LALMANI JOSHI, M.A: Ph.D.

STUDIES IN THE BUDDHISTIC CULTURE OF INDIA

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Gorakhpur University Ph.D. Thesis (1964/2508)

जगद्दुःखैकभैषज्यं सर्वसंपत्सुखाकरम् ।
लाभसत्कारसहितं चिरं तिष्ठतु शासनम् ॥
बोधिचर्यावतार, १०. ५७

STUDIES IN THE BUDDHISTIC CULTURE OF INDIA

(During the 7th and 8th Centuries A.D.)

by

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FOREWORD

While in one sense Buddhistic culture is part of the wider stream of Indian Civilisation, in another sense, it transcends the quality of any purely nationalistic culture. That is because of its particular but genuine spiritualism. Like man, culture has a double origin, natural and spiritual. In fact, man's cultural life arises from his spiritual aspirations working from within the limited but modifiable circuits of his natural or instinctive life. Just as a *Nyagrodha* has roots above and below, so culture is conditioned by material, social and historical circumstances and yet aspires after an eternal and universal ideal. The quest for security, for example, produces diverse historically circumscribed systems of economic, social and political institutions, all of them really seeking to express and spell out in a realm of contingent multiplicity different aspects of man's vision of the protecting Deity whether as symbolized by the bounteous goddess holding the cornucopia or as the Heavenly Father (*Pitāmah*) or as the Lord weilding the sceptre of authority. Whether man's protecting deity be real or imaginary, it cannot be gainsaid that man tends to evolve the consciousness of an ideal of security, of a universal order where each individual would receive the care a child would from a bounteous, loving and just father. Whether such an order is in some sense eternal or a future possibility, personal or impersonal, is less significant than the fact that it is not yet a perfected actuality on the historical plane and that its notion imparts a universal direction and intelligibility to man's history as governed by the quest for security. The other quests of man, for knowledge, for love and for freedom, operate similarly in history. Thus it is that culture appears as an evolving complex with a historical matrix and a transcendent ideal.

Compared to other forms of culture, spiritual culture is more universal and more self-conscious of its universality. Buddhism is in a way the most universal of all the historical forms of spirituality. It had no hesitation in adopting the

linguistic and material modes of culture prevalent in the societies where it happened to spread. Thus Buddhist literature was readily created in Tibetan, Mongolian and Chinese and was held fully authoritative. Buddha himself discredited the notion of any originally authentic language or of an absolutely sacrosanct canon. He asked his followers to accept his words only after due testing and critical examination. Buddhist monks and teachers spread this catholic and rational message wherever they could. Even Buddhist mysticism depends on the scientific analysis of psychic and parapsychic phenomena and a system of moral and mental training depending on this analysis and testable by personal experience. Perception and inference alone are accepted as the valid means of knowledge and there is no scope for blind faith, obscurantism or transcendent, metaphysical entities. Relying on experience and reason and rejecting the compulsive authority of any definitive but archaic scriptures that could not be questioned, Buddhism became a dynamic and expansive world-religion. As such, while Indian by birth, Buddhism became universal by choice.

The fact, however, is that the essence of Indian culture is not nationalistic but universal. We should not identify the core elements of Indian culture with particular obsolescent institutions like caste or detailed *Dharma-śāstra* regulations or specific temple rituals. It is the abstract notions of *Dharma* and *Mokṣa*, *Karman*, *Jñāna*, *Yoga* and *Bhakti* and the tradition of genuine spiritual experience out of which these concepts were articulated that constitute the heart of Indian culture. Buddhism impersonalised the notions of *Dharma* and *Mokṣa*, sought to rid the salvation-seeker of soteriological egoism,emphasized moral rather than ritual *Karman*, emancipated *Jñāna* from *Śabda*, provided *Yoga* with a purely psychological foundation and made an ideal man the proper object of *Bhakti*. Buddhism thus provided an ideal version of Indian culture for those who should have a tough mind, intellectual, self-reliant,public- spirited and altruistic. Unfortunately the lure of an easy religion, of mechanical worship, attractive symbols and the possibility of gaining all without losing any, overcome the Indian psyche gradually from the 7th century A.D.

It is not that *Tantra* and *Haṭha Yoga*, which are as much Buddhistic in this period as non-Buddhistic, should be regardde

as delusive. The fact is that in point of psycho-spiritual insight and acumen *Tantra* and *Haṭhayoga* represent a new climax in Indian culture. They represent the one and only genuine parapsychology so far known and sought to be utilized in a spiritual and religious context. Unfortunately they are also capable of being put to trivial personal and material uses. As such they only recoil on the person and soon become quite delusive. If wrongly motived, even ordinary prayer and worship become a danger to mental health. If the highly potent techniques of *Tantra* and *Yoga* are used, the danger becomes all the greater. On the national plane the misunderstanding and misapplication of *Tantra* spelled disaster. The worshippers of *Śakti* were quickly run over by Turkish hordes. In a recent novel Sri Hazari Prasad Dwivedi who has studied Siddha literature so well, sketches the tragic delusions of such worshippers in a revealing manner.

My old and beloved pupil Lal Mani Joshi devotes his present work to the analysis of Buddhistic culture in India in the 7th and 8th centuries A.D. With painstaking scholarship and a learned vision he has sought to make the subject alive and luminous. The work is indeed excellently done and opens the way to a more philosophical and intellectual study of the whole period of early middle ages where only dynasties and temples and material culture have so far attracted genuine scholarly attention. The work is remarkably comprehensive and presents a cultural epoch in its impressive and varied *Zusammenhang*. Reading it is like entering a Gothic cathedral, spacious and high, lit in a sober light from multicoloured windows.

Tagore Professor of Indian Culture,
Rajasthan University, Jaipur. *G. C. Pande*
March 27, 1967.

OPINIONS

".....The work has impressed me as a *learned and brilliant attempt* dealing with a subject on which though much has been written, more work yet remains to be done. In view of this fact, I cannot help observing that the present thesis, which is the outcome of several years of continued labour and contains the results of uptodate investigations, is *a really valuable contribution to some aspects of Buddhist Culture* during a certain period, and deserves to be appreciated. It is written in graceful style and in simple language. In my opinion, it is *a work of singular merit*....."

—Mahāmahopādhyāya Professor Dr. Gopinatha Kavirāja.

".....Dr. Lal Mani Joshi's *monumental work* on INDIAN BUDDHIST CULTURE during the seventh and eighth centuries A.D., is *of an almost encyclopaedic order*, drawing not only on practically every available original text of the period concerned, but equally on all important works of modern scholars .....Years of painstaking research have gone into this work, and *the variety and completeness of information* (*with thousands of detailed references*) *will make this book a valuable aid for all serious research scholars and students of Buddhist history*....."

—Maitreyamaṇḍalācārya Lāmā Anagārika Govinda.

".....The thesis shows wide and uptodate reading, knowledge of the sources, and powers of critical judgement. *The use of all available materials has made it a substantial contribution to our knowledge of the period*....."

—Professor Kṣetreśachandra Chaṭṭopādhyāya.

To

Professor Govind Chandra Pande

गुरवे । कल्याणमित्राय ।

Author's Preface

'Culture' is generally regarded as a tradition or pattern of life and thought in a community. While it manifests itself historically in education and learning, art and literature, philosophy and religious movements, its inner being is constituted by a configuration of values. Values have a diverse character—instrumental and final, central and peripheral—and are conceived under many particular upādhis; nevertheless it cannot be gainsaid that they aspire after universality.

From this point of view, one should be able to speak of one concrete entity, the culture of all mankind. Actually, however, the vision of a universal human culture, which would be concrete in the Hegelian sense, belongs largely to the future. Human history appears as a long and painful travail toward the realization of such a vision ever moving cyclically from narrower to larger units and conceptions. One cannot, of course, speak of any strict law or predictability in history, and the historian as distinguished from the philosopher, has to content himself with recording the past vicissitudes of actual cultural movements, in the course of which larger conceptions have often emerged from narrower beginnings.

The task of the historical researcher is often further constricted by the inevitable discipline imposed by the requirements of detail and rigour, which tend to exclude a great deal of plausible, but in the last analysis only hypothetical, interpretation. The historical researcher can only hope to furnish some significant material to the general historian for his larger construction and interpretation, so that the work of general historian may at last aspire to stimulate the philosopher in his vision of the destiny of mankind. On the other hand, the light of philosophy also, without any dogmatic pre-conceptions, of course, must to some extent guide the historical worker.

The purpose of the following pages is to present authentic materials for the historical reconstruction and critical appreciation of some aspects of Buddhistic culture in India during the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. Although the changes in Indian Buddhism and its achievements during this period are full of varied interests and intricate problems, and although

many scholars have commented on several of its aspects in different contexts, no systematic and integral study of the subject has so far been made. The older works of Kern, Keith and Thomas or the latest of Professors Lamotte, Conze and Pande, on the history of Buddhism in India, hardly deal with this period or do so very sparingly. The poor picture of Buddhist history, philosophy and culture presented in a Government of India puhlication, the '2500 Years of Buddhism' (New Delhi, 1956, 1959) indicates rather the unfortunate fact that in no other country of the world today Buddhist studies receive so negligible and scant a treatment as in the homeland of Buddhism. Below is an humble attempt, perhaps incomplete in some respects, to study in some detail faithfully but critically, the Chinese records, Tibetan annals and the Indian literary and archaeological sources, bearing only on two centuries of Buddhist history and culture in India. The attempt is throughout historical and critical and the approach integral; elements of Buddhist culture have been analysed and studied within the frame work of India's cultural history as a whole.

