condemnation of someone as 'without *dharma*'. By which is meant morally unscrupulous. That someone who treats people badly is nonetheless punctilious in their religious practices is a paradox in Newari usage (e.g. 'he does all that *dharma* but is *papi*', said with strong disapproval). Newars may say of someone 'his' *dharma* is strong', which implies both that he spends a lot of time and effort on religion, and that he is a trustworthy and dependable person.

When someone does a meritorious act, one says: '*dharma lai*', it will bring *dharma*. Here *dharma* is being used as an exact equivalent of what in *Theravada* Buddhist societies and in Newar Buddhist scriptures is normally called *punya*, merit. Newari usage confutes the act which brings merit and the merit it self, a usage with ancient Indian precedents.¹⁹ The term *Punya*, religious merit, is known but is not used in ordinary speech, i.e. where the speaker is not being self-consciously scriptural. In ordinary speech *dharma* and *pap* are opposites, both in describing behaviour and in denoting the results of that behaviour.²⁰ Some of the things Buddhists say about *dharma* may be illustrated by the following quotations:

Karunamaya [Matsyendranath] receives the ten sacraments (*dasakarma*) because we have ten orifices in our body. If it weren't for (doing) *dharma* they'd grow too small to emit their respective fluids and we'd die. (*Vajracarya* priest of *Cobhar Lokesvara*)

There was a king who had Yama, king of the dead, as his fictive kin brother (*tway*) and he thought to himself: 'My friend will tell me when I have to come, and I'll do *Dharma* then.' So he didn't think of *dharma* or of death, and piled up riches and kingdoms. Then one day he became ill and called his friend: 'Why didn't you notice the white hair, the failing teeth, and so on?' These were the signs he should have heeded but did not. (Newar monk in the Tibetan tradition, preaching after a death in the family)

The Buddha's teaching is not to indulge in merry-making (*mwahj*) not to chase girls, wealth, or tasty food, but to do *dharma* and follow the path to heaven. (55-year-old *Vajracarya* priest) People say that those who know what is right and wrong (*tyah* and *ma tyah*), and do what is good (*bhigu*), have the Perfection of Wisdom or have seen the Perfection of Wisdom. Those people who are always fighting haven't, and don't know any *dharma*. But you can't actually see her, or if you do see her, there's nothing there (*chu ma ru*). She's emptiness (*sunyata*) and *dharma*. (Jog Maya Shakya).

Dharma is getting rid of desire, anger, greed, delusion, and affection (*kama*, *krodha*, *lobha*, *moha*, *maya*).²¹ If you get rid of these you will obtain power. You must not hurt others' feelings. That is *dharma*, not any of this new-fangled stuff [Theravada monasticism etc.]. (middle-aged *Vajracarya* priest) Some people have started to take the horoscopes (of prospective bride and groom) to the astrologer and say to him, 'Make them fit for us', and he does it for them. This

is against our *dharma*. It may be all right to do that in Britain, but this is a place with many gods (*dyah yekwa dugu thay*). (Tirtha Lal Maharjan)

For Buddhists *dharma* also refers to the Dharma, that is, the teaching of Lord Buddha, and, as suggested by Jog Maya, this is personified in the figure of the goddess, the Perfection of Wisdom. She is considered to be a form of *Tara*. In very many of the tympana over the doors of Buddhist shrines in the Valley, she represents the Dharma, as Avalokitesvara represents the *Samgha* (Monastic Community). The two of them flank the Buddha, thus constituting the Three Jewels (*triratna*) of Buddhism: Buddha, Dharma, *Samgha*.

At death one's rebirth is determined by the balance of *dharma* as opposed to *pap*. This Newar Buddhist conception- which would be accepted equally by Hindus - is graphically illustrated at *Itum Bahah*, in Kathmandu, every year during the month of *Gula*. On *Sa Paru* (*Np. Gai Jatra*), the day when the doors of Yama's kingdom are believed by Hindus and Buddhists alike to be open for the dead, a senior of the monastery uses toy models on show to explain to children and other onlookers what happens at death. The soul (*atma*) of the dying person drinks from the waterspout known as *Dalay Hiti*,²² and Citragupta, the clerk in the land of the dead, consults his book to see if the dying person has any life (*ayu*) left to run. If he has, he is sent back, and the traditional doctor (*vaidya*) feeling his pulse announces: 'No, his time hasn't come yet'. Beside Citragupta is a pair of scales marked on either side *dharma* and *pap*; the balance, says the elder, will determine the dead person's rebirth, whether in hell (*naraka*), as a horsefly, or wherever.²³

These conceptions are not confined to the learned. An eighty-year-old peasant, Shiva Lal Maharjan, gave me the following account of an experience he had when young: "I was very ill. I was taken up. There were two high walls and on the right a long line of men playing musical instruments and on the left a line of women dancing. Then they all sat down behind curtains and ate *samay baji*.²⁴ But I wasn't given anything: no meat, no beaten rice, no ginger, no soyabeans, no black-eye beans. They just threw down some popped rice (*syabaji*). Then I went to the water spout to drink but the people guarding it sent me away, saying 'We won't let you drink!' If I had eaten *samay baji*, or drunk the water, that would have been it. But I had life (*ayu*) left still."

A materialist view of sin, such as that implied by the pair of scales, is common. Earthquakes are said to occur because the earth is heavy with sins. Just as *dharma* can mean ritual action, so the paradigmatic *pap* as illustrated in religious stories is usually hostility to gods and ritual. Equally common in ordinary parlance is the sentiment that *pap* consists in harming (*syake*) or causing suffering ('*dukha biye*') to other people. This is no doubt reinforced by a Buddhist canonical teaching, widely reproduced by literate Newar Buddhists, that there are Ten Unproductive Sins (*dasakusala papa*). In order, these are: harming living beings, taking what is not given (i.e. theft), sexual misconduct, telling lies, slander, speaking harshly and aggressively, gossiping and other frivolous talk, covetousness, malevolence, and adherence to false doctrines.²⁵ The first three are said to be sins of the body, the next four sins of speech, and the final three sins of the mind.

It can be seen that the first four are the sins which lay people in other Buddhist cultures undertake to avoid when they utter the Five Precepts.²⁶ Newar Buddhists do not in fact take

these Precepts regularly, unless they are devotees of the *Theravada* movement or participate in Observances organized by monks of the Tibetan tradition. Nonetheless, in a ritualized fashion, the content, and sometimes the actual wording, of the Precepts, Five, Eight, and Ten, are incorporated into the practice of Observances and Monastic Initiation. During the 'stories' or 'explanations' read out at such observances the participants are exhorted to avoid the Ten Unproductive Sins.

Thus, Sin (*pap*) is viewed anywhere on a spectrum from being a material substance to being an ethical quality of one's actions towards other living beings (and often both simultaneously). When it comes to the *results of sin*, however, all agree that these must be material in nature. It is taken as axiomatic that the general conditions of one's life—high caste or low, rich or poor, lucky or unlucky—are determined by one's *karma*. In situations where there is nothing to be done Newars often say, 'It's all written in one's *karma*' or 'Everyone has to experience their own *karma*',²⁷ and they tap their forehead where one's *karma* is supposed to be written at birth by Citragupta, Yama's messenger. This is not a fatalistic belief, for the *karma* doctrine is not used to advocate resignation to others. One would not normally say to another, 'There is nothing you can do about it, it is all in your own *karma*.' If the *karma* doctrine is urged on others, it is with precisely the opposite force: all fortunes and misfortunes are the result of one's own *karma*, therefore pull yourself together, devote yourself to the gods and doing *dharma*, and it will be all right. It is only when a person wishes to reconcile him or herself to something that has already happened and cannot be avoided that the fatalistic overtone is used. Newars often enjoy teasing one another, but I do not think they would be so rude as to taunt one another with their bad *karma*.²⁸

Not only are *karma*'s effects material in nature; it is believed, as in other Buddhist societies that rewards and punishments are inevitably fitting. One of the justifications given by Newar peasants for not ploughing is that in a future life they will have to suffer the same treatment as they mete out to their animals.²⁹ Priestly texts encourage the laity in the belief that those who steal will themselves suffer poverty, those who commit adultery will lack offspring, and so on.

Perfection and Charity

In *Mahayana* Buddhism there is a canonical list of virtues known as the Six or Ten Perfections (*paramita*): it begins with *dana* (charity, giving) and proceeds through morality (*sila*), forbearance (*ksanti*), energy (*virya*), and meditation (*dhyana*), culminating in wisdom (*prajna*). The four which bring the list up to ten—skill in means (*upaya*), resolution, strength, and knowledge—are supplementary to the first six, and historically later additions; wisdom remains the ultimate attainment. When one has perfected all these, one has fulfilled the *bodhisattva* path.³⁰ This list is one of the most well-known sets of Buddhological concepts among Newar Buddhists. The final perfection, wisdom, is personified as a goddess and identified with the Dharma or Buddhist teaching, as mentioned above. The ten elders of *Kwa Bahah* monastery are frequently referred to as the Ten Perfections (while elders in smaller monasteries with only five elders are identified with the Five Buddhas). The best-known and simplest chanted hymn (*tutah*) is a praise of the Ten Perfections (the 'Danabalena') and it is recited daily as part of the liturgy performed before enshrined Buddha images.

The scriptures of *Mahayana* Buddhism go into great detail over the lengths *bodhisattvas* go to in practising these perfections. The Buddha's previous birth as Visvantara, in which he gave away his kingdom, wife, and children, has already been mentioned. Newar Buddhists frequently go on pilgrimage to Namobuddha, near Panauti, where they believe the Buddha as *Mahasattva* fed his body to starving tiger cubs, and to *Manicud*, where he is said to have given his head to be split open, as there was a jewel inside which would save the kingdom.³¹

Alongside these exemplars of extraordinary giving (and forbearance), Buddhist scriptures also lavish praise on all the possible types of gift-giving which the Buddhist laity may perform towards the Monastic Community. The verses with which *Sakyas* and *Vajracaryas*, in their role as monks are supposed to accept gifts from the laity promise a material return, either in this life or a future one. What Mauss observed of Hinduism applies equally to *Mahayana* Buddhism: Food given away means that food will return to the donor in this world; it also means food for him in the other world and in his series of reincarnations. Water, wells and springs given away are insurance against thirst.... Such economic theology is developed at great length in the rolling periods of the innumerable cantos, and neither the codes nor the epics ever tire of the subject.

The principal institutional setting for the giving of gifts to the Monastic Community is the festival of *Pancadan*, described below. In most cases, it is the good intentions of the donors, and the merit received by them, which receive stress. However, a *Sakya* who had himself sponsored Optional *pancadan*, gift-giving to *Sakyas* and *Vajracaryas* on a massive scale, discussed a similar occasion in Kathmandu a few years previously. The *Sakya* man chosen to receive the most munificent gift of land, a house, and money did not even know how to recite the appropriate alms receiving verse (*danavakya*), could not digest the gift, and consequently went mad.

One might wonder whether this belief, that gifts are difficult to digest, implies the Hindu belief, so well described by Parry for funeral priests and other religious specialists in Benares, and Raheja, for almost every prestation and ritual action between and within castes in a village in western Uttar Pradesh: namely, that the recipient accepts the sin of the donor along with the gift. Two points, made by Parry and Raheja of north India, definitely apply to the Newars: (a) accepting *dan*, especially an unusually large *dan*, can be problematic; (b) castes of ritual specialists often regard the obligation to accept *dan* from their patrons or parishioners as an unpleasant duty, which is, if possible, to be avoided.³² However, at least four points can be made against applying what can for convenience be called the Parry-Raheja model to the Newars wholesale (and it may be that some of these qualifications will turn out to be applicable elsewhere in South Asia).

There is a considerable diversity of opinion on the question of what, if anything, is transferred along with the *dan*. Many Newars, Hindu and Buddhist, high caste and low, flatly deny that either sin (*pap*) inauspiciousness (*asubh*, *asanti*, *mabhigu*) is accepted by the recipient. Some laugh and say 'How easy if one could give away sin like that' and they argue that if such bad things were inevitably passed on in *dan*, no one would ever accept it and no one would ever agree to be a priest. Others allow that such a transfer may occur, but say that it will not, provided the *dan* is digested'.

Prevention of Evil Transfer

There are methods of preventing any unwanted transfer. In the first place, the recipient of *dan* should recite a blessing (or at least silently think one) and hope that the donor receives whatever they wish for. In this way a return is made for the gift. There is a requisite verse for each item given. Pandit Asha Kaji Vajracharya related how a family priest had come to ask him what to recite as a rich parishioner was about to give him a radio as part of the *dan* after a death in the family (he answered: *duryantra*, 'distance machine': i.e. insert the word *duryantra* in a pre-existing verse). Secondly, the recipient should never specify what must be given, but accept willingly whatever is offered. Thirdly, those who receive *dan* must themselves give *dan* to their own *gurus* and others. Not to do so is to behave like a ghost (*pret*), not a man. Fourthly, if the *dan* is being given to get rid of inauspiciousness, a part of all food items is thrown at the *chwas*a stone. Likewise, all items given in the name of a dead person are left out overnight before use (food is left on the balcony where crows can eat it). In these ways no evils is transferred. Some people do say that priests today no longer know how to recite properly, and that is why so many of them are physically unattractive. But most Newars do not believe that this is generally so.

Types of Charity

Charity can be either auspicious or inauspicious. It also varies according to whether it is regular (given in the normal run of things) and irregular (occasioned by a crisis or by a desire to perform some supererogatory act of merit). Some *charity* is given precisely to avoid a great calamity. Here the possibility that a transfer may occur means that only a *Dyahla* will accept it. In this category, also, are the rice and old clothes given during an eclipse (*grahadan*). *Charity* given immediately after death is also inauspicious, and in many cases *Kapalis* no longer take the clothes thrown at the *chwas*a, but a *Dyahla* does so instead. Other *Charity*, however, whether given annually at, say, *Pancadan*, or optionally. At the time of one's own choosing, is given with the positive aim of gaining merit, and not in the hope of avoiding any specific evil. Consequently the stigma attached to accepting it is much less.³³

In the case of such auspicious *charity*, even if the recipient does accrue sin by not reading the requisite blessing, it is not necessarily a question of accepting the donor's sin. It is true that today many *Sakyas* and *Vajracaryas* feel shame about accepting such auspicious *dan* as given in the *Pancadan* festival. The same is so *a fortiori* many ritual specialists especially those associated with death (e.g. the *Karamjit* and *Kapali*). In the past, on the other hand, even these professions could be a source of pride. Today there are still many priests and ritual specialists who have no economic need to carry on their religious role, but yet continue to do so, because they think it would be wrong to abandon their patrons and relinquish their caste duties.

The positive aspects of *dan* are frequently stressed. They include future material benefits, and the cultivation of mental states—non-attachment to material goods, altruism, and good will—which themselves bring benefits. Thus *dan* is viewed more as an asymmetrical exchange—of blessing for gift or as an investment with delayed returns, than as a pure gift with both positive and negative aspects. At a higher level, there is an attempt to get away from any idea of exchange. In Catholicism this means modelling relations with God on the close and

uncalculating Kin relations generalized reciprocity, to use Sahlins' term obtaining within the family (Christain 1989: 171). By contrast, in *Mahayan*, as in *Theravada*, Buddhism, one carries out what looks externally like a transaction (making offerings to a statue), but actually there is no recipient. Exchange is left behind altogether. In *Theravada* this is accomplished by the teaching that the Buddha is in *nirvana* and therefore cannot influence the world or accept anything; in *Mahayana* Buddhism the same conclusion is drawn from the doctrine of universal void or emptiness. Interestingly, Jainism evolved the same theory of offerings, in which 'nothing is "received", no one is "propitiated"'.

Unlike the situation described by Raheja, among the Newars *dan* is never given to relatives. Prestations to the paternal aunt, for instance, are considered to be a payment in return for ritual for services, just like *daksina* (stipend) to one's family priest, and like all prestations to other ritual specialists which are not specifically *dan*. Relatives would not like to receive *dan*, Newars say; they are 'one's own people' (*thahpi*). The only exception occurs during life-cycle rites: Loincloth Worship or Monastic Initiation for boys, Mock Marriage for girls, Old-Age Initiation for old people. In these cases, as if to emphasize their liminality, those passing through the rite *must* receive *dan* from mothers, aunts, or daughters (depending on the rite).

It is possible that these differences with north India (if differences they genuinely are) may be due in part to the presence of Buddhism among the Newars. In *Theravada* Buddhism there is always great stress on the fact that what the laity receives in return for *dan* is the far greater gift of religious teaching. *Mahayana* Buddhism continues the stress on the positive aspects and material benefits of gift-giving, as well as on the importance of good intentions and non-attachment. Ultimately these good intentions are what *dan* is all about, and not the desire for benefits.

It is very evident that Raheja's Hindu villagers view life as a zero-sum game in almost every case, avoiding inauspiciousness means passing it on to someone else. Buddhism, by contrast, is built on the rejection of such negative reciprocity: the practice of 'rejoicing in merit' (*ammodana*), mentioned as one of the 'limbs' of worship, allows for good results to accrue *ad infinitum* as the pious rejoice in each other's acquisition of merit. As Gombrich (1988: 126) remarks, 'In Buddhist spiritual economics you gain by giving away.' While this practice is not formalized strongly in their tradition, as it is in *Theravada* countries, the Newars share an emphasis on the religious value of good intentions. Although in some contexts they do tend to view life as zero-sum, this is by no means the pervasive theme it appears to be in Raheja's work. Traditionally, Buddhist monks are supposed to be above considerations of auspiciousness and inauspiciousness, and, while this is rarely true in practice, it has had an effect on the attitude of Buddhism to gift-giving.

In spite of all these continuities with *Theravada* Buddhism, there is in Newar Buddhism no attempt to avoid the appearance of exchange- ritual services for goods- which sometimes occurs in *Theravada* contexts (Tambiah 1970: 347- 8; Strenski 1983: 472). At the lowest level *Mahayana* Buddhism positively encourages, as *Theravada* does not, a spiritual accounting which sees merit as automatic. It is characteristic of *Mahayana* Buddhism to express something in a materialistic, Hindu-sounding way at the simplest level, but to see this as mere metaphor ('skilful means') on a more sophisticated, more strictly Buddhist level. From this point of view, where Buddhism and functionalism converge, the point of the belief in the necessity of

'digesting' *dan* is to encourage young *Sakyas* and *Vajracaryas* to memorize the alms-receiving verses.

The more strictly Buddhist view focuses on the intentions of the donor and recipient. Jog Maya emphasized the importance of intentions by saying: 'As long as you make offerings or pray with expectations for yourself (*asika*) you must continue to go round in *samsara*. You are sowing the seed of another birth, of sin. Only if you do it as *dharma*, without expectations for yourself, but rather for the good of all beings, will you be saved.

Non-violence and Animal Sacrifice

The importance of intention is also clear if we consider what many Newars believe to be the paramount Buddhist virtue, *ahimsa*. This is often translated as non-violence, but more precisely it means absence of desire to kill or harm. Both meanings are intended in Newar Buddhists usage. Elderly and many middle-aged newar Buddhists are careful not to kill small insects, and to prevent small children in their care from doing so.

Pundit Asha Kaji Vajracharya defines *himsa* (the opposite of *ashimā*) as cutting the body of a living being and splitting it in two. This sort of sin is the seed which requires one to experience hell for aeons and aeons. One should avoid the evil work (*kukarma*) of *himsa*: that is to say. One should avoid those who live by hunting and those who gain their living by and commit such unwholesome violent work as killing other living beings and selling their meat. That conduct which consists in avoiding which people and being able to give up the consumption of alcohol and meat is what is called genuine (*sakaligu*) Mahāyāna Buddhādharma. In other contexts the same author likes to quote the verse:

Ahimsā paramo dharma ahimsā paramo gatih.

Ahimsā paraman jīānan ahimsā ahimsā paraman padam.

Ahimsā is the highest *dharma*, *asimsā* is highest destination.

Ashimsā is the highest knowledge, *ashimā* is the highest place.³⁴

The prominence which this value is given and the vehemence with which it is expressed are due in part to the modern. Theravāda in the pages of its journals, as a victory in this campaign, every indication that Buddhists (or others) have abandoned the practice. Traditionally many Sākya and Vajracārya artisans sacrificed a duck to a statue of Bhimsen in their house or workshop once a year. This custom has almost totally stopped; many ascribe its suppression to the influence of Kyanche Lama, a Tibetan who came to the Valley in 1923 rather than to the Theravāda movement. Vajracārya priests still have to oversee the sacrifice of animals, often goats, on behalf of their parishioners, although they are now made to feel uncomfortable about this.

What has happened is a shift in the boundary between what is defined as Buddhist and non-Buddhist. Traditionally animal sacrifice was acceptable to Sākyas and Vajracāryas, but only in what was defined as a non-Buddhist context, in this case the worship of Bhimsen for success in one's business. It has always been taboo to offer blood sacrifice to specifically Buddhist deities, whether exoteric or esoteric. Even so Hindu a source as the nineteenth-century chronicle, the *Bhāsā Vamsāvalī* (Paudel and Lamshal 1963 I: 33), links the teaching of *ashimsā* to the Buddha, whom it represents as an *avatār* of Visnu. Today it is difficult for Buddhists, at least for Sākyas, Vajracāryas, and those attached to the Theravāda movement, to sacrifice

animals at any time or in any context. Vegetarianism on the other hand is, as it has always been, an optional practice with only minor religious merit being attached to it.

What has remained constant is the Buddhist focus on intention. Traditionally, the sponsor of an animal sacrifice attempts to avoid the sin involved by not cutting the animal's neck himself. The butcher attempts to avoid the sin by waiting until the sponsor gives the word. It is widely known that the Buddha permitted his monks to eat meat providing they had not seen it being killed, nor had ordered it to be killed, nor had any suspicion that it had been killed for them.³⁵ Consequently, most Newar Buddhists eat meat, and they believe that the sin is wholly the butcher's, at whose shop they buy it. Whether or not they eat it, they have to cook it, since it is essential in many Buddhist rituals.

Tyah and Ma tyah

In Newari, religious prohibitions are expressed by the verb *tyaye* in the negative: *ma tyah*. Unlike the auxiliary *ma jyū* which means simply that one ought not to do something, without of itself implying a particular reason, use of *ma tyah* implies a specifically religious reason. Since the religion of the Newars includes Buddhism, Hinduism, and much 'local' or 'folk' tradition, many things, and not just Buddhist ethical demands, are expressed by using *ma tyah*. Among these are beliefs that the observer is inclined to class as superstitions (e.g. that it is *ma tyah* to travel on a Saturday, or to return home on Tuesday, or bathe on a Sunday) as well as other beliefs which relate to ideas of purity and pollution (e.g. that it is *ma tyah* to blow out a candle or similar flame because one's spittle is likely to come into contact with fire which is holy).

So many of these beliefs are now no longer taken seriously that many people complain, 'Nowdays *ma tyah* means that one must do it.' Nonetheless the expression still has considerable moral force. The following example is typical of all living beings only mankind has intelligence (*jñān*). Nevertheless not all of them have the same nature (*svabhāva*). Some men behave well (*Sādhu sant*) while others have a primitive, violent, and animal-like (*jarigati himsak pasu*) nature. The latter ignore what is right and wrong (*thwa yāye tyah thea yāye ma tyah*) and cause suffering through their unnecessary and thoughtless evil acts.³⁶

Certain ethical rules which Newar Buddhists would recognize as specific to their society are also said to be *ma tyah*. For instance, talking money or earnings belonging to daughters of the family (*mhyāyasta*): since they will marry out, daughters have no right to inherit the family property: thus it is considered wrong to take anything from them. Rather, a brother has a lifelong obligation to feed his sisters, and their children, at any festival held in his house.

Some traditionally minded Buddhists regard all these different prohibitions as equally part of Nepal's ancient *dharma*. Others dismiss them as worldly custom (*vyavahār, lokācār*). Preferring to call *dharma*, or *Buddhadharma*, only what is strictly to do with salvation. All tend to agree on the importance of being consistent and devoted (*ekcitta*) in one's preferred form of religious, whatever that may be: Auspiciousness, Inauspiciousness, and Protection from Misfortune.

Newars, whether Buddhist, Hindu, or both, believe that there are auspicious and inauspicious events, times, and place, and that if no care is taken to counteract any

inauspiciousness one may have incurred, bad consequences will ensue. The terms *asubh* and *mabhigu* refer to inauspiciousness in general; *asānti*, 'lack of peace', denotes the state, usually of a home, of inauspiciousness; an inauspicious event which simply occurs, i.e. a bad omen, is called a *bichuk*; an event caused by a person is *alachin*, and a person may also be *alachinā*, i.e. not *lachin* or possessing good qualities (Skt. *laksana*). In general everything associated with death is inauspicious. A widow is always inauspicious and may never give *sagā*, the good-luck offerings which end important rituals and mark a departure abroad. It is she who has to cook the inauspicious rice which is used to make the rice balls (*pinda*) offered in Ancestor Worship.

Astrologers are consulted about the auspicious place to build a house, and about the auspicious time (*Sāit*) for any important life-cycle ritual (basically rituals of adulthood, marriage and Old-Age Initiation). Most Newars, and all high-caste ones, show the horoscopes of prospective bride and groom to an astrologer before a wedding is fixed. Astrologers are frequently consulted if things are not going well at home, i.e. for what Westerners would consider psychological and social problems. The most famous and prestigious astrologers tend to come from the Josi (Astrologer) caste, but many Vajrācāryas also practise as astrologers.

Newar Buddhists seek protection from danger either from Karunāmaya, whose compassion will lead him to help or from Tārā whose name means saviour. In Kwā Bāhāh she is worshipped in the form of the text-cum-goddess, the Perfection of Wisdom: the reading of the text is supposed to be particularly effective in the case of illness (Gellner in press). There is a list of eight dangers (*asta mahābhaya*) from which Tārā saves (kings, thieves, enemies, lightning, fire, wind, water and earthquakes).³⁷ With her is associated a Newar Buddhist text the Tārā Pārājikā, which gives details of what to do in various cases of inauspiciousness, e.g. a serpent crossing one's path, seeing a dog defecate, or a spire fall from a temple. The methods of attaining peace (*sānit*) are represented as having been taught to Tārā by the Lord Buddha himself. It is interesting to note that a similar text dealing with questions of caste and purity. The Manjusrī Pārājikā, is represented as having been taught by Lord Buddha to Manjusrī.

In times of particular misfortune Newar Buddhists have their family priest perform a worship of the nine planets (*navagraha pūjā*). This is still done today, but rather less than in the past. Two other protective practices, which literate laymen could carry out by themselves, were the worship of the Buddhist forms of the seven days of the week and of the Five Protective Goddess (Pancaraksā). These were worshipped by reciting the texts named after them: but both practices are very markedly in decline.³⁸

These texts are built around *dhāranīs*, often misleadingly called spells. As a translation of *dhāranī* 'spell' is too instrumental and 'hymn' is not instrumental enough; 'prayer' is too personal and does not capture the connotation that these particular syllables are appropriate for this situation, and no others. Snellgrove (1987: 122) translates it as 'mnemonic', the point being that they 'hold... the meaning succinctly of an intention which in normal speech would need to be much more prolix'. A few such *dhāranīc* are still very much in use by Newar Buddhists though it is no longer true that every Sākya and Vajrācārya household had hand-copied texts containing them. The best known is the Durgatiparisodhana ('the purification [i.e. prevention] of all evil rebirths'). Many Newars know it by heart as it is recited again and again at the time of a death and immediately after:

Om namo bhagavate sarvadurgatiparisodhanarājāya tathāgatāya arhatyai samyak-sambuddhāya todayathā sodhane sodhane visodhane visodhane sarvapāpa visodhame sarvabhaya visiddhane suddhe visuddhe sarvapapa visuddhe sarvakamāvarana sodhane svāhā.

As with other mantras, the grammar is irregular, but the vocabulary is well known. The translation, which is therefore imprecise and intuitive, is roughly as follows:

Om, Obeisance to the Lord the Attained One, noble one, completely enlightened Buddha, King He-who-purifies-all-evil-destinies. In the same way, purify thoroughly purify, thoroughly purify all sins, thoroughly purify all dangers, purified, thoroughly purified, all obstructions to *karma* SVĀHĀ.

The recitation of this *dhāraṇī* is said to remove the sin of the dead person and to help them attain Sukhāvatī, the heaven of Amitābha Buddha. Other *dhāraṇīs* have the same or similar structure. Tārā is read against ghosts, Bhaisajyaguru's against illness. Vairocana's is sometimes read as art of the daily worship of a Buddha image, Aparamitā, is read, some time after a death, to help the dead person to attain sukhāvatī.

Bodhisattva

One way in which the path to salvations is undertaken is the *bodhisattva* vow, that is, the vow to become a Buddha in order to save and uplift all beings. This meaning of *bodhisattva* is known only to the pious and to the high castes. The *bodhisattva* vow is built into the structure of the *gure mandala* rite, but most lay people do not know this. The more knowledgeable laity know that Karunāmaya, other divine personages such as Sākyamuni before his enlightenment, Maitrī (Maitreya, the future Buddha of this world age), and Manjusrī, are *bodhisattvas*. Interestingly, *bodhisattvas* of the first rank, i.e. Karunāmays and Manjusrī, do not have 'Bodhisattva' appended to their name, whereas more obscure *bodhisattvas*, such as Maitrī, Vajrapāni, Ratnapāni, and Svetaketu, do.

Siddha, and Siddhi

Much better known is the word *siddha*, 'perfected' or 'accomplished person'. This used of various saints, who combine being *bodhisattvas* with Tantric accomplishments/powers (*siddhi*) a double legitimisation which is particularly important for Vajrācāryas (9.2). Such saints I shall refer to as Realized Ones. Furthermore, almost any individual or even an inanimate object may 'become *siddha*' and be worshipped as a god: this expression is often used to explain why a particular stone is worshipped. The word *siddhi* is used, not just for magical powers acquired by holy personages, but for spiritual, or spiritually related, attainment in general. A teacher of Āyurveda may tell his pupil that he will acquire no *siddhi* if he treats his books so disrespectfully I heard an old Tulādhār man tell the participants in an Observance of making clay *caityas* that if they wore shoes to carry them to the river there would be no *siddhi* from the rite.

Bodhisattvas and *siddhas* are considered to be gods, as in the Buddha, Sākyamuni. In the Buddha's case it is known that as Sarvārthasiddhi, before his enlightenment, and in many previous births, he was a man (or woman or animal). In Kathmandu, at least, the main Sākyamuni images of a Buddhist monastery is regularly referred to as *kwāhpāhdyah* (in Lalitpur,

kwābāju seemed more common). The Five Buddhas (*pancabuddha* or *pancatathāgata*) represented on caityas are actually called *bhagavāndyah* ('Lord [Buddha] god'). The great *bodhisattvas* are certainly conceived of as gods, although, interestingly, the Newari suffix *dyah*, meaning gods, is not appended to their Sanskrit names, as it is to the names of the great Hindu gods.

In many accounts of Newar Buddhism by Westerners it is said to be essentially monotheistic, being based on a belief in the divine supreme of Ādibuddha 'as the sole and self-existing spirit pervading the Universe (Oldfield 1981 II: 86). The text, the *Gunakārandavyūha*, does have an account of the creation of the world by Ādibuddha, a local derivative of which is given below. This clearly parallels the role of Visnu in Hinduism, but this is only one text, which is rarely invoked, and it is a gross misrepresentation to see Newar Buddhism as a theism whose cardinal tenet is belief in Ādibuddha.³⁹

Occasionally the theistic term *īśvara*, 'lord', is used, though Buddhists tend only to use it in exclamations when under pressure (*he īśvar!*). Learned and modern-educated Buddhists know that Buddhism is supposed to be *anīśvaravāda*, a non-theistic doctrine. For ordinary Buddhists the term *īśvara* is ambiguous between the various great gods, i.e. gods considered to be soteriological, and can be used to imply a kind monism. Such monism can also be asserted without using the word *īśvara*. Thus jog Maya said: 'If you look in the Svayambhū Purāṇa you will see that Karunāmaya, Nāmasamgīti, and Cakrasamvara are all one.'

Between these and lower gods there is a great gap. Thus few Newars would agree with Gombrich's (1971: 46). Theravādin monk that 'gods ate nothing to do with religion'; such a sentiment certainly can be heard, however, with regard to lower gods. Others say that gods are simply men who have 'crossed over' (*taray juye*). There is therefore considerable variation in the way the gods are perceived, and the link between gods and men is far from absolute. It will be shown below how, in the context of Tantric ritual, men and women come to be identified with and possessed by the gods.

Devotion (*bhakti*) to the gods is considered a great virtue. The expression do devotion is service (*sevā*). Public ecstatic forms of *bhakti*, common in south India, are rare among the Newars. There is, however, an annual tongue-boring of one manjin honour of the goddess Mahālakṣmī, in the village of Bode (Anderson 1977: 48). Towards more specifically Buddhist deities more restrained forms of devotion are expected, but here too the idea is that selfless devotion and a willingness to put up with hardship brings one close to god. (I well remember a Maharjan woman remarking sharply to someone who had pointed out that fasting is hard, 'Do you think that *dharma* is just doing whatever you like, then?') There is an obvious parallel between the way a god's favour is believed to be won by constant, unremitting devotion, and the way in which a political patron may be won over, and persuaded to grant favours or a job. In this profane context, behaving obsequiously and solicitously is called '*cākari yāye*'.⁴⁰ The political analogy can be introduced irreverently into a religious context, as when worshipping a god for a specific result is referred to jocularly as '*ghūs nakegu*' (literally 'feeding a bribe').

The Female Consort

The female consort of a male god is referred to as *saku*. This usage derives ultimately from the Hindu Tantras, which is why a Tantric devoted of the Hindu goddess is called a

Sākta. The term is never found in Buddhist Tantric scriptures, but it is freely used by Newar Buddhists in this sense. By extension, Newars also use the word, on occasion and often half-jocularly, to mean 'wife'. This meanings is so well established that *sakti* is rarely used to mean 'power' although it has been adopted, as in India, to translate 'electricity', as in 'Electricity Corporation'. Nowa days in non-religious contexts the English word 'power' is used. In a perhaps related sense the words *sat* pronounced *sat*) Skt. 'truth', and *satya*, same meaning, are used. If it rains as it is traditionally supposed to do, on the day the Karunāmaya is placed on his chariot for the Matsyendra Jātrā, this is attributed to his *sat* (*Būgadyahyā sat* or simply *dyahyā sat*).

Taray Juye Nirvāna

The aim of the religious life is referred to most vaguely using the verb *taray juye*, to cross over. This leaves open the nature of the destination, something about which Newar Buddhists readily admit their incompetence to judge. Old people say that the merit of the group (*khawlah*) which meets every morning to recite the Nāmasamgīti in Kwā Bāhāh is such that even the cows who eat the discarded leaf plates from the group's annual feast are saved. At times of death a more precise destination is aimed at, namely the world (*bhuvana*) presided over by Amitābha. This is Sukhāvātī, the realm of happiness where the *bodhisattva* who is Amitābha's son, Karunāmaya, is also to be found. The Vajrācārya priest of Cobhār Lokesvars, while explaining to me how karunāmays saves people from the sixteen hells and takes them to Sukhāvātī. Continued: If we abandon passion, hatred, delusions, affection, anger, and greed (*rāga, dvesa, moha, māyā, krodha, lobha*) we obtain Sukhāvātī now. We shoot directly up to Sukhāvātī instantly.

Some assert that this is the same *asnirvāna*, but others are not so sure. Some confusion exists about *nirvāna*, a term which one occasionally hears pronounced *nirmān* (sic).⁴¹ On the one hand, *nirvān juye* is used as a euphemism for the dead so that some believe it simply means 'to die' on the other hand, most know, and say immediately, that *nirvāna* means not coming back, i.e. not being reborn. Jog Maya argued as follows: *Nirvāna* means not having to come back. Sukhāvātī *bhuvan* is the place of Amitābha-Kaunāmaya [sic], who is the good most worthy of respect and saves even the ghosts (pret) and is a *bodhisattva*. In order to become a Buddha you have to be a *bodhisattva* and fulfil the moral perfections, and for that you need to take birth outside sukhāvātī [so *nirvāna* and Sukhāvātī are not the same].

On the other hand, a Vajrācārya man who works in bank quoted the Dhammapada's *nirvāna* is the highest happiness (*sukha*)' and argued that this must be the same as Sukhāvātī: since there is no mental or bodily suffering in Sukhāvātī what differences is there between this and *nirvāna*?

Other Sanskrit terms used in learned and pious talk for the state of liberation are: *nirvānapada*, *Buddhapada*, *moksa*, *mukti*.

The six 'destinations'

Ideas of hell (*naraka*) are equally imprecise. One Vajrācārya priest said that Yama rules over hell and there are four doors, of which the northern one is the best to enter. According to doctrine, known and explained by the learned, there are six possible 'destinations' or rebirths (*gati*) after death: gods (*deva*), demons (*daitya*),⁴² men (*menusa*) animals (*tiryak*), ghosts

(*preta*), and hell (*naraka*)⁴³ In the context of devotion to Karunāmaya it is often said that reciting his six-syllabled mantra (OM MANI PADME HUM) frees one from each of this six rebirths.

The term *agati*, literally 'lacking rebirth', tends to be used of a person who ends up as a ghost through an untimely death. Girls who die during the course of twelve-day Confinement ceremony, and have to be hurried in the basement of the house where this occurs, since they may not be taken out where men will see them, are thought to become particularly troublesome and long lasting ghosts of this sort.

The Hierarchy of Interpretations

It may be wondered by those who know other Buddhist societies, whether Newar Buddhists believe it is possible to transfer merit. The answer to this question is similar to the answer to the question whether Newar Buddhists regard the Buddha as man or god. It can best be approached by first considering Gombrich's (1971: 4-5) distinction between cognitive and affective beliefs. In Theravāda Buddhism the cognitive position, that is, the scriptural teaching which Theravāda Buddhists believe on a conscious and cognitive level, is that a merit cannot be transferred and that the Buddha was a man who is now dead and enlightened and is therefore beyond the reach of prayer or entreaty. All that can be done is to give the dead the opportunity to rejoice in merit, should they happen to be ghosts hanging around the vicinity. They will thereby gain merit themselves to allow them to improve their position. It is fair to conclude however that, affectively or unconsciously, Theravāda Buddhists 'believe' that merit can be transferred and that the Buddha is more than merely a supremely meritorious dead man. Since they keep uncertain ritual activities which imply the beliefs that cognitively they reject (Gombrich 1971: 226-43; cf, Obeyesekere 1966: 5,8).

Southwold (1983: 167-8), while allowing that this interpretation is 'rather persuasive', has criticized Gombrich's distinction for confusing emotions with beliefs, and for implying that Theravāda Buddhists do not really believe what they say they believe. It may well be that referring to 'affective beliefs' is terminologically unfortunate but that is no reason to deny that one may 'feel that' as well as 'think that' something is the case. Nor does the distinction require one to say that Theravādins 'really believe' what they feel to be so, whereas what they say they believe is an illusion. The heart may have its reasons, and these may simply conflict with the head, without necessarily being primary in a causal or any other sense. Spiro (1982: 153-4), confronted by Theravāda Buddhism in Burma, comes up with a similar distinction between belief, on the one hand, and conviction or motivation, on the other: in his case, however, he is concerned to explain the latter in terms of childhood experience. From a very different perspective, Collins (1982: 152) argues that the distinction between cognitive and affective beliefs is required by the very structure of Theravāda Buddhism as an intellectual and religious system. Theravāda Buddhism teaches that one has no self; yet it tacitly permits the affective notion that there is a perduring self, transmigrating over many births, in order to impart the many moral teachings Buddhists need to learn and accept before they are ready to go ahead and truly internalise the truth of non-self through meditation.

It seems that one of the crucial innovations of Mahāyāna Buddhism was to abandon the stress on maintaining the cognitive position. Although in Mahāyāna Buddhism the cognitive position of Theravāda Buddhism continued, it was no longer taboo to refer to the Buddha as

if he were a god, or to assert explicitly, in order to encourage lay devotion, that merit can be transferred. Instead of two beliefs, one cognitive, avowed, and universally accepted, the other affective, implicit, and inferable only in certain cases, we have instead a *hierarchy* of avowed cognitive beliefs, sometimes indeed held simultaneously. By scripture and in ritual the laity are encouraged to devotion based on the lowest and most literal-minded level of belief.

This shift of emphasis means that the doctrinal position of Mahāyāna Buddhism is much less clear than that of Theravāda Buddhism. One consequence has been the emergence of elaborate ritual, which directly satisfies lay needs to see the Buddha as a god and to transfer merit. Newar Buddhists certainly believe that they can assist their ancestors through performing Ancestor Worship. A Vajrācārya priest argued to me and to others present at a regular performance that the ancestors would benefit wherever they were, that is even if they had been reborn. All Vajrācāryas routinely argue this way. The argument is probably as old as any justification of ritual in India: it is found in the Visnudharmasūtra (Kane 1941 IV: 340). However I also heard a Sākya woman arguing to her Vajrācārya priest that surely her deceased mother was reborn now, so that it was no longer necessary to give him the annual *nislāh* prestation; the priest wisely kept silent.

This argument depends on the view that gifts can only benefit the dead if they are ghosts (*pret*) and not otherwise (in that case only the givers benefit, because of their good intentions). Lewis (1984: 324) reports that Asan Tulādhars believe that *srāddha* offerings have no effectiveness unless the deceased is a *preta*... If the dead are not *pretas*, then the offerings go to actual non-kin *pretas*, which is still meritorious for the dead and the living.' The argument that only ghosts can benefit from such offerings is, as noted above, a Theravāda doctrine. Undoubtedly the preaching of the Theravāda monks and nuns has had an effect on what Newar Buddhists believe today. This means that we cannot be sure what they believed fifty years ago: did some believe then, as they do now, that Ancestor Worship could not help ancestors at all unless they were a ghost? Or did they all accept the priestly assurance that the rite had an automatic effect experienced by the ancestors wherever they might be?

A similar ambivalence exists over the question of the Buddha's divinity. As pointed out above, unlike *bodhisattvas*, but like the great gods of Hinduism, the Buddha is in some contexts referred to with the suffix *dyah* meaning god. At the same time it is common to hear the sentiment that the Buddha was a man. This indeed is the teaching of the Rebirth stories that Vajrācāryas recount to audiences of the pious. And it is a *fortiori* the message of the Theravāda monks. Newar Buddhists find themselves in a complex religious system which lays down numerous rituals of different sorts directed at numerous deities. Unlike Theravāda Buddhism, there is no single, repeatedly inculcated, doctrinal position on these practices. Rather there is a whole hierarchy of views from which one is free to articulate one's own preferred understanding of the purpose of it all. What in Theravāda societies the observer has to infer as an affective 'belief' or feeling is here explicitly stated; the degree to which it is considered to be a hortatory metaphor or taken as literally true varies according to context and actor.

Rituals of Newar Buddhism.

If worship is the most basic religious act, ritual may be defined as the combination of acts of worship of different sorts to form a whole. This omits any reference to the purpose, or

rather purposes, of ritual; these will be dealt with below. As a preliminary approach, the different types of ritual encountered in Newar Buddhism are summarised in Figure.

The first and most important distinction for Newar Buddhists is that between obligatory and optional practices. The two types interact in that one may, as an act of free choice, undertake rituals which will henceforth be one's obligatory duty. Tantric Initiation, which will henceforth be one's obligatory duty. Tantric Initiation, which in itself is optional, commits one to a burdensome regular daily worship for the rest of one's life; and for certain specified roles (practising Vajrâcârya priests, monastery elders) taking initiation is itself compulsory. An ancestor's optional piety in founding a *guthi*, saddles his descendants with recurrent *guthi* obligations.

Figure 1. The main types of complex ritual among the Newars. Those rites normally or often requiring the presence of a priest have been marked with an asterisk:

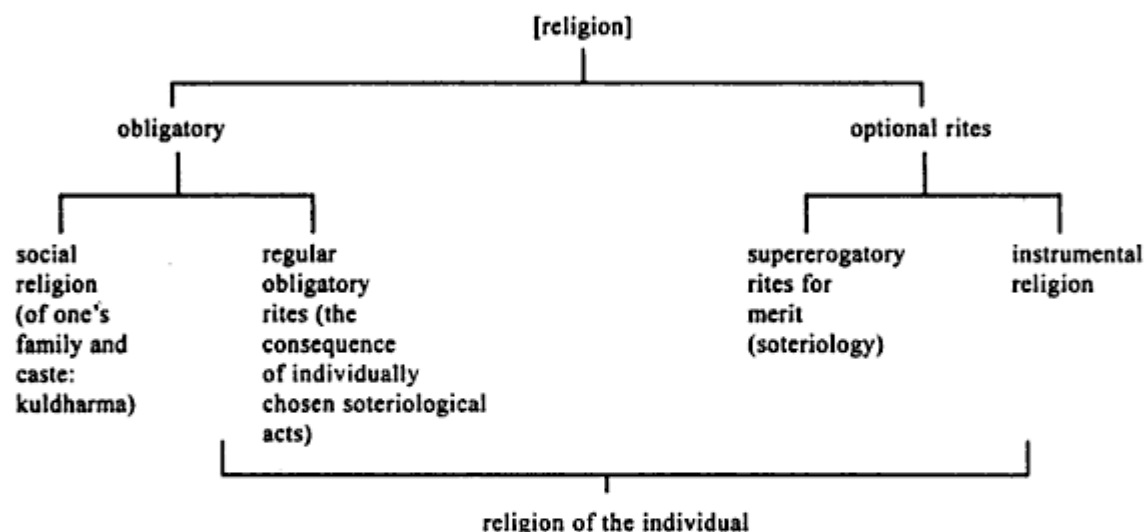
Regular worship (<i>nitya pûjâ</i>) - of an enshrined deity (<i>khe câykegu</i>) - and one's personal deity (<i>nhikâ yâyegu</i>). Calendar festivals (<i>varsakriyâ, nakhah caklah</i>). <i>Guthi</i> obligations (<i>guthipâ</i>). Life-cycle rituals (<i>samskâra, dasakarma</i>).	OBLIGATORY
Chariot and palanquin festivals (<i>rath-and khatjâtrâ</i>). Dance performances (<i>nataka, pyâkhâ</i>).	OBLIGATORY FOR PARTICIPANTS, OPTIONAL FOR SPECTATORS
Observances (<i>vrata, dhalâ danegu</i>). Devotion to a deity (<i>sevâ</i>), including recitation of chanted praises (<i>stotra, tutah</i>) and participation in hymn singing (<i>bhajan</i>). Donation (to a temple, to monks, to a priest) (<i>dân</i>). Tantric Initiation (<i>dîksâ, dekhâ</i>). Text-reading (<i>pâth yâkegu</i> or <i>pâthyâkegu</i>). Apotropaic rites such as Worship of the Nine Planets (<i>nâvagraha pûjâ</i>).	OPTIONAL

To do something optionally is usually expressed in Newari as doing a *pharmâs* (or *pharmây*), a word which derives from Persian via the Hindi *farmais*.⁴⁴ Doing what is obligatory is expressed simply by use of the Newari auxiliary verb *mâlê*. This is used with quite surprising frequency. I was taken aback during the festival of Mohani when kites are flown from what seems like every rooftop in Lalitpur, to be asked whether we in Britain also have to fly kites.⁴⁵ 'Have to?' I wanted to reply, 'What's "have to" go to do with it?' I found it hard to reconcile with the use of the verb denoting obligation the obvious pleasure the young men and boys of Lalitpur were deriving from flying kites (and from their attempts to cut the string of other kites by rubbing their own string with paste and ground-up glass). I was still more surprised a few days later that, with Mohani over, there was not a single kite to be seen, although conditions were still perfect for flying them. For Newars it is natural to describe all activity which occurs regularly as being 'done because it has to be done', i.e. it is part of tradition; no one would

think of concluding from this that they should not enjoy it. Even kite-flying falls within this religious framework and even young men and boys, who normally show no special interest in religion, accept this; people say that kites have to be flown at Mohanī to let Indra (the god of rain) know that it has rained enough, that the monsoon may finish. Furthermore, it is entirely natural for Newars to think that what one group—caste, ethnic group, lineage, or family—has to do, others do not.

Chariot festivals and dance performances fall between compulsory and optional practices. They are usually obligatory for the main participants or dancers, and there may be aspects of them (e.g. holding a family feast) which are obligatory for others too; but watching them and coming for worship are for the most part optional.

Figure 2. Types of religion from the point of view of the individual Newar Buddhist.



The distinction between obligatory and optional rites is part of the everyday language of all Newars. It reflects in part the religious typology outlined in the introduction. One has to perform the rites of social religion because one is a member of a given group; these comprise the obligatory rites. Optional rites are typically performed by individuals, seeking either merit or salvation (soteriological religion), or some worldly end, most commonly the cure of an illness (instrumental religion). Thus, one could turn upside down as shown in Figure² in order to represent the distinctions made by Newars.⁴⁶

There is a Hindu scriptural typology, accepted both by Vedic and by Tantric theorists, which divides ritual into the regular (*nitya*), the occasional (*naimittika*), and the desire-fulfilling (*kāmya*) (Gupta 1979; 124-6). Occasional ritual refers to the elaborate rites performed to one's chosen deity on holy days. Regular ritual is the abbreviated form of the occasional rite and is performed on ordinary days. Alternatively, 'regular' ritual covers both what occurs daily and that performed on holy days, whereas 'occasional ritual' refers to any rite which has to be held because of a non-regular 'occasion' (Skt. *nimittā*), e.g. initiations, consecrations, expiations, or popular festivals.⁴⁷ In all interpretations, desire-fulfilling rituals are those

performed in order to obtain a particular worldly benefit. These scriptural typologies are narrower than that used by Newars because they focus strictly on the individual: desire-fulfilling rites correspond to what I call instrumental religion, but regular and occasional rites are only one type of obligatory rite (that incumbent upon the individual) and leave out of account the inherited religion of the group.

This tends to confirm Dumont's (1980: 275) suggestion that within Indian religion the renouncer, or individual-outside-the-world, was the creator and innovator whereas the Brahman-within-the-world merely preserved what the renouncer created. At any rate, the creators of learned concepts, whether technically renouncers or not, seem always to have adopted an individualistic, and not a group-orientated, viewpoint in the analysis of ritual.⁴⁸ This is equally true of tantric scriptures, even though, Tantric ritual is used as the religion of groups and to sanctify group boundaries. Not only do traditional Hindu typologies take the viewpoint of the individual, they presume an advanced and serious practitioner. Thus they ignore the possibility of non-repeated, superegatory religious action (as typically by a lay person): for example, performing or sponsoring a meritorious rite once, without undertaking subsequent obligations. In other words, the scriptural classification have no term for 'optional' other than *kāmya*. 'desire-fulfilling' i.e. those rites which I have labelled instrumental.

The sceptic may well ask here: How distinct are these types of ritual? Are no soteriological or instrumental rites compulsory? Are there no group rituals which are soteriological or instrumental in intention? The answer is 'Yes' to both the latter questions. In the past it seems that nearly all Vajrācāyas took Tantric Initiation and it must therefore have been treated like an obligatory life-cycle rite. Monastic Initiation was in origin an optional rite—and this is remembered—but it has become a compulsory, life-cycle ritual.

It is difficult to think of instrumental rites which are compulsory or of compulsory rites which began life as instrumental rites, but it is certainly true that specific parts of compulsory rites are instrumental (e.g. those actions intended to prevent supernatural obstacles). There are also examples of soteriological and instrumental rites carried out by groups. For instance, the organisation of many Observances is a complex and expensive affair and is therefore often carried out collectively. It is also common for *guthis* to be established to ensure the annual performance of the rite (e.g. the annual Observance to Vasundharā). But in each case, except for members of the *guthi*, participation is optional; and even membership of the *guthi* is optional. Overtly, Observances are about acquiring merit and can be classed as soteriological. It is well known that many women who participate are motivated instrumentally, that is, they participate for self-regarding worldly ends, such as the birth of a son and in this they are encouraged by the scriptures, the myths and the priests of Newar Buddhism. In the past it sometimes happened that a group rite would be performed for explicit instrumental ends: during an epidemic a locality would get together and worship the local protective deity (*ksetrapāl*)

These examples of group activity do not undermine the basic typology. They do not invalidate the general rule that instrumental and soteriological religious action is optional, whereas social religion is obligatory and imposed on the individual by virtue of group membership. In the putative counter examples considered, the groups were not permanent but simply collections of individuals pooling their effort.

Furthermore, the processes of social life are complex: the fact that a rite originally intended as soteriological has become social, or that social rites are occasionally justified in soteriological or even instrumental terms, does not of itself show the terminology to be inappropriate. It shows rather that the typology is made up of ideal types; actual social processes are usually justified in terms of more than one type, and the determination of which is predominate is a question of emphasis and interpretation.

Role of Religion

Religious roles come in different forms and, as an added complication, the same set of relations can be described in alternative and incommensurable ways. The most commonly used vocabulary is that of family priest (*purohit*) and hereditary patron (*jajmān*, *jajmā*). These are Hindu terms. Vedic in origin, familiar throughout South Asia. The etymology of the term for patron (Skt. *yajamāna*) is 'one who sacrifices for his own benefit (by means of other)' as opposed to ritual specialists who sacrifice on behalf of their patron. Priests, Barbers, and Kāpālī all refer to those families which are obliged to call them on specified ritual occasions as 'their *jajmān*'.

In complex rituals when a Vajrācārya priest performs a ritual for his patron, *jajmān* designates a ritual role: the *jajmān* sits next to the priest, keeping him on his or her right-hand side, and performs the ritual according to the priest's instructions. In this sense the short form *jajmā* is more often used ('*jajmā* cwane', to take the role of *jajmā*). Normally the (male) head of household (or lineage) should fill this role, but if he is too busy a younger man or senior female may do so. Both priest and *jajmā* have to fast until the ritual is over.

This framework of priest and patron is the most obvious one, but to remain within it, and to treat it as a sufficient description of Newar Buddhism, would be a mistake; the same mistake as to accept as definitive the Hindu names, such as Matsyendranāth, which Buddhists use for the consumption of outsiders. Built into Newar Buddhists' rites are two other types of vocabulary, and there are at least two further religious or quasi-religious framework which also need to be mentioned. All five are summarised in Table 2

Within the context of a Buddhist ritual, if it is an Observance or similar rite, the priest addressed the participants as pupils (*śiṣya*, usually pronounced *śikhi*); and a Vajrācārya priest is addressed by his patrons, and often politely by others, as *guruju*, reverend teacher, *guru* being the term always coupled with *śiṣya*. This is quite a different sort of vocabulary from that of priest and patron. Although *guru* may (and usually does) denote one's *purohit*, and *śiṣya* denotes, *inter alia*, one's *jajmān*s, the two sets of terms are not interchangeable: the terms 'teacher' and 'pupil' cannot be used to describe the social and hereditary relationship of priest and patron.

A third type of vocabulary is also, though more rarely, used. This alone is distinctively and uniquely Buddhist. In this Sākyas and Vajrācāryas are monks (*bhikṣu*). This is usually only implied, though very strongly implied, by the context, rather than actually stated. Consequently it is rare to hear the correlative term, *upāsak*, layman, though it is used to justify the position of the Tulādhar *et al*, as high-caste Buddhists ranking just below the Sākyas and Vajrācāryas, and it is sometimes given as the origin of their caste name 'Urāy'. In other contexts *bhikṣu* is sometimes contrasted with *grhasthi* householder (often pronounced *gristī*). In rites

such as Pañcadān and Samyak, Sakyas and Vajrācāryas are both monks (receiving *dān*) and householders (giving it). Often those who give *dān* or make offerings are referred to simply as devotees (*bhaktajan*).

TABLE 2
Five ways of describing roles in the religion of Newar Buddhists.

Context	Monastic (Way of Disciples)	Temple	Other Buddhist rituals (Great Way and Diamond Way)	Social relations (Hindu)	Medical
Superior role	<i>bhikṣu</i> (monk)	<i>dyahpāhlāh</i> or <i>pūjāri</i> (temple priest)	<i>guru</i> (teacher)	<i>purohit</i> (family priest)	<i>vaidya</i> (healer)
Inferior role	<i>upāsak</i> (layman), <i>grhasthi</i> (house- holder)	<i>bhakta</i> or <i>bhaktajan</i> (devotee's)	<i>śiṣya</i> (pupil)	<i>jajmān</i> or <i>jajmā</i> (patron, sponsor or parish- ioner)	<i>kyā wā ī</i> (lit. those who come to show patients)
Prestation from inferior to superior	<i>dān</i> (alms)	<i>chāyegu</i> or <i>pūjā</i> <i>sārdām</i> (offerings)	<i>dakṣinā</i> (fee) and <i>dām</i>	mainly <i>dakṣinā</i> on occasion <i>dān</i>	<i>dā</i> money (or goods)
In return	blessing	<i>prasād</i> of deity	ritual teaching, blessing	ritual, teaching, blessing	cure, counter- magic
Examples of context	Pañcadān. Samyak	Temple worship	Observances Tantric Initiation	Any life- cycle rite	When ill or other crisis

Two other types of vocabulary are not specifically Buddhist, but need to be mentioned since Buddhists fill both kinds of role. The first has to do with temple worship. Guardians of a temple or monastic complex, are called *dyahpāhlāh*, as we have seen above (§3.1). Both Vajrācāryas may be family priests (*purohit*). Those who come to offer at a temple are not always inferior in social status. Indeed, at a Mother Goddess shrine outside the city, where the guardians are Untouchables, almost all the devotees who visit it will be superior in social status. Nonetheless, there is a sense in which the guardian is closer to the deity than the casual

devotee, and although the schema is slightly forced, the devotees are marked down as the inferior role in Table 2

The second type of non-Buddhist vocabulary is the medical. There are many healers of different kinds all going under the name of *vaidya*. Some of these are traditional doctors following the Auyrveda system, some are Vajrâcâryas practising a mixture of this and Tantric healing, and others are folk healers.

This is not ideal as one is not dealing here with patron-client relations of the sort discussed by students of politics. Many observers in Nepal and India have found it more natural to refer to the *jajmân* as the client of the Vajrâcârya or Brahman priest, since the latter is superior in status.⁴⁹ In the Hindu case *jajmân* refers back to classical Vedic theory, in which the King is the paradigmatic patron who sacrifices by means of his Brahman priests. As is well known, this is the model for the Indian *jajmâni* system, that is, the sacrificially and religiously defined division of labour underlying the caste system. In the present case, as Table-2 shows, the Hindu vocabulary of *jajmân* and *purohit* is an outer layer, albeit a necessary one, which is replaced, in religious contexts, by the vocabulary of preceptor and disciple. Consequently, I have not stuck rigidly to the translation 'patron': in the context of the rite I have often translated 'sponsor' and on other occasions I have translated 'parishioner', which brings out the responsibility a Vajrâcârya priest has for his patrons' spiritual welfare.

There are other terms which are difficult to translate without misleading or unwanted overtones. One such is *dân*, which I have variously translated as alms-giving, donations, gifts, and charity depending on context (it refers both to the gift and the giving). Southwold (1983:214-18) argues, controversially for the Sri Lankan context, that 'priest' is a better translation of *bhikṣu* than 'monk', which he reserves for that tiny minority of virtuosi who live in the jungle and meditate. He would presumably argue that a *fortiori* Śākyas should be called priests, not monks, that *bare chuyegu* should be called Caste Initiation, not Monastic Initiation, and that it is a travesty to translate *viḥāra* in the Nepalese context as 'monastery' rather than 'temple'. In these cases, however, we prefer the translation which emphasises monasticism in every case, because it brings out the claim being made—ritually and socially—by the use of these terms.⁵⁰

A Newar Buddhist typology

We have already seen one way in which the doctrine of Ways (*yāna*) is used by knowledgeable Newar Buddhists to order the different types of god they worship. Underlying the Three Ways is a very basic opposition between the exoteric and the esoteric. The elements of this opposition are summarised in Table.3 These differences are very clear to those Newars who have taken Tantric Initiation. Even those who have not are aware that substances required in one context are forbidden in another. All are aware of the distinction between exoteric (*bāhya*) and esoteric (*guhya*) which, as M.R. Allen (1975: 56) and Vergati (1979:127) have observed, is fundamental to the religion and society of the Newars. Those who do not know these Sanskritic terms express the opposition simply as that between what one may see (*swaye jyu*) and what one may not see (*Swaye ma jyu*). Often indeed it is the middle and lower castes, who may not receive Tantric Initiation, who seem to exclude outsiders most fiercely. Perhaps it is because they do not have a more strictly religious sphere in which to practise the exoteric/esoteric distinction that they insist all the more strongly on keeping non-members out of their *guthi* feasts.

TABLE 3

Ideal-typical contrasts between Sravakayana rites on the one hand and Vajrayana rites on the other.

<i>Rites of the Disciples' Way</i>	<i>Rites of the Diamond Way</i>
Worship only using pure substances	Worship must include impure substances. in particular meat and alcohol
Dance and song forbidden	Dance and song essential parts of worship
Chastity required	Sexual imagery central
Calmness required: hostility to possession	Controlled possession by deity required of woman, permitted for men
Worship (<i>pūjā</i>)	Yogic Visualisation (<i>sādhana</i>)
Aim: merit and blessing of deity	Aim: power, liberation through identification with deity
Access open to all clean castes	Access only to the initiated, initiation only for high castes and specified others

Note: In practice Newar Buddhist exoteric rites are Sravakayana during the rites themselves, but bracketed by an unoffensive exoteric version of the Vajrayana. In practice esoteric rites are Vajrayanist from start to finish but incorporate certain values of the Sravakayana (worship, pursuit of merit).

There are inevitably certain overlaps to the oppositions outlined in Table 3. The distinction between the two types of rite is not absolute. Many esoteric rites are undertaken for merit. Both exoteric and esoteric rites contain both Worship and Visualisation: what differs is the emphasis each receives. The line between the esoteric and the exoteric is laid down slightly differently by different groups and in different contexts.

Most ordinary exoteric rites of Newar Buddhism combine elements only—of the Diamond Way are obligatory. There is an exoteric form of the (esoteric) Diamond Way in which Tantric deities appear openly, but without their female partner. In an Observance participants must eat only pure food, refrain from sex, and so on. On the final day, to mark the Observance's end, they consume a feast with meat and alcohol, which is considered the blessing (*prasāda*) of the goddess. In exoteric contexts like this only these elements of the Diamond Way (meat, alcohol, disguised use of Visualisation by the priest alone) are permitted. Dance, song sexual symbolism belong to the purely esoteric sphere. This tradition—observing Disciples' Way practices within a limited context and framed by Diamond Way ones—is, as a whole, characterised as the Great Way.

Following the analysis given here it is possible to see what place Newar Buddhism gives to the values of Theravada Buddhism. One cannot be a pure follower of the Sravakayana in Newar Buddhism: the Disciples' Way is always followed only within the context of a given ritual and is always brought to an end by a rite with Diamond Way implications. In fact, it cannot begin without the Tantric ministrations of a Vajrācārya priest. This applies even to rites such as Monastic Initiation, and even, at the limit, to the daily ritual of a monastery deity. In this broader sense there are only two kinds of rite: exoteric rites, i.e. rites of the Great Way which bracket practices of the Disciples' Way in a Diamond Way framework; and esoteric rites which are Vajrayanist from start to finish, but which are often carried out in the devotional and merit-making spirit characteristic of exoteric rites. Thus, the oppositions outlined in Table 3 define two ideal types. In reality, when exoteric and esoteric rites are compared in terms of these distinctions, the differences is one of emphasis and attitude.

Michael Allen characterises Tantric logic, i.e. the ritual logic of the esoteric Diamond Way, as based on inversions of monastic, i.e. Disciples' Way, rules. It is perhaps more exact to say that it is based on infractions of a taboo. They are precisely controlled infractions. Newar Buddhists, like all Buddhists, are hostile to licentiousness. Esoteric rites, although using substances forbidden in the exoteric sphere, are governed by rules as strict in their way.

The above account in terms of the purely Buddhist concepts of the Three Ways can be contrasted with a more worldly of Hindu classification. R.P. Pradhan (1986), on the basis of material from the Hindu Newars of Kathmandu, divides rituals into life-cycle rites and 'cosmic' rituals (i.e. public festivals). Following Das (1982), Pradhan (1986:60-70) shows how Newar life-cycle rites can be analysed in terms of two oppositions: pure/ impure and auspicious inauspicious. First Rice-Feeding, Loincloth Worship, Mock Marriage and Marriage are both auspicious and pure. Birth Purification and Confinement are auspicious but impure. Ancestor Worship is pure but inauspicious. The rituals immediately following a death are both impure and inauspicious. Pure rites begin with purifications ('*niśi yāyegu*') and, when auspicious, end with the consumption of the good-luck food (*sagā*). Impure rites, by contrast, begin with the event incurring impurity and end with purifications called *bēkegu*.

Public rituals, Pradhan argues, are orientated not by axes of purity/impurity or auspiciousness inauspiciousness but by the opposition of the good and bad sacred. He distinguishes six types: calendrical festivals, chariot and palanquin festivals, fairs, pilgrimages, Observances, and recitations of scriptures. These are often combined: many Observances are performed in the context of a pilgrimage (*tīrtha yātrā*); other Observances occur as a calendrical festival as do many chariot festivals.

The basic distinction underlying Pradhan's analysis, between life-cycle rituals (*samskāra*) and public festivals (*varsakriyā*, *nakhah cakha*), is certainly built in to both Buddhism and Hinduism as practised by the Newars. His other analytical distinctions, though not explicitly articulated by Newars themselves, are also valid for both Buddhists and Hindu.

A Tibetan Tantric Buddhist Typology

Another typology is possible, derived from the different uses to which Tantric (esoteric) Buddhist ritual is put. Here I follow Bever (1973:225—7ff.), while adapting his vocabulary.⁵¹ Beyer's typology reproduces the terms Tibetans evolved to describe the rituals they inherited from India. Such a systematic terminology does not exist among the Newars, but since their ritual is essentially of the same type the typology can be applied to them also, as illustrated in Table 4. Many rituals fulfill functions of several types, but they can be classified according to the function which is predominant.

This categorisation of Tantric Buddhist ritual functions corresponds to the types of religion outlined. The 'ritual' function of ritual (category II) predominates in social religion: that is, where rites are performed according to a regular calendar for no other reason than that they always are performed at those particular times. The function of 'magical empowerment' (III) is one of the ways that Vajrācārya priests perform instrumental rites on behalf of their parishioners when they have a particular need. The 'freelance, non-liturgical' function (IV) corresponds to the similar, instrumental use of ritual by self-chosen healers and mediums.

TABLE 4
A typology of Tantric Buddhist rituals according to Predominant 'function',
adapted from Beyer 1973: 257.

<i>Type of ritual</i>	<i>Locus of power</i>	<i>How mantras are viewed</i>	<i>Examples</i>
I SOTERIOLOGICAL	self	as contemplative and purificatory	daily worship, supererogatory practices such as <i>purascaran cugnegu</i>
II RECURRENT RITUAL	'in front' i.e. worship of an image	as effective in evoking deities	Regular worship of important deities life-cycle rites
III MAGICAL EMPOWERMENT	in objects (or persons) to be permanently empowered	as effective and useful	initiations consecrations of deities. empowerment of thread (<i>pasuka</i>)
IV FREELANCE NON-LITURGICAL USE	aspect of profane world	as effective and useful	use of ritual for healing back on while magic alchemy

Such a framework analyses ritual from the point of view of the advanced Tantric practitioner. Exoteric ritual only fits into this framework to the extent that it is effected by esoteric means. The recurrent rituals performed by Vajracārya fit well into category II because they depend on the priest's use of esoteric powers. Rites such as Observances (*vrata*) are from the lay participants' point of view wholly non-Tantric expressions of devotion. They cannot easily be ascribed to one or other of these categories. They are soteriological (although often performed with some worldly end in mind), but are carried on at a lower level where there is no intimation of self-divinisation. This self-deivinisation is a crucial part of Tantric practice and is implied by saying that the locus of power is one's 'self'.

A Typology of Ritual Acts

In spite of the fundamental distinction between esoteric and exoteric, all rites are built up in a very similar way out of units that I shall call 'elements'. One could define an element as the smallest meaningful unit of a complex ritual.⁵² These elements can be divided into two types, which would probably be recognised by most Newar Buddhists (though they might well wonder what was to be gained by such an exercise). The first type consists in the worshipper offering a given substance (e.g. rice grains. Water, vermilion), while the priest recites the appropriate verse and/or mantra and, where necessary, displays the appropriate hand gesture

(*mudrā*). It is worth noting that it is the mantra which is believed to be crucial and must be correct, whereas there is greater variability in the hand gestures. Sound is more fundamental than 'form' in the tantric Buddhist world view. The mantra is crucial for evoking the deity, and is often considered to be the deity.

Buddhist liturgical tradition recognises several different types of the mantras relating to a given deity. The two most important types are the 'heart-seed' or 'seed' (*hrdbija* or *bija*) mantra, and 'heart' (*hrdaya*) mantra. The former is a single syllable used to generate the deity, the mandala, and indeed the whole universe; the latter is longer, usually made up of several syllables beginning with OM and ending with *HŪM*, *PHAT*, or *SVĀHĀ*. The heart mantra corresponds to what in other Tantric traditions is known as the 'root' (*mūla*) mantra (but, confusingly, Vajrayāna texts, in some cases at least, specify a root mantra distinct from the heart mantra). Sometimes only the main deity of a mandala has both seed and heart mantras, and the deities of his or her retinue or mandala have only heart mantras. In other cases both the main deity and the others have both kinds of mantra. A third important type of mantra is the 'all-purpose' (*sārvakarmika*) mantra: this is the mantra which should be recited when no other mantra has been specified. Usually a principal deity's all-purpose mantra is the heart mantra of one of the divinities from his or her retinue. For instance, the all-purpose mantra of the esoteric divinity Cakrasamvara is that of the *dākinī* Khandarohā.⁵³

The second type of ritual element is a kind of (*binti*)f where the worshipper sits with palms together, holding rice grains between the palms, while the priest recites several verses: only at the end does the worshipper offer the rice. While I refer to this as 'prayer', it should be borne in mind that the worshipper does not conduct an inner dialogue with a divine person, but simply sits while the priest recites. Ideally the worshipper should concentrate respectfully on the deity. In practice his or her mind is often quite blank, if facial expression is anything to go by. Nonetheless the translation 'prayer' is apposite. *Ninti* in fact means 'request' or 'entreaty'. Deriving, according to Turner (1980: s.v.), from the Sanskrit *vijñaptih* with the same meaning. A *bintipatra* is a written request for help or intervention submitted to the ruler or other powerful person by a group of subjects, a practice still common in Nepal. Within these two basic kinds of ritual element, further distinctions can be made. These are suggested by the ritual handbooks used by priests and by the uses to which different offerings are put.

The different types of 'prayer' shown there are based on terms found in the ritual handbooks themselves. The distinctions are supported by an analysis of the Sanskrit utterances. By contrast, the distinctions between types of offering are may own. They are not found in the handbooks, but they are based on explanations given by priests (e.g. 'This purifies the worshipper': 'this makes Vajrasattva present'; 'this prevents obstacles'). The categories are not necessarily exclusive (they are, once again, ideal types): a ritual act can purify by making a deity present; the meditation on a deity includes praises, and is also meant to make the deity present.

Basic Rituals of Newar Buddhism

Having presented broad categories of ritual roles and of types of ritual action, it remains to discuss the basic named rituals of Newar Buddhism. The three most important are the offering of the *guru mandala*, Flask Worship (*kalasa pūjā*), and Fire Sacrifice (*homa*).⁵⁴ It is from these basic rituals that others, such as Observances, life-cycle rituals, or Tantric Initiation,

are built up. All complex rites begin with the *guru mandala*. The sponsor performs it under the direction of his priest. The is present in order to make the ritual happen on behalf of his parishioner. His responsibility for doing so is marked by the sponsor handing to him the Worship Plate (*pujābhah*) immediately after the priest has located the ritual in time and space using the 'Adya Mahādāna' utterance. By a kind of Chinese box arrangement, the *guru mandala* ritual acts as a framework within which the rest of the ritual occurs: all of it except the final dismissal is performed at the beginning, and the final sections are repeated with the dismissal (*visarjana*) at the end of the whole complex rite. However, there is a puzzle here. As Witzel has pointed out, rather than putting the dismissal of the *guru mandala* at the very end, it comes before the dismissals of the Flask (*kalasa-visarjana*) and of the Spirit-Offering (*bali-visarjana*). In other words, the dismissals occur in the same order as the original worship, and not in reverse order as one would expect with a true framing device.

What is here called Spirit-Offering (*bali*) refers in a Hindu context and generally in colloquial Newari to an animal sacrifice to a major deity. In strictly Buddhist ritual no such animal sacrifice occurs (although, as noted above, Vajrācārya priests do indeed oversee them). Thus in a Buddhist liturgical context *bali* refers to the apotropaic offerings made to ghosts or other spirits who might cause problems for the ritual (who are at a lower level of the pantheon than the Hindu divinities receiving *bali*). In a simple ritual such as the *guru mandala* the *bali* is a small cone made of ground rice and water called *gwahjā*. It tends to be thought of both as the offering and the recipient of the offering at once. In large and complex rites a special Spirit-Offering including blood, alcohol, buffalo entrails, and beaten rice is made. Such offerings are also made by Hindus, and they are called *bau* (etymologically the same word as *bali*). Similar offerings are made outside the framework of organised rituals when someone has been 'attacked' (*punāh hahgu*) by the *chwāsā* god, causing sudden stomach pains. It is significant that while Spirit-Offerings are never made to Buddhas or other high, pure divinities, they are made to Tantric gods such as Cakrasamvara and Vajravārāhī. As fierce gods, they can receive such offerings, which are not acceptable to Buddhas.

The *guru mandala* ritual is, then, the most common and basic Newar Buddhist ritual. It is performed by some pious Sākyas and Vajrācāryas as part of their personal daily ritual, and by all practising Vajrācārya priests. It is performed by husband and wife together in a single mandala as part of the wedding ceremony (they share the mandala as they share polluted food, and as they are believed to share religious merit). All *buddhamārgi* Newars perform it, or have it performed for them, as part of life-cycle rituals. All those who participate in Buddhist Observances perform it as a preliminary to other worship. The *guru* in question is Vajrasattva, who is both the *guru* of Vajrācārya priests and an exoteric deity who is a kind of representation of the absolute in Vajrayāna Buddhism. The ritual can be broken down in the following sections:

- (i) purification of the body, statement of intention (*samkalpa*), and obeisance to Vajrasattva and the Three Jewels;
- (ii) worship of the conch;
- (iii) lustration of mandala, further purification, and protective rites;
- (iv) meditation on moral and worldly benefits of worship, worship of the sun and moon, purification of the hand;

- (v) Visualisation of Vajrasattva, worship of Vajrasattva;
- (vi) building up of the Mount Meru mandala and offering it to Vajrasattva;
- (vii) worship of the sixteen worship goddesses (*sodasa lāsya*);
- (viii) obeisance to Vajrasattva and the Three Jewels, confession of sins, rejoicing in merit, *bodhisattva* vow, fuller confession of sins;
- (ix) three Spirit-Offerings;
- (x) recitation of the hundred-syllabled mantra (*satāksara*) of Vajrasattva as a request for forgiveness (for mistakes in the ritual),
- (xi) dismissal.

There are both fuller and more compressed versions of the ritual. In some versions sections (v) and (vii) are omitted, and the verses recited in (viii), and the offering made in (ix), are much abbreviated.

It will be seen that the ritual contains the moral undertakings of Mahāyāna Buddhism (iv, viii), but has placed them firmly within a ritualistic Vajrayānist framework. The visualisation of Tantric deities occurs, however, in a very simplified form. The full form of such Visualisation, enacted in the *trasmādhī* ritual which prefaces both Flask Worship and Fire Sacrifice. The way in which Mahāyānist goals are ritualised can be illustrated with verses recited in section (iv) which expound the Six Perfections:

Dānam gomayam ambunā ca sahitam
Silam ca sammārjanam
Ksāntih ksudrapipilakāpanayanam
Vīryam kriyotthāpanam
Dhyānam tatsanam ekacittakaranam
Prajñā surekhojjvalā
Etāh pārmitāh sad eva labhate Krtvā muner mandalam.

Charity is [purifying with] cowdung and water,
 Moral conduct is sweeping,
 Patience is removing tiny ants,
 Heroism is carrying through the rite,
 Trance is one pointedness of mind at that moment,
 Wisdom is [drawing] splendid clear lines.
 Whoever worships the mandala of the Buddha
 Obtains all six of these moral perfections.⁵⁵

By contrast, in the *bodhisattva* vow of section (viii) of the *guru mandala* no such ritualised interpretation occurs. It is only ritualised in the practice of it, in that in most cases the priest reads out the verses in an incomprehensible mumble. Nonetheless these verses are known to, understood, and recited by pious Newar Buddhists.⁵⁶

At all complex life-cycle rites at which a Vajrācārya is invited to officiate (except for Ancestor Worship), the minimum required performance is a Flask Worship. The Ancestor Worship, the minimum required performance is a Flask Worship. The Fire Sacrifice is rarer: a Fire Sacrifice includes Flask Worship, but not vice versa. Flask Worship is therefore the

simpler, and cheaper, rite. The main object of worship in Flask Worship is, unsurprisingly, the Flask or holy water pot, into which the Five Buddhas are summoned.⁵⁷ In more complex versions of the rite there are several flasks, of which one is designated the main Flask (*mū kalas*). In secret rituals workshop is directed to the Alcohol Pot (*thāpi*) filled with red beer, not water. This is the worship of Māmakī. The Alcohol Pot, though differently shaped, and differently named in Newari is also called a flask, the 'secret flask' (*guhya kalas*).

On either side of the main Flask the priest establishes various ritual implements, known collectively as *thāpā*.⁵⁸ These various implements are known to all by their Newari names: and it is known that they represent deities which the sponsor of the rite worships under the direction of the priest. The correspondences are shown in Table.3 Also often included is a Spirit-Offering container (*balipau*). Most lay people are unaware which gods the implements are supposed to represent, though they may have a vague idea about the Five Buddhas being in the Flask, and Guhyesvarī in the Alcohol Pot. The same implements (except the Alcohol Pot) are also made use of by Newar Brahmins, though they worship them as different deities.

The implements are established in a space which had been purified with cowdung. Rice powder is used to draw swastikas and other designs in the places where the implements will be put. On top of these a 'throne' (*āsan*) of unhusked rice is stewn.⁵⁹ The implements are placed on top of this. This mouth of the Flask has a small clay saucer with unbroken husked rice, an areca nut, and a coin (collectively called *kisalī*, 'rice saucer') on it. Around the implements five-coloured thread (*pañcasūtrakā*, *pasūkā*; *kā*=nw. thread) is hung, the ball being balanced on the spout of the Flask. In front of the implements are placed rice cones (*gwahjā*). The rice cones represent Ganes, the Eight Mothers, and Bhairava, protective deities who receive the offerings of meat and alcohol. The Vajrācārya priest sits facing the line of implements, with the sponsor on his left. The priest places his *vajra* immediately in front of him, and the bell to its left. (When this rite is performed in monasteries there is usually a small portable mandala to rest the *vajra* on.) Near this, established separately on a pile of rice, is the oil lamp (*sukundā*). Also established separately in front of him is a small clay saucer with the Five Products of a Cow (*pañcagavya*) and a spring of *situ* (Skt. *durvā*) grass for sprinkling it. On the priest's right is placed the Worship Plate (*pujābhah*) and near it the conch shell (*sankha*) on a tripod.

The implements which represent Tantric deities, the Alcohol Pot and *khāy* Pot, are established by Kwā Bāhāh Vajrācārya in a continuous line with the other implements, but at an angle, forming an L-shape. Vajrācārya from Bu Bāhāh are said to establish them separately. In some rituals, for instance the First Rice-Feeding, two further implements are included: two clay saucers, one upside down on top of the other, containing orange power (*bhuyū sinhah*); and an upturned clay saucer balanced on a kind of clay tripod with a burning wick beneath it to collect lamp black (*mwahanīsinhah*). During First Rice-Feeding three feast shares to be taken to a shrine of Kumārī (*kumārībhā*) are also established, i.e. divinised, in the same way. At the purification on the fourth day after birth, none of these is needed, but instead a *kuli*-measure with broken rice is included. This is supposed to stand for the goddess Hārītī, under whose special protection the child is deemed to be in the first days after birth; it is poured away at the *chwāsā* deity. In the rite the *kuli*-measure is addressed as Ugracandī, which is the Tantric and liturgical Buddhist identity of the *chwāsā*. Once the various ritual implements have been set out, the Flask Worship is accomplished in the following steps:

- (i) declaration of intention (*samkalpa*) by the sponsor;
- (ii) establishment of the powder;
- (iii) performance of *guru mandala* by sponsor;
- (iv) performance of the Threefold Meditation (*trīsamādhi*) by the priest;

TABLE 5

Worship implements (*thāpā*) used in Newar Buddhist rituals, with both Buddhist and Hindu divine identifications.

English Newari	Sanskrit	Buddhist identity	Hindu identity	
Power of Kumari	<i>kumarisinhah</i>	<i>kumari-candana</i>	Kumari (i.e. Vajravārādhi)	Kumari
Power Container	<i>sinhamu</i>	<i>sindura bhanda</i> or <i>-kumbha</i>	Lakṣmi or Vasundhara	Gauri
Four Yoghurt Pots	<i>saga dhaupatti</i>	<i>saptavṛddhi mangala-bhanda</i>	Four Brahma Viḥāras or Vasundhara	Eight Cirañjivas
Flask	<i>kalasa</i>	<i>amṛitaghata</i>	Five Buddhas in form of seven oceans	Trimurti (i.e. Brahma, Viṣṇu, Mahesvara)
Cow's Mouthful	<i>galayaba</i>	<i>gograsa</i>	Cow or Five Gomata	Five Gomata
Mirror	<i>jwala-nhayka</i>	<i>darpana-bhanda</i>	Lakṣmi	Sarasvatī
Black Power Pot	<i>mwahani sinhathala</i>	<i>mohany-akarsana prajñopaya-sindura</i>	Cakrasamvara	Saktirūpa
Alcohol Pot	<i>thapi</i>	<i>guhya-kalasa</i>	Guhyesvari or Varuṇi Māmaki	—
Khay Pot	<i>khaythala</i>	<i>sahaja-sukhabhanda</i>	Bhairava (= <i>upaya</i> = Hevajra)	Bhairavi
Lamp	<i>sukunda</i>	<i>dipakunda</i>	Agni-vaiṣṇava or Surya	Ganes

Sources: Buddhist identifications and Sanskrit names were provided by Asha Kaji Vajracharya, Hindu identifications by Bharat Kanta Sharma. Other informants gave slightly varying identifications: for example, a less learned Vajrācārya priest identified the Cow's Mouthful as the earth and the *khāy* Pot as Vajranarāṭmyā. For some of the verses used in worshipping these implements, see the appendix to this chapter.

- (v) Visualisation, purification, and worship for the Flask and other implements;
- (vi) Visualisation and worship of the Tantric implements;
- (vii) Visualisation and worship of any other objects of worship;
- (viii) rites specific to the occasion;
- (ix) concluding rites.

Steps (i) and (iii) have been mentioned above. Steps (ii) and (v) through (vii) are similar: they consist each in the summoning (Skt. *ākarsana* or *āvāhana*) and worship of the deity or deities supposed to be present in the implement in question. Normally the Double-Headed Powder Pot (*khāybhā*) is worshipped also (step (ii) above): in one 'head' it has red powder (merilion), in the other yellow (made from sandalwood mixed with perfume). It is identified with Vajravarahi. Once worship has been performed the sponsor takes up the pot and flicks powder towards the line of implements twelve times. On these occasions, when orange powder and lampblack are included with the other ritual implements, worship of them takes place at this point.

The fourth step is the Threefold Mediation by the priest. The sponsor of the ritual has no part to play here. It consists in the priest summoning and worshipping his own tutelary Tantric deity, and most importantly, identifying himself with the deity. The priest empowers his own body, his *vajra* and bell, and the offerings to be used in the ritual. Once he has summoned and worshipped the deity and his retinue, the priest consecrates himself by touching his head in each cardinal direction.

The next stage is summoning the deities into the Flask and the other non-Tantric implements. Here the sponsor helps the priest, who remains seated, by taking the Five-Coloured Thread from the spout of the Flask, passing it to the priest, and removing the *kisali* placed over the top of the Flask; in place of the *kisali* he puts the priest's conch shell, and, balanced on the spout in place of the thread, the priest's *vajra*. The priest holds the ball of thread and a stick of incense in his left hand, while manipulating his rosary out of sight (under his coat or in a special glove). Once he has summoned the deities, the conch shell is removed from the mouth of the Flask, water is poured from the former into the latter three times, and the *kisali* is replaced, likewise the *vajra* and thread.

The second stage of the worship of the Flask is a series of apotropaic rites. This is known as 'nrājan' or 'nirañjan yāyegu'.⁶⁰ A small clay saucer with burning coals is brought: a lighted wick, mustard seeds, a flower, and rice are offered to it, it is touched to the Flask and taken out of the house and placed at the threshold (*pikhalakhu*). The invocations which accompany this rite request Khandaroha and Vajrasattva to remove sins and obstacles.⁶⁰ Finally to complete this stage, the Flask and other implements are worshipped with 'footwater' and the Five Offerings.

Once the Visualisation, purification, and worship of the Flask have been performed, the same process is repeated, first for the Tantric implements (*Khay* Pot and Alcohol Pot), and secondly for any other additional item required by the overall rite. An example of the latter would be the feast shares to be sent to the family's traditional Kumari shrine, after the rite of First Rice-Feeding. These too have to be visualised as deities and worshipped. In this case,

however, and in the case of the Visualisation of the Tantric implements, no removal of Obstacles (*nirajan*) is performed.⁶¹ The worship of the Tantric implements, the Alcohol Pot and the *Khay* Pot, is called in the handbooks *kumbhapñjā* or *vārumīpūka*. Varuṇī is another name of the goddess Mamaki who is supposed to reside in the alcohol.

These rites complete the Flask Worship. On most occasions there will be other rites, specific to the occasion, which follow immediately. A comparison of this account of Flask Worship with Lcke's reveals several differences which may be due to regional variation in the performance of the rituals.⁶²

The *nirājan* rite occurs at many points in complex rituals. It is often combined with others which equally seem to be aimed at avoiding obstacles and increasing auspiciousness: showing light in a wooden volume measure (*pha*), pouring fruits and flowers over the head with the volume measure, and touching with an old key on shoulder and head three times.⁶³ A ritual similar to *nirajan*, which is nonetheless kept distinct, is that of 'bali piyegu'. In both 'nirajan yayegu' and 'bali piyegu' mustard seeds are used to remove sins and avoid obstacles, although the simplest form of 'bali piyegu' consists in pouring pure water in front of person who is being led over a significant threshold (e.g. of house or monastery). As for the difference between the two rituals, 'nirajan yayegu' is used during a complex ritual, whereas 'bali piyegu' is used for unelaborated rites of entering a house or a ritual area or on returning from a cremation ground.⁶⁴ V.P.P. Joshi glosses 'bali piyegu' with Np. *bhut panchaune*, 'pushing away spooks'. *Piyegu* is therefore being used in its sense of 'push aside' *bali*, usually used to denote an offering to low spirits or ghosts, would seem here to denote the spirits themselves.

The second basic rite of Newar Buddhism is the Fire Sacrifice. Normally in texts this is referred to as *homa* or *yajña*. The latter is pronounced *fdjagya*, *jog*, or even *jogi* in colloquial Newari. The rite is always preceded by the Flask Worship. It can be performed very briefly and cheaply, when the thirty-two types of grain ideally present are replaced by far fewer, or it may be performed strictly and elaborately. There are esoteric versions of the Fire Sacrifice which include offerings of buffalo meat. There are also bigger and more conspicuous exoteric versions, such as the Fire Sacrifice of a Hundred Thousand Oblations (*laksāhuti homa*).⁶⁵ This rite, occasionally sponsored by very rich members of Kwa Bahah to celebrated the wedding of their sons or daughters, lasts about seventeen hours, beginning in the middle of the night. Along with the Fire Sacrifice, 108 Vajracaryas are invited to read the text, the Perfection of Wisdom in twenty-five thousands lines (*Pancavimsati-prajnaparamita*). The potlatch quality of this version of the rite is emphasised by the fact that, at the point when cloth, usually represented by a single circle of thread, is offered into the fire, each woman of the sponsor's family is expected to offer into the fire a truly valuable garment, such as a gold-embroidered shawl received at her wedding. The following are the main steps of Fire Sacrifice as performed in Lalitpur:⁶⁶

- (i) Preliminary rites;
- (ii) Summoning of Agni (the fire god), including purification of the ghee;
- (iii) First Oblation (*prathamahuti*);
- (iv) Oblation to the Convention-Deity (*samayahuti*);
- (v) Oblation to the Knowledge-Deity (*jnanahuti*)

- (vi) Oblation to the principal deity (*devatahuti*);
- (vii) Full Oblation (*puṇahuti*);
- (viii) Consecration of the Spirit-Offering (*bali haykegy*), followed by ritual stipend and blessing of the king;
- (ix) Oblation of the Remainder (*sesahuti*);
- (x) Dismissal of the deities.

The terms Convention-Deity and Knowledge-Deity relate to different stages of Visualisation: the former refers to the deity as first visualised emerging from the priest's own being, the latter to the deity-as-absolute, summoned from heaven, and fused with the Convention-Deity. As Locke observes (1980: 108 fn. 58), Newar priests cannot explain these terms correctly. However I would not conclude from this that they do not understand the idea which the terms express.

The principal deity is the deity for whom the Fire Sacrifice is being performed. After each Oblation (except for the Oblation to the Convention-deity) good-fortune verses (*svastivākya*) are read which mention the sponsor's name and the reason for the rite, and then the deity to whom the oblation was made is worshipped and given water (*tarpana*). The ghee which is offered as the First Oblation is first worshipped as the Five Buddhas. The Oblation to the Convention-Deity consists in the offering of the woods and grains that have been brought: it is preceded by their being purified and worshipped as Cakrasamvara. At the end of the Oblation to the Knowledge-Deity the ladle (*sulupa*) is made to touch the Flask; at the end of the Oblation to the principal deity, it is made to touch the deity.

One of the fruits offered into the fire at the end of the rite is a coconut. This is widely believed to represent the head of the sponsor, to be a substitute for his offering his own head. In the elaborate Fire Sacrifice of a Hundred thousand Oblations it is made up with eyes a mouth, and a nose. One of the onlookers, who had himself sponsored this rite, told me that in the old days the sponsor himself jumped into the fire; and that in those days Varacarya priests were learned enough to enter fire and come out alive. On another occasion, Jog Maya favoured me with the following (unprompted) thoughts: You know, it seems to me that when our body is burnt at the cremation ground [after death] this is meant to be a Fire Sacrifice, so that we'll be saved. In an ordinary Fire Sacrifice the coconut offered represents the head [of the sponsor]. In the Hundred thousand oblation Fire Sacrifice, the face is actually painted on. Many previous Buddhas did this, lighting oneself up as a great lamp (*mahadip*), Dipankara for instance. And others sacrificed their body too.

In likening cremation of the dead to the ultimate oblation, i.e. offering oneself to the gods, Jog Maya had worked out for herself an idea common in Hindu religious thought.⁶⁷ The expression I have translated as 'meant to be a Fire Sacrifice' was literally: this is in the *praman* of a Fire Sacrifice. *Praman* means proof or authority. One can ask, and the anthropologist frequently does ask, 'In the *praman* of what is X done?' The answer that a ritual action of symbol X is in *praman* of Y implies that Y legitimizes the use of X, and that X accomplishes Y by other means.

Newar Buddhist rituals do indeed conform in structure to Hindu ones. Ordinary Newars are therefore encouraged to see them in a Hindu way. The learned often deny the obvious

meanings ascribed to rituals and give more Buddhist interpretations. Thus *pandit* Asha Kaji Vajracharya told me that the coconut used in Fire Sacrifice is not the sponsor's head, but is actually supposed to be a ball of sin (*pāp*) which is then destroyed in the fire.⁶⁸ Another learned gloss is given by Locke (1980: 111): when, during the Fire Sacrifice, the priest ties a red shawl under his right arm and over his left shoulder, he should see himself as fire, and this offering of himself into the fire is equivalent to his dissolution into the void (*sunyata*).

At the lowest level of interpretation Newar Buddhist rituals seem Hindu because they are meant to seem Hindu. It no surprise that observers who have written about Newar Buddhism after superficial acquaintance should describe Newar Buddhist rituals as highly Hinduised. The theory which underlies them is sophisticated, however. Locke (1980: 105-21) quite rightly emphasises that one cannot understand the rituals of Newar Buddhism without considering the Visualisation of deities (*sadhana*) by which they are effected, and that, although the form of the rite was borrowed from Hinduism, the content is thoroughly Buddhist.

Locke (1980: 121) further says that 'the rituals of the Vajracaryas can only be understood if one realises their original purpose in the acting out in ritual of the *sadhana*'. This is true of stoteriological uses of the rites, but in other cases it is, if anything, the other way around. It is the Visualisation which is used for ritual, and via the ritual for this worldly purposes, not ritual which is used to enact the Visualisation. Thus the editor of the published handbook which Locke used, Amogha Vajra Vajracharya (1976a), wrote in the preface: The Fire Sacrifice not only has the result for living beings of worldly enjoyment and liberation (*bhukti-mukti*), it also brings peace if the country is afflicted by calamities. Further more, all the rites from the ten sacraments of men up to the consecration rituals of gods and goddesses are fulfilled by means of the Fire Sacrifice...The main purpose of the Fire Sacrifice is the causing of plenty (*subhiksa*) in the whole world. The authority for this is found in the twenty-third chapter of the *Samvarodaya tantra*, and indeed in every Tantra.⁶⁹ The Tantric Buddhist scriptures divide Fire Sacrifices into four main types for pacifying, causing to prosper, overpowering and destroying respectively. It is the first which is the principal and basic type, though aspects of each of these functions are found in every complex ritual.⁷⁰

It may be wondered by those who know other Buddhist societies, whether Newar Buddhists believe it is possible to transfer merit. The answer to this question is similar to the answer to the question whether Newar Buddhists regard the Buddha as man or god. It can best be approached by first considering Gombrich's distinction between cognitive and affective beliefs. In Theravāda Buddhism the cognitive position, that is, the scriptural teaching which Theravāda Buddhists believe on a conscious and cognitive level, is that a merit cannot be transferred and that the Buddha was a man who is now dead and enlightened and is therefore beyond the reach of prayer or entreaty. All that can be done is to give the dead the opportunity to rejoice in merit, should they happen to be ghosts hanging around the vicinity. They will thereby gain merit themselves to allow them to improve their position. It is fair to conclude however that, affectively or unconsciously, Theravāda Buddhists 'believe' that merit can be transferred and that the Buddha is more than merely a supremely meritorious dead man.

REFERENCES

1. Loke (1980: 76-8) describes this in detail and gives the verse for each following Amogha Vajra Vajracharya 1972: 14-17.
2. These verses, the full title of which is Bhadracari-pranidhana-gathah.
3. This is verse twelve of the text as published by Nagendra Raj Vajracharya (1975) which lacks the interpolated seventh verse of some versions (Tatz 1977: 157). I have followed his text without attempting to amend it, except to add a missing *sa* in *adhyesana*. The text has been published in various places by modern scholars. For bibliography, translation, and analysis, see Tatz 1977. Idumi (1930) produced a text and translation.
4. The ritual is known Sanskritically as *sapta vidhana puja*. In his list Ratna Kaji Vajracharya (1980: 61) substitutes Raising the Thought of Enlightenment (*bodhicittotpada*) for Entreating (*yacana*). Asha Kaji Vajracharya (1983 II: 240) lists the seven (with Newari glosses) but with Raising the thought of Enlightenment instead of the Dedication of Merit as the seventh. In another book (1985:12-13) he also has Triple Refuge (*tri-sarana-gamana*) for Summoning. As summarised by Dayal (1970: 54-8), Taking the Triple Refuge is the second, and Requesting Teaching and Entreating are combined as the sixth. For references to similar variations in the Tibetan sources, see Beyer 1973: 478 n. 66.
5. Tatz (1977: 159) translates *puta* as herbs, and Idumi (1930: 235) as incense. Beyer (1973: 188) also translates it as powders.
6. In a recent paper Gombrich (1990) has argued that the widespread use of literacy was a necessary condition of the emergence of Mahayana Buddhism. Before then the Buddhist canon was preserved orally and monks chanted its texts together regularly in order to preserve the true teachings and to prevent the emergence of false ones.
7. This is expressed as the difference between teaching the non-self (essencelessness) of all elements (*dharma-nairatmya*) and the non-self of individuals (*pudgala-nairatmya*) respectively. Non-self is here a synonym of emptiness (*sunyata*). Strictly, Mahayanists were reacting against what they saw as the innovatory doctrine of the systemising Ahidharma (philosophical analysis) schools of the pre-Mahayana, which taught that there were ultimately existing elements (*dharma*s) (Williams 1989: 46-7).
8. For the *bodhisattva* vow as part of the *guru mandala* rite, see Gellner (1991b: 182). The common claim in Western books on Buddhism that the *bodhisattva* postpones enlightenment, i.e. becoming a Buddha, until all other beings have been brought to enlightenment, is a misunderstanding (Williams 1989: 52-4).
9. A.K. Vajracharya, 1977: 76-7, and J.M. Vajracharya, 1979:4.
10. J.M. Vajracharya, 1979: 5-6; Gombrich, 1971: 321).
11. Riley-Smith 1982: 122. For *pap* as the opposite of *dharma*, see below, §4. 3.1.
12. There are stories of the Buddha as an Untouchable or as an animal in the most ancient of Rebirth stories. In Sri Lanka the story of his rebirth as a woman dates only from the fourteenth century. Most Newar Buddhists are aware that the Buddha was reborn once as a woman (the story has been published by M.R. Vajracharya 1977).
13. H. Sokays *op. cit.* yearly festival of Samyak in Kathmandu. On the King as a *bodhisattva* in Theravada countries, see Tambiah 1976.
14. On the translation of 'Sahaja' as Innate, see Snellgrove 1987: 245.
15. See Locke 1980: 23-9 smf 1985: 254-7. On the (inglorious) role of the Kathmandu Acharya Guthi in the twenty-year dispute between Vajracaryas and Tuladhar *et al.*, see Rosser 1966: 116ff.

16. In Gellner (1988a) I discuss variants between Kathmandu and Lalitpur in the way that Monastic Initiation is performed, and translate a pamphlet written 'to bring about uniformity of rituals'. See also the quotation from R.K. Vajracharya given on pp. 196-7.
17. This is less true of some adherents of the new Theravada movement who ascribe much grater importance to holding the right belief.
18. Adi Vajra Vajracharya (1980: 66) glosses *dharma* as 'sadacara, punyakarma': right behaviour, meritorious action.
19. I owe to Alexis Sanderson the point that *dharma* is used in the sense of 'the result of a ritual' in orthodox Brahmanical Mimamsa philosophy.
20. Thus Adi Vajra Vajracharya (1980: 67) glosses *papi*, sinful, as *pataki*, *apradhi*, *adharmi*: sinful, guilty of an offense, laking *dharma*: S.M. Joshi 1987: s.v.
21. In Newari *maya* denotes a combination of love, affection, and compassion: it does not mean 'delusion', as in the Advaita Vedanta, or 'magical trick', as in early Hinduism. Another Vajracharya explained to me that *maya* demeans being attached to one's family.
22. A model of it is displayed in Guita Bahi, Lalitpur, once a year. 'This water fountain represents the imaginary one installed in the nether world-where the departed souls are to find water' (Vaidya 1986: 36). The name, Dalay Hiti, probably means 'once-a-year water spout'.
23. By 1989 this model was no longer being displayed.
24. *Samay baji* is the sacramental food shared after a ritual, either before, or instead of, a feast, See §10.5.
25. For citations by Newar Buddhist *pandits* see A.V. Vajracharya 1963: 17, and A.K. Vajracharya 1977: 62-3; 1983 II: 425. cf. Dayal 1970: 199-204 and Snellgrove 1987: 76.
26. On the Five, Eight, and Ten Precepts in Theravada Buddhism, see Gombrich 1971: 64-5.
27. 'Thahgu karmay cwaryah tahgu' or 'thah thahgu karmabhog'. According to Lewis (1984: 524) *karma* is also sometimes thought to be written on one's hand or in one's heart (*man*)
28. This absence of atalism is just what Srinivas (1980: 290) reports for Karnatka.
29. In fact, in many outlying Newar settlements Maharjans do plough; and in most of those parts of the Valley where it is taboo, there are considerable advantages to using the hand-plough (*ku*) instead. On this whole question. Webster's (1981) fascinating article is essential reading.
30. Dayal 1970: chapter 5. The term *paramita* was known to pre-Mahayana Buddhism but the list is a creation of the Mahayana. Theravada Buddhism has a different list of Ten Good Deeds (Gombrich 1971: 74). Significantly it too begins with giving and morality, the two Buddhist virtues the ought particularly appropriate for the laity.
31. A Newari version and English translation of this latter story have been published by Lienhard 1963.
32. *Daksina*, by contrast, is usually a payment of money for ritual services and is not so stigmatising. Occasionally, however, *daksina* can refer to a *dan* of money (see pp. 182, 188).
33. R.P. Pradhan (1986: 225ff.), in his excellent analysis of Newar death rituals, criticises Parry for running together Brahmins and Mahabrahmins: the latter may be primarily absorbers of sin, but the former are not.
34. A.K. Vajracharya, 1977: 23, where the verse is said to come from the Citravimsati Avadana, and (1981a: 79; 1983 III: *cha*), which give the Caityapumgava Avadana as the source. At the latter place, the writer interprets the second and fourth *padas* of the verse as meaning that one obtains the highest rebirth by the practice of *ahimsa*.
35. In arguing for vegetarianism the monk Sakyananda ('Why eating meat is wrong', 1977) ignores this doctrine and has to rely on modern scientific and on Hindu arguments (Yudhisthira's teaching in the

Mahabharata and the three *guna* theory). The only Buddhist support he can find is a verse from the Lankavatara Sutra to the effect that the killer of beings and the buyer of meat both go the Raurava hell.

