VAJRAPĀṆI IN INDIA

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II

IV. VAJRAPĀṆI, BODHISATTVA AND ETERNAL ESCORT

The arrival of the Mahāyāna at the beginning of the Common Era marks a turning point in the legend of Vajrapāṇi. In consideration of his previous good services, the compilers of the Vaipulya sūtras raised him to the rank of bodhisattva, dedicated to the welfare and happiness of all beings and destined one day to attain supreme and perfect enlightenment. Furthermore, they proclaimed him the eternal escort (satarasamitam anubaddha) of the Buddha. Let us briefly examine these two qualities.

1. Vajrapāṇi, bodhisattva

The early canonical sūtras regularly begin with an introduction (nīdāna) serving to state the circumstances of place and persons. The Buddha is usually in a town in central India, surrounded by an assembly of bhikṣus who listen to him; this assembly, formed of a limited number of Listeners (śrāvaka), is sometimes augmented by some gods and demi-gods with whom the Buddha enters into conversation. The Mahāyāna sūtras, also called sūtras with long developments [vaipulya], adopt an identical setting, with the minor difference that they exaggerate the numbers of listeners (bhikṣus, bhikṣunīs, upāsākas, upāsīkās, devas and asuras of all orders) and that they juxtapose with them a crowd of bodhisattvas with innumerable qualities and complicated names.

With the exception of the future Buddha Maitreya, common to both Vehicles, the names of these bodhisattvas were completely unknown to the early sources. In contrast, the śrāvakas, devas and asuras mentioned in the Mahāyāna sūtras were familiar to them.

The Mahāyāna attached particular importance to hybrid beings, nāgas, yaksas, gandharvas, asuras, gauruḍas, kimnaras and mahoragas which, without truly being animal, man or god, resembled them in certain respects. Since it is difficult to place them in any of the five traditional destinies (gati), certain scholars...
classified them in a ‘sixth gati’, that of the asuras.\textsuperscript{102}

The asuras are wicked and belligerent by nature, but the goodwill of the Budhha was manifested towards them: some of them were converted, cultivated merit and embraced the precepts. The Mahâyâna did not hesitate to make them bodhisattvas. Amongst these we note, with the Upadesa of Nâgarjuna, the nāgarâjas Anavatapta,\textsuperscript{103} – a bodhisattva of the seventh stage – and Siyagara,\textsuperscript{104} the yaksinis Mother of Uttarikâ and Punarvasu\textsuperscript{105} and Hariti, mother of demons,\textsuperscript{106} Druma the king of the kimnaras and gandharvas, Vemacitra asurinda,\textsuperscript{107} finally and especially the yaksâ Guhyaka Vajrapâni, the Malai, ‘who prevails over all the bodhisattvas and, all the more so, over all mankind’.\textsuperscript{108}

This is not simply a view peculiar to the Upadesa: the elevation of Vajrapâni to the rank of great bodhisattva is attested in the oldest Mahâyâna sûtras.\textsuperscript{109}

The Avatamsaka was translated for the first time by Budhhabhadrâ in Nanking, from 418 to 420, from a Sanskrit version in 36,000 gâthâs discovered in Khotan by Fa-ling between 392 and 408. The assembly to whom this sûtra was expounded included an infinite number of Vajrapâni endowed with all the qualities of the great bodhisattvas.\textsuperscript{110}

There were there Vajrapâni yaksas as numerous as the fine dust-motes of the Budhhasetra, namely the Vajrapâni Suvarnânârayâna, Sûryavegadvajya, Sumerupûjspabhra, Visuddheghvasvara, Indriyaprabhuva, Manojavajraprabha, Nandanaprabhâsa, Vâksanirghoja, Sihpaprabharaja, Arcirghanârîneta, Padmaprabhâmanicuda, etc. For innumerable kalpas in the past they had made the great aspiration (pranidhâna) to serve and honour the Budhas always and, acting in conformity with this wish, they had acquired the fulfilment of the perfections (pâramitâ-paripûrṇa). They had accumulated an infinite quantity of pure and meritorious actions. They had penetrated the domain of all the concentrations (samâdhisagocara). They possessed the superknowledges (abhijñâ), the powers (bala) and the abodes of the Budhas (tathâgatavihâra). They had entered the sphere of inconceivable liberations (acintyavimoksha). In the midst of all the assemblies, they were notable for their majestic radiance. They assumed bodies perfectly adapted to the needs of beings to be converted and could thus win them over. They conformed their transformations to the nirmânakâyas of the Budhas. They always endeavoured to protect the dwelling-places of all the Tathâgatas.

The Mahâyâna sûtras set themselves the task of informing us about the two crucial moments in the career of the great bodhisattvas: 1. the arousal of the thought of enlightenment (bodhicittotpâda); 2. the acquisition of supreme and perfect enlightenment (anuttarasamayaskambodhipratîlabha) marking the arrival at Budhahood. Innumerable incalculable periods ago the bhiksa Dharmakâra aroused the thought of bodhi in the presence of the Budha Lokesvararâja and determined by his aspirations (pranidhâna) the qualities with which he intended adorning his BudhafIELD (budhhasetra); it took him an hundred thousand nayutakotis of years finally to reach supreme and perfect enlightenment and, at present, he is the Budha Amitâbha ruling over the Sukhavati universe.

Innumerable incalculable periods ago, in the Anuttâpada, or Bhadrotâpada, universe, in the presence of the Budha Meghasvaraghoja, King Akasa aroused the thought of bodhi and made his aspirations; he is at present the Bodhisattva Mahâajjñâ; at the end of time, when all beings have been won over, he will be the


\textsuperscript{103} T 1509, ch.7, p.114a16-17; ch.39, p.344a28.

\textsuperscript{104} Ibid., ch.39, p.344a27.

\textsuperscript{105} Ibid., ch.10, p.125c8-13.

\textsuperscript{106} Ibid., ch.39, p.344a28.

\textsuperscript{107} Ibid., ch.10, p.135c15-17; ch.11, p.135b21-27; ch.17, p.188b9-15.

\textsuperscript{108} Ibid., ch.10, p.135b24-26; ch.25, p.242c24.

\textsuperscript{109} Ibid., ch.10, p.135c14; ch.39, p.344a28.

\textsuperscript{110} There are nonetheless late Mahâyâna sûtras which still maintain Vajrapâni in the rank of yaks. It is as such that he appears in the list of deities assisting the kings of the earth who protect the teaching of the Suvarnabhâsottamasûtra (ed. J. Nobel, pp.83,9; 91,17). These deities are the Four Mahârâjas, Brahmana Sahânapati, Sakra devendra, the goddesses Saravati, Drjha and Sri, the mahâyaksanâpati Samânîya, Vajrapâni and Mânîbhadra, the devaputra Mahesvara, Hariti, and the mahânâgarâjas Anavatapta and Sâgara.

\textsuperscript{111} Avatamsaka (tr. by Sikshanda between 694 and 699), T 279, ch.1, p.2b13.

Buddha Samantadārśin ruling over the Vīmālā universe. 112

With regard to Vajrapāṇi, similar information is given to us by the Tathāgataguhya or Tathāgatācintayaguhyanirdesa, an old Mahāyāna sūtra of which three translations exist: 1. a Chinese translation made by Dharmarakṣa of the Western Chin and completed on 16 November 280; at the beginning of the eighth century (706-713) Bodhiruci, alias Dharmaruci, incorporated it just as it was into his compilation of the Ratnakūta (T 310, ch.8-14, pp.42-80); 2. a Tibetan translation made in the first quarter of the ninth century by Jinamitra and his team (OKC, No.760, 3); 3. a new Chinese translation made in the eleventh century by Dharmarakṣa of the Sung (T 312).

In this text Vajrapāṇi is, along with Brahmā Śikhin, one of the heroes of a long jātaka devoted to a former existence of the thousand Buddhas of the present Auspicious Period (bhadra-kalpa), a thousand Buddhas of whom four (Kraukcchanda, Kankanumi, Kāśyapa and Sākyamuni) have already appeared, the other 996 being yet to come.

There are notable divergences between the three versions of the jātaka which have come down to us and I will merely give a summary of it here: 113

In the assembly some bodhisattvas were wondering before which Buddha of the past Vajrapāṇi had planted the good roots which today enabled him to make such generous aspirations and expound the Dharma so eloquently. The Buddha, reading their minds, explained to the Bodhisattva Sāntamati:

In the remotest of times, during the Sudarśana kalpa, the Buddha Anantagunānāranyuṭhā (abbr. Anantaguna) appeared in the Vīhūṣaṇa universe, a marvellous universe inhabited by particularly good and virtuous beings. An assembly of twelve nayutas of śrāvakas and thirty-two kōtis of bodhisattvas surrounded

114 This summary is mainly based on the translation of the Tathāgatācintayaguhyanirdesa by Dharmarakṣa of the Sung, T 312, ch.4, pp.712c-716a. For other translations, see T 310, ch.9, pp.49a-53a; Tib. Trip., Vol.22, pp.56-9, fol.135a-143a.
the Buddha a necklet of pearls of inestimable value and dedicated all the riches of the kingdom to him; furthermore, he committed himself to observe temporary continence and the five precepts imposed upon the laity until the end of his life. The king's women covered the Buddha with their raiment and ornaments; they undertook the same commitments as the king and aroused the thought of bodhi. Having greeted the Buddha, the court resumed its place in the pavilion and, flying through the air, regained the town of Viśuddha.

Some time afterwards, on a full-moon day, King Dhrārāṣṭra and his women went to the Nānāuspīpa park to devote themselves to pleasure. Then the two queens Aninditā and Anupāmā went to bathe in the Nanda pool. In order to dry themselves they sat on lotuses (padma) by way of thrones (simhāsana). On each of the two thrones there miraculously appeared a child, of fine appearance, gracious, amiable to behold, seated cross-legged. From the height of the sky the gods cried: 'This child is Dharmacetana, that child is Dharmamati', and it was therefore this that they were called in the world. Dharmacetana was born miraculously on the seat of Queen Aninditā, and Dharmamati on that of Queen Anupāmā.

As soon as they were born, the two children, sitting cross-legged in the air, uttered stanzas. They had come, they said, from the Aninditānaga universe ruled over by the Buddha Kālāṇḍa; if they had chosen Dhrārāṣṭra as their father and the two queens as their mothers, it was with the sole aim of going to revere and hear the Buddha Anantaguna.

Immediately King Dhrārāṣṭra, the queens and the two children, using the power of the abhijñās, went through the air to the Buddha Anantaguna. The latter, recognising true bodhisattvas in the persons of the two children, expounded the most profound Saddharmo to them: 'Among dharmas arising from causes, none is autonomous, none is active; inwardly they are empty, outwardly they are inactive. All dharmas are empty, false and unreal'. Once the Buddha had thus expounded the pure Dharmo to them in every way, 76 nayutas and 3 kōpis of beings obtained the anutātīkadharmkāsānti. Dhrārāṣṭra revered the Buddha for seven days and seven nights, then, still followed by his retinue, regained his palace.

Alone in his sandalwood pavilion, he collected himself and wondered: My thousand sons, he said, are all solidly settled on supreme and perfect enlightenment; but I would like to know who will be the first to attain the fruit and win Buddhahood. Having reflected thus, he had an urn (gola) made of the seven jewels, had the names of his thousand sons written down, inserted them in the urn, placed everything on a precious lotus made of the seven jewels and, for seven days and seven nights, honoured in every way the names contained in the urn. Ten thousand devas associated themselves with his homages. Finally, in the presence of his women, his thousand sons and two children, the king placed the urn on a golden litter (suvarnanamayapithikā) and ordered a servant to withdraw the names one by one. The name which came out first was that of Prince Viśuddhamañi. Immediately, the great earth quaked in six ways and the musical instruments from the women's apartments began to play by themselves, without being plucked.

The princes Viśuddhamañi, Vijayasena and Śaṅtendriya, whose names came out first, will be the three Buddhas-of-the-past of the present Bhadrakalpa, namely, Krukucchanda, Kanakamuni and Kāśyapa. Prince Sarvasiddhārtha will be the present Buddha Śākyamuni. Then follow the names of the seventeen princes who will be the first seventeen Buddhas-of-the-future in the present Bhadrakalpa, namely, Maitreya, Śīma, Mahādhvajā, Kuśuma, Punar api Kuśuma, Sunakṣattra, Suteṣa, Subhā, Pradyota, Muktika, Sārthavāha, Guṇāgradhārīn, Sudhana, Jñānākara, Ratnākara, Samantadejas and Anantagunakṛtī [slightly different list from that which appears in the polyglot edition by F. Weller under the title Taensure Buddhanamen des Bhadrakalpa, Leipzig 1928].

The thousandth and last name to come out of the urn was that of Prince Anantamati. His older brothers mocked him and asked him: When we will have done Buddha deeds and converted beings, what will remain for you to do? – Anantamati responded by committing himself to live as long as all his brothers together and to win a band of disciples (śrāvakasamgha) equal in number to those of all his brothers together. In conformity with this good purpose (ru) he will be the Buddha Roka, last future-Buddha of the present Bhadrakalpa.

Then the thousand princes asked the two bodhisattva-children what aspirations (prāṇidhāna) they had. Dharmacetana answered: 'Friends, I wish to be Vajrapāṇi for you all and, dwelling among you, never to be isolated from the secrets (guhyā) of the Tathāgatas, to hear, accept and understand all the esoteric and exoteric teachings of the Buddhas (ādhyātmikabhāvakṣudharmo). As for Dharmatī, he declared: 'Consanguineous (saḷohita) brothers, when you have attained bodhi, I will incite you to set turning the Wheel of the Dharma, and I wish that you may set it turning on my instigation'. Then the Buddha Anantaguna predicted to the two children that it
would be as they desired.

Having concluded that story, the Buddha Śākyamuni further provided the bodhisattva Sāntamati with the following details:

The cakravartin Dhṛtarāṣṭra of that time was, later, the Bhagavat Dipamkara. The thousand sons that he had then are the thousand Buddhas of the present Bhadrakalpa. The young Dharmacetana born on the lotus of Queen Anindita is the present Guhyādhishati Vajrapāṇi. The young Dharmacati born on the lotus of Queen Anupamā is the present Brahmā Sikhin. The women who then formed the king’s retinue are now bodhisattvas participating in the assembly of the Tathāgataguhyaśāstra. Finally, the beings whom the princes had converted and who, at that time, were committed to the Mahāyāna, will now receive, during the Bhadrakalpa, the prediction (vyākarana) concerning their arrival at bodhi.

What is most curious is to see the humble yakṣa placed on the same footing as the great god Brahmā, but we are not told either when or how he will one day attain supreme enlightenment.

2. Vajrapāṇi, eternal escort of the Buddha

From the outset, Buddhists have been interested in the attendants (upasthāyaka, Pāli upapṭhāka) of the Buddhas, monks especially attached to the person of the Master, charged with fanning him, carrying his cloak and alms-bowl, introducing visitors, etc. The Mahāvadānasūtra has drawn up a list of the attendants who served the last seven Buddhas: Asoka for Vipaśyin, Kṣemakāra for Sikhin, Upasānta for Viśvabhū, Bhadrīka for Krakusunda (or Krakuchanda), Svāstika for Kanakamuni, Sarvamitra for Kāśyapa and, finally, Ananda for Śākyamuni.

The circumstances in which the last chose Ānanda are known: in the twentieth year of his public ministry the Buddha, aware of age coming on, felt the need for a servant who would be attached to him at home and named Ānanda as his attendant. Before accepting this responsibility, the disciple set certain conditions on it, particularly never to have to share the Buddha’s food and clothing, not to have to accompany him on visits to the laity and to have access to the Master at all times of the day. Ānanda fulfilled his mission with the greatest devotion for the last twenty-five years of the Buddha’s life.

However, before Ānanda took charge, other disciples undertook the function on an occasional and purely temporary basis. The Therāgāthā Commentary notes seven of them, and its assertion can be vouchsafed by earlier canonical sources: 1. Nāgasamāla (cf. Majjhima I, p.98,19); 2. Nāgita (Dīgha I, p.151,8); 3. Upāvāsa (Dīgha II, p.139,1; Samyutta I, p.174,25); 4. Sunakkhata (Jātaka I, p.389,16); 5. Cunda the novice (Samyutta V, p.161,23); 6. Sāgata (Vin. I, p.179,26); 7. Meghiya (Udāna, p.34,4).


The Mahāyānists also showed interest in the Buddha’s attendants, but they enlarged the list of them. We have seen how the niḍānas which introduce their Vaiśjulī sūtras had already juxtaposed a bodhisattvasamgha with the traditional śrāvakasamgha. Here again, they thought it advisable to introduce some bodhisattvas among the Buddha’s attendants. They attributed a twofold entourage to the Master: the intimate entourage (abhyanantaraparivāra) and the wider entourage (mahāparivāra). The bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi was purportedly part of the former with Ānanda and other attendants of the Buddha; the bodhisattvas Maitreya, Mañjuśrī, Bhadrapāla, etc., pertained to the latter along with the majority of Śākyamuni’s disciples.

We read in the Pañcapavimśaḥṣaḥ Prajñāpāramitā: ‘O, Subhūti, the bodhisattva mahāsattva who wishes to be the attendant (upasthāyaka) of the Beneficent Lord Buddhas, who wishes to be part of their intimate entourage (abhyanantaraparivāra), who wishes to obtain for himself a wider entourage (mahāparivāra)

ch’u ch’ing, T 730, p.526a-b; Vinayaśāstra, T 1440, ch.1, p.564c12-15; Manorathompuṭṭa I, pp.292-6; Therāgāthī Comm. in Psalms of the Brethren, London 1937, pp.350-2; Sanskrit Mahāvadānasūtra, p.78; Divyāvadāna, p.612,2.

The last twenty-five years, in Dīgha, T 1, ch.3, p.19c; T 5, ch.2, p.169a15; Upadeśa, T 1509, ch.2, p.68a10; twenty years and more, in the Northern Mahāparivāra, T 374, ch.40, p.601b26.

Cf. Upasthāyakasūtra in Mahāyana, T 26, ch.8, p.471c-475a; Muśasrāvastivādin Vinaya in W.W. Rockhill, Life of the Buddha, London 1884, p.88; Fo pūo én ch’ing, T 156, ch.6, p.155c22-25; Hsien yü ch’ing, T 202, ch.8, p.404b-c; Ch’u
and who wishes to obtain an entourage of bodhisattvas, should train in the Prajñāparamitā.¹²⁰

This is how the *Upadeśa*¹²¹ comments on this passage:

‘Being the attendant of the Buddha’. – Thus, when the Buddha Śākyamuni had still not renounced the world (pravrajita), he had Chandaka as his attendant (upasthāyaka) and Kāludāyi as his play-fellow;¹²² his wives Gopiya, Yaśodharā, etc., formed his intimate entourage (abhyanantaraparivāra).¹²³ – Once he had taken up the homeless life, for six years of austerity (duṣkara-caryā), he had the group of five (paścavarga) as attendants (upasthāyaka).¹²⁴ – After he had won enlightenment (abhisambuddha), Meghiya, Rādhā, Sunakṣatra, Ānanda, Guhyaka the Malla, etc., formed his intimate entourage (abhyanantaraparivāra).¹²⁵

‘Obtaining a wider entourage’. – The holy Śārīputra, Maudgalāyana, Mahākāśyapa, Subhūti, Kātyāyana, Pūrṇa[-mātrājaniputra], Aniruddha, etc., as well as Maitreyā, Mañjuśrī, Bhadrapāla, etc., ir-reversible (avai-vartika) bodhisattvas separated from Buddhahood by only one existence (ekajātipratibaddha), were named his wider entourage (mahāparivāra).

Moreover, the Buddha has two kinds of body: Body born of the suchness of phenomena (dharmatājakāya) and body conforming to the world (lokānuvattanakāya). The worldly body (laukikakāya) is the entourage just mentioned. As for the body born of the suchness of phenomena, it has as attendants (upasthāyaka) innumerable (apramāṇa) and incalculable (asamkhya) ekajātipratibaddha bodhisattvas. How is that so?²⁶ It is said in the *Acintyavimokṣa-sūtra*²⁶ that, when the Buddha was born, 84,000 ekajātipratibaddha bodhisattvas were present: bodhisattvas were born in his wake like dark clouds caging in the moon. Moreover, it is said in the *Saddharmapuṇḍarikasūtra* that the bodhisattvas who emerged from the ground

¹²⁰ T. 223, ch.1, p.220b7-9, the Chinese translation differs slightly from the original Sanskrit of the *Pañcaviṃśatikā* ed. N. Dutt, London 1934, p.29,10-13.
¹²⁵ The same *Upadeśa*, T 1509, ch.26, p.252c16-17, mentions Rādhā, Meghiya, Sunakṣatra, Nāgasamāla, Ānanda, etc., as attendants.
¹²⁶ By *Acintyavimokṣa-sūtra*, the *Upadeśa* always means the *Avatamsaka*; cf. *Vimalakirtinirdeśa*, Engl. trans., p.141, n.11.
¹²⁷ In Ch. XIV of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarikā*, an infinite number of bodhisattvas emerge from all the fascines in the Sahāloka. The text (ed. Kern-Nanjio, p.298, 4-5) states that each of them had a retinue of thousands of bodhisattvas: yeśām evaiko bodhisattvah sāṣṭigānadhānāvalokopamabodhisattvaparivāra gaṇi mahā-gani gaṇapāryaḥ.
¹²⁸ *Avīcāda-pada* I, pp.24-5.
Subhūti,130 Ānanda holds a strong position in the Mahāyāna sūtras. It is usually to him that Sākyamuni entrusts their transmission (parīndana) and, before accepting that responsibility, Ānanda never fails to enquire as to the exact title of the sūtra concerned.

However, while continuing to refer to Ānanda, the Mahāyānists juxtapose him with bodhisattvas, preferably Vajrapāni. In Sākyamuni’s entourage, Ānanda represents the Theravāda whilst Vajrapāni incarnates the Mahāyāna. The fate of the great disciple and the yaksa-bodhisattva is henceforth linked. A late tradition even claims that Ānanda and Vajrapāni, assisted by other bodhisattvas, compiled the Mahāyānist texts at the Council of Mount Vimalasavabhāva (near Rājagṛha) and together ensured their protection. A passage in the Abhisamayālamkāra-loka by Haribhadra131 gives a good summary of the current traditions:

In a chapter of the Tathāgatagarbhyanīrdeśa,132 responsibility is given to Vajrapāni to protect in every way the doctrinal body [revealed] by the material body of all the Tathāgatas of the Auspicious Period. At the beginning of the Vajrapānyabhiseka,133 the teaching (of that doctrine) is entrusted to him. Finally, in others eloquence was lacking. That is why the Ancient Masters say that it is [Vajrapāni], the great thunderbolt-wielder, dwelling in Aḍākāvati134 and

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130 Cf. Upadesa, T 1509, p.136a and c (tr. in Traité II, pp.621, 633 ff.).
131 For example, Samādhīrāja ed. N. Dutt, p.647,13-15; Vimalakirtinīrdeśa, trans., p.272; Sarvapunyasamuccayasamādhi, T 382, ch.3, p.1004a19-22; Akāśagarbha, T 405, p.656a28-b5; Acintyaprabhāsanīrdeśa, T 484, p.673a2-5; Kuan wu liang shou fo, T 365, p.346b5-9, and many other texts.
133 T 312, ch.19, p.747a22-26.
134 Otani Kanjur Catalogue, No.130.
135 The residence of the devarāja Vaiśravaṇa (Kubera), also named Alakā or Ālakamandā; cf. Dīgha II, pp.147,2; 170,7; III, p.201,5; Milinda, p.2,15; Cullavamsa, pp.8,2; 444,10; 451,7; Sushiṇaprabhāsa, T 664, ch.6, p.388b2.
136 According to the Ancient Masters, the Mahāyāna was compiled by bodhisattvas alone or in the main. Cf. Tarkavyā, Mdo XIX, 180a2-4: ‘The texts of the Mahāyāna are the Word of the Buddha. The principal compilers were Samantabhadra, Mañjuśrī, Guhayājñipati [or Vajrapāni] and others. The śrāvakas were by no means the principal compilers of our [Mahāyānist] Canon since the latter is not accessible to them’. – This is also the theory of the Tibetan historians Bu-ston (II, p.101) and Taranātha (p.62): ‘The tradition says that, on the mountain called Vimalasavabhāva, to the south of Rājagṛha, in an assembly of a million bodhisattvas, Mañjuśrī recited the Abhidharma-Maitreya, the Vīnaya and Vajrapāni, the Sūtras’. Here Haribhadra is referring to the Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā, Ch.xxxii, ed. U. Wohlgara, p.900,22. According to this new theory, it is Ananda, assisted or not by bodhisattvas, who compiled the Mahāyāna sūtras. Cf. Upadesa, T1509, ch.15, p.173c1-2: ‘When he is on the point of entering Nirvāṇa, the Buddha entrusts the Dharma-body (dharma-kāraṇa) to the bodhisattva maḥā-sattva Maitreya, to Kaśyapa, to Ananda, etc.’ – Ibid., ch.100, p.756b: ‘Certain people say that Mahākāśyapa, at the head of the bhikṣus, compiled the Tripitaka on Mount Grīhakūṭa and that after the Buddha’s decease, the great bodhisattvas Mañjuśrī and Maitreya, Ananda in tow, compiled the Mahāyāna. Ananda was fully cognisant with the aspirations and conduct of beings; that is why he did not expound the Mahāyāna to the śrāvakas [with weak faculties]’. 

master of the ten stages who, as a favour to the whole world, recited, by beginning with the words Evaṃ [mayā śrutam], the Prajñāpāramitā sūtras to the group of great bodhisattvas, Maitreya, etc., who consulted him.136 – However, others think that the noble Ananda was the compiler [of those sūtras] since, in the present text, in the Chapter on the Transmission, the Prajñāpāramitā is entrusted to him with these words: ‘Act so that this Prajñāpāramitā is distributed throughout Jambudvīpa’.137

To summarise, for the Mahāyāna Ānanda was the principal attendant (upasthāyaka) of the Buddha Sākyamuni and the compiler (samgitiṇā) of the writings of both vehicles; Vajrapāni was the permanent escort (nityam anubbaddha) of the nirmāṇakāyas of the Buddhas, one of the compilers and the guardian of their dharma-kāyas.

However, still in the Mahāyāna perspective, there is only a difference in degree between the bodhisattvas and Buddhas who are barely differentiated ‘like the new moon from the full moon’. So Vajrapāni, the guardian of the Buddhas, also extends his protection to all the bodhisattvas. If, in a great assembly, some
persons are tempted to answer him disrespectfully, ‘the bodhisattva frightens and scares them by creating through transformation a Vajrapani or some other noble-looking, very large and very powerful yaksa’.

