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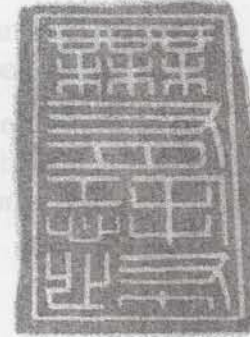
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## FOUR POEMS BY THE VENERABLE VAṅGĪSA



有心  
空  
明  
情  
駭  
礙  
心  
空  
娘  
碍



Of profound wisdom, intelligent knowledge of the right and wrong path, Dhamma to the monks.

He teaches in brief, he speaks in detail, the sound of his voice is pleasing, he demonstrates quick-wittedness of speech.

Listening to his sweet discourse will be as teaching, with a voice that is captivating, pleasing and lovely, the monks give ear, with minds elated and joyful.

## FOUR POEMS BY THE VENERABLE VAṄĪSĀ

Translated by John D. Ireland

### WELL-SPOKEN

On hearing the Blessed One give a discourse on the  
‘Well-spoken Word’.

One should speak only that word by which one would not torment oneself nor harm others. That word is indeed well-spoken.

One should speak only pleasant words, words which are acceptable to others. What one speaks without bringing evils to others is pleasant.

Truth is indeed the undying word; this is an ancient verity. Upon truth, the good say, the goal and teaching are founded.

The sure word the Awakened One speaks, for the attainment of Nibbāna, for making an end of suffering, is truly the best of words. (Thag 1227-30)

### SĀRIPUTTA

In praise of the elder Sāriputta.

Of profound wisdom, intelligent, skilled in knowledge of the right and wrong path, Sāriputta of great wisdom, teaches Dhamma to the monks.

He teaches in brief, he speaks with detailed explanation; the sound of his voice is pleasing like that of the mynah bird; he demonstrates quick-wittedness of speech.

Listening to his sweet utterance while he is teaching, with a voice that is captivating, pleasing and lovely, the monks give ear, with minds elated and joyful. (Thag 1231-3)

Frontispiece: the calligraphy in Sino-Vietnamese characters (Nôm) by Ven Thích Huyền-Vi reads:

*"Because his (the Bodhisattva's) mind  
is free of hindrances he is fearless"*

The seals, engraved by Ven. Bhikkhu Dhamma-  
vīro of Thailand, convey the same meaning as  
the calligraphy.



Editor: Russell Webb  
Assistant Editors: Bhikkhu Pasādika, Sara Inala-Weiss  
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## MORE THAN A THOUSAND

In praise of the Blessed One who had been giving a Dhamma-talk concerning Nibbāna to a large company of monks.

More than a thousand monks attend upon the Happy One as he is teaching the stainless Dhamma concerning Nibbāna, where can come no fear from any quarter.

They hear the taintless Dhamma taught by the Fully Awakened One and the Awakened One is truly resplendent as he is revered by the Order of monks.

You are called a *nāga*, Blessed One; of seers the best of seers. Become like a great rain-cloud, you rain down upon the disciples.

Leaving his daytime abode, wishing to see the Teacher, the disciple Vaṅgīsa pays homage at your feet, great hero. (Thag 1238-41)

## KOṆḌAÑÑA

On observing the elder Aññāta-Koṇḍañña come to pay his respects to the Teacher.

The elder Koṇḍañña, strong in energy, who was enlightened following next after the Awakened One, is repeatedly the obtainer of pleasurable abidings and seclusions.

What is to be attained by a disciple, vigilant and disciplined, doing the instruction of the Teacher, all that has been attained by him.

Having great power (dignity) and the threefold knowledge, skilled in knowing the thoughts of others, Koṇḍañña, the Awakened One's heir, pays homage at the Teacher's feet.

(Thag 1246-8)

## CONVERSATIONS WITH MAÑJUŚRĪ\*

P.A.B. Thomson

## INTRODUCTION

*The Texts Translated*

In Ts'an-ning's *Sung Kao-seng ch'uan* (SKSC) dating from 988 CE, there is a block of four biographies principally concerned with visions on Mount Wu-t'ai. In two cases the visions are simply of monasteries: there is no direct contact with Mañjuśrī as such. The first of these visions, that of Shen Ying of the T'ien-t'ai school in 716, led to the construction of the Dharma Blossom Cloister, which was later, in the Ta-li reign period, expanded into a monastery<sup>1</sup>. This experience is the subject of fairly full treatment by Raoul Birnbaum<sup>2</sup>. The second experience, that of Tao-i in 736, is also well known because the monastery built as a result of his vision, the Golden Pavilion Monastery, was sponsored by Amoghavajra as a centre of Tantric

\* This formed part of a MA programme under the direction of Prof. T.H. Barrett at the School of Oriental and African Studies (Univ. London) in 1991.

1 See Edwin Reischauer's translation of the travelogue of the ninth century Japanese monk Ennin, *Ennin's Diary* (New York 1955).

2 See Raoul Birnbaum, 'The Manifestation of a Monastery: Shen Ying's experiences on Mount Wu-t'ai in T'ang Context', *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 106.1 (1986).

practice with considerable imperial patronage<sup>3</sup>.

In the other two cases Manjuśrī was both seen in the form of a celestial bodhisattva and spoken to. Of the two, the much better known case, that of the celebrated Pure Land monk Fa-chao in 771, was the second. That was preceded by the experience of Niu-yun and the consequent construction of his Abode of Excellence, sixty odd years before, even prior to Shen Ying's vision. These two biographies are the subject of this translation project.

Accounts of, or references to, visions on Mount Wu-t'ai are not uncommon. A further example, actually referred to in Fa-chao's biography, is the vision of another monk, Wu-chuo, only three years before. Wu saw a direct manifestation of Mañjuśrī, although there was no conversation. His biography, again centred around his vision, features elsewhere in the SKSC. A summary is provided in translation as Appendix I. This will help show the extent to which these experiences had common features, a point further borne out in Birnbaum's piece on Shen Ying.

Accounts of conversations are more unusual. They are interesting because the idea of a direct exchange with a celestial bodhisattva is not a feature of the mainstream Mahāyāna tradition; also because of the clear teaching of the path to enlightenment the bodhisattva is said to have handed down to Fa-chao, and because of the nature of the miracle he performed in the case of Niu-yun.

3 See Raffaello Orlando's Ph.D dissertation, 'A Study of Chinese Documents concerning the Life of the Tantric Buddhist Patriarch Amoghavajra' (Princeton University 1981), University Microfilms International (1989), pp.56-7.

All five experiences are also included, as individual chapters, in the Extended Record of Mount Cool and Clear (ERMCC), a document compiled by the monk Yen-i half a century after SKSC appeared<sup>4</sup>. In that, the Shen Ying chapter appears in slightly abridged form as compared to the SKSC text; the Tao-i chapter is much more detailed than the earlier text; the Fa-chao chapter shows a considerable expansion in parts; the Wu-chuo chapter is also longer in ERMCC and the account somewhat different; and the Niu-yun chapter is much the same in both texts.

The expansion of Fa-chao's biography consists of some elaboration of detail in the first half, a fuller treatment of his commemoration during the T'ang at the end, and a blow-by-blow record of what passed during his first visit to the Diamond Cave (dismissed in the SKSC simply as recounted elsewhere) in the body of the second half. Because this last passage explains why Fa-chao was reprimanded towards the end of both versions for not spreading the word he had received from Manjuśrī, I have provided a full but unannotated translation of it in Appendix II.

What follows this introduction, which now goes on to set the scene further, consists of detailed translations of the Niu-yun and Fa-chao chapters of the SKSC; and further translations of firstly (in summary form) an account, also recorded in SKSC, of another monk's comparable but not identical experience; and secondly the account in ERMCC, omitted in SKSC, of a key episode in the Fa-chao story.

4 There is of course no mention of these episodes in Hui-hsiang's 'Ancient Record of Mount Cool and Clear' which, dating from the seventh century, preceded them.

*Buddhism in Seventh and Eighth Century China*

Towards the end of the seventh century, the time and climate were right for the emergence of a multiplicity of 'home-grown' schools of Buddhist thought. The time was right because the corpus of Indian Buddhist ideas had been digested; the climate because the mid-T'ang was an era of religious toleration and of philosophical debate. The result was the development of the Fa-hsiang and Hua-yen doctrines showing a recasting of those Indian ideas in Chinese terms; and of the Ch'an school which represented an even bolder departure with the incorporation of Taoist ideas and modes. The flourishing of each in turn was boosted by imperial patronage for, in each case, a specific political or personal reason<sup>5</sup>. In Fa-chao's time, a further movement which attracted imperial interest was Tantric Buddhism, ably propagated at court by Amoghavajra.

Given the wide popular enthusiasm for the 'Western religion', it was at the same time inevitable that devotional Buddhism, represented principally by the Pure Land school, should enjoy a steady, even a steadier, growth. It was also natural that as Ch'an should survive the disruption of the An Lu-shan rebellion better than the more institutionalised schools, so Pure Land should also come out of that upheaval well because of its popular appeal.

*Pure Land*

The essence of the teaching of Pure Land in Fa-chao's time was

that Amitābha had vowed to save all beings, regardless of whether they were good or evil by nature, or learned or ignorant in attainment, providing they put their faith in the Buddha and followed Shan-tao's five practices of which invocation was the prime<sup>6</sup>. The Bodhisattva Kuan-yin was represented as Amitābha's chief minister ready to go anywhere to save the faithful and to lead them to the Land of Purity and Bliss in the Western Paradise. Pure Land did not, however, offer an extension of life, but rebirth in the Western Paradise in the next life.

Pure Land enjoyed great prestige at popular level from the mid-seventh century onwards. This is borne out by the proliferation of Amitābha statuary at the Lung-men caves during the second half of that century. Despite this degree of support outside the capital, the court appears to have ignored Pure Land before the An Lu-shan rebellion. There is no substantial evidence of imperial patronage of Pure Land ceremonies held at court before that event<sup>7</sup>. After the rebellion, however, the court's attention was inevitably drawn to Pure Land by the significance of its popular support in the new political circumstances. Fa-chao's arrival at Ch'ang-an was therefore timely. He made use of his opportunity to such effect that he was the

6 Discussed by Julian Pas in his article 'Dimensions in the Life and Thought of Shan Tao' in D.W. Chappell (ed.) *Buddhist and Taoist Studies 2* (University Press of Hawaii, Honolulu 1987). Pas argues that 'Nien Fo', generally taken to mean invocation of the Buddha's name, can also mean meditation on the Buddha.

7 One possible exception to this general rule is the future emperor Kao-tsung's commissioning in 648 of a monastery indirectly associated with Tao Chuo. The association was through the empress Wen-te, whom the monastery commemorated and who had been a personal disciple of Tao Chuo — see Julian Pas' article, *op. cit.*

5 See Stanley Weinstein, 'Imperial Patronage in the Formation of T'ang Buddhism' in A.F. Wright and D. Twitchett (ed.) *Perspectives on the T'ang* (Yale University Press, 1973).

only Pure Land leader to have an imperial title bestowed on him during his lifetime. Ennin's diary, moreover, confirms that Pure Land practices were continued in the capital after his death.

### *Sacred Mountains and Mount Wu-t'ai*<sup>8</sup>

The traditions of spirits associated with the nine sacred mountains and of local mountain cults are traceable to the dawn of recorded Chinese history. The mountains concerned have some exceptional feature whether geological, botanical or meteorological. The idea of named deities residing on mountain tops perhaps arose with religious Taoism. The most obvious case in point is perhaps that of Mount Mao, but the tradition of Mount Wu-t'ai as a habitat for Taoist immortals was also well-established during the early years of the Common Era. It was then perhaps natural that there should be some Buddhist reflection of this tradition as of other Taoist ideas. In this case there was in support an authenticating legend: according to a Chinese translation of the Mañjuśrīdharmaratnagarabhadrāraṇīsūtra, Mañjuśrī came to rest on a five-peaked mountain in the 'North-east'. This was naturally taken by the Chinese to be Mount Wu-t'ai, as a result of which the mountain became a centre of the Mañjuśrī cult from the fourth century onwards. A more explicit scriptural reference appears in the second translation of the Avataṃsakasūtra, although Étienne Lamotte casts doubt on its validity<sup>9</sup>.

The importance of the mountain as a religious site was enhanced by imperial patronage, which may have begun as early

8 I am indebted here to Raoul Birnbaum, 'Thoughts on Tang Buddhist Mountain Traditions and their Context' in W.H. Nienhauser (ed.) *Tang Studies 2* (University of Wisconsin, 1984).

9 See É. Lamotte, 'Mañjuśrī' in *T'oung Pao* 48, 1960.

as the Northern Wei dynasty. With Mount Wu-t'ai's proximity to the T'ang emperors' ancestral homeland, it was natural that patronage should continue in their dynasty too. However, the practice of pilgrimage to sacred mountains on a national scale only began in the T'ang dynasty when travel became more secure. Mount Wu-t'ai became pre-eminent in this context because of stories of visions there of Mañjuśrī, his importance in Hua-yen Buddhism and the influential Tantric patriarch Amoghavajra's promotion of his role as the national protector with a Mañjuśrī cloister in every monastery in the country<sup>10</sup>. Mañjuśrī was also associated with the era of the dissolution of the Dharma. After the An Lu-shan rebellion it was natural that people should want to go to the dwelling place of the Bodhisattva of Wisdom to seek direct reassurance and guidance at a time when the authority of familiar institutions had collapsed. Fa-chao, through his experience at Mount Wu-t'ai, created a link between Mañjuśrī and Pure Land. The earlier witness of Mañjuśrī's miraculous powers of communication, Niu-yun, was, as a Hua-yen adherent, associated with a school where the link was already firm.

In 766 there were five 'official plaque' temples at Mount Wu-t'ai, and the emperor had been associated with the building of two of them<sup>11</sup>. In the Hua-yen master Ch'eng-kuan's time (i.e., in the early ninth century), it was recorded that there were no less than 72 monasteries there<sup>12</sup>. Of these at least four replicated eighth century visions: the Dharma Blossom Cloister (Shen Ying), the Golden Pavilion Monastery (Tao-i), the Prajñā

10 Stanley Weinstein, *Buddhism Under the T'ang* (Cambridge University Press, Mass., 1987), p.82.

11 R. Orlando, *op. cit.* (see n.3), p.59.

12 R. Birnbaum, *op. cit.* (see n.2).

Monastery (Wu-chuo) and the Bamboo Grove Monastery (Fa-chao). The last of these appears to have been constructed sometime between 777 and 796. When visited by the Japanese monk Ennin in 840, it consisted of six halls in which forty monks lived. According to Ennin it was at that time one of only two ordination monasteries in China.

### Visions

Visualisation of the Buddha, or Buddhas, goes back to the early scriptures of Mahāyāna Buddhism, where it is a feature of the Bodhisattvayāna. The Pure Land patriarch Hui-yüan introduced two kinds of visualisation: of the true body and of the response body, representing in turn direct and indirect contact with the Buddha<sup>13</sup>. The Pure Land text known as the Amitayurdhyānasūtra contains instructions on sixteen kinds of visualisation of Amitābha and the Pure Land bodhisattvas. Pure Land texts also dwell on visions of the Buddhist paradise, visualisation of which was a particular concern of Hui-yüan's successor T'an-luan<sup>14</sup>.

By the seventh century, a variant of the latter tradition, together with the separate tradition of visions of Mañjuśrī, had become associated with Mount Wu-t'ai. These experiences had certain features in common; multicoloured clouds, glowing balls of light, the Bodhisattva seated astride a lion etc. Early records make particular mention of the second rank Hua-yen monk Chieh T'o who lived at the Monastery of the Buddha Light in

13 See Kenneth Tanaka, *The Dawn of Chinese Pure Land Buddhist Doctrine* (State University of New York Press, 1990), pp.73-6.

14 See Roger Corless, 'T'an Luan: Taoist Sage and Buddhist Bodhisattva' in Chappell, *Buddhist and Taoist Studies 2*, *op. cit.*

the early seventh century, from where he saw and conversed with Mañjuśrī no less than four times<sup>15</sup>. Mount Wu-t'ai's Diamond Cave, where both Fa-chao and Wu-chuo had visionary experiences, of course calls to mind the cave near Nāgarahāra where Hsüan-tsang beheld his vision of the Buddha shortly after his arrival in India<sup>16</sup>. Moreover, although Fa-chao was conducted into the cave by a manifestation of the seventh century Indian visitor to Mount Wu-t'ai, Buddhapāli, Wu-chuo's conductor (and Buddhapāli's interlocutor during his visit) was an unidentified old man like the one who led Hsüan-tsang to the Nāgarahāra cave. It was a similar old man encountered by Niu-yun who actually turned into Mañjuśrī after performing the miracle that is the central feature of Niu's biography.

Some of these traditions are reflected in the *T'ang Ch'uan Ch'i*. In the story entitled 'The Prefect of Ch'ieh Yang', the principal character has a Buddhist vision in which a bodhisattva seated on a lion appears within a multicoloured cloud. In another story, 'Old Chang', there is a vision of a great estate with vermilion doors, countless towers, a hall with splendid appointments, and flowers and trees in profusion<sup>17</sup>. To the people of the time, therefore, there was nothing unprecedented about the experiences of Niu-yun and Fa-chao, although they were happenings to which a significance could be, and was, attached.

15 See R. Birnbaum, *op. cit.* (cf. n.2).

16 See Arthur Waley, *The Real Tripitaka* (London 1952), pp.27-8. At a later stage, Hsüan-tsang also recorded a dream involving Mañjuśrī who told him it was time for him to leave India (*ibid.*, pp.51-2).

17 For both stories, see Karl S.Y. Kao, *Classic Chinese Tales* (Indiana University Press, Bloomington 1985).

*Niu-yun and Fa-chao*

No more information is available on Niu-yun other than that contained in SKSC and ERMCC. The following material on Fa-chao has been drawn from Stanley Weinstein's *Buddhism under the T'ang* (1987) and Kenneth Chen's *Buddhism in China* (1964)<sup>18</sup>.

Fa-chao probably came from Ssuch'uan. Inspired by Hui-yüan, he built a hermitage on Mount Lu in which to practise visualisation of Amitābha. Following a vision at Mount Lu, Fa-chao moved to Mount Heng in order to study under the Pure Land devotee Ch'eng-yüan. In his first year at Mount Heng, Fa-chao had a vision of Amitābha expounding the technique of the five-tone chant and commending it as the most suitable practice for those seeking rebirth. After his subsequent vision of the Monastery of the Bamboo Grove, Fa-chao moved to Mount Wu-t'ai.

In 774 Fa-chao was at T'ai-yüan where he wrote a major treatise on the five-tone chant. He arrived at the capital in the late 770s where, making much of both the five-tone chant and his experience at Mount Wu-t'ai, he proclaimed the importance of the Pure Land doctrine. As patriarchs of other schools had done before him, he caught the eye of the emperor (Tai-tsung). This led to lectures and services at court and conferral of the title National Teacher. After Tai-tsung's death, Fa-chao moved to Ping-chou where several of the earlier Pure Land masters had taught, but was summoned back to the capital by the new emperor Te-tsung so that religious officials might be instructed

18 A detailed study of the fragmentary materials relating to Fa-chao is contained in Tsukamoto Zenryū's *To Chuki no Jodokyo* (Kyoto 1933).

in the five-tone chant. On his death, Fa-chao was entitled Master of Great Enlightenment.

*Ts'an-ning*<sup>19</sup>

Ts'an-ning (919-1001) followed a dual career as a Buddhist monk and a Han Lin academician. As Chih-i in the Sui dynasty had, for political reasons, tried to synthesise the various strands of Buddhism which developed in China, so Ts'an-ning, in the early days of the Sung, tried to promote harmony between Buddhism and Confucianism.

Ts'an-ning, who was said to be knowledgeable in Buddhist and Confucian studies as well as the techniques of poetry and essay writing, spent most of his life in the service of the Wu-yüeh principality in south-eastern China, which consistently acknowledged imperial sovereignty and later negotiated full integration on favourable terms into the newly-established Sung empire. The Wu-yüeh princes were energetic sponsors of Buddhism. Ts'an-ning was active in literary circles at the Hang-chou court from his youth and, helped by connections formed as a student-monk, was marked early for advancement. Thanks to his personality and the wide range of his learning, he rose quite quickly to the position of monk administrator of the principality.

Ts'an-ning was also active in the diplomacy which led to the absorption of Wu-yüeh into the Sung empire in 978. At K'aifeng he attracted the attention of the emperor, who appointed him, most unusually for a monk, to the Han Lin Academy. Ts'an-ning's subsequent career was spent at the

19 I am particularly indebted in this section to Albert Dalia, 'The Political Career of Ts'an Ning' in Chappell, *Buddhist and Taoist Studies* 2, *op. cit.*



imperial capital, where he ended up as Supervisor of Religious Affairs and Monk Secretary.