36. S. Shrestha in Juju and Shrestha 1985: 48.
37. On these in the Tibetan context, see Beyer 1973: 229ff.
38. The seven days of the week, beginning with Sunday, are Vasudhara (vasundhara), Vajravidarani, Ganapatihrdaya, Usnisavijaya, Parnasabari (and or Prajnaparamita), Marici, and Grahamatrka (van Kooij 1977: 60ff; A.V. Vajracharya 1976b). The Five Protective Goddesses are Pratisara, Sahsrapramardini, Mantranusarani. Mahamayuri, and Sitavati. Few Newars today would be able to list all these.
39. This is discussed at greater length, and the mistaken use of Hodgson as an authority on this point demonstrated, in Gellner 1989b.
40. Doing *cakari* has been described well by Lionel Caplan 1975: 36-8.
41. This is probably by conflation with *nirmanakaya*, the 'created' body of the Buddha, and *nirmanacakra*, a Tantric term which relates the former, one of the series of 'bodies' of the Buddha, to the yogic structure of the practitioner's own body (see §10.3)
42. *Asura*, literally 'antigod', is considered equivalent to *daitya*.
43. Asha Kaji Vajracharya, 1983, II: 436-7; characterises the six rebirths (in a speech put into the mouth of Aryaputra, disciple of Dipankara) as follows: (i) gods are pure in mind and body, and eat vegetarian food; (ii) demons are irreligious, greedy, and addicted to meat, wine, and blood; (iii) men think only of almsgiving and merit, are devoted to parents, scriptures, monks, ascetics, and learned men, and do no like meat or wine [sic]; (iv) animals ignore the leaned, like smelly things, have difficulty in being devoted to gods, teachers, or scriptures; (v) ghosts are always angry and like rotten food; (vi) the denizens of hell are always hungry however much they eat, are addicted to black magic, and cannot bear the sight of wisdom.
44. Turner 1980: S.V. Interestingly, the same word seems to have come to mean the exact opposite in western Uttar Pradesh. India, where it is used to denote the appropriate obligation' of ritual specialists (Raheja 1988a).
45. The period of kite flying lasts from Yenyah (Np. Indra Jatra) to Mohani (about three weeks).
46. The expression I have translated as 'optional', namely 'pharmas yaye', is used, to be absolutely precise, for soteriological reasons. Where a particular ritual is clearly and openly being done for instrumental ends, e.g. because of a sudden and unexpected illness, the search for the cure is liable to be given as the reason for the ritual. In such a case, although having the ritual performed is strictly optional, to call it a *pharmas* would make it sound too light-hearted and not sufficiently urgent. Where, on the other hand, the ritual is performed ostensibly for soteriological reasons, there may in fact be some rather specific worldly benefit which is being hoped for by the sponsor.
47. I owe to Alexis Sanderson the point that latter is the interpretation of Jayaratha commenting on Abhinava Gupta's Tantraloka 28.1-9.
48. Diehi's (1956) interesting study of south Indian ritual rightly insists on the importance of purpose in distinguishing types of ritual, but, like the learned schemas, he sticks rigidly to the perspective of the individual.
49. E.g. Furer-Haimendorf 1956: 18; Rosser 1966: 118; A.P. Caplan 1972: 1, 31, 60; Singer 1972: 89; M. Allen 1973: 11; Locke 1980: 471; Greenwold 1981: 95; Slusser 1982: 217a; Good 1982: 29; Manandhar 1986; s.v.; Toffin 1984: 287, 290; 1989: 22.
50. Newars themselves are not surprisingly, confused in their use of English. Kwa Bahah is widely referred to in English as 'the Golden Temple', and locals are happy to use this designation. The signs in Kwa

Bahah say 'Please give a donation for the monastery', which lead tourists to ask where the monastery is.

51. For example, Beyer refers to 'ordinary' or common-sense reality as 'nonreality', and what I have called 'freelance, non-liturgical use of ritual' he calls 'general function'. I have tried to choose a vocabulary which does not presuppose a Buddhist orientation on the part of the reader.
52. It would be misleading, at least for the Newars, to call the smallest meaningful unit of ritual a symbol (V.W. Turner 1977: 189). The smallest meaningful unit of ritual is itself a ritual act.
53. I am indebted to Alexis Sanderson for making these distinctions clear to me. For a general survey of mantras see Bharati 1965: chapter 5.
54. For more detail one should consult Locke (1980: 74-121) who has given blow by-blow accounts of all the following the printed handbooks of Amogha Vajra Vajracharya 1972. 1976a. I have attempted to synthesise different mss. and performance traditions of the *guru mandala* in Gellner 1991b.
55. This verse seems to be referred to in the Bhavanakrama, attributed to Kamalasila (eighth century), where it is denied that one attains the Six Perfections by the practice of the *gomaya-mandala* (Tucci 1958: 26).
56. For these verse some of which may be found in the Sadhanamala, others in the Bodhicaryavatara, see Gellner 1991b: 180-3.
57. On the whole question of summoning, and how this is supposed to be done, see §10.2 Ideally the Flask contains various sets of five (for a long and impractical list, see Hodgson 1972 I: 139). Normally the flask contains pure water (*nulah*) with the Five Nectars (*pancanrta*), and sometimes the Five Leaves (*panicanallava*).
58. This derives, one presumes, from Skt. *sthapana*, 'establishing' or that which is established' Manandhar (1986: s.v.) gives a variant *thapi jwala*, 'materials for worship'. More rarely, and more Sanskritically, the implements may be called *devgana*, 'group of gods'.
59. Strictly this should be mixed husked and unhusked rice (*saruwa*), but since it requires much less unhusked rice to provide the required volume, husked rice is rarely included.
60. The latter form, or variants of it, is usual in handbooks I have seen. It might be thought to derive from Skt. *niranjana*, 'spotless', and there may well be semantic contamination from this source. However A.V. Vajracharya (1976a: 4), a careful author, uses the form *nirajana*. Skt. 'making bright'; this is probably the correct form in view of the *nirajana* light-offering described Kane 1941 III: 230; V: 334.
61. The conch shell is often worshipped as Varuna, king of serpents, and this is the identification likely to be known by lay people. Here, however, and in all Tantric contexts, it is the *dakini* Khandaroha who is invoked when the conch shell's water is used. As noted above, Khandaroha's mantra is in fact the all-purpose mantra of Cakrasamvara, so that indirectly it is he who is being invoked. According to Locke (1980: 100-1) this part of the rite is understood as directed to the eight cremation grounds. This is not implied by the mantras used (A.V. Vajracharya 1976a: 4-5), which are approximately the same in Kathmandu as in Lalitpur.
62. In the most abbreviated account available to me this is omitted even in the case of the worship of the Flask.
63. First, there is a difference of order: in Lalitpur the removal of obstacles (*nirajan*) takes places during section (v), not after section (vi), as implied in Loke's source (A.V. Vajracharya 1976a: 4); in Locke's account it seems that summoning the deity occurs twice (1980: 99, 101; A.V. Vajracharya 1976a: 3, 5) which is possible (for rites consist of different layers) but requires explanation. Second, worship of the Tantric implements is certainly often included in exoteric rites, contrary to what Locke implies (1980: 99). Third, there are minor differences in interpretation, for example the reference to the eight

cremation grounds which seems to be absent in Lalitpur. Further research might well reveal other such variations.

64. These are called 'metapha kenegu', 'sipa luyegu', and 'taca thikeyu' respectively. They are part of the auspicious welcoming ritual ('lasakus yayegu') and appear also in Body Worship and Younger Brother Worship, as well as many other places.
65. On returning from the cremation ground, cf. Nepali 1965: 131. In Panauti 'bali piyegu' seems to be known as 'la suyegu' (Toffin 1979b: 246; 1984: 294, 305, 499).
66. Colloquially this is referred to as *samsa jog*. I am not sure what this comes from, possibly from *sahsrahuti yajna* (Fire Sacrifice of a Thousand Oblations): probably not from *samsara yajna*.
67. Unfortunately I have not made an in-depth and comparative study of the Fire Sacrifice ritual. Consequently this summary is based on a single priestly handbook. The account of A.V. Vajracharya (1967a), followed by Locke (1980), inverts steps (vii) and (viii). This is perhaps a Kathmandu convention.
68. See, for example, Parry (1982: 77-88), and the references given by him on p. 101n.9.
69. For the process of breathing out all sins as part of daily worship, see Gellner 1987a: 429; n.d.b.
70. Amogha Vajra is correct to cite the twenty-third chapter of the Samvarodaya Tantra (see Tsuda 1974: 144, 313), though it does not explicitly promise the various benefits of the Fire Sacrifice (wealth, prosperity etc.) to the whole world.

BHUTANESE BUDDHIST SECTS

When monarchy in Tibet came to be followed by diversified religious polities which were finally dominated by a single school so also in Bhutan secular principalities appear to have given way to small units of ecclesiastical rule which were in the end replaced by a single, unified theocracy associated with one particular school. The comparison is, however, a crude one in that it does not take into account the direct transition from secular principalities to full theocracy in Bhutan. As an historical model, therefore, this picture of development really only holds for the west of the country and even there it rests on a hypothesis; we still cannot reveal the pattern of lay rule which must have existed there prior to the arrival of Buddhist princes. It was, however, the area that later formed the territorial basis for unification, and so the model may perhaps stand together with its imperfections.

To separate the mundane from the spiritual concerns of those iconesque figures who fill the pages of early Bhutane history is an invidious task. Not only do these levels continually overlap but in the last resort both are presented as reflections of a higher order just as, in philosophical terms, the relative truth of *kun-rdzob* and the ultimate truth of *don-dam* are held to disappear into something altogether removed from present dualities. Thus to subject the literature to a search for the secular is to do it enormous injustice and any such survey is bound to give a very distorted account of the culture from which it sprang. Nevertheless, a Buddhist teacher in the capacity of ruler always demanded, and sometimes even received, the same unquestioning obedience from his subjects as he would have from his immediate personal disciples.

The perpetuation of his rule, using that term in the widest sense possible, depended on a family or incarnation lineage (as distinct from an ordination or disciple lineage) which passed down his authority. The interaction of these lineages (whether from father to son, uncle to nephew, or from incarnation to incarnation) with their subjects, spiritual and temporal, is what constituted 'history' as we know it. All these human lineages were identified with particular schools of Buddhism which had arisen more from efforts to promulgate individual traditions rather than from overt doctrinal differences. Certainly each had its own set of ritual cycles, meditative techniques and philosophical interpretations, but they rarely stood in conflict with those of any other order. The late 'reformed' school of the dGe-lugs-pa did contradict some of the doctrinal foundations of the older schools but it never held full sway in Bhutan.

All the schools that came to be established in Bhutan were implanted there from Tibet where they had their origins. The most that can be attempted here is a minimal account of their Tibetan antecedents, the story of their introduction and development in Bhutan, and their subsequent fate at the hands of the 'Brug-pa theocracy. Little attempt will be made to distinguish between their individual teachings as that would take us into matters too abstruse and rarefied. The present concern is simply to establish something of the human record of these schools, bearing in mind however the reservations expressed above on the difficulty of separating the mundane from the spiritual. Each school will be treated in what appears to be the chronological order of its arrival in the country. Some attempt will be made to determine the nature and reliability of their historical traditions, probing behind the formulaic character of the texts to try and determine the substance (or void) upon which they rest.

Bon-po Tradition

Despite continuing Tibetan assertions to the contrary, the 'assimilated' Bon tradition which developed during the so-called 'later flowering of the Doctrine' from the late 10th century onwards so concerned itself with adaptations of Buddhist doctrine and ritual that it lost its 'pagan' character and became one among many schools of Buddhism. It did, however, maintain a complex substratum of pre-Buddhist beliefs and practices in a more overt manner than the followers of the 'true' *dharma*. The process of adaptation was achieved largely through the medium of 'rediscovered' texts and this movement seems to have begun at about the same time as the rNying-ma-pa rediscovers. Bhutan is alleged to have been one of the major centres of rediscovery in the 11th and 12th centuries both for the Bon-po and the rNying-ma-pa. We find the same figures claimed by both traditions making their rediscoveries in the sPa-gro and Bum-thang districts. The most important of them is probably Khu-tsha Zla-'od who is credited with the disclosure of a large group of Bon-po texts known collectively as the *sPa-gro-ma*.

These in turn constituted one of the major components of the 'Southern Textual Treasures', all of which are said to have had their provenance in Bhutan and the Tibetan border region adjoining it. Khu-tsha Zla-'od's recoveries were made at a place called phug-gcal in sPa-gro, where the texts in question had been hidden by Mu-thug b Tsan-po and Khyung-po Gyer-zla-med. They included Bon, Buddhist, astrological and medical texts, and among them is mentioned a group dedicated to the Vajrakila cycle with which sPa-gro always seems to be associated. Phug-gcal, the site of the discovery, must be identical with gCal (or gCal-Kha, 'Chekha' in Bhuttese pronunciation), a place to the north of the main sPa-gro valley, now occupied by a mukitary check-post. The Buddhist tradition claims Khutsha Zla-'od as one of its *gter-ston* under the name Ku-sa sMan-pa ('Ku-saDoctor'), but denies his identity with the famous physician g. Yu-thog as maintained by the Bon-po. mGar-ston Khro-rgyal, son of his disciple mGar-nag' Bum-chung, is also held to have found texts in sPa-gro at the Yang-'dul temple of sKyer-chu. They too included rites dedicated to Vajrakila. Other *gter-ston* known to Buddhist tradition who are asserted to have found both Buddhist and Bon-po texts in Bhutan during this early period are Bon-po Brag-tshal, Khyung-po dPal-dge and Ra-shag Chos'bar. Their dates are never given but they are said to have lived in the first sixty-year cycle: 1027-1086. The last of the Buddhist *gter-ston* in Bhutan to be appropriated by the Bon tradition seems to have been rDo-rje Gling-pa (1346-1405), whom we shall meet again in the rNying-ma-pa context.

The interdependence of the Bon-po and rNying-ma-pa in the matter of their *gter-ma* is attested in the late histories but its true nature will only be revealed after a careful survey of the contents and colophons of the texts in question. Meanwhile, it can be noted that the Bon tradition in its developed form never gained a proper hold on Bhutan and the tradition in of Bon-po texts discovered there is properly speaking Tibetan. A single exception is provided by the undocumented claim that some Bon-po monasteries were founded in the Shar district at the start of the 'later flowering of the Doctrine'. One *Zhabs-drung* mTshan-Idan bDe-ba from the monastery of Ra-la g.Yungdrung-gling ('a seat of the upholders of the order of gShen-rabs, Teacher of the Everlasting Bon') is said to have founded the monasteries of sKu-'bum, Se-ba-sgang and others. Nothing of them remains, but '....the continuity of the oblations (*bskang-gso*) according to the Bon tradition and the invocations (*gsol-kha*) of Srid-rgyal-mo survives up to the present'.

Here the author is speaking from direct experience and we may conclude that although the formal institutions of Bon never survived, some of their ritual practices still hold sway on the village level. These no doubt form part of the liturgical repertoire of certain local priests called *pha-jo* who are today especially found in the districts of Shar and Krong-sar and are said to be adepts in divination (*mo*) and 'village rites' (*grong-chog*). In his youth Padma Gling-pa (1450-152) studied Bon rituals at his home in Bum-thang. Those performed today by the *pha-jo* could well be the same ones, though it is perhaps unlikely that any priest would now refer to himself or his practices as Bon-po.

Loosely constituted and lacking a universally accepted hierarchy, the 'Old Order' of the rNying-ma-pa is one of the most complex phenomena in the Tibetan world. What separates this school from the other Buddhist orders is the claim that it maintains intact the teachings and traditions introduced into Tibet during the royal period. These are said to have survived the collapse of Buddhism in the 9th century through to the official restoration in the 10th century and beyond. In contrast to the rNying-ma, all other schools are known collectively as 'the New' (gSar-ma) and they trace their origins without out hesitation to the period of restoration.

The unbroken continuity of the rNying-ma-pa tradition is held to have been achieved in two ways: by the direct transmission of doctrinal texts (known as *bka'-ma*) from the time of their founder, Padmasambhava, and by the rediscovery of texts hidden by padmasambhava (known as *gter-ma*). A third method, that of direct revelation (*dag-snang*), can perhaps be regarded as another form of *gter-ma* in that it is allied to the notion of 'mind-treas' (*dgongs-gter*). Whatever critical view is adopted towards this arrangement (though none seems to be warranted yet by detailed research), it reflects a peculiarly Tibetan solution to the problem of authenticity.

Moreover, it is one which encourages constant attempts towards resynthesis in a way that permits new formulations to develop. The history of the rNying-ma-pa is scattered with the names of famous teachers who succeeded in bringing order to the mass of 'original' texts. At the same time there were others who appear to have been independent and original scholars within the traditional framework. The distinctness of the doctrinal expressions that lie behind the rDzogs-chen ('Great Perfection') system of meditation was one of their particular achievements. Despite their cultivation of disciplines as rigorous as those of the 'New' schools,

the rnying-ma-pa were so closely associated with the everyday life of the people in their capacity of married tantric priests that when rivalries arose it was easy to charge them with being bogus hedge priests (no doubt some of them were). The slur tended to cast its shadow on their monastic life which, however, does not seem to have been any the more lax, generally speaking, than that of the other 'non-reformed' schools.

All this, combined with theological attacks on the nature of their scriptural texts and on their doctrinal positions, forced the rNying-ma-pa into defensive arguments and justification. The strength of their arguments, together with the pervasive, practical role of the rNying-ma-pa in the village and the fact that they never ceased producing saintly figures, are some of the reasons for their continuing survival. Moreover, the rNying-ma-pa never wielded concerted temporal power and this was ultimately a source of strength rather than weakness. They remained diffuse, popular and wholly credible, even if on occasion not entirely respectable.

A full account of the rNying -ma-pa in Bhutan, as that of any other school settled in the country, would have to take into account all the subtle permutations of their history and doctrine in Tibet. That lies well beyond the scope of this study. All that can be done here is to point to names, dates, places and lineages as these dispose into a general pattern.

lHo-mon Ka-thog-pa

The first rNying-ma-pa to arrive in a formal sense came from the monastery of Ka-thog in eastern Tibet, situated on the east bank of the Yangtse in the sPa-yul district. It was founded in 1159 by Shes-rab Seng-ge (1122-1192), the first of a line of thirteen abbots (known as rGyal-tshab). According to sources available to the author of *LCB II*, the fifth incumbent in this line, dBu'-odYe-shes' Bum-pa (1245-1311), came to sPa-gro sTag-tsang on his way to Sikkim and founded there the monastery of O-rgyan rTse-mo. The building today, which stands on a cliff immediately above the main shrine of sTag-tshang, is a modern construction on the site of the old ka-thog-pa monastery. Two of the disciples of ye-shes Bum-pa, namely bSod-nams rGyal-mtshan and his son, rNam-grol bZang-po settled at sTag-tshang and built a further two temples at a site called spangdkar-po. We have seen an old *dbu-med* manuscript containing a work by bSod-nams rGyal-mtshan, dated iron Tiger (1290) written at O-rgyan rTse-mo. There are reputed to be various versions of his biography by a certain rNam-grol bZang-po, and an autobiography. The proliferation of the sub-school of the ka-thog-pa known as the lHo-mon Ka-thog-pa or Mon-lugs Ka thog-pa seems to be attributed largely to the work of bSod-nams rGyalmtshan and his son. It divided into two main branches, the one founded in sPa-gro and the other founded in the Shar district by Ka-thog sPrul-sku bsTan'-dzin Grags-pa whose dates are unknown.

The main monastery was sPyi-rdzong at Lud-mtsho-ri with its principal branch monasteries of Ba-ling and Theg-sgang in the region of mKho-thang. However, the sPa-gro branch seems to have been more important and a number of *Chos rje* families belonging to this branch of the ka-thog-pa school gained prominence there. They were attached to the monasteries (or temples) of Dol-po Sha-la-brag, mKha'-gro sPyi-'dus, bTsan-stong Chos-sdings and Byi- dgon Gong-ma. Most of the information provided in *LCB II* concerns the family of Dol-po Sha-la-brag which seems to have acquired considerable holdings in and around the side valley of Dol-po (Dop' in the vernacular). The names of six of their successive *chos-rje* are given, the line passing either from father to son or from uncle to nephew. The third, gSang-sngags Kun-

legs, was a disciple of the 10th Karma-pa, Chos-dbyings rDo-rje. There is nothing to suggest that they maintained connections with the mother house in eastern Tibet and by the time the 'Brug-pa were firmly established in the country they seem to have been absorbed into the new state, but not without difficulty. Two kathog-pa monasteries (or perhaps lineages) which were opposed to *Zhabsdrung* Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal are mentioned in a letter he wrote in 1640 to the *gTsang sDe-srid* with whom he was attempting to come to terms after a long period of enmity.

The Ka-thog-pa were probably included in the so-called 'five groups of lamas' (*bla-ma khag lnga*) who opposed his creation of the unified state. No trace remains of their families today, but their temples are all said to be standing. The guardianship of the great shrine of sTag-tshang is said to have passed into the hands of the *Zhabs-drung*, when he went there in company with the famous rNying-ma-pa teacher, Rig-'dzin sNying-po, in 1945 (*LCB I*, f. 42b, PBP, f. 133b & f. 301b of bsTan-'dzin Rab-rgyas' *mam-thar*). Nothing is remembered locally about the Ka-thog-pa school except that it once had charge of this important shrine. Much more will come to light when the sources used so briefly by dGe-'dun Rin-chen in *LCB II* are made available.

rDzogs-chen-pa

The 'School of Great Perfection' never appears to have been an organised sub-sect associated with any particular monastery or group of affiliated monasteries. It was more in the nature of a religious movement within the rNying-ma-pa, one which passed down the 'heart-drop precepts' (*sayiing-thig*) in a line that is said to stretch back to the Indian teacher *Srisimha*. Other formulations of these meditative precepts are claimed to have been revealed in vision or as *gter-ma*. An important set of the latter is said to have been hidden by the Indian Vimalamitra and discovered in the 11th or 12th century by one I-Dang-ma lHun-rgyal. They are known as the *Bi-ma sNying-thig* and formed one of four groups of such precepts codified later by Klong-chen-pa (see below) in his *sNying-thig ya-bzhi*.

Long before this codification took place, the chief disciple of iDang-ma lHun-rgyal known as Kha-rag sGom - chung is supposed to have come to Bum-thang where he founded the little temple of Lug-gi Rwa-ba, perhaps at the instigation of his disciple lHo-pa ('the Southerner') who is mentioned in the *Blue annals* (P.557). Nothing is known about the history of the temple, and even its ascription to Kha-rag sGom-chung depends on oral traditions. Some affirm that it later became the head of a group of monasteries in Bum-thang. A *stupa* alleged to contain the relics of the founder is preserved in the temple whose walls are covered with paintings of different periods and schools, including those of the Karma bKa'-brgyud-pa and the rNying-ma-pa.

The importance of Klong-chen-pa (1308-1363) is best summarised in the words of Gene Smith. The figure of Klong-chen rab byams-pa was for the Rdzogs-chen school what St. Thomas Aquinas was for Christian scholastic philosophy. In a number of magnificently original treatises like the *Mdzod bdun* Klong-chen ordered the philosophical and psychological truths and corollaries of Rdzogs-chen into a cohesive system. For stylistic lucidity and structural organisation Klong-chen has seldom been equalled in Tibetan literature. Nyingmapa philosophy is Klong-chen rab-'byams-pa. His personal name was Dri-med 'Od-zer but he is more commonly referred to by his epithet which he received from the great Ta'i Si-tu Byang-chub

rGyal-mtshan, the effective ruler of Tibet during this period of the early Phag-mo Gru-pa supremacy.

It was a quarrel with Byang-chub rGyal-mtshan lasting ten years which caused Klong-chen-pa to take refuge in Bhutan and some of the surrounding areas. In Bhutan he founded eight monasteries and wrote some of his finest treatises, including the short but important guide to Bum-thang referred to in Part One above. Padma Gling-pa (1450-1521) claimed to be his incarnation and provided a fascinating sketch of his life at the start of his own autobiography. It was surely based on local traditions concerning the master as they survived in Bum-thang a century or so after his death. Padma Gling-pa explained the whole question of how Klong-chen-pa, a monk, came to have a son by a nun at the monastery of Thar-pa-gling. The son, Zla-ba Grags-pa, was later incarnated in a long line of rDzogs-chen teachers known as the *Thugs-sras* ('Mind-Sons'), the first being Grags-pa 'Od-zer (b.1416).

Several of them were born in Bum-thang where they held the seat of bSamgtan-gling. The formal continuity in Bhutan of Klong-chen-pa's systemisation of the rDzogs-chen tradition must have been partly ensured by the existence of this and other related lineages. In the west of the country the monasteries he founded do not appear to have lasted long in their original form. Two of his sPa-gro monasteries were taken over by the Hum-ral family of the 'Brugpa school. dPal-'byor rGyal-mtshan, one of Klong-chen-pa's chief disciples, had founded a number of monasteries and temples dedicated to his master's teachings to the east of sPa-gro in the Shar district, and these seem to have fared better than the western group. dPal-'byor rGyal-mtshan was himself reincarnated in the line of the *mDa-'stong sPrul-sku*, one of the very few, and certainly the most ancient, of the incarnation lineages in the west of the country to survive today. However, during the time of the *mDa-'stong sPrul-sku* O-rgyan Phun-tshogs their rDzogs-chen traditions are said to have merged with the *gter-ma* traditions of Padma Gling-pa.

The rDzogs-chen school is generally divided into two historical streams: the sNying-thig Gong-ma ('Upper Heart-Drop Teachings') of Klong-chen-pa and the sNying-thig' Og-ma ('Lower Heart-Drop Teachings') of 'jigs-med Gling-pa (1730-1798). The latter stream is said to have achieved a revitalisation of the school, and certainly in the case of Bhutan it gave wonderful impetus to the founding of new monasteries by 'Jigs-med Glingpa's main Bhutaese disciple, Byang-chub rGyal-mtshan (alias 'Jigs-med Kun-grol). He had started his career as a lay servitor in the 'Brug-pa fortresses of western Bhutan, rising to the post of 'keeper of the meat-store' (*sha-gnyer*) in Krong-sar rDzong in central Bhutan. Revulsion for his work caused him to flee to the great rNying-ma-pa monastery of sMin-grol-gling in Tibet where his studies brought him into contact with 'Jigs-med Gling-pa at bSamyas.

After a period of close association with the master, Byang-chub rGyal-mtshan returned to eastern Bhutan where he introduced monastic communities at mTho-ba-brag in Bum-thang and at yong-legs dGon-pa in gDung-bsam. This second wave of the rDzogs-chen was taken to the western region of the country by his disciple, Sangs-rgyas rGyal-mtshan, founder of the monastery of bDe-chen Chos-gling in the Shar district. Byang-chub rGyal-mtshan figures strongly in the biographies of the 1st and 2nd *Pad-tshal-gling sPrul-sku* of Bum-phang: rNam-rgyal lHun-grub and 'Jigs-med bsTan-pa'i rGyal-mtshan (1788-1850). The rDzogs-chen in the 18th and 19th centuries never became affiliated to powerful lineages in Bhutan, and the direct lines of continuity which link its present practice with that period of the second wave appear

to have been marked more by the ties of master and disciple than by lineal inheritance within families dedicated to the school. The rDzogs-chen-pa, like the whole rNying-ma-pa school, was never banned in Bhutan.

Gter-Ston

More than a score of 'text-discoverers' active in Bhutan between the 11th and 16th centuries are treated by Kong-sprul Blo-gros mTha'-yas in his biographical sketches contained in the *gTer-rnam*. Significantly, he traces the whole movement from its beginnings in western Tibet in the 11th century to its greatest diffusion in central Tibet and Bhutan (referred to as lHo-mon) up to about the 17th century, and thence to eastern Tibet where it was revived in the 19th century. Although other schools include some of these *gter-ston* among their leading patriarchs, the movement as a whole is associated with the rNying-ma-pa.

The *gter-ston* associated with Bhutan fall into two categories: those who came down from Tibet, discovered texts and departed, whose traditions and lineages did not take root in Bhutaese soil and who are quite minor figures, either Tibetan or Bhutaese, whose lineages and traditions remained.

The first group of minor *gter-ston* to arrive were the four figures who are alleged to have found bon-po works in Bhutan in the 11th century, as noted above. Most of those following them are also considered relatively minor figures by kong-sprul in that they are not the subject of those prophetic statements contained in the *Padma Thang-yig* which are deemed to foretell the great discoverers. Four of them are placed in the 1st and 2nd *rab-byung*: 1027-1146. Se-ston Ring-mo is said to have got the list of books destined to be found in gCal-kha at the top of the sPa-gro valley. This had been entrusted to two monks by its original discoverer, LHabtsun sNgon-mo. The monks had been killed by the people of the adjoining valley of Ha and the list eventually came into Se-ston Ring-mo's hands. Kong-sprul notes that these discoveries did not survive into his own day. rGya Phur-bu (Phur-bu-mgon of the rGya clan) is associated with discoveries at the temples of sKyer-chu in sPa-gro and dGe-gnas in Bum-thang, referred to jointly as the *Bum-lcags lHan-dril*. rGya-ston brTson-'grus Senge-dar is credited with the discovery of a ritual text devoted to the protective deity rDo-rje Brag-btsan. It was later widely used by the 'Brug-pa school.

Gru-gu Yang-dbang is said to have found in sPa-gro a large cycle of similar ritual text dedicated to the deity Hayagriva. A further set of five *gter-ston* are placed, again vaguely, in the 3rd and 4th cycles: 1147-1266. Bal-po A-hum-'bar a native of southern gTsang, not Nepal as his name might suggest, is said to have found numerous texts at gCal-Kha. The only ones found by A-jo dPal-bo of bSam-yas to have survived into the 19th century are those claimed to have been discovered by him in 'the temple of Bum-thang' (i.e. Byams-pa'i LHakhang). La-stod dMar-po (Dam-pa dMar-po of La-stod) was one of the many *gter-ston* whom the traditions link with the cave at gCal-kha in sPa-gro.

A certain *Bla-ma* Grum and his patron, one mKhar-nag of sPagro, are jointly credited with finding a book called the *Bar-snang hom-khung-ma* from within a leather box hidden inside the image of a *garuda* at sKyerchu LHakhang in sPa-gro. They and Tshe-brtan rGyal-mtshan (alias Choskyi Blo-gros), who found texts at Chu-mo-phug in sPa-gro, are believed to have been prophesied in the *Padma thang-yig*. The latter may himself have been a Bhutaese.

mGon-po Rin-chen of the Shud-bu family of gTam-shul in lHo-brag found in his youth the 'list' (*kha-byang*) of his destined discoveries in Bum-thang, but had to wait till his fifties before these came to light in the mTsho-sna region. A line descending from his nephew (*dbon-rgyud*) is said to have survived in Gru-shul. He is placed in the 7th *rab-byung*: 1387-1446. Kong-sprul is unable to give even approximate dates for the last of the minor *gter-ston* associated with Bhutan. He is Sar-Po Bya'u-mgon, discoverer of the *Srog-gi chan-pa nag-po bum-thang-ma'i skor* which is claimed to have lain hidden in the old temple of dGe-gnas in the Chu-smad valley of Bum-thang.

Among those classed here as major *gter-ston*, the first was a true Bhutaese and came as early as the 1st *rab-byung* (1027-1086): Sar-ban Phyogs-med, born in sPa-gro. He is said to have found a text called the '*Jam-dpal rdzogs-pa chen-po'i chos-skor* from a 'turquoise encrusted rock' at the principal shrine in sTag-tshang. He was followed by the very famous Gu-ru Chos-dbang (1212-1270), native of lHo-brag. He found texts in Bum-thang. The *gdung* families of Lug-khyu and Nya-la in Kur-stod claim descent from him through his son Padma dBang-chen. Much more important, however, were the families claiming descent from rDo-rje Gling-pa (1346-1405), many of whom survive to this day. rDo-rje Gling-pa was active in both Bum-thang and sPa-gro. All the families are said to trace their pedigrees back to his son Chosdbyangs rGya-mtsho who took control of his father's monastery at Gling-mu kha.

The custodians of the temples of Bya-dkar and lCags-mkhar in Bum-thang are among the minor nobility descended from him. The family of O-rgyan Chos-gling in the sTang valley of Bum-thang makes similar claims. In the nineteenth century it was a powerful force in local politics. One member, mTsho-skyid rDor-je Gling-pa's own disciples, O-rgyan bZang-po who was born in Bum-thang, is regarded as having been a *gter-ston* in his own right. In the west of the country, rDo-rje Gling-pa's traditions were kept alive not only by his descendants but also by his reincarnations. Two of them, mChog-Idan mGon-po and mDo-sngags '*Byung-gnas*, established new monasteries in the Shar district.

Another important *gter-ston* was Shes-rab Me-'bar, born in Khams in the 5th *Rab-byung* (1267-1326). He is said to have come to Bhutan late in life after making many discoveries in Tibet. In sPa-gro he was forced by the local chief to extract *gter-ma* which were not his due share-with disastrous results. The chief died and so did the *gter-ston* himself before long. His body is said to have been preserved and later kept in the *rdzong* in sPa-gro until it burnt down. The head had been removed before the fire and is said to be at the temple of sPang-pa'i-sa in sPa-gro to this day. Shes-rab Me-'bar is held up as an example of a *gter-ston* who broke the rules of the cult.

Before the episode that led to his death, he 'mistook the auspices' while removing *gter-ma* from a lake west of Ha. Most of the *gter-ma* were lost, and the *gter-ston* had to flee from the wrath of the guardian spirit, Khyung-legs-rtsal, appeasing him later with certain oaths. Various temples in sPa-gro are still associated with the name of this *gter-ston*, and he is often confounded with Padma Gling-pa who is alleged to have rediscovered some of the scrolls of texts which he had reburied after untimely extraction. In Bum-thang a very small, recently restored temple at sTang-sa-sbe (Tangsbzhi') in U-ra is said to have been founded by him.

Two important Bhutaese *gter-ston* of the 14th-15th centuries were Nagagdbang Grags-pa and his disciple Tshe-ring rDo-rje. Both were born in sPa-gro, and the former was the son of

sPrul-sku dPal- byor rGyal-mtshan whom we met above as one of the chief disciples of the great Klong-chen-pa (1308-1363). Both are credited with the discovery of certain *rDzogs-chen* texts in sPa-gro and in various places in central Tibet. Ngag-dbang Grags-pa founded the monasteries of Bod-mo-ri and gNas-phu in sPa-gro and was reincarnated in the line of the *gNas-phu sPrul-sku* which continues to this day. At the time of a certain *sPrul-sku gSang-sngags* rGyal-mtshan, the *rDzogs-chen* tradition which they maintained became merged with the *gter-ma* traditions of Padma Gling-pa and Nyi-zer-sgang.

Today the line seems to be quite absorbed into the 'Brug-pa school and all that is said to remain of their early rNying-ma affiliations is the continuity of certain rituals dedicated to the guardian deities. Exactly the same fate was experienced by the line descending from Tsher-ring rDo-rje. His incarnation and descendant, sKal-Idan rDo-rje, founded the monastery of Kun-bzang Chos-gling at gDong-dkar in sPa-gro. One of his embodiments, Ngag-dbang Shes-rab, turned to the Padma Gling-pa and 'Brug-pa schools. Nothing remains of their early rDzogs-chen tradition and the only rNying-ma-pa. Otherwise they are indistinguishable from the 'Brug-pa at large.

One lineage whose origins are difficult to trace is that of the *Nyi-zer sPrulsku* who have their principal seat at the monastery of dGe-'dun Chos-gling Nyi-zer-sgang in the Shar district. They are the reincarnations of one' Ug-pa Gling-pa. The author of *LCB II* speculates that he may have come as early as the 4th or 5th cycle: 1207-1326. He was the descendant of a certain *Zur-gdan-pa* 'Ug-bya-lung-pa and followed a fusion of the *bka'-ma* and *gter-ma* traditions of the rNying-ma-pa. The line is said to have merged with the 'Brug-pa at the time of 'Gro-mgon' 'Phrin-las rab-rgyas, disciple of You-tan mTha-'yas, the 13th Head Abbot of Bhutan (regn. 1771-1775), who was largely responsible for the forging of official links between the 'Brug-pa and rNying-ma-pa schools at this time. Several branch monasteries of Nyi-zer-sgang were founded by 'Phrin-las Rab-rgyas and his successors. The present *Nyi-zer sPrul-sku* 'Phrin-las lHun-grub is at the moment (1978) reigning as the 67th Head Abbot of Bhutan.

Almost all that is known of the vast majority of the text-discoverers is the long litany of their improbable names and the even more improbable finds credited to them. Behind these cult figures lie certain historical realities for there can be no doubt that they were real people and there is no reason why their dates, even if vague, should not be accepted. However, they all conform to a type in the surviving literature; this is not only a reflection of later attempts to systematize the tradition but seems to stem also from the highly developed role of the *gter-ston* themselves, who appear to have had a professional code governing the established procedure for locating and finding their destined texts. Although one must certainly agree with the statement that 'no imaginative and roguish group of Tibetans sat down to invent all the stuff out of their heads' (Snellgrove and Richardson 1968: 172), it is hard to accept the face value of the traditional assertions concerning the origins of the *gter-ma*. Some of the best clues to a deeper understanding of the cult seem to be found in the personal memoirs of Padma Gling-pa (1450-1521), the 'discoverer' *par excellence* for the Bhutaese. (plate 10b). his autobiography was written with the specific aim of clearing the doubts entertained by his disciples on the matter of his *gter-ma*. He is always most circumstantial as was seen above (in Part One, Chapter 3) in his account of the discovery of the guidebook to mKhan-pa-lung. Each discovery is, moreover, heralded by a prophecy contained in a text previously revealed, all of them forming in this way an uninterrupted and self-sustaining sequence.

Whatever their true origin might have been, there seems little doubt that Padma Gling-pa was himself convinced of his role. His conviction must have so strong in him that what appeared to others as a process of forgery was perhaps for him simply a justified means towards achieving his destined end. His writings, particularly his poetic effusions, show him to be a true visionary, but at the same time a man of considerable practical abilities. Both of these qualities must have been at work in the production of his *gter-ma*. It is with some relief that we also notice an absence of the scholastic preoccupations which so often disfigure much of the biographical writings of other lamas. His language is simple, direct and untutored, and contains passages of what seems to be true spiritual sensitivity.

Padma Gling-pa was unique in many ways. He never acknowledged anyone as his master (except the divine guru Padmasambhava), admitting to his famous contemporary 'Brug-pa Kun-legs that: 'I have no lama and am not myself a disciple.' Several ladies bore him children, and his affairs with them are all duly recorded. He paid frequent visits to Tibet where he was received with great respect by the Phag-mo Gru-pa, Rin-spungs and Karma-pa hierarchs of his day, as was noticed above. Apart from his activities as a *gter-ston* which formed the most constant thread to his life, he is also remembered today in Bhutan as a celebrated craftsman who worked chiefly in metal.

This would seem to be a valid oral tradition; he himself recorded how, following the birth of his elder brother, his mother had been unable to suckle him and so gave him into the charge of a blacksmith called *A-mi* Yon-tan By ang-chub who reared him on a mixture of flour and honey, and taught him the art of metalwork. He was also the originator of a large number of sacred dances known collectively as the *Pad-gling gter-'cham* which were revealed to him in visions and dreams. They are of astonishing beauty and vigour, and are still performed in all Bhutanese festivals. The accounts of their revelation are carefully described in his autobiography and their choreographic scores are all found in his Collected Works. The tradition probably owed much to Guru Chos-dbang of the 13th century (see above), perhaps the first of the *gter-ston* to compose sacred dances. Padma Gling-pa's most famous exploit occurred at the age of seventeen when he recovered certain *gter-ma* from a pool in the sTang river. He claimed to have done this while holding a burning lamp and this was later thought by many to be a fulfilment of the prophecy contained in the *Padma thang-yig*:

One called O-rgyan Padma Gling-pa will come forth;
And the treasure-hoard hidden at the Burning Lake will be removed;
Having revealed the sign that it is not to be left, but extracted.

Although Padma Gling-pa himself did not claim in his account of the incident to have fulfilled the prophecy there seems every reason to believe that he assumed both his name and role, perhaps retrospectively, from this passage of the *Padma thang-yig*. (The name his parents had given him was *dpal-'byor*.) Although it is clear that several of his rivals refused to accept his authenticity (or that of the texts forming his esoteric baggage), the tide was definitely in his favour and he soon won enormous prestige which brought him rich offerings, both out of devotion and in exchange for his teachings. Yet his wealth never accumulated and was largely spent on the construction or refurbishment of temples throughout eastern Bhutan, all of which seem to be still standing. It would be facile to point to the attraction of these offerings as an important motive. Padma Gling-pa spent most of his winters on begging trips in the Bum-

thang and Mang-sde-lung districts, collecting together sufficient stores of food to see him through the year in exactly the same manner as religious persons do in that area to this day.

His autobiography is particularly important for all the precise and dateable information provided on the religious society of his day as he experienced it on his many travels within and far beyond the present borders of Bhutan. He travelled at the invitation of lay and religious potentates who were anxious to meet a genuine *gter-ston*, and more specifically on the enigmatic business of his 'discoveries'. The long list of his disciples shows that they came for the entire area where Tibetan Buddhism held sway, except Mongolia. This, combined with the efforts of his successors aimed at promulgating his teachings, explain how some of his ritual compilations (particularly the *Bla-ma nor-bu rgya-mtsho*) became so enduring and widespread. His importance for the *gter-ma* movement as a whole is shown by his classification as fourth of the five 'text-discoverer kings' (*gter-ston rgyal-po*).

Among his personal disciples are numbered six other *gter-ston*, but they do not seem to include the one who is best remembered by later tradition: (las-' phro Gling-pa (alias Nam-mkha, rDo-rje), born of the sNyi-ba family of gNyal-stod in Tibet, the 'discoverer' of many *gter-ma* at sTag-tshang and sKyer-chu in the sPa-gro valley. However, the only *gter-ston* in Bhutan who came after Padma Gling-pa still widely remembered today was a certain' Brug-sgra rDo-rje. His biography has not yet come to light but he appears to have been active in the first half of the 18th century. Fragments of what appear to be his political prophecies are still current in Bhutan. His guide to the shrine of Chu-mo-phug ('Chumphu') in the sPa-gro valley, dated *chu-stag* (1722?), is preserved in the Musée Guimet.

A complex network of lineages descend from Padma Gling-pa all of which seem to have been established soon after his death in 1521. They are important because one line produced the 6th Dalai Lama, Tshang-dbyangs rGya-mtsho (1683-?1706), and another line the present Royal Family of Bhutan. Some preliminary attempt has to be made to sort out the basic pattern.

All the traditions affirm that Padma Gling-pa was born in the gNyo clan which had been established in Bum-thang by two of the sons (or perhaps descendants) of rGyal-ba LHanang-pa (1164-1224), the founder of the LHapa bKa-' brgyud school. According to the *Vaidurya Ser-po* (p. 399), one of them was called sMyos mGar (alias mGar ICags-kyi rDo-rje). Together they founded the temple of gSum-' phrang (or So-' brang) in the U-ra valley of Bum-thang. Padma Gling-pa's father, Don-grub bzang-po, was the descendant of one of them in a collateral line to that of the gSum-' phrang Chos-rje. This latter line survives to this day and the present Chos-rje, Tshe -dbang bsTan'-dzin, recited to me a list of seventeen incumbents stretching in an unbroken succession from padma gling-pa's father down to himself.

In fact, Padma Gling-pa's father was not a gSum-' phrang Chos-rje but, as indicated above, a collateral descendant from their ancestor. Unfortunately Padma Gling-pa himself tells us nothing about his family besides the names of his parents, that his clan was the gNyo and that he belonged to a line of rNying-ma-pa priests (*rnying-ma'i sngags-brgyud*). By his day it is unlikely that the clan name would have meant very much. For him, just as for the 6th Dalai Lama, it served to point to distant and respectable origins, not to a living social institution. Besides, the clan system did not exist in Bum-thang as it did in the area further east. There, 162 years after Padma Gling-pa's death (six generations later according to the *Vaidurya Ser-*

po, p. 400), the 6th Dalai Lama was born at Ber-mkhar in Kameng in a line descending from Padma Gling-pa that had merged with the local clan of the Jo-bo.

Yet the Dalai Lama's clan is never held to have been the Jo-bo, but instead the non-existent gNyos. On one of his trips to that area, Padma Gling-pa had helped to arrange the marriage of O-rgyan bZang-po, perhaps his nephew, to the daughter of one Jo-bo Don-grub, the hereditary incumbent of the temple of O-rgyan-gling. This lady, rDor-rdzom, had been having an affair with O-rgyan bZang-po but the 'gossip' (*mi-kha*) feared by her father and Padma Gling-pa was not caused by the illicit nature of the affair so much as by the prejudice against the union of people coming from 'different racial stock' (*mi-rigs mi-gcig-pa*). This prejudice was disregarded on the grounds that Padma Gling-pa and Jo-bo Don-grub had a karmic bond from their previous lives. The marriage took place and the descendants of the couple could thereafter claim a pedigree going back to Padma Gling-pa and his ancestors. This turned out to be a mixed blessing for the 6th Dalai Lama whose amorous exploits could be interpreted as unorthodox rites of sexual magic inherited from his ancestor in the old 'unreformed Red Hat Sect.'

The noble families descending from Padma Gling-pa in eastern Bhutan may turn out to have their own records but these have not yet come to light. Until then we are mainly dependent on the oral traditions. Padma Glingpa's three most famous sons were:

1. Grags-pa rGal-mtshan,
2. Thugs-sras Zla-ba rGyal-mtshan, and
3. mKhas-grub Kun-dga' dBang-po.

The first of these inherited his father's principal temple of gTam-zhing in the Chos-'khor valley of Bum-thang and from him descend the family of the *gTam-zhing Chos-rje*. The second, Zla-ba rGyal-mtshan, settled at sPra-mkhar ('Prai') and his descendants became the *Chu-smad gDung*. The third, Kun-dga' dBang-po, settled at mKho'u-chung in Kur-stod and started the line of the *mKho'u-chung Chos-rje*. A Branch of this family was established by one bsTan-pa'i rGyal-mtshan who moved to a place called Dung-dkar, also in Kurstod. After four of five generations, the line of the *Dung-dkar Chos-rje* produced two brothers nicknamed as Pha-la and Phi-la. Pha-la (whose real name was mGon-po dBang-rgyal) was in turn the father of the *Krong-sar dPon-slob Jigs-med rNam-rgyal*: the most powerful figure in Bhutan in the second half of the 19th century, the chief opponent of the British, and father of O-rgyan dBang-phyug who became the first hereditary king of Bhutan in 1907. At least one factor in the rise of his dynasty was the prestigious position occupied by his family as descendants of the great discoverer. In the 18th century the family had established a link with the central government because a son born to the *Dung-dkar Chos-rje* was recognised as the third incarnation of Jamdpal rDo-rje, son of the great *Zhabs-drung Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal*, the founder of the Bhuttese state.

Alongside the diffusion of all these families came the proliferation of three incarnation lineages associated with Padma Gling-pa's teaching. The *gSung-sprul* ('mind-incarnations') of Padma Gling-pa himself began with bsTan-'dzin Grags-pa (1536-1597), the first of a line of ten embodiments who had their seat across the border at the important monastery of LHalung in lHo-brag. They were all closely associated with eastern Bhutan and several of them were

born into the families mentioned above, as were the *Thugs-sras mChog-sprul* incarnations of Klong-chen-pa's son who also had their seat at LHa-lung. This monastery became the true centre for Padma Gling-pa's teachings in their monastic form and it exerted a constant influence on the Bhutaese monasteries of the school to the south from just across the border.

Another *Thugs-sras* incarnation line, apparently also based at L-Halung, was that descending from Zla-ba rGyal-mtshan, Padma Gling-pa's son who had settled at 'Prai' in Bum-thang. Yet another line was that of his son, *Rig-'dzin* Padma 'Phrin-las, who founded the large monastery of sGang-steng in the Shar district. The incarnation line of the sGang-steng lama was the most significant from the point of view of the school's hold on western Bhutan. The second in this line, bsTan'-dzin Legs-pa's Don-grub (1645-1726), was very friendly with all the great figures of the ruling 'Brug-pa school. The institutional acceptance of Padma Gling-pa's traditions by the government at this time is ascribed to him and to his well-known disciple, Ngag-dbang 'Brugpa of mTshams-brag. Today the sGang-steng monastery survives as the only private foundation outside the 'Brug-pa school to maintain a flourishing community in western Bhutan. However, like most of the important lineages, that of the sGang-steng lama appears to have gone into decline in the last century, and it is not clear whether there is an incumbent today.

These lines which descend from Padma Gling-pa, his son and grandson intermingled both with each other and with the families claiming human descent from the 'text-discoverer'. The monasteries of lHa-lung and sGang-steng, and all their daughter houses, kept up a constant exchange right down to the time of the recent annexation of Tibet by China. Several reasons could be suggested to account for the school's survival under 'Brug-pa rule. Like the rNying-ma-pa at large, it remained loosely constituted and diffuse, never wielding concerted authority. Perhaps a more important reason is that this school was, in its origins and development, essentially Bhutaneese and closely wedded to local interests and aspirations.

No matter to what degree other schools became implanted in Bhutaese society, in the last resort they seem to have remained local off shoots of their Tibetan source. Consequently they stood at the mercy of those historical currents which arose within the country itself. The single exception to this picture is provided by the case of the 'Brugpa school which became so closely associated with local interests in the west of the country that to all intents and purposes it could be considered Bhutaese. Certain circumstances eventually arose to enable this school to emerge as the dominant political force. The best symbol of 'Brug-pa support for the order of Padma Gling-pa is provided by the fate of Padma Gling-pa's earthly remains; the *stupa* containing them was removed from the temple of gTamzhing by the 'Brug-pa campaign which subjugated this area of the country in the middle years of the 17th century. Far from being despoiled, the sacred reliquary was taken to the capital at sPu-na-kha where it was eventually placed alongside the mortal remains of *Zhabs-drung Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal*, the founder of the 'Brug-pa theocracy.

The ashes of Padma Gling-pa and the corpse of the 1st *Zhabs-drung* were together removed to safety during each of the successive fires which reduced the capital fortress to a smouldering ruin. They were restored, phoenix-like, to their original positions side by side in the central tower after each rebuilding of the *rdzong*. Together with the relic of gTsang-pa rGya-ras (1161-1211) (Plate 22), the founder of the 'Brug-pa school, they are still today the objects of greatest

vencreation. Another clear token of the enduring hold of Padma Gling-pa's heritage is seen in the history of his descendants, among whom the present Royal Family now stands foremost. The complicated story of how in this century it came to replace the theocracy with its own form of hereditary rule lies well beyond the scope of this book.

bKa'-brgyud-pa

The 'School of Oral Transmission' is made up of a bewildering complex of sub-schools all of which trace their origins to the figure of Mar-pa Chos-kyi Blo-gros 'the Translator' (1012-1097) who instructed a few carefully chosen disciples in certain esoteric practices which he had received from his Indian master *Naropa*. In the West the school has come to be associated with the figure of Mar-pa's most famous disciple, the poet-saint Mi-la Ras-la Ras-pa (1040-1123) (Plate 12), whose biography and songs have long been recognised rightly as among the finest examples of Tibetan literature. What served to stimulate the popular reputation of these works more than anything else was the notion that they preserved an authentic tradition which had been set down very soon after the master's death. This gave great piquancy to the esoteric and mystical content of the works which had found its setting in the account of an ascetic life whose details of character and circumstance argued direct experience.

The ineffable was seen to be firmly locked to the practical realities of place and time. We owe it to Gene Smith (1969) that the authorship of the biography and the compilation of the songs are now properly credited to *gTsang-smyon* He-ru-ka (1452-1507) who completed the first blockprint edition at La-stod in about 1495, that is to say some 372 years after the death of Mi-la Ras-pa. The works now have to be seen in the context of a considerable cult developing over many centuries. Their reputation, however, is not likely to suffer from the retrospective interpretations which have now come partly into view for they remain masterpieces in their own right.

It is in the light of the cult that Mi-la Ras-pa's association with Bhutan has to be seen. It finds mention in a quite rare and separate collection of six of his songs entitled *rDo-rje mgur-drug*, compiled by *LHa-btsun* Rin-chen rNam-rgyal (1473- 1557), the chief disciple of *gTsang-smyon* (Smith 1969:27). *LHa-btsun* drew on the same material available to his teacher, the full details of which are still lost. The song in question was not known to the Bhutaese until very recently when the author of *LCB II* gave notice of it. Had Bhutaese historians of earlier times been aware of its existence it is certain they would have made much of it, for the name of Mi-la Ras-pa is as much a household word in Bhutan as it is in Tibet and other neighbouring countries.

The song is an exposition of the 'Ten Signs' of yogic attainment and was composed by the master after he had spent three months meditating at the sacred shrine of sTag-tshang in the sPa-gro valley. He is said to have sung it in reply to a group of four yogins who refused to believe him capable of sustaining himself without food for so long. Stray, yet significant, encounters of this kind marked the beginnings of the bKa'-brgyud-pa school, and it was only later that lineages, monasteries and patrons arose to create that extraordinary complexity which still partly survives.

Mi-la Ras-pa is said to have 'transmitted the lineage of meditation' but the more formalised teachings of his master as received in four 'currents' (or 'commandments', *bka'-babs*) were

passed on by three of Mar-pa's close disciples who, together with Mi-la, are known as the 'Four Pillars'. One of these, *rNgog-ston* Chos-sku rdo-rje (1036-1102), is held to have been the founder of certain monasteries in Bhutan, including that of Glang-mo-gling which still stands in the sTang valley of Bum-thang, just south of Mar-pa's home in lHo-brag. If the tradition is correct then the monastery may have later been attached to the school of the *rNgog-pa* bKa'-brgyud based at sPre'zhing near rGyal-rtse where the descendants of Chos-sku rDo-rje kept it flourishing until about the 15th century. The Glang-mo-gling monastery is today a government temple of the 'Brug-pa order, its custodian being appointed from the state monastery of Krong-sar.

No doubt many more references to the area's associations with the unformalised beginnings of the bKa'-brgyud-pa could be found. Dus-gsum mKhyenpa (1110-93), founder of the Kam-tshang (or Karma) bKa'-brgyud-pa, certainly visited sPa-gro. Although his school became the dominant force in Tibet from the late 15th to the early 17th centuries, it never gained a proper footing in Bhutan. The only monastery which seems to have come into its hands is Thang-kha-sbe in the Chos'-khor-stod district of Bum-thang, which preserves a clay image of the 8th Zhwa-dmar-pa ('Red Hat') incarnation, Chos-kyi Don-grub. He went there in company with the 12th Zhwa-nag ('Black Hat') incarnation, Karma-pa Byang-chub rDo-rje. That the foundation existed long before their time is clear from the autobiography of Padma Glingpa.

The evolution of the bKa'-brgyud-pa into what came to be regarded as four 'major' schools deriving from Dwags-po LHa-rje (1079-1153) and eight 'minor' schools deriving from Phag-mo-gru-pa rDo-rje rGyal-po (1110-70) still awaits detailed investigation but the broad lines are already clear. The classification into 'major' and 'minor' is chronological and does not reflect the size or duration of the schools in question. These in turn gave rise to a host of offshoots which are not directly accounted for in the above classification. In western Bhutan three orders took root; one of them (the 'Brug-pa) is reckoned as 'minor' and the other two (LHa-pa and 'Ba-ra) as 'off shoots'. The LHa-pa came first, followed by the 'Brug-pa and 'Ba-ra.

LHa-pa

The LHa-bKa'-brgyud appears to have been the first school to gain a broad measure of control over western Bhutan. Its introduction there was achieved by its founder, *rGyal-ba lHa-nang-pa* alias *gZi-brjid rDo-rje* (1164-1224) from whom this school takes its name. We have already met him (p. 162) as the ancestor of Padma Gling-pa. He was a disciple of 'Jig-rten mGon-po (1143-1217), founder of the important 'Bri-khung school, and for this reason his own order is sometimes regarded as an offshoot of the 'Brikhung but in reality it had an independent existence. It remained very much a family interest allied to the important clan of the gNyos which provided its prince-abbots. The family had been associated with Bhutan for many generations before the emergence of the lHa-pa school. The great-great-grandfather of LHa-nang-pa was the famous Yon-tan Grags-pa 'the Translator of gNyos', the contemporary of Mar-pa in whose company he travelled to India. According to the history of the gNyos clan 'the translator [Yon-tan Grags-pa] was offered all the estates, monasteries and rights which belonged to rGya-pa in the Southern Land of Four Approaches'. It is not clear if rGya-pa was a person, family or clan, or what the origin of these holdings was.

It was presumably these which rGyal-ba lHa-nang-pa inherited a century or so later from his father, gNyo-s-nag Grags-pa-dpal, the great-grandson of the translator. lHa-nang-pa spent eleven years in Bhutan, mostly at gCal-kha to the north of sPa-gro, the site of all the *gter-ma* discoveries discussed above. The building was ruined by an earthquake in the next generation and his nephew Rin-chen rGyal-po transferred the seat of the school across the present border to Phag-ri Rin-chen-sgang. gCal-kha was restored, however, as we find two of Rin-chen rGyal-po's sons (i.e. gZi-brjid rGyal-po and bSod-nams rGyal-po) visiting the place. This is as much as is apparent from the available Tibetan records which otherwise concern themselves with the major centres of the school at lHa-nang and Gye-re, probably located in the Kailash area of western Tibet. Nothing seems to be known about the school in Tibet beyond the 14th and 15th centuries when their own history and the *Red* and *Blue Annals* give us a picture of its flourishing condition.

In Bhutaese tradition the lHa-pa are depicted as the bane of the 'Brug-pa school which ultimately triumphed. No account of their own view of their position has survived for the reason that they were proscribed during the time of the 1st *Zhabs-drung*. The official view is totally coloured by the role given to the lHa-pa in the biography of *pha-jo* 'Brug-sgom Zhig-po, a somewhat doubtful authority if we consider the story of its compilation. It purports to have been written by *pha-jo*'s son Dam-pa (in the 12th century) and later rediscovered by Ngag-dbang bsTan'-dzin (son of 'Brug-pa Kun-legs, 1455-1529) when he was fifty years old, i.e. in about 1580. The blockprint we now have is a second edition prepared at the behest of an unidentified rdzong-dpon of Thim -phu, bSod-nams dBang-rgyal. It is full of appalling spelling mistakes, yet the work remains one of the most popular in the country for the story it tells of the arrival of the first 'Brug-pa lama and his struggles with the lHa-pa. the accounts given in LCB I (ff.7b-11a) and LCB II (ff.92a-97b) are entirely based on it.

The enemy is referred to as gNyo-s or lHa-pa but he can probably be identified with rGyal-ba lHa-nang-pa himself, as the dates seem to fit. *Phajo*, we are told, first came into contact with this gNyo-s 'chief of the South' (*lho-nang-gi dpon -po*, f, 21b) when, sometime after his arrival from Ra-lung, he received a contemptuous letter from lHa-pa at gCal-kha in which it was declared that since nobody who refused to subscribe to the lHa-pa sect was allowed to stay in the area, *Phajo* could only do so if he agreed either to look after one of their monasteries or else become one of their herdsmen, failing which he would lose his life. In his reply *Phajo* dismissed the order and justified his presence on the grounds of the prophecy given by gTsang-pa rGya-ras (1161-1211), namely that he, *Phajo*, should be sent to the South to take the 'Brug-pa order there. On receipt of this, lHa-pa resolved to kill him in an act of ritual murder by removing his heart and placing it in the temple dedicated to the guardian deities at gCal-kha.

An outbreak of 'tantric warfare' ensued with both sides working their magic against the other. In the course of this, the fortress of lHa-Pa at gCal-Kha was burnt to the ground. The local rulers of western Bhutan (described as the *spyi-dpon* of gDung, sGod-phrug, Has, Cang, Wang and sDong) gained faith in *pha-jo* and told him of their plight under the lHa-pa rule. Every year each district was made to supply huge quantities of rice, butter, cotton, *srin-do* (?) and iron, in addition to undertaking three periods of corvée. If they failed, then 'laws according to Tibetan practice' were exacted on them, and so they begged *Phajo* to replace these with

'the legal customs of a lama', swearing allegiance to him. LHa-pa then fled to the sBed-smad district where he built the fortress of lTo-kha rDzong. From there he sent two of his monks to serve poisoned sugar to *pha-jo*. The effect of the poison was slow, and *Pha-jo* died of it eventually at the age of sixty-eight; this would have been in 1276, if we accept his birth date as 1208 (*sa-pho-brug*, f. 2a). In his dying will he foretold the continuation of the struggle with the lHa-pa and the ultimate triumph of his own school of the 'Brug-pa.

This synopsis has excluded all the rest of *Pha-jo's* doings to highlight the theme of his struggles with LHa-pa, but we shall meet him again as the ancestor of the powerful families of the 'Brug-pa school in western Bhutan. In both capacities he is cast in such a legendary role that it is not possible to accept the 12th century origin that is claimed for his biography. The account of the struggle with lHa-pa has an exact ritual parallel in the sacred drama that is enacted annually at the temple of Cang Nam-mkha' lHa-Khang in sPa-gro. During this festival, which just precedes the celebration of the Agricultural New Year, five 'generals' act the part of the magical army emanated by *Pha-jo*. This dramatic version like the written account, serves to explain and justify the final triumph of the 'Brug-pa in Bhutan.

The written account must surely have been produced on the basis of various traditions as they survived in the 17th century when the lHa-pa and the 'Brug-pa were locked in strife. The 'discovery' of the work in about 1580 by Ngag-dbang bsTan'-dzin, son of 'Brug-pa Kun-legs and incarnation of *Pha-jo's* son Gar-ston, is also suspect. One is tempted rather to look to this person's own son, Tshe-dbang bsTan'-dzin (alias rTa-mgrin rGyal-mtshan) who claimed to be the incarnation of *Pha-jo* himself and who lived from 1574 to 1643. The core of the 'secret, biographies of 'Brug-pa Kun-legs which deal with this mad saint's encounters in Bhutan is attributed to him, the grandson of the saint. Significantly the poetic refrains which extol the sexual exploits of *Pha-jo* and 'Brug-pa Kun-legs are almost identical in both works; the one attributed to the latter is rather more polished.

Tshe-dbang bsTan'-dzin was the close ally of *Zhabs-drung* Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal, the founder of the Bhutaeese state, and he must have been deeply involved in the latter's contentions with the LHa-pa. He also shared one of his wives with the *Zhabs-drung*. The lady, Dam-chos bsTan'-dzin, came from another family of the religious nobility claiming descent from *Pha-jo*, that of lCang sGang-kha in the Thimphu valley.

The lHa-pa, unfortunately, never come to light in the records. They are cast in the symbolic role of chief enemy, 'head of the five groups of lamas' who opposed the *Zhabs-drung* (LCB II, f. 84b). Their final submission seems to have taken place just before they handed over their old fortress of rDorngon rDzong (or rDo-snyug rDzong) in Thimphu in the year 1641. This was turned into the summer capital of the 'Brug-pa government under the name of bKra-shis Chos-rdzong. It is now the permanent seat of government. The other fortresses of the lHa-pa probably defensive monasteries, appear to have been destroyed by fire during the struggles when the enemy lamas joined forces with the gTsang sDe-srid in 1632 and after. They included Byathal rDzong and sBed-med lTo-kha rDzong. Towards the end of the 17th century there were still groups whose earlier associations with the lHa-pa were remembered, and who were therefore regarded with some disfavour by the central government.

Brug-pa

This school naturally receives tremendous emphasis in the Bhutaeese histories, but it was in reality just one among several established orders before it rose to dominate and unify the country. The short account given here takes the story from its origins down to the start of the 17th century when the movement towards consolidation was begun by *Zhabdrung* Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal.

The 'Brug-pa school had its beginnings in one of those sustained outbursts of devotional asceticism which so marked the 11th to 12th centuries. Its founder was gTsang-pa rGya-ras Ye-shes rDo-rje (1161-1211) who is linked in the formal pedigree of the school to the main bKa'-brgud-pa order through his own master, *Gling Ras-pa* Padma rDo-rje (1128-88), the disciple of *Phag-mo-gru-pa* rDo-rje rGyal-po (1110-1170). Ye shes rDo-rje was the 'discoverer' of a number of esoteric doctrines which included the *Ro-snyoms* ('Equal Taste of Appearances') hidden by Ras-chung-pa and the *rTen-'brel* (a meditative cycle on the *pratityasamutpada*). These texts formed the particular teachings of his school which came to be named after the monastery of 'Brug founded by him in about 1189. The monastery took its name from the 'thunder-dragons' ('brug) which are said to have resounded through the sky on the occasion of its consecration. The whole of Bhutan ('Brug-yul) eventually took its name from the school, not the other way round as maintained recently by Tucci.

The 'Brug-pa appear to have had a wide appeal for people who wished to pursue their vocations as simple mendicants intent on salvation through solitary meditation rather than as members of large communities where the formal study of Buddhist scholasticism was paramount. It was not long before this latter side developed too but, to begin with at least, '.....the hermits belonging to the 'Brug-pa school were devoid of the prejudices and dissensions of sectarian and scholastic partiality and were all extremely humble' (*Bue Annals*, Nya, f. 118a). The founder himself is said to have dispersed his many followers to all the major shrines of the Buddhist world, in Tibet, India and China- an area referred to as 'eighteen days flight of a vulture' (*bya-rgod nyin-lam bco-brgvad*). This gave rise to the often quoted saying in Tibet:

Half the people are 'Brug-pa,
Half the 'Brug-pa are beggars,
Half the beggars are saints.

The proliferation of the school into three distinct branches is traced to three disciples of Ye-shes rDo-rje, namely:

1. the Bar-'brug ('Middle 'Brug-pa') from *Sangs-rgyas dBon-ras Darma* Seng-ge (1177-1237), nephew of the founder,
2. the sTod-'brug ('Upper 'Brug-pa') from *rGod-tshang-pa* mGon-po rDo-rje (1189-1258), and
3. the sMad-'brug ('Lower 'Brug-pa) from *Lo-ras-pa* dBang-phyug brTson-'grus (1187-1250).

From the point of view of Bhutan the only important one was the dominant middle branch, which came under the control of a line of prince-abbots in a family of the rGya clan descended

from ye-shes rDo-rje himself. Nevertheless the other two branches were represented in the country, if only briefly, before being absorbed into the 'Middle 'Brug-pa'. Lo-ras-pa founded the monastery of Chos-brag (or Chos-rje-brag) in Bum-thang, on the cliff just above the later and more famous monastery of Thar-pa-gling founded by Klong-chen-pa. It was later administered as a state monastery of the 'Brug-pa from western Bhutan and survives today as a nunnery of the rNying-ma-pa order. Lo-ras-pa also travelled in the west of the country where the story of his conversion of the demon dByar-sa-pa is still remembered. The 'Upper 'Brug-pa' was introduced to sPa-gro by sPyil-dkar-ba, disciple of rGod-tshang-pa who founded a monastery now called sPyi-dhar-kha where his remains are said to be still preserved. From him descended an important family of the religious aristocracy which maintained a large estate in sPa-gro.

This was the family of the *gZar-chen Chos-rje* which still has its seat at the family temple of bSam-gtanChos-gling in the village of gZar-chen-kha. Their line did not actually begin until seven generations after sPyil-dkar-ba when certain brTan-pa founded this temple and certain others on the sKyid-laPass to Ha, where his brother and uncle took up residence. Even by this time the family was more associated with the main 'Brug-pa school based at Ra-lung than with the branch established by their ancestor's master, rGod-tshang-pa (one important offshoot of that branch, the 'Ba'-ra bKa'-brgyud, did establish itself in Bhutan and is considered separately below). It comes as no surprise to find the family of the *gZar-chen Chos-rje* among the chief allies of the great *Zhabs-drung* in the first half of the 17th century. In the *Hum-ral gdung-rabs* we find them intriguing against their rivals, the *Hum-ral Chos-rje*, to win tax dispensations from the *Zhabs-drung*. A charter signed bDud-'joms rDo-rje (the personal name of the *Zhabs-drung*) is still in the possession of this family today. They produced a number of famous abbots and statesmen in later history.

Much more important, however, were the many families in western Bhutan who claimed direct descent from Pha-jo 'Brug-sgom Zhig-po and who were thereby linked to the powerful 'middle' Brug-pa based at their seat at Ra-lung. Whatever reservations we may have about the authenticity of Pha-jo's biography, it must be based in part on historical fact. Padma dKar-po (f.303a-b of his chronicle) maintains that: 'His (i.e. Sangsrgyas dBon-ras) disciple, 'Gro-sgom Zhing-po subjugated the Southern Region of Four Approaches.' This form of his name, based on ancient sources, may turn out to be the original one. Kong-sprul, writing in the 19th century, alludes briefly to Pha-jo's discovery of a Hayagriva *gter-ma* and to the fact that his descendants were reputed to survive at Nang-chen in Tibet (*gTernam*, f. 196a). In the Bhuttese biography long sections are devoted to the *gter-ma* question, but all of his four surviving sons are alleged to have been born within the country. (Three of the original seven, it is said, turned out to be demons and were drowned in an ordeal by water.) Pha-jo achieved his will in western Bhutan by deputing his sons to the control of its various districts. He himself stayed at the important monastery he founded at the head of the Thim-phu valley. It was called rTa-mgo ('Horse-head') after the saint's associations with the deity Hayagriva (rTa-mgrin, 'Horse-necked'). When he was there, King Bhra-nan-la of Ka-ma-rta (Kamata) is said to have sent him presents which included a talking parrot (*ne-tsho smra-mkhan*) 'grape-wine' (*sgun-'brum-gyi chang*) and other things (ff. 35b-36a). Similar presents were received from the 'man of substance' (*phyug-po*) of Mon-yul rTsang-sgang, perhaps the 'Tsangla' area of eastern Bhutan. His sons were deputed as follows:

1. Gar-ston was appointed to gDung, Ha and sDong, and to control the eastern passes (*las-sgo*). His descendants becoming the *Zhal-ngo* families of Wa-can and many other places in the Shar district;
2. Nyi-ma was sent to dGung and ICang (in thim-phu) from where he was told to control the 'outer' passes; his descendants became the *sGang-kha Zhal-ngo* (see next paragraph);
3. dBang-phyug was sent to control the passes of Thed-lung (sPu-na-kha) and 'O'-dus (?); and from him descended the *gSang-ma'i Zhal-ngo* of dGon-stod (the region bordering on Tibet);
4. Dam-pa inherited his father's seat at rTa-mgo and established two further foundations at Nam-mkha'i LHa-khang (or sNang-dkar LHa-khang) in sPa-gro and bDe-chen-phug in Thim-phu. From him descended all the 'Brug-pa nobility of sPa-gro.

However mythical these origins may have been, there is plenty of evidence pointing to the existence and strength of all these families. One of them, which preserved the line of the *Hum-ral Chos-rje* in sPa-gro, kept their records. They have come down to us in the form of a work entitled: *Grubmchog hum-ral drung-drung yab-sras-kyi rnam-thar mdo-tsam gleng-ba rinchen do-shal* (*Hum-ral gdung-rabs for short, 71 folios, dbu-can ms.*) It was written in 1766 (*me-pho-khyi*) by a member of the family called O-rgyan Tshe-dbang (alias Kun-dbang). Coming as it did just half a century after Ngag-dbang had composed his clan records in the east, the work must have been occasioned by much the same motives of preservation in the face of the sweeping changes that had been introduced in the course of the 17th century. Among the oral and written sources mentioned in the colophon to the work appear some of a truly primary character, namely 'the draft documents, dedicatory colophons and important papers written by successive ancestors'.

Governing the whole period from the 12th to the 18th centuries (some fifteen generations), it presents a fascinating story of shifting alliances with collateral branches of the same 'Brug-pa nobility in other valleys, of the founding of daughter monasteries, and of the rights and privileges exacted from the subject 'patrons' attached to the family. A very close relationship persisted between the Hum-ral family and the head monastery of their school of the Bar'-brug at Ra-lung in Tibet. The Hum-ral family were among the chief local patrons of the school and a large number of them received their religious training at Ra-lung, studying the ritual and meditational cycles peculiar to the 'Brug-pa, which they would then disseminate on returning to Bhutan. For their part, the prince-abbots of Ra-lung made frequent visits to this area of the country, promulgating their teachings, consolidating their ties and extending their holdings.

These affiliations, covering the whole spectrum of religious and political endeavour, were to have far-reaching consequences for the creation of a unified country; it was surely due to them that *Zhabs-drung* Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal, the prince-abbot of Ra-lung, was able to build his state after arriving as a refugee in 1616. They were, in a traditional phrase, 'prefigurative auspices' (*snga-ltas-kyi rten'-brel*, LCB I, f. 12a). A brief attempt can be made to determine their history and nature.

The first prince-abbot of Ra-lung to come in person to western Bhutan was the 7th incumbent to that position, Kun-dga' Seng-ge (1314-1347). He was invited by the grandson and incarnation of Dam-pa, sPrul-sku Blo-Idan rGyal-po, who had his seat at his grandfather's monastery of bDe-chen-phu (Plate 14b). That place has ever since been regarded as the 'palace' of the guardian divinities of the 'Brug-pa school in Bhutan. Kundga' Seng-ge is said to have subdued and converted the god *dGe-bsnyen Chen-po* Jag-pa Me-len and turned him into the 'protector' *Srog-bdag* gShan-pa dMar-po. The abbot was then brought to the sGang-kha temple further down the valley by another of Pha-jo's descendants, Bla-ma bSodnams rGyal-mtshan, presumably the grandson of Nyi-ma. (At this place he is claimed to have introduced a monastic community, which must have involved an expansion of the original building. They depict a host of subterranean, terrestrial and astral deities in a cosmological arrangement that stems no doubt from a particular ritual cycle in use at that time. The figures (particularly those of the nine planets and the twenty-eight lunar asterisms) combine what appear to be certain features of Central Asian dress with ancient Indian motifs. The paintings may well be the oldest in the country and seem to have been preserved because the temple in which they are found is classified as a *mgon-khang* dedicated to guardian spirits.

These are not so often subjected to that continuous process of refurbishment which has effaced the ancient art of the country.) kun-dga' Seng-ge also founded the bDe-chen-sdings monastery at dGon-kha in a sPa-gro. While in the north of the country he married a daughter of a certain Bla-ma dPal-Idan Seng-ge (another of Pha-jo's descendants) and to them was born the next of the prince-abbots of Ra-lung, Blo-gros Seng-ge (1345-1390). After his installation and education at Ra-lung he returned to his homeland in the northern mountains and established a further monastery. Two more, sPol-dud dGon and mDo-sde-brag in Thimphu, were founded by Nam-mkha'i rNal-'byor, whose position in the family is not clear.

In the 14th century the 'Brug-pa school rose to occupy a powerful position in the complicated Tibetan politics of that time. It acquired large landholdings in central Tibet as a result of the patronage of the Mongol king Togon Temur (d.1370) but its temporal authority never really equalled that of the Phag-mo-gru-pa, Sa-skyapa, Karma-pa or 'Bri-Khung-pa schools which all rose to various degrees of dominance under Mongol patronage. Factional rivalries eventually depleted the holdings of the 'Brug-pa and military and political defeats further weakened it, but the prestige of the school was maintained by the line of scholar-sages who occupied the family throne at Ra-lung. The area of western Bhutan was linked to this monastery (east of rGyal-rtse) by an easy road from the Chumbi valley and there must have been a constant reciprocal movement along it from the 14th to the early 17th centuries. The ties were very much strengthened by the activities of the 13th incumbent, rGyal dbang-rje Kun-dga' dPal-byor (1428-1476), incarnation of the founder (gTsang-pa rGya-ras) and one of the best known savants of his age. He came to the area, as far west as Bum-thang and as far east as sPa-gro, on three extended trips during which he founded a host of monasteries, temples and retreat centres, most of which are still standing.

The most famous of these is probably rDo mchod-rten in sP agro, where he spent a long period in meditation in company with his chief local follower, Drung-drung (alias rGyal-mchog) from whom the Hum-ral family descended. Drung drung was one of two sons (the other was rGyal'dzom) born to Blo-Idan rGyal-po, the patron of 'Kun-dga' Seng-ge and therefore another

of *Pha-jo's* descendants. His biography (ff. 8b-26b of the *Hum-ral gdung-rabs*) is enormously interesting for its realistic account of family feuds intermixed with the details of his spiritual life. He was the founder of the fortress called Hum-ral rDzong, named after the local protective deity Hum-ral mGon-po with whom he had a special relationship. It was this building which his descendant in the seventh generation, *Bla-ma* 'Brug bSam-gtan, offered to the first *Zhabs-drung* in 1645, the latter converting it into the provincial fortress of Rin-spungs rDzong. Drung-drung was also the patron of Ngag-dbang Chos-rgyal (1465-1540) who succeeded rGyal dbang-rje as the 14th abbot of Ra-lung in 1476. This figure established no less than eighteen new foundations in sPa-gro, Thim-phu and sPu-na-kha, Drung-drung assisted in the case of the well-known temple of 'Brug Chos-sdings which stands in the sPa-gro market-place, but he seems to have been more directly concerned with the construction of a series of water-driven 'prayermills', nine of which are named. This gave rise to the saying: 'The 'Brug-pa have built monasteries, so don't get up off your knees. The Hum-ral-pa will introduce prayer-mills, so don't divert the source.'

Another contemporary of the two Drung-drung brothers was the mad saint 'Brug-pa Kun-legs (1455-1529) the younger relative of Ngag-dbang Chos-rgyal. He only appears briefly in the *Hum-ral gdung-rabs* (loc. cit.) for his composition of a song about the brothers, but there is wide scope for collating all the Bhutaese traditions concerning him, a great number of which are found in the local biographies cited in Note 87 above. These will one day have to be compared with the accounts of his life still sung in verse by the wandering bards ('manip') and contrasted with the standard edition of his own anecdotes, so finely translated into French by Stein (1972). For the Bhutaese 'Brug-pa Kun-legs always represents every-thing that is most belovedly unorthodox; and yet the shocking irregularity of his conduct is thought to have been the reflection of a free, yet disciplined, spirit that embodied the very essence of their religion. The growth of the Bhutaese tradition with all its emphasis on sexual humour and village bawdiness marks a genuine departure from the more sober picture conveyed by the saint's own memoirs. It was an unconscious selective process which enabled him to fill the role of cultural hero. That process was certainly assisted on a formal level by his descendants in the 17th century who rose to positions of great favour and importance in the new state.

Throughout the 16th century the monastic estates which had been established by the princes of Ra-lung, particularly Ngag-dbang Chos-rgyal, continued to flourish. His two sons were especially active in establishing monasteries. The eldest, bsTan-pa'i rgyal-mtshan (alias Ngag-dbang Grags-pa, 1506-38) ruled as the 16th abbot of Ra-lung. He spent some time at his father's monastery of sPang-ri Zam-pa in Thim-phu, which still stands, and founded new ones in the Shar district. His younger brother, Ngag-gi dBang-phyug (1517-54), is claimed to have founded monasteries in eastern Bhutan on sites where chain of fortresses were constructed a century later under *dpon-slob Mi-'gyur brTan-pa*.

Meanwhile in the west of the country the 'Brug-pa nobility of the 16th century rose to ever-increasing prominence as testified by the proliferation of the Hum-ral lineages. Some of these arose as a result of the founding of new monasteries by younger sons, and others by the arrangement of political marriages with collateral lineages descended from *Pha-jo*. The issue of such marriages were regarded as 'uncle-families' allied to the principal family based at the ancestral seat in sPa-gro. The rights and privileges of the head family were such that in the

dedicatory colophon to a manuscript copy of the *bKa'-gyur*, Nam-mkha' rGyal-mtshan (son of Drung-drung rGyal-mchog) could make the claim that the males of his family were 'Kings of the Southern Country'.

There is nothing to suggest, however, that their powers extended beyond their own estates in the western valleys, and their constant feuds with other groups there alone point to the extraordinary fragmentation of all rule at this time. Interposed between the domains of the local nobility stood the growing fiefs attached to the 'Mother-house' at Ra-lung in Tibet. The 'auspices' for unified 'Brug-pa rule had truly been prepared but, as we shall see below, their potential would never have been realised but for the life and character of *Zhabs-drung* Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal, the true founder of Bhutan.

'Ba'-r-ba

This school takes its name from the epithet of its founding patriarch, 'Ba'-ra-ba rGyal-mtshan dPal-bzang (1310-1391). He was recognised as the re-embodiment of Yang-dgon-pa (1213-1258), himself the founder of a separate branch of the sTod'-brug known as the Yang-dgon bKa'-brgyud-pa. rGyal-mtshan dPal-bzang was born in the Shangs district and his school is therefore also called the Shangs 'Ba'-ra. This has sometimes led to its confusion with the quite independent school descending from Khyung-po rNal-'byor known as the Shangs -pa bKa'-brgyud-pa which stands outside the main bKa'-brgyud-pa complex.

rGyal-mtshan dPal-bzang founded the monastery of Don-grub-sdings at 'Ba'-ra-brag at his home in the Shangs valley north-east of gZhis-ka-rtse, and most of his activities were concentrated in Tibet proper. He did, however, make at least two journeys to Bhutan. A lot of information is found in the prose passages with which he introduced his sacred song-poems. These he composed throughout his long life in reaction to a wide variety of experiences. We learn that his first visit to 'the South' was made on pilgrimage to the shrines of sKyer-chu and sTag-tshang in company with his chief local disciples. About two years after his return to Tibet he heard news that the *rdzong-pa* (governor?) of sTag-tshang (no doubt one of the Ka-thogpa lamas) and the forces of the dBus province of Tibet were waging war. One hundred followers of the *rdzong-pa* had been defeated, perhaps killed. He also heard that the *rdzong-pa* got into trouble with the sMonpa (Mon-pa?) of Shangs-mthong which had led to the death of a certain *dBon-po* Ne-tso from Gur. The following autumn his Bhutaese patrons sent him a letter insisting that he should come back to sPa-gro.

It was a time of conflict in Tibet; no details are given but the troubles may have been those occasioned by the struggle between Byang-chub rGyal-mtshan and Sa-skye (c.1345-58). rGyal-mtshan dPal-bzang decided to escape by accepting the invitation. He resolved to spend three years in 'the South' where peace had returned, where the inhabitants had faith in religion and where the old ties of 'priest and patron' continued. He was met at Phag-ri by a large number of porters and bodyguards, the latter in order to protect him from brigands. He recalled later how during the three years he spent in the area he had been able to make peace three times between contending parties. He was particularly proud of having resolved a quarrel between his two chief followers, Sa-mkhar rDo-rje and Khro-rgyal who previously had been allies and were so powerful that nobody could rival them. Fearing their strength, others had sought to separate them with false slanders, and in the feud which followed someone had been killed.

Both of them had been responsible for building him a new monastery at 'Brang-rgyaskha in sPa-gro with a view to making him settle down under their patronage, as they had felt some shame at his having accepted the favours bestowed on him by other followers, particularly the bequest of another monastery at 'On-'dul by the previous owner, his disciple 'Phags-pa rDor-rgyal (ff. 119a-120a). The new monastery of 'Brang-rgyas-kha seems to have become his favourite seat in this area, and it was there that his successors in the 'Ba'-ra-ba school came later to visit. rGyal-mtshan dPal-bzang appears to have had a very considerable following from all over the west of the country, and many of these ties were doubtless also inherited by his successors. One of his disciples was the so-called *brgya-dpon* (an official responsible for one hundred families) of sTengs-chen-kha in Wang-yul. On the point of death he was persuaded to forbid the slaughter of cattle for his funeral rites; normally, we are told, local custom demanded that two or three hundred cattle should be sacrificed when an important person died. Regrettably, no clue is given as to how the *brgya-dpon* had come to office, whether by heredity or by Tibetan or local appointment.

This sketch of the master's doings in Bhutan gives one a sense of how the spiritual affairs of a great teacher carried with them enormous temporal responsibilities. In fact no such distinctions would have been present in the minds of those involved in the relationship of 'priest and patron' for it was one that, ideally speaking, involved the whole person, not parts of him, in an act of total submission. These contractual bonds were permanent, to be kept inviolate not just in this lifetime but also through successive rebirths and through the person's natural descendants. Conflicts of interest and loyalty were inevitable as the pattern changed with the rise of new luminaries, their schools and their sub-schools. What may have begun in an act of great selflessness could eventually, through the permutations of history, become warped into vicious and narrow sectarianism. So human an institution was it that the act itself of entering into the special relationship of priest and patron seems to have been prone to abuse. Nevertheless, it had strong appeal and continues to do so today.

The sources do not permit us to see how the relationship was passed down in the case of the little school of the "Ba-ra-ba bKa'-brgyud. It evidently expanded under the control of the main monastery of 'Brang-rgyas-kha in sPa-gro. Branches were established at Yul-tshe-phug in the north of the country, at sNang-gsal dGon-pa and 'Go-'bur dGon-pa in Spuna-kha, at rGya-mdud dGon-pa in Ha, and also at rDo mChod-rten and Che-bal mDze-chu dGon-pa in sPa-gro. The last two also had ties with the 'Brug-pa, but their associations with the 'Ba-ra-ba- in the 15th and 16th centuries find mention in the *Hum-ral gdung-rabs*. The reincarnations of the founder, who had their seat at Don-grub sdings in Shangs, continued to pay visits to the area and probably controlled these local monasteries together with their patrons. One of them, sPrul-sku Nam-mkha' rGyal-mtshan, is mentioned in *LCB II* (f.90a).

The school came to blows with *Zhabs-drung* Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal when he was creating the unified state. In about 1636 he is claimed to have killed by magic a lama of the school at dGon Tshe-phug (or Yul-tshe-phug) in the north (*LCB I*, f. 35a). The 'Ba'-ra-ba is therefore reckoned among the 'five groups of lamas' opposed to the *Zhabs-drung* (*LCB II*, f. 90a.) The defeat of the school may be connected with the exodus of a group of refugees from dGon who settled across the border in Tibet (*LCB I*, f. 43a). Their main monastery at 'Brang-rgyas-kha was taken over by the 'Brug-pa and it became the seat of the monastic official in charge

of the sTag-tshang shrine. The first incumbent was the well-known lama sByin-pa rGyal-mtshan, brother of the even more famous bsTan-'dzin Rab-rgyas. It is not clear when 'Brang-rgyas-kha ceased to be the official seat and all that remains today is a single temple in a poor state of repair with no trace of its former connections with the 'Ba-ra-ba school. Like this one, two of the other monasteries of this school, in Ha and sPu-na-kha, were taken over by famous teachers of the 'Brug-pa school.

One of the key figures in the cultural history of the area is the 'iron bridge builder' (ICags-zam-pa) Thang-stong rGyal-po whose dates are now usually given as 1385-1464. This interesting figure is not only remembered for his many iron chain suspension bridges and boat ferries, but also as the alleged composer of all the occupational songs (which accompany threshing, building and other activities) and of a series of dance-dramas known as *A-lce LHa-mo* ('The Lady Goddess'). He was also a 'text-discoverer' and, furthermore, he has been given an important role in the Ge-sar epic. In Bhutan, he is said to have constructed about eight of his bridges and founded several monasteries and temples. The latter appear to have been affiliated to each other in such a way that they represented the independent interest of a separate school, known as the ICags-zam-pa. The head monastery of the school was at Ri-bo-che in Tibet, founded by Thang-stong rGyal-po in 1444. It was there that his incarnations had their principal residence.

The standard biography of Thang-stong rGyal-po has long been a source of disappointment to scholars. Tucci (1949:163) remarks: '....in this biography actual facts are overcome by legends and accounts of miracles to such extent that little can be gleamed from it of which we may be certain.' Also '....historical reality is wrecked on myths, contours are lost, facts fade away.' The dates it supplies for Thang-stong rGyal-po (i.e. 1361-1485) are improbable and in conflict with its own statement (f.171b) that he lived to the age of 128. Consequently, most authorities prefer to accept the dates given in the *Vaidurya dkar-po* and the *dPag-bsam Ijon-bzang* (i.e. 1385-1464). The biography itself is claimed in its colophon (ff. 172b-173a) to have been written in *sa-mo-bya* (1609) by one 'Gyur-med bDe-chen, who based his work on an earlier one written by a nephew of Thang-stong rGyal-po called dKon-mchog bDe-ba'i Byung-gnas, the incumbent of a temple at Phag-ri, just across the Bhutaneese border. A reading of the biography in this recension does indeed suggest a mixing of fact and legend, but the two seem rather to work in counterpoint to each other and have not entirely coalesced.

It is perhaps at the vital beginning and end of the work that the legendary and miraculous quality most dominates. In the body of the work there appears a mass of detailed and practical information 'which helps to authenticate his work. The role assigned to the saint in the Ge-sarepic is lacking, there is no mention of his alleged theatrical interests, nor do we find any connection with the rite of exorcism known as *pho-bar rdo-gcog* which he is claimed to have instituted and which was till recently performed by itinerant monk-actors from Spiti in the western Himalayas. Instead, Thang-stong rGyal-po is cast in the typical role of a tantric lama, but one who achieved particular distinction through his association with bridges and ferries. He was also noted for building a number of *stupas* on geomantic principles to ward off the evil influence of local spirits and to counter a Hor invasion. His practical avocations aligned him to all the strange Indian *mahasiddhas* (*grub-thob0*) who are said to have achieved enlightenment through the mindful pursuit of ordinary professions and he is consequently often classed in their ranks.

The bridge-builder's connections with Bhutan were first noted as long ago as 1783 by Turner who greatly admired the bridge at Chu-kha on the road to India south of sPa-gro. He recorded the architect's name in the quaint form of 'Tehuptehup' (=grub-thob). Had he turned left at the confluence of the sPa-gro and Thim-phu rivers instead of proceeding to the capital of Hasting's affairs, he would have passed the monastery of rTa-mchog-sgang built by 'Tehuptehup' and heard more about this 'dewta'. Another of his bridges stood there until it was washed away in the floods of 1969. The monastery (which now lacks a community) is the seat of a family known as the *rTa-mchog Chos-rje*. It claims descent from a certain *Mon-pa bDe-ba bZang-po*, a local disciple of the saint. During my stay in Bhutan I obtained brief access to what I then thought was the standard biography of Thangstong rGyal-po, in a manuscript copy preserved by the present *rTa-mchog Chos-rje*. The two passages (ff. 130a-135b and 140b-143b) deal with the activities of its subject in Bhutan. On return to England, he compared these excerpts, together with the title and colophon, with those that appear in the standard biography, only to discover that the Bhuttese version is without doubt an earlier recension and consequently of tremendous potential value for approaching the true, unmythicalised figure of the bridge-builder. Unfortunately only those excerpts made in Bhutan are presently to hand, and these are of no use in solving the many problems of chronology that mark the standard version. In the meantime, twenty volumes of the saint's collected works are said to have come to light in Bhutan and these are being reprinted in India. It is to be hoped that the biography will resurface in this collection to await exhaustive study.

The work (hereafter Version A) is entitled *Bla-ma thang-stong rgyal-po'i rnam-thar gsal-ba'i sgron-me*. It is a manuscript in cursive containing 294 folios divided into 108 chapters. The scribe, Sangs-rgyas Don-grub, seems to have made the copy at the behest of one of the *rTa-mchog Chos-rje* (referred to as 'Uncle Lama'). It is full of crude spelling mistakes and contains many small lacunae. The colophon proper is in two parts. The first attributes the work to a certain dKon-mchog dPal-bzang, the subject of one of the saint's prophetic statements, who wrote it apparently at Chu-bo-ri. He seems to have based his information on the 'discourses' (*gsung-gros*) of the saint in person, and on those of *rJe-btsun A-sgron Chos-sgron*, the saint's wife. To these he added the prophecies of the saint which were not given in the 'discourses' and which would presumably have been contained in a separate text.

The picture conveyed in this first part of the colophon is confused by that given in the second part, according to which the work was composed by *Mon-pa bDe-ba bZang-po*, who had also been the subject of prophecy. It is claimed that he wrote it in a cave hermitage attached to rTa-mchog Nor-busgang 'on the border of sPar [sPa-gro] and Wang [the district under Thimphu]'. This second attribution looks suspicious and may have been interpolated by a member of the family of the *rTa-mchog Chos-rje* which claims descent from this figure. The person named dKon-mchog dPal-bzang in the first part is in fact identical with dKon-mchog bDe-ba'i Byung-gnas, the author of the original source of the standard biography (hereafter Version B). There seems every reason to conclude, therefore, that Version A was itself the original source for B. colophons apart, the following should help to make this clear. Chapters 61 and 64 in Version A deal with Thang-stong rGyal-po's visits to Bhutan and correspond to ff. 81b-85b and 99b-102a in Version B. The first of these visits took him to western Bhutan and the second to central Bhutan.

While the western visit seems to have lasted the best part of a year (1433-4 according to Version B) during which he built many bridges and temples, the later visit to central Bhutan was more in the nature of a pilgrimage. The account of this latter trip is taken up with the saint's visit to the shrine of padmasambhava at sKu-rjes and with the story of how someone who had fallen into an ice crevice on the Mon-la pass was saved from death by his faith in the saint. The accounts in Versions A and B are substantially the same, but the latter has clearly summarised the itinerary found in the former. As far as I could determine, there are no traditions in this region about the saint's visit, whereas there are a great many still related in the areas to the west and east.

Thang-stong rGyal-po's western visit seems to have been made with the express purpose of collecting iron for his most famous suspension bridge over the gTsang-po at Chu-bo-ri, the site of his main monastery. He had probably heard of the old iron-workings in Western Bhutan which produced the material from which the fine swords and daggers of the country used to be made. His journey took him from Chu-bo-ri to Phag-ri by way of sNa-dkarrtse, Ra-lung and gNas-rmying. On the border he is said to have been welcomed by all the old mountain gods, including Jo-mo lHa-ri, rDo-rje Brag-skyes of sPa-gro and Khyung-bdud of Ha, who promised to give him the iron he wanted. On arrival in sPa-gro he went directly to sTag-tshang from where he recovered his most famous *gter-ma* described as 'a scroll tenspans in length containing the *Man-ngag 'phrul-gyi lde-mig*, the profound essence of all sutras and tantras'.

At this point the author of Version B interpolated a passage concerning a miraculous visit of the saint to the Assamese shrine of Singri a place still held to be a Buddhist site by the eastern Bhutase. The account is totally lacking in Version A, which passes directly to the story of the saint's construction of the beautiful little *stupa*-temple of Zlum-brtsegs lHa-khang in sPa-gro. This exquisite building, still standing in sPa-gro, was sited geomatically in order to tame the malignant spirit of the sanke-shaped mountain which divides the main sPa-gro valley from that of Dol-po. The exceptionally fine wall paintings on its three floors are of a late period, having been commissioned by the 25th Head Abbot of Bhutan, Shes-rab rGyal-mtshan (regn. 1836-9). He enlarged the ground floor with a bigger outer wall and restored the basic edifice with a set of huge pillars whose sides bear the names of the villages from which they were carried.

The basic structure is, however, undoubtedly the one built by Thang-stong rGyal-po as confirmed by both versions of his biography and all the local traditions. The account in the biographies is particularly interesting for the mention of the saint's followers from the Indian kingdom of Kamata who later made offerings to the temple itself. Thang-stong rGyal-po's encounter with the king of Kamata after a later journey which took him through western Bhutan down to India is found in Version B (ff. 149a-153a). I do not remember seeing mention of this in Version A but certainty on this point will only be reached when the work becomes available again.

The narrative continues with the story of how the saint went about collecting offerings of iron for his bridge at Chu-bo-ri and how he built a number of bridges in this area. The first of them was the one at rTa-mchog-sgang, where he also built the temple that was to become the seat of the *rTa-mchog Chos-rje* (Version A, ff. 131b-132a). A further bridge was built at

Bar-grong close to dBang'-dus Pho-brang (f.133a); it is no longer standing and all that remains is a pile of the original chains on the river-bank. He built another at the confluence of the Chu-mo and Chu-pho rivers in the Shar district (f.134a), probably not to be confused with the Pho-chu and Mo-chu rivers of sPu-na-kha. His journeys were marked by several unsuccessful attempts on his life by people who wanted to steal the gold and turquoise he had received as gifts. The iron he collected was forged into seven thousand links by eighteen blacksmiths from five villages in sPa-gro. At least one of these villages, that of Bye'u, is still inhabited by families of blacksmiths. The links, together with all the gifts of grain and other things he had received, were packed into 1,400 loads and taken by the sPa-gro people across the border to Phag-ri. Version B (f.84a) maintains they did this because a bridge at Chu-bo-ri would help them to make the pilgrimage to LHa-sa. It also says (on f. 86b) that Kun-bzang 'Phags-pa, the *Chos-rgyal* of rGyal-rtse (also referred to as *bDag-po* Rab-brtan) helped to build the saint's new temple at Phag-ri and to transport the iron links to Chu-bo-ri. This prince's edict (dated 1440) appears in the 'Chronicles of Gyantse' translated by Tucci (1949:662-670); there is specific mention (on f.36) of the duty of the Phag-ri people to transport loads for the government. The edict was issued just six years after the alleged date of Thang-stong rGyal-po's visit to western Bhutan.

The miraculous element in Version A of the biography is just as strong as in Version B, but it is clear that the former work forms a more solid basis for any approach to the saint as an historical figure. Unfortunately, our sources do not permit more than a bare glimpse at what happened to the legacy of the saint in Bhutan. The family of the *rTa-mchog Chos-rje* probably maintained a link with Chu-bo-ri where the incarnations of Thang-stong rGyal-po held authority. The other temples he built in Bhutan (namely Phur-rdo dGon-pa, Dolsteng Sil-ma'i LHa-khang and Zlum-brtsegs LHa-khang) may have been affiliated to rTa-mchog-sgang. The latter place is almost certainly the one referred to as belonging to the ICags-zam-pa school in a letter written by *Zhabs-drung* Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal to his enemy, the gTsang *sDe-srid* (PBP, Vol. Nga, f. 109a-b). It is mentioned along with two Ka-thogpa monasteries as being opposed to the *Zhabs-drung's* rule. The author of *LCB II* says (on f. 76b) that the ICags-zam-pa in Bhutan were among the five schools of enemy lamas, and that their principal seat at rTa-mchong-sgang was destroyed. It was later restored by the 4th '*Brug sDe-srid*, bsTan'-dzin Rab-rgyas (regn. 1680-95). He commissioned the rDzong-dpon A'u Tshering to undertake the work of reconstruction as a penance for his sins. The family must have been reinstated with some of their old rights and privileges at that time. Today they preserve a status only as members of a faded ecclesiastical gentry and are otherwise indistinguishable from the peasantry at large. The heritage of the bridge-builder is preserved in the country through the continuity of his 'life-sustaining' (tshe-grub) rituals which are still quite popular. The iconographic form (Plate 18) of the saint shows him holding in his left hand the vase (tshe-bum) which symbolises this ritual cycle, and in his right hand a few links of iron chain which represent his bridges.

gNas-rnying-pa

The great monastery of gNas-rnying which lies some miles south-east of rGyal-rtse has enjoyed a continuous history from the ninth century, if we are to believe its chronicle contained in the *gNas-rnying chos-'byung* and allow for a period of interruption during and after the reign of Glang Dar-ma. What remained of its ancient frescoes and sculpture after the serious

damage inflicted on it during the Younghusband Expedition in 1904 has been studied by Tucci (1932-41: Vol. 4) who first drew attention to the chronicle. It is one of the most convoluted works in Tibetan literature and is used here mainly in regard to the large number of Bhutaese monasteries which were affiliated to gNas-nying from the 14th to 17th centuries.