The significance of the subject and the period selected here can hardly be exaggerated. It was the age when Buddhist logic and dialectics were perfected by Dharmakīrti and Śāntirakṣita; when Buddhist moral and spiritual fervour received supreme expression at the hands of Śāntideva and Kamalaśīla; when some of the master minds of ancient India, including Śāntideva, Candrakirti, Dharmakīrti, Śāntirakṣita, Uddyotakara, Kumārila and Śaṃkara, were busy in a life and death struggle for the defence of their own doctrines; when Buddhist logicians like Śaṃkarānanda and Brahmanical teachers like Gauḍapāda were trying to harmonise the tenets of Buddhist and Brahmanical philosophies; when Tāntrika Adepts like Sarahapāda, Nāgārjuna (II), and others began to broadcast that Esoteric Gospel which soon transformed Śākyamuni's Gospel, dominated the whole medieval period of Indian culture, and which, through Gorakhanātha, Kabiradāsa and others, was transmitted down to Rāmakriṣṇa, Ramaṇa Maharṣi and Sri Aurobindo of our own days; it was during this most critical and decisive period in the history of Indian Buddhism, in fact, of Indian culture as a whole, that while a host of Buddhist Doctors

and graduates of Indian Buddhist Universities were engaged in their scientific and cultural missions in distant parts of Asia, their Brahmanical fellow countrymen at home were actively engaged in organising a countrywide intellectual and cultural crusade against Buddhist ideals and practices; when Brahmanism, re-armed with Buddhist arsenal, sacked its rival creditor; when Tāntrikism washed off distinctive traits of Buddhism and swept all religious sects of the country in one massive stream of devotional mysticism; when Buddhism began to recede into the background while Brahmanism reshaped itself into 'Hinduism'; considerably refined and enriched by constant contacts with Buddhist ideals and practices, and re-modelled according to the new circumstances brought about by the growth and popularity of Sramanic idealogies for centuries, Brahmanism now emerged, under its Purāṇic garb as the undisputed national 'Hindu' culture. In the twofold process of assimilation and condemnation of Buddhism, the Brahmanical priests sacrificed at the alter of mythical Viṣṇu even the most historical and overwhelmingly non-Brahmanical personality of Buddha and mystified the historical existence of Buddhism as a delusive trick of a Purānic God. "This well-conceived and bold stroke of policy", remarks Dr. R. C. Majumdar, "cut the ground from under the feet of Buddhism which was already treadily losing ground and the ultimate result was the complete effacement of Buddhism from India as a separate sect." (The Cultural Heritage of India, 2nd ed. vol. IV, Calcutta, 1956, p.48).) The transformation of Brahmanism or the birth of 'Hinduism', we may add, had been the eclipse of Buddhism in its homeland—one of the major tragedies in the annals of Indian culture—a fact frequently overlooked or confused by most of our historians.

But a volume primarily devoted to a study of some aspects of Buddhist life and thought cannot be expected to do full justice to all these outstanding events and changes of far-reaching-consequences that characterised this period. A comprehensive study of inter-relations between Brahmanism and Buddhism is in itself the task of a life-time; a discussion of the polemics of near contemporary Naiyāyika and Vaiyākaraṇa thinkers against Buddhist thought would have required two more chapters in an already bulky volume. I would have liked to include a survey of Buddhism in contemporary Nepal, Tibet, Burma and

Ceylon, a more detailed treatment of Buddhist art and iconography of the period, a fuller evaluation of the thought of Dharmakīrti, and a comparative study of Brahmanical and Buddhist Tantras. But all this would have needed twice as much labour and leisure as have gone into the production of these pages, none of which however, has been offered to me by my present precarious health and hostile environment.

The work now printed here is substantially the same as was approved for the Degree of Doctorate in Ancient History, Archaeology and Culture by the University of Gorakhpur in 1964. Type-script has been occasionally revised and certain portions curtailed; slight additions and changes have also been made in the arrangement of the material.

The changes which came over Buddhism during this period were the clear manifestations of tendencies which had been at work long ago. The first chapter of this work, therefore, seeks to trace the earlier background with a view to restating the origins of the new phase of Buddhism and its connection with the past tradition.

The next chapter describes the general state of Buddhism in the seventh and eighth centuries in different regions of India.

The third chapter deals with the achievements of Buddhist art as it developed especially with in the monasteries. Here the connection between Tāntrika Buddhism and plastic art has also been sought to be briefly analysed.

In the fourth chapter, a detailed picture of life and discipline in the monasteries is sought to be depicted. Historical examples of Buddhist piety and endowments and maintenance of monasteries have been gleaned from contemporary inscriptions and supplemented by Chinese accounts of India and Indian literary documents.

The fifth chapter seeks to elucidate the moral ideas and religious practices inculcated by both forms of Buddhism, Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna, the former represented chiefly by I-tsing, the latter by Śāntideva. It is sought to be emphasised that despite predominance of Mahāyāna and the emergence of Vajrayāna, old ascetic Buddhism was still very much alive in some parts of the country.

The sixth and seventh chapters attempt to weave together a picture of Buddhist education, learning and literature. It

would be seen that Buddhist Universities for the first time in India's history provided her with the best and greatest centres of higher learning, and being international in character, rose above sectarian horizon to impart training in sacred as well as secular branches of learning. To be alive is to produce, and there can be no doubt that while Buddhist educational system had justly elicited universal admiration, its fruits have been no less impressive.

The eighth chapter attempts a systematic though necessarily concise, delineation and review of the numerous doctrinal controversies and divisions with which the Buddhist thought of this period bristled. In this connection an attempt has also been made to relate the leading tendencies in thought to their sources in spiritual experience, historical tradition or rational dialectic. It has been kept in mind that while Buddhism remains mystical at heart, it develops the arsenal of logic to defend its basic mystical position.

The ninth chapter looks at Buddhist thought from the window provided by the polemics of Kumārila and Śaṃkara. On the whole the representation of the Pūrvapakṣa in these authors has an extraordinary fidelity and penetration. Their criticism of course, reflects, not so much the weakness or inconsistencies of Buddhist reasoning as the differences in the basic point of view and presuppositions of these eminent Brahmanical critics and opponents of Buddhistic systems. Of the two, Kumārila definitely proved his subtler logical acumen and superior grasp of Buddhist principles than Śaṃkara, whose unjustified fame as the foremost Brahmanical philosopher has kept many modern scholars ignorant of Kumārila's profounder contribution to Brahmanical logic, epistemology and dialectics.

The tenth and eleventh chapters seek to explain the development and principal contents of Tāntrika Buddhism. The subject is full of difficulties of diverse kinds, not the least of which is the fact that the Tantras are written in a language and employ terms which can become fully intelligible only to those who have actually trodden the esoteric path. In connection with the language of modern science it has been emphasised by some thinkers that only an operational definition is possible for the terms which it uses. If the claim of the Tantras to be a practical way to the Highest be valid, it is obvious that its terms

and concepts could be understood only in a similar operational manner.

The attempt to express profound metapsychological verities in terms of common experience, must necessarily lead to a kind of allegorical or code-language. The interpretation of Tāntrika principles, therefore, can only be done in the light of such explanations as the Tāntrikas, past and present, have offered.

The twelfth and last chapter seeks to assess the beginnings of the decline of Buddhism in India. Various views, largely hypothetical, expressed on the subject, are examined here in the light of all the available evidence. Internal and external factors in the process of decline of Buddhism have been analysed and documented.

The main work is followed by five Appendixes. First appendix dwells on Buddhist Emperor Harṣa as a man of letters, second reproduces a list of Buddhist texts translated by Yuan Chwang; third reviews the date of Dharmakīrti the logician, and some cognate problems, while the fourth discusses the relations of Gauḍapāda and Advaita Vedānta with Buddhist thought; last appendix restates the chronological position of some early esoteric Buddhist masters. References to the authorities cited, notes and relevent comments have been appended to each chapter.

Chinese records and Tibetan annals have been freely utilised in their modern translations. New evidence has been brought to the notice of scholars from old publications and some older views have been either strengthened or weakened by evidence from recent publications. For example, the suggestions that Bhāvaviveka was a contemporary of Dharmapāla the teacher of Śīlabhadra, and hence flourished in the last half of the 6th and first quarter of the 7th century and not in cir. 500 A.D. as is generally supposed; that the institution of married monks was prevalent in Sindha in the first half of the 7th century A.D., that a king Vikramāditya of Śrāvastī, identifiable with Skandagupta, was instrumental in causing Manoratha, the Sarvāstivāda teacher, to commit suicide; and that a Sātavāhana prince, identifiable with Gautamiputra Sātakarni, was responsible for the murder of the Mādhyamika philosopher Nāgārjuna,

have been made in these pages and are based chiefly on the authority of old publications.

A new identification of the famous Tāntrika Pīṭha called Pūrṇāgiri with modern Pūrṇāgiri, a famous Śākta tīrtha overlooking Nepal in Almoṛā District of U. P. has been proposed. Potalaka Parvata has been suggested as a third possible early seat of the origin of Vajrayāna in the far south apart from Dhānyakaṭaka and Śrīparvata; this suggestion is based on the authority of Yuan Chwang, the Sādhanamālā and the Gilgit text of the Sarvatathāgatādhiṣṭhāna-sattvāvalokana-Buddhakṣetra-sandaraśanavyūha. South Indian origin of Tāntrika Buddhism, already suggested many years ago by the late Pt. Rāhula Sāṃkṛtyāyana, has been further strengthened by fresh evidence extracted from the Sekoddeśaṭīkā, the Blue Annals, the Biography of Dharmasvāmin and the above mentioned Gilgit text. These authorities finally overthrow the generally accepted theory of Bengali origin of Tāntrika Buddhism. It would not be too much to say that a historical, critical and systematic study into the origin and early evolution of Tāntrika tendencies in Buddhism has been attempted for the first time in this work. Possibility of the existence of a few seeds of Tāntrikism in the protohistoric civilization of Western India and Pakistan, chiefly represented by Harappa and Mohenjodaro, suggested for the first time by the present author, may take the rudimentary beginnings of esoterism back to the third millennium B.C. The views that, constant Brahmanical hostility towards Buddhism both in letter and spirit seems to have been the foremost factor in loosening its hold on Indian classes and masses, and that the anti-Buddhist propaganda in Brahmanical literature was not a mere "war of the pen" but was periodically accompanied with its social counterpart, such as social boy-cott and royal edicts against those who violated the "divinely ordained" scheme of Cāturvarṇya, and forceful confiscation of landed property of Buddhist establishments by Brahmanical kings, etc., have been put forward for the reconsideration of our historians who account for the decay of Buddhism by exaggerating the effects of Turkish conquest of India.