In the Sung, the old aristocratic élite was replaced by a meritocracy inspired largely by the Confucian tradition. Ts'an-ning, therefore, had to make his own way in K'aifeng on the basis of his wider ability. Although the Sung emperor discontinued the late Chou reduction of the Buddhist establishment, he continued to regulate entry into the Sangha in a religious policy governed, as in the T'ang, by political expediency. Ts'an-ning recognised the weakness of the Buddhists' position and sought to reconcile differences within the Order. To promote the interests of Buddhism, he saw advantage in active contact with the ruling class. In analysing the cause of the Hui-ch'ang suppression of 842 he saw fault with the Buddhists themselves as well as with the Taoists, and urged external as well as internal cooperation in order to avoid a recurrence of earlier misfortunes.

Ts'an-ning's two major works were SKSC and an outline history of the Sangha entitled *Seng shih-lüeh*. Both were commissioned by the emperor in 983. SKSC, completed in 988, was well received by the court and added to the Tripitaka. It covered the lives of 532 monks who lived from the early T'ang to the early Sung. The sources are not clear. Similar coverage of Niu-yun in ERMCC would suggest that Yen-i drew on SKSC or that Yen-i and Ts'an-ning both drew on a common earlier source. Inclusion in ERMCC, but omission from SKSC, of details integral to Fa-chao's visionary experience as recounted in both suggests that the latter possibility is the more likely.

### *Biographies of Monks*

The earliest major surviving collection of biographies of monks

is the *Kao-seng chuan* (KSC) of Hui-chiao (496-554) completed in 530. It covered the period from the Han to the Liang dynasties but, because of the division of the country during Hui's lifetime, was more devoted to southern than to northern monks. In the KSC, regarded as a masterpiece of Six-Dynasties' prose, Hui-chiao sought to demonstrate the working of the universal laws of Buddhism and the rewards of piety and faith; and to give the lives of Buddhist monks a greater standing in cultural history. It established the form and style followed in subsequent major collections of Chinese clerical biographies<sup>20</sup>.

The KSC was followed in 645 by Tao-hsüan's *Hsü kao-seng chuan* (HKSC) which continued the earlier work by recording the lives of prominent monks who lived between the Liang and the early T'ang. Because by Tao's time the country was unified, his book is better balanced geographically. It is in HKSC that monks' experiences of miracles first take a significant place.

The HKSC was followed by Ts'an-ning's SKSC, and that in turn by a lesser work of Ju-hsing, which appeared in 1617 under the title of *Ta-ming kao-seng chuan*<sup>21</sup>.

### *Conclusion*

The eighth century saw the coming to the fore of, in turn, the Ch'an, Tantric and Pure Land schools of Buddhism. As with the schools which had flourished earlier, such as Fa-hsiang and Hua-yen, this was in each case due to political circumstances or

20 See A.F. Wright, 'Hui Chao's Lives of Eminent Monks' in R.M. Somers (ed.) *Studies in Chinese Buddhism* (Yale University Press, 1990), p.74.

21 See W.H. Nienhauser (ed.) *Indiana Companion to Traditional Chinese Literature* (Indiana University Press, Bloomington 1986), p.475.

because of the interest of the emperor. Both Hua-yen, with which Niu-yun was associated, and Pure Land, the teaching propagated by Fa-chao, took final shape during the T'ang dynasty, developing Indian ideas along Chinese lines. Pure Land was concerned with salvation in rebirth rather than extension of life.

Mount Wu-t'ai, as the abode of Mañjuśrī, was a place of inspiration principally for Hua-yen Buddhists because of the association of Mañjuśrī with the Avatamsakasūtra and with Hua-yen patriarchs. Given his affiliation, Niu-yun's vision on the mountain, the miracle he experienced and the lesson to be drawn of the significance of previous incarnations, all fit into this framework. However, the inspirational influence of Mañjuśrī was wider than that because of what he represented at a difficult time for Chinese society: the wisdom of the Buddha, the active aspect of the Buddha nature, a manifestation of and a direct line to the Buddha. By the eighth century, moreover, a tradition of visions of the Bodhisattva, with a common pattern of features, had been established. In a religious system where visualisation of divinities was characteristic of some practices, this was not a radical departure.

For a combination of these reasons, schools other than Hua-yen also resorted to Mañjuśrī's authority. For these schools there were also 'tactical' considerations: Mañjuśrī offered legitimation for a school which had suffered decline, such as T'ien-t'ai with which Shen Yin was associated; a school seeking consolidation, such as the Tantric school which took up Tao-i's vision; or a school seeking recognition amongst the educated class, such as the Pure Land school which Fa-chao did so much to strengthen.

The interesting thing is that in this last case, resort to Mañjuśrī for authentication worked. Together with the very

popular five-tone chant, Fa-chao's vision of Mañjuśrī, the latter's injunction to him on the supremacy of invocation and the monastery project which flowed from the experience attracted the attention of the emperor and led to a prestigious career at court for the monk himself. More importantly, it resulted in the establishment of Pure Land as, for the first time, a movement which enjoyed support in court and official circles.

As we have seen, the time was ripe for such an advance by a school which had a broader base of public support than the more 'philosophical' or 'doctrinal' schools, whose leaders had been scattered and institutions destroyed by the recent rebellion. However, without the kind of initiative undertaken by Fa-chao, that advance would have been less marked.

The SKSC, from which these translations have been taken, was a part of a biographical tradition dating from the sixth century. As the first of these biographers, Hui-chiao, was seeking to establish the place of the Sangha in history, so his Sung dynasty successor was concerned to project internal harmony in the Order and good relations between it and the rest of society. Ts'an-ning's lay, as well as religious, connections made him unusually well placed to pursue this goal. In compiling his chapters on the five monks associated with Mount Wu-t'ai who have been considered in this project, he may well have drawn on a secondary source no longer available to us.

The SKSC edition used for these translations is a 1987 edition issued by the China Book Bureau (Chung Hua Shu Chu). The text is taken from a 1936 Shanghai publication of Sung texts included in the *Ch'i Sha Tsang Ching*. The Yang-chou edition referred to in the Chinese notes draws from Ming dynasty sources; the Ta-cheng (or Japanese, Taishō) edition, also referred to in the notes, draws on both Sung and Yüan texts.

## TRANSLATION

*The Biography of Fa-chao of the Bamboo Grove Monastery  
at Mount Wu-t'ai*

It is not known where the monk Fa-chao came from [ERMCC says he was from Nan-liang]. In the second year of the Ta-li reign period<sup>1</sup> he stayed at the Cloud Peak Monastery at Heng-chou<sup>2</sup>, studying diligently and unremittingly. While in the monks' hall he suddenly saw in his congee bowl a five-coloured<sup>3</sup> auspicious cloud inside of which there emerged a mountain monastery. About fifty li from the monastery, in a north-easterly direction, lay a mountain at the foot of which was a stream. To the north of the stream there was a stone gate inside which, at a distance of some five li, was situated a monastery with a gilt sign inscribed 'The Great Sage's Monastery of the Bamboo Grove'. Although this visual image was quite clear, Fa-chao's feelings were of dejection. Another day when he was fasting, there again appeared in his bowl all the monasteries of Wu-t'ai contained within a five-coloured cloud. It was a golden place throughout with none of the dirt and unpleasantness of the mountain forest, but only pools, terraces, belvederes and a multitude of rich adornments. Mañjuśrī and a whole heavenly host were present and there further appeared

1 i.e. 768.

2 Near Mount Heng, one of the traditional nine sacred mountains of China and a centre of T'ien-t'ai teaching.

3 A traditional feature of Buddhist visions. Chieh-t'o (see Birnbaum on Shen Ying) and Wu-chuo (see Appendix I) are both said to have seen Mañjuśrī wreathed in multi-coloured cloud. Multi-coloured clouds are also referred to in Buddhist visions in the T'ang dynasty *Ch'uan Chi* (Tales of the Mysterious).

the pure lands of all the Buddhas. At the end of the meal all this promptly disappeared, leaving Fa-chao in a confused and undecided state. On returning to the cloister, he asked a monk whether anyone had travelled to Mount Wu-t'ai. At that time there were two masters, Chia-yen and T'an-hui, who said they had. What they described tallied in all respects with what had been seen in the bowl, although (Fa-chao) had not received any report from Mount Wu-t'ai.

One summer, four years later<sup>4</sup>, there was held at the terrace tower in the East-of-the-Lake Monastery [ERMCC: 'East-of-Hunan Monastery] at Heng-chou a ninety-day five-tone chant<sup>5</sup> assembly. At the *wei* hour<sup>6</sup> of the second day of the sixth month those present saw in the distance an auspicious cloud which enveloped the terrace and monastery. Inside the cloud were many high buildings and pavilions; and inside the pavilions Indian monks [ERMCC: 'tens of' Indian monks] each about ten feet tall, and each holding his staff and practising the Teaching. The people of a whole suburb of Heng-chou saw present in this assembly the Buddha Amitābha<sup>7</sup>, Mañjuśrī,

4 If the date subsequently given for the visit to Mount Wu-t'ai is right, three years.

5 *Wu hui nien-fo*. A practice probably derived from an earlier technique, said to have originated in Ssuchuan, called 'invoking the Buddha by drawing out the voice', in which each syllable of Amitābha's name was lengthened as it was intoned (see Stanley Weinstein, *Buddhism under the T'ang*, p.175, n.27). Fa-chao made great use of *wu hui nien-fo* in his promotion of Pure Land Buddhism.

6 i.e. about 2 am.

7 In Pure Land Buddhism, the Buddha who presides over the Western Paradise. According to Pure Land legend he was reborn as such, aeons ago, after a life on earth as the pious monk Dharmākara.

Samantabhadra and a host of other bodhisattvas, all as huge figures. Those who witnessed this all, with deep feeling, wept tears of blood and offered sacrifices until the early evening when the apparition vanished. In the evening of that day Fa-chao met outside the assembly place an old man who said to him, 'You, master, have expressed a wish to visit the golden world to pay your respects to the great Sage. Why do you not go straightaway?' Fa-chao was puzzled and replied, saying, 'The times are difficult and the road hard. How can I go?' The old man said, 'Go. There remain really no difficulties about the journey'. Having finished speaking, he was no longer to be seen. Fa-chao, startled, entered the assembly place where he reiterated his earnest intention. 'I undertake to set out at the end of summer. Even if fires break out and the rivers freeze, nothing will finally turn me back or stop me'.

On the thirteenth day of the eighth month, he gathered for this purpose at the Southern Peak<sup>8</sup> with several colleagues. In the event there were no obstacles and, on the fifth day of the fourth month of the fifth year of the reign period<sup>9</sup>, they arrived in Wu-t'ai county. In the distance they saw several [ERMCC: 'tens of . . .'] beams of white light to the south of the Monastery of the Buddha's Light<sup>10</sup>. On the sixth day they reached that temple, and indeed it was just as Fa-chao had seen in his bowl

8 i.e. Mount Heng.

9 i.e. 771.

10 At the foot of Mount Wu-t'ai. The monastery is associated with the second-rank Hua-yen monk Chieh-t'o who lived there for fifty years before his death in 642 and who himself had visions of Mañjuśrī (see Raoul Birnbaum, 'The Manifestation of a Monastery: Shen Ying's experiences in T'ang Context'). A late T'ang monastery of the same name still stands on the site, as does a reliquary stūpa commemorating Chieh-t'o.

with not the slightest detail different or missing. During the fourth watch of the night there was seen a ray of light from the mountain to the north, which struck Fa-chao. The latter rushed into the hall of the monastery and asked the company, 'What omen is this? What are the auspices?' A monk replied, saying, 'The ineffable light of the Bodhisattva often responds to karmic affinity'. When Fa-chao heard this, he made his ritual preparations and sought after the light to a place about 50 li north-east of the monastery where, it proved, there was indeed a mountain. At the foot of the mountain there was a stream and to the north of the stream a stone gate. There he saw two servant (children [ERMCC specifies that they were children]) of eight or nine and of good countenance, standing just inside the gate. One was called Shan-ts'ai<sup>11</sup>, the other, Nanda<sup>12</sup>. They looked at Fa-chao with great pleasure and enquired whether he wished to make his devotions. They led Fa-chao through the gate and walked (with him) five li or so northwards where they saw a golden gate-tower. As they slowly approached the site (it became evident that) it was a monastery. In front of it there was a large gilt sign with a legend reading 'The Great Sage's Monastery of the Bamboo Grove', just as Fa-chao had seen it in his bowl. It was probably 20 li in circumference and there were 120 cloisters with decorated towers and rich adornments. The ground was entirely golden and filled with rivulets and flowering trees. Fa-chao entered the monastery and proceeded to the lecture hall, where he saw Mañjuśrī to the West and Samanta-

11 The Chinese rendering of the name of the hero of the Avatamsakasūtra, Sudhana — see W.E. Soothill and L. Hodous (ed.), *Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms*, London 1937, Delhi 1987.

12 The name of a half-brother, and also disciple, of the Buddha — see E.J. Thomas, *The Life of Buddha* (London 1927, 1993), pp.26 and 101.

bhadra to the East. Each was seated on a lion, and the sound of their declaiming the Dharma was such that every detail could be heard. On either side of Mañjuśrī were more than ten thousand bodhisattvas and Samantabhadra too was surrounded by countless such beings.

Fa-chao placed himself in front of the two sages and, making his obeisance, asked them, saying, 'I am a simple person at the end of the epoch, greatly separated in time from the Buddha's ascent into Nirvāṇa and with increasingly inadequate knowledge and more deeply rooted impediments to enlightenment. There is no way the Buddha-nature can manifest itself in me. The Buddha's teaching is vast [taken from the Yang-chou edition and ERMCC. The Chi-sha has 'cleansed']. Having not yet judged which entry into enlightenment to prepare myself for, what is the most important thing? I only wish for the Blessed One to break the net of doubt in which I am caught'. Mañjuśrī declared, 'Your calling on the Buddha today is indeed timely. Of all the methods of cultivation, none surpasses calling on the Buddha and making donations to the Three Jewels<sup>13</sup>, the double cultivation of blessedness and wisdom. These two approaches to enlightenment are the most direct. Why should that be? I, having in past aeons envisioned the Buddha, called on the Buddha and made donations, have now obtained every kind of knowledge. For this reason I have (been able to) determine by deep meditation the perfection of wisdom of the whole teaching and to come to know that reaching any of the Buddhas starts with calling on them. I thus know that invocation is the king of doctrines. You should constantly invoke the supreme Dharma-king and ensure that you do so ceaselessly'.

13 i.e. The Buddha, the Teaching and the monastic community.

Fa-chao then asked, 'How should I call on the Buddha?' Mañjuśrī said, 'To the west of this world is the Buddha Amitābha. The force of that Buddha's vow is unimaginable. You should continually call upon him and ensure that your invocation is not interrupted. After the end of your life it will have been determined that you should proceed to rebirth<sup>14</sup> and that there should never be a reversal'. At the end of this speech each of the two great celestial beings extended a golden hand and, placing it on Fa-chao's head to signify a prophecy, said, 'You have already called upon the Buddha, and so will shortly manifest unsurpassable enlightenment. If virtuous men and women wish urgently to gain Buddhahood, there is nothing better (for them) than invocation, from which they can rapidly gain complete enlightenment'.

On finishing this pronouncement the two great beings together recited a verse of the teaching. When Fa-chao had heard this, he was overjoyed and his web of doubt was completely removed. He bowed again and then clasped his hands together. Mañjuśrī said, 'You may go to the Bodhisattva Cloister and pay your respects there in sequence'. Having received this guidance, Fa-chao paid homage to each Bodhisattva in turn and then proceeded to the Garden of the Seven Precious Fruits. The fruit there was just ripe and it was as fat as a bowl. Fa-chao plucked and ate some. When he had finished eating, with his body and mind calm and composed, he went forward to a position in front of (the image of) Mañjuśrī, made his obeisance and withdrew. He then again saw the two child-servants who escorted him outside the gate. As he raised his head, having bowed to them, he found that he had lost his bearings, which redoubled

14 i.e. in the Western Paradise, as explicitly stated in ERMCC.

his feeling of dejection. There was established there a stone marker which stands to this day.

When the eighth day of the fourth month came, Fa-chao was staying peacefully under the roof of the west hall of the Flower Garland Monastery<sup>15</sup>. After the thirteenth day, Fa-chao and more than fifteen other monks set out together for the Diamond Cave. Having come to the spot where Wu-chuo had seen Mañjuśrī<sup>16</sup>, they made their obeisance with great sincerity [the Taishō edition has the character for 'place' or 'to dwell', which we may infer is a mistake] to the twenty-five Buddha names [the Yang-chou and Taishō editions and ERMCC all have 35, the (original) Sung and Yüan editions 25, as in this edition. For the 35 Buddha names, see the 'Sūtra on the Buddha's Pronouncement of the Vinaya' (*Fo-shuo Chüeh-ting pi-ni ching*). Also Pu-kung said there was a text called 'Paying Homage and Repenting to the 35 Buddha Names' (*San-chih-wu Fo-ming-li ch'an-wen*). In the 'Sūtra on the Ten Stages to Rebirth' (*Shih-wang-sheng ching*), there are 25 bodhisattvas who are said to protect those who practise invocation of the Buddha. Thus either formulation is possible, although it seems that 35 is closer to the notion of a number of names]. When Fa-chao had just

15 Three years after the deposition of Empress Wu, i.e. in 708, the emperor Chung-tsung agreed to commission the establishment of Flower Garland monasteries, as centres of Hua-yen learning and practice, in the two capitals, at Mount Wu-t'ai, and in the Wu-yüeh region, another centre of Buddhist tradition (see Weinstein, *Buddhism under the T'ang*, p.47). Birnbaum, in his article 'The Manifestation of a Monastery', states that in the case of the Mount Wu-t'ai monastery, the edict was fulfilled by simply changing the name of the existing Great Floriate Park Monastery, so called because it was located next to an area of the mountainside where rare flowers bloomed throughout the year.

16 See Appendix I.

bowed for the tenth time, he suddenly saw that the place had just become a vast pure land with jewelled palaces, and Mañjuśrī, Samantabhadra and ten thousand other bodhisattvas together with Buddhapāli<sup>17</sup>, clustered together. When Fa-chao had seen this, he celebrated alone before following the others back to the monastery. In the third watch of that night, from the upper storey of the west hall, he suddenly saw that half way up the mountain to the east of the monastery there were five divine lights, each more than a foot in extent [ERMCC: 'as big as a bowl']. Fa-chao chanted, 'Please divide them into a hundred lights and then line them up'. The lights were divided as asked. Then he uttered a second request, 'Divide them into a thousand torches.' As his voice stopped speaking, the lights were divided into a thousand, with row upon row facing each other all over the mountainside. At the next watch Fa-chao went alone to the site of the Diamond Cave, hoping to see the celestial beings. In the third watch they all came. Fa-chao saw an Indian monk who declared himself to be Buddhapāli and took him to a heavenly monastery as recounted in the biography of Chüeh-chiu<sup>18</sup>.

17 A monk from Kashmir who lived in China from 682 after an initial visit in 676. According to Lamotte's article 'Mañjuśrī', *op. cit.*, quoting the preface to a 689 edition of the *Buddheṣṇisavijayadhāraṇīsūtra*, Buddhapāli travelled to Mount Wu-t'ai during his first visit, hoping to see a vision of Mañjuśrī. While beseeching the latter to appear, he encountered an old man who told him that his wish would only be granted if he brought this Sūtra to China so that religious standards might be improved. Buddhapāli went back to Kashmir and, on his return to China in 682, introduced this text to the Court. After some disagreement with the emperor about its propagation, he was involved in the work of translating it in detail, after which he retired to Mount Wu-t'ai.

18 There is no mention of this episode in the SKSC chapter on Chüeh-chiu who indeed seems to have had no connection with either Mount Wu-t'ai or

At the beginning of the twelfth month, Fa-chao went to the Flower Garland Cloister of the Flower Garland Monastery and entered the courtyard used for the invocation of the Buddha. It was an important fasting period, and he vowed to seek rebirth in the Pure Land. At the beginning of the evening of the seventh day, just when he was invoking the Buddha, he again saw an Indian monk enter the courtyard and come up to him to say, 'The scene you saw on Mount Wu-t'ai — why did you not speak of it?' When the monk had finished this address, he disappeared. Fa-chao had doubts about the monk and intended not to say anything [ERMCC: 'and did not declare (what had happened)']. The next day in the late afternoon, just as he was chanting repetitions, he again saw an Indian monk aged about eighty, who said to him, 'The miracles you saw on the mountain, why did you not spread word of them? Why did you not announce them widely to many people and make them take notice, so that they might open their hearts to wisdom and gain considerable benefit and happiness?' Fa-chao said, 'I really had no wish to conceal the sacred way, but I was afraid that I might give rise to suspicion and slander, and therefore did not say anything'. The monk said, 'The very appearance of the great sage Mañjuśrī on this mountain attracts malicious talk: how much more the scene observed by you. However, anyone who brings it to the attention of the multitude would be opening their hearts to enlightenment and creating an affinity with the poison drum<sup>19</sup>. When Fa-chao heard this address he recited (what he

the Pure Land school, but to have been a translator based at the White Horse Monastery near Lo-yang. See Appendix I for details provided in the ERMCC on what occurred during this visit to the Diamond Cave.