King Ral-pa-can of Tibet (c. 805—836) is said to have rewarded his minister mGos Khri-bzang with the grant of a large land-holding that came to be called mGos-kyi Phag-ri (after the name of the principal settlement in the Chumbi Valley) or mGos-yul sTong-gsum. The southernmost limit of this principality was marked by the old temple of sKyer-chu in the sPa-gro valley of western Bhutan. gNas-nying itself is held to have been founded by mGos Khyang-mgos-rtal, one of the two sons of the minister. He installed as abbot the family guru, 'Jam-dpal gSang-ba of the rGya clan and it was a family belonging to this clan which is claimed to have provided the successive incumbents to the abbacy, just as another branch of the rGya supplied the incumbents of the principal 'Brug-pa foundation at Ra-lung, as we have seen above. The rGya of gNas-nying intermarried with the descendants of the founder in the mGos clan, but their lineage is traced confusingly to one dByil rGyal-ba Grub-pa of the La-stod district of gTsang.

The monastery was reconsecrated by the great Indian teacher *Atisa* who arrived in Tibet in 1042 and it was presented with all its estates to one of his disciples, *mKhanpo* Yol-chen-po, by a member of the family called rGya Jo-sras Phur-ba. gNas-nying appears to have become one of the important centres of the bKa'-gdams-pa school which stems from *Atisa*, though the religious interests of the family also linked it to all the other emerging schools. The monastery clearly underwent many changes of fortune, and the list provided in the chronicle of its forty-four successive abbots properly begins with one dKon-mchog-mkhar of La-stod, the associate of 'Bre Shes-rab'-bar (a chief disciple of *Atisa*). Kun-dga' sNying-po (1092-1158), founder of the Sa-skya school) and the famous yogin Khyung-po rNal'-byor. The bKa'-gdams-pa character of the monastery, however, seems to have been preserved and it is not surprise to find it later becoming very closely associated with the so-called 'new bKa'-gdams-pa' or dGe-lugs-pa school founded by Tsong-kha-pa (1357-1419).

According to Bhutaese tradition it was an abbot of gNas-nying called 'Chi-med Rab-rgyas, a disciple of Tsong-kha-pa, who brought the monastery into the fold of the dGe-lugs-pa and extended its influence south into Bhutan. The longlist of monasteries which are claimed to have been founded by him in the western valleys probably represent most of the holdings of the gNas-nying-pa school in Bhutan; they are more likely to have been established by a succession of the gNas-nying abbots. The *gnas-nying chos-'byung* never seems to have been available to Bhutaese historians though at least a part of it was written at the specific behest of one of their followers from the Bhutaese monastery of dGon-gsar-kha called *Bla-ma* bDe-legs.

It was, he who, requested the monk Grags-pa rGyal-mtshan from gNas-nying to compose sketches of the lives of two of the head abbots of gNas-nying who had close relations with Bhutan. The abbots, who were brothers, were Rinchen-grub (1403-52) and rGyal-mtshan Rin-chen (1405-68). Their lives occupy of the *gnas-nying chos-'byung* and were included in the work at the time of its compilation. The life of the elder brother was written in 1457 (*me-mo-glang*) just five years after his death. That of the younger brother was probably also written

soon after his death, though no date is provided. Grags-pa rGyal-mtshan points out that he had written extended biographies of the two abbots but I do not know if these have survived.

The father of the two brothers, Rin-chen rGyal-mtshan, had preceded them as abbot of gNas-nying. In spite of severe criticism, he had received permission from the prince of rGyal-rtse, *bDag-po Nang-chen Kun-dga'*-phags, to give up his vows and take a wife in order to ensure the continuity of his line. The lady he chose came from the sDing-ma (or lDing-ma) family who were close allies of the Sa-skyapa hierarchs. The sons born to this couple received some of their training at the hands of the two most famous disciples of Tsong-kha-pa, namely mKhas-grub-rje (1385-1438) and rGyaltsab-rje (1364-1432). The elder brother, Rin-chen-grub, ruled as the abbot of gNas-nying for thirty-one years from the age of twenty to fifty (*more tibetico*), in the course of which he paid two visits to what are described as 'our main and branch monasteries in the Southern Land of Four Approaches'.

However, it is in the biographical sketch devoted to his younger brother, rGyal-mtshan Rin-chen, that most of the information concerning these monasteries is found. Unfortunately the origins of only one of them, rDzong-bragkha in the sPa-gro valley, are properly explained and these tie in very well with the picture afforded in a local text. This is the untitled 'guide' (*gnas-yig*) to rDzong-brag-kha, preserved in a manuscript belonging to the present rDzong-brag Chos-rje who kindly allowed me to copy it. Byang-chub bZang-po, provincial abbot of the state monastery in sPa-gro, composed the guide, probably in the 19th century, after completing certain works of restoration and enlargement there.

rDzong-brag-kha is one of those spectacular cliff-hanging complexes which are found all over the area. In sPa-gro it stands second only to sTag-tshang for the beauty of its location and architecture. Its foundation is ascribed in the chronicle to *Grub-thob* mGon-po rDo-rje who was the nephew of a certain *Kun-mkhyen Mu-srang-pa* dPal-Idan Seng-ge from 'the old and proud monastery (*dgon-rnying dregs-pa-can*) of Mu-srang at sTag-rtse in La-stod Byang'. Both the chronicle and the guide assert that mGon-po rDo-rje was sent south to Bhutan by one of the gNas-nying abbots, *rNam-mkhyen Rin-chen* bSam-gtan, whose dates I cannot provide but who appears to have lived in the 14th to 15th centuries. The *grub-thob*, it is said, was directed by the abbot to recover a *gter-ma* in the form of 'a relic of the Sugata' from a particular rock in sPa-gro. The story explaining how mGon-po rDo-rje did this is recounted with all the zest of high adventure.

In the course of it we are supplied with folk etymologies for several of the place-names at the lower end of the valley and these are all reproduced with the accompanying legend in *LCB* II (ff. 85b-86b). The quest for the *gter-ma* ended with its discovery at rDzong-brag kha where a brick *stupa* was built to contain it. It is the famous mChod-rten dKar-mo' 'Gul-shes' ('The White Stupa Which Moves'), so named because it is said to shake of its own accord on certain occasions. There are constant references to it as a place of pilgrimage in all the later biographical material from Bhutan. The line of the rDzong-brag Chos-rje claims descent from an unnamed incarnation of mGon-po rDo-rje and one of its two branches still act today as custodians of the main temple at rDzong-brag-kha. The other is said to have died out. The fact that their temple once contained a flourishing community of the gNas-nying-pa school has been completely forgotten and the only reference to this in the local literature comes in the guide in a hidden form. As we shall see, the family had good cause to forget its ture

origins. The present *chos-rje* maintains that mGon-po rDo-rje was a lama of the 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud-pa. He has no male heir or nephew and the local opinion is that the line will die out with him.

The impression given in the chronicle is that by the first half of the 15th century the gNas-rnying-pa were very firmly established in the western valleys. The biographical sketch devoted to rGyal-mtshan Rin-chen deals almost exclusively with his activities in Bhutan. We find him fully occupied there in renewing the links formed by his predecessors, and founding new temples and monasteries. In sPa-gro he took the initiative in settling a bitter feud between the villages surrounding rDzong-brag-kha and another group further up the valley. He made substantial gifts to all the contending parties and extracted from them an oath to renounce the feud for a period of twelve years. In Thim-phu and sPa-gro we find him enjoying close and friendly relations with some of the 'Brug-pa families who descend from *pha-jo* 'Brug-sgom Zhig-po, particularly Drung-drung rGyal-'dzom at the monastery of bDe-chen-phug. It was still the age when sectarian rivalries were more the product of conflict between lay patrons than the result of institutional narrowness.

The gNas-rnying-pa themselves appear to have drawn on all the emergent schools and it is unlikely that they would have considered themselves part of the dGe-lugs-pa order during this period. It is not clear how their Bhutaese monasteries were administered or how they were formally linked to the mother-house at gNas-rnying. Some of the wealth derived from the monastic estates would have been payable to gNas-rnying as a tax in the same way that one presumes the branches of some of the other schools had to fulfil certain secular obligations to their head monastery in Tibet.

At all events the gNas-rnying-pa were a late arrival. Although certain families must have risen to positions of power and authority as their patrons, these probably never compared with the old 'Brug-pa families who had risen to prominence long before. While in terms of the number and diffusion of their monasteries they seem to have come close to the 'Brug-pa, their foundations did not lie so deep in the Bhutaese soil. Consequently they appear to have collapsed as an integrated force when *Zhabs-drung* Ngagdbang rNam-rgyal unified the country under 'Brug-pa rule in the first half of the 17th century. Nothing is revealed about how this happened, but they are now affirmed (in *LCB* II, f. 88b) to have been among the schools attached to the group of five enemy lamas who sided with the *gTsang sDe-srid* against the *Zhabs-drung*.

The leader of the gNas-rnying-pa at that time may have been Bla-ma dPal-Idan of Wang Glang-ma-lung who led the attack on the *Zhabs-drung's* fortress at srin-mo-rdo-kha in about 1530 and who lost his life in the battle (*LCB* I, f. 33b). In sPa-gro the story is still told how one of the gNas-rnying-pa monasteries, dPal-ri dGon-pa, was stripped of its golden roof ornament as a mark of official proscription. On the opposite side of the valley to that monastery stand the shrines of the rDzong-brag-kha complex whose hereditary incumbents have quite forgotten their former affiliations with the gNas-rnying-pa school. In the biography of Kundga' rGyal-mtshan (1689-1713) the troubles that led to his murder are attributed to his enemy sDe-srid 'Brug Rab-rgyas (regn. 1707-19) being the incarnation of the *gNas-rnying rje-btsun-ma* (f. 117b). The latter had sworn vengeance on the *Zhabs-drung* when the gNas-rnying-pa were being deprived of their livelihood and facing expulsion from the country.

Sa-skyapa

With the exception of the rNying-ma-pa, the only order permitted to flourish alongside the ruling 'Brug-pa school was that of the Sa-skyapa which had dominated Tibet under Mongol patronage during the century from 1254 to 1354. They were the last to arrive in Bhutan and, in view of their later survival, it is surprising how very little they come to light in the records.

The temple of LHa-Iding isolated to the north of spa-gro probably had connections with Sa-skyapa. It is said to have been founded by a lama called dPa'-bo sTag-sham-can in the 5th cycle (1267-1326). His consort, Me-tog gSal-sgron, came from the ruling family of Sa-skyapa and it is from there, the chief monastery of the order, that the main image of LHa-Iding is said to have been brought (LCB, ff. 86b-87a). Almost all that we have to go on for the true history of the Sa-skyapa in Bhutan, however, is the statement in LCB II (f.89a-b) that one 'Phrin-las Rab-yangs founded a number of monasteries in the 8th cycle (1447-1506). These included sPyi-zhing in Wang yul, Shel-dmar dGon-pa in sKyabs-khra and sNe-ba dGon-pa in Shel-sna, the first of these being the main seat. 'Phrin-las Rab-yangs belonged to the discipline age that stemmed from Kun-dga' bZang-po (1382-1444), the founder of the Ngor-pa sub-school of the Sa-skyapa. He is said to have been followed by another lama belonging to the Ngor-pa branch, a certain *Grub-thob* Nyarong Don-grub, who founded two monasteries in the northern region of Bhutan, namely Ri-tshogs dGon-pa and Dol-ma-can.

The main branch of the Sa-skyapa was introduced, about the same time it seems, by the rKyang- 'dur Pan-chen sGra-pa who established sPa-gar dGon-pa in Wang-yul, Sharwang dGon-pa in Nags-rnying and Phang-ye dGon-pa in the Shar district. Each of these sets of Sa-skyapa monasteries is said to have had its own lineage of lamas, the most famous being the one attached to Phyi-zhing. Their chronicle, known as the *Phyi-zhing bla-ma'i gdan-rabs*, is rumoured to exist. sPa-gar, the principal monastery of the group founded by the rKyang- 'dur Pan-chen, was 'colonised' by mKhas-grub Kun-dga' rGya-mtsho, a famous 'Brug-pa lama of the early 18th century. The place must have already gone into decline by the time he brought it into the 'Brug-pa fold.

In fact all the Sa-skyapa foundations appear to have died a natural death in the face of 'Brug-pa supremacy. Memories of the Sa-skyapa are preserved in folk tales still recited in the Thimphu and sPu-na-kha valleys. They all tell of the humorous exploits of bKra-shis, the lay servant of the *Phyi-zhing Bla-ma*, who constantly outwitted his master. Another set of satirical stories centre in the same way around the figure of an ordinary layman, Wang Brug-rgyal, who occupied himself in discomfiting the powerful rDzong-dpon of Thimphu. Both bKra-shis and Wang 'Brug-rgyal correspond to the legendary Tibetan joker, *A-khu* sTon-pa.

The reason why the Sa-skyapa were permitted to co-exist with the 'Brug-pa is perfectly clear. The *Zhabs-drung* was friendly with the leaders of the Sa-skyapa school throughout his life. As we shall see, he twice used them as intermediaries after he had come to Bhutan when he was in conflict with the Tibetan authorities. In both cases the Sa-skyapa intervention led to temporary peace. Later a marriage was arranged between the *Zhabs-drung's* son 'Jam-dpal rDo-rje and a lady from an important family allied to the Sa-skyapa. In view of these friendly relations it is hardly surprising to find him and his successors favouring the branch of their school that had been established in Bhutan some two centuries or so earlier.

One of the apparent failings of the source material is that it assembles the complex mosaic of Buddhist schools that took root in Bhutan in such a way that the basic, emergent pattern might apply to almost any region of the lamaist world; at no point are we in touch with the features that distinguished Bhutae life and society from those of its neighbours. The conceptual categories of Tibetan Buddhism, the unchanging qualities of the literature, the very purpose and nature of that literature have together exerted a powerful equalising effect upon all circumstances of place and time. We are transported to the 'shared' world of Tradition where one century looks like any other and where human motivation is always simple as in a fairy story. Moreover, while the lay strata remains elusive, the dominant spiritual forms are invariably expressed to terms of universals. The strength of the recording tradition seems to depend largely on those instances when certain vital figures are seen to transcend the morass of hagiography by revitalizing the ancient clichés of experience. Even in such cases, however, very little of the individual personality of the subject comes to light. We are on occasion afforded a glimpse of broader historical forces at play, but again these are of a fortuitous nature and incidental to the main concern, which is to plot a course to enlightenment along lines that are mainly pre-determined. Paradoxically therefore, the resilience of the spiritual tradition and the values which underlie it present certain obstacles to the study of its history.

Despite these difficulties, even the most superficial level of analysis would suggest some conclusions that hold true for the early history of western Bhutan where these schools gained authority. It can be noticed firstly that to bring a sense of order to the diffuse material available, each school has here been considered separately; but this unitary approach has inevitably blurred the many points of contact which a cohesive narrative account would otherwise reveal. Nevertheless, it seems unlikely that such an account would convey a picture any the less fragmented than the one given here; this is because the schools and lineages remained in a state of constant fission act against a back cloth of ethnic and geographical complexity.

It is remarkable how many of the founding figures who stand at the head of their traditions in Tibet were so active in Bhutan that offshoots of their schools or lineages developed there too. As we have seen, this is true to a varying degree of *rGyal-ba* *LGa-nang-pa* *Klong-chen-pa* *Dri-med* 'Od-zer, *Lo-ras-pa* *dBang-phyug brTson*'-grus, 'Ba'-ra-ba *rGyal-mtshan dPal-bzang*, *Padma Gling-pa* and 'Brug-pa *Kun-legs*. Of these, only *Padma Gling-pa* was a native of Bhutan. The others were attracted to the area by the great pilgrim shrines, by the search for local patronage and recognition and by the desire to escape from the turmoils of Tibetan politics to the peace of the secluded Bhutae valleys.

Some of these patriarchal figures inspired local traditions linked in later history to the mainstream of their schools in Tibet, and were themselves given the role in Bhutan of great cultural heroes. The most notable of this type were *Thang-stong rGyal-po*, *Padma Gling-pa* and 'Brug-pa *Kun-legs* -all of whom were active in the 15th and 16th centuries. The songs and dances attributed to them enjoy a wide currency far beyond the few families who claim descent from them. Moreover, these folk traditions are cast in a local mode which contrasts them with the Tibetan traditions that are also associated with the names of these figures. The fact that the 'Brug-pa school which late rose to dominance lacked a great figure who had been active in Bhutan at the beginning of its history meant that it had to create its own folk hero: *Pha-io* 'Brug-sgom *Zhig-po*.

In trying to trace the local development of Buddhist schools no mention has been made of the many isolated figures and communities that stand removed from the broader patterns. These include the two Indian teachers *Pha-dam-pa* Sangs-rgyas of the 11th century and Vanaratna ('the last of the Pandits', 1384-1468). Even though there is no doubt about the visit of the latter, neither left any discernible effect apart from the places that are still associated with them. One or two monasteries in the north of the country are classed as having belonged to the Shing-rta-pa school, an offshoot of the 'reformed' dGe-lugs-pa introduced to that area by the disciples of 'Phan-yul-pa dPal-Idan rDo-rje, who was in turn one of the chief disciples of Tsong-kha-pa (1357-1419). The Shing-rta-pa may have been among the local schools opposed to the *Zhabs-drung*. The visit of Tsong-kha-pa himself to Bum-thang was noticed in Part One, Chapter 4. At least one important family in the sKyabs-khra ('Chapcha') district had its origins in the 'Bri-khung-pa school but it became totally absorbed into the rNying-ma-pa and 'Brug-pa (Aris 1976: 619 Note). The record could be expanded indefinitely.

Only the slenderest of evidence points to the area of 'proto-Bhutan' coming under the control of various central Tibetan governments. The Saskya, Rin-spungs and gTsang-pa authorities have each appeared briefly on the local scene. Their sporadic efforts, insofar as we can determine their nature at all, seem to have been directed towards the subjugation of those districts most accessible from Tibet. That they may for some periods have been successful has been suggested by the existence of the minor official posts in Bhutan of *mi-dpon*, *spyi-dpon* and *brgya-dpon*. These probably took on a hereditary nature which became divorced from any Tibetan authority. By contrast, the evidence pointing to the existence of ecclesiastical estates governed either by Tibetan or local families is overwhelming.

These were autonomous and had nothing to do with any Tibetan government as far as we can see. So numerous were they that one wonders whether by the early 17th century there were indeed any communities in the main western valleys that were not tied as patrons to the schools that had become implanted there during the preceding centuries. Only in the eastern area did there still survive the ancient pattern of clan rule; but even in those districts it was noticed that forms of religious rule had begun to be established. It is, however, particularly in the fragmented history of western Bhutan that there gleams and fades and gleams again an ideal as enduring and impressive as the old buildings which still testify to its early attraction, namely that an enlightened being should take charge of the destinies of lesser mortals. That which came to be regarded as the triumphant fulfilment of the ideal by *Zhabs-drung* Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal, which led to the ultimate unification of Bhutan and which occasioned all the attempts to perpetuate his rule, form the main theme to Part Three which follows now.

PROTESTANT BUDDHISM

Protestant Buddhism has its roots in the latter half of the nineteenth century and the encounter between Sinhala society and the British colonial power. Malalgoda has brilliantly documented and analyzed the early impact of the British government on Buddhism¹. In 1815, when the British became the first colonial power to win control of the whole island, they signed the Kandyan convention, which promised: 'The Religion of Boodhoo professed by the Chiefs and Inhabitants of these Provinces is declared inviolable, and its rites, Ministers and Places of Worship are to be maintained and protected.'² They never explicitly repudiated this undertaking nor did the government as such mount a frontal attack on Buddhism; but from the first that article of the treaty was attacked by Protestant evangelicals, and the government soon felt obliged to dissociate itself from Buddhism. The traditional bond between Buddhism and the government of the Sinhala people was effectively dissolved by about 1850. On the other hand, while not all Governors and other British officials were personally enthusiastic about the activities of Protestant missionaries, official policy favored them. The building of Anglican churches very close the Buddhist temples symbolized the supersession of the old established religion by a new one.

Though Anglicanism itself was dis-established in 1880, after which time Sri Lanka had a secular government, already by then conversion to Christianity was almost essential for those who wished to join the ruling elite. Buddhism had lost its prestige and Buddhists their power.³ The demoralization of the Sinhala Buddhist peasantry is shown by the millenarian myth of Diyasena that became popular in the last century. Diyasena will arise as a Sinhala Buddhist hero who will kill all Christians and non believers and reestablish the glory of Buddhism. Probably the last period in which this myth was current was in the late 1950s, when some attempt was made to identify the Sinhala Buddhist Prime Minister S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike with Diyasena.

Protestant Buddhism can be traced back to two sets of historical conditions, the one more specific and the other more general. The more specific concern the activities of the Protestant missionaries, to which Buddhists began to react in the quarter century 1860 to 1885; by the latter date the foundations of the movement were all in place. The more general causes were the results of close contact with the West: the arrival of modern knowledge and Western-type education, printing and increased use of literacy, and the rise of a Sinhala middle class and the embourgeoisement of Sinhala society. We shall see below that while the features of

Protestant Buddhism that reflect the specific Sinhala experience of British colonial domination have gradually lost their importance since Independence, the others are set in long-term and probably irreversible trends that find echoes in many parts of the world and yet produce quite distinctive results in a Buddhist context.

Educated as they were in the Christian tradition of martyrdom, the missionaries from the first expected and indeed hoped to excite hostility among the Buddhists. At first they were disappointed by the *Sangha's* eirenic response, which they tended to interpret as religious indifference. Their persistent provocation did at last elicit some response in kind, a counter protest; 'Thanks be to God, battle is joined at last', wrote the Methodist Spence Hardy in 1863. In 1862 the monk Mohottivatte Gunananda founded the Society for the Propagation of Buddhism in imitation of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and on a press originally imported by the Church Missionary Society began to print replies to Christian propaganda.⁴ In 1865 the first of a series of public debates between Christians and Buddhists was held; in most *Gunananda* led for the Buddhists.⁵ The most important event in Christian-Buddhist encounter proved to be a two-day debate held at Panadura, south of Colombo, in 1873.⁶ An account of the Panadura debate, which was a triumph for *Gunananda*, was published in the English-language press and read by Colonel H.S. Olcott.

Olcott was an American who, with Madame Blavatsky (born Helene Hahn Von Rottenstern), had organized the Theosophical Society of New York in 1875. Its headquarters moved to Adyar, near Madras, in 1879 and have been there ever since. Olcott arrived in Sri Lanka on 17th February 1880, a day which for a while in Independent Sri Lanka was celebrated as Olcott Day. He stayed five months on that occasion and founded the Buddhist Theosophical Society, with both clerical and lay branches. Blavatsky, a spiritualist medium and thaumaturge, was responsible for Theosophy's ideology, Olcott, who had military and judicial experience, for its institutionalization. Theosophy claimed to supersede, or rather to subsume, all currently established religions; but at the same time it strongly criticized contemporary Christianity and held that the truth was to be found in the spiritual Orient. Though they at first knew next to nothing about Hinduism and Buddhism, the founders of Theosophy were prejudiced in their favor. The prejudice was reciprocal. Olcott seemed a kind of anti-missionary missionary. America of course appeared in those days as the great anti-colonialist Western power, the successful rebel against British rule, so Olcott was welcomed as a political and cultural ally who could assist the Sinhalese in their struggle and also bring to bear the organizational skills of the West.

Some of Olcott's innovations, though influential for a time, had a chiefly symbolic value: he invented a Buddhist flag⁸ (that in due course became the emblem of the international Buddhist movement),⁹ formulated a Buddhist "catechism"¹⁰ in terms to which he felt (wrongly) all Buddhists could assent,¹¹ persuaded the government to declare *Vesak* a public holiday,¹² and encouraged Buddhists to celebrate it with songs modelled on Christmas carols- whence further developed the custom of sending *Vesak* cards on the analogy of Christmas cards. But besides imparting a Christian style to Buddhist civil religion, he founded institutions that had a more solid impact. Probably the most important function of the Buddhist Theosophical Society was that it founded and ran Buddhist schools to emulate those founded by the Christian missions. It was clearly Olcott's inspiration that led to the founding of the Young Men's and

Young Women's Buddhist Associations and the Buddhist Sunday schools, which came to be held in almost every village and were supplied with textbooks and an examination structure by the Young Men's Buddhist Association. The society's schools were taken over by the government in 1961, but they still exist and so do the Sunday schools.

Despite all these achievements, Olcott should perhaps be seen rather as the patron than as the true founding father of Protestant Buddhism. From the point of view of this book he is overshadowed by his Sinhala protege, who was born in 1864 as Don David *Hevavitarana* and died in 1933 as the Venerable Devamitta Dharmapala, but is generally known as *Anagarika Dharmapala*. The name Dharmapala means "Defender of the (Buddhist) Doctrine." The style *Anagarika* was an innovation. The word is a *Pali* term meaning 'homeless' and is a classical epithet of a monk. *Dharmapala* used it, however, to denote an interstitial role that he created to stand between layman and monk as traditionally conceived; he used it to mean a man without home or family ties who nevertheless lived in the world, not in the isolation of a monastery. We shall further discuss this idea below.

Dharmapala was from a Buddhist home in Colombo but was educated at Christian mission schools, for there were hardly any others. His father, a wealthy businessman, had come to Colombo from southern Sri Lanka. As a child *Dharmapala* heard the Panadura debate. In his early teens he passed *Gunananda's* temple daily on the way to school, and it was from him that he learnt of the Theosophists, even before their arrival in the country. He met them in 1880, when he was only sixteen, and when they returned to Sri Lanka in 1884 he persuaded Olcott to initiate him into the Theosophical Society. Despite paternal objections he went with Olcott and Madame Blavatsky to the Theosophist headquarters in Adyar near Madras. Here he wanted to study occultism with Madame Blavatsky, but she persuaded him instead to study Buddhism and to learn *Pali*, the classical language of its scriptures.

Returning the same year to Sri Lanka, he became manager of the Buddhist Theosophical Society and worked for it, with some interruptions, till 1890. He also edited and produced the society's newspaper, *Sandarasa*. By then Madame Blavatsky had died, and he and Olcott were drifting apart; they finally separated in the early 1900s, when Olcott claimed that the tooth relic in Kandy was an animal bone. This relic had served for centuries as the palladium of Sinhala royalty, and its symbolic importance has hardly diminished in modern times; Olcott's rationalistic (protestant) view of relics was too much for *Dharmapala's* Sinhala Buddhist sentiment.

From 1889 to 1906 *Dharmapala* travelled widely: first to Japan with Olcott; then to India, Burma, Thailand, Europe, and the United States, where he represented Buddhism at the World Parliament of Religions in Chicago in 1893. He became the founder of international Buddhism, both in the sense of making Buddhists in different Asian countries aware of each other and in starting propaganda for Buddhism in the West. In 1891 he founded the Maha Bodhi Society, whose primary goal was to regain control of the site of the Buddha's Enlightenment at Bodhi Gaya in India; however, it is also this society, now based in Colombo, that sponsors all Sinhala Buddhist monasteries outside Sri Lanka and is thus responsible for Sinhala Buddhist missionaries (*Dhammaduta*) in the West. It therefore represents the reality, rather than the rhetoric, of a world Buddhist movement in this century. From 1906 to 1915, when he was exiled to Calcutta, *Dharmapala* lived mainly in Sri Lanka, and his Sinhala Buddhist nationalism

intensified. In 1906, he started his own newspaper, *Sinhala Bauddhaya* ("The Sinhala Buddhist"), and carried on polemics against the Buddhist Theosophical Society, which he now wished to purge of Theosophy in name as well as substance.

Dharmapala's political legacy has been brilliantly explored by Professor Bechert.¹³ Moreover, although *Dharmapala's* views were somewhat distinctive, Sinhala Buddhist nationalism has a long continuous tradition. Since we aim in this book to discuss only what seems to us really new, we shall here say little of *Dharmapala's* political activity and impact.

The British Colonial Rule and its Influence

Our main concern is with *Dharmapala's* specifically religious views and legacy, but they cannot be adequately understood unless seen against the background of the rise of the Sinhala middle class and his influence upon it. The interaction between *Dharmapala's* personality and the cultural dilemmas of the his time have been explored elsewhere;¹⁴ here we confine ourselves to public matters.

We must first consider education and literacy. The sangha were both the traditional intelligentsia and the traditional educators of the Sinhala laity. There is some evidence¹⁵ that male literacy in Sri Lanka in the early nineteenth century was as high as in Britain. But the use of that literacy must have been very restricted in Sri Lanka, as there was nothing printed in Sinhala except a few productions of presses imported by the Dutch and British. Monasteries kept manuscripts; and popular literature was mainly preserved orally, though some families possessed palm leaf manuscripts. The average layman had no direct access to written texts of his scriptures. A sine qua non of Christian Protestantism was that the layman had his own Bible, in his mother tongue, but to this day as we shall further explain in Chapter 13) the Sinhala Buddhist has few Buddhist scriptures available in his own language. The means for the layman to develop his own selection and interpretation of the sacred texts, apart from the hierarchy, were therefore limited: Protestant Buddhism has been a Protestantism virtually without a Bible.

During the first fifty years of British rule the small village temple school apparently continued the flourish in the Low Country, but not in the Kandyan provinces. In any case these schools, with their traditional curricula and lack of English. Could not compete with the English-medium schools opened by the missionaries. In 1869 the mission schools lost their monopoly of modern education with the opening of the government Department of public Instruction; and in the same year a Buddhist monk organized the opening of the first non-monastic Buddhist school in the country, with a headmaster who was convert from Christianity and had been educated in a mission school, But it remained the case till well after Independence that education at an English-medium school was the sole point of entry to the ruling elite.

Inevitably, every pupil at such a school was brought into contact with the world view conveyed in English textbooks. He and she became aware of the world of modern knowledge and scientific advance. Evidently the Sangha did not know everything that seemed worth knowing. The monk lost his place as intellectual leader to the schoolteacher.

Modern education is more than the acquisition of modern knowledge. It involves the realization that the past knew less than we do and that knowledge is constantly growing. Recognizing the limitations of ancient wisdom is an important part of de-mystifying the world

of the past. At the same time. As Elkana has written: "The conscious effort to de-mystify the world is not only about the world; it is also an effort to guide one's thoughts; it is thinking about thinking."¹⁶

It is an open question to what extent this cognitive rationality permeated the English-educated who constituted the Sri Lankan middle class in the nineteenth century and among whom Protestant Buddhism was born. On the one hand, the acceptance of English mores in this class went unusually deep. At Independence many middle-class households in Colombo and other major towns spoke English at home and used Sinhala ("the vernacular") only to the servants and were literate only in English; in this respect Sri Lanka was more like a French colony in Africa than a part of South Asia, for in India hardly any Hindu or Muslim households adopted English as their mother tongue. On the other hand, the influence of Christianity was rarely more than skin-deep; despite the best efforts of the missionaries, only a minority even of the pupils at mission schools became Christians.

As the middle class expanded, it included an ever-higher proportion of Buddhists (and of course Hindus among the Tamils). The majority of school children were in the same situation as the young Dharmapala: they attended Christian scripture lessons at school and were examined in their knowledge of the Bible, but returned home to Buddhist households. This is stranger by Christian than by Buddhist standards. In South Asia it is commonplace for the same person to apply different "religions" (for want of a better term) to different contexts; of this the traditional Sinhala partition between Buddhism for the next world and the spirit cult for this ("The Buddha for refuge, the gods for help")¹⁷ affords an example. The Sinhala Anglophone class must have come to regard Christianity as the civic religion of the day- Christianity for public life, Buddhism for private.¹⁸

There is of course an important difference between this division and the one between Buddhism and the spirit religion. The latter division is heir-archized, the former is not. The traditional religion integrated Buddhism and the spirit religion into a logically coherent framework. But to accept both Buddhism and Christianity involves cognitive inconsistency, even if one chooses to ignore the fact. It lays open the way to a somewhat schizoid attitude to religion, which may also apply to rationality: rationality is to operate in one part of life, not in another. (There is of course nothing particularly unusual about that.)

The "schizoid" attitude of modern educated Buddhists is much in evidence when it comes to the spirit religion. *Dharmapala*, who was interested in the occult and deeply influenced by Theosophy had no time for the traditional spirit religion with which he, as a member of the Colombo haute bourgeoisie, presumably had little early contact. But in this respect he was much more rational than most of his followers. It is common for contemporary Buddhist intellectuals to say, "Of course, as a *Buddhist* I don't believe in those things," but this is not intended as a complete disavowal- quite the contrary. Even the minority who are completely skeptical about spirits usually accept astrology because that is considered to be "scientific."

What was affected was not the belief in the spirit religion but the style of its practice. Worship of the gods has been affected by the more serious spirit hitherto generally reserved for worship of the Buddha. Middle-class notions of propriety have superseded the licensed obscenity and other forms of unbuttoning typical of village communal rituals. Rather than act out his emotions (or watch others do so) the middle-class Buddhist approaches gods with private

prayer and inner devotion. The decorum in calculated by *Dharmapala* code (see below) is extended to every realm of behavior, but cannot of course touch the needs that take people to the spirit cult.

What could English-educated Buddhists find to read about their religion? For the first time in history the complete *Pali* Canon was printed in Thailand in 1893, and that was in Thai characters. In the nineteenth century very few *pali* texts were printed in Sinhala script; and there was no demand for them, as the English-educated learned Latin at School, not *pali*. So the Sinhala elite depended almost as heavily on Western, and especially British, Orientalism as they did on Western books for modern subjects. In 1881 T.W. Rhys Davids, who had been a colonial administrator in Sri Lanka, founded the Pali Text Society in London; many of the early subscribers were Sinhala. The Pali Text Society began to publish not only Pali texts in Roman type—it finished producing the Canon early in the present century—but also English translations of the texts. These were relatively expensive books, and their contents were not always particularly easy reading, but for the educated Sinhala laity they were the main path of access to the Canon. One wonders how many people actually read them.

Traditionally the more abstract doctrines of Buddhism were reserved for monks. The laity was edified and entertained with the story literature, tales of the Buddha and of his former births the latter are called Jataka tales. Early in this century such tales came to be printed in cheap leaflets called kavi kola that were sold in markets and at pilgrimage centers by vendors known as "umbrella men" because they laid their stock out on the ground and sheltered it under a big black umbrella. But again, the buyers of this literature were mainly not the middle class, but the wider population who were filling the state school system. But paradoxically, in recent years this market has again been eroded and the "umbrella men" are fewer. It is possible that the demand for the older kavi kola has been sapped by the same school system that has made literacy almost universal, for it teaches a Buddhism that has been much influenced by Protestant tendencies. The Jataka ballads have been superseded on the one hand by modern pulp novels and on the other by magical and astrological texts that cater to the great upsurge in demand for occult literature.

The diffusion of Protestant Buddhism, albeit in a diluted form, through the Sinhala population by way of the Sunday schools and the state school system has run parallel to that gradual embourgeoisement of Sinhala society in terms of ideology. This chapter is concerned to trace the origins of Protestant Buddhism in the late nineteenth century and then discuss another period of rapid change, the last few years. But of course Sinhala society did not stand still between 1900 and 1950. *Dharmapala* grew up among a small, largely anglophone middle class, an haute bourgeoisie, but he influenced and in some sense helped to create a much broader class, a petite bourgeoisie. The acquisition of bourgeois values in a society that had consisted of a small aristocracy ruling a large peasantry is a process that needs to be documented by historians, but its outlines are reasonably clear.

Dharmapala initially influenced a stratum of Sinhala society consisting of the village intelligentsia and the Buddhist entrepreneur class emerging in the cities. The village intelligentsia was to a large extent created by the colonial regime—state employees like headmen, coroners, registrars of births and deaths, and above all, village schoolmasters. These joined traditional elites like Buddhist monks and Ayurvedic physicians. An influential stratum

of this type had existed in traditional society also, but its numbers were now greatly increased. In the cities and towns there arose a new group of entrepreneurs who, like Dharmapala's parents, were moving into small businesses. Both groups were educated in Sinhala medium schools. They had high ambitions but were socially alienated in two fundamental ways. First, they were cut off from political power, which was controlled by the British and the native anglophone and partly Christian elite. Second, they were alienated from peasant society itself. The entrepreneurs had left the village and resided in Colombo and large towns. The village intelligentsia, while living in the village and often having kin ties with ordinary villagers, were still spearhead from them by education, aspiration levels, and increasing differentiation of life styles. These groups could identify with Dharmapala and accept his ethic of this-worldly asceticism and the new morality he envisaged. His political message was quickly and eagerly accepted, since these people were self-consciously Buddhist and could easily be swayed to accept Dharmapala's view of the past and his resentment of the British and the missions.

His social morality and his adapting Buddhist doctrinal values as an everyday their children to move into the same elite group as the Christians and compete with them for jobs in the upper echelon of the administration and the professions. In the village society in which they lived, Dharmapala's code of morality helped them to differentiate themselves from the mass of peasants. In turn these elites provided a model for the villagers, a model that the latter began increasingly to accept in the middle of the twentieth century when universal free education (started in 1947) made peasant mobility a reality.

Perhaps the key figure in the diffusion of the new Sinhala Buddhist bourgeois morality into the village was the Sinhala school-teacher. He more than anyone else was the missionary of the new ethic into village society, and it was not unusual to come across schoolteachers, as late as the late fifties, taking upon themselves the duty of orienting peasant children to the new values, which they saw as quintessentially Buddhist values. It is this stratum of village elites, constituting a local leadership, that mobilized the village vote in 1956 and so brought the SELP into power and radically altered the face of the Sri Lankan polity. It is no exaggeration to say that 1956 was symbolic, among other things, of the radical embourgeoisement of Buddhism.

Dharmapala's Protestant Ethic

Let us now try to summarize Dharmapala's cultural legacy. His campaign against British imperialism had little practical success, but it greatly enhanced Buddhist's self-respect. He drew effective attention to the moral failing of missionaries, especially where they could be starkly contrasted with Buddhist values—their consumption of meat and alcohol, their lack of a norm against killing animals. At the same time, like many effective their laxity, which he interpreted as a degeneracy from ancient ideals. The continuation of the passage on practical or instrumental rationality quoted in Chapter I reads: "Asia is full of opium eaters, *ganja* smellers, degenerating sensualists, superstitious and religious fanatics. Gods and priests keep the people in ignorance."¹⁹

Such remarks are not confined to his public utterances. Even more than his published writings, Dharmapala's diary (which he kept in English) reveals a man full of painful ambivalences. He refers to "the increase of drunkenness among the sinalese"²⁰ and writes "

the Ceylon Buddhists are ignorant. "21 These deficiencies could of course be attributed to colonial suppression.

His politicisation of Buddhism involved castigating all the non-Sinhala communities in Sri Lanka, but he directed his fiercest vituperation at Indian merchants (Borahs and Parsis), Muslims (whom he contemptuously referred to as *bambayo*), and "filthy Tamils" (*badi demalu*).²² He considered these groups to be aliens who exploited the Sinhala economically. This exploitation could only be overcome, he thought, if the Sinhalas adopted an ethic of thrift and hard work; if they emulated Western capitalism by engaging in business; if they educated themselves and learned languages, including Hindi and English; and above all if they adopted a proper code of civilized conduct, such as the rules of conduct, such as the one he invented and propagated.

In the Buddhist scriptures the rules of conduct for the Order are minutely regulated, great emphasis being placed upon personal decorum and good manners. For the laity, by contrast, ethical principles are laid down, but no specific rules. This lack of specific rules. This lack of specificity facilitated the spread of Buddhism among peasant societies with diverse and even mutually incompatible moral codes. However, in 1898 Dharmapala published a Sinhala pamphlet entitled *Gibi Vinaya* ("The Daily Code for the Laity"). When the nineteenth edition appeared in 1958, nearly fifty thousand copies of this work had been sold. There were detailed rules on the following subjects.²³

- The manner of eating food (25 rules)
- Chewing betel (6)
- Wearing clean clothes (5)
- How to behave while walking on the road (10)
- How to behave in public gatherings (19)
- How females should conduct themselves (30)
- How children should conduct themselves (18)
- How the laity should conduct themselves before the Sagha (5)
- How to behave in buses and trains (8)
- On going to see sick persons (2)
- Funerals (3)
- The carter's code (6)
- Sinhala names (2)
- What teachers should do (11)
- How servants should behave (9)
- How festivities should be conducted (5)
- How lay devotees (male and female) should conduct themselves in the temple (3)
- How children should treat their parents (14)
- Domestic ceremonies (1)

There are, thus, 200 rules guiding lay conduct under twenty-two headings. The pamphlet is addressed to a literate Sinhala bourgeoisie. The rules proscribe behavior that peasants are generally given to, for example, "bad" eating, dress, and lavatory habits; indiscriminate betel chewing; use of impolite forms of address (though Dharmapala uses those same forms in a letter to one of his servants). Consider the code that he devised for Sinhala women. Among the thirty rules enunciated for them are the following: to keep the house and personal belongings, clothes, and the body clean; to beautify the garden with flowering plants; not to bask near the fire or indulge in siestas; to wear saris and shun blouses that expose the midriff; not to address children or servants with pejorative pronouns; not to spend time lazily chewing betel; not to comb one's hair or pick lice in the presence of others. Clearly what is occurring here is a reformation of peasant habits. But at the same time Dharmapala is trying to introduce Buddhist practices from the doctrinal tradition into everyone's daily round. Soon after waking one should utter Buddhist prayers and take the five precepts along with one's children; one should observe the eight precepts on poya days and attend temple once a week to listen to sermons. This kind of Buddhist routine has been firmly adopted in many bourgeois households.

Dharmapala, one might say, formulated a code for an emerging Sinhala elite. But note that the condemnation of peasant manners is based on Western notions of propriety. In some instances Western norms are directly advocated as, for example, eating with fork and spoon, and using toilet paper before water during ablutions. Thus Dharmapala attempted to formulate a code based on the norms prevalent in the wealthy society in and large Protestant and Western norms have been assimilated as pure and ideal Buddhist norms. Sociologically viewed, Dharmapala's social reform provided a value system to a new class, an emerging bourgeoisie. In many non-Western nations nineteenth-century Western values, generally Victorian, have been assimilated into the fabric of indigenous bourgeois society. In India Victorianism found a happy home in Brahmanic values; in Middle Eastern nations like Egypt and Turkey it was harmonized with Islam and in Sri Lanka with Buddhism. The Sri Lankan case is especially striking since the new value system was articulated into a powerful ethic of this-worldly asceticism. We have labelled this value system Protestant Buddhism, not only because of its incorporation of Protestant values but also because of its radical protest against traditional Buddhism, which is Sri Lanka was essentially geared to a peasant society and economy and a peasant moral code.

The Philosophy of Protestantism

The essence of Protestantism as we understand it lies in the individual's seeking his or her ultimate goal without intermediaries. In Christianity this means rejecting the priest and the saint as essential links between men and god; in Buddhism it means denying that only through the Sangha can one seek or find salvation, nirvana. The most important corollaries of this rejection are spiritual egalitarianism, which may or may not have consequences for practical life, and an emphasis on individual responsibility that must lead to self-scrutiny. Religion is privatised and internalized; the truly significant is not what takes place at a public celebration or in ritual, but what happens inside one's own mind or should. At the same time religion is universalized: its inundations apply to everyone at all times and in all contexts.

The following brief extracts from Dharmapala's diary for May 1899 go to the heart of the matter.

5th:—In Bodhgaya. Spent the noon under the shade of the sacred Botree. Oh, the bliss of solitude. When will I attain to the sublime condition of the passionless when there will be absolute calm in the mind?

6th:—In Gaya. Wish to remain permanently in the holy place at Bodhgaya and practise Dhyana bhavana.²⁴ ...The hot winds are blowing. But by dhyana processes the internal could be modified.

8th:— Preached the Doctrine of righteousness to many. Poor in body but rich in mind I returned after having done useful work. Still there lurks [sic] in me signs of passion. But I will destroy every vestige of it without delay.²⁵

However many Buddhists have sought nirvana through the ages, we can be sure that none before Dharmapala articulated their quest to themselves with quite that flavor of sensibility. The intimate anguish, the self-criticism, the courting of hardship (it was 107), and above all the assumption of responsibility for the spiritual progress of both himself and others are eloquently expressed in the idiom of the Protestant missionary.

The hallmark of Protestant Buddhism, then, is its view that the layman should permeate his life with his religion; that he should strive to make Buddhism permeate his whole society; and that he can and should try to reach nirvana. As a corollary, the lay Buddhist is critical of the traditional norms of the monastic role; he may not be positively anticlerical but his respect, if any, is for the particular monk, nor for the yellow robe as such. As an Anagarika, Dharmapala wore white and did not shave his head; he thus felt free to live in the world to fight for Buddhism in the social and political arena; but by taking the eight precepts for life he had undertaken an ascetic, celibate existence.

Dharmapala derived the outward form of the anagarika role from traditional Hinduism via Theosophy. There is some irony in this, for he reviled traditional Hinduism just like a Victorian missionary: the Saiva monastery at Bodh Gaya was a "Hindu fakir establishment" that had disfigured the temple with "monstrous figures of Hindu deities."²⁶ But the fact remains that since ancient times Hinduism as had a permitted role for a young man of upper caste (usually Brahman) called *naisthika brahmacarin*, "perpetual religious student"; such a person did not end the period of religious studentship (which involved chastity and moderate asceticism) prescribed of all high-caste males by marriage, but marrying, but vowed to remain celibate for life. He entered no monastic establishment, was free to move around, and would probably have worn white.

Some Indian Theosophists professed this role. Amunugama writes: "Dharmapala was aware that there were 'celas' (disciples) in the Theosophical movement like Damodar Mavalankar who had taken the vows of Brahmachari in the cause of Theosophy (Diary, p. 51). Indeed, Mavalankar seems to have been the ideal of Dharmapala at the time and in Theosophical circles Dharmapala was spoken of as Ceylon Damodar."²⁷

As for the meaning he gave to the role (which he himself called "the brahmachari life"²⁸), Dharmapala later wrote in his diary that he intended to "renounce the world and work for the welfare of humanity. This idea I got from three sources—the life of Bodhisat Sumedho, *The Light of Asia* by Edwin Arnold and HPB's writings."²⁹

Historically, then the *anagarika* role derives from a social status traditional in Brahmanism as interpreted by late nineteenth-century theosophists who were heavily influenced by the Western Protestant tradition. But it came to mold and epitomize a new cultural ideal for a whole class, most of whom naturally have had no inkling of these complex origins. It is their understanding of their role as Buddhist laymen that is our central theme here, and to this theme we shall return below:

- (1) It abandoned Buddhism's traditionally eirenic treatment of other religions and decorous style of presentation for a polemical stance.
- (2) It had a fundamentalist approach to Buddhism.
- (3) It claimed that Buddhism was not a religion but a philosophy.
- (4) Intertwined with all the above, especially the last—it depended on English-language concepts.

While the central theme can be related most closely to what we called at the outset the more general causes, those connected with education and the rise of the middle class, the above features derive directly from the specific circumstances of that they have faded away as the circumstances have changed. Thus the four features have been listed in decreasing order of evanescence; the first is now virtually obsolete, whereas the fourth can probably never be quite obliterated. We shall say a few words about each.

When Gunananda undertook public debates with the Christian missionaries, in most important respects he was doing nothing new. Buddhism has a tradition of public debate, though it had died out in Sri Lanka at that time. As a monk Gunananda was keeping religious leadership wheel it traditionally belongs. And the contents of what he said and wrote about Buddhism seem to have been traditional. However, his style and presentation were new, being modelled on those of his Christian opponents. His use of the press was a novelty. And he was perhaps the first monk to move out of the temple and take to the public platform. To see monks on public platforms is now so common that it comes as a surprise to recall that the custom is perhaps not much more than a century old. On the other hand, Gunananda's street preaching in imitation of the missionaries is now, like public religious debate, completely obsolete. When he talked, Gunananda acted the publicist, not the quietist. He would walk about and make large gestures. Olcott wrote of him: "Some of the more meditative monks habitually drop their eyes when conversing with one but he looked you square in the face, as fitted the most brilliant polemic orator of the island, the terror of the missionaries. One could see at a glance that he was more wrangler than ascetic."³⁰

Traditionally the preaching monk sits on a higher level than the laity (who normally sit or squat on the floor) and speaks to them in an even tone from behind a fan; thus there are no histrionics and the audience cannot even see his face. Most monks still give sermons in the traditional style, but when they appear on political platforms or sometimes on other republicans, they may assume a more strident tone. The contemporary public recognition of the new polemical style is reflected in the two statues of Gunananda erected in Ambalangoda and Panadura. In both he is depicted with his right hand raised and the index finger pointing outward in an *abhaya* *mudra*. Sri Sumangala recently erected in the premises of the Palace of the Tooth Relic. On 2 March 1815 British troops hoisted the union jack prior to the signing of the Kandyan

Convention that ended Sinhala sovereignty. Tradition has it that this monks dragged down the flag, insisting that it should not fly until the convention was actually signed!

Polemical content, on the other hand, is now rare. In terms of religion the enemy was always Christianity (for Tamils and Muslims are differentiated and attacked in ethnic or linguistic, rarely in religious, terms), and that has vacated the field. In the Panadura debate gunananda held the biblical account of the creation up to ridicule. The early Protestant Buddhists made eager use of the anti-Christian writing of Western nationalists; Dharmapala made a list of such writings that he recommended to shifted its object from Protestants to Toman Catholics—after Independence they seemed the more threatening. Here is a late (and rather mild) example of such a polemic; it dates from 1955 and is written under the pseudonym Himavantavasi (“Dweller in the Himalays”) in *The Maha Bodi*, the English-language monthly magazine founded by Dharmapala in 1892.

Himavantavasi feels pretty certain that if interplanetary transport ever does become a reality, among the first batch of space-travellers to land on Mars will be a emissary of the behind. What a disappointment it would be if the Martians greeted them not with *Are Marias and half-lajabs* but with *Namo Buddhaya!* Himavantavasi's readers will probably join him in smiling at the fanatical proselytizing zeal of the Christian, especially the Catholic, Church. But let them reflect that if Mars, even, is threatened with invasion, how great is the danger that looms over their own easily dissoluble Buddhist hemlines here on earth!³²

The Protestant missionaries who were the models for the first Protestant Buddhists were fundamentalists; in the Christian tradition the rejection of clerical intermediacy normally implies going “back to the Bible,” which each man has the right and duty to read for himself. We have seen that for Buddhists in practice this has not been at all easy. But the fundamentalist suspicion of “later accretions” has been influential. The missionaries sometimes conceded certain qualities to the Buddha and his teachings but claimed tat contemporary Buddhism was degenerate and moribund; Protestant Buddhists, Mahayana hold and analogous position. Westerners who had views on Buddhism, whether hostile or sympathetic, derived those views from the study of texts and, in particular, after its publication in England, of the Pali Canon. The view is now widespread in Sri Lanka—and hardly surprising in an educated population—that even religion can be learned from books directly without the need for living teachers.

One must be carefully this point not to overdraw the contrast. In traditional Buddhism the earliest scriptures, “the wood of the Buddha,” have of course always been ultimately authoritative. The state of Buddhism is held to be sinking, and periodic restitutions and “purifications” are undertaken by recourse to the scriptures. Third maintenance is held to be the sine qua non for the presence of Buddhism on earth, and they are indeed copied, memorized, and studied. Fundamentalism in this positive sense is thus nothing new to Buddhism, and in the negative sense of rejecting tradition it has become less clearly articulate as the new ideas have spread through the population. But there are points of clear contrast. Traditionally meditation can only be learned from a teacher; Dharmapala studied it from a book. The conscientious fundamentalist tries to read his scriptures in the original language. Dharmapala records that it was Madame Blavatsky, at the Theosophical headquarters in Adyar, who persuaded him “that I should study Pali, where all that is needed is found.”³⁴

As early as 1847 a Sinhala Christian wrote, in an essay entitled "On the Corruptions of Buddhism....," It is to be hoped that if Buddhism can be brought back to its early principles and doctrines, it will be simply a kind of abstruse and metaphysical philosophy."³⁵ This combines our second and third features: Buddhism as actually present in Sri Lanka is analyzed into ancient philosophy plus folk superstitions. Dharmapala virtually accepted this dichotomy. It was persuasive because religion was defined (as it still often is) as belief in God (or gods, alas), and from the first the West had defined Buddhism as atheistic. Protestant Buddhists accepted the contrast drawn by Christian missionaries between the two religions: Christianity was theistic, Buddhism atheistic; Christianity rested on faith, Buddhism on reason. Positively, it was agreed, Buddhism rested on its enlightened ethics.

It is of course true that the Buddha appealed to reason and stressed a humane ethical code, just as it is true that he preached that ritual was useless for salvation. But earlier no need had been felt to justify the rationality of Buddhism, let alone to posit a contrast between religion and philosophy: the Dhamma was both.

The now widespread view that Buddhism is "a philosophy not a religion"- people trot out the formula at every turn- has, we shall see, some rather bizarre consequences. The view has probably flourished because it has cut loose from its missionary origins and represents a reaction to the phenomenon of religious pluralism. If Buddhism is not a religion like Christianity, Hinduism, or Islam, that leaves open the possibility that it moves on a higher level of generality, a more exalted plane. It can overcoat mere "religions," include them under its mantle. It may have learned this trick from Theosophy. Theosophy means "God Wisdom".

It was itself an attempt to cope with the bewilderment of religious pluralism by claiming that all religions were really one- exactly what that one is being explained by the Theosophists. This attempt to deny and explain away all differences between religions has remained popular in India, where it struck a chord in the indigenous tradition. Dharmapala's temperament was not so ironic; but he too, even after he had quarrelled with the Theosophists, held Theosophical beliefs that he evidently regarded as perfectly compatible with Buddhism. On 6 August 1897 he recorded in his diary: "In 1900 the Masters will again appear publicly and teach the *Dharma*. Buddhism will spread in the United States."³⁶

Protestant Buddhists thus lift Buddhism out of the luck of religions by claiming that it is not a religion but something else; and sometimes they further claim that all mere religions are compatible with this something they else. Sometimes the something else is a practice. But the commoner claim is that Buddhism is rational, scientific. "The Buddha was the first great scientist," wrote the eminent Buddhist intellectual G.P. Malalasejere.³⁷ The late Professor K.N. Jayatilleke. Whose London Ph.D. Thesis aimed to demonstrate that the Buddha had anticipated logical positivism,³⁸ was much concerned to show that rebirth, as predicated by Buddhist doctrine, could be proved scientifically, and he wrote or sponsored demonstrations that the Buddha had anticipated what was of value in the discoveries of Marx and Freud.³⁹

His newspaper articles and radio talks in the 1960s impressed middle-class Buddhists, though no doubt such claims are not widely understood in detail and heeded only insofar as they contribute to a sense of national worth. But middle-class Buddhists come out with various set phrases in English to exemplify the "scientific" character of Buddhism. For example, in a temple in a Colombo slum we encountered a middle-aged teacher of English, who had come

to make offerings to Kataragama, Huniyam, and Kali in order to feel better and revenge himself on those who were making him feel bad. Born a Roman Catholic, he explained that he had converted to Buddhism because it is the only religion to teach "action and reaction."

At this point the discussion shades over into our fourth feature, the influence of the English language, on which something has already been said in Chapter 1. Protestant Buddhism has never been confined to the English medium: though English was his first language (he began learning Sinhala at the age of eight),⁴⁰ even Dharmapala used both English and Sinhala. Nevertheless, the influence of the English language on the movement is pervasive and sometimes decisive. Symptomatic of Protestant Buddhist attitudes is a remark by Sri Lanka's future prime minister, S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike, whose sweeping election victory in 1956 was the turning point in the modern history of Sinhala Buddhist nationalism. In 1944 J.R. Jayawardene, the present President, and a colleague proposed in the state council that Sinhala be made the only national language, the very program that later swept Bandaranaike's SLFP to power. Opposing this, Bandaranaike said that a previous speaker "thought that the Sinhalese language was necessary from the point of view of a closer study of the Buddha's teaching, culture, doctrine, and so on. For that purpose English may be more useful than Sinhalese. At least one would have to know Pali."⁴¹

Nowadays English is no longer commonly used as the medium for talking and writing about Buddhism; and yet the influence of English usage may still be paramount. The Sinhala of Protestant Buddhism is often what linguists call a "claque" on English: Sinhala words are used not in their earlier or more general senses but as translations of underlying English words. For example, Protestant Buddhists frequently resort, as we shall see below, to *bharna madhyasthana*—literally "meditation centres," the term being translated from English into highly Sanskritised Sinhala.

This is not a mere curiosity, but of fundamental importance. How does one deny, in Sinhala, that Buddhism is a religion? The modern Sinhala word for religion is *Agama* and for Buddhism is *Buddhiagama*. In 1965 the Ministry of Education published a new primer for teaching Buddhism in schools, the first book in a projected series. In the first paragraph of this book, intended for six-year-olds, is a sentence that one can only translate literally as "The Buddhist religion is not a religion." "The writer goes on to explain that it is a way of life; but this is hardly enough to compensate for the apparent self-contradiction. That awkwardness must have arisen because the writer tried to translate his English idea word-for-word into Sinhala.

If Buddhists are not following a religion but a philosophy, a science, or a way of life, this poses problems not merely for their practice of the spirit religion, as mentioned above, but indeed for all forms of activity that would normally be considered "religious practice."

To conclude this section we can summarily illustrate this legacy of the colonial missionaries by means of two questions taken from the Buddhist annual of Ceylon for 1932. The French theosophical "Buddhist" Alexandra David-Neel wrote: "There exists a Buddhist mysticism, but it is a rational mysticism...In truth, a Buddhist religion can be found only where the primitive Buddhist doctrine has been corrupted by the masses who were incapable of raising themselves to its height."⁴³ (There is no word in Pali or Sinhala even remotely corresponding to "mysticism"). Some pages on, the Sinhala lawyer H. Sri Nisanka writes:

"Whether we pray or not, we suffer and die leaving all we love behind, and taking along with us, be it even to the very gates of Paradise, a terrible desire to be reunited with all that we have left behind.

All the great Masters have sounded the chord of sorrow. Sorrow is an awful pebble that, once thrown into the pool of Life, ripples and ripples into what our Lord has described as the circles of conditioned existence"⁴⁴ This restatement of the Buddha. First Noble Truth in startlingly Christian terminology opens an article in which Sri Nissanka describes the founding of a forest hermitage for meditating monks at which "distinctions of caste, creed, or sect play no part in the choice of an applicant"; evidently the direct quest for nirvana is super ordinate to religion as conventionally understood.

It is in its view of the relative religious statuses and roles of clergy and layman that Protestant Buddhism has deviated most sharply, most permanently, and most influentially from Buddhist tradition. Here it truly mirrors Protestant Christianity. Let us first look at the negative side of the question.

To criticize the condition of the Sangha, to claim that monks have fallen from their ideal, is a perpetually recurrent feature of traditional Buddhism. Traditionally such criticism comes from within the Sangha itself and leads to internal reform. The sangha has again and again persuaded the king to "purify the sasana" by expelling bad monks and encouraging the good; the initiative has come from within and the lay power has merely been the executant.

After the British had conquered the whole of Sri Lanka in 1815 the lay power gradually withdrew, insisting on the dissociation of state power from non-Christian religions; the first constitution of independent Sri Lanka was for a secular state; and though since 1972 Buddhism has constitutional recognition as the religion of the majority, the state still will not uphold the Vinaya; in other words it will not enforce ecclesiastical decisions. Thus purification of the sangha can now only be carried out voluntarily by the Order itself. It is in this light that we must see the modern movements in which monks detach themselves from the Nikayas, the organized body of the Sangha, and go off into the "wilderness" to practice a stricter regimen. These "forest-dweller" monks of modern Sri Lanka have recently been sensitively studied by Michael Carrithers.⁴⁵ Who stresses that there is nothing essentially untraditional about such reform movements.

The ambivalence of Protestant Buddhism toward the Sangha lies deeper. Again to take Dharmapala as an example: his advocacy of Buddhism could hardly ignore its traditional human vehicle. And his nationalism, with its romantic view of ancient Sinhala kingdoms and of traditional peasant society, could not exclude from that vision the inhabitants of the monasteries that had depended on the former and still proliferated throughout the latter. Yet his Protestant anticlericalism made it incredible that the local Buddhist clergy, most of whom knew no English and had little or no modern learning, could have respectable ethical or spiritual values. His ambivalence erupted in such remarkable statements as "Gods and priests keep the people in ignorance."⁴⁶ The Bhikkhus in Ceylon are indolent and ignorant of the *Paramattha Dhamma* (Ultimate Truth), and they keep up their position by a smattering of Pali grammar and Sanskrit prosody.⁴⁷ The Hedonism of Kalidasa [the great Sanskrit poet] will be their ideal.⁴⁸

All this however could still be construed as mere criticism of the actual state of the Sangha. Though no traditional Buddhist layman would have dared to publish a reference to "monks

who exist only to fill their spittoons,"⁴⁹ the point at issue is rather the Protestant Buddhist attitude toward the monk's role. Up to a point Dharmapala himself took to traditional view that the religious roles of monks and layman are strictly complementary. As far back as 1930 he declared, "It is no business of the bhikkhu to take part in politics, for it spoils the Brahmachariya (celibate life) and when that is lost the bhikkhu can be regarded as a layman."⁵⁰ He lived as a layman because he regarded his political and organizational activities as incompatible with the Vinaya and hoped to create conditions in which monks could live up to their ideals.

It is the village monk who is the target of Dharmapala's affirmed the *arhat* ideal but considered that the ordinary monk did not live up to it. The monk was concerned with his own welfare (*atmarthakama*) not with working for the welfare of the world (*lokatrabhaya* vada).⁵¹ Here Dharmapala's criticism repeats that made by Mahayana Buddhism of the 'Theravadin monk; but it is more likely that he was influenced by the missionaries. It is still the commonest Christian criticism of Buddhism that it is selfish to devote oneself to the quest for one's own Enlightenment; a truly religious man should dedicate his life entirely to the welfare of others. For Dharmapala, as for the Christians, such dedication involves far more than the traditional contact of the Buddhist monk with laity, namely giving religious instruction: it involved social and political activity. He resolved the dilemma by creating a new role, the Anagarika. He chose the title and dress to dramatize and give visible effect to his decision to renounce ordinary lay life- crucially in that he renounced sex and family life- while yet remaining active in the world.

By inventing this interstitial role, Dharmapala was able to preserve the clear distinction between the roles of monk and layman. But though he himself entered the Sangha at the end of his life, his propaganda and example encouraged the monk to become involved in the world. The Anagarika role that he invented has, for reasons suggested below, found very few imitators, but his ambivalence toward the Order did, and there is widespread feeling among Buddhist, both monks and laity, that monks have responsibilities to others than themselves.

Protestant Buddhism seems to have produced two new role models for monks; both tend in the same direction but have slightly different consequences. Both contrast sharply with the traditional ideal, exemplified in the eremitical forest dwellers. The monk can now pattern himself after a Protestant clergyman or after a (good) Buddhist layman. These role models are not articulated or clear-cut, but are summary ways of expressing the developments we are about to discuss.

Buddhist monks may now find themselves criticized unless they actively seek pastoral involvement. Obvious direct Christian influence can be seen in the creation of Buddhist chaplaincies—to prisons, hospitals, and military establishments—and a Buddhist mission to seamen. In recent years a monk has headed the Nurses Trade Union⁵² (but not, we gather, worked as a nurse). English-speaking Buddhists sometimes address and always refer to the monk as "Reverend." Where the monk's concern is with one local community, his pastoral role may bear a superficial resemblance to the traditional concern of a "village-dwelling" (*gramavasin*) monk, but there is a distinct difference in the type of concern thought to be approved since we first wrote to sponsor a new institution, grandly entitled a Kalayatana ("Arts Institute"), at which village children of both sexes are taught Kandyan dancing in the

temple preaching hall, often under his benevolent eye. This type of involvement, which is considered "cultural," is now widespread, and few object that it contravenes the prohibition on monks' watching dancing and other shows.

An even more important aspect of Christian influence on the monk's role performance is to demand that monks now bless and even officiate at all kinds of undertakings with which they have not customarily been associated. Traditionally monks bless people who engage in merit-making activities or just come to see them (they use some simple formula such as "May you be happy" or "May you attain the reward of your merit"), but even monks who undertook worldly activities were not called upon specifically to bless the functions they attended. Now few important public functions begin without some such blessing, so that monks are to be found everywhere from the opening of Parliament to the inauguration of a new bus depot.

The blessing most commonly takes the form of reciting certain Pali texts called *Pivot*. The spread of *Pivot* has been discussed by others. Here we will just mention two facts. Radio Ceylon's Sinhala service begins every day with five minutes of *pivot* chanting and a short sermon. Thus Buddhism is purveyed to the layman, brought to him in his own home, instead of his having to seek out the monk. Second, Buddhist monks now chant *pivot* before the fire-walking at the Kataragama festival; this represents wish to Buddhists not merely ordinary sealer enterprises the activities of the spirit religion.

Having dealt with the influence on modern Sinhala monks of the role of the Protestant minister, we turn to consider the current opinion that holds that monks should get fully involved with the world, thus minimizing the difference between monk and layman. A very important aspect of this involvement is the political one, but we omit that topic, not only because it has been so well covered by Professor Bechert and others. There is considerable room for argument about how Protestant or modernist such involvement is. When the Venerable Henpitagedara Nanasiha, an out-standing modernist monk,⁵³ is imprisoned after being convicted of conspiring to overthrow the government in 1966, one is tempted to see a radical departure from tradition until one remembers that in 1760 the Venerable Valvate *Saranamkara*, author of the great Buddhist revival of that century, was banished from Kandy for the very same reason. Thus the issue is somewhat complicated.

However, one can confidently assert that, on the whole, public opinion favors the traditional quietist attitude and that most readers of *Dinamina* will have been startled on 28 October 1976 to see the same Venerable H. Nanasiha saying that the monastic robe is no bar to ministerial office. "If monks are appointed as ministers," he is reported as saying, "they will not fail to do the job. So give them the posts and see what happens." His exhortation has not yet been heeded. But in the 1977 general election a monk actually ran for Parliament from the Karadeniya seat in the Southern Province. He stood as an independent and lost his deposit.

The main issue in the modernistic laicization of the clergy is whether a monk can take a salaried job. That this is contrary to the Vinaya is indisputable; those who want to argue the matter can only say that the Vinaya should be adapted to modern conditions. (Inscriptional evidence shows⁵⁴ that in the tenth century monks were paid for teaching Buddhist scriptures, but this precedent is little known.). For at least twenty years monks have held paid positions

as school teachers: this seemed a natural reversion to their traditional role as the educators of Sinhala children. The state pays the schoolmaster; whether the monks keeps the salary or passes it on to his monastery is up to him. In fact the salary gives many monks economic independence and with it geographic mobility, so that they need no longer be attached to temples in any meaningful sense. For monks to have other jobs than teaching is still rare, but the newspapers have reported a startling development.⁵⁵

A monk called Nakulugamuve Sumana, having been through law college, applied to enroll as an attorney at law. His application was refused by a bench of five judges of the Supreme Court, but only on the ground that he was improperly dressed. What might seem weightier objections were brought forward by several lay Buddhist organizations (as well as a private individual objector) but were overruled by the judges by a majority of four to one. These objections were:

- (1) That the applicant was not a person of good repute and therefore not a fit and proper person to be admitted and enrolled.
- (2) That the applicant was acting in contravention of the Vinaya Pitaka and therefore in the large interest of Buddhism, this court in the exercise of its discretion should refuse to admit and enrol him.
- (3) That the rules of Vinaya Pitaka had acquired the force of customary law and therefore this court could not admit and enrol the applicant.
- (4) That by reason of the fact that by Sect. 6 of the Constitution of Sri Lanka [the state] had undertaken to protect and foster Buddhism this court cannot admit and enroll the applicant.

The Chief Justice said that we must in no way be understood to condone the proposed action, but he could see nothing in the Civil Law which disunities the applicant to be admitted and we are powerless to prevent it. He stated in effect that the state's patronage of Buddhism was too vague to permit the court's approving the latter there objections. Thus the secular character of the state was upheld. Arguments concerning the first objection are not reported, but an editorial in the Buddhist (the journal of the Young Men's Buddhist Association, one of the objecting bodies at the hearing) argues that a person "prepared to violate the code of conduct of one society to which he belongs" may break another, so that a monk who is violating the *Vinaya* may not be an ethical lawyer. Whatever we may think of this argument, it comes oddly immediately after the statement, "The legal profession has become as venial [sic] as any other." The editorial, which is entitled "The Bhikkhu in Secular Employment," argues that the "disappearance of the self-contained village unit" compels monks to get employment to support themselves; it thus seems to condone some forms of secular employment for monks as a necessary evil.⁵⁶

The unsuccessful applicant at the bar has been given a job in the state bureaucracy. While technically teachers too are civil servants, this does seem to widen the range of salaried employment open to monks. Public opinion may be divided on the issue, but clearly those with the power to give monks these jobs are willing to consider them on the same footing as laymen. Nor are we aware of any attempt by monastic authorities to forces a showdown by imposing a penalty on a salary earner as prescribed in the *Vinaya*.

The Protestant Buddhist Layman

In 1904 a Memorial of the Sangha of Ceylon to King Edward VII stated, "By the laws of Buddha the laity form no part of religion."⁵⁷ One of the signatories was the president of the monastic branch of the Buddhist Theosophical Society, Hikkaduve Sumangala. He and his cosignatories were evidently reacting against the rising pretensions of the local laity. Taken out of that context, the statement perhaps goes slightly too far. Even though Theravada means "the Doctrine of the Elders" (i.e., of the Sangha) and its history until modern times can be identified with the history of the Sangha. We have explained above that it offers the laity the roles of *upasakalupasika* and of *dayakaldayika*. But these roles are bounded by context, a context furnished by the Sangha. In particular we have noted above that meditation, the assault on the summit that is *nirvana*, has normally been reserved for members of the Sangha. Moreover, monks traditionally learn meditation from a teacher, another monk; and so far as we can tell such teaching has normally been given informally, one to one. We shall see below how all this has changed.

Max Weber called the ethic of Calvinists "inner-worldly asceticism. They worked conscientiously and amassed wealth, but rather than use that wealth to buy pleasures they reinvested it to become still richer, hoping to discover from such worldly success whether they were among God's elect. A similar puritan tendency is discernible in Protestant Buddhism, for all that it has no similar theological roots. Dharmapala encouraged thrift and hard work for straight forward rational reasons, to promote the material well-being of his countrymen. Thrift and hard work were likewise recommended to the laity by the Buddha. These bourgeois virtues coincided with the aspirations of the new class of entrepreneurs and village elites to whom Dharmapala was primarily addressing himself. They are less prevalent among today's greatly expanded middle class of bureaucrats, teachers, and clerical workers. But something analogous to this inner worldly asceticism persists as a hallmark of their ethos. What "asceticism" means in a Buddhist context is in general to behave like an ascetic, which means a monk, and in particular to meditate- for in Sinhala the very term "to practice asceticism" (*tapas rakinava*) refers precisely to meditation. Thus a layman is to be both a layman and monk at the same time to live in the world and yet strive to leave it.

This is time Protestantism. For it recalls the revolt against the Catholic church's claim that there is no salvation outside the church (*extra ecclesiam nulla salus*). In the Christian context this led to the conclusion that every man is to be his own priest. We shall see in the next chapter that a few Buddhists have gone as far as the Calvinists and see no need in their quest for salvation to have any dealings with the Order at all. Most Protestant Buddhists, however, are prepared and indeed eager to continue supporting the Order and listening to its preaching. The big step that they have taken- and this cannot be overemphasized- is to believe that their religious responsibilities go much further and that without necessarily entering the Order they can and must- men and women, old and young strive to make progress toward *nirvana*.

The Buddhist Order traditionally distributes among its members two duties: the duty to preserve the doctrine. Mainly by preaching; and the duty to meditate. These two activities were traditionally the prerogatives of monks alone; laymen have now encroached upon both preserves. But lay Protestant Buddhist activity also has a wider aspect that again originates in

imitation of Christianity: the validation of lay work to advance social welfare in general and Buddhist causes in particular.

Dharmapala dramatized this validation of the calling to be a Buddhist layman by assuming the role of Anagarika. It seems that the role did not catch on because it became redundant: more and more middle-class Buddhists began devoting themselves to good causes. Yet approximation to the role, attempts (whether sincere or not) to recapture its spirit, have become a commonplace in modern Sri Lanka. One can meet them any day in the newspapers, as the following excerpt indicates: "From my younger days I have a special liking towards the *Buddhasasana*. And recently I made up my mind to live a celibate life for the service of mankind, thus going on the path taken by Anagarika Dharmapala. But my relations and friends do not encourage this idea of my being a bachelor for life. Anyway, I would not change this idea." These sentiments were expressed by Mr. Ryter Tillekesekera, the MP for Ambalangoda, at the Kahatapitiya Hermitage, Batapola, addressing a meeting after planting a Bodhi sapling.⁵⁸

The extreme Protestant Buddhist (like his Christian forebear) is anticlerical, holding that the clergy's corruption is so deep as to be irremediable and their function hence palpably obsolete. A lay movement founded in 1911, the *Vinayavardhana Samitiya* (the title could be translated "As association for the Improvement of Buddhist Discipline"), was anticlerical.⁵⁹ On the model of the late nineteenth-century debates between Buddhists and Christians, the *vinayavardhana Samitiya* would challenge monks to public debate and attempt to belittle both their knowledge of canonical doctrine and their purity of conduct. This movement went so far in questioning the monastic role that members took up the function of preaching- believing that in doing so they were sweeping away the accretions of medieval custom and returning to pristine canonical orthodoxy.

The heyday of the movement's influence was probably in the 1950s; one rarely hears of it now. Just as the role of Anagarika has become virtually redundant because what it embodies has become so commonplace, the *Vinayavardhana* movement has fallen a victim to its own success. In its anti-clericalism it was more extreme than the average Protestant Buddhist, who is content to allow monks to preach and officiate in traditional ways; but we shall see that some recent movements are similarly extreme.

The vast majority of Protestant Buddhists do not go the whole way and renounce family life or money-making occupations, but they dedicate their spare time to religious concerns and assume symbols of asceticism: they wear white clothes very frequently when about worldly business, take alcohol "only for medicinal purposes," and even become vegetarians or at least give up eating beef. The consumption of beef, which is cheaper in Sri Lanka than in most other countries in the world, was perhaps unusual in pre-modern times when the country was within the Hindu cultural sphere, but at least since the mid-nineteenth century it has been the meat most widely available to the Sinhala population and very widely consumed.

However, when a Sinhala Buddhist has renunciatory tendencies, beef is the first food to be cut out of his diet. Dharmapala travelled in a truck bearing the slogan, "Eat beef and become an outcaste," a piece of Hinduism that may have lingered in the indigenous tradition. He also wrote in his diary: "To eat the flesh of the tender calf, cow and bull one must be devoid of kindness. How can the mother who has love to her children eat the tender flesh of calf?"⁶⁰ Nevertheless, from the traditional point of view it is striking that when in 1979 President

Jayawardene celebrated the in production of a new constitution that he claimed inaugurated an "Era of Righteousness" (*Dharmistha Yugaya*), he did so by banning for two days the sale of alcohol and beef and the slaughter of cattle.

The pious Buddhist laity has organized itself into committees and associations on the Western model. Professor Bechert has devoted a chapter to these associations,⁶¹ and their activities and publications recur throughout his volume, so we need only mention that the most important ones are the Buddhist Theosophical Society (founded in 1880- we saw above that originally it had two branches, but only the lay branch survived); the Young Men's Buddhist Association, founded in 1898 by an ex-Catholic; and the All-Ceylon Buddhist Congress, an offshoot of the Young Men's Buddhist Association. These are island-wide organizations, albeit heavily based in Colombo. No less significant are the small committees that proliferate locally. People who give food to the temple, who were never organized except ad hoc, now usually form themselves into a Donors' Committee (*Dayaka Sabhava*). The officeholders of these committees are usually men even if their wives do the work. But these male-dominated committees now have feminine counterparts.

All over the world there is a kind of middle-class lady who rejoices in committee work, committees that engage in the small, pleasant tasks of providing food, decorations, and other amenities for festive occasions, and Sri Lanka is certainly no exception. A lady colleague who lives in Colombo has told us that every temple in the country now has a Ladies Committee (*Kanta Samitiya*, *Mahila Sabhava*); this is certainly not true of the deep countryside, but it may be true of the towns and suburbs. As an indication of the rising importance of women (as our colleague would have it) these committees are no more striking than are Women's Institutes in Britain; but they do indicate the embourgeoisement of Sinhala society and the concomitant spread of Protestant Buddhism as an ethic of the bourgeoisie.

The advancement of Buddhist causes is a somewhat vague rubric; but in actually teaching Buddhism the laity has improved its religious status in a clear-cut way. There is no doubt that educated laymen existed in Sri Lanka before modern times. A popular text, *Ganadevi Halla*, written in the reign of Narendrasimha (1707-1739), refers to lay teachers. This is hardly surprising in a society where monks are permitted to disrobe and revert to lay life. Yet would be a rare layman who was a teacher of the doctrine in any formal sense. But the lay teaching of Buddhist doctrine was probably almost inevitable when Buddhism came to be a subject taught in state and other lay schools. Other institutions too have fostered the practice. The Young Men's Buddhist Association has always had propagandist aims and began early to sponsor Buddhist Sunday schools, for which it provided the textbooks and an all-island examination with certificates and prizes. Such Sunday schools were to be found in almost every village in the areas of our fieldwork in 1965. They are headed by the incumbent of the village temple, but he frequently leaves their conduct to others, for instance to a local schoolteacher. Moreover, they are divided into ten classes.

The junior classes are usually taught by successful senior pupils. The schools even have a kind of internal career structure, for the Department of Cultural Affairs (which has taken over responsibility for the schools from the Young Men's Buddhist Association) grants a qualification called Teacher of Buddhist Doctrine (*Buddha-Dharmacarya*). This examination can be taken by a pupil who has passed through the ten classes of a Sunday school and presents

a certificate of worthiness from the local incumbent. It is free and can be taken any number of times. At present (1979) the examination consists of six papers, five on aspects of Buddhism and one on "other religions" (*samayantarañjana*); it is hard to pass on the latter paper as there are no adequate textbooks for it. To gain the qualification, which is widely recognized, one must pass in all six subjects at one sitting.

Lay preaching is also on the increase. Traditionally lay preachers were old virtuosi (*upasaka*) who read popular religious text to their peers on holy days and provided simple exegesis. Contemporary lay preachers often focus on the importance of meditation. As an example we may take Mr. C Kodikarnaracci. Mr. Kodikarnaracci is lecturer in *Abhidharma* (systematic Theravadin philosophy) at the Dharmapitha at Anuradhapura. This is itself interesting because the Dharmapitha is a university founded in 1966 exclusively for monks, since the government of the day felt that the older monastic universities, Vidyodaya and Vidyalandara, had become too secularized to serve as seminaries. In recent years Mr. Kodikarnaracci has been much in demand. He gives regular weekly classes in Colombo several other, cities, which means that he is constantly on the move. These classes are based on a slim volume that he distributes, a selection from the Pali *Abhidhamma* texts; he also offers for sale to his pupils a little book called *Taraha Yatha Manasika Dryunupd* ("Anger and Mental Progress"). The latter book lists mainly vices- anger, sloth, jealousy, etc.- and defines them in simple language.

The *Abhidhamma* indeed consists mainly of lists of constituents of the universe classified in various ways, most of them psychological. Mr. Kodikarnaracci's course of classes (*panktimalava*) lasts about two years. In that time he explains to his classes the Pali terms in his book. Though the burden of *Abhidhamma* is analytical rather than normative, Mr. Kodikarnaracci uses the class as a vehicle for moralizing. He gives simple everyday examples and talks with honor, but his popularity is not due to any originality of content. His class are in most respects typical products of Protestant Buddhism: he wears white "national dress," arrives and ends Punctually addresses a sedate middle-classes audience. The audience sits on benches (or on the floor), takes notes: it is halfway between a sermon and a lecture. He was invited to Kandy on the initiative of the organization of laymen (*Sasana Sevaka Sabha*) attached to a certain temple and speaks in that temple, with a couple of monks on the platform listening to him. Every week a member of the class gives thirty rupees to cover his expenses. A famous local doctor tape-records every lesson.

In one respect, however, we must note that Mr. Kodikarnaracci's teaching is not Protestant at all: there is no protest left. As the title of a famous book has it, a church may comfort or challenge. Commonly religious movements begin with the latter mission but end up with the former. Dharmapala, like all religious reformers, often tried to make his audience uncomfortable. Nothing could be further from Mr. Kodikarnaracci's intention. He preaches some of the puritan values of Protestant Buddhism: absolutely no alcohol; smoking and meat eating are bad for the breath; parents should not allow their daughters to wear miniskirts. But this kind of puritanism has become merely formal, and the injunctions are but the repetition of what an urban middle-class audience, predominantly middle-aged, considers to be pious verities, as obvious as that couples should live in harmony and children should obey their parents. This is religion as reassurance. There are no references to current affairs or to anything

that will be morally problematic. When he had been preaching in Kandy for about a year the classes had to be interrupted because of the 1977 race riots in which Sinhalese looted Tamil shops and homes. So far as we can discover, Mr. Kodikarnaracci made no allusion to these events when he resumed his classes.

Lay Meditation

The widespread practice of meditation by laity is the greatest single change to have come over Buddhism in Sri Lanka (and indeed in the other Theravadin countries) since the Second World War; and in our final chapter we shall attempt to link it to some of the developments recorded in the first half of the book.

Meditation is traditionally held to be a somewhat hazardous affair, so that the novice requires the constant supervision of an experienced teacher. Serious progress in meditation was held to require the instruction of a meditation master and constant practice over a period of years. However, in 1890 Dharmapala discovered a Pali manuscript on meditation and with the help of that text and others devised his own meditational exercises. He thus became perhaps the first Buddhist to learn meditation from a book. (This fundamentalist proceeding may also have been an attempt to find a short cut to Enlightenment.)

Most lay Buddhists who meditate, however, still learn from a master. They may learn to meditate at temples, but frequently they go to "meditation centers" (*bhavana madhyasthana*). These meditation centers may give weekly classes (typically on Sundays and or Buddhist holy days) and they may run short residential meditation courses. The meditators then go home and practice meditation by themselves, unsupervised. A surprising number of middle-class Buddhists- and most meditators are middle class- have rooms set aside in their own homes for meditation, to which they retire daily. The untraditional nature of such daily practice by the laity cannot be overemphasized. Whether they meditate daily or not, the clients of meditation centers are popping in and out of their ordinary lay life with its worldly concerns, and it is inevitable that they soon come to regard meditation as something besides progress towards salvation: it can also help them to improve their lives. For the first time meditation is thus seen as instrumental, a means to success in ordinary life.

During Dharmapala's life time meditation teachers were hardly available in Sri Lanka and certainly not for laymen. Modern meditation in Sri Lanka comes from Burma. This is hardly surprising in that the two "reformed" fraternities (Nikaya) founded in the nineteenth century, the Amarapura and the Ramayana, both had their ordination traditions from Burma and their members would visit Burma on occasion for fresh religious inspiration. However, the kind of meditation that has recently been most influential in Sri Lanka derives from a distinctive recent Burmese tradition associated with the Burmese monk Mahasi Sayadaw.⁶² This kind of meditation already seems to have been taught in Sri Lanka in 1939,⁶³ but it was reintroduced there in 1955, when the prime minister, Sir John Kotelawela, brought three monks from Burma to teach it.

The method had at that time the official backing of the Burmese government, and both governments were preparing to celebrate the twenty-five hundredth anniversary (by local reckoning) of the Buddha's death in 1956. At first the monks found little welcome,⁶⁴ and for a year they lived and began their teaching in a private home in Colombo, as guests of the

widow and children of Mr. Sri Nissanka. But in 1956 a meditation center was founded at Kanduboda by the Venerable Kahatapitiya Sumatipala, a Sinhala monk who had studied meditation under Mahasi Sayadaw.⁶⁵ The latter visited Sri Lanka in 1959.⁶⁶ Kanduboda soon became an important center, not least because it provided meditation classes in English that were thus accessible to foreigners.

The meditation taught at Kanduboda is known as "insight meditation" (*vipassana bhavana*); but this obscures the fact that its distinctive feature lies in what tradition would call its "calming" techniques. Meditators at Kanduboda begin with concentration on their breathing, a standard technique in Indian meditative traditions in general and in Buddhist meditation in particular. Normally the distinctive feature of the Buddhist version had been that one must not try to control the breath or breathe abnormally, but observe it where it enters and leaves the nostrils. In Mahasi Sayadaw's book he advises the meditator to breathe deeply and to focus his attention on the movements of his stomach and intestines; he may then attain a "momentary absorption" (*kanika samadhi*). The nature of this method we shall discuss in our last chapter; what primarily concerns us here is the laicization of meditation.

It is possible to complete a course in meditation at Kanduboda and emerge with a kind of M.A. degree or *Licentia docendi* ("license to teach"); one is then a *Kammathanacarya*. This degree has been obtained by at least one layman, who calls himself Brahmacerin Aryatilaka. Brahmacerin, another title excavated from the Indian past, means "living in chastity" (see above) and in this context has the same meaning as Dharmapala's title Anagarika.

In 1977 the government founded a training college at Mirigama for teachers specializing in Buddhism. The Brahmacerin holds a post at this college to teach meditation to these teachers, who will then in turn teach it to their pupils. The first full meditation course for such teachers began in September 1978. Even before this, however, the Minister of Education, who also happened to be the lay custodian of the Temple of the Tooth in Kandy, had decreed that meditation was to be taught to all Buddhist schoolchildren. (He also had similar plans for the Hindus.) Wondering how meditation could be so routinized as to become an item on the school curriculum, we asked a girl in a Kandyan village school what her daily meditation consisted of. She explained that before the new order they used every day to put their hands together and say a Pali verse before going home in the afternoon. (Every morning they take the Three Refuges and the five precepts in the same manner.) Now they do "meditation" instead: they say three times, "May all beings be free from sorrow, be free from sickness, attain bliss, and find release from sorrow." (*"Siyalu sattvayo niduk vetva vetva nirogi suvapat vetva dukin midetva."*) This is a version of the meditation on kindness, expressed in Sinhala, and it differs formally from the earlier practice, not just in the language, but also in the posture: instead of reciting with hands together (as in prayer) and eyes looking straight ahead, the hands are folded in the lap (the children standing) and the eyes cast down.

Protestant Buddhists, beginning with Dharmapala, have encouraged schoolchildren to go to the temples on holy days to participate in the "meditation" traditionally engaged in by the elderly (see chapter 1); some school principals now order their pupils to do so. The pupils put on their white school uniforms and usually pin over them a strip of white cloth passing over the left shoulder and under the right arm, thus recalling the fall of a monk's robe. Such sartorial imitation is of course harmless. But we recall that one of the commonest traditional topics of

meditation on such occasions is the loathsomeness of the body; so the question arises whether it is equally harmless for children to emulate those who have done with the world in systematically attempting to acquire a distaste for the body. One might guess that purveying meditation to a mass audience would result in nothing worse than its trivialisation; but our case histories suggest that the results may be more dramatic.

The Venerable Balangoda Ananda Maitreya has predicted that in twenty years there will be no more monasteries (*pansals*), only meditation centers. Literally, this may be an exaggeration; symbolically, it puts the matter in a nutshell.

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1. Malagoda, Buddhism.
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3. *Ibid*, p. 235.
4. *Ibid*, p. 220.
5. *Ibid*, p. 224.
6. *Ibid*, pp. 225-26.
7. *Ibid*, p. 230.
8. Colonel Olcott felt the need for a symbol to rally the local Buddhists. To meet this need, he designed a flag for the Buddhists from the aura that shone around the head of the Buddha. The first five stripes of the flag are blue, yellow, red, white, pink; the sixth color is a mixture of the five, but for design. It has been broken up into its constituents. "Buddhadasa P. Kirthisinghe." Colonel Henry steel Olcott, the Great American Buddhist (pp. 1-20), in B.P Kirthing he and M.P. Amarasuriya Colonel Olcott; His service to Buddhism Buddhist Publication society, Wheel Publication no. 281 (Kandy, '981)p. 12. When Olcott died in 1907, his corpse was carried to his cremation covered by the Buddhist and American flags. *Ibid*, p. 20.
9. *Ibid*, p. 13.
10. The *Catechism* was first published in Sinhalese on 24th July 1881, and later in English and several other languages. "Kirthisinghe", Colonel Henry steel Olcott, p.12.
11. He was however more successful in formulating "Fourteen Fundamental Buddhist Beliefs." To which Buddhist representatives from Japan, Burma, Sri Lanka and Chittagong (now in Bangladesh) gave formal assent at a meeting in Adyar, Madras, in 1891; Mongolian Buddhists too are said to have accepted all of them but the date of the Buddha. Kirthisinghe, Colonel Henry Steele Olcott, pp. 13-18.
12. H.S. Olcott, From Old Diary Leaves: Olcott Commemoration Volume, ed. S. Karunaratne (Colombo, Gunasena Press, 1967), p. 60 quoted on p. 727, in Sarath Amunugma, "Anagarika Dharmapala (1864-1933) and the Transformation of Sinhala Buddhist Organisation in a Colonial Setting." "Social science information 24. No. 4 (1985): 697-730. Amunugama gives Dharmapala a hand in formulating the catechism and promoting the Vesak carols, but the initiative apparently came from Olcott.
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15. Davy, *An account of the Interior*, p. 176.

16. Yehuda Elkana, "The Emergence of Second-Order Thinking in classical Greece manuscript, 1984, p. 1 (German version published in Y. Elkana, *Anthropology der Erkenntnis* (Frankfurt, 1986) p. 344.
17. Budunge saranayi, deviyange pihitayi:
18. This is beautifully illustrated in the history of the Ilangakon family of Galle. See P.E Pieris, *Notes on some Sinhalese Families*, Part IV: *Ilangakon* (Colombo: Times of Ceylon Company, n.d)
19. Dharmapala, *Return to Righteousness*, p. 717.
20. Diary entry, 29 July 1898, in *The Maha Bodhi* 69, no. 9 . September 1961, p. 278.
21. Diary entry, 9 May 1899, in the *Maha Bodhi* 72, no. 2 February 1964, p. 35.
22. Anagarika Dharmapala, *Dharmapala Lipi* (Dharmapala Letters), ed, Ananda W.P. Guruge (Colombo: Government Press, 1963), pp. 61-64.
23. *Ibid*, p. 31-46.
24. See Chap In. 23.
25. The *Maha Bodhi* 72, no. 2 February 1964, p. 34.
26. Dharmapala, *Return to Righteousness*, p. 689, quoted in Amunugama, "Anagarika Dharmapala", p. 710.
27. Amunugama, "Anagarika Dharmapala", p, 725.
28. Dharmapala *Return to Righteousness*, p. 702.
29. Amunugama, "Anagarika Dhamapala", p. 724. "HPB" is Madam Blavatsky. Sumedho occurs in the introduction to the *Jataka* book, probably Dharmapala read it in the English translation by Rhy Davids. This in turn suggests that he knew Rhy Davids's *Buddhism* and its perorating quoted in no. 33 below
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31. Dharmapala, *Dharmapala Lipi*, p. 178 quoted from Simbala *Bauddhaya*, 21 October 1922.
32. *The Maha Bodhi* 63, no. 12 December 1955, p. 485.
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36. The *Maha Bodhi* 65, no. 7 July 1957, p. 297.
37. Cited in Bechert, *Buddhismus*, p. 63.
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40. Amunugama, "Anagarika Dharmapala, "p. 709, quoting Dharma pala's *Diary*.
41. Cited in Bechert, *Buddhismus*, p. 310.
42. *Buddhagamaya agamayek nove* " see Gombrich, *Precept and practice*, pp. 62-63.
43. *Buddhist Annual of Ceylon* (Colombo, 1932), pp. 123-24.
44. *Ibid*, p. 206.
45. Carrithers, *Forest Monks*.
46. *Dharmapala Return to Righteousness*, p. 717.
47. *Ibid*, p. 520.

48. *Ibid.*, p. 521.
49. David Karunaratne *Anagarika Dharmapala* (in Sinhala) (Colombo) M.D Gunasena, 1964, p. 125. A closer translation of the whole sentence would be "Doing no work for race or nation, forever laying waste the teaching, filling their spittoons, the venerable monks should have those spittoons hung around their necks."
50. *Cited in Bechert Buddhismus*, p. 68, n.202.
51. Karunaratne, *Anagarika Dharmapala*, p. 47.
52. Amunugama, "Anagarika Dharmapala," p. 729, n 5.
53. Besides having a very active and eccentric political career, he published books on the Buddha's anticipation of such modern scientific discoveries as quarks and argued that the great Mahayanist philosopher Nagarjuna propounded the purest Buddhism. He would earn a fuller place in this book if we knew of anyone who was influenced by his idiosyncratic opinions; but he did play a part in the Sarvodaya movement (see chap 7).
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58. *Sun*, 4 September 1978, p.8.
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61. Bechert, *Buddhismus*, pp. 300-305
62. See For example, Mahasi Sayadaw, *Practical Vipassana Meditation Exercises* (Rangoon Buddhasasananuggaha Association, 1978).
63. Bechert, *Buddhismus*, p. 39.
64. We prefer this account by a participants to the rosier picture painted by U Nyi Nyi in Mahasi Sayadaw, *Practical Vipassana*, p. 8.
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66. On the topic of this section see also Richard Gombrich, "From Monastery to Meditation Centre: Lay Meditation in Modern Sri Lanka," In *Buddhist Studies, Ancient and Modern*, ed., Philip Denwood and Alexander Piatigorsky (London Curzon Press, 1983), pp. 20-34.

NICHREN BUDDHISM

The Buddhism of *Honen* was representative of the new age in its simple and pure piety, but it shared much of the sentimentalism prevalent in Miyako. There now appeared a man who represented the vigorous spirit of eastern Japan, combining with it the profound idealism of Buddhism, and from whom Amita-Buddhism encountered the most formidable attacks. This man was Nichren, and his name meant "Sun-lotus," which symbolized a combination of Shinto and Buddhist ideals, the Sun embodying light and life, and the lotus purity and perfection. His character and career were unique in the religious history of Japan. In him were harmonized the fervour of a prophet and the sweetness of a saint, the wisdom of a learned doctor and the enthusiasm of an ardent reformer. In contrast to *Honen's* life, Nichren's was full of perils and adventures. In his numerous essays and epistles we find expressions of deep thought, sharp dialectic, cries of warning, persuasive admonition, animating encouragement, and his own touching confessions' as well. Authentic material for drawing a vivid picture of his life can be secured from his own professions of belief and from the narratives of his career and adventures, all handed down in his own writings.

Nichren was born in 1222, the son of a fisherman in the south-eastern corner of Japan, as fact which Nichren himself interpreted in his later years to have special significance for him as the representative of Japanese Buddhism, because he deemed his native place to be nearest the place of sunrise. Early in his boyhood he was sent to a monastery on a hill near his home and passed there several years of novitiate. As he grew older he was tormented by the question of what, among the various branches of Buddhism then prevailing, was the true doctrine of Buddha himself. An earnest desire for the solution of this problem led him to Kamakura, and then to Hiei, in 1243. Remained in that great seat of Buddhism for about ten years and visited other centres of Buddhist learning as well, endeavouring to exhaust the depths of Buddhist truth.

At last, when he was about thirty years old, he attained the conviction that the true Buddhism was nothing but the doctrine of the *Lotus of Truth* as expounded by *Saicho*, the founder of Hiei, and that all other branches were false and corrupt. At the same time he became convinced that the whole teaching of the scripture *Lotus* as well as *Saicho's* tenets should be interpreted and carried out in practice by adjusting them to the needs of the time, the age of the "Latter Law." These points of his conviction had a complicated background of doctrinal speculation, in accordance with the general trend of Buddhist thought and as a result of

Nichiren's erudition. But all these doctrines and speculations were fused by the white-heat of his faith and zeal, and he reduced the whole of his religion to a simple method, that of uttering the "Sacred Title" of the scripture, in the formula *Namu Myo-Horenge-kyo*, which meant "Adoration to the Lotus of Perfect Truth."¹ It was for him not a immemorial utterance but a real embodiment of the truths revealed in that book, because the "Title" was representative of the whole revelation, which was to be realized in the spirit and embodied in the life of all who adored Buddha and his revelation. To utter the "Sacred Title" was, according to Nichiren, the method of at once elevating oneself to the highest enlightenment of Buddhahood and of identifying self with the cosmic soul. This method he deemed to be the only adequate way available for the degenerate men of the latter days.

With the fire of these earnest convictions, he went back to his old monastery which he had left nearly fifteen years before. Early on a summer morning in 1253, he climbed the summit of the hill and "announced the Sacred Title to the universe" taking as witness the sun as it was rising from the horizon of the Pacific Ocean. At noon of the same day he propounded his new thesis to his former abbot and fellow monks, breaking into bitter protest to against the prevailing Buddhism. They were shocked by the audacity of his contentions, and the pretentious young prophet was driven out of his native province.

He spent most of the following seven years in Kamakura, the seat of the dictatorial government. During this time, the city of Kamakura was the scene of many frightful events; ominous rumours were current of plots against the *Hojo*, who were divided in family strife, and in addition there was a series of disasters, storms, inundations, earthquakes, famines, pestilence, appearance of comets. The people were panic stricken, and the Government resorted to offerings at Shinto sanctuaries and occult rites conducted in Buddhist temples. Nichiren regarded not only the disasters themselves, but the spiritual bewilderment caused by them, as results of the false religions prevailing; his conclusion was that Buddha and his angels had withdrawn their protection from the country. In demonstration of his contention he wrote an essay entitled *Rissho-Ankoku-Ron*, "The Establishment of Righteousness and the security of the Country," as a remonstrance for presentation to the Government.

In this essay Nichiren pointed out relentlessly what he deemed to be the evils of the time, and laid the heaviest responsibility for the calamities upon Judo Buddhism denouncing Honen as a spirit of hell. Later he proceeded to attack other branches of Buddhism. Shingon Buddhism was according to him, the greatest evil threatening the life of the nation, while Amita-Buddhists were doomed to hell. Besides these chief menaces, Nichiren attacked the conservative formalism of the disciplinary school called Ritsu, and also the newly-introduced method of meditation, Zen, of which we shall speak presently. In short, all Buddhist leaders of the time were traitors and hypocrites, by whom the nation was being led astray and doomed to ruin. Disasters could not be averted unless the Government were ready at once to suppress all those false religions and the nation were to be converted to the unique truth of the Lotus. Otherwise, he warned the Government, the nation would, in addition to the existing miseries be ruined by internecine strikes and suffer foreign invasion. In conclusion he said: Ye men of little faith, turn your minds and trust yourselves at once to the unique Truth of the Righteous Way! Then ye shall see that the three realms of existence are (in reality) the Kingdom of Buddha, which is in no way subject to decay; and that the worlds in the ten quarters are all

Lands of Treasures, which are never to be destroyed. The Kingdom is changeless and the Lands eternal. Then how shall your life be otherwise than secure and your mind serene in enlightenment?

The document, filled with fierce remonstrance concluding with these fervent words, was sent to the government authorities. The latter made no response, but a mob attacked the prophet, probably with the tacit permission of the authorities. His hermitage was burnt down and he had a narrow escape through the darkness of the night.