Once he has entered the eighth stage, the Acalabhumi, the bodhisattva is always followed (satatanubaddha) by Vajrapani, and it is the same for the bodhisattva of the tenth stage, dwelling in the Concentration of Heroic Progress.

The Lakavatara insists on specifying that it is the Buddhas transformed by transformation (nirmitanairmanka) who are accompanied by Vajrapani, and not the original (maula) Buddhas. The original Buddhas are beyond measure and cannot be known by sravakas or Pratyekabuddhas or Tirthyas; they dwell in the happiness of the present life (dastadhammasukhaviharin) and are endowed with ‘acquiescence’ and ‘knowledge’ concerning the comprehension of the Truths (abhismayadhammajahnaksanti): that is why Vajrapani does not accompany them. However, the transformation Buddhas (nirmitabuddha) do not arise from actions (na karmaprabhava); they are not truly Tathagatas although the Tathagatas are not apart from them. They benefit beings as a potter does, making use of every kind of combination: they teach the doctrine in which all kinds of characterisations (laksanopeta) appear and not the domain knowable by the noble knowledge of personal intuition (svapratyamaryagatigocara).

V. VAJRAPANI, THE ADAMANTINE BEING

Despite the reservations of the Lakavatara, which tries to maintain him in the realm of form, Vajrapani ended by climbing to the summit of metaphysical realities and reaching the rank of Supreme Being. However, he owed this success less to a natural and logical evolution of Buddhist concepts than to a kind of compromise between the declining Buddhism and resurgent Hinduism which took place at the end of the seventh century CE and found its expression in a new vehicle: the Vajrayana or

Diamond Vehicle.

At the time mystical practices, kept separate until then by the Buddhist theoreticians, increased their hold on the religious communities and provoked the blossoming of a new method of salvation. Deliverance is no longer to be sought only in morality (sila), concentration (samadhi) and wisdom (prajna) – the three essential elements of the early Buddhist Path – but also and especially in mystical formulas (mantra, dharna, vidya) and evocation rituals (sadhana) communicated in secret from master to pupil.

Philosophical and religious concepts were profoundly modified because of this. At the time which concerns us, the great Mahayana schools had already defined their positions: the Madhyamikas (Nagarjuna, Aryadeva, Buddhapañña, Bhāvaviveka, Candrakīrti, etc.) proclaimed, without always hypothesising it, Universal Emptiness (sunyatā); the Yogacarins (Aśanga, Vasubandhu, Dignāga, Dharmakīrti, etc.) posited Mind-Only (cittamātratā) in which the subject and object of knowledge were undifferentiated.

The Vajrayānists, whose main spokesmen were Subhakarasimha (637-735), Vajrabodhi (671-741) and Amoghavajra (705-774) merged the Sīnayatā of the Madhyamikas and the Cittamātratā of the Yogacarins by postulating a Vajra-sattva ‘Diamond Being’ which combined them closely: ‘By Vajra is meant Sūnyatā’ by Sattra, Knowledge and no more; their identity results from the very nature of the Vajra-sattva.

The Vajrasattva is the sum of all the qualities of the Buddhas and bodhisattvas: closely linked to wisdom, it is vajra-sattva ‘diamond being’, filled with the tastes of great knowledge, it is maha-sattva ‘great being’; always activating religious observances, it is samaya-sattva ‘observance-being’; associated with practices leading to enlightenment, it is bodhi-sattva ‘enlightenment-being’; closely linked to knowledge, it is jnana-sattva ‘knowledge-being’.


139 Daśabhūmikā, ed. R. Kondo, p.144,5.


141 Ed. B. Nankio, p.242,6-15; T 672, ch.6, p.622c7-13 (tr. Suzuki, p.209).

142 Advayasaṃgraha, in S.B. Dasgupta, An Introduction to Tantric Buddhism, Calcutta 1950, p.87, n.2:

143 Ms RASB 11317, in Dasgupta, op. cit., p.92, n.1:
It is this, and not the Buddhas who succeeded each other in the course of time, that deserves, in the full sense, the title of Beneficent One and Tathāgata: ‘Instructor of all the Buddhas and bodhisattvas and all the Tathāgatas, it alone is Bhagavat, the great Thunderbolt-wielder, the sovereign lord of the knowledge of all the Buddhas’.\footnote{Guhyasamājatantra, ed. B. Bhattacharyya, p.138,19-20: Sāstā sarvabuddhabodhisattvaṁ sarvatathāgatanaṁ ca, sa eva bhagavan mahāvajra-dharah sarva buddhajñānādhipūrṇas iti. [Tr.: cf. Alex Wayman, Yoga of the Guhyasamājatantra: the Arcane Lore of Forty Verses, Delhi 1977, 1991; see also D. Snellgrove, Indo-Tibetan Buddhism, Boston 1987, p.630.]}

It is ‘the single immaculate eye of knowledge, knowledge incarnate, Tathāgata, undivided, omnipresent, immortal, subtle seed, free from defilements’.\footnote{Jānasiddhi, in Dasgupta, op. cit., p.88, n.6: Jānaikacacśur amalo jñānāmūrtis tathāgataḥ, niskalāḥ sarvago vyāpi śīkṣāṇām avāraṇāḥ.}

Distinct from existence and non-existence (bhavabhāvavir-mukta), the Vajrasattva is endowed with everything that is best in the way of modalities (sarvākāravaroṣa), beautiful in form (asesacanakavigraha) and supreme happiness (paramam sukham).

This Adamantine Being is separate from the condition of the ‘historical’ Buddhas who came into the world to indicate the path to Nirvāṇa; it is the same as the Brahman-ātman of the Upaniṣads and the Vedānta which the ascetic should find in himself and adore as the supreme deity: ‘It is as supreme deity that the ascetic should honour his self,’\footnote{Ibid., Dasgupta, op. cit., p.92, n.5: Svādhicārvatayogena svam ātmanam prapujayaet.} or again, ‘The ātman is all Buddhahood, all brilliance; it is therefore the ātman that one should always honour with all one’s efforts.’\footnote{Dasgupta, op. cit., p.93, n.2: Ātāmā vai sarvabuddhatvaṁ sarvasurivanta eva ca tasmāt sarvapravatnena by ātmanān pujayet sadā.}

A thunderbolt-wielder in the early Buddhist tradition, raised to the rank of bodhisattva in the tenth stage by the Mahāyāna, Vajrapāni found a ready place in the Vajrayāna. However, here the vajra which he holds is not only the flaming staff brandished at adversaries of the Buddha, but also the adamantine being immanent in beings and phenomena.\footnote{On the various meanings of the word vajra, see H. von Glasesapp, Buddhistische Mysterien, Stuttgart 1940, p.21.} The polyvalency of his emblem allows of every identification and comparison. Henceforth we can understand the vital rôle played by the former yakṣa in the Buddhist mantras and Tantras. These have still not been properly explored, but the more they are studied, the better we can measure the place occupied by Vajrapāni in the immense throng of the deities of Tantric Buddhism.\footnote{Cf. M. Lalou, ‘Four Notes on Vajrapāni’, in Adyar Library Bulletin XX, 34, 1956, pp.287-93; ‘A Fifth Note on Vajrapāni’, ibid, XXV, 1-4, pp.242-9. In the Vidyottamamahātantra, Vajrapāni appears as the yakṣa leader, a bodhisattva and is even called Bhagavat; the Vajrapāniyahīshākhaḥmahātantra describes in its introduction the consecration of the bodhisattva Samantabhadra as ‘Thunderbolt-wielder’ (Vajradhāra) and his proclamation as a ‘Vajra-in-hand’ (Vajrapāni); it then shows him in his twofold ‘vocation’ as a cosmic destroyer and an equal to all the Tathāgatas.}

It suffices here to refer the reader to some characteristic texts.

The Mañjuśrīmūlakaḷaṇa makes the transition between the Mahāyāna and the Vajrayāna. It was translated into Chinese (T 1191) by T’ien hsi tsai between 980 and 1000 CE, and makes use of texts which had already been translated at the beginning of the eighth century. A Sanskrit recension rediscovered in 1909 and published by Garapati Sāstri differs considerably from the Chinese version. In this work, the Buddha Śākyamuni, surrounded by a vast assembly, addresses Mañjuśrī and gives him instructions concerning mystical rituals with mantras, mudrās, maṇḍalas, etc. Vajrapāni also appears in it with his traditional epithets of yakṣendra or yakṣesa (pp. 25,12; 145,14), bodhisattva (pp.11,6; 62,28; 68,20) or jinaputra (p.36,2). He is, however, also leader of the family of the thunderbolt (vajrakula), whilst Śākyamuni and Avalokiteśvara preside respectively over the family of the Tathāgata and the family of the lotus (ājakula).\footnote{See J. Przyłuski, ‘Les Vidyārāja’, in BEO, 1923, p.301 ff.; D. Snellgrove, Buddhist Himālaya, Oxford 1957, pp.62-3.}

The three families represent the totality of higher beings: the Buddhas, bodhisattvas
symbolised by the heavenly lotus and all-powerful beings symbolised by the thunderbolt. These are three aspects of the adamantine being immanent in beings and phenomena.

The Guhyasamāja is a tantra tinged with Śāktism; it has been commented upon profusely and at present is still highly regarded in Nepal. It was translated into Chinese at K'ai-fung by Shih-tu in about the year 980 CE (T 885). A Sanskrit recension, differing noticeably from the Chinese version, was published by B. Bhattacharyya in 1931. In this, it is no longer Sākyamuni who appears but a supreme Buddha designated at the beginning of the work by the name of Bhagavat (p.1), Bhagavān Mahāvairocanatathāgata (p.2,13), Bodhicittavajra ‘diamond of the thought of enlightenment’ (p.3,13) and above all – this is the most common name – Sarvatathāgatakāyavākicittavajra rāddhipati ‘Soeverign [absorbing] into his [triple] vajra of body, speech and mind the throng of Tathāgatas’ (p.3,10). The commentator Candrakīrti identifies this supreme Buddha with Vajradhātu. It is from him that emanate the five Tathāgatas dwelling in his heart and destined to appear in his mystical circle (mandala): 1. Aksobhya, his first emanation and direct sambhogakāya, in the centre; 2. Vairocana, to the fore; 3. Ratnaketu, to the south; 4. Lokeśvara (Amitābha) to the north; 5. Amoghadavajra, to the west.

During the course of this sūtra, most particularly Chapters xvi and xvi, this supreme Buddha enters into concentration and ‘extracts from his triple vajra of body, speech and mind’ (svakāyavākicittavajra dhārayati) quantities of symbols directly or indirectly linked with worship and mysticism: mandala, rahasaya, pada, naya, siddhi, caryā, samayā, etc. In these chapters, the supreme Buddha, whose nomenclature changes ceaselessly, is presented under the titles of Bhagavān Vajrapāni tathāgata (pp. 113,4; 114,3; 115,4; 122,9-10; 123,9), Vajrapāniś sarvatathāgata-dhipati (pp. 40,8; 125,1; 128,5; 129,7; 137,1-2), Kāyavākicittavajrapāni (p.109,9), Vajrapāniś sarvatathāgatakāyavākicittavajra rāddhipati (p.134,9). This is a play of interchangeable formulas, but in the minds of Buddhists the epithet Vajrapāni could but evoke the memory of the yakṣa Thunderbolt-wielder of the early tradition.

The Mahāvairocanasūtra was one of the main authorities of

the purified Tantra which was introduced into China during the first half of the eighth century and directly inspired the Japanese school of Shingon. A manuscript discovered in India by Wu-hsing, reaching Ch'ang-an after the latter’s death (in 674), was translated into Chinese by the Indian Subhakarasimha (T 848) and commented upon by his pupil I-hsing (T 1796) in 724 and 725 CE.132

Like all sūtras, the work begins with the formula: ‘Thus have I heard’ and specifies the circumstancers of time, place and persons: One day, the Bhagavat was standing in the vast palace of the Vajradharmadhātu with a large assembly of Thunderbolt-wielders (vajradhara) and great bodhisattvas. The Vajradharas were equal in number to the atoms of ten Buddha-fields; the text cites the names of nineteen of them, and the nineteenth is Vajrapāni Guhyakāśha rāddhipati ‘Lord of Mysteries’. Among the great bodhisattvas can be noted the names of Samantabhadra, Maitreya, Mañjuśrī and Sarvanivāraṇavīśakambhin. A dialogue then takes place between the Bhagavat and Vajrapāni Guhyāka; it is mainly concerned with the Sameness of body, speech and mind in the Tathāgata.133

However, if the setting of this sūtra is traditional, the interpretation to be given is wholly new. Here is a summary of that provided by I-hsing in his commentary (T 1796):

‘One day’ does not mean that the sūtra was expounded on a determined date: its teaching is eternal and transcends the three time-periods: past, present and future.

Here, the ‘Bhagavat’ is not Sākyamuni but the Buddha Mahāvairocana, the ‘Great Illuminator’ who dispels darkness, fulfills all functions and shines with an eternal brilliance. The sūtras of the Small Vehicle were expounded to the śrāvakas by the Buddha in his ‘transformation body’ (nimānākāya), in the event the ‘historical’ Buddha Sākyamuni who had a beginning and an end. Certain sūtras of the Great Vehicle, particularly those that teach the Single Vehicle, were propounded to the bodhisattvas by the Buddha in his ‘bliss body’ (sambhogakāya), a body with a beginning but not with an end: a kind of idealisation of the

133 The first chapter of the Mahāvairocanasūtra has been translated and commented upon by R. Tajima, Étude sur le Mahāvairocanasūtra, Paris 1936. I have taken my inspiration greatly from this excellent work.
historical Buddha. Those two teachings constitute exoteric Buddhism. In a quite different perspective, the Mahāvairocana-sūtra is expounded by the Buddha is his ‘Dharma-essence body’ (svabhāvadharma-makāya), eternal reality grasped by the Buddhas during their enlightenment and accessible to them alone. This last teaching derives from esoteric Buddhism.

It took place, not, as formerly, in some village in India, but in the great palace of the Vajradharmadhātu. This is the place where the Buddhas acquire Bodhi; it is said that it is the celestial palace of Maheśvara. In fact, it is a purely idealised place, located above the triple realm of the Kāma, Rūpa and Arūpyadhātu.

The ‘assembly’ which listens to the Buddha does not consist, as in the sūtras of the first two Vehicles, of a lesser or larger number of śrāvakas and bodhisattvas. Here the intimate entourage (abhyantrarāparivāra) of the Buddha is formed of a multitude of Vajradharas symbolising the merits of the Tathāgata’s knowledge. The wider entourage (mahāparivāra) is made up of bodhisattvas symbolising the merits of the Tathāgata’s compassion which converts beings. Vajrapāṇi summarises in himself the person of all the other Vajradharas: he presides over the Three Mysteries of the body, speech and mind of the Tathāgata; that is why he is called Lord of Mysteries (Gūhyakālidhipati), and it is in this quality that he questions Mahāvairocana. Among the bodhisattvas who form the wider entourage can be noted Samantabhadra, Maitreya, Mahāuyṣṭi and Sarvanīvāraṇavīṣakambhinn, respectively symbolising the Buddha’s bodhicitta, his great compassion for beings, his knowledge which explains the Dharma and his merit which dispels hindrances.

In fact, the teaching of the Mahāvairocana-sūtra is a kind of silent colloquium taking place at the very heart of eternal reality. It concerns, as we have seen, the Three Mysteries:

All the bodily actions of Vairocana, all his actions of speech and all his actions of mind are everywhere and at all times, in the world of beings, a teaching of formulas (pada) according to the method (naya) of the Mantra. It is also manifested in the form of Vajradhāra, or of the bodhisattva Samantabhadra, or of bodhisattvas Padmapāṇi, etc., in order to propagate the pure formulas of the

Mantra.155

Entry into the discipline of the Mantra consists in brief of three things: 1. the method of the mystery of the body; 2. the method of the mystery of speech; 3. the method of the mystery of the mind... The yogin who, by those three means (upāya), has purified his three kinds of action (of body, speech and mind) is empowered (adhiṣṭhita) by the Three Mysteries of the Tathāgata and, in the present life, fulfills the [ten] bhūmis and the [six] pāramīdās. He need not pass through numerous kalpas in order to perform fully all the practices which serve to counteract ignorance and the passions.156

To summarise, to identify with the Buddha through the practice of the mantras is to accede immediately to perfection.

Vajrapāṇi, who presides over the Three Mysteries, is but one with the Buddha, but it is the same for all beings: what is important is to realise it and mystically achieve this identity.

This immanence allows of every comparison and juxtaposition. From the time of the Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads, Indian thought was familiarised to this play of correspondences which link macrocosm and microcosm with the world of sacrifice, formulas and rituals. The Buddhist Tantra merely resumes and continues ancient speculations which scholasticism passed over in silence but did not eliminate, and which continued on their way in the less enlightened spheres of the population.

Below the primordial Buddha, be he called Bhagavat, Mahāvairocana, Sarvatathāgatakāvya-avīcittavajrādhipati or simply Vajradhara, Tantric speculation posits five Jinas which are like emanations: Vairocana, Akṣobhya, Rātuṣambhava, Amitābha and Amoghaśiddhi. Each of them is located at a point in space and in a point off the human body; they correspond to specific aggregates (skandha), elements (dhatu), objects (vīṣaya) and sense faculties (indriya); their respective attributes are a particular colour (varna), mount (vāhana), [symbol (laksana)], manual gesture (mudrā) and graphic seed (bijā); each presides over a given family (kūla), each possesses his own bodhisattva, his human Buddha (or nirmāna-body) and his Sakti or personalised female energy.157

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154 On the twofold entourage of the Buddha, see earlier, p.127.
155 T 848, ch.1, p.1a27-b3.
157 For details, see S.B. Dasgupta, Obscure Religious Cults, Calcutta 1946, p.353; Introduction to Tantric Buddhism, Calcutta 1950, p.97; J. Filliozat, in
Thus the Jina Aksobhya, the second on the list, has blue as his colour, an elephant as his mount, a thunderbolt as his symbol, earth-touching (bhūmisparsa) as his manual gesture, the syllable Hūm as his graphic seed; and his spiritual son is the bodhisattva Vajrapāni.

Contrary to appearances, in the Vajrayāna, philosophical speculation plays only a subordinate rôle. Its elaboration proceeds from the mystical ritual but does not command it. It is in no way the fruit of autonomous reasoning, but the hyper-complicated balance of a series of mystical experiences.

Doubtless, before any other process, the adept (sādhaka, mantrin or yogin) proceeds with the sevenfold ceremony: confession of misdeeds (pāpadesanā), delight in the merit of others (pūnyānumodanā), taking refuge in the Three Jewels (ratnatraya-sarapagamaṇa), pledge of perseverance in the Path (mārgaśrayana), invitation to the Buddhas to expound the Dharma (adhyēṣanā), requesting the same to delay their Nirvāna (yācanā), transmission of merit to the welfare of creatures (parīmānaṇa). He doubtless also gives himself over to a series of meditations on the four infinite states (apramāṇa) or Brahmavihāras, on the original purity (prakṛtiparīsuddhatā) or emptiness (sūnyatā) of all phenomena. However, these are only preliminary practices, indeed a kind of tribute paid to the glorious philosophical patrimony accumulated over the centuries by so many Buddhist thinkers and philosophers. 158

The goal the adept is pursuing is to placate, with more or less acknowledgeable purposes, the benign and wrathful deities, whether Hindu, Buddhist or even of foreign origin, who inhabit his pantheon. To that end, the ritual (sādhana) alone matters. It suffices to summon such-and-such a deity from the appropriate mystical syllable which is its seed (bijā) and, once it has been invoked, to identify with it by means of the appropriate symbolic gesture (samayamudrā) and formula (mantrā). Thereafter the ceremony is a success (siddhi).

To invoke the deity and identify with it, it is highly necessary to know its exact particulars: position in space and in relation to the human body, colour, posture, manual gesture and attributes and, especially, the syllable that is its seed. No description is too precise or too detailed: the least mistake would doom the ritual to certain failure. The Vajrayāna pantheon welcomes a strange crowd of deities, but the latter, once admitted, are definitively stereotyped. Any liberty or fantasy is refused to the artist who wishes to depict them: he is forced to conform to a fixed and unvarying canon. Like philosophy, art has to yield to ritual and mystery.

Generally – since there are variations depending on the schools – Vajrapāni is blue in colour and his symbol is the thunderbolt. Seated or standing, he holds a lotus marked with the sign of the vajra, but sometimes he rests the latter against his breast. His ritual gesture is that of offering (varadamudrā). He wears a jewelled tiara; his body is swathed in garlands and necklaces; his sacred rope is made of pearls. 159

VI. CONCLUSIONS

Few personages have had such a long career as Vajrapāni, and, if I use the term ‘personage’, it is because of the lack of an adequate word to designate a being who was in turn a kind of demon (yakṣa), a benevolent spirit, a bodhisattva, a deity, even the Supreme Being. He reappears in all the phases of Buddhism; perhaps he even preceded it since his relationship with Indra takes him back to Vedic times. It is not without reason that he has been called nityānubuddha, ‘eternal escort’, ever present, even when he remains invisible to common mortals.

1. At the start of the Buddhist tradition, in the canonical texts, he is still only a yakṣa, guardian of the Trāyāṇḍī gods and servant of Sakra, the Indra of the gods. His personality is as yet ill-defined: both one and several, he represents the group of Vajrapāni yakṣas and implies ever behind him the innumerable crowd of his peers. Was he truly a servant of Sakra or was he rather a wrathful form

adopted occasionally by Śakra himself? This is open to doubt; in any case the great exegetist Buddhaghosa refused to distinguish between servant and master, and the old school of sculpture in India only ever depicted Śakra.

2. However, in the literature of the stories and fables which followed the canon of early texts, Vajrapāṇī separates from Śakra and develops his own autonomous activity. He appears in the majority of episodes of the life of Śākyamuni, sometimes with Śakra, sometimes without him. His rôle is very modest: he never speaks and his silence contrasts strongly with the unquestable fluency of a Sāriputra, Kāśyapa, Ānanda and many other srāvakas. He merely threatens the Buddha’s adversaries with his thunderbolt: recalcitrant sectaries such as Pūraṇa Kāśyapa, traitors such as Devadatta, or wicked dragons such as Aparāśī. His threats are rarely carried out: he only breaks rocks and not always skilfully. Furthermore, the texts give the impression that the Buddha could easily do without his assistance: he unloads on him irksome tasks which he himself considers unworthy.

Vajrapāṇī did not enjoy similar success in all parts of India. We saw in the preceding pages how certain sources attribute Vajrapāṇī’s exploits to other anūnayas as Kumbhira and Paṇcika or ordinary bhikṣus such as Pañthaka. Vajrapāṇī’s true homeland is North-West India: it is texts of northern origin such as the Buddhānusmṛtisamādhī and the Mūlasarvastivādin Vinaya which best inform us of his doings; it was while travelling through Afghanistan that the Chinese pilgrims heard of him; finally and above all, it is on the bas-reliefs of the Gandhāran school that the yakṣa makes his presence known. His iconographical type derives from Hellenistic models far more than from Indian motifs. An even more significant fact: Vajrapāṇī who litters the monuments of Uddiyāna and Gandhāra with his presence was totally ignored or neglected by the Indian artists of the Mathurā school, although quite close to and virtually contemporary with that of Gandhāra.

3. There is still debate over the local origins of the Mahāyāna, but everyone accepts that, around the Common Era, it was in North-West India that it has its greatest effect. It is therefore not surprising that it enthusiastically adopted the northern yakṣa Vajrapāṇī. It did not hesitate to make him a bodhisattva. As paragons of Sthaviran orthodoxy, the great srāvakas such as Kāśyapa, Ānanda, Sāriputra and others were too compromised in the canonical writings; to present them point blank as followers of the nascent Mahāyāna would lack credibility. Conversely, the rallying of Vajrapāṇī to the new ideas offered little difficulty. He belonged with the other demi-gods to the ‘sixth destiny’, the gati of the asuras. These rough and hybrid beings did not hold fixed philosophical convictions but, once tamed, evinced total devotion to the Buddha. For the new propaganda they were ready-made followers. But, dare we say it? As a bodhisattva, the fine yakṣa made a wretched figure faced with a Maitreya, Mañjuśrī or Avalokiteśvara who emerged directly from Mahāyānist invention. It is among those specialists of the anuttākkadāhamsānti, and not the Thunderbolt-wielders, that we should seek long and learned discussions of Śūnyatā and Cittamatrata.

Among the srāvakas who surrounded Śākyamuni, some lived in particularly close contact with the Master: these were the upasthāyakas or attendants. The early texts mention eight of them, but the most important was Ānanda who served the Buddha for the last twenty-five years of his life on earth. To this assembly of srāvakas the Mahāyāna sūtras added an assembly of bodhisattvas. Henceforth a twofold entourage could be discerned around the Buddha: an intimate entourage (abhyantrarparivār) and a wider entourage (mahāparivāra). According to Nāgarjuna and his school, the wider entourage consisted of two large assemblies of srāvakas and bodhisattvas; as for the intimate entourage, it was represented by only two confidants: the disciple Ānanda and the bodhisattva Vajrapāṇī.

The Mahāyānists never contemplated dispensing with Ānanda, whom the Buddha had proclaimed as the foremost memoriser of his words, but they gave him a bodhisattva as assistant, in this instance Vajrapāṇī. When with the Master, Ānanda represents the Small Vehicle and Vajrapāṇī the Great. Henceforth the srāvaka and the bodhisattva worked in tandem. According to certain authors, Ānanda and Vajrapāṇī together compiled the texts of the Great Vehicle, and it is sometimes to one and sometimes to the other that the Buddha entrusts the transmission (parināma) and protection (rakṣaṇa) of the Mahāyāna sūtras.

4. In the eighth century CE the growing influence of the Hindu substratum on the Buddhist communities provoked a blossoming of a new way of deliverance: the Vajrayāna or Diamond Vehicle, strongly tinged with monism. Without as such renouncing Mahāyānist speculation on Śūnyatā and Cittamatrata, the new theoreticians posited, beyond all distinctions, a Supreme Being im-
manent in beings and phenomena: in fact, a Brahman-ātman, but which was qualified as Vajrasattva, ‘Diamond being’. This great deity (adīdevatā) is omnipresent and it is up to each individual to find it in him/herself and merge with it, not through gnosis but by means of appropriate formulas (mantra) and mystical rituals (sādhana).