19 Book IX of the Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra offers an explanation of the significance of the poison drum. In discussing the salvific effect of the Sūtra, the author compares the positive effect of the sound of recitation of it with the negative effect of a magical drum, the beating of which transmits the

had seen) from memory so that it could be recorded.

Later on, in the first month of the sixth year of the Ta-li reign period<sup>20</sup>, the Chiang Tung monk, Hui-tsung, together with Tsung-hui, Ming-ch'ien<sup>21</sup>, and more than thirty people from the Flower Garland Monastery accompanied Fa-chao to the site of the Diamond Cave, proclaimed [ERMCC: 'encountered'] it the 'Wisdom Cloister' and set up a stone sign to mark it. The group of pilgrims then looked earnestly up into the sky and, before their feelings had settled, they heard the sound of a bell tolling elegantly and with a clear cadence. As they all heard it, their consternation was all the greater. Because they were able to verify that what they had witnessed was not illusory, they recorded it on the walls of the building and spread word of it widely in order to open peoples' hearts to attainment so that they might together set the Buddha's wisdom as their goal.

Afterwards, Fa-chao built a monastery on the lines of what had been manifested to him at the place where he had seen inscribed the name 'Monastery of the Bamboo Grove'. It was both imposing and beautiful, and came to be called 'The Bamboo Grove'.

On the thirteenth day of the ninth month of the twelfth day of the Ta-li reign period<sup>22</sup>, Fa-chao and eight followers observed on the eastern peak of Mount Wu-t'ai four [ERMCC: 'twelve'] rays of white light, followed by a veiling of the peak by a strange [ERMCC: 'black'] cloud. When a rent appeared in the cloud, they saw multi-coloured light which penetrated the body.

poison with which it is smeared even to those who try not to listen.

20 i.e. 772.

21 None of these monks has his own biography in SKSC. According to its index, only Hui-tsung is mentioned in a second biography.

22 i.e. 778.

Within this multi-coloured light there was a halo of red light surrounding Mañjuśrī seated on a dark-haired lion. They all saw it clearly. The sleet then turned into light snow, so that the flood of multi-coloured light bathed the whole mountain valley. The followers of Fa-chao who saw this together were, among others, Tsun-i, Wei-hsiu, Kuei-cheng, Chih-yüan<sup>23</sup>, the novice Wei-ying and the layman Chang Hsi-chün [ERMCC: 'the practitioner Chang-hsi, the youth Ju-ching'].

Thereafter, Fa-chao earnestly strengthened his resolve and scrupulously cultivated his spirit. I do not know what became of him. The above is taken from the Chiang-chou military officer [ERMCC: 'military secretary' — for some details of his Record, see the end passage of the ERMCC text] Wang Shih-chan's account in his Record of the Sacred Monasteries<sup>24</sup>.

*(T's'an-ning's supplementary explanation)*

Achievement of Buddhahood results in the three bodies, which must exist in three lands [Taken from the Yang-chou and Taishō editions. The Chi-sha edition has the character 'two' instead of that for 'lands'], the manifested, the earned and the adorned. The bodhisattvas have not had designated lands bestowed upon them, but only what are called dwelling places. When they cultivate that which leads to a Pure Buddha Land, there follows rebirth in the Buddha family. For this reason the Avatam-

23 None of these monks has his own biography in SKSC. According to its index, none is mentioned anywhere in the collection.

24 According to the Fa-chao chapter in ERMCC, Wang composed an inscription in stone confirming that the building of the Monastery of the Bamboo Grove had been prompted by a manifestation of Mañjuśrī witnessed by 'the master Fao-chao from Mount Heng'. The text of the inscription, which is set out in ERMCC, is also reproduced in Chapter 621 of the *T'ang ch'uan-wen*.

sakasūtra has a section on bodhisattva dwelling places. The Sūtra says, 'Only the Buddha family dwells in the Pure Land'. Those below his level do not usurp his superior position. As the Eight Character Dhāraṇī Sūtra<sup>25</sup> says, 'Mañjuśrī's great vow was to dwell in the same realm as the Buddha. Where the realm in which beings dwell is pure, his expression of the teaching is pure. The three lands are thus equal'. It may be asked, 'The references in all the sūtras to the Buddha dwelling at Rājagṛha and such places, could those be (taken to signify) dwelling places or not?' The general answer to that is 'Here the meaning is the same, the name different; or perhaps (the reference to) the higher state can be taken to incorporate the lower state. In the same way, the Tuṣita Heavens may be regarded as a supplementary pure realm; and mountains such as Potalaka and Wu-t'ai are all sacred realms transformed by the pure consciousness of the bodhisattvas. In this way «pure land» and «dwelling place» is a case of different names for the same meaning. Similarly, Fa-chao's entry into the Monastery of the Bamboo Grove and vision of Mañjuśrī's pure land, and all those sightings in the mountains of old men and youths etc., are cases of witnessing the Bodhisattva in our impure world'.

*The Biography of Niu-yun of the Flower Garland Monastery at Mount Wu-t'ai*

The monk Niu-yun, whose lay name was Chao, came from

25 As item 1184 of the Taishō edition of the Canon, there is a text entitled 'The Great Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī's Secret Eight-Character Dhāraṇī Guide to the Rite for the Order of Observance of the Maṇḍala' (*Ta sheng miao-chi-hsiang pu-sa mi-mi pa-tzu t'o-lo-ni hsiu-hsing man-t'u-lo tz'u-ti i kwei-fa*). The subtitle indicates that it addresses defeating disaster, relieving difficulties and reducing obstacles. In the text it is said that in the eight characters more than anywhere reside awe-inspiring virtue and truth.



Yen-men. As a child it was if his spirit was deficient. Sent to a local school, he came away without knowing a single character. When he saw a monk or a nun, he clasped his hands and assumed a look of trepidation.

When he was just twelve<sup>1</sup>, his parents sent him away to the Cloister of the Pavilion of Excellent Abiding at the Flower Garland Monastery at Mount Wu-t'ai, where he became a disciple of Ching-chüeh and was put to work at every opportunity gathering firewood and drawing water. At the time people dismissed him as simple and dull, and most treated him with indiscriminate ridicule. When he came of age he became fully ordained, but found it increasingly difficult to chant and to study.

When he reached the age of thirty-six, he said, 'I have heard that on the peaks of the mountain, manifestations of Mañjuśrī are regularly to be seen. Today, if I will go there barefoot and if I see Mañjuśrī, I will only ask for the ability to learn to chant the scriptures and the teaching'. Then, in the face of cold and snow and determining not to turn back or give in, he went to the top of the East Peak<sup>2</sup>, where he saw an old man lighting a fire and sitting down.

Niu-yun asked the old man, 'In weather as cold and snowy as this, where have you come from?' The old man said, 'I come from downstream'. Niu-yun said, 'By what road did you ascend; how is it that there are no footprints?' The old man said, 'I

came before the snow'. He then asked Niu-yun, 'With what wish do you struggle barefoot against the snow all the way here? Is it not very hard for you?' Niu-yun said, 'Although I am a monk, I much regret my stupidity and inability to chant and recite the scriptures and the teaching. In coming here I both wish and seek to see Mañjuśrī, of whom I will beg only for the fruit of intelligence'. The old man said, 'Remarkable indeed!', and continued, 'If you do not see Mañjuśrī here, where will you go?' Niu-yun said, 'I should wish to climb the North Peak'. The old man said, 'I intend to do the same', and added [ERMCC has before 'added' the extra sentence: 'Niu-yun said, Shall we go together?' which makes the account more complete], 'Perhaps you, master, would like to go first.' Niu-yun then walked all over the (eastern) peak summit before bidding farewell to the old man and leaving for the western side.

As dusk was beginning to fall, he had just reached the North Peak where he again saw an old man lighting a fire and sitting down. This caused him considerable surprise. He asked the old man, 'Not long ago we parted in the eastern peak. How is it that you have arrived here before me?' The old man replied, 'You, master, do not know the best route and were therefore rather slow in coming'.

Although Niu-yun acknowledged this case, in his heart he was beginning to wonder whether this old man might not be a manifestation of Mañjuśrī. Niu-yun paid homage with a stamping of feet. The old man said, 'I am an ordinary person; you should not pay homage to me'. However, Niu-yun was prompted to do so and his feelings on the matter were quite firm [ERMCC: 'But Niu-yun (still) paid homage with redoubled determination']. After a time the old man said, 'Please stop your ceremony! Wait for me to enter fixed meditation, so that I can

1 i.e. 685; see last paragraph where the date of his death and his age indicate he was born in 673.

2 On the crown of Mount Wu-t'ai there are, as the name implies, five peaks, with the four higher ones surrounding a more modest hilltop in the centre of the elevated basin so formed.

see what you were in your past life to make you dull'. The old man closed his eyes and suddenly his countenance expressed his thoughts as he said to Niu-yun, 'What is appearing is your past life as an ox. Because it bears the scriptures, you have now been able to achieve monkhood but remain stupid. If you take a mattock from the side of the Dragon Altar and cut out the silted flesh of your head and heart, you will experience a brightening'.

Niu-yun then obtained the mattock and came back. The old man said, 'Close your eyes. Wait for me to command you to open them, and then open them'. Niu-yun closed his eyes. Then it seemed as if the mattock were wielded upon his heart but without pain anywhere in his body; his heart was opened and it was as though a lamp had been placed in a dark room or as though a full moon hung in the sky after a long night.

Niu-yun opened his eyes and saw the old man manifested in the form of Mañjuśrī, saying to him, 'From now on you will be able to chant and recite the scriptures and the teaching in order and without forgetting them. Moreover, in the cloister to the east of the stream at the Flower Garland Monastery, you will find a particularly powerful karmic effect such as to prevent any regression'. Niu-yun was moved to tears, and took up a position of homage. As he raised his head [The original Sung and Yüan texts have the character for 'incline' rather than for 'instant', ERMCC the character with the similar meaning 'moment'. One has the right sound but wrong meaning; the other, the right meaning but wrong shape], the Bodhisattva was not to be seen. Niu-yun then came down the mountain without any injury to his limbs. Whenever he recited the scriptures, what had passed in front of his eyes would come readily to his lips.

In the summer of the following year, in the fifth month, he

was circumnambulating the stūpa of King Aśoka reciting the scriptures. On the hour, he saw a beam of directed [ERMCC: 'divine'] light connecting the summit of the North Peak with the base of the auspicious tower<sup>3</sup>. For a long time it did not disperse. Within the light there appeared a jewelled pavilion, in front of which was a gilded plaque inscribed with the words 'Abode of Excellence'. Niu-yun remembered the words of the Bodhisattva's prophecy, and had built a pavilion on the lines of the manifestation in this beam of light. He converted people to Buddhism, practised charity, and was greatly honoured and respected.

In the twenty-third year of the Kai-yüan reign period<sup>4</sup> he died without any illness. His age by conventional reckoning was sixty-three, and it was forty-four years since he had been ordained. There was no first half to his name Yun. He acknowledged that the earlier incarnation of which Mañjuśrī registered consciousness had been an ox and therefore adopted that character in his name.

#### APPENDIX I

##### *A Summary of the Biography of Wu-chuo of the Hua-yen Monastery at Mount Wu-t'ai*

Wu-chuo, from Yung-chia, was a man of broad learning and virtuous conduct. Committed to Buddhism and resolved to travel, he studied the Hua-yen doctrine with patriarch Ch'eng-küan in the capital. He arrived at Mount Wu-t'ai in 768 with

3 i.e. the stūpa around which Niu-yun was processing.

4 i.e. 736.

the intention of seeing the realm of Mañjuśrī. Having arrived at the Hua-yen Monastery, he met a down-at-heel old man who said he had some 'pearls' to show him, and disappeared. This encouraged Wu-chuo to think he had made the right decision. Wu next saw an auspicious bird on the monastery roof, which flew off to the north-east. The next day he observed two rays of light briefly enter his room. This was witnessed by another monk. Wu set off in search of the source of the light and came to the Diamond Cave where he pretended to sleep. He then heard an ox lowing, and became aware of a strange old man who said he had come from elsewhere in search of grain and intended to find shelter at the cave. The old man asked Wu why, unless he was distressed, he had been sleeping and, pointing north-east to a nearby house, whether he would like some refreshment. Wu followed the old man who led the ox Wu had heard. When they arrived at what turned out to be a monastery, a youth of fourteen or fifteen opened the gate for them. Inside the ground was of porcelain, the buildings of gilt and the whole scene unearthly. Wu was bidden to sit down and the youth brought tea and koumiss. As Wu tasted this, his spiritual state was heightened. The old man asked him why he had come. Wu replied that despite self-cultivation he had experienced no revelation and that he sought the wisdom of the Great Vehicle. The old man told Wu that if he cultivated his original frame of mind he would gain enlightenment: in two years' time the auspicious (spiritual) root he had planted at Mount Wu-ta'i would come to full flower. The old man bade him descend the mountain slowly and carefully. He said he himself would stay to rest. Wu wanted to spend the night there too, but the old man objected that Wu's friends would worry. Wu continued to argue his case. Finally, the old man told him to listen to a dictum that he then chanted: one thought with a pure heart was

wisdom; unlike a jewelled stūpa which turned to dust, a thought with a pure heart became true awareness. Wu acknowledged this and said that this lesson had been like imbibing the Buddha's wisdom and that it had been engraved on his heart. The old man then called for him to be escorted out. Wu and the youth were soon back in front of the cave. Wu asked the youth what the name of the monastery was called, and the youth asked Wu the name of the cave. When Wu said that the cave was traditionally called the Diamond Cave, and that the word diamond was associated with wisdom, the youth announced that the monastery Wu had entered was the Diamond Monastery. Wu turned to leave, but the youth looked at Wu as if he had something to say. On being questioned by Wu, the youth chanted a verse which ended, 'Where there is no stain and no defilement there lies eternal truth'. When he came to the end of his song the youth, together with the monastery, disappeared and there was only the mountain and the forest to be seen. Wu sighed to himself that the spoken word was as fleeting as the dying echo of a flute. Where the old man had stood there arose a white cloud which became multi-coloured and on which could then be seen the Great Sage Mañjuśrī surrounded by all the other bodhisattvas. Then a white cloud slowly covered the bodhisattvas' faces, and the whole host together with the cloud disappeared. Wu then saw an abbot from Fen-chou and five monks arriving at the cave and making their obeisance. Suddenly the ground shook and there was a noise like a thunderbolt. The others all ran off. Later Wu-chuo told them of what he had encountered, and his companions regretted that they had not witnessed the Bodhisattva's appearance. Wu chuo went into retreat on this mountain, where he died. His story was recorded by his disciple Wen-i during the Yüan-he reign period.

## APPENDIX II

*Fa-chao's Experience on his first Visit to the Diamond Cave*

Buddhapāli led Fa-chao into the Diamond Cave. Fa-chao suddenly saw a cloister with a gilt sign bearing the words 'The Wisdom Monastery of the Diamond Cave'. It was all richly adorned with the seven treasures and contained one hundred and seventy-five (units comprising) halls, corridors and pavilions. The Diamond Sūtra and the entire Canon were inside the main pavilion. Fa-chao faced the image of the Bodhisattva, prostrated himself and made his obeisance. He clasped his hands and, standing, addressed Mañjuśrī saying, 'In solemn thought I have made my invocation. When shall there be witnessed the unsurpassable true enlightenment when the mass of sentient beings, without exception, shall be brought to enter into that state? When shall my supreme wish be realised? This dispensation is all I yearn for'.

Then Mañjuśrī said, 'Excellent, excellent', and again touched Fa-chao's head in benediction, after which he made a prophecy saying, 'Your heart is true, you will be a bodhisattva. In the evil world you are able to make this highest wish for the benefit of all beings. As you say, it is necessary for the supreme wisdom to be speedily revealed; it is necessary speedily and completely to purify their countless actions and wishes. He who aspires to perfection as a teacher of men and gods saves those countless beings.'

Fa-chao gratefully received this prophecy. Kow-towing, he performed his obeisance and asked, 'I am unclear. Now we are approaching the world to come and all my comrades are calling on the Buddha and the assembly without thought of personal advantage, courageously and with spirit. As we approach death

should we with certainty feel the Buddha coming to receive us, welcoming our rebirth into superior conduct so that we may speedily leave behind us this river of craving?'

Mañjuśrī said, 'If you are decided and without doubt, and if you have eradicated both considerations of personal advantage and lack of will'; and stopped talking. He then sent the youth Nanda to fetch things to drink and also medicinal food. Fa-chao said, 'I do not need such food'. Mañjuśrī said, 'Simply eat without fear'. There were then brought in two bowls of soup. Fa-chao sipped from one. The soup was delicious. The Bodhisattva had brought three more bowls of soup and more of the same food. The utensils were all richly made of porcelain.

Mañjuśrī then told Buddhapāli to accompany Fa-chao to the door. Fa-chao had no wish to go, but the Bodhisattva told him he could not stay: 'Your present body is essentially a mundane body, not a purified body. You cannot live here. I have now made for you a strong karmic connection with me. On completion of your present karmic experience you will gain rebirth in the Pure Land. As soon as you gain that you will return here'. As Mañjuśrī stopped speaking he was not to be seen.

Fa-chao found himself once again standing motionless on some boards in front of the cave. The sky was lightening. Alone, he discerned an Indian monk who said to Fa-chao, 'You had better go. Work hard, work hard, courageously and with spirit'. Thereupon he finished speaking and suddenly disappeared. Fa-chao, taking his time, slowly returned, his feelings endlessly alternating between grief and joy. He now knew that the Bodhisattva's vow was almost beyond conception. Although Fa-chao had witnessed the mystery of the Bodhisattva, he did not dare to pass on his experience indiscriminately because he feared it would give rise to suspicion and malicious talk.

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## THE ACTUALITY OF COMPARATIVE STUDIES IN RELIGION\*

Bhikkhu Nāṇajīvako

The moral and biological crisis of our generation is threatening the survival of all living beings, and not only of the human race which is the cause of a rapid degeneration of our world through the escalation of hot and cold wars in the second part of our century. The Bodhisattva vow encompasses 'all the grasses, trees, forests, rice plants, hemp, bamboo, reeds, mountains, rocks and motes of dust in a three-thousand-great-thousand world system' and even beyond such cosmic unities, 'if each one of them were made into a Ganges river, while within each Ganges river each grain of sand became a world, and within each world each mote of dust which would accumulate were in turn to become aeons...' (*Sūtra of the Past Vows of Earth Store Bodhisattva*).

The critical predicament of our momentous era from its very beginning has simultaneously provoked a specific incentive to awakening our critical conscience — not merely a materially concentrated sensuous consciousness, and to alert our scientists who were the first to trigger the lethal research into sub-atomic physics.

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\*Ed. This was intended to mark the centenary of the World's Parliament of Religions, held in Chicago 1893, the first book-length study of which has been written by Richard Hughes Seager and will be published in November 1994. Accounts of the centenary 'Parliament' (28 Aug. - 4 Oct. 1993) can be seen in NIBWA 10, 1 (Bangkok 1993) and *The Middle Way* 68, 4 (London 1994).

Einstein was perhaps the first, but by far not the last — isolated and exceptional — among those outstanding scientists who recognised this responsibility of 'a human being as part of the whole, called by us «Universe», a part limited in time and space. He experiences himself, his thoughts and feelings as something separated from the rest — a kind of optical delusion of his consciousness — which requires from its outset a fundamentally deeper root of critical **conscience** in order to avoid 'this delusion which is a kind of prison for us, restricting us to our personal desires and to affection for a few persons nearest to us. Our task must be to free ourselves from this prison by widening our circle of compassion to embrace all living creatures and the whole of nature in its beauty'<sup>1</sup>.

Such deep insights into the **metaphysical** voidness and nullity (*śūnyatā*) as essential constituents of the momentary limitation of our phenomenal world — an epistemological rediscovery of the ancient Buddhist *kṣanika-vādaḥ* by modern science — have asserted themselves as the strongest primarily **moral** arguments against the materialistic foundations of our contemporary civilisation. Thus the deeper existential aspect of these disastrous discoveries is actually shifting the existential priority from the level of physical sciences to that of social and moral humanities. The exploration of its ultimate **religious** sense is becoming visibly predominant in an accelerated process of transmutation of virtual existential experience formed by a radical introversion of fundamental values and archetypal spiritual ideals. In this evolutionary direction I consider another atomic scientist, next and closest to Einstein, Werner

1 Quoted from Eknath Easwaran, *Meditation, an eight-point program*, Nilgiri Press, Petaluma (California) 1982, p.25.

Heisenberg, as the greatest Platonist of our time. In the historical trend of extension of the same penetration of scientific thought by spiritual ideals, we should consider in particular the contribution of Heisenberg's friend and collaborator in the field of biology, another Nobel prize-winner, C.F. von Weizsäcker<sup>2</sup>, and also the founder of the school of depth-psychology, C.G. Jung. The requirement of relating the research work of physical and biological sciences with the psychological exploration of religious experiences had already been formulated by William James nearly one hundred years ago.