When Nichiren had returned to Kamakura, after several months of missionary journey in the adjacent provinces, he renewed his cries of warning in the streets and parks. The Government saw in him a disturber of the peace, and he was arrested and banished to the wild coasts of the peninsula of Izu. Abandoned and alone in his place of exile and surrounded by dangers, Nichiren reviewed his past life, and found in the scripture more encouraging assurance of his own mission and deeper inspiration. The result of this calm reflection and ardent aspiration he formulated in the "Five theses" of his mission. They were: First, as to the doctrine promulgated, his religion was based upon the unique authority of the Lotus, the consummation of all teachings of Buddha. Second, as to the capacity of those to be taught, mankind of that degenerate age of the Latter Days could be trained only by Buddha's teaching in its simplest expression, not by any complicated system. Third, as to the time, his time was the age of the Latter Law, in which the Lotus alone would remain efficient for the salvation of all. Fourth, as to the country of its promulgation, Japan was the land where true Buddhism was destined to prevail; whence it should be propagated throughout the world. Fifth, as to the successive rise and fall of systems, other forms of Buddhism had done their missions and the way had been prepared by the old masters for the acceptance of the Perfect Truth.²

All these five conditions seemed to Nichiren to be in process of fulfilment by his activity, and the dangers he was encountering assured him more and more of his high mission. Thus three years' life in exile only added fire to his ardour.

After his return from exile in 1263, Nichiren found himself surrounded by ardent followers more numerous than before, and he worked with enthusiasm and in more uncompromising attitude. He then went on missionary journeys, during which he was nearly killed by a local chieftain, who as an ardent Amita-Buddhist had ever been Nichiren's mortal opponent and attempted to assault him by surprise. But this peril was to be followed by more serious and persistent persecution. At this time, Kublai Khan, the Mongol conqueror of China and Korea, was planning an expedition to Japan. Rumours of this increased the apprehension of the people, and finally a Mongol envoy demanding tribute of Japan came via Korea. Nichiren seized the opportunity and renewed his remonstrance to the Government, reminding them of his prophecy of a foreign invasion published eight years before. He challenged the prelates of the temples and monasteries endowed by the government to organize a public debate with him. The authorities simply ignored Nichiren's propositions. He was confident, however, that when the Mongol crisis became more serious, the eyes of the authorities and of the people would be opened to the truth of his religion.

Three years passed in combat and struggle, in which Nichiren persistently urged conversion upon the nation. Finally the Government saw in this insolent monk a conspirator against the

nation and sentenced him to banishment. The real intention of the authorities, particularly of the chief of police who was Nichiren's bitterest opponent, was to deprive him of his life on the way to exile; and Nichiren himself was well aware of it and prepared for the last moment, thinking that death should bear best testimony to his mission. It was past midnight (in the autumn of 1271) that he arrived at the place of execution, and there everything was ready for his last moment. Suddenly- and miraculously, as he himself and many others too believed- the sky seemed ablaze. "A bright object," as his own account says, "like a ball of fire flew from the south-east to the north-west, and every one's face was visible in the light." The officials and soldiers were panic-stricken and the sword fell from the executioner's hands. Execution had become impossible, and the hated monk was again sentenced to banishment.

This narrow escape from death, the third and most perilous, impressed him so deeply that he regarded his life thereafter as a second life, after a resurrection. The fifty years he had lived seemed now to have been merely introductory to his great mission, and he submitted himself to the sentence of banishment in hopeful delight, with a firm conviction that the proper part of his life, the revelation of his true destiny and ideal, was to begin.

The place of his exile was the desolate island of Sado in the Sea of Japan. When he arrived at the port to embark for Sado, the winter gale was raging on the northern sea, a new experience to him who had known only the southern sea-coasts. He had passed, he writes, "mountains beyond mountains" on the way thereto, and "waves upon waves" were whirling before him as if symbolic of his life full of perils. This was a supreme moment, in which he found further confirmation of his faith in his mission, the perils working only to strengthen his trust in Buddha and in the prophecies contained in the scripture. A letter he wrote at this time marked a significant step in the consummation of his confidence in the mysterious connection existing between himself and the saints predicted in the scripture to appear for the salvation of all in the Latter Days.

Nichiren passed a winter amid snow and hoar-frost in an abandoned cottage, suffering extreme cold and hunger. His thoughts naturally turned more intensely than before to the fate of those Buddhists who would work in the days of degeneration and suffer persecution for the sake of the true Buddhism. In these thoughts about his missions he always interwove his idea about his country, which had given birth to him and therefore was destined to become the centre of the Buddhist Church of the world. In brief, his exile of three years in Sado was the climax of his life, and during this time he achieved what he deemed to be the pivot of his work, a graphic representation of the "Supreme Being."

Before considering this point, let us note a fiery expression of Nichiren's conviction of his mission. We cite from the *Kaimoku-sho*, or "Opening the Eyes," an essay written early in 1272, when the first winter in Sado was nearly over, a comparative and critical review of various religious and moral systems and on the consummation of all those in the true Buddhism. He says in conclusion. Finally, let the celestial beings withdraw their protection, let all perils come upon me; even so, shall I dedicate my life to this cause... Be it in weal, be it in woe, to desert the Lotus of Truth means to fall to the hells. I will be firm in my great vow. Let me face all manner of threats and temptations. Should one say to me, 'Thou mightiest ascend the throne of Japan, if thou would'st abandon the Scripture and expect future bliss through belief in the *Meditation on Amita*,³ or thy parents shall suffer capital punishment, unless thou utterest

the name of the Buddha Amita!' Such temptations I shall meet unshaken, and shall never be allured by them, unless my principles be shattered by a sage's refutation. Any other perils shall be dust before a storm. I will be the Pillar of Japan; I will be the Eyes of Japan; I will be the Great Vessel of Japan.⁴ Inviolable shall remain these oaths!

Here, we see Nichiren's conviction of the truth of his teaching expressed in fusion with his belief in his own mission, both of which were more firmly implanted in his mind by his experiences at the execution ground and in the ice and snow of Sado.

Climax of Nichiren's Life and His Retirement

As the first winter passed and the spring breeze began to melt the snow and ice, sunlight came to the prophet's surroundings. Some inhabitants of the island were converted, and not a little consolation reached him from his followers in the main island. In the following year (1273) he wrote another important treatise, "The Spiritual Introspection of the Supreme Being." Then he proceeded to make a graphic representation of the "Supreme Being" as the visible standard of meditation and worship.

The "Supreme Being", according to Nichiren, is Buddha in his metaphysical entity, the enlightened soul in full grasp of the whole truth of existence. This entity, the Buddhist nature, is inherent in every being, whether human or celestial, or even bestial and infernal, and can be, ought to be, realized in every soul when it enters into full communion with Buddha. This truth was embodied in the person of the historical Buddha and his eternal life revealed in the *Lotus of Truth*. In fact, Nichiren regarded himself as the man destined to perpetuate Buddha's saving work for the sake of depraved beings in the latter ages of the world, and therefore authorized to furnish the unique standard of faith for them. The Sacred Title of the Lotus had established this standard for oral utterance, and now he proposed to furnish the same for spiritual introspection through visualization, because the vast universe, with all its beings, was nothing but an extension, an outward manifestation of every one's Buddha-nature. The visualized standard was made for the purpose of impressing one's soul with the true and everlasting nature of its own identity with the eternal Buddha and that of every other existence. The Supreme Being meant a perfect union of the individual and the world, the oneness of the Buddha-nature and its inexhaustible manifestations.

The graphic scheme was, accordingly, intended to be a miniature of the cosmos, including all kinds of beings arranged about the cosmic Lotus of Truth, in adoration of it, and illuminated by the wisdom and mercy of Buddha.⁵ The representation was, however, neither a picture of those beings nor a mere symbolic diagram, but an arrangement in titles, of all classes of existence according to their respective grades of spiritual ascent around the primordial Buddhahood, which was represented by the Sacred Title.⁶ Nichiren regarded this representation of the Supreme Being as the chief work entrusted to him by Buddha for the salvation of mankind in the latter days, a predestined mission to be achieved by the "Messenger of Buddha."

After two years and a half, Nichiren was released from exile and went back to Kamakura. This was a sign that the government was then willing to arrange a compromise with him, and this change of attitude towards him was chiefly due to the anticipation of a Mongol invasion, which soon became a reality. The Government wished to give the prophet official sanction for his propaganda, on condition that he abstain from his fierce attacks upon other Buddhists. But

Nichiren did not like to see his teaching granted as one among others. He would accept no compromise but forced his demands as vigorously as before. One month passed in these negotiations, and then we see him in secluded retirement among the mountains of Minobu, on the western side of Mount Fuji (1274).

The clamorous prophet was now suddenly changed to a silent recluse. This sudden change was interpreted in various ways by Nichiren's later followers, but he himself gave a clear account of his motive. He had given his warning to the nation and to the Government persistently and forcibly enough, yet they could not realize the true significance of his mission. On his part he had done the utmost in fulfilling the "five theses" of his propaganda and accomplished two, out of three, plans of his religious scheme, that is, the proclamation of the Sacred Title and the revelation of the Supreme Being. Now there remained the third, namely preparation for the establishment of the central seat of the Buddhist Catholic Church, which, as he conceived, was to rule the world throughout the ensuing ages of the Latter Law. Though he firmly believed in the realization of this ecclesiastical scheme, he put the actual establishment of the *Kaidan*, the Holy Centre, in an indefinite future. The conviction of his great mission, and also the sense of his own sinfulness and his idea of expiation, were closely allied with this ideal scheme. This idea of expiation requires a little further elucidation.

By sin Nichiren understood nothing else than estrangement from the truth and the teaching of the *Lotus*, the falling away of individuals from the primordial oneness of the universal life. But sin was not merely a matter of the individual person, it was a common heritage of all beings, for all had estranged themselves from the unique truth of the Scripture. Nichiren deemed that the dangers and persecutions he had been suffering were means of expiating this sin, both his personal sinfulness and the common share. Now he had done something towards expiation by enduring the perils of his life and by standing indefatigably for the cause of the Truth. But his individual expiation was but a small fraction of the ultimate and universal expiation, although his own part in it was the key to universal salvation. And since the salvation of all was possible only through its essential organ, the Catholic Church, its establishment was to be the final consummation of his mission, which presupposed an entire transformation of the world and of the whole of mankind. Hence, expiation in the full sense, even on the part of Nichiren alone, was incomplete until the central seat of the Church should be established, and all mankind be united in the same faith of the true Buddhism. Expiation, the chief reason for his retirement, was therefore only another aspect of his efforts for the establishment of the Holy See. The prophet who had done his part in the past had now to work for the future.

Thus the chief occupation of his mind and life in retirement was to pray and prepare for the grand scheme of the future, and it is said that he despatched one of his elder disciples to the foot of Mount Fuji to select the spot for the Holy Centre.⁷ Japan, for Nichiren, was the country where the Universal Buddhist Church was to have its central seat; but Japan in an ideal sense meant the whole world- transformed in the light of the Scripture.⁸ Nichiren deemed himself to be the man sent by Buddha to open the way for the transformed world, the messenger of Buddha, an incarnation of the Truth. Why then should he cherish any doubt as to the ideal destiny of his country and the fulfilment of his world-wide scheme?

With these thoughts, and in earnest prayer for their fulfilment, the recluse passed his days in peace and diligence among the peaks of Minobu, which he deemed to be an earthly

paradise because of his abode there. Indeed, Nichiren's conception of the Buddhist Church was an extension of his idea of the paradise inherent in every soul and to be realized in the life of each enlightened soul as well as in the universal communion of such souls. He considered the spread of his gospel the necessary condition for the transformation of the world, perhaps through a catastrophe. And the catastrophe seemed to him to be heralded by the rise of the Mongols proceeding to a world war. Thus with firm trust in the ideal destiny of his religion and country, Nichiren watched the repeated invasions of the Mongols (1274 and 1281), their devastation of the western islands, and their final defeat effected by a storm. A hermit in appearance, yet a prophet and reformer, he was, as he thought, preparing for the fulfilment of his prophecies.

The prophet had now attained the sixty-first year of his life, and his health had been impaired for some time, but this was not surprising in a man who had exhausted his energy in encountering perils and dangers. "Our Lord *Sakya-Muni* revealed," thought Nichiren, "during the last eight years of his earthly life, the Lotus of Truth on Vulture Peak; then he left the Peak and went north-east ward to *Kusinagara*, there to enter the Great Decease. Now that I have spent eight years amid the peaks of Minobu, time has come to me to prepare for the end of life." With this thought he left his beloved retreat at Minobu. Taking a route to the northeast, he arrived at Ikegami, near modern *Tokyo*. There he was prostrated with sickness. During nearly a month of his illness he gave lectures anew on his old *Riho-Ankoku-Ron* and entrusted to his disciples the work to be carried out after his death. On the 13th day of the 10th moon of 1282, the prophet expired, surrounded by his devout disciples.

Nichiren's prophetic zeal and his perseverance in hardships were emulated by many of his monk-disciples and lay followers. Even during the years of his retired life their activity covered nearly all the eastern provinces. This missionary activity was extended later to the north and to the west. In 1294, the youngest of his disciples, *Nichizo*, started propaganda in Miyako, making a direct appeal to the Throne. The activity of the Nichirenites in western Japan dated from this time and was destined to have important bearings upon the promulgation of the faith. In 1295 another apostle, *Nichiji*, started for the north and is believed to have worked among the Ainu and gone over to the continent.

Nichiren's religion represented in many respects the robust spirit of eastern Japan which had always been in revolt against the ritualism and sentimentalism of the aristocratic Buddhists of Miyako. It is no wonder that his appeal found an easy acceptance among the virile warrior classes and the earnest peasants of the eastern provinces. Thus we find amongst his adherents many warriors, and among his monk disciples the sons of warriors. There were also women of strong character among them, and his instructions given to them are full of tender sentiments and stimulating admonitions. These men and women found in their master's personality and teachings satisfaction for their vigorous spirit and a religious support for their patriotism, as well as fulfilment of their universal and spiritual ideals.

We have seen in Nichiren's combative propaganda a vigour almost unprecedented in the whole history of Buddhism. This was chiefly due to the power of his original personality, but we must note that methods of propaganda had been undergoing remarkable changes during these two centuries. There were itinerant teachers, during these two centuries. There were itinerant teachers, popular sermons, prayer meetings, all in contrast to the ritual performances

and dogmatic discussions of the Heian period. Monastery and cottage, hermitage and mansion came into closer touch; religious teachers gave counsel and rendered services in the daily life of the people. Popular propaganda was further carried out by Nichiren and his followers. The method first adopted by Nichiren was preaching in streets and parks. Wherever he could get an audience he mounted a platform and preached. His disciples went into temples and monasteries where their adversaries were preaching or giving lectures and entered into hot debates with them, crying: "Be converted to the right faith, or convince me and I will surrender to your standpoint."

In this respect the Nichirenites revived the method of the Indian fighter *Arya-deva*, and like him offered even their own lives if defeated in the debate. This fierce side of the "repressive propaganda" was, however, supplemented by the "persuasive way" of meek admonition and kind counsel. But the "repressive" method was not limited to his attitude towards his adversaries, because Nichiren regarded it as a necessity for the sake of all people in the degenerate ages of the Latter Law. As he never showed leniency towards his disciples, especially as regards matters of discipline, so he was very exacting towards himself and, as said above, regarded all his sufferings, both voluntary and involuntary, as a life of penitence. Thus Nichiren's method opened a new era in the propaganda of Japanese Buddhism, and his followers who kept to his method later became famous for their aggressive attitude, especially against the Amita-Buddhists. This induced the latter in reaction to become more and more combative, and of this we shall speak later.

Mystic Character

The first two phases were militant. The third, though not lacking in activity, partook rather of a mystic character. He spent three years on Sado, where he employed his time in further developing his system. It was here that he first matured the conviction that he was the *Bodhisattva Jogyo*, that he devised the graphic representation of the chief object of worship, and that he wrote some of his most important essays, including the "Eye-opener" and the "Heritage of the Sole Great Thing concerning Life and Death".

He was released in 1274 and was recalled to Kamakura on the eve of the Mongol invasion. But though the Government endeavoured to come to terms with him he would admit no compromise. He held out for the union of Japan under his Church and the suppression of all heresies. Agreement was impossible and Nichiren retired to a mountain hermitage, where he taught and studied and dreamed of a Universal Church with its Holy See in Japan. He died in 1282.

Nichiren was perhaps the most remarkable figure, as his sect was the most exceptional development, in the religious history of Japan. His life is an example of a militant reforming spirit which is hardly in keeping with the Japanese tradition of tolerance in doctrinal and even in ecclesiastical matters. Through it there runs a strain of aggressive individuality and stubborn belief which would brook no kind of contradiction. He said himself that he was probably "the most intractable man in Japan", and there is no doubt that the clash between his school and others is due far less to differences of creed than to incompatibility of temper. He was a master of invective, born to arouse opposition, enmity, and persecution. We have seen how he offended the Government by the violence of his language. But so addicted was

he to the use of terms of abuse like "devil", "fiend", and "liar" that we find him using them in most surprising contexts, even in his less polemical writings. Thus in a letter to his disciples in 1279 he says: "If Nichiren had not appeared in the period of the destruction of the Law, then Sakyamuni would have been a great liar and all the Buddhas would have been great cheats. For in the 2,220 years since His death it is Nichiren alone who has made good His prophecy." No single sentence could better illustrate at the same time his apocalyptic conviction and his challenging tone.

It is at first sight surprising that so exacting and quarrelsome a leader should have gained such a following as in fact he did. But he was tender to his adherents, as many warm-hearted letters show; and as to his powers of conversion the truth is that the time was ripe for the appearance of a teacher prescribing new and drastic remedies for the disorders, political and economic, from which Japan was then suffering. Moreover, by the beginning of the thirteenth century the administrative and to some extent the cultural centre of Japan had shifted from *Kyoto* to the eastern provinces, where men were of a bolder, rougher stamp than their gentle compatriots in the western provinces. Not only among officials and soldiers, but among all people of a vigorous habit of mind, there was a reaction against the softness of Amidst doctrine, a demand for a robuster creed. Some, as we have seen, turned to the discipline of Zen, but many were touched by the crusading spirit of Nichiren and no doubt were especially attracted by that part of his teaching which insisted that religion must not be separated from Government. Accordingly he made converts in all classes, even among men of such importance as *Hojo Tokimori*⁹ a member of the ruling family. And since his teaching naturally attracted adherents who partook of his own bold and aggressive nature, it is not surprising that the history of the Lotus sect, both during and after his lifetime, is a record of clashes with authority and strife with other denominations.¹⁰

In the first stage of his career Nichiren developed and preached his interpretations of the Lotus, and the emphasis of his teaching at this time was laid principally upon the vital need for both the Government and the people to conform to his religion. The most important of his tracts in this period have a certain political intention and an admonitory flavour, as is evident from such titles as "An Essay on the Protection of the State" and "A Memorial on the Remedy for Calamities", and the celebrated treatise on "The Establishment of Righteousness and the Safety of the Country". The object of these writings was to demonstrate that the dangers threatening the state could be overcome only by the adoption of Nichiren's own tenets; and they are largely devoted to an exposure of the errors of other sects, particularly the Nembutsu and Zen. Later the Shingon and Ritsu sects also became objects of his animadversion. It may thus be said that, as he developed his system, "adverse criticism of these four branches of Buddhism became an integral part of Nichirenite dogmatics."

Yet the doctrine of Nichiren is remarkable not so much for its essence as for the manner in which it is set forth. In substance it is little more than a variation of the Tendai teaching, not indeed the Tendai of Nichiren's own day but as he imagined it to have been in the days of *Saicho*. But it was preached to the astonished Government and public with a vehemence and insistence which seemed like arrogance and were without parallel in Japan. Of course, all sects believe that they have a monopoly of truth, but the old sects of the Nara period claimed little more than to present the best and clearest version of what was admitted by all to be

truth and to point out a few errors. The Tendai and Shingon were less disposed to contradict and condemn than to find room for all reformers who were not too refractory. But the new sects of the Kamakura period did not hesitate to upset established doctrine and to maintain their own theses in the face of it. Thus the attitude of *Shinshu* towards the older sects is very like that of Protestantism towards Catholicism, Nichiren took another and even more aggressive line: for him religion was something national and not merely individual. He summoned the Government to accept forthwith and enforce the truth which he taught and to suppress by force all heresy and error- that is to say, everything he himself did not teach.

Such a method of procedure was most unusual, in fact probably without parallel in any Buddhist country. To the majority of Japanese it must have seemed simply bad manners. We may admire Nichiren, the courage with which he fought for his convictions and faced martyrdom. No one can help being interested by the intensely personal note which sounds in all his sayings and writings. He is the most striking example of religious enthusiasm that Japan has to offer, yet the results that he achieved, while considerable, are not so great as might have been expected. The history of the sect makes one feel that it has suffered because it has not been able to preach the truth as a whole and to fight for it, but has been perpetually diverted into internecine squabbles about details and vituperative condemnation of other people's errors.

At the present day the Nichirenites are one of the most conspicuous denominations in Japan but are only moderately numerous, being far behind the *Shinshu*, Zen, and Shingon in numbers. Their prominence is due partly to self-assertion and advertisement. Their services are accompanied by a clamour of drums and bells; spells and charms are freely used. But together with this there is intellectual life and a belief in a national and even universal Church. The sect maintains a flourishing college, the *rissho Daigaku*. In recent years there has been a revival of interest in the doctrines of Nichiren among the educated classes. It arose in the first place probably from appreciation of his literary style, but today his teaching seems to have a special appeal among certain exponents of nationalism in politics. If much of their history consists of petty turbulence and scandals, yet a protest such as they made in 1914 against the Government's order that every one should accept the Buddhas and the Gods of his native place, has a noble side, being in fact a violent effort to assert the sovereignty of truth.

But it is interesting to note that the Japanese Government has done tardy justice to the memory of Nichiren. On 12th October, 1922, the posthumous title of *Rissho Daishi* was conferred upon him by Imperial Edict, exactly as that of *Kenshin Daishi* had been given to Shinran in 1876. According to the *Tokyo press*¹¹ the honour was bestowed at the request of "a large number of devoted followers of the Saint", including Admiral *Togo*, several Ministers of State, and many other distinguished persons. Further, an informal celebration of the event was at once held at the Navy Club, which must surely have delighted the spirit of one who had always insisted that the State ought to approve the truth with he preached.

The Nichiren sect, like Christianity and Islam, is the religion of a book. Few varieties of Buddhism present this feature. They have a superabundance of scriptures, mines of information which the learned can spend their lives in exploring, but which have not the same influence on the lives or beliefs of the community as the *Bible* or the *Koran*. But the scripture which

Nichiren selected the *Saddharmapundarika*, often abbreviated to "the Lotus" in European translation- is such a book. It is relatively short and compact and is accepted as a guide to faith and practice. It is a book to be "read by the body", as Nichiren said: to be worked out in the life of every true Buddhist. More than that, it has obtained a higher position than the sacred books of other creeds. The words *Namu Myo-ho-range-kyo*, Reverence to the Scripture of the Lotus of the Good Law are not only a rallying cry but a prayer. The name of this book has become a synonym for all that is most holy and most divine, and it is used as an invocation precisely as the *Jodo* and *Jodo-Shinshu* use the name of Amida.

The work thus honoured is the Chinese translation of the *Saddharma Pundarika-sutra* made by *Kumarajiva*¹² commonly known in Japan as the *Hokke-kyo*. Chapters xi and xv (*Upaya Kausalya* and *Tathagatayus*) are considered especially sacred. With the *Hokke-kyo* are usually combined the *Muryogi-kyo* or *Amitartha-sutra*, the *sutra* on the immeasurable meanings, and the *Fugen-kyo*, or meditation on the *Bodhisattva Samantabhadra*, which are regarded as an introduction and conclusion to it. Nichiren's commentary on the *Hokke-kyo* and a work called *Kuketsu*, or Oral Decisions being an account of his teaching as taken down by his disciple Nichiko, are also held in great respect.

The *Hokke-kyo* or Lotus has often been compared to the Gospel according to St. John, and so far as both works make it their task to show the supernatural side of an apparently human teacher the comparison is just, but the setting of the scene recalls rather than the Gospel the Apocalypse, which indeed it far exceeds in exuberance, particularly in numbers and the computation of space and time. The European reader is simply bewildered when he reads how *Sakyamuni*, the same who had been preaching on the Vulture Peak in human form, stretches forth his tongue until it reaches the distant Brahma world and continues doing so during a thousand or a hundred thousand years; or, again, how *Bodhisattvas* sang hymns during fifty eons though to the audience it seemed but an afternoon. Yet in matters of literary chronology.¹³ Nichiren follows the Tendai theory of "the five periods" and he accepts the Chinese reckoning which places the Buddha's death at 947 B.C.

During the first forty years of the Buddha's life he gave instruction, as Nichiren held, by numerous sutras which assumed that his auditors were of three classes and that there were three vehicles, or methods of instruction, differing so as to suit their different capacities. These three classes were the *Sravakas* or simple hearers; the *Pratyeka-* Buddhas or those who aspire to enlightenment but for themselves alone; and the *Bodhisattvas*, who vow to save all beings and aspire to become Buddhas ultimately. The first two classes form the *Hinayana* and the third the *Mahayana*, but it is noticeable that the vehicles are always reckoned as three not two, and each vehicle has its own course of instruction suitable for attaining its own ends but not for any other. A *Sravaka*, for instance, cannot become a *Bodhisattva* and a Buddha.

But when we come to the last stage of the Buddha's career as a teacher, that in which the Lotus is said to have been pronounced, all this is changed. He declares that when he spoke of three classes and three vehicles it was merely an expedient- not untruth, of course, but adapted truth suited to the strong and weak points of different hearers. In reality there is but one vehicle which will lead all to one glorious destination. "Gods and men, I am the Tathagata, the Arhat, the Perfectly Enlightened One. Having reached the shore I carry others to it; being free I make free; being comforted, I comfort; being at rest, I lead to rest... I knowing the Law

which has but one essence, the essence of deliverance, do not suddenly reveal to all the knowledge of the All-Knowing, for I pay regard to the dispositions of all beings... All my disciples attain to nirvana: all my disciples shall become Buddhas... It is as if a potter made different pots out of the same clay. Some are pots to hold sugar, some ghee, some curds and milk. Some are for baser purposes. There is no difference in the clay used; the difference in the pots is entirely due to what is put into them. Just so there is but one vehicle, the Buddha vehicle. There is no second, no third." *Mahayana and Hinayana* alike vanish and there remains only the one *Ekayana*, the vehicle of the Buddhas.

This change in the manner and substance of the instruction given is paralleled by a change in the personality of the Buddha himself. Before the Lotus was revealed *Sakyamuni* was a man who had achieved Buddhahood: who had been born and who would die. But with the new revelation we have a different view of him. The Tathagata is not born and does not die: his birth and death are only expedients, like the three vehicles, lest men should fancy that they have always with them a master and a consoler to whom they can turn. In reality his Buddhahood is without beginning and end, and since he has prophesied that all his disciples should become Buddhas, their life, too, is not confined within the limits of birth and death, for the Buddha nature is innate in every one of them.

The Sects and their Doctrines

This emphasis on the relationship between mankind and the eternal Buddhahood is the distinguishing feature of Nichiren's religion in its metaphysical aspect. He does not deny merit to other systems, but he considers that they give only a partial or imperfect vision of the truth. It is this attitude which explains the title and the reasoning of his treatise called the Eye-opener. He argues that unless their eyes are wide open men cannot see the whole truth. Ethical systems like Confucianism are well enough but limited to practical affairs. The worship of Brahma or *Vishnu* has its merits but it does not carry the minds of men as far as the ultimate reality. Buddhism opens men's eyes to the existence of Buddha, but many Buddhists fail to perceive his true nature and cannot fathom their relationship to eternal Buddhahood. Their failure is greater than that of those whose sight is dim, for as teachers they have wilfully distorted the image of truth.

It was for such reasons that Nichiren reserved his strongest condemnation for what he considered the heretical sects of Buddhism. At the same time he regarded the very existence of these sects as a proof that in fulfilment of the prediction of the scripture the degenerate days of the Law had come. In chapter xiii of the Lotus there occur several times expressions like "the true Law which meets with opposition and unbelief in all the world" and "the last 500 years when the true Law shall be in a state of decay".

Various *Mahayana* sutras reckon the three periods of the Law differently, one of the commonest estimates being 500 years for the first period, 1,000 for the second, and 10,000 for the third. Nichiren seems to have divided the history of Buddhism into three millenniums, though it is not plain what will happen when the third will finish. The first period consists of the first thousand years following the Buddha's death, which after the Chinese fashion is dated 947 B.C. For historical purposes it covers the Hinayana period and is called in Japanese *Shobo* or the True Law. The second is the period of *Zobo* or Image Law, beginning about the time of

the Christian era and corresponding historically to the beginning of the *Mahayana*. The third period is called *Mappo*,¹⁴ or Destruction of the Law, and began according to Nichiren about 1050. In this dark age there is trouble in both the political and religious world, but also hope. Nichiren was far too active and energetic a man to be a pessimist.

He had no doubt that the doctrine which was to be the light and guide of the *Mappo* period and to give the nations peace and prosperity was the teaching of the Lotus. He formulates this principle in simple language in the *Rissho Ankoku Ron*, by replying to an inquirer who deplores the evils of the day and asks what is the remedy: "If those who preach false doctrine are suppressed and those who hold the true faith are respected, then there will be tranquillity throughout the land and the country will be at peace." Here at once we see the connection between Church and State which runs through all Nichiren's writings: to believe in the only truth and to bring prosperity to one's country, which must of course be made to believe the truth.

In 1261, while suffering exile in Izu because of these political elements in his propaganda, Nichiren thought out the five fundamental principles of his teaching. The first is that the Lotus is the perfect and, as it says itself,¹⁵ the final exposition of the truth; and the second that in a degenerate age man requires a simple, definite creed. This is also the thesis of the Amidist sects, and it may be doubted if their efforts to obtain simplicity have not been more successful than those of Nichiren, for simple is not the most obvious epithet to apply to the creed taught by the Lotus. Thirdly, this age of *Mappo* is the time to proclaim the doctrine, and, fourthly, Japan is the country where it should be preached and whence it should spread over the entire world. Fifthly, all other Buddhist systems have done their work and should yield to the Lotus as the one and only authority and thus unify religion.

Implicit in his statement of these five principles was the corollary that he was the predestined instrument of their realization. Having enunciated them, he added: "One who would propagate the truth of Buddhism by convincing himself of the five principles is entitled to become the leader of the Japanese nation. One who knows that the Lotus of Truth is the King of all Scriptures knows the truth of religion. If there were nobody who read the Lotus of Truth there could be no leader of the nation. Without a leader the nation would simply be bewildered... and fall into the lowest hells in consequence of degrading the truth."¹⁶

This passage does not manifest the deep personal conviction, apparent in his later writings, that he himself was the chosen and predestined leader. The feeling grew as in the second phase of his career he proclaimed his gospel in the face of hardship and danger; and as he developed his system it played an increasingly important part. But it was not until the end of his second and most active phase that he began to marshal his beliefs in a schematic form. While he was on Sado he had plenty of time to think, and here he gave final shape to the main doctrine of his school.

They are generally described as the three great secret laws or mysteries, which are stated to be the Honzon, the chief or original object of worship; the Daimoku, or title of the *Sutra* (i.e. *Myoho-rango-kyo*); and the *Kaidan*, or place for receiving moral instruction. The Nichiren sect emphasizes the somewhat startling doctrine that the original Buddha without beginning and without end- of whose body all the ten worlds, from hell up to the abode of Buddhas, are

transformations- is not a mysterious nameless essence but the Buddha *Sakyamuni*; and also, since we all have the Buddha nature, we ourselves are this original Buddha. Evidently this conception is too profound to be represented by any image, but when Nichiren was in exile in Sado he devised a Mandara which should symbolize these mysterious truths, and such Mandaras can still be seen in Japan in any Nichiren temple. Something has already been said about Mandaras in speaking of the Shingon sect.

The Nichiren Mandara differs somewhat in appearance from others, since it contains neither figures nor Sanskrit letters. Down the middle are written vertically in bold Japanese characters the words *Namu Myoho-range-kyo* and at the sides are the names of the four Kings who rule the four quarters. Right and left above the vertical inscription are the names of *Sakyamuni* and *Taho (Prabhutaratna)*, the mysterious "extinct" Buddha who makes his appearance in chapter xi of the Lotus; and the remaining space is filled with the names, all in Japanese characters, of the notable beings who are mentioned in the *sutra*. This Mandara is considered to represent the universal power of the Buddha as all-pervading Truth. All the ten worlds, good and bad, exist in so far as they participate in his nature. The ideas which other schools strive to awaken by profound meditation and trances can, Nichiren held, be obtained by simply gazing at this Mandara, which is thus rightly considered the Honzon, the principle and primary object of worship.

The second mystery is called *Daimoku*, that is the title of the *sutra*, *Myoho-range-kyo*, the Lotus of the good or wonderful law, to which are generally prefixed the syllables *Na-mu*, that is the Sanskrit *Namah*, "Reverence be to." It is remarkable that Nichiren, who had a special hatred of the worshippers of Amida and summed up his opinion about them in the brief phrase "the Nembutsu is hell", should have recognized the utility of such a formula and should have made one so like it play the same part in his religion. And as far as the two formulas are concerned it may be doubted if the Amidists have not the best of it, for Reverence to Amida Buddha is an intelligible invocation and appeal if one believes that Amida is the source of all good, whereas Reverence to the Lotus of the Good Law, an appeal to a sacred book, is less convincing.

Nichiren, however, understood it as meaning an expression of firm belief and faith in all the doctrines and mysteries taught by the *sutra*. The modern explanation is that it is beyond the reach of reasoning and "is simply to be believed in and not understood at all."¹⁷ It must be admitted that this is the conclusion one reaches upon studying Nichiren's *Hokke Daimoku-sho*, a work which sets out to answer the question: "How is it that without knowledge of the meaning of the Lotus, without understanding of morality, a man can avoid sins, escape the Four Evil Destinations and attain perfection by the mere utterance once a day, once a month, once a year, or even once in a lifetime of the seven syllables *Na-mu-myō-ho ren-ge-kyō*? If a man cries Fire! Fire! he is not burned unless he touches it. If he cries Water! Water! His thirst is not quenched unless he drinks. How then can the utterance of a mere name... save him from perdition?"

Anesaki ((Nichiren, pp. 66, 67) quotes a remarkable passage from the epistle entitled "The Sole Great Thing concerning Life and Death", written at Sado in 1272, in which Nichiren says: "To utter the sacred Title with the conviction that the three are one- the three being the Buddha *Sakyamuni* who from eternity has realized Buddhahood; the Lotus of Truth which

leads all beings without exception to Buddhahood; and we beings in all realms of existence—to utter the sacred title is the Heritage of the Sole Great Thing concerning Life and Death.... This is the essence of what is promulgated by Nichiren. If it should be fulfilled, the great vow of propagating the Truth over all the world would be fulfilled.¹⁸

The third mystery is the Kaidan, or the place for receiving the moral precepts and also the place where ordination is conferred. Observance of the moral law is the most important part of Buddhism. The law itself is comprised in the formula *Namu-myo-ho-enge-kyo*, and the place where we receive it, the Kaidan, is our own bodies, which partake of the Buddha nature and are further especially provided for in the Kaidan or Holy See established by Nichiren himself.

We are here of course endeavouring to make clear what Nichiren and his followers found in the Lotus and are not speculating on the real doctrine taught in that perplexing work. Should it for instance be regarded as theistic or not? The Buddha is an existence without beginning or end and is called *Devatideva*,¹⁹ god above all gods, father of the world,²⁰ and is said to create *Tathagatas*.²¹ But, on the other hand, it may be reasonably maintained that the word Father as applied to the Buddha always means one who cares for and protects, not one who is a parent. Producer, or creator. Indeed the passage in chapter xv, beginning "The *Tathagata* sees the triple world as it really is; it is not born; it does not die. It is not conceived; it does not come into existence ... seems to deny all theories of creation. And what are we to understand by the expression "extinct Buddhas"? Nichiren does not appear to discuss these difficult questions. But he is penetrated by the conviction that the Buddha *Sakyamuni* is an active, benevolent, governing Power, "Disposer supreme and judge of the Earth," who has a fixed plan for the improvement and enlightenment of the world, the execution of which he has entrusted to certain instruments.

It was during his exile on Sado that Nichiren, revolving in his mind these conceptions, became persuaded that he himself was *Visishtacaritra*. Rendered as *Jogyo* in Japanese. *Visishtacaritra* is the chief of the countless host of *Budhisattvas* who in the Lotus issue from the clefts of the bursting earth and are described by *Sakyamuni* as having all been brought to maturity by him. To them in preference to the *Bodhisattvas* already present, who are somewhat curtly dismissed and put aside, is entrusted the task of promulgating this wonderful *sutra* to the world. Though *Visishtacaritra* is mentioned as leader of the host and his name appears in the last sentence of the *sutra* as one of the principal beings who applauded the words of the Lord, yet he is a somewhat shadowy figure for a new Messiah. Nichiren seems to have grown more and more convinced that he was this *Bodhisattva* come to earth again incarnate. In a letter which he is said to have written towards the end of his life he boldly proclaims as follows: "These three mysteries I, Nichiren, as leader of the host that issued from the earth, did more than two thousand years ago certainly receive from the mouth of the Lord of Doctrine, the Great Enlightened One. The Revered of all the World." But he did not in any way pose as a supernatural personage or make capital out of being the Lord's special envoy predicted in the Lotus itself.

Other religious teachers have arrived at a similar conviction as their life and thought progressed; but there is no doubt that the most remarkable features of the sect are not the sacred "Title" or any other special doctrines, but firstly the apocalyptic tone which pervades

all Nichiren's exposition of scripture and secondly the equally persistent manner in which he thinks of Church and State' as two entities which are inseparably united. These two features are all the more remarkable because the Nichiren sect is the only Buddhist body in which they are found at all fully developed.

It is true that the germs of Nichiren's apocalyptic theories are to be found in the Lotus itself, especially in the verses at the end of chapter xii, which describe the sufferings of the religious and virtuous in the last epoch of the world. The Buddhist visions of the future rarely look forward to a "second coming", and though the advent of Maitreya seems to have been a living vision to some of the Chinese pilgrims, yet it has long ago ceased to have any influence in Japan, and is thought of, if thought of at all, as something immeasurably distant. Nichiren's whole life seems to have been built on a more sanguine prospect, though the ideas of hope and triumph do not appear to have been really strong among his disciples.

He himself, as he says in the last sentences of his treatise On Seizing the Essence of the Lotus, regarded all the disorders and tribulations of his own times as preparing the way for the appearance of *Visishtacaritra* and his holy company, who were to spread and establish the truth "throughout the four quarters of the world". Here he foreshadows his ideal of a universal church; and the remainder of his life in his mountain retreat at Minobu was occupied chiefly with the development of this theme. Towards the end we find him prophesying: "When the Law of Kings shall merge with the Law of Buddha, when ruler and people alike shall hold to the Three Great Mysteries, then the Holy See shall be established in a place as excellent as the Vulture Peak. Thus the moral law will be established in actual life. In this sanctuary men of all countries in the world will receive the precepts of repentance and expiation, and thither also great gods like Brahma and Indra will descend."

In other writings he made clear his opinion that "the place as excellent as the culture Peak", where the Holy See would be established, was Minobu itself. In a crowning outburst of apocalyptic fervour he says: "I live in a lonely mountain retreat. But in Nichiren's bosom, in his body of the flesh, is secretly enshrined the great mystery which the Lord *Sakyamuni* transmitted to me on the Vulture Peak. Therefore it is that in my breast all Buddhas are immersed in contemplation, on my tongue they turn the wheel of the Law, in my throat they are born, and in my mouth they attain enlightenment. This place being the abode of such a man mysteriously realizing the Lotus of Truth, how can it be less noble than the Vulture Peak."²²

The foregoing account of Nichiren's teaching has perhaps emphasized its mystic elements at the expense of its practical features. It should be understood that, although he arrived at his conclusions by arduous roads of philosophy and revelation, he presented them to his adherents in a very easy form. Himself erudite and profound, what he recommended to ordinary believers was by no means abstract and difficult but concrete, plain, and even matter of fact: a practical moral life, supported by the utterance of a formula, the worship of a symbol and combined with an active protest against tenets of other schools. It is these simple features rather than the deep speculations of the founder which have given to the sect its special character of sturdiness and self-assertion.

The resemblances of Amidism to Christianity have often been noticed, but the religion of Nichiren offers in other ways a parallel quite as curious and seemingly independent. His

appeal to the prophetic and apocalyptic passages of scripture, his insistence on such ideas as the union of Church and State, the Kingdom of the Buddha and the love of the Buddha for mankind, which is like the love of a father²³ to be repaid by performing the tasks entrusted to us- these are among the many points which strike a European and which are rarely emphasized in Buddhism. But though he often seems to be expressing the ideas of the Catholic Church in alien language, he laid little emphasis upon hierarchy, sacerdotalism, or sacramental religion and was of the same stuff as the Protestant reformers.

REFERENCES

1. *Namu* is a corruption of the Sanskrit *Namah*, "Adoration", and *Myo Horenge Kyo* is the Sino Japanese form of *Sad-Dharma-pundarika- Sutra*. This was calling on the name of the Scripture instead of calling on the name of Buddha.
2. The sixth thesis, the person who was to accomplish the mission, was declared later; we may assume that in this essay Nichiren simply asserted himself to be the man. But a clearer conviction was to be reached later, when he was exiled to Sado, for which below, pp. 197- 198.
3. One of the three fundamental texts of Amita-Buddhism.
4. Nichiren's religion emphasized the adoration of Buddha as the lord, the teacher, and the father of all beings. Here the "Pillar" meant the supporter and therefore lord; the "Eyes" the functions and dignity of the teacher, the revealer of truth; and the "Vessel" the source of life, saviour, therefore fatherhood.
5. Anesaki, Nichiren, chapter vii.
6. In all these conception and schemes Nichiren betrays his indebtedness to Shingon mysticism; but in substituting the names and titles for the images and diagrams used in the Shingon Cycles, he was a follower of Tendai, who emphasized the importance of the "title".
7. Several temples have since then been established there, where even today some bigoted Nichirenites pray, with an admixture of superstitious ideas, for the realization of Nichiren's ideal scheme.
8. This idea of the present world as paradise was emphasized by Nichiren especially in contradistinction to the paradise of the Buddha Amita in the west, far away, millions of leagues beyond.
9. He had also many women, among his disciples, some of whom appear to have been of strong personality. His correspondence shows that Nichiren took special pains in the instruction women of his converts. It is interesting to observe that the closing passages of his *Hokke Daimoku* -sho are addressed to women. He warns them against the teacher's of *Nembutsu*, who are "the enemies of all the women of Japan, more dangerous than tigers and wolves or brigands or pirates".
10. The Tokyo papers of 27th April 1934, record a visit to a newspaper office by a member of the Nichiren sect, who aggrieved by some disparaging reference to his religion, attacked members of the editorial staff with a sword.
11. See Japan Advertiser, 13th October, 1922.
12. Nanjio, 134, It is noticeable that the Chinese version makes 28 chapters instead of 27, as in Sanskrit by splitting chapter xi into two. Chapter xii begins with verse 41 of the Sanskrit xi. It sometimes appears to have a different reading from the Sanskrit text as we have it. For instance in chapter xx(xix) *Sadaparibhuta* is rendered "always revering" instead of "always abused". Nichiren attached great importance to this chapter. There are two other translations in the Chinese Tripitaka (Nanjio, NOs 128 and 139), but Nichiren decidedly preferred Kumarajiva's version, which is excellent as literary Chinese.
13. Lloyd, however, in his *Creed of Half Japan* (p. 299) has some interesting observations about this literal acceptance of Tendai chronology. He quotes from the *Seigoroku* a collection of extracts from Nichiren, a passage in which Nichiren says that in the time of the early Hinayana patriarchs there

was not a single Mahayana sutra and another which describes the astonishment of the Hinayanist doctors when they first heard the doctrines propounded by Asvaghosha and Nagarjuna. Both statements seem to imply that he cannot have thought that the Buddha preached the Lotus publicly in his old age. He believed that "It being a kind of Apocalypse was far too advanced for the immediate disciple of Sakyamuni and that for this reason it lay fallow for several centuries, gradually winning recognition for itself as the spiritual intelligence of the Buddhist communities increased.

14. The idea that a degenerate age was at hand seems to have gained ground more particularly in the eleventh century, but it had already struck the imagination of the Japanese in the days of Dengyo Daisi, who wrote a work called Mappo Tomyoki (The Light of the Latter Days), in which he says: "There will be none to keep the Buddha's commandments in the Latter Days of the Law. If there should be such, they will be as rare as a tiger in a market place.
15. Lotus, xiii, 54.
16. Quoted by Anesaki, *op. cit.*, p.43. Works p. 427.
17. This is the explanation if it may be so called, of the Rev. Zejun Kobayashi of the Nichiren sect, quoted by sect, both Nanjio and Ryauon Fujishima in their works of Japanese Buddhism.
18. *Works*, p. 742.
19. Lotus, vii, 31 and cf. i, 89.
20. Lotus, xv, 21 and cf. iii, 97.
21. Lotus, chapter xi, first part.
22. From a letter to Nanjo Hyoshichiro, 1281. For a fuller translation v. Anesaki, *op. cit.*, p. 129 *Works*, pp. 2060-2070.
23. But it is to be noticed that neither the Lotus nor Nichiren speaks of the Buddha being a father in the sense of maker or creator. He is father because he protects, instructs, and brings to maturity.

AMIDA BUDDHISM

Though Amida, or *Amitabha*, is well known as a benevolent deity in China, Tibet, and other countries of the Far East, it is above all in Japan that his worship has developed into distinct, well organized, popular, and progressive sects which claim attention if only for the numbers and wealth of their adherents. In the earlier sections of this work I have already spoken several times at length of the history of this worship which is summed up in the names of its seven Patriarchs: two Indian, *Nagarjuna* and *Vasubandhu*; three Chinese, *Donran*, *Doshaku*, and *Zendo*; and two Japanese, *Genshin* and *Honen*.¹

The cult of Amida seems to have begun in India about the time of the Christian era, or possibly a little earlier, and perhaps was not originally Indian but introduced from the Iranian districts lying to the north, but in saying this it must be remembered that the earliest Amidist scriptures, the two *Sukhavati-Vyuhās*, are entirely Indian in tone and outlook. Though remarkable analogies, verbal and other, may be found with the Avesta, there are only two points which suggest that the worship is really not Buddhist in origin. They are, it must be confessed, sufficiently important. The first is that the chief figure, *Amitabha* or *Amitayus*, Measureless Light or Life, as he is indifferently called, is totally unknown in the oldest Buddhist literature, whether Pali or Sanskrit, and when he first appears is far from having the same pre-eminent position which he acquired in later times. Although numerous works of respectable antiquity recommend his worship and represent it as prevalent in India, his adorers do not seem to have formed a corporation as they did later in Japan or as did the *Bhagavatas* at an early period in India itself. Secondly, the essential doctrine of the sect, the transfer of merit or of being saved by the exertions of another, is repudiated by early Buddhism. The Buddha shows men how they can save themselves, but he is not a saviour except in the sense that a teacher is one. Our future is determined by our own good or bad actions.

Still, even in Indian religions the idea of a saviour, though less common than in other countries, is not unknown. It is an easy and comfortable doctrine and appeals in all countries to both sinners and good men who shrink from the labour of elaborate ritual or arduous thought. The special form of saviour which appealed to the Far East was a Buddha who has obtained enlightenment by his exertions continued through long ages and on the express condition that he does not need Buddhahood unless he can admit to his paradise all who call on his name. It is to be noted that the Buddha to be is not praying to or making vows to any Supreme Being. By refusing Buddhahood except on conditions he is instituting a new kind of Karma which

enables him to share with other men his marvellous merit, which is more than is needed to make one man a Buddha. According to the Mahayanist *sutras*, Amida is only one of many Buddhas who have performed this feat, though for practical purposes his name has eclipsed all others.

The worship of *Amitabha* was introduced into China at an early date and seems to have been made a definite sect or school by *Hui-Yuan* (333-418). The school was most successful and produced several renowned doctors of whom *Zendo* was the most celebrated, being regarded in Japan as an incarnation of Amida himself. He is the author of the celebrated parable of the White Path which is regarded as an epitome of religion. It tells how a traveller proceeding westwards across a vast plain found himself confronted by two rivers or rather sheets of water, for they were unfathomable and so wide that on one could see the further shore.

The only way across them was a narrow white path a few inches wide, continually washed by the waves and flames which came upon it from the two sides. Wondering what he should do, he looked backwards and saw a band of brigands and a pack of wild beasts following his track. In desperation he decided to advance along the white path at any risk. As soon as he had taken this decision, he heard a voice calling to him, "With right thought and singleness of heart walk on without fear. I will protect thee." It was the voice of Amida, and stepping resolutely along the narrow way, the traveller was soon welcomed by him in his paradise of the West.

But after some centuries the popularity of Amida's worship prevented it from being appropriated by any one sect. It became not the special tenet of a particular Church but an aspect of all, because none could afford to neglect so attractive a doctrine. This partly accounts for the manner of its introduction into Japan. It was not brought back like the Tendai, Shingon, and Zen by priests who had gone to study in China, but after Amida had become a familiar figure, the idea that he was to be regarded not only as a saviour but as the only Saviour was preached by *Honen*, Shinran, and others and became a great religious movement which seemed thoroughly national and to owe nothing to China.

It is recorded that the *Sukhavati-vyuha* was public recited at the Japanese Court as early as A.D. 640. In the Nara period *Gyogi* Bosatsu and other famous priests are said to have preached the doctrine of *Jodo*, the Pure Land, though I have not found any detailed account of their activities in this respect. When after the removal of the capital to *Kyoto* *Dengyo* Daishi and *Kobo* Daishi had established the Tendai and Shingon sects on a firm basis, the worship of Amida became increasingly popular, but it differed from the later teaching of *Honen* in two respects. In the first place, it nearly always involved meditation on Amida: mere invocation or the repetition of his name was not sufficient. Secondly, though concentration of the mind on a particular Buddha and especially on Amida (since tradition and literature rendered him eminently suitable for the *purpose*) was recognized as a method of attaining paradise, still it was only one method.

The Tendai and Shingon had numerous other receipts for salvation and the chief recommendation of this procedure was its easiness. There was no notion that it was the one and only form of religion practicable in the present decadent age. Still it was undoubtedly popular. *Dengyo* Daishi and his successor *Jikaku* (794-864) are said to have repeated the

Nembutsu: the ex-Emperors Uda (866-931) and Go-Shirakawa (1125-1192) died invoking Amida with their faces turned to the west. *Kuya*, the itinerant preacher and dancer, spread the use of the nembutsu: *Kakuhan*, the founder of a new branch of the Shingon, accommodated it to the principles of his sect: *Yokwan* and *Chingai* also recommended its use with various slight modifications of their own.

More important for the history of dogma is *Genshin*² (942-1017), who is often recognized as the first Japanese patriarch of the Amidist school, because he came near to preaching the same doctrine as *Honen* in holding that the mere repetition of the Nembutsu without the practice of meditation is sufficient to cleanse from sin and to secure rebirth in paradise. He was also the spiritual ancestor of *Honen* in another sense, for he wrote a book called *Ojoyoshu*, in which he explained the views of *Zendo*, and it was the perusal of the *Ojoyoshu* which turned *Honen's* attention to *Zendo*, whom he came to consider an infallible authority in matters of doctrine. The work of *Genshin* is remarkable for its vivid descriptions of paradise and also of the terrible destinies which await the wicked. He has been compared to Dante, but was a painter and sculptor as well as a writer. Perhaps he was really most remarkable and influential as a painter, for the pictures attributed to him, if genuine, show a freedom both in colour and outline which marks a change in the conventional Buddhist art of that date. He seems indeed to have been an artist rather than a preacher or philosopher and he left no sect behind him.

The first to do this was *Ryonin* (1072-1132), a younger contemporary of *Genshin's* who founded a sect called the *Yuzu Nmbutsu*, which still exists though small in numbers.³ The formation of a sect, however, having as its cardinal principle the worship of Amida was an event of some importance since he had hitherto been adored as one of the many Buddhas recognized by the older religious bodies. In this respect *Ryonin* paved the way for *Honen's* teaching, but in others his doctrine shows considerable differences. First, he did not appeal to the three Amidist sutras as his authorities but to the Lotus and the Kegon-sutra, thus maintaining a sort of connection with the Tendai. Secondly, he claimed to have received personal inspiration from Amida and the god Bishamon. Thirdly, he held, as a part of Amida's special revelation, that the recitation of the Nembutsu, which he recognized as the principal act of devotion, should be made on behalf of others as well as for oneself, and that if made with this larger application it was a thousand million times more meritorious than if uttered as a merely selfish prayer. It is strange that this idea does not seem to have been taken up by any of the later Amidist schools.

In 1133, a year after *Ryonin's* death, was born *Honen* (or *Genku*), the real founder of Japanese Amidism. It is true that his followers were not officially recognized as a sect until the time of Ieyasu, though in practice they formed a religious body from *Honen's* lifetime onwards, and also that Shinran developed certain points of doctrine with greater precision. Yet *Genshin*, the only previous doctor who enunciated almost the same doctrine, was not a teacher and had practically no followers, while it is not clear that apart from *Honen*, Shinran's convictions would have taken the form which they did. He always professed to be *Honen's* disciple and *Honen* is therefore rightly considered as the founder of *Jodo*, or religion of the Pure Land, in Japan. This name is perhaps the designation most widely used and is simply the Japanese pronunciation of Ch'ing-tu, the title given to Amida's Paradise by the Chinese. *Shinshu*, or more correctly *Jodo Shinshu*, means simply the true form of *Jodo*, that is, the

Jodo faith as more clearly defined and, in the opinion of his followers, improved by Shinran.

It has already given some accounts of *Honen's* life and it remains to examine his doctrines in more detail. His personal character influenced his teaching. His was a peculiarly amiable and gentle nature, always anxious not to offend, to see things from other's points of view and to formulate his own so as to raise as few objections as possible. Indeed, some passages in his writings have been much criticized by later *Jodo* doctors for their too great liberality, for instance, one in which he seems to say that other forms of worship are as good as the nembutsu provided that the thought and prayer be directed towards Amida and the Pure Land. In another passage,⁴ too, he says that it is allowable to pray for worldly goods, not only by practising the Nembutsu but by invoking the other Buddhas or gods, by reading or writing the sutras, or by making images of the Buddhas.

It is clear that the school which he inaugurated was part of the larger religious movement which was everywhere evident in this period and which found expression in the informality of Zen and in the polemics of Nichiren. The universal effort was to find some intelligible and easy form of religion⁵ which would bring light and comfort to souls which had sought them in vain in the ritual and philosophy of the older systems. *Honen* says this frequently in his own way, and he once stated⁶ that the reason why he founded the *Jodo* sect was to show ordinary man how to be born into the Buddha's own country. He was also under the influence of the idea that the world had entered on its last and worst phase, or the Age of *Mappo*, in which the true Law and virtue were decaying. In spite of his profound learning, his teaching is emotional rather than reasoned and addressed to the ignorant and simple-minded. He defines it himself in the "One Sheet of Paper", the last thing which he wrote, as being "nothing but the mere repetition of the Namu Amida Butsu without a doubt of his mercy whereby one may be born into Paradise".

As an exponent of these views *Honen* was perhaps at his best in conversation and in intimate letters, but he wrote several books, the best known of which is the *Senchakushu*⁷ consisting of sixteen chapters quoting many passages from the three Amidist-sutras as well as from the Chinese Patriarch *Zendo*, of whom he says that he was an incarnation of Amida and that though we have had many teachers of the Pure Land sect we should depend solely on *Zendo*⁸. As *Honen* is said to have read the whole Tripitaka several times, he had probably perused the Agamas (equivalent to the *Pali Nikayas*), but so far as I know he never quotes them or attaches the smallest importance to the fact that though they are the most ancient and authoritative accounts of Shaka's preaching they contain no mention of Amida. With his usual charity he says⁹ that no one should speak of the Lotus or of the *Prajnaparamita* with the least disparagement, but evidently the three Amidist-sutras are for him the ultimate source of truth and Shaka's mission was to make them known to the world. I have already given some account of these books¹⁰ and of the little we know of the origin of the doctrines they contain. *Honen* seems to attach especial importance to the *Amitayurdhyana-sutra*, Shinran to the larger *Sukhavati-vyuha*.

The *Senchaku* opens by dividing religious practices into the *Shodo*, or holy path, and the *Jodo*, or pure land, which are equivalent to the distinction (first drawn by the Chinese Patriarch Donran) between *Jiriki*, or reliance on one's own strength, and *Tariki*, or reliance on the strength of another. The *Mahasannipata-sutra*¹¹ is quoted as making Shaka himself say that in these

latter days of the Law the *Shodo*, or path which he himself preached, has become impracticable. Not one of the many who have attempted to walk in it have obtained salvation. The only hope for mankind is to endeavour to reach the Paradise called the Pure Land and to do so not by accumulating merit but by trusting simply and solely to the benevolence of Amida, that is, the Buddha Amitabha or Amitayus, for the shorter form answers to both of the original longer names. The *Sutras* relate how this great Being became a Buddha in the same way that others have done.

Incalculably long ages ago, he was a Bhikshu called Dharmakara, rendered in Japanese as *Hozo* in the time of the Buddha called *Lokesvara-rajā* (in Japanese *Sejizaio Butsu*), and made a vow (*pranidhana*),¹² or rather series of vows, to save the human race, the gist of them being that he would not accept Buddhahood, which was his due in virtue of the merits acquired by his unselfish exertions continued through innumerable births, except on certain conditions. "For whose sake was it," asks *Honen*, "that Amida went through austerities for such long kalpas of time? He was transferring the merit of his discipline to all the sentient beings of all coming time. What was the reason for that transcendent vow which he made? It was indeed for our sakes who live in these latter days."¹³

Of these conditions there are no less than forty-eight¹⁴ though of varying importance. The principal is number eighteen, which stipulates that "any being who calls on my name at least ten times shall be born into my land", that is, the Paradise which he will own as a Buddha.¹⁵ Rebirth in the Paradise is commonly called *Ojox*. He further vowed that all the inhabitants of this wondrous land should be certain of obtaining *nirvana* (a stipulation which is often forgotten by those who speak of it as a permanent heaven) and be eligible as a candidate for Buddhahood. All women who pray for rebirth in Paradise shall be changed into men.

If we ask why we should put our trust in Amida rather than in any other Buddha, the answer must be that he vowed to become a Buddha, and save mankind, that he succeeded in becoming a Buddha, that Shaka came into the world to explain this vow, and that innumerable Buddhas testified that there was no doubt as to the correctness of his explanation. Yet *Honen's* belief and trust in Amida, though deep and intense, was not in the least polemical.

"You should not say as some do that because you trust in Amida and the Nembutsu it is right to have nothing to do with the merciful vows of the many Buddhas and Bodhisattvas.... Your faith is quite one sided if you despise the many Buddhas or doubt Shaka's holy teachings."

Similarly, in the "One Sheet of Paper" he is careful to allude to "the mercy of the two Holy Ones", that is, Shaka and Amida.

Hence the *Jodo* sect is sometimes known as the *Ni-son Ikkyo*, or one religion with two deities. Similarly, various Bodhisattvas such as Kwannon and seishi are adored in *Jodo* temples (which is only natural considering the position given to them in the *Amitayurdhyana-sutra*), and *Honen* himself was believed to be an incarnation of Seishi. He speaks incidentally of the protection of *Brahma* and *Sakra* (Indra).¹⁶

The salvation offered by Amida consists of rebirth in his Paradise, which all ancient accounts agree is situated in the West and where all shall enjoy wonderful powers of body and mind. Later accounts tend to regard it as a permanent residence for all eternity, but the *sutras* speak of it as being rather a blissful and peaceful sojourn where one can obtain *nirvana*

or even become a Buddha. The idea that one who has obtained *Ojo* or birth in paradise can return to the world and work for the salvation of others is countenanced by *Honen*,¹⁷ but he explains that such a one is not returning to the round of births and deaths but voluntarily and for the sake of helping others revisits temporarily this sinful world. In the Buddhist periodical called the *young East*¹⁸ will be found an interesting article by Professor Takakusu in which he relates the death in 1928 of Baroness *Kujo*, a lady of great piety, and describes how at the entreaty of her friends she promised to return to this earth. There is also an annex to the Pure Land called *Keman-Kai*, literally the realm of laziness, in which the spirits of doubters have to spend a certain time. *Honen* does not appear to mention it, though a similar idea is to be found in the Greater *Sukhavati-vyuha*,¹⁹ according to which those who are filled with faith are born miraculously in the Pure Land sitting cross-legged on the petals of a lotus, while doubters have to spend five hundred years in the interior of the flower without seeing the Buddha until they are freed of their doubts. In the works of *Koa Shonin* (1269-1330), one of the early lights of the Chinzei division of the *Jodo*, may be found clear descriptions of *Keman-Kai* as a place of probation outside Paradise and nearer to this earth.²⁰

Shinran also in his work *Kyogyo Shinsho*²¹ cites passages from various *sutras* about *Keman-Kai*, and the *Tannisho* mentions "the outskirts of the Pure Land" as a sort of purgatory for doubters but condemning the view that its inmates can ultimately go to hell.

To obtain admission to this paradise it is only necessary to recite the *Nembutsu*- that is, the formula *Namu Amida Butsu*, or reverence to *Amida Butsu*- and according to the eighteenth vow, ten repetitions of the sacred words are sufficient. It is important to observe that, according to *Honen*, nothing is required except repetition of the formula with faith. He is emphatic in declaring that meditation on *Amida*, which was considered a necessary part of the *nembutsu* according to the older sects and which is certainly prescribed in the *Amitayurdhyana-sutra*, is superfluous.

The system is primarily one for the ordinary man: no one can complain that he does not understand it. But though it is certainly no tax upon the intellect, the repetition of the *Nembutsu* as enjoined by *Honen* makes severe inroads on one's time. "Even if you are doing something else, do it while you go on with the main work of life, which is the practice of the *Nembutsu*, and do not let the *Nembutsu* be a sort of side work to anything else."²² *Honen* and many other saints are said to have repeated it sixty thousand times a day. Services were even held for repeating it a million times. A number of men sat together with an immense rosary about 10 feet in diameter and repeated the *nembutsu* about 150,000 times in twenty-four hours.

It is even stated in *Honen's Life*²³ that the Emperor *Go Shirakawa* during his last illness repeated it a million times two hundred times over, and was rewarded with a peaceful end.

It is strange that a man of *Honen's* intelligence and real piety should have approved and enjoined what seems a monstrous number of repetitions of one prayer. He did not deny that in certain cases to say the *Nembutsu* ten times, or even once, was enough to secure *Ojo*, but he held that when once the wish to be born in the Pure Land had arisen one should make that wish one's chief occupation and, so far as possible, think of nothing else. In the "One Sheet of paper" he deprecates all technicalities and says that "the mere repetition with firm faith includes all details such as the three states of mind", but this is because he wants to emphasize the simplicity of his essential teaching.

In another letter²⁴ he expounds the said states with great eloquence and makes it plain that the recitation of the nembutsu, as he contemplated it, was not merely mechanical. The definition of the three states of mind originated with *Zendo*, who laid it down that prayer should be offered with a sincere heart, a deep-believing heart, and a longing heart. A sincere heart is one in which every thought is true and full of genuine devotion. A believing heart explains itself. If a man thinks there is any uncertainty about his birth in the Pure Land, it is uncertain, whereas if he thinks it certain, it is certain."

By a longing heart²⁵ is meant one which wishes all the merits which it may have acquired in this or previous existences to be presented and dedicated to the Buddha with the one object of attaining birth in the Pure Land. This sounds like a contradiction of the fundamental principles of the *Jodo* creed, and to make one's entry into Paradise depend on one's own merits and exertions and not solely and entirely on Amida. *Honen's* explanation is that the object is to avoid having any desires except for birth in the Pure Land. The believer presumably acquires some good karma by his actions and he should not dream of making any use of it except to offer it humbly to Amida.

The real importance of these psychological arguments respecting the proper state of mind in which to pray lies in their bearing on the forgiveness of sins. Amida is all-merciful. He will come to the deathbed of a criminal who calls on him and conduct him to Paradise. Then why not sin as much as one likes, say the Nembutsu when suitable with perfect faith and go in good time to heaven? The *Jodo* and the *Shinshu* were continually accused of preaching this immoral doctrine, and throughout *Honen's* active life we find him continually arguing against such a perversion of his teaching. Yet it is a mistake which it is very easy to make and even *Honen* himself wrote passages which he might have done well to word differently. "If you have any time to spare after saying the Nembutsu," he wrote to Rensei,²⁶ "then you may apply it to doing good works... If you say the Nembutsu thirty or fifty thousand times, even if you should break a few of the commandments, that cannot affect your attainment of *Ojo* at all."

But generally, as one might expect, he vigorously affirms the need of good conduct. "While believing that even a man guilty of the ten evil deeds and the five deadly sins may be born into the Pure Land, let us for our part not be guilty of even the smallest sins."²⁷ And again, "If your faith is not right, it is not in harmony with the mind of Amida and it is certain that his merciful vow has nothing to do with you... Some say that the effort to avoid sin and improve oneself is making light of Amida's vow... Do not be for a moment misled by such false ideas. Is there any place in any of the *sutras* where Amida encourages men to sin? Certainly not.

Such things come from those who make no effort to get away from their own evil deeds and who go on in their former sinful life... Such persons are nothing less than a company of devils, their work is heathenish and you should think of them as enemies to your attaining birth in the Pure Land." In other words, the idea that it is possible to continue sinning deliberately and to do away with the sin by reciting the Nembutsu has the appearance of logic but it is an entire misunderstanding of the Nembutsu. Amida is full of compassion for sinners, but he hates sin for he knows it is the cause of misery, and any device to increase sin must be hateful to him. The recitation of the Nembutsu with faith implies repentance for sin in the past and the desire to avoid it in the future. Doubtless, too, the repetition of the Nembutsu was regarded as a preventative of sinful desires: according to *Honen* prayer is not merely a

help to life, it should be the whole of life and the object of life. One should not have any desire except to be reborn in the Pure Land, and consequently there will not be room in one's mind for passion or ambition.

Nevertheless, the Pure Land sects were long troubled with the heresy that since Amida's object is to save and help sinners who call on him, he may be said in a certain sense to love sinners and to enjoy sin, since it gives a larger scope for the display of his grace. The same theory is found among some Vishnuist schools in Southern India, where it is called *Doshabhogya* (enjoying sin), and, lest it should be supposed that Orientals have a monopoly of these queer ideas, it also crops up in the works of Oscar Wilde, who says in *De Profundis*: "Christ through some divine instinct in Him seems to have always loved the sinner as being the nearest approach to perfection in man... In a manner not yet understood of the world He regarded sin and suffering as being in themselves beautiful holy things and modes of perfection... Christ, had He been asked, would have said — I feel quite certain about this—that the moment the Prodigal Son fell on his knees and wept, he made his having wasted his substance with harlots, his swine-herding and his hungering for the husks they ate beautiful and holy moments in his life."

Honen's amiable and undogmatic temper led him to formulate his views in simple and untechnical language and so far as possible to avoid contradicting other sects. But after his death his successors were inclined to be more precise and to define and develop doctrines which he had perhaps purposely left somewhat vague. Six of his disciples, *Shokobo*, *Zennebo* (also called *Shoku*), *Shinran*, *Ryukan*, *Chosai*, and *Kosai*, founded sects or sub-sects of which the first three survive, while the others have become extinct. *Shokobo's* school, which is called *Chinzei*, is the ordinary *Jodo* sect as it exists at present and appears to represent correctly *Honen's* views. It emphasizes the need of frequently reciting the *Nembutsu* with as deep earnestness as if each repetition was made with one's last breath. But it also gives due importance to Amida's twentieth vow, which is that those who acquire merit by practices other than the *Nembutsu* shall be born in the Pure Land at the end of the third rebirth after the present at the latest.

Zennebo founded the *Seizan*²⁸ school, which is still recognized as an orthodox branch of the *Jodo* and has the *Zenrinji* temple at *Kyoto* as its headquarters. I find it exceedingly difficult to state what are its special views, although *Honen's Life* contains a long chapter on the teachings of *Zennebo* (No. xxvii).²⁹ The Japanese as a nation have perhaps not much talent for metaphysics and probably most of what they have to say on such questions is borrowed. But the religious public (like the Protestant denominations of Europe) seems to have a taste for discussing such matters as faith, freewill, grace, and the relations of the Buddha or God to the human soul. It is the last question—the intimate union existing between Amida and his devotees—which seems to have preoccupied *Zennebo*. He is quoted as saying that "rebirth is attained when Amida enters into our hearts and when this happens our works are his and his are ours: in the unity of Amida and ourselves Amida realizes his Buddhahood and on our side rebirth is attained".

He also appears to have attached little importance to the twentieth vow and to have maintained that the *Nembutsu* was essential to salvation, which could not be obtained by merit arising from meditation or other good works. *Chosai*, on the other hand, considered that this

vow definitely authorized such meritorious practices as means of salvation equivalent to the Nembutsu. He founded a school which is now extinct called Kuhonji, from a temple of the same name in the suburbs of *Kyoto*.

Another point on which the opinion of *Honen's* disciples was strongly divided was the question of "one calling" or "many callings",²⁹ that is, one or many recitations of the Nembutsu. *Honen's* practice was certainly in favour of "many callings", and another strong advocate of the principle was his disciple *Ryukan*,³⁰ who held that a devout man should continue calling on the Buddha's name all his life until the day of his death. The partisans of "one calling" raised no objection to repeated invocations but insisted on the absolute sufficiency of one. This one invocation must be a solemn act of faith by which the devotee is made one with Amida in spiritual union, and without such faith mere recitation is of no avail. *Kosai*, one of *Honen's* disciples, is said to have held this view.³¹ He had been brought up in the Tendai sect and held that Amida had two personalities, the original (hommon) and the incarnate (Shakumon). The latter is the Amida who ages ago appeared in the world as *Hozo* and ultimately attained Buddhahood, but the original personality is without beginning and is identical with the Buddha nature which is in all of us. It is sufficient for salvation to realize this truth and in its light to recite the Nembutsu once only. *Kosai*³² also appears to have held that there was no objection to *Jodo* priests marrying.

Honen strongly objected to the "one calling" principle and contended that it was contrary to *Zendo's* views, in which he was no doubt right. But *Kosai* insisted in maintaining his errors "until *Honen* could no longer have him for his disciple" and so expelled him from the sect. *Honen* also "issued a written instruction" denouncing the once-calling doctrine in strong language, which was very unusual to his gentle temper. He seems to have been particularly irritated by the statement that it was the doctrine which he really held and that the many thousand daily repetitions of the Nembutsu which he was said to make were an empty pretence. He also seems to connect the once-calling principle with the doctrine that immorality is permissible.

Kosai and his sect have for all practical purposes been long forgotten, but his interest lies in the fact that the Life of *Honen* represents him as holding, and as being condemned by the master for holding, the same views- once-calling and the marriage of the clergy- as were undoubtedly approved by far the most important of *Honen's* disciples, namely, Shinran. The sect founded by Shinran is known as the *Jodo Shinshu*, or True sect of the Pure Land, that is, the correct doctrine about the Pure Land. It is the largest Buddhist denomination in Japan and numbers at the present day above thirteen million adherents against about three million belonging to the *Jodo of Honen*. I have given above some account of the life of the founder and of the history of the sect, which differed considerably from that of *Honen's* school. Shinran founded during his life many temples in provinces distant from *Kyoto*, such as Echizen and Shimotsuke, and these developed into a formidable military power like the old monasteries, though their manner of conducting operations was somewhat different. The permission given to the priests to marry made the hereditary Shinshu abbots almost exact counterparts of secular nobles, and they transferred their temples, or fortified residences, from one place to another as pleased them. The *Shinshu* is divided into ten sub-sects, but they present no differences of doctrine and in constitution resemble bishoprics.

According to the *Shinshu* Catechism³³ the name of the sect is taken from the Chinese Patriarch Zendo, who uses the expression "*Shinshu*, or the true sect, is hard to find". It is most remarkable to find that Shinran himself uses it of the teaching of *Honen*, of whom he says in one of his hymns, "Out of the might of the light of wisdom appeared the great founder Genku. He founded the *Jodo Shinshu* and preached the vows of Amida." It is not quite clear when a distinction was first drawn between the *Jodo* and the *Jodo Shinshu* and when Shinran's followers separated themselves from those of *Honen*, particularly as for a long time the latter were not reckoned as a distinct and officially recognized sect. It is claimed by the *Shinshu* sect that *Honen* countenanced all Shinran's innovations and merely tolerated the old monastic discipline for fear of doing more harm than good if he broke too violently with ancient usage.

As we have mentioned elsewhere, the incidents of Shinran's life are extremely doubtful. It seems, however, certain that he was not only a devoted follower of *Honen* but his favourite disciple. The Tannisho records his emphatic assertion that he would not mind going to hell if he had been deceived by *Honen*. They appear to have lived together in perfect harmony until they were banished, *Honen* to Shikoku and Shinran to Echigo. Shinran made use of his banishment for missionary propaganda, and on being pardoned prepared to return to *Kyoto* in 1226, but hearing on his way that *Honen* was dead, returned voluntarily to Echigo to continue his missionary labours. He then spend several years in Hitachi, made a long tour in which he not only preached and made converts but also built temples, and finally settled down in *Kyoto* after an absence of twenty-eight years.

These circumstances make the *Shinshu* account of the division seem highly probable. *Honen* was most conciliatory and anxious not to offend: he was even open to the charge of occasional inconsistency and we know that there were varieties of opinion among his disciples. He may have raised no objections to Shinran's views while to thinking it wise to give them his public approval. Then comes the period of exile and Shinran's absence from *Kyoto* during twenty-eight years. One can well imagine that those of *Honen's* disciples who remained in the capital would feel the pressure of ecclesiastical opinion and, though they were regarded as heretics, shrink from incurring the charge of being immoral antidisciplinarians. Shinran, on the contrary, moving as a missionary among rural population who probably knew little of Buddhism, would not feel the same restraints or find any inconvenience in preaching new doctrines and practices. When he at last returned to *Kyoto* the breach between himself and those of *Hone's* followers who remained in the capital had probably perceptibly widened, and we can imagine that the habit of instructing comparatively ignorant audiences had made him somewhat dogmatic, so it is not wonderful if he and his followers declined to unite with the others and claimed to be the "True sect of *Jodo*."

It is noticeable that *Honen's* biographer *Shunjo*, though he relates the anecdotes about *Kosai* mentioned above, says nothing about Shinran and passes him over in silence, though he devotes special chapters to the other eminent disciples. This is perhaps merely the result of sectarian disapproval, but it is also most remarkable that neither he nor Kakunyo, the earliest biographer of Shinran, mention Shinran's marriage to Kanezane's daughter, whereas the accepted story is that *Honen* approved of and even arranged the said marriage. It may be taken as certain that Shinran approved of the marriage of the clergy and was married himself, but still it may be doubted if the above story is true. If it were, it is strange that we hear

nothing about the matter in *Shunjo's* life, for considering the high social position of the bride the scandal in *Kyoto* would have been considerable, and on the other hand no reason can be assigned for *Kakunyo's* silence, for the followers of the *Shinshu* evidently consider the marriage as a credit to their communion. But the course of events seems to me easier to understand if we suppose that *Honen* and *Shinran* discussed many subjects together, including the marriage of the clergy and the question of "once-calling", but that *Shinran* did not actually marry and mature his views on various doctrinal points until after *Honen's* death. *Ryoku's* biography of *Shinran* states that *Kanezane's* daughter died and that *Shinran* married again in the *Kwanto* and had five children, four boys (*zenran*, etc.) and one girl. But I do not venture to express any decided opinion on the question, for the documents have not been examined critically and religious prejudice may have affected the accuracy of the statements made by both sides.

It is not easy to separate the doctrines of *Honen* and *Shinran*. The *Jodo* does not differ conspicuously from the older sects in discipline, ritual, and the appearance of its temples : it honours other Buddhas and Bodhisattvas besides Amida, but teaches that salvation is best and most easily obtained by invoking his name. The *Shinshu*, on the other hand, has abolished monasticism and its temples are easily distinguishable from others: worship is offered to Amida only: salvation is obtained by faith, which is the gift of amida, and it begins in this world as soon as faith begins in the believer. But most of these differences, though valid as a rough statement, are not absolute. Shaka and other Buddhas are invoked in the funeral ceremonies of the *Shinshu*. The doctrine of faith is old : it is found in the *Jodo* as clearly as in the *Shinshu*, and the *Shinshu* is emphatic in extolling the efficacy of the Nembutsu, though not for quite the same reasons.

The doctrine of immediate salvation, too, was not an invention of *Shinran*, for *Honen* said, "How happy the thought that though we are still here in the flesh we are numbered among the holy ones of Paradise." But though there is this community of doctrine, the distinctness and prominence of the *Shinshu* cannot be ignored. It has no endowments and relics or voluntary subscriptions, yet its temples are the largest and most conspicuous in Japan and are built within cities so as to be immediately accessible to the ordinary population, whereas those of other sects were originally built outside cities or on their edges, though they may have become surrounded by the growth of suburbs. The magnificent temple called Higashi Hongwanji in *Kyoto* was rebuilt in 1895 entirely by popular enterprise. The inhabitants of the surrounding provinces, who were largely peasants, presented subscriptions amounting to a million yen, besides building materials offered in kind. Coils of gigantic hawsers made of human hair with which the pillars and timbers were hoisted into their places are still shown. Yet though the sect appeals so strongly to the people, its connection with the aristocracy and even the Imperial Family is equally remarkable. Count Otani *Kocho*, the abbot of this temple, married the Princess Satoko, daughter of Prince Kuni, and sister of the present Empress of Japan.

The teaching of *Shinshu* is frequently summed up in the phrase *Shinzoku Nitai*, or in full, *Shintai* and *Zokutai*. The phrase is in common use in other sects as well and describes the two great divisions of religion, faith and morality. *Shintai* refers mainly to the next world, the salvation offered by Amida and how to obtain it. *Zokutai* is a man's duty as a member of society, but duty in the sense of conduct arising from faith. It is the peculiar merit of *Shinshu*,

says the Catechism, that it alone of all Buddhist sects shows how the religious faith of a believer and his daily conduct as a citizen of the world may be made to harmonize. The *Ryogemon of Rennyo*, a sort of creed, is perhaps the simplest and most authoritative statement respecting Shintai and Zokutai. "Rejecting all other religious practices and works and all idea that I can help myself, I pray wholeheartedly to Amida for my salvation in the life to come which is the most important of all things. I believe that the moment I have faith in him my entry into the life of paradise is certain and I exult in the thought that henceforth invocation of his name is an expression of thankfulness. Moreover, I remember with thankfulness that I have learnt this doctrine by the grace of the founder and of the righteous and wise men who succeeded him. Further, I will observe all my life the commandments as appointed."

The Catechism states that the doctrines of *Shinshu* are based on the *Daimuryojukyo*, or the Greater *Sukhavati-vyuha*, the first portion of which teaches Shintai and the second *Zokutai*. It is remarkable that the lesser *Sukhavati-vyuha* and the Meditationsutra are not mentioned here, though they are duly recognized as canonical with the proviso that the Greater *sutra* is the most important. Shinran's own writings are also much studied and regarded as quasi-scripture. The best known of them is the poem or hymn called *Shoshinge* which is constantly used in religious services and forms part of the daily devotions of the devout. In a hundred and twenty verses it comprises a brief statement of the *Shinshu* belief and also a brief history of the faith and of the seven patriarchs.

He also wrote when about fifty-two years of age and while staying at the village of Inada in Hitachi a work in six volumes which is said to have laid the foundations of the *Jodo Shinshu*.³⁴ It is called the *Kyogyo Shinshu*, that is, Doctrine, Practice, Faith and Attainment, and the six volumes deal with Real Truth, Right Practice, True Faith, True Understanding, Real Paradise, and This World. These themes are illustrated by a collection of passages selected from twenty-three sutras, not merely the three Amidist books mentioned but such works as the *Avatamsaka* and *Nirvana Sutra*s.

When well advanced in years Shinran also wrote a number of hymns which are now sung at morning and evening services. They are in three volumes, and it appears from references in the first two that he wrote them at the age of seventy-six, while the third was composed when he was ten years older. Considering his age they show extraordinary vigour. The whole collection is called *Sanjo Wasan* and consists of the following sections; The *Jodo Wasan* or hymns of the Pure Land, the *San-Amida-ge*, based on the poems of the Chinese Patriarch Donran, the *Koso-Wasan* in praise of the seven Patriarchs, and the *Sho-zo-matsu Wasan* describing the changes which will come upon the True Law in the lapse of centuries. The *Ofumi* or Epistles of Rennyo³⁵ are also read at services.

The doctrines expounded in these various works are not exactly those of the *Jodo* sect, which claims with apparent justice to represent the teachings of *Honen*, but it must not be supposed that he is the object of any criticism or polemic. The attitude of Shinran and the *Shinshu* is rather that they preserve the true meaning and intention of *Honen*, who is always spoken of with the utmost veneration as a Patriarch of the sect and is commemorated in a special festival held on 25th January. The most important differences are practical and concern the organization of the Church. The principal of them, of course, is the abolition of the monastic system and the permission given to the clergy to marry and eat meat, which in Shinran's time

probably meant fish. Then, as now, it was the custom for many of the clergy in all sects to be privately married and no doubt the open recognition of wedlock did away with many abuses.

The order of nuns was abolished and religiously disposed women were instructed to live as devout wives. Shinran's object was avowedly to break down the division between the clergy and laity. There were to be no masters or disciples: all were to be friends and brothers before the Buddha. Yet this did not mean at all that he belittled the clerical calling. In no branch of Buddhist literature with which I am acquainted do we hear so much of patriarchs and saintly priests, even in the daily prayers, of the benevolence they have shown in enlightening and instructing the world and of the thanks that we owe them. In *Shinshu* temples Shinran himself, the successive high priests of each sub-sect and the seven Patriarchs, including *Honen*, all receive worship, and the respect shown to living abbots extends to their sons.³⁶

The Catechism enumerates five classes of venerable beings³⁷ who receive worship in *Shinshu* temples, namely, the three categories mentioned above, *Shotoku* Taishi as having introduced Buddhism into Japan, and Amida himself. Of course, the worship (*matsuri*) offered to these saints is of a lower degree than the adoration due to Amida (*like the latreia and douleia of Catholic theology*), but still the Catechism, while stating that Amida is the principal object of worship, also says that the Gosonsama (i.e. Amida and the four categories of saints) are worshipped in temples, although in private family shrines Amida only is adored. In *Shinshu* temples the main building is generally the founder's hall and the image enclosed in a cabinet behind the high altar is that of Shinran. The image of Amida is enshrined in a side building called *Amida-do*. These temples, which are often called Hongwanji, have a special style of architecture and ornament which is very effective. All the buildings are constructed of black wood and the main edifice consists of a great hall supported by enormous pillars. The only colour is supplied by a few inscriptions in golden letters and by the decoration of the high altar, which is a blaze of gold in striking contrast with its sombre surroundings. There are no images of Buddhas except Amida or of Bodhisattvas, and Shaka is neither represented nor worshipped.

In explanation of this remarkable omission, the Catechism offers the following explanations: "In *Shinshu* there are two ways in which the relation between Amida and Shaka is conceived. One way regards the two as one and the same being; the other as distinct. When the two are regarded as one and the same being, the teacher Shaka is looked upon as the incarnation of Amida Nyorai. He is regarded as coming temporarily into this world. When the two are conceived of as distinct beings, Shaka is looked upon as the Teacher of the world and Amida as the Saviour of the world. The reason then why Shaka is not worshipped specially is because he and Amida are regarded as one and the same." This is not very lucid, but the author evidently took the view that the two are the same. That indeed is the only explanation which can be offered of the strange way in which Shaka is ignored, for how comes it that *Shotoku Taishi*, who introduced Buddhism to Japan, and *Zendo* and Shinran, who are said to have been incarnations of Amida, receive honour in temples whereas none is rendered to Shaka who introduced it to the world? Moreover, the three Amidist *sutras* contain no hint that Shaka was an incarnation of Amida. Shinran's own poem, the *Shoshinge*, says (v.21): "The reason why the *Tathagata Sakyamuni* was revealed to the world was solely that he might proclaim the boundless ocean of Amida's original vow." Apparently³⁸ it is only in funeral ceremonies

that Shaka is invoked. In this service a fourfold invitation is solemnly addressed to the following to be present: (1) The Buddhas of the ten directions; (2) Shaka; (3) Amida; (4) Kwannon Seishi (Mahasthama-prapta) and the other Bodhisattvas. Otherwise no worship is offered to Bodhisattvas nor are their statues placed in temples, although the two mentioned are particularly prominent in the description of Amida's paradise given in the Meditation-sutra and although tradition represents a vision of Kwannon as having been the turning point of Shinran's own career. Bodhisattvas are also praised in the Wasan.

The Catechism says: "the Gods, Buddhas and Bodhisattvas are numberless but since all these are branch bodies of Amida they are ultimately contained in the six characters Namu Amida Butsu. For this reason it is sufficient to worship the one Buddha Amida and not necessary to worship these many deities separately." Rennyō says: "As the body called Namu Amida Butsu includes all Gods, Buddhas and Bodhisattvas and every thing good and every good work, what need is there to worry your mind about various works and things good? The name Namu Amida Butsu is itself the complete body of all good and of every good work." It is remarkable that here, as often, Namu Amida Butsu³⁹ is treated not as an ejaculation or invocation (Reverence to Amida Buddha) but as the name of the Buddha. It is stated still more definitely: "Amida Butsu is the Buddha whose name is Namu Amida Butsu. This is Sanskrit and when translated means the Glorious One who has boundless Life and Truth... The Buddha essence and the Buddha name are one and the same thing."

It is not easy to imagine what can have been the cause or motive of this extreme simplification of religion. So far as I am aware, Buddhism in all its other branches has always shown a tendency to increase its pantheon not only by adding Buddhas and Bodhisattvas but by according some status to non-Buddhist deities. And, if *Shinto* can be taken as showing the natural bent of the Japanese mind in religious matters, it certainly indicates no inclination towards monotheism. Shinran presumably felt that the heavenly host whose statues adorn the temples of the Tendai and Shingon were part of the system of elaborate ritual and magic which the common man could not understand and from which he was anxious to deliver him. At any rate, he seems to have judged popular feeling correctly, for no tendency to restore the old pantheon is visible. But the Shinshuist is especially instructed to be respectful to the deities worshipped by others: "Every God and Buddha worshipped by man deserves reverence and worship... Only as a matter of faith one cannot believe everything."

Moreover, the worship offered to Amida does not consist of prayers for health, temporal welfare, or any such petitions. After a man has once obtained faith in Amida he commits all to his power (*mina Butsuriki ni makaseru*), and his worship, though frequent, consists of nothing but thanksgiving. The *Shinshu* sect have more than once got into trouble by raising difficulties about offering definite supplications for some event connected with the Imperial Family, though all other sects have obeyed the order without hesitation. The form of prayer in use in temples and private houses varies considerably, but as a rule the *Shoshinge* is recited, together with verses of the Wasan or hymns interspersed with repetitions of the Nembutsu.

This brings us to the question of "one-calling" or "many-callings", which was the subject of grave controversy in *Honen's* lifetime, as related above. Shinran appears to have taken the opposite point of view to that accepted by his master, according to *Shunjo's* Life, which does not, however, indicate that there was any difference of opinion between them. The one all-

important thing, according to *Shinshu*, is faith in Amida: "When we hear what is the meaning of *Namu Amida butsu* we recognize that we are deeply involved in sin and evil from which we cannot extricate ourselves through our own efforts... But when we listen to the voice of salvation we are saved from our sinful condition, being taken into the eternal light of Buddha and so we are able to share his merit and receive his favour. Thus we feel as if we had escaped from the jaws of the tiger and entered the life boat. Relying on this Amida Nyorai⁴⁰ we utter the Nembutsu with gratitude and reverence, with exultation and devotion. Our heart is filled with a great peace and a great joy."⁴¹

This faith is not due to our own efforts. It is the gift of Amida. It enters into our depraved hearts, which cannot wash and cleanse themselves but are made pure when the heart of Amida enters into them and is united with them. Shinran says that faith is heart-union. Rennyo says: "To rely on Amida is to appropriate *Namu Amida Butsu*.⁴² To appropriate *Namu Amida Butsu* is to have faith." When he has this faith the believer has obtained the Buddha nature and is certain to become a Buddha, though he cannot be said to be one yet. "How happy the thought," said *Honen*, "that though we are still here in the flesh we are numbered among the holy ones of paradise."

When faith has been obtained the believer should continue to utter the Nembutsu out of gratitude. "It being the doctrine of *Shinshu* that faith is the true cause of salvation and that the Nembutsu is uttered out of gratitude, the believer should utter the Nembutsu in order to make his faith and election sure and thus give thanks for the grace of the *Tathagata*." The author of the Catechism adds that the Nembutsu is regarded as an act of thanks giving, because if heard by an unbeliever it may awaken faith in his heart or at least dispose him in the right direction and thus become the means of helping Amida's work of grace. Further, in answer to the question how we can best nourish our faith, the answer is :

- (1) The best way is to repeat the Nembutsu, and it is said elsewhere that not to utter the Nembutsu is to stray farthest from divine protection;
- (2) Read the scriptures;
- (3) Dwell in imagination on the joys of Paradise;
- (4) Adore the images of Amida;
- (5) Talk about religion with other believers.

Though there is nothing in these passages in the least derogatory to the Nembutsu, which is assigned a very important position, one cannot help feeling that the tone is not exactly that of *Honen*, who said that the Nembutsu ought to be treated as the main occupation of life and not as a sort of side work, and wrote in the "One Sheet of Paper" that all that is needed to secure birth in Paradise is to repeat the words *Namu Amida Butsu* with the certainty that one will arrive there. In fact it would seem that for *Honen* the essential part of religion is to repeat the Nembutsu, only it must be said with faith and conviction and not become a merely mechanical recitation : for Shinran faith is the essential; it finds expression in the Nembutsu, and subsequent utterances of the Nembutsu are signs of gratitude.

The Catechism proceeds to explain that though to utter the Nembutsu is the chief work of gratitude, our whole life must be one long expression of gratitude: we must regard life as

being a service which Amida demands of us. "When the believer regards all his activities as expressions of gratitude, he is set free from the spirit of selfishness. He does not mind hardships nor is his heart filled with pride, but he thinks of his work as service rendered in return for great mercy. All his actions become true and straight and help Buddha's Law." "But," inquires the Catechism with great candour, "in worldly affairs lies and sharp practices seem inevitable. Are we to regard these things also as expressions of gratitude?" "Lies and sharp practices," is the reply, "are not in themselves expressions of gratitude. When we pursue our daily duties and work cheerfully and assiduously, even though we indulge in lies and sharp practices, we help to spread the way of the Buddha and so even our lies and sharp practices become expressions of gratitude." Though the *Shinshu* is, so far as I am aware, a most respectable sect in practice, it seems to have a dangerous tendency to excuse lapses from morality.

The principle that all worship should consist of giving thanks rather than of making petitions is also applied to festivals which thus have not the same meaning as in other sects. The *Hizan*, for instance, is a period of seven days at the spring and autumn equinox⁴³ devoted by most sects to making prayers and offerings on behalf of the dead. In *Shinshu* the occasion is observed but is used for offering thanks to Amida on behalf of the dead, who are believed to be safe in his keeping and for whose welfare it would be wrong to pray. Sermons are also preached at this season, not in the temple but in an adjoining building. The usual method is for a succession of preachers to give short discourses, each lasting about a quarter of an hour, between ten and four o'clock. The congregation drop in and leave as they like.

The various anniversaries of deaths in a family, the ceremonies of saying masses for the departed and offering intercession for them are all observed in a similar spirit, as is also the festival called *Bon* held in the seventh month, when the spirits of the dead are supposed to revisit their homes. It is known in the *Shinshu* as *Kangi-e*, or the festival of Joy, that is, rejoicing at the happy lot of the dead in paradise. The days dedicated to Shinran and *Honen* are natural occasions for thanks giving. The commemoration of Shinran lasts a week, closing with the day of his death, 28th November. On the night of the middle day his biography as written by Kakunyo is read with great solemnity and is said to inspire the liveliest emotions in the congregation.

The history of the two sects, Jodo and Shinshu, have been discussed earlier. The former was relatively peaceful and obscure until tokugawa times, while the latter during the same period has a political and military record which, though eventful, is hardly edifying from a religious point of view. After Ieyasu the positions become reversed and the *Jodo*, owing to its connection with the *Shogun's* family, is accepted as almost the established Church, but remaining, as be seems such a body, placid and dignified and exercising its great influence through the recognized authorities. In the mass of political and military details which smothers the annals of the Amidists in Japan, two names stand out as important for doctrine, namely, *Ryoyo Shogei* (1341-1420) and *Rennyō* (1415-1499).

The former was the seventh patriarch of the *Jodo* and indefatigable as a writer and researcher. After a prolonged investigation of the doctrine of all schools, he demonstrated to his own satisfaction that the name of Tongyo or quick Enlightenment, used by the Tendai and other older sects is really more applicable to the teaching of the *Jodo* than to that of any other. Secondly, he taught that the idea of the Western Paradise and of Amida welcoming the

souls of the faithful there is purely metaphorical. Amida is omnipresent and his paradise is simply absolute reality. If we can change our point of view and see things as they really are, we can be in the pure Land here and now. This doctrine seems due to Zen influences and has become of considerable importance in the modern developments of Amidism.

Rennyō Shōnin was the eighth patriarch of the *Shinshū* and, after Shinran, was certainly the most striking personality that it has produced. I have spoken elsewhere of his missionary efforts, his wanderings and struggles, his *Ofumi* or Epistles, and his *Ryōgemon* or creed; also of his views as to the relation of Buddhism to *Shinto*. But his most important service to Shinshū was his insistence on the necessity of observing moral precepts, whereas there was a tendency often appearing at various times and in various surroundings to maintain that faith or prayer were the only things necessary and to neglect conduct. But Rennyō insisted that one cannot leave oneself in Amida's hands with complete faith and trust unless one has abandoned selfish desires and fleshly lusts. Therefore he held the observance of all the Confucian virtues and obedience to the law of the land and the will of the Sovereign to be necessary parts of the believer's daily conduct.

It is strange to find a devout Buddhist appealing to the works of Confucius when he wishes to cite a canon and standard of moral conduct. It shows how strong was the literary and philosophic influence of China in Japan at this period and also how completely Amidism had become a religion of the other world. It does not seem to have occurred to Rennyō or even to Shinran that Shaka had provided a code of everyday morality quite as good as that of Confucius, though perhaps according to Far Eastern standards he did not lay sufficient stress on political ethics.

The names of Ippen (1239-1289) and Shinzei (1443-1495) also deserve mention, for though the bodies which they founded were not important, they are interesting as showing the strength of the Amidist movement, which found expression in sects which were unable to accept all the principles of the *Jōdo* or *Shinshū*. I have described Ippen's doctrines in the historical section above. They are somewhat extravagant but have vitality, for the sect which he founded still exists though its adherents are not numerous and are mostly members of the lower classes. The curious thing is that the special teaching of the sect is represented as a revelation made by the deity of Kumano who is boldly identified with Amida, the fusion of Buddhism with *Shinto* being thus complete. Shinzei represents a quite different tendency, namely, an attempt to combine the recitation of the Nembutsu which he himself repeated 60,000 times a day, with ordinary Buddhist observances and ritual. This was directly contrary to the principles of *Hōnen* and Shinran, and it is not surprising if the religious body founded by Shinzei and called the Ritsu is counted as a sub-sect of the Tendai rather than of either of the *Jōdo* schools. Nevertheless it may be doubted if Shinzei does not represent the teaching of the three ancient *sūtras* on which Amidism claims to be based more correctly than they do. There is no sign that the *Sukhavatī-vyūha* would have approved of ignoring the whole of the practical and theoretical instruction imparted by Gotama, together with many of the ideas and personalities added to it by the later *Mahāyāna*.

During the Tokugawa regime the *Shinshū*, like most Buddhist sects, did not show much life or activity. The condition of the times favoured chiefly quiet studies; the editing of texts, the making of commentaries, and the systematic exposition of doctrinal systems were considered

safe and suitable occupations for the learned. Two erudite priests, Eku (1644-1721) and Jinrei, did a good deal of work of this sort for the Shinshu and had a large following. There were elaborate discussions with the object of securing uniformity and extirpating heresy and also discussions as to the right of using the title of *Shinshu* or True sect.

But the attack on Buddhism which marked the beginning of the Meiji era and the attempt to replace it by *Shinto* as the national State religion awakened the old pugnacious instincts which had been so strong in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and the *Shinshu* were among those who fought most strenuously and successfully for Buddhism. In 1872 they sent abroad a commission to investigate how European States dealt with ecclesiastical problems, and the celebrated priest Mokurai (1911) who accompanied it visited not only India but also Palestine. The return of this mission in 1875 marked a reaction in the attitude of the Japanese Government. Shinran was given by Imperial decree the posthumous title of Kenshin Daishi and finally the attempt at State control of religion was abandoned, the heads of the various Buddhist sect being charged with their administration.

The original teaching of Shinran was the most complete transformation of Buddhism ever witnessed, and it is perhaps not surprising if in an age when Japan was imitating European institutions wholesale, his spiritual descendants showed no hesitation in borrowing both from Christianity and from European philosophy. The former tendency is illustrated by Tada Kanai, a noted Shinshu preacher of Chiba who was alive in 1910. He published a volume of sermons called *Shudo Kowa*⁴⁴ which are deeply impregnated by foreign ideas. One, for instance, contains an analysis of Tolstoy's *Resurrection* and another refers to an American novel and to *Les Misérables*. He is said to have held services on Sunday and many such imitations of European customs are common.⁴⁵ Songs are composed (some, it is said, even in English) and are sung so as to resemble Christian hymns. Even organs are used. I have myself seen *Shinshu* place of worship (a missionary chapel, it is true), the floor of which was covered with seats of a European pattern while at the end was an erection which superficially resembled a Christian altar. Yet though Western usages are copied in such a glaring and often most unpicturesque fashion, what is borrowed is nearly always external observances only. Even Lloyd, who was always on the look out for resemblances to Christianity, says of Tada's doctrine that for him "Amida is not the Father in the sense of being the creator". And this, I fancy, is true generally. In English renderings of the Wasan, the phrase "Eternal Father" may be found, but I have been assured at the *Otani* University that the translation is illegitimate. In older works such as the Lotus, though the Buddha is often called a father, I think that the idea is always that he helps or protects like a father, not that he has created the world or its inhabitants.

In this connection the last question and answer of the Catechism from which I have already made so many quotations are worth citing. Why, it is asked, do unbelievers and sinners abound and even increase? Cannot Amida of his grace compel them to believe? The significant answer is that even a Buddha cannot act with perfect freedom and thus defy Heaven's laws.⁴⁶ There are three things which a Buddha cannot do: (1) He cannot change or stop the effect of works when once fixed; (2) He cannot save beings who are not destined to be saved; (3) He cannot exhaust the world of sentient beings. It will be seen that Amidism has not discarded the older ideas of Buddhahood so completely as might be supposed. The phrase "Heaven's laws" may sound Chinese, but the thought is the same as that contained in the ancient words attributed

to Gotama after his enlightenment, in which he resolves to honour and respect the Dhamma which he had come to know.⁴⁷

The imitation of Christianity is apt to affect chiefly the externals or worship: it is widespread but somewhat superficial. The influence of European philosophy is just the opposite: it naturally appeals only to a select few, who are scholars and mostly recluses, but it affects not temples and the details of ritual but the fundamental conceptions of religion. As an example may be cited Kiyozawa (1863- 1903), who came of a *Shinshu* family and devoted himself to the study of Hegel under Fenellosa. Hegel has puzzled many Europeans and I am not prepared to say how much of his works Kiyozawa may have understood. The bent of his mind was apparently religious and pietistic rather than metaphysical and this imparts a Christian tone to much of what he wrote, but he dwells continually on such themes as the infinity of the Buddha nature, the elimination of the finite self, and absolute dependence on the grace of the Infinite Light (*Amitabha*).