The texts designate the Diamond Being by various names: Vajrasattva, Vajrādhara, Mahāvairocana, Kāyavāccittavajrādhipati, etc., but also as Vajrapāni. Hence the word originally reserved for the yakṣa and bodhisattva with whom we are concerned can also now apply to the Adamantine Being, the one Bhagavat, the true Tathāgata. In the Tantras, Vajrapāni is the Vajrasattva or at least an aspect of the Vajrasattva: as Guhyakāśipati, ‘Lord of Mysteries’ he presides over the Three Mysteries of body, speech and mind that characterise the Buddha ‘in his dharmakāya’.

Such is the theory. However, in practice, in order to respond to the demands of mystical processes, Vajrapāni is, besides, one of the very numerous deities populating the Vajrayāna pantheon. He also possesses his ‘anthropometric file’ in which his family, colour, symbol, manual gestures and mount are carefully consigned. By conforming to these indications one can place him precisely in the mystical circle (mandala) and evoke him for whatever purpose by means of the appropriate ritual (sādhana).

A secondary form of Indra, guardian spirit of Śākyamuni, bodhisattva attacked along with Ānanda to the service of the Master, deity emanating from the Supreme Being: Vajrapāni. The secret of his fortune and apotheosis in the course of time is found in the Vajra, his inseparable emblem. Vajra is the thunderbolt which serves as an offensive and defensive weapon: it is also the diamond, the hardest of minerals.

Translated by Sara Boin-Webb


THE STATUS OF MONKS: STATE REGULATIONS CONCERNING BUDDHIST MONKS IN THE KORYŌ DYNASTY

SEM VERMEERSCH

In his Ten Injunctions for future rulers, the founder of the Koryō dynasty (918-1392) posthumously known as King T’aejo (r.918-43), laid down the foundations on which the dynasty was to be based. According to these principles, Buddhism was to play a decisive role in ensuring the success of the new dynasty. The first Injunction states literally that ‘for our great enterprise we need to procure the protective power of all the Buddhas. Therefore we have established Sŏn and Kyo monasteries and sent out abbots to practise and propagate their respective doctrines’. We can therefore infer that Buddhism was an important factor in the legitimation of Koryō’s political authority. There is evidence that King T’aejo intended to keep Buddhism and politics separated, but inevitably the religion’s status of official ideology enhanced its power and secular influence. Officials steeped in Confucian

1 KRS 2: 15a. There is some controversy regarding the authenticity of the Ten Injunctions. The Japanese scholar Imanishi Ryū claimed that in their current form they were actually manufactured during the reign of King Hyŏnjong (1009-31). See his ‘Kōrai Taisei Kuyō-jūjō ni tsuite’, Tōyō gakukō 8-3 (1918), pp.419-33. Imanishi’s views have been refuted by Korean scholars. See for example Kim Sŏng-jun, ‘Sip hunyo was Koryŏ T’aejo ŏ chŏngch’i sasang’, Han guk chungse chŏngch’i pŏche sa yŏn’gu, Seoul 1985.


3 According to Ch’oe Cha (1180-1260), author of the Pohan chip, T’aejo refuted the allegation of his advisor Ch’oe ŭng (?-932) that he wanted to use Buddhism as the principle of his government. In this (fictional?) dialogue recorded by Ch’oe Cha, T’aejo confided to his advisor that his attention to Bud-
official traditions of statecraft were aware of the dangers of giving too much power to Buddhism, and often warned against blurring the boundaries between politics and religion. However, Neo-
Confucian critics of the late Koryo period went one step further,
alleging that the dynasty effectively used Buddhism as the basis for its government.³

The scapegoating of Buddhism by Neo-Confucian elite groups was motivated by their own agenda of putting in place a new authority. It is not possible here to go into the details of how and why Buddhism was blamed as the cause of Koryo’s woes. Suffice it to point out the unfortunate result of this agenda: the intentional distortion of Buddhism in historiography. The Koryo, virtually our only source for the history of Koryo, either ignores Buddhism or tries to represent it as an ineffective tool of government. The outcome is that we are still very much in the dark on the actual position of Buddhism in the body politic of Koryo. Yet there is one type of source, contained in the Koryo, which offers the chance of getting closer to the attitude of Koryo’s legislators and officials towards Buddhism, namely the regulations and edicts concerning that religion. This material has not yet been systematically studied. As legislative acts of the previous dynasty, these
law statutes were copied scrupulously by Choson historians. Although the compilers of the Koryo were biased in their selection of statutes, presumably choosing those that put Buddhism in a negative light, a careful against-the-grain reading of this material can definitely enhance our understanding of Koryo’s policy vis-à-vis Buddhism. The main purpose of this article is therefore to ascertain the legal status of monks, as defined and/or restricted by laws, rather than their social status, though this latter aspect will also be briefly touched upon. A translation of all the remaining law statutes concerning Buddhism has been appended at the end of this article.

Buddhism was merely a concession to the people’s customs and that it would soon be replaced by superior traditions [for government]. See Pohan chip 1, KMC 2: 106.

⁴ Thus Ch’oe Sungs-no (927-89), who had been presented to King Taeto as a child prodigy, reminded King Songjong (r.981-97) that ‘Confucianism is for governing the country, Buddhism for personal salvation’. KRS 93: 19a.


General remarks on the legal status of Buddhism

From the very early stages of its development in ancient India, the religion adopted a strict code of practice (Vinaya) for its monks. Besides creating an environment conducive to religious practice, this code also served to preclude state intervention. Faced with a peaceful and well-ordered community, the secular authorities would find it difficult to justify any actions against the religion. The Vinaya was also meant to give the Buddhist Samgha a special status within Indian society. Ancient Indian society was conceived of as a complex system of separate units, each with its own conventional law. Buddhism became such a recognized unit, acting autonomously within a certain perimeter. It was the king’s constitutional duty to see that none of these social units suffered from external or internal disruption, but also to see that the conventional law of each unit was not transgressed.⁶

When Buddhism entered other societies, however, the governments of these societies were not always prepared to recognize this special status. This was notably so in China, where the state used the provision of the Indian system that the ruler could intervene to keep the conventional law of the Samgha (i.e. the Vinaya) from being transgressed as a pretext to impose strict control on the ‘foreign’ religion through special legislation and through the creation of special government organs. Yet, although the Samgha was not recognized as an entity autonomous from the state, the special status of the monks as religious practitioners was usually honoured, and monks were exempt from services to the state.

The two main strategies to impose secular authority over religious authority mirrored the twofold division of the Vinaya. The latter consisted principally, on the one hand, of the list of infractions against the monastic code (pratimoksa) and, on the other, of regulations concerning community life and ritual (karma-vacana).⁷ The latter mainly embraced the ritual entry to the monkhood (ordination). The Chinese state, chiefly under the Tang, devised a body of legislation concerning on one side the behaviour of monks and on the other strict regulations concerning entry to the monkhood.⁸ The Koryo also adopted legislation concerning

⁶ Sukumar Dutt, Buddhist Monks and Monasteries of India, London 1962, p.80.
⁷ Etienne Lamotte, History of Indian Buddhism, Louvain-La-Neuve 1988, p.165.
entry to the monkhood and the actions of ordained monks, but developed this along somewhat different lines from the Chinese pattern. The evidence is fragmentary: the Koryó law code is no longer extant, so that we have to rely on the information contained in the ‘treatise on judicial law’ of the Koryósa as well as on the relevant decrees and discussions in the annals section of the Koryósa.

**Ordination restrictions**

The Koryó dynasty imposed various restrictions on entry to the monkhood. Regulation of the ‘supply’ of new monks to the Samgha was the main instrument to contain the power of the religious institution. The Vinaya tried to anticipate state infraction by allowing only ‘those who dispose freely of their person’ into the Order, while barring ‘those who are subject to any deleterious impediment: a crime or a contagious disease’. In China, especially under the Tang, the state recognised the special status of Buddhist monks, but claimed the right to determine that status. Under a system of state-supervised ordinations, only a certain number of people were granted the official monk’s certificate, without which no one could claim to be a monk. The main motivation behind this system was to keep the number of monks low. As monks were regarded as non-productive members of society, who neither paid taxes nor performed corvée labour, the state was anxious to prevent people from joining the Samgha merely to avoid their duties. One of the preventive measures taken was to test the applicants for ordination on their knowledge of the sûtras. Sometimes the state also resorted to corrective measures such as mass defrocking, nominally to ‘purify the Samgha’ but in fact out of economic and political considerations.

The Koryó dynasty also imposed legal restrictions on ordinations. A general rule, which was apparently in force throughout the dynasty, prevented people registered in special administrative areas from joining the Samgha. These areas include the hyang (villages) and pugok (boroughs), populated mainly by slaves and

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10 Kenneth K.S. Ch’en, *The Chinese Transformation of Buddhism*, Princeton 1973, pp.86 ff. Eventually, however, the logic of this measure was inverted, as government agencies sold monks’ certificates for cash to raise revenue for the state.

11 KRS 85:6a.
12 *Ibid.* 6: 8a. The first two temples were located in the capital, Powón-sa is in Ch’ungch’ông-do and Tonghwa-sa in Kyongsang-do.
14 Ch’oe Chin-sôk, ‘Koryó hugi úi toch ’opche’, *Kyonghui sâhak* 3 (1972), p.44, infers that the general economic prosperity may have tempted King Munjong to relax the rule. Ch’oe does not give any translation for this passage, but seems to assume that it applies to the whole country. It is therefore worth mentioning Yi Sang-sôn’s interpretation (‘Koryó sidaes úi swôn sôngdo e taehan koch’al’, *Sungi sâhak* I [1983], pp.32-3). He translates the passage as follows: ‘families of the two capitals, and the eastern and southern [capitals] and the prefectures and counties.’ In this reading, the decree would apply to the whole country, but it stretches the grammar a bit. Also, the southern capital was only established after this decree was issued, in 1067. See Pak Yong-un, *Koryó sidaesa*, Seoul 1996, pp.363-4.
could be met might religious interests come into play. The exclusion of people from certain administrative areas further restricted the number of monks. This was an implicit discrimination against people from the lower social strata who lived in these areas. The law, furthermore, also explicitly barred slaves from the monkhood. Another restriction is contained in the decree of 1036, which states that candidate monks will be examined on their knowledge of the sūtras. To enforce this regulation, ordination could only take place in certain specially designated ordination temples.  

Once the monk had been successfully ordained, he was given a certificate and registered in the special monastic register. As with all subjects of Koryŏ, monks were listed in census records, in this case in the Monastic Register (sŏngjŏk), which were compiled every three years. However, towards the end of the Koryŏ signs emerged that the system was not functioning very well. In 1325, King Ch'ungsuk decreed that the households of local clerks (hyangnun) were strictly forbidden to have a son ordained if they contained three sons or less. Where there were more sons, one was allowed to become a monk, but only after he had reported to

15 In 1135, there was a ban on slaves 'taking the place of monks (taesin sŏng)' (KRS 85: 43a). The phrasing is somewhat puzzling: perhaps it means that slaves could only appropriate the status of monks but were inherently unable to claim that status. Towards the end of the Koryŏ, slaves managed to join the Samgha anyway, which prompted the implementation of a registration scheme. Besides this discrimination against status, there may also have been a gender discrimination. In 1017, a ban on the ordination of women was issued (ibid. 85: 9a). This is rather puzzling, as other regulations clearly referred to nuns, which means that the existence of an Order of nuns was contested. Perhaps the phrase should be read in conjunction with the preceding sentence: 'The ban regarding the bequeathing of one's house to make it a temple and of one's spouse to become a nun is renewed.'

16 On the ordination temples, see Han Ki-mun, Koryŏ sawŏn ūi kujo wa kinûng, Seoul 1998, pp.353-72. It is not certain whether the ordination temples were supervised by civil or Samgha officials.

17 Normal census documents were compiled every year (KRS 79:1a). However, in the beginning of the dynasty they were apparently compiled every three years (ibid. 79: b). The registry of monks was managed by a government organ staffed by monks, the sŏngnoksa (Samgha Register). See Yi Chang-yong (1201-72), Yaktûng wi yangga tosŏngnok kwan 'go, TMS 27.

the secular authorities to obtain his monk's certificate (toch 'ôp').

In all likelihood, monks' certificates existed before that time, but they seem to have become an issue only towards the end of the dynasty, when they suddenly appear in the sources. By that time, the state was clearly having problems in enforcing the registration system. Ch'oe Chinsŏk, in his study of monks' certificates in the late Koryŏ era, concludes that the state was not so much concerned with controlling Buddhism as with controlling the social movements of the day. Also, Confucian statesmen became more vociferous in their criticism of Buddhism. Yi Saek (1328-96) thus bluntly advised that all monks without valid certificates should be drafted into the army. Other laws issued at the time seem to admit that people normally prevented from ordaining were effectively entering the monkhood. One policy directive, issued in 1356, mentions that many people belonging to the class of local village functionaries (hyangnun) and slaves were dodging their corvée and tax duties by joining the Samgha. The directive also stipulated that henceforth those without certificates could no longer receive private ordination. Essentially, this directive merely reiterates the decree of 1036, admitting it was not effective. It is not certain why it specifically targets the class of village functionaries. Presumably transgressions were especially frequent among this group. Also, recent research has confirmed Ch'oe Chinsŏk's argument that local society was in turmoil at that time, with many hyangnun trying to establish themselves as part of the central capital elite. The directive was thus part of government efforts to assert control over this group. This shows that certain social groups were targeted as needed in ordination legislation, with some groups excluded altogether. Koryŏ laws thus clearly discriminated against status background in the selection of prospective monks.

Other legislation regarding the Samgha

Besides regulating entry to the monkhood, the state also scrutinised the conduct of ordained monks and nuns and regularly issued new regulations to punish serious transgressions. It is not
known whether the Koryo dynasty had a special code of law for Buddhist monastics similar to the Chinese ‘Rules concerning Buddhist and Taoist clergy’ (Daoseng ge) or the Japanese ‘Statutes for monks and nuns’ (Soni-ryo). However, even a cursory look at the statutes of Buddhism in the chapters on judicial law in the Koryoja reveals that the authorities regularly issued decrees and ad hoc laws governing aspects of the monks’ life that are normally covered by the Vinaya. They are in the form of injunctions (kumnyeong) and do not stipulate punishments for offenders.

Already during the reign of Kwangjong (r.949-75), there emerged clear abuses of the monks’ status, when many took advantage of Kwangjong’s lavish patronage of Buddhism to join the monkhood merely to fill their stomachs. This prompted Ch’oe Sunno, minister to Kwangjong’s successor, King Sondjong, to write a powerful indictment of the excesses committed in the name of Buddhism, urging Sondjong to take action. More specifically, he requested that the king put a halt to excessive offerings and donations initiated by Kwangjong, to forbid loan shark by monasteries, stop the conferment of excessive honours on monks, forbid monks from using government hostels and postal stations, remove idols from Buddhist ceremonies, forbid the practice of using public funds and corvee labourers for temple construction, forbid the fabrication of Buddhist statues from precious materials and, finally, take a more reserved attitude towards Buddhism.

Some of the proposals in Ch’oe Sunno’s memorial are quoted in the ‘Treatise on judicial law’, namely the proscriptions on using government hostels and postal stations, on the allocation of government funds and corvee labour for temple building and on the use of precious materials for Buddhist statues. According to the ‘Treatise’, Ch’oe’s memorial was sent in 982, the first full year of Sondjong’s reign, but it is not said whether the memorial was accepted and put into effect. This suggests that it was merely an indictment of Kwangjong’s reign and not a real clampdown on Buddhist privileges. Also, Ch’oe’s critique was mainly concerned

with those Buddhist practices that cost the state money, not so much with the conduct of monks. Ch’oe advocated a separation of Buddhism and politics, but although he deplored the king’s devotion to Buddhism, he refrained from criticising religious ideas or practices in themselves, presumably because this went against the leading ideology.

There is ample evidence that many monks flouted their code of conduct, yet the state never resorted to mass laicism as was the case in China. King Munjong (r.1046-83), however, seems to have come close to taking such action. A decree issued by him in 1056 was a stringent indictment of malpractices in the Buddhist Order (see appendix A). Munjong, though known to have been an ardent supporter of Buddhism—like most Koryo kings—clearly saw it as his prerogative to impose adherence to the Vinaya and wanted those monks who violated it to be tried by secular law. His decree threatens to ‘purify’ the Sangha, though it is not known whether or not this threat was actually carried out. In any case, it gives a good idea of the vices that were apparently most rampant at the time. Six main issues emerge in the decree: avoiding corvee duty, engaging in trade, sexual transgressions, alcoholism, lavish dress and too frequent mingling with secular people. Evidence from other sources suggests that these problems were endemic throughout the Koryo period.

Avoidance of corvee duty

The decree of 1056 alleges first of all that many joined the Sangha to avoid corvee labour. This was clearly a continuing problem. In

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23 Kenneth Ch’en, The Chinese Transformation, pp.95 ff.
24 KRS 2: 30a.
26 KRS 85: 7b-8a.
27 In all likelihood, the compilers of the Koryoja only had the text of the memorial at their disposal (reproduced under Ch’oe Sunno’s biography in the Koryoja), but did not know whether or not it was adopted. They just inserted it in the annals section under the year it was sent, assuming that it was adopted. It is not clear on what basis they made a summary of the memorial, but perhaps only the points that they assumed were retained for policy recommendations were reproduced.
28 The contrast with the outright criticism voiced during the early Choson is revealed in the historiography of Koryo. The Choson historiographers were, as a matter of principle, restricted to using only excerpts from Koryo annals, not their personal accounts. On at least one occasion, the enshrinement of a Buddha relic by King Injong, the compilers of the Koryoja felt compelled to condemn this and inserted a ‘note by the historian’ (sasin wa). KRS 9: 50a-b.
1130, the students of the National Academy, the leading Confucian institution, sent a petition to King Injong protesting against the Censorate’s advice that their expenses be reduced. They argued that the ruler is supposed to put Confucianism first, and that Buddhism was more wasteful. The students claimed that thousands, if not tens of thousands of people avoided corvée and filled their bellies by living in temples. Without saying so explicitly, they clearly hinted that the ruler should look for extra revenue from these monastics rather than cut the budget of Confucian students.

Here we should be careful in ascertaining the exact meaning of these allegations. As seen in the discussion above of ordination restrictions, the law was designed, in the interest of the corvée system, to permit only the surplus number of males in a household to become monks and, moreover, barred people of low social status from ordination. If the law was being implemented, there would not have been much ground for complaint. If the sources mention that many avoided corvée by becoming monks, in all likelihood they do not refer to those monks who avoided the corvée service legally, but to others who managed to escape into the monasteries. If we take a closer look at King Munjong’s decree, it says literally ‘there are many disciples who call themselves śramaṇas who avoid the corvée duty.’ The allegations seem directed at people who pretended to be monks rather than at true monks, a distinction discussed in the following section.

Engaging in trade

Another sore spot in the relation between Samgha and state was the issue of monastic trade and possessions. In 1028, a Letter of Instruction stated that ‘monks and nuns cheat the ignorant people, they gather all kinds of assets and transport them with horses of the postal relays, causing great damage,’ and ordered officials to prevent this. How they cheated these people is not explained here, but a decree of 1188 stated that monks illegally claimed tribute households and free farmers for their agricultural estates.

The same decree mentioned that the monks forced loans of paper [money] or cloth on the poor to make more profits. In 1312, proselytising monks were forbidden to come to the capital or to amass any wealth. In the following year, all those in office together with monks were forbidden to engage in any form of trade.

Sexual transgressions

There is considerable evidence that monks did not take their vow of chastity very seriously in Koryo. Sexual transgressions always occurred, but in the case of Koryo it seems that married monks were not unusual. An entry in the Koryoös for the year 1029 casually mentions the existence of married monks (yuch òpsaŋ) as a special category: ‘Married monks are to be drafted as corvée disciples for [the construction of] Chungwàng-sa.’ This undoubtedly refers to the class of monks’ disciples rather than to ordinary monks. However, the existence of many sons of monks reveals that even properly ordained monks frequently indulged their sexual passion. Sons of monks were so common that legislation was drafted specifically applying to them. This legislation frequently discriminated against the sons of monks for official appointments. One possible surmise is that this referred to sons conceived before the monk left the household life, but this is not very likely.

In the second half of the dynasty at the latest, it is evident that many monks lived a family life. In 1281, corruption was wide-

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29 KRS 74: 30a.
30 Ibid. 7: 40a.
31 Ibid. 85: 9b.
32 Ibid. 85: 12a.
33 Ibid. 85: 16b.
34 Ibid. 85: 16b.
35 Ibid. 5: 12a.
36 Ibid. 11: 33a-b.
spread among monks, who paid bribes to obtain ranks and offices. The people called them ‘silk Son masters, gauze priors’. The Koryoja alleges that more than half of these elite monks had a spouse and family. Towards the end of the dynasty, the authorities tried to reverse this situation. Investigating censors informed the court in 1339 that ladies from the cities went to mountain temples for Buddhist banquets, where some had illicit meetings with monks. In the beginning of the Choson dynasty, many allegations were made of sexual misconduct by monks. A memorial submitted in 1402 by the Board of Rites claimed that many monks had wives and children to support. Such claims should perhaps be qualified because of the anti-Buddhist attitude of the early Choson officials, but in view of the other evidence this allegation seems well founded.

Alcoholism

That Koryo monks were fond of the jar is also well attested. The authorities repeatedly tried to forbid monks to brew or drink wine, as evidenced by bans or edicts from 1010, 1021 and 1130. Literary sources confirm that temples were often the setting for leisurely outings by literati or even the king, and more often than not these gentlemen would be joined by the monks for a drink. Public drunkenness was not unusual, and to a certain degree was tolerated, even among monks. The poet Yi Illo (1150-1220) wrote in his Pahan chip how an eminent monk of the Popsong sect went to the Buddhist sanactoring in the palace and fell asleep because he was stone-drunk. The poems of Yi Kyubo (1168-1241) also contain some tableaux vivants of drunken monks. One poem was even inspired by the sight of a drunken monk lying by the side of the street. An official expression of toleration of this culture of drinking can be seen in a report drafted in 1278 by the Military Commissioner for the capital, who recommended that for important festivities, including the Buddhist Lantern Festival and the native P'algwan-hoe, wine was indispensable.

Monastic dress

The issue of monastic dress is another indication of how much monks could get away with. The Japanese monk Dogen, when studying in China, met two Koryo monks in 1224. He was impressed by their erudition, but was surprised by the fact that they were neither clad in robes nor did they carry an almsbowl, they looked like laymen. This little incident is a vivid illustration of an endemic problem for the Koryo authorities. In 1012, King Hyonjong complained that the dress of monks was becoming more and more luxurious, making it difficult to distinguish them from lay people. He therefore instructed officials to establish a dress code for monks. It took until 1027 before detailed regulations were issued. Monks were forbidden to wear white robes, leggings, silk gauze reins [?], silk gowns, leather shoes, coloured caps, conical bamboo hats or hat straps. Except for the bamboo hats, the kinds of attire mentioned here are really quite extravagant, suggesting that monks still had considerable leeway in the matter of dress. Later on, the wearing of specific types of bamboo hats was allowed again.

Contacts with lay people

One final issue mentioned in Munjong's decree is the allegation

38 KRS 29: 34a.
39 Ibid. 85: 18a.
40 Teungil sillok 3: 36b. See also John Gould, 'Anti-Buddhist Polemic', pp. 208-44 passim. Later, the Confucian scholar Sung Hyon (1439-1504) also claimed that abbots 'sometimes have slave-girls as concubines, and are wealthier than the "Three Dukes and Nine Ministers". Yongjae ch'onghwa 8. It is not certain whether he referred to the Koryo period or his own time.
41 KRS 85: 8b.
42 Ibid. 85: 9a.
43 Ibid. 85: 11a.
45 KMC Vol.1, Yi Kyu-bo chon chip 7: 8a. I have tentatively translated it as follows: One should not mock a holy man among worthies, Pure as the alcohol flavour of a refined liquor; Once cognising that the spirit of dregs and yeast is coarse and fierce, He is released in a state of adamantine absorption.
46 KRS 85: 13b. The alcohol may have been needed for ritual purposes, but it was certainly consumed by all those attending.
48 KRS 85: 9b.
49 Ibid. 85: 9b.
50 In 1260 (ibid. 85:13a) and 1307 (ibid. 85: 16a)
that monks mixed too freely with commoners. They were forbidden to stay in commoners' houses,\textsuperscript{51} but the state also tried to prevent contact between lay people taking place on the occasion of rituals or festivals held in temples. In 1131, a memorial by the Commission for Divination (ǔnyang hoeũ) complained that recently,

"Monks and lay people are freely gathering at events they call 'Myriad Buddha Fragrant Following', some chant the Buddha's name and read sūtras, but they are only feigning and bragging; some of the monks' followers sell wine and onions; some take up arms to commit crimes, they dance around and play games in a chaotic and vulgar manner.\textsuperscript{52}

Earlier, in 1100, a ban had already been issued on monks and nuns jointly participating in these Myriad Buddha gatherings.\textsuperscript{53} Later, it was even forbidden for people to go to temples at all, unless it was for a memorial rite for parents.\textsuperscript{54} As seen, there was official concern for the lax moral norms of the monks, which could be further corrupted by visits from women, but it seems that these restrictions were mainly intended to counter the negative influence of temples on the population and improve their moral image.

\textit{Status divisions within the monkhood}

Koryŏ sources frequently mention a special category within the Samgha, referred to as 'monks' disciples' (sŭngdo) or 'monks' disciples dependent on the monastery' (suwŏn sŭngdo) ('monastery dependents' for short). Their exact status is difficult to determine, but they seem to have been an officially recognised group within Koryŏ society. This is apparent from a memorial on military reform submitted by Yun Kwan in 1104. Yun proposed the creation of a special army unit from the monks' disciples. He argued that

Since the beginning of the dynasty, all the temples have had monastery dependents (suwŏn sŭngdo), who usually fulfil corvée labour, just like the people from the prefectures and counties. A large number of them, running to thousands, are normally productive [i.e. they farm for their living]. Whenever the country has to raise an army, we should also recruit monastery dependents and attach them to the army.\textsuperscript{55}

Yun thus argued that the monks' disciples should be treated like ordinary people and therefore also be called up for military duty in emergencies. Yet the fact that he had to argue this case and petition the authorities to consider them as ordinary citizens proves that they were not. The existence of a special class of monks is confirmed by the statesman Yi Kok (1298-1351) in his observation that there were three categories of monks in Koryŏ: 'The lowest category of monks have taken the tonsure, but live in a family; they evade taxation but make a livelihood.\textsuperscript{56} Xu Jīng, a Chinese emissary of the Song dynasty who visited Korea in 1123, also wrote about a group of people who were, he claimed, known as 'householder monks' (Ch. zajiā heshang). His description tallies with Yun Kwan's and Yi Kok's points about monastery dependents, and confirms that by 1123 Yun Kwan's proposals had been put into effect (see appendix C).