A systematic and methodological discipline of comparative studies in religion should not neglect this aspect in formulating its curricula. Problems of the interpenetration of science, religion and philosophy had already in the nineteenth century raised the need for a new definition of religion in general and universal terms that could no longer remain tendentially restricted to the 'three Biblical religions' — Judaism, Christianity and Islam — as Schopenhauer designated them from the standpoint of his comparative studies. In the middle of the nineteenth century Schopenhauer deserved to be recognised as one of the founders of comparative studies of religion by extending and elaborating such statements as the following:

'For a thorough understanding of Christianity a knowledge is required of the other two world-denying religions, Brahmanism and Buddhism; moreover as sound and accurate a know-

2 In connection with his work in the Max Planck Institute in Munich, Weizsäcker is also the president of a 'Society for the research of oriental wisdom and western science' in their interrelations. In close collaboration with the Indian yogi Gopi Krishna, he has written an essay on the 'Biological basis of religious experience' (1971).

ledge as possible . . . The fundamental difference in religions is certainly not to be found in the question whether they are monotheism, polytheism, Trimurty, Trinity, pantheism or atheism (like Buddhism)<sup>3</sup>.

From the standpoint of Asian religiosity in direct confrontation with the Biblical religions of the West, the same problem was clearly formulated by the first well-known missionary of Indian religions who came to America on the occasion of the first Congress of Religious Unity in 1893, Swami Vivekananda:

'Now, there are sects that do not admit of the existence of God — that is a Personal God. Unless we wish to leave these sects out in the cold . . . we must have our platform broad enough to embrace all mankind . . . I think we should love our brother whether we believe in the universal fatherhood of God or not, because every religion and every creed recognizes *man as divine*<sup>4</sup>.

How have world religions answered these questions in the subsequent development of the deteriorating predicament of their common lot in the course of the twentieth century? Each religion or group of religions has, at best, undertaken to present the others from its own critical bias, looking rather for dogmatic or archetypal differences than for the essentially common motives of human religiosity and the moral and metaphysical endeavours in the primeval teachings of their genuine founders. Instead of that, the pure sources of universal spirituality have been rapidly recovered by an outgrowth of stagnation and

3 A. Schopenhauer, *Parerga and Paralipomena* II, quoted more extensively in my *Studies in Comparative Philosophy* I (Colombo 1983), p.33f.

4 *The Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda* VIII (Calcutta 1959), p.199f.

exhausted by mismanagement in socially and politically prejudiced institutionalisation.

The negative effects of such alienating attempts often appear in their most glaring efforts to reduce 'atheistic' Buddhism to extreme absurdities and 'inconsequences' of dialectical irrationalism. The modern standards of encyclopaedic definition of religion — as universal as they claim to be — still remain inadequate in their critical proceedings in our specific case, both in essential and historical dimensions. A comparative examination could easily show to what extent such current definitions of religion are prejudiced, even today, by the criteria of Biblical religions, assumed (though in a generalised form) as a fundamental standard. A comparative test could show, on the one hand, to what extent analogous criteria could be formulated also in terms of Buddhist texts. On the other hand, however, it would demonstrate their capacity as predominant positive determinants for a general definition of religion. Within their limits religion remains restricted to the morphological varieties and possibilities of belief in God (or 'gods') and immortality of the soul — in entities denoting the principles of transmudane and eternal life, or of Absolute Being, as the widest range of the encyclopaedic concept of 'religion'. If, however, the original and authentic teaching of the Buddhadharmā has to be defined as a religion, it has to be grounded on entirely different terms of **religious experience**, leaving aside all premises of **theological** speculations.

The earlier attempts at broader critical approaches by philosophers and psychologists, mentioned above, in closer unprejudiced studies of actual religious experiences of charismatic, transpersonal and parapsychological phenomena have stimulated many new studies and essays on these thematic complexes. The

Buddha, in the ascetic rigorism of his rational approaches praising the 'coolness' of 'clear insight', advised his disciples in one of his most beautiful (and therefore most neglected) poems:

'Escaped from the exhibition of views,  
Arrived to the clearing, take the straight way:  
— I have attained the wisdom not guided by others —  
Go alone as the rhinoceros'. (Sn 55)

Nowadays in our attempts to ensure 'the straight way' with the same 'proper effort' in the same direction, we have to cross new floods and jungles and volcanic eruptions of unsifted violent streams of the unbridled religious 'will to believe'. In the old Indian tradition, including the Buddhist Yogācāra school, what is now inadequately called 'meditation' in the West was designated simply as 'cultivation' (*bhāvanā*) — just the opposite of what in modern movements of ecstatic anarchism is openly preached as anti-cultural youth revolution by many sects and various denominations of 'fundamentalist religions' — not only of Islamic anti-institutionalism.

The designation 'will to believe' was singled out by W. James as the title of his book on this subject. In the next generation the French philosopher Henri Bergson continued the analysis of the deeper motives of religious life. In his book on *The Two Sources of Morality and Religion* (1935), he opposed the genuine 'open' and 'dynamic' creative religious inspiration as the primeval source revealed by mystics of all times against the secondary superficial and stagnating layer of the 'closed', socially determined and politically imposed, 'static' religion of the Establishment. At the deepest level of the creative evolution of universal culture, Bergson finds a congeniality of Eastern and Western models of great religions. The opposition of 'mechanics' and 'mysticism' in his analysis of the contemporary situation

confirms the necessarily élitist character of the essentially meditative function of religion which in Indian, and particularly Buddhist, terms denotes the spiritual ennoblement — *bhāvanā*, as stated above. 'It is not by chance, it is by reason of its very essence that true mysticism is exceptional'. As such it has always been 'the privilege of a few'<sup>5</sup>.

The anti-mechanistic trend of this vitalist philosophy endeavoured to replace the deficient and obsolete materialistic world-view by interpreting the creative evolution of the universe on the basis of its 'vital impetus' aiming at 'building up progressively a cosmology, which would be, so to speak, a reversed psychology'<sup>6</sup>.

Two years later, in 1937, C.G. Jung began his lectures at Yale University on 'Psychology and Religion', with a statement that could be interpreted almost as a corollary of our context: '... each psychology concerned with the psychological structure of human personality should at least recognize that religion is not merely a social or historical phenomenon, but constitutes as well for many human beings an important personal question'.

A philosopher much closer to W. James and H. Bergson in his vitalistic approach, A.N. Whitehead, defines religion as 'the art and the theory of internal life of man . . . This doctrine is the direct negation of the theory that religion is primarily a

5 H. Bergson, *The Two Sources of Morality and Religion*. tr. R. Ashley Audra and C. Brereton (New York 1946), pp.202, 287. In the same context Bergson explains the reason for this exceptional position defining the original mysticism as 'concentrated asceticism, which . . . becomes diluted for the rank and file of mankind. . . .

6 Bergson, *Creative Evolution*, tr. A. Mitchell (New York 1944), p.227f.



social fact . . . *Religion is what the individual does with his own solitariness*, and if you are never solitary, you are never religious<sup>7</sup>.

Before the Second World War philosophical positivism had the tendency to limit the research of religions to their sociologically restricted and **extroverted function**, with primary interest in primitive, mostly African, cults, myths and symbols. The French school of Lévy-Bruhl had a predominant influence in this trend. However, already by that time an Indian contemporary, well versed in French ideological trends, Aurobindo Ghose, in his voluminous studies *On Yoga*<sup>8</sup>, observed that 'mental life, far from being a recent appearance in man, is the first repetition in him of a previous achievement from which the Energy in the race had undergone one of her deplorable recoils' — that, therefore, 'the savage is perhaps not so much the first forefather of civilized man as the degenerate descendent of a previous civilization', and that 'barbarism is an intermediate sleep, not an original darkness'. Recent archaeological discoveries seem to confirm such anti-eurocentric conceptions.

The psychologically **introverted turning** in later investigations even today owes most to the founder of 'depth psychology', G.C. Jung. His influence on the contemporary development of the French school can be assessed by comparing Lévy-Bruhl's earlier school with the actually predominant influence of Lévy-Strauss, and still further of Mircea Eliade in his *Patterns of Comparative Religion*, penetrating deeper into the introvert directions of the 'great religions' among which

7 A.N. Whitehead, *Religion in the Making* (New York 1926).

8 Vol.I, p.13f.

Indian Yoga seems to occupy the most conspicuous place. The extension of the thematic area of positivist sociology to the broader interests of humanities has also provoked a shift in our field from prevalently African patterns of most primitive religions to the deepest and historically most ancient and complex layers of Asian spirituality.

A different, philosophically deeper, trend in comparative studies of religion in the first half of the twentieth century is represented in Europe by the phenomenological school of Max Weber. The most prominent philosopher of religion of the same trend in Germany was Rudolf Otto. His general theory of religion is based on the historical and essential analysis of 'The Idea of the Holy', the numen and its charisma. One of his masterpieces, most important for our subject, was a comparative study on Śāṅkara and Meister Eckhart, and besides that, a valuable presentation and translation of a part of Rāmānuja's commentary on the Vedānta sūtras. According to Eliade, 'Rudolf Otto discovered some astonishing similarities between the vocabulary and formulae of Meister Eckhart and Śāṅkara'<sup>9</sup>. In the second part of the twentieth century, the same trend was continued in the works of Gustav Mensching, author of a valuable manual on *Topos und Typos. Motive und Strukturen religiösen Lebens* (Bonn 1971)<sup>10</sup>. From his phenomenological standpoint he has also published several studies in this field. In the Foreword to his book entitled *Soziologie der grossen Religionen* (Bonn 1966), Mensching had to recognise with regret that his own work had been prematurely classified and honoured by younger sociologists of religion as pertaining to the generation

9 M. Eliade, *Studies in Comparative Religion*, p.3.

10 Tr. as *Structures and Patterns of Religions*, Delhi 1976.

of 'classical' predecessors. Yet the encompassing task of systematic research of that trend had still not been accomplished, so that there remained not only a right, but also a necessity, for its existence.

Looking retrospectively for the founders and initiators of this modern comparative science of religion and the variety of their thematic interests, I did not hesitate to put Schopenhauer at the starting point of the present survey, primarily due to the fundamental importance of his approach to Asian religious philosophies and their relevance to the universalist reorientation of modern humanism.

Books on the subject of comparative religion are still not as numerous as it might seem at a first superficial glance. The interest of mass production in our field is mainly limited to special subjects in cross-sections of their aspects. Thematically the following components of problems mentioned in our survey can be singled out:

- 1 — ontological problems arising out of the philosophy of nature and their moral consequences, especially in physics and biology (ref. Einstein, Heisenberg, von Weizsäcker);
- 2 — sociological problems and their anthropological extension in the humanities (M. Weber, Lévy-Bruhl, Lévy-Strauss);
- 3 — psychological origins of religious experience (C.G. Jung);
- 4 — mythology and history of religions (Eliade);
- 5 — methodology and systematic survey of comparative analyses (Mensching).

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EKOTTARĀGAMA (XVII)

Translated from the Chinese version by  
Thích Huyền-Vi and Bhikkhu Pāsādika

in collaboration with  
Sara Boin-Webb

Eighth Fascicle

Part 17

Ānāpāna[smṛti] (b)

9. <sup>1</sup>Thus have I heard. At one time the Buddha was staying in Śrāvastī, at the Jeta Grove, in Anāthapiṇḍada's Park. Then the Exalted One said to the bhikṣus: I am going to speak about the conduct (*dharma*) of spiritual friends (*kalyāṇamitra*) and false friends (*pāpamitra*)<sup>2</sup>. Listen attentively and take heed (*śṛṇu*

1 See T 2, 585a18 ff; Hayashi, p.135 ff.

2 BSR 11, 1, p.62: for *kumitra* read *pāpamitra*. This latter Sanskrit equivalent of the Chinese characters standing for 'false friend' is well attested in the *Kāśyapaparivarta*, section 25 (ed. A.v. Staël-Holstein, Shanghai 1926, p.50). In Pāli, too, the antonym of *kalyāṇamitta* is always *pāpamitta*. Here it may be stressed that the Sanskrit words in brackets interspersed in the translation of EĀ are tentatively given as approximate equivalents for the sake of the indologically/buddhologically interested reader. We do not in fact know what the exact linguistic shape of EĀ was. Cf., in this context, Egaku Maeda, 'Japanese Studies on the Schools of the Chinese Āgamas', in H. Bechert (ed.), *Zur Schulzugehörigkeit von Werken der Hinayāna-Literatur*. Part 1, Göttingen 1985, p.103: 'According to Prof. K. Mizuno, the 51 volume Ekottarāgama is near to the Dharmaguptaka, Mahāyāna, and also Survāstivādin. The area in which the Ekottarāgama prevailed was North-West India or Central Asia. The original language of the Chinese Ekottarāgama was a kind of dialect like Buddhist Sanskrit'. On the other hand, EĀ has been associated with the Mahāsāṅghikas. See, in this context, K.R. Norman, *Pāli Literature*, Including the

*sādhu ca suṣṭhu ca manasi-kuru*)<sup>3</sup>. We shall (*evam*), Exalted One, replied the bhikṣus. Then the bhikṣus [collected their thoughts] to receive the Buddha's teaching, and the Exalted One said:

What is that which is called conduct of false friends like? There is [, for example,] a bhikṣu — a false friend — in whom this thought arises: It is from a powerful clan that I have gone forth into homelessness in order to study the path (*mārga*) [to enlightenment]. As for the other bhikṣus, they have gone forth into homelessness, being of humble descent. — While holding his own clan in [high] regard, he reviles others. That is what is called conduct of false friends. Again [that] false friend thinks like this: It is I who respectfully follow all instructions (*deśanā*) with greatest effort (*vīrya*), whilst the other bhikṣus are not diligent in keeping the precepts (*śīla*). — In this way he further slanders all others and at the same time indulges in self-praise. That is . . . conduct of false friends. Furthermore, [that] false friend<sup>4</sup> thinks like this: My concentration (*samādhi*) is perfect. As regards the other bhikṣus, they are not concentrated. Their

Canonical Literature in Prakrit and Sanskrit of all the Hinayāna Schools of Buddhism, Wiesbaden 1983, p.57: 'It is likely that the Chinese version of the Ekottarāgama belongs to the school of the Mahāsāṅghikas, and was translated not from Sanskrit but from some dialect of Middle Indo-Aryan or a mixed dialect of Prakrit with Sanskrit elements . . . Norman here offers a résumé of Waldschmidt's observations on EĀ in the latter's 'Central Asian Sūtra Fragments and their Relation to the Chinese Āgamas', published in H. Bechert (ed.), *The Language of the Earliest Buddhist Tradition*, Göttingen 1980, pp.137, 169–74.

<sup>3</sup> At BSR 10, 2, p.216, n.5, a reference to Mahāvīyut. 6215 regarding this Sanskrit equivalent is given. Regrettably, here a misprint of the Japanese ed. has been reiterated. Read: Mahāvīyut. 6315.

<sup>4</sup> For 如識 (585u28) read 知識.

minds are totally confused and unreliable. — He always makes much of his concentration and indulges in self-praise [but] disparages all others. That is . . . conduct of false friends. Moreover, [that] false friend thinks like this: My insight-knowledge (*jñāna*) is the best (*agra*), the other bhikṣus have no insight-knowledge. He makes much of his insight-knowledge and . . . disparages all others. That is . . . conduct of false friends. In addition, [that] false friend thinks: Now I am constantly supplied with food, a bed, with mattresses, bedding and medicine for the sick<sup>5</sup>. The other bhikṣus cannot obtain these requisites [offered with] great respect (*pūjā-pariṣkāra*). — He makes much of the things he acquires (*lābhavastu*) and indulges in self-praise [yet also] disparages all others. That is . . . conduct of false friends. That is, bhikṣus, what is called a false friend's wrong-doing (*mithyākarmānta*).

What is to be understood by conduct of spiritual friends? There is [, for example,] a bhikṣu — a spiritual friend — who does not think like this: It is from a powerful clan that I am descended, [whereas] these other bhikṣus are not. [He, on the contrary, thinks:] Myself and they are, indeed, not different. — That is what is called conduct of spiritual friends. Again [that] spiritual friend does not think like this: Now I observe the precepts, the other bhikṣus do not. — [He, on the contrary, thinks:] As for myself and them, there is neither rising nor falling<sup>6</sup>. — Thanks to this disposition (*śīla*), he neither indulges in self-praise nor does he slander others. That is, bhikṣus, . . . conduct of spiritual

<sup>5</sup> I.e. the requisites (*pariṣkāra*), with the exception of *civara*, corresponding to *piṇḍapāta-sayanāsana-glānapratyayabhaiṣajya* — cf. BHSD 331.

<sup>6</sup> 'No rising, no falling', 'no increase, no decrease' signal, in a higher sense, equality (THV).

friends. Furthermore, bhikṣus, [that] spiritual friend does not think: My concentration is perfect, the other bhikṣus' minds are confused and unreliable. [He, on the contrary, thinks:] As for myself and them, there is neither increase nor decrease. [Well] concentrated, he neither indulges. . . nor does he disparage others. That is, bhikṣus, . . . conduct of spiritual friends. Moreover, . . . does not think like this: My insight-knowledge is perfect, the other bhikṣus have no insight-knowledge . . . neither increase nor decrease. Thanks to his insight-knowledge, he neither indulges. . . nor does he disparage others. That is. . . conduct of spiritual friends. In addition, . . . does not think: I am able to obtain robes, blankets, food, a bed, mattresses, bedding and medicine for the sick<sup>7</sup>, but the other bhikṣus cannot obtain. . . medicine for the sick. . . neither increase nor decrease. On account of these acquisitions he neither indulges. . . nor does he disparage others. That is . . . conduct of spiritual friends. —

Then the Exalted One said to the bhikṣus: I have just given you a definition (*pari-cchid*) of the conduct of false friends and of spiritual friends respectively. Consequently, bhikṣus, everyone should eliminate a false friend's conduct and everyone should mindfully cultivate the conduct of a spiritual friend. Thus, bhikṣus, you should train. — Having heard the Buddha's words, the bhikṣus were pleased and respectfully applied themselves to practice.'

10. 'Thus have I heard. At one time the Buddha was staying, together with a large number of bhikṣus, viz. five hundred

7 Cf. n.5. Here the first requisite, *cīvara*, is included in the enumeration, whilst 'blankets' has no Indic equivalent in this context.

persons altogether, in Kapilavastu<sup>8</sup>, at Nyagrodha Grove. At that time, in the country were more than five hundred persons, [belonging to] the powerful and noble race of the great Śākya. [They] had gathered in an assembly hall in order to discuss things of common [interest]. Then the brahmin Shī-diān approached those Śākyas whom he asked the following: Well, gentlemen, might there be anyone among the ascetics (*śramaṇa*), brahmins or common (*laukika*) folk here who is able to debate with me? — Many of the Śākyas replied to the brahmin Shī-diān: Now here there are two persons of extraordinary capacity and comprehensive knowledge staying in Kapilavastu. Who are these two persons? One of them is Cūḍapanthaka<sup>9</sup> Bhikṣu by name, the other Gautama Śākyavaṃśa, the Tathāgata, who has realised (*prāpta*) perfect enlightenment (*samyaksambodhi*). As for the people at large, they lack knowledge (*avabodha*), learning (*śravaṇa*) and wisdom (*prajñā*). [Their] speech is petty and vulgar, and likewise are their attitudes, comparable to those of Panthaka! Moreover, in this particular community (*ekajanapada*) of Kapilavastu [there prevails] stupidity, ignorance and folly because of people's narrow-mindedness, vulgarity and wickedness (*doṣa*), comparable to that of Gautama! Now you can debate with them. Supposing, brahmin, you can debate with those two persons and even defeat them, we — over five hundred persons — shall have to worship [you] at any time and as required, and shall have to offer [you] one thousand pieces of sterling gold. — At that time the following thoughts occurred to the brahmin: All these Śākya tribesmen of Kapilavastu are clever; many of them are artful, cunning, false, unprincipled and

8 See Soothill, p.482a: 'Śākyeṣu, defined as a name for Kapilavastu city'.

9 After Hayashi, p.137, Hackmann, p.140.

corrupt. Even if I debate with the two and also get the better of it, how can the outcome be of great import? It might also be possible that one [of them] may defeat me. [I] would make a fool of myself and [suffer public] humiliation. Considering these two possibilities (*sambhava*), I cannot debate with them. — [He] expressed [his unwillingness] and left.

Then, in time, Cūḍapanthaka<sup>10</sup> took up his alms-bowl and entered Kapilavastu [in order to] beg for alms-food. When the brahmin Shī-diān saw Cūḍapanthaka coming from afar, he thought: I should go and ask that man about 'meaning' (*artha*). — Having approached the bhikṣu, he asked Cūḍapanthaka: What, śramaṇa, does an expression (*vyañjana*)<sup>11</sup> convey? — Wait (*tiṣṭha*), brahmin, C. replied, why do you insist on putting this question? The reason for [your] coming here is that [you actually] want to ask about 'meaning'. Now you may ask (T2, 586a) about that. — Śramaṇa, said the brahmin, I wonder whether you are able to debate with me. — So far, retorted C., I have been able to debate with Brahmā, to say nothing of you [resembling] perhaps a blind man without eyes. — A blind man, rejoined the brahmin, is not a person without eyes, is he? To have no eyes does not imply blindness, does it? [When you take] this [having no eyes and being blind] to be one [and the same] thing, how does it not [lead to] great confusion? — Now C. soared into the air and effected eighteen transformations (*pari-*

10 Hayashi (*ib.*), after an additional reading given in T footnotes, adds 'put on his [outer] robes' (lit. 'wearing robes').