The important point is not his precise theories but the emphasis which he and those who think like him lay on the infinite nature of the Buddha. *Amitabha* is no longer the Buddha of the *Sukhavati-vyūha*, that is to say, the monk *Dharmakara*, who by a surprising course of austerities has won for himself the position of a Buddha and a paradise in the west in which he can receive those who trust in him. He is for these writers a being without beginning, end, or limits, and rebirth in his paradise may be attained anywhere in this world by the awakening of love and faith in him. These ideas are not wholly alien to earlier Japanese thought, but their popularity in modern times seems to be largely due to the works of those who like Kiyozawa have come under the influence of Western philosophy.

The sensitiveness of *Shinshu* to European influence is shown in yet another way, namely, the publication of plays and novels in the last two decades representing Shinran in very human moods and disinclined to deal severely with social errors which are generally reprobated by the religious. Such are the plays *The Priest and his Disciple* by Kurata Hyakuzo⁴⁸ and *The Human Shinran* by Ishimaru Baigwai. Though these works, especially *The Priest and his Disciple*, had a very good reception from the general public, they were strongly criticized by religious persons, who not unnaturally objected to what they correctly considered as misrepresentation of Shinran's character and teaching. It is the old story of the tendency to condone immorality.

Amida saves sinners in the midst of their sin: he demands an appeal for his help and faith that he will give it: he does not demand repentance or purification. It is easy to imagine how this doctrine is treated by "naturalistic" writers. The characters indulge in vice, and when it brings them unhappiness they are forgiven by the all-merciful Buddha. An account of this literature, giving the names of many authors and magazines, will be found in an article entitled "The Shinran Revival of the Last Year" contained in the *Eastern Buddhist* of 1923,⁴⁹ which gives an idea of the extent of the movement. The title refers to the impressive celebration at Kyoto of the seven hundredth anniversary of Shinran's work, the *Kyogyo Shinsho*. A week was spent in gorgeous and impressive ceremonies in which it is said that 550,000 laymen and about 1,500 priests took part.

Another side of the varied activities of modern *Shinshu* is illustrated by the society called Itto-en, or the Confraternity of the Lantern.⁵⁰ The name is derived from a legend which tells

how at a great festival thousands of costly lanterns were offered by rich devotees and dedicated to the Buddha, but that the light of one offered by a poor woman -a sort of widow's mite-outshone all the others. The members of the Confraternity must give up all their wealth and possessions and be ready to serve humanity without demanding any return.

The worshippers of Amida in Japan are numerous, prosperous, and progressive, but should this worship be called Buddhism? It has grown out of Buddhism, no doubt: all the stages except the very earliest are perfectly clear, but has not the process of development resulted in such a complete transformation that one can no longer apply the same name to the teaching of Gotama and the teaching of Shinran? The phenomenon has, so far as I know, no precise parallel in the history of religions. It is usual enough to alter the doctrines taught by the founder of a creed, but most unusual to cease treating him with the outward signs of respect while still making use of the designation generally given to the original teaching. Yet this is what *Shinshu* has done. There are no images of Shaka in Hongwanji temples, with the rare exceptions mentioned above he is never invoked: at most he is mentioned as the messenger who came to tell the world about Amida. It is as if there were a denomination calling themselves Christians who worshipped exclusively the Third Person of the Trinity and respected Christ only because he spoke of the coming of the Comforter.

There is something, however, to be said on the other side. No Japanese, has been argued that the Amidists are not Buddhists, though Nichiren came very near to saying it. Whenever there has been common action in which all the Buddhist sects have joined, for instance in defending Buddhism at the beginning of the Meiji era, the *Jodo* and *Shinshu* have played a prominent part. Further, although Shaka is ignored, the word Butsu or Buddha is sufficiently prominent: the phrases Nembutsu and Namu-Amida-Butsu seem to be used with superfluous frequency. And Buddhism is a religion which more than others tolerates divergent views about the correct conduct of life, the best means of obtaining salvation, and the best kind of salvation to be obtained. In the very earliest period we find two classes recognized: members of the order, or monks, and laymen. The former are the true disciples of the master and they only can be said to attempt to follow exactly the law which he taught. But the position of the laity is also perfectly well defined. They cannot make the same efforts as the monks and their spiritual ambitions are different and humbler: they do well, for instance, to strive for temporary rebirth in some paradise. Indeed, these paradises of early Buddhism bear some resemblance to the Pure Land and the anagamin, or man who will to come back to earth but will attain arhatship in some one of them, is not unlike its inhabitants.

It must be remembered that according to strict doctrine (though perhaps not according to popular ideas) the Pure Land is not a place where one simply lives in bliss for ever, but a sojourn where one can obtain nirvana or become a Buddha and return to help the world. The difference between the old idea and the new lies in the methods prescribed for gaining entrance to paradise. According to all Amidist sects, permission to enter is granted solely by the grace of Amida and all that is necessary to obtain that grace is to invoke his name with faith. In the older Buddhism, on the other hand, paradise is won as the reward of special efforts, not the greatest efforts but those of which laymen are capable. The *Brahmaviharas*,¹ for instance, consist in the cultivation of kind thoughts and corresponding deeds which results in rebirth in Brahma's heaven. *Brahma* himself being free from all anger and malice, it is natural that

those who have made themselves like him should reside in his paradise, but it is never said that his benevolence will lead him to let in sinners who ask for admission.

The motive which led the Buddha to devote his life to laborious teaching and preaching is generally described as compassion for mankind. He teaches them the only road to happiness. They must be their own light and refuge and not seek for another refuge, as the well-known precept says. *Shinshu* scholars⁵¹ have attempted to show that there is no real gap between the teachings of Shaka and Shinran: that the former if interpreted in an emotional and not too intellectual a sense are equivalent to salvation by faith. I confess that I cannot follow their arguments nor can I see that the interview between the Buddha and King *Ajatasatru*, even as recorded in the Chinese *Mahaparinirvanasutra*,⁵² is an instance of the simple faith in Amida which Shinran required, for the King's faith is established by an elaborate metaphysical discourse of the dying master. I would rather say that three ideas grew up which tended to make men take a different view of the Buddha's compassion, to think of him as actively helping men not as merely teaching them how to help themselves. The first is the idea of the benevolent Bodhisattva who vows to devote himself to helping all mankind. The germs of this idea may be found even in Hinayanist literature.

Thus in the *Nidanakatha* Sumedha's resolution to become a Buddha has a resemblance to Amida's vow. He resolved to attain the truth, to enable mankind to cross the sea of the world and only then to enter *nirvana*. There is, however, no hint that he will save those who call on his name, though this train of thought, too, appears to have its roots in India. In the *Bhagavad Gita* we have the deathbed prayer and a deity who will take his servants to himself. Secondly comes the idea of the transfer of merit. It is not to be found in the Pitakas but appears plainly in the works of *Santideva*.⁵³ He bids the neophyte who aspires to become a Bodhisattva make over to others whatever merit he may now have or may acquire in future and offer himself and all his possessions as a sacrifice for the salvation of all beings: further, he is to make a vow to acquire enlightenment for the good of all beings. Thirdly, we have the idea that the world is degenerating: the weaklings of modern times are no longer capable of the efforts made by the heroic saints of old to obtain salvation. This idea is also Indian. It is constantly stated that the Vedic sacrifices cannot be performed at present and therefore an easier ritual is prescribed by merciful deities.

The analogy between the *Shinshu* and modern Indian sects is close and is an interesting example of parallel development. The worshippers of Siva and *Vishnu* at the present day theoretically accept the authority of the Vedas, but in practice their sacred books are the *Tiruvacagam* or *Nalayiram* or some volume selected out of a whole library of comparatively recent literature. Modern Hinduism is mostly emotional: the worshipper approaches the deity, who as a rule is only one, with *bhakti* (faith and love) and receives in return a promise of grace and of admission to paradise or even of union with the deity. The form of prayer is often the repetition of the divine name, for instance, *Hari, Hari* among the worshippers of *Vishnu*, and all that is necessary is devotion and absolute reliance on the deity. Even in the *Bhagavad Gita* it is declared to be too hard for flesh and blood to find their way by meditation or ritual to the Supreme Spirit, whereas Krishna comes straight to those who make him their sole desire. "Set thy heart on me and worship thou me. Then shalt thou come to me. Leave all other deities and come to me alone for refuge. I will deliver thee from thy sins. Sorrow not."⁵⁴

The date of the *Bhagavad Gita* is uncertain, but it was probably composed shortly before or after the Christian era and represents the same current of thought which in other surroundings produced Amidism. In both systems we have a loving deity who offers salvation in return for faith and devotion : in both the deities, *Krishna* and Amida, are new and so is the form of worship which they demand. The chief difference is that Amida supersedes a well known figure, Gotama the Buddha, whereas *Krishna* does not appear to do this to the same extent, but this is simply because there is no deity in the ancient Vedic pantheon who was sufficiently prominent to make us feel that he is being ignored.

In reality *Krishna* and the religion of bhakti (loving faith) displace all the old gods and their worship. The transformation of Buddhism seems surprising, but it has only obeyed the same law as other Indian religions. *Shinshu* does not differ from the original faith more than does the later Tantric Buddhism found in India itself, and the changes which it has shown are due not merely to the lapse of centuries but to long travel and to transplantation among alien races, of whom one, the Japanese, are noted for borrowing but also for adapting what they borrow and leaving on it the mark of their own genius.

Another question which has often been discussed is, does Amidism owe anything to Christianity? We are not referring to recent imitations such as I have discussed above, but to the original ideas on which the sect is founded. They certainly contain an element additional and even contrary to the teaching of Gotama, namely, a saviour who offers to deliver from death and hell all who will but believe in him and call on his name. No such figure is to be found in the Pitakas or in Vedic mythology, and hence many have supposed that it is due to early Christian influence in India and perhaps was reinvigorated by later contact between Nestorians and Buddhists in China. But plausible as the hypothesis may seem at first sight, if examined more carefully it presents difficulties which are in my opinion insuperable. In the first place, though the precise dates of the Pure Land-Sutras are uncertain, it is highly probable that they were composed in the first century of our era, at which time it is hardly possible that Christianity had reached India; and a parallel development of ideas which are in many respects similar is to be found in the *Bhagavad Gita*.⁵⁵ And secondly, though the resemblances between Amidism and Christianity are obvious, the differences are profound. Both Amida and Christ are saviours, but Christ is the second Person of the Trinity, and he saves mankind by his death, by offering himself as an atonement for the sins of the whole world. But the position of Amida is entirely different and his method of salvation is different too. In the oldest documents he is a man who becomes a Buddha in the traditional manner.

The fundamental idea is not that God is Love but rather that Love is God: loving kindness raised Amida to a place which may be called divine, though exception might be taken to the epithet if it is held to imply the attributes ascribed to God in Christianity. For Amida is not the creator of the world: the Universe is without beginning or end and the evil from which he saves is the interminable round of births and deaths. He seems Godlike because he is given the same quasi-divine attributes as *Sakya* in the Lotus and the other Buddhas of the *Mahayana*. Like them he comes to be regarded as having three bodies and as being identical with the *Bhutatahata*. Further, Amida is not offered as an atoning sacrifice in the sense that Christ was offered according to Christian theology. It is true that he deserves gratitude because he has laboured and suffered for mankind, but the reason is quite different. As the Synopsis says, "To be responsible for all our sins, *Amitabha* must acquire all virtues by which our sins are to be effaced. For this purpose he went through unutterable sufferings during numberless eons to

find out the means of salvation." And, as we have seen, the modern exponents of Shinshu state that there are things which Amida cannot do, whereas all ordinary Christian conceptions make God omnipotent.

We have already touched on the contact between certain forms of Christianity and Buddhism in China. Statements may be found in various writers as to the influence of Gnosticism on Shingon or on other Buddhist sects. But what evidence is there that Gnosticism ever penetrated to China, Central Asia, or even India? There is none whatever, so far as I know. The two religions which did have some influence in Central Asia and China and some relations with Buddhism are Manicheism and Nestorianism. The former was strangely composite and assimilative, always ready to borrow something from the other creeds professed on the various countries into which it found an entrance. As it travelled westwards it adopted so many Christian ideas that it achieved the distinction of being considered the worst of heresies. As it spread into Central Asia and China, it received a large admixture of Buddhism. We find Mani called Ju-lai or *Tathagata* and Manichean deities represented as sitting in the attitude of Bodhisattvas cross-legged on lotus flowers.⁵⁶ In such cases there can be no question of which side exerted and which received influence, and even if we hold that the influence was reciprocal there is no proof that manicheism as *Known in China and Central Asia* contained any Christian elements which it could impart. It borrowed them itself in its western expansions.

The most interesting information about the history of Nestorianism in China is afforded by the monument discovered at Si-Ngan-fu, which dates from 781 and is commonly called the Nestorian Stone. It has often been cited as evidence of the debt of Buddhism to Christianity, for it bears a long inscription partly in Chinese and partly in Syriac composed by a foreign priest called Adam, or in Chinese King-Tsing, giving an account of the history and doctrines of the Christian Church as he understood them. It shows that Buddhist and Christian priests associated together on friendly terms and we also know that King-Tsing set about translating a *sutra* from the Hu language. But the inscription really proves that Nestorianism in China, like Manicheism, was strongly influenced by Buddhism and not vice versa. Not only does it contain many Buddhist words, such as *Seng* and *Ssu* for Christian priests and monasteries, but though it treats of Christ's life in some detail, it omits all mention of the Crucifixion. The motive of the omission can hardly be anything but the feeling that redemption by his death was not an acceptable idea,⁵⁷ and it is hardly likely that a form of Christianity which could make such an astounding concession would be strong enough to exert any powerful influence on Buddhism.

Salvation and Honen

We have seen how, since the tenth century, faith in the Lord of the Western Paradise had been gaining a foothold in the hearts of some people, and how the belief in the approach of a world change accelerated spiritual agitation. Now many people saw in the political catastrophe of the twelfth century a sign of the arrival of the "Latter Days," while the weakness of the bureaucracy and the corruption of the ecclesiastical institutions were mercilessly exposed.

"The fateful days have arrived; we, the weak and vicious people of the Latter Days,' could not be saved but by invoking the name of the Lord Amita," The idea expressed in this saying of Genshin found response in nearly every heart and gave a great incentive to simple faith in the grace of Amita-Buddha, who had opened the gateway of his paradise to all without

distinction of training or knowledge. The worship of Amida was released from its association with intricate ritualism or methodic contemplation and became a religion of pious devotion. An antithesis was thus drawn between the "Way for the Wise," the wise who could go through severe training, and the "Way to the Land of Purity" through simple faith in the Buddha's grace. The one was the regular religion of Buddhism, hardly within the reach of people of the latter days, while the other was the way specially provided for by the Buddha for the sake of sinful and depraved beings. The one was a method of hardship for perfection, the other an "easy way" of salvation; and the "easy way" of simple devotion was not salvation by "one's own power" but "by another's which meant the Buddha's. The time was now ripe for the rise of this new gospel of salvation; the sentiment and aspiration of the age demanded a leader of the new religion, a personal embodiment of piety, pure and simple.

The man who consummated this development of devotional piety was *Genku* (1133-1212), better known by his other name *Honen*, whose treatise written in 1175 signalized the independence of Amita-Buddhism, or *Jodo* pietism, *Jodo* being the Japanese name for the Land of Purity. The essay bore the title of *Senchaku-shu*, which meant "Selection," namely, selection of the faith for all, implying the abandonment of the high and unattainable ideal of Buddhist perfection. The gist of the whole work is given in one passage, which reads: There may be millions of people who would practise (Buddhist) discipline and train themselves in the way of perfection, and yet in these latter days of the Law there will be none who will attain the ideal perfection. Consider that it is now an age full of depravities. The only way available is the Gateway to the Land of Purity.

Honen was a man of meek temper and responsive heart, and in this respect he represented the heritage from the culture of the preceding age, while he was a typical pioneer of the new age in his aspiration for the salvation of all. In fact he demonstrated his zeal by abandoning all his former attainments and devoting himself exclusively to faith in the grace of the Buddha.

Honen was born in 1133, in a province far from Miyako, as the only son of a local chief. When he was eight years old a sad fate befell his family. Bandits raided his home and the father died from a wound inflicted by them. The dying father asked, as his last request, that the son should never think of revenge, as was usual at that time among warriors, but should endeavour to become a virtuous monk. The idea was that revenge would bring forth another act of revenge on the part of the enemy, simply perpetuating reciprocal hatred and murder throughout many lives to come; that, therefore, the son should devote his life to religion and pray for the salvation of his father as well as of the assailants. This shows that the father was a deeply religious man. The mother demonstrated her faithfulness to the husband by at once parting from her only child and sending him to a monastery near home.

The impressions left upon *Honen's* mind in his early boyhood remained as a perpetual guide in his spiritual life. The pious desire of the father moved the boy's heart to its depths; he saw the misery of human life in the sad fate of his family, of which he shared the sorrows and affections so common to that age of disturbance. And indeed, we are told that some of the assailants and their children were later converted to a religious life by *Honen's* inspiration. Some of such and other details may be partly legendary; at any rate the once pitiful fatherless boy became the saviour of many people, and brought his father's will to an unforeseen fulfilment.

After five years *Honen* was sent to Mount Hiei to be trained for an ecclesiastical career. An obedient novice and thereafter a studious monk, he passed nearly thirty years on Hiei and went through all the branches of learning and disciplinary training taught and practised there. He became renowned for his learning and virtue, and could have aimed at a high position in the hierarchic organization, but his soul sought after something more than erudition or fame. He had studied, meditated, and prayed in search of repose of the soul, until he was finally converted to a whole-hearted belief in Amita's grace. He had tasted, as he later stated, several rich and delicious foods, philosophical wisdom, moral discipline, mystic ceremonies; but his soul hungered until he found an everlasting satisfaction through the daily fare of rice which he secured in the all-saving grace of the Buddha Amita. During these years of spiritual struggle he felt deep dissatisfaction with the existing forms of Buddhism and disgust at the corruption of Hiei, yet he never manifested any sign of a rebellious spirit, persevering in pursuit of a new life and light. When, however, he had attained the final stage of his conversion, at about forty years of age, his conviction was so firm that he bade farewell to Hiei for ever. There after he lived in a hermitage alone for a while but in spiritual communion with his saviour, and two years later he wrote the essay spoken of above. His life was passed in piously repeating the name of the Buddha and in rather confessing preaching his piety to any who might come and see him in his retired abode.

Simple indeed was the fundamental tenet of *Honen's* religion: it was nothing but to put absolute faith in the redeeming power of the all-compassionate Buddha embodied in the person of Amita, the Lord of the Western Land of Purity. There the Buddha has completed his scheme of salvation, by virtue of his long training and accumulation of merit. The vows he took in a remote past are fulfilled in the establishment of the paradise where he will take any and every person who will trust in him and invoke his name, the "Name" being the mysterious embodiment of his saving power. The formula provided for the purpose of this name calling is *Namu Amida Butsu*, that is, "Adoration to the Buddha of Infinite Life and Light."⁵⁸ Faith is of course the fundamental requisite on the part of those to be saved, in repeating his holy name; what is required in this faith is nothing but childlike trust in Buddha's fatherly love and compassion. No sin, no weakness, on our part, can be an obstacle to our devotion to him, because his saving power is unconditional, his face being extended freely to all believers. Says *Honen*: There shall be no distinction, no regard to male or female, good or bad, exalted or lowly; none shall fail to be in His Land of Purity after having called, with complete desire, on Amita. Just as a bulky boulder may pass over the sea, if loaded on a ship, and accomplish a voyage of myriads of leagues without sinking; so we, though our sin be heavy as stone, are borne on the ship of Amita's primeval vow and cross to the other shore without sinking in the sea or repeated births and deaths.⁵⁹

Thus, *Honen's* religion was a simplified form of Amita-Buddhism, purged of mystic elements and tempered to a pious devotion. Though *Honen* betrayed, in his emphasis on the redeeming power of the Buddha's "Name," something of his heritage from Shingon Buddhism, the practice of repeating the Name was transformed by him into a childlike expression of his spirit of prayer, or rather of trustful self confidence. On the other hand, he was not quite free from doctrinal ideas in discussing the antithesis between his pietism and other forms of Buddhism; yet his own personal faith was rather the result of his a version to dogma and dialectic than a fruit of them. The Kernel of *Honen's* religion was a simple faith in Buddha's

grace and accordingly a life of piety and gratitude. Everything in the world suggested to him the presence of the all-embracing love of the saviour, and his sentiment in perpetual devotion was often improvised in verses with touches of pious mysticism. To cite two of his poems:

In all lands no tiniest hamlet lies,
 Howe'er remote, but that the silver Moon
 Touches it with its rays. But when a man
 Opens his windows wide and gazes long,
 Heaven's Truth will enter in and dwell with him.
 The morning haze, in springtime, veils the light
 Of nascent day, and grudgingly transmits
 A few pale strokes of yellow light, as though
 Pure light were not; and yet, behind the veil,
 Lo! The bright Sun floods all the world in white.⁶⁰

Honen well represented the ethos of his age in being sincerely disgusted with the present world and the sinfulness of human life; he embodied likewise the yearning spirit of his contemporaries in trusting himself to the mysterious power of salvation extended by the free gift of the Lord of the Western Paradise. As his monastic life before conversion was not rich in incidents, so his life after the firm establishment of his faith moved over the smooth sea of devotion. He lived in the bright sunshine of present peace and in the serene atmosphere of a firm belief in future bliss, piously repeating, the Buddha's name and exhorting his disciples and admirers to the same practice. Though he lived in seclusion, in Yoshimizu (the "Fountain of Joy"), his fame attracted all classes of men and women to his hermitage. The saint of Yoshimizu was looked upon as a source of religious inspiration, a real Fountain of Joy. Many people came to see him and were soon converted to his faith. Among the converts there were monks who had been repelled by the scholastic philosophy or ritualism of orthodox Buddhism; nobles and ladies who had been afflicted by the sudden collapse of the pompous court life and aspired after eternal bliss beyond this world; military men who had become disgusted with their warlike pursuits and sought after spiritual refuge; common people who had long been denied the blessings of deeper spiritual satisfaction and found *Honen's* gospel a new gateway wide open to all.

In addition to his power of religious inspiration, *Honen* had a remarkable degree of personal charm, which was a reflection of his broad sympathy and pure faith. His kind heart was but another aspect of his own devotion to the grace of Buddha. He says in a letter: Think in love and sympathy of any beings who have an earnest desire be born in the Land of Purity; repeat Buddha's name for their sake, as if they were your parents or children, though they may dwell at any distance, even outside the cosmic system. Help those who are in need of material help in this world. Endeavour to quicken faith in any body in whom a germ of it may be found. Deem all these deeds to be services done to amita Buddha.⁶¹

Such was his conviction which he always put into practice in his life. It was this spirit of charity that bore witness to his teaching and secured so many converts, even among men and women of the utmost vice or in the lowliest positions.

The life of *Honen*, peaceful as it was, had borne fruit in inspiring many hearts and giving consolation to afflicted, bewildered souls. Many of his disciples worked in propagating his

gospel among the people, and his religion penetrated into remote corners of the country. Among his numerous followers arose, inevitably, those who ran to extremes and took pride in neglecting the duties of life in the contention that morality had no meaning in face of religious faith. Moreover, the fame of the apostle of the new gospel rose so high that the ecclesiastical authorities regarded him with jealousy or uneasiness. Persecution was started against him in 1204, when the monks of the old centres of orthodox Buddhism made an appeal to suppress the new propaganda and to punish its agents. *Honen* endeavoured to warn his followers against any excess of zeal and against trespassing the moral codes of human life, and this submissive attitude more or less appeased the persecutors, but they kept watch for an opportunity to renew the attack and suppression. This arose when two court ladies, upon being converted by *Honen's* disciples, became nuns. The case was charged as an act of seduction, and the Government executed the "seducers," while the master and his leading disciples were sentenced to banishment. This took place in 1207, when *Honen* was seventy-four years old. Touching stories are told of his departure from Miyako and of his farewell words to his disciples. Suffice it here to quote a poem left to them:

What though our bodies, fragile as the dews,
Melt here and there, resolved to nothingness?
Our souls shall meet again, some happier day,
In this same lotus-bed where now they grow.

On his journey⁶² to the place of exile, and while there, he converted those who came into touch with him.

After one year of banishment in a desolate island in the Inland Sea, the sentence was mitigated, allowing him to live nearer to Miyako, in a monastery among the mountains, because his opponents still insisted on keeping him away from Miyako. Whether close to the sea or amid wild hills he lived in peace, the joyous peace in Buddha's grace. One of his poems written down at his mountain abode gives us a picture of the exile's hut in an evening calm:

A hermit's cell, and by its lowly door
A formless mist, but, by and by, the mist
Transforms itself into a purple cloud
That forms the vestibule of Paradise.⁶³

His exile lasted more than four years. When he was released and welcomed by his disciples in Miyako, towards the end of 1211, his health was failing and he was glad if only to die among his old friends and followers.

Honen's last days were worthy of his saintly life. Early in 1212 he lay down on a sick-bed. As days passed, his sight became clearer than before and his hearing sharper, so we are told. His whole time was devoted to uttering Buddha's name and to giving instructions to his disciples. The last of his instructions is called "The Testament in One Piece of Paper," the briefest confession of a pietist saint:

Our practice of devotion does not consist in that of meditation as recommended and practised by sages of the past. Nor is our "Calling the Name" (*Nembutsu*) uttered in consequence of enlightenment in truths attained through learning and wisdom. When we invoke Buddha and say "Namu Amida Butsu," "with the firm belief that we shall be born in Buddha's paradise,

we shall surely be born there. There is no other mystery here than uttering His Name in this faith. Although the three kinds of thought and the four methods of training⁶⁴ are recommended, all these are surely implicit in the faith that our birth in Buddha's Land is certain. If I knew anything more profound than this, I should be forsaken by the two Lords (the Buddhas *Sakya-muni* and *Amita*) and be cast outside the embracing vow (of *Amita*).

However extensively one may have comprehended the teachings propounded during the lifetime of *Sakya-muni*, he should, as soon as he has put faith in salvation, regard himself as an equal of the most ignorant, and thus should whole heartedly practise *Nembutsu* in company with any simple folk, entirely giving up the demeanour of a wise man.

After he had finished writing this, the last moment seemed to approach. His voice became sweeter as he continued to utter Buddha's name until the noon of the following day.⁶⁵ His last utterance was to recite the famous lines in praise of Buddha:

His light pervades the worlds in all the ten directions,
His grace never forsakes any one who invokes His Name.

Surrounded by his devoted disciples, the saint ended his life of eighty years, a life which had been eventless in appearance but profoundly significant for his age and the ages to follow.

His biography was written by one of his disciples five years after his death, and his writings and sayings were collected gradually later on. A second, more voluminous biography, was compiled eighty years later; this is regarded as the standard one. It has been translated into English by H.C. Coates and R. Ishizuka-Honen, *the Buddhist Saint* (published by Chion-in, Kyoto, 1925). This biography is full of details of *Honen's life, various cases of conversion, instructions given by him on various occasions, letters sent to his followers, and so on. Stories of a transfiguration of Honen's body, of a marvellous illumination of his abode, his preaching to a serpent, several visions, and the like, are included. These stories and anecdotes maybe regarded as a parallel to the Fioretti of St. Francis of Assisi.*

Honen's Disciples and Other Pietists

Honen's gospel was soon promulgated by his devout disciples and found its way to palaces and cottages. We find his influence so overwhelming that the ecclesiastical authorities persecuted his followers from time to time. The persecutors' hatred of him even after his death ran so high that his buried body only narrowly escaped the outrage of being exhumed and carried off by *Hiei's* monk-soldiers. The warriors, the new aristocrats of the new era, in the eastern provinces were also brought under the influence of the new gospel, and forty years later, when Nichiren started his new propaganda as we shall presently see, he found his most formidable opponents in the followers of *Jodo* Buddhism.

Honen's religion, as we have tried to show, was a very simple gospel of salvation by faith, but dissension on doctrinal points soon ensued among his disciples. Some of them who had been trained in the old schools of Buddhist philosophy imported their ideas into the new gospel. One of them taught that our thought directed to Buddha's grace was once for all sufficient for salvation. This doctrine of "One Thought" (*Ichinen-gi*) was based on the metaphysical conception of the identity of our soul with Buddha's as taught in Tendai philosophy. Being adapted to the inclination of easy-going believers it found a number of

advocates and grew in influence, joining hands with neglect of moral discipline. Another, on the other hand, imported scrupulous formalism into the religion of piety and insisted on the necessity of "many," i.e., constant, thoughts on Buddha. This doctrine, the *Tanen-gi*, found some followers also and was identified with the prevalent method of mechanically repeating Buddha's name, especially in company with many fellows.

Another division took place as regards the question whether moral work was necessary or allowable besides pious devotion, or injurious to it, and similarly how much morality was needed besides faith pure and simple. Herein we see a division of opinion similar to that which divided Christian thinkers from time to time as to the relation between faith and work. Further, it was disputed whether the faith on our part, the counterpart of Buddha's grace, was to be ascribed, in its origin, to our own will and capacity or solely to Buddha's free gift. This last question involved a deep-lying difference of the temperamental background of faith between those eager to discard all effort of human life in face of the entire dependent on Buddha's redeeming power and those still holding the sense of responsibility in life.

These differences are too subtle to be treated here in detail but we have to note that they were due not merely to doctrinal interest but much to differences in the training and temperament of the leaders and advocates. The important point in the dispute was the different degree of emphasis laid on the meaning of the "saving power of the vows" (*Hongwanriki*), the vows taken by the Buddha Amita. The new gospel consisted in a whole-hearted trust in that mysterious power, but there was room for dissension as to the role of the believer's faith in salvation. Buddha's grace and our faith, both were recognized as essential, in conjunction or cooperation, but question was raised as to whether even our faith itself was a free gift of grace having nothing to do with our capacity or intention.⁶⁶ In the technical terms of *Jodo* doctrine, what role is played by our own faith, "one's own power," in contradistinction to "another's power," Buddha's grace? Perhaps an emphasis on this distinction betrayed in itself lack of absolute confidence in Buddha's saving power; yet the distinction had been made by the master himself, in order to give prominence to the characteristic feature of his gospel in contrast to other forms of Buddhism, which he judged as depending too much on one's own power, the method common to all the Buddhist teachers who founded a new branch within Buddhism, of making a sharp distinction, not seldom far-fetched, between the new form and the others. At any rate some interpretation was to be made, within *Jodo* Buddhism itself, as of the relationship between the two categories of the saving power. Some naturally gave more or less recognition to the role of faith, or will to believe, on the part of those to be saved; while others deemed it necessary to put the whole weight on Buddha's grace, to the denial of any part taken by our own capacity in salvation. This latter interpretation was that even faith is not our own act or possession but exclusively the gift of grace. The most conspicuous representative of this latter was Shinran, the founder of an independent branch of *Jodo* Buddhism now known as *Shinshu*, the Doctrine."

Shinran (1173-1263)⁶⁷ was one of those young monks of Mount Hiei who were dissatisfied with current Buddhism and struggling for a new path of freedom. As a young man he had been troubled by the problem of sex also; he was twenty-eight years old when he was converted to *Honen's* religion in 1201. His personal contact with the master lasted only six years, as we are told; after the latter's exile Shinran lived in remote provinces and worked as a popular

preacher among the country folk. He discarded his monastic robes and the regular habit of shaving the head. There are obscurities as regards his "marriage" but at any rate he lived an ordinary family life and was the father of several children. This he did in order to "give a living testimony," as his followers say, that the secular life of common people was no obstacle to salvation. Though married life for a priest was scarcely exceptional, it had never been justified by doctrine or faith but was regarded as a mere concession. Shinran, on the contrary, regarded celibacy rather as a sign of lack of absolute trust in Buddha's grace, because no sin was an obstacle to salvation through grace. Shinran never publicly protested against the idea of purifying oneself from sin, yet strongly denounced it as an impediment to real faith. Any scruple about sins or depravities was, in Shinran's faith, reliance on "one's own power" and therefore a menace to the absolute faith in "another's power," in Buddha's grace. This step talked by him was a very significant one in the history of Buddhism, and was one of the reasons why his religion exerted so wide an influence through coming centuries, even up to the present.

Thus, Shinran carried the idea of Buddha's grace to extreme conclusions. A saying of *Honen* runs- "Even as bad man will be received in Buddha's Land, how much more a good man !" Shinran turned this to- "Even a good man will be received in Buddha's Land, how much more a bad man ! here good and bad, of course, are understood in the ordinary moral sense but also associated with the idea of conforming to the standards of Buddhist discipline including rules of conduct and mental training. This striking saying of Shinran is usually interpreted in a sense similar to the parable of the prodigal son and his elder brothers, as stated in Luke, or to the simile of the one of a hundred sheep gone astray. But some followers of Shinran, particularly his modern worshippers, would contend that it means negation of morality. In short "neither virtue nor wisdom but faith" was his fundamental tenet, and faith itself his nothing to do with our own intention or attainment but is solely Buddha's free gift. He says:

Whether sage or fool whether good or bad, we have simply to give up the idea of estimating our own qualities or of depending upon self. Though entangled in sin and depravity, even in living the life of the most despised outcast, we are embraced by the all-pervading light of grace; indefatigable faith in salvation itself a manifestation of Buddha's act of embracing us into His grace, because nothing can impede the working of His grace.

(Our salvation is) "natural, as it is," in the sense that it is not due to our own device or intention but provided for by Buddha Himself. It is "natural," because we need not think of our own good or bad; everything has been arranged by Buddha to receive us into His Paradise. It is "natural," because His grace is intangible and invisible and yet works by "naturalness" to induce us to the highest attainment.

Taken from his utterances recorded by his disciples. The idea of "natural, as it is" may be traced back to the ancient Buddhist conception of *Tathagata* ("That ness"), a highly abstract metaphysical idea; but we have it here in a very different sense and application. It is in Japanese *Honi jinen*, of which the name *Honen* is a condensed appellation. Another point to be noted is that this naturalism is shifted by Shinran's modern followers to an emphasis on the instinctive nature of man.

Shinran's religion may be called a kind of naturalism, in the sense that nothing is required on our part whether effort or training or transformation, as the salvation as provided for us by Buddha is simply to be accepted and relied upon without questioning or conditions.

The foundation of salvation has been laid down in the vows or "primeval vows" *Hongwan*) taken by the Buddha Amita, and the mystery of his "Name" is the sole key to salvation. Our destiny is entirely in Buddha's hands, is encompassed within his plan of saving all as expressed in his vows; nay, our salvation is predestined and well-nigh accomplished, because Buddha has already, millions of eons ago, perfected his scheme of taking all to his Realm of Bliss. "Calling Buddha's Name" in pious devotion and absolute trust in him, Shinran taught, is the way thereto, but no idea whatever of invocation or supplication is to be cherished; it should be uttered as the expression of trust and gratitude towards his grace. Further, even this gratitude is rather reminding ourselves of Buddha's primeval vows" already completed, than thinking him in anticipation of the bliss to be attained. As a corollary to this idea, Shinran strongly denounced the idea of estimating the amount of faith by the frequency of repeating Buddha's name, as was done by most other Amita-Buddhists. Similarly he disregarded such signs of grace as vision and illumination, and particularly the apparition of Buddha and his saints at the moment of death of a pious person, which were deemed essential to salvation, such as were recorded in *Honen's* life. Thus, Shinran purged, much further than his master had done, *Jodo* Buddhism from its association with traditional mysteries and methods of spiritual exercise, and brought religion into much closer contact with the daily life of the people at large. His teachings left room for an indulgent tendency to creep into religion, and so vulgar forms of his religion arose from time to time and often encouraged and justified indulgence in desires and passions.⁶⁸

Shinran worked as a preacher, never regarding himself as a teacher or superior but as a simple member of the fellowship in the faith in Buddha's grace. He wrote some essays, more or less learned, but more letters of intimate instructions. The writings through which he exercised the greatest influence were hymns in Japanese. These hymns are known as *Wasan*, or "Colloquial Hymns," but in reality they are not quite in popular language. Let us cite a few of them:⁶⁹

Vows are accomplished, forty-eight in number,⁷⁰
He has attained His aim, the Buddha of Infinite Light;
Assured are we now of birth in His Land,
To us who trust in Him and utter His Name.

Virtues and merits accumulated through countless eons
Are embodied in the sole Name of Amita consummately.
He Sacred Name, the outcome of His long meditation,
Is now given us, even though immersed in sin and depravity.

In the worlds beings are as numerous as fine sands in the basin of the Ganges;
They are all embraced by Amita's grace and never forsaken,
Only if they would call His Name,
Our Lord is, therefore, called Amita, the Inflight.

Without end is the dreary ocean of births and deaths,
 Immersed in it are we since eternity;
 We can in no way be carried across (to the other shore),
 But by being loaded on the ship of Amita's vow to take all.

No choice is given to the learned or the pure in conduct,
 No one is rejected, not even sinful ones utterly devoid of merit;
 Call on His Name, put faith Him sincerely,
 Then pebbles will soon be transformed into gold.

Lo! A torch illumines the ever-dark night of illusion!
 Never regret that your eyes of wisdom are troubled.
 There is here a ship on the ocean of births and deaths,
 Grieve no more over heavy sins and obstacles!

Shinran attempted to annul the distinction between religious secular, both in teaching and practice. He lived in obscurity among the country folk, seeking scarcely any publicity; in that respect, as in his married life, he was one of the many popular teachers working in the provinces. Even when he had returned to Miyako, his native place, and passed several years until his death there, he made no public appearance but remained an obscure man. Yet the seeds sown during the decades of his preaching bore fruit in due time, first in the east and later, in the capital. His disciples and his children worked as his apostles, and we see his influence increasing more and more in the course of a century, until the body of his followers became a powerful church organization in the fifteenth century. It was an irony of fate that Shinran's descendants organized a formidable system verging on a popedom, in which they played the role of vicar of the founder and even of Buddha.

One of his grandsons, Nyoshin (1239-1300), was a man eminent for piety, but the main line of the family was carried on by his great grandson, the grandson of his daughter, Kakunyo (1270-1351), and the latter's son Zonkaku (1290-1373). These two were the chief systematizers of Shinran's religion and organizers of its church. Some of the writings ascribed to Shinran come down from these two successors.

The main stream of Amita-Buddhism was the pietism of *Honen*, but there were other currents of the same faith, pursuing more or less the old course, either the contemplative method or the practice of mechanically chanting Buddha's name. The religion of meditation on Amita and his Land of Bliss was later formulated anew by Shinsei (1443-95), but this little concerns us here. The practice of repeating Buddha's name was propagated by Ippen (1239-89), known as the "Itinerant Sage," because he preached and encouraged the practice of chanting by going around far and wide. He adopted a method of propaganda somewhat after the model of the "Saint of the Market," spoken of above, that of registering the names of those who confessed devotion to the grace of Buddha and chanted Buddha's name in assembly. It is said that the persons registered during the itinerancy of Ippen amounted to more than two millions and a half.

His missionary journeys, with which he combined relief work of various kinds, covered nearly the whole of Japan, and in this respect he revived the method of eighth century Buddhism in Japan- a feature of his religious activity differing from *Honen's* quietism and representing

the new ethos of the Kamakura period.⁷¹ Another peculiarity in the teaching of Ippen was the exhortation that every utterance of Buddha's name be accompanied by the idea of the last moment of life close at hand and that therefore the act of devotion be a preparation for death at any moment. His followers formed a separate body called *Jishu*, namely the "Time Doctrine," because it inculcated pious thought at every moment, and also because the service to be held regularly six times a day was considered to be essential to salvation. This school continues to exist and has a certain amount of influence among the lower classes, though it is slowly declining.

Art and Literature of the Early Kamakura Period

The rise of Amida-Buddhism was an ascertain of piety as against the doctrinalism and ritualism of the orthodox church. But in its sentiment of new religion of piety inherited much of the sentiment of the preceding age, and this temper expressed itself in the religious art of the thirteenth century, namely of the early Kamakura period. Imageries in pious thought, visions of superhuman existences, of the blissful realms, of celestial hosts playing heavenly music among the variegated clouds, these gave a new impetus to religious painting and sculpture.⁷² The works of art produced in this atmosphere were delicate in tone and elaborate in execution, heavens or woeful existences. Visions and apparitions, of deities and angels, of devils and monsters, were told and graphically represented, sometimes in earnest and sometimes humorously. In short, the consternation resultant from the great social catastrophe, together with the high spiritual aspiration of the new age, worked to produce a highly spirited type of art and literature, characterized by breadth of vision, height of aspiration, sincerity of sentiment, and vigour of expression.

REFERENCES

1. This is the list given in Shinran's shoshinge. Other versions give Honen and Shinran.
2. Often called Eshin Sozu. He was abbot of the Eshin in Yokawa on Mount Hiet.
3. It has about 350 temples.
4. *Honen: the Buddhist Saint*, p. 422.
5. It may seem strange to speak of Zen as easy, but it had become a system of training which was intelligence to the military classes in a way in which ceremonies and metaphysics were not.
6. Honen, the Buddhist Saint, p. 138.
7. Or in full Senchaku Hongwan Nembutsushu, A collection of passages bearing on the Nembutsu of the original vow. Other books of Honen also quoted are the Ojo Taiyoshu and a commentary on the larger Sukhavati-vyūha. See Honen, the Buddhist Saint, pp. 348, 351.
8. *Honen, the Buddhist Saint*, p. 467, Cf. pp. 347 and 87
9. *Ibid.*, p. 404
10. Chapter-IV. p. 105 ff
11. Nanjio, No. 63.
12. The figure of a Buddha making such vows is a peculiarly frequent subject in the frescoes discovered in Central Asia.
13. Honen, the Buddhist Saint, p. 587.

14. The numbering is somewhat different in the Sanskrit text, which makes forty-six vows in all, and in the Chinese translations, which forty-eight. See Nanjio's note on p. 73 of Sukhavati-vyuha, S.B.E., vol. xlix.
15. The Greater Sukhavati-vyuha S.B.E., xlix., p. 15, 19, seems to require ten repetitions and to exclude those who commit the five deadly sins, whereas Honen seems to hold that even such sinners can be saved (Honen, the Buddhist Saint, p. 395). While believing that one guilty of the ten evil deeds and the five deadly sins may be born into the Pure Land... Let us not commit the smallest sins." Cf. ib., pp. 402, 403 and p. 330.
16. Honen, *the Buddhist Saint*, p. 754.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 425.
18. Young East, 8th April 1928. The title of the article is "Oso Ekoand and Genso Eko", which are technical terms, the first for receiving the blessing of being born in paradise and the second for returning to this world in the manner described.
19. *Ibid.*, 40 and 41.
20. In his Sai-yo-sho translated by Haas in Amida Buddha unsere Zuflucht. Haas also says that Honen's predecessor Yokwan (1032-1111) gives a detailed account of Keman-Kai in his book Ojo-ju-in.
21. Tannisho, xvii, and postscript.
22. Honen, the Buddhist Saint, p. 395.
23. Honen, the Buddhist Saint, p. 235.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 414
25. Ekohotsugwanjin, literally a heart which turns and vows.
26. Honen, the Buddhist Saint, p. 495.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 395 and in almost identical words, p. 403.
28. There is also a study of Shoku's (Zennebo's) teaching by Shizutoshi Sugihira in the Eastern Buddhist., vol. v. No. 1 of March, 1929. But I confess that very little of it is intelligible to me.
29. In Japanese.
30. For an account of him see Honen, the Buddhist Saint, chap, xlv.
31. Honen, the Buddhist Saint chap, xxix.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 524.
33. I shall often have occasion to quote this work, which seems to be a concise and authoritative statement of modern Shinshu doctrine, by R. Nishimoto. Its Japanese title is Shinshu Hyakuwa and it was published in Tokyo about 1910. It is translated by A.K. Reischauer in vol. xxxviii, part v of the trans. of the As. Soc of Japan, 1912. The passage here referred to is 23. See also synopsis of the Judo Shinshu Creed, compiled (in English) by the Educational Department of the West Hongwanji, Kyoto, 1920. This body has also published Hymns of the pure Land (Japanese text translation), which is one of the three volumes of Shinran's hymns.
34. Catechism, 19.
35. See Troop, "Ofumi or Gobunsho of Rennyo Shonin, "T. A.S.J., xvii, part I.
36. Thus at the Shinshu anniversary in 1922 at Kyoto certain solemn ceremonies were performed by the abbot of the Hongwanji and other by his son, as if he were a prince imperial.
37. Gosonsama, Catechism, 29.
38. Lloyd, *Shinran and His Work.*, pp. 156-7.

39. The Sanskrit word *Namah*, meaning bending or obeisance is constantly used with the names of deities, the formula being very similar to the English "Glory be to the Father", etc.
40. *Nyorai-Tathagata*.
41. *Catechism*, 59.
42. To understand this strange language one must remember that *Namu Amida Butsu* is regarded as a name.
43. The equinox is a sacred seasons in India, too. See *Vishnu Purana*, 2,8.
44. Three of them are translated by Haas (*Amida Buddha Unsere Zuflucht*). and seven by Lloyd (*The Praises of Amida*, Tokyo, 1907), the sermons referred to are Numbers 6 and 4 in Lloyd.
45. *Anesaki* (*History of Japanese Religion*, p. 356) quotes the following opinion expressed by Toyama, who was apparently not a Christian: In the following three respects the influence of Christianity on the improvement of society is very great : (1) the gathering of men and women in a church once every week; (2) the church music; (3) the marriage and funeral service.
46. *V. T.A.S.J.*, 1912, p. 394.
47. See above, Chap. II., p. 38.
48. Translated into English by G.W. Shaw, Tokyo, 1922.
49. *Eastern Buddhist*, vol. ii, No. 5, 1923, p. 285ff.
50. Some authorities are inclined to class the *Itto-en* as belonging rather to Zen.
51. E.g. Sasaki in his book. *A study of Shin Buddhism*, Kyoto, 1925, and Shugaku Yamabe in his article "The Buddha and Shinran" in the *Eastern Buddhist*, vol. ii No. 5, 1923.
52. This work, which is not the same as the *Pali-suttanta* of the same name (*D.N.*, xvi) represents *Ajatasatru*, tortured by illness and remorse for his sins as visiting the dying Buddha.
53. *Bodhicaryavatara*, iii, 10.
54. *Bhag.*, Gita xviii, 65, 66.
55. The *Bhagavata* sect is certainly pre-Christian, for there are allusions to it in Panini and the *Besnagar* inscriptions which are scribed to the earlier part of the second century B.C. The coins of Kanishka bear images of the Buddha and of Persian deities, but nor Christian emblems.
56. See for Manichaeism in China Central Asia the series of three articles by Chavannes and Pelliot entitled "Un traite manicheen retrouve en Chine" in *J.A.*, 1911, 1913. A Chinese edict of A.D. 739 accuses Manichaeism of deceiving the people by falsely taking the name of Buddhism.
57. See especially Haviet, "La Stele Chretienne de Si-ngan-fu" in *Varietes Sinologiques*, pp. 7, 12 and 20. He has some interesting remarks about the unwillingness of the Nestorians and also of the Jesuits to give publicity to the Crucifixions (See *l.c.*, iii, p. 54.).
58. *Namu* is a corruption of Sanskrit *Namah*. The formula had been in use before Honen, especially among the votaries of *Amita*, as *Shingon* mystics too when they turned their worship to him. But it was Honen who exhorted as exclusive use of the formula as an expression of devotion and gratitude.
59. Cited from Honen's *Catechism* in Twelve Articles.
60. The translation are from Arthur Lloyd's pen. Though the translator has lost somewhat the simple purity of the original, the author keeps his wording here in memory of his lamented friend. In the first poem the word rendered by "dwell" in *sumu* in the original and the word may mean both "to abide" and "to shine in purity".
61. This is a passage from a letter sent to the widow of Yoritomo. She asked in her letter various questions especially concerning the relationship between faith and work, because some teachers of Jodo pietism

taught that "work" was useless, any injurious, to an exclusive faith in Buddha's grace. The passage clearly shows the attitude of Honen towards this question-to which we shall return Cf. Costs and Ishizuku, Honen, p. 461.

62. It is one of the many illustrations in his great biography.
63. Arthur Lloyd's translation.
64. The "three kinds of thought" are: sincere thought, that there is nothing more important than birth in Buddha's land; the profound thought and belief, that all embracing is the vow taken by Buddha to save all even the sinful and depraved; the earnest desire to dedicate everything to the cause of faith, Cf. S.B.E., vol 49, part II, p. 188.
The "four methods" are : expression of reverence towards Buddha; exclusive faith in Him; uninterrupted repetition of his name; untiring devotion to Buddha throughout life.
65. The 25th day of the first moon (Feb. 29th in *Julian* calendar), 1212,
66. Here the point somewhat reminds use of the Christian doctrine of predestination. This is especially the case with a section of Jodo Buddhist who teach that our salvation has become a fixed destination when the Buddha Amita accomplished his task of establishing his paradise, in the past of ten world-periods ago, as the result of his vows and work. Thus here we have a Buddhist doctrine of predestination thought without those to be doomed to hell.
67. Further on Shinran, see Arthur Lloyd, the Creed of Half Japan, pp. 268-73 by the same author, Shinran and his work (Tokyo, 1913) : A.K. Reischauer, A Catechism of the Shin Sect (TASJ., vol. 37, 1912).
68. For the sub-sects of Shinran's followers, see below, p. 232 A combination of his teaching with modern naturalism is well illustrated by a modern drama which was once very popular-The Priest and his disciples by Hyakuzo Kurata and translated into English by G.W. Shaw.
69. These translations are not intended to be verse but divided into lines for keeping the original lines. A group of the Wasan has an English translation from U. Oshima's pen published under the title Hymns of the Pure Land (Kyoto, West Hongwan-ji, 1923).
70. This number is sacred to Jodo Buddhists, since the vows taken by Amita, while a plain monk still are counted in that number as reversed in Chinese translation of the Sukhavati-vyaha. Cf. SBE, vol. 49 Part ii, pp. 11-22.
71. See Plate XIIb, where Ippen's disciple are represented relieving distress from famine.
72. Cf. Anesaki, Buddhist Art, Plate I, XI, XII; pp. 27-30, Comp. Plates IVb XI, XII, and XIII in this book.

TENDAI BUDDHISM

The Tendai has a great record in both China and Japan, but its history in the two countries is somewhat different. In the first place, its connection with the Shingon was much closer in Japan than in the land of its birth, where the two sects were felt to be different in origin and not to be united by any special relationship. In Japan, on the contrary, they were both officially introduced at the same period, the first years of the ninth century, both under imperial patronage and both in the same district, *Kyoto* and its neighbourhood. They formed a natural body of religious opinion opposed in early times to the older sects of Nara and later to the new schools which arose about the twelfth century. But, in the second place, the Tendai achieved a position as a political and even as a military power such as never fell to the lot of any Buddhist denomination in China, for even Lamaism under the *Yuan* dynasty, though it became the Established Church, was strictly under imperial control, though it was not so in Tibet.

But in Japan the Tendai, and to some extent the Shingon, were semi-independent organizations maintaining friendly relations with the Court, though fighting with one another and with other religious bodies- a fact by no means inconsistent with the close connection just mentioned, for one of the bitterest quarrels was between Enryakuji and Miidera, both temples of the Tendai sect. And just as a certain period in Japanese history is commonly known as the Fujiwara period, so for ecclesiastical purposes it may be appropriately designated as the Tendai period. We are inclined, and not wholly unjustly, to think of the Tendai as primarily a political power actuated by worldly motives and to forget that it was, especially in the beginning, a great Church inspired by lofty spiritual and philosophical ideals which seemed to the priesthood of Nara dangerously liberal.

Its introduction into Japan was closely connected with the removal of the capital from Nara to *Kyoto* in 793. One of the principal motives for this transference was the apprehension caused by the ambitious designs of the priesthood, which reached a climax in the attempt of *Dokyo* to usurp the imperial power. A somewhat similar mistrust of the worldliness of the Church as established in Nara seems to have worked strongly on the mind of a young man called *Saicho*, the future *Dengyo* Daishi. He was of Chinese origin, and after entering a monastery at an early age was ordained when eighteen in 785. But the clerical life of Nara was uncongenial to him. He left the city and lived at first in solitude on Mount Hiei, near which he had been born, but gradually collected a band of companions and built a small monastery.

But he was by no means an unpractical recluse and, though he had found the atmosphere of Nara unspiritual, he had no objection to mixing with Courts and Princes. Somehow or other the humble cloister on Mount Hiei became identified even during his lifetime with the new capital and was recognised as the new religious centre just as *Kyoto* was the new political centre of Japan. In 804 he was sent by the Emperor to China to inquire what was the best form of Buddhism, and studied the school of *T'ien-T'ai*¹ at its headquarters and also both the Shingon under Shun-Hsiao at *Yueh-Chou* and the Zen at T'ang-Hsing. It is noticeable that these were the three important sects which had not taken root at Nara. He gave the palm to the Tendai which was then at the zenith of its power and fame, but evidently retained much sympathy for the other sects. He returned next year laden with books and knowledge. I have already given some account of the Tendai sect as it existed in China and have related in the historical section the striking growth of the humble shrine on Hieizan into a priestly city of some three thousand temples and its eventual tragic destruction by Nobunaga in 1571, and will now proceed to inquire what were the religious ideas which Saicho brought back with him and which dominated Japan for about five centuries. Though based on what he had learnt and seen in China, the doctrines and practices which he taught somehow acquired a distinctly Japanese flavour and, as in many other cases, hardly seem to be foreign importations.

The Tendai sect is based on the *Hokke-kyo* or *Lotus-sutra*, and is perhaps the most notable instance among many others of the enormous influence which that work has exercised in the Far East. Conformably to this, it teaches that all men can become Buddhas and urges them to try to do so. Aspirants are exhorted in the often quoted words of the sacred text² to "enter the abode of the *Tathagata*, put on the robe of the *Tathagata* and sit in the seat of the *Tathagata*. And what is the abode of the *Tathagata*? It is to abide in charity to all beings. And what is his robe? It is sublime forbearance. And what is his seat? It is to enter into the emptiness of all things". The Mahayanist *Nirvana-sutra* (Nanjio, 113, 114), as containing the last and complete instructions of the Buddha, and the *Prajnaparamita*³ are also much respected. But though it is based on the *Lotus-sutra*, the most remarkable characteristic of the Tendai is its comprehensive and encyclopedic character.

It finds a place for all scriptures, regarding them as a progressive revelation gradually disclosed by the Buddha during his life as he found that the intelligence of his auditors ripened, and though one may hesitate to accept the scheme as chronologically exact, one cannot but admire the wide knowledge and liberal spirit which inspired it. If it is sometimes difficult to define what were the special doctrines which it taught in Japan, this is because it was always eclectic and disposed to adopt rather than to combat new views unless they seemed to threaten the organization of the Church. The later sects, whether they were Japanese creations or adaptations of Chinese originals, all arose within the Tendai.

Honen, *Shinran*, *Eisai Dogen*, *Nichiren*, and many lesser reformers were all students who had graduated in the same University, and their special doctrines mostly consisted in emphasizing some views which they had found in the spacious store. The religion taught in Hieizan was not a stagnant orthodoxy to which all must conform or be excommunicated. Its three thousand temples contained several schools which differed not indeed in essentials but in their method of presenting doctrines, and it was perfectly correct to study in more than one school. Thus *Shoshien*, who was considered a paragon of learning, was proficient in the

doctrines of both the Eshin-in and the Danna-in and was also deeply read in esoteric works. The first two mentioned were the principal schools of Hieizan, founded by Eshin (942-1017) at the temple which bore his name in Yokaba and by Kaku-un (953-1007), abbot of the Danna-in temple in the Eastern section. There were also thirteen schools of the Yuga sammitsu, generally rendered as esoteric doctrine.

School of Arms

If Hieizan was a school of arms it was none the less a school of thought and also of art, and the ideal which inspired its abbots, though perhaps dangerously ambitious, was not ignoble. They wished to found a national Church including all forms of religion, whether Buddhist or *Shinto*, and closely connected with the Emperor, who was regarded as the patron of all possible gods and sects. To further this end they for a long time identified themselves with the interests of the Fujiwara family, who were the Emperor's guardians. Secondly, Hieizan was a great school of art. From the tenth to the twelfth centuries, before the rise of the Zen sect, the religious painting and sculpture of Japan was inspired by the Tendai and Shingon. Perhaps the major part of the artistic impulse came from the latter and its cosmo-theistic doctrines, its tendency to regard every natural phenomenon as a divine manifestation which could be appropriately represented by the image of a deity. But the spaciousness, the power, and the wealth of Hieizan made it unrivalled as a museum in which the works of either sect could be displayed to the nation.

Shingon Mysticism

The introduction of Shingon mysticism into the Tendai is generally attributed to Ennin, better known by his posthumous title of Jikaku Daishi, who lived from 794 to 864. When about forty he became seriously ill, but an angel appeared to him in a dream and gave him a miraculous drug which completely cured him. He then made a copy of the Lotus-sutra, and his rules for such transcription, which became a regular practice among the pious, were considered classical. In 838 he accompanied Fujiwara Tsunetsugu on an embassy to China, where he spent nine years. Like *Saicho* he studied the doctrines of the Tendai, Shingon, and Zen sects and also suffered much hardship during the persecution of Buddhism under the Emperor Wu-Tsung. On his return he wrote a voluminous account of his studies and was made head of the Tendai.

The introduction of Shingon mysticism into the sect, which was continued by Annen (c. A.D. 890), was no doubt greatly facilitated by the fact that the Tendai already recognized Vairocana, the chief Buddha of the Shingon, as the *Dharmakaya*, *Sakyamuni* as represented in the Lotus being the *Nirmanakaya*, or Buddha as seen by human eyes. Also the temporal interests of the Shingon did not clide much with those of the Tendai, its headquarters being at *Koyasan*, some distance from the capital. For it is sad to confess that though the Tendai seemed so catholic and comprehensive, so ready to include in its large and liberal creed any doctrine which could be called Buddhist, it was, when matters of organization and temple property were concerned, extremely apt to pick a quarrel, and that not only in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries but in the middle of the ninth.

In 858, a priest called Enchin (posthumous title *Chisho Daishi*) returned from China and began to preach certain novelties which were not to the taste of the disciples of *Jikaku*. He

was appointed head of the celebrated temple called *Onjoji* or *Miidera* on the shores of Lake Biwa, and appears to have maintained a connection with Hieizan as long as he lived. But under his successors disputes became acute and resulted in the maintenance of troops and of literal warfare between the two establishments. In spite of many statements that the Sammon and Jimon, as the two parties were called, were divided by doctrinal differences, I have been unable to ascertain that any such distinctions are known at the present day.⁴

The Tendai was wide and comprehensive in another sense. It taught that all men ought to strive to become Buddhas and that it was in the power of all to succeed in so doing. This was contrary to the teaching of the *Hosso*, the ancient and then very powerful sect which possessed the great monasteries of *Kofukuji* and *Horyuji* at Nara. The *Hosso* held that human nature is not one and the same in all, but that mankind are divided into five classes.

1. The *Musho-ujo*, or those who have no Buddha nature at all, who cannot attain nirvana but must wander for ever in the world of transmigration.
2. The *Shomonjo-josho*, those who have the *Sravaka* (Hinayana) nature.
3. The *Engakujo-josho*, or those who have the *Pratyeka-Buddha* nature. Both of these classes are destined to attain nirvana by meditation but not to become Buddhas.
4. The *Bosatsujo-josho*, or those who have the *Bodhisattva* nature and may become perfectly enlightened Buddhas.
5. The *Fujo-Shujo*, or indeterminate natures, who still have the power of becoming Buddhas.

It will be seen that not only the lowest natures but higher ones, *Sravakas* and *Pratyeka-Buddhas*, for whom religion consists chiefly in solitary meditation, are excluded from the possibility of becoming Buddhas, but *Saicho* would have none of this and gave practical expression to his views by establishing a *Kaidan*, or place of ordination, at Hieizan which somewhat modified the old ceremonial as practised at Nara. Candidates were supposed to take their vows not merely in the presence of their ecclesiastical superiors but before the Buddha himself, and thereby to awaken the higher part of their nature, which would develop and bear fruit in a long series of future lives. This theory was apparently most distasteful to the prelates of the older school: they protested against the establishment of the new *Kaidan* and it did not receive the imperial sanction until after *Saicho's* death.

But though the Tendai deserves all credit for introducing new, fruitful, and more spiritual ideas into Japanese Buddhism, I doubt if its disputes with Nara should be regarded as a contest between the democratic and aristocratic sides of religion. For the *Hosso* was not the only sect in the old capital, and the *Kegon*, which owned the great temple of *Todaiji*, holds and apparently then held the thesis that all men can aspire to Buddhahood as strongly as the Tendai did. And again, *Honen* was not satisfied with the Tendai's view of human destinies any more than with the *Hosso's*. It is true that he wrote in the latter part of the twelfth century and had many other complaints which made him separate from the Tendai. He says,⁵ "According to the Tendai sect the ordinary man may be born into the so-called Pure Land, but that land is conceived of as a very inferior place. Although the *Hosso* conceived of it as a very superior place, they did not allow that the common man could be born there at all." In *Honen's* time, at any rate, the

Tendai conceived that there were four lands of the blessed, the lowest of which, or the *Bonjo-zogodo*, corresponded to *Honen's* Pure Land, while the *Hosso* reckoned three and made the Pure Land correspond to the middle one.

The Tendai is both a religion and philosophy. One can imagine that the latter aspect- its ontology or theory of being- though well worthy of attention, was somewhat in the background among the politicians and military men who formed so large a proportion of the sect during a long period of its history. But it is not easy to describe what are its doctrines as a popular religion, which it undoubtedly was. Even now its numbers are not inconsiderable, for it is reckoned to possess nearly 5,000 temples and a little under two million members. Owing to its comprehensive character already alluded to, the difficulty is to say what Buddhist beliefs it does not countenance. It had, for instance, no objection to the worship of Amida. Chih-k'ai, the founder of the sect in China, died repeating his name, and in Japan *Dengyo* Daishi himself, *Jikaku*, *Genshin*, *Ryonin*, and other eminent names can be cited as his worshippers. If Hieizan persecuted *Honen* and *Shinran*, the only objection to the doctrine of these two was that it held that the invocation of Amida's name was all sufficient and that other observances were superfluous, which threw into confusion all ecclesiastical organization.

The Tendai held the ordinary *Mahayana* doctrine that the Buddha nature is present in every human being and that it can and ought to be stimulated and developed until each one becomes a Bodhisattva and ultimately a Buddha. Theoretically fifty-two stages had to be passed through before perfect enlightenment could be obtained, namely, ten stages of faith, ten of knowledge, twenty of religious practice, and ten of understanding ultimate truth. The two further stages were called to- *gaku* and *myo-kaku*, meaning similar and wonderful enlightenment, that is to say, the last is the supreme conclusion and the proceeding stage almost equal to it.

Persons of great eminence might be considered to have already merited the title of Bodhisattva or to be incarnate Bodhisattvas who have deigned to take flesh for the salvation of mankind. But as a rule such attainments were postponed indefinitely to future lives, though perhaps the politeness of the Japanese made them somewhat free of speaking of the living as Bodhisattvas and the dead as Buddhas. It would seem that *Dengyo* Daishi gave up the 250 precepts of the *Hinayana*, and that the initiation performed at the Kaidan of Hieizan and the vows duly taken in the presence of the Buddha were regarded as constituting not merely ordination in the simple ecclesiastical sense but an awakening of the dormant Buddha nature, a bracing of the spirit to a nobler moral life, a planting of the feet on the first rung of the lofty ladder which leads to higher existences.

With this ceremony and its object was perhaps connected another called *Kwancho*⁶ (or *Kwanjo*), a translation of the Sanskrit *Abhisekha*, or sprinkling,⁷ sometimes rendered in English by the most misleading expression baptism. It is true that part of the ceremony generally consists in the religious aspersion by water, but it is not at all a rite performed on children or others when they first become members of the sect, but a form of initiation into the higher mysteries granted only as an exceptional privilege. It might also be doubted whether *Kwanjo* should not be classed among the mysteries of the Shingon sect which were accepted by the Tendai soon after its introduction into Japan, but it is expressly stated that *Saicho* was instructed in it by Shun-Hsiao and administered it for the first time in Japan in the temple of *Seiryuji* at

Takao in 805 to various distinguished priests selected by imperial order. *Kobo* Daishi, on the other hand, received it from Hui-Kuo, a disciple of the celebrated Pu-K'ung (Amogha), and administered it first in 822 to the ex-Emperor Heijo.⁸

At present it is performed by both sects, more frequently perhaps by the Shingon, and also by the kegon in the *Todaiji* temple at Nara. The original object of the rite is succinctly defined by *Kobo* Daishi,⁹ who says, "By *Kwanjo* is meant the bestowal of the Buddha's great mercy upon sentient beings to enable them to obtain the highest perfect enlightenment." As a matter of fact, the sprinkling with water does not appear to be the most prominent part of the ceremony as at present performed. The candidates are arranged in order and as a preliminary ceremony their heads are sprinkled with water. They are then consecrated by the use of various formula and, their faces being covered with red veils, are led blindfolded to a *mandara*, or sacred picture containing representations of numerous Buddhas and Bodhisattvas which is set on a raised dais against a wall or spread on the floor.

Each candidate receives a flower which he throws or drops on the *mandara* in the presence of eight priests, who declare the name of the figure which he has struck, and a name corresponding to this figure is then bestowed on him. The most auspicious result is for the flower to strike the figure of the Buddha Vairocana. The fortunate candidate is congratulated by the priests and receives special honours, being made to sit on a Lotus seat that is, a cushion on which a lotus is embroidered. This form of *Kwanyo* is sometimes required as a sort of initiation, for instance, at Miidera, before persons are allowed to see a specially sacred image, and I am informed that in such cases there is no sprinkling, though a person who had undergone the ceremony told me that as he was blindfolded he was not quite sure. Another form of initiation without sprinkling is called *Hako-Kan* and consists in receiving reverently by placing it on one's head a box containing a copy of the precepts.

Since the Tendai is based on the Lotus-sutra, it naturally specially reverences *Sakyamuni* and in fact regards all other Buddhas as aspects of him. But since it also endeavoured to be an all-embracing State church, which included even *Shinto* deities, it is not surprising to find that it accorded full recognition to Vairocana,¹⁰ Amida, Yakushi, and in fact all Buddhas¹¹ and Bodhisattvas. No doubt the tendency towards a friendly amalgamation with the Shingon did much to make the worship of Vairocana popular, but independently of this he was recognized as the Dharmakaya. As the *Dharmakaya* is the highest form of Buddhahood, so is Vairocana, in so far as he is a personification of it, superior to Shaka, but it must be understood that he is not regarded as a separate being but merely as a higher aspect. Shaka, inasmuch as he is the *Nirmanakaya*, is a condescension and concession to the weakness of the human intellect which is often unable to understand the *Dharmakaya*. Four paradises are recognized which are conditioned by the character of their inhabitants, that is to say, that where beings of a certain character are found, there is *ipso facto* the paradise of which they are worthy. These four paradises are:

1. The *Bonjogodo*, or the land in which ordinary men and saints live together. The Pure Land of Amida is such a paradise.
2. The *Hoben-uyodo*, a region of compromise inhabited by those who have become free from *samsara* and have attained *nirvana* in the sense of the *Hinayana* but not in the higher senses of the *Mahayana*.

3. *Jippodo*, or paradise in which are the *Sambhogakaya* and Bodhisattvas who have become partly free from ignorance concerning the nature of Being.
4. *Jojakkodo*, or the Land of Eternal Peace and Light, inhabited by Vairocana and those Bodhisattvas who have entirely got rid of ignorance.

Naturally, so important and popular a deity as Amida was not neglected, and the growth of the *Jodo* and *Jodo-Shinshu* shows how a whole series of doctors prepared the way for *Honen* and *Shinran*. The *Jogyodo* hall on Mount Hiei, though there are differences in the account of its original construction, was used after the time of *Jikaku* for services which he had introduced from China and in which the Nembutsu was sung with a musical intonation. I have not found any explanation of the exact position assigned to Amida among the Buddhas of the Tendai, but such problems appear to have offered no difficulties to the Japanese. For instance, *Kakuhan* (1095-1143), the founder of a new division in the Shingon, simply declared that Amida was the same as Vairocana.

Mystery of Existence

It is noticeable, however, that the Tendai seem to have considered meditation on the mystery of existence which leads to enlightenment as a necessary part of worship, and to have regarded the Nembutsu as a means of clearing the mind and enabling it to concentrate itself in the presence of Amida. Four kinds of such meditation are prescribed:

- (1) *Joza Zammai*, or *Ichigyo Zammai*: the devotee sits cross-legged, facing west for ninety days and nights consecutively, concentrating his thoughts solely upon Amida and calling on his name.
- (2) *Jogyo-Zammai*: he walks round Amida's image for the same period, invoking and meditating on him in the same way.
- (3) *Hangyohanza-Zammai*: he alternately recites some sacred text, for instance, the Lotus, and sits down to meditate on it. If the practice is continued for three weeks, the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra will appear before him.
- (4) In the last form of meditation called *Higyohiza* more freedom is allowed. The devotee concentrates all his mental efforts on realizing the truth, but follows his inclinations as to sitting or walking.

Little importance seems to have been attached to mortification of the flesh apart from meditation. Twenty-five kinds of austerities are catalogued which may be useful in the lower stages of spiritual progress "to polish the heart", but they are not prescribed in the higher stages. I have already mentioned in treating of Buddhism in China that the Chinese saw a connection- not much relished perhaps by the T'ien-t'ai itself- between that sect and the Zen and called some of the earlier T'ien-t'ai teachers Ch'an-shih. The Japanese had no hesitation in admitting the connection. The Tendai authorities quoted by Nanjio,¹² who give the views of the modern sect, represent it as having received a special transmission of the Law of Bodhidharma. *Saicho* was commissioned to find out the best form of Buddhism. He studied Zen among other varieties and, true to the eclectic principles of Tendai, he accepted it in so far as he approved it. Tradition states that even before he went to China he studied Zen under *Gyohyo*, the pupil of *Dosen*, a Chinese priest of the northern school of Zen, and that

subsequently after reaching China he received instruction from *Shonen*, who represented the line of *Hui-Neng*. On returning to Japan he imparted the instruction which he had received to *Jikaku*. Without criticising these statements, which are probable enough, it seems clear that the study of Zen was never a popular or important part of the curriculum of *Hieizan*. It was not in the least like *Shingon*, which did exercise a continual influence on Tendai doctrine and ritual. So far as I know, there is no record of Zen even forming a subject of discussion, and when in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries *Eisai* and *Dogen* preached it to the Japanese public, they were to all intents and purposes introducing a new school.

Though the Tendai attached much importance to meditation, it must not be supposed that it was an inactive or merely contemplative sect. Indeed, the reader who had followed however cursorily its political and military fortunes is not likely to fall into this mistake but rather to think of it as devoted to secular ambition. But this, at least in its early days, had a good side. *Dengyo* Daishi's ideal was a Church which so far as the things of this world were concerned should be devoted to the public service and be the moral and religious agent of the Government. He himself wrote a book called *The Defence of the Country*.¹³ The careers of the monastic students were mapped out with this view. After studying for twelve years, they were divided into various categories according to their qualifications for service.

Some were kept at *Hieizan* and took part in the general direction of affairs: others were appointed to act in the city temples or to serve for a fixed period in the Government provincial temples (*Kokubunji*) and were officially styled *dempo*.¹⁴ In 806 the Emperor Kwammu ordered the priests of fifteen large temples at *Nara*, *Kyoto*, and of the *Kokubunji* to observe the ceremony of *Ango*, corresponding to the Indian vassa or retreat during the rainy season. In Japan it consisted originally in reciting such sutras as the *Ninno* and in offering prayers for the peace of the country and a good harvest and in preaching to the laity. The latter were expected to make offerings, but *Dengyo* Daishi left careful instructions that all contributions should be used for the public welfare.¹⁵ In the beginning of the Meiji period the *Ango* was abolished. It has since been revived in several large temples but I believe is now a purely spiritual ceremony.

But the Tendai is a philosophy as well as a religion. When speaking of the views prevalent in the Far East about the date and authenticity of the Buddhist scriptures I have already discussed the Tendai theory of gradual revelation commonly known as the Five Periods.¹⁶ Much more difficult to understand is the series known as the Eight Teachings described by eight Chinese expressions which are not easy to translate. They may perhaps be rendered as sudden, gradual, secret, undetermined, collection, progress, distinction, completion. Though these are commonly regarded as one group of eight, they seem to be really two groups of four, of which the second is a consecutive and ascending series, though the first is not. Sudden means teaching without preparation and is useful only to the highest intelligences such as Bodhisattvas who can grasp the truth the moment they hear it, while gradual is the method suitable for ordinary men which leads them from the *Agamas* to the *Vaipulya* sutras, thence to the *Prajnaparamita*, and finally to the ultimate truth as set forth in the *Lotus*.

The expressions secret and undetermined refer primarily to the narratives which represent the Buddha as preaching to mixed audiences. If he preaches to mortals and deities at the same time the teaching is said to be secret, for the hearers do not see one another and their

impressions differ according to their capacities. Or again the hearers may be aware of one another's presence but, as in the former case, understand the teaching in very different ways. This is the undetermined method. But since the Buddha is really a cosmic force, not limited by the span of human life or human geography, he is regarded as continually appealing to the spirit, for instance by the scriptures or by instructive incidents. Men are sure to interpret such an appeal in various ways and they may or may not know that it is addressed to others as well as themselves. The remaining four methods form an ascending series. *Zo* (Tsang), meaning collection or store, refers to the *Agama* or Hinayanist portion of the scriptures.

Progress or transition is the gradual passage from this to Mahayanist doctrine. Distinction is the teaching distinctive of Bodhisattvas. It is occupied with the idea of totality. It sees that parts depend on one another and all depend on the whole. The complete or perfect teaching goes beyond this. It sees that the whole and the parts are identical. The whole cosmos and all the Buddhas are present in a grain of sand or on the point of a hair. A celebrated maxim says: One thought is the three thousand (that is, the whole universe) and the three thousand are one thought.¹⁷ That is to say, the relations involved in the simplest thought are so numerous that they imply the existence of the whole universe, our perceptions and thoughts being identical with absolute reality. This leads on to the doctrine of ontology. There are three forms of existence, the void, the temporary, and the middle.¹⁸ The meaning of these somewhat mysterious words is that all the elements of existence (*dharmah*), as we know them, depend on their relations. If you try to isolate them and to conceive of them as entering into no relations, they become unthinkable and in fact non-existent. But as temporary formative parts of the whole they do exist and the whole could not realize its true nature if it did not manifest itself in particulars. The term middle or middle path is borrowed from *Nagarjuna* and is equivalent to *Tathata* or *Dharmakaya* in Sanskrit.¹⁹

The elements exist or do not exist according to our view of their relations to it, but the middle exists absolutely. The example given by Chih-I in his work called *Chih-kuan*²⁰ is a mirror. Its brightness is K'ung, for it has no existence apart from the mirror: the objects reflected are chia, and the mirror itself is chung. The brightness and the reflections both depend on it in various ways, but still it would not be a mirror if it was not bright and did not reflect. This view of the nature of Being is known in Japan as *Isshin Sandai*, One thought, three truths. It is interesting as being apparently a genuinely Chinese piece of philosophy. The Chinese have not much inclination to metaphysics, but Chih-I seems worthy to rank with *Nagarjuna*²¹ or even with Hegel, to whom he shows some resemblance. It may be noticed that whereas Indian metaphysics (in spite of qualifying explanations) leave a disconcerting feeling that the Universe, as known to our senses, is non-existent or at best an illusion very different from the reality, the practical Chinese comes to the comfortable conclusion that phenomena and the one absolute truth are, if rightly regarded, synonymous. The greatest importance is attached to a form of meditation on the three truths which is called *Isshin Sangwan* and when the three are seen as perfectly amalgamated, that is enlightenment as obtained by the Buddha himself. Meditation is described in a well-known phrase which is almost the motto of the school, as *Chih-Kuan*²², which seems to be the equivalent of the Sanskrit words *Samatha* and *Vipassana*, calm and insight. The truth does not come by sudden intuition as the Zen teaches. It needs preparation, training, and concentration. The Pali Pitaka, too, regards *Samatha* and *Vipassana* as a compendium of the higher life, as they are respectively the results of two sets of religious exercises called *adhicitta* and *adhipanna*.²³

The above brief statement is all that I venture to write about the Tendai philosophy, for I must confess that I cannot understand the rest and I do not think that it has much influence on the majority of the members of the sect in Japan. Those who feel further curiosity about it can consult the works mentioned in the note²⁴ and I hope they will be more successful in grasping their meaning than I have been.

Tendai Philosophy

It was the Chinese philosopher monk Chih-i (531-97) who formulated a system of religious philosophy on the basis of the book *Hokke-kyo* or *Lotus*; it is known as the school of Tendai (Chinese, *tientai*), from the name of the mountain where he lived. The chief import of the book is to interpret the person of Buddha as a manifestation of eternal metaphysical entity, and thus to synthesize the two aspects of his being, his actual manifestation or incarnation in human life, and the ontological foundation of his real entity. To cite an analogy from Christianity, the synthesis attempted by the Johannine Gospel between the human being Jesus and the divine Logos finds in this book a parallel in Buddhism.

This conception of Buddha's being may, according to Tendai, be extended to other beings and applied to the relationship between the concrete, particular, and temporal aspect of existence on the one hand, and the metaphysical, universal, and eternal on the other. To say something exists, taking its actual, particular aspect alone, is one extreme; it is the other extreme to say any particular thing does not exist, denying reality to anything but the universal entity. Things and persons exist and change perpetually, they appear and disappear; but the world is an orderly existence maintaining its law (*dharma*) of being and change, as pre-eminently shown in the law of moral and physical causation. This reign of law or the endurance of the fundamental nature (*dharmata*) is the truth of being; the Truth is everlasting and universal, not to the exclusion of its particular manifestations in concrete beings. This co-ordination of the two aspects is, in the *Lotus*, illustrated by the instance of Buddha's person and is applied in the philosophy of Tendai to all other beings.²⁵

Thus, the philosophy of Tendai establishes a synthesis, called the Middle Way, between the two extremes of commonsense realism and transcendental idealism, in repudiating either the former position that a particular being is a reality in itself and by itself, and the latter conception of reality amounting to the denial of anything but the absolute and transcendental. The Middle Way is at the same time the all embracing One Road (*Eka-yana*), because it presupposes the basic unity of Buddha and all other beings, and emphasizes the possibility, may necessity, of raising all beings to the dignity of Buddha himself. The historical Buddha was, according to this conception, a manifestation of the universal and primordial Buddha-nature for the sake of inducing all beings to the full realization of their own real nature or metaphysical entity identical with that of Buddha himself. More over, Buddha can and will appear, besides his historical appearance on earth, at any time and in any of the inferior existences for the sake of saving them. This is possible on account of the common basic principle pervading all existence, the same basic nature manifesting itself in numerous forms, qualities, tendencies, relations and so on.²⁶ Thus the whole realm of existence is nothing but a stage of "mutual participation" of beings and their conditions, a grand harmony of all possible instruments glorifying in unison the fundamental oneness of existence.

In the light of this world-view, the ideal aim of Buddhist perfection consists in the full realization, on the part of every one of the Buddha-nature, or in the participation of our life in Buddha's purpose and work. For Buddha-nature is universally and primordially inherent even in existences of the utmost viciousness, and all of them can be elevated to Buddhahood. Indeed, mankind stands midway between Buddha, the Supreme Enlightened, and the most degraded infernal being, and, therefore, has the possibility of advancing further on the way to Buddhahood or of descending to the beasts or to the nethermost purgatories or hells.

Hence the task of man consists in comprehending the truth of the all-pervading Buddha-nature and of mutual participation working throughout the realms of existence, especially the truth of the interaction and interdependence of different beings and their qualities, functions, and so on. This is first done in meditation, in which one's spiritual eyes are opened to the unity as well as the diversity of existence, and therefore vigilance is to be maintained towards the possibilities inherent in life of either advancing or retrograding on the path of moral and spiritual life. In human life, even one single thought or one act has the power of stirring up a character or tendency destined to bring us to any of the diverse realms of being.

Ardour in putting in faith in Buddha or vigilance in trying to follow his steps is the necessity of religious life. Thus meditation is necessarily to be followed by constant effort in moral life. The maxim is: strive for attainment in Buddhist perfection by emulating the life of Buddha; live a moral life; save yourself by saving others and save others by saving yourself; guard vigilantly against vice of any kind, because always at hand is the danger of becoming a beast or "furious spirit" even in this life. Since all the virtues and vices manifest in the different kinds of existence are inherent in every one of us, since the splendour of celestial being as well as the torture of purgatory are nothing but manifestations of our own nature, all those conditions are to be visualized in meditation. This means the Buddha-like enlightenment in the true nature of the cosmic existence; it is the enlightened Buddha-soul that is fully alive to these realities and therefore compassionate towards all beings. In short, religion and morality amount to one and the same thing, the realization of the Buddha-nature in ourselves.

Seen in this light, both the exercise of contemplation and a life of moral striving are vain unless founded on and aiming at full-hearted faith in Buddha, who is our leader on the way of salvation and the Lord of Truth. Faith here means not only adoration of Buddha as our master and dependence on his teachings, but a state of the soul wherein we identify ourselves with the innermost secrets of the Buddha-soul. This point brings us to consider the meaning of Buddha's personality. According to the doctrine of the Tendai school, Buddha is really a man and yet the Truth itself. As a man of historical reality, he attained the full truth of existence and lived accordingly; he is the *Tathagata*, the Truth -winner. This aspect of his being is, however, but a manifestation of the *Dharmata*, the fundamental nature of the universe which consists in the correlated unity of all the varieties and variations of existence. In other words, in Buddha we see the one who has come down from the height of enlightenment to live among us in order to reveal the real nature of our being. He is the *Tathagata*, the Truth-revealer, and he is the Way, the Truth and the Life. This is the aspect of his personality expressed by the term *Dharma-kaya* (Jap. *Hosshin*), the "Truth-body." All and every one of us participate in this universal Buddha soul; it is in fact inherent in us, although we may be quite unaware of it. Faith is nothing but a realization, a bringing to full consciousness, of the innermost identity of our own being with the *Dharma-kaya*.

However, this very fundamental nature of our life is too subtle and abstract for most of us; and hence the Truth-revealer condescends for our sake; he has appeared among us to arouse our soul to communion with him and to lead us on his path.²⁷ The historical Buddha, *Sakya-muni*, is but one of those adaptive manifestations; he is a Buddha in the *Nirmana-kaya* (Jap. *Wo-jin*), the "Condescension-body," the concrete object of our faith. Yet he is the Buddha *Par excellence* for us living in this world and in this world-period, because of the moral and metaphysical bond connecting a being and the world he lives in. Besides this condescending manifestation, Buddha reveals his wisdom and power, exhibiting them in the blissful glories of celestial existence.

This supernal revelation is, again, adapted to the respective heights of enlightenment on the part of those who have made a certain advance in moral purity and spiritual vision. Hence the infinite varieties of Buddha's *Sambhoga-kaya* (Jap. *Ho-jin*), the "Bliss-body," and hence the varieties of celestial abodes for different blissful lives. Among those abodes of bliss, however, Tendai Buddhism gives a special preference to the "Paradise of Vulture Peak" (Jap. *Ryozen-Jodo*), an idealization of the Vulture Peak where Buddha *Sakya-muni* is said to have revealed the truth of the Lotus based on the metaphysical conception of the connection between the world and the individual, already referred to.²⁸

In sum, these three "bodies", or aspects of Buddha's being, make up the Buddhological Trinity, which is identical with the triune nature of our own life, the corporeal, the spiritual, and the metaphysical, so to speak. Thus, faith means the communion of our soul with the Buddha-soul in its triune nature, our participation in his dignity and work. In other words, communion in faith presupposes a basic unity existing between the worshipper and the worshipped. One who realizes this fundamental oneness of our being with that of Buddha cannot but proceed to save others by leading them along the same pathway of Buddhist enlightenment. This exertion is moral life, the life of the Bodhisattva, the Buddha - to - be. Faith is perfected by moral life, as morality is based on faith.

Moral Life and the Mystery of Initiation

The fundamental maxim of tendai ethics is "to put on the robes of the *Tathagata*, to occupy the seat of the *Tathagata* and to enter the abode of the *Tathagata*," in short, to live the life of the universal self.²⁹ A special contention of Tendai Buddhism, and more especially of Saicho, was that advance in moral life "in imitation of the *Tathagata*" could be possible only on being initiated into the mystery of the fundamental oneness of life. The mystery consists in taking vows in the presence (though only ideal in the modern sense) of all the Buddhist saints, especially of Buddha as master of all. This was a modification of the old Buddhist ceremony of ordination (*Upasampada*, Jap. *Jukai*), which consisted in expressing faith in the Three Treasures and taking the vow of observing the commandments. The specific point in Saicho's contention was that the confessions and vows were to be made not human masters, as in other branches of Buddhism, but to Buddha himself, which meant to one's own innermost soul and entity. And therein lay the mystery, that by taking vows with these convictions and uttermost zeal, one could arouse the innermost good, including power and wisdom, which was inherent but otherwise dormant. Once aroused, this would insure for us an incorruptible firmness of moral and spiritual life and could last throughout any number of lives, in spite of obstacles, temptations, nay despite even casual guilt and the commission of sin. The initiation,

therefore, was taught to secure the awakening and abiding of the fundamental Buddha-nature, the mystery of "Securing the entity of moral life."³⁰

With this doctrine of moral life and with faith in the mystery as the key to perfection, *Saicho* conceived a plan of organizing on Mount Hiei a special institution for the performance of the mystery. The scheme consisted in establishing an Initiation Hall (*Kaidan*) where ceremonies could be conducted to carry out and amplify the teachings of Tendai, independently of similar institutions established in the preceding century. This plan of *Saicho* had an ideal and a practical bearing. It was ideal in the sense that the proposed organisation aimed at carrying out the doctrine of the identity of all existences, and therefore at leading all people to enlightenment in the truth of the *Lotus*. Besides this ideal or doctrinal contention directed against the *Hosso* doctrine of "exclusion", spoken of above, the plan was meant, as a matter of practical importance, to be a declaration of full independence from the authority of the ecclesiastical organization in the old capital. For, unless an independent seat of ordination had been organized, *Saicho* would continually have had to submit to arrogant interference from the old orthodoxy, and could not have ordained his disciples under his own direction and authorization.

Thus, when *Saicho* in 818 asked the Government for an authorisation to institute an independent seat of ordination the prelates in Nara presented to the Government a joint protest. *Saicho* tried to repudiate the arguments adduced by his opponents, but the opposition only grew fiercer. This problem of the Initiation Hall aroused much dispute on side issues of doctrinal points, and the last few years of *Saicho* life were devoted to vehement polemics, which seem to have injured his health, as he died in 822. But his combat had not been in vain. When his death had put an end to his strenuous efforts, the reverences towards him by the emperor and people was so great that just a week after his death the Government granted its consent to the establishment he had planned. The opposition from Nara never entirely ceased, but the life of the reformer left a triumphant after-glow which, far from fading grew in brilliance.

In reviewing the work of *Saicho* we cannot but be impressed by the broad foundation of his ideas and his far-reaching vision. Not only was the doctrine of his Buddhism a higher synthesis of the various branches of Buddhism preceding him, but he embraced in his institution of Mount Hiei various branches of Buddhist discipline and learning. The doctrine of Tendai based on the *Lotus* was the fundamental basis of all his ideas and work, but this did not mean that his work was mere philosophising. For realising or visualising the teaching of the *Lotus*, he instituted various methods of mystic contemplation, which were destined later to diverge into different branches, such as meditation in pious devotion on the Buddha Amita's paradise, and a more Quaker-like method of spiritual exercise known as Zen. Besides the mystery of initiation, *Saicho* adopted various mysteries for invoking certain Buddhas and saints, ceremonies which attracted the aristocrats of his time and the following sages much more than the idealistic philosophy of Tendai.

In this aspects of his Buddhism, which was called Shingon, *Saicho* found a great rival in the person of his younger contemporary, Kukai. *Saicho's* successors met this rivalry by accommodating themselves too much to the rival's method of embracing promiscuous cults into Buddhism. This compromise gradually obliterated *Saicho's* fundamental tenet of converging

all idea and practice to the faith in the Buddha *Sakya-muni* as is taught in the Lotus. This was one of the causes of degeneration creeping into Hiei, because the adaptation involved surrender to worldly motives and interests.

In establishing this great centre of a united Buddhist church, *Saicho* showed marked ability as an organizer besides being a thinker and mystic. The institution of Hiei came to comprise numerous establishments for cultivating the manifold branches of Buddhist training and soon developed into a vast number of sanctuaries, meditation halls, colleges and monasteries. The slopes and valleys of the mountain were covered by thousands (three thousand, it is said) of such buildings. Thus Hiei became the greatest seat of Japanese Buddhism and out of it different new branches of Buddhism were destined to blossom forth in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, even after the degeneration of Hiei itself.

REFERENCES

1. Japanese pronunciation Tendai.
2. *Lotus*, chap. X, shortly before verse 16 (S.B.E. xxi, p. 222).
3. The Tendai philosophy seems to be chiefly based not on this work itself but on Nagarjuna's *Sastra* or Commentary. Nanjio 1169, called in Japanese *Dai-Chi-Do-Ron*.
4. *The Bulletin de la Maison Franco-Japanese*, i. 1927, says that the Jimon recognizes as one of its fundamental texts the *Shikikoen Hokkegi Juketsushu* of Enshin, which is apparently not accepted by the Sammon.
5. Honen, *The Buddhist Saint*, pp. 188 and 198.
6. A full account of this ceremony as it used to be performed will be found illustrated with plates in the first volume of the *Asoba-jo*, composed by Shochō a contemporary of Nichiren. It is reprinted in the *Dai-Nippo Bukkyo Zensho*.
7. For the metaphorical use of word see Dig. Nik. xvi, 5.30: "Fortunate are ye who have been sprinkled with the sprinkling of discipleship in the presence of the master."
8. Bunyiu Nanjio, short History of the Twelve Japanese Buddhist Sects, p.75 Honen, the Buddhist Saint, p. 175
9. Hizoki, Cap. LIX.
10. I confess that Nanjio's account in his Twelve Sects of the "Action of Vairocana" is completely unintelligible to me.
11. Besides the Buddhas ordinarily known, the Tendai has also six peculiar to itself (called Roku Soku Butsu who correspond to and preside over six stages of enlightenment. They are merely aspects of the one Buddha and are called Risoku, Myojisoku, Kangyosoku, Sojisoku, Bunshinsoku, and Kugyosoku Buddhas.
12. Nanjio, *Twelve Buddhist Sects.*, pp. vi, 72,77.
13. Shugo Kokkai-sho.
14. *Transmitters of the Law*.
15. Abuses crept in, however, in this matter, See Honen, the Buddhist Saint, p. 717.
16. See above, Chap.I, pp. 6-7.
17. The expression 3,000 is the result of an elaborate calculation of the attributes of the charmas and the variations they may present in various forms of existence.

18. K'ung : Chia : Chung
19. Chen-ju in Chinese and Shinnyo in Japanese.
20. Chih-Kuan, vol. i, 2nd part sheet 40 (Tokyo edition). "A bright mirror may be taken as an illustration. The brightness is like k'ung: the reflections are like chia: the mirror is chung. Not joined, not separate: combination and separation just as they are.
21. Hui-Wen, the first Patriarch is said to have been first inspired by reading a well known verse of Nagarjuna's *Chung Lun* (Nanjio 1179), vol. iv chap. 24. "Various causes and conditions produce the dharmas: I (Nagarjuna) State that they are void. But that (void) may also be regarded as Chia and this knowledge (to deny existence and non-existence) is the principle of the middle way.
22. Japanese Shi-kwan
23. Ang. Nik, iii. 88
24. (a) Maeda, *An Outline of the Tendai Sect* (Japanese):b) Armstrong, *Doctrine of the Tendai, Sect, Eastern Buddhist*, iii, 1924, p. 32ff; (c) Petzold, *The Chinese Tendai Teaching*, ib, iv. 1928, p. 299ff; (d) McGovern, *Introduction to Mahayana Buddhism*.
25. See Anesaki, *Nichiren, the Buddhist Prophet*, Appendix.
26. Ten of the categories are enumerated: substance, quality, appearance potency, function, and so on. Ten kinds of existence are enumerated, from Buddha down to human beings, then beasts, and so on.
27. Cf. The Lotus, SBE, Vol. xxi, pp. 307-310; Anesaki, *Nichiren*, pp. 151-52.
28. See Anesaki, *Buddhist Art*, Plate VI. The other paradise taught in Japanese Buddhism being the Tushita Heaven of the future Buddha Maitreya, referred to above, and the western paradise Sakhavati, or Land of bliss, to be spoken of later.
29. This maxim is based on passage in the Lotus (See SBE vol. xxi, p. 222). Cf. Anesaki, *Ethics and Morality* (Buddhist), in *Hastings Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* (ERE), vol., v.p. 452.
30. This entity is, of course, identified with the basic Buddha-nature and the awakening of it through the mystery is interpreted as even transforming the corporeal life. The ceremony of initiation, the acquisition, or rather restoration of the "entity" and the practice of Bodhisattva morality, these three make up the whole of the mystery. Cf. *Hasting ERE.*, Vol. V., p. 454.

SHINGON BUDDHISM

The Shingon was introduced into Japan at the same time: they borrowed from one another: they both enjoyed the favour of the Court and combined to form the new religion of the new capital, with the establishment of which their introduction coincided. The Tendai from the very beginning claimed to be the State religion, or rather the State in a religious form. Its political and military pretensions drew upon it later the vengeance of Nobunaga. Shingon was more modest but not wholly dissimilar in its aspirations. Its centre was fixed at *Koyasan* at some distance from *Kyoto* and removed from the tumults and intrigues of the capital. This was, no doubt, a wise precaution and a source of religious as opposed to political strength. Yet it did not avoid entirely the dangers which brought ruin to Hieizan. Its great branch monastery of Negoro in the same region as *Koyasan* became so wealthy and powerful, and with the aid of its army of *Sohei*¹ was so successful in asserting its independent jurisdiction over the surrounding territory, that Hideyoshi thought it prudent to destroy it in 1585. Yet this blow by no means destroyed the religious influence of the Shingon sect.

It still is the third largest religious corporation in Japan, coming after the *Shinshu* and the *Soto*² and owning about twelve thousand temples. It possesses many qualities which are valuable to a religious sect and are not often found united. No one can accuse it of being wanting in mysticism, philosophy, or whatever name we give to the deeper side of religion, and these profundities are illustrated by a lavish and on the whole successful use of art. But it also appealed to the common man, especially in the Heian period. Its elaborate ritual was not only pleasing as a spectacle and added an attraction to pilgrimages but also provided magical methods of obtaining one's desires. If any one wanted power or fame, children or wealth, to help his friends or to injure his enemies.

An appropriate ceremony could be found with special deities, gestures, ornaments, and formula warranted to bring about the wished for results. The reformers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries naturally denounced such things as low superstitions and not true religion, but they appeal to a side of human nature and are also connected with a practice to which Shingon owes much of its influence, that is, that it takes under its protection the shrines of popular deities. A shingon temple is very often not an edifice built for the performance of a particular kind of religious service like a Hongwanji or Nichiren temple (or for the matter of that churches or mosques), but a shrine dedicated to the worship of some special deity who has perhaps selected that spot to manifest himself or show his power, and the deity is often

not well known except locally and from the point of view of strict Buddhism may be of doubtful antecedents.

Another advantage enjoyed by the Shingon sect is the personality of its founder *Kukai*, or to call him by the posthumous name by which he is best known *Kobo Daishi*. In all the annals and legends of Japanese Buddhism there is no more celebrated name than this, and whether as saint, miracle worker, writer, painter, or sculptor he is familiar alike to the most learned and the most ignorant of his countrymen. The equivalent of our phrase "Homer sometimes nods" is in Japanese "*Kobo mo fude no ayamari*; Even *Kobo* sometimes makes a slip of the pen". His exploits are celebrated in a popular religious ballad called *Namudaishi* which has been translated by Lloyd.³

It would appear that Shingon doctrine, or at least Shingon literature, was not unknown at Nara even before *Kukai's* mission to China. The foundation of the Shingon-Ritsu sect, whose centre is the temple of Saidaiji near Nara, is sometimes attributed to kanjin, but it is more probable that he was responsible only for the Ritsu doctrine and that the admixture of Shingon is a later addition. Tradition is undoubtedly correct in crediting *Kukai* with being the first to make Shingon well known in Japan. He spent two years (804-6) in studying it under Hui-Kuo, the celebrated abbot of the Ch'ing-Lung temple at Ch'ang-An. He is also said to have applied himself to Sanskrit under the guidance of an Indian monk called *Prajna*, and is believed to have introduced into Japan the slightly altered form of the Devanagari letters called Shittan which is written in vertical columns and much used in Shingon books. *Prajna* is believed to have co-operated with Nestorian priests in making translations. *Kukai* in this way may have come into contact with Christians, and this and other facts have been cited as arguments to show that many ideas in his system were borrowed from Nestorianism, Gnosticism, or Manichaeism.

As there were many foreign religions in China in the ninth century, it is well not to be too dogmatic, but it may be observed that Gnosticism is not the same as Nestorianism or Manichaeism, that there is (so far as I am aware) no proof of Gnosticism having penetrated to Central Asia or China, and that the attempts to identify certain mysterious terms used in Alexandrine Gnosticism, such as Abraxas and Kaulaukau,⁴ with the terminology of Shingon, have not met with general acceptance. Also, although there is an evident similarity between the form of Manichaeism known in Central Asia and Buddhism, this similarity is due to Manichaeism having in those countries borrowed extensively from Buddhism and not vice versa.

The origin of the doctrine learnt by *Kukai* in China and imported by him to Japan seems to be perfectly clear. It is, making due allowance for the alterations made by his own genius and the genius of his countrymen, the late Indian form of Buddhism known as *Mantrayana*, rendered in Chinese as Chen-yen (in Japanese pronunciation Shingon), meaning true word, that is, sacred spell or mantra. About the time of *Kukai's* visit this doctrine was exceedingly popular in China. It was first introduced in 719 by Vajrabodhi, a Brahman of Southern India, and further popularized by his disciple Amoghavajra, whose Chinese name was Pu-Kung. He revisited India in order to collect sacred books and before his death in 774 had translated no less than 108 of them (mostly, however, very short) into Chinese. It was his disciple Hui-Kuo who instructed *Kukai* during his stay at Ch'ang-An.

In India the sect claimed Nagabodhi, *Nagarjuna*, and Vajrasattva as its principal authorities, the last named, who was apparently a supernatural personage, having received the doctrine from Vairocana himself. Its sacred books are the *Mahavairocana-sutra* or *Dainichi-Kyo*, the *Susiddhikara-sutra* or *Soshitsuji-kyo*, and the *Vajrasekhara-sutra* or *Kongocho-kyo*.⁵ All are quite late Tantric works and were not translated into Chinese until about A.D. 725. It is true that about A.D. 700 Indian Buddhism had become a very mixed creed and may have incorporated many Iranian and Central Asiatic elements, but no one can study Shingon without being impressed by its strongly marked Indian character. It worships incidentally many deities which are Hindu and not strictly speaking Buddhist, such as Ka-Ten (Agni) and Sui-Ten (Varuna), and its temples and sacred pictures are profusely ornamented with the peculiar form of the Sanskrit alphabet mentioned above.

Kukai

Kobo Daishi, then known as *Kukai*, returned to Japan in 806 and was well received by the Emperor. During the lifetime of *Saicho*, the founder of the Tendai, however, he evidently thought it well to avoid competition and busied himself with the construction of the great monastery at *Koyasan* in the province of Kii. *Saicho* died in 822 and the year after *Kukai* was summoned to *Kyoto* and appointed abbot of the *Toji* monastery. He made it the head temple of the Shingon, which it still is, and the form of esoteric doctrine taught there was called *Tomitsu* whereas another form which was in vogue among the Tendai at Hieizan was known as *taimitsu*.⁶ He was subsequently named Presiding Priest of the *Nai-dojo*, or shrine within the Palace where the Emperor attended Buddhist ceremonies, and he died at *Koyasan* in 835. He left ten chief disciples, of whom the most celebrated was Shinga who stood high in the favour of the Emperor seiwa, and in the second generation from him were the two eminent prelates Yakushin (827-906) and *Shobo* (832-909).