Xu Jīng's account also confirms that the sŭngdo 'fulfilled corvée duty for monks'. Instead of performing regular corvée duty, they were assigned to work for temples.\textsuperscript{57} At least one case is known where monks' disciples were assigned to such work.\textsuperscript{58} An important part of their service to the temples consisted of military duties. Many temples had militias, which were employed notably during the military period (1170-1256) in conflicts between tem-

\textsuperscript{51} \textit{Ibid.} 85: 6a.
\textsuperscript{52} \textit{Ibid.} 85: 11a. The memorial proposed to abolish these practices, and a royal decree endorsed this.
\textsuperscript{53} \textit{Ibid.} 85: 10a-b.
\textsuperscript{54} \textit{Ibid.} 85: 13b. This ban was issued in 1275.
bles and the military dictatorship. However, the monks' disciples were mobilised not only for the temple militias, but also in times of national crisis, when the monasteries released them for military service. In the end, the monks' disciples seem to have been hardly any better off working for the temples – perhaps the main difference to normal freehold peasants was that they somehow belonged to monasteries and were exempt from tax duties. In contrast to tenants who farmed monastic land, they were in a kind of relationship of servitude to the temples. Apparently this was masked by making them formally aspirants to the monkhood, hence the terms 'monks' disciples'.

At the other end of the spectrum were monks of aristocratic or even royal origin. It seems to have been a custom among aristocratic families and the royal clan to have the fourth son ordained as a monk. It was also customary to have the illegitimate sons of kings, known as sogun (minor gentlemen), ordained as monks. Numerous examples suggest that these aristocratic monks enjoyed many privileges. The sogun, for example, were automatically granted the fourth rank in the hierarchy of the Samgha bureaucracy and were given prestigious abbacies. Normal monks could only attain this grade after passing a monastic examination and then trying to get promotion to higher ranks. Yet even normal monks were usually from influential or lower aristocratic families. A survey of monks' biographies from the early Koryo period has revealed that all were either related to the royal family or were sons of senior officials or local power-holders. Perhaps commoners who met all the legal requirements and managed to pass the ordination test were also regarded as proper monks, but they would have found it very difficult to climb the ladder of the monastic bureaucracy, a prerequisite for becoming abbot or gaining any other influential position. One can surmise that they made up the body of ordinary monks, perhaps corresponding to the middle category in Yi Kok's tri-partite system, but it is also possible that many if not most commoners had no option but to become monks' disciples.

Conclusion

Legislation targeting Buddhist monks drawn up during the Koryo dynasty thus seems a clear example of the state asserting its higher authority over religious affairs. The restrictions imposed on entry to the Samgha were evidently designed to safeguard the pillars of state power, i.e. the tax system and the army. The restrictions concerning the number of men in a household who could join the Samgha are not strictly incompatible with the Vinaya, which specified that a candidate monk should dispose freely of his person: if someone had a duty towards the state, it could be argued that he did not dispose freely of his person. However, the legal discrimination against people living in certain areas, which apparently encompassed most of the lower strata of Koryo society, clearly went against the spirit of the Vinaya.

Legislation concerning the conduct of monks seems to confirm the superiority of the state authority. Yet we should remember that in the Buddhist theory of kingship, a ruler was entitled to enforce the community's common law, the Vinaya, if its members transgressed it. The Koryo rulers tried to enforce adherence to the Vinaya, but did not use infractions against the rules as a pretext to obstruct or persecute the religious. On the contrary, their attitude towards transgressions was extremely lenient. This can be seen in the absence of any serious punishment for offenders. In Tang China, the legal codes specified that if a monk drank alcohol or ate meat or other proscribed foods, he would be sentenced to hard labour. For riding a horse, the punishment was laicisation. Perhaps the Koryo legal code provided for similarly harsh measures,

51 See KRSC 10: 27b, where the monks' disciples are employed in the construction of Pyongyang's defences; KRS 133: 24a-b, where they are employed in the building of military vessels.
52 Sosghi 489, Beijing 1977, p.14,054. See also Sem Vermeersch, 'The Power of Buddha', pp.183-93
53 KRS 39: 14b. The entry for the year 1356: 'since the time of our ancestral king, the children of [the king and] a commoner concubine were forced to become monk to make a clear distinction between the legal consort and commoner [concubines].'
54 Ibid. 90: 31a.
55 Sem Vermeersch, 'The Power of Buddha', pp.194-5. However, our only
but the sources are silent about the type of punishment. The repeated ban on the consumption and brewing of alcohol, as well as the many descriptions of drunken monks, suggest that the punishments were either not very harsh or not enforced. The legislation even gives the impression that, to a large degree, monks were above the law. The fact that they could routinely avail themselves of horses and lodgings at postal stations shows that their power was on a par with civil officials and that they were regarded as representatives of central authority. Perhaps this applied not to the general rank and file, but to those monks who were part of the monastic bureaucracy.

Although the legal framework dealing with Buddhists was clearly inspired by a Chinese example, there is little evidence of the discrimination and bias against the foreign religion underpinning similar laws in China. This indicates that the authorities could not or would not intervene at will in the affairs of the Samgha, which must therefore have enjoyed considerable power and autonomy. The gap between the letter of the law and actual practice is perhaps best illustrated by the existence of a special semi-legal class of monks, the monks’ disciples. By fulfilling corvée duties for temples, ordinary people could circumvent the ordination restrictions and join the Samgha. Their ambiguous status between secular and religious is perhaps a better indication of the actual state of affairs: nominally the law was respected, as they could not be fully ordained, but in reality the monasteries prevailed, because they could dispose of a vast reserve of people who fulfilled corvée labour and military services for them.

Appendix: Translated source material

A. Munjong’s decree of 1056 (Koryŏsa 7: 40a-b)

The teaching of the Buddha puts purity first, and distances itself from defilements in order to get rid of desire. Now there are many disciples of monks who call themselves śramaṇa to avoid corvée labour. They prosper, win possessions and have a livelihood; they engage in agriculture or trade. They go against the word of the Vinaya and disavow the rules of purity. The cassock draped over their shoulder is used to hide a wine-jar, while the place for lecturing and chanting is misused as a plot for growing garlic and onions. In the course of their engagement in trade, they play and drink with guests. Their noise upsets the flower court and their stench spoils the bath-tub. They wear secular hats and clothes. On the pretext of repairing the temples, they raise the banner and beat the drum, sing songs and play the flute. They come and go in commoners’ homes, behave impudently in markets and squares and pick fights to inflict wounds. Therefore, we want to separate good and evil, and to purify and regulate we need to sift and reduce the numbers. Among the temples of the capital and the provinces, we will let those who practise diligently and uphold the rules stay in peace, but the offenders will be dealt with according to the [secular] law.

B. Yun Kwan’s memorial of 1104 (Koryŏsa 81: 12b-13a)

Also, we should choose monk-disciples for the Demon-subduing Army [Hungmagun]. Since the beginning of the dynasty, all the temples have had monastery dependents who usually fulfil labour duty, just as the people from the prefectures and counties. A large number of them, running to thousands, are normally productive [i.e. they farm for their living]. Whenever the country has to raise an army, we should also recruit monastery dependents and attach them to the army.

C. Xu Jing’s description of the zaijia heshang (Gaoli tujing 18)

They never wear the kāṣāya, and do not adhere to the rules. They wear tight-fitting clothes of coarse white hemp, tied with a black silken sash around the waist. They go barefoot, but sometimes there is one who wears shoes. They build houses for themselves, take spouses and have children. Publicly they are engaged in carrying utensils on their back, sweeping the roads, building and maintaining drains and ditches, repairing and building walls and houses, they are always devoted to their work. When the


67 Monks were not allowed to eat the so-called ‘five strong-smelling plants’, including garlic and onions, as these were thought to arouse sexual passion. See Kenneth Ch’en, The Chinese Transformation, pp.97-8.
alarm is sounded at the borders, then they are banded together in groups. Although they are not fit for cavalry, they are strong and brave. When they march with the army they carry their own provisions; without paying for them, the country can still wage a war. I have heard that when the Khitan were defeated by the Koryo, it was thanks to them. In fact they fulfil corvee labour for the eunuchs [i.e. monks], but since their head is shaven the barbarians [i.e. Koreans] call them monks.

D. Entries on Buddhism from the ‘Treatise on Judicial Law 2’ (Koryo Sa 85: 6a-24b)

No date:

It is forbidden for people of households registered in villages [hyang], boroughs [pugok], ferries, postal stations, the two border provinces and the military garrisons to become monks.

982, 6th month:

[Ch’oe Sungsno’s memorial] Monks, when they travel through counties and prefectures, use the inns at postal stations, where they lash out at the attendants, blaming them for lazy service. The attendants do not know whether or not the monks are acting on royal command and do not dare to protest. This is a great injustice, and henceforth monks and their disciples [sungsdo] should be forbidden to stay at postal inns. Many secular people build Buddhist temples as they see fit under the pretext of planting good karma. Their number is exceedingly high, and there are many monks and disciples of the capital and outside who are eager to construct [more temples]. They urge the functionaries of the provinces and prefectures to draft people [for these projects], thus putting strain on the official corvee labourers. The people are suffering, and I request a strong prohibition... Towards the end of Silla, gold and sil-

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ver was used to make sutras and images. This excessive luxury led to the downfall of Silla. Merchants then destroyed the Buddhist images to sell the gold and silver and thus make [these resources] productive. Recently, remnants of these practices have become apparent, and I wish they would be forbidden.

1010:

It is forbidden for monks’ slaves to fight with each other; it is also forbidden for monks and nuns to brew wine.

1012:

A letter of instruction said: ‘the dress of samanis is seen to become more and more luxurious, no different from secular dress. We order officials to determine a dress standard.’

1017, 1st month:

People are again forbidden to decorate their house as a temple and make spouses or daughters become nuns.

1021, 6th month:

The Censorate requested that monks from all temples should be forbidden to drink wine and play music.

1027, 8th month:

Monks are forbidden to wear white robes, leggings, silk gauze reins [?], silk gowns, leather shoes, coloured caps, conical bamboo hats or hat straps.

1028, 2nd month:

A letter of instruction said: ‘Monks and nuns cheat the ordinary people, they gather all kinds of assets and transport them with horses of the postal stations, causing great damage. Officials should be ordered to forbid this.’

1101, 6th month:

[A decree said:] ‘We forbid monks and nuns to gather and mingle in a Myriad-Buddha assembly, and to donate their house as a temple.’

1131, 6th month:

68 Xu Jing, Gaoh tujing, Seoul 1997, pp.193-4. The last sentence is rather puzzling. I suppose that eunuch is a metonym for monks, as they were both disabled, the one technically and the other by an act of faith, and that Xu Jing here wants to say that they were erroneously called monks (heshang) by the Koreans because they served monks and shaved their heads.
The Divination Commission put forward a proposal: 'Recently, monks and lay people have been gathering freely in events they call “Myriad Buddha Fragrant Following”. Some chant the Buddha's name and read sutras, but they are only feigning and bragging; some of the monks and their disciples sell wine and onions; some take up arms to commit crimes, they dance around and play games in a chaotic and vulgar manner. Please let the Censorate, the brigade and the inspectors forbid this.' A decree approved the proposal.

1188, 3rd month:
Monks illegally claim tribute households and free farmers for their agricultural estates, and force inferior paper or cloth [loans] on the people to reap interests; this should be forbidden.

1260, 2nd month:
It is forbidden... for monks not to wear the right kind of bamboo hat.

1276, 6th month:
Unless for a memorial service for a parent it is forbidden to go to temples.

1288, 4th month:
[The investigating censor reported]: 'As for monks and disciples [sungdo] and slaves, servants and the like, when they ride horses and travel the official roads without caution, sometimes a pedestrian gets killed; henceforth a constable should arrest and imprison them and the culprit should be punished.'

1307:
Monks are forbidden to wear snow-hats of bamboo; monks of the Great Son Master and Great Virtue ranks and above should wear eight-sided T-shaped bamboo hats or conical bamboo hats; offenders will be punished.

1312, 9th month:
A directorate to inspect monks is established; monasteries are forbidden to urge people to become monks, to gather in the capital, to amass wealth and to engage in improper activities.

1316, 3rd month:
Monks and those in office are forbidden to engage in trading activities.

1325, 2nd month:
[A letter of instruction said]: 'As for provincial and county functionaries who have three children, none [of these children] is allowed to shave his head and be ordained as a monk. If there are more children, he has to report to the authorities to get a monk's certificate and can then ordain one child as monk. In cases where this regulation is not followed, both the child and the parents will be punished.'

1339, 5th month:
[The investigating censor submitted a list of prohibitions]: 'Recently, abbots of Son and Kyo temples have been making profits from their lands, using them exclusively and aggressively to repair ruined temples, in some cases resorting to corrupt practices. This disgrace should be forbidden. Also, women from the city, without regard for age or status, form groups of “incense followers” and go to mountain temples to prepare meals or light the lanterns. Some get intimate with monks, and commoners among them commit a crime by bearing their sons, while yangban families commit a crime by becoming their spouses. Also, monks should not be allowed to stay in commoners' houses and distribute proselytising tracts.'

1356, 6th month:
According to a letter of instruction, functionaries of villages and postal stations as well as public and private slaves are systematically dodging their tax and corvée duties by claiming to be monks. Households are decreasing by the day, and henceforth those without a monk's certificate should not be allowed private ordination.

1359, 12th month:
People are forbidden to appropriate the status of monk or nun.

1361:

The Censorate forbids monks to enter markets.

1386, 8th month:

Monks are forbidden to ride horses. Royal and state preceptors are allowed to ride a donkey.

1391:

Women are forbidden to go to temples.

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(Keimyung University,
Daegu, S. Korea)

Abbreviations:

KMC  Koryō myōnghyǒnjip, Sŏnggyungwan Ch'ulp'anbu ed., Seoul 1973

THE PĀRĀJIKĀ PRECEPTS FOR NUNS

ANN HEIRMAN

The Buddhist monastic discipline is based on a list of precepts, prātimokṣa, and on a set of formal procedures, karmavācana. The precepts are introduced and commented upon in the vihāṅgas (bhikṣuviḥbhāṅga, chapter for monks; bhikṣunīviḥbhāṅga, chapter for nuns). The first group of precepts mentioned in the prātimokṣa are the pārājikā precepts. A violation of any of these leads to a definitive, lifetime exclusion from the Buddhist Community.

In all the Vinayas,¹ four pārājikā precepts are common to both monks and nuns²:

¹ Five Vinayas survive in a Chinese translation: the Mahāyāvakavīnaya (T 1421, MsVin), the Mahāyāvakavīnaya (T 1425, MāVin), the Dharmaśāraṇa-vāmidhāravāmajjhasākhā (T 1428, Dh Vin), the Sarvavāmidhāravāmajjhasākhā (T 1435, SaVin) and the Mālasaṃvatīvāmajjhasākhā (T 1428 up to and including T 1451, MāVin) [because of its size, the Mālasaṃvatīvāmajjhasākhā is not edited into one work but consists of a number of different works]). Closely related to the Mahāyānakavīnaya is the bhikṣuviḥbhāṅga (bhūvibh) of the Mahāyāna-Lokottaravādinīs (Mā-L), a text written in a transitional language between Pāli and Sanskrit. Apart from these texts, the Vinaya transmitted by the Theravāda school survives in the Pāli language. Finally, many Sanskrit fragments of Vinaya texts have been found.

² The Pāli chapter for nuns does not mention the precepts common to both monks and nuns. The first four pārājikas for nuns are explained in the chapter for monks: The Vinaya Piṭaka (Vin), ed. H. Oldenberg, PTS, London, 1964 ed., III, pp.1-109. They are, however, enumerated in the Bhikṣuviḥbhāṅga (Bhīpra; Pāli, bhikṣuṇi-pārājikakka); M. Vijayaratana, Les moniales bouddhistes, naissance et développement du monachisme féminin, Paris 1991, p.172.

MsVin, bhikṣuviḥbhāṅga (bhūvibh), pp.1a7-10a29; bhūvibh, pp.7b27-78a3; MāVin, bhūvibh, pp.227a7-262a11; bhūvibh, pp.514a25-515a16; bhūvibh of the Mā-L: Bhikṣuṇi-Vinaya, Including Bhikṣuṇi-Prakīrṇaka and a Summary of the Bhikṣu-Prakīrṇaka of the Aṣṭasāhasriya-Prakīrṇakavāma (Bhī Vin(Mā-L), ed. G. Roth, Patna 1976, pp.74-80, §§111-17; a bhūvibh is not extant; DhVin, bhūvibh, pp.568c6-579a9; bhūvibh, pp.714a6-715a5; the SaVin does not mention the precepts common to both monks and nuns. The first four pār.

- one may not indulge in sexual intercourse (maithuna),
- one may not steal (anything with a value of five coins or more),
- one may not take human life,
- one may not lie about one’s spiritual achievements.

In every school, the set of precepts for nuns adopts the above four precepts for monks. Therefore, contrary to the precepts seen as peculiar to nuns, the Vinayas neither introduce them nor give any commentary. In addition all the Vinayas have four pārājika precepts considered to be peculiar to nuns:

1) a nun may not have physical contact with a man below the armpit and above the knee

2) there are eight things that a nun may not do together with a man (all these things concern physical contact)

precepts are explained in the bhuvibh, pp.1a8-13c19. They are enumerated in the Bhūpā, T 1437, p.479b29-c16; MāVin, bhuvibh, pp.627c23-680b12; T1443, bhuvibh, pp.907c24-929a22.

3) See also U. Hüsken, Die Vorschriften für die buddhistische Nonnenengemeinde im Vinaya-Piṭaka der Theravādin, Berlin 1997, pp.65-6, and p.66, n.118.

4) The MāVin, the bhuvibh of the Mā-L and the DhiVin, however, add some commentary peculiar to nuns to the first pārājika. The MāVin, bhuvibh, contains a summary of the introduction and commentary of the bhuvibh for all four precepts.

5) Pāli Vin IV, pp.1a11-15; MāVin, p.78a3-1b1; MāVin, p.515a17-c24; bhuvibh of the Mā-L, BhiVin(Mā-L), pp.81-8; §§118-25; DhiVin, pp.715a6-716a5; SaVin, pp.302c1-303c1; MāVin, T1443, pp.929a28-930b6.

6) Pāli Vin IV, p.213: below the collarbone and above the knee; MāVin, p.78a27: below the rim of the hair of the head, above the knee and behind the elbow; MāVin, p.515c4: below the shoulder and above the knee; bhuvibh in BhiVin(Mā-L), p.84, §123 and DhiVin, p.715b7: below the armpit and above the knee; SaVin, p.303a21-22: below the rim of the head and above the knee; MāVin, T 1443, p.930a9-10: below the eyes and above the knee.

7) Pāli Vin IV, pp.280-2 (in this Vinaya, this pār. precept is the last); MāVin, p.781b1-22; MāVin, pp.515c25-516b3; bhuvibh in BhiVin(Mā-L), pp.88-91, §§126-30; DhiVin, p.716a6-b23; SaVin, pp.303c2-304a6; MāVin, p.930b6-c27.

8) Pāli Vin IV, pp.216-17 (in this Vinaya, this pār. precept is the second peculiar to nuns); MāVin, pp.78c19-79a10 (here, this is the last pār. precept); MāVin, p.516b3-c24; bhuvibh in BhiVin(Mā-L), pp.91-6, §§131-3; DhiVin, pp.716b24-717a21; SaVin, pp.304a7-305c21; MāVin, T 1443, pp.930a28-931a19.

9) Pāli Vin IV, pp.218-20 (in this Vinaya, this is the third pār. precept peculiar to nuns); MāVin, p.78b23-c19 (here, this is the seventh pār. precept); MāVin, pp.516d25-517b25; bhuvibh in BhiVin(Mā-L), pp.96-101, §§134-7; DhiVin, pp.717a22-718a29; SaVin, pp.305c22-307a2; MāVin, T1443, p.931a20-b29.


11) Ayyavamsarga (Waldschmidt, op. cit., p.72).

12) I.e. an offence leading to a temporary suspension from the Order.
commits a *samghāvaśēsa*.

The relation between these two precepts is explicitly referred to in the DhVin: the commentary following upon the *pārājika* for *pañca* says that a monk [in a similar case] commits a *samghāvaśēsa*; the commentary following upon the *samghāvaśēsa* for monks says that a nun [in a similar case] commits a *pārājika*.

All the precepts are said to have been stipulated by the Buddha. He only lays down a precept if the circumstances impel him to do so. In the case of the above *pārājika* for nuns and *samghāvaśēsa* for monks, we twice have a very similar precept. It is very unlikely that the latter have been laid down independently, as a result of distinct circumstances. In all probability, one is based upon the other. Furthermore, it is a generally known fact that the Order of nuns only came into being when the Order of monks had already been established for some time. Therefore, the fifth *pārājika* for nuns is most probably based upon the second *samghāvaśēsa* for monks.

2. Eight things

The second *pārājika* precept for nuns forbids them to do eight things together with a man. The order and content of the eight things, however, differ from Vinaya to Vinaya. The following chart displays which Vinaya enumerates which things and in which order:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>order</th>
<th>Pāli Vin</th>
<th>Māvin</th>
<th>MāVin</th>
<th>Mā-L</th>
<th>DhVin</th>
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We compare all the Vinayas with the DhVin, the most important of them in East Asia. Therefore, things 1 up to and including 8 coincide with the order and content of the eight things in this Vinaya.

19 T1: a man holds the hand of a nun; T2: a man grasps the robes of a nun; T3: a nun goes with a man to a secret place; T4: a nun stands together with a man; T5: a nun talks with a man; T6: a nun walks together with a man; T7: a nun and a man lean against each other; T8: a nun makes appointments with a man; T9: a nun allows a man to approach (she is within reach of a man's hand); T10: a nun disposes her body (within reach of a man's hand); T11: a nun sits together with a man; T12: a nun stays within reach of a man's hand; T13: a nun is happy when a man comes; T14: a nun invites a man to sit down; T15: a nun waits till a man comes; T16: a nun offers her body just like a woman in white clothes (a lay woman at home), i.e. she does not protest against the intentions of a man when he reaches for her or embraces her; T17: a nun moves back and forth together with a man; T18: a nun makes fun together with a man; T19: a nun laughs together with a man; T20: a nun indicates a place (where they can meet each other); T21: a nun agrees on a time (to meet each other); T22: a nun wears a sign (to inform a man that she is ready to see him); T23: a nun allows a man to visit her as if he were her husband; T24: a nun lies down on a place where one can do inappropriate actions.
Although the eight things all concern physical contact, the relatively major differences are remarkable, the more so since it concerns one of the most important precepts. In view of the fact, however, that the Vinayas are very similar in respect of the contents of the pārājika precepts, but much less so in respect of the circumstances in which the offences are committed or in respect of the mitigating circumstances and the exceptions that they allow, 21 we can understand the difference concerning the ‘eight things’: rather than a new precept, the ‘eight things’ are a further extension of a preceding topic, already treated in the first and fifth pārājika precepts. 22 The different schools develop this extension in a relatively individual way. Extending a topic also explains why there is no corresponding precept for monks. The ‘eight things’ do not in fact constitute a separate precept, but are an enumeration of circumstances involving physical contact. Consequently, the DhVin gives no precise punishment for a monk, but only says that he has to be judged according to the circumstances. 23

3 Concealment of a grave offence 24

The third pārājika precept peculiar to nuns says that she may not conceal a grave offence of another nun. Except for the SaVin, each Vinaya explains a grave offence as a pārājika:

21 See A. Heirman, The Discipline in Four Parts, Rules for Nuns according to the Dharmaguptakavinaya, Delhi 2002, Part 1, pp.124-7.[See review on pp.211.]
22 Therefore, the Vinayas, except for the MāVin, barely introduce this precept.
23 Cf.DhVin, p.716b12-13 (lit.): A bhikṣu is in accordance with the offence that he has committed; sīkṣāmāṇā, sīkṣāmāṇe, sīkṣāmāṇeri duṣkṛta.
24 duśṭhulāprāticchedāna (Waldschmidt, op.cit. p.21).
ing, a nun commits a pārājika if she conceals a pārājika of another nun, while a monk commits a pācittika if he conceals a pārājika or a samghavāsesa of another monk. This conclusion reveals two facts: first, for a nun, the concealment of a pārājika offence is considered to be more serious than for a monk; secondly, the two precepts are not totally parallel: the bhūvībh does not mention the concealment of a samghavāsesa. In this context, it is important to note that some schools have a second precept for nuns that concerns the concealment of an offence of another nun. Moreover, the DhVin, in the commentary following upon the pācittika precept for monks, explicitly refers to this second precept for nuns: a nun (who conceals the grave offence of a nun) commits a pācittika (p.679a14-15). This precept is neither introduced nor commented upon and belongs to those precepts that are explicitly copied from the Bhupra:

- DhVin, p.735c25-26, pāc. 49: a nun conceals a grave offence of a nun; in the corresponding pāc. 64 of the bhūvībh, a grave offence is explained as a pār. or a sam.
- Mūla, T 1443, p.983c22-24, pāc. 35: a nun conceals a grave offence of a nun; p.983c25-26 = a pār. or a sam.

For nuns, the above pācittika precept creates an inconsistency in the set of precepts of the three above-mentioned schools:

- Dharmaguptaka school: pār. 7 says that a nun who conceals a pār. of a nun commits a pār.; pāc. 49 says that she commits a pāc. if she conceals a grave offence (pār. or sam.).
- Sarvāstivāda school: pār. 7 says that a nun who conceals a pār. or a sam. of a nun commits a pār.; pāc. 35 says that she commits a pāc. if she conceals a sam.
- Mūlasarvāstivāda School: pār. 7 says that a nun commits a pār. if she conceals a pār. of another nun; pāc. 35 says she commits a pāc. if she conceals a grave offence

(pār. or sam.).