A new English Translation of the memorial verses of the Śikṣāsamuccaya has been incorporated in this work. That

the compound 'Mahāsukha' occurs already in the Nairātmya paripṛcchāsūtra in the same sense in which it is expressed by the Siddhas; that there is epigraphic evidence for the existence of some Buddhist monk-artists in the University of Nālandā; that Siddha Nāgārjuna may have been the author of the Guhya-samāja-Tantra, that the goddess Ekajaṭā or Vajraikatā, whose worship he is reported to have 'rescued' from Tibet, is mentioned in this text also; that I-tsing already refers to the abuses of esoteric mysticism; that Bhāvaviveka belonged to that critical school of Buddhist philosophy which was started by Kumāralabdha and which grew with Vasubandhu and Diṅnāga and drawing materials from Sautrāntika, Vijñānavāda andMādhyamika systems, was perfected by Sāntirakṣita, and that Gauḍapāda's synthetic attempts were quite in keeping with the time's general policy of *rapprochement* between Brahmanism and Buddhism, and numerous other minor observations and suggestions have been made in the following pages. It has not been possible for the author to accept the generally held and widely published theory of the genesis of Buddhism and its relation to Brahmanism. He has briefly criticised the view which traces the origin of Buddhism to Vedic religion and has distinguished between Brahmanism and Hinduism on the one hand, and between Buddhism or Sramanism and Brahmanism or Vedicism, on the other. (See Chapter XII, espl. notes 144 and 195). The author agrees with Prof. G. C. Pande (Studies in the Origins of Buddhism, p. 317) that Ascetic Culture or Śramanic thought of India is of non-Vedic and pre-Aryan origin but differs from him with respect to the mutual relationship and relative chronology of the teachings of Sākyamuni and those of the oldest Upaniṣads. In the author's view no Upaniṣad text can be proved to be pre-Buddhist in date, and the partial agreement between Buddha's teachings and those of the early Upaniṣads is due to the fact that these Vedic texts were composed between the age of Buddha and that of Aśoka, and their thought was deeply influenced by the non-Vedic doctrines of early Yoga, the early Sāmkhya, early Buddhism and early Jainism.

It is for the Buddhist scholars and historians of ancient Indian thought and culture to judge the merits and demerits of this work. The author is conscious, more than the readers, of its shortcomings. Many important works in Italian, French,

German, and Japanese, bearing on the subject and the scope covered by this book, have been published in recent years. Author's ignorance of these languages came in the way of their use. In the last week of March, 1967 when this book had already been printed, I happened to meet Prof. N. Aiyaswami Sastri, formerly of China Bhavan, Visvabharati University, Santiniketan. He kindly informed me that one of the Sarvāstivāda philosophers, who lived between Dharmakīrti and Kamalaśila, was Bhadanta Śubhagupta. I was aware of the fact that his realistic views had been criticised by Kamalaśīla in the Tattvasaṃgraha-Pañjikā (See G. Jha's Eng. Tr. vol. II, pp. 938, 963, 968, 970, 974, and 987). But I thought that he may have flourished in the Gupta period. Prof. N. A. Sastri has restored into Saṃskrit the kārikās of a work of Bhadanta Śubhagupta, called *Bāhyārthasiddhi*; the ms. of this translation is still unpublished. I am thankful to this well known Buddhist scholar for the information that Śubhagupta has criticised not only Diṅnāga but also the sahopalambhaniyama of Dharmakirti. This realistic Doctor thus has to be placed some time in 650-750 A.D. I am, however, now inclined to suggest that this Bhadanta Śubhagupta may be identical with Kalyāṇarakṣita whose five treatises are extant in Tibetan and who has been placed by us in c. 800 A.D. (see Chap. VI[1], p. 201).

It is impossible to mention the names of all the scholars whose publications have been utilised here. While I am glad to record my indebtedness to a host of Buddhist scholars the world over; I may mention the names of H. P. Sastri, Ganganath Jha, Rahula Samkṛtyāyana, B. Bhattacharya, P. L. Vaidya, N. Dutt, R.C. Majumdar, Watters, Takakusu, Vallee Poussin, Stcherbatsky, Winternitz, Cunningham, Marshall ,Tucci, and Conze, whose works have taught me much. There are over twenty five hundred notes and references in this book and acknowledgement due to modern scholars has been made at proper places. I am especially thankful and express my tribute of respect to Padmavibhūṣana Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. Gopinatha Kaviraja, Professor of Tantra-Śāstra, Vārāṇaseya Saṃskrit Viśvavidyālaya, Varanasi, Rev. Lama Anagārika Govinda, Ācārya, Arya Maitreya Maṇḍala and a distinguished authority on Buddhism, Rev. Professor Jagadish Kashyap, Director, Nava Nālandā Mahāvihāra, Nālandā, and Professor

Ksetresachandra Chaṭṭopadhyāya, Ex-Director, Research Insṭitute, Vārāṇaseya Saṃskrit Viśvavidyālaya, Varanasi, for their valuable criticism and warm appreciation of this work even before its publication. I am also thankful to Dr. Ram Chandra Pandeya, Head of the Deptt. of Buddhist Studies, University of Delhi, for his appreciation and encouragement of my work.

It is with pleasure that I express my sense of gratitude to Professor A.C. Chatterji, D. Sc., Ex-Vice-Chancellor, University of Gorakhpur, for providing me with facilities for research and study-tours; to the authorities of the University Grants Commission, Government of India, for awarding me a post-graduate Research Fellowship in Humanities in 1960-61; and to Professor Madan Mohan, Vice-Chancellor, University of Gorakhpur, for his keen interest in the progress of my academic endeavours and for kindly sanctioning a substantial amount of money to partly finance the publication of this Doctoral dissertation out of the U.G.C. Research Publication Fund at the disposal of the University of Gorakhpur.

The task involved in writing this book was accomplished largely in the libraries of various Universities, Institutions, and Museums of Northern India. I thank the authorities and the staff of all those educational centres which provided me with library facilities during my study tours in 1960-1965. My thanks are due also to Rev. M. Sangharatana, Nayaka Thera, Secretary, Maha Bodhi Society of India, Sarnath, for giving me permission to reproduce here my English Translation of the Sikṣāsamuccaya-Kārikās, published by him in 1965.

In the course of my study-tours and participation in different-learned gatherings and Buddhist seminars in India, I got the opportunity of meeting and discussing some Buddhist topics of my interest with Professors N. Dutt, A. C. Banerjee, T.R.V. Murti, Rev. Dharmarakṣita, P.L. Vaidya, P.V. Bapat, V.V. Gokhale, P. Pradhan, Jagannath Upadhyaya, and N. Aiyaswami Sastri. I am glad to say that I had always received the benefit of their affection and learning. I am grateful to all these scholars.

My deepest debt of gratitude goes to Prof. Govind Chandra Pande, M.A.,D.Phil., formerly Professor and Head of the Deptt. of Ancient History, Archaeology and Culture and Dean, Faculty of Arts, University of Gorakhpur, now Tagore Professor

of Indian Culture and Head of the History and Indian Culture Department, University of Rajasthan, Jaipur. At my request he kindly agreed to open a special paper on the 'History and Philosophy of Buddhism' in M.A. in the Ancient History Department at Gorakhpur in 1959, and I had the good fortune of studying Buddhism under him for about four years in that University. He suggested the scheme of the present research work and supervised its progress till the end sparing no pains in helping me in a hundred ways. He has further honoured me by writing a Foreword to this book which embodies his profound scholarship and depth of vision. It is as a token of an Antevāsi's loving admiration, deep esteem, and profound gratitude to his Ācārya, that this humble volume of *Studies in the Buddhistic Culture of India* is dedicated to Professor Pande.

In the end, I wish to thank Sri Sundar Lal Jain (of the firm M/S Motilal Banarsi Dass, Delhi), the leading Indological and Oriental publisher in India, for his enthusiasm to undertake the publication of this book as early as in 1965. Sri Maheshchandra Joshi, M.A. and Sri Markandeya Shukla, M.A. also deserve my thanks for assisting me in compiling the indexes to this book. Sri Narendra Prakash Jain, a young and promising member of the firm, and Sri M. R. Suri, Press Manager, Sri Jainendra Press, Delhi, deserve my cordial thanks for their keen interest in printing this book in right earnest. The author craves the indulgence of the readers for some printing errors that have crept into the book due to oversight and hurry. The readers are advised to consult the '*additions and corrections*' appended at the end of this book.

L.M. Joshi

Buddha Jayanti, 1967,
University of Gorakhpur,

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Bibliography
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ABBREVIATIONS

N.B. :—Details of publications referred here and others may be seen in Bibliography at the end of this work.

AK	—	Abbhidharmakośa.
APP	—	Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitāsūtra.
AN	—	Aṅguttara Nikāya.
ALB	—	Adyar Library Bulletin
ABORI	—	Annals of Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.
ASIR	—	Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Reports.
BCA	—	Bodhicaryāvatāra.
BCAP	—	Bodhicaryāvatāra-Pañjikā.
BB	—	Bibliotheca Buddhica.
BI	—	Bibiotheca Indica.
BORI	—	Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.
Br. SŚ	—	Brahmasūtra-Śaṃkara-Bhāṣya.
BṛUp	—	Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad.
BST	—	Buddhist Sanskrit Texts Series.
BL	—	Buddhist Logic by Stcherbatsky.
Bu-sTon	—	Bu-sTon's Chos hbyuṅ, English Translation by E. Obermiller, 2 vols.
Blue Annals		Deb-ther sNon-po or Blue Annals of Zoṅ-nu-dpal, English Translation by G.N. Roerich, 2 vols.
CŚ	—	Catuhśataka.
CŚV	—	Catuḥśataka-Vṛtti.
CVP	—	Cittaviśuddhiprakaraṇa.
Comy.	—	Commentary.
Cordier-cata		Catalogue du Fonds Tibetain de la Bibliotheque Nationale Paris, par P. Cordier.
Ch. Up	—	Chāndogya Upaniṣad.
DPPN	—	Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names, 2 vols. by G.P. Malalasekera.
Ep. Ind.		Epigraphia Indica.
ERE	—	Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, 13 vols. edited by James Hastings and others.

Fa-hsien	—	Travels of Fa-hsien, English Translation by H. A. Giles.
GOS	—	Gaekwad's Oriental Series.
GST	—	Guhyasamāja-Tantra.
HOS	—	Harvard Oriental Series.
HCIP	—	History and Culture of the Indian People ed. by R.C. Majumdar and A.D. Pusalkar, Vols. II, III and IV.
IHQ	—	Indian Historical Quarterly.
I-Tsing	—	A Record of the Buddhist Religion As Practised in India and the Malay Archipelago by I-Tsing, English Translation by J. Takakusu.
Ind. Ant.	—	Indian Antiquary.
JAOS	—	Journal of the American Oriental Society.
JASB	—	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
JRAS	—	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.
JBBRAS	—	Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
JOR(M)	—	Journal of Oriental Research, Madras.
JUPHS	—	Journal of the U.P. Historical Society.
Kern-Manual		A Manual of Indian Buddhism by H. Kern.
Keith-RPVUP		Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads, 2 vols. by A.B. Keith.
KN	—	Khuddaka Nikāya.
Life	—	Life of Hiuan Tsiang by the Shaman Hwui li. English Translation by Samuel Beal.
MMK	—	Ārya-Mañjuśrī-Mūlakalpa Mahāyāna Vaipulya sūtra.
MN	—	Majjhima Nikāya.
Ms.	—	Manuscripts.
MŚ	—	Madhyamakaśāstra.
MBT	—	Minor Buddhist Texts, 2 Pts. ed. by G. Tucci.
MSS	—	Mahāyāna Sūtra Saṃgraha, vol. I ed. P.L. Vaidya.