Yakushin was head of the Ninnaji temple to which the Emperor Uda retired and received the sacrament of *Kwanjo* at his hands. He was also the founder of the Hirosawa school of Shingon, school meaning merely a branch which prescribes a special method of study, not which has new doctrines of its own on any important point. Similarly, *Shobo* founded the One school and sometimes seven of these schools are enumerated: *Koya*, *Toji*, *Ono*, Hirosawa or *Omuro*, which have been mentioned above, Daigo, Yamashina, and Senyuji. The last is said to have been a place of study for the four sects Singon, Tendai, Ritsu, and Zen, but in 1872 was recognized as belonging to the Shingon.

More important than these divisions is the branch called Shingishingon,⁷ founded in 1130 by Kakuhan at the new monastery of negoro. He made meditation on Amida an important part of his teaching, Amida being practically identified with the Sun-Buddha Vairocana, of whom he is a special manifestation or faculty. *Jodo*, the Pure Land of Amida, is really everywhere, and he who meditates on Amida in the way agreeable to the rules of Shingon is really already in the Pure Land and can become a Buddha here and now. The Shingi branch has two subdivisions called Chizan and Buzan: the chief temple of the latter is the celebrated Hasedera near Nara.

It is doubtful how far Shingon as we see it in Japan is the system which *Kobo* Daishi learnt in China and how far it is a reconstruction due to himself or to the well-known Japanese habit of borrowing but at the same time changing. Obviously a copious pantheon and

multitudinous rites can easily have degenerated into a magical ritual, which is the principal contribution of the Ch'en-yen to Chinese Buddhism. Later Buddhism in India also does not seem to have had many admirable sides, and even in the new forms which it assumed when imported into Tibet and Java its chief merit lies less in thought than in art, which is vigorous at the risk of being often grotesque. But the Shingon of *Kobo Daishi*, though it does not altogether escape the danger of becoming mere magic, has the merit of being a well-thought-out system illustrated by an art which if it sometimes becomes conventional and tiresome, the inevitable result of a symbolism which consistently endeavours to represent ideas by fixed devices, is capable of being sometimes awe-inspiring and sometimes of evoking visions of peace, calm, and benevolence.

Idea of Cosmotheism

The main idea of Shingon is cosmotheism, which is not quite the same as pantheism. The whole Universe is regarded as the body of the Supreme Buddha Vairocana, being composed of the six elements earth, water, fire, air, ether, and consciousness. These elements play a prominent part in Shingon symbolism and are represented not only by various letters and colours but by a peculiar form of monument often found in cemeteries and called *Sotoba*. It is, as the name indicates, a modified form of the *Stupa* and consists of a ball, crescent, pyramid, sphere, and cube, placed one on the top of the other, standing for ether, air, fire, water, and earth, while the surrounding space typifies consciousness. All thoughts, words, and actions, called the three mysteries are the thoughts, words, and actions of Vairocana: he is present in a grain of dust or in a word, and the object of the elaborate mystic ritual is to make us feel that our thoughts, words, and actions derive all their meaning and force from the fact that they are his.

It will be noted that thoughts, words, and actions are described as the three mysteries. Shingon has two doctrines, the apparent or *Ken-gyo* and the secret or *Mitsu-kyo*: the former can be studied in literature, the latter is taught holy orally and to the initiated: the former is the teaching of Shaka (who counts for very little in the Shingon system), the latter is the hidden doctrine communicated secretly by the *Dharmakaya* or *Hosshin*. The former is compared to formal conversation with a guest, the latter to intimate family talk between relatives. Thus the hopes of the outsider who attempts to fathom the mystery of Shingon do not receive much encouragement. The position is not, however, quite so desperate as in Zen, where even the nature of enlightenment is incommunicable and every one must find out for himself what it means. In Shingon there are definite secret doctrines which can be communicated orally, and though he who is uninitiated cannot claim to understand the explanations, he can guess on what points they throw light.

Two of the most important doctrines of Shingon are the theory of the development of spiritual life, rising from blind animal instincts to the realization of complete enlightenment, and what may be succinctly described as the theory of the two Mandaras. As the former is much easier to understand, we will take it first. Shingon, like other sects of this period, taught that mankind has the Buddha nature and that by proper ritual processes we can come to feel that the Buddha nature in ourselves is identical with the great cosmic Buddha Vairocana. The doctrine of the Ten stages is expounded in a book written by *Kobo Daishi* in 822 called the *Jujushinron* and is said to be founded on a chapter of the *Dainichi-kyo* which also bears the title of Ten stages:

(1) The first stage⁸ is that of simple animal existence: the only desire is for the satisfaction of appetite and there is no consciousness of the distinction between good and evil.

(2) The succeeding states are not only described by epithets but the meaning is made plainer by comparing them to the doctrines of certain sects. Thus the second is called the heart of a foolish boy who practises fasting. It is the state of ordinary mankind in which sufficient moral precepts are observed to prevent society from falling into disorder. Among religious systems it corresponds to Confucianism. Which sees the importance of morality and insists on respecting the five relationships and so on but has no spiritual motive power.

(3) Some what better than this is the state of those who have religious aspirations but who merely desire to attain supernatural powers without having any true idea of why they are valuable or how they should be obtained. It is illustrated by Taoism. Shingon is not sceptical as to Taoist claims to grant long life and teach magic arts but simply thinks them useless.

(4) and (5) are two stages of progress which are represented by the beliefs of the *Hinayana* leading up to the superior illumination of the greater vehicle. The first realizes that there is no self and that what is called the ego is merely a collection of Skand has but it falls into the error of nihilism. The second consists in discovering and entirely uprooting the evil karma until all passion and trouble ceases. This is the doctrine of Pratyeka-Buddhas who are enlightened but only for themselves and do not help others.

(6) With the sixth stage we rise to the realm of the *Mahayana* as shown in the *Hosso* sect. Those who have reached this stage are convinced that nothing exists but thought and feel an infinite compassion for all beings and a desire to save them.

(7), (8), and (9) The next three stages correspond to various views taught by the *Mahayana* in its different phases. The seventh stage is that of the Sanron, which establishes the doctrine of the mean by eight denials of apparently obvious truths, such as there is no birth and no destruction, no identity and no diversity. The eighth is the Tendai defined by the phrase "One way without action", a dark saying which means that ultimate reality is identical with our experience of the phenomenal world, and the ninth is the Kegon or *Avatamsaka sutra* which is given the highest rank among exoteric doctrines. It is said to state that absolute truth transcends the nature of self but is realized in the ceaseless activity of the Universe.

(10) But it is inferior to the tenth and highest stage, which is naturally Shingon itself. The nine previous stages are really nothing but the elimination of passion and error. The doors of truth are now open and by the performance of the mystic rites of Shingon the adept learns to feel that Man and the Universe are Vairocana himself.

Honen severely criticized *Kobo Daishi* for having arranged the various Buddhist sects in an ascending scale of truth. His periphrasis of the last five stages is appreciative, for he defines them as "(6) the heart which makes the welfare of others its aim; (7) the illuminated heart which has transcended all illusions such as birth and death; (8) the heart which has entered on the middle way, having transcended the states of relative being and the absolute; (9) the heart which realizes that nothing has an independent nature of its own but that everything exists in virtue of its relations to other things as well as to the absolute; and (10) the heart which rising completely above exoteric doctrine, or what is taught by a Buddha in human form, enters into the very heart of the absolute Buddha". But he objects to the graded

classification of sects and the *sutras* on which they are founded as likely to produce only ill-will. The Buddha revealed various doctrines, each amplifying one point, some likely to appeal to one class of intellect and some to another, but to make them like the rungs of a ladder, each one higher than the last, is most objectionable. Indeed, it is clear that the order of ascending merit laid down by *Kobo Daishi* is open to much argument.

The prevailing colour of the *Kongokai* is pure white. The field is divided into nine squares and the whole is surrounded by two borders. In the centre is *Vairocana*, white and absorbed in contemplation. He is surrounded by the four Buddhas *Ashuku*, *Hosho*, *Muryoju*, and *Fukujoju*.⁹ the whole number of figures represented in this mandara is said to be 437, but it is often abbreviated to 37 and generally letters are substituted for the numerous deities. The details of these figures, their attitudes headaddresses, and, above all, the position of their hands and what they carry in them are all of the deepest symbolic importance. A lotus, for instance, is the emblem of mercy, a coloured ball, supposed to represent a jewel, of wealth and generosity, while vigour and determination are shown by the divine thunderbolt or vajra.¹⁰

The prevailing colour of the other mandara, the *Taizokai*, is red. The middle portion consists of a red lotus flower and is surrounded by four enclosing borders. In the central capsule of the lotus follower is seated *Vairocana* and on each of the eight petals surrounding him is one of the four Buddhas already mentioned above or one of the great *Bodhisattvas*, and round these are set numerous other figures of which there are said to be 428 altogether. Apparently it is believed that by intense meditation on one's own heart as being a lotus like the centre of the mandara, the petals will open and the five Buddhas and four *Bodhisattvas* will take up their abode within the happy being thus illuminated.¹¹ It is noticeable that this is exactly parallel to the procedure recommended in Indian Buddhist Tantras. The adept is bidden to meditate on himself as being such and such a Buddha, when the desired consequences will follow.

The Doctrines and Deities

It is most difficult to give an account of the doctrines and deities of the Shingon sect. To begin with, the most important teaching is admittedly secret, but even apart from this, the inquirer is bewildered by the number of deities, ceremonies, mandaras, and symbols which confront him. Some idea of the extent of the subject matter may be derived from perusing a list of only a few of the handbooks which have been published as guides to this complicated creed.¹² One obviously cannot describe all the objects of worship, but yet one cannot dismiss them in a general phrase, for some, such as *Fudo* who has a great temple at *Narita*, are important for both religion and art, though they may be little known outside the Shingon and sects which have borrowed from it. I shall, therefore, say a few words about the more conspicuous members of this multitudinous heavenly host.

The *Myo-o* are a group of gods (the expression is hardly inaccurate) peculiar to Shingon, except in so far as the Tendai has imitated Shingon in practising their worship. M. Przyluski¹³ considers that the name is equivalent to the Sanskrit *Vidyaraja* and that the *Myo-o* were originally personifications of magic formula. At any rate, they are a class of deities imported from late Indian Tantric Buddhism in which the corresponding beings are called *Bhairava* or *Krodharaja*. Though of awful appearance, their terrors are really benevolent, for they are designed to protect their worshippers by frightening away evil spirits or to destroy passion

and ignorance. They correspond to the manifestations of Siva in Brahmanism, as is indicated by the fact that they are represented as having a third eye in the centre of the forehead. They perhaps correspond even more closely to the emanations of *Akshobhya* as described in Benoytosh Bhattacharyya's *Buddhist Iconography*, chapter V. He points out that more emanations are ascribed to this Buddha than to any other, that they are of a blue colour (as are often the *myo-o*) and of a terrible appearance, being sometimes surrounded with flames. They also have three eyes. As many as twenty-three *Myo-o* are sometimes reckoned, but a group of five is frequently found which consists of *Fudo*, who is placed in the centre, with *Go Sansei* to the east, *Dai Itoku* to the west, *Gundari Yasha* to the north, and *Kongo Yasha* to the south.

Fudo is undoubtedly the most important and is represented as a terrible figure, livid blue in colour and of a ferocious expression. He is surrounded by flames and carries a sword and a rope to smite and bind evil. He is generally explained as typifying the fierce aspect assumed by *Vairocana* when resenting wrong doing. The name *Fudo*, however, means immovable and is equivalent to the Sanskrit *Acala*, which is one of the names of *Candaroshana*, an emanation of *Akshobhya*.¹⁴ This personage is represented by a figure which closely resembles those of *Fudo*. He is surrounded by flames and carries a sword and rope, so that the two deities are probably historically identical. There is, however, an important difference. *Acala*, like most late Indian Buddhist deities, is represented as holding his *Sakti*, or female counterpart, on his lap, but as I have already pointed out, *Saktist* practices and symbolism were alien to the spirit of the Far East.¹⁵ *Fudo* is represented as waited on by two attendants who stand beside him, *Kongara*, a youth, and *Seitaka*, an old man. He is specially worshipped at the great temple of *Shinshoji* at *Narita* in the province of *Shimosa*.

According to the legend, the image there enshrined was brought by *Kobo Daishi* to Japan, having already come to China from India, and the deity having signified in a dream his desire to make this further voyage. It was deposited in the temple of Taxation where it remained until the rebellion of *Taira Masakado*, who established in his native province of *Shimosa* a Court in imitation of *Kyoto*. The Emperor *Shujaku* was informed that no deity had such power as *fudo* to suppress evil doers and accordingly the abbot *Kwancho*, himself an imperial Prince, was dispatched with his image to the scene of rebellion and set it up in a shrine near the insurgent's capital where the ceremony of *Goma* was performed before it for three weeks. Thanks to *Fudo's* puissant help *Masakado* was defeated and killed, but when the victors attempted to escort him back to *Kyoto* it proved impossible to remove the image, and the god, appearing in a dream, declared that he wished to remain in that district and to civilize Eastern Japan.

The grateful Emperor accordingly decided to build a sumptuous temple. Lots were cast as to which of thirty-three villages should have the honour of being the site and *Narita* won. The exact position of the temple was, however, altered several times and the buildings which now stand on a hill in the town were erected only in 1704. Probably the growth of *Yedo* increased the popularity of the shrine, which came to be specially frequented by actors. In the temple Treasury is said to be kept a sword presented by the Emperor *Shujaku*, the mere touch of which cures insanity and all the evils that come from being possessed by foxes. Another celebrated *Myo-o* *Dai Itoku*, who is also a personification of death in the sense of being the destroyer of evil. Typically he is represented with six faces and six arms, but the number

varies. Like *Fudo* he is usually of a livid blue and no effort is spared to make his appearance horrible. He is closely connected with Monju (*Manjusri*) and hence has been identified with the Indian *Yamantaka*.¹⁶ That deity is generally represented as having a buffalo's head, a form which, so far as I know, is not given to Dai Itoku, though he is represented as riding on a white ox.¹⁷ In this, as in many other cases, Japanese art shrinks from the violent combinations of human and animal anatomy so dear to India.

Another well-known *Myo-ois* Aizen, who is often spoken of as the God of Love and whose name appears to correspond to the Sanskrit Raga Raja. At first sight his appearance seems to be most unsuitable to such a title: he is represented as a terrific being, in a sitting posture, of a dark red colour, with one head but six arms which carry various weapons.¹⁸ But the passion which he represents is not love in any ordinary sense. Like other deities of this class he is formidable in order to be benevolent: he is the destroyer of all the vulgar passions in order to replace them by a purer universal love which aims at nothing but the salvation of all beings.

The *Myo-o* are almost peculiar to the Shingon, but it also adores many Bodhisattvas recognized by other sects. Bodhisattvas are among the most popular objects of worship in Japan and this may be a good place to mention some of the more important of them, if it be remembered that their various forms and the legends about them often repose on doubtful scriptural authority and do not form part of the serious doctrine of any sect.

Kwannon is undoubtedly one of the deities most widely honoured in Japan, though not worshipped by the important *Shinshu* sect. I have endeavoured in a previous chapter¹⁹ to trace the early history of this Bodhisattva who has the singular peculiarity of having changed his sex in his wanderings across Asia. In India he is invariably a male deity: in the Far-East he is generally female, though the older statues and pictures sometimes represent him as a young man.²⁰ Some authors say that Kwannon is not so much female as sexless, and it is true that he or she has none of the attributes of Venus and is a deity not of love but of mercy and pity, but I fancy that the ordinary Japanese thinks of her as female just as we think of the angels as male without attributing to them any particular masculine qualities. Kwannon is also sometimes represented with a child, which has caused some foreigners to see a resemblance to the Madonna. But this is a mistake. The child is not her own but one which she is ready to give to women who pray to her for offspring, and it is remarkable that in India the male deity, *Avalokitesvara*, also grants children.²¹

The worship of Kwannon is probably coeval with the introduction of Buddhism into Japan, and the statue of her in the Yume-dono or Hall of Dreams at *Horyuji* where Shotoku Taishi used to meditate is said by tradition to have been made, or at least ordered to be made, by the Prince himself, who was later held to be an incarnation of the Bodhisattva. Even at the present day a pilgrimage to the thirty-three shrines of Kwannon in *Kyoto* and the neighbouring provinces²² is still a most popular form of religion. They are sometimes called *Fudasho*, or ticket-places, because they each issue to every pilgrim a stamped ticket attesting his visit. The pilgrimage is said to have been first made by the Abbot Tokudo in the eighth century. He apparently died and was led before the judgment seat of Yama, who explained to him the merits of the thirty-three places, gave him a list and assured him that no one who completed the itinerary should ever fall into Hell. His attendants then conducted Tokudo back to the world

of the living where he made the pilgrimage with his disciples. The practice, however, fell into disuse but was revived and the present order of stations was established by the Emperor Kwazan, who overcome with grief at the death of his Empress, abdicated in 986 at the age of eighteen and devoted the remainder of his life to religious observances. The list and order of the temples as fixed by him and still observed is as follows. The places marked with an asterisk are specially celebrated:

In Kishu :

1. Fudaraku-ji at Nachi which derives its name from Potalaka, the mythical Indian residence of Kwannon.
2. Kimiidera, said to have been founded in 770 by a Chinese missionary.
3. Kokawadera.

In Izumi :

4. Sefukuji.

In Kawachi :

5. Fujiidera.

In Yamato :

6. Tsubasakadera.
7. Okadera.
8. Hasedera.
9. Nan-endo at Nara.

At Uji in Yamashiro :

10. Mimurotoder.
11. Kami Daigo-dera.

In Omi :

12. Iwamadera.
13. Ishiyamadera.
14. Miidera.

At Kyoto :

15. Imagumano.
16. Kiyomizudera.
17. Rokuharadera.
18. Rokkaku-do.
19. Kodo.
20. Yoshiminedera.

In Tamba :

21. Anoji.

In Settsu :

22. Sojiji.

23. Katsuodera.

24. Nakayadera.

In Harima :

25. Shinkiyomizudera.

26. Hokkeji.

27. Shoshasan.

In Tango :

28. Nare-ai-ji.

In Wakasa :

29. Matsuodera.

In Omi :

30. Chikubu-shima.

31. Chomeiji.

32. Kwannonji.

And in Mino :

33. Tanigumi-dera, where the weary pilgrims at last deposit their pilgrim shirts or *oizuru*. Each of the stations has a special hymn or *eika* of thirty-one syllables which is chanted by the pilgrims many hundred times.

One of the most marked characteristics of kwannon is that, like *Avalokitesvara*, he or she is polymorphic. Besides the change of sex the merciful Bodhisattva is ready to adopt any form which may be useful to suffering humanity. Japanese iconography is inclined to restrain the exuberance of Indian art in creating monstrous shapes, but still it cannot wholly get rid of the tendency to represent Kwannon as a being with many heads and arms, many eyes looking in mercy on the unhappiness of the world, and many hands stretched out in help. The simplest form is that known as *Sho-Kwannon*, representing a seated female or, less frequently, male figure with the usual number of heads and arms, wearing a crown in which is set an image of Amida. The left hand holds a lotus while the right is raised in a gesture which is interpreted as encouraging the flower to bloom more fully, the whole meaning that she strives to help human souls struggling towards enlightenment. Another variety of the simple form is the white-robed (Byaku-e) Kwannon, a female figure of a pale gold colour holding a casket in which lie the scriptures and a cord to restrain the disasters which she is prayed to avert. It should be mentioned that kwannon in all her forms is frequently accompanied by attendants. When there are only two they are the *Myo-o*, *Fudo* and *Aizen*. But sometimes they are twenty-eight and then represent as many constellations.

Figures with eleven faces (*Ju-ichi-men*) or a thousand hands (*sen-ju*) are also not infrequent and are found in India, China, and Tibet as well as in Japan. The monstrosity of such representations is generally softened by reducing the thousand hands to forty, which carry various emblems, and by making the extra faces appear like plates in the crown which the image wears. In *Kyoto* there is a singular temple called *San-ju-san-gen-do*,²³ founded by the ex-Emperor Toba but rebuilt by the Emperor Kameyama in 1266 and subsequently restored by the *Shogun* Ietsuna in 1662. It is commonly called the temple of the 33,333 Kwannons and consists of a very long hall in which are arranged, tier above tier above tier, rows of gilded images of the thousand-handed kwannon, each 5 feet high. Two hundred of them are said to be the work of the celebrated sculptor unkei. Though the general impression is that the number of these gilded statues is almost incalculable, there are only a thousand of them and the higher number, though not inaccurate, is formed by adding the numerous small images which are set on the heads of the larger ones or elsewhere. A curious tradition attaches to the large stated figure in this assemblage. The ex-emperor Go-Shirakawa suffered from severe headaches and was informed by a celebrated Indian physician whom the oracles advised him to consult, that in a previous state of existence he had been a monk of Kumano and as a reward for his merits had been reborn as an Emperor. His skull as a monk, however, was lying at the bottom of a river and a willow tree had grown out of it, which trembled every time that the wind blew through its boughs and this caused the imperial headaches. On this the ex-Emperor caused a search to be made for the skull and when found had it enclosed in the head of the large kwannon mentioned and, we will hope, suffered no more.

Kwannon

The type known as *Batokwannon*,²⁴ or kwannon with the horse's head, is also considerably modified, for the Japanese evidently felt that there was something barbarous in such mixtures of the human and animal form. A human body terminating in a horse's head is the rarest way of representing *Batokwannon*. She is usually represented with one or more human faces (sometimes of terrible aspect, a device rarely employed in representing the goddess of mercy) surmounted by a small horse's head, which has more the appearance of an ornament than of an integral part of the figure. The temple of Motsuodera (No. 29 of the thirty-three stations) is dedicated to this form, which has also its place in the Mandara and is chiefly invoked in such ceremonies as prayer for the destruction of enemies. *Batokwannon* is also a popular deity worshipped as the protectress of horses. There is a celebrated temple dedicated to her in this capacity at *Entsuji* near Gotemba which, strange to say, belongs to the Zen sect. Here prayers are offered for sick horses, thank-offerings made if they recover, and should they die, funeral rites are performed near one of the many stones dedicated to *Batokwannon* in this part of the country.

Another favourite form is the *Nyoirin Kwannon*, which represents the goddess as holding a wheel which like the jewel called in Sanskrit *Cintamani* can grant all desires. Sometimes this form has six arms, in which case each hand holds some object, such as a rosary or lotus, emblematic of the goddess's desire to save all the six classes of sentient beings. Other forms are:

"Jintei Kwannon with eighteen arms Fukukensaku, or Amoghapasa, Kwannon, represented by two celebrated statues at Nara; Koyasu Kwannon, holding a child; Gyoran Kwannon with a fishbasket."

Often some local legend attaches to the temples of Kwannon (and of other deities, too, for that matter) which is given an air of sanctity by being made to inculcate some Buddhist virtue. For instance, the following story is told of Kanimanji, a small temple near Tanimura in the Naradistrict. A very pious farmer once rescued a frog which was being eaten by a snake, by promising his daughter in marriage to the snake on condition that he would desist. The girl was horrified at the idea, spent her time in praying to Kwannon in the temple shrine, and when on the third day the snake appeared in the guise of a young man, refused to marry him. The snake was furious, turned into a dragon and began to destroy all around him. But an army of crabs appeared, drove him away, and the maiden was free. This was because she was very kind to animals and had once bought a basket of crabs from a fisherman and saved their lives.

Next to Kwannon the most popular Bodhisattva is undoubtedly *Jizo*,²⁵ the Indian Kshitigarbha who, obscure in origin, has remained obscure in India, which is the furthest point to which we can trace him, but has become extremely popular in China and Japan, in the latter of which his stone images are frequently to be seen by the wayside. Like Kwannon, he is an essentially benevolent deity but, being connected with the earth (kshiti), he is thought of as helping the suffering dead and by a pathetic turn of popular fancy is believed to take a special interest in the souls of dead children. Piles of pebbles are often found heaped round his images in allusion to a superstition that dead children are tormented by demons on the banks of the Sai-in, an imaginary river corresponding to the Styx, and forced to engage in the endless task of piling up stones. *Jizo* is generally represented as a shaven priest, with a large halo and often clad in rich vestments. He carries in his right hand the shakujo²⁶ or clerical staff and in his left a jewel, signifying that he is ready to give anything out of compassion. His counterpart, *Kokuzo*, is not much worshipped, though revered in the Shingon sect as having been the patron saint of *Kobo* Daishi. The name is equivalent to the Sanskrit *Akasagarbha*, which is said to indicate that his wisdom and benevolence are as wide and indestructible as the sky.

Miroku or Maitreya receives little attention in modern Japan, but Monju (*Manjusri*), Fugen (*Samantabhadra*), and Seishi (*Mahasthamaprapta*) are all fairly popular. The first two are both deities of wisdom: Monju can generally be known by his lion and sword and also by his youthful appearance.²⁷ Dai Itoku is said to be a manifestation of him in a severe mood. Fugen rides on an elephant which is often white and often has three heads. Seishi is with Kwannon one of the two Bodhisattvas who attend on Amida and with him visit the deathbeds of the pious and welcome them to Paradise.

But perhaps the most remarkable feature of the Shingon pantheon and the clearest proof of its close connection with India is the presence in it of a number of deities many of whom have no connection originally with Buddhism but are simply Hindu gods. Such are *Shoten* Sama (Ganesa), *kishi-Mojin* (*Hariti*), *Bishamon* (Kubera or *Vaisravana*), *marishi*, *Taishaku* (Indra), *Katen* (Agni, Ten being equivalent to Deva), *Emma-o* (Yama) with his attendants, *Benzaiten* or *Benten* (Sarasvati), Sometimes called *Uga*,²⁸ *Suiten* (Varuna), *Futen* (Vayu), *Ishana*, *Bonten* (Brahma), *Jiten* (Prithvi, the Earth), *Nitten* and *Gatten* (Suvya and Candra), and many others. Though most of these deities are venerated only as forming part of a Mandara, some of them, such as *Shoten* Sama, *Kishi-Mojin*, *Emma-o* *Suiten*, and *Benten* are popular

objects of worship and have temples dedicated to them. In particular the worship of Ganesa²⁹ as the Lord and giver of wealth appears to have been popular both during the Heian period and later in tokugawa times, and even now its prevalence is attested by several temples in *Tokyo* and in the districts near *Kyoto*. In the former they are said to exist and be well frequented in *Mukojima*, *Asakusa* (*Matsuchiyama no Shoden*), and on an island in the lake of *Shinobazu* near *Ueno Park*. In the latter district It has myself seen several, such as a chapel in the *Samboin* at *Daigoji* close to *Kyoto*, a temple near the *Uguisu no Taki*, about three miles from *Nara*³⁰ and the considerable fane of *Hozanji* at *Ikoma* between *Nara* and *Osaka*. The worship in all these places is similar and has peculiar features of its own. The deity is called *Shoten Sama* (sage) or *kangi-ten* (joy) and is apparently identical with the *Binayaka* (*Vinayaka*) of some *sutras*, though that title appears to be deprecatory and to mean the God who creates obstacles but can remove them if appeased.

Shoten Sama is usually worshipped in conjunction with *Kwannon*, but his image is rarely seen,³¹ being enclosed in a cylindrical brass case remarkably like the *Lingakosas*, or cases used to cover *Lingas*, which are occasionally still to be found in India and which received a special worship in medieval *Cambodja*, apart from the symbol they contained. I have, however, seen one of the images in the house of a priest at *Nara* and also several photographs. They are generally double and consist of two human figures with elephants' heads, a form which is remarkable, for Japanese art generally modifies the common Indian device of representing a divine person as man and animal combined. Otherwise the two figures are not in the least like the ordinary Indian images of *Ganesa*. They wear long robes and stand facing one another with their heads and trunks on each other's shoulders. One of the photographs shows two bronze figures in similar drapery, but standing back to back, not face to face.

In the shrines dedicated to *Ganesa* an elaborate offering of food is generally spread out on plates and I am told that sake (alcohol) is used in the ritual, and at *uguisu no Taki* a strange ceremony is performed from 1st January to 16th March (the first and sixteenth of the month being the two days sacred to the deity), when the image is bathed in boiling oil. Oil is also poured over it from a long spoon 108 times, repeated seven times. This ceremony is apparently due to the fact that *Shoten Sama* was formerly specially worshipped by oil merchants. Another rite is in use at *Hozanji* at *Ikoma* which is much frequented by those who desire luck in any enterprise. Suppliants write their names and wishes on a piece of paper, which is then pasted on a stick about 10 inches long and the stick is planted in the ground. If a thousand such sticks are planted, it is believed that success is certain. Along the sides of the tramway leading up to the temple may be seen many white patches which are plantations of these prayer sticks.

Bishamon has also an independent cult. He is *Vaisravana*, the Regent of the north, and even in India was identified with *kuvera*, the god of riches. In the far East he became the god of war and in medieval Japan was regarded as the patron deity of warriors. Children whose parents desired for them a military career were sometimes consecrated to him. Near *Oji* in *Yamato* is the temple city of *Shigi* which is dedicated to him. Here *Shotoku Taishi* is said to have defeated *Mononobe-no-Moriya*, one of the enemies of Buddhism, in 587 and the victory was attributed to *Bishamon's* assistance. In later times *shigi* was the scene of other warlike exploits.

Suiten or Varuna is said to be much worshipped in *Tokyo* as a god of luck, but it must be remembered that there is a tendency to confound Indian marine deities and native *Shinto* deities which have some connection with the sea. The gods of the temple of Suminoe (or Sumiyoshi) in Settsu, for instance, belong to this latter class. But *Kobo Daishi* and his sect after him had a strong inclination to see in such cases merely two forms of the same deity, one in Japanese and one in Indian dress. *Anesaki* (*Buddhist Art*, plate xxviii) gives a copy of a Mandara in which all the *Sinto* deities of Kasuga are represented in Buddhist form.

It is only natural that a sect which recognizes such a multitude of deities as the Shingon should also have many ceremonies and ritual observances. Two of these are specially remarkable, *Kwanjo* and Goma. I have spoken of *Kwanjo* already in treating of the Tendai, for it seems to have been first practised in Japan by that sect, although it has now come to be regarded as a special observance of the Shingon. *Kwanjo* is a translation of the Sanskrit *abhisheka*, which is commonly used in ancient and modern times to describe the ceremony corresponding to coronation, which in India was performed by sprinkling the king with water. At an early period, in the *Digha Nikaya*³² for instance, it is used in Buddhist works in a metaphorical sense. Later, when the career of a Bodhisattva is divided into stages or *bhumis*, the last or supreme stage is often called *abhisheka*. The term occurs first in the *Mahavastu* and afterwards in the *Satasahasrika*, *Lankavatara*, *Dasabhumika*, and other works as a synonym of *Dharmamegha*, the idea apparently being that the Bodhisattva, now at the end of his successful career, is sprinkled by the other Buddhas with their own hands and formally accepted by them. *Kobo Daishi*, it will be remembered, defined³³ *Kwanjo* as "the bestowal of the Buddha's great mercy upon sentient beings in order to enable them to attain the highest perfect enlightenment".

In the young-Chia period A.D. 307-312 we hear that a monk of the Western country named *Srimitra* came to China, administered this rite of *Kwanjo* and translated the *Mahabhishekarddhi-dharani*.³⁴ It would thus be possible for the Tendai sect, which was founded about A.D. 550, to have learnt about the ceremony not from the Ch'en-yen (Shingon), which was founded about two centuries later, but from some earlier source.

As mentioned already under the Tendai sect, the ritual for performing *Kwanjo* varies greatly and so do the objects for which it is performed. It may be a species of ordination and serve as a certificate that one has reached the highest grade of esoteric lore and is competent to instruct others. It may, on the other hand, fulfil some quite trivial purpose, such as a necessary formality before some specially holy object can be seen, or it may be used simply as an adjunct to prayer for health and wealth and any other private end.

Another remarkable ceremony is the Goma (Sanskrit *Homa*) or burnt offering, remarkable because one would as soon expect to find such oblations forming a part of Christian as of Buddhist worship. Nevertheless they were used by late Indian Buddhism and adopted by the Chinese, who passed them on to Japan, where they are used by most of the older sects, especially the Shingon, the Tendai, Kego, *Hosso*, and *Risshu*. The goma is also said to form part of the ritual of the Nichiren. In all sects the ceremony is said to be performed for some special object, either private or public, such as peace or victory. I am told that in cases of illness offerings with this rite are frequently made to Yakushi, the healing Buddha. For its performance a stage or table is erected before an image or mandara and a metal basin is let

into it to receive the burnt offerings. These consist of fragrant wood, poppy seeds, oil, incense, perfumes, and similar substances. Cakes and flowers are placed upon the table and offered but are not burnt. The officiant sits in front of the table and all his actions, especially the position of his hands (the *mudra*), are of great moment. In all Shingon ceremonies the greatest weight is attached to such gestures.³⁵ Like the Indian Tantric *mudras*, from which they are borrowed, they are considered to be the essence and manifestation of the various deities, and it is most important that the officiant should imitate the gesture appropriate to the particular deity whom he is worshipping in order that he may be as like that deity as possible.

Mystic Ritualism

The Buddhism advocated and propagated by *Kukai* was an all-embracing syncretism of a highly mystic nature. Its scheme extended the Buddhist communion to all kinds of existence, and therefore to all the pantheons of the different peoples with which Buddhism had come into contact. In embracing the deities and demons, saints and goblins, Hindu, Persian, Chinese and others, into the Buddhist pantheon, Shingon Buddhism interpreted them to be but manifestations of one and the same Buddha. This Buddha, however, had little to do with the historical *Sakya-muni*, and was called *Mahavairochana* (Jap. *dainichi*), or Great Illuminator, a term originally derived from the solar mythical epithet of Buddha. His body, it is taught, comprises the whole cosmos, composed of the six "elements" or components, earth, water, fire, air, ether (or vital energy), and consciousness.³⁶ Thus, Shingon teaches that we can discern, when free from illusion, the body and life of the Great Illuminator even in a grain of dust or in a drop of water, or in a slight stir of our consciousness. Moreover, any and every motion of matter or sound is his utterance, while human speech and letters are a translation of the cosmic language. Similarly every law ruling the world, every idea and thought occurring to the human mind, is but a reflection, more or less faint, of the ideas stored up in the cosmic soul. The body, speech, and thought of the Great Illuminator make up the life of the universe, whether as a whole or in parts, and the aim of Shingon ritual amounts to evoking the vitality of the "three mysteries" in the body, speech, and thought of every one of us.³⁷

The methods of evoking the cosmic mysteries in the individual life consist in various kinds of symbolism, which are taught to be adequate for the purpose, ranging from the highest of realising a union with the Buddha to the lowest of praying for a little benefit. Numerous deities or demons are interpreted as embodying this or that aspect of cosmic life, and every one of them is represented by definite conventions, usually in more than one form for one deity, either in a picture or in a statue or in a letter, while their functions are symbolised by their respective attires, the objects they hold, and other attributes. In the ritual performed before these deities, the postures, movements, and utterances of the serving priests or worshippers are prescribed on the assumption that they will evoke the mysterious powers of the deities and thus answer the purposes of worship. The contention of Shingon Buddhism amounts to "adequately" (in the mystic sense) representing cosmic mysteries in visible and tangible forms, in contradistinction to mere doctrine or meditation as advocated by other branches of Buddhism. These symbols and rituals had been elaborated in the countries of the continent in the course of centuries, and it was the task of *Kukai* to organise their intricacies into a system of doctrine and mystery.

Shingon Buddhism, as it was an attempt to unify the pantheons of various religions, proceeded from its mystic ritualism to a systematisation of its world-view. The result was a curious but ingenious device of graphically representing the cosmos in two pictures or diagrams, called *Mandala*. These diagrams symbolised two aspects of cosmic life, its being and vitality, in the ideal or potential entity and in the dynamic manifestations.³⁸ The point emphasised was the harmony between unity and diversity. The Great Illuminator was considered to be the all-comprehensive soul as well as the all-creating source of the universe, while all other existences, including deities, demons, men, beasts, and so on, were stated to be manifestations of his powers and intentions.

Now the ideal side of the world is called the "Realm of the Indestructibles" (Skt. *Vajradhatu*, Jap. *Kongo-kai*), in which the basic and indestructible Ideas are present in the all-comprehensive soul of the Great Illuminator. In the graphic representation of this realm, the centre is occupied by the Great Illuminator seated in deep, serene contemplation on a white lotus, all encircled by a pure white halo. He is surrounded by his emanations, various Buddhas and saints -each in a white halo-and by further emanations represented by figures and symbols arranged in the squares surrounding the central one. All of these indestructible potential Ideas are destined to manifest their activities, which make up the dynamic aspect of the universe.

The dynamic side of cosmic life is represented in the graphic scheme of the "Womb-store" (Skt. *Garbha-kukshi*, Jap. *Taizo*), wherein the manifold groups of deities and other beings are arrayed according to the kinds of the powers and intentions they embody. In the centre there is a red lotus flower, with its seed-pod and eight petals, which symbolizes the heart of the universe and corresponds to the nine squares of the Indestructible Cycle. The seed -pod of the lotus is the seat of the Great Illuminator and the petals are occupied by other Buddhas. They are all surrounded by a double halo of red discs, symbolic of activity. The further manifestations may be divided into two classes, representing the wisdom and the mercy of the central Buddha- the wisdom which illumines us in the truth of universal communion and represses folly and subjugates vice, and the mercy which includes all beings in the all-embracing love of the cosmic Lord.

The universe thus seen under its two aspects, the potential and the dynamic, is nothing but the life and being of the Great Illuminator himself, while the developments of the world embody the inexhaustible fullness of his wisdom and mercy. This graphic representation of the two cycles in the two *Mandalas* was partly an outcome of speculation but largely a modification of ritual performance, in which those figures and symbols were arrayed on the ceremonial dais and were used for the purpose of evoking the respective mysterious powers. Each figure and symbol is conceived to contain a certain power which is inherent in every one of us too, and worship means nothing but a realisation by acts of ritual performance of the inherent unity. Seen in this way, religion is enlightenment in the truth of essential unity, which means a harmonious union in faith with the "enfolding power" (Skt. *Adhishthana* Jap. *Kaji*) of the universal Lord.

Consequent upon the realisation of this union, all the manifestations emanating from the Great Illuminator can be evoked by our acts of worship. The ways of worship in Shingon ritual are modelled on their standard representations in the two *Mandalas*. Bodily postures of sitting in meditation, or of moving and joining hands in imitation of deities as depicted or

symbolised in the Mandalas, are combined with the handling of symbols and objects such as lotus flowers, weapons, the symbolic thunderbolt (*vajra*), and so forth, all of which contribute to the efficacy of the performance by embodying cosmic activities in actual life : they are, essentially, the body, speech, or thought of the cosmic Lord. All ritual utterances, repeating Buddha's names, mystic formulas, sacred texts, are a part of the cosmic speech which is being voiced perpetually and everywhere by the Great Illuminator.

A special significance is placed by Shingon Buddhism in the efficacy of mystic formulas in evoking divine power—a peculiar trait of this branch of Buddhism derived from the Hindu belief in the mysterious power of hymns and formulas. Hence the name *Shingon*, which means the "true word," being the Chinese translation of the Sanskrit *mantra*, the word for hymn. The same thing is also called *Dharani*, that is, an enigmatic phrase or sentence expressing the mysteries of the universe, and hence another appellation of this type of Buddhism, the "Way of the *Dharani*."

Religious acts are but manifestations of the "Three Mysteries" of the Great Illuminator : and any act, speech, or thought may evoke the mysterious powers of the deity, when done in faith and in harmony with the cosmic life activities. Understood in this way, symbols and mysteries find hardly any limit in their varieties and in the spheres of their use and application. They may be used for any purpose, even for torturing a hated fellow-creature as well as for the salvation of all fellow beings. The mysterious efficacy can be secured by a movement of the fingers, or by the utterance of a single formula, whereas a ceremony of great pomp and grandeur may be organized for the same purpose of calling mysterious powers. Herein lay the secret of Shingon Buddhism, by which it attracted all kinds of people and influenced the ambitious nobles and the simple people alike, that it promised to fulfil any sort of religious or other desires. We have also to note that painting and sculpture, dance and music, and other arts were necessary associates of the Shingon mysteries, and that the influence of Shingon upon the court nobles depended very much upon its artistic display.³⁹

Kukai's Work and His Theory of Spiritual Development

Kukai's scheme was to build up an all-embracing system of idea and practice, a cosmotheism syncretic and somewhat promiscuous in character. His work was as broad as his system and embraced nearly all interests of human life, art and art crafts, philology and literature, education and social work, philosophy and religion. As the organizer of mystic ceremonies in which minute details of painting and sculpture were essential, he trained himself as an artist and could himself execute his ideas and teachings in delicate lines and brilliant colours. He understood how to attract people by the combined effect of form and colour, light and incense, music and movement. His institution of popular education, his missionary journeys in the provinces, his writings in rhetorical style, all helped to propagate his mystic religion. He succeeded in overshadowing all other forms of Buddhism by his theory and practice, and his popularity gradually overshadowed *Saicho's* work, so that the latter's followers found it expedient to emphasize more and more the Shingon aspects of their master's religion.

The result was that the Buddhism of the Heian period became predominantly Shingon, and mystic ritual and artistic display came to rule the life and sentiment of the aristocracy. Their emotionalism and loss of moral vigour were in mutual causal relation with the hedonistic traits of Shingon mysticism. During the following four centuries elaborate rituals were the

order of the day in palace and temple. Litanies and incantations accompanied the ceremonies : gorgeous decorations were illuminated by sacrificial fires : the sanctuaries were filled with the perfume of sprinkled waters and the fragrance of incense. The survival of *Kukai's* influence upon the fine arts can be seen even in present-day Japan in that his mystic ideas lay behind music and the dance in Japan in that his mystic ideas lay behind music and the dance in particular.

As *Kukai* was a genius of synthetic art so he was a philosopher of all-absorbing syncretism. In him were combined the dialectic mind of a Hegel, the theosophic tendency of a Philo, the syncretic mind of a Mani. Indeed, the affinity or connection of Shingon Buddhism with Manichaeism or the Alexandrian theosophy is a question of great interest.⁴⁰ However this may be, the syncretic character of *Kukai's* mind and the pervading influence of his mysticism were remarkable. His intellect could not rest until his ideas were expressed in metaphysical terms; moreover, as the founder or formulator of a specific branch of Buddhism, he thought it his duty to elucidate the superiority of his system in philosophical language, as had been done by all his predecessors. The result was an essay on "The Ten Stages of Spiritual Development," written in 822, which was later condensed and given the title of "The Jewel Key to the Store of Mysteries."⁴¹ The two essays trace spiritual development from the lowest stage of blind instinct to the full realization of cosmic mysteries in the enlightened soul identical with that of the Great Illuminator, and all forms of Buddhism are interpreted to represent intermediate stages between the two.

In the Introduction to the "Jewel Key" *Kukai* expresses his deep commiseration towards all beings immersed in the ocean of births and deaths, and his style, perhaps too rhetorical, shows the mystic flight of his imagination. He says in one place :

"Vast, vast, extremely vast
Art the scrolls of yellow silk,⁴²
Hundreds and thousands 'In' and 'Out.'⁴³
Profound, profound, very profound.

Ways are marked and ways shown, hundreds of ways.
What benefit in writing and reading, finally to die?
Unknown and unknowable, self never knows self;
Thinking, thinking, and thinking, yet no sign of wisdom!

Mad are beings in the three realms of existence,
And none aware of his own madness!
Blind are beings, four in the modes of their birth,
Yet all unaware of their blindness!

Born, born, and reborn without limit,
And still dark as to the origin of birth ;
Dying, dying, and dying without end,
Yet veiled is the ultimate goal of life."

This passionate expression may be regarded also as a reminiscence of the author's own spiritual trouble in his years of struggle, while its lofty conception shows the height of his vision which has overcome all the commotions of worldly existence.

The majority of beings are immersed in the depths of blindness, entangled in the instincts of food and sex (the first stage). When they rise out of the depths, they see the necessity of moral rules and observances, yet the rules serve merely as a moderation or restraint. This is the status of Confucianism which emphasizes moral life and yet is devoid of spiritual illumination (the second stage). Others, like Taoists and Brahmans, extend their spiritual vision somewhat beyond the present world, yet being content in the attainment of supernormal powers they are living in a fool's paradise (the third stage). Higher than this, a school of Buddhism rises to a height of spiritual life and teaches the truth of non-ego but falls into the pit of nihilism (the fourth stage); while another is satisfied with exterminating the root of Karma and aspires to nothing higher, a self-conceited egoism (the fifth stage).

In contrast to these stages of the Little Vehicle, the Great Vehicle makes an advance in discovering the source of all existence in the soul of the believer, but is deluded in denying reality to the objective world (the sixth stage). This denial of the world, however, leads to a vision of the prime entity, the *Alaya*, which is unborn and undying- the teaching of the *Hosso* school (the seventh stage). This realisation of the eternal reality convinces us of the original identity of all beings, which therefore are to be embraced into the Sole Road of salvation, the doctrine of the Tendai school (the eighth stage). Further upwards the mind of the kegon Buddhist reaches the stage (the ninth) of realising the vast communion of existence in this very life. But ideal vision is the chief trait of the kegon religion, and we need, according to *Kukai*, to proceed to a fuller realisation of cosmic mysteries even within a particle of matter or in every single act of our own life.

The highest, the tenth stage is attained by Shingon Buddhism which is not a mere system of doctrine but the actual embodiment of the life and idea of the Great Illuminator, especially in the performance of mystic rites. *Kukai* sums up his religion as follows:

The healing power of the exoteric doctrine⁴⁴ has wiped away all dust;
Now opens the store of the True Word (Shingon),
In which all hidden treasures are brought to light,
And there embodied are all virtues and powers.

This condition of spiritual development is called "The Soul filled with the Glories of Mystery," which is further characterized thus:

The Buddhas in the innumerable Buddha-lands
Are naught but the Buddha within our own soul ;
The Golden Lotus, as multitudinous as the drops
Of ocean water, is living in our body.
Myriads of figures are contained in every mystic letter;
Even piece of chiselled metal embodies a Deity,
In whom are pregnantly present the real entities of Virtue and Merit.
In realising all this every one shall attain
The glories of being, even in this corporeal life.

In sum, all the arguments and dialectics of *Kukai* had as objective the justification and glorification of the mystic practices through which he influenced his age and posterity.

REFERENCES

1. Armed mercenaries.
2. That is, counting the Soto as a sect by itself.
3. The Creed of Half Japan, Chapter, xxi.
4. E.g. by Lloyd in The Creed of Half Japan, Shinran and his Work, etc.
5. Nanjio, Nos. 530, 533 and 534, The Chinese titles.
6. Tomitsa, Taimitsu.
7. It is usual to speak of the two branches of the Shingon namely the kogi founded by Kukai and the Shingi founded by Kakuhan. It is said that Negoro was really built by Raiyu in 1280, but that as a Kakuhan's tomb is there he is considered the founder.
8. I-sho-tej-yo-shin. Explained as meaning the heart of utterly ignorant people who are different in birth from the wise and are like sheep.
9. That is, Akshobhya, Ratnasambhava, Amitabha and Amoghasiddhi. The same Buddhas have a rather different appearance and bear different names in the Taizokai, viz. Hodo, Kaifuke O, Amida, and Rai-in.
10. Called Go-Ko (or Go-ko-sho) if it has five points, San-ko if three, and Tokkosho if only one.
11. Nanjio, twelve Japanese Buddhist Sects, p. 97-9.
12. (a) Asoba-jo written by Shocho, a contemporary of Nichiren and published in the collection called Dai Nippon Bukkyo Zensho. 7 Volumes.
 (b) Jikkansho (also called Sonyo sho), by Eiju, Kamakura period. 10 volumes.
 (c) Shoson Zu-zo-sho. 11 volumes.
 (d) Kaku-Zen-sho. 111 volumes. Published in the Juci era (1182-3)
 (e) Butsu-zo-zukan. Prepared under the supervision of Gonda Raifu. First volume appeared in 1930.
13. See above, Chap. IV, p. 136.
14. Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, op., cit., pp. 60-1 and pl. xxv a.
15. I have been informed that about 1400 the priest Koshi endeavoured to introduce Saktist practices into Japan.
16. For the connection of Yamantaka and Manjusri see Benoytosh Bhattacharyya loc. cit., p. 69.
17. In the Asobajo, vol. v Anesaki's Buddhist Art, plate xvii, gives a good reproduction of a statue of Dai Itoku.
18. See Anesaki, loc. cit., plate xviii, and Hobogirin, illustrations to article Aizemmyo-o.
19. Vol. I, Book II, p. 120 ff.
20. See for a clear instance the Amida triad traditionally ascribed to Eshin and reproduced in pl. i of Anesaki's Buddhist Art.
21. See Lotus, chap. xxv.
22. These are the original shrines, but imitation of them another set of thirty, three has been established in Eastern Japan and also in the district of Chichibu Kwannon is said to have assumed thirty-three forms, adapted to save the various types of beings.
23. The name has nothing to do with the number of images, but refers to the long building being cut into thirty three division by the row of pillars which traverses its entire length.
24. See above, Chap. IV and Hobogirin, s.v. where several figures are given.

25. See Chap. IV, pp. 127, 128.
26. Sanskrit Khakkara said to have been originally used to strike on the ground and frighten away small animals who might otherwise be trodden on. There is a Japanese poem of nine verses called Shakujo gatha describing the duties of a priest.
27. But sometimes these characteristics are wanting in his pictures. See, for instance, Anesaki Buddhist Art, plates xxv and xxxv.
28. See hobogirin, s.v. Benzaiten, p. 63.
29. See for other details Chap. IV, pp. 138, 139.
30. Strange to say, it is not under the superintendence of the Shingon but of the Kofukuji, the head temple of the Hosso sect. Shinto influence is also visible in most of these shrines.
31. The reason why the images are not shown is that they are considered indecent. This is not true of any of the photographs in my possession, but it may be true of other figures. See G. Kato, A, study of Shinto, p. 172. In India Ganesa is generally represented by a single figure, but standing figures are also found. See Gopinatha Rao, Elements of Indian Iconography, vol. i part i, plate xv, and for a standing figure b., plate xii.
32. Dig. Nik., xvi, 5-30.
33. See Chap. XIV, p. 328.
34. Nanjio, No. 167 wherein it is stated that the work is a collection of twelve sutras. See also Nanjio, ii, 36.
35. The subject is treated fully with numerous diagrams in the work called Si-do-in-dzou, published in 1899 by the Musee Guimet, text by Horiou Toki, notes by L. de. Milloue.
36. The six elements are symbolized in a modified form of the pagoda, consisting of five blocks of stone square, circular, triangular, crescent, and spheroidal, respectively which, together with infinite space, represent the six "elements". The same six are represented by various other symbols, such as letters colours. The letters are A, Va, Ra, Ka, Kha, and Hum. Arthur Lloyds's identification of these letters with the Egyptian formula Abraxas is not well established.
37. This threefold category is common to all the systems of Hinduism and to Manichaeism. Probably through the latter channel it influenced Augustine and entered the West in the phrase "thought, word, and deed."
38. Anesaki, Buddhist Art, pp. 38-42 and Plate XVI.
39. Cf. Anesaki, Buddhist Art, chap., iii.
40. Arthur Lloyd's contention in his Creed of Half Japan, that Shingon Buddhism was greatly influenced by Manichaeism is not conclusive; his work is often marked by hastily conclusions; yet his suggestions are valuable and await further investigations.
41. The title in Japanese are respectively; Juju-shin-ron and Hizo- Hoyaku.
42. Buddhist manuscripts were written on scrolls of yellow silk or paper.
43. The "in" mean Buddhism and the Out Confucianism and Brahmanism Cf. above, p. 100.
44. Other branches of Buddhism besides Shingon are regarded as exoteric doctrine and as preliminary to Shingon esotericism.

ZEN BUDDHISM

No clear Indian origin for Zen can be discovered. The scepticism which doubts the existence of Bodhidharma and his visit to China is perhaps excessive, but it must be confessed that though he has a considerable position in the popular imagination, his place in history, whether we look backwards or forwards, is very hard to define. His name is unknown to Sanskrit and Tibetan tradition : he is connected with no known sect, and the doctrine of an inward revelation apart from scripture, which is attributed to him, is very un-Indian. Somewhat in contradiction with this is the tradition, approved by Tao- Hsuan but discredited by *Tao-Yuan*, that he handed the *Lankavatara-sutra* to his first disciple to be his guide. But the said *sutra* may be described as a miscellaneous collection of notes on philosophical subjects, and Suzuki,¹ the most recent authority on the question, is no doubt right when he says, "The teaching of Zen is not derived from the *Lankavatara* but only confirmed by it. Zen stands on its own footing, on its own facts, but as all religious experience requires its intellectual interpretation, Zen, too, must have its philosophical background which is found in the *Lankavatara*." That is the most that can be said about the relationship of the Indian *sutra* to Zen, and it must be remembered that subsequently the *Vajracchedika* superseded it as being the best explanation of the Zen point of view to be found in Buddhist works written in Sanskrit. There is also some resemblance, especially in manner, between Zen and the more paradoxical parts of *Nagarjuna's* teaching.

But no doubt the closest Indian analogy to Bodhidharma's doctrine is offered, not by any variety of Indian Buddhism, but by some utterances of the Upanishads—"To see into one's nature and become Buddha" is really the same idea which declares that Brahman the eternal and universal spirit is identical with the soul in every man. It is also true that there is a striking likeness between the thought of Zen and such passages (e.g. *Kena Upan.*, §5) as those which say "You can not think it with thought, hear it with the ear, see it with the sight, breathe it with the breath, etc." but here the resemblance to Lao- Tzu and Taoist mysticism is equally obvious. Nor is it easy to connect *Boddhidharma* with the later development of Zen in China.

He was succeeded by five Chinese Patriarchs who appear to have been regarded as Buddhists of doubtful orthodoxy by other sects and whose teaching shows the strongest traces of Taoism. Subsequently, as the school became large and powerful, the need of discipline and hierarchy was felt. Zen assumed the respectable externals of other Buddhist sects and was even able strongly to influence Confucianism, but I fancy that its most important characteristics grew up in the century following *Boddhidharma's* death and were derived from the mystic

and romantic element in Chinese culture which is commonly called Taoism. How close was the connection, even in external mannerisms, may be seen in the conversations attributed to the Taoist philosopher Lieh-Tzu.²

Zen became fashionable in China under the Sung dynasty of Hangchou and undoubtedly influenced the new form of Confucianism made popular by Chu-Hsi (1130- 1200); about the same time it was successfully introduced into Japan by Eisai (1141- 1215) and *Dogen* (1200- 1253), both of whom studied in China. This was not the first time that it had been brought to the notice of the Japanese, but previous attempts to naturalize it had proved unsuccessful. It had not been in harmony with the genius of the age and now it was only by a rather surprising metamorphosis that it adapted itself to the vigorous but rough spirit prevailing under the *Hojos* at Kamakura. It became, as I have described in the historical section, the religion of the military class.

In China, where soldiers are not much respected and often not distinguished accurately from brigands, such a transformation was unthinkable, but in Japan, though strange, it is explicable, for Zen as a system demands above all things individual discipline. It makes light of learning (in spite of having produced an enormous literature) and of all attempts to found a spiritual life on scriptural knowledge, and bids those who would become adepts cultivate such virtues as courage, perseverance, and clear insight, all of which are as useful to a soldier as to a priest. Nor in spite of taking on this new character did it sever its connection with Chinese thought and literature. Its later progress in Japan was closely connected with Confucian studies. Under the *Hojo* Government Zen received definite, though not exclusive, patronage and favour. It had its five great temples at Kamakura and *Kyoto* and, what is perhaps more important still, popular education was in its hands, for the Terakoya or village temple schools had mostly Zen priests for master. But it was in the immediately succeeding period, that of the Ashikagas, that the power and influence of Zen were most conspicuous. Ecclesiastical statesmen played a part in politics like the French Cardinals of the seventeenth century, and the lower branches of the civil services were largely recruited from the inmates of Zen monasteries.

Even shipping and trade with China were in the hands of these versatile clerics. Nor did the practical things of life such as statesmanship and commerce blind them to the beauty and importance of art and literature. Their influence on painting is admitted by all critics of Far Eastern art. They hardly had time to show this side of their genius among the warriors of Kamakura, but the great Zen temples of *Kyoto* were all schools of painting and the long list of artists who were directly connected with them includes such names as *Cho Densu*, *Josetsu*, *Sesshu*, and *Kano masanobu*. And though Zen rejected scripture as a medium for communicating truth, it encouraged literature as a help and ornament of the religious life, and many secular works, such as the *Tsure-Dzure Gusa* and later the poems of *Basho*, came the pen of Zen monks. Naturally more strictly religious forms of activity were not neglected. The eminent prelate *Soseki* (1271-1346) saw to it that a Zen monastery and temple were erected in every province and established the whole hierarchy in a most businesslike fashion on a sound financial basis. All this great system was inaugurated and maintained by comparatively peaceful methods. Zen taught soldiers and perhaps its priests occasionally showed that they could practise the military virtues as well as preach about them. But they did not build fortified monasteries or wage campaigns. Judged by ecclesiastical standards their annals will compare very favorably

with those of the *Shinshu* or of Hieizan. In the time of the Sung Zen may have been the full flower and expression of Chinese culture, but in later periods it is characteristically Japanese and challenges us to define what this characteristic but elusive teaching is. When a sect boldly states that its doctrine must be felt and not read and that every attempt to state it in speech or writing must be *ipso facto* a failure, the expositor need say no more. Yet the rash pen longs to formulate the ineffable and is apt to suggest that the mysteries which cannot be expressed in words are really non-existent and that the literary history of Zen, though copious, is not a heap of philosophic jewels buried in a little dust but a farrago of anecdotes reporting grotesque and irrelevant sayings and still more grotesque and often brutal actions. I confess that I am not quite in sympathy with the Zen view of things, and that is why I wish to emphasize the great practical achievements of the sect and to point out that a creed which has produced such remarkable results must be based on something more than eccentricity.

Also, though the importance of the mystical, paradoxical, and eccentric element in Zen is not to be minimized, there are other elements. An ordinary visitor would notice nothing remarkable in the arrangements of a Zen temple except perhaps that it is exceptionally neat and clean. Shaka and the Bodhisattvas such as Kwannon and Jizo are represented by images which are honored with the usual marks of respect, although Amida is absent. Nor is there anything unusual about the teaching given to the laity. I have at present a little manual called *The Buddhist Way of Practice according to the Soto Sect*,³ which sums up its doctrine by saying that the most important things are to understand the nature of life and death and to realize that our own hearts are the Buddha himself. This is to the language of the Pali *Pitakas*, it is true, but it is commonly used by most Mahayanist sects. The Manual is an extract of a much larger work called *Shobo Genzo* written by Dogen,⁴ who founded the *Soto* in Japan and built the magnificent monastery of Eihei-ji near Fukui in Echizen.

Before going further I may remind the reader that Zen in Japan has three divisions often reckoned as separate sects, the *Rinzai*, *Soto*, and *Obaku*. The *Soto* is the largest Buddhist denomination in the country except the *Shinshu* and is remarkable for not having any subdivisions. It was introduced from China immediately after the *Rinzai* at the beginning of the thirteenth century, and clearly the two schools form part of the same movement. The *Obaku*⁵ is much later, having been founded in 1659, and has preserved a great number of Chinese usages. All three sects are similar in their doctrines, though they have each their own hierarchy and line of patriarchs. There is, however, a slight difference of method and teaching between the *Soto* and *Rinzai*. The former emphasizes the importance of moral training and gradual development for obtaining enlightenment; the latter insists that enlightenment is rather a sudden revelation which cannot be caused or accelerated by study; the former holds that a good life is alike the cause and result of enlightenment; the latter are accused by their opponents (though I am far from even hinting that the charge is true) of believing in secret something very like the Indian doctrine that the acts of a Yogi "are neither white nor black".

The use of this word Enlightenment brings us to the main conception and theme of Zen, all the other activities described being merely preparatory and external. It must not be supposed that other sects do not claim to show the way to enlightenment. A common saying among Buddhists compares enlightenment to a mountain peak approached from all sides by paths and each sect maintains that its own road is the best and shortest. Also enlightenment is only

for the few : the little *Soto* manual already quoted only alludes to it as a counsel of perfection. But there is no doubt that all Zen literature deals with it, though in a special manner not readily intelligible to outsiders. No one can aspire to be a serious student of Zen unless he at least strives to obtain Enlightenment, and the great difficulty of treating the whole subject is that no one who has not obtained Enlightenment can know what it is and not even those who have obtained it can tell others what it is. "This incommunicableness of the transport is the keynote of all mysticism," as William James observes.⁶ The word Enlightenment is a rendering of *Satori* in Japanese, which in its turn is a translation of the Chinese *Wu*,⁷ and the rendering seems suitable, for enlightenment is the word commonly used to describe the Buddha's own experience under the Bo-tree which Zen adepts consider to have been similar to their own *satori*. One gathers that *satori* is not a mystery or secret or anything intellectual which can be imparted.

It is a new view of life and of the Universe which must be felt. It will prove satisfying and be "the purifier and liberator of life," breaking down the prison walls in which the intellect is said to confine us. But no definition of it is intelligible, coherent, or consistent with other explanations. When Unmon¹ was asked what is Zen, his answer on one occasion was "not a word can be predicated" or Unmon well-known Chinese monk who lived at the end of the T'ang dynasty and was reckoned as twelfth in spiritual descent from Bodhidharma and as the founder of the Unmon school. He is celebrated on account of the painful means by which he obtained Enlightenment. He went to seek instruction of his master Bokujo, who seized hold of him, vociferating "Speak speak, Unmon hesitated, on which the master abused him, turned him out and shut the gate so violently that he broke his unfortunate scholar's leg. But in the same moment Unmon was enlightened and counted the pain as nothing in comparison with the reward. On another he was more hopeful and replied simply "that's it". Probably the personality of the two questioners had something to do with the difference in the answers which they received.

Out of a mass of utterances about Zen and *satori*, two seem to me to offer some light to the uninitiated. The one is that *samsara* and *nirvana* are the same, which is equivalent to the statement which I have already quoted from the *Soto* manual. I presume it means that they are not locally different as states or abodes, but depend on feeling : he who has *satori* is already in *nirvana*, although to others he is apparently immersed in the troubles of this world. The other is a statement that enlightenment is somehow a unification of the inner man (I deliberately use this popular phrase because I do not know what in the present instance is the scientific equivalent) which has somehow become divided. I will quote from the works of that distinguished Japanese writer on Zen, Dr. D.T. Suzuki.⁸ "In the beginning which is really no beginning and which has no spiritual meaning except in our finite life, the will wants to know itself and consciousness is awakened; and with the awakening of consciousness the will is split into two.

The one will, whole and complete in itself, is now at once actor and observer. Conflict is inevitable: for the actor now wants to be free from the limitations under which he has been obliged to put himself in his desire for consciousness. Ignorance prevails as long as the will remains cheated by its own offspring or its own image, consciousness, in which the knower always stands distinguished from the known. The cheating, however, cannot last: the will wishes

to be enlightened, to be free, to be by itself. Ignorance always presupposes the existence of something outside and unknown. The unknown outsider is generally tamed ego or soul, which is in reality the will in the state of ignorance. Therefore when the Buddha experienced enlightenment he at once realized that there was no *Atman*, no soul entity as an unknown or unknowable quantity." I do not quote this passage as pretending to understand its dark sayings but because it seems to me to give some indication of the ideas and aspirations of a Zen adept. But the author would no doubt remained us that all attempts to describe satori in words are predestined to failure. They are, in Zen phraseology, pointing at the moon with the finger and mistaking the finger for the moon.

Satori is obtained by gradual training but culminates in sudden illumination. The relative importance of the two parts of the process are, as I have mentioned, a subject of dispute between the Rinzai and *Soto* sects, but normally both take place. After a long period of anxious and even despairing search, illumination comes suddenly, generally as the result of some trivial, often grotesque act or remark, difficulties vanish, everything becomes clear, and the happy *illuminates* wonders why he has so long been making such a fuss about what is so obvious. Novices are generally trained by asking them to solve problems called *Ko-an*,⁹ and a selection of a hundred such problems is contained in the celebrated collection called *Hekiganshu*, which was introduced into Japan in the thirteenth century and has ever since been excessively popular, especially in the Rinzai sect.

Hakuin has left an interesting account of his experiences as a novice in dealing with one of these formidable *Ko-an*. He lived from 1683 to 1768 and may be called the second founder of the Rinzai sect, since all the Rinzai masters of the present day are proud to trace back their spiritual lineage to him. He was master of a vigorous colloquial style and did not disdain to quote popular songs. He also wrote a celebrated poem on meditation which is still sung in temples. When he was stopping in a monastery of Echizen at the age of twenty-four a celebrated problem was given him to solve called *Joshu's Mu*. It is contained in the collection of problems compiled by Mu-man (or Wu-Wen, a Chinese Zen master) in 1228 and called Mumon Kwan, or The Barrier that has No Gate. Joshu was an early Chinese master of Zen under the T'ang dynasty, and the problem which the novice has to explain relates how when he was asked by a monk whether the Buddha nature was in a dog, he replied Mu, the Japanese pronunciation of the word Wu, meaning "Not". I can only tell the reader that if he took this simple dialogue in its obvious sense, a Zen master would call him a fool and probably box his ears. Mu must be understood as meaning that neither affirmation nor negation is possible and that the true answer, which touches on the nature of the Absolute, must be felt, not expressed in words.¹⁰ *Bukko*, the founder of the Engakuji monastery near Kamakura, tells us that this Mu obsessed him for more than six years before he understood its meaning.

In Hakuin's case the period of waiting was not so long and this is how he describes his experiences.¹¹ "*Joshu's Mu* being the theme given to me I assiduously applied myself to it, I did not sleep for days and nights and forgot to eat or lie down, when suddenly a great concentration took place in my mind. I felt as if I were freezing in an ice field extending thousands of miles and in myself there was a sense of complete transparency. There was no going forward or backwards. I felt like an idiot and there was nothing in the world but *Joshu's Mu*. I attended lectures but they sounded like a discussion in some distant hall and sometimes

I felt as if I were flying in the air. Several days passed in this way when one evening the sound of a temple bell upset everything. It was like smashing an ice basin, or pulling down a house made of jade. When I suddenly awoke I found I was Ganto the old master and that through all the changes of time nothing of my personality had been lost. My doubts and indecisions were dissolved like melting ice. I called out loudly 'Wonderful, wonderful ! 'There is no birth and death from which one has to escape! There is no supreme knowledge after which one has to strive. All the thousand and seven hundred problems¹² are not worth the trouble of describing them."

Ganto was a Zen master in the T'ang period (828-887) who was murdered. His untimely end had much troubled Hakuin, who could not understand how if Zen was a religion of salvation, one of its great exponents should perish in this way. Satori is commonly described as a convulsion which upsets and destroys all one's old ideas, but the comparison of the antecedent state to a frozen expanse is, so far as my very limited knowledge of Zen literature goes, unusual.

But *Hakuin's* troubles did not end with the solution of the Mu question. In Zen monasteries there is an institution called *Sanzen*,¹³ which means that the pupils have an interview with their master and submit for his criticism their views on some of the many *Ko-ans* or problems. Hakuin, who by this time was well satisfied with the progress he was making, came to call on his old master *Shoju* one day and submitted his view, probably with some self-complacency. *Shoju*, who was sitting in the verandah cooling himself, simply observed "Rubbish". "Rubbish, is it?" said Hakuin, rather angrily. *Shoju's* only reply was to seize his pupil, give him several sound slaps and push him off the verandah whence he fell into the mud, for it was rainy weather. When he came to himself he reflected that he had behaved indecorously to his master, so he returned to the balcony and bowed respectfully, but was rewarded by being called a devil out of the black pit. Hakuin determined to have it out with *Shoju*, and after due preparation paid him another visit in which he vehemently pressed his own point of view against his master, with the result that *Shoju* again slapped him pushed him off the verandah, and laughed heartily at his struggles as he lay wriggling on his back. Hakuin was furious and thought of leaving the monastery, when suddenly a perfectly irrelevant incident brought him complete enlightenment.

One day when begging, according to custom, in the village he stopped in front of the house of an old woman who refused to give him any rice. Hakuin, however, being immersed in meditation, remained immovable while the old woman continued sweeping the front of the house. Irritated at his apparent importunity she at last gave him a severe blow with her broom, which knocked him down, the sort of treatment to which he must have been accustomed by now. But this time it had a magical effect. He picked himself up fully enlightened as to the whole truth of Zen and his first act was to run to the house of his old master to whom he now felt most grateful. *Shoju* saw him coming and called out "What is the good news that you are bringing? Come in quick". When he heard the story he said "There, you have it now", patted him on the back and treated him with the utmost affection ever afterwards.

This behaviour is characteristic of Zen teachers. They abuse and even ill-treat their pupils when an outsider would expect them to help and encourage, but when once the pupil obtains

enlightenment, the master immediately knows it and the two become fast friends. It is also to be noticed that in this, as I think in most cases, the immediate occasion of enlightenment is some trivial circumstance totally unconnected with philosophy or mental discipline but which startles and upsets the brooding mind and thus serves to bring to an end an uncomfortable state of tension. In the Pitakas enlightenment is rarely represented as coming suddenly in this fashion. The nearest parallel is Ananda, who according to the Cullavagga, xi, 1, 6, became an *Arhat* in the act of lying down to sleep: "before his head had touched the pillow and his feet were still far from the ground," in the interval he became emancipated. But as a rule Enlightenment is represented as the result of instruction and is quick or slow according to the learner's capacity.

It must not be supposed, however, that the training of Zen monks is left to chance. The Chinese teacher *Hyakujo* (720-814) first drew up the rules of the order, which are unusually strict. He became celebrated on account of his maxim "No work, no food". It is not the custom of Buddhist monastic societies to dwell on the duty or sanctity of manual labour, but Zen is an exception in insisting on its monks rising early and doing their share of farm labour or such -like active work, as a counterpoise, no doubt, to excess in so called meditation which is apt to degenerate into stupor. Zen is also the only sect in which monks beg for food regularly in the early morning. I believe that in all other sects the observance is only occasional. The marriage of Zen priests is discouraged though not absolutely forbidden.

Monasteries consist as a rule of seven buildings, a gateway with a sort of tower, the Buddha hall or temple, the lecture hall, the meditation hall, the abbot's quarters, the dining-room, and the bath house. The meditation hall, which also serves as a dormitory, is provided with a series of raised floors on either side, with a path down the middle extending the whole length of the building and used for devout promenades. Each monk is allowed a space of one mat in Japanese measurement, that is, about 3 feet by 6, for meditation by day and sleep by night, and one quilt for sitting or sleeping. It is here that monks practise Zazen, that is, sitting cross-legged and meditating while regulating the inhalation and expulsion of the breath. Lectures are delivered in the lecture hall especially in the periods called Sesshin during which only absolutely necessary manual labour is performed and the whole time of the monks is devoted so far as possible to meditation and study. The sesshin are said to be an institution peculiar to Japanese Zen and the exact period differs in various sub-sects.

A common arrangement is to have one week in every month in the summer sessions from April to August and the same in the winter session from October to February. The lecture, though not given in the monastery temple, is almost as formal as the services which are daily performed there. Its commencement is announced by the ringing of a bell. The master or lecturer enters and while he burns incense in honour of the Buddha and of his own master the monks chant a *dharani*,¹⁴ the rhythm being marked by blows struck very audibly on a wooden fish (*mokugyo*). It is also usual to recite in chorus at this point of the proceedings some well-known short sermon or the hymn by Hakuin called Zazen. Then follows the lecture. I believe that it is not usual to employ either explanations or arguments, for which, as we have seen, Zen has a singular dislike. The lecturer is not expected to do more than paraphrase in his own language some well-known textbook. When the lecture is over what are known as the Four Great Vows are chanted three times:

Sentient beings are innumerable : I vow to save them all.
 Our evil passions are inexhaustible : I vow to extinguish them all.
 The holy doctrines cannot be measured : I vow to study them.
 The path of the Buddhas is hard to reach : I vow to attain it.

In modern days I fancy that the lectures are conventional, stereotyped gatherings, but in older times the unconventional, eccentric spirit was visible there as well as in more intimate conversations between masters and pupils. One day, for instance, Obaku mounted the platform as if he were going to lecture, waited till all the monks had collected, and when all were assembled took up his staff and drove them out. When he had cleared the room, he called them back and observed that "the moon looks like a bow : less rain and more wind". The reader must draw what instruction he can from this dark saying. At any rate, it seems to be accepted that the master had the best of his pupils, which apparently was not the case in the following instance. Baso¹⁵ was one day walking with his pupil Hyakujo when a flock of wild geese flew over their heads. He asked, "Whether are they flying?" and Hyakujo replied, "They have flown away, sir."

Baso on this abruptly seized his pupil's nose and gave it such a violent twist as to make him cry with pain. "You say they have flown away," he said, "but all the same they have been here since the very beginning." Strange to say, Hyakujo received sudden and complete enlightenment. The next day Baso was about to deliver a lecture when Hyakujo stepped forward in front of the congregation and began to roll up the matting, which was equivalent to declaring that the ceremony was over. Baso did not protest but came down from his seat and retired to his own apartments. He sent, however, for Hyakujo and asked him to explain his extraordinary conduct. "Yesterday," said Hyakujo, "You pulled my nose and it hurt very much." And where was your thought wandering then?" said Baso. "It does not hurt any more" was the reply, and that is the end of the story.

Another peculiarity of Zen masters is the use of loud exclamations such as Kwan of kwats which convey nothing to the ordinary hearer. The Kwan of Unmon and the kwats of Rinzaï are specially celebrated. Sometimes these ejaculations were used in the lecture hall: sometimes an unfortunate student who thought he had asked a particularly pointed question received no reply but a thunderous shout of Kwats, which, according to the narrator, left him deaf for three days.

All these apparently meaningless anecdotes merely show what has already been often stated that the enlightenment which Zen can give is nothing that can be reasoned about, explained, or described in words. It is rather a new adjustment of oneself to the Universe, a new feeling of one's place and use in the order of things. When Unmon was asked to explain what is the Tao, that is, the way or the truth, his reply was simply "Walk on". I do not pretend to understand Zen, but I would again point out how distinguished has been the part which its adherents have played in the history of Japan. It certainly does not claim that any secret is to be learnt by mere meditation, by becoming absorbed in contemplation and forgetting the affairs of ordinary life, as the following anecdote about the youth of Baso, mentioned above, will show. He used to sit cross-legged all day meditating. His master once found him thus engaged and asked what he was trying to do, "I wish to become a Buddha." The master said nothing but picked up a piece of brick and began to polish it with a stone. Baso asked him what he

was doing. "I am trying to polish this brick into a mirror." "But no amount of polishing will ever make a mirror of the brick. "And no amount of sitting cross-legged will ever make a Buddha of you." "What am I to do then?" "It is like driving a cart. When it won't move, will you whip up the cart or the ox? Are you sitting cross-legged in order to practise meditation¹⁶ or to become a Buddha? If it is meditation, that does not consist of sitting or lying down. If it is to become a Buddha, the Buddha has no fixed form. You cannot take hold of him or let him go. To think you can obtain Buddhahood by sitting is simply to kill the Buddha and until you give up the idea that you can so obtain it, you won't come near the truth."

A Zen priest once informed me that in Zen schools the manual used for teaching children is the anthology of easy passages from *Dogen's* works already alluded to. They are taught that it is most important to confess their sins to the Buddhas (not of course to priests), which is called *Zange suru*, to strive for emancipation (*Kaiho wo ukeru*), and to practise good conduct, which has five branches. (1) Fuse or alms giving, (2) Ai-go or kind language, (3) *Rigyo* or benevolent conduct, (4) Doji or putting oneself in other people's places, (5) *Ho-on* or gratitude. The title Buddha refers to *Sakyamuni*¹⁷ and not to Vairocana or Amida, but the expression "all Buddhas" is often used and at the end of the *Shushogi* we are told that they are all the same as *Sakyamuni*, though it is not plain how far he is regarded as a historical person or how far as a spirit universally present. The priest was emphatic on the necessity of teaching that the Buddha's Enlistment consisted in seeing that all beings "men, animals, plants and trees" can become Buddhas (*Jo-Butsu*). He said that the four truths are known in the sect but only to well-educated persons. He was himself a student of the Agamas, but admittedly as a branch of learning introduced by foreign scholars.

Japanese Zen refuses to base itself on any *sutras*. Such works as the *Lankavatara* and *Vajracchedika* are studied by a few of the learned as compendiums of philosophy, but have not a position in any way comparable to that accorded to the three amida -sutras by the *Jodo* and *Shinshu* sects. Tokusan¹⁸ was a profound student of the *Vajracchedika*, but when he obtained enlightenment in Zen he burned all his precious notes and commentaries, exclaiming that all philosophy was only like a hair floating in measureless space. It would seem that the attitude of many Zen masters was not only anti-scriptural but what the uninitiated can only call antireligious. The anecdote of Tanka¹⁹ warming himself when he felt chilly by burning a wooden statue of the Buddha is well known, and there is not much respect in the saying attributed to Rinzai, "The Buddha is just like other bald-headed monks. Woe unto those who seek enlightenment through him. Seek for your Buddha and he is lost to you: seek for your way and it is lost to you: seek for your Patriarch and he is lost to you." Still more extraordinary is a sermon by Rinzai which I do not quote fully because I do not understand it. The curious will, however, find a longer extract in the Zen Essays of Suzuki,²⁰ who cites in illustration the saying of an unnamed Zen master, "I hate even to hear the name of the Buddha," Rinzai's object is apparently to insist that the mind of the seeker after truth must be absolutely free and untrammelled, and he expresses himself thus: "If you meet the Buddha, slay him: if you meet the Patriarch, slay him ... for this is the only way to deliverance. Do not get entangled with anything, but stand above, pass on and be free... I tell you no Buddhas, no holy teachings, no discipline, no testifying." *Chokei* is said to have uttered the following verses on attaining enlightenment: "What a fool I was! What a fool I was! Lift up the screen and come and see the world. If you ask, 'what religion do you believe?' I raise my whisk²¹ and hit you in the

mouth." This is perhaps too mysterious to admit of any comment, but it does not sound very reverent.

The perverse paradoxical humour and the rough horse-play attributed to so many Zen masters are not to the taste of European saints, but parallels can be found in the West to a revelation which is perfectly satisfying to those who experience it but which cannot be communicated to those who have not had the same experience themselves. It is unfortunate that the great American authority on such abnormal religious phases of mind, William James, apparently never had his attention called to the phenomena presented by Zen, but he cites certain European instances which seem similar. For instance, he quotes a letter from the poet Tennyson which speaks of "A kind of waking trance... This has come upon me through repeating my own name to myself silently till.... Individuality seemed to dissolve and fade away into boundless being and this not a confused state, but the clearest, the surest of the surest, utterly beyond words- where death was an almost laughable impossibility- the loss of personality (if so it were) seeming no extinction but the one true life. I am ashamed of my feeble description. Have I not said that the state is utterly beyond words?"²² One may also compare the utterances of St. John of the Cross, a Spanish mystic of the sixteenth century, who said: "When you stop at one thing, you cease to open yourself to the All. For to come to the All, you must give up the All. And if you should attain to owning the All, you must own it desiring nothing."²³ Dionysius the Areopagite describes the absolute truth exclusively by negatives. "The cause of all things is neither soul nor intellect... nor number, nor essence, nor eternity, nor time... not unity, not diversity, nor goodness, nor even spirit, as we know it,"²⁴ and so on *ad libitum*.

In spite of Zen's refusing to be bound by scripture like other sects, it has not only had a considerable influence on secular literature but has also produced a number of treatises which are practically sacred books, though they bear such modest titles as sermons or collections of problems. To realize how vast is the collection of material one has only to look at the mass of anecdotes about Zen masters of all dates, including those of considerable antiquity, to be found in the pages of every essay on any subject connected with Zen. Many, of course, are open to considerable doubt, but, as sacred books go, the standard of authenticity does not seem to be particularly low. The treatises attributed to Bodhidharma²⁵ appear to be spurious, though they may possibly contain some genuine sayings, but there seems to be no reason to suspect the poem called *Shin-jin-mei*,²⁶ ascribed to *Sosan*, the third Patriarch (606). The work in the Chinese Tripitaka²⁷ entitled the Platform -*sutra* on the Treasure of the Law contains portions of the sermons of *Yeno*, the sixth Patriarch, which appear to be in part at least genuine. One of the best known disciples of *Yeno* was *Yoka*, who is said to have obtained enlightenment after reading the *Yuima-Kyo* (*Vimalakirti-sutra*) and then to have composed a celebrated poem called *Shodoka*.²⁸ Most influential and widely read is the *Hekiganshu*, a composite production consisting of one hundred cases or problems, each accompanied by an introduction and commentary followed by a hymn. These hymns are composed by *Setcho* (*Hsueh-Tou*, 980-1052) and the commentary consists of the notes of *Yengo's*²⁹ lectures taken by his disciples. An authorized edition of these notes was brought out in 1125 and this was apparently the book introduced into Japan by *Dogen* in 1227, but meanwhile it was suppressed and burnt by *Yengo's* most brilliant disciple *Daiye* who for some reason disapproved of it. In 1302, however, a reprint was issued and came into general circulation in China. Meanwhile the original edition

was much appreciated by the newly formed school of Zen at Kamakura and new editions were subsequently published in Japan.³⁰

Somewhat later (1228) was compiled another collection of forty eight problems called the Mumon Kwan.³¹ But besides such manuals compiled with a special educational object there are also numerous works, many of them contained on the Chinese Tripitaka, which record the sayings generally known as *Yu-lu*, in Japanese *Goroku*, of the various Zen masters. Thus about A.D. 1004 Tao-Yuan wrote the work called Records of the Transmission of the Lamp.³² giving in thirty volumes the sermons and *orbiter dicta* of Patriarchs and other eminent ecclesiastics, while under the Yuan dynasty a continuation of the same was published.³³ In its thirty-six volumes 3,118 priests of the Zen school are said to be mentioned, which will give the reader a notion of the exuberant biographical material contained in these notices, while the collection of the works of Daiye (Ta-Hui)³⁴ shows the amount of care and space which could be consecrated to the utterances of a single teacher. One of the chief authorities of the Rinzai school in Japan is a collection of the discourses and sermons of the founder called Rinzai-roku. It would be useless to give a further catalogue of such literature, but it is necessary to remember its existence. The books mentioned are all Chinese, but a considerable number were also produced in Japan. Hakuin, of whom I have already spoken, is the best known of these writers and Anesaki³⁵ says that his incisive and entertaining pamphlets are even now enjoyed by many people. The *Shobo Genzo*, or The Eye of the Good Law, by *Dogen*, who introduced the *Soto* school into Japan, and the *Shumon mujin-to ron*, or The Unfailing Lamp of the Zen sect, by Torei, a disciple of Hakuin, are also considered important.

Zen has also a curious possession which may be called either literature or art in the set of Ox-tending pictures,³⁶ each supplied with an explanation in prose and a quatrain of verses. The pictures now current are said to have been drawn by Kakuan, a Chinese monk of the Rinzai school who lived about A.D. 1100 under the Sung dynasty and who states in his preface that he revised the work of a somewhat earlier artist called Seikyo. The first picture is called Looking for the Ox, that is to say, for one's own soul.³⁷ It represents a man exhausted and in despair, following an unending path and vainly searching while he hears nothing but the song of the evening cicadas. In the second picture he is still searching but has discovered the tracks of the Ox. This is explained as meaning that he has begun to study philosophy and various doctrines. He cannot yet distinguish truth and falsehood or good and evil: still he has found some traces of what he seeks. The third picture represents a great stride. The man sees the Ox: he begins to understand the uselessness of mere book-learning and to realize that the road to Enlightenment really lies in trifles of everyday life. Something new is working harmoniously in all his senses and all his activities, unseen and inseparable, like the salt in sea water.

At last he catches the ox, which in picture four is seen attached by a cord but not being led. The wild nature of the beast is still too unruly and refuses to be broken in: it is "the overwhelming pressure of the objective world". The Ox rushes up to a plateau and sometimes seems lost in the mountain mists. Never the less he is gradually broken in. In the next picture he is seen following the man, who leads him by a nose cord. "Things oppress us not because of an objective world but because of a self-deceiving mind... Never let yourself be separated from the whip and tether." In No. Six the struggle is over. The man is leisurely proceeding home riding on the Ox, playing as he goes simple ditties on a rustic flute. "What need to tell that he is now one of those that know?" The ox now disappears and the man is left alone.

In picture seven we see him sitting outside his house with his whip and cord lying beside him as if he were asleep and the comment is "When you know that what you need is not the snare or net, but the hare or fish that they were meant to catch, it is like gold separated from the dross or like the moon rising out of the clouds". The eighth picture is something new, not only in this series of drawings but in Buddhist art. It is merely a blank : a circular frame enclosing nothing at all. The title is simply "the Ox and the man both gone out of sight" and the following are extracts from the comments : "All confusion is set aside and serenity alone prevails; even the idea of holiness does not obtain. He does not linger where the Buddha is, and where there is no Buddha he passes on...."

Who has ever surveyed the vastness of heaven?

Over the blazing furnace not a flake of snow can fall."

The ninth picture, though not an absolute blank, shows only a few flowers and leaves of grass or some suggestion of a landscape. I will let the comment speak for itself. "Pure from the very beginning, he receives no defilement. He watches the growth and decay of things with form and abides himself secure in Wu-wei,"³⁸ He does not identify himself with transformations : what has he to do with self-discipline? Water is blue and mountains green. He sits and watches how things change." But this life of lonely contemplation is by no means held up as the last word. The tenth picture is called "Entering the city with bliss-bestowing hands", and represents a rotund smiling personage carrying bags full of what are no doubt good things. The comment informs us that none know his inner life but that he goes into the market place and consorts with wine bibbers and butchers : he and they all become Buddhas.

These last remarks remind one of the stories told of *Myocho* (also known as *Daitokokushi*) who in 1323 founded the *Daitokuji* in *Kyoto*. He is said to have spent a great part of his life under the *Gojo* bridge in the company of the meanest and most despised outcasts and begging his bread. The text does not give any general summary of the meaning of the whole series of pictures, but it is usually briefly explained by saying that the Ox is the Buddha nature in every one : you must find it but must not make too much of it. This last point is illustrated by an anecdote told of *Goso* (or *Hoyen*), a famous Chinese teacher of Zen who died in 1104 and was the master of *Yengo*, the compiler of the *Hekiganshu* already mentioned. He often indicated to his pupil that he had a slight fault but for some time could not be induced to give it a name. At last he said "Well, the fact is you have too much Zen about you", and added, when pressed to explain what was the harm of that, "It turns one's stomach."

Organiser of Zen Buddhism

To the reformatory activity in religion a new feature was added by the introduction of Zen Buddhism, an intuitive school of Buddhist meditation then prevailing in China. The Sung dynasty in China was then declining, holding only the southern half of that country. The establishment of the Yuan, the Mongol, dynasty changed the prevailing form of Buddhism. Later we shall refer to this point again. Originally meditation was one of the three branches of Buddhist training - moral discipline, spiritual exercise, and wisdom - but a school of Buddhism in India laid special emphasis upon meditation and developed it into a systematic practice. This method had been introduced into China in the sixth century, and later it secured a firm foothold in the sunun that country. There it was amalgamated with the tranquil temper of Taoist quietism and absorbed into itself the poetic genius of the Chinese in the valley of the

Yangtzu. This was introduced into Japan in the last part of the twelfth century, when renewed communication with the continent and the interest of the Japanese in Chinese art and literature favoured the acceptance of this new form of Buddhism together with its arts and poetry.

The person chiefly instrumental in introducing Zen was yeisai (1141-1215), who had been a monk in Hiei, but being dissatisfied with the scholastic doctrinairism of that institution, made two journeys in China. Having mastered the new method of spiritual exercise, he brought it to Japan in 1191, and founded monasteries in *kyushu* and Miyako to train disciples in the method of zen. His influence was limited to monks and nobles, but his example was followed by other leaders who were seeking some kind of reform in Buddhism. The propaganda was reinforced by Chinese refugees who had been driven from their country as a result of the dynastic change then taking place.

Another leader and organiser of Zen Buddhism in Japan was *Dogen* (1200-1253) who had also been at Hiei and had been initiated into zen by a disciple of yeisai. After his return from China in 1228, *Dogen* lived mostly in seclusion and endeavoured to organize small convents and carry out strict monastic discipline as he had learned it in China, and as he deemed it to be the genuine method of Buddha himself. He found that *Miyako* was not the place for real monastic discipline and therefore retired to a secluded spot in a northern province, where he instructed warriors as well as his monastic disciples. The further extension of his influence and of his Zen method was almost entirely due to the efforts of his able disciples. He never worked for propaganda, yet his personality was the fountain-head from which flowed the wide-spreading stream of Zen. He well represented the lofty purity and serene composure of Zen training, the essential aim of which consisted in overcoming the worries of the world and in thereby attaining poise of mind and strength of character. *Dogen* made every effort to avoid contact with men of high rank, and herein we see his difference from Yeisai, although the essential principles of the practice did not differ much in the branches of Zen they represented and introduced.

Dogen certainly inspired Japanese Buddhism with a new spirit, but none of his teachings originated with him. This was no wonder, because it was the claim of Zen Buddhism in general that no teaching was adequate to express the spirit of Buddhism, and that the deepest truth had been transmitted from Buddha himself to his genuine disciples, not in words but from soul to soul. Thus the written documents left by *Dogen* were either exhortations or expressions of his own sentiments.

Thus serenity, purity, or simplicity was *Dogen's* ideal and his life was a living example of that ideal.

The Aim and Inspiration of Zen Meditation

Zen is an intuitive method of spiritual training, the aim of which consists in attaining a lofty transcendence over worldly care. The Zennist is proud to see in his method an unwritten tradition directly transmitted from Buddha to his great disciple, *Maha-Kasyapa*, and then successively to the masters of Zen. Not only does the Zennist defy reasoning and logic, he takes pride in transcending the usual channels of thinking. He denounces any idea to formulate tenets, for any formulation deadens the soul and life. Zen aim at giving an intuitive assurance of having discovered in the innermost recess of one's soul an ultimate reality which transcends

all individual differences and temporary mutations. This reality is called the mind or soul, or the fundamental nature, or the primeval feature (of the world and the soul).³⁹ It means the fundamental unity of existence underlying and pervading all particular beings and changes, which is, however, not to be sought in the external world but directly and most clearly in one's own inner heart. Like the *Atman* of the Upanishad, it is the ego, not individual but cosmic, which at the same time is to be realized in every soul. When one realizes this through training in Zen, he has absorbed the universe into himself, which amounts to identifying himself with the cosmos.⁴⁰

Formulated in this way the philosophy of Zen is an idealism, though the best Zennist is pragmatic enough not to lose himself in barren abstractions, but to test his spiritual attainment in life activity and to express it in art and poetry. The moral ideal of zen is "beyond good and bad" but the test of the attainment lies in moral life, especially in straightforward action and daring conduct not bewildered by circumstances, whether in weal or in woe. The soul which has attained this eminence of spiritual illumination identifies itself with the whole cosmos, and is therefore no more troubled by particular incidents or vicissitudes: not disturbed, therefore neither caring for gains and pleasures, nor afraid of encountering calamities and adversities. The life of an ideal Zennist may be compared, as the Zennist is proud to say, to a solid rock standing in the midst of a raging sea and defying the surging billows. He can jump into the whirlpool of life and not be over whelmed. His calm resolution has something like resignation, but all is the result of tranquil self-possession and so there is always firm fearlessness in his action. Morality or life activity is for the Zennist not an end in itself, but a test of his spiritual attainment, a natural expression of the noble loftiness of his mind. Reflections of moonlight in the waters may be agitated but the moon itself always remains serene and pure; so the moon of the Zen spirit is undisturbed in spite of its reflections in the waters of human life.

Zen was introduced just at the time when the military men were rising to the position of rulers and administrators. There was need of a religion which could fulfil the task of training the ruling class in mental firmness and resolute action and of satisfying their spiritual aspirations. For this purpose the old religions did not answer; the traditional Buddhism was too sentimental and effeminate, or too intricate and mysterious for the simple and sturdy minds of the warriors; Shinto was too naive and primitive, and Confucianism too formal to appeal to minds which had passed the crisis of imminent death more than once. The method of Zen was simple enough to be practised even in camp life, and yet profound enough to inspire and invigorate the mind or to calm it amidst agitation, and to show it the right way through the perplexities of life. The situation can perhaps be realised by taking the analogy of the Stoic soldier emperor Marcus Aureolius. Though there is no writing corresponding to his *meditations* left by Japanese warriors, the family instructions left by military chiefs, to which we shall refer later, are somewhat similar in spirit. In these circumstances, Zen was welcomed by the military men and through them exercised influence upon the people at large.

Under the reign of the court oligarchy, the virtue of military men had consisted solely in fidelity to the clan and in submission to its chief. Now times changed, and those who had been serving the oligarchy only in military tasks had to rule the country and to administer justice. Their field of action extended far beyond the battle-fields and something more and higher was required than valour to fight and die. Therefore they found in Zen a great source of inspiration and edification.

The *Hojo* statesmen were foremost in recognizing the need of religious training and in appreciating the merits of spiritual exercise in Zen. They were eminent for their administration of justice and also for the purity and simplicity of their private life. Instructions given to *Hojo* Yasutoki by the famous monk Myōye (1173-1232) are remarkable for an exhortation to virtue in the tone of a Taoist transcendentalist and with the care of a Confucian moralist.⁴¹ Though *Myōye* was not a Zennist, his influence upon the *Hojo* statesmen is one of the instances which give evidence of the openness of the minds of the warriors to higher teachings. From the middle of the thirteenth century, training in Zen came more and more into vogue, and bore fruits in the high spiritual attainment of the warrior statesmen so trained. Among many others, the *Hojo* Commissioners Tokiyori (ruled 1246-56) and Tokimune (ruled 1268-84) are the best examples. Various anecdotes are told which illustrate the height of their spiritual attainment and those stories supplied modes of spiritual training for many military men in following ages.⁴² In brief, spiritual exercise in zen worked in a peculiar way to inspire the warriors and to give them guidance for harmonizing their spiritual aspirations with their practical training in war craft and rulership. The sense of honour was given a spiritual basis, identifying the value of personality with the dignity of Buddha-to-be; the virtue of courage was elevated by lofty ideals which transcended vicissitudes of fortune, even life and death.

Spiritual attainment in Zen training served also to foster a peculiar sense of the affinity of man's soul with nature, not her active and agitated aspects but the purity and serenity pervading the universe and absorbed into the heart of the Zennist. This mood or "air-rhythm" (*fuin*), as it was called, namely the sentiment and temper of transcendental calmness, found its expressions primarily in poetry and then in painting, which was but a graphic representation of poetic inspiration. The mind enlarged, illuminated, liberated and elevated through Zen contemplation, looks upon the world and human life with penetrating insight in perfect composure. The soul is withdrawn from emotion and passion; individuality vanishes in the vast recess of eternity; natural surroundings are faced in abstraction, deprived of dazzling colours and vivid motions.

This abstraction is neither a mere logical generalisation nor a state of indifference in torpor, but penetration into the heart of nature which is at bottom pervaded with the same vitality as the human soul. Being imbued with this sense of affinity, the Zennist is fond of speaking of human life in terms of nature, such as a mind clear as moonlight, a person free as clouds and waters, the soul itself enigmatic as the dragon in thick clouds, and so on. This mood or "air-rhythm," an all-pervading serenity embraced in the heart, is expressed in riddle-like poems, terse in expression and full of suggestion, as well as in landscape paintings without colour or shading. This peculiar sense of aesthetic enjoyment is applied to the house, the garden, and all the surroundings of an abode, and alike to the manner of sitting, the way of sipping from tea-cups or of using fans, in short to nearly every detail of life.

In fine, Zen was a striking combination of paradoxical tendencies or temperaments, idealism and pragmatism, impressionism and individualism, transcendentalism and naturalism, all in their peculiarly Zennist sense. It was the result of an adaptation of Hindu idealism to Chinese quietism, and then to the intuitive insight and practical nature of the Japanese people. Therein were united harmoniously the soaring flights of the Hindu intellect, the profundity of Buddhist meditation, the serene pose of the poetic genius of the southern Chinese, and the

vigour and versatility of the Japanese character. Especially adapted to the training of the warrior class, Zen gave a firm basis and broad vision to the mental life of the fighter and ruler. In this spiritual training, ethical principle was always associate with esthetic refinement, since the sense of the unity of all existences as realised in the enlightened soul made the basis of all idea and action, vision and effort. The ideal of Zen was to overcome the idea of weal or woe, and its ethics amounted to making man live and act untrammelled, in simply listening to the inner voice of the pure soul. Thus even in intense action calm aloofness was essential, and esthetic refinement was regarded not only as a means for the composure of mind but a natural expression of the soul deriving its poise and peace from the bosom of the universe. The Zennist's love of nature was nothing but a discovery of her beauty identical with his own soul, and likewise his moral action a projection of his spiritual illumination into the wide world. This combination of moral life with the sense of beauty was the basis of *Bushido*, the "Way of the Warrior," serenity and simplicity, calm resignation and bold idealism, these permeated more or less the life of the people through the influence of the warrior class.

The Idea of Equality

Even in the midst of unrest and confusion civilizing work more or less prevailed, being carried on chiefly by Zen monks. As the holders of land property, libraries, collections of art, belonging to their monasteries, and as the men most advanced in culture, the Zen monks were not only able to maintain their own culture but worked to educate others. Since their leaders were instructors and advisers to the military captains, and their counsel and help were indispensable to the rulers, the Zen institutions were highly patronized by the dictatorial and feudal governments and virtually entrusted with the work of educating the people and cultivating learning.

Moreover, their indifference to creed enabled the Zennists to stand aloof from the religious strife raging around them, and to carry on their work, religious, literary, and educational. Thus we owe to these Zen monks not only the preservation of letters and the maintenance of popular education, but culture in poetry and painting and the further elaboration of the tea-cult. They were also largely instrumental in keeping up communication with China, which brought over to Japan the products of continental civilization and resulted in some commercial profit.

What the Zennists achieved in popular education was perhaps greater than the work done by Buddhists in any of the preceding periods. In addition to reading and writing, practical moral lessons were given; thanks to the wide distribution of the monasteries, the Zen monks diffused the benefits of their instruction among the people at large. Collections of moral maxims and didactic poems were compiled by these monks, and these manuals of moral lessons were used until quite recent times as they exercised great influence upon the moral life of the lower classes.⁴³

The social disintegration of the fifteenth century was not without some beneficial effects. The rise of a democratic spirit was one of them, the result of the ideal of equality and the propagation of popular education. In an age of warfare, hereditary rank lost much of its prestige, while power and ability came to rule. Centres of culture were established in the provinces, mostly under the patronage of the divided feudal states, and these establishments gave impetus to individual accomplishments and ambitions.

Signs of democratic upheaval were visible late in the fifteenth century, in the prevalence of popular literature and art, among other things. Besides tales of adventurers and popular heroes, we find a series of comic dramas, called *Kyogen* or farce, which were full of humour and sarcasm directed against feudal magnates and ecclesiastical prelates. Offering free expression to popular sentiment and to the people's keen interest in current events, the comic drama of the age took material from social life at large, in contrast to the court literature or was stories. Another sign of the age may be seen in a popularization, and often vulgarization, of poetry, consisting in witty versification made jointly by more than one person, which was destined to become the poetry of the people in succeeding centuries.⁴⁴ Games and pastimes also became more popular than in any of the preceding ages, and nobles often mingled with the people in various amusements. Even the originally aristocratic teameeting was practised by the people in general, and many rich merchants took part in a large tea-party organized by Hideyoshi in 1588. The further development of such tendencies will be treated in connection with the renaissance at the end of the seventeenth century.