The inconsistency is a result of the fact that one precept for monks (a monk commits a pācittika if he conceals a pārājika or a samghavāsesa of another monk) has twice been copied into the set of precepts for nuns. However, when the precept was copied into the pārājika precepts for nuns, it was not copied in its totality: all the Vinayas, except for the SaVin, say that a nun only commits a pārājika if she conceals the pārājika of another nun. A samghavāsesa is not mentioned. The concealment of a samghavāsesa can thus very well be considered as a pācittika offence. Consequently, the irregularity in the three above-mentioned Vinayas can be removed in a very simple way:

- Dharmaguptaka school: in bhūvībh, pāc. 49, ‘grave offence’ should be replaced by samghavāsesa: a nun commits a pāc. if she conceals a sam. of another nun; the commentary following the copied bhūvībh, pāc. 64 should specify that a nun commits a pāc. if she conceals the sam. of another nun, whereas she commits a pār. if she conceals a pār.
- Sarvāstivāda school: in accordance with the other schools, bhūvībh, pār. 7 should say that a nun commits a pār. only if she conceals a pār. of another nun (and not a pār. or a sam.).
- Mūlasarvāstivāda school: bhūvībh, pāc. 35, ‘grave offence’ should be explained as a ‘samghavāsesa’: a nun commits a pāc. if she conceals a sam. (and not a pār. or a sam.) of another nun.

Finally, it is to be noted that the set of precepts for nuns contains yet another precept involving the concealment of an offence of another nun: all the Vinayas stipulate that nuns who stay in each other’s company, who have bad habits together, who spread a bad reputation and who conceal each other’s offences, commit a samghavāsesa.28 Since, however, the concealment of a

27 DhVin, p.679a14-15, literally says: Bhikṣunī pācittika; sīkṣamāṇā, śrāmaṇera, śrāmaṇerī duṣkṛta.
28 Pāli Vin IV, p.239, sam. 9; MāVin, p.82a23-b6, sam. 14; MāVin, p.522c23-28, sam. 17; bhūvībh u BhVin(Mā-L), p.155, s.170, sam. 17; DhVin, pp.723c29-724 a7, sam. 14; SaVin, p.312a29-b9, sam. 16; MāVin, T1443, p.938c2-13, sam. 15.
pārājika offence constitutes a pārājika offence, the offences referred to in the samghāvasesa precept for nuns can be of all kinds, except a pārājika.29 This is explicitly stipulated in the commentary following upon the samghāvasesa precept in MāVin and DhVin.30 Further, the difference between the samghāvasesa precept and the less serious pācittika precept involving the concealment of an offence (a sāma.) of a nun as mentioned in three Vinayas is that in the samghāvasesa precept the concealment is only one of several bad actions that together constitute a samghāvasesa offence, while in the pācittika precept, it is the only bad action referred to.

4. To follow a suspended monk31

The fourth pārājika precept peculiar to nuns says that a nun may not follow a suspended monk. ‘To follow’ is interpreted in two ways; the Pāli Vin understands it as to imitate the suspended one;32 the MāVin, MāVin, the bhīvih of the Mā-L, the DhVin, SaVin and MūVin understand it as to give help to the suspended one.33 34 Again, this pārājika precept is not an original one, because it is related to a pācittika precept for monks: a monk who follows a suspended monk commits a pācittika.35 In the DhVin, the commentary following upon the pārājika precept for monks adds that a monk (who follows a suspended nun) commits a duṣkṛta.36

Besides the pārājika precept, the set of precepts for nuns contains another precept related to the same item: a nun who follows a suspended nun commits a pācittika.37 This precept is neither introduced nor commented upon and belongs to those precepts that are explicitly copied from the Bhupra, in this case from the precept saying that a monk who follows a suspended monk commits a pācittika. The relation between the latter two precepts is referred to in the MāVin and DhVin: the commentary following upon the pācittika precept for monks stipulates that a nun (who follows a suspended nun) commits a pācittika.38

As was the case for the previous pārājika precept for nuns, we again see that one precept for monks has been inserted twice into the set of precepts for nuns, once as a precept considered to be peculiar to nuns, and once as a precept in common with monks: a monk who follows a suspended monk commits a pācittika = a nun who follows a suspended monk commits a pārājika; a nun who follows a suspended nun commits a pācittika.

\[\text{DhVin}, and their respectively corresponding sāma. 2 and pāc. 64, reveal that 'bhikṣu duṣkṛta' has to be understood as 'a bhikṣu who follows a suspended nun commits a duṣkṛta'; pāc. 5: a nun may not have physical contact with a man = pāc. 64: a monk may not have physical contact with a woman (see also n.14); pāc. 7: a nun may not conceal a grave offence of another nun = pāc. 64: a monk may not conceal a grave offence of another monk (see also n.26); by analogy: pāc. 8: a nun may not follow a suspended monk = bhikṣu duṣkṛta: 'a bhikṣu who follows a suspended nun commits a duṣkṛta'.}

30 Pāli Bhikkhuṇīpātimokkh, Wijayaratna, op. cit., p.187, pāc. 147; MāVin, p. 86a3-5, pāc. 34; Bhīpura of the Mahāsāṃghikas, T 1427, p.560c5-7, pāc. 36; Bhīpura of the Sarvāstivādins, T 1437, p.483c4-6, pāc. 41: a nun follows a suspended nun; DhVin, p.736a10-11, pāc. 53; MāVin, T 1443, p.987a6-7, pāc. 41: a nun follows a suspended one (the introductory story in MāVin says that a nun follows a monk; in this way, there is an overlap between pāc. 41 and pāc. 8 that says that a nun who follows a monk commits a pārājika).

31 MāVin, p.57c8-9, literally says: Bhikṣuṇī, it is the same; śikṣamāṇā, śrāmanera, śrāmanerī duṣkṛta. DhVin, p.683c16-17, literally says: Bhikṣuṇī pācittika; śikṣamāṇā, śrāmanera, śrāmanerī dukṣyita.
Conclusion

The above data reveal that seven of the eight pärājika precepts for nuns are extracted from the set of precepts for monks. Four of these seven are pärājika precepts common to both monks and nuns: in the bhīvibh, they are neither introduced nor commented upon; in some bhīvibh’s, they are not even mentioned. One precept (physical contact) is copied from a samghāvaśesa precept for monks. Another (concealment of a grave offence) is extracted from a pācittika precept. In some schools, this pācittika precept has been adapted into the set for nuns a second time: to conceal a grave offence of another nun constitutes a pärājika; to conceal a grave offence of a monk constitutes a pācittika. The irregularities caused by the double appearance can be removed in a simple way. Lastly, one precept (to follow a suspended monk) is equally extracted from a pācittika precept. In addition, all the schools have adopted this pācittika precept a second time: to follow a suspended monk constitutes a pärājika; to follow a suspended nun constitutes a pācittika.

The remaining pärājika precept for nuns (the eight things) is not to be regarded as a newly introduced precept, but rather as a commentary on a preceding item.

In this way, the pärājika precepts have been doubled, in accordance with the tradition. It is to be noted, however, that, in spite of the tradition, in no Vinaya is the number of rules for nuns really twice the number of those for monks. In fact, it is only the case in two categories, namely the pärājika precepts (four for monks; eight for nuns) and the pratideśaniya precepts$^{38}$ (four for monks; eight for nuns$^{39}$). This may point to some symbolic value attached to the number ‘eight’. In this context, it is noteworthy that in two other fundamental issues for nuns, the number eight appears:

1) When the Buddha allows the first women to be ordained, he lays down eight fundamental rules (gurudharma) to be strictly observed by the Order of nuns. These rules stipulate the position and duties of the Order of nuns towards the Order of monks.$^{40}$

2) As mentioned above, one of the pärājika precepts for nuns concerns eight things (of contact between a man and a woman).

Moreover, the tradition that the number of precepts for nuns is twice the number of those for monks is probably not of early origin. It only appears in later (Chinese) works, not in the Vinayas themselves.$^{41}$ The number ‘eight’, however, plays a prominent part in the rules for nuns and is even integrated into the account of the foundation of the nun’s Order.

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$^{38}$ These are precepts on minor offences that have to be confessed.
$^{39}$ One Vinaya, i.e. the later finalised Mūvin, has 11 pratideśaniya precepts for nuns (see A. Heirman, ‘Vinaya: perpetuum mobile’, Études Asiatiques LIII.4, 1999, pp.864-5.

"REGRET" – CONTEMPORARY SRI LANKAN
SANSKRIT POETRY:
Pasćāttāpah by DAVULDEṆA JṆĀNEŚVARA
edited and translated by
BHikkhu TAMPALAWELA DHAMMARATANA and BHikkhu PĀŚĀDIKA

Introductory Remarks
Many authoritative publications on Sanskrit literature in Sri Lanka through the ages are due to H. Bechert1 such as, for instance, his ‘Sanskrit Literature in Sri Lanka as a Paradigm of Regional Sanskrit Literatures’2. With regard to recent contemporary Sanskrit literature in Sri Lanka, the second editor / translator of the following verses of Pasćāttāpah published a ‘Poem in Praise of a Dog, Contemporary Sri Lankan Sanskrit Poetry: The Śvānastavakāvyam by Davuldeṇa Jñāneśvara Mahāsthavira’3. In the introduction to the latter poem is given a biographical sketch of the author and also his major Sanskrit works are listed. Ven. Nāṇissara’s / Jñāneśvara’s poetry has been characterised as ‘exactly conforming to the rules and conventions of classical Sanskrit poetry’. The following piece in the form of a letter gives the impression of a valedictory poem of the author bidding farewell to his composing Sanskrit poetry.4

Of considerable interest is the fact that Ven. Nāṇissara’s Pasćāttāpah is a lekha, a didactic letter in verses, whereby the ancient

4 Nonetheless, shortly before the author’s composing Pasćāttāpah, his latest Sanskrit work came out: Mahā-Mahendrakṣīṣṭhāvāgamanaṃ, Nugegoṇa 2002.
Buddhist epistolary literature is perpetuated. As for this genre, we are indebted to S. Dietz for a comprehensive study of the Buddhist epistolary literature of ancient India. In her introduction she discusses the thematic structure of the lekhas by comparing it with that of the occidental epistolary literature in Latin. Moreover, she mentions the structural features peculiar to letters written in Latin: a) *salutatio*, b) *intitulatio* (mentioning the sender), c) *inscription* (mentioning the addressee), d) *exordium* (introduction), e) *attentum facere* (drawing the addressee's attention), f) *benevolum facere* (winning the addressee's benevolence), g) *docilem facere* (arousing the addressee's interest in what is to be communicated), h) *conclusio* and i) *valedicere*. Although Nānissara Mahāthera's *lekha* is rather short, it is not difficult to find the above-named structural elements in it. *Docilem facere* can, of course, be linked to one of the central Buddhist teachings of impermanence and the conclusions to be drawn from that fact, evidently the leitmotiv in *Paścāttāpah*. This poem can perhaps be described as a model of conciseness and pathetic simplicity. Thus, for example, right at the beginning in verse 1 the *salutatio*, in Buddhist usage the praising of the Buddha or addressee, *exordium* and *benevolum facere* are combined. Presumably the somewhat abrupt ending in verse 15 shows the author's deliberate stylistic attempt to drive home the message of *anityatā* and *paścāttāpah*. The verses of the poem are *ślokas*, here and there betraying some poetic licence in respect of metre, which fact, hopefully, does not render applicable to the present author and pundit what Urbain Chevreau wrote to a famous poet of his time:

‘Lorsqu’un homme a vécu deux fois quarante hivers,
Il ne doit plus penser aux vers,
Ni troubler son repos par d’intiles peines...’


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7 *Ibid*.

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5 Lit.: ‘O you, Dharmaratna, whose deportment is that of a friend’.
11 Lit.: ‘(my flesh) continually bestowing enjoyment’.
muhur muhur vepamāno namprāṣṭhaśirodharaḥ |
dāṇḍapānir vārdhakoḥ yām praskhalan niyam ācāret || 5 ||

5. Trembling again and again, with his back and neck bent, this old man will proceed, [though] leaning on his stick, tottering all the time.

asahyapiḍāṇam hastapādeṣu varīṛyate |
vāriṇī budbudānīva syandante svedavipuṣaḥ || 6 ||

6. There is unbearable pain in his hands and feet, and beads of sweat pour forth like bubbles in water.

yathendukāntiḥ kṛṣṇe drśṭiṁaktir anukramam |
kṣayatī upacaksuṣāpiṁ nāsti kim cit prayaṇam || 7 ||

7. Just as the brightness of the moon gradually wanes in the dark [half of the month]—even so he slowly loses his sight, [and] spectacles are of no use any [more].

śāśvasyate yathā bhastrā niśṭhīvati kṣanam kṣanam |
jaloṅkṣipto yathā mīnaḥ pānir bhūyak pravepate || 8 ||

8. He pants like a bellows, [coughs and] spits every instant; his hand shakes very much like a [flapping] fish [when caught] and brought out of the water [on to the land].

ahō yaunanalakṣmīr mām kadā cit punar eśi na |
mukharange 'dhunā vānī na nṛtyatī yathēpsitam || 9 ||

9. Alas! The good fortune of youth will never return to me, and this time the goddess of speech does no [more] dance, as desired, on the stage of [my] mouth.

gatā maṭiḥ cyutā śaktir āyuṛ yātī dinaṁ prati |
mṛtyur āṣyaṁ hi vyādāya sammukhe mama tiṣṭhati || 10 ||

10. [My] remembrance is gone, [my] strength has vanished and [my] lifespan peters out day by day. The god of death is waiting in front of me, his jaws wide open.

lekhāni lekhānāgare viśrānta phalakopari |
vipaṁśiṇī kāryacintā rekheva rekhitājale || 11 ||

11. In [my] study on the [writing] desk the pen has taken leave and, like a line drawn on water, [my] thinking about poetical composition has disappeared.

aśrāntam pathitā granthaḥ śerate pustakālaye |
pārāṁśaṇtā tān adya kṛmayo mūsikā api || 12 ||

12. Tirelessly studied [before], nowadays the books in the library are [fast] asleep, being the playground of insects and mice.

sarve kṣayāntāṁ samāśre naivāṁmāpi bhavatraye |
munipradistakaiyam aśayaṁ hi kadā cana || 13 ||

13. Everything in the round of rebirths ends in destruction, and in the three [realms of] existence there is no [lasting...]

16 The v.l. of lekhita.
17 Lit.: 'writing house'.
18 Lit.: 'taking rest, coming to an end'.
19 Lit.: 'insects... touch.'
20 MS: 'antā.
21 I.e. sarve dharman.
22 I.e. kāmadhātu (the worlds of desire), rūpa (of form) and ārūpya (of formlessness).
self whatsoever. [Only] Nirvāṇa, to be sure, [as] the Sage has declared, is never at any time [subject to] destruction.

paścattāpo varivrtti smarato yauvanasya me
śoṣucya hanta – yathā bhagnapucchajaradgavaḥ || 14 ||

14. Alas! Just as an old ox grieves so much over its broken tail24, – [even so] regret prevails when [I] call to mind my youth.

ā janmano ’śitisaptavāṃśiko jarayā hataḥ |
itaḥ paraṃ kathāṃ kuryāt padyabandham rasātmakam || 15 ||

15. Being eighty-seven years old25, age has struck him down; how could he compose elegant poetry thereafter?

Davuldena Jñānesvara Sthaviraḥ


SAM VAN SCHAIK

1. Simultaneism, gradualism and polemics

A controversy over two apparently opposed approaches to enlightenment runs throughout the history of Tibetan Buddhist thought. Broadly stated, the first position, 'the simultaneous approach' (cig car gyi jug pa) was that the cessation of dualistic conceptualisation in meditation was sufficient cause for enlightenment, without any need for the graduated and much more lengthy practices of the six pāramittas. On the other hand, the second position, 'the gradual approach' (rim gyes jug pa) was that those practices were indispensable.1

The conflict between these two approaches was, according to Tibetan tradition, settled in the eighth century in a formal debate. Whether the debate actually occurred as such has been called into doubt, but there is no question of the importance of the legend of the debate to the Tibetan tradition. According to the Tibetan histories, the debate was arranged in bSam-yas temple in the late eighth century CE to determine whether Tibet would accept Indian or Chinese Buddhism as normative.2 In the stories of the

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24 Lit.: 'whose tail is broken'.
25 Janmano ('since birth') is left untranslated.
debate, the Indian side was identified with gradualism and the Chinese side with simultaneism, a greatly simplified version of the complexities of early Buddhist influences on Tibet which nonetheless became widely accepted in Tibet. According to tradition, the Indian Buddhist scholar Kamalasila, arguing for the gradualist position, opposed a Chinese monk called Hwa-shang Mahāyāna, who was arguing for the simultaneist position. In the Tibetan versions of the story, Hwa-shang was defeated and his method rejected.

For Tibetan scholars of later generations, Hwa-shang Mahāyāna came to be an emblem for a particular kind of erroneous doctrine, the belief in a simultaneous realisation caused by the mere cessation of concepts (mi rtog pa or mi bsam pa), which became a standard object of rebuttal. Later, Hwa-shang’s defeat was put to polemical use against certain Tibetan practice traditions, in particular the Mahāmudrā (phyag chen) of the bKa’-brgyud school and the Great Perfection (rdzogs chen) of the rNyung-ma school. The Great Perfection’s teachings on technique-free meditation were subject to accusations of being no more than the simultaneous method of Hwa-shang. rNyung-ma scholars were often forced to defend the validity of the Great Perfection against this accusation in polemical texts. The following passage by mKhas-grub-rje (1385-1438) is a good example of the kind of criticism levelled against rNyung-ma practitioners:

[Moreover,] many who hold themselves to be meditators of the Snow-mountains [of Tibet] talk, in exalted cryptic terms, of theory free from all affirmation, of meditative realisation free from all mentalities, of [philosophical] practice free from all denial and assertion and of a fruit free from all wishes and qualms. And they imagine that understanding is born in the constant stream when - because in a state where there is no mentation about anything at all there arises something like non-identification of anything at all – one thinks that there exists nothing that is either identical or different. By so doing one has proclaimed great nihilism where there is nothing to be affirmed according to a doctrinal system of one’s own, as well as the thesis of the Hwa shang in which nothing can be the object of mentation.

In view of this kind of criticism it is perhaps surprising that some rNyung-ma writers, rather than simply defending themselves against such accusations by distancing their own teachings from those of Hwa-shang Mahāyāna, attempt a balanced judgement of the simultaneist doctrine and sometimes go so far as to express approval. Rather than repeating the standard presentations of Hwa-shang’s beliefs as a misguided straying from the true path, as most were content to do, certain rNyung-ma scholars continued to engage with the problem of simultaneous versus gradual approaches, and its relationship to their own Great Perfection practices.

This article is an examination of the treatment of Hwa-shang by two eighteenth-century writers. The first is Kah-thog Tshe-dbang Nor-bu (1698-1755), who deals with the teachings of Hwa-shang Mahāyāna in his history of the Chinese simultanist school. The second is Jigs-med Gling-pa (1730-98), in whose Kun mkhyen zhal lung, a discourse on the ‘three liberations’ of the Great Perfection, there is an annotation defending Hwa-shang. This annotation, along with an even more brief comment by Klön-chen-pa (1308-63), has been taken by some as evidence of the rNyung-ma school’s longstanding connection with Chan Buddhism.

4 Translation in Seyfort Ruegg 1981, p.233. The text is the sTong thun skal bzang mig byed, f.152, in volume ka of the sGsum 'bum (Zhol edition). mKhas-grub-rje’s presentation of the faulty doctrine in terms of view, meditation, activity and fruit identifies it as the Great Perfection, as these are standard definitions of the Great Perfection found in many of the texts of that system. The polemics directed against the Great Perfection are also discussed in Karmay 1988, pp.121-33, 178-84, 186-9, 195-7. See also Jackson 1994, p.53, n.118, on Rong-zom Chos-kyi bzang-po’s defence of the Great Perfection.

5 The passage by Klön-chen-pa is in his sDe gsum snying pa, a commentary on
fact, these eighteenth-century texts tell us little or nothing about the original connections between the Great Perfection and Chan, but a great deal about rNying-ma scholars’ attempts to deal with the perceived connection. As will be seen, these two scholars deal with it in quite different ways, but I will suggest that they share a similar motivation, connected to the political events in central Tibet in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

2. Kah-thog Tshe-dbang Nor-bu

Kah-thog-dbang Nor-bu was the head of Kah-thog monastery and ranks as one of the most impressive scholars of eighteenth-century Tibet. His studies took in both the texts of the rNying-ma and those of the new schools; he exchanged rNying-ma for bKa’brgyud teachings with the Twelfth Karmapa, Byang-chub rDo-rje (1703-32), 6 and wrote a history of the transmission of Mahāmudrā. Tshe-dbang Nor-bu studied and championed the forbidden Jowa doctrines, writing several works on the ‘empty of other’ (gzhan stong) theory and on the Kalacakratantra, the source of the ‘empty of other’ in the Tantric corpus. He also wrote some non-religious works on history and geography and travelled widely, making several journeys to Nepal. 7

In his Sa bon tsam smos pa, 8 a study of the Chinese lineage which begins with Bodhidharma and includes Hwa-shang Mahāyāna, Tshe-dbang Nor-bu makes use of a number of old sources including the then rare ninth-century treatise bSam gtan mig sgron by gNubs Sangs-rgyas Ye-shes. Tshe-dbang Nor-bu cites two statements from the bSam gtan mig sgron. The first is that it is important to write about the simultaneous path because of its similarities with the Great Perfection, which could cause a mistaken identification of the two. The second and more controversial

the gNas lugs rin po che’i mdzod, from the mdzod bdun collection. This passage is used to show rNying-ma and Chan affinities in Guenther 1989, pp.140-1, n.2, and Karmay 1988, p.96.

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statement is that the path of Hwa-shang Mahāyāna is a pure path. 9 In the bSam gtan mig sgron itself, the simultaneous path is ranked above the gradualist path, but below the Vajrayāna and the Great Perfection. This is the model followed by Tshe-dbang Nor-bu, who stresses that the simultaneous path is based on the sūtras, specifically on the Sūtra of the Third Turning of the Wheel. He defends this statement against the objection that, according to all the sūtras, enlightenment is only achieved after a number of incalculable aeons, with a quotation from the Chinese translation of the Mahāparinirvānasūtra:

If one who is skilled in means applies himself diligently to this sūtra, that sage will reach perfect enlightenment, unsurpassable and totally pure, before very long.

Having established the legitimacy of the simultaneous path, Tshe-dbang Nor-bu is keen to show that it is inferior to the Vajrayāna. He states that when the sūtras speak of Buddhahood, it is intentional, and goes on to discuss the progress towards the goal according to the Pāramitāyāna (or sūtra path) and Vajrayāna (or mantra path).

Having initially travelled the paths of accumulation and application by the sūtra path alone, at the stage of attaining the first bhūmi most enter the mantra path. Those who do not enter do exist, but after the eighth bhūmi, where one is initiated by the Teachers, they will have entered into mindfulness under their own power without relying on external conditions in the manner of the mantra path. Thus although we teach the importance of entering the mantra path rather than the sūtra path, from the level of the eighth bhūmi onwards one is on the path of initiation into the state of awareness where there is no opportunity to negate or purify. This is the case whichever the original entrance gate, sūtra or mantra, but because one needs to prac-

9 Sa bon tsam smos pa, p.434: dgos pa ni rdzogs chen dang cha’dra bas mi nor ba’i shad du yin par gsung ba dang | hwa shang gi chos de yang yang dag pa’i lam du bzhed pa’o ||
10 Ibid., pp.435-6: de bas na shin tu thabs mktas pas mdo sde’i la brtson ’grus su naa tan byas na skyes bu de ni ring por mi thogs par bla na med pa yang dag par rdzogs pa’i byang chub par ’gyur ro ||
tise for a shorter time with mantra, the time when one attains the fruit of perfect and totally pure Buddhahood is the distinction between sūtra and mantra. There is no difference in Buddhahood itself, so there is no harm in the indirect teachings.\footnote{Ibid., p.437: thog mar tshogs sbyor gyi lam mdo lam 'ba' zhiq pas bsgrod nas sa dang po thob pa'is skabs su snags lam la 'jug par shas che zhiq gal te tshul ston gyi dbang gi sa brgyad pa'i bar du mi 'jug pa dag yod srid kyang sa brgyud pa nas gzhahn rkyen la ltos pa ma yin par snags kyi ngang tshul rang stobs kyi shes bzhin du 'jug tu yol pa yin pas na mdo lam su snags la 'jug dgos zhes la bstan kyang sa gnyad pa yan chad nas ngang gi shes pa'is dbang gi lam la 'tshang pa dang chad pa'is go skams med la | gzhahn yang thog ma'i 'jug sgo mdo snags gags yan kyang rong mthar snags la gzhol dgos pas yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas kyi'bras bu thob tse mdo snags tha dad kyi sangs rgyas bye du med pa'i phyir de ltar dgongs te gsbuns pas sbyon med pa'o | | \textit{sBa bzhes\textit{d}}, p.68, and other sources. See Faber 1986, pp.47-8.} Tshe-dbang Nor-bu's position is that whether one starts on the sūtra or mantra path is irrelevant from the point of view of the goal. It is possible to progress through all ten bhūmis on the sūtra path, but from the eighth bhūmi onwards the practitioner is in effect on the mantra path. The benefit of entering the mantra path at the first bhūmi is that one will attain the goal more swiftly. Tshe-dbang Nor-bu apparently ignores certain characteristics of the simultaneist doctrine of Hwa-shang in order to fit it to the model of the standard Paramitāyāna. In contrast to an orderly progression through the ten bhūmis, Hwa-shang is said to have spoken of direct access to the tenth bhūmi.\footnote{Sa bon tshan smos pa, p.437.} Tshe-dbang Nor-bu seems to be aware that this treatment is not altogether adequate: remarking on its brevity, he writes that there is no need to elaborate further merely for the sake of a few doubts.\footnote{Ibid.}

Tshe-dbang Nor-bu also touches on the contemporary situation in the following passage:

Even today in China there are Hwa-shangs of the Chan school who teach only in the \textit{tsung men} style.\footnote{Ibid., p.437.} Here in Tibet too, there are a declining few who assert that one should from the beginning aim for the deep inner meaning, saying: 'Listen to the instructions on the mind without distinguishing discipline and wildness.' However they have no more than a partial similarity to each other.\footnote{Ibid., p.439: des na snag gya gar mkhan po zhi ba 'cho yi rjes su brang ba bandhe chen po ye shes dbang po la sogs pas shes rab gsum bsgrags mar mdzad}

Tshe-dbang Nor-bu appears to be pointing to certain contemporary Great Perfection and Mahāmudrā teachers who spurn the gradual path – with the interesting aside that these types are in decline. His main point is that there is no more than a partial similarity between the Chinese and Tibetan teachers. Tshe-dbang Nor-bu's opinion is that the Chinese teachers abandon the stages of hearing and contemplating (\textit{thos bsam}) and make meditation (\textit{bsam gtan}) the entire path, while the Great Perfection contains all three stages. As evidence for the presence of the gradual stages in the Great Perfection he invokes the scriptural authority of the \textit{Nyin zla kha sbyon\textit{, one of the Seventeen Tantras}}, in which he says, seven stages of activity are taught as well as the essential point which encompasses them.