MASI	—	Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India.
NS	—	New Series.
NNMVRP	—	Nava-Nālandā-Mahāvihāra Research Publication, vols. I-II, ed. by Satkari Mookerji.
Nanjio-Cata		A Catalogue of the Chinese Translation of the Buddhist Tripitaka, by B. Nanjio.
N. Dutt-Aspects		Aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism and its relation to Hīnayāna, by Nalināksa Dutt.
Smith-EHI	—	Early History of India (3rd and 4th ed.) by V.A. Smith.
Sogen-Systems	—	Systems of Buddhistic Thought by Yamakami Sogen.
Śvet. Up	—	Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad.
SN	—	Saṃyutta Nikāya.
SBE	—	Sacred Books of the East Series ed. by F. Max Muller.
SOR	---	Serie Oriental Roma.
ŚV	—	Ślokavārttika.
Si Yu Ki	—	Si yu ki or Buddhist Records of the Western World, English Translation (from the Chinese of Hiuen Tsiang) by Samuel Beal.
SDS	—	Sarva-Darśana-Saṃgraha.
ŚS	—	Śiksāsamuccaya.
Tucci-Maṇḍala	—	Theory and Practice of the Maṇḍala by Giuseppe Tucci.
Tārānātha (Schiefner)		Tārānātha's Geschichte des Buddhismus in Indien, German Translation by Von A. Schiefner.
TS	—	Tattva-Saṃgraha.
TSP	—	Tattva-Saṃgraha-Pañjikā.
TSS	—	Trivendrum Sanskrit Series.
Tohoku-Cata	—	A complete catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons, ed. by H. Ui, M. Suzuki, Y. Kanakura, T. Tada, published by the Tohoku Imperial University.

Vidyābhūṣaṇa-HIL:— A History of Indian Logic by Satisacandra Vidyābhūṣaṇa.

Winternitz-HIL:— A History of Indian Literature (Authorised English Translation), Vols. I, II, by Maurice Winternitz.

Yuan Chwang:— On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India, 2 Vols. by Thomas Watters.

Chapter I

THE BACKGROUND OF EARLIER DEVELOPMENT

(i) FROM BUDDHA TO NĀGĀRJUNA

The Creed of Buddha and the Meaning of Buddhistic Culture

The new current which Buddha started[1] within Indian culture has ultimately come to be an essential part of world culture as whole. The basic moral and spiritual ideas which the Buddha preached carried forward a certain ancient religious and cultural tradition and became in turn the source of a manifold development which expressed itself not only by setting up a high and refined moral ideal promoting charitable activities among the laity, and ascetic renunciation and mystical contemplation especially among the monks and nuns, but also by the creation of truly remarkable educational, literary, artistic and intellectual activities.[2]

This rich stream of cultural life inspired by the Buddha progressed during the centuries following his Parinirvāṇa, gradually acquiring a varied and individual aspect but ever remaining a tributary of that larger stream of Indian culture into which it ultimately merged.[3] Buddha's teachings differed according to the intellectual level of his hearers, and the Pāli canon contains seeds of many later developments.[4]

Spread and Transformation of Buddhism

After the death of Buddha there arose great controversies among his followers with regard to the interpretation of the utterances of the Teacher and also about the rules of discipline. The germs of these controversies are discernible in the most ancient canon. To settle these disputes great Synods (Saṃgītis) were held from time to time. There were men like Purāṇa who held it better to abide by what they had heard from the Teacher's mouth rather than to accept the conclusions arrived at in the First Council.[5] With the gradual spread of Buddhism in Northern India, geographical and local influences also seem to have contributed towards the growth of controversies in things doctrinal and disciplinary.[6]

In the Second Council[7] held at Vaiśālī about a century after Buddha's death, the controversy is known to have resulted in a schism within the Saṃgha. The dissenters convoked another great assembly (Mahāsaṃgha) and worked out a separate doctrinal section with its 'unorthodox' canon. This new or rather 'democratic' party of the monastics came to be known as the Mahāsāṃghika, the upholders of orthodox views were known as the Theravādins. Not long afterwards, these two sections of the Buddhist Saṃgha gave rise to further sub-sects,[8] so that already in the time of Aśoka there-were eighteen schools. Simhalese histories affirm that Aśoka convened the Third Council at Pāṭaliputra in order to reorganise the Saṃgha and put an end to heretical growth.[9] The Kathāvatthu, a canonical treatise supposed to have been compiled during this time by Tissa, discusses and criticises the tenets of these various sects.[10] Buddhism seems to have undergone significant changes during the reign of Aśoka; it emerged as a distinct religion with great potentialities for growth and expansion; while the imperial patronage had a permanent influence on the Saṃgha, the latter began to grow as an institution of faith and culture. The laity also came to play an important part in the life of the doctrine and its development.[11]

The Mahāvastu, a canonical text of the Lokottaravādins of the Madhyadeśa, displays a particular and significant phase of transformation of Buddhism. It reflects the nucleus of Mahāyānism. Daring docetic speculations concerning Buddha were effected by the Mahāsāṃghikas and their offshoots.[12]

The Kuṣāṇa monarch Kaniṣka I is said to have convened the fourth and last Council in about the second half of the first century A. D. The accounts of Kaniṣka's Council exhibit not only the prominence of the Theravāda, Sarvāstivāda and the Buddha-bhakti, but also allude to the appearance of the Mahāyana as contrasted with the Hīnayāna.[13]

The two Vehicles of Buddhism

The catholic inspiration of Buddha's Teaching led in course of centuries to two distinct lines of thought and pratice. The two well known historical divisions into which Budidhism developed are the Hinayāna ('Little Vehicle') and the Mahāyāna ('Great Vehicle').

Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna

The term 'Hīnayāna' is usually employed for the ancient Buddhism while the term 'Mahāyāna' for the developed Buddhism. In older days the two vehicles (Yānas)[15] were co-extensive and did not appear so mutually opposed or hostile to each other as might seem to a casual observer of Buddhist practices in modern times.[16] Although the terms Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna bear a sense of 'inferiority' and 'superiority' respectively, but of their mutual relationship, historical as well as doctrinal, there can be no doubt. A 7th century Buddhist authority found that both the vehicles were in accordance with the sayings of Buddha and both led to Nirvāṇa.[17] The Mahāyāna grows out of the Hīnayāna; though it traces its final authority to Buddha himself.[18] It accepts the Vinaya of the Hīnayānists,[19] and the seeds of the Mahāyāna are discernible in the Pāli Tipiṭaka.[20] According to Nāgārjuna, Hīnayāna represents the 'manifest' (Vyakta) teaching while the -Mahāyāna represents the 'Esoteric' (Guhya) teaching of Buddha.[21] Maitreyanātha and Asaṅga too believed both the vehicles to be contemporaneous.[22]

(ii) EMERGENCE OF MAHĀYĀNA

Much has been written on the origins of the Mahāyāna Buddhism[23] and its literature.[24] The rise of the Mahāyānism was a historical necessity in the evolution of Indian Buddhism. It was the Mahāyāna that became the main spirit and source of cultural activity of the Buddhists of India during the seventh and the 8th centuries A. D. The beginnings of this significant movement may be traced to the Mahāsāṃghikas. The Buddhological speculations of the Lokottaravādins of the Madhyadeśa are preserved in the Mahāvastu.[25] The fundamental doctrinal ideas of Mahāyāna are expounded in the Prajñāpāramitā group of literature.[26] The earliest work of this class of Mahāyāna literature, viz. the Aṣṭasāhasrikā-Prajñā-Pāramitā, has been placed in the first century B. C.[27] According to this text the Prajñāpāramitā doctrines (i. e., the Mahāyāna) appeared in the south, spreading eastward they flourished in the northern region.[28] This statement seems to be historically correct and is supported by other sources as well. The Tibetan tradition[29] avers that the Śaila Schools were the sub-sects of the Mahāsāṃghikas who, according to Yuan Chwang, had an

independent collection called Dhāraṇī-Piṭaka.[30] The appearance of the Mahāyāna is associated with the name of the celebrated Buddhist philosopher and dialectician Nāgārjuna.[31] He was a South Indian, probably a Brāhmin of 'Āndhradeśa', and flourished in the period cir. 80 B. C.—120 A. D.[32] All authorities agree that Śrīparvata and Dhānyakaṭaka were the centres of Nāgārjuna's religious activities. Literary traditions also indicate that the origin of the Mahāyāna should be considered to have taken place in the south.[33] A number of Mahāyāna Sūtras, like the Aṣṭasāhasrikā, the Sukhāvatīvyūha and the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Sūtra, which contain the basic ideas of the Mahāyānism, seem to have been produced early in the first century B. C.[34] The Mahāyāna Buddhism was systematised by Nāgārjuna and his successors.

Significance of Mahāyāna

The rise of Mahāyāna in about the first century B. C. effected a significant revolution in Buddhism, both in thought and in practice. It was indeed 'Great' (Mahā) for various reasons; for its universal sympathy, it invited all to aspire for the highest goal of Buddhahood; its outlook was broad and its aim was infinitely great like the infinite sky; its all embracing doctrine of universal emptiness and also of universal compassion; its capacity to accommodate various shades of religious beliefs and popular practices ; and its uncompromising intellectualism, and so on. All these factors contributed towards its growth and popularity.