REFERENCES

1. D.T Suzuki, *Studies in the Lankavatara Sutra*, p. 50.
2. Suzuki, *Essays in Zen Buddhism* (1st series), pp. 330 and 351 ff.
3. Soto Kyukwai Shushogi
4. Often called Joyodaishi or Shoyodaishi, a posthumous title conferred on him in 1880.
5. See above, Chapter XIII.
6. *Varieties of Religious Experience*, p. 405.
7. Giles's Dictionary gives as meaning to become conscious of the truth of a doctrine. Japanese dictionaries give *satori* its derivatives as meaning understanding or apprehension and quote idiomatic phrases in which they are used like : to open a person's eyes; he will not take a hint; when I perceived it, was too late.
8. *Essays in Zen Buddhism*, p. 119.
9. Chinese Kung-an literally a public document but used since the early days of Zen in the sense of a theme or question given to a student to solve as a test of whether he was really obtained enlightenment.
10. Joshu is said on another occasion to have given an affirmative answer to the same question because the Buddha nature is present in all beings.
11. In his book called *Orategama* and also writings. I am indebted to Professor Suzuki's translation in *Essays in Zen*, pp. 238-9. The strange word *Orategama* is unintelligible to modern Japanese and is explained as an ancient colloquialism meaning "My own kettle", and compound of *Ora*, the first personal pronoun, i.e. hand and *kama*, kettle or brew. Though this explanation offers difficulties it appears to be accepted in the sect. The book called *Orategama* is a collection of letters.
12. There are said to be 1,700 ko-an or problems.
13. Literally the study of Zen.
14. A formula recited in the original Sanskrit and often corrupt and unintelligible. Many of them are found in Nanio's catalogue of the Sutra, Pitaka, part iii.
15. A Chinese Zen master who died in A.D. 788.
16. Zen in the original.
17. *Shakamunibutsu* in the original.

18. Te-shan also called Hsuan Chien 779-865.
19. See above chap. V, p. 158.
20. *Essays in Zen Buddhism*, (first series), D.T. Suzuki; pp. 331-3.
21. Hossu, it was originally a whisk to drive off flies, but has become to be regarded as a symbol of authority. It consists of a long whisk of hair, such as a horse's tail, set on the end of stick about a foot long.
22. Tennyson to Mr. P.B. Blood quoted in W. James *Varieties of Religious Experience*, p. 388ff. Compare the cases of Trine, Amiel, Malwida von Meysenberg, and Trevor, all quoted by James. The curious states of consciousness under anesthetics called "the anesthetic Revelation" by Mr. Blood certainly sound like the paradoxes of Zen ("you could kiss your own lips") but Zen does not countenance the use of any intoxicants.
23. W. James, i.e., p. 306. Cf. Ycsei's saying (Suzuki, op. cit., p. 20): "When you have a staff, I will give you one. When you have none, I will take it away from you."
24. W. James, i.e., p. 416.
25. See Chap. V, p. 163.
26. See Suzuki, *Essays in Zen*, p. 381 ff. For text and p. 182 ff. for translation.
27. Nanjio, 1525, Liu tsu ta shih fa pao t'an king. See above, Chap. V, p. 167. The platform means the place on which ordinations were performed.
28. It is translated into German in the book called *Zen: Der Lebendige Buddhismus in Japan*, by Ohasama and Faust.
29. Yuan-Wu 1063-1152.
30. Those who are sufficiently interested are recommended to study a literal translation of one case (No. 55) in this curious work given in the *Eastern Buddhist*, vol iii, 1924, in an article entitled "Zen Buddhism and Immortality", by D.T. Suzuki.
31. See above, p. 143.
32. Nanjio 1524.
33. Nanjio, 1658.
34. Nanjio, 1532.
35. Anesaki, *History of Japanese Religions*, p. 305.
36. I follow the arrangements of the pictures and text given by Suzuki in his *Essays on Zen*, pp. 349-367 and 409-411. A slightly different version has been published by Ponsonby Fane in a pamphlet called *Satori-kata-no-Zu*.
37. The metaphor seems to be an old one of Zen. Hyakujo (Pai-Chang, 720-814) is reported to have said that to seek for the Buddha is like seeking for an Ox while one is riding on it.
38. The use of this well-known Taoist phrase, meaning something like absence of self-assertion, is remarkable.
39. "Mind" or "Soul" (Sanskrit chitta and Japanese shin) has in Buddhist terminology always a twofold meaning, phenomenal and metaphysical, individual and universal. In Zen the metaphysical side is emphasised, like Hegel's Geist or the Stoic Nous, but at the same time the other aspect is never neglected. The prime nature of the soul is called honrai no memmoku, to which a reference is made by Luis Frois in connection with a Zen monk converted by him to Christianity-Delplace, i. 149. Fourai nome mogui.

40. See further Anesaki, *Buddhist Art*, chap. iv. Comp. Plate-XIV, in this book where the strong personality of a Zen abbot is represented.
41. Yasutoki ruled as commissioner in 1224-42, and was the author of the *Joze Institutes*, the fundamental code of the Hojo government, for which see J.C. Hall *Japanese Feudal Law* (TASJ, vol. 34, part I.) Yasutoki's brother Shigetoki was a pious Amita-Buddhist and one of those who were instrumental in persecuting Nichiren. Yasutoki's son, Tokiyori was the first statesman trained in Zen, but he was an Amita Buddhist too. He was Commissioner when Nichiren first appeared in public.
42. Some of those stories are much idealized, yet were none the less inspiring to those endeavouring to attain spiritual serenity. Tokiyori sought training in Zen under various teachers and took the monastic habit, i.e. became a nyudo, in 1256, although he continued to work in the government until his death in 1263. When he perceived the approach of death, he wore the monastic robes, sat in the egular Zen position, and expired after having recited the following stanza:

"High hangs the mirror of Karma For thirty-seven years;

One hammer stroke breaks (it to) pieces.

Now opens smooth the Great Road!"

This translation is only to give a literal wording. The terse simplicity of the original Chinese in sixteen ideograms, without distinctions of person or tense, without conjunctions and prepositions, gives the verse the tone of a riddle. This kind of utterance as well as the presence of mind in face of death here regarded as a testimony to the high attainment in Zen. The practice of writing in this way a "farewell to life" (*jisei*) was later extended more widely, even among the common people. Such poems were spiritual legacies left to posterity as well as confessions of faith.

Tokimune, high-handed diplomat and stern ruler, visited his instructor in Zen, when about to send out his army against the Mongol invaders. In full armour he stood before the master and said: "How shalt thou go forth?" Tokimune, not giving any verbal answer, made a loud cry, usual with a Zennist, and made a jump. The instructor said in approval: "Truly a lion! Good, thy lion roar! Go straight on! Never turn thy face!" This is a specimen of Zennist instruction or examination.

K. Nukariya, *The Religion of the Samurai*, London, 1919.

43. Among the most widely circulated of these collections were: the *Doji-kyo*, or "Instructions to the Infants", the *Teikin-worai*, or "Home Instructions", the *Jitsugo kyo*, or the *Maxims of truth*, The moral principles therein taught are mostly Confucian, together with the Buddhist idea of indebtedness, Cf. TASJ, vol. 9 part III.
44. Its name was *renga* or *haikai*, which later became *hokku*, of which we shall speak again.

MILLENNIAL BUDDHISM

The oral biography of Luang Phau given during a formal conversation by one of his monk disciples is by far more spontaneous than the written biography of Luang Pu Waen in a popular magazine, and this again is more unself-conscious than the classic book-length composition of Acharn Maha Boowa on the Master, Mun. The more spontaneous accounts are less abashed about reporting the supernatural powers of their saintly heroes and of the amulets and lustral water they have sacralised.

Luang Phau Pang's encounters with the snake and tigers are on a superhuman scale; the water in which his feet are washed is, like that of the famous Hindu saints, charged with purity and potency for the worldling devotees; his rebirths at the same location resonate with the legends of the Buddha's rebirth at Kusinara; indeed, there is the strong suggestion that Luang Phau Pang might be a future Buddha, perhaps one already. Such resonances, reminders and allusion relating the living saints with the Buddha himself, combined with the reality of the mountain retreats of Cuan and Pang as in decidual icons of the Buddhist cosmos itself, inevitably bring to mind phenomena described for Burma under the labels of 'messianic and millennial' Buddhism, and thereby suggest a larger presence on the Southeast Asian Buddhist landscape as a whole.

The Thai saints on cosmic mountains and in forest hermitages whom we have dealt with, and who are referred to by their lay devotees as *luang pu*, *luang phau arahan*, and so on, are prominent members of a bewilderingly larger array of charismatic holy men, who have appeared in the past and continue to appear in the Burmese-Thai-Lao-arena. These men of charisma and sanctity have been called by a variety of names, other than the ones mentioned above, such as *phu mi bun*, *phu wisest*, *khru ba*, *ruesi*, and *chiphakhao*.

Because these holy men have been credited with sacred powers, they have frequently been both the centres around whom cults and associates have formed and the leaders of different kinds of actions seeking to harmonize or transform the world. There is historical evidence to suggest that they might have been importantly implicated in the founding of kingdoms, settlements, and towns. The authors of chronicles frequently describe them as agents in the spread and maintenance of Buddhism. In both these roles they are seen to work on behalf of the "civilising" mission of state formation and the preservation of Buddhism. But there is third role that is perhaps even more significant. Some of these holy men have been at the heart of Buddhist cult and movements that have questioned, and even attacked, the established

political and religious systems and their values while championing reformist and millenarian goals.

It is therefore necessary and theoretically important that we address the theme of millennial Buddhism - that we figure out its core constructs and impulsions as well as its manifestations according to the vicissitudes of social, economic, and political circumstances. In other words, the spelling out of its phenomenological and ideological constructs and their logical coherence will constitute its "internal account" (internal history), and the correlating of its phases, magnitudes, and cycles will constitute its "external account" (external history). In fact, both internal and external features dialectically and recursively interact. I shall endeavor to give as complete a picture as possible.

The Variety of Holy Men

Before surveying the various expressions of millennial Buddhism in Burma and Thailand. It would be useful to attempt a glossary of the plethora of holy men mentioned earlier. The different names do not designate separate types as such, but they do accent certain characteristics rather than others. In this spirit, I attempt the enumeration.

1. *Phû mī bun* literally means "person who has merit", and is a tam traditionally used in Thai for the great men of Buddhism. Thus the great Thai cosmological treatise, the *Traiphûm*, lists the Buddha, the *paccekabuddhas*, the *aggasāvakas* (great disciples), the arahans *takhīnāsawas* (saints), *bodhisattvas* (future Buddhas), and *cakravartins* (universal monarchs) as *phu mi bun*. Traditionally, the king of Thailand has been recognised as the man of greatest merit in the kingdom.

It seems, however, that the belief in *phû mī bun* has been a significant basis for millennial expectations amid movements, and therefore *phû mī bun* can be taken to be more likely religio-political actors and leaders in the *bodhisattva* vein. Thus, in millennial movements, *phû mī bun* might claim to be manifestations or agents of the coming Maitreya Buddha. Thus Ishii states that "the idea of a future king or saviour to come, which is popular among the Buddhists in the Thai Northeast has found its expression in the vague concept of *phû mī bun*, the claim of a being who appealed to the suffering of hai-Lao peasants.

2. *Phû wisēt* may be glossed as persons capable of performing supernormal deeds and who possess those kinds of powers denoting *iddhi*. It would seem that the Burmese term *weikza* more or less parallels the Thai *phû wisēt*. The most frequent candidates who have been called *phû wisēt* have been monks or ex-monks. Some of them have been famous curers, who have written *yantra* designs on the palms or foreheads of persons afflicted with infirmities and diseases; some have been famous alchemists; other have performed purificatory rites and lustrations and distributed amulets credited with supernormal powers.

Keyes has tended to identify the *phû wisēt* as a person typically motivated by "personal" rather than "social" concern, and as having relations with individual clients. However, under certain conditions of common threat these relations may be transformed into a collective millennial movement led by or participated in by the *phû wisēt*. When this happens the distinction between *phû wisēt* and *phû mī bun* tends

to become blurred. Alternatively, the *phu wiset* and *phu mi bun* appear together as collaborating leaders. I shall later deal with their co-appearance and intersection when I discuss the Thai millennial uprising of 1900-2.

3. *Khrû bâ acharn* or *khrû bâ*: speaking of prominent types of religious men in old Siamese society. Charnvit Kasetsiri describes the *khrû ba acharn* as a teacher to a large number of people" who has undergone religious education and might at one time have been a monk or had" an intense educational life with monks." In more recent time, however the title is conferred upon monks usually of advanced age, who are highly venerated for their holiness and personal Charisma. The most famous *Khrû bâ* of the twentieth century was a monk who represented the indigenous Northern Thai or *Lân Nâ* Buddhist traditions; his name was Siwichai (I shall flesh out his career later in this chapter in the section entitled "khrû bâ Siwichai; an activist charismatic monk).
4. *Arahan* (Pali: *arahant*; Sanskrit; *arhat/arhant*): In its canonical sense (adumbrated in Chapter 2), an *arahan* is the archetypal Buddhist perfected saint, who has traversed the path or salvation, achieved liberation, and is therefore released from the shackles of rebirth. In Thailand this title is not necessarily reserved solely for the ascetic, meditative, reclusive teaching monk like Acharn Mun, for holiness and saintliness can be achieved by town-dwelling monks as well. Examples of other Thai monks who in recent times have been acclaimed by their followers as *arahan* are: the renewed Buddhist thinker, teacher, philosopher, and head of Suan Mok (the Park of Liberation) in South Thailand, Buddhadasa Bhikkhu, and Kittivuddho a militant anticommunist monk (Phra Kittivuddho), who is under a cloud today and whose claims to the title are more dubious.
5. *Rûesi* (Thai): This personage appears in the early Thai *tamnan* chronicles and in myths and legends (such as those dealing with the origin of the Sinhala Buddha image), though he is not a recognizable figure in contemporary Thailand. The *ruesi*, it would seem, was a hermit, who dwelt outside established communities engaged in mystical practices and therefore denoted the Hindu-type, "Individualist" *rsi sannyasin*, or *yogin*. As such, he was in striking contrast to the *bhikkhu*, who belonged to monastic communities and followed a Vinaya discipline, which regulated monastic life as well as the monk's relations with the laity. (A parallel term carrying similar association is *yati*).¹¹ But Burmese *yathe*, who are the principal members of the *gaing*, are again similar to *yogin*; at least, they are not ordained Buddhist monks, but their religious practices are Buddhistic.
6. *Chiphakhao*: The literal meaning of this term is "one who wears a white garment." Kasetsiri glosses the *chiphakhao* as "usually a man who at one time embraced a strict religious life but could not endure the religious order. However when he abandoned the full religious life and came out into the lay world, he still observed some religious regulations, and therefore led a life which was different from that of laymen and also from that of strictly religious men. These pious men dressed in white, not ordained Bhikkhu appear in legend and even in some local cults as supporters and guardians of Buddhism and the Sangha. It is interesting to note that in the religious cults of

Sgaw Karen-influenced by Burmese Buddhist millennial ideas - the priests of Ywa, the high deity who were called but kho, the term derived from the Mon Buddhist word pon meaning merit, were described in 1847 by missionary as wearing white garments. Another missionary reported that a leader of a cult in 1828 in a village east of Tavoy was a man who was clad as an ascetic, taught abstention from pork and fowl, and instituted the worship of a sacred book that in this instance turned out to be a copy of an English prayer book.

Holy Men in early Thai History

Having enumerated the kinds of holy men who have figured in traditional and modern times. Let me draw attention to the remarkable references in the early Thai inscriptions and *tamnān* literature to the creative social activity of three types of holy men, the *ruesi*, the chiphakhao, and the khru ba. Kasetsiri has asserted that "these three types of religious men were the most active leaders of the old society. The evidence cited from the sources for this assertion is of this sort. A number of *ruesi* are alleged to have taken a leading role in the foundation of a new settlement at Lamphun in northern Siam, which was then ruled by a daughter of the Lopburi king, Queen Camadevi. The restoration of the southern city of Nagara Sri Dharmaraja in the thirteenth century, after a period of abandonment, was stimulated by a chiphakhao. This city had been an important Buddhist center and had a shrine in which reposed the Buddha's relics. He founded a new settlement with his kin and followers, with the relic shrine as the settlement's central focus. In the ninth century, four *reusi* are credited with the founding of a number of cities in the territory of Chinengmai. The mueang of Sawankalok is alleged to have been founded in the eighth century by two *ruesi* who installed a khru ba named Thammarat as the king because he was an elder credited with special astrological knowledge.

Much later in time than that to which Kasetsiri alludes, the Buddhist monkish chronicle of the sixteenth century, the *Jinakalamali*, also implicates an ascetic hermit in the legend of origin of the city kingdom of Haripunjaya in North Thailand. The chronicle in fact begins its account of Thai events with the following legend, in which the bhikkhu chronicler very definitely wants to establish that an ascetic hermit is most productive when he works as an agent of Buddhism.

The account of the founding of Haripunjaya implicates an ascetic with supernormal powers, a universal monarch (*cakkavatti*), his daughter and an elephant of dazzling might. We are told that Vasudeva, who had once been a Buddhist monk and had learned the scriptures, reverted to lay life and finally took to the life of an ascetic. He had gained the powers of higher knowledge. A doe drank Vasudeva's urine containing his semen, became pregnant, and gave birth to two children, male and female, who married and for whom Vasudeva built the city of Migasangara so that they might reign there. A son of this couple turned out to be an evil king who devastated the capital city. Vasudeva, looking for another location, saw a place that had been visited by the Buddha. He built here on the banks of the Mae Ping River the new city of Haripunjaya. It was then decided that the appropriate ruler for this city would be "an offspring of the Universal Monarch of the city of Lava." Thus it was that Princess Camadevi, already married to the ruler of a vassal state, was chosen; she arrived in the new city with a large retinue of 500 laymen of every class and 500 great monks versed in the Pali canon. So great was the merit that the queen accumulated during her rule that the deities presented her with a majestic white elephant, who frightened away all enemies of the kingdom.

In this founding story, we pass from a first phase- in which an ascetic with supernormal powers founds an unsuccessful, unstable and unrighteous kingdom with rulers who are the progeny of his union with a forest animal (nature) and who, being brother and sister, make an incestuous marriage and in turn procreate an evil ruler—to a second phase—in which the same ascetic founds the historic kingdom of Hariprinjaya on the basis of impeccable Buddhist credentials: the Buddha had originally visited the location, the first ruler is a child of a universal monarch. She arrives with a complete array of lay subjects and elders of the sangha, and she is consecrated sitting on a heap of gold. In due course, she receives one of the treasures of a world monarch—the mighty white elephant. Such as a Buddhist polity cannot but endure, prosper, and serve as a precedent for other northern Thai kingdoms.

The foregoing discussion has established two points. The first is that the variety of holy men (other than the Buddhist monk) that we have enumerated, whatever their individual features and the longevity of their existence, have in due course, as the Thai, Burmese, and Laotian societies have taken firm shape, been treated as allies or agents of established Buddhism rather than as its antagonists and/or the spearheads of alternative religions. In particular, the famous medieval chronicles have “domesticated” them.

Some of the holy men have figured in the literature as “pioneers” aiding state formation by working on the frontiers of expanding polities. Whether they antedated the arrival of Buddhism in the region or acted as parallel agents to Buddhist monks in these colonizing activities, we see in Southeast Asia an active collaboration between holy man and political ruler from the very beginning of known dynastic history. Buddhism, with its monastic literary traditions, has in due course provided the best- developed ideological and reflexive statement regarding the union of religion and polity.

But there is another whole dimension to the activities of these holy men, which we can label *millennial Buddhism*; in its most articulated form it may be identified with the messianic hopes surrounding the coming righteous ruler and the coming Maitreya Buddha. In this manifestation, the millennial movements show the holy men frequently as acting subversively against the established political authority and holding out the prospect of a more just order. We have now prepared the ground for the systematic study of millennial Buddhism that follows.

A Burmese Messianic Association (*gaing*)

Let us begin by recapitulating some features of “a messianic Buddhist association” in Burma, as documented by E.M. Mendelson. At the outset, let us take note of what seems to be a basic difference between mendelson’s case study and our descriptions: The holy men who are the main actors in the Burmese *gaing* are *yathe*, who are not like ordained monastic *bhikku* in the *Theravada* sense but more like *yogin* or hermits. We shall therefore later face the issue as to what difference this makes to a general discussion of millennial Buddhism.

The leader of the cult was the Bodaw-his full name was Mahagandare Weikzado Apwegyoke -who was thought to be some combination of the coming *setkyamin* (*cakkavatti*/ universal king) and the coming Buddha, Metteyya. For example, Bo Min Guang and Bo Bo Aung were identified with the king of Burma, who precedes the arrival of Metteyya, and the Bodaw in turn was alleged to be a reincarnation of them.) It is not necessary to develop here the well-known “prophecies” in Buddhism concerning the duration of the religion, and the

co-appearance of the *cakkavatti* and the next Buddha, but we must remember them as a reiterative theme.

The Bodaw's career is described as compounded of a wandering and reclusive life and the observance of ascetic practices: He is alleged to have spent fifteen years in the legendary Himalaya mountains; subsequently he never went out of his house and ate only rice with lime. His *yogin* appearance was embellished by his long white hair done in a top-knot.

The Bodaw presided over the Maheikdi *gaing*. The meaning of *gaing* has to be spelled out. Mendelson begins by advancing a narrow definition of the *gaing*, which is "a group of people—usually a teacher and his disciples—whose manipulation of various magical techniques associated with alchemy, mantras, medicine, and cabbalistic signs leads them to acquire, in step-by-step hierarchical degrees, ever more refined states of material power over animate and inanimate nature and the supernatural." The object of the members was to await the coming Buddha arimadeya (*mettcyya*), and before his coming the expectation was that the *weikza* Bo Min Gaung would assume the throne of Burma and "clean up the country."

One would think from the account that the *gaing* is an esoteric and bounded "sect" of master and initiated disciples, but such is not the case; this inner core is embedded in a more open, lay-dominated milieu. Mendelson tells us that the actual membership of the *gaing* was hard to determine. There were first of all some twenty resident *yathes*, who observed the vow of not eating meat and "keep the precepts of the usual Buddhist kind." "Sometimes, they take vows of silence for some months." Besides these *Yathes*, "occasionally," reports mendelson, "a small number of the monks will be found about," thereby implying that the *yathes* are different from the regular *bhikkhu*.

On major ritual occasions staged by the *gaing*, Mendelson has seen 200 or more people participating, the overwhelming number of whom were peasantry and small artisans. But a resident *gaing* official, the Sayagyi, told him that at those major occasions at which the Bodaw himself spoke, persons of middle—and upper-class status were present. Moreover, non-Burmese people from the Shan Hills and Kachin territory attended these occasions. Besides, the *gaing* conducted a variety of charitable activities, "including the feeding of 350 monks every morning."

Now let us consider this additional information: The establishment allowed visitors and residents "to sell their own medicine, sacred objects and mediumic [i.e., mediumistic] powers," and Sayagyi uninterruptedly sold holy water, medicine, beads, and "gifts" from the Bodaw. The result is that the *gaing* with its inner core of master and disciples and penumbra of lay devotees of varying constancy and commitment, and with its ritual acts and secularized objects, bears a family resemblance to the current cults surrounding many of the forest meditation masters in Thailand.

We are now ready to appreciate the cosmological shape of the *gaing's* headquarters. Mendelson describes the spatial and architectural layout of the *gaing* as occupying three levels, laid out according to the "ascensional" theme of Buddhist cosmology. At the first level were the *pagodas*, the *bodhi* tree, and the underground meditation caves; at the second level were the rooms set out for the visits of BoBo Aung and Shin Eizagona, shrines for Bo Ming Aung, and the private room of the Bodaw; and at the third and highest level was the enthroned

Buddha statue, surrounded by five standing Buddhas, all faced by kneeling *arahants*. There was also the throne of the coming Buddha Arimadeya. The entire complex seems on the one hand to reproduce the mythical forest in which the *weikzas* of old practiced their arts, and on the other hand to recreate in Burma the sacred geography in which Arimadeya will appear.

The Karen Telakhon Millennial Sect

Much the same three-dimensional contours- millennial expectations centering on the coming *cakkavatti* and Buddha Arimadeya, a cultic movement with an inner core of adepts and a penumbra of lay supporters, and a spatial layout and ritual cycle that enact religious-political cosmology and are recognizably "Buddhist"- characterize a karen millenarian sect that is described by Theodore Stern. Stern finds the major source of karen millenarism, which was mounted in reaction to the Burmese domination, in the features of the Buddhist kingdoms that surrounded the karen—such as the viewing of the ruler as a cosmocrator, the earthly analogue of Indra in the city of the gods; and the prophesy that at the end of 5,000 years of decline the way will be prepared for the arrival of the *cakkavatti*, who will lay the foundation of the new order of the future Buddha.

In the Telakhon movement's ideology, the position of Ariya (the future Buddha) was central. Each of the four previous Buddhas was considered an incarnation of Ariya. Ariya had already appeared in the present era and will again become incarnate form time to time, though perhaps in imperfect form, until he attains his full majesty and glory at the dawn of his proper epoch. (We see how this idea of ariya, much like the Gotama Buddha of the *Jataka* tales, progressing through a succession of rebirths to his own enlightenment, allows for several millennial prophets to rise and fall and yet maintain the promise intact.)

Con Yu, the founder of the Phu Chaik ("the fruit of wisdom"), a name for both the movement and its leader, was viewed as an incarnation of a deity who had come down to relieve men of their sins, and also as an embodiment of Ariya. It had also been foretold that in the time of the seventh Phu Chaik- that is, the time of the present incumbent, Con Yu would return to establish his millennium; this prediction was contingent, according to some informants, upon the faithful maintaining the purity of conduct he had ordained.

The organization of the Phu Chaik movement founded by Con Yu in a village, some thirty-five miles north of Moulmein, did not take a "monastic" form as understood in an orthodox *Theravada* sense, though it was recognizably "Buddhist" in many of its features. Con Yu and his successors were *yathe* (Stern identifies this term with the Sanskrit *rsi*). They were "hermit monks, clad in yellow robes and with unshorn hair, maintaining celibacy and gaining power through fasting and meditation. Each had a school of disciples from among whom the incumbent chose his successor and with whom during festivals he performed ceremonies in a ritual center, while an assistant, his head of religious affairs (*bu kho* in Sgaw) led lay followers through the same ceremonies at a public festival ground.

After Con Yu's time, the movement divided into two branches that established themselves in Thailand, one based in the southern part of *Tak* province and the other among the Two of *Kancanaburi* province in the valley of the *Khwaie Noi* extending down to the plains. The upper *Khwaie Noi* movement apparently became an orthodox Buddhist establishment of the Mon-Burmese style when its *yathe* died without a successor in the second decade of this century.

The other branch continues under its Phu Chaik, who, while not severing ties with his natal family, "maintains himself often in retreat and cultivates his spiritual powers through meditation and fasting."

The Phu Chaik supports himself by farming and is assisted by his followers during planting and harvest. Though he has special powers conferred upon him by Ariya, he communicates informally with his subordinates. He is assisted in his ritual duties by disciples who either volunteer as youths or are selected by village elders for the honor; "like him, the disciples maintain celibacy until the time when they may desire to return to secular life." Though the Phu Chaik's seat was just across the border in Thailand, the majority of its members, principally Sgaw, dwelt in Burma in the hinterlands of Moulmein.

Stern describes the administrative structure of the Phu Chaik as being "complex," composed of a religious head (*but kho*) and a secular head (*kaw kho*), each assisted by boards and committees, whose members are inferior yathes and lay elders. Together they manage the affairs of the sect; supervise the three major festivals of the year; and oversee corporate business concerns, which derive income principally through a house tax on members and from voluntary gifts. The executive committees also sit as a court enforcing stringent observance of a code controlling sexual conduct, forbidding gambling and the use of intoxicants and narcotics, prohibiting the raising of such animals as might be sacrificed to the spirits, and encouraging the wearing of karen garb.

Stern's description of the Telakhon has the advantage of charting recent transformations and shifts in the movement in the face of increasing frictions with the Thai and Burmese government officials. He also records the sect's increasingly disenchanted encounters with Christian missionaries who, for purposes of conversion, have tried to engulf it by skillful exploitation of the karen millennial beliefs in the White Brother of the *Golden Book*.

We see before our eyes how a millennial movement, which was previously manifest in an involuted "ritualistic" existence, moved toward militant action, which we are tempted to call "political" action. There was a tightening of the enforcement of rules of conduct pertaining to sex, liquor, gambling, public entertainment, and the raising of animals suited for spirit for spirit sacrifice. More spectacularly, the Phu Chaik, heir to a long line of celibate monks, responded to the overtures of missionaries by taking a wife and making her pregnant. Stern thinks the move fuses the advent of the ariya Buddha with the advent of the *cakkavatti* and hastens the anticipated reunification of the Karen leading to their political independence. Though some of the Telakhon members left because of these changes, there was an expansion in the scale of the movement, its adherents increasing from 3,000 to 10,000 and being drawn "alike from animists, Buddhists, and from rival sects such as the Ieik."

There has also been a new, marked phase of militancy against the Burmese that is compounded of three factors: "an affirmation of the Phu Chaik's *cakkavatti* nature, his attempt to regain the followers he has lost, and a recognition of a common cause with the Free Karen in their struggle for Kawthulay." Two militant engagements with the Burmese authorities took place. In the first, Telakhon members, protected by charms furnished by the Phu Chaik and assisted by some ten Free Karen armed with automatic weapons, prevailed over a force of Burmese soldiers. In the second engagement, the Burmese sent a detachment of Christian Chain Troops, who swiftly defeated the rebel forces.

Khrû bâ Siwichai: an Activist Charismatic Monk

We now come to the celebrated case of a Northern Thai monk of recent times who bore the popular title of *khru ba* (venerated teacher). He is clearly a follower of an indigenous Northern monastic tradition and exemplifies one modality of the saintly *bhikku* as local patriot, activist, cosmocrator, and *nakbun*, that is, "one who is so endowed with merit himself that he can, through compassion toward others, serve as a means for them also to acquire merit."

Siwichai as a holy man, his activities, and the predominantly lay support he depended on - all provide in some respects an instructive contrast to the current Thai forest meditation masters, their followings, and their activities. I shall concern myself with two questions: In what way does Siwichai intersect with forest saints such as Acharn Mun? And in what sense can he be included in the general framework of millennial Buddhism?

That *khru ba* Siwichai was a local hero is attested by the number of popular biographies recounting his sanctity, charisma, and works. Apart from his monumental building projects, Siwichai is best remembered for his opposition to the national Thai *sangha* as promoted from Bangkok and to some of the ordinances it sought to implement in its policy of unification. Swearer reports: "Everyone in the north. Especially in the Chiang Mai valley, knows the story of his life or at least episodes from it, and will probably be wearing a protective amulet or medallion on their amulet chain hanging around their neck. There is a prominent statue of *Khruba Srivijaya* [Siwichai] at the foot of the famous Doi Sutep mountain overlooking the city of Chiang Mai, and I once attended an image consecration ceremony in which a statue of the holy monk played a prominent magical role."

Khru ba was born in 1878 of poor farming parents in the commune of Ban Pang situated in the province of Lamphun, a historic part of North Thailand that has had a long association with Buddhism. He was ordained a novice at the age of eighteen and for a brief period became an apprentice to a well-known meditation teacher. Shortly after his higher ordination at twenty-one, the death of the abbot of his home temple (Wat Ban Pang) left him and a fellow monk in charge of this temple.

Thereafter, these two monks are reported to have gone into retreat to the forest for another brief period. This according to one biographer (cited by Keyes), was a turning point in Siwichai's career: He received an omen in the form of a dream of a full moon among the clouds, which he interpreted as a sign and confirmation of his mission.

Returning to his village, Siwichai, with the help of lay people he magnetised and led, energetically set about building a complex of dwellings and a meeting hall (*vihara*) on a hilltop outside the village. This became the new monastery, suited for the practice of meditation and consistent with forest-dwelling traditions. He lived a simple life, ate only one meatless meal a day, and eschewed such habits as smoking and chewing fermented tea (*miang*) and betel.

Siwichai's rising reputation was to a significant degree owed to his ascetic mode of life. Keyes reports a respected Thai monk as stating the following in his preface to a recent biography: "He desired very little and was content with what he had. He ordinarily had only three pieces of clothing... He subsisted on vegetables and avoided all kinds of meat... He said that he behaved according to the model of *maha Kassapa Thera*, the monk who strictly followed the practice of *dhutanga*." (Note that in the received tradition Siwichai has been assimilated to the forest-monk tradition.)

He soon became the center of public attention and devotion: He attracted followers and converts from tribal peoples like Karen, Meo, and Muser who previously evinced no interest in the *sangha*; parents brought their sons to be his novice-disciples; and he was the focus of merit-seeking donations. He was credited with the virtues and supernormal powers of a *bodhisattva*—such as discerning other people's thoughts and intentions and not getting hot or wet by exposure to sun or rain.

Khru ba Siwichai's local reputation in *Lamphun* and Chiangmai provinces escalated when he opposed the growing powers of the national *sangha* centered in Bangkok. This opposition must be seen as related to the fact that the northern Tai Yuan people remained more or less free of Central Thai control until the end of the nineteenth century, when King Chulalongkorn launched his provincial civil, and parallel ecclesiastical, administrative reforms with the aid of Prince Damrong and Prince Wachirayan. The *Khru ba* in particular challenged the ecclesiastical regulation that a monk had to be entitled by the national *sangha* before he could instruct and ordain novices as their *upajjhaya*. He was charged with failing to comply with the orders of his ecclesiastical district supervisor and was ordered both to be instructed in the new government regulations and to cooperate in compiling the official census of the religious. Moreover, he was blamed for not discouraging rumors about his supernormal powers and for encouraging schism in the *sangha*; these were of course two of the major offenses (*parajika*) set out in the disciplinary code.

Another reason for the central government's concern with *Siwichai's* separation was his extensive campaign to build and restore temples and monasteries in North Thailand. Many of these were historic centers of Northern Thai Buddhism and were associated with the Buddha's alleged visit to the region as recorded in local chronicles.

When called upon to defend himself before the ecclesiastical authorities, first in his local district and later in Bangkok, *khru ba Siwichai* held that he was ordaining monks according to the pristine traditions established by the Buddha. *Contra* the authority of the central Thai *sangha*, he appealed to the authority of the Buddha's teaching and of his own personal experience as a follower of the path.

Thompson writes that the Bangkok authorities were fully aware of *Siwichai's* popularity in *Lamphun* and Chiangmai. Advised by the then-viceroy, Prince Bovaredej, against laying any criminal charges against him, they absolved him and sent him back in honor, declaring that his confinement was sufficient punishment. "A crowds of ten thousand gave the hero-priest an enthusiastic welcome, all nationalities vying with each other to do him honor. He walked on a carpet made of the silk head dresses of his Shan advisers who carried him over the muddiest passages." In 1935, he was again brought before the ecclesiastical authorities in Bangkok, for by this time schism was in the air and a certain number of Northern monks had severed connections with their ecclesiastical superiors and declared *Siwichai* to be their leader. These monks had pronounced against the new and expanded learning sponsored by Bangkok, and some of their leaders were arrested when they refused to allow ecclesiastical official to inspect their monasteries. Once again, *Siwichai* was treated carefully and was allowed to return to the North after he signed an agreement that he would abide by the *sangha* rules and regulations as defined by the central government in the Sangha Act of 1902. Thus schism was avoided. *Siwichai* thereafter directed his efforts to raising imposing sums of money and

intensifying his building projects of bridges, roads and temple, activities that were traditionally the quintessential activities of kingship.

As Swearer remarks, Siwichai was not simply trying to conserve traditional regional monastic practices or to revitalises the glories of Lan Na Thai Buddhism. He was also attempting to restore the land to its original foundations as a Buddhadesa (Buddha-land). In this sense, he was a "Cosmocrator". In any event his manifestation testifies to the persistence of the tradition of the holy man celebrated in the legends, images and amulets of North Thailand.

Khru ba Siwichai in actual life was, and was seen by his followers as, a man of many facets. And many parts; he defies any simple typing. Keyes rightly notes that, despite his reputation for personal asceticism, Siwichai's career was not that of recluse withdrawn from the world; he remained very much in the world, and as a nakbun provided a means for others, particularly ordinary folk, to make merit through associating with him; as we have noted, he was credited with the virtues and powers of a bodhisattva.

Keyes sees a strong contrast between the activist, khru ba Siwichai, the nakbun and Acharn Mun (the central character in this book), whom he sees primarily as an *arahant*, a recluse who withdrew from the world and sought his own salvation. Keyes therefore has dubbed Siwichai the 'savior saint' and Mun the mystical saint, he sees this contrast as echoing a long-standing contrast in the religious traditions that developed in India between those who seek salvation through action in the world and those who do so by rejecting the world. In Buddhist tradition, the contrast is that between the bodhisattva, the enlightened being who postpones the final leap to *nibbana* because of his compassion for human beings, and the arahant, who has successfully realized *nibbana* for himself.

Upto a point seeing, Siwichai, the people's saint, and Mun, the Monk's monk, as 'opposed' types makes sense. But I must caution against pushing the contrast too far. For as we have seen in our detailed study of Acharn Mun's career, he was more than a withdrawn recluse—he had a compulsive, peripatetic teaching career and spawned a network of cells of disciples. In addition, he was the focus of popular lay religiosity as an acclaimed saint; and we cannot ignore the cultic belief and practices associated with his relics and the amulets minted in his memory. Moreover, we should not lose sight of the general fact that the saintliness of both Siwichai and Mun rested on their credentials of personal asceticism, meditative contemplation, and detached compassion, though perhaps Mun was the greater proven virtuoso on the first two counts.

Keyes also makes the problematic assertion that the arahant model represented by Acharn Mun is a recent phenomenon; its recession, he suggests, "appears to have begun first in Burma with the eminent meditation master, the Ledi Sayadaw (1856-1923) and then to have occurred in Sri Lanka and Thailand". Moreover it has only been in the past century, in the wake of radical political-economic changes in societies like Thailand—he has in mind the reforms instituted by Mongkut that the "mystical saint" has been revived as a significant model for monks.

There is some validity in this thesis, but we should keep in mind these caveats: Firstly, the Thammayut reform sect initiated by Mongkut sponsored certain of the ascetic practices

reminiscent of the forest—monk tradition, together with the vocation of Pali learning; the propagation of meditation per se was not one of its main planks. Secondly, whatever the Burmese influence on the Thammayut movement, yet, as I have demonstrated earlier, the Burmese influence with regard to meditation made a great impact in the fifties upon the Mahanikai sect in Thailand particularly upon Phra Phimolatham. He did not much spread the reclusive meditation regime to his fellow monks as recruit urban monasteries to disseminate the technology and benefits of meditation, not only to their member monks and novices, but more importantly, also to the laity. The search for tranquility for those in the world was the professed objective of this drive. Finally while not disregarding the new disciplinary “Orthodoxy” in line with alleged pristine Buddhist ideals and the rhetoric of purification of religion championed by the Thammayut sect, we should not lose sight of the fact that the forest-monk traditions, within which the vocation of meditation has occupied a prominent part, have a long history in Southeast Asia; not only a long history but also a long experience of local or regional adaptation and elaboration into distinctive complexes. The line of meditation masters stemming from Acharn Mun has its roots in this earlier regional heritage, as much as it was inflected by the reformed practices latterly initiated by Mongkut and Wachirayan and touched by the religio-political strategies of the Thammayut sect. The latter’s more recent impulse impacting on the former worked with its grain. This meeting of streams, this double identity and involvement, is intriguingly revealed by Acharn Mun’s biographers Acharn Maha Boowa, who we have seen can speak with two voices according to context and audience. He can discourse and write doctrine in an impeccable, philosophically and rationally orthodox, manner, he can also entrance his audience with tales of the mystical experience and supernormal feats of his Master that are plainly cosmological, mystical, and tantric in inspiration - that are clearly grounded in an entrenched, esoteric forest-monk tradition long flowering in the forests of the Thai, Burmese and location border province.

Now a few words about situating khru ba Siwichai. On the one hand his biographers try to assimilate him to forest-monk ascetic and meditational traditions, but on the other hand they also see him as measuring of these requirements of a bodhisattva. The kind of Bodhisattva he was seen to manifest was integrally related to North Thailand’s resistance to Bangkok’s unification drive and to the erasure of its own religious heritage. And this situation of resistance dovetails with the restoration of the ideal Buddhist realm studded with pagodas and monuments. Therefore we must in part at least necessarily associate the khru ba with the phenomenon of millennial Buddhism of the kind - widely rooted and sporadically bursting forth in this part of Asia- that looks to the coming universal king (cakkavatti), righteous ruler (dharmaraja), and coming Buddha (Maitreya).

The mortuary rites stages after Siwichai’s decease, and the interpretations put upon the happenings at this crucial time, confirm the messianic and millennial dimensions of his historical appearance. On his deathbed the saint is alleged to have urged his disciples and followers not to abandon “the work we have done” and to organize further undertaking of construction for merit. The cremation rites held in March 1946, five years after his death, lasted fifteen days and were staged as a festival. People from all over the North, including many followers among the tribal people, contributed money and labour and rarely heard or seen traditional Thai music and dancing were performed. The body was burned on a magnificent pyre, and the traditional augury at the rites for a great man -a shower of rain- fell confirming

the dead man as one of merit. There was a division of relics into four parts - in due course one part was enshrined at Siwichai's village temple at Wat Ban Pang; another two parts in historic wat at two great Northern historic capitals. Wat Camadevi at Lamphun and Wat Suan Dauk in Chiangmai; and the last part on the top of a mountain, Doi Ngom, which had a commanding view of all the places in which Siwichai had constructed his monuments.

The preservation of the memory of the saint and the continued radiation of his virtues and energies via monuments placed at strategic points, and images and amulets disturbed as sedimentation of his power, followed a pattern that is familiar to us. Writes Keyes; "Reliquary shrine were not the only monuments constructed to the memory of Khruba Siwichai. As is the traditional in connection with famous monks, medallions bearing his likeness were struck shortly after his death and have continued to be produced to the present day. A number of images of khruba Siwichai have also been cast, the most famous being one at the foot of Doi Suthep and another at the reliquary shrine on top of Doi Sutep. These images have been practically covered by gold leaf affixed by pilgrims who come to the mountain. "People even today continue to seek contact with these objects " because they have intrinsic power that can be drawn upon for their own needs.

Let me then conclude with this statement of the differences among the *bhikkhu* saint. Such as *khru ba Siwichai* and Acharn Mun, and among the movements that surround them. Up to a point, it is illuminating to use such dichotomies as "savior saint" versus "mystical saint", a "rationalistic" mode of speech acts and religious discourse versus a "tantric" mode of mystical and cosmological discourse; and, finally, the engagement in cultic rituals impregnated with religio-political imagery versus the corruption into militant political rebellion. We may do so, provided we are attuned to the complex nature of these phenomena, in which the dichotomies may in fact coexist as strands. In one case, one strand may be more dominant than the other. In another case, each may express itself in different communication contexts. In all cases, each is capable of moving from one dominant phase to the other dominant phase, according to the intensity and salience of contextual circumstances.

The Saya San rebellion Burma

The Saya San rebellion in Burma, mounted against the British colonial rulers in the 1930s, took place roughly at the same time as Phra *Siwichai* was resisting in North Thailand the encompassing power of the centralizing Thai authorities. The saya San rebellion enjoys a conspicuous notoriety because, more than any other millennial protest that has occurred in Southeast Asia, it was led by monks (*pongyi*) and ex-monks. I shall tailor my account to demonstrate the point that what seemed like a sudden and violent eruption did in fact portray during its course certain critical feature in the ideology and symbolism of millennialism in the Buddhist mode.

A long- term erosion provides the setting for understanding why Buddhist monks led an insurrection against the British in Burma. Factors in this crossing include the "dis-establishment" of the Buddhist *sangha* by the colonial authority; the severance of the traditional relation between *sangha* and state; and the and the withdrawal of both state patronage of the *sangha* and of the guarantees of its authority, entitlements, and property. The erosion of political support for the monasteries also gave rise to an intensified sectarianism and an increasing

emergence of radical, militant, "political" monks who could not be disciplined by the *sangha*. By and large, there was a humiliation and loss of national prestige that was keenly felt by the Buddhist monks in particular. The humiliation was intensified by the transfer of the Burmese royal throne to a museum in Calcutta and the British incorporation of Burma into the Indian *Raj*—symbolic and administrative acts that to the Burmese denied their existence as a Buddhist polity and a people with an identity and history. These circumstances may be viewed as contributing features of the "long run."

The *immediate* circumstances that sharpened the impulse to rebellion and determined its timing and the place of its occurrence were various economic dislocations caused in the agrarian sphere, especially in the rice bowl in the lower Irrawaddy Basin. The Sayana San insurrection that erupted in 1932 was in this sense primarily a peasant revolt, and it began with a vengeance in the Therrawaddy District with attacks on British authorities and the Indian chettiyar moneylenders; it then "swept through large portions of the north, central and east central Irrawaddy Delta and extended as far as the Shan States in the northeast... Its popular character is beyond doubt; about 9,000 rebels were arrested or captured, 3,000 killed or wounded, and 350 convicted and hanged. The official report remarked on the number of headmen and monks who took leading roles." The rising, once launched, developed into a series of local rebellions that took an independent course of their own in pegu and Upper Burma.

The economic circumstances that brought previous grievances and resistance to fiscal taxes and levies to a head and caused in 1930 a massive explosion, as sudden as it was widespread (precipitated by the integrating forces of the world market now experienced as the Great Depression), has been well documented by the authorities cited. It is relevant to note that Saya San himself had been the past chairman of a committee sent by the General Council of Buddhist Associations, at the urging of its nationalist faction led by the monk U Sae Thein, to inquire into excesses in the collection of taxes. The association that he formed had as its professed first two purposes the offering of resistance to the forcible collection of the unpopular taxes and the oppressive forest-land ordinances that deprived villagers of the free use of wood for domestic needs.

We can now take up the question of the millennial expression of the revolt. The British authorities had already noted with some anxiety the appearance of millennial prophets claiming to be *setkyamin* (*cakkavatti*) in 1906, 1910, and 1912, when a large following of 20,000 had formed, and again in 1924-6. Furthermore, as Sarkisyanz has noted, there were many other movements in the late nineteenth century and the twentieth century that never reached the threshold of official notice. So the Saya San eruption, though sudden, was a major explosion in a continuing series of smaller ones. It is of no surprise that its leader, who was seen as striving to restore Burma's political sovereignty and its treasured jewel of religion indeed, as ushering in the promised Golden Age in which all the pious will achieve salvation—should have assumed, and in turn enthusiastically be invested with, the titles of Setkyamin and Buddha Yaza (future Buddha). Rumors spread that he was of royal descent. In accordance with these claims, he had the Buddha-King's City (Buddha Yaza Myo) pegged out, and erected a palace of bamboo on the jungle mountain of Alauntaung in the Therrawaddy District. At his coronation, as the rebels known as the Galon Army walked past, Saya San is alleged to have called upon— in his capacity as Thupanna Galon Raja undertaking his mission for the

advancement of Buddha's religion- the guardian spirits of Buddhism and the various *nats* and *weikza* to help his soldiers on to victory and to protect them from harm. And the oath taken by the rebels contained not so much fulminations against economic grievances as the rhetoric of banding together "to drive out all unbelievers," so that the religion might be saved from them; to gain liberty for themselves; and "to the Galon- King dominion over this land."

We need to know much more than is now provided by the standard sources in English about the meaning and power associated with the signs, symbols, and rituals of initiation and moral rearmament; about the actual organization of the "secret village societies" (Sarkisyanz) or "the associations" (Scott)- the *athin*- that staged the revolts; and about the manner in which the Buddhist monks' Samgha Sametgyi Association, from which came the monk (and former monk) leaders, intersected with and organized the *athin*.

The *galon* is of course the fabulous mythical eagle (known elsewhere as the *garuda*), the intrepid enemy and destroyer of the *naga* (snake). The interpretive task is to see how the classical symbols were made acutely relevant and employed with deadly potency in the context of the religio- political and economic crisis of the 1930s. The rebels were the *gatons*; Saya San, their *galon* king; and the British and their collaborators, the snake to be stamped out. The *Galon* was tattooed on the bodies by "village magicians," was a mark of initiation into the *athin*, and signified the protest against the taxes and their nonpayment. An ex-monk named U Yazeinda from the Henzada region who was active in the formation of many village associations "urged non-payment of the capitation tax and said that he had the medicines which would render the villagers proof against the assaults of Government officials. No Member of our *athin* who has been tattooed will have to pay the capitation tax." The tattoo design incised on the body by the charismatic efficient confers upon the recipient some of his mystical powers, in the same way as the blessed amulets earlier analyzed; in this context, the primary power conferred was invulnerability against British arms. A variety of charms, medicines, and amulets also seem to have been employed. Saya San himself was an expert tattoo artist and the author of a work on traditional medicine. Armed with only a few guns, supplemented by crudely manufactured firearms from pipes and bicycle tubing- but fortified with their tattoos and amulets and spurred on by their millennial expectations- the rebels attacked "unflinchingly against rifle and Lewis gun fire of the finest shooting regiments in the Indian army." They "went down in tens and twenties, but still they came on, storming over their lines of dead..." A more prosaic official British report said "the rebels were. However, so convinced of their invulnerability that they advanced openly against the police, shouting out that they were going to kill them, and continued to advance in spite of being warned that the police would open fire. This the police were compelled to do, and they continued firing for about an hour and a half before the rebels finally retreated."

If the valor of the rebels was visible to all reporters, the structure of the *athin* that formed "the tenuous organization grid for the revolt" (Scott) has seemed opaque to them. Besides the names of some of the organizing and teaching monks and ex-monks. There is so little known about the pattern of mobilisation that we are forced to fall back on the suggestibility of analogy. It seems to me that we have to turn to the organisation of *gaings* and the activities of *weikza* and other holy men in Burma, and to our fuller accounts of the cults and followings surrounding contemporary Thai mediation masters, and the network of teacher pupil cells and of head and

branch hermitages, to visualize the techniques and grids that enable the mobilisation of peasants at grass-roots level for participation in militant millennial movements. The same analogising should tell us why in the last resort- even though the British troops were sorely tried and it took some two years to quell the rebellion entirely- the *athin* associations were tenuous, volatile, and fragile, and therefore incapable of establishing the new order. It is also my surmise that similar processes of cell formation are effective for guerilla action in faraway provinces against the rank and file of a solidified administration.

The Millennial Uprisings in Northeast Thailand (1899 —1902)

Although Burma provides the best examples of millennial cults and rebellions, Thailand has not lacked them, and the revolts at the turn of this century in Northeast Thailand were the most recent, and also the best -documented, example of militant and violent Millennialism. As a shorthand expression, I shall refer to them as the 1902 riots.

An earlier-known instance of millennial revolt occurred in 1699, when a Lao named Bun Kwang, who styled himself a *phu mi bun* (person of merit), managed to establish himself the ruler of the outpost city of *Khorat* in the reign of King *Narai* (1656-88). He is alleged to have marshaled over 4,000 men, 84 elephants, and over 100 horses, but was overwhelmed by the Ayudhyan forces sent by the order of King *Phetriacha* (1688-1703).

A later occurrence, more an incident than a rebellion, happened in 1924 in *Loei* Province in the Northeast. This time, four men- acclaimed together as *phumi bun* and hailing from Ban Nong Bankkeo- performed purification rites, distributed various talismanic objects "to hundreds and thousands of Thai-Lao who came to see them from neighboring provinces including Roi-et and Mahasarakham," and attacked a district office. But again, after two months the disturbance was put down by a police reinforcement." Since then minor incidents have been reported: In 1933, a troubadour singer claimed extraordinary powers and threatened to overthrow Siamese power and establish an independent Lao kingdom; in 1959, a *phu mi bun* claimant bubbled up in *Khorat*; in 1973, after the October revolution, Keyes knew of at least two people who claimed to be incarnations of ariya Maitreya and acquired followings in the Northeastern provinces of Udon and *Loei*; and, at the same time, some scholars have reported coming across pamphlets, mainly circulating in the North and Northeast, describing alleged manifestations, eminent arrivals, of the messianic Maitreya.

So these sporadic occurrences should warn us against treating the 1899-1902 riots as either unique or inexplicably sudden. Explosive they were, but they exploded out of a smoldering condition of politico-economic frustrations and a widespread attraction to men of extraordinary claims and to millennial promise.

The available descriptions of riots enable us to supplement our preceding account of the Burmese Saya San rebellion in certain ways. When the millennial movement explodes into violence, there is simultaneously an intensification of other appearances- the number of charismatic leaders claiming to be men of the special powers multiplies, their capacities are magnified, the actors are carried on a euphoric tide, and finally there occurs a destructive and sacrificial devaluation and negation of the present world in favor of the shining new order.

No doubt the circumstances leading up to the 1902 uprising were many and complex. But most commentators are likely to agree with Tej Bunnag that the time of its occurrence

was one when the adverse effects of the territorial integration of the Northeast into a single Thai polity began to be felt by the local privileged sections of the people, who lost many of their traditional bases of both power and wealth.

The Northeast had previously been a region organized as small principalities (*mueang*) ruled by Lao (and Khmer) nobles (*cao*). In the face of colonial expansionary threats by the French from Indo-China and the British from Burma and Malaya, King Chulalongkorn initiated a system of patrimonial provincial administration through the appointment of Siamese high commissioners, who occupied an intermediate position between the Bangkok court and the Northeastern local elite. In 1892, the position of these elite was even more directly challenged by the appointment of Siamese officials as permanent administrative commissioners; they were invested with critical powers, such as those relating to taxation, that had been previously exercised by the local lords.

In the meantime, there was in 1893 an outbreak of hostilities between the French and the Siamese, and by the treaty of that same year Siam conceded to France all the left-bank territory of the Mekong (and also virtual control of a twenty-five-kilometer zone, which could not be entered by Thai officials or soldiers without French permission). This spurred on Thailand to exercise tighter control over its Northeastern territory and to appoint Prince Sanphasitprasong as the royal commissioner plenipotentiary of the Northeastern "circle" (*Monthon Isan*). From 1894 onward, King Chulalongkorn (with the indispensable services of Prince Damrong) established a centralized provincial administration, which entailed a new territorial mapping of administrative units. The net result was that only a few of the old principalities or domains (*mueang*) were given the status of provinces (*cangwat*) while most of them were accorded the status of districts (*amphoe*), not an insignificant number even having to settle for the undignified status of the next lower administrative unit, *tambon*.

The outcome of this revamping was the downgrading of the local nobility and gentry, and even those who retained their lordly status as governors discovered that they were bereft of much power. The most conspicuous evidence of this was the imposition of local taxes by the Siamese commissioners: In 1901-2, they raised the amount of the poll tax. Such impositions, and new limitations on the sale of buffaloes, cattle, and elephants, also coincided with a general deterioration of agriculture, increasingly insecure subsistence farming, and outbreaks of banditry.

It is these unsettled times that prophecies circulated of the imminent coming of new leaders to alleviate suffering, and a rash of *phu mi bun* (men of merit) and *phu wiset* (men of supranormal powers) broke out. We should note the significant fact that, like the Saya San revolt in Burma, we are witnessing again not a concreted unified and directed Cromwellian rebellion but a number of dispersed mobs coalescing around charismatic men sprouting like wishing trees in various parts of Monthon Udon and Monthon Isan.

By 1899, Keyes says, Siamese officials were reporting the appearance of *phu wiset* distributing to peasants sacralized water (*nam mon*) and medicine (*ya*) and performing various rites. Troubadour singers and handwritten scripts disseminated the message of the coming *phu mi bun*, while also making predictions of dreadful disasters and exhorting people to take various remedial actions. Strange occurrences were expected to occur- wax gourds and pumpkins would turn into elephants and horses, water buffaloes into demons (*yakkhas*).

The "King of righteousness" (*thao thammikarat, phu mi bun*) would appear and perform the alchemical feats of changing laterite lumps (*hin hae*) into gold and silver. One of these pamphlets claimed of the righteous ruler, *Phraya Thammikarat*, that he had previously ruled over Audhya and the Laotian kingdoms of *Lang Chang* and that his face was again "seen in our time." Here we have a remarkable example of the thesis I have argued before: The notion of rebirth, in the context of Buddhist conceptions of *cakkavatti* and the coming Buddha, enables men of personal charisma not only to assume these statues but also to claim that they are reincarnations of past heroes.

Amid these prophecies, commotions, and awed expectations, there appeared in various localities of the Northeast a number of *phu wiset* who Performed purificatory rites upon the panic-stricken peasants. At least some of these *phu wiset* were known to be Buddhist monks. An example was Phrakhrū In of the Bang Nong I Tun monastery in Yasothon Province, who performed the rite of "cutting the retributive karma" (*tat kam wang wen*) on villagers and also urged them to collect laterite lumps for conversion to precious metal. In the same province, Siamese officials reprimanded three ranking monks for performing rites of this nature. The *phu wiset* performed "miracles" such that the onlookers came to believe that some of them were the awaited *phu mi bun* himself.

We will return to the question of the relation between *phu wiset* and *phu mi bun* after giving a short sketch of the best-known rebel leader. Ong Man came from a village in Monthon *Isan* (actually from the present -day province of Ubon), and he clearly was the leader of peasants several hundred strong. He is reported to have claimed to be *Cao Prasathaung* "a divine being who had descended from heaven to be reborn as a favor to mankind" (Keyes) and *Phraya Thammikarat Phu Mi Bun* (the awaited king of righteousness). According to the report of a local official, Man, while he was a *phu wiset*, had kept the Buddhist eight precepts, had meditated in caves and in the hills, and had performed rites with sacralised water thereby attracting several local disaffected gentry (Keyes). According to Ishii, with the support of a village doctor, he collected some 200 followers and attempted to attack the town of Ubon to depose the Siamese high commissioner. He gained on the way an initial victory over the governor of Khemarat and soon after was joined by six *phu wiset*, who served as subleaders. By now the rebel army had grown to about 1,000 men. Another successful operation against a small squad sent by the high commissioner swelled the ranks by an additional 1,500 men. But that was their finest hour; soon afterward, Ong Man and his following were defeated by an army of trained soldiers equipped with modern weapons, sent by the high commissioner. Three hundred casualties were counted and 400 prisoners were taken. This defeat sealed the fate of the uprising.

Although Ong Man's origins seem to be obscure, the evidence seems to indicate that a number of those who claimed to be *phu mi bun* were local officials of minor rank or local nobility. *Thao Buncan*, one of the leaders, was a disaffected noble who came from what is today called *Sisaket* Province. Disappointed that he was not made governor, he left the town and collected local gentry, who all called themselves *phu mi bun*. Similarly, Lek, whose place of origin was today's *Mahasarakham* region, together with his followers assumed similar honorific titles.

According to one source (*Phaithun*), these *phu mi bun* leaders avowed to establish a separate kingdom that would be under the control of neither the Siamese nor the French. The

plan was to have four *phu mi bun* rule at four capitals in Vientiane, Ubon, *That phanom*, and *Nong Son* (Ayudhya). Such a polycentric plan accorded with the traditional "galactic" scheme.

Now, from our foregoing discussion, it is evident that no hard and the fast distinction can be made between *phu wiset* and *phu mi bun* (Ong Man himself was apparently both), although there are indications that the *phu wiset* were more likely to be "holy men" who claimed supranormal powers, perhaps had been committed in some way to ascetic practices and meditation, and quite clearly performed purificatory rites and distributed medicines and amulets. The monks, of whom only a few seemed to have been involved, must have participated as *phu wiset*, which accords with their professional specialisation. The *phu mi bun* the title sounds in this context as if it meant "man with a righteous political cause"- seem to have been militant rebel leaders, drawn primarily from the ranks of the declasse nobility and local officials.

Ishii provides this scenario of the unfolding of the millennial uprisings in both 1902 and 1924. Which also suggests a particular relation between *phu wiset* and *phu mi bun*. There is first of all a prediction of an imminent catastrophe, which creates widespread unease and agitation. Then follow prophecies of a savior's descent from above, in the form of *phu mi bun* who would deliver the suffering people and establish the new dispensation, "*phu wiset* are heralds to the advent of a meassiah. Belief in the latter is generated in the minds of people by the miraculous acts of certain *phu wiset* superlative ability." As expected, a *phu mi bun* declares himself and justifies his claim by collecting larger and larger numbers of followers by performing "miracles." Then follow the military adventures with the aim of instituting a new political order. The uprising is defeated by the superior military forces mobilized by the political authorities.

Some Theoretical Clarifications

In the light of all these foregoing Burmese, Thai, and Karen examples of mystical cosmographic associations, cults and, finally violent uprisings, all infused with messianic and millennial overtones and expectations, I am tempted to make certain clarifications concerning the current discussion on esoteric- messianic millennial Buddhism in Buddhist Southeast Asia.

Certain discussions of what has been labeled "esoteric Buddhism" are too narrow. They describe *gaings* as a variety of "quasi secret sects" (the word "quasi" is usually an escape clause resorted to in insupportable definitions), emphasis too much their devotion to occult doctrines and their closed membership, and leave out as inessential the penumbra of lay devotees and supporters who participate in their ritual activities. The result is that they unduly confine the scale and scope of the movement in question. Spiro is given to this narrowness.

Also, any attempt to delimit the Burmese *weikza* and *yathe* (or thai *phu wiset*, *phu mi bun*, or *khru ba*) as essentially non-Buddhist in essence or inspiration is liable to mislead. Spiro sees esoteric Buddhism as composed of different strands. One is the belief "in a mythical magician or *weikza* who, supposed to possess enormous supernatural powers, and having overcome death, is the presiding genius or spiritual master of the sect." Another is the belief in the future Buddha and in a universal king, which he recognises as Buddhist. Now, Spiro insists that "neither *weikzu* nor the aspiration to *weikza* are Buddhist in character," indeed they are anti-Buddhist," and that it is only when the *weikza* belief is combined with the ideas

of the future Buddha and *cakkavatti* does the configuration become a distinctive doctrine of esoteric Buddhism. But only two pages later, when Spiro catalogues some of the capacities attributed to *weikza*- "to fly through the air and through the earth, to make oneself invisible, to pass from one place to another in a moment..." - he tucks away in a footnote the comment that "these same powers, incidentally, may be achieved by means of *jhanas*, those ecstatic states that sometimes accompany Buddhist meditation." It seems to me that we have to find a more artful way of treating the issue of how the great traditions of Buddhism have developed into particular crystallisations in different local and regional contexts.

Spiro runs into these analytic and interpretive difficulties because, rather than treat Burmese religion as a totality and configuration, he wants to sever it into two opposed religions, Buddhism and animism, (This penchant is not much helped by another axiom- for the most part asserted without adducing historical evidence- that much of what is found in Burma is a deviation from, and vulgarisation or distortion of, the canonical purity of early Buddhism, which he too narrowly conceives.) A consequence is that he not only rejects Mendelson's thesis of Burmese religion being a syneretised amalgam of Buddhism and animism, but also- and this is what importantly concerns us here- repudiates Mendelson's view that esoteric Buddhism is a pervasive strand in Burma. This repudiation is upheld by the tendentious pronouncement that "esoteric Buddhism... is the Buddhism of the *gaing*" (we have already seen how he defines the *gaing* as some sort of closed secret sect or quasi-sect) and therefore necessarily confined to a minority. Both for Burma and Thailand, this would not be a fair way of representing the attitudes, commitments, and ritual acts of large numbers of people who subscribe in one way or another to what has been labeled esoteric Buddhism.

Spiro breaks down Burmese esoteric Buddhism into "two major ideological systems," eschatological Buddhism and millennial Buddhism. Eschatological Buddhism is based on alchemical practices, which aim at acquiring an extension of life until the appearance of the next Buddha and in order to witness his dispensation. "Since *weikzahood* is a means to the attainment of *nirvana* initiation into a sect entails a commitment to the practice of Buddhist discipline. The initiate must agree to observe the moral precepts of Buddhism and to perform Buddhist devotions." In addition, many sect members practice Buddhist meditation as a means of acquiring supranormal powers. It would seem then that the phenomenon identified as eschatological Buddhism accents the sectlike organisation and the practice of alchemy for the personalistic aim of prolonging life until the next coming of the Buddha.

By contrast, the system labeled "Millennial Buddhism" accents the militant political revolts inspired by the esoteric beliefs. "Millennial Buddhism represents the conjunction of the Buddhist notions of a Universal Emperor and a future Buddha with the Burmese notions of a future King, *Weikzahood*, and occult power." Thus during the British rule, many peasant revolts were inspired by a configuration of these beliefs, and the future king transferred occult power to followers by alchemic and other means.

In my view, this division of esoteric Buddhism into two systems, demarcated in this manner as eschatological and millennial, obstruct more than it clarifies our understanding. This is true for several reasons. All the actuals *gaing* associations or movements we have observed, including the cults surrounding the forest hermits in Thailand, are predicated on a cosmology of arahants, Buddhas or coming Buddhas, and *cakkavatti*; the palaces, cosmic mountains, etc.,

that spatially and architecturally realize the cosmology are religio political in expressions; and the ritual actions and disciplinary practices engaged in by adepts and lay followers alike, whether alchemical or meditative or talismanic, are simultaneously of a personal and collective import.

Therefore, the rewarding theoretical issue is the processes by which the gaings and cults—which are centered on weikzas, saints and men of merit, which mushroom throughout the country, and which ordinarily conduct their religious existence in primarily ritualistic and contemplative mode—are transformed into movements that engage in militant and rebellious millennial action that seems to us political and activist in character. What are the processes of intensification and expansion of scale by which the small association, enacting through ascetic practices and in ritual terms their expectations both of the coming universal king and Buddha and of their kingdom on earth, seek to realize those same expectations through large-scale volatile movements, engaging in warlike fighting and rebellious actions that seek to reorder the political order?

We may rephrase Spiro's dichotomy and say: All the forms of esoteric-messianic-millennial Buddhism in Southeast Asia in cultic form embody a cosmological design with religio-political resonances. However, they may move from a principally "ritualistic" mode focused on personal, familial, and local (community) relief of suffering and salvation concerns to a militantly activist mode focused on collective, regional, and ethnic (national) salvation under certain conditions.

The Infrastructure of Millennial Movements

Many scholars are tempted to seek the underlying basis or infrastructural conditions that give rise to millennial and revivalist movements. One scholar (Worsley) has said that millenarian religions appear in part because they provide integration to stateless societies. Another (Bellah) has pronounced that millenarianism is a product of a "severe social pathology" and is therefore largely ineffective as a vehicle of modernization. A third (Aberle) has attributed millennial movements to conditions of experienced "relative deprivation" combined with "blockage" of attaining relief through normal secular channels. Those theses can be multiplied, but such an enumeration does not serve a useful purpose here. What is pertinent is a comment on a recent attempt to delineate a common underlying basis for the millennial uprisings that have taken place in Thailand in the last century, principally the uprisings in Northeast Thailand around 1900-2.

Keyes concludes very plausibly that, while deteriorating economic conditions at the turn of the century among the peasantry may have exacerbated the discontent of the people of Northeast Thailand, it is the radically changed political order instituted by a centralizing Siamese government that took away and threatened the power of local notables (*chao mueang*) that was a more important cause of the uprising. He asserts that the question is not so much that *Theravada* Buddhist beliefs are susceptible to millennial interpretation (they are) but that the millennial uprising of 1902, which was an ideological response formulated in the cultural terms with which the population in question was most familiar, *shows a concern about power*. He thus states a general proposition: "Millennial movements emerge during a crisis centering around conceptions of power."

At a merely substantive level, does this formula adequately cover the millennial movements that have occurred in Thailand and Burma? What appears as a plausible verdict on the Thai

1902 uprising (and even the different kind of confrontation mounted later by *khru ba Siwichai* in North Thailand in opposition to the Bangkok-initiated policy of unification and hierarchization of the Thai *sangha*) appears not to fit at all the Saya San rebellion in Burma in the 1930s, where the most salient discontent at the time it occurred was agrarian impoverishment and unrest caused by the intrusion of a market and cash economy into the rural areas, increasing loss of land by small holders to large absentee landlords, the change of sharecropping agreements from variable grain payments to fixed cash rents, and so on.

Apart from the uncertainty of the search for an underlying condition or process that may apply to all millennial movements in Buddhist Southeast Asia, too often a weakness of such searches lies in the cut made between infrastructure and superstructure, ideology and practice, and the attempt thereafter to make one level an "expression" of the other. The analytic challenge lies in showing the dialectical and recursive and feedback relations between these levels, such that the dynamic interaction cumulatively produces a total social phenomenon.

If we apply this prescription to the millennial movements in question, we have first of all to begin with the *positive* fact there is an internal impulse present in popular Buddhism (not a mere minority freakishness but an endemic orientation) to develop millennial expectations around the saint or holy man and to form volatile movements of inner cores of adepts and outer circles of lay followers surrounding the master. In the ordinary lives of villagers and townsmen- victimized by suffering and hopeful of wealth and prosperous lives, although living at the margin of existence- the true renouncer is a hero, extraordinary but accessible, who continually springs from their ranks. Only a few saints are born from the ranks of the high and mighty. Apart from the fact that such exemplars are assimilated to the classical notions of Buddhas and *cakkavatti*, and the classical cosmological blueprints, we have to give full weight to the collective public conviction that men who undergo ascetic practices, control their sensory impulses, and ascend to higher levels of detached contemplation are considered not only worthy of veneration, for they do what ordinary persons cannot and do not wish to do, but also to have access to supranormal powers with which they can fecundate the world like showers of rain.

There is, to borrow a phrase of Troeltsch's, a well-developed ethic of "vicarious offerings and interations," wherein the saint as a virtuoso offers a "vicarious oblation" for the rest of humankind. He is relied on to transfer his wisdom, purity, and supranormal energies to the laity through his discourses, his blessings, the amulets he has charged with potency, the objects he has touched, and so on. Troeltsch has suggested that wherever asceticism develops as a calling, this kind of vicarious oblation tends to be associated with it. In any case, whereas in the medieval Catholic church asceticism was only one activity (and not a dominant one at that) in the Christian "cosmos of callings," it is at the heart of the Buddhist cosmos of individual attainments; and unlike the Catholic priest, who by the appointment of Christ has in his hands the sacramental impartation of grace, the Buddhist *bhikkhu* (and each of the assortment of holy men we have encountered) ideally transfers merit by virtue of the *kamma* of his own volitional actions.

Given these evaluations and expectations, forest hermitages harboring ordained *arahants* (or *gaings* focused on *weikza*) and analogous occurrences should be expected to occur in popular Buddhism. But the number and frequency of manifestation of these small, volatile communities

of lay devotees and adepts, and their liability to intensify their search for power and well-being through vicarious oblation, and /or to transform their ritual acts into militant marches against established authority, armed with bullet-proof amulets, depends on changing political, economic, and social circumstances. These circumstances, acting as a leaven, make millennial movements rise up explosively and pop all too quickly when they confront the armed strength of authority. On the other hand, at times when great power is wielded by centralized or centralizing political authorities, the charisma of holy men, such as that of the forest-monks of contemporary Thailand, may be tapped by such authorities and their elite supporters and used to buttress their supremacy.

What is millennial Buddhism? It is a totality of beliefs, expectations, practices, and actions that have as their object the reconstitution of an existing social order in terms of an ideal order, a future utopia, which at the same time is a return to an ideal and positive beginning.

Millennial Buddhism rests upon conceptions and prophecies concerning the coming righteous ruler and the coming savior Buddha, the two personages co-appearing or being fused in one. Now these very same ideas were an essential part of the ideology of established and institutionalized Buddhist polities of Southeast Asia, whose kings have made claim to be and aspired to be *cakkavatti*, *dharmaraja*, and *bodhisattva*, in different mixes. And capitals and kingdoms have been constructed to represent and enact the cosmology of the realm in which the Buddhist *Dhamma* prevailed.

But Millennial Buddhism is the antimony of the established Buddhist polity wherever it is seen to be corrupt and debased, or to require restoration and resurrection in the face of social decline or alien intrusion. In this sense, it is a counter statement, dedicated to a substitution and a future replacement, and capable of becoming rebellious. One is tempted to say that if, in the established *Dhamma* realm, the *sangha* and kingship are both separated and wedded in reciprocity and mutuality, millennial Buddhism strains toward the fusion of renouncer and ruler in its militant phase.

Now it is true that the Buddhist polities of Southeast Asia have been pulsating, galactic polities, in which "divine kingship" was dodged by "perennial rebellions," and that successive usurping kings have made their claims to legitimacy by invoking the personal charisma of reincarnated and reborn righteous rulers and future Buddhas. To this extent, millennial claims have always been part of the regular political process of these galactic polities.

It is, however, meaningful to reserve the term *millennial Buddhism* for the cults centered on the kinds of holy men and saints who have fascinated us in this book. It seems to be these cults' essential feature that- although they periodically, intermittently arise and the ground that gives them birth is a continuing seedbeds individual formations they rarely, if ever, reach the proportions of a sustained movement. As esoteric cults built around individual masters, they have little staying power after the leader's death, though disciples may reproduce the cells, associations, and networks established by the master. And when they boil up into militant revolts, they are unable to long withstand the organized force deployed by the established political authority, because of their being a peculiar compound of mystical beliefs in invulnerability to guns and bullets, of euphoric moblike indiscipline, and of enthusiastic if

fragile attraction to the saint credited with supranormal virtues and powers, Such bubbles form and burst typically in the territorial and social peripheries of established societies and polities, away from the capitals of their ruling political and ecclesiastical elites. In this sense, millennial Buddhism is the counterculture and counter structure to organized and domesticated Buddhism. *Contra* the treacherous search for an underlying sociological condition that generates millennial movements, I have tried to strengthen the line of inquiry and interpretation that sees the place and role of millennial Buddhism, in both its quiescent and militant expressions, as part of a totality, in which "established" Buddhism and polity constitute its dialectical. And frequently paramount, counterpart.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I. HIUEN TSANG ON THE DISPERSION OF BUDDHIST SECTS IN INDIA (629-645 A.D.)

Hiuen Tsang (henceforth abbreviated as HT) remarks in his introduction to the account of the state of Buddhism in India that Buddhism at his time, i.e. in the 7th century A.D., was pure or diluted according to the spiritual insight and mental capacity of its adherents. The first split in the sangha took place at *Vaisali* between the *Sthaviras* and *Mahasanghikas*. Both recognized the three *Pitakas*. The *Mahasanghikas*, however, added the fourth *Pitaka* known as the *Vyakarana* (prophesies of Buddha) (W.I. 103-6).¹ The tenets of these sects kept them apart and became the subject-matter of controversies among the *sastra*-matters of different sects. Each sect claimed to have intellectual superiority. There were "many noisy discussions," but side by side there were also monks "sitting in silent reveries" (*Nisidana*), strolling to and fro (*cankrama*) usually while circumambulating a stupa or temple, standing still (*thana*) or laying down (*Sayana*) After such general remarks HT. Proceeded to give an account of the state of the religion in different places, where he came across its adherents, mentioning the number of monks and monasteries, as well as the sects, to which they belonged. A brief synopsis is being presented here as per the peregrinations of the pilgrim within India.

The first country visited by HT. In India was Udyana (Ujjana) in Swat valley, corresponding to the four districts of *Panjhora*, *Bijawar*, *Swat* and *Buniz*, situated on the north of *Peshawar* (*parashawar*) (C. 194). The people of this place held Buddhism in high esteem and were reverential believers in *Mahayana*. There were formerly 140 monasteries with 18,000 monks. All these were in ruins and the number of monks was few. Fa-hien writes that though they were *Mahayanists*, they followed the *Hinayana* Vinaya rules. HT. Remarks that the monks could recite texts, but they did not comprehend the deeper meaning of the same. At this place there were 4 or 5 hamlets, one of which was known as *Mang-Kil*. About 200 li-form *Mang-kil* there was the *Mahavana* monastery; not far from this monastery was the *Rohitaka* stupa. At this place HT. Came across five redactions of the *Vinaya Pitaka*, belonging to the five sects, viz, *Dharmaguptaka*, *Mahisasaka*, *Kasyapiya*, *Sarvastivada* and *Mahasanghika*. (W.I. 226 f.).

Darel, the ancient capital of Udyana government. It has been identified by Cunningham (p. 95) with the country of the *Dards*. In the valley, an image of *Avalokitesvara* was erected at the instance of the missionary *Madhyantika*. After the erection of this image, Buddhism became popular. Cunningham writes that the image of Buddha erected here was colossal.

Bolor, about 83 miles across the Indus. Cunningham identifies it with Balti or Little Tibet (C. 96).² HT. Records that there were several monasteries and monks, who were without learning and careless about the observance of the *Sangha-rules*.

Taksasila, (modern Taxila in Pakistan). Its boundaries were as follows : in the north *Ursa*, in the east the Jhelum; in the south Simhapura, and in the west the Indus. The city has been identified by Cunningham with the ruins near Shah-dheri (*Royal Residence*), 12 mile; north-west of Rawalpindi (c. 120; Notes, 681). Here have been found, among other objects, traces of at least 55 *stupas*, 28 monasteries, 9 temples, a copper-plate inscribed with the name *Taksasila* and a vase with Kharosthi inscription. (For further details, see Sir John Marshall's *Guide to Taxila*.) HT. Refers to *Santaraksita* and the Sautrantika teacher *Kumalabaddha*, who dwelt here formerly.

HT. visited this country twice, once in 630 A.D. When he came to this country and again in 645 A.D. on his return journey. He saw numerous monasteries but all in ruins. The few monks he saw were all *Mahayanists*. The people were adherents of Buddhism. Emperor Ashoka sent here his son *Kunala* for quelling disturbances and restoring peace to the region. The prince, however, was blinded through the machinations of his stepmother *Tisarakṣita*. His eyes were restored later by Arhat Ghosa, who was a physician and an occultist (vide *Divyavadana*, XXVII).

There is a tradition that the ruler of Taksasila was exceedingly rich, having nine crores of gold and silver coins (C.12). He was a contemporary of King Bimbisara, who invited him to meet Buddha. He came and took ordination as a monk, but unfortunately on his way back, he met with an accident and lost his life (*Divyavadana*, XXVI). He donated his vast wealth for the construction of *stupas* over Buddha's relics to be distributed later by Emperor Ashoka (W.I. 248).

Simhapura. From *Taksasila* HT. travelled south-east about 117 miles to reach this place. This country was a dependency of Kashmir. Cunningham (p. 142) identifies its capital with Ketas, situated on the north side of the Salt Range. Near the south of the capital there was an *Ashoka stupa* known as the *Manikyala stupa*, commemorating the sacrifice of his body by the Bodhisattva (i.e. in one of the previous lives of Buddha) to save the life of a tigress. Near this *stupa* there was a monastery but it was deserted. HT. saw here *Svetambara* Jaina monks. He noticed one monastery, in which there were about 100 monks, who were all *Mahayanists*. From this place HT. proceeded about 8 miles eastward to an isolated hill where also was a monastery with about 200 monks, who were also *Mahayanists*.

Kashmir. On his way from Simhapura to Kashmir HT. came across several monasteries. At *Huskara-vihara* he spent the night. He was welcomed by the king of the place. He lodged for one night in *Jayendra-vihara* (W.I. 259). The king gave him 20 clerks to copy the manuscripts. HT. remained there for two years and devoted his time to the study of the *Sturas* and *Sastras*.

Kashmir was variously known as *Kapis*, *Nagar*, *Gandhara*, and *Udyana*. *Kapis* (or *Kipin*) was formerly occupied by the Sakas. *Tsi Revata* or *Raivataka* was converted here to Buddhism (W.I. 260). HT. refers to *Madhyandina*, a disciple of *Ananda*, the missionary sent to this country after the Third Buddhist Council held at *Pataliputra*. HT. saw there 100 monasteries and 5,000

monks. On his way he crossed Uskara and Baramula (Varaha-mula-pura). Along with *Madhyandina* went 500 Arhats and 500 ordinary monks. Among the latter was one called *Mahadeva* of great learning and a subtle investigator of *nama* and *rupa* (mind and matter). He was the son of a *Brahmana* merchant of Mathura (W.I.268). He committed the *anantariya* (deadly) sins. It is evident that he was mistaken for the *Mahadeva* who brought about the split in the *Sangha* in the second Buddhist Council. (Vide above, p. 22). There was also another *Mahadeva*, who preached the *Devadutasutra* and was an influential abbot of Pataliputra. (W.I. 269).

The outstanding event that took place in Kashmir was the session of the Fourth Buddhist Council under the auspices of Emperor Kaniska in the 400th year after Buddha's *mahaparinirvana*. The emperor was puzzled by the different interpretations given by his spiritual teachers while he was studying the Buddhist texts, and so he wanted that the main object of this Council should be to record the various interpretations given of Buddha's words by the teachers of different sects. It was at Arhat Parsva's advice that the Emperor decided to hold the Council (W.I. 271).

HT. found in this country one monastery with 300 monks, but no mention is made of their sect. In one monastery he saw the image of Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara. Ge refe red to *Acarya Samghabhadra*, a Kashmirian *Sarvastivadin*, who composed the *Kosa-karikasastra* in 25,000 *slokas*, and to *Acarya Skandhila*, who composed the *Abhidharmavatahasastra*. He found here a *Mahasanghika* monastery also (W.I. 279).

Punach. From Kashmir HT. travelled 117 miles northwest to reach this place. According to Cunningham (pp. 147-8), it was bounded on the west by the Jhelum river, on the north by the Pir Panchal range, and on the east and south-east by Rajaori. In the 7th century it was subject to Kashmir. HT. records that there were 5 monasteries in ruins. In one monastery there were only a few monks. No sect is mentioned (W.I. 284).

Rajapura (Rajaori, south of Kashmir). HT. travelled 67 miles south-east from Kashmir to reach this place. It was bounded on the north by the Pir Panchal range, on the west by Punach, on the south by Bhimbar and on the east by Rihan and Aknur (C.149). HT. saw here 10 monasteries with a few monks. No sect is mentioned (W.I. 284).

Sakala (Sangalawala Tiba; C.212 — *Sagala* of the *Milindapanha*). Cunningham traces (i) a modern town in the midst of the ruins, (ii) a *stupa* of *Ashoka*, one mile to the northwest of the monastery inside the town. The low ridges of a rock have been identified by Cunningham with *Mundapapura*, which is still known as the land of the Madras. HT. records that it was the capital of King Mihirakula. It was also known as the Yona country. This king wanted to study the Buddhist scriptures and requested the monks to depute a learned monk, but unfortunately the monks selected a *Sramana*, who was an attendant of the monks. For this, the king felt insulted, got enraged and became determined to exterminate Buddhism from his realm. At this time *Baladitya*, a Gupta ruler and a zealous advocate of Buddhism, rebelled against him and made him a prisoner, but at the request of his mother, he was released, but Mihirakula was later murdered by his brother, who then occupied the throne, was also a persecutor of Buddhism (W.I. 289).

From *Rajapura*, HT. proceeded south-east to **Takka** (Cheh-na= *Taki* or the Punjab between *Vipasa* on the east and the Indus on the west). According to Cunningham (p.219), it was then the capital of the Punjab. It is 19 miles in direct line from *Sakala*. Its antiquity is proved by the find of a large number of Indo-Scythian coins at this site. Its history therefore goes back to the 1st century A.D. HT. found here 10 monasteries with only a few believers in Buddhism (W.I. 286).

From Cheh-na (Takka) HT. proceeded to **Chinapati-Bhumi** or **China-Bhukti** identified by Cunningham (p. 230) with Patti. This place was selected by Emperor *Kaniska* for the residence of his Chinese hostages, to whom, according to the Chinese commentator of HT.'s life, he gave good treatment. HT. records that there were 10 monasteries but he does not mention the number of monks living nor their sect. The Chinese commentator of HT.'s life therein furnishes us with the information that there was one monastery known as *Tosasana* (pleasure-giving seat), in which dwelt the *Sastra-master Vinitaprabha*, who wrote commentaries on the Abhidharma texts. HT. stayed with him for 14 months to study the Abhidharma treatises (W.I. 291).

From the capital of *Chinapati-bhumi* HT. went south-east about 80 miles. In HT.'s life the distance is said to be only 8 miles and reached **Tamasavana**. It was an isolated independent establishment. In the *Divyavadana* (p. 399) it is said to be the name of a monastery also. This monastery had 300 monks of the *Sarvastivada* sect. The monks observed the monastic rules strictly. The *sastra-master Katyayaniputra* composed here the *Jnanaprasthana-sutra*. (W.I. 294).

From *Tamasavana* monastery HT. proceeded to **Jalandhara**, identified by Cunningham (p. 156) with Kangra. It was the name of a city as well as of the district. A former King of Mid-India Wu-ti (=Udita) met an Arhat and appreciated Buddhism. He gave the Arhat sole control of matters relating to monks without any distinction. He travelled all over India and erected *stupas* and monasteries at all the sacred places. HT. found here 20 monasteries with 1,00 monks, who were either *Hinayanists* or *Mahayanists* but the number of *Hinayanists* was few. There was one monastery called *Nagaradhana* where HT. studied Abhidharma with *Acarya Candravarma* (W.I. 266-7). Cunningham (p. 129) adds that here an inscription, said to be of 801 A.D., has been found, mentioning the name of the king of this place as *Jaya Malla Candra*.

From *Jalandhara*, HT. proceeded to **Ku-Lo-To** identified by Cunningham (p. 162) with Kullu in the upper valley of the Bias. HT. found here an *Asoka stupa* and 20 monasteries with 1,000 monks mostly *Mahayanists*, a few being *Hinayanists* (W.I. 298).

Satadru (She- to-t'u-lo). From Ku-lo-to Ht. travelled south over a high mountain and across a river for more than 116 miles to reach this place. Cunningham (pp. 166-7) identifies the place with Sar-hind (=Frontier of Hind) occupied later by Sairindhas of Sirind, i.e., Sar-hind, *Satadru* was bounded by the Sutlez on the west and north and Tihara to Ambala on the south and from Ambala to Simla on the east. HT. found here 10 monasteries with a few monks (W.I. 299).

HT. proceeded from *Satadru* to **Pariyatra** (=Bairat), the capital of Matsya. The present town is 105 miles south-east of Delhi and 41 miles to the north of Jaipur (C. 391). HT. found here 8 monasteries with a few *Hinayana* monks (W.I. 300).

HT. then proceeded from Bairat to **Mathura**. This famous city was the capital of a large kingdom, lying between the districts of Bairat and Atranji, extending beyond Agra as far as Narwar and Seopuri on the south and the Sindhu river on the west. It included the present districts of Mathura with the small states of Bharatpur, Khiraoli and Dholpur, and the northern half of the Gwalior territory (C. 427-8). HT. found here 20 monasteries of both *Hinayana* and *Mahayana* schools. Fa-hien (pp. 44, 46) saw here 30 monasteries with 3,000 monks, 4 *stupas* of past Buddhas, and one *stupa* each for *Sariputra*, *Mudgalaputra*, *Purna Maitrayaniputra*, *Upali*, *Ananda* and *Rahula* and one hill-mound of Upagupta. The site of Upagupta monastery was Uru-or *Rurumunda* hill. The monastery was built by two brothers, Nata and Bhata, which is, why it was also called *Nata-bhata-vihara*. Upagupta had a great success as a missionary (W.I. 307). Growse identified the *Upagupta-vihara* with *Yasa-vihara* in the *Kankali-tila*.

HT. saw here 20 monasteries with 200 monks, who were all diligent students of both *Hinayana* and *Mahayana* (W.I. 301). He refers to Fa-hien's account of the *stupas* of the past Buddhas and the noted disciples of Gautama Buddha. He also noticed that the worship of the *stupas* was continued as it was in Fa-hien's time. He refers to the cave-monastery where a monkey offered honey to Buddha.³

Sthanesvara. Its northern boundary may be taken as a straight line drawn from Hari-kapatan to Muzaffarnagar near the Ganges, and its southern boundary is an irregular line drawn from Pak-patan on the Sutlej, via Bhatner and Narnol, to Anupshahr on the Ganges (C. 379-83). (The name *Sthanesvara* is derived from *Sthanu*+*Isvara*= *Mahadeva*.) It is said to be the scene of the epic battle of *Kuruksetra*, also known as *Dharmaksetra*.⁴ HT. records that at this place there were 3 monasteries with 700 *Hinayana* monks very probably of the *Sarvastivada* school (W.I. 314-7).

Kapittha (Sen-Ka-she-*Sankasya*) on the *Iksumati* river. Buddha, it is said, descended here from *Traystrimsa* heaven, 18 *yojanas* south-east of Mathura midway between Piloshana and Kanauj (C.425, 705). HT. speaks of 4 monasteries with 1,000 monks of the *Sammitiya* school. Within the wall of the monastery there were triple stairs made of precious substances, symbolizing the descent of the *Tathagata* from the *trayastrimsa* heaven. There was also an *Asoka* stone pillar (W.I. 333-4, 338).

Matipura (Madawar- C. 399, 401), a small district between the Ganges and the *Ramganaga* river. There were 10 monasteries with 800 *Sarvastivadins*. *Gunaprabha*, author of the *Tattva-siddhi -sutra* or *Tattva-sandesa-sutra* which deals with *Sarvastivada* doctrines, dwelt here. He did not show reverence to Maitreya Bodhisattva (W.I. 323, 325). His contemporary was Devasena. Burnouf thinks that *Gunaprabha* was also known as *Gunamati*, teacher of Vasumitra of the *Abhidharma-kosavyakhya*, who had a dispute with a *Sankhya* teacher, *Sanghabhadra*, the Kashmirian *Vaibhasika* teacher, died here. Another contemporary of *Sanghabhadra* was Vasubandhu, devoted to mystic doctrines, evidently because he was also the author of the *Vijnapti-matrata-siddhi* of the *Yogacara* school (W.I. 322-4).

Brahmapura (near Matipura). Its another name was *Barat-*, *pattana* or *lakkhanapura* and it was situated amidst the hills, north-east of *Haridvara* (C.408). There were 5 monasteries but with few monks (W.I. 329).

Ahicchatra, capital of West Pancala near Ramgarh in Rohikhand (C.416). There were 10 monasteries with 1,000 Sammitiya monks. (W.I 332).

Virasana (Bhilsana) (C.417), 8 miles to the north of Etah. Buddha delivered here the *Skandha-dhatu-sthana sutra*. There were 2 monasteries with 2,000 *Mahayana* monks. (W.I. 332).

Kanyakubja (Kanauj) (C.430-43). At the time of HT.'s visit the reigning king was Harsavardhana with this capital at this place. He was a patron of Buddhism. There were 100 monasteries with 1,000 Hinayana and *Mahayana* monks. In Fahien's time there were only 2 monasteries. It is therefore apparent that after Fahien's time there was a great increase in the popularity of Buddhism. *Harsa* reigned for 30 years and held quinquennial assemblies of Buddhist monks. There were 3 monasteries with 5,000 *Sarvastivada* monks (W.I. 343-8).

Govisana (or Kashipur). On its north was Brahmapura, on the west Madawa and on the south and east Ahicchatra. It corresponded to the modern districts of Kashipur, Rampur and Pilbhit. (C.411-2). There were 2 monasteries with 100 *Hinayana* monks (W.I.330-1).

Srughna (Sugh). It is 50 miles from *Sthanesvara*, where from HT. reached this place. (C.394). There were 5 monasteries and about 1,000 monks, the majority of whom were Hinayanists. The monks were learned and lucid expounders of abstract doctrines. Many monks came to them for having their doubts resolved by them. (W.I 318).

Navadevakula (at present Nohbatganj) on the eastern bank of the Ganges (c.438). HT. travelled about 16 miles south-east from Srughna to reach this place. There he saw 3 monasteries with 500 *Sarvastivada* monks. These were enclosed within a wall with separate gates for each vihara (W.I. 352, 361). It was 20 miles south-east of Kanauj.

Ayodhya. From Navadevakula HT. travelled about 100 miles and crossed the Ganges to the south to reach *Ayodhya*. C. (p. 438) furnishes us with the following information:

"From Kanauj the two Chinese pilgrims followed different routes, Fahien having proceeded direct to Sha-chi (*Ayodhya*, near Fyzabad on the Ghagra) while HT. followed the course of the Ganges and proceeded 21 miles to the south to the forest of Holi, where were several stupas erected on spots where Buddha had taken his seat. There were 100 monasteries with 3,000 *Hinayana* and *Mahayana* monks. Here, in an old monastery resided Asanga, who composed the *Yogacaryabhumi-sastra* also known as the *Saptadasa-bhumi-sastra* as also the *Sutralankaratika* and *Madhyantavibhanga-tika* (edited partially by prof. Vidhusekhar Sastri) and fully by the Japanese scholars."

Asanga at first was a follower of the *Mahisasaka* school; his brother Vasubandhu joined the *Sarvastivada* (later *Vaibhasika*) school. His third brother was *Buddhasimha*. *Asanga* became a *Mahayanic Yogacarin* and converted Vasubandhu to that school. Vasubandhu developed the *Yogacara* philosophy further and started the *Vijnaptimatratra* philosophy. This change took place when Vasubandhu heard the *Dasabhumikasutra* from a student of *Asanga*.

Hayamukha, north of *Ayodhya* across the Ganges. C. (p.444) prefers Tod's identification with Baiswara bounded by the Ghagra river on the north and the Jumna on the south. HT. states that there were 5 monasteries with 1000 monks of the *Sammitiya* school. Here formerly

resided *Buddhadasa*, author of the *Maha-vibhasa-sastra* but the Chinese pilgrims do not mention his name (W.I. 359).

Prayaga (Allahabad) at the junction of the two rivers, Jumna and the Ganges. GT. saw here only two monasteries with few monks. He refers to *Harsavardhana* and his quinquennial assemblies that were held here (W.I.361).

Kausambi (village Kosam, near Allahabad). C. (pp.448-455) writes that it was one of the most celebrated places in ancient India. It is mentioned in the *Ramayana*. The story of King Udayana of *Kausambi* is referred to in *Kalidasa's Meghaduta*. The distance from *Prayaga* to *Kausambi* is 38 miles. The present ruins consist of a huge fortress with an earthen rampart. HT. saw here 10 monasteries but these were mostly in ruins. There resided, however, 300 *Hinayana monks*. Within the palace of the king there was a temple enshrining Buddha. Here in *Ghositarāma* formerly resided Vasubandhu, who composed the *Vijnaptimatratasiddhi*. It was translated into Chinese by *Gautama-prajñaruci* in 520 A.D. and then by Paramartha in 560 and the third by HT. in 661. This treatise refuted the existence of both matter and mind. In other words, it envisages the unreality of phenomena and consequently of sense-perceptions, apart from the thinking principle, the eternal mind (*vijnaptimatratā*) unmoved by changes and unsoiled by error (W.I. 371). HT. remarks that at *Kausambi* Buddhism, as foretold by *Sakyamuni*, would ultimately cease to exist. Watters comments on this remark that in the *Mahamaya-sutra*, Buddha predicted that at the end of 1500 years after his demise, a *bhikṣu* would kill an arhat and the disciples of the arhat would avenge it. This trouble would bring about the end of the religion at the time mentioned above.

Kasapura (*Kusapura*, C.456: *Kajapura*, *Kusabhavanapura*, named after Rama's son, later known as Sultanpur). It is surrounded on the three sides by the river Gomati (Gumti) (C. 459). HT. reached the place from *Kausambi* after crossing the Ganges. Here were the ruins of an old monastery, in which resided *Acarya Dharmapala*, who defeated the heretics in disputation.

Visoka (*Visakha*, *Saketa*). The story of *Visakha* is related in the Pali texts. She was the daughter of the rich *Dhananjaya setthi*, who had emigrated there from *Rajagrha* (C.462-3). Here were 20 monasteries with 3,000 *Sammitiya* monks. In one monastery resided Devasarman, who lived 10 years after Buddha's demise and wrote a treatise, denying both ego and non-ego. There was here another arhat called *Gopa*, who wrote a treatise on the *Sastra* on the essential realities of Buddhism, affirming the existence of both ego and non-ego. The opposite views of the two teachers led to bitter controversies. This treatise formed one of the six *padas* of the *Jñānaprasthāna sūtra* of the *Sarvastivādins* or the *Vaibhāsikas*. The *Sautrantikas* did not regard this text as canonical (W.I. 374).

Sravasti (*Savatthi*, at present Set Mahet). It is 85 miles from *Visoka*, a sub-division of *Uttar Kosala* in Gonda district. The territory of *Sravasti* comprised all the countries between the Himalayas and the Ghagra river (C.474). It is one of the most celebrated centres of Buddhism, as Gautama Buddha resided here for the 14th *Vassa* (rainy season retreat) and subsequently for all the *Vassas* after the 19th *Vassavasa* (vide my EMB. (1941) I, p. 145 fn.). Buddha exhibited here the miracle of an earthquake limited to a circle defined by him. (Cf. *Gilgit Manuscripts*, vol. III, p. 163: *Sravastiyam Mahapratiharyam Vidarsitam Bhavati*). Here was *Jetavanavihara* built by *Anāthapindika Setthi* (W.I.377. 401).

Kapilavastu, the birth-place of Gautama Buddha. It is situated about 85 miles south-east from *Sravasti*. C. (p. 475) identifies it with Nagar in the northern district of Oudh beyond the Ghagra river and therefore in *Kosala*. The monasteries were in ruins. Only in one monastery, however, there were 300 *Sammitiya* monks (W.II. 1).

Ramagrama was a famous place between Kapilavastu and *Kusinagara*, identified by C. (p. 482) with Deokali. It is now in ruins (W.II. 20f.).

Kusinagara (md. Kasia), the site of *Mahaparinibana* of Gautama Buddha. It was a wild forest in HT.s' time (W.II. 26f.).

Varanasi. The people of this place were wealthy, well behaved and esteemed in learning. The majority of the people believed in *Saivism*, *Vaisnavism*, etc. There were many ascetics practising austerities. There was an *Asoka stupa*, in front of which was a polished green stone, clear and lustrous like a mirror, in which the reflection of Buddha could be constantly seen (W.II. 48).

About two miles from here, there was the Deer-park (*Mrgadaya*, Sarnath) with a monastery, divided into eight sections and enclosed by a wall. There was also a temple of Buddha very high with eight niches, in which were placed images of Buddha. In the monastery there were about 1500 monks of the *Sammitiya* school (W.II. 48).

Yuddhapati (Chan-chu) identified by C. (p. 503) with Ghazipur, which was on the Ganges, about 50 miles to the east of Banaras. Here were about 10 monasteries with 1,000 *Hinayana* monks (W.II.59).

Vaisali (W.II 63). After crossing the Gandak, HT. travelled about 25 miles to reach *Vaisali*, identified by C. (p. 507) with Based (*Raja Visal-ki Garh*), the reputed founder of *Vaisali*. Buddha visited the place and said, 'How beautiful, O *Ananda*, is the land of *Vrjis*.' The people of *Vaisali* were also known as the Licchavis. Here lived the famous danseuse, *Amrapali*, who later on became a nun. Near the site, *Vimalakirti* wrote the *Vimala-kirti-sutra* (W.II.65).

The present name of *Vaisali* is Tirhut (*Tirabhukti*, mentioned in a 12th century ms.). Tirhut is the ancient Videha (C. 718). It was the site of the Second Buddhist Council. Here HT. found only one monastery with a few *Sammitiya* monks. About half a mile to the north of the monastery Buddha stopped in his last journey to *Kusinagara*, identified by C. (p. 493) with Kasia near Gorakhpur.

Svetapura. HT. travelled about 13 miles from *Vaisali* to reach this place, where he found a monastery with a few *Mahayana* monks (W.II. 79).

Vrji (Vajji). It is identified by C. (pp. 509, 512) with modern Tirhut. HT. travelled about 13 miles from *Vaisali* to reach this place. At the time of Buddha, the Vajjians were divided into eight clans (*attha-kulas*), viz., Licchavis, *Vaidehis*, *Tirabhuktis*, and others. HT. found here 10 monasteries with both *Hinayana* and *Mahayana* monks (W.II. 81).

Nepal. HT. travelled about 245 miles from Vrji over a mountain to reach this valley. There were about 2,000 monks of both the *Yanas*. The rulers of the country were Licchavis with due respect (W.II. 185 6). He invited HT. to pay a visit to his country.

Samatata (Jessore). It comprised *Gaudadesa* (Malda), *Pandua* and *Mahasthana*, 7 miles north of Bogra (c. 724). There were 30 monasteries with 2,000 monks of the Sthavira school. The king was an enthusiastic adherent of Buddhism (W.II. 187).

Tamralipti near an inlet of the sea. It was bounded on the west by the Hooghly river; on the north by Burdwan and Kalna up to the bank of the Kasari river (C.577-8). There were 10 monasteries with more than 1,000 monks (no sect mentioned) (W.II.189).

Karna (Kirana) Suvarna. It lies to the north-west of *Tamralipti* and the same distance to the north-east of Orissa. A number of tribes like the Santhals lived there (C.575-7). Here were 10 monasteries with 2,000 monks of the *Sammitiya* school. There were also three monasteries in which the followers of Devadatta resided. They abstained from drinking milk, according to Devadatta's restrictions. There was a magnificent monastery at *Raktamrttika* (Rangamati).