11 As for the English rendering of *artha* and *vyañjana*, see M. Walshe, *Thus Have I Heard, The Long Discourses of the Buddha* (London 1987), p.432.

*nāma*)<sup>12</sup>. [Seeing them], the brahmin thought: This śramaṇa has nothing but his bases of supernormal power (*rddhipāda*)<sup>13</sup> [to rely upon], but he does not know how to debate. Should [he] explain to me this 'meaning', I would become [his] disciple (*śiṣya*).

12 It is not known what the eighteen transformations are. DPPN I, 898f, provides the information that Cūḍapanthaka was at first a dullard. Later on he 'attained arahantship with the four *paṭisambhidā*, which included knowledge of all the Piṭakas'. He was also 'skilled in creating mind-born forms'. Another piece of information on 'Culla-panthako', with reference to *Pācittiya* No.22, is found in H. Hecker, *Buddhismus und Humor*, 'Bodhi-Blätter' 28, Dicken, Switzerland 1993, p.38: Culla-panthako, whenever preaching to nuns, taught them only one verse *ad nauseam*. When they finally complained about the boring and barren instructions, their teacher went high in the air and continued lecturing on the said verse, but this time with stupendous success. On Cūḍapanthaka in the context of Tibetan iconography, see H.W. Schumann, *Buddhistische Bilderwelt*, Cologne 1986, pp.62, 221f., 227. A helpful hint for our understanding of Cūḍapanthaka's 18 *pariṇāmas* seems to be Vin IV (PTS 1882), p.54: *atha kho āyasmā Cūḍapanthako vehāsam abhuggantvā ākāse antalikkhe caṅkamati pi tiṭṭhati pi nisidati pi seyyaṃ pi kappeti dhūmayati pi pajjalati pi āntarā pi dhāyati (antaradhāyati)*. According to this passage, Cūḍapanthaka's thaumaturgic feat consists of walking, standing, sitting and lying in the air, of manifesting himself as though smouldering, blazing up and disappearing. For an English transl. of Vin, *ib.*, see I.B. Horner, *The Book of the Discipline* II (Oxford 1940), p.274. At SHT V, pp.236–9 (catalogue Nos. 1349, 1464+ 1516), two fragments are found belonging to the Cūḍapanthaka-Avadāna of the Mūlasarvāstivādins whose close parallel is Divy(V) No.35, p.427ff. At SHT, *ib.*, besides important bibliographical information, in the footnotes further details concerning Cūḍapanthaka are given consistent with Sarvāstivāda and Mūlasarvāstivāda sources. At Divy(V) 433, 24–5, Cūḍapanthaka works his miracles before he starts teaching the nuns. By dint of his *samādhi* he becomes invisible, then soars into the air and displays other magical performances: *āyuṣmān Panthakas tadrūpaṃ samādhim samāpanno yathā samāhite citte sve āsane 'ntarhitā, pūrvasyām diśi uparivihāyasamabhyudgamya. . . rddhi- prātihāryāni vidarśya. . .*

13 Cf. BHSD, p.151f, and Nyanatiloka, p.59.

When, thanks to his clairaudience (*divyaśrotra*), Venerable Śāriputra heard what in their discussion C. and the brahmin Shī-diān were talking about, he immediately transformed his body and assumed the shape of Panthaka, whilst he caused Panthaka's outer form not to manifest itself and to remain hidden. [He] said to the brahmin: If you think, brahmin, this śramaṇa has nothing but his bases of supernormal power [to rely upon] and is unable to debate, listen attentively to what I have to say. [I shall] tell you something about meaning, and this basic elucidation (*nirdeśamūla*) should really make [you] understand. Now, brahmin, what is your personal name? — My name is Brahmā<sup>14</sup>, replied the brahmin. [Śāriputra in the form of] C. [went on] asking: Are you a male (*puruṣa*)? — Yes, I am, was the brahmin's reply. C.: Are [you] a human being (*maṇuṣya*)? — The brahmin answered in the affirmative. C.: But then (*kiṃ tarhi*), brahmin, a male is also a human being and a human being at the same time a male! [When you take] this [being a male and a human being necessarily] to be one [and the same] thing, how does it not [lead to] great confusion? Well, brahmin, to be blind and to have no eyes is not the same thing. — How then, śramaṇa, the brahmin wanted to know, is what is called blindness [to be understood]? — C.: It is, for example, not seeing this world (*ihaloka*), the future world (*paraloka*), [how] beings are born and [how] they die, [not seeing] beautiful and ugly appearances (*śubha*-, *aśubharūpa*), agreeable (*hita*) or unpleasant (*vairūpya*)

14 Besides the above 'Brahmā', another way of tentatively restoring the (first?) name of Shī-diān would be Brahmadeva or Brahman (= *brāhmaṇa*). In the text above the brahmin tries to provoke Cūḍapanthaka, who reacts accordingly by saying: 'So far I have been able to debate with Brahmā, to say nothing of you . . .'. The same name occurring here might signify that the brahmin now considers himself and the śramaṇa equals as far as debating is concerned, or there is simply a play on words here: Brahmā = the deity, and Brahman = brahmin priest.

things, sentient beings' actions and behaviour being karmically wholesome and unwholesome. [It is] not knowing in accordance with fact (*yathābhūtam*) [due to] permanent non-perception. So this is what is called blindness. — And how, the brahmin asked [again], is one a person without eyes? — C.: [That means that] one has eyes, [but] not the eyes of incomparable wisdom (*anut-taraprajñā*). One is called a person without eyes because one lacks these eyes of wisdom. — Enough, enough, śramaṇa, said the brahmin, [let us] leave aside this somewhat superficial elucidation (*vyavakīrṇanirdeśa*). Now I would like to ask something of profound meaning (*gambhīrārtha*). How does one, śramaṇa, by not taking one's stand on anything whatsoever realise Nirvāṇa? — C.: By not taking one's stand on the five aggregates of grasping (*upādānaskandha*) [as being oneself and belonging to oneself]. — The brahmin: Do these five aggregates of grasping come into being by being conditioned (*sapratyaya*) or by not being conditioned? — C.: By being conditioned and not by not being conditioned. — The brahmin: On what do the five aggregates of grasping depend? — The bhikṣu: On desire (*trṣṇā*). — The brahmin: On what does desire [depend]? — The bhikṣu: On birth (*jāti*). — The brahmin: What [should we] call [the cause of renewed] birth? — The bhikṣu: Desire. — The brahmin: As for desire, what path is there [to overcome it]? — The śramaṇa: The noble eightfold path (*āryaṣṭāṅgamārga*), viz. right views, right bodily action, right speech, right livelihood, right effort, right intention, right mindfulness and right concentration<sup>15</sup>. This is what is called the noble eightfold path.

15 Cf. BSR 10, 1, p.88, n.13, where three slightly different versions of the eightfold path are mentioned as occurring in EĀ. Here is a fourth of which 'right effort' freely renders the Chinese corresponding to *samyak-samudācāra* (right behaviour or practice), and 'right intention' the characters for *samyag-upāya-kauśalya* (right skill in means).

When C. had set forth the Dharma at length and the brahmin had listened to the bhikṣu's teaching, the immaculate (*viśuddha*) Dharma-eye opened [to the latter], ridding him of all impurities (*mala*)<sup>16</sup>. Then and there, in the [brahmin's] body there arose a windy humour [cutting like] a knife [which brought about] his death. At that time Venerable Śāriputra again assumed on his [original] shape and, moving through the air, returned to where he was staying. Venerable Bhikṣu C. went to the public assembly hall where a large multitude of Śākya remained. On his arrival there he said to them: Please make haste and get melted butter (*sarpis-taila*) and firewood and go to carry out the brahmin Shī-diān's funeral. — Immediately the Śākyas got melted butter. . . and went to perform the funeral. . . [Thereafter,] at a crossroads they erected a stūpa, and then all the Śākyas without exception approached Venerable Bhikṣu C. On arriving they bowed down their heads at [C.'s] feet, sat down at one side and addressed these verses to him:

Having carried out the funeral and erected a stūpa,  
[We have] complied with the Venerable's instructions.  
[Thereby] we [hope to] obtain immense good (*hita*)  
Thanks to the chance [we] have got of making this wonderful merit.  
Then also Venerable C. addressed the following verses to the Śākyas:

Now is set in motion the foremost (*agrya*) Wheel of the  
Dharma,  
[While] the adherents of all other schools (*anyatīrthya*)

16 Cf. Vin I, 11 (PTS 1879): *virajaṃ vitamaṃ dhammacakkuṃ udapādi*; E. Waldschmidt (ed.), *Das Catuṣpariṣatsūtra* (based on Turfan Mss) (Berlin 1957), 13.1: *vi(rajo viga)tamaṃ dharmeṣu dharmacakṣur utpannam*.

remain in eclipse<sup>17</sup>.  
[The Dharma's] wisdom is like the great ocean  
Which brings about the brahmins' eclipse.  
One's actions, karmically wholesome and unwholesome,  
Pertaining to the past, present and future,  
Will not be inoperative for a hundred million aeons.  
For this reason one should make merit.

When Venerable C. had taught the Śākyas the Dharma at length, all of them said to him: Whenever the Venerable needs a robe, blanket, food, a bed, mattresses, bedding or medicine for the sick, all of us would like to serve [you] with supplies. [We] earnestly beg [you] to accept our invitation and not to hesitate or refuse. Venerable C. kept silent [and thereby signalled his] consent. After listening to Venerable C.'s [further] talk, the Śākyas were pleased and respectfully applied themselves to practice.<sup>18</sup>

11. 'Thus have I heard. At one time the Buddha was staying, together with a large [number of] bhikṣus, viz. five hundred persons altogether, in Rājagṛha<sup>18</sup>, at Karaṇḍa's Bamboo Grove<sup>19</sup>. Then the wicked Devadatta went to the whereabouts of Prince Vararuci<sup>20</sup> to whom he said: Formerly people had an extremely high life expectancy, whereas nowadays they have a maximum life-span of a hundred years only. Prince, you should know that a man's life is impermanent; [although one makes many] preparations for progress through life, [finally all come to] naught.

17 Lit. 'surrender'.

18 After Soothill, p.304a, Hackmann, p.327.

19 After *ib.*, p.316b, 70 respectively.

20 Or Balaruci/Pālaruci after the Chinese transliteration *Pó-luó-liú-zhī*. According to the context, this must be another name of Ajātasatru. Cf. DPPN I, p.34, where it says: 'We do not know what Ajātasattu's real name was'.



Alas, in the midst of one's life one dies! Is that not painful? Prince, the time [has come; you] should assassinate your royal father [and then] rule over your subjects. I must now kill the śramaṇa Gautama and then realise the incomparable, really full and complete enlightenment. The realm of Magadha [will have] a new king and a new Buddha. [That] will be wonderful, will it not? It will be like the sun penetrating the clouds and dispelling gloom, like the moon annihilating darkness<sup>21</sup> [when she appears] amid hosts of stars<sup>22</sup>. — Prince Vararuci lost no time in arresting his royal father, putting him in gaol and appointing new ministers to assist him in ruling over the people.

Then many bhikṣus were entering the city of Rājagṛha to beg for their alms-food. They heard that Devadatta had wheedled the prince into arresting his royal father, putting him in gaol and appointing new partisan ministers. After their begging for alms-food they returned to their place, stowed away their [upper] robes<sup>23</sup> and alms-bowls and went to the Exalted One. They bowed down their heads at the Exalted One's feet and said to him: When entering the city at dawn to beg for alms-food [we] heard that the foolish Devadatta has persuaded the prince to have his royal father arrested and imprisoned and to appoint new partisan ministers. He further urged on the

21 Lit. 'clouds'.

22 This paragraph has a comparatively terse Pāli parallel at Vin II, 190 (PTS 1880): *Atha kho Devadatto yena Ajātasattu kumāro tenupasaṅkami, upasaṅkamitvā. . . tena hi tvaṃ, kumāra, pitaraiṃ hantvā rājā hohi. Ahaṃ bhagavantaṃ hantvā buddho bhavissāmīti.* For an English transl., see I.B. Horner, *The Book of the Discipline* V (Oxford 1952), p.266f.

23 I.e. *saṃghāṭi*, -ṭī; cf. C.S. Upasak, *Dictionary of Early Buddhist Monastic Terms* (Varanasi 1975), p.212f; the rendering 'waist-cloth' at BHS, p.549, is not correct.

prince by saying: Kill your royal father, I shall use violence against the Tathāgata. In this realm of Magadha there [will be] a new king and a new Buddha. Will that not be wonderful? —

On this occasion [the Exalted One said to the bhikṣus: If a person in charge (*svāmin*) of order and development does not rely upon prudence (*naya*), upon law (*niyama*)<sup>24</sup>, ministers and senior civil servants are unrighteous (*adharmika*). If ministers. . . are unrighteous, princes are unrighteous too. If they are, all executive and clerical officers are also unrighteous. This being so, the subjects are also unrighteous. Consequently, the masses run riot and the military<sup>25</sup> get out of control. This general lawlessness prevailing, sun and moon deviate from their circuits [so that] time [measuring] is put into disorder. On this account the year [as unit of time and for calculating] age comes to naught. Sun and moon being turned topsy-turvy, there is no real light and the constellations show themselves in quite a strange way. From this drastic change of the constellations follow cyclones, and it is the cyclones that enrage the gods. Due to the gods' wrath, winds and rains are untimely. (T2 587a) Consequent upon this, grain seedlings in the soil do not grow, and the complexion [of all] sorts of sentient beings — of slow, quick or rapid motion — changes; their lifetimes [become] exceedingly short. If, on the other hand, kings rule with righteousness, all ministers are righteous (*dharmika*) too. If they are righteous, princes

24 The Chinese corresponding to the text in brackets has been relegated by the editors to footnote 20 (T2, 586c), but translated by Hayashi. 'If a person in charge. . .' parallels A II, 74-6 (No.70): *Yasmiṃ bhikkhave samaye rājāno adhammikā honti. . .* (See F.L. Woodward, *The Book of the Gradual Sayings* II (PTS 1933), p.84f.

25 Lit. 'soldier, horse' answering to the Japanese term *heiba*, 'arms and war horses, military affairs'.

follow suit. If they do, executive and clerical officers also are righteous. This being so, the subjects are righteous too. Sun and moon always move smoothly [in their circuits], winds and rain are timely, catastrophes do not occur. The gods are pleased, and the five species of grain (*sasya*)<sup>26</sup> flourish. Sovereigns and ministers [work together] in harmony and with mutual respect, regarding each other as brothers; altogether, there are no [feelings of] either superiority or inferiority. [Everyone's] digestive system is in perfect order<sup>27</sup>, and everyone's complexion shines, betraying good health. There are no calamities, and [people's] life expectancy is very high indeed. People respect and love each other. — Then the Exalted One uttered these verses:

Let us take, for example, buffaloes crossing a river.

[If] their leader strays all [the herd] is led astray;

[This deviation] is due to the leader.

As for people, they also need a leader.

But can we expect ordinary people [to be upright],

If their leader is unrighteous?

On account of the sovereign's unrighteousness the masses suffer.

Thus one should know that [his] unrighteousness

Also affects each and every subject [of his].

If the leader of a [herd of] buffaloes crossing a river,

For example, fords at the exact [place], all [the herd]

following him

Is on the right track thanks to his leadership.

The people, too, need a leader. If he is righteous,

26 Viz. after Monier-Williams, *dhānya* (rice or corn), *mugda* (beans), *tila* (sesame), *yava* (barley), *śvetasarṣapa* (white mustard) or *māṣa* (pulses).

27 Lit. 'food digests itself'.

The ordinary people all the more [try to follow suit].

On account of the sovereign's setting an example of  
righteousness

The people, without exception, [follow it] and live happily.

Thus one should know that [his] righteousness

Also affects the people as a whole.

Therefore, bhikṣus, one should forsake unrighteousness and be upright. Thus, bhikṣus, one should practise. — After listening to the Buddha's words, the bhikṣus were pleased and respectfully applied themselves to practice.'

### Additional Abbreviations

- Nyanatiloka = Nyanatiloka, *Buddhist Dictionary, Manual of Buddhist Terms and Doctrines*, Colombo 1952.
- SHT = *Sanskrihandschriften aus den Turfanfunden*, ed. (parts 1-3) E. Waldschmidt, W. Clawiter, L. Holzmann, Wiesbaden 1965, 68, 71; ed. (parts 4-5) L. Sander, E. Waldschmidt, Wiesbaden 1980, Stuttgart 1985; ed. (part 6) H. Bechert, K. Wille, Stuttgart 1989.
- Vin = *Vinayaṭīka*, ed. H. Oldenberg, 5 vols., London 1879-83 (PTS).

### CORRECTIONS — EKOTTARĀGAMA XVI (BSR 11, 1 1994)

- p.50, l.8 and *passim* : for *Ānāpana[smṛti]* read *Ānāpāna[smṛti]*.
- p.50, n.3 : for 'unascertainable' read 'ascertainable'.
- p.53, l.14 : for *praṇīta* read *praṇīta*.
- p.65, l.18 : for '1987' read '1897'.

## Addendum to EĀ XVII

At BSR 11, 2 (1994), pp.162-3 (n.12), 'eighteen transformations' are referred to in the text without specification. These eighteen *pariṇāmas* are specified at Mochizuki Shinkō, *Bukkyō daijiten* (2nd ed.), Kyoto 1954, pp.2366-7, under *jūhachi hen*:

1. *kampana* (vibrating), 2. *jvalana* (flaming), 3. *spharāṇa* (suffusion), 4. *vidarśana* (manifestation), 5. *anyatī-bhāvakarāṇa* (sic) (changing completely), 6. *gamanāgamana* (going and coming), 7. *saṃkṣepa* (compressing), 8. *prathana* (extending), 9. *sarvarūpa-kārya-praveśana* (penetrating all [sorts of] forms), 10. *sabhāgato-pasamkrānti* (i.e. the ability to preach the Dharma, while taking on the appearance, speech etc. (lit. 'gone to the assembly') of noblemen, brahmins . . . celestial beings), 11. *āvibhāva* (sic) (appearing), 12. *tirobhāva* (disappearing), 13. *vaśitva-karāṇa* (acting freely or by having power), 14. *pararddhy-abhibhavana* (overpowering / controlling others by means of supernormal power), 15. *pratibhā-dāna* (imparting quickwittedness), 16. *smṛti-dāna* (imparting recollection), 17. *sukha-dāna* (imparting happiness), 18. *raśmi-pramokṣaṇa* (emitting rays of light).

The encyclopedia further explains the items such as, for instance, Nos. 7, 8, viz. as the ability to reduce, e.g., the Himālayas to an atom and, vice versa, to enlarge the latter to the former's dimensions. Given as sources of the list of the eighteen *pariṇāmas* are e.g. the Aśokarājavadāna (T50, No.2042) and some other works which do not belong to the earliest strata of Buddhist literature.

## NEWS AND NOTES

**First Centre for Buddhist Studies in UK**

A year ago this long overdue Centre was established at Bristol University under the direction of Dr Rupert Gethin (Lecturer in Religious Studies but specialising in Theravāda Buddhism, Abhidhamma and Pāli) and Dr Paul Williams (Reader in Indo-Tibetan Studies and specialising in Madhyamaka Buddhism).

As a postgraduate institute, an MA in Buddhist Studies will be offered to candidates completing a course based on three components: Sanskrit, Pāli or Classical Tibetan; Theravāda and Mahāyāna Buddhism; *either* 'Psychology and Philosophy in the Abhidhamma', 'The Buddhist Path to Awakening' and 'Theravāda Buddhist Practice in Asia' *or* 'The Coming of Buddhism to Tibet' and 'The Practice of Tibetan Religion'.

The Centre will serve as a focus for the co-ordination of collaborative study and research in south-west England and south Wales, and host occasional seminars, possibly a regional conference of the International Association of Buddhist Studies. It is hoped to raise funds to acquire the Buddhist Canon in Chinese, Burmese, Sinhalese and Thai to supplement the existing PTS and Tibetan holdings. The Edwin Mellen Press (Lewiston, New York / Queenston, Ontario) is to publish a monograph series, 'Texts and Studies in Buddhism for the University of Bristol Centre for Buddhist Studies'.

**Contemporary Buddhism: Text and Context.**

Conference organised by the University of Leeds, 8-10 April 1994.

Buddhism has been praised by the media as a 'trend religion' and as 'the religion of the year 2000'. Having a conference on contemporary Buddhism thus seems to be most appropriate,

although its organisers, Ian Harris (Lancaster) and Phillip Mellor (Leeds), could not foresee this apparent actuality; even so, a number of the thirteen lectures related to contemporary developments in Buddhism. The scope was not, however, limited to Europe or to this century. Not only were European and Asian countries treated but also initiatives of the nineteenth century which predetermined contemporary developments.