(iii) MAHĀYĀNA AND ITS CULTURAL INSPIRATION

General Features of Mahäyāna

The Mahāyāna is also called Bodhisattvayāna,[35] the vehicle of the future Buddhas. The ideal of a Bodhisattva is the hall-mark of Mahāyana.[36] The Mahāyānists claim superiority over their Hīnyānist ocunterparts. One text[37] declares that without embarking on the Great Vehicle, the ocean of misery cannot be crossed; another text[38] of the Mahāyānists states that the Śrāvakas and the Pratyeka—Buddhas[39] (i. e. the Hīnayānists)[40] are of lesser intelligence than the Bodhisattvas. Buddha taught Hīnayāna as an expedient means (Upāya Kauśalya); his real intention was the Mahāyāna; Buddha does not lead

Its claims

through the Hīnayāna; in fact, there is only one vehicle which is the Great Vehicle.[41] According to Maitreyanātha and Asaṅga, the Hīnayāna is a narrow doctrine, narrow in its aim and narrow in its methods and equipment.[42] Vasubandhu regarded Hīnayāna as milk and Mahāyāna as the cream of Milk.[43] Śāntideva held that Hīnayāna belongs to the realm of relative truth and its followers are on a path that has no issue.[44] Kamalaśīla also holds that the Śrāvakayāna cannot lead to the proper elimination of the two fold obstructions (of Kleśa and Jñeya).[45]

Its Main Features

The Mahāyāna is characterised by the following features; the doctrine of universal emptiness as a new ontological theory;[46] the doctrine of the plurality of the Buddhas and of their divinity;[47] the ideal of Bodhisattva and of 'Perfect Virtues' (Pāramitās); the worship of Buddhas, Bodhisattvas and other gods and goddesses; a special doctrine of salvation by faith;[47a] use of spells (dhāraṇīs) and mantras for attaining emancipation;[48] and adoption of Sanskrit and 'mixed-Sanskrit,[49] for literary purposes. Systematic defence of Buddhist tenets by means of a critique of the non-Buddhist, specially the Brāhmanical systems of thought, is also a notable feature of the Mahāyāna treatises.[50] As the Mahāyāna made little difference between a layman (upāsaka) and a monk (bhikṣu) (for, both could develop Bodhicitta and aspire for the highest goal by practising the perfections),laity came to play an important part in the growth of the Buddhistic culture; on the other hand, the ideal of a paiṇḍapātika or of a rukkhamūlika began to disappear.[51] Instead, the growth of magnificent Saṃghārāmas and Vihāras, with vast population of monks and nuns and laymen and laywomen, as servants to serve the monastics and take care of their establishments, seems to have coincided with the growth of the Mahāyāna.

Its sūtras

Mahāyānism became an infinite source of literary and scholastice activities among Buddhists. The earliest literature of Mahāyāna[52] is known as the Mahāyāna Sūtras; a Sūtra (Tibetan 'm Do') is traditionally regarded as proclaimed by Buddha; it begins with the remark; Evaṃ mayā śrutaṃ, 'Thus have I heard.' The Buddhist Dictionary Mahāvyutpatti[53] mentions one hundred

and five Mahāyāna texts, while the Śikṣāsamuccaya[54] quotes from about one hundred and ten Mahāyāna Sūtras. A large number of Mahāyāna texts are still preserved in Nepal,[55] Tibet,[56] and China.[57]

The Prajñāpāramitās

The most famous and the most representative and at the same time, the most ancient literature of the Mahāyāna is Prajñāpāramitā literature.[58] Prajñāpāramitā means both the 'perfection of wisdom' and a treatise treating of it. The biggest text of this class is said to be in one lakh ślokas, while the smallest is of one sloka only; there are numerous Prajñā texts but the contents of all of them, could be summed up in one word, to wit, Śūnyatā.[59]

The Navadharmas and other texts

Equally important are the Navadharmas[60] or nine sacred texts famous in Nepal. They are Lalita-Vistara, Samādhirājasūtra, Laṅkāvatāra, Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā, Gaṇḍavyūha, Saddharma puṇḍarīka, Daśabhūmika, Suvarṇaprabhāsa, and Tathāgataguhyaka. Hardly less famous are Sukhāvatīvyūhas, the Amitāyus Sūtra,the Kāraṇḍa-Vyūha and the Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa. An important place in early Mahāyāna literature is occupied by the Avadānas and the works of Aśvaghoṣa and Mātṛceta.[61]

Mahāyāna and Rapprochement with Hinduism

The growth of Mahāyāna seems to have resulted in a visible approach to Hinduism. In fact it will not be far from truth to suggest that with the development of the Mahāyāna, Buddha's institution tended to return to the traditional and historic culture of India. The adoption of Sanskrit for literary and scholastic purposes removed the difference in the media of Hindu and Buddhist sacred lore. The Sūtras of the Mahāyāna frequently employ the style and the method of the Purāṇas.[62] The description of Buddhist heavens and hells; powers and attributes of the gods and bodhisattvas; evolution of the Buddhist pantheon and the hierarchy of celestical beings, all these features of Mahāyāna resemble to a considerable extent those of 'Hinduism.'[63] The system of Ādi-Buddha,[64] the cult of Avalokiteśvara[65] the theology of Mañjuśri[66] and the worship of Tārā[67]a obviously remind the reader of the Hindū deities like Viṣṇu, Śiva, Brahmā and Śakti.

Mahāyānic stress on devotion (bhakti) savours like the Bhāgavata faith; Avalokita is extolled in the Kāraṇḍavyūha just as Kṛṣṇa in the Gītā.[67]b Mahāyāna has actually been described as a theistic religion by some modern writers.[68]

With the growth of Buddhist pantheon and worship, the creation of plastic Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, there came the necessity of mantras, stotras and ceremonial ritualism. Thus under the impact of 'Hinduism' the Buddhists transformed their creed to such an extent that the distinction between Buddhism and Brāhmanical sects became tenuous. Gradually Buddhism was Hinduised.

(iv) DEVELOPMENT OF BUDDHISM UNDER THE GUPTAS

The prosperous rule of the Imperial[69] Guptas has been regarded as the golden age of Indian civilization; this period saw an all round progress of Indian culture including Buddhism. Although most of the Gupta kings were Vaiṣṇavas by faith, they were tolerant and benevolent towards other faiths and patronised the learned and the men of letters.

Development of Thought

Buddhist thought grew during this period both in Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna quarters. Sarvāstivāda[70] philosophy was perfected by Vasubandhu, the author of Abhidharmakośa. Tradition has it that he was patronised by a KingVikramāditya.[71]

Contemporary with this Vasubandhu were Manoratha, his teacher, and Saṃghabhadra, his opponent; the last named scholar wrote the Nyāyānusāra Śāstra.[72] Harivarman, the author of the Satyasiddhi śāstra andt he founder of the Satyasiddhi School, flourished in the 3rd. century A. D.[73]

Mādhyamika

The Mādhyamika school[74] founded by Nāgārjuna was further developed by his pupil Āryadeva.[75] Towards the middle of the 6th century A. D. the school was split into Svāntantrika and Prāsaṅgika sections, the former was headed by Bhāvaviveka and the latter by Buddhapālita.[76] Of Buddhapālita we know almost nothing except that he wrote a commentary[77] on the Mādhyamika-Śāstra, and considered the essence of the Mādhyamika system to consist in prasaṅga-vākya, i. e. reductio ad absurdum method.

Bhāvaviveka founded the Svāntantrika branch of the

Mādhyamika school. Externally he appeared in the Sāṃkhya garb, but internally he was deeply versed in Nāgārjuna's thought. Besides a commentary called Parajñāpradīpa, on the Mādhyamikaśāstra, he wrote Mādhyamikahṛdayakārikā with autocomy. called Tarkajvālā,[80] Mahāyāna-Karatalaratna[81], and the Madhyamārtha-Saṃgraha.[82]

Vijnāna vāda

It was the Yogācāra-Vijñānavāda school of Mahāyāna philosophy that reached its climax during the Gupta age. The school had been founded by Maitreyanātha probably in the 3rd century A. D. The classical phase in the history of the school was the age of Asaṅga and his brother Vasubandhu. Asaṅga[84] was the pupil of Maitreyanātha and wrote commentaries on the works of his master. Among his works are Mahāyāna-Saṃparigraha, Prakarṇa-Āryavācā, Mahāyāna-Abhidharma-Saṃgiti-Śāstra and a commentary on the Vajracchedikā. In Tibetan and Chinese traditions, works written by Maitreyanātha (mystified as celestial Maitreya) are attributed to Asaṅga.[85]

Vasubandhu[86] is famed in legend as 'the Master of a thousand manuals.' Besides the commentaries on Mahāyānasūtras, Vasubandhu wrote Viṃśatikā and Triṃśikā--two classical works on Vijñaptimātratā—the theory that Ideation alone is real. Bsides being the greatest Buddhist Idealist,[87] Vasubandhu was a logician also, and wrote three logical works; Vādavidhi, Vāda—vidhāna and Vādahṛdaya. His last work is said to be a devotional one, the Aparimitāyus-Sūtropadeśa.

Logic

Towards the end of the fifth and beginning of the 6th centuy, A.D. lived and worked Diṅnāga, "the father of Indian logic." He inaugurated a new school of 'critical philosophy' and Buddhist dogmatics were reoriented after him. The Pramāṇa-Samuccaya, Ālaṃbanaparīkṣā, Trikālaparīkṣā and Nyāyamukha are his chief works. The tradition of Diṅnāga was continued by Śaṃkarasvāmīn and Īśvarasena; Śaṃkaraswāmīn wrote the Nyāyapraveśa.[88]

Development of Religious Doctrines and practices

The Gupta rulers patronised Brāhmanism and showed a marked tolerance towards Buddhis m. This fact of common patronage of two faiths naturally brought Buddhism nearer to' Hinduism. About the middle of the 6th century A.D. Buddha seems to have been

accepted as an Avatāra of Viṣṇu in the Purāṇas. However, the Buddhists of the fourth century A.D. seem to have developed a theory of the Ādi-Buddha. Maitreyanātha testifies to this development when he says 'there is no Ādī-Buddha.'[90] Among the Mahāyānists, Mañjuśrī, Avalokiteśvara and the goddess Prajñāpāramitā had assumed paramount position.[91] The cult of Amitābha Buddha and of his Sukhāvatī seems to have attracted even such eminent philosophers as Vasubandhu.[92] Among the Hīnayānists, Abhidharama and Vinaya books were revered just as the Prajñā texts were revered by the Mahāyānists, and Ānanda had assumed a sacred position among the Buddhist nuns.[93] Worship of images of Buddha and Bodhisattvas with elaborate ceremonial ritualism had become universal practice. Likewise, the practice of reciting dhāraṇīs for sacred as well as secular purposes, was perhaps one of the most notable features of the Buddhists during this period.[94] The popularity of the doctrine of Karma[95] and of the cult of pāramitās is evidenced by the prevalence of Jātaka tales and art illustrations of the period.[96]

Development of Literature

Buddhist literature, both in Pāli and Sanskrit was further enriched by the Buddhist monks of the Gupta age. The most famous Pāli scholar and commentator of Pāli scriptures, to wit, Buddhaghoṣa 'the great', flourished during this time.[97] Ārya-Śūra the author of the Jātakamālā[98], "the fore runner of the poets of classical, chaste and ornate Sanskrit,"[99] lived in the Gupta age. It was during the fourth, fifth and the sixth centuries that Asaṅga, Vasubandhu, Diṅnāga and Bhāvaviveka enriched theBuddhist philosophical literature in Sanskrit.[100] A large number of texts, Sūtras, Śāstras, Dhāranīs and commentaries were translated into Chinese during the Gupta period. The missionary and literary activities of Fa-hien, Buddhabhadra, Dharmakṣema, Kumārajīva and Paramārtha, greatly contributed towards the growth and diffusion of Buddhist literature.[101] A number of works which display the growth of magical practices, popularity of folk beliefs and development of the germs of Tāntrika religion, were probably composed during this age. Of special interest are the Mahāmāyūrī, the Rāṣṭrapālasūtra, the Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa and the Suvarnaprabhāsasūtra, works which indicate the beginnings of the decline of Buddhism

and the rise of the Mantrayāna, and which are ascribable to this period.[102]