Odra (Ota). Identified by C. (p. 584-5) with Orissa. There were 100 monasteries with several *Mahayana* monks. The king himself copied a text entitled *Ta-fang-kuang Fo-hua-yen-ching* (= *Buddhavatamsaka-Mahavaipulya-sutra* (see my *Aspects of Mahayana Buddhism*, p. 42). He sent this text to the Chinese Emperor in 795 A.D. The text was translated into Chinese by Ven. *Prajna* of Kipin (Kashmir) (W.II. 193-6).

Kalinga. According to the *Digha Nikaya* (II, p. 167, 235; *Jataka* II, p. 367) its capital was Dantapura on the *godavari* river (C.593). The name was derived from a *Stupa* on Buddha's tooth-relic. Its modern capital is *Rajamahendri* on the *Godavari* river (C.519f.). There were a few monasteries with 500 monks of the *Mahayanist Sthavira* school, but the term "*Mahayanist*" does not appear in the "Life of HT." In a *Tantrik sutra*, Buddha is said to have made the forecast that Kalinga would be name of the 12 countries where "perfection could be attained." (W.II. 198)

Daksina Kosala, north-west of *Kalinga*, identified by C. (p. 520) with Berar (Vidarbha). The king was a *Ksatriya* but a Buddhist in faith and was noted for benevolence. There were 100 monasteries with 10, 000 *Mahayana* monks. *Nagarjuna* resided here for some time. He was met here by Ven. Aryadeva of *Simhala*. HT. refers to *Nagarjuna's* Epistle to king *Satavahana*, available in Tibetan and translated into English by prof. Wenzel in the JPTS. 1885. (W.II. p. 200, also p. 204).

Andhra, south of *Daksina Kosala*. C. (pp. 603, 605) identified it with modern *Telingana*. There were 20 monasteries with 3,000 monks (sect not mentioned). It was the centre of the logician *Dinnaga*, who was born in *Simhavaktra*, a suburb of *Kanci* in the south. He joined the *Vatsiputriya* school. Expelled from the community by his teacher, he joined the *Sarvastivada* school of Vasubandhu. He resided for some time in *Bhorasaila* in Orissa. Very often he resided in *Acaramonastery* in *Maharashtra*. He was a contemporary of the famous poet *Kalidasa*. He composed the *Arya Prajnaparamita vivarana*, translated into Tibetan by *Triratnadasa*. He gave up *Hinayanism* and devoted himself to the study of *Mahayanism* (W.II. 212,214).

Dhanakataka (Dharanikota) where are the famous *Amaravati* and *Jaggayyapeta stupas*. *Ayaka pillars* at *Nagarjunikonda* were the gift of king *Madhariputa Siti Virapurisadatta* (= *Mathariputra Sri Virapurisadatta*) of the *Iksvaku* dynasty (*Ep. Indica*, XX. p. 2-3) of the 3rd or 4th century A.D. The subsidiary structures of the *stupa* were made by *Camtasiri*, sister of

king *Siri Camtamula* and later probably mother-in law of king *Siri Virapurisadata*, writes that *Amaravati* was about 70 miles south of *Rajamahendri*. There was a high mountain called *Brahmagiri*, from which king *Satavahana* hewed out a pavilion of five stories for the residence of *Acarya Nagarjuna*. Fahien also noticed it and called it the Pigeon monastery. HT. states that monks of this country were *Mahasanghikas*, whose *Abhidharma* treatises were studied by him with two monks, whom he in turn taught the *Mahayana* scriptures. He refers to the *Purvasailas* who formed one establishment.

In this connection HT. refers to the *Sastra-master Bhavaviveka*, mentioned by *Candrakirti*, the commentator of *Nagarjuna's Madhyamaka-karika*. He was a native of South India (Malayagiri). His disciples lived during the period between *Nagarjuna* and *Dinnaga*. *Bhavaviveka* is said to be the author of the *Prajna-pradipa-sastra* and *Tarka-jvala*. Schiefner restores the name *Prajnapradipa-mala-madhyamika-vrtti* (W.II. 214-24).

Culiya (=Culya or Cola country), identifies it with Karnul district, which is north-north-west of *Kancipura* and 100 miles to the west-south-west of *Dharanikota*. Tanjore was the capital of the country.

Dravida. Its capital was *Kancipura* (Conjeevaram) on the Palar river (C.626). It was a seaport of South India often used by the boats sailing to and from Ceylon. Here were 100 monasteries with 10,000 monks of the *Sthavira* school. It is the birthplace of *Dharmapala*, who wrote treatises on etymology, logic and metaphysics of Buddhism. HT. states that out of sheer curiosity for learning the Brahmanic Yoga-sastras, he studied them but found that these were not of that high standard as he had heard them to be from *Silabhadra*. During the pilgrim's stay at *Kancipura*, about 300 monks arrived there from Ceylon, which country they quieted on account of political disturbance consequent upon the death of the ruling king. On the basis of this information C. (p. 628) calculates that Ht. must have arrived at *Kancipura* about 30th July, 639 A.D., As, according to Turnour's list of the kings of Ceylon, Raja Buna Mugalan was put to death in 632. (W.II. 226).

Malayakuta, identified by C.(p. 622) with the modern districts of Tanjore and Quilon. Madura is its present capital. This county is also known as Malayalam or Malabar (C. 629). It extends up to the Kaveri river. HT. travelled about 500 miles south from *Kancipura* to this country. Here he saw the remains of many monasteries, one of which was built by Mahinda, son or brother of Emperor *Asoka*. He found here only one monastery with a few monks. On the east there was the Potalaka mountain, said to be the favourite resort of Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara. Near by there was a seaport from which bodhisattva Vajrabodhi sailed to China.

From *Dravida* HT. turned northwards and came to **Konkanapura**, identified by C. (p.633) with the whole coastline from Bombay to Mangalur. In the 7th century, the northern half of this territory was ruled by the powerful *Calukyas* of *Maharashtra*. This place was bounded by *Dravida* on the south, *Dhanakataka* on the east, *Maharashtra* on the north, and the sea on the west. The pilgrim saw here one temple with the image of *Avalokitesvara*. In another temple he saw a similar image about 70 feet high. He stated that *Dinnaga* stayed here for some time. There were 100 monasteries with 10,000 monks of either *Hinayana* or *Mahayana* school. There was also a temple with a sandal-wood image of Bodhisattva Maitreya, said to have been made by *Srona Vimsatikoti*, of whom also there was a *stupa* (W.II. 239).

Maharashtra, identified by C.(p. 635) with the area bounded by Malava on the north, *Daksina Kosala* and *Andhra* on the east, *Konkana* on the south and the sea on the west. The king was *Pulakesi*. HT. travelled about 400 miles from *Konkanapura* to reach this place. Its capital was *Paithan* or *Pratisthana* in the 7th century. The pilgrim found 100 monasteries here with about 5,000 monks of both *Hinayana* and *Mahayana* schools. In an old monastery there was an image of *Avalokitesvara*. In a monastery built by *Achelo (Acara)* of Western India, there was a temple with a stone-image of Buddha, 70 feet high. *Dinnaga* stayed here for some time (W.II. 239).

Broach (or Bharukaccha). It is about 250 miles from *paithan* (C.634). Here the pilgrim saw 10 monasteries with 300 monks of the *Mahayanist* *Sthavira* school (W, II. 241). C. (p. 374) states that it was also called *Bharoch (Bhragukaccha)*.

Malava. According to C. (P. 562), it lies south-east of the river *Mahi*, about 333 miles to the north-west of Broach. In short, it is the tract of the country lying between Ujjain and Cutch; on its west and east were *Gurjjara* and *Bairat* respectively, on the north was *Valabhi* and on the south was *Maharashtra*. HT. writes that the two countries, which esteemed Buddhism and encouraged the study of the Buddhist scriptures were *Magadha* in the north-east and *Valabhi* in the south-west. In *Malava* there were many monasteries and no less than 20,000 monks of the *Sammitiya* school. Sixty years before HT.'s visit, it was ruled by a king called *Siladitya*, who was a staunch Buddhist. By the side of his palace, the king had built a Buddhist temple artistic in structural and rich in ornamental works. In the temple there were seven images of Buddha. HT. refers to the legend about the controversy of *Bhiksu Bhadraruci* with a Brahmin disputant, who was defeated in a disputation (W. II. 242).

Atali, 50 miles to the north-west of Malwa (C.564). There was only one Deva-temple, but no Buddhist monastery, nor any monk (W.II. 243).

Kheda (or Kaira- Ki-ta). C. (p. 565) thinks that the district of Kaira extended from the bank of the *Sabarmati* on the west to the great bend of the *Mahi river* on the north-east, and to Baroda in the south. Dr. Fleet would identify the place with Cutch (modern Kach). The pilgrim found here 10 monasteries with more than 1,000 monks, who were followers of either *Hinayana* or *Mahayana* school (W.II. 245). HT. divided Western India into three states: *Valabhi*, *Gurjjara*, and *Sindh*.

Valabhi (or Balabhadra= Fa-la-pi). It is situated on the eastern side of Gujarat between Ahmedabad and Cambay. It is the extreme western division of Malwa also known as *Surastra*. HT. found here 100 monasteries with 6,000 monks of the *Sammitiya* school. Its reigning king was a *Ksatriya* called *Dhruvabhatta*, a nephew or son-in-law of *Siladitya*, the reigning kings of Kanauj (*Kanyakubja*). *Dhruvabhatta* was a believer in Buddhism. Not far from his capital was a large monastery erected by *Acala*, in which *Acaryas Gunamati* and *Sthiramati* resided some time and composed their valuable treatises. (W.II. 246).

Anandapura. It was about 117 miles north-west of the city of *Valabhi*. C.(p. 565) identifies it with the triangular tract lying between the mouth of the *Banas river* on the west and the *Sabarmati river* on the east. HT. found here 10 monasteries with 1,00 *Sammitiya* monks (W.II. 247).

Surastra (Surat). C. (p. 372) writes that its capital was at the foot of the Ujjayanata Hill (another name of Girnar) in the city of Junagarh (=Yavana-gad) 80 miles to the west of Valabhi. Here are the inscriptions of kings *Rudradaman* and *Skandagupta*. HT. found 50 monasteries here with 3,000 monks of the *Mahayanist* sthavira school (W.II. 248).

Ujjeni (Ujayana, also *Ujjayini*, capital of Avanti province. According to C.(p. 560-1) it was bounded on the west by the Chambal river, on the north by the kingdoms of Mathura and Jajhoti, on the east by *Mahesvarapura* and on the south by the Satpura mountains running between the Narbada and the Tapti. HT. found here several monasteries but most of them were in ruins. Only 3 or 4 were in a state of preservation with about 300 monks of both *Hinayana* and *Mahayana* schools (W, II. 250, 351).

Jajhoti (Chi-chi-to). identified by C. 550-1) with the district of Bundelkhand. Its capital was Khajuraho. The name Jajhoti is derived from *Yajur-hota*, an observance of the Yajurveda. There were many monasteries but only a few monks. The king and the people were believers in Brahmanism. The king, though a *Brahmana*, patronised Buddhism (W.II.251).

Mahesvarapura. C. (p.560) identifies it with *Mahismatipura* on the upper Narbada. Its boundaries roughly extended from Dumoh and Leoni on the west to the sources of the Narbada on the east. The people were non-Buddhists and so was the king¹ (W.II.250).

HT. went back from *mahesvarapura* to Guchala (Gurjjara, north-east of *Surastya*), crossed the Sindhu (Indus) river and reached (W.II. 252).

Sindh. C.(pp. 285f.) writes that Sindh comprised the whole valley of the Indus from the Punjab to the sea, including the delta and the island of Cutch. In the 7th century Sindh was divided into four principalities, viz., Upper Sindh, Middle Sindh, Lower Sindh and Cutch.

Upper Sindh comprised the present districts of *Kach-Gandava*, *Kahan*, *Sikarpur* and Larkana to the west of the Indus, and to the east the districts of Sabzalkot and Khairpur. In the 7th century its capital was *vicalapura* (Pi-chen-po-pu-lo).

Middle Sindh comprised the districts of Sehwan, *Hala*, the northern parts of Haydarabad, and Umarnkot. Lower Sindh or Lar district or the district of Pitasila included Patala or Nirunkot in Haydarabad. Nirunkot was situated on a hill. Pitasila was a rock, a long flat-topped hill on which was situated Haydarabad.

The fourth province was Cutch identified by C. with Alor near Bhakar on the Indus (C.320-346). HT. writes that the people of the place were firm believers in Buddhism. There were several monasteries with 10,000 monks of the Sammitiya school. The king also had faith in Buddhism. Upagupta, it is said often visited the place. (W.II.252-3).

Mulasthanipura (Multan) in the north of Sindh. It was the southern province of the Punjab. To the east of Multan was the *Ravi* river (C.273). HT. (W.II. 224) mentions that there was a magnificent temple of *Surya-deva*. There is no mention of Buddhism.

Parvata (po-fa-to). Prof. S.N. Majumdar Sastri (p.687) identifies it with a place about 116 miles north-east of Multan. Ht. writes that there were 10 monasteries and 1,000 monks of both *Hinayana* and *Mahayana* schools. *Acarya Jinaputra* composed the *Yogacaryabhumi-sastra* here and *Acaryas* Bhadraruci and *Gunaprabha* were ordained. The monasteries were in

ruins. It was here that HT. studied the *Sammitiyamula-abhidharmasastra* (cf. Nanjio 1272). (W.II.255).

Adhyavakila (or Audumbara -A-tien-p'o-chin-lo). C. (p. 346-7) thinks it to be an alternative name for the fourth province of Sindh, i.e. Cutch (see above). HT. writes that its capital was on the Indus river near the sea. There were 80 monasteries with 5,000 monks, mostly of the *Sammitiya* school. (W.II. 256).

Gurjjara (Ku-che-lo). According to C. (p. 357) it was 300 miles to the north of Valabhi or 467 miles to the north-west of Ujjain. Its capital was Balmer (Pi-lo-mi-lo). HT. writes that there was only one monastery with 100 monks of the *Sarvastivada* school. The king, a scholar, was a believer in Buddhism and a patron of exceptional abilities. (W.II.249).

Avantaka (A-fan-t'u). Watters (p. 261) suggests that it must have been a locality from which the *Sammitiyas* were alternatively known as Avantakas. C. thinks that it was Middle Sindh (See above). HT. writes that there were 20 monasteries with 3,000 monks, the majority of whom were *Sammitiyas*. (W.II. 259).

H.T. travelled about 150 miles from avantaka to reach Varana. It is identified by C. 9.97) with the district of Banu. H.T. writes that there were many monasteries, though they were mostly in ruins. There were, however, 300 monks, who were all *Mahayanists* (W.II. 262.). This is the last place from which the pilgrim returned to his country across the Himalayas.

APPENDIX II. A TABULAR STATEMENT OF THE BUDDHIST SECTS IN INDIA

(On the basis of information furnished by
Hiuen Tsang, 7th century A.D.)

Sthavira—(Thera-) Vada

<i>Countries</i>	<i>No. of monasteries</i>	<i>No. of monks</i>
Samatata (Jessore)	30	200
Dravida (Capital of Kancipura)	100	10,000
Total	130	10200

Mahayanist—Sthavira⁵

Bodh-Gaya Mahabodhi Sangharama	1	1,000
Kalinga (South-west of Ganjam)	10	500
Bharukaccha (Broach)	10	300
Surastra (Surat)	50	3000
Total	71	4800

Mahasanghika (including Salla sub-sect)

Pataliputra	1	100
Dhanakataka (Amarawati)	20	1,000
Total	21	1,100

Sarvastivada

Tamasavana	1	300
Matipur	20	800
Navadevakula	3	500
Kapota Vihara (in Magadh)	1	200
Hirnyaparvata	2	1,000
Gurjjara	1	100
Total	28	2,900

Sammitiya⁶

Ahicchatra	10	1,000
Kapitha (Sankasya)	4	1,000
Hayamukha	5	1,000
Visoka	20	3,000
Shravasti	some in ruins	few
Kapilavastu	mostly in ruins	30

Varanasi	30	3,000
Sarnath	1	1,500
Vaishali	1	few
Hiranyaparvata	10	4,000
Karnasuvarna	10	2,000
Malava	some	20,000
Valabhi	100	6,000
Anandapura	10	1,000
Sindh	many	10,000
Aviddhakarna	80	50,000
(A-tien-po-tche-lo)		

Badakshan

Pi-to-tche-lo)	50	3,000
A-fan-tu (Middle Sindh)	20	2,000
Total	351	1,08,530

Hinayanists

Puskaravati (Peshawar)	1	some
ShabaZgarhi	1	50
Sagala	1	100
Kuluto	nil	few
Pariyarta (Bairat)	nil	few
Sthanesvara	3	700
Srughna	5	1,000
Matipur	1	200
Govisana	2	few
Prayaga	2	few
Kausambi	10	300
Ghazipur	10	1,000 (Beal's records of the Western World)
Magadha	1	50
Campa	few dozen	200
Total	37	2,600

Mahayanists

Udyana	140	18,000
Takshasila	few	few
Simhapura	1	100
Kullu	20	1,000
Varana	few	300
Total	161	19,400

Both Hinayanist and Mahayanists⁷

Kashmir

(sprinkling of
Sarvastiva- dins
and Mahayana)

Punach	few	few
Satadru	10	few
Mathura	20	no figure
Ayodhya	100	300
Prayaga	2	few
Vaishali	3or 4 in ruins	few
Svetapura	10	no figure
Nepal	no figure	2,000
Kanjagala	6	300
Pundravardhana	20	3,000
Tamralipti	10	1,000
Malayakuta	1	no figure
Konkanapura	100	10,000
Ujjayini 3 or 4	300	
Maharastra	100	5,000
Kheda	10	1,000
Total	397	22,900

APPENDIX III. I-TSING'S OBSERVATIONS ON THE DISPERSAL OF BUDDHIST SECTS IN INDIA (671-695 A.D.)

About half a century after Hiuen Tsang's departure from India, I-tsing reached Tamralipti in 673 A.D. He studied mainly at *Nalanda*. His mission was to collect the Vinaya texts of the *Mulasarvastivada-nikaya* in order to correct the malpractices of the Chinese monks. I-tsing's account of the dispersal of the Buddhist sects in India is as follows:-

I. *Arya Mahasanghika—nikaya* had

1. 7 sub-sects.
2. *Tripitaka* in 3 lac slokas.
3. It was followed in Magadha. A few of them were in *Lata* and Sindh as also in North and South India.

II. *Arya Sthavira-nikaya* had

1. 3 sub-sects.
2. *Tripitaka* in 3 lac slokas.
3. It was followed in South India and Magadha. A few in *Lata* and Sindh. It existed along with other sects in East India but not in North India.

III. *Arya Mula-sarvastivada-nikaya* had

1. 4 sub-sects, viz., (a) *Mula-sarvastivada*, (b) *Dhar magupta*, (c) *Mahisasaka* and (d) *Kasyapiya*.
2. *Tripitaka* in 3 lac slokas.
3. It was flourishing most in Magadha, North and East India, a few in *Lata* and Sindh and in South India.
4. *Dharmaguptas*, *Mahisasakas* and *Kasyapiyas* were not found in India proper but had followers in *Udyana*. A few in *Campa*.

IV. *Arya Sammitiya-nikaya* had

1. 4 sub-sects
2. *Tripitaka* in 2 lac slokas, *Vinaya pitaka* had 30,000 slokas.
3. It was flourishing most in *Lata* and *Sindh* and in South India; along with other sects in East India but not in North India.

V. *Mahayana* and *Hinayana*. Both of these existed in North India, and also were sprinkled over all other places in India. I-tsing (Intro, pp. 14-15) describes *Mahayana* very simply thus:

- (a) Those who worshipped the Bodhisattvas were called *Mahayanists*, and
- (b) Those who did not worship them were *Hinayanists*.

He then stated that *Mahayana* was divided into two schools: *Madhyamika* and *Yogacara*. The former upheld that what was regarded as commonly existed was in reality non-existent,

i.e., all objects were mere empty show, while the *Yogacarins* affirmed that no phenomenal objects existed in reality but their conception existed in mind only (i.e., *Vijnaptimatratā*), which however, was real.

Lastly, he remarked that the two systems were perfectly in accordance with the noble doctrine. Incidentally, he referred to some literary persons, who were mostly *Mahayanists*. These were

- (i) *Matrceta*, author of the *Satapancasatka*.
- (ii) *Asvaghosa*, the poet and author of the *Buddhacarita Kavya*, and the *Sutralankarsastra* (which, it should be noted, was different from *Asanga's Sutralankara*).
- (iii) *Nagarjuna's Suhrillekha* to king *Satavahana* (translated by Dr. Wenzel from its Tibetan version in JPTS. 1886).

Itsing has missed to mention several other works of *Asvaghosa* and *Nagarjuna*, (for which see Winternitz. *History of Buddhist Literature*, pp.256ff.)

He mentions the names of the following distinguished writers: *Aryadeva*, *Vasubandhu*, *Asanga*, *Bhavaviveka*, *Dharmapala*, *Dharmakirti*, *Silabhadra*, *Gunamati*, *Prajnagupta*, *Gunaprabha*, and *Jinaputra*.

Lastly, he mentions the name of *Siladitya (Harsavardhana)* as author of the *Jimutavahana-nataka* (= *Nagananda* edited by Prof. *Vidhusekhar Sastri*). He was the patron of Hiuen Tsang.

APPENDIX IV

The First Buddhist Council, which was presided over by *Mahakassapa*, was held soon after *Bhagavan* Buddha's demise in 487 or 483 B.C. *Ananda*, the constant companion of Buddha, recited the Teacher's sayings, later codified as the *Sutta Pitaka*, while *Upali*, the foremost vinayist, recited the disciplinary rules prescribed for the observance of monks and nuns, later codified as the *Vinaya Pitaka*. The proceedings of the Council were approved by all the monks present except by *Purana* of *Dakkhinagiri*, who wanted incorporation of slight changes in the seven or eight rules relating to the cooking, storage and eating of food by monks. This difference being of a minor nature, no dissension took place in the *Sangha*, though later, the earlier *Mahisasakas* included these 7 or 8 rules in their *Vinaya Pitaka* (see above, p.39, n. 3). It was little over a century after the session of the First Council that actual dissensions took place in the *Sangha* in the second Buddhist Council held at *Vesali*, in which the dissenters asserted that they would not regard all Arhats (= *Arikilesas*) -han (destruction) as perfect (see p. 22). Thenceforward, sects after sects appeared under the two board divisions, viz., *Theravada* and *Mahasanghika*, the former having eleven sub-sects and the latter seven. Some of the sub-sects of the *Mahasanghikas*, particularly the *Lokottaravadins* and the *Sailas*, who settled mostly at *Amaravati* and *Nagarjunakonda* in the Andhra Province, not only confirmed the views of their parent sect, the *Mahasanghikas*, regarding the imperfections of Arhats but also deified Buddha as a super divine being. This conception led to the evolution of *Bodhisattva-vada*, which introduced the doctrine of *Paramitas*) perfection in six or ten virtues by extreme sacrifice of one's oneself for the fulfilment of the six virtues, viz., *dana* charity, *sila* or moral observances, *ksanti* or perseverance, *Virya* or energy, and *prajna* or perfect knowledge. In this connection, it should be noted that the *Pali* school, i.e., the orthodox and conservative Theravadins included in their *Khuddaka Nikaya* 550 *Jatakas*, depicting the previous existences of Gautama Buddha and his fulfilment of ten *paramis*, i.e., in addition to the six mentioned above, they introduced four *paramis*, viz., (7) *Upayakausalya* (devices for imparting training to the *Sravakas* for developing their mind for the attainment of Buddhahood), (8) *Jnana* (knowledge of the ways and means for the attainment of Buddhahood) (9) *pranidhana* (to promise to attain Buddhahood), and (10) *Bala* (to acquire enough strength to proceed to Buddhahood). The incorporation of *paramis* by the *Theravadins* in the *Jatakas* reveals that they were not immune from *Mahayanic influence*. This happened, of course, at a much later date. In short the conception of the *Lokottaravadins*, as mentioned above, forecasts the ultimate appearance of *Mahayanism*.

It will be observed in the discussion recorded in the *Kathavatthu* (see above, p. 26) that the distinctions between Arhats and Buddhas lay in the fact that Arhats got rid of only *Klesavarana* (= mental impurities) and thereby attained only cessation of further existences (*Nirvana*) but not of *Jneyavarana* (the veil, which covers the highest truth (*Paramartha*), i.e., the samenes of all beings and objects of the universe (*tathata*) or the inexplicability of Truth (*anirvacaniyata* or *sunyata*) devoid as it is of all conventional attributes.

How this transition from Hinayana to Mahayana took place may be indicated thus—

The history of Buddhism for the first five or six centuries may be divided into the following three periods:

- A. **Early or Pure Hinayana Buddhism** preserved mainly in the *Pali Nikayas*, *Vinaya Pitaka* and *Abhidhamma Pitaka* or in their Sanskrit versions or fragments of the same so far discovered.
- B. **Mixed Hinayana Buddhism** represented by the various sects, which came into existence about a century after Buddha's demise. The sources for this period are mentioned above (see pp. 11-12).
- C. **Appearance of Mahayana.** The sources for this period are mainly the *Prajnaparamitas*, the *Saddharmapundarika*, *Dasabumikasutra*, *Gandavyuha*, *Lankavatara* as also the works of *Nagarjuna*, *Santideva*, *Asvaghosa*, *Asanga*, *Vasubandhu* and others so far as they throw light on the relative position of *Hinayana* and *Mahayana*.

A. Early or Pure Hinayana Buddhism (circa 450 to 350 B.C.)

There has already appeared a fairly large amount of literature, dealing with the first period (i.e., the first century after the inception of Buddhism) and offering solutions of many problems, a result which has been made possible by the strenuous labours of the Pali Text Society, initiated by Dr. Rhys Davids in regard to the publications of the Pali Canonical texts. By early or pure *Hinayana* Buddhism, we mean only that form of Buddhism which has been described in a considerable portion of the *Vinaya Pitaka* and the four *Nikayas*. For the present purpose of drawing a rough sketch of the period of transition from *Hinayana* to *Mahayana*, we shall state some of the conclusions reached by scholars about Buddhism of this period in order to show how it changed in course of time and gave rise to the different schools. These conclusions are as follows:

1. The spread of Buddhism was at first confined to a few towns and villages situated in the central belt of India from the east to the west. Of these the most noteworthy were: *Kajangala*, *Campa*, *Rajagaha*, *Gaya*, *Kasi*, *Nalanda*, *Pataliputra*, *Vaisali*, *Savatthi*; the dominion of the Licchavis, *Vajjis*, *Videhas*, *Mallas*, *Bhaggas*, and *Koliyas*; *Kosambi*, *Sankassa*, *Ujjeni*, *Avanti*, *Madhura*, and *Veranja*. There were a few adherents, who came from the northern country of *Maddarattha*, and two *Brahmana* villages of *kuru*, and also from the southern places like *Patitthana*, *Gandhara* and *Takkhasila* were as yet unknown to them.⁸
2. The kings and clans mentioned in them are all pre-Asokan, e.g., *Bimbisara*, *Ajatasattu*, *Pasenadi Kosala* and *Canda Pajjota*, and the clans like the *Bulis*, *Koliyas*, and *Vijjis*.⁹
3. The place of the laity was not yet well defined. Laymen appeared more as supporters of the *Sangha* than as actual adherents of Buddhism. They revered Buddha and his disciples, heard their teachings and observed some of the precepts, and occasionally uttered the formula of *trisarana*- the only mark that distinguished a devotee of Buddha from others. This, however, did not affect their social status, which in India had always been associated with caste and religion, as they continued to be the members of the society to which they belonged.¹⁰
4. The religion in its full form was meant exclusively for those who retired from household life, entered the order of monks and observed the *Patimokkha* rules, which

was not possible for a householder. Householders could not comply even with the first five *stlas*.

5. The *Paramitas* were yet unknown. The account of the *Life of Buddha* usually commenced from the time of Prince *Siddharatha's* retirement to his previous existences, of Bodhi with occasional references to his previous existences, as in the *Mahagavinda-sutta* or *Mahasudassana-sutta*. The conception of a Bodhisattva performing *paramis* was hazy, if not unknown.¹¹
6. The *Jatakas*, as one of the nine *Angas*, referred to only some of the stories about the previous existences of Buddha as found in the *Mahagovinda*, *Mahasudassana*, *Makhadeva* and similar other stories traced by Dr. Rhys Davids in the *Nikayas* and *Vinaya pitaka*, but they did not appear as yet as a separate collection depicting the Bodhisattva's practices of the *paramitas*.
7. Buddha was a human being but possessed omniscience, supernatural powers, and other attainments beyond the reach of other beings.¹² The appearance of a Buddha was exceedingly rare in the world, only one occurring in several kalpas.
8. The doctrines were confined to the three essentials : *anicca*, *dukkha*, and *anatta*, and the four *ariyasaccas*, *paticcasamuppada* and *atthangi^{ka}-magga* : practices were limited to the thirty-seven *Bodhipakkhika-dhammas*. The practices were usually divided under three heads; *sila* (observance of moral precepts), *samadhi* (meditation), and *panna* (development of insight and knowledge, enabling one to realize the Truth).
9. The goal of life was Arhathood and rarely Pacceka-Buddhahood, but never Buddhahood. The stages of progress to Arhathood were four, viz., *sotapatti*, *sakadagami*, *anagami*, and *arhatta*.
10. *Nibbana* was a state of absolute rest and marked the end of all *Kilesas* (impurities) and, consequently, of all *dukkha*. It was an extremely happy and peaceful (*santa*, *pantha*, *accantasukha*) condition.

B. Mixed Hinayana Buddhism (circa 350 to 100 B.C.)

The history of the events and doctrines of Buddhism of this period— one of the most important periods in its history—is still not fully known; first, because the sources from which the reconstruction can be made are scanty,¹³ and secondly, because those that are available are of a very late date. This period witnessed the breaking up of the Buddhist *Sangha* into many sections and the dispersal of these over the various parts of India, each growing in its own way. Though dissensions in the *Sangha* may be undesirable from the orthodox point of view, they were indicative of the deep interest taken by the disciples in ascertaining the real teachings of Buddha as also of the attempts to interpret the old teachings in a new way, and to adapt them to the changed circumstances brought about by the advancement of knowledge for over a century.

Growth of the Abhidhamma Literature

To keep pace with this movement of thought, the older schools had to gird up their loins in order to make their position strong and unassailable. As a result of this effort, there is the Abhidhamma literature of the *Theravada* and *Sarvastivada* schools.

The agreement between the *Nikayas* (*Agamas*)¹⁴ and the *Vinayas*¹⁵ of the *Theravada* and *Sarvastivada* schools and the disagreement in their *Abhidhamma*¹⁶ literatures show clearly that while compiling their *Nikayas* and the essential parts of the *Vinayas*, the two schools lived close to each other in Magadha or thereabouts,¹⁷ and utilised a common source,¹⁸ but while compiling their *Abhidhammas*, they lived far apart from each other and developed the *Abhidhamma* texts independently.¹⁹ From the nature of the contents of the *Kathavatthu* of the *Theravadins*, it is also evident that the *Abhidhammas* were developed not only to add strength to their respective views but also to criticize the views of their opponents and establish their own against them. Hence we can say that this period witnessed not only the appearance of the new schools but also a new development of the older ones.²⁰

Besides the efforts of the old and the new schools to vie with one another in the field of literature, one notices also a keen competition among them for propagating the tenets of their respective schools, which, as a matter of fact, resulted in a great measure in the wide propagation of Buddhism.²¹ It is a well known fact that the *Jatakas* and *Avadanas* were meant for inspiring in the minds of common people a faith in Buddhism and thereby popularizing the religion.²² The *Jatakas* were only an afterthought of the *Theravadins*. They originally did not form a part of their scriptures (*Buddhavacana*). The *Jataka Book*²³ or the floating mass of stories, some of which found their way into the famous stone-monument of India, belongs certainly to an ancient date as is proved by scholars like Rhys Davids, Cunningham, Oldenberg, and Winternitz, but still all of them are not considered to be of the same age as the *Nikayas*. Dr. Rhys Davids' suggestion, that the stories found both in the *Nikayas* (i.e., *Suttanta Jatakas of Cullaniddesa*) and in the *Jataka* collection from the oldest type *Jataka* stories and may therefore be called *Pre-Jataka*, is of great value.²⁴

Mention of *Jatakas* in the *Navangas* (nine sections), an ancient division of the Buddhist scriptures, may lead one to think that the ancient Buddhists were not without a *Jataka* literature of their own. This seems plausible at first sight, but it should be remembered that the division of the Buddhist scriptures into nine *Angas* does not refer to nine different groups of literature but to nine types of composition to be found in the collections of the ancient Buddhists. In one *Sutta* or *Suttanta* there may be portions which can be called a *sutta*, *ageyya*²⁵ a *gatha*, an *udana*, a *veyyakarana*, an *abbhutadhamma*, or a *jataka*. It was long after the *Navanga* division was known that the compilations *Udana*, *Itivuttaka*, and *Jataka* came into existence. The explanation of *navangas* as attempted by *Buddhagosa* also shows that he did not know any particular sections of literature corresponding to *navangas*. It is very interesting to note in his exposition that for two of the nine *angas*, vi., *Vedalla* and *Abbhutadhamma*, he could not find any work or group of works, which could be classified under these headings, and so he named some *suttas* which came under them. Taking these two as our clue, we may suggest that the other seven of the *Navangas* should also be explained in the same way. Instead of putting the whole *abhidhamma* collection under *Veyyakaran*,²⁶ the *Suttas*, in which *Sariputta*, *Mahakaccayana* or Buddha²⁷ gave detailed exposition of the four truths or of the eightfold path, or of any tenet of Buddhism or of any of the pithy sayings of Buddha, should have been included. So also the *Jataka-Anga* does not refer to the 550 *Jatakas* as *Buddhagosa* says. But to the few stories found in the *Nikayas*, in which Buddha referred to the incidents of one of his previous existences. *Purvanusmrti* is one of the *abhijnas* (superior knowledge) acquired by the Arhats, and so it is quite in keeping with the tenets of early Buddhism to speak of ones

previous existences. But the idea of utilising these stories of *Purvanusmrti* as a means of propagation of the religion came later, at least subsequent by a century and a half to the inception of Buddhism. So it is in the second period of our division that we must place the compilation or composition of the *abhidhamma* and the *Jataka* literatures.²⁸

Like *Buddhaghosa*, the *Mahayanic* expositors attempted to classify their literatures according to the twelve *angas*- a division current among the *Sarvastivadins*, *Mahasanghikas* and others, placing the *Astasahasrika Prajnaparamita* under *Sutra*, the *Gandavyuha*, *Samadhiraja* and *Saddharmapundarika* under *Veyyakarana*, and so forth.²⁹ But this division of scriptures into twelve *Angas* was not the work of the *Mahayanists*. It had been made by the *Sarvastivadins*³⁰ and the *Mahasanghikas*, followed by some of the other *Hinayanic* schools. The three additional *Angas* are *Nidana*, *Avadana* and *Upadesa*.³¹ Burnouf explains *Nidana* as those treatises which show the causes antecedent to events, e.g., how *Sakyamuni* became a Buddha. The cause was the completion of the *Paramitas* by Buddha and so the treatises or portions or treatises, describing the completion of *paramitas* are called *Nidanas*. He also points out that there is no literature which can be classified under *Nidana*.³² The explanation of Burnouf is supported by the *Nidanakatha* of *Jatakathavannana*, but in the *Mahayana* literature as well as in the *Mahavastu*, *Nidana* signifies the introductory description which sometimes contains, as in the case of the *Mahavastu*,³³ hints of the topics to be dealt with in the treatise. The description of the preparations made by Buddha, viz., entering into *samadhi* and putting forth rays of light from his body, the appearance of Buddhas on lotus, and so forth before preaching the *Prajnaparamita*, is called *Nidana*.³⁴ In the Tibetan versions of the *Ratnakutasutras*, the place where a particular *sutra* was delivered is referred to as *Nidana*.³⁵ Considering the use of this expression, we may take it as the *anga* (portion) of a treatise, which contains the introductory matters. The sense of the term *Avadana* is clear and needs no comment. It includes stories of previous births whether of Buddha or any of his disciples or of any prominent figure professing the Buddhist faith, and a huge literature has grown under this heading.³⁶ In the explanation of the term *Upadesa*, for these had not yet come into existence when the term *Upadesa* however, there is some obscurity. There is hardly any justification for considering the Buddhist Tantras as coming under the heading *Upadeśa*, for these had not yet come into existence when the term *Upadeśa* came into vogue.³⁷ It certainly means 'instruction' and this is supported by the Tibetan rendering of the term by *bab-par-bstan pahi-sde*. In one³⁸ of the Chinese texts it has been explained as those discourses which contained exposition of the profound and mystic dharmas. That the term later bore this sense is also apparent from the fact that the *Abhisamayalankarakarika* is sometimes called *Prajna-paramitopadesasastra*.³⁹

Incorporation of Paramis in the Doctrines of the Theravadins

One can easily observe the type of literature that was intended for inclusion under at least two of these headings. It consisted more of anecdotes, stories, parables and so forth than of actual doctrines of Buddhism. These were incorporated into the Buddhist literature in the garb of *Purvanusmrtis*, their chief object being to popularize Buddhism and to show that they were meant as much for the benefit of the mass as for the select few, who would retire from the worldly life. This is an innovation which the earliest orthodox school, the *Theravadins*, had to make reluctantly under the pressure of circumstances. Their early literature did not refer to the *Paramitas*,⁴⁰ and much later, when they spoke of the *paramis*, it was only to

inspire faith in the mind of the people and not to set an example to encourage them to fulfil paramis. The attitude of the *Sarvastivadins* and the *Mahasanghikas*, however, was different. They did not minimise in the least the extreme difficulty of the task of fulfilling the *paramitas*, but they did not discourage people from the endeavour. Not only to inspire faith, but also to encourage people in the performance of *dana*, *sila*, *Ksanti*, *virya*, *dhyana* and *prajna*, they invented story after story and associated them not only with the life of Buddha but also with the lives of persons, who attained prominence in the history of the Buddhist faith.

The *Theravadins*, it will be observed, speak, often *Paramis* mentioned above. (P. 218) Throughout Sanskrit literature, whether *Hinayana* or *Mahayana*, earlier or later, the *paramitas* are mentioned as six.⁴¹ It is in the *Dasabhumika-sutra*⁴² that we first find mention of ten *paramitas*, the following four added to the usual six, - *Upayakausalya*, *Pranidhana*, *Bala* and *Jnana*. If we compare the three lists, it would be evident that the conception of the six *paramitas* was the oldest. The *Theravadins* added to it *Nikkhamma*, *Sacca*, *Adhitthana*, *Metta* and *Upekkha*, and dropped *Dhyana*. Apparently, this list lacks a system,⁴³ for the last two, *Metta* and *Upekkha*, are included in the four *Brahmaviharas* and have to be practised by all Arhats to attain perfection, while *Sacca* may easily be included in *Sila*. Of the other two, *Adhitthana* is to take a resolution (which in the case of Sumedha only was to become a Buddha) and to carry it out at any cost, It corresponds to *Pranidhana* of the *Mahayanists*.⁴⁴ The *Nekkhamma parami*, i.e., retirement from the household life, was emphasised by the *Theravadins*; it, in fact, formed one of the chief features of the doctrines of this school, while it was not insisted upon by the *Mahasanghikas* and *Sarvastivadins*. The *Mahayanists* also gave to *Nekkhamma* a superior place, but they did not make it imperative upon every person to retire in order to derive the benefits of the religion.

One of the main reasons for the varying treatment of the *Paramitas* by the three schools is that the *Theravadins* rejected the idea of any person aspiring to Buddhahood, while the other two schools regarded the probability of a person becoming Buddha as a very rare event. In the *Divyavadana*,⁴⁵ there are passages, in which it is stated that after the delivery of a discourse, some persons were established in the Truth, some in one of the four stages of sanctification, some developed aspiration for the attainment of *Sravakabodhi* or *Pratyekabodhi*, and some for *Anuttarasamyaksambodhi*. Remarks like these are significant and show that the *Sarvastivadins*, to which school the *Divyavadana* belonged,⁴⁶ were not as conservative as the *Theravadins*. The *Mahasanghikas*, as is well known, were the first to bring about this change in the angle of vision. They were the precursors of Mahayana, and hence it is hardly necessary to adduce reasons why the practice of *Paramitas* should form an integral part of their doctrines. So the introduction and formulation of the *Paramitas* were due originally either to the *Mahasanghikas* or the *Sarvastivadins* and were adopted later in a modified form by the *Theravadins*.

Closely connected with the *Paramitas* are the *Jatakas* and *Avadanas* and consequently the *Bharhut* and *Sanchi* sculptures. All the three schools put forth their best effort in propaganda, but it is still an open question as to which of the three schools inspired the origin of the famous stone monuments. Attempts have been made by many scholars⁴⁷ to identify the sculptural representations of the *Jatakas*, representations which have been traced to the *Jatakathavannana*, but still the identifications are not all beyond doubt, and it is not improbable that a better elucidation of these sculptures will be found in the huge literature of *Avadanas*.

Propagation

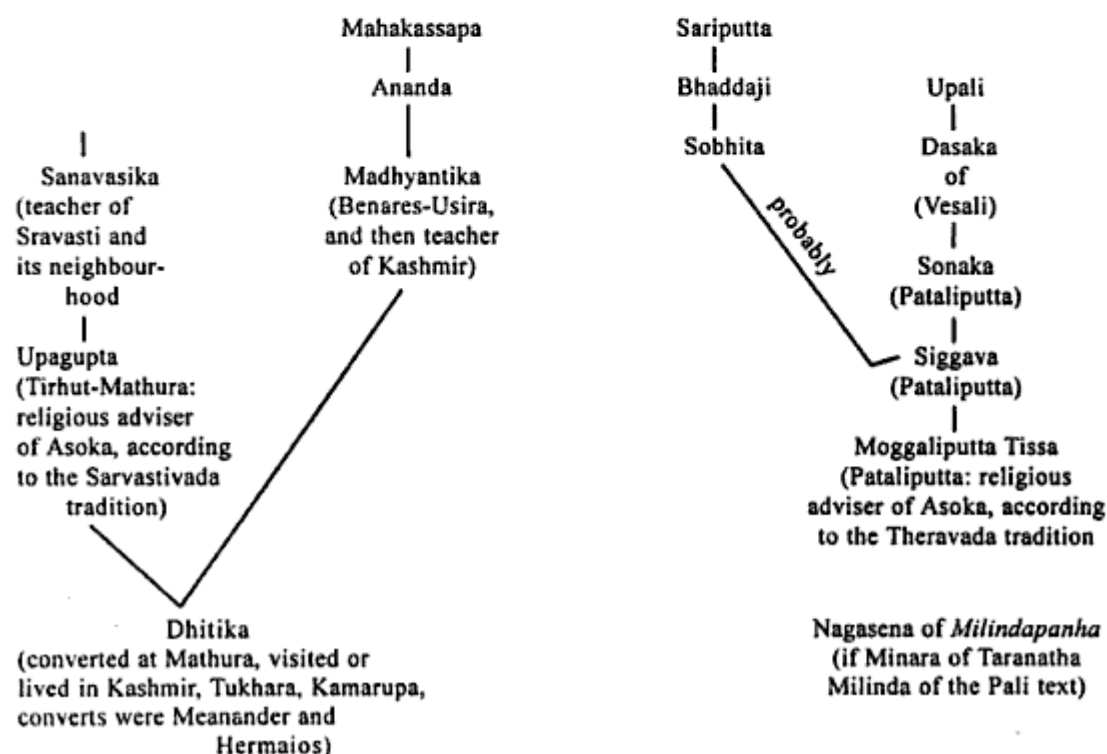
The efforts of the various schools to propagate their particular faith met with success, as is evidenced by the early stone-monuments of India. Every school no doubt increased the number of its adherents, and we have evidence of this in some of the inscriptions, belonging to a period a little later than with which we are here concerned. These inscriptions are records of gifts made specially to a particular school.⁴⁸ But along with these there are some inscriptions in which not particular sect is mentioned but gifts are made for the benefits of the sangha of the four regions (*caturdisa-sangha*).⁴⁹ This shows clearly that the devotees might have had faith in the tenets of only one of the schools but they supported all the schools, i.e. Buddhism in general. As the dates of these inscriptions do not help us much with regard to the period under review, we have to confine ourselves to the scanty evidence yielded by the few works, whose dates of composition might be a little later, but which may be regarded as yielding evidence for this period.

It has been seen from the *Nikayas* that early Buddhism was confined to the central belt of India from *Anga* to *Avanti*, though it also claimed a few adherents from the distant countries of the north and the south.⁵⁰ The account of the distribution of relics as given in the *Mahaparinibbana Sutta* in its *Pali* and Tibetan versions⁵¹ gives a fairly correct idea of the spread of Buddhism towards the beginning of the first period. The people who shared the relics were the Licchavis of *Vaisali*, *Sakyas* of *Kapilavatthu*, *Bulis* of *Allakappa*, *Koliyas* of *Ramagama*, *Brahmanas* of *Vethadipa*, *Mallas* of *Pava* and *Kusinara*, *Moriyas* of *Pipphalivana*, and the inhabitants of *Magadha*. The places mentioned are all in eastern India. The only place mentioned outside the eastern territory is *Gandharapura*, where a tooth of Buddha is said to have been enshrined.⁵² This is, as the commentator points out, later addition; in any case, the people of *Gandharapura* did not share in the relics. A further hint about the spread of Buddhism in the first period is furnished by the boundaries of the *Majjhima-janapada* as given in the *Mahavagga* of the *Vinaya*.⁵³ The boundaries are as follows: *Kajangala* in the east, next to the *Mahasala* forest, the river *Sallavati* on the south-east, *Setakannika* in the south, *Thuna Brahmanagama* on the west and *Usira pabbata* on the north. According to this account, *Avanti-dakkhinapatha* was a *paccantima-janapada* (border country)⁵⁴ and so also the country in the east beyond *Kajangala*, which is identified with *Bhagalpur*.⁵⁵ The *Divyavadana*⁵⁶ preserves this tradition replacing only the eastern boundary *Kajangala* by *Pundravardhana*. If *Pundravardhana* be identified with a place in North Bengal, the *Divyavadana* shows a slight extension of the eastern boundary. The only other name in this account that deserves attention is the *Usiraddhaja* of the *Mahavagga* and *Usiragiri* of the *Divyavadana*. We know of an *usira* mountain situated near *Mathura*,⁵⁷ and *Taranatha* also tells us that *Upagupta*, the famous monk of *Mathura* and spiritual adviser of *Ashoka* according to the *Sarvastivada* tradition, lived there for three years before going to *Kashmir* after leaving *Varanasi*.⁵⁸ So it is apparent that *Mathura*, a stronghold of the *Sarvastivadins*, was included in the *Majjhima-janapada*.

From the accounts of the *Vaishali Council* also, as given in the *Cullavagga*⁵⁹ and the *Vinayas* of the *Sarvastivada* and *Dharmagupta* schools, it seems that the horizon of Buddhism, even at the beginning of the second century after its appearance, did not extend farther. The geographical information has been given above.

Traditions of Acariyaparampara

The traditions of the Second Council as preserved by the Theravadins and the Sarvastivadins are the same,⁶⁰ and as far as the succession of monks is concerned, there is also no disagreement. The Theravadins only refer to Sambhuta Sanavasi as a member of the committee of the Second Council while the Sarvastivadins speak of him as the patriarch, who succeeded Ananda. The two traditions bifurcate after the Second Council, one speaking of the Ahsokan Council under the leadership of Moggaliputta Tissa, while the other speaking of Upagupta as the religious adviser of Ashoka, and dwelling at length on the Kaniskan Council at Jalandhara instead of the Ahsokan Council. This divergence of traditions is significant, and henceforth, the history of Buddhism is no longer the history of a single form of Buddhism but of many, principally of the three schools, Theravada, Sarvastivada and Mahasanghika.⁶¹ The Theravada is pre-eminently a Vinaya school,⁶² and though the Tibetan tradition ascribes to Kaccayana its leadership,⁶³ it may be noted that Upali as the compiler of the Vinaya was highly venerated by the Theravadins, and his connection with the Asokan Council is established through his disciples. It should be observed that though the Theravadins speak of lines of disciples (*acariyaparampara*) from Upali or Sariputta, there was no system of patriarchal succession. In the *Majjhima Nikaya*⁶⁴ it is expressly stated that in the Buddhist Sangha there was no recognized head. It had, according to the Founder's dictum, a fully democratic basis. The Tibetan and Chinese traditions gave, in fact, currency to the idea of patriarchal succession,⁶⁵ which, however, is not worth credence.⁶⁶ The *Atthasalini* also gives us a list of acariyas of the Abhidhammikas, tracing it from Sariputta. The traditions of the Theravadins and the Sarvastivadins about the *Acariyaparampara* of the first two centuries may be combined thus:



As mentioned above, there was no such *Acariyaparampara* as patriarchal succession, nor should an attempt be made to calculate the duration of abbotship on the basis of an average period, as is usually done in connection with kings, for the Buddhist saints were generally long-lived, and there was no custom of a disciple succeeding his teacher. Moreover, the ordination of disciples could have happened in the earliest or the latest part of a teacher's life. According to Taranatha, Madhyantika was ordained by Ananda shortly before his death; hence it is quite possible that he was a contemporary of both Sanavasi and Upagupta, or of Dasaka, Sonaka, Siggava and Moggaliputta. Reading the tradition in this way, and also observing the names of places, which were the centres of activity of the various bhikkhus, it may be stated that after the Council of Vaisali, the Sarvastivadins attained more and more popularity and spread towards the north, having two important centres, one at Mathura with Upagupta as the chief teacher, and the other in Kashmir with Madhyantika as the chief, the two centres having later on coalesced under the leadership of Dhritika, who, it seems, greatly extended the horizon of influence of the Sarvastivada school by pushing it eastwards to Kamarupa, westward to Malva, and north-westward to Tukhara, the realm of Minara and Imhasa. The Theravadins retained their seat in Magadha all along with a branch at Ujjayini, founded by Mahakaccayana. Mahinda and Sanghamitta,⁶⁷ it seems, were closely connected with the Ujjayini branch of the Theravada school and propagated the same in Ceylon.

Ashoka's Part in the Propagation of Buddhism

Emperor Ashoka had no doubt Buddhist leanings but in his exhortations, so far as they have been found in the edicts, there is not the slightest hint of his actively helping the propagation of Buddhism. His edicts refer to *dhammavijaya* as opposed to conquest by arms, but by *dhamma* consisted of maxims for leading an ideal life and performing meritorious deeds, which made a person happy in this world as well as in the next. The edicts do not contain any reference to Nirvana or Sunyata, Anatma or Duhkha, while on the other hand, these speak of heaven and happiness in a heavenly life,⁶⁸ which was never an ideal of early Buddhism, for it considered existence in any one of the three dhatus: Kama, Rupa and Arupa to be misery (*duhkha*). But it must be admitted that when an emperor like Ashoka showed a bias for a particular religion and even proclaimed himself to be a Buddhist upasaka, and paid visits to the monasteries or sacred places of the Buddhists, the religion automatically received an impetus and its propagation by the Buddhist monks then became easy. So it may be regarded that Ashoka was a passive propagator of Buddhism and, during his rule, the religion very probably made its way throughout his kingdom, reaching also places beyond his dominion, viz., the kingdoms of the Yavanas, Kambojas, as Tamaparni on the south.⁶⁹ As Ashoka was an adherent of Buddhism only as a supporter, or at most as an upasaka,⁷⁰ he cannot be expected to be interfering in the sectarian disputes that were going on at his time. Hence it is difficult to attach importance to the tradition of the *Mahavamsa* according to which he supported the Vibhajjavadins (=Theravadins),⁷¹ or to the statement in the *Avadanas* that he was a devotee of Upagupta. It may also be observed that he did not refer to Bodhisattva conception, nor to the paramitas, which could suitably have been incorporated into his code of moral maxims. His admonition to his subjects to choose the middle path, avoiding the two extremes, viz., of retirement from worldly life on the one hand and of indulgence in envy, anger, laziness, and so forth on the other,⁷² shows that he was not so much in favour of retirement from household life, upon which the early Hinayana Buddhists always laid emphasis. Ashoka's preference for

the life of an ideal upasaka as against that of a monk may have stimulated the Buddhist monks to Buddhist monks to devise ways and means to popularize their religion, and as a result of the efforts of the monks in this direction, appeared a large number of Jatakas and Avadanas.

The tradition of the *Mahavamsa* about the part played by Ashoka in the Third Council with Moggaliputta Tissa as its president, and about the despatch of missionaries to the various parts of India, still awaits verification. It is not improbable that a sectarian council of the Theravadins was held under the leadership of Moggaliputta Tissa during Ashoka's reign and that active propaganda was set on foot to spread Buddhism in the various territories in an outside India,⁷³ which the *Mahavamsa* recorded with a colouring of its own. In the same way, we can account for the religious advisers of Ashoka, viz., Upagupta and Moggaliputta Tissa. Ashoka as an impartial ruler must have offered equal treatment to the Buddhists and the non-Buddhists. In the circumstances it may be inferred that he would not support one sect of Buddhism against another. The Theravadins as well as the Sarvastivadins associated his name with the contemporaneous leading figures of their respective sects in order to add importance to themselves. It would be fruitless therefore to attempt an identification of Moggaliputta Tissa with Upagupta—as has been done by Smith and other scholars.⁷⁴ We may with some amount of confidence accept the tradition of the *Mahavamsa* that about the time of Ashoka, Buddhism made its way to the countries of Kashmira-Buddhism made its way to the countries of Kashmira-Gandhara, Mahisamandala, Vanavasi, Yona, Maharattha, Himavantapadesa Suvannabhumi, and Lankadipa.⁷⁵

Career of the Mahasanghikas

Further light could have been thrown on the propagation of Buddhism during this period, if the tradition about the propagation of the Mahasanghikas had been available. It may be that the Chinese versions of the Mahasanghika Vinaya may yield some information, but as yet we are in the dark about it. From the account of the Vaisali Council, it can be stated that they retained their seat at Vaisali, and from the inscriptions on the Mathura Lion Capital (120 B.C.)⁷⁶ and on the Wardak vase in Afghanistan,⁷⁷ it may be inferred that they made attempts to proceed towards the north, but the caves of Karle and the location of the centre of activities of their offshoots, the Pybbaseliyas and Aparaseliyas at Dhanakataka⁷⁸ (i.e., Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda stupas) indicate that they were later successful in their propagation more in the south than in the north.

According to Dr. Burgess, the Amaravati stupas at Dharanikota (Dhanyakataka) were originally constructed as early as the 2nd century B.C.⁷⁹ and Nagarjuna was closely associated with the Buddhist establishment of this place. At any rate there is no doubt that Dhanyakataka was the chief centre of the Caityakas, the Purva and Aparasaila branches of the Mahasanghika school, and that the people living there and in its neighbourhood lavished gifts on this Buddhist establishment. The *Manjusrimulakalpa*⁸⁰ also mentions that it contained the relics of Buddha.⁸¹ This is corroborated by the recent find of an inscription, recording the gift of a pillar by the sister of Maharaja Madhariputra Srivirapurasadatta to the Caitya enshrining the dhatu of Sammasambuddha. Among the inscriptions of this place, edited by Dr. Burgess, there is one (No. 121), which refers to the Caityakas, of which the Purva-and Aparasails were branches. Another important place near Dhanyakataka as Sriparvata (Srisailam), where, according to the Tibetan tradition, Nagarjuna passed his last days.⁸² The *Manusrimulakalpa* also takes notice

of this mountain as a suitable place for Buddhistic practices and one of the inscriptions, recently found, records that some devotees constructed a number of caityas and viharas, and dug wells for pilgrims visiting the sacred place from Gandhara Cina, Aparanta, Vanga, Tambapannidipa, etc.⁸³

The *Mahavamsa* and the *Sasanavamsa* present a connected history of Buddhism in India up to the period of Ashoka, and then turn to the history of Buddhism in Ceylon, leaving us in the dark about the career of the Theravadins in India, till we come to the *Milindapanha*. From it is learnt that king Milinda of Sagala (Sialkot, Lahore) took great interest in Buddhism, and that Nagasena, a native of Kajangala, the easternmost boundary of the Majjhima-janapada, came to him, passing through Vattaniya and Pataliputta. He stopped at the Sankheyya-parivena at Sagala. This account of Nagasena's route indicates that Buddhism had already made its way as far north as Sagala.⁸⁴

Taranatha, however, continues the story and gives us an account of the spread of Buddhism after Soka, but as his narrative is based mainly on the Sarvastivada tradition, we may regard this story as essentially that of the Sarvastivadins. He tells us that Upagupta ordained Dhitika,⁸⁵ a native of Ujjayini, at Mathura, the usual place of residence of Upagupta. The teachership was transferred from Upagupta to Dhitika, who spread the religion widely, and converted Minara, the king of Tukhara. Many monks of his time went thither from Kashmir and established firmly the religion at that place. They were supported by both King Minara and his son Imhasa.⁸⁶ Dhitika then went to the east to Kamarupa where he converted the rich Brahmana Siddha and established the religion there. After this, he visited Malava and converted the rich Brahmana Adarpa, laying thereby the foundation of the religion in that region. He came at length to his native place at Ujjayini and there spent his last days. He was succeeded by Kala or Krishna,⁸⁷ who was followed by Sudarshana of Bharukaccha. The spheres of activity of both these monks were in the West (Sindh) and the north (Kashmir) of India generally. In connection with Krishna, it is stated that he spread the religion in the South of India, him many small islands including Ceylon, and subsequently in Mahacina.⁸⁸ Poshadha, who came after him, spread Buddhism in Orissa during the rule of Vigatasoka.⁸⁹ Taranatha's history is full of legends, and as such all his statements cannot be taken as authentic. But considering the fact that he makes some statements which are not prima facie unreasonable and are, in many cases, corroborated by the Chinese travellers, we can attach to them some importance, though, of course, great caution should be exercised.

Doctrinal Developments

We shall now proceed to take place during this period and heralded the advent of Mahayanism. The Mahasanghikas were evidently the earliest school of the Hinayanists to show a tendency towards conceiving Buddha docetically, which was later on brought to completion by a branch of theirs, the Lokottaravadins.⁹⁰ But whether the conception of the Bodhisattva and the practice of the six paramitas was introduced for the first time by the Mahasanghikas or by the Sarvastivadins is uncertain. The mention of *Satparamita*, the fulfilment of which is compulsory for the Bodhisattvas, is frequently found in the works of both the Sarvastivadins and the Mahasanghikas, and both are responsible for the growth of the large mass of Avadana literature,⁹¹ the central theme of which is the fulfilment of the paramitas.

Then there remains the other conception, viz., the attainment of Buddhahood as the goal to be aspired after, and the consequent lowering of the position of the Arhats.⁹² The Theravadins do not definitely deny that Buddhahood is unattainable, for there is the instance of Sumedha Brahmana becoming Sakyamuni and that of a certain being, who will in future become Maitreya Buddha, but such instances are so few and far between that it would not be reasonable to hold up the ideal for the generality of the human beings to follow. They assert that a Buddha is hardly expected to arise even in so many kalpas,⁹³ and this is echoed in the *Lalita vistara*, *Mahavastu*, and some of the Mahayanic texts: but still one reads in the *Divyavadana* that after the delivery of a discourse, some aspired to *Sravakabodhi*, some to *Pratyekabodhi*, and some to *Samyaksambodhi*.⁹⁴ The fact mentioned last that some aspire to *Samyaksambodhi* leads us to infer that by the time of the *Divyavadana* the *Sarvastivadins* admitted the practicability of holding up Buddhahood as an ideal. So, clearly, the *Sarvastivadins* encouraged the aspiration to Buddhahood and hence to the life of a Bodhisattva, and the goal of Buddhahood was not purely Mahasanghika or Mahayanic. The *Sarvastivadins* like the Theravadins conceived Buddha as an actual human being, but they magnified his attainments and powers so much that one is led to regard their conception of Buddha as that of a superhuman being.

The *Sarvastivadins* had two Kaya conceptions, viz., rupakaya and dharmakaya, but these did not bear any Mahayanic sense though their conception of dharmakaya helped the Yogacarins in the formulation of their conception of the same. The *Sarvastivadins* were also responsible for the addition of the fourth term, sunya, to the usual trio, viz., dukkha, anitya, and anatima, though the word conveyed no Mahayanic meaning as it connoted no other sense than anatman.⁹⁵

But the most important doctrine of the *Sarvastivadins*, which contrail led to the development of Mahayana, is their extreme Astitvavada (the theory of the actual existence of elements composing a being). It may be said that Mahayana is a continuation of the Buddhological speculations of the Mahasanghikas and their offshoots, and contrarily against the astitvavada of the *Sarvastivadins*—a dogme which appeared to the Mahayanists as an utter distortion of Buddha's teachings.⁹⁶ It was tis reaction, which led to the other extreme, the establishment of *Dharma-sunyata* (non-existence of everything whatsoever) as the real teaching of Buddha.

The third contribution made by the Hinayanists, especially by the *Sarvastivadins*, is the exposition or analysis of skandhas, dhatus, ayatanas, aryasatyas, angas of the pratityasamutpada, and so forth.⁹⁷ The Mahayanists incorporated them in their work *in toto*, although they relegated them to the domain of Samvrti or Parikaepita, Paratantra, admitting, however, their utility as being indispensable to Bodhisattvas in arriving at the Paramartha or Parinispanna truth.⁹⁸

Contact of the *Sarvastivadins* with the Mahayanists

The Mahasanghikas may have been the forerunners of Mahayana but it is clear that the *Sarvastivadins* contributed much to the growth of Mahayana in one way or the other. As a sign of close contact, it may further be pointed out that Subhuti⁹⁹ a prominent figure in the *Sarvastivada* tradition, played an important role in the *Prajnaparamita*. It is anomalous to find a Hinayana monk explaining the sunyata doctrine, which goes directly against his own: so the *Prajnaparamita* offers us an explanation of the anomaly by saying that whatever was preached by subhti was not according to his own lights but through the inspiration of Buddhas.

The adoption of the Lalita Vistara by the Mahayaists as the recognised Life of Buddha also shows a point of contact between them and the Sarvastivadins, for, as we learn from the Chinese translators, the Lalita Vistara was a biography of Buddha of the Sarvastivada school. Mahayaism in all probability germinated in the south, where the offshoots of the Mahasanghikas had their centres of activities, but where it appeared more developed was a place somewhere in the eastern part of India, a place where the Sarvastivadins were predominant. Taranatha tells us that the Prajnaparamita was first preached by Manjusri at Odivisa (Orissa),¹⁰⁰ which, if not the actual centre of Sarvastivadins, was in the neighbourhood of the that Dhitika propagated Sarvastivada Buddhism in Kamrupa and Pundravardhana, which was the extended eastern limit of the Madhayadesa. But the most fruitful contact between the Sarvastivadins and the Mahayanists took place at Nalanda, which became the principal centre of Mahayana and the seat of Nagarjuna.

Thus it is apparent that the Sarvastivadins were as much responsible for the growth of Mahayana as the Mahasanghikas. Apart from the Buddhologivcal speculations, the Mahasanghikas cannot claim much as their contribution to the growth of Mahayana. It may be that the *Prajnaparamita* which, as the Tibetan tradition¹⁰¹ tells us, was possessed by the *Purvasailas*, contributed much to the philosophy of Mahayana, but as yet we are completely in the dark about this *Prajnaparamita*. From Vasmitra's account of the tenets of the Mahasanghikas¹⁰² or from the discussion found in the Kathavatthu about the doctrines of the Maasanghikas, one hardly notices anything particularly Mahayanic in them. For instance, the Mahasanghikas speak

- (i) of the panca-(or sad-) vijnanakayas, differing from the Theravadins and the Sarvastivadins as to the function of the physical organs of sense;¹⁰³
- (ii) of the four or eight Hinayanic stages of sanctification along with the attainments appertaining thereto,¹⁰⁴ the *Kathavatthu* adding that the Mahasanghikas assert that the Arhats have avijja, vicikiccha, as they cannot comprehend the things that come within the purview of (Buddhavisaya);¹⁰⁵
- (iii) of the indispensability of the application (prayoga) of prajna, for destroying dhkha and obtaining accanta-skha (i.e., final beatitude, Nirvana), one of the most important tenets of the Hinayanic school;¹⁰⁶
- (iv) of samyagdrsti, sraddhendriya as not laukika (worldly), the *Kathavatthu*¹⁰⁷ adding that the Mahasanghikas hold that old age and death could neither be lokiya (worldly) nor lokottara (transcendental), because they are aparinispanna (unmade),¹⁰⁸ and because the "decay and death of supramundane beings and things is supramundane";¹⁰⁹
- (v) of samyaktva-nyama¹¹⁰ (destined for right knowledge) and the consequent destruction of samyojanas (fetters);
- (vi) of Buddha's preaching the Dharma in the nitārtha sense;¹¹¹
- (vii) of asamskrta dharma as being nine in contrast to three of the Sarvastivadins;¹¹²
- (viii) of upaklesas (impurities), anusayas (dormant passions) and paryavasthanas (pervading passions);¹¹³

- (ix) of the non-existence of phenomena of the past and future, as against the opinion of the Sarvastivadins,¹¹⁴ and
- (x) of the non-existence of antarabhava (existence intermediate between death and re-birth) as against the opinion of the Sarvastivadins¹¹⁵ and the Sammitiyas.

In these and on a few other points of difference noticed in the work of Vasumitra and the Kathavatthu, there is very little to distinguish them as distinctly Mahayanic. In the Mahavastu¹¹⁶ also, the discourses on the Truths¹¹⁷ or the Causal Law, or on anitya, dukkha, and anatma do not go beyond the limits of Hinayana conception. The only Mahayanic traces in the tenets of the Mahasanghikas are:

- (i) the Buddhological speculation, viz., that Buddhas are lokottara (supramundane), without any sasrava dharma (defiled elements), possessed of limitless rupakaya (physical body),¹¹⁸ prabhava (power), and ayu¹¹⁹ (length of life), can remain without any sleep or dream, are always in samadhi, and do not preach by name or designation, possess Ksanikacitta (i.e. understand all dharmas with a moment's thought). and so forth;
- (ii) the Bodhisattva conception, viz., that the Bodhisattvas are not born and do not grow in the womb the same way as an ordinary being, are not defiled by the impurities of the womb,¹²⁰ enter the womb in full consciousness,¹²¹ never harbour any feeling of *Kama* (lust),¹²² *dvesa* (hatred or enmity), and *moha* (delusion) take *birthin him-gatis* (lower forms of existence) for the benefit of the various classes of sentient beings, and so forth.¹²³

These Buddhological speculations are more or less corollaries to the Mahasanghika conception of the life of Sakyamuni. The Mahasanghikas do not show thereby any recognition that all beings can become Bodhisattvas and ultimately Buddhas. The conception of the four caryas and ten bhumis of the Lokottaravadins indicates a slight leaning to Mahayanism. Thus, there appears to be little of Mahayana in the tenets of the Mahasanghikas.¹²⁴ The Mahasanghikas, therefore, were basically Hinayanists, only with the conception of Buddha slightly different. Now we can state briefly the history of Buddhism in the second period thus:

1. Buddhism is no longer one. It is divided into three principal sections, viz., Theravada, Sarvastivada, and Mahasanghika. The Theravadins remained in the central belt of India, making their position stronger in Avanti where Mahakccayana had laid the foundation of Buddhism and from which place Mahendra was despatched to Ceylon to propagate Theravada Buddhism there. The Sarvastivadins were also in the central belt of India with their centres of activity in Mathura and Kashmir, the former having been founded by Upagupta and maintained by Madhyantika, who spread it widely all over Northern India including Tukhara on the north-west, Malava on the west and Odisha (Orissa) and Kamarupa on the east. The Mahasanghikas established themselves at Vaisali and had followers sprinkled all over Northern India, but they became popular in the south. In short, Buddhism during this period spread all over Northern India and parts of Southern India.

2. Emperor Ashoka took great interest in Buddhism but did not help any particular sect. The dhamma preached in his edicts is mainly ethical and lacks the specific colouring of any school of Buddhism. He encouraged leading a righteous household life rather than the life of monk or an ascetic. He, however, respected and supported the monks and recluses. The interest taken by rulers, like Minara and Imhasa, helped greatly the propagation of Buddhism outside India.
3. The relation of the laity to the Buddhist sangha was not materially altered as compared with the previous conditions but a greater interest was created for the laity by popularizing Buddhism through the Jatakas and Avadanas and by holding up the Paramita practices before them as ideal.
4. Much stress was laid on the composition of the Jatakas and Avadanas, and great religious merit was attached to reading, writing, painting, and carving them. This caught the fancy of the laity as a means of earning religious merit, and resulted in many sculptures, some of which only are preserved at Sanchi and Bharhut. The credit for popularizing the religion through the Jatakas and Avadanas goes, at the first instance, to the Sarvastivadins, and, later, to the Theravadins.
5. The old division of Navanga was increased to Dvadasanga by the addition of Nidana, Avadana, and Upadesa. Though the Jatakas formed one of the divisions of the Navanga, they did not exist as a separate literature, but were embodied in the discourses purporting to have been delivered by Buddha and his disciples.
6. The account of the Life of Buddha commenced not from the time of Sidhartha's retirement but from the first resolution (pranidhana) made by Sumedha Brahmana, and the prophecy (veyyakarana) made by dipankara Buddha.
7. The essential doctrines are still the same as in the first period with slight changes e.g., the addition of sunya to the usual anitya, dukkha, and anatman, and of the six paramitas to the thirty-seven Bodhipaksika dharma.
8. Some radical changes were effected in the tenets of the schools, which developed during this period e.g., the Sarvastivadins started their doctrine of realism, of the existence of past, present, and future, and so forth, while the Mahasanghikas conceived Buddha docetically and introduced the Bodhisattva conception.
9. The goal of life remained Arhathood and Pratyekabuddhahood with the Theravadins, while the Sarvastivadins added to them the goal of Samyaksambuddhahood.
10. The conception of Nirvana as sukha, santa, etc., did not change much, the Sarvastivadins, and the Mahasanghikas agreeing mainly with the Theravadins.¹²⁵ But the doctrine of realism of the Sarvastivadins has led Prof. Stcherbatsky to interpret their Nirvana as an ultimate lifeless state.¹²⁶
11. The growth the Abhidhamma literature took place during this period. As the principal schools located their centres of activity at different places, the development of the literature of each school was independent of one another. This accounts for the wide divergence between the Abhidhamma literature of the Theravadins and that of the Sarvastivadins.

12. The conception of Bodhisattva, paramita practices, and the goal of Buddhahood are the only Mahayanic traces that appeared in the doctrines of the Mahasanghikas and Sarvastivadins, and their offshoots.

C. The Beginning of Mahayana (100 B.C.—300 A.D.)

Before proceeding to ascertain the approximate time of the emergence of Mahayana, the special characteristics, which distinguish Mahayana from Hinayana should be determined. Generally speaking, Mahayanism denotes:

- (i) the conception of Bodhisattva,
- (ii) the practice of Paramitas.
- (iii) the development of Bodhicitta,
- (iv) the ten stages (bhumi) of spiritual progress,
- (v) the goal of Buddhahood,
- (vi) the conception of Trikaya, and
- (vii) the conception of Dharmasunyata Dharmasamata or Tathata.

The Mahayanists distinguish themselves by saying that they seek the removal of both klesavarana (veil of impurities) and *Jneyavarana* (veil covering the paramartha truth), and this is possible by the realisation of both *pudgalasunyata* (absence of soul) and *dharmasunyata* (non-existence of all beings and objects). The Hinayanists realize only the former and thereby remove Klesavarana only. They, therefore, attain vimukti (emancipation) from Klesas, and as far as this is concerned, they are on the same footing as the Mahayanists, but they lack true knowledge as conceived by the Mahayanists, viz., *dharmasunyata*, because they do not remove jneyavarana. The Hinayanists, however, do not admit their inferiority with regard to Jnana, for they consider that the destruction of *avidya* (ignorance of truth) or, in other words, acquisition of true knowledge is the only means to emancipation, and this is effected by Arhats in the same way as by Buddhas. The arhats are very often mentioned in the Pali works as attaining *sambodhi*. They, however, admit that Buddhas on account of their superior merits (technically, *gotra*) due to their long practice of meritorious deeds, attain some powers and excellencies and also omniscience, which are beyond the reach of the Arhats. This in short, is the relative position of the Hinayanists and the Mahayanists.

If the development of Hinayana in its various phases be examined, one cannot help observing that some of the distinguishing characteristics of mahayana mentioned above are also found in the later phases of Hinayana e.g.,

- (i) conception of Bodhisattva,
- (ii) practice of six Paramitas,
- (iii) development of Budhicitta.
- (iv) goal of Buddhahood, and
- (v) two of the three *Kaya* conceptions, viz., Rupa (or *Nirmana*-) kaya and *Dharmakaya*, the conception of the latter being essentially different from that of the Mahayanists.¹²⁷

So, to be exact about the time of emergence of Mahayana, we should consider when the conceptions of Dharmasunyata and Dharmakaya (Tathata) were introduced.

Semi-Mahayana

From what has been stated above in regard to the lines of development in the preceding period, it is evident that the Hinayanists, either to popularize their religion or to interest the laity more in it, incorporated in their doctrines the conception of Bodhisattva and the practice of *paramitas*.¹²⁸ This was effected by the production of new literature: the jatakas and Avadanas. While the Jatakas are confined to the previous lives of Buddha, the Avadanas introduced the Bodhisattva conception, and presented the same as an ideal for the laity. The object of the Avadanas is to show how the devotees sacrificed everything, even their lives, for perfection in one of the Paramitas, not for any earthly or heavenly pleasures, but for the attainment of bodhi and then for rescuing all beings from misery.¹²⁹

The divyavadana, as stated above, refers to the aspiration after the attainment of Buddhahood; the Mahavastu¹³⁰ also refers to devotees developing Bodhicitta and aspiring after Buddhahood by the simple act of worshipping a stupa or offering some gifts to it. In connection with the Sarvastivadins, Vasumitra speaks

- (i) of the sameness of *vimukti* of Buddhas, sravakas and *Pratyekabuddhas*; and also
- (ii) of the three Yanas; and
- (iii) of Bodhisattvas continuing to be *prthagjana* till they step into the *Samyaktva-nyama* (the path leading to right knowledge).¹³¹

The Mahavastu also speaks of the existence of the three Yanas¹³² and of the paths and practices to be followed by a Bodhisattva. It mentions the four caryas of a Bodhisattva and the ten *bhumis*, but the conception of the *bhumis*¹³³ has very little in common with that of the ten bhumis of the Dasabhumikasutra and Bodhisattva-bhumi¹³⁴ except the first two. Of course. It may be assumed that the Lokottaravada conception of the bhumis served as the source for the later development of the Mahayanic conception. Thus the Avadanas, which are primarily the production of the Sarvastivadins, clearly show a new phase of development of Hinayanic Bodhisattva-Yana. The Lokottaravadins¹³⁵ of the Mahasanghikas show a little more development than the Sarvastivadins by defining the four caryas, viz. *prakticarya*, *pranidhanacarya*, *anulomacarya*, and *anivartanacarva*,¹³⁶ the first referring to the preliminary practices of a Bodhisattva while his a *prthagjana*, the second to the development of Bodhicitta, the third to the gradual progress made by a Bodhisattva up to the sixth bhumi, and the fourth to the practice of the last four *bhumis*,¹³⁷ from which a Bodhisattva can never retrocede but ultimately must attain Bodhi. The attainment of Bodhi, therefore, came to be regarded as one of the goals of Hinayana. It is for this reason that the *kosa*¹³⁸ has discussed the thirty-four moments required for the attainment of Bodhi, and other matters relating to Buddhahood, and the Hinayanic works¹³⁹ mention some of the Bodhisattva practices as well as philosophical expressions like *sunyata*, *dharmadhatu*, *dharmakaya*, *tathatva*, though these are devoid of their Mahayanic sense.

In view of these facts, it may be held that before Mahayana came into being with its new interpretation of Buddha's words evolving a new sense of sunyata, there had already been a Hinayanic *Bodhisattvayana*, which might be called semi-Mahayana, or Mahayana in the making.

This semi-Mahayanism concerned itself only with the six Paramita practices and the extraordinary powers and knowledge attained by Buddhas. It was as yet unaware of '*Advaya Advaidhikara*,' Dharmasunyata or Tathata. That the six paramitas belong to the domain of Hinayana is also hinted at in the *Dasabhumikasutra*. In this sutra as well as in other treatises dealing with bhūmis, the ten bhūmis are divided into two sections, the first six carrying a Bodhisattva to the realisation of pudgalasunyata, or in other words, the Truth as conceived by the Hinayanists, and the last four leading to the realisation of Dharmasunyata, the Truth as conceived by the Mahayanists. So the actual Mahayanic stages of progress commenced from the seventh, but it is stated in the *Dasabhumikasutra* that the six paramitas are completed by a bodhisattva in the first six bhūmis. Thus it follows that the practice of Paramitas alone does not make a person a follower of Mahayana, though it must be admitted that Mahayana takes its stand upon the paramitas as far as the practices are concerned, for it is said in the *Prajnaparamitas* that Buddhas deliver discourses connected with the six paramitas,¹⁴⁰ and also in the *Madhyamakavatara*¹⁴¹ that Mahayana teaches not only sunyata but also paramitas, bhūmis, and so forth. Lastly, the fact namely, that the conceptions of *Nirnimitta* and *nihsvabhava*, indicating the chief features of the attainments of a Bodhisattva in the last four bhūmis, were yet unknown to the compiler of the *Mahavastu*, is evident from his non-mention of the qualities attained in the last four bhūmis. Hence, it may be concluded that Buddhism entered into its semi-Mahayanic stage very early, if not at the time of Asoka, at any rate, soon after him.

The Time of Composition of the *Prajnaparamita*: The new Mahayanic conception of Sunyata was for the first time propounded in the *Prajnaparamitas*. It should, therefore be ascertained when the *Prajnaparamita* first came into existence. This is a Tibetan tradition that the *Purvasailas* and *Aparasailas* had a *Prajnaparamita* in Prakrit dialect,¹⁴² unfortunately no other information about is forthcoming. Taranatha tells us that shortly after the time of king Mahapadma Nanda, a king called Candragupta reigned in Odivisa (Orissa)¹⁴³. Manjusri came to his house in the form of a bhikṣu and delivered the Mahayana teaching. The Sautrantikas maintained that this teaching denoted the *Astasahasrika Prajnaparamita*, but the tantric school asserted that it indicated the *Tattvasaṅgraha*. It may be safely stated that the Tantric tradition was baseless in view of the subjects treated in the *Tattvasaṅgraha*,¹⁴⁴ and preference should be given to the *Sautrantika* tradition that the *Astasahasrika* was the earliest text to contain Mahayana teaching. If the contents of the *Astasahasrika*, *Pancaviṃśatisahasrika*, and *Satasahasrika* be compared, it will be seen that the *Astasahasrika* is the earliest of the three and that it can be as early as the first century B.C.¹⁴⁵

The Geographical Data About The Origin Of Mahayana: Without attaching much importance to the chronology of kings and such other information presented by Taranatha one may with sufficient caution utilize some of his statements with regard to the developments in the history of Buddhism, the geographical distribution of the schools, and the succession of teachers in the various centres. He states that, according to one tradition 500 bodhisattvas¹⁴⁶ took part in the Jalandhara Council of Kaniska, that about this time the Mahayana texts appeared and were usually preached by monks who had attained the *anupattika dharmakṣanti* (faith in the non-origination all dharmas),¹⁴⁷ a dogma characteristic of Mahayanism. It may be a development of the Hinayanic *Kṣayajñāna*,¹⁴⁸ (eradication of asravas) and *Anupadajñāna* (non-origin) and hence non-rebirth, but it bore a completely different sense in the Mahayana scriptures. The reference to the existence of a class of monks called Bodhisattvas at the time

of Kaniska's Council is also significant, for the Divyavadana speaks of the existence of a class of monks called *Bodhisattvajatika* along with a hint that they were not looked upon with favour by the Hinayanists.¹⁴⁹ Taranatha expresses his difficulty in accounting for the existence of monks called Bodhisattvas in the Kaniskan Council. He tells us further that about the time of Kaniska, the Brahmana *Kulika* of saurashtra invited the Sthavira *Arahanta* Nanda, a native of Anga, who had comprehended the Mahayana teaching, in order to hear from him the new teaching.¹⁵⁰ The only point that deserves notice is the use of the appellations, Arahanta and Sthavira, indicating that Nanda was a Hinayanist monk, who had comprehended the Mahayana teaching. The remark of Taranatha that the monks who had attained *anupattikadharmaksanti* preached also Mahayana, shows there was a class of Hinayana monks, who had been propagating the Mahayana teaching.¹⁵¹ Then the associations of Odivisa with the beginning of Mahayana teaching and that of the monk Nanda with Anga suggest that the origin of Mahayana should be looked for somewhere in the east. A passage occurring in all the Prajnaparamitas, partially lends support to the statement of Taranatha. In this passage it is stated that mahayana teaching would originate in the south (*Daksinapatha*), pass to the eastern countries (*Vartanyam*),¹⁵² and prosper in the north. Evidently, the statement of the Prajnaparamita was written while the work was composed in the north after the Mahayana teaching had been effectively propagated there. This statement may be substantiated by pointing to the Tibetan tradition about the existence of a Prajnaparamita in the Prakrit dialect belonging to the Salla schools, the centre of which was in the south (Guntur District). Very probably, this Prajnaparamita contained the rudiments of Mahayana teaching. Then the shifting of the centre of Mahayana to the east is hinted at by Taranatha, as mentioned above. In this connection it may also be pointed out that Nalanda was one of the earliest centres and store-houses of Mahayana teaching becoming, later on, the seat of Nagarjuna. It seems quite probable that mahayanism originated in the south some time before Kaniska and became a recognised form of Buddhism by the time of Kaniska, i.e. about the beginning of the Christian era when it established its chief centre in the east. Gradually pushing its way towards the north to blossom forth in its full glory under the care of the great Nagarjuna. In the south too, it continued to thrive, for in the Gandavyuha it is stated that Manjusri started from Jetavana to travel in Daksinapatha and came to *Taladhvajavyuha-caitya* in the great city of *Dhanyakara*, where many devotees lived. Here he delivered a discourse and aroused aspiration for bodhi in the mind of *Sudhana*, son of a rich banker of the place and directed him to go to *sugrivaparvata* in the country of Samantabhadra-bodhisattva-carya. *Sudhana* travelled to many places¹⁵³ of the *Daksinapatha* in search of knowledge, arriving at last at *Dvaravati*. After learning all that he could in southern India, he went to Kapilavastu and visited some countries¹⁵⁴ of the north. In the *Manjusrimulakala*¹⁵⁵ also *Shanyakataka*, *Sriparvata*, and a few other places of the daksinapatha are mentioned, showing the prevalence of Buddhism there. Nagarjuna, whose birth-place was in Vidarbha (Berar),¹⁵⁶ also dwelt in the south, passing his last days at *Sriparvata* (mod. *srisaillam*).¹⁵⁷ Aryadeva likewise came from Southern India, as did *Naga*,¹⁵⁸ the other disciple of Nagarjuna. It appears therefore that the south may claim credit for being not only the place of origin of Mahayana but also of some of the notable figures, who were instrumental in making Mahayana what it was in the 2nd 3rd centuries A.D. the dates of Aryadeva and *Naga* are placed in the early part of the 3rd century (200-225), and, Nagarjuna precedes them by a few decades.¹⁵⁹ The glory of Nagarjuna and his school of philosophy threw into shade the great figure of Maitreya, the traditional founder of the Yogacara school,

until the time of Asanga, who brought his works into prominence and placed this school of philosophy on a high pedestal.

Nature of the Contents of early Mahayana Works: The first two centuries of the Christian era witnessed a conflict between Hinayana and Mahayana as well as the systematisation of the Mahayana doctrines. The works, which depict (in one sided fashion, it must be admitted) this struggle, are, viz., the Prajnaparamitas, Saddharmapundarika, Lankavatara, Dasabhumikasutra and Gandavyuha were very probably the products of this period, but evidences are still lacking as to the exact dates of composition of these works. The only clue is supplied by the dates of their Chinese translations, but these are to be regarded as the latest limits of the time of their composition. In the absence of any definite data about the earliest limit, one can take into consideration the nature of their contents, indicating a time when the Mahayanists were trying to belittle the Hinayanists. The Prajnaparamitas are full of Hinayanic technical expressions and phraseology and show how the position of the Hinayanists is untenable. How they are deluded by the superficialities of their religion, and how insignificant is their knowledge in comparison with that of a Bodhisattva practising the prajnaparamita. The Saddharma-pundarika applies itself to the task of proving that the Hinayanists are of poor intellect, but they can still make progress in religious matters, ultimately turning to Mahayana and comprehending the truth. The *Gandavyuha* essays to depict the great struggles of a Bodhisattva- struggles which are beyond the capacity of the Hinayanists- in order to learn the Samantabhadra *bodhisattvacarya*. Sudhana visits many bodhisattvas, *bhiksus*, *bhiksunis*, *upasakas* and *upasikas* versed in certain portion of the *Carya*, and acquires the same from them. The *Dasabhumikasutra*, as the title indicates, describes the practices connected with the bhumis, the gradual stages of a bodhisattva's sanctification. It also never misses an opportunity to attack the Hinayanists and to show how the last four bhumis of the Bodhisattvas are wholly beyond the capacity of the sravakas. The Lankavatara, though one of the latest books of this group to be translated into Chinese, contains an exposition of the early Yogacara system and harps throughout on the theme, viz., how the Hinayanists are concerned only with *svasamanyalaksana* (particular and generic characteristics of objects) and are ignorant of the non-existence of all objects.

The Mahayana works that immediately follow are those of Nagarjuna, Asanga, Aryadeva, Vasubandhu, etc. Though the main object of Nagarjuna's *Karika* is to establish the thesis that things are relatively existent, and that the truth is one and realizable only within one's own self, he takes up the dogma of the Hinayanic schools and tries to prove its hollowness from the new standpoint set up by him. Asanga, though of a much later date, not allow the Hinayanic doctrines to pass unnoticed. He shows in his *Sutralankara* the inferiority of the Hinayanists in mental calibre and their unfitness to comprehend the truth. Vasubandhu likewise in his *Vijnaptimatratasiddhi* pointedly indicates how the Hinayanists labour under misconceptions, complete eradication of which is the aim of the Mahayanists. Thus it is seen that though most of the works mentioned above belong to a time posterior to the appearance of Mahayana, they present materials illustrative of the conflict for ascendancy that was going on between the Hinayanists and the Mahayanists.

One remarkable feature, however, of the criticisms contained in these Mahayanic works against the Hinayanists is that they do not attempt to distort the position of the Hinayanists in

order to take advantage. The statements made in them with regard to the Hinayanists are mostly borne out by the earlier and later Hinayana works. Hence, instead of distorting their real position, they throw a flood of light on the Hinayanic doctrines. The Mahayanists found fault with the Hinayanists, not because they failed to comprehend the real teachings of Buddha but because they looked upon as truth that which appeared to the Mahayanists as only partial truth.

REFERENCES

1. For distribution of sects on the basis of inscriptions so far discovered, see above, pp. 51ff.
2. C. indicates Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India* with Introduction and Notes by Prof. Surendranath Majumdar Sastri (edition 1924), and figures indicate page-numbers.
3. C. (376) writes that HT referred to the large provinces of Central India, but he did not follow the different directions systematically. Hence C. prefers to deal with all the places of Central India in the following order:
 1. Sthanesvara 2. Bairat 3. Srughna 4. Madawar 5. Brahmapura 6. Govisana 7. Ahicchatra 8. Pilosana 9. Sankisa 10. Mathura 11. Kanauj 12. Ayuto 13. Hayamukha 14. Prayaga 15. Kausambi 16. Kusapura 17. Vaisakha 18. Sravasti 19. Kapila 20. Kusinagara 21. Varanasi 22. Yodhapatiputra 23. Vriji 24. Nepal 25. Magadha 26. Hiranya Parvata 27. Campa 28. Kankjol 29. Pundravardhana 30. Jajhoti 31. Mahesvarapura 32. Ujjain 33. Malwa 34. Kheda or Khaira 35. Anandapura 36. Vadari or Eder.
4. *Mahabharata* Vanaparva: south of Saraswati and north of Drsadvati, those who dwelt in Kuruksetra lives in paradise.
5. Lin Li-Kouang on the Chinese version of the Saddharma-smṛtyupasthāna-sūtra, being an introduction to the *Dharmasamuccaya*, a treatise like the *Mahavyūtpatti*, writes:
 That the Mahayanist Sthavira should be interpreted literally. They actually belonged to the Sthavira school but held Mahayanic views and an Arhat playing the role of a Bodhisattva, i.e. practising *maitrī* and *karuṇa* (amity and compassion) towards all beings. The Abhayagiri monastery of Ceylon, a centre of staunch Theravadins, held Mahayanic views, for which they were criticised by the conservative monks of Mahavihara of Ceylon. See Lin Li-Kouang, *op. cit.*, p. 209 and Beal's *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, II, p. 247.
6. It will be observed that the Sammitiyas were the largest in number. It was due perhaps to their *Pudgala-vada* (migrating but changing soul), which appealed to the Indian Buddhists, who accepted it along with Anattavada of Buddha.
7. Very likely both Hinayana and Mahayana monks had doctrinal differences, but they lived together in the same monastery observing the same monastic rules as those of the Hinayanists, for the Mahayanists had no monastic code of their own.
8. Early History etc. E.J. Thomas, *Life of the Buddha*, Map.
9. *Ibid.*
10. N. Law, *Studies in Indian History and Culture*, ch. v; *Early Buddhism and the Laity*.
11. See *E.R.E.*, II, sv. Bodhisattva.
12. See Saunders, *Epoch in Buddhist History*, pp. xviii-xix. for a scheme of Buddhology.
13. E.g. Sanskrit: *Mahāvastu*, *Laitavistara*, *Dāvayavadana*, *Aradana Sataka*, *Asokavadana*, Vasumitra's treatise on the Schools, fragment of Sanskrit canon discovered in Eastern Turkestan and the neighbouring regions and Gilgit. *Kathavatthu*, Ceylonese chronicles, *Nakayasamaggraha* and the texts, enlisted in p. 48.

14. *Theravada; Suttapitaka: Dighanikaya, Majjhimanikaya, Anguttaranikaya, Samyuttanikaya and Khuddakanikaya.*
Sarvastivada: Dirghagama, Madhyamagama, Ekottaragama and Samyuktogama.
15. *Theravada: Vinayapitaka: Patimokha, Mahavagga, Cullavaga, Suttavibhanga and Parivara.*
Sarvastivada: Vinayapitaka: Vinayavastu, Pratimokhasutra., Vinayabhaga, Vinayaksudrakavastu and Vinaya-uttara-grantha.
16. *Theravada: Abhidhamma: Dhammasangani, Vibhanga, Dhatukatha, Puggalapannatti, Kathavatthu, Yamaka and Patthana.*
Sarvastivada: Abhidhamma: Sangitiparaya, Dhatukaya, Prajnaptisara, Dharmaskandha, Vijananakaya and Prakaranapada. For detail see Early History of Buddhism, p. 277.
17. i.e., in the first period.
18. For a comparison of the fragments of Sarvastivada Agamas with the corresponding portions of the Pali Nikayas, Hoernle, *Manuscript Remains etc.* pp. 30 ff.
19. J.P.T.S., 1904-05, pp. 60.
20. See Early History....., p. 235; The Kosh-Vyakhya, p. 12.
21. The inscriptions, which speak of the gifts made to a particular school, add some times that the gift were meant also for the *caturdisa sangha* i.e., members of the Buddhist Sangha of the four quarters.
22. See Speyer, Preface to the *Ava. S.*, pp. v-vi
23. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. iv, p. 6.
24. *Buddhist India*, pp. 190; *Calcutta Review*, 1929-30.
25. *Attha.*, p. 26; *Majjhima*, III, p. 118.
26. *Ibid.*, pp. 27-28.
27. *Majjhima*, III, No. 133 & 136; *Attha*, p. 5.
28. Wassiljew, *Buddhismus*, p. 352; *Kosh-vyakhya*, p. 12.
29. *Asiatic Research*. XVI; Wassiljew, *Buddhisms op. cit.* p. 118.
30. *Kosa-vyakhya*, p. 29b.
31. *J.R.A.S.*, 1907, p. 432ff & 1927, p.268ff; *Attha*, p. 26.
32. Burnouf also point out the technical significance of the term *Nidana* as 12 links of the Pratityasamupada. Cf. *Nidanasutta* in the *Digha*.
33. *Mtu.*, I, pp. 2,4.
34. *Panca.*, p. 17.
35. M. Lalou's paper in the *J.A.*, 1928.
36. Speyer's Intro, to the *Ava S.* The Pali Collection has also an *Apadana*. It contains account of the previous life of Arhats.
37. *Burnouf, op. cit.*, pp. 55-56; *Asiatic Res.*, XVI, p. 427.
38. *Nanjio's Catalogue*. No. 1199 (Taisho ed. of the *Tripitaka*, vol. 31, p. 586.
39. Intro. to the *Pancavimsatisahasrika*.
40. *Majjhima*, III, p. 28.
41. *Divya.*, pp. 95, 127,480; *Lal. Vis.*, pp. 345, 474; *Sata.*, p. 242.
42. *Dasa.*, pp. 63, 72, 81, 94. *Mvyut.* 34.

43. Prof. La Vallee Poussin remark in the E.R.E., sv. Bodhisattva.
44. Adhitthana in the *Mahavamsa*, ch. XVII, 46.
45. *Divya.*, pp. 226, 271, 368, 469, 476, 478, 495, 569.
46. *Asiatic Res.*, XX.
47. Of whom Cunningham, Oldenberg, Barua Charpenter may be mentioned.
48. *Luder's List*, Nos. 1105, 1107.
49. *Ibid.*
50. E.J. Thomas, *op. cit.*, Map.
51. *Digha.* II, p. 167; *Asiatic Res.*, XX, p. 316.
52. *Ibid.*
53. *Mv.*, I p. 197; *Jat.*, I, 49; *Divya.*, p. 21.
54. *Ibid.*
55. S.N. Majumdar, *Int. to Cunningham Geography*, p. xliii.
56. *Divya.*, p. 21.
57. Watter, *Yuan Chwang*, I, p. 308.
58. *Tara.*, 10, 13.
59. *Indian Antiquary*, 1908.
60. *Ibid.*
61. Taranatha, *op. cit.*, p. 44.
62. Watter, *op. cit.*, I, p. 302.
63. Wassiljew, *op. cit.* p. 295; Eitel, *Handbook*.
64. Dutt, *Early Buddhist Monachism*, pp. 141 ff.
65. *Attha.*, p. 32.
66. *Tara.*, p. 9.
67. *Early History etc.*, pp. 260.
68. Hultzsch, *Corpus*, 1925, p. liii.
69. *Ibid.*, pp. xxxviii, xxix.
70. *Ibid.*, pp. xlv-xlv.
71. *Mahavamsa*, p. 54.
72. Hultzsch, *op. cit.*, p. 114; *I.H.Q.*, III, p. 349.
73. Cunningham, *Bhilsa Topes*, p. 287.
74. *J.A.S.B.*, 1897, pt., i, p. 76; *Proc. A.S.B.*, 1899. p. 70; Smith, *Early History of India*, 4th ed., p. 199 fn.
75. *Mahabamasa*, p. 94; *Sasanavansa*, p. 10; Smith, *Asoka* (3rd ed.), p. 44. pp. 159ff.
76. *Ep. Ind.* IX, pp. 139, 141, 146.
77. *Ibid.*, p. 211. xi, 241 ff.
78. Pag Sam Jon Zong, p. 74; Dhana-Srihi- gljn.
79. Burgess, *Amaravati and Jaggayapera Stupas*, p. 100.

80. *Manjusrimulakalpa* (Trivandrum Sanskrit Series). p. 88.
81. *Ibid.*
82. Burges, *op. cit.*, p.6; Tara., pp.73, 81.
83. Annual Report of S. I. Epigraphy, 1927, pp. 43, 71.
84. Mil., pp 8, 16.
85. Tara., p. 23
86. *Ibid.*, pp 23, 24 fn.
87. *Ibid.*, p.44.
88. Samyuktavastu, II, p.95b; Tara., p.47.
89. Tara., p.50
90. E.R.E., sv. Docetism for details.
91. B.E.F.E.O., V, pp. 1-37; Levi, *Toung Pao*, Ser. II, 1907, no. 1.
92. *Ibid.*, pp. 81, 108.
93. Digha., II, p. 139; Mtu., I, pp. 55.
94. Divya., pp. 226, 271.
95. Lal. Vis., p. 419; Divya., pp. 266, 367.
96. Le Museon, Vol. VIII, p.271.
97. That the Mahayanists incorporated mostly the Sarvastivada exposition and analysis may be asserted in view of the fact that Prajnaparamitas mentioned many terms which are not very common in Pali Suttas, easy example as *Paryvasthana*, *Samgrahavastu*.
98. Aspects of Mahayana, etc. Chapter III.
99. The Ava. S., pp. 127-132.
100. Tara., p. 58.
101. *Ibid.*, pp. 110, 169, 206.
102. Masuda, *op. cit.*
103. *Ibid.*, I, 22-24; Kvu., XVIII, 9.
104. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 26-30, 33-35, 39.
105. Kvu., XXI, 3; I, 2.
106. *Ibid.*, I, 31.
107. Kvu., XV, 6.p. 92.
108. Mrs. Rhys Davids translated it as "not pre-determined"
109. Points of the controversy, XV, 6.
110. Masuda, *op.cit.*, p. 27 fn. p. 262 b.
111. *Ibid.*, I, 5, 40.
112. *Ibid.*, I, 41, 113, 125.
113. *Ibid.*, I, 44, 192.
114. *Ibid.*, I, 45, 1585.
115. *Ibid.*, 47, 114, 125.

116. It does not really belong to the *Mahasanghikā*; so its date must be later, and it may be relegated to the third period of our division.
117. *Mtu.*, III, pp. 334, 446.
118. *Ibid.*, I, p. 263.
119. *Masuda, op.cit.*, I, pp. 18-19.
120. *Mtu.*, I, p. 143; II, pp. 14-15.
121. *Ibid.*, II, p. 10.
122. *Ibid.*, I, p. 153.
123. *Masuda, op. cit.*, P. 21.
124. *Ibid.*, p. 30.
125. *Ibid.*, p. 49; *Mtu.*, II, pp. 285, 345.
126. Stecherbatsky, Conception of Nirvans, pp.25ff.
127. *Mtu.*
128. Speyer, *Ava.*, pp. vff.
129. *Divya.*, p. 473.
130. *Mtu.*, pp. 364-365, 367.
131. *Masuda, op.cit.*, p. 49.
132. *Mtu.*, II, P. 362.
133. Rahder's Intro. to *Dasha.*, pp. iiif.
134. *Ibid.*
135. *Mtu.*, II, p. 46; *Lal. Vis.*, p. 35.
136. *Ibid.*
137. *Kosha*, II, 44; VI, 21a-b.
138. *Mtu.*, II, p. 357; *Samyutta*, II, p. 267; III, p. 167.
139. *Panca.*, p. 7.
140. Le Museon, VII, p. 271.
141. Wassiljew, *Buddhismus*, p. 291.
142. Tara., p.58; Pag Sam Jon Zang., p. 82.
143. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Dec., 1929
144. See Intro. to the *Pancha.*
145. Takakusu, *I-tsing*, p. lix.
145. Tara., p. 61.
146. *Kosha*, VI, 17, 71.
147. *Divya.*, p. 261.
148. Tāra., p. 62.
149. Perhaps Asvaghosa, author of the *Buddhacarita* and the *Shraddhotipāda-sutra* belonged to this class of Hinayana monk.
150. *Asta.*, p. 225.

151. *Gandavyutha* edited by D.T. Suzuki and Hokei Idzumi, p. 154.
152. *Ibid.*, p. 50.
153. *Manjushrimulakalpa* (Trivandram Sanskrit Series), p. 88.
154. Walleser, "Die Lebenszeit des Nāgarjuna" in *Z. für Buddhismus* (Munich), I, pp. 95ff.
156. Burgess, *Stupa of Amaravati*, pp. 5-6, 112: *Annual Report of South Indian Epigraphy*, 1926-7, p. 71.
157. Ngahvaya in Lanka., p. 286.
158. Prof. Walleser thinks it should be the beginning of the 2nd century.
159. *Asiatic Research*, XX, p. 436.

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