Ian Reader (Lecturer in Japanese Studies at the University of Stirling) directed attention to the boom in pilgrimages during recent years in Japan. Such 'old pilgrimages along new roads' serve as a means of reviving Buddhism, which has become revitalised at the popular or local level and new, dynamic forms of practice have sprung up. Such new forms, here more related to organisational needs, are at present noticeable within the growth of Soka Gakkai International (SGI), as Brian Bocking (Head of Religious Studies, Bath College) pointed out. The schism within the Japanese Nichiren Shōshū priesthood (in 1991) and the excommunication of SGI by the Japanese Nichiren authorities has left SGI cut off from the authoritative lineage of priestly succession. This does create problems of legitimacy, but simultaneously opens up innovative changes and opportunities for lay followers. Processes of such 'laicisation' and protests against established forms were referred to by Bocking as a kind of 'Protestant Buddhism'. An ambiguous concept, which already in the lecture by Yukio Matsudo (Institute of Oriental Philosophy, Taplow) raised a controversial discussion, and his attempt to introduce the notion as a universal concept failed. 'Protestantism' involves more than just the characteristic of *protest against* the established religious authority. Moreover, on many occasions it simply asks the wrong questions, being inappropriate to Buddhist concepts and practice. Despite such problems, Martin Baumann (University of Hanover) argued that

German Buddhists around the turn of the century created a 'Buddhism in Protestant shape'. Most significant have been features such as textual orientation, devaluation of ritual, importance of the laity, rationalisation of life-style and the protest against the religion in power. At least on a small scale analysis level, the concept of 'Protestant Buddhism' could serve as an heuristic means. In addition, Baumann's paper gave a lively sketch of historical and contemporary developments of Buddhism in Germany.

Such an overview of recent developments was also presented by Andrey Terentyev (St. Peterburg) with regard to Buddhist activities in Russia. Terentyev, editor of the *Narthatang Bulletin* (a Buddhist journal in Russian and English), is at present one of the leading scholars on Buddhism in Russia. His historic descriptive account was accompanied by some most interesting illustrations. No less interesting than Terentyev's exposition was the presentation of the activities and heritage of Yang Wenhui during the second half of the nineteenth century. Gabrièle Goldfuss (Paris) convincingly argued that the activities of the Chinese layman should be more highly regarded. Yan Wenhui opted for a reform of Chinese Buddhism and his attempts were disseminated extensively by Buddhist literature from his Nanjing Scriptural Press. Here, texts acquired a new and dynamic importance in a changing context. Two further papers also remained on Chinese territory: Kim-Kwong Chan and Timothy Man-Kong Wong (both Chinese University of Hong Kong) described the encounter of Chinese Buddhists and Christian missionaries in the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries respectively.

In accordance with the flexible approach of accepting papers relevant to the conference, Simon Smith (Leeds) spoke on the Buddhist tradition in a 'de-universalised' society and Denise Cush (Bath) spoke on the relation and connection be-

tween Buddhists and New Age followers in Britain. Colin Ash (Buddhist and Lecturer in Economics at Reading University) gave an interesting outline of the scope and method of 'Buddhist economics'; Rebecca Clare (Scarborough) gave an overview on contemporary developments and discussion of the role and status of women within Buddhism. Last, but in no place least, Peter Harvey (Senior Lecturer in Religious Studies and Philosophy, University of Sunderland) presented a thorough and learned scrutiny of recently published outlines of Buddhist philosophy. Harvey critically questioned the validity of the authors' characterisation of the nature of this discipline, taking into account the sayings of the five Nikāyas as the criteria for assessment. Thus, current labels of Buddhist philosophy such as 'pragmatic', 'empiristic' or 'experiential' seem often to be more an alignment to contemporary Western philosophy than an accurate treatment of Buddhist philosophy in its own terms.

The sixty or so participants unanimously deemed the conference and its theme as a success. The quality of papers and wide range of contents, fields and methods employed served as fruitful starting points for further topics. The event was very well organised by the Department of Theology and Religious Studies of Leeds University. The stimulating atmosphere created non-polemical and critical discussions in which both scholars and Buddhists keenly participated. It is anticipated that the papers of the conference will be published.

Martin Baumann (University of Hanover)

## OBITUARY

Annemarie von Gabain (4 July 1901 - 15 January 1993)

The foremost authority on Uighuric civilisation who made notable contributions in the field of Buddhist Turkic studies was born in Märchingen/Lothar, Germany. She enrolled at Berlin University where she read Sinology, Turkish, and Chinese and Uighuric Buddhist texts under Otto Franke, Willi Bang-Kaup and F.W.K. Müller respectively. Appointed Professor of Sinology at Ankara (1935-7) where she lectured on East and Central Asian Buddhism (and their literatures), she became successively Lecturer (later Professor) of Turkish Languages and Chinese Buddhism at Berlin (1938-45), Hamburg (1950-66) and Bonn (1967-8). On the occasion of the 24th International Congress of Orientalists in Munich 1954, she was instrumental in launching the Permanent International Altaistic Conference. Between 1957-74 she co-edited the *Ural-Altaiischer Jahrbücher* (Wiesbaden) and, with Wolfgang Veenker, edited the *Veröffentlichungen der Societas Urala-Altaiica* (Wiesbaden).

For thirty years she was closely associated with the editing of Türkische Turfantexte that had been unearthed in Eastern (or Chinese) Turkestan (now Sinkiang). She also edited *Uigurica* IV (SPAW 1931; repr., with Parts I-III, in *Sprachwissenschaft Ergebnisse der deutschen Turfan-Sammlung*, Opuscula III,1, Leipzig 1972), *Die uigurische Übersetzung der Biographie Hüen-tsangs* I (SPAW 1935; repr. *ibid.*), *Briefe der uigurischen Hüen-tsang Biographie* (SPAW 1938) and the facsimile of the Sarvāstivādin equivalent of the Anāgatavaṃsa in Old Turkish - *Maitrisimit* (2 vols, Wiesbaden 1957 / Berlin 1961). The last-named text from the Turfan collection is the most extensive and oldest preserved Ms in Uighuric, dating from the eighth century. It is a translation from Tocharian and relates the life and history

of Maitreya; as such, it is an unique source for Central Asian Buddhism.

For *Asiatica* (*Festschrift* for F. Weller, Leipzig 1954) she contributed an essay on the 'Buddhistische Türkenmission' which related the influence of Buddhism on the language and civilisation of the Turks. In similar vein she wrote on 'Der Buddhismus in Zentralasien' for the *Handbuch der Orientalistik* (VIII,2, Leiden 1961) which was substantially reproduced in *Philologiae Turcicae fundamenta* II, ed. Jean Deny *et al.*, Berlin 1964) to which she also contributed 'Altürkische Schreibkultur und Druckerei'. Other publications include 'Steppe und Stadt im Leben der ältesten Türken' (*Der Islam* 29, Berlin 1950), 'Das türkische Volk in der Weltgeschichte' (*Oriente* 6, Tokyo 1963), 'Zentralasiatische türkische Literaturen. I. Nicht-islamische alt-türkische Literatur' (*Handbuch* V,1, 1963, repr.1982), 'Die zentralasiatischen Türksprachen' (*Handbuch* VIII, *op. cit.*), 'Die Schreiber der alttürkischen Brāhmī-Texte' (*Studia Orientalia* 28, Helsinki 1964), *Die Drucke der Turfan-Sammlung* (Berlin 1967), 'Der Turkologie in der Sowjetunion' (*Mitteilung der Societas Urala-Altaiica* I, Wiesbaden 1968), 'Historisches aus den Turfan-Handschriften' (*Acta Orientalia* 32, Copenhagen 1970), 'The Purgatory of the Buddhist Uighurs - book illustrations from Turfan' (*Mahayanist Art after A.D. 900*, ed. William Watson, Percival David Foundation, London 1971), 'Kṣitigarbha-Kult in Zentralasien. Buchillustrationen aus den Turfanfunden' (*Indologentagung 1971*, ed. H. Härtel and V. Moeller, Wiesbaden 1973), 'Die Qočo-Uiguren und die nationalen Minderheiten' (*Sprache, Geschichte und Kultur der altaischer Völker. Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur des Alten Orients* 5, Berlin 1974), 'Types of Arhats on a Series of Wall Paintings from Turfan' (*Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko* 33, Tokyo 1975), 'Altürkische Texte in sogdischer Schrift'

(*Hungaro-Turcica*. Studies in honour of Julius Németh, Budapest 1976), 'Ein chinesisch-ugurischer Blockdruck' (*Tractata Altaica*. D. Sinor felicitation volume, ed. W. Heissig *et al.*, Wiesbaden 1976), 'Wort und Bild, Gedanken zur erzählend-illustrationen Kunst von Turfan' (*Beiträge zur Indieforschung*. E. Waldschmidt felicitation volume, Berlin 1977), 'Iranische Elemente im zentral- und ostasiatischen Volksglauben' (*Studia Orientalia* 41, 1977), *Einführung in die Zentralasienkunde* (Darmstadt 1979), 'Von Kuča (Kušan) nach Bāmiyān. Ein kulturhistorische Studie' (*Eucharisterion*. Omeljan Pritsak felicitation volume, Harvard Ukrainian Studies III-IV, Cambridge 1979-80), 'Sprachen und Völker im Tarim-Becken entlang der Seidenstrasse' (*Kunst und Kultur entlang der Seidenstrasse*, ed. H.G. Franz, Graz 1986), 'Maitreya und Mithra' (*Synkretismus in den Religionen Zentralasiens*, ed. W. Heissig and H-J. Klimkeit, Wiesbaden 1987) and *Die Formensprache der uigurischen Malerei* (Wiesbaden 1987).

Her double magnum opus for which von Gabain will always be remembered is undoubtedly her pair of unique studies: *Die uigurische Königreich von Chotscho 850-1250* (Berlin 1961) and *Das Leben im uigurische Königreich von Qoco (850-1250)* (2 vols, Wiesbaden 1973) which provide a vivid picture of this Buddhist Turkic kingdom in the Tarim basin of Central Asia.

## REVIEW ARTICLE

### The Tantric Corpus (*rGyud 'bum*) of the Tibetan *bKa' 'gyur* according to a recent publication<sup>1</sup>

D. Seyfort Ruegg

Bu ston Rin chen grub (1290-1364) composed two lists of the contents of the Tantra-section of the *bKa' 'gyur* (K), one of which is found in the Catalogue of works belonging to the *bKa' 'gyur* and *bsTan 'gyur* incorporated in his *Chos 'byun* (*BuCh*, in volume *ya* of his *bKa' 'bum*), while the other appears in his collected works as a separate item, the *rGyud 'bum gyi dkar chag* (*BuGK*, in volume *la* of his *bKa' 'bum*). Some Tantric texts included in the *BuGK* are not to be found in all known Ks; conversely, certain texts found in Ks are missing in the lists of the *BuGK* and *BuCh*. Most interestingly, Bu ston's lists in the *BuCh* and the *BuGK* do not agree entirely as to the Tantric works included in each; and his two listings have moreover not organised the Tantric literature in an identical way.

In his book Dr Helmut Eimer has had the excellent idea of examining these and related questions. Its main part consists of a diplomatic edition of the *BuGK* (pp.59-124). For each entry in Bu ston's Tantra-Catalogue Eimer has added the serial number of the (probably) corresponding text both in the Tantra-section of the *BuCh* (based on the numbering in Nishioka's edition of the catalogue portion of this work) and in nine different Ks: 'Jañ Sa tham (Li than), Beijing (Qianlong), Co ne, sDe dge (all

<sup>1</sup> Helmut Eimer, *Der Tantra-Katalog des Bu ston im Vergleich mit der Abteilung Tantra des tibetischen Kanjur*. Indica et Tibetica 17, Bonn 1989. 213 pp.

assigned by Eimer to the 'Eastern Group' of the K-tradition descending from the now unavailable Tshal pa redaction notwithstanding the rather special position of the sDe dge [D] edition), sNar thañ and lHa sa as well as the three manuscript Ks from Urga, sTog (Ladakh) and the Tōyō Bunko (Tokyo, Kawaguchi collection) (all assigned to the 'Western Group' descended from the Them spañs ma redaction, despite textual contamination affecting the printed editions of this branch of the K tradition). The British Library Manuscript (also assigned to the 'Western Group') is taken into consideration in the table on p.185. As for the Phu(g) brag manuscript K, it has not been used by Eimer for this particular purpose, apparently because although in Dharamsala since 1971 it has not been easily accessible and has in fact only very recently become better known thanks to Jampa Samten's *Catalogue of the Phug-brag Manuscript Kanjur* (Dharamsala 1992); Eimer has, however, occasionally referred also to this K (see p.34 and p.51, note 4)<sup>2</sup>.

In his introduction, Eimer considers the differences between *BuGK* and *BuCh* in the arrangement of the Tantric corpus and the origin of the structuring of this corpus in *BuGK*. Also, given the fact that Bu ston's arrangement seems to coincide with that of bCom ldan Rig pa'i ral gri in the Old sNar thañ Manuscript bKa' 'gyur dating back to the second decade of the fourteenth century as recorded in the *dKar chag gsal ba'i me lon* of the Phug brag K (see pp.34-5), Eimer discusses (pp.28, 47-8) what Bu ston meant by saying at the close of his *BuGK* that 'the sixfold arrangement of the Kriyātantras was evidently unknown' (*bya ba'i rgyud sde sgo drug po rnam*

2. Recently Eimer has published a *Location list for the texts in the microfiche edition of the Phug brag Kanjur* (Tokyo 1993).

*bžag ma šes pa 'dug pa . . .*, the addition of the word 'evidently' to the present reviewer's translation in *The Life of Bu ston Rin po che* [Rome 1966], p.26, quoted by Eimer on p.28, being required to account for the idiom where the auxiliary 'dug pa is added to the main verb [*ma*] šes pa). In this context Bu ston's three General Analyses of the Tantras (*rGyud sde spyi rnam*) are also relevant (see pp.29-30). The arrangement of the Kriyātantras in the Phug brag K is of special interest in this regard. In respect to redactional analysis, Eimer has given attention to the particular place occupied by D in relation to the other truly representative Ks of the 'Eastern Group' (Li thañ/Jañ Sa tham, Co ne and Beijing), and by the printed sNar thañ and lHa sa Ks in relation to the manuscript Ks belonging to the 'Western Group' (pp.38-59). Particular mention should be made of the very useful tables and concordances that Eimer has appended to his book which make it possible to see at a glance how the Tantric corpus has been treated in Bu ston's two lists as well as in several Ks.

Eimer concludes that the *BuGK* was based on a manuscript related to the 'Western Group' of Ks, and that its arrangement may well go back to bCom ldan Rig pa'i ral gri's early fourteenth-century organisation of the Tantric corpus, since Bu ston's list is apparently based on an early copy of the Old sNar thañ Manuscript (see pp.21, 28, 34-5, 44, 46). In the manuscript Ks belonging to the Western gTsañ Tradition, Eimer concludes that there has been preserved the order of the texts of the Old sNar thañ Manuscript K, which he calls the archetype (pp.21, 46). It follows that changes made by Bu ston probably did not influence the 'western tradition' of the K (p.47), the *BuGK* being rather basically a catalogue of the Tantra-section of the western group (p.44). On the contrary, in Si tu Chos kyi snañ ba's D the *BuGK* was largely followed (its organisation being altered only



as seemed appropriate in some cases, pp.43, 48). As the product of redactional contamination, the printed sNar than K (N), assigned by Eimer to his 'Western Group', has followed the 'Eastern Group' in its arrangement (p.53; cf. p.56, note 7). (Paul Harrison in fact assigns N to his eastern tradition of the K<sup>3</sup>.) As for Eimer's 'Eastern Group' of Ks descended from the (now unavailable) Tshal pa redaction, he regards the 'Jañ Sa tham (Li than), Beijing and Co ne Ks as its true representatives; D (belonging to a contaminated tradition) having instead followed the *BuGK* in its arrangement of the Tantra-section (p.48 f).

As for the list of Tantras in the *BuCh*, Eimer concludes (p.56) that it is more closely connected with the true representatives of the eastern group of Ks than with the western group; still, in general, it apparently had only a very limited influence on the organisation of these true representatives.

With regard to the (unavailable) Old sNar than Manuscript K of the early fourteenth century described by Eimer as the archetype of the K traditions (pp.21, 46), however, it needs to be noted now that, in view of the redactional and other differences between the Ks previously examined by him and the Phug brag K, it would seem that it can no longer be considered the archetype of **all** the Ks at present known.

Methodologically, an important aim pursued by Eimer has been to determine the extent to which the comparative examination of the organisation of the Tantra-sections of the Ks

3 See lastly Paul Harrison, 'Meritorious activity or waste of time? Some remarks on the editing of texts in the Tibetan Kanjur', *Tibetan Studies, Proceedings of the 5th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies* (Narita 1992) I, p.89.

and of the *BuGK* based on an historical source-critical analysis of K-redactions accords with the parallel study of K-traditions founded instead on text-critical criteria which — unlike in the case of redactional analysis where **agreement** in arrangement between Ks (and/or their dKar chags) is decisive for establishing redactional relationships — are based rather on **disagreement** in readings between texts in the various Ks. The latter is of course the established procedure in textual criticism, where it is the existence of differential readings and indicative errors (or Leitfehler) that makes possible conclusions about the dependence of textual witnesses and, hence, the setting up of a *stemma codicum* (see pp.19, 37-8). For Eimer's studies on the textual transmission of the K, see his earlier essays now conveniently reprinted in his *Ein Jahrzehnt Studien zur Überlieferung des tibetischen Kanjur* (Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde 28, 1992). In an article published in 1987 and reprinted *ibid.* pp.105-13, Eimer has, moreover, already examined the problem of the redactional structure of the Vinaya-sections in the Ks (see also pp.29 and 48).

This volume thus presents the reader with a large number of valuable insights into the K traditions and into the structure of the canonical Tantra-collections. The pertinence in this connexion of the idea of a binding and authoritative canonical corpus (verbindlicher Kanon), as well as that of a Council to establish this corpus (p.21), seems, however, somewhat uncertain; for Bu ston in his *BuCh* and *BuGK*, inventorisation and organisation of the canonical corpus of texts were at least as important as the question of their authenticity. (On the important problem of authenticity as seen by Bu ston, see this reviewer's *Life of Bu ston*, pp.25-8.)

In this book Eimer has in principle excluded from con-

sideration the reasons for which changes were made in the organisation of the Tantra-section of the K and the intentions of the various redactors (see p.37). But he has assumed (together with other scholars) that the placing of the Saṃvara-cycle at the head of certain Ks reflects the influence of the bKa' brgyud pa school (pp.39, 43-4). In terms of such a reasoning it is, however, anything but clear why in the Phug brag K, which is thought to have originated in a ('Brug pa) bKa' brgyud pa monastery, the Upāya-Tantras follow immediately on the Kālacakra-cycle and thus precede the Prajñā-Tantras to which the Saṃvara-texts belong. Why, moreover, did the printed K published by the rJe btsun dam pa from the dGa' ldan bśad sgrub gliñ monastery in Urga, a dGe lugs pa establishment, follow the sDe dge K, which was edited by the (Karma) bKa' brgyud pa Si tu Chos kyi snañ ba and is printed in a Sa skya pa institution? In addition, why in the list of the Tantric corpus in the *BuCh* did such an important proponent of the Kālacakra as Bu ston place the texts relating to it in third place, after the Upāya- and Prajñā-Tantras among the Mahāyogatantras (*rnal 'byor chen po'i rgyud*)? This arrangement in fact contrasts with the one that Bu ston himself adopted in the *BuGK* (where the *Kālacakratantra* is assigned to the first division of the *rnal 'byor chen po bla med* Tantras), with that said to have been adopted by Rig pa'i ral gri for the Old sNar thañ Manuscript K (see p.34 where the *dKar chag* of the Phug brag K is quoted concerning the *gñis su med pa'i rgyud* as forming the first division of the *rnal 'byor bla med kyi rgyud*) and with arrangements in other Ks. How also should one explain the placing of the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti* before the Kālacakra-cycle at the very head of the Tantra-section in some Ks — and in the *thabs dañ šes rab gñis su med pa'i rgyud* division of the *BuCh* (No.1545, just before the Kālacakra texts in this division put in this catalogue in third place among

the divisions of the *rnal 'byor chen po'i rgyud = mahāyoga-tantras*, as noted just above) — but not in the *BuGK* (No.99, where it has been classified under the Vairocanakula of the Upāya-class of the *rnal 'byor chen po* section)<sup>4</sup>? And why in D has the Kālacakra-commentary *Vimalaprabhā* been placed not only in the bsTan 'gyur (No.1347, where one expects to find it) — after exegetical works on the Hevajra-cycle and after the *Kālacakratantra* which is also placed in this bsTan 'gyur (as No.1346; cf. K No.362), but before exegetical works on other Prajñā-Tantras and on the Upāya-Tantras — and additionally in the K itself (No.845), whereas in Q (Beijing/Qianlong) this work is placed only in the bsTan 'gyur, at the very head of the Tantra-commentaries? Furthermore, following the above-mentioned reasoning, is the placing of the Hevajra-cycle before the Saṃvara-cycle in the *BuCh* (but not in the *BuGK*) and in the 'Eastern Group' of Ks (except for D) and in N due to some influence from the Sa skya school, for which the Hevajra-cycle was of such importance? Bu ston himself, while closely connected with Sa skya and regularly counted as a Ža lu pa (a sort of semi-independent branch of the Sa skya pas), was also linked with a bKa' brgyud pa line (of Khro phu Lo tsa ba) and with the rÑiñ ma (through his father). Then there is the question as to why the *Samputatantra* has been connected sometimes with the Hevajra-cycle and sometimes with the Saṃvara-cycle<sup>5</sup>.