Finally, Tshe-dbang Nor-bu also sets down what he sees as the correct use of the terms 'simultaneist' and 'gradualist'. He argues that, while the Chinese Hwa-shangs distinguish between two types of practitioner, the simultaneist and the gradualist, there is no such distinction found in the Indian teachings which came to Tibet. In the non-Chinese context, the only correct use of the terms is to say (in Tshe-dbang Nor-bu's words):

\begin{quote}
Indian teachers of the past such as the great monk Jñānendra who relied on the teaching of the threefold \textit{prajñā} are the gradualists, and the followers of the Chinese sage Mahāyāna, because they apply themselves to contemplation alone, are known as simultaneists.
\end{quote}
Tshe-dbang Nor-bu believes that to use the terms *simultaneist* and *gradualist* within the context of Indo-Tibetan Buddhism is an error. Simultaneism is a Chinese phenomenon, unknown to the mainstream Indo-Tibetan tradition. Thus his position is ultimately an orthodox one although, like gNubs Sangs-rgyas Ye-shes, he does not reject the simultaneous path of Chan, rather he merely attempts to put it in its proper place.

3. ’Jigs-med Gling-pa

’Jigs-med Gling-pa has an important place in the rNying-ma tradition as the rector of a very popular treasure cycle, the *Klong chen snying thig*, as the author of a comprehensive exposition of the Buddhist Path as it is known in the rNying-ma school, the *Yon tan mdzod*, and as the editor of one of the best editions of the collected tantras of the rNying-ma school. In most of his endeavours he saw himself as reviving the activities of the great fourteenth-century scholar Klong-chen-pa (1308-53). The *Klong chen snying thig* cycle contains several tantras and sādhana, which are said to derive from the eighth century, as well as numerous commentaries upon these texts, the authorship of which is claimed by ’Jigs-med Gling-pa himself. In one of these commentaries, called *Kun mkhyen zhal lung*, ’Jigs-med Gling-pa attempts a response to the criticism that the Great Perfection is equivalent to the non-conceptualisation taught by Hwa-shang Mahāyāna.

’Jigs-med Gling-pa’s differentiation of the two approaches is based on the distinction, particular to the Instruction Series (*maṅ ngag sde*) of the Great Perfection, between *sems*, the Samsāric, conceptual mind, and *rig pa*, the Nirvāṇic, non-conceptual mind. The meditation practices of the Instruction Series found in the *Klong chen snying thig* proceed on the basis of this distinction, which comes from the earliest Instruction Series scriptures, the *Seventeen Tantras*. Therefore it is not surprising that ’Jigs-med Gling-pa insists upon the importance of the distinction. He argues that, if the meditator attempts to stop conceptual activity without distinguishing between *sems* and *rig pa*, the result is a blank indeterminacy (*lung ma bstan*). In *rig pa*, he argues, conceptualisation is neutralised in a state that is ‘like a crystal ball’, a simile which points to clarity and vividness, rather than indeterminacy and blankness.¹⁹

’Jigs-med Gling-pa’s insistence on this distinction between the simultaneist doctrine and the Great Perfection makes the note he attaches to this passage quite surprising. Stepping outside of the standard model of accusation and rebuttal, he goes on to defend Hwa-shang:

You have made the assertion that the view of Ha-shang was like this, based on refutations such as the similarity of non-meditation to an egg. Yet scriptures such as the *Buddhāvatsāntasaka* were known to Ha-shang. During the debate, Kamalaśīla asked what was the cause of Sāṃśāra by the symbolic action of whirling his staff around his head. [Ha-shang] answered that it was the apprehender and the apprehended by the symbolic action of shaking out his robes twice. It is undeniable that such a teacher was of the sharpest faculties. If non-recollection and non-meditation entail the offence of rejecting the wisdom of differentiating analysis, then the Prajñāpāramitā sūtras of the Conqueror also entail this fault. Therefore, what the view of Ha-shang actually was can be known by a perfect Buddha, and no one else.²³

¹⁹ *Kun mkhyen zhal lung*, pp.527-8

²⁰ ’Jigs-med Gling-pa and Klong-chen-pa prefer the spelling Ha-shang, at least in the editions available to me.

²¹ This appears to be a reference to the summary of the refutations of Hwa-shang’s position in the *sBa bzhed* (pp.71-2) where it is spoken by Ye-shes dBang-po.

²² This is a reference to the account of the first meeting of the two opponents before the debate had taken place. It is found in the *rGyal rabs gsal ba tme ldog* (see Sorensen 1994, p.401, and Tucci 1978, p.365), where the text has Hwa-shang casting his robe to the ground (sa la brtbs) rather than shaking it (sprugs). The story is also found in the *sBa bzhed* (pp.66-7), to which ’Jigs-med Gling-pa’s account has a greater similarity.

²³ *Kun mkhyen zhal lung*, pp.527-8: khrod pa ha shang la lta ba nor di lta bu zhig yod de snyam pa ci yang mi sems pa sgo nga lta bu’i phyogs snga ji
In his defence of Hwa-shang, 'Jigs-med Gling-pa had a precedent in the works of Klong-chen-pa. In one section of his sDe gsun snying po, Klong-chen-pa writes on the subject of the transcendence of the consequences of positive and negative actions in the context of Great Perfection practice. There is a famous statement attributed to Hwa-shang Mahayana on this same subject, that virtue and vice are like black and white clouds, in that both cover up the sun. Rather than distancing himself from this, Klong-chen-pa uses the same metaphor, and then goes on to say:

When the great master Ha-shang said this, those of lesser intellects could not comprehend it, but he was in accordance with the [ultimate] truth.

'Jigs-med Gling-pa held Klong-chen-pa in great reverence and was certainly familiar with the sDe gsun snying po. Klong-chen-pa himself was also following a precedent, set by the twelfth-century rNying-ma-pa Nyang-ral Nyi-ma 'Od-zer (1124-92), in his Chos byung me tog snying po. Nyi-ma 'Od-zer states that there is no difference in [ultimate] truth (don) between the two paths, but that for those of the highest faculties (dbang po, Skt. indriya), there is the simultaneous method of Hwa-shang, and for those of medium and below there is the graduated path.

It is interesting to note that, in categorising Hwa-shang as a particularly astute practitioner of a bygone era, Klong-chen-pa and 'Jigs-me Gling-pa are treating him in the same way as they treat the early Indian masters of the Vajrayana lineages of the rNying-ma school. An example of the way these early Indian masters are categorised is found in another of 'Jigs-med Gling-pa’s explanatory texts from the Klong chen snying thig:

Those trainees of the very sharpest faculties like dGa'-rab rDo-rje, Self-arisen Padmasambhava and Indrabhuti, who were lords of the mandala while seeming to be ordinary students, were spontaneously liberated upon hearing, but gradualist people will not reach the goal in that way. So in this situation there is some further striving for complete liberation.

In this, once again, 'Jigs-med Gling-pa is following Klong-chen-pa’s lead, as the following passage by the latter shows:

The great yogis who arrived at that state [of enlightenment], like Padmasambhava, Vimalamitra and Telopa, taught directly, without cause and effect, virtue or vice. Even if we understand this intellectually, we have not reached it through becoming truly accustomed to it, so we are taught it after we have distinguished the subtle aspects of cause and effect and are no longer afraid of that state.

'Jigs-med Gling-pa uses the distinctions between the faculties of trainees in his Klong chen snying thig texts as a way of placing the simultaneous aspects of the Great Perfection beyond the reach of contemporary practitioners. The simultaneous actualisation of the Great Perfection is stated to be possible only for those of the sharpest faculties, and 'Jigs-med Gling-pa makes it clear that in his
view such types are rare nowadays, if any exist at all. This qualification would also put the simultaneist path of Hwa-shang, described by 'Jigs-med Gling-pa as being for those of the sharpest faculties only, in a purely theoretical role.

Thus Klön-chen-pa and 'Jigs-med Gling-pa seem to have been tempted to place Hwa-shang, as an individual, in the same category as the great masters of the Indian lineage who are said to have achieved enlightenment in an immediate fashion. However, the simultaneist approach of Hwa-shang is, by this same move, placed outside the realm of possibility for ordinary practitioners. In this, as we have seen, 'Jigs-med Gling-pa is restating themes from Klön-chen-pa's works. Perhaps the former's original contribution in the Kun mkhyen zhal lung is his contention that there is a scriptural basis for the simultaneist path as much as for the gradual path in the Prajñāpāramitā sūtras, an insight which appears to be based on comparative readings of texts, rather than the standardised rubrics of Tibetan scholarship.

4. Comparisons

'Jigs-med Gling-pa and Tshe-dbang Nor-bu represent two different approaches to the simultaneist teachings of Hwa-shang Mahāyāna. The first approach, represented by Klön-chen-pa and 'Jigs-med Gling-pa, treats Hwa-shang Mahāyāna more as an individual than as the representative of a school, and suggests that its realisation might be equal to the realisation of the Great Perfection practitioner. They imply that the simultaneous method followed by Hwa-shang is similar to the approach of the early Great Perfection and Mahāmudrā masters such as Vimalamitra and Telopa. However, this method is said to be beyond the reach of most, if not all, contemporary practitioners.

The second approach, that of gNubs Sung-gyas Ye-shes and Tshe-dbang Nor-bu, is to deal with Hwa-shang Mahāyāna as the representative of a Chinese school of Buddhism which he calls simultaneism (cig char 'jug pa), tshen min, or the teaching of the Chan masters (bsam gtan gyi mkhan po). This school is accepted to represent a valid method, which is placed in a hierarchy where it has a status higher than the gradual path but lower than the higher Tantras of the Vajrayāna and the Great Perfection.

'Jigs-med Gling-pa's approach is based on what might be called a yogic point of view, wherein the individual paths are seen from the perspective of the goal, ultimate truth, and there is an emphasis on the individual realisation of the exponents of these paths rather than the categorisation of their doctrines. Tshe-dbang Nor-bu's approach is primarily doxographic, and the aim is the classic scholarly Tibetan one of ranking different paths into an exclusive hierarchy. The Great Perfection, and other Tibetan teachings, are protected from contamination by more questionable doctrines.

Neither 'Jigs-med Gling-pa nor Tshe-dbang Nor-bu make any attempt to identify Great Perfection with the simultaneous path. In fact both writers are careful to distance the approach of the Great Perfection of their time from the eighth-century simultaneism of Hwa-shang Mahāyāna, and Tshe-dbang Nor-bu also takes care to make the distinction between the Great Perfection and the Chinese Chan teachings of his own time. For Tshe-dbang Nor-bu, the Great Perfection is inherently a gradual path, and simultaneism is restricted to the Chinese Chan schools. For 'Jigs-med Gling-pa, the Great Perfection can be a simultaneous path, but only for those of the very sharpest faculties, and he makes it clear that few if any contemporary practitioners fall into this category; thus his position is actually very close to that of Tshe-dbang Nor-bu.

There remains the question of why these two eighteenth-century rNyung-ma writers, both aware of the criticisms of the Great Perfection from other schools which had occurred through the preceding centuries, should open themselves to further criticism by discussing the doctrines of Hwa-shang in any sort of positive light at all. Both 'Jigs-med Gling-pa and Tshe-dbang Nor-bu were writing within a tradition of openness towards these doctrines, supported by the writings of past scholars from their school. While Tshe-dbang Nor-bu's interest in early sources brought him to the bsam gtan mig sgron, 'Jigs-med Gling-pa's general enthusiasm for what was unique in the doctrines of the rNyung-ma brought him to the comments on Hwa-shang Mahāyāna by Klön-chen-pa. Thus both were maintaining what they
saw as the particular approach of the rNying-ma tradition to this matter.

Such a motivation maybe seen as arising from the developments in the seventeenth century, when the monastic presence of the rNying-ma school dramatically increased in Tibet, and certain influential figures such as gTer-bdag gLing-pa (1646-1714) and Lo-chen Dharmasrī (1654-1717) gathered together and standardised the corpus of rNying-ma texts. On the other hand, the rNying-ma was also subject to considerable persecution at the hands of the Dzungar invaders, who sacked several of the monasteries in Tibet and killed many of the lamas, including Lo-chen Dharmasrī. Some kind of persecution continued through to the lifetimes of Jigs-med gLing-pa and Kah-thog Tshe-dbang Nor-bu; the latter composed a letter written to the Seventh Dalāi Lama, dated at around 1750, which makes a plea for an end to the persecution of the rNying-ma. The combination of an increasing confidence and self-consciousness within the rNying-ma school, and intermittent persecutions, suggest a climate in which rNying-ma writers might well be concerned to present and support the unique and unusual aspects of their own school.

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EKOTTARĀGAMA (XXXII)

Translated from the Chinese Version by Thích Huyễn-Vi and Bhikkhu Pāsādika in collaboration with Sara Boin-Webb

Twelfth Fascicle
Part 21
(The Triple Gem)

6. 1Thus have I heard. At one time the Buddha was staying in Śrāvastī, at Jetṛ’s Grove, in Anāthapiṇḍada’s Park. Then the Exalted One said to the bhikṣus: If a bhikṣu is possessed of three qualities (dharma), he will well experience happiness in this life (dyṛṭe dharme) and realise, through great perseverance and energy, the end of the existential constituents under the sway of the malign influences (sāsravadharma). Which are the three? There is a bhikṣu who a) is composed (saṃāhita) with respect to the sense faculties (indriya); b) moderate in eating and c) who does not neglect his walking exercises (caṇkrama)5.

How is a bhikṣu composed with respect to the sense faculties? In this regard, when seeing a form with the eye, he neither starts indulging in notions (saṃjñā) [concerning that form] nor does he recall [any notions]6. [Thus, by seeing with perfect mindfulness, he

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1 See T2, 603c18 ff.; Hayashi, p. 196 ff.
3 Rendering indriyesu guptadvāratā peculiar to EA (cf. SWTF fasc. 5, p. 330b; fasc. 11, p. 182a).
4 As for bhajane mātrajñātā with references, see SWTF fasc. 11, ibid.; for mātrajñātā (s.v. guptadvāratā) read mātrajñāt (not indicated in the review at BSR 19, 1 (2002), p. 64 ff.).
5 Rather a free rendering of jāgaram / 'yām(?) anuyukta (‘given to wakefulness’); see BHSD, p. 240a; SWTF fasc. 12, p. 291b.
6 As for 識念, anu - vāmr, see Karashima, pp. 405, 595 f. For Pāli parallels to this rather deviating āgama version or quite free Chinese rendering of EA see CPD 1, p. 220, s.v. anu-vyājana-gāhā (n), e.g. D I, p. 70: bhikkhu cakkhu nasu na nimittāgāhā hoti nānuvyājana-gāhā. What in EA are notions presenting themselves and not to be indulged in and past notions that should not be recalled, is very concretely explained in Buddhaghosa. See Bhadanta Revata-
realises purification (viśuddhi) regarding the faculty of the eye. By means [of this achievement] he aspires to [ultimate] freedom (vimukti), always guarding the faculty of the eye. When hearing a sound with the ear, smelling a scent with the nose, recognising a flavour with the tongue, feeling tangibles7 with the body or being aware of mental objects with his mind, he neither starts indulging in notions nor does he recall [any notions]. [Thus, by... being aware with perfect mindfulness,] he realises purification regarding the faculty of... the mind, and by means [of this achievement] he aspires to [ultimate] freedom, always guarding the faculty of... the mind. Thus a bhikṣu is composed with regard to the sense faculties.

How is a bhikṣu moderate in eating? In this regard [he takes his food,] thinking where it has come from, and not in order to become plump (sthūla) and beautiful (gaura). [He eats] only8 with a view to supporting (T2, 604a) the body and keeping the four phy-

dhamma (ed.), Visuddhimagga, Vol. I, with Paramattharamaśīsārī, Varanasi 1969, p. 65 f.: ithipurisanimittam vā subhanimittādikam vā kilesavattubhi ṇānimittam na ganhātā, diṭhamatte yeva saṅghātī nānuyanjanagāhātī... hathopādasitahasitakahita... bhedam ākāram na ganhātā... Bhikkhu Nāṇamoli, The Path of Purification, Colombo 1956, p. 21: ‘... he does not apprehend the sign of woman or man, or any sign that is a basis for delusion such as the sign of beauty, etc.: he stops at what is merely seen. Nor the particulars: he does not apprehend any aspect classed as hand, foot, smile, laughter, talk...’

In connection with samjñā in EĀ cf. n. 232 on the important passage at M I, p. 111 f. (Madhumūḍikasutta) in Bh. Nāṇamoli, Bh. Bodhi, The Middle Length Discourses of the Buddha, Boston 1995, 2001, p. 1205: “This passage shows how papaṇca, emerging from the process of cognition, gives rise to perceptions and notions that overwhelm and victimise their hapless creator... What is perceived as ‘this’ is thought about in its differences and is thus diversified from ‘that’ and from ‘me’. This diversification – involving craving for form, wrong view about permanence of form, etc., and the conceit ‘I am’ – leads to preoccupation with calculating the desirability of past and present forms with a view to obtaining desirable forms in the future.”

As for ‘notions and recalled notions’ in EĀ, see Alex Wayman, ‘Regarding the Translation of the Buddhist Terms saññā / samjñā, viññāna / viññāna’, in: O.H. de A. Wijesekera (ed.), Malalasekera Colloquium Volume, Colombo 1976, pp. 324-35, for critical appraisal. Interestingly, in the given context Wayman quotes David Hume: ‘All ideas are borrowed from preceding perceptions. Our ideas are borrowed from preceding perceptions. Our ideas of objects, therefore, are derived from that source’ (loc. cit., p. 327).

7 I.e. spraṣṭavya; cf. Karashima, p. 483: 細滑... sparsā.
8 For this special meaning of 趣 see Karashima, p. 338.

9 See Nyanatiloka, pp. 44 (s.v. dhātu), 87 (s.v. mahā-bhūta).
10 Lit.: ‘mindfully he keeps his mind staying in’.
11 See BHSD, p. 402b; Nyanatiloka, p. 31 (s.v. bodhipakkhiya-dhamma).
12 Lit.: ‘overshadowing hindrances’; cf. Karashima, p. 546: 陰蓋, ‘covering; covering for the sake of concealment’? As for nivarana, nivarana, see BHSD, p. 311a.
13 肋 = ‘rib’; here the character renders pārśvā, ‘region of the ribs, side’; cf. Mahāvut. 4006 (77).
14 Lit.: ‘bright, clear; to understand’.

Ekottarāgama XXXII

sical elements (caturmahābhūta)9 in shape (sakala), [reflecting:] Now I should check former pangs [of hunger] and prevent new ones from arising, letting the body have [enough] strength to practise the [Noble] Path and lest the holy life (brahmacarya) be impeded. – [Take] for example a bad abscess that has developed on a man’s or woman’s body. Someone applies a salve to that abscess, and this [salve] is applied for the [sole] purpose of occasioning a cure. Similarly, O bhikṣu, a bhikṣu is moderate in eating, thinking where the food [that he is taking] has come from; he does not [take it] in order to become stout... and [he eats] only with a view to supporting the body... lest the holy life be impeded. – [Take again] for example a cart [carrying] heavy loads. Its wheels are greased for the [sole] purpose of delivering heavy [loads] at their destinations. Similarly, a bhikṣu is moderate in eating, thinking... he does not [take food] in order to become stout... Thus a bhikṣu is moderate in eating.

How does a bhikṣu not neglect his walking-exercises? In this regard, in the first and last [watch of] the night he diligently and mindfully takes his walking-exercises without being mistaken about the periods [of day and night]. Continually he directs his attention to making use of10 the aids to enlightenment (bodhipakṣa)11. During daytime, whether he is walking or sitting, he wisely reflects on the eminent Teaching (pranitadharma) [and thus] rids himself of the hindrances (nivarana) diminishing [all his efforts]12. Again, in the first [watch of] the night, whether he is walking or sitting, he wisely reflects... and rids himself...; in the middle [watch of] the night, lying on his right side13, he directs his attention to waking up14 [again]; in the last [watch of] the night he rises [and starts] walking; he wisely reflects on the profound Teaching, ridding himself of the hindrances

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diminishing [his efforts]. Thus a bhikṣu does not neglect his walking-exercises.

If a bhikṣu is composed with respect to the sense faculties, moderate in eating and if he does not neglect his walking-exercises, always mindful and directing his attention to making use of the aids to enlightenment, he will surely reap two results: in this life he will realise the [state of] a non-returner (anāgāmin)\(^\text{15}\). Just as a skilled charioteer drives his chariot [pulled] by four horses, keeping to the smooth surface of the middle of the road, and [thus] definitely [proceeds] without delay wherever he wishes to go, – even so this bhikṣu will definitely [reap excellent results]. If he is composed... making use of the aids to enlightenment, he will surely reap two results: in this life he will be rid of the malignant influences (kṣīnāsra-va) and become a non-returner. – After listening to the Buddha’s words, the bhikṣus were pleased and respectfully applied themselves to practice.\(^\text{16}\)

7. ‘Thus have I heard. At one time... in Śrāvastī... Then the Exalted One said to the bhikṣus: There are three [kinds of] severe affliction. Which are the three? There are the severe afflictions [caused by] a) the windy humour of the body (vāta), b) the phlegmatic humour (śleṣman) and c) cold (śīta). These are, O bhikṣus, the three [kinds of] severe affliction. But there also are available three [kinds of] effective medicine for the three severe afflictions. Which are the three? When somebody is afflicted with the windy humour of the body, an effective medicine will be a) ghee (ghṛta); what one does in this case is to take ghee. When somebody is afflicted with the phlegmatic humour, an effective medicine will be b) honey (madhu); what one does... and when somebody is afflicted with cold, an effective medicine will be c) sesame oil (taila); what one does in this case is to take sesame oil. These are, bhikṣus, the three [kinds of] severe affliction and their respective cure.

Similarly, bhikṣus, there are the following three [kinds of] severe affliction. Which are the three? a) Covetousness (lobha) / attachment (anunaya), b) hatred (dveṣa) / aversion (pratīgha) and c) ignorance (avidyā) / delusion (moha) – these, bhikṣus, are the three [kinds of] severe affliction. But there also are available three [kinds of] effective medicine for the three severe afflictions. Which are the three? When there are covetousness and attachment, one [should] have recourse to a) repulsiveness (āsubha) as remedy (pratikāra) by way of reflecting on what is repulsive. [When] one is afflicted with hatred and aversion, one [should] have recourse to b) friendliness (maitrī)\(^\text{18}\) as remedy by way of cultivating friendliness in one’s heart. [When] one is afflicted with ignorance and delusion, one [should] have recourse to c) wisdom (prajñā) as remedy by way of [insight into] dependent origination (pratītyasamutpāda). These are, bhikṣus, the three [kinds of] severe affliction and their respective cure. Accordingly, bhikṣus, you should aspire to skill in means to avail yourselves of\(^\text{19}\) the three [kinds of] remedy. Thus, bhikṣus, you should train. – After listening to the Buddha’s words, the bhikṣus were pleased... to practice.’

8. ‘Thus have I heard. At one time... in Śrāvastī... Then the Exalted One said to the bhikṣus: There are three bad practises. Which are the three? Bad practice of body, speech and mind. These, O bhikṣus, are the three bad practises. One should aspire to skill in means to cultivate three good practises. Which are the three? Somebody whose practice of body, speech and mind is good, should cultivate good practice of body, speech and mind. – Then the Exalted One uttered the following verses:

One should guard against bad practice of body and Culture good practice of body; it [should always] be

\(^\text{15}\) Inconsistently here the text does not make it clear which is the second result. In the above first para. of this sūtra, however, it says that a) happiness will be experienced in this life and b) the malignant influences be brought to an end. Cf. also below the second but last sentence of this EA discourse.

\(^\text{16}\) Cf. A I, p. 113 f.: "Tīhi bhikkhave dhammehi samannāgato bhikkhu apanṇa- kathām pattipadam pattipannu hoti yoni c' assa āraddhā hoti āsavānaṃ khāyā...; F.L. Woodward, Gradual Sayings 1, PTS, 1932, p. 97 ff.: ‘Monks, possessed of three qualities a monk is proficient in the practice leading to the Sure Course, and he has strong grounds for the destruction of the āsāvas...’

\(^\text{17}\) ‘To take’, according to the Chinese, in the sense of ‘to drink’. As regards actual practice, however, one would expect that sesame oil is ‘applied’, for the third ‘severe affliction’ is ‘cold’ (冷冷), i.e. low temperature – it is not 液, ‘the common cold’ that one catches.

\(^\text{18}\) Cf. Karashima, p. 56, s.v. 慈心,

\(^\text{19}\) Lit.: ‘to link up with’.
Kept in mind to give up bad practice of body, and good Practice of body should be learnt. One should guard Against bad practice of speech... and mind and Cultivate good practice of speech... and mind; it [Should always] be kept in mind to give up bad practice Of speech... and mind, and good practice of speech... And mind should be learnt,20 [Good] practice of body is excellent, and [Good] practice of speech likewise, to be sure. [Good] practice of mind is excellent, and the same Holds true of [good practice] in every respect. – Restraint in speech, purity of mind and no bad practice Of body – by realising21 purity in these three practices One will reach the [Great] Sage’s22 state of the Unconditioned (asamskrtasthāna).

Thus, bhikṣus, one should give up the three bad practices and cultivate the three good practices, and thus, O bhikṣus, you should train. – After listening to the Buddha’s words, the bhikṣus were pleased... to practice.

20 As a parallel to this Ā śūtra T2, 604, n. 11, Akanuma, Hayashi and Lancaster give It 64-5 [?]. Thematically there is some agreement between Ā and It 54-5, i.e. It, chapter 3, suttas 15 and 16: vuttaṃ hetam bhagavatā, vuttaṃ arahata ti me sutam – tiṇ̄ṇ̄mā, bhikkhave, duccaratī | katamām tiṇ̄mā | kāya-duccaratī, vāca-duccaratī, manoduccaratī... tiṇ̄ṇ̄mā, bhikkhave, sucuratī... F. L. Woodward, The Minor Anthologies of the Pali Canon, Part II, Udāna: Verses of Uplift and Itivuttaka: As it was Said, PTS, 1935, p. 157: “This was said by the Exalted One... ‘Monks, there are these three evil practices. What three? Evil practices of body, speech and mind... Monks, there are these three good practices...’”