Development of Art and Monasteries

Buddhist art reached its classic perfection during the Gupta age. The best examples of Buddhist painting belong to this period; Buddhist rock-cut sanctuaries and Saṃghārāmas, and the plastic deities that the Buddhist artists of the Gupta period worked out, are according to experts among the best specimens of the world art.[103]

Except for the short lived destructive persecution by the Hūṇas,[104] Buddhism in both the Hīnayāna and the Mahāyāna forms continued to flourish during the rule of the Gupta kings. Stūpas, Caityas and Vihāras continued to be built and maintained except at old sites, like Kapilavastu, Śrāvasti and Gayā, which to Fa-hien appeared in desolate and ruinous state. The monasteries at Mathurā and Pāṭaliputra were active centres of monastics; the great monastery of Nālandā, which in course of time became the greatest centre of Buddhist learning in Asia, was founded by Kumāra-Gupta Mahendrāditya.[105] The wonderful rock-cut Caitya-halls with their remarkable sculpture and frescoes at Ajaṇṭā are largely the creation of the Gupta period. Art centres of the period like Sārnātha, Mathurā and Nālandā have yielded a large number of images of Buddhas, Bodhisattvas and other Buddhist divinities.[106]

(v) TWO TENDENCIES IN THE SIXTH CENTURY A.D.

(a) Emerence of Buddhist Logic and Controversy

The foregoing sketch of the background of earlier development reveals that, in about the sixth century A. D. Buddhism in India was marked by two principal tendencies. These were (a) the emergence of the Buddhist version of the scienc of logic and beginning of intense controversy between the Buddhist and the Brahmanical schools, and (b) the definite emergence of the 'Esoteric' Buddhism or 'Vajrayāna.'

Although the works of Nāgārjuna, Maitreyanātha, Asaṅga and Vasubandhu had furnished considerable background for the development of logic in Buddhist quarters,[107] it was Diṅnāga who put it on firm foundations and started a scientific study of the Pramāṇas or 'means of proof'. He is therefore, truly regarded as 'the Father of Indian Logic', more correctly of Bud-

dhist Logic.[108] Dinnāga may be considered also as the founder of a 'critical school of philosophy' in Buddhism[109] and one who inaugurated an age of philosophical controversies and intellectual tournaments. His system shows an admixture of Sautrāntika and Vijñānavāda tenets, and he is known to have criticised Naiyāyika logical theories[110]. With him, therefore, begins a new epoch in the history of Buddhist thought and in that of Indian philosophy also. Thenceforward, the Buddhist thinkers began to take an active part in philosophical debates and a keen interest in logical theories[111]. The system of Dinnāga had one more important result, namly, doctrinal controversies between the Buddhistic schools. It was in about the same time that the Mādhyamika school[112] was divided into two factions, one headed by Bhāvaviveka which emphasised logical reasoning and independent arguments; the other headed by Buddhapālita, which was purely dialectical and applied the method of reductio ad absurdum.[113] Moreover, Dinnāga himself is said to have criticised Vasubandhu's views, and Dinnāga's pupil Iśvarasena is criticised by Dharmakīrti.[114] Nor were the followers of the Vijñānavāda, who came after Vasubandhu and lived before Yuan Chwang's visit to India, in agreement among themselves.[115] Far more important was the controversy with the Brāhmanical thinkers. Uddyotakara is said have composed his monumental polemical treatise, the Nyāyavārtika, in defence of Vātsyāyana and against the theories of Dinnāga.[116] This controversy became more vigorous and more intense during the centuries that followed.

(b) Emergence of Vajrayāna

The second important tendency equally manifest but of far reaching consequences, for it completely transformed Buddhism into a new creed, was the emergence of Tāntrika Buddhism. In the growth of dhāraṇīs and mantras, the popularity of spells and charms, the cult of Avalokita and Tārā, the worship of many male and female divinities with Ādi-Buddha at the head of the pantheon, and the Buddhist approaches to popular aspects of Hinduism, one can see the gradual but continuous development of the Vajrayāna, which during the next two centuries became the dominant form of Buddhism in India.

The earliest Tantrika, Buddhist literature would seem to have been a part of the Mahāyāna Sūtras. The Saddharma-

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puṇḍarīka has a whole chapter on the Dhāraṇis.[117] The popularity of magical charms in the fifth and sixth centuries A. D. is borne out by the Mahāymāyūri[113] and the Si-yu-ki[119] of Yuan Chwang.[120] The Kāraṇḍavyūha expounds the deified cult of Avalokita, and Maheśvara and Umā are among his devotees.[121] This appears very like the Śaiva cult.[122] The Suvarṇaprabhāsasūtra, "for a great part, already bears the stamp of a Tantra.[123]" The Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa, while claiming to be a Mahāyāna-Vaipulya-Sūtra, contains clear elements of Vajrayāna.[124]

Notes and References

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3. See Chap. XII.

4. vide Cullavagga, XII, pp. 416 f; AN, II, pp. 40-41, MN, II, pp. 181-182; SN, II, pp. 340-341; DN, I. pp. 156 ff; my article on the growth of Mahāyāna Buddhism (in Hindi) in Suratinarainmani Tripathi Abhinandana Grantha, varanasi, 1965.

5. Cullavagga, XI. 7.9, pp. 411-412; Some other sources of the First council are: Mahāvaṃsa, III; Dīpavaṃsa, IV; W. W. Rockhill, Life of the Buddha, pp. 148 f., Thomas Watters, On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India, II, pp. 169 f., S. Beal, Si-yu-ki, pp. 379 f. It may be noted that the Nālandā Devanāgarī Pāli Series ed. by J. Kashyap (Pali Tipitaka, Vols. 1-41, Nava-Nālandā Mahā-Vihāra, Nālandā, 1956-1961) has been utilised in this book except where otherwise stated.

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9. Dīpavaṃsa VI; Mahāvaṃsa, V; Beal Si-Yu-Ki, p. 331; D. R. Bhandarkar, Aśoka, 3rd ed., pp. 89-90.

10. cf. Kathāvatthu and Mrs. Rhys Davids, 'Points of Controversy'; Rāhula Sāṃkrityāyana, Purātattva Nibandhāvalī, 2nd ed. pp. 98 f.

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12. Vide Mahavastu, ed. Senart, Paris 1882-1897; Eng. tr. J. J. Jones, London, 1945-1952; E. R. E. Artt. 'Mahāyana, 'Decetism'.

13. Yuan Chwang, I, 270-278; N. Dutta, Aspects, Chap. I; H. Kern, A Manual of Indian Buddhism, pp. 12 f., G. C. Pande, Bauddha Dharma, Chapt. VI.

14. See Tripāṭhi Abhinandana Grantha, 'Mahāyāna Bauddha Dharma Kī Utpatti'; H. Kimura, A Historical Study of the Terms Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna, etc. in Journal of the Dept. of Letters, Calcutta University, Vol. XII, 1925.

15. On the word 'Yāna' see G. C. Pande, Bauddha Dharma, pp. 301-302.

16. See J. Takakhsu, A Record of Buddhist Religion, etc. by I-Tsing, pp. 14-15.

17. Ibid, pp. 15, 51.

18. See the traditions of a second Dharma cakrapravartana at Gṛdhrakūṭa mount in Beal, Si-yu-ki, pp. 371-372 Sekoddeśaṭikā, GOS, X C. p. 4; Obermiller, (Bu-ston), II, pp. 46-52. Saddharmapundarika, III. 33-34.

19. I-Tsing, pp. 15. 51; Yuan Chwang, II, 196, 241, 148.

20. See my article in note 4; ERE, Vol. VIII, p. 33; N. Dutt, Aspects, pp. 38 f.

21. Kimura, op. cit., p. 56.

22. Mahāyānasūtrālaṇkāra, ed. S. Lèvi, I. 7.

23-24. e.g. D. T. Suzaki, Outlines of Mahayana Buddhism; B. L. Suzaki, Mahāyana Buddhism; W. M. McGovern, An Introduction to Mahāyāna Buddhism, Har Dayal, Bodhisattva Doctrine in Sanskrit Buddhist Literature; R. L. Mitra, Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal; M. Winternitz A History of Indian Literature, Vol. II (Pt. I); N. Dutt, Aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism and its Relation to Hinayāna; H. Kimura, A Historical Study of the Terms Hinayāna and Mahāyāna and the Origins of Mahāyāna Buddhism; Edward Conze, The Prajñāpāramitā Literature; La Vallee-POUSSIN's articles on 'Mahāyāna, 'Philosophy (Buddhist)' in E. R. E; Rāhula Sāṃkṛtyāyana, 'Mayāhāna Bauddha Dharma Kī Utpatti' in Purātattva-Nibandhāvalī, Chp. 8; Hajime Nakamura, 'Historical studies of coming into existence of Mahāyāna sūtras in Bulletin of the Okurayama Oriental Research Institute, No. 2, 1957; G. C. Pande, Bauddha Dharma, Chap. 8; A Hirakawa, 'The Rise of Mahāyāna Buddhism' in Memoirs of the Toyo Bunko, No. 22 (Tokyo 1963) pp. 57-106.

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29. N. Dutt, Aspects, p. 39; Poussin in ERE, VIII, p. 334.

30. Yuan Chwang, II, 160; Si-yu-ki, p. 381, This is also called Vidyādharapiṭaka which is quoted in the Śikṣāsamuccaya, see chaper X.

31. See my article in Maha Bodhi, Vol. 73 Nos. 1-2., 1965.

32. Si-yu-ki, pp. 415 f.; I-tsing, pp. 35, 165, Blue Annals, I, pp. 34-35, and many other sources (in No. 31).

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34. See Winternitz, H I L., II, pp. 295 f.