4 Cf. R. Davidson, 'The litany of the names of Mañjuśrī', *Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques* 20 (Mélanges R.A. Stein, 1981), i, p.15, who has observed that commentaries on this text are grouped together with those on the Yogatantra in the Beijing bsTan 'gyur, but not in the sDe dge bsTan 'gyur which has rather included them among works on the Anuttara-Yogatantras.

5 The attempt made by Max Nihom in his Leiden dissertation of 1982 — 'Studies in the Buddhist Tantra', Chapter II, referred to by Eimer, p.55, n.5 —

Why, finally, has the Beijing (Qianlong) edition placed the Tantra-section at the head of the entire K?

There are indeed many questions which it is still impossible to answer completely and conclusively. Only now are the relevant questions beginning to be posed. Clarification of these and related points may be expected from a closer study of the Tantric exegetical literature and from further work on the *rnam thar* and *thob yig/gsan yig* literature. It will in fact be worthwhile to pursue in more detail the question of possible correlations between the organisation of Ks and records of instructions received (*thob yig, gsan yig*) by great masters of the Dharma (see p.31, note 2, on the relation between Dzaya Paṇḍita's *Thob yig gsal ba'i me loṅ* and the Urga Manuscript K). For the influence of gTer bdag gliṅ pa 'Gyur med rdo rje's *gSan yig* on the structure of part of the Phug brag K, see Jampa Samten, *op. cit.*, p.v. The *dKar chag gsal ba'i me loṅ* of this K states that its Tantra-section was arranged according to a *rGyud 'bum dkar chag* by Śeś rab mgon po, apparently a bKa' brgyud pa (*op. cit.*, p.vii).

Eimer's valuable book has laid a foundation for future research. As it stands, it is an excellent contribution to the study of the structure of Tantric literature in the K-traditions and of the relation between text-critical and source-critical redactional analysis of the Ks as reflected in their Tantra-sections.

to account for this order by political motives is convoluted and quite speculative.

## BOOK REVIEWS

*Dhammapada*. Ed. O. von Hinüber and K.R. Norman. Pali Text Society, Oxford 1994. xv, 148 pp. £10.95.

It is the practice of the Pali Text Society to keep all its publications in print, except for those which, for technical or academic reasons, are unsuitable for reprinting, or are about to be superseded by a new edition. For a number of reasons the PTS edition of the *Dhammapada*, made in 1914, has generally been held to have some undesirable features, not least the tendency of the editor to include some of the idiosyncratic features of Sinhalese manuscripts, such as the writing of *-ṇ-* for *-n-* even where there is no historical or etymological basis for it, e.g. *jiṇāti, āciṇāti*. It has been a matter of regret that the hope that a new edition of the *Dhammapada* would be made available for publication has not hitherto been fulfilled, with the result that for some years the Society has not been able to offer its members any edition of what is probably the most famous of all Pāli texts.

The delay in the appearance of a new edition has, however, meant that it has been possible to take advantage of the publication of new editions of the *Dhammapada* in Burma and Sri Lanka, while the appearance of the Gāndhārī Dharmapada, the Udānavarga and the so-called Patna Dharmapada has enabled the editors to give references to parallel verses in those texts. Even more important, it has given the possibility of including readings from the Pāli manuscripts which have recently become available from North Thailand, e.g. the form *dhoreyya* in *Dhammapada* 208, in place of *dhoraṃya*, and the reading *pāmado* in *Dhammapada* 371 in place of *pamādo*. Although scholars have long postulated that these were the correct readings, they could only put them forward as conjectures. They

have now, however, been found to occur in Northern Thai manuscripts and can therefore be rightly included in the edition.

The value of this edition has been increased, and reference to it facilitated, by the addition to it of the complete word index to the Dhammapada by Shoko Tabata and Tetsuya Tabata, which first appeared in *A.R.I. Kiyō* (Journal of the Abhidharma Research Institute, Kyoto) 3, 1984, pp.1-48. It has been suitably modified to take account of the variant readings which the editors of the new edition have decided to accept.

K.R. Norman

*Sārasaṅgaha*. Ed. Genjun H. Sasaki. Pali Text Society, Oxford 1992. ix, 359 pp. £14.95.

The *Sārasaṅgaha* belongs to the category of Pāli texts which is best described as anthological. It contains forty chapters, some only of a page or two long, on various topics of Buddhist teaching, each illustrated by means of stories. The colophon to the text states that the author's name was Siddhattha, and that he was a pupil of Buddhappiya, who was the head of the Dakkhinārāma at the end of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth centuries.

The first chapter deals with the aspiration (*abhinīhāra*) for Buddhahood made by Bodhisattas, the second with the marvels (*acchariyas*) which occur in a Tathāgata's life, and the third with the disappearance of the Buddha's teaching. Many stories deal with the virtues of pious behaviour and generosity. There are also sections about nāgas, supannas, petas, asuras and devas, about earthquakes, and storms. There is also a chapter on dreams, and the final section deals with cosmology (*lokasaṅḥiti*).

It is a strange fact that although the *Sārasaṅgaha* was among the first Pāli texts to be noticed in the West — Spiegel

included a portion of the first chapter in his *Anecdota Palica* (Leipzig 1845), and K.E. Neumann later published an edition and German translation of the first chapter (Leipzig 1890) — no complete European edition has hitherto appeared, although several have been published in Sri Lanka. The edition under review has been made by Professor Genjun H. Sasaki, who first became interested in the text when he came across the 1898 Sinhalese edition, with meticulous marginal annotations by Helmer Smith, in the Royal Danish Academy in 1961, while he was working on the *Critical Pāli Dictionary*.

Helmer Smith had already identified the source of a number of the stories and commentarial explanations, and Sasaki acknowledges the help he has received from other scholars in tracing source materials. In many cases Siddhattha names the text from which the story or commentary is taken, which eases the task of tracking the precise source down. Siddhattha was clearly very competent in finding commentarial passages to explain texts he quoted. So, for example, in the section on cosmology there is a long passage (pp.318-21) quoted from the porānas, but otherwise unidentified, giving various etymological explanations, e.g. for the names of the sun and moon. Explanations for portions of this are offered from the *Sāratthappakāsinī*.

Quotations are mostly from canonical texts or aṭṭhakathās, as well as the *Milindapañha* and *Visuddhimagga*, but there is a quotation from the *Vinaya-ṭīkā* on p.273 and one on p.166 from the *ṭīkā* on the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* (not quoted by name but included as a comment upon a passage quoted from the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, which is named). On p.267 Siddhattha recounts that he has combined the explanations given in the *Atthasālinī* (Sasaki gives a reference to the Nalanda edition 220, 11-12, the PTS edition reference is 272, 24-27, and the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* (432, 4-12), although it is not clear why the latter is said to be in

the Sampasādasuttavaṇṇanā, when it is in the Mahāpadānasutta-vaṇṇanā. Although most of the stories and explanations have been traced, a few sources have not yet been identified. Chance reading will probably enable other passages to be identified, e.g. the verses quoted on p.267 are taken from the Abhidhammāvatāra (vv.468-73).

The Sārasaṅgaha is a valuable work, not only for the glimpse it supplies of the way in which the Buddhist teaching was given, but also for the information with which it provides us about the range of texts which a well-read Buddhist author in the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries had available to him for quotation. It is also valuable in that it gives us an idea of the form which the texts had at that time, e.g. in the passage quoted from the Sumaṅgalavilāsinī 432, 4-12, the Sārasaṅgaha has *matā* where the Sumaṅgalavilāsinī has *mari*. The Sārasaṅgaha is earlier than almost all Pāli manuscripts now extant, but we cannot rule out the possibility of later scribes 'correcting' the text in the light of the versions of the original sources which they had available to them. Moreover, the method of presentation is so uncritical that it would have been simple for additions to be made to the text, particularly to the commentarial portions, during the centuries following its composition.

Our thanks are due to Professor Sasaki for producing this edition. An index of passages cited in the Sārasaṅgaha has been made in Japan and this will facilitate the investigation of the accuracy of its quotations.

*K.R. Norman*

Dharmottaras kurze Untersuchung der Gültigkeit einer Erkenntnis — Laghuprāmānyaparīkṣā (Materialien zur Definition gültiger Erkenntnis in der Tradition Dharmakīrtis 2), Teil I: Tibetischer Text und Sanskritmaterialien, Teil II: Übersetzung.

Helmut Krasser. (Beiträge zur Kultur- und Geistesgeschichte Asiens Nr. 7) Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna 1991. 162 and 148 pp. ÖS 350.00, DM 50.00.

The Sanskrit original of this treatise being lost, it is its translation, preserved in the Tibetan Tripiṭaka, which is the subject of this excellent scholarly publication. There are, however, some materials in the only work of Dharmottara which have been preserved in Sanskrit, viz. Nyāyabinduṭīkā (commentary on Dharmakīrti's Nyāyabindu), which are relevant to the lost original of the work under review, and there are also some direct and indirect references to it in works of other Sanskrit authors. Krasser has made use of them throughout, methodically differentiating by typographical means between the types of sources used.

The Tibetan text was rendered from the Sanskrit original by the famous translator Lo-chen (this is his often used shortened name) who lived from 1059 to 1109; he possibly had a second collaborator as was usual, although the colophons do not mention one. When preparing this Tibetan text for publication, Krasser used four editions of the Tanjur (New York, Tokyo, Berlin and Beijing).

The author of this short logical and epistemological treatise, Dharmottara (c. 740-800), is regarded as the first truly significant philosopher after Dharmakīrti and is valued for his logical formulation of the proof of the transitoriness of all things and for his theory of knowledge. His views, expounded also in several other of his works (including a longer examination of the validity of knowledge, Bṛhatprāmānyaparīkṣā), were often recognisably summarised by non-Buddhist authors, although they mostly did not mention him by name, prior to their attempts to oppose them. Subsequent Buddhist authors,

such as Kamalaśīla, Prajñākaragupta and Ratnakīrti, often made use of his definitions and conceptions. The same goes for Tibetan works concerned with topics which were dealt with by Dharmottara.

The publication is an example of the highest standard of research work in all its aspects — immaculate and extensive annotation, references, bibliographies and indices. It is of use mainly to specialists and no library serving Buddhist scholars should be without it. It can, however, be of interest even to somewhat advanced readers of Buddhist literature interested in logical argumentation. Dharmottara regards the Buddha as one who has become the means to knowledge (*pramāṇabhūta*), since through his teaching he enabled many strugglers to attain the stilling of the chain of suffering. Logical illumination of stages in the progress to the final knowledge was regarded as of the utmost importance at the time of great polemics between various schools of Indian philosophy and can be of practical help and encouragement for some also nowadays.

The present translation is easy to read and enables even those with no knowledge of Tibetan to follow the argument. Some acquaintance with the Buddhist schools of logic is, however, a necessary prerequisite. The English reader can acquire these from the still extremely useful *Buddhist Logic* by F. Th. Stcherbatsky (latest reprint, Delhi 1993).

[Ed. Also, L. Bapat, *Buddhist Logic*, Delhi 1989; S. Mookerjee, *The Buddhist Philosophy of Universal Flux*, Part II, last repr. Delhi 1993; Amar Singh, *The Heart of Buddhist Philosophy — Dīnāga and Dharmakīrti*, New Delhi 1984; S.C. Vidyabhusana, *History of the Medieval School of Indian Logic*, Book II, repr. New Delhi 1977; K.K. Inada, *Guide to Buddhist Philosophy*. 10 Logic. Boston 1985, pp.93-102.]

Karel Werner

The Tale of Prince Samuttakote. A Buddhist Epic from Thailand. Trans. Thomas John Hudak. Ohio University (Center for International Studies, Athens, Ohio) 1993. xxix, 276 pp. + 6 b/w plates. Pbk \$20.00, £14.95.

Translations from Thai of the rich poetic tradition in Thailand are not so frequent. The reason for this rarity is the common problem faced by translators: how to convey both the spirit and the letter of the original work. Even prose can be hard enough to render into another language, while poetry presents almost insuperable difficulties. This is specially true of Thai poetry in which there is internal as well as end-rhyming, with much use made of alliteration and puns. Elaborate metres, some relating to Pāli and Sanskrit verse, compound the translator's problems.

When all this is considered, the present work must be praised. Hudak has produced a translation which reads well, even poetically. He attempts some alliteration and varies the form of his verse when the Thai metres change. Still, it is not possible to call the result *great* poetry though of course the Thai original is famous for its beauty. Only re-creation, the creation of a new poem based on the original, as in the case of King Vajiravudh (Rama VI)'s translations and re-creations of some Shakespeare's plays, will result in great poetry. Arthur Waley's translations from the Chinese often achieved this — but then the translator must possess poetic genius as well as linguistic gifts.

This work gives us a taste of Thai epic poetry with descriptions of palaces, forests and battles. There are lists of birds, fishes and elephants, but balanced with them are scenes of the sensual life at court. Verses about lovemaking are found both in the part by Phra Maharatchakhru and its addition by King Narai. They are not found in the last section by the Sangharāja Paramānuchit Chinorot whose monastic status would preclude such erotic content. Though this tale is described as a 'Buddhist

Epic', one cannot say that the Dharma is expounded in its pages. The Buddha is mentioned a few times and there is a little on generosity and morality. Obviously, the tale is much more important than explanation of the Dharma. This is consistent with the Pāli original of this story which occurs in the Paññāsajātaka, the 'apocryphal' fifty birth-stories common in S.E. Asia. There the Samuddaghosā Jātaka is typical of late Buddhist tales in that the connection with the Dharma is fairly tenuous while the narrative receives most attention. So, this story when vastly expanded in Thai verse is 'Buddhist' largely because of its background culture. Those who listened to it could be expected to know at least something of generosity and virtue, impermanence and suffering.

This poem pictures aristocratic love and luxury sailing comfortably under this same banner, a far cry apparently from strict Theravādin principles. Yet this is not really so, as Buddhist teachers insist that three kinds of happiness accrue from the practice of the Dharma: happiness here and now, happiness in future lives, and the ultimate happiness of Nirvāṇa.

Laurence Mills

**Dhammapada.** Ein bibliographischer Führer durch Übersetzungen der berühmtesten buddhistischen Spruchsammlung. Hellmuth Hecker. Universität Konstanz, Forschungsprojekt 'Buddhistischer Modernismus', Forschungsberichte 7, Konstanz 1993. 72 pp. No price given.

In view of the large number of translations of undoubtedly this most popular and widespread Buddhist text, it is a little surprising that no-one has, until now, compiled a comprehensive 'companion'. This reviewer attempted to produce an exhaustive list of editions and translations in BSR (1989, pp.166-75) but was

hamstrung by the lack of information emanating from Asia. (Subsequent to publication, Prof. D.K. Barua, the Representative of the Pali Text Society in Calcutta, very kindly supplied a detailed list of Devanāgarī texts and translations in the Indian vernaculars.) Independently, *Buddhist Text Information* (Carmel, New York) produced a two-part survey in Nos 63-66 (1990) and 67-70 (1991 - received by the reviewer in October 1994!).

Building on the above article, Dr Hecker has compiled the definitive work on the subject. There are six main chapters — I. 'Translations in German', II. 'Translations in English', III. 'Other European Languages', IV. 'Translations in Indian Languages', V. 'Translations in other Asian Languages', VI. 'Dharmapada in other Hīnayāna Schools'; followed by five appendices — I. 'Parallels in [the] Pāli Canon', II. 'Every German translation of Dhp I', III [German] 'Translations of Dhp 173', IV. 'Abbreviations' (of texts and periodicals), V. (The reproduced) 'Title pages of German translations of the Dhammapada'.

In Chapter I twelve complete German translations are listed, each entry followed by published reviews (the third review, on p.11, is abbreviated as 'B.Q.' which, on p.62, is designated as 'Buddhist Quest' — a serious mistake since this reviewer was the former editor of 'Buddhist Quarterly' at the London Buddhist Vihāra! In any case, is it wise to list reviews since it would prove practically impossible to include them all?). A further twelve entries list extensive selections by different translators, viz. Carus, Debes, Dutoit, Flegel, Glasenapp, Griese, Grimm, Mylius, Oldenberg, Regner, Seidenstücker, Winternitz.

Chapter II lists no less than sixty-three translations in English, beginning with E.W. Adhikaran (correctly 'Adikaram'). However, this number needs qualifying: the versions by Austin, Byröm, La Violette, Tite, K. Sri Dhammananda (Kuala Lumpur

1988, but omitted from Hecker) and probably a few more on this list are essentially based on other, existing translations; those by S.C. Das, Dharmānand, Gupta, Vanguje, Norman, Sumangala and Vinoba are either text editions or Indian vernacular translations. U.D. Jayasekera's edition and translation finally appeared in Dehiwala 1992.

Chapter III lists forty-three European recensions, including the pioneer Latin translation of Fausbøll and three versions in Esperanto. Chapter IV encompasses the various vernacular translations in regional scripts from the Indian sub-continent, including no less than twenty-two in Bengali, ten in Hindi and twelve in Sinhalese. Only one translation in Tamil is recorded but in recent years a Sinhalese bhikkhu produced a new version to bridge the ethnic and religious divide on the island. Chapter V spans the remaining Asian translations, from Arabic to Vietnamese, including nine in Burmese, six in Chinese, eleven in Japanese and six in Thai.

The final chapter lists those texts and translations of the Udānavarga and other recensions of Dharmapada literature. However, Subhadra's translation of Udḅ (London 1946) comprises only excerpts, whilst the annotated edition of the Prakrit Dhp by B.M. Barua and S. Mitra does **not** include an English translation; it was very remiss of Sri Satguru Publications, Delhi, to reprint the original misunderstanding which has misled bibliographers and purchasers down the years. A selection was translated by Laurence W. Fawcett in his privately produced ring-bound publication *Seeking Gotama and His Teachings* (Radnor, Pennsylvania 1962). Cone's transcription of the Patna Dhp appeared in JPTS XIII, 1989.

Typographical errors are minimal and mention need only be made of 'Bibliotheca Seera d'or' and 'Editorial Kier' (p.35), 'Wannapok' (pp.29 and 45), 'Iwinski' (p.33), 'Gareth Sparham'

(p.47) and 'Cone' (not 'Crone', p.49). Otherwise an excellent and handy volume to complement one's library of text studies.

RBW

The life of the Buddha. Patricia M. Herbert. The British Library, London 1993. 95 pp. £12.95.

For the benefit of readers who did not receive the publisher's flyer enclosed with BSR last year, a notice extolling this book's qualities seems desirable.

The author is Head of the Southeast Asia Section of the British Library's Oriental and India Office Library Collections and one of the Western world's few specialists in Burmese art and culture. In her introduction, she has presented a concise, accurate and sympathetic portrayal of the Buddha's life — citing the relevant texts especially those composed in the Theravāda world of South-East Asia, including salient features of the Dhamma.

Buddhist art, particularly the little-known manuscript art of Burma, is then described. The traditional oblong palm-leaf manuscripts (*pe-za*) were employed primarily to record the Tipiṭaka and Aṭṭhakathā, but also legal, historical and literary texts. Paper *parabaiks* comprised long sheets of paper folded concertina fashion to make books and were used for a variety of purposes, mainly (in a Buddhist context) to illustrate the Buddha's life or *jātaka* stories and often gave the impression of transposed temple wall paintings.

The present book is based on two *parabaiks* that were originally owned by Henry Burney (British Resident at the Court of Ava between 1830-37) and utilised by him to learn about Buddhism. Sixty out of a total of seventy-seven illustrations are reprinted, forming a cartoon strip of events, from Dipaṅkara's



prediction to the (Bodhisatta) Sumedha up to the Parinibbāna and distribution of the relics. Each 'opening' of the manuscript is briefly described but is supplemented by the author's detailed Appendix, which first identifies the dramatis personae in each scene and then provides doctrinal and textual interpretations. Gold and red are the predominant colours of this beautifully and flawlessly produced work. A delight to the eye and a pleasure to read, it serves not only as an infallible introduction to Buddhism but also as an illustrated doctrinal text in one's personal shrine-library

RBW

Foundations of Indian Culture I - II. G.C. Pande. Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 2nd ed. 1990 (1st 1984). x, 378 and vi, 284 pp. Rs. 325.