Of the following four lines of the Ā verses (Chinese text) the first two have parallels in the Udānavarga (quoted in the Abhidharmakosābhasāya, ed. P. Pradhan, Patna 1975, p. 208, 21-2). Dhp etc. The first to mention the Ā verses in question is, as a parallel to the Udānavarga and Dhp was Kōtatsu Fujita in Kusakabara shin no Agonjō ichiran, Sapporo 1984, p. 15. See Bh. Pāśādika, Kanonische Zitate im Abhidharmakosābhasāya des Vasubandhu, Göttingen 1989, p. 77 (284) (with full references):

kāyaṇa samvarah sādhū sādhū vācātha samvarah |
manasā samvarah sādhū sādhū sarvatra samvarah ||
gemeinde im Vinaya-Pitaka der Theravāda, Berlin 1997) and a study of some specific rules for nuns in the Theravāda tradition compared with those of other Buddhist schools by Joo-Hsüeh Shih (Controversies over Buddhist Nuns, Oxford 2000). These studies reveal that, despite all conformities, there are many differences in detail between the various schools. It is, therefore, highly welcome that with the present publication the Bhikṣunīvibhāṅga of the Dharmaguptaka school is made accessible in an English translation to the non-Chinese-reading public. In addition to this translation, Heirman presents ‘a study of the content of this text within the Vinaya literature’ (p.3).

The translation is provided with a quantity of often lengthy footnotes in which Heirman explains basic terms and principles of Buddhist law and frequently gives parallels from the Vinayas of other schools. In that way she seeks to give the work an ‘encyclopaedic character’ and organises the book ‘so that it may be used as a reference book’ (p.X). Without any forfeiture of information the footnotes could have been shortened if (1) – at least in the case of easily accessible sources (e.g. the Pāli Vinaya, Samantapāsādikā, etc.) – the reference were confined to the respective published text (Heirman does not give own translations of these sources), if (2) the abbreviations of the Critical Pāli Dictionary, in the case of Vin and Sp given in Heirman’s List of Abbreviations and Symbols had been used (viz. ‘Vin’ for ‘Pāli vinaya, Oldenberg, H., Vin’, p.642, n.66; etc.), and if (3) superfluous statements such as ‘vākram (intensive, caṇkram) to walk up and down;...’ had been omitted. As a whole, the translation shows that, notwithstanding all similarities, the Bhikṣunī-Vinaya of the Dharmaguptakas is more elaborate than that of the Theravādins, viz. in Sgh 3 N the speed with which a nun moves in relation to the accompanying nun is decisive for her committing an offence, and just as much the quickness with which she pulls up or lowers her clothes when she crosses a river (II, p.345). Neither aspect is touched either in the Theravāda Vinaya or in the commentary. To judge the quality of the present translation does not come within my scope and will be the task of others. My remarks (below), therefore, are merely proposals with regard to the contents.

As regards the study, Heirman explains that she compared the Bhikṣunīvibhāṅga of the Dharmaguptakas in all essential points with the Vinayas of the Mahāsāsakas, Mahāsāṃghikas, Sarvāstivāda, Mūlasarvāstivāda and Theravādins. Furthermore, she took into account the Prātimokṣas of various schools. In addition, she discusses the rules for the Dharmaguptaka bhikṣunis in comparison with the rules for monks from the same school, and completes them, if necessary, with material from the Bhikṣuvibhāṅgas of the Chinese and Pāli Vinayas (p.6). This method leads to a plethora of references to comparable rules in other schools, which certainly will be useful for other researchers. As to the description of the life of a nun of a single tradition, however, this method contains the danger of mixing information from other schools and of introducing their interpretations. We would certainly gain a deeper insight into the regulations of the Dharmaguptakas if for the interpretation of the rules the Karmavācānā texts and the Vinaya commentary of this school were consulted. The texts of other schools should only be brought into play thereafter. My comment does not mean that I expect Heirman to fulfil this task in addition to the great labour of translating a long and difficult text as the Bhikṣunīvibhāṅga. Her ‘study’ is a welcome introduction to her translation, but a thorough examination, which goes into detail and reaches solutions based on the Dharmagupta tradition, will be a future task.

The following are but some remarks:

I, pp.82-8: Heirman discusses the ambiguous phrase unadvādasavassā gihitāt, ‘a married woman less than twelve years old’ or ‘a woman married for less than twelve years’. She collects information from different Vinayas, from some of the commentaries and from secondary literature, and decides in favour of the meaning ‘age’. To find the answer to the question, which of the two interpretations is the one advocated by the Dharmagupta tradition, the other traditions, however, are of no great help. A more detailed treatment of the position of the Dharmaguptakas, taking into account the Karmavācānā collections for nuns, would have been preferable. For the Theravāda tradition, this question was examined by U. Hüsken (op. cit., p.55ff) and Joo-Hsüeh Shih (op. cit., pp.479-503), who both prefer the interpretation as age (‘Lebenszeit’), and again taken up by O. von Hinüber who favours ‘years of marriage’ (‘Die Nonnen in Theravāda-Buddhismus. Zu einer weiteren Göttinger Dissertation über das Buddhismische Recht’, WZKS, 44, 2000, pp.79-82). In re-examining the relevant Theravāda text I return to the interpretation of age (in my
`Ehe- oder Lebensjahre? Die Altersangabe für eine "verheiratete Frau" (gihigata) in den Rechtstexten der Theravādin', ZDMG, in the press).

I, p.119: In her introduction and throughout the whole book, Heirman writes that the breaking of a Pārājika rule leads to lifelong exclusion. Sometimes she adds that the respective person is definitely excluded (II, 315, n.230) which is defined as `the Samgha carries out a ānāpaticaturthakarman for her and dispossesses her' (II, p.313, n.215). According to the Theravāda Vinaya monks and nuns who commit a Pārājika offence shall be 'excluded' (nāseti; Vin I 173,22; II 162,16; III 33,25-31; 40,1-2; IV 216,33). Only in the commentary tradition are three types of 'exclusion' (nāsana) distinguished, viz. liṅganāsanā, samvāsanāsanā and dandaṃkammetaṃsanā (see U.Hüsken, 'The Application of the Vinaya term nāsana', JIABS 20, 2, 1997, pp.93-111; Edith Nolot, 'Studies in Vinaya Technical Terms IV-X', JPTS 25, 1999, pp.58-69). Monks and nuns who commit a Pārājika offence, liṅganāsanā, `exclusion [under retention of the] outward token [of monastic life]', has to be performed (Sp 269,9; 1078,9; Kkh (E 2005) 218,12 [Pā 6 N]). Liṅganāsanā is defined in Sp 1014,14-16 with reference to novices as consisting in the cancellation of the three refuges, the choice of preceptor, the reservation of lodgings and the receiving of one's share of the income of the Community. However, the novice keeps his monastic robe and is allowed to remain within the monastery. If he does not persist in his wrong behaviour he can be reordered. Liṅganāsanā, therefore, is a loss of monastic status, with exclusion de jure, but it is not an expulsion de facto. Only if the novice persists in his wrong behaviour is he thrown out (nikkaṭṭhati) of the monastery (Nolot, 'Studies IV-X', op. cit., p.58). Since this is the only definition of liṅganāsanā in the Sp, we have to suppose that in connection with monks and nuns it has the same meaning, which is confirmed by Sp 269,9-12, where it is applied to bhikkhus as well as samaneras. Hence, it follows that monks and nuns who committed Pārājika offences were allowed to stay in the monastery and to wear their monastic robes. Juo-Hsueh Shih (op. cit., pp.123-56) examined this question in connection with Pārājika I M/N, and mentions this practice inter alia as part of the Dharmaguptaka tradition. In a study by Shane Clarke (`The Existence of the Supposedly Non-existent šīksādata-sārmanerī. A New Perspective on Pārājika Penance', Buddhist Studies/Bukkyō Kenkyū

29, 2000, pp.148-176), it is shown that, at least at the time of the commentarial tradition of the Dharmaguptakas (635 CE), a difference was made between concealed and unconcealed Pārājika offences. In the case of an unconcealed Pārājika offence monks/nuns were excluded from the Community of monks/nuns, but they received `thirty-five things which they should observe for as long as they live' (ibid., p.150), i.e. they changed their status and remained in the monastery. Clarke shows that this procedure also refers to nuns: only if they re-offend are they expelled from the monastery.

II, p.283, n.61: in discussing the term pandaka, Heirman – who prefers `eunuch' as translation – also quotes Zwilling's statement that the sexual weakness connected with a pandaka points to homosexuality. Already O. von Hinüber (op. cit., p.67) and E. Nolot ('Studies IV-X', op. cit., p.65, n.25) rejected this interpretation, but without detailed argumentation. In the Theravāda Vinaya men, women, pandakas and hermaphrodites (ubhayavyājanaka) are listed as sexual partners of monks (Vin III 28,23-28). Each of them is of three kinds: human, non-human, animal. Hence, it follows that the category `human male' comprises homo- and bi-sexual men. Therefore, there would be no need for the extra category of pandaka if this term only referred to homosexuals. As `man' is used antithetically to `woman', so pandaka is used antithetically to `hermaphrodite'. Since the hermaphrodite is of two sexes, pandaka should therefore be perceived as a person without sex. From the different methods of sexual intercourse practicable with men and pandakas (anal and oral) in contrast to those with women and hermaphrodites (vaginal, anal and oral), it only follows that pandakas are persons without a vagina, i.e. they are male or neutral. However, in the commentary to the Vinaya, in Samantapāsādika 1015,32-1016,9, pandaka is defined as comprising five different types of pandaka: (1) `a pandaka sprinkled [with semen]' (āsittapandaka), (2) `a pandaka on account of jealousy' (usuyapandaka), (3) `a pandaka by surgery' (opakkamikapandaka), (4) `a pandaka for a half-month (pakkapandaka), and (5) `a pandaka not having the male sex' (napum-sakapandaka). Out of these the opakkamikapandaka and the napum-sakapandaka are eunuchs, the other three are only de-
viations from the sexual norm. This shows that, at least in the Theravāda tradition of the fifth century, the term pandaka is used in a wider sense than the term 'eunuch' and that it is not used for homosexuals. A consultation of the commentary of the Dharma-guptaka tradition could perhaps help to clarify the position of this school.

II, p.346: The translation ‘it is, in accordance with the village that she reaches, a samghāvasēsa’ is not intelligible to me. Could it not mean that ‘in the very moment she reaches the village, it is a samghāvasēsa’? (cf. also the references given in n.156 [II, p.407]).

II, p.346: It should be checked whether ‘within a village, within one district’ does not represent ‘a village with one precinct’ (Pāli: gāmo ekūpācāro) in contrast to ‘a village with various precincts’ (gamo nānūpācāro, Vin III 200,5) or, even better, if it represents gamūpācāra. At least in the Theravāda tradition the crossing of the upacāra of a not fenced in village with the first step leads to a Thullaccaya offence, with the second to a Samghādisesa (Vin IV 230,7-9). Heirman follows a suggestion by Jin-il Chung when she writes that ‘district (simā) most probably coincides with a village (grāma)’. I think that ‘district’ probably renders upacāra, since in connection with Samghādisesa 3 for nuns, a gamūpācāra is defined as ‘enclosure’ (parikkhepa) in the case of a fenced in village and as ‘place for an enclosure’ (parikkhepakāsa), of a village not fenced in (Sp 1050,17-18; Kkh-p 33,2-4), gamūpācāra is simultaneously the ‘boundary of a village (gamasimā)’. The question whether this gamasimā functions as a ceremonial boundary of a Buddhist community or not (II, p.409, n.161) is, however, irrelevant in this case.

II, p.346: Referring to ‘If a bhikkunī spends a night alone, it is, in accordance with her flank touching the ground (n.164), a samghāvasēsa’, Heirman declares (II, p.409, n.164) ‘precise content unclear’ and thereafter suggests various explanations. Could not the Chinese original translated here as ‘in accordance with’ be understood as ‘in the very moment’? This would not only fit the text here (she commits a Samghāvasēsa offence in the very moment in which her flank touches the ground), but also in the examples of a nun reaching a village (cited above).

II, p.963, n.15: The reference ‘(see note S. 160)’ is not specific and I was unable to verify it.

The indices and glossaries, above all those of technical terms, are of great value. As Heirman declares, they have been compiled with the help of the Pāli Vinaya and all the Vinaya texts listed above (p.6). However, the author takes great care to make clear whether a term is proven to be used by the Dhammaguptakas in their Chinese texts or in one of the Sanskrit fragments.

One last remark concerning the book’s presentation, which I consider not to be very user-friendly. For practical purposes it would have been agreeable if the rules had been enumerated and if the headings contained not only the designation of the group of offences (Pārājika, pp.243-328; Samghāvasēsa, pp.329-439; Nihāsargika Pācittika, pp.441-527, etc.), or, in the case of the class of Pācittika offences, additionally the number of the chapters (1-7) in which the rules are subdivided. To give here the number of each single rule would have been of great help. Another problem is the arrangement of the footnotes: they are placed at the end of each section of offences or, in the case of the Pācittika class, at the end of each of the seven subdivisions. If one looks up one footnote with a reference to another footnote one needs at least four fingers to mark the various spots in text and footnote sections, which is very impractical. It is understandable that the length of the footnotes prevents locating them below the text. However, taking into account that the publication is distributed over three volumes, it would have been easy and much more user-friendly to place the footnotes in a separate volume.

Petra Kieffer-Pütz


This is an impressive, wide-ranging study of Buddhism, giving solid treatment of the history and the variety of forms of the Buddhist religion. Starting at the beginning, the author presents the Buddha’s life and his religious innovation. This is followed by a chapter dealing with the philosophical teachings that span the majority of Buddhist traditions, and further chapters dealing with the Theravāda and Mahāyāna traditions. The remainder of the book presents the development of Buddhism by geographical area: a chapter on Buddhism in India deals with Buddhism’s
principal philosophical schools, after which Mitchell presents substantial accounts of the religion's development in Tibet, China, Korea and Japan. Two final chapters deal with modern developments of Buddhism, first in Asia, and second in the West. The text is interspersed with boxes, giving personal testimony from practising Buddhists and sympathisers, adding human interest to the academic content. The book is appropriately illustrated in black and white, and has a glossary of Buddhist terms.

The chapter on Korea is particularly informative, since this material is not well documented in other literature on Buddhism. Mitchell traces its history in the country, identifying its principal schools and discussing developments after the Japanese occupation, which ended in 1945. Fairly solid coverage is given to Won Buddhism – an aniconic form of Korean Buddhism which emerged in the early part of the twentieth century, and growing in size and significance. The new Buddhist movements in Asia deal with a number of social reformers, such as Bhimrao Ambedkar (1891-1956), who endeavoured to improve the lot of Indian untouchables by encouraging them to convert to Buddhism. Less well-known is A.T. Ariyaratne's Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement in Sri Lanka, which pioneered a programme of village renewal, and Buddhadasa Bhikkhu's radical critique of capitalism in Thailand. Thich Nhat Hanh and the Engaged Buddhist movement that emerged from his teachings receive attention, although not in detail.

When dealing with Buddhism in the West, Mitchell tends to focus on diaspora Buddhism, with particular reference to the United States. Although mention is made of Henry Steel Olcott and Helena Petrovna Blavatsky, and how their Theosophical Society helped the revival of Buddhism in the face of British colonialism, there is little substantial reference to the ways in which Buddhism has been espoused by Westerners. In one or two places the author acknowledges the phenomenon, for example in a brief reference to the 'Beat Zen' movement in the US during the 1950s and 1960s, and to Vipassanā. In general, the author does not demonstrate any particular interest in Buddhism's Western uptake. There is no mention, for example, of the Western Buddhist Order or of the New Kadampa Tradition: indeed, Buddhism in Europe does not seem to fall within the book's scope. Although treatment is given to the various modern Nichiren schools, no mention is made of the 1991 split between Nichiren Shoshu in Japan and the predominantly western Soka Gakkai, which until then was the associated lay movement.

It would be unreasonable to expect even as substantial a book as this to cover Buddhism in all its principal forms, and the author deserves to be congratulated for presenting such an impressive, reliable and readable account which deals with Buddhism synchronically as well as diachronically. The book's scope, however, is largely historical and philosophical: there is no reference to folk practices, in which indigenous Buddhists in Asia use the religion to achieve good luck and prosperity. The religion Mitchell presents is still very much the 'religion of reason', which badly needs to be counterbalanced by substantial ethnographical study, such as that carried out by Melford Spiro in his Buddhism and Society: A Great Tradition and its Burmese Vicissitudes (New York 1970).

Such a comment, however, indicates the book's methodology rather than any deficiency: Mitchell has chosen a philosophical-historical approach rather than an ethnographical one and, as such, it is an excellent and very thorough survey. The book should be of particular interest to undergraduate students, being a solid and reliable introduction. It could be recommended for a wider audience, including the general reader.

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This edited volume of eight essays on late Chinese Buddhism serves as the second instalment of material either inspired by or derived from a symposium held at the Spencer Art Museum at the University of Kansas in 1994 called 'Latter Days of the Law: Images of Chinese Buddhism 850-1850'. Like the conference volume of the same name (Honolulu 1994), this collection seeks to address the dearth of material in Western languages on post-Tang (618-907) and Song (960-1279) Buddhism in China and, in particular, to see post-Tang Buddhism as a force that flowed across social, ethnic, and gender boundaries and fostered the
development of cultural riches comparable to if not greater than those celebrated as the fruit of Confucian social order" (p.3). The comparison with the late Confucian order is both fitting and awkward, given the scope of the contributions to this volume. Teachings, practices and artefacts of material culture associated with the cult of Confucius, and a lengthy list of sages and local worthies, have long been subsumed under the rubric of Confucianism in studies of medieval and late imperial China. This volume presents a similar array of perspectives on the world of Buddhism, focusing on three principal themes: ‘Liturgical Culture: Image, Text, and Ritual’ (pp.13-72), ‘Literate Culture: Calligraphy and Poetry’ (pp.73-116) and ‘Literary Sphere: Painting, Architecture, and Music’ (pp.117-206). These topics engage and challenge the perception of Confucian hegemony over areas of elite and gentry patronage and performance. Several of the essays in this volume, however, exceed this goal and probe the ‘tangled reality’ of Buddhism on the ground as well (p.9).

The short introduction (pp.1-10) by Marsha Weidner aptly summarises the thrust of the eight essays and weaves them together to provoke the reader to define culture as the connection between them: ‘It is possible to speak of the Buddhist cultures of particular locales, monasteries, events, or social groups and of the cultural imperatives of these places, institutions, and people given concrete expression in architecture, images, calligraphy, poetry, and ritual performance’ (p.2). The two essays by T. Griffith Foulk and Daniel B. Stevenson comprise the section on Liturgical Culture and make up perhaps the most compelling part of the book. Foulk’s essay on ‘Religious Functions of Buddhist Art in China’ (pp.13-29) is a captivating piece on how objects were used and who used them. Foulk makes an essential distinction between the iconic and aniconic functions of images and states that, ‘In Chinese Buddhism, there is a clear sense that such images not only resemble the beings represented, but actually embody or provide a “seat” (zuo) for their invisible spirits (ling)’ (p.14). Foulks proceeds to enumerate eight non-iconic uses for images in Chinese Buddhism. These include decorative, merit-making, as background for texts, repositories for sacred objects, talismanic, meditative or visualisation devices, ‘economic’, and ‘social’ (pp.15-20). He then addresses the problems of ‘Determining the Historical Usage’ (pp.20-7) and ‘Religious Meaning’ (pp.27-9) for images and concludes with the powerful statement that, ‘the basic problem is that there have never been any absolutely fixed correlations between the appearances (form, style, iconography) of Buddhist images in China and the uses to which they have been put’ and ‘to ascertain the religious function of a work of Chinese Buddhist art, there is no substitute for observing it in use in its native environment’ (p.29). Foulk’s remarks form the theoretical basis upon which many of the subsequent chapters dwell.

Stevenson’s essay, ‘Text, Image, and Transformation in the History of the Shuihu tahu, the Buddhist Rite for Deliverance of Creatures of Water and Land’ (pp.30-70), not only responds to Foulk’s charges in discussing the use of scrolls and ritual objects connected with the shuihu rite, but also presents a thorough lesson on the significance of the rite for the late Chinese Buddhist community. Stevenson uses his expertise to guide the reader through an explanation of the purport and function of the rite, detailed descriptions of the ritual manuals used to perform it, and the apocryphal history of the rite and its inception as a seminal aspect of Southern Song (1127-1279) and later Buddhist culture. The essay culminates in an invaluable presentation of the shuihu rite and discussion of how the performance of it compelled patrons and actors alike – including the eminent statesman and literatus Su Shi (1037-1101) – to comprehend the Buddhist concepts of retribution and karmic result. Stevenson presents the shuihu rite within and outside sectarian and social boundaries, and demonstrates how later Chinese Buddhists utilised the shuihu to acquire patronage as a tool to deliver souls from the battlefield and pacify the dead (pp.46-7). In addition, the shuihu rite became the focus of internal disputes over ‘orthodox’ uses of Buddhism (pp.56-7), and represents how Buddhism exerted a resilient and powerful voice within Chinese culture alongside competing cosmologies: ‘there is no question that the shuihu reproduces symbolic protocols that resonate profoundly with other Chinese ritual venues, such as the Daoist jiao or the grand rites of the Tang imperium described in the Kaiyun code’ (p.53).

The second section of the volume, on Literati Culture, includes two essays by Amy McNair, on ‘Buddhist Literati and Literary Monks: Social and Religious Elements in the Critical Reception of Zhang Jizhi’s Calligraphy’ (pp.73-86), and Beata Grant, ‘Through the Empty Gate: The Poetry of Buddhist Nuns in Late
Imperial China’ (pp.87-113). McNair’s chapter addresses the changing reception of the Southern Song literatus Zhang Jizhi’s (1186-1266) calligraphy – which was undoubtedly inspired by his association with Chan monks and their teachings – by an increasingly anti-Buddhist Neo-Confucian élite and moralising Chinese Buddhist Samgha. Colophons to Zhang’s calligraphy – preserved in China and notably in the Japanese Zen temples of Tofukuji and Daitokuji – underscore how Buddhist influence and art became contested subjects in the wake of Neo-Confucian orthodoxy in the Yuan (1271-1368) and Ming (1368-1644) dynasties. The strength of McNair’s essay lies in the subtext of how significant and problematic a subject Buddhism became within literary criticism during the late imperial period in China. Grant’s chapter explores – through the medium of poetry – the lives of Buddhist nuns in late imperial China. Grant divides nun-poets into two categories: those who received tonsure based on spiritual motivation and those who entered the convent due to social and economic factors. Grant gives abundant insight into the lives of several nuns and consequently sheds further light on to the reality that Buddhism not only flourished on an institutional basis in post-Tang and Song China, but its teachings and practices provided a vital religious and social alternative within an increasingly misogynistic society. McNair and Grant’s essays illustrate several specific ways in which Chinese élite culture was transformed by Buddhism.

The third section on The Political Sphere includes articles by Marsha Weidner on ‘Imperial Engagements with Buddhist Art and Architecture: Ming Variations on an Old Theme’ (pp.117-44), Patricia Berger, ‘Miracles in Nanjing: An Imperial Record of the Fifth Karmapa’s Visit to the Chinese Capital’ (pp.145-69), Terese Tse Bartholomew on ‘Thangkas for the Qianlong Emperor’s Seventieth Birthday’ (pp.170-88) and Kenneth J. Hammond’s ‘Beijing’s Zhilha Monastery: History and Restoration in China’s Capital’ (pp.189-207). These four essays engage the question of how the late Chinese imperium used Buddhist institutions, architecture, art and music to project and legitimize itself throughout the provinces. During the Ming and Qing (1644-1912) dynasties, like the infamous Tang beforehand, Buddhism became arguably the most effective tool to propagate the concept of All under Heaven (tianxia) within an increasingly multi-ethnic state. Weidner’s chapter shows how ‘by bestowing buildings, icons, plaques, steles, and sūtras upon Buddhist monasteries, the court not only accumulated religious merit, but also linked the magnificence of the church and state, giving people remote from the capital glimpses of imperial majesty and building cultural capital on the local level’ (p.119). In a statement that implicitly addresses the four essays in this section, Weidner suggests that ‘Factors contributing to this kaleidoscopic variation included the personal religious convictions of individual emperors, influence from powerful eunuchs and imperial women, interaction with neighboring Buddhist countries – Tibet, Mongolia, Korea, and Japan – and developments within Chinese religion broadly, notably, increased syncretism and... emphasis on ritual performance’ (p.120). By unifying the symbolic and material worlds of Buddhism, the Ming court literally remapped the Chinese religious landscape in the guise of the Ming imperium.

Both Berger’s and Bartholomew’s articles address the question of Chinese imperial support for Tibetan Buddhism (lama jiao). Berger’s essay examines the visit by the Fifth Tibetan Karmapa Dezhin Shegpa (Ch. Helima or Halima, 1384-1415) to Nanjing in 1407, and a set of forty-nine paintings and inscriptions in five languages that commemorate the visit and the ensuing miracles. Berger suggests that the Ming emperor(s) cast themselves in dual roles: one as Chinese emperor for Chinese subjects and one as Buddhist divinity (Marjusri) for non-Chinese patrons. Thus, Ming rulers could simultaneously draw from indigenous Confucian and cosmopolitan Buddhist discourse and presentation to project authority. Bartholomew’s essay investigates Qing patronage of Tibetan Buddhism and, like Berger’s chapter, demonstrates how the Qing court patronised key Tibetan Buddhist figures – including the Beijing-based Jangya Hutukutus, particularly Rolpay Dorje, and the Sixth Panchen Lama, Lobsang Palden – as part and parcel of addressing non-Chinese subjects. Bartholomew presents three ‘birthday’ thangkas used to commemorate the Sixth Panchen Lama’s visit to Beijing on the occasion of the emperor’s birthday in 1780. She thoroughly describes the history of Qing patronage for Tibetan Buddhists (pp.170-9) and the iconography of the thangkas (pp.179-83).