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38. APP, Eng. translation, pp. 88, 108, 145.
39. See G. P Malalasekera, DPPN, Vol. II, pp. 94-95, 294-295.
40. ERE, VIII, p. 331.
41. Saddharamapuṇḍarīkasūtra, ed. BST No. 6, pp. 21 f.
42. Mahāyāna sūtrālaṅkāra, I.10.
43. R. Kimura, op. cit. p. 61.
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48. N. Dutt, Aspects, p. 34, also in H C I P., Vol. II, p. 387; G. C. Pande, Bauddha Dharma, p. 309.
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52. Winternitz, op. cit. II, pp. 294 f.
53. Mahāvyutapatti (Ed. B. B. XIII) 65.
54. See below Chapter VII.
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106. See R. D. Banerjee The Age of Imperial Guptas, Banares, 1933, Ch. V; S. Kramrisch, Indian Sculpture, Calcutta, 1933, V. S. Agrawala, Catalogue of the Mathūra Museum, JUPHS, Lucknow, (1948), H. Śāstrī in MASI, No. 66; B. Majumdar, A Guide to Sārnath 1937; Bhikṣu Dharma-rakṣita, Sārnāth Kā Itihāsa, Varanasi, 1961.

107. G. Tucci, Buddhist Logic Before Dinnāga in JRAS, London, 1929; Doctrines of Maitreyanātha and Asaṅga, 1930; Pre-Dinnāga Buddhist Texts on Logic From Chinese Sources, ed. by G. Tucci, GOS No. XLIX (1929). S. Mukherjee in NNMVRP, vo. I, 1957.

108. Stcherbatsky, B. L., I, pp. 31 f.; H. N. Randle, op. cit.,; H. C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa, op. cit.; Jwala Prasad, History of Indian Epistemology, 2nd ed.; Keith, Buddhist Philosophy, Pt. III.

109. See Winternitz, op. cit., p. 363; Stcherbatsky, B. L., I, pp. 11-13; S. Mukherjee, Buddhist Philosophy of Universal Flux, Introduction; Edward Conze, Buddhist Thought in India (Pt. III).

110. Vide Nyāyavārttikatātparya-ṭikā, Kāśī Skt. Series XXIV, 1925, p. 2; Randle, Indian Logic in the Early Schools, p. 33; Stcherbatsky, B.L., I, pp. 59 f.

111. Edward Conze (Buddhist Thought, p. 265) says that logic ways "at variance with the spirit of Buddhism", because "its methods implied a radical departure from the spirit of ahiṃsā". We however, think, as Conze himself notes, that the development of Buddhist logic was a historical necessity in the life of Indian Buddhism, and its methods were quite in keeping with the spirit of upāyakauśalaya and the spirit of Saṃvrti.

112. See Chapter VIII.

113. See TRV Murti, Central Philosophy of Buddhism, p. 99

114. Stcherbatsky B. L., I, pp. 35-35; R. Sāṃkrtyāyana, Purātattva Nibandhāvalī, p. 178.

115. Narendradeva, op. cit., Chap. XVIII, pp. 422 f.

116. See Nyāyavārttika Tātparyaṭikā, pp. 2-3; H. N. Randle, Indian Logic etc., p. 33; S. Radhakrishnan, Indian Philosophy, II, pp. 37-38. Gopīnātha Kavirāja, Gleanings From the History and Bibliography of Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika Literature, in Indian Studies. Past and Present, vols. II-III, Calcutta, 1961.

117. BST No. 6, Chapter XXI. Lankavatara, Chap. IX.

118. JUPHS, Vol. XV, Pt. 2; Winternitz op. cit.;

119. Si-yu-ki, p. 426.

120. Yuan Chwang, II, 215.

121. See Mahāyānasūtra-Saṃgraha, ed. BST No. 17, Sūtra No. 18, and Chapter VII.

122. See ERE, II, p. 256; Winternitz, op. cit., p. 379. N. Dutt in IICIP, Vol. IV, p. 261.

123. Winternitz, op. cit., p. 399.

124. Manjusrimūlakalpa, ed. TSS, pp. 508, 647-648. ed. BST No. 18 (Darbhanga 1964) see chapters 2, 3, 4, 9, 37 etc.

Chapter II

BUDDHISM IN INDIA DURING THE 7TH AND 8TH CENTURIES A. D.

Section I

BUDDHISM IN THE UTTARAPATHA

Lan-Po

Yyan Chwang begins his description of India with Lan-po or Lampa. According to the Life, all countries to the north of it are called 'frontier lands' or 'mleccha lands.'[1] The territory has been identified by Cunnigham with Lamghan or Lughman in the Kabul Valley.[2] There were here above ten monsateries with some Mahāyāna monks. The non-Buddhists were numerous who commanded over a score of Deva-temples.[3]

Na-Ka-Lo-Ho

Nagar or Nagarhāra [Na-Kie(Ka] lo-ho) probably corresponded to the Jalālābād district. It is not unlikely that Nagar may have been identical with the old republic of Nyas referred to by Arrian.[4] The people of Nagarahāra respected Buddhism; there were several Buddhist establishments with few monks. In this kingdom in the city called Hi-lo (Hidda) there were Buddha's relics enshrined in a two-storeyed building.[5] It is noteworthy that near the 'Shadow Cave' near Nagar there was a great monastery with 700 monks in the fifth century A. D., a fact noted by Fa-hien,[6] of which Yuan Chwang speaks nothing. This may point to the decline of this community and its monastery.

Gandhāra

In old days Gandhāra (Kan-to-lo) had produced many Śāstra-Doctors and was a famous centre of the Buddhists. But in the seventh century over a thousand monasteries were in ruinous state and most of the stūpas had decayed.[7] The people of Gandhāra were fond of practical arts, mostly non-Buddhists. There were few followers of Buddhism. Around Puṣkalāvatī (Peshawar) there were about 100 Deva-temples with votaries of various non-Buddhist sects; many of them were Śaiva-Pāśu-

patas. However, in an old monastery built by Kaniṣka, there were still "a few Brethren all Hīnayānists". This, as Mr. Thomas Watters pointed out, may have been apparently the 'Kaṇika-Caitya' mentioned by Alberuni. A few Hīnayāna monks were also in existence at the time of Yuan Chwang in an old monastery where the master Dharmatrāta had once lived. The Pilgrim also met with some Mahāyāna monks near the city of Peshawar who were living in an old monastery.[8]

Wu-Chang Na

This country, according to Yuan Chwang commences North India. Wu-Chang-na or Udyāna (Uḍ-ḍiyāna in Swat valley), according to Cunningham, comprised the modern districts of Pangkora, Bijawar, Swat and Bunir.[9] There were in older days 1400 monasteries on both the sides of the river Swat; they had been tenanted by as many as 18000 Brethren. But in the 7th century A. D. there lived only a few Brethren who followed Mahāyāna Buddhism.[10] They practised silent meditation, recited the texts with ease but without understanding their deep meaning. "They lived strictly according to their rules and were especially expert in magical exorcisms.[11]" Though the Buddhists of Udyāna were Mahāyānists yet Yuan Chwang found that they followed the Vinaya of the Dharmagupta, Mahīśāsaka, Kāśyapīya, Sarvāstivādin and the Mahāsāṃghika sects—all belonging to the so called Hīnayāna. Besides, there were various other sectarians and above ten Deva-temples. In the vicinity of the city called Meng-kie (Ka) li or 'Muṅgali' (Beal) or 'Mangkil' (Watters) which was the principal royal seat of Udyāna, there was a Buddhist temple in which was an image of Avalokiteśvara. People offered regular worship to this image and the site was a place of Buddhist pilgrimage.[12] In Ta-li-lo (Daral) the old capital of Udyāna, the pilgrim reports that he saw a "wooden image" of Bodhisattva Maitreya, " 100 feet high", a work of Arhat Madhyāntika.[13] The latter may be the same person who is mentioned in the Ceylonese Chronicles as an apostle of Buddhism in N. W. Himālayan region.[14] This image is referred to by Fa-hien also who gives its height as 80 feet.[15] It is strange that a wooden image could have survived from the time of Aśoka when Madhyāntika lived, till the 7th century A. D. when Yuan Chwang did homage to it.

In Po-lu-lo or Bolor of latter times, modern Little Tibet,[16]

Bolor

Yuan Chwang found some hundreds of monasteries and some thousands of monks, who, however were, without definite learning. There observances of the rules of the Order were also defective ; they had been careless in moral conduct.[17]

The plucky people of Takṣaśilā, Ta-cha-shi-lo, were

Taksaśilā

followers of Buddhism, there were many Buddhist monasteries, several of them being desolate; the monks, few in number, were Mahāyānists. In the neighbourhood of Takṣaśilā there was an old monastery where once Kumāralabdha had lived, and which was occupied by a few Brethren.[18]

The territory called Seng-ha-pu-lo or Siṃhapura lay to

Simhapura

the south-east of Takṣaśilā. Cunningham identified its capital with modern Ketas situated on the north side of the Salt Range.[19] Siṃhapura, a province of the Kingdom of Kashmir, had many old vestiges of Buddhist establishments; Yuan Chwang found here in flourishing state the followers of 'the white-clothes sect', i. e. the Śvetāṃbara Jainas. They had many characteristics of the Buddhists, such as the gradation of monks into Bhikṣu (Senior) and Śrāmanera (Junior) and the observances of rituals.

Near the Manikyala stone stūpa, an imposing Buddhist structure in this country, there lived a small community of Mahāyāna monks, about one hundred in number.[20] Yuan Chwang also found some Mahāyāna monks living in the monasteries of Uraśa or Urakṣa (Wu-la-cha) located in Dhantawar near Muzfarbad. In the fifth century A. D. a Chinese pilgrim monk, Fa-sheng[21] by name, had seen here a large Buddhist establishment frequented by about 5000 monks. In the seventh century A. D. the conditions of Buddhism seem to have declined.[22]

The territory of Ka-sse-mi-lo or Ko-shih-mi, Kashmir has

Kashmir

been regarded as the cradle of Sanskrit Buddhism.[23] This ancient land had produced a number of famous Buddhist commentators, poets and philosophers in the first millennium of Christian era.

In the first-half of the seventh century A. D., however, the conditions of Buddhism in Kashmir were not very well. At one place Yuan Chwang says that the "good looking but

deceitful people" of Kashmir embraced both Buddhism and other faiths; the strength of the Bhiksus was above 5000 who lived in above 100 monasteries. It is not specified as to what system of Buddhism these monks belonged, but from other sources we learn that both Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna monks were living together in Kashmir. The country was also rich in old establishments containing the sacred relics.[24]

Yuan Chwang's account

Yuan Chwang observes[25] that owing to the predominance of the 'Kritiya' race which hated the Buddhists, the country in his time, had no faith in Buddhism and was devoted to other sects.