This is a work of a scholar with a distinguished career and publication record which started with a substantial research work, *Studies in the Origins of Buddhism* (1957), the second revised edition of which (1974) is still important. He wrote another historical book on Buddhism in Hindi and translated into the same language two Buddhist philosophical texts. He is also an accomplished poet in Hindi. The work under review is the fruit of his historical erudition driven by a search for a deeper spiritual dimension and a creative matrix behind the changing historical and cultural phenomena. In this he is in conscious opposition to positivistic accounts which emphasise exclusively their social or economic origin. 'Social structures may underlie surface events,' says the author in his Preface to the second edition, but 'they are themselves inwardly constituted by a historical world of ideas. "*Manopubāṅgamā dhammā*", all phenomena presuppose the mind,' is his maxim taken from the

Dhammapada.

Volume I is subtitled 'Spiritual Vision and Symbolic Forms in Ancient India' and in it the author searches for the historical roots of spirituality. He finds it in the vision of truth gained in a personal experience by those who accomplished a spiritual praxis later called *sādhanā* or *yoga*. This happened to the very early Vedic seers (*ṛṣi*) and they were followed by others, be it the enlightened one (*buddha*), the worthy one of the Buddhists or Jainas (*arhat*), the perfect adept of Tantrism (*siddha*) or the saint (*sant*) of Bhakti schools. This kind of vision underlies Indian awareness of cultural tradition. From it stems supra-sensual knowledge which in its rationalised form then becomes the ground supporting the norms to be followed by the rest of society.

The Vedic vision was directed towards forming the social and cultural structures on such a basis and aimed at integrating it with the summit of perfection which dwells in everything as its divine essence. However, there was also a parallel ascetic movement of *śramaṇas* (including early Buddhism) which preferred a direct individual drive towards the transcendent.

These two trends formed the early foundations. What followed is seen by the author as cross-currents. Turning to Mahāyāna Buddhism he became involved in some of the highly technical problems of its historical origin so that the chapter can be properly studied only in conjunction with his *Studies in the Origins of Buddhism*, but basically Mahāyāna represents for him a half-turn towards Vedānta and Bhakti, while having a distinctive universality of outlook. Then follows an analysis of Vedāntic schools and a chapter on monotheistic trends and another on the 'Synthesis in the Smṛtis, Purāṇas and Tantras'. As to the latter, the author believes that the Buddhist Tantric system goes back to the Kuṣāna period, but the origin of Tan-

trism is prehistoric; in the ultimate analysis it is simply a form of ritualistic and symbolic communion with a deity and has its salvational aspect as does any other form of religion. Where it uses ritual as a vehicle of will, it is in the author's view an aberration (and that would include all left-hand practices of a morally dubious nature); it may be just magic masquerading as Tantra. Genuine Tantrism differs from other *sādhānas* in that it attunes itself to the rhythm of the pulsating universal consciousness, expressing itself in emissions and reabsorptions and, rather than cutting itself off from this process, transmutes it. In the following chapter called 'Adhyātmavidyā as Philosophy', the author tries to extract from all the discussed systems a plausible conception of Self and suggests one which is not a substance or an agent, but 'the changeless and non-objective condition of the whole manifested world', whatever he may mean by it. The section closes with a chapter on 'The Synthesis of Yoga in the Gītā'. The second part of the volume is preoccupied with language, symbolism, myth and their relation to rational knowledge, and tries to trace expressions of the spiritual dimension in Indian literature and art, and the presentation of beauty in them.

Volume II is dedicated to 'Dimensions of Ancient Indian Social History' and is presented according to the author's adopted approach described above. It covers the factors of geography, the growth of population, economic ideas and attitudes, patterns of livelihood, both agrarian and urban, and socio-ethical and political ideas and how they were reflected in the evolving social order. The underlying idea the author sees in it all is the concept of the 'union of two principles, viz. wisdom and power'. Symbolised by the Vedic dual deity Mitra-Varuṇa, it was represented by the twin offices of Purohita and Rājanya and given its social expression in the *brāhmaṇa* and *kṣatriya* status.

This twin concept was later canonised as *dharma* and *nīti* in the Śāstras and carried the culture for a considerable time, before *varṇas* came to be corrupted into hereditary castes and the ancient formulations of *dharma* and *nīti* were converted into systems of conventions. This then resulted on the part of the leading classes in the loss of high moral purpose and led to the petty game of self-seeking and to impotence in the face of foreign invasions, while in philosophy otherworldliness prevailed.

The picture which the author conjures up for us in these two volumes, of ancient Indian culture as suffused through and through with spirituality stemming from the experience of its great sages, may be to a large degree an idealisation, but as an angle from which to try and present a philosophy of Indian history and culture it has its justification and is underpinned by the indisputable achievements of Indian civilisation in philosophy, science, art and literature and, of course, in religious thought and quest. The work as such is not easy reading for someone who is not reasonably acquainted with Indian history and systems of thought. Neither is its style lucid. For a student or a deeply interested reader, however, it is full of stimuli and challenges to follow up topics discussed or ideas thrown up. It can also serve as a supplementary reference book for a variety of topics by consulting the indices. Bibliographical references are very helpful.

Karel Werner

Confucian Values and Popular Zen: Sekimon Shingaku in Eighteenth-Century Japan. Janine Anderson Sawada. University of Hawaii Press, Honolulu 1993. xi, 256 pp. \$30.

This meticulously researched volume derives from a Columbia University doctorate, yet distances itself from Columbia's pub-

lications on Neo-Confucianism not simply through its willingness to move beyond intellectual history into the social and educational history of Tokugawa Japan, but also through its willingness to take Japanese Buddhism seriously as a religious force. In Robert Bellah's pioneering *Tokugawa Religion*, the emphasis was very much on the popularisation of Confucian values through the founding of the movement known as Sekimon Shingaku, but Sawada's detailed study of the later history of the movement underlines just how close its second generation leaders came to Zen Buddhism in their language and teaching techniques, raising for those interested in Buddhist studies some intriguing questions both about the Japanese situation on which her research concentrates and also about the relationship of Buddhism to non-Buddhism more generally. First, there is a tendency to see later Japanese Buddhism as something of a wilderness of conventionality punctuated by the appearance of a few outstanding figures such as Hakuin Egaku, but the materials uncovered here show a strong Buddhist influence on Tokugawa thought (at a certain level) that cannot be attributed to specific outstanding individuals but rather to a much more broadly healthy state of Buddhist belief, whether conventional or not. Secondly, the general problems of religious syncretism is presented here in a particularly compelling way. In the West the problem is too easily avoided: syncretic intermediaries between, say, Christianity and Islam just do not exist. But the mixture between Confucianism and Zen treated here is clearly not simply some exotic construct of a few confused minds: it is in every sense depicted as a working religion, something which made sense in a practical way to a broad following of adherents. Difficult though it may be for us, surely there is a need for modern students of religion to do more justice to the type of phenomenon so sensitively analysed in this

excellent work.

T.H. Barrett

Understanding the Mind. Geshe Kelsang Kyatso. Tharpa Publications, London 1993. £10.95.

*Understanding the Mind* is the latest of a series of books produced by Geshe Kelsang Gyatso and the Manjusri Centre in Cumbria, England. The tradition followed and taught by the Geshe is the so-called 'New Kadampa Tradition' founded by Tsongkhapa, better known as the Gelugpa school of Tibetan Buddhism.

The present work is subtitled 'An Explanation of the Nature and Functions of the Mind' and is essentially a description of the categories of mind and mental factors (*caitta*) of the Vaibhāsika Abhidharma. However, one should not be misled by this into thinking it is intended for an academic readership. The noticeable absence of any footnotes or references would probably make it singularly unhelpful to a scholar. Rather it is intended, according to the preface, as a '... practical guide for those who seek to develop their minds through sincere study and meditation'. The blurb on the cover describes it in somewhat grandiose terms as '... a practical explanation of the mind in a unique combination of profound philosophical exploration and practical psychology', — obviously not an easy book for a general reader. In fact, upon perusal it soon becomes clear it is intended for a specific audience, to wit, those who are committed to this particular tradition and are the Geshe's disciples. The absence of footnotes and the translation of the Buddhist technical terms without referring to, and often differing radically from, the renderings of other translators, and without the guidance of the original Sanskrit or Tibetan, may bemuse a

reader acquainted with Buddhist terminology from other sources; although upon a careful reading it becomes evident terms used are defined when they first appear and there is a glossary at the end serving as a guide and reference to the text. However, because English is used exclusively for the philosophical/psychological terminology and the near complete absence of their Sanskrit and Tibetan equivalents even in the glossary, comparisons are impossible within the scope of a mere review. Astonishingly, what has been produced here is actually a new and self-explanatory Buddhist commentarial text composed in English. I say astonishingly because, in its own terms and limitations, it is more or less successful in accomplishing its aim.

It is instructive to refer back to an earlier review of one of the Geshe's previous books, *Heart of Wisdom: A Commentary on the Heart Sūtra*, by A. Saroop (BSR 5, 2 1988, p.160 f). The criticisms there are equally applicable to the present work, aridity of style and so forth. Moreover, the previous reviewer complained about the narrow scope of the bibliography, it being exclusively Tibetan and ignoring other authors on the subject. Now in the present work this process has been taken a stage further, the bibliography consisting solely of previous works by the Geshe himself, books and sadhanas (or 'prayer booklets') published by Tharpa Publications.

This book may be of great value to those disciples of the Geshe, both actual and potential, but its claim to represent the 'pure Buddhadharma' and 'the essential... practices of Mahayana Buddhism' (p.298) cannot be sustained in such a narrowly sectarian context. Therefore one hesitates to recommend this book to the general reader or anyone who does not have a commitment to this specific teaching.

John D. Ireland

Cultivating a Daily Meditation. Dalai Lama XIV. LTWA, Dharamsala 1991. xiv, 137 pp. No price given.

This book contains a series of discourses on Buddhism delivered to an exclusively Indian audience in 1985 and 1986.

One does not have to read many pages to realise how surprisingly traditional the Dalai Lama is in some respects. To listen to him is almost like listening to an ancient Indian Buddhist monk who by some miracle seems to have survived the vicissitudes of a world in rapid development. On every page there are numerous literal or indirect echoes of old masters such as Nāgārjuna, Āryadeva, Candrakīrti, Śāntideva, Asaṅga, Jñānagarbha, etc. This does not mean that the Dalai Lama considers himself an historian of Indian Buddhism. He is thoroughly familiar with the Indian sources (in Tibetan translation, of course) which have become a part of the man to such an extent that it is difficult to see what has become of the man himself. It goes without saying that the Dalai Lama is not at all interested in the historical development of Buddhism in India, he is not interested in the individual personality and character of Indian Buddhist monks, he is not interested in the historical context in which Buddhism developed in India. To a large extent the Dalai Lama is simply an Indian Buddhist who happens to have been born in Tibet and who now in addition has to address an international audience in a modern tongue.

Perhaps the most characteristic individual feature of the Dalai Lama, apart from his moral integrity, is his sense of humour. There are several kinds of humour. His is neither ironical, sarcastic nor subtle, mostly it is simple or even comical. He likes to crack a joke and he is not afraid of borrowing modern, mostly American, jargon to express old ideas in a new and familiar dress.

To the Dalai Lama Buddhism is a unity; it is as if Bud-

dhism never underwent development and the different teachings were all there from the very beginning. It is all just a question of different teachings for different individuals. With their familiar lack of historical sense this was, as is known, also how the ancient Indian monks looked upon things.

The Dalai Lama, as we also know, sees it as his duty to present Buddhism to the modern world. Buddhism is not just for Tibetans but it has something to give to mankind at large. The Dalai Lama sees a common ground in the circumstance 'that all major religions have the one aim to make better human beings'. He may be right about that in theory, but the problem is, as history shows, that the major religions have been fighting for centuries because they could not agree about **what** it means to be a better human being.

Mostly the Dalai Lama speaks in terms of having 'a warm heart', of responsibility, genuine cooperation, non-violence and compassion. This is all very well, but perhaps it does not really have very much to do with religion, but rather with concepts of humanity and reason. These are not all religious concepts. This is rather the doctrine of the ancient Greek and Roman philosophers, and of enlightened individuals and philosopher-scientists in Western culture. Goethe, for example, boiled it down to: Man has to be noble, helpful and good. . . Religion, including that of India and Tibet, is still full of superstition, and the sooner one gets rid of it the better.

About politics the Dalai Lama has not much to say, but what he does say comes as a bit of a surprise to us. He now seems to be a spokesman for **democracy**. Apparently he has broken with the traditional theocracy of Tibet. This is understandable, perhaps, but even more surprisingly he has broken with the ideal of one of his otherwise major authorities, Nāgārjuna's Ratnāvalī. This text certainly does not advocate

democracy as an ideal mode of government, but rather enlightened monarchy.

As a reviewer I think it is my duty to say that on the whole I find the Dalai Lama's attitude to modern religion and democracy a trifle naive and, moreover, not quite in tune with Indian Buddhism. One would have found it valuable if the Dalai Lama, like Dharmakīrti and Śāntarakṣita, for instance, challenged Western philosophers and priests to a rational and open debate about the validity of their philosophical and religious dogmas. In India Buddhist philosophers always engaged in such debates, and this was undoubtedly a very healthy exercise. Tibetan monks are still being trained in debate. But why do they not use their skills for a useful purpose?

There is a problem, of course. In order to contribute positively to the common development of mankind (the 'genuine cooperation' that the Dalai Lama speaks about), the Dalai Lama and his learned associates would have to make a serious and profound study of the leading ideas of Western civilisation. First of all it would be necessary to study the Greek and Roman classics on which Western culture is built. A huge and arduous task, but absolutely necessary.

If the Dalai Lama and his learned and sympathetic associates choose not to heed this piece of well-meant advice Tibetan Buddhism will be no more to the West than it has mostly been: an alternative therapy to Western outsiders seldom familiar with their own tradition.

Buddhist therapy consists in seeing things as empty. Thus one automatically gets rid of attachment to everything. One feels relaxed and at ease, even free. From there one can go a step further. One can start to **visualise** objects that one wants to become identical with. Thanks to the therapeutic devices of 'Tantrayāna' (as the Dalai Lama calls it) one can become a god

in this very life. As is said: 'In order to speed up the achievement of enlightenment, one employs certain yogas whereby the practitioner actually prevents the appearance and conception of himself as an ordinary being and generates himself into a deity, a divine form, and then engages in the practice. That is the Tantric method'.

The problem, of course, is that we do **not** really become deities, we only **think** we do.

No doubt Tantrayāna seems attractive to many a Westerner. Who would not like to become a god, after all? While I am not totally blind to the possible positive effect such therapeutic devices may have on certain people, I cannot, however, entertain any high opinion about the value of such practices in general. We are here dealing with what in Western science can be labelled as hypnosis and autosuggestion.

Is this really what the value of Buddhism boils down to — a therapy based on hypnosis and autosuggestion? It is up to His Holiness to persuade us to the opposite effect.

Chr. Lindtner

"nicht derselbe und nicht ein anderer": Beschreibungen und Gespräche. Texte, Bilder und Dokumente zum 90. Geburtstag des Ehrwürdigen Nyanaponika Mahathera. Ed. Detlef Kantowsky. Universität Konstanz, Forschungsprojekt 'Buddhistischer Modernismus', Forschungsberichte 3, Konstanz 1991. 268 pp. No price given.

This is a tribute to a well-known and respected scholar-monk who was at the head of the activities of the Buddhist Publication Society in Kandy for forty years and is the author of a number of publications in German and English, some of which have been reprinted several times and are still in demand. Born

in 1901 as Siegmund Feniger in Hanau, Germany, of Jewish parents, he became involved in Buddhism through reading when working in a bookshop; he soon made contacts with Buddhists such as Paul Dahlke and Martin Steinke, and became involved in Buddhist groups. He left for Sri Lanka in 1936 and was ordained at the Island Hermitage, Polgasduwa, by Nyanatiloka, another prominent German scholar-monk. As a German national he was interned during the war in the Dehra Dun camp in India, returned in 1946 and was granted Sri Lankan nationality in 1951. Since 1952 he has lived in the Forest Hermitage near Kandy. In the same year he visited Burma and was introduced by Mahāsi Sayadaw to the satipaṭṭhāna meditation method which he later propagated in his writings. He also received official recognition: nomination to the prestigious 'Deutsche morgenländische Gesellschaft' and honorary doctorates from the Buddhist and Pali University of Sri Lanka and from the University of Peradeniya. At the time this belated review is being written, he still continues with some activities at the age of ninety-three.

Unlike the voluminous *Festschrift* for his seventy-fifth birthday with contributions by Buddhists of all schools (*Das Geistes Gleichmaß*, Christiani-Verlag, Konstanz 1976), this is an intimate collection of reminders of a fruitful life in the service of the Dhamma, as eloquently expressed in the subtitle of the book. Its unusual title is a quotation from Pāli sources (Milindapañha), expressing the Buddhist view of human personality in its Saṃsāric wanderings as possessing continuity but not identity in successive lives or, indeed, in any two successive moments. Ven. Nyanaponika was reminded of this Buddhist dictum when comparing his photograph from 1934 (which was found among the possessions of the late Lama Anagarika Govinda, his life-long friend with whom he, incidentally, shared

the wartime internment) with one from 1986. There are several other photographs of him in the book, besides these two, including one taken shortly before his ninetieth birthday, with Bhikkhu Bodhi, his American-born successor in the BPS.

The book is a valuable addition to the history of modern Buddhist developments, so bound up with the activities of Buddhist monks of Western origin. Ven. Nyanaponika has a very important place in it. His activities in the BPS, which he so competently directed, played an important role also in the Soviet-dominated part of the world into which his writings and BPS booklets found their way, mostly as donations. The present reviewer himself benefited from it when, on obtaining his book *The Heart of Buddhist Meditation* after its publication (Rider, London 1962), he was able to adjust his practice, translate it and secretly circulate it in the hostile environment of the then communist Czechoslovakia (the translation was eventually published in 1994 in Prague).

Before he retired in 1984, mainly due to difficulties with his sight, Ven. Nyanaponika never tired in his zeal, maintained extensive correspondence and received a stream of visitors both from academic circles and Buddhist followers who came for advice and encouragement. The reviewer also had the good fortune of spending a week with him at the Forest Hermitage in December 1975, which has remained vivid in his memory ever since.

'Not the same, but not another one', may he enjoy the last years of his deserved retirement in quiet meditations and in anticipation of final freedom.

Karel Werner

*Ed.:* Just as we finalised setting up this review, we learnt that Ven. Nyanaponika died on 19 October — an obituary will follow.

## PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

1 - From the International Institute for Buddhist Studies, Tokyo

*Buddhism and Nature*, Proceedings of an International Symposium on the Occasion of EXPO 1990 (1991) *66p ~ 100p*

*The Problem of the Sentience of Plants in Earliest Buddhism*, L. Schmithausen (1991); *~ 120 pages*

*Buddhism and Nature*, Lecture delivered on the Occasion of the EXPO 1990, Enlarged Version with Notes, L. Schmithausen (1991); *66p*

*A Guide to the Literature of Khotan*, 2nd ed., Thoroughly Revised and Enlarged, R.E. Emmerick (1992);

*Haribhaṭṭa and Gopadatta*, Two Authors in the Succession of Āryaśūra, On the Rediscovery of Parts of their Jātakamālās, 2nd ed., Thoroughly Revised and Enlarged, M. Hahn (1992);

*Kṣemendra's Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā*, Studies and Materials, M. Mejer (1992);

*Location List for the Texts in the Microfiche Edition of the Phug brag Kanjur*, Compiled from the Microfiche Edition and Jampa Samten's Descriptive Catalogue, H. Eimer (1993);

*A Study Concerning the Acceptance and Reconstruction of a Philosophy in its Assimilation into a Different Culture*, Tao in Kumārajīva's Translation of the Lotus Sūtra, T. Kubo (1994);

*An Index to Asaṅga's Mahāyānasamgraha*, Part I: Tibetan-Sanskrit-Chinese, Part II: Sanskrit-Tibetan-Chinese, ed. G.M. Nagao (1994);

2 - Other Publications

*Self and Liberation*. The Jung/Buddhism Dialogue, ed. Daniel J. Meckel and Robert L. Moore (Paulist Press, Mahwah, New

Jersey 1992);  
*King Aśoka and Buddhism*. Historical and Literary Studies, ed. Anuradha Seneviratna (BPS, Kandy 1994);  
*Dr. Ambedkar, Buddhism and Social Change*, ed. A.K. Narain, D.C. Ahir (B.R. Publishing Corp., Delhi 1994);  
*Die Morgen- und Abendliturgie der chinesischen Buddhisten* (dissertation on morning and evening recitation in Chinese Buddhism), M. Günzel, Seminar für Indologie und Buddhismuskunde (Göttingen 1994);  
*Road to Heaven*. Encounters with Chinese Hermits, Bill Porter (Rider, London 1994);  
*Flüchtige Skizzen und Notizen aus Zeylon und Indien im Sommer 1894*, K.E. Neumann, ed. D. Kantowsky (Neumann's diary of his stay in Ceylon and India a hundred years ago, with facsimiles, old drawings and photos) (Universität Konstanz 1994).  
*Die Meditation, die der Buddha selber lehrte*, Amadeo Solé-Leris (Herder, Freiburg 1994). (The Italian version, *La Meditazione Buddista*, has been reprinted by Mondadori, Rome 1994).

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