Hammond discusses the history, layout and political life of Zhilha Chan monastery in Beijing. He describes in detail the monastery grounds (pp.191-7) before elucidating how the monas-

The translation of Hōnen (Genkū, 1133-1212)’s magnum opus Senchakushū (also called Senjakushū, 1198 or 1204) by the Senchakushū English Translation Project of Taishō University is a most welcome addition to the comparatively sparse scholarship in English on Hōnen and his thought. Hōnen and his Pure Land school (Jōdo shū) have often seemed, particularly in English language scholarship, to be eclipsed by his slightly better-known and more thoroughly studied successor, Shinran (1173-1262), founder of the True Pure Land school (Jōdo shinshū). Students and scholars of Buddhism have often viewed Hōnen’s thought as a developmental stage in the evolution of what was to become Shinran’s unique form of Pure Land Buddhism, while ignoring the

While Senchakushū is by no means an overwhelmingly long work, it is dense in terms of the complexity of Hōnen’s thought and his interpretation of the Pure Land sūtras to justify his advocacy of reliance on the ‘original vow’ (hongan) of Amida Buddha and the practice of the nembutsu—that is, according to Hōnen, the recitation of the name of Amida. Fortunately, along with a skilled translation of the original text, the Taishō University team has provided an outstanding, thorough introduction which includes details on the life of Hōnen, the religious and historical climate of the early Kamakura period, and the history and contents of the three Pure Land sūtras (Jōdo sanbukyō). It further discusses several features characteristic of medieval Japanese Buddhism, such as ‘classification of the teachings’ (kyōhan) and the importance of establishing a proper lineage, in its presentation of how Hōnen addressed these issues in his efforts to establish his Pure Land school. On these points in particular, the inclusion of a summary of Jōkei (Gedatsubō, 1155-1213)’s ‘Kōfukuji Petition’ (Kōfukuji sōjō) is helpful, although its primary purpose in the introduction, the authors indicate, is to provide the reader with a description of the ‘foundation for the persecution that Hōnen and his community of followers endured’. (We fortunately have an introduction and translation—and perhaps different perspective—of the entire petition in Robert Morrell’s Early Kamakura Buddhism: A Minority Report, Berkeley 1987.)

In particular, the introduction is useful for its careful presentation of Hōnen’s stance on the roles of various practices outside of the nembutsu and faith in Amida. This clarification is important and much-needed because it allows the reader to distinguish between Hōnen’s own views and those of Shinran—a distinction that is often neglected and which has led in the past to the ‘lumping together’ of the two figures under the simple rubric of ‘nembutsu advocates’. For example, as is pointed out on p.38, while Shinran rejected all practices outside of absolute surrender to Amida, Hōnen admits a place for the manifold practices of the ‘Holy Path’ (shōdōmon) once the practitioner has come to rely on the saving grace of Amida. One note on the otherwise satisfactory translation here: while the authors have chosen the term ‘Holy Path’ for the term shōdōmon, I would suggest that the terms
‘Saintly Way’ or ‘Sagely Way’ are perhaps preferable, as the latter suggest the self-power (jiriki)-centred practices that both Hōnen and his successor reacted against, while the former has a connotation of being at least as appropriate as the Pure Land way. This is perhaps more a question of semantics than a strict translation issue, but the use of more accurate terminology to reflect Hōnen’s stance may make it easier to understand the argument presented in Senchakushū.

The introduction concludes with a short reference to the medieval practice of kanjin shaku—‘an interpretation of scripture grounded not in the letter of the text but in personal religious insight’ (p.46) —in which not only Hōnen, but that other much-praised thinker, Eihei Dōgen, engaged. This is a brief but important point which I was particularly glad to see included as a reminder to the reader who might otherwise delight in finding loopholes in Hōnen’s ‘logic’. Finally, just ahead of the translation proper is included a synopsis of the contents of the various chapters of the Senchakushū. These summaries introduce concisely the argument Hōnen makes in each chapter and the textual sources on which he bases them.

While the work’s title is Senchakushū and the translation most satisfactory, Hōnen’s Senchakushū: Passages on the Selection of the Nenbutsu in the Original Vow (Senchaku hongon nenbutsu shū), with its long and detailed introduction, summaries and translation of the original text, and abundant and informative glossary, is in fact a thorough study of Hōnen in its own right. It is a work that is useful and appropriate for both the student and the specialist who wish to know more about this important figure of medieval Japanese Buddhism, and for all who wish to come to a clearer understanding of Hōnen’s unique interpretation of Pure Land Buddhism.

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This important collection of studies which ‘re-visions’ Kamakura Buddhism, though it has now been available for some time, remains essential to an understanding of how current scholarship assesses and continues to assess Japanese Buddhism in the Kamakura period. (1192-1333). The book starts on the premise – well-documented in many studies by now, yet still vitally important to continue emphasising – that the idea of ‘Kamakura’ Buddhism as the Pure land, Zen and Nichiren schools that arose during this dynamic time are by no means wholly representative of the Buddhism of the Kamakura period. These schools, which have in past decades been synonymous with the term ‘Kamakura Buddhism’, should be more accurately termed ‘Kamakura new Buddhism’, as the major schools inherited from the previous period – the Tendai and Shingon schools, for example – not only remained in the Kamakura and later eras, but were in fact the dominant forms of Buddhism for much of the medieval period.

Richard Payne’s introduction and the following chapter, James Dobbins’ ‘Envisioning Kamakura Buddhism’, present very clearly and concisely where the study of Kamakura Buddhism has been, where it is and where it has the potential to go. Payne addresses the major problems of the ‘Reformation Model’ of Kamakura Buddhism – that model which compares the new developments in Kamakura Buddhism to those of the European Christian Reformation – in his introduction with succinct subheadings such as ‘The Rhetoric of Decadence’, ‘The Rhetoric of Novelty’ and ‘Beyond “Shintō” and Buddhism’ that present the problem with lucidity and accuracy. Dobbins, for his part, offers the ‘cultural center model’, presenting both its advantages and potential pitfalls, as an alternative to other models in the study of medieval Japanese Buddhism, including the latter’s division into categories of ‘old’ and ‘new’, as well as the socio-economic-political kenmitsu-taisei (exoteric-esoteric) model of Kuroda Tosio, which is perhaps the ascendant model among scholars of Japanese Buddhism today, and, it might be added, a strong influence on many of the chapters of Re-Visioning “Kamakura Buddhism.”

Further chapters include George Tanabe Jr.’s study of the rise of popular Shingon during the Kamakura period, and Alan Grapard’s inquiry into the Tendai Shintō-Buddhist syncretism and esotericism (taimitsu) of Mount Hiei. Both these studies remind us that, far from being in a state of decline or philosophically and religiously vacuous, both of these ‘old’ schools were...
still practically and ideologically vibrant in the medieval period. Robert Morrell's and James Foard's studies of the vital importance of literature and its unique role in presenting the actual state of Buddhism during the Kamakura offer perspectives that should always be (though unfortunately rarely are) taken into account in the study of medieval religion in Japan. Morrell’s authority in particular comes from his having been a pioneer in the study of medieval Buddhism in the literary tradition since his work in the Kamakura period. Morrell's lengthy chapter on the history of chanting the title of the Lotus Sūtra (daimoku) deserves special attention, as it provides an in-depth presentation of the history of this practice before Nichiren took it up as his recommended sole-practice (senju), and deals in particular with the sticky problem of the authorship and date of the Shuzenji-ketsu, an apocryphal work attributed to Shōkō (767-822) (p.116) recommending recitation of the Lotus' title. Stone also addresses the important and, as of yet, debated question of whether Nichiren was influenced by or he himself influenced the content of this work. Mark Unno’s presentation of Myōe (1173-1232)’s kōmyō shingon and finally Richard Payne’s exploration of ajikan practice, both relating to the Shingon tradition in medieval Japanese Buddhism, provide a new awareness of and insights into these lesser-studied companions to the nenbutsu and daimoku practices of the Pure Land and Nichiren schools.

Re-Visioning “Kamakura” Buddhism, part of the Kuroda Institute Studies in East Asian Buddhism series, might well itself have been the first in a series of works in a similar vein since, as this collection demonstrates (particularly in its study of the role of practice), there are many, many aspects of Kamakura Buddhism that have yet to be explored to provide us with a more accurate, fully-rounded view of Japanese Buddhism in this important age. We must, of course, take heed of the caveats Dobbins presents regarding the dangers of becoming too specialised with such approaches as the Cultic Center model. Nevertheless, it seems that further studies of this sort are both necessary and inevitable.

Fortunately, we do have a continuation of this kind of approach in other books in the Kuroda Institute series, and in George Tanabe Jr., ed. Religions of Japan in Practice (Princeton Univ. Press 1999), where many works from the same distinguished scholars who have contributed to Re-Visioning “Kamakura” Buddhism appear. Though one reviewer, while rightfully praising this collection for its important contributions, has expressed regret that it did not appear some years earlier, before most Buddhist studies scholarship had already embraced many of its central arguments, I see the work as yet being both timely and relevant. The fact remains that decades of scholarship reflecting the ‘Reformation Model’, while in many ways still valuable in its own right, fill the shelves of our university libraries, and these shelves are precisely where the average university student in search of information about Japanese Buddhism gets their information, most often from the well-known but now somewhat outdated historical overviews. Sections of Re-Visioning “Kamakura” Buddhism are required reading for my own students, and the book in its entirety is required reading for anyone who wants a more detailed look at specific aspects – and at the same time a more accurate presentation – of Buddhism as it actually existed in the Kamakura period.

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There appears to be no Western academic who devotes more explicit attention to the study of kōans (gongan) and kōan literature than Steven Heine. Opening a Mountain: Köans of the Zen Masters is a short translation volume with sixty kōan cases from Chinese and Japanese sources, coupled with a brief but insightful introduction that aspires to present these kōans as evidence of the thaumaturgical traditions within Chan and Zen Buddhism. Previously, students and practitioners of Chinese Chan, Korean Sŏn and Japanese Zen have only had access to this expression of the function of kōan literature in English through the innovative scholarly work of Bernard Faure, T. Griffith Foulk,
John McRae and Robert Sharf. In this volume, Heine promptly introduces the reader to the localised cultural context within which kōans became effective tools in rhetorical debates between Chan/Zen masters and Taoists, as well as indigenous elite and popular religious specialists. Following William Powell’s research on the significance of mountains in Chinese Chan, Heine aspires to ‘demonstrate that the main theme underlying much of kōan literature deals with how Zen (Ch’an in Chinese) masters opened or transformed mountains’ because ‘mountains harbored spirits, demons, and bodhisattvas, as well as hermits, ascetics, and other irregular practitioners, and were opened through the use of symbols and rituals of spiritual significance’ (p.xiii). Heine is only partially successful in presenting his case. Mountains do indeed figure prominently in the narratives of kōan discourse, however they are only one significant part of the cultural-religious landscape caught up in the struggles for patronage by medieval Chinese Chan and Japanese Zen advocates. In spite of the fact that Heine’s approach is innovative, his presentation forms a perplexing labyrinth of historical and theoretical discussion necessitating a thorough background on kōan scholarship in the West.

The kōan translations are arranged in topical fashion and by chapter: ‘1. Surveying a Mountain Landscape’ (pp.37-72), ‘2. Contesting with Irregular Rivals’ (pp.73-100), ‘3. Encountering Supernatural Forces’ (pp.101-40), ‘4. Wielding Symbols of Authority’ (pp.141-68), ‘5. Confessional Experiences: Giving Life and Controlling Death’ (pp.169-96). Each chapter is further subdivided into both conventional Zen categories and pithy themes. In Chapter One the reader meets kōan cases about the Northern, Ox-Head and Southern lineages of early Chan, Master Dongshan, and Mount Wutai. Chapter Two relates cases pertaining to recluses, wonder-workers and engendered bodies. In Chapters Three and Five we become acquainted with kōans about ‘Trances, Visions, and Dreams’ (pp.103-13), ‘Spirits, Gods, and Bodhisattvas’ (pp.114-26), ‘Magical Animals’ (pp.127-40), ‘Repentance and Self-Mutilation’ (pp.171-83), and ‘Death, Relics, and Ghosts’ (pp.184-96). Heine groups kōans about religious icons and authority in Chapter Four.

The reader must turn to the ‘Introduction: What are Kōans?’ (pp.1-35) for guidance on how to approach the kōan selections and for Heine’s astute discussion about the ‘rich component of mythological and marvelous elements that pervade this genre of literature in a way that complements, rather than contradicts, the demythological or iconoclastic perspective’ (p.xiii). If one can ignore a few erroneous claims about the historical description of the development of Chan Buddhism in China, then the Introduction forms both a perceptive manual on how to correct misunderstandings about kōan literature and an astute discussion of contemporary scholarly attitudes on the function of that literature. The first section of the Introduction – ‘Sticks and Stones, but It’s No-Names that Hurt’ (pp.1-12) – sketches the controversy Heine wishes to engage with broad strokes. He begins by defining the kōan as ‘a brief, enigmatic anecdote or dialogue between two contesting parties’. He characteristically adds that most Zen kōans can be dated to the ‘golden age’ of Zen during the Tang dynasty (618-907), and that they ‘capture the dramatic and inscrutable encounters between masters and disciples or rivals’ (p.1). Immediately Heine places kōan narrative structure within the discourse of both the Buddhist ascetic tradition (dhutagupta) and Avadāna literature, which often emphasises the six supernatural powers (abhijñā, shentong) of the Buddha. Heine underscores the fact that these attributes were Indian and Central Asian Buddhism were especially appreciated by the Chinese populace who were familiar with ‘pre-Buddhist shamanic techniques of purification and exorcism, Taoist folklore about mountain and other local deities, and generic popular texts on the efficacy of exorcism or turning the power of ghosts and spirits from malevolence to moral purposes’ (pp.2-3). After noting the significance of the ‘Biographies of Eminent Monks’ collection (Gaoseng zhuan) and sectarian Chinese Chan ‘Record of the Transmission of the Lamp from the Jinge Era [1004]’ (Jingde chuan 240) as evidence of the marvellous in Chinese Buddhism, Heine moves to critique the ‘conventional’ perception of kōans (p.4). Therein he suggests a second definition of kōans: ‘kōans are rhetorical devices that use paradox, wordplay, and ambiguity to communicate a message about the maddening quality and inherent limitations of language’ (p.6). We encounter another set of corrective to the reader’s impression of kōans when Heine suggests that, in addition to the legal and political context of kōans, esoteric Buddhism also had a profound influence upon kōan literature: ‘Kōan discourse also relies on the modalities of esoteric Buddhist training that is
characterized by intense subjectivity... as well as an aura of secrecy and inscrutability to outsiders’ (p.8). Here, as in many sections of the Introduction and subsequent translated material, the non-specialist reader would benefit from a short definition of esoteric Buddhism (or Taoism, shamanism, and so forth) the better to comprehend the significance of the author’s assertions.

In the subsection on ‘The Mythological Background of Kōan Literature’ (pp.13-20) we see Heine’s most substantive critique of traditional modes of reading kōans. He contradicts his earlier teleological fallacy regarding the formation of kōan literature during the Tang ‘golden age’ when he states that these encounters were ‘originally contained in mythological narratives included in the transmission of the lamp records’, which date to the Song dynasty (960-1279) (p.13). Not only does Heine correct himself but he also points out that the transmission of the lamp texts (denglu) – as well as kōan collections – were intimately influenced by ‘non-denominational monk biography texts’ and and ‘non-Buddhist folklore collections, including the T'ai ping kuang-chi [Taiping guangji] (978)’ (pp.15-16). Heine then utilises the theoretical models of Jacques LeGoff and Michael Foucault to suggest that the Chan production of hagiographical literature during the Song – including both the transmission of the lamp and recorded sayings (yulu, goroku) genres – constructed encounter dialogues designed to contend with the diffuse environment of Chinese religion (pp.17-19). Heine eventually leads the reader back to the mountainsides of China in order to illustrate how mountain landscapes represent fertile ground upon which Chan masters transcend and reconstitute the traditional Chinese religious themes of pilgrimage, seclusion and the boundaries of the sacred and the vulgar (pp.20-5). Heine also provides definite directions on how to read kōans and explains how he chose to elide selected commentaries and add his own ‘discussion’ – or sub-commentary – to each kōan cited (pp.30-3).

The translations of the sixty kōans are largely accurate, however, given the depth of discussion in the Introduction, Heine’s sub-commentary lacks sufficient citations of indigenous Chinese sources. Instead, we find a good deal of discussion relating to Japanese commentaries – especially related to Dōgen (1200-53) – when Japanese context is missing from the Introduction. And, as mentioned before, he neglects to translate large sections of each case, opting instead to paraphrase part of the remaining material. This detail renders Heine’s translations helpful for general reference to kōans rather than this volume being a new source to turn to for translated kōans. It is also curious to see that the reader finds little evidence of points raised in the individual chapter introductions mentioned in the corresponding kōan cases. For example, in Chapter Five, we are presented with the bodhisattva vows and Taoist immortals (pp.170-1), but the supporting kōans do not raise these issues directly. Moreover, in the discussion to kōan No.55 ‘Dōgen’s Disciples: Monk Gemmyō’ (pp.182-4), Heine pertinently mentions the Daruma-shū influence on Dōgen’s nascent Sōtō Zen sect, but provides little context for the non-specialist reader. Heine also unmistakably utilises many Japanese – especially Sōtō – Zen materials to present the translations but provides inadequate context or explanation for these choices.

Steven Heine should be commended for his effort to engage the issue of thaumaturgy and the ways in which Chan /Zen masters confronted indigenous religious traditions and practices in Opening a Mountain: Kōans of the Zen Masters. Unfortunately, without a glossary, Sino-Japanese character list or bibliography, the target audience is likely to be non-specialist readers without sufficient background to appreciate the nuanced portrayal of these kōans. As in many volumes that use the Wade-Giles system, Heine provides mistaken romanisation for Chinese terms including opening a mountain as ‘kuan-shan’, where kai-shan would be correct (p.26). I have not checked every page reference to the original source material; however, Case 6: ‘Kuei-shan Kicks Over the Water Pitcher’ (pp.48-51), from the Wumen guan, should give Taishō page 298a instead of 296a. In addition, it is regrettable to see the Wade-Giles system of romanisation for Chinese used instead of the now almost universally accepted Pinyin system; this fact alone is likely to deter instructors from using Opening a Mountain: Kōans of the Zen Masters in a classroom setting.

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The author of this book should be well-known to readers of this journal from the reviews of his writings which have involved the Buddhist scene, but he has also done some research into mysticism, often on a comparative basis, about which he has written short books which have not been reviewed here. Since half of the present publication is based on Pāli Buddhist sources, it certainly deserves our attention.

The theme is interesting, because in most traditions higher spiritual achievements presuppose the overcoming of the sexual drive and in some of them, for example in the early Buddhist one, even emotional attachments are regarded as hindrances on the path to sanctity or deliverance. There is, of course, Tantrism, which insists on the importance of polarity and outlines the methodology for the integration of even its sexual variety into the liberating practice, either symbolically or in full carnal execution, although marriage is not usually envisaged as its concomitant. But the Tantric path remains something of a controversial issue and most traditional approaches regard it more or less as a deviation and an unrealistic wish-fulfilling delusion along the lines of the proverb ‘to have one’s cake and eat it’.

When an earnest seeker of spiritual fulfillment becomes a monk, a recluse or a wandering ascetic, his path is clear. But what about the less rigorously committed lay followers of a strict tradition who stay in the world and lead their lives in the context of a family? The author may have gained insight into this question not just from his studies of sources, but also as a committed follower of the Pāli tradition from his own experience, having lived singly into his advanced years and marrying only after the death of his aged mother who had been looking after him.

The book comprises four collections of stories, the first and longest describing seventeen Buddhist married couples’ lives as they could be put together from the sparse references in the discourses in the Sutta-pitaka, supplemented by more explicit information gleaned from the Commentaries. Most of these couples are designated as having eventually reached stream-entry, the first stage of sanctity on the way to Nibbāna, securing its attainment not later than after seven more incarnations. The author does not fail to indicate that, from the vantage point of the early Buddhist tradition, even this initial achievement surpasses any mystical accomplishment. Thereby he touches upon a point implied in many Pāli suttas, particularly the Brahmajālasutta (DN I, 1), which regard as virtually spiritual culs-de-sac, however uplifting, any views and beliefs outside the scope of the Buddhist outlook which is based on the practice of the Eightfold Path.

The first marriage to be described is that of Anāthapiṇḍika, a rich banker and generous supporter of the Buddha’s community of monks for whom he built the monastic abode in Jetavana. His first meeting with the Buddha and his achievement of stream-entry during it is vividly described, although for other details of his new life the author refers the reader to his article in the magazine Wissel und Wandel 1967 to which not everybody will have access. However, brief life stories of his four children are told, including that of his third daughter who addressed him, before she died, as ‘younger brother’, having reached the second stage of sanctity, that of the ‘once-returner’. The puzzled father was later informed by the Buddha as to the reason for her seeming impertinence. When he died, he met her in Tusita heaven (where she was spending her last life before liberation) and he then appeared to the Buddha to tell him about it. At least one other married pair has to be mentioned, namely Nakulapitā and Nakulamātī who, on first seeing the Buddha, recognized him as their son in many previous lives. They then reached stream-entry on the spot. Some of the stories have a dramatic element when, to begin with, one of the partners is spiritually advanced while the other one is deep in ignorance and then all ends happily, often accompanied by miraculous events. All the stories make for a good relaxing read. What transpires from them in terms of doctrine is that some stages of sanctity on the path can be achieved while marital life continues or that the prior attainment of stream-entry does not preclude entering into marriage and have a family. The highest achievement of arahatship is of course above polarity.

The second collection gives the stories of six mystics from Protestant and non-conformist circles, the most famous among them being Jakob Böhme and William Blake. Böhme had a yearning for redemption from early years, but felt that its prospect was obscured by theologians. As a shoemaker apprentice he had a mystical experience which might have pointed him to a secluded

monastic life had he been a Roman Catholic, but eventually the inner spiritual drive burst into the open even in his situation as a married burgher. He had an experience of a ‘central vision’ into the nature of reality and saw other planes of existence both higher and lower than the material one. His attitude to sex is reflected in his concept of the original androgenic spiritual existence of man in the astral world. His fall into the material world was a result of the feminine splitting away from him and obtaining a separate existence. This reinterpretation of the Bible story of the fall is perhaps an echo of his studies of ancient Greek thought. The author tries to fit Böhme’s and other figures’ experiences, which he describes, into the Buddhist scheme in the spirit of the early sources as indicated above.

Most readers may not have heard of the other mystics in this and even in the third collection, which is dedicated to fifteen married Roman Catholic mystics, but their stories are fascinating. They were mostly women and often had no say over being given away in marriage, although some eventually won their husbands round to the idea of living without sexual contact, for example in one marriage after eight of nine children had died.

The most interesting part of the book is the fourth one, about ten spiritual friendships which clearly involved no carnal contacts, but polarity and a sense of its integration in the course of spiritual progress does seem to lurk in the background. Two of the pairs of mystics related are widely known: Francis and Clara of Assisi and Saint John of the Cross and Theresa of Ávila. In the writings of the latter pair one can find many parallels to Buddhist descriptions of spiritual experiences, including jhānas and elements of insight into the nature of reality, and visions of non-material planes of existence. Even iddhis, known from Pāli sources as accessible to achievers of jhānas, are described; readers familiar with St Theresa’s autobiography will be aware of this. One particularly evocative incident is when Sister Beatrix in St Theresa’s monastery, which gave refuge to St John when he escaped from prison, witnessed them both levitating after a discourse about the Trinity which brought them both into an ecstatic state.

Although the book is written for the general public in an easy style, there is a wealth of research behind it as one can gauge from the Bibliography of sources.

Karel Werner (SOAS)

Book Reviews


In my review (BSR 17, 1, 2000) of the first edition of this book (published in 1995) I mentioned that a revised edition was to be published later in the year. In the event it took another two years for it to appear. It is a remarkable achievement considering the length of the work, which obviously did not deter readers interested in the practice of Buddhist principles while living in the world. The usefulness of the book for study purposes has been greatly enhanced by the new Index. The text in some passages has been reformulated and two sections have been completely rewritten. One deals with the problem of worldly possessions and with experiencing satisfactions in life. These, as Aṅguttara-nikāya IV, 61 shows, can be acquired through diligence by lawful means and need not be obstacles on the way if, intent on salvation, one does not pursue them blindly but preserves one’s confidence in the Buddha’s teaching, practising virtue, generosity and clear understanding of karmic consequences.

The other section, the last of the book, concerns the anusārī, the follower who is ‘definitely safe’ in his confidence and reaches sotāpatti at death, if not earlier. The book finishes with a quotation from a letter by a simple Hausfrau with only basic education who summarises the whole teaching in one paragraph which does not seem to need anything added to it. The practice is expressed in one sentence: ‘We should simply distance ourselves a bit, grasp less and not allow the goal to slip away from our sight’.

Karel Werner (SOAS)


The revised edition of June Campbell’s controversial work does little to answer its initial critics. Bound by the constraints of Freudian theory, it cannot hope to achieve a methodological footing which is adequate to its ambitious project: a cultural criticism of the engendered power structures inherent in traditional Tibetan Buddhism. Freudian theory has suffered a dual fate in its
encounter with feminism; on the one hand, it has been rejected as dependent on a patrilineal nuclear family model, and thus unable to envision or analyse any other (or better!) social order (on which see S. Firestone, *The Dialectic of Sex*, New York 2002); on the other hand, it has been the target of various strategies of co-optation and subversion by French feminists of the so-called ‘Second Wave’ such as Irigary and Cixous. Campbell’s work seems unaware of this distinction and blithely proceeds to attempt a highly critical, even shrill, assault on Tibetan religious sex/power complexes without really addressing the fundamental question of how a theory which is so beholden to the social and gender structures of one culture can be used to regard those of another’s. The incongruity of this theoretical fit occasionally juts out in the text, such as when she claims that ‘the key players in the Oedipal triangle – mother, father, child – have been historically shared (knowingly or not) by people of all cultures’ (p.80, italics mine).

In the years since this book’s initial publication, more mature works have been published which consider the same traditions Campbell has described. E. English’s recent work (*Vajrayogini*, Boston 2002) draws on a through knowledge of the textual sources to show that there was a strong independent cult of Vajrayogini, visualised without reference to any male deity. This precisely disproves Campbell’s thesis that there is no tradition of independent female deities. Isabelle Onians has begun to publish her research on the history of the sexual act within Buddhist tantra, a study which shows that there were explicit homosexual features to the secret initiations and very possibly a separate female lineage. I might also note J. Gyatso’s study (*Apparitions of the Self*, *The secret autobiographies of a Tibetan visionary*, Princeton 1998) of the interior voice of the dākinī within a male consciousness, the omission of which from Campbell’s work is curious.

Clearly, by attempting to bring rigorous theory to bear on the historical study of the Tibetan traditions, Campbell’s book was a valuable contribution to the field. Insofar as it attempted a genuinely engaged cultural criticism, which I believe was constructive in its original intent, her work shows a courage which sadly overshoots its actual competence. As a landmark in the history of a developing discipline, then, *Traveller in Space* has its place, though this may not justify a fresh edition.

*Will Tuladhar-Douglas (Wolfson College, Oxford)*

We welcome contributions to this journal in any aspect of the field of Buddhist studies.

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