The King, whose name is not given, was favourable to Buddhism, he received Yuan Chwang in a Dharmaśālā along with the members of the royal household and showed a marked respect for the distinguished pilgrim. There were a number of Buddhist establishments, noted scholars and sanctuaries, and Yuan Chwang spent two years in study and learning in Kashmir. He stayed in the Jayendra Vihāra, where he was assisted by some Kashmirian monks in the task of religious offerings and doctrinal discussions. There was an old eminent monk of 70 years who was the Chief Sthavira of Jayendra Vihāra. Under him the pilgrim studied various Śāstras and Sūtras.[26]

Kalhana's account

Jayandra Vihāra seems to have been a thriving centre of Buddhist scholars. Kalhana also mentions this Vihāra; it was built by Jayendra, the maternal uncle of King Pravarasena of Kashmir, who also installed an image of Buddha.[27]

There was also a temple (probably a Caitya-cum-Vihāra) which was built by Huṣkara where the pilgrim spent one night.[28] Kalhaṇa refers to Huṣka (Huviṣka) along with Kaniṣka and and Juṣka (?) who built Vihāras and founded cities in Kashmir.[29]

There was yet another monastery here wherein lay the celebrated 'Tooth-relic', in length about an inch and a half, of yellowish-white-colour. This Tooth-relic was taken away by Śīlāditya (Harṣa) from the king of Kashmir; the monastery had about three hundred monks at this time.[30] Near the monastery of Tooth-relic there was an old large monastic establishment. In the seventh century A. D. only a double-storeyed building in a corner of it was inhabited by about thirty Mahāyāna monks.[31] Besides, Kashmir had also a monastery not far

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from the capital, wherein lived 100 monks of the Mahāysāṃghika school.[32] The Life mentions in Kashmir among the most famous Buddhist Doctors the following ; Viśuddhasiṃha and Jinabandhu who were Mahāyānists; Sugatamitra and Vasumitra of the Sarvāstivāda school; Sūryadeva and Jinatrāta of the Mahāsāṃghika school. At the capital city the foremost sage was Ch' eng or Yaśa.[33]

Kalhaṇa has recorded the patronage of Buddhism by some rulers whose dates are not quite certain. Among the kings who ruled in Kashmir after Mihirakula and Toramāṇa (early 6th century A. D.) and who might be placed in the seventh century A. D., is King Meghavāhana. He was brought from Gandhāra and placed on the throne by the people; most probably he was a Buddhist and propagated the cult of ahiṃsā and erected a Maṭha (convent).[34] His queen Amṛtaprabhā built Amṛtabhavana for the use of Buddhist monks and erected a high Vihāra also. Her teacher was Stonpa who was probably a Tibetan and a native of Ladakh and lived in Kashmir.[35] Yūkadevī, another queen of Meghavāhana, also constructed a large monastry in Nadavana. In this monastery one half was occupied by monks of good conduct, and the other half by those 'monks' who had wives, children and the cattle.[36] Indradevī, a third queen of this king, is said to have built a four-storeyed monastery and a stūpa.[37] His other queens, Khādanā, Sammā etc. are also reported to have constructed many monasteries and stūpas for the Buddhists.[38] One of these is located at Khādanīya near Vārāhmūla on the Vitastā river.[39] Kalhaṇa seems to suggest that Meghavāhana was a pious king who may be said to have atoned for the sins committed by his forefathers like Mihirakula.[40]

BUDDHISM AND KASHMIR ŚAIVISM

It is remarkable that in Kashmir, Buddhism and Saivism, despite their apparent differences, remained very close to each other. Already in the time of Kuṣāṇas, Buddha and Śiva were worshipped by the members of the same family. In the Kāraṇḍavyūhasūtra, Maheśvara (Śiva) is included among the devotees of Avalokiteśvara, and he himself is addressed as 'Maheśvara' (MSS. vol. I, BST No. 17, pp. 258, 262). In the Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra also it is stated that in order to

convert and preach the people, Avalokiteśvara assumes the form of Maheśvara (BST No. 6, Chapter XXIV, p. 252; Kern's Transl. in SBE No. XXI, p. 410). We learn from Bāṇa Bhaṭṭa and Yuan Chwang that in Emperor Harṣa's family Buddha was worshipped along with Śiva and Sūrya (see below). Kalhaṇa informs us that a number of kings of Kashmir patronised both Śaivism and Buddhism (see my article in JOI, Vol. XIV No. 2, Baroda, 1964, pp. 156-163). Yuan Chwang notes that in Potalaka mountain in the far south, Avalokiteśvara used to give vision to his devotees in the guise of Pāśupata-Tīrthika or Śiva (T. Watters, II, p. 229). Hūṇas, however, are known to have patronised Śaivism to the exclusion and persecution of Buddhism (see below Ch. XII).

What is interesting and striking in this context is the fact that a noted Buddhist logician is seen writing authoritatively not only on Buddhism but also on Kashmir Śaivism. This scholar was Śaṃkarānanda (also called Ānanda and Śaṃkaranaṅdana). He was a pupil of Dharmottara and wrote several works on Buddhist logic (see below Ch. VII), and may have lived towards the end of 8th and beginning of 9th century A. D. He also wrote a work called Prajñālaṅkāra, which is not included in the list of his works translated into Tibetan, and seems to have been lost. But this work is quoted by Abhinavagupta who notes that Śaṃkarānanda cantroverted Dharmottara (Iśvarapratyabhijñā-vivṛtti-vimarśinī Vol. II, pp. 16, 34, Ed. Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies, No. LXII). Doctrinally there is a great similarity between the Mahāyāna tenet of Wisdom or Consciousness and the Gnosticism of Kashmir Śivaites. (on this latter system see M. M. Gopīnātha Kavirāja, Bhāratīya Sanskrit Aur Sādhanā, Pt. I, Patna, 1963, Chapter I, and Ṭhākur Jaideva Singh's translation of Pratyabhijñāhṛdaya, Delhi 1964). It seems that Kashmir Śaivism owes much to Mahāyāna idealism and gnosticism, and the Prajñālaṅkāra of Śaṃkarānanda is a bridge between Buddhist Idealism and Śivaite idealism of Kashmir, just as the Māṇḍūkyakārikās of Gauḍapāda had been a bridge between the Mādhyamika absolutism and Vedāntika non dualism (see below Appendix 4). Recently, Prof. Raniero Gnoli has thrown some desired light on the philosophical position of Śaṃkarānanda and his influence on Kashmir Śaivism. He places Śaṃkarānanda in the 9th or

10th century A. D. His brief discussion has eminently proved that the Prajñālaṅkāra was "held in high esteem by Abhinavagupta, who constantly gives Śaṃkarānanda the title of bhaṭṭa and once even of guru, and recognises in him a true precursor of the doctrine of knowledge adopted by his school." He rightly holds, following the indications given by Abhinavagupta and Tārānātha, that Śaṃkarānanda may have left Buddhism and espoused Śaivism, and hence his "double attitude" towards thought. I think that the hybrid name (Śaṃkara+Ānanda) Śaṃkarānanda is in keeping with his hybrid thought. According to Prof. Gnoli Abhinavagupta has quoted several passages from Prajñālaṅkara of Śaṃkarananda in the Iśvarapratyabhijñāvivṛttivimarśiini (Vol. I, pp. 234, 236, 248, 293; Vol. II, pp. 16, 34, 71, 83, 132, 144, 199, 220, 221, 250, 369; Vol. III, p. 35 Ed. in Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies, Nos. LX, LXII, LXV, 1938-1943), in the Tantrāloka (Vol. II, p. 64, Ed. Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies) and in the Mālinīvijayavārttikaṃ (p. 41, Ed. Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies, No. XXXI) where he is called guru. The Buddhist logical text of Śaṃkarānanda, the Apohasiddhi, is also quoted in the first work of Abhinavagupta mentioned above (Vol. I, p. 292). Besides, Jayaratha, in his commentary on the Tantrāloka (Ed. cited, Vol. II, pp. 54, 62, 64) has also quoted the Prajñālaṅkāra. This information concerning so many quotations from Prajñālaṅkāra has been taken from the work of Prof. Gnoli to whom acknowledgement is due. (see his Edition of the Pramāṇavārttikaṃ of Dharmakīrti, First Chapter with Autocommentary, SOR, Vol. XXIII, Rome 1960, Introduction, pp. XXIII-XXVI).

In the 7th cent. A. D. three scholars from Kashmir, viz. Buddhapāla, Ratnaciṇtā, and Arjuna, proceeded to China and translated a number of Buddhist books into Chinese.[40a]

Buddhism under Lalitadtya

Although the kings of Kashmir who ruled after Meghavāhana were Śivaites, yet they seem to have been tolerant towards Buddhism. During the reign of Yudhiṣṭhira (II), son and successor of Pravarasena, his ministers were Buddhists who constructed Vihāras and Caityas. One of these is Skandabhavanavihāra, built by the minister named Skandagupta.[41] In the

reign of King Raṇāditya, one of his queens named Amṛtaprabha, installed a beautiful statue of Buddha in the Vihāra built by the queen of Meghavāhana.[42] Galuṇa, a minister under King Vikramāditya, son and successor of Raṇāditya, had caused a Vihāra to be constructed in the name of his wife Ratnāvali.[43] The last king of this line was Bālāditya.

Bālāditya was succeeded by his son-in-law, Durlabha-Vardhana, whose queen set up the Anaṅgabhavana-vihāra.[41] This monument was seen by the Chinese monk pilgrim, Ou K'ong, who refers to it as Ānanda or Anangavihāra.[45]

The most famous ruler of this line was the great Lalitāditya-Muktāpīḍa, a contemporary and conqueror of Yaśovarman of Kanauj.[46] He was a Vaiṣṇava but extended his benefactions to other faiths and built temples of Viṣṇu, Śiva and also Buddhist stūpas and vihāras. King Lalitāditya flourished most probably in the early part of the 8th century A. D., when Vākpati, Bhavabhūti and Yaśovarmana had already become famous.[47]

Lalitāditya built a large Vihāra and a Stūpa[18] in Huṣka-pura (identified with Ushkur inside the Bārāmūla pass).[49] The king spent, reports Kalhaṇa, 84 thousand tolās of gold in the construction of a Rāja-Vihāra decorated with large Buddha images, grand caityas and four-storeyed palaces.[50] Not only this, Lalitāditya, as if to rival Aśoka, caused to be prepared 84 thousand high Buddha-images which seemed to reach the sky. They were made of bronze alloy. He got these inages installed in 84 thousand beautiful caityas specially made for the purpose.[51]

His vassal, King Kayya of Lāṭa, built a Vihāra in which Bhikṣu Sarvajñamitra, 'a Second Buddha', the author of the Sragdharāstotra, used to live.[52] This latter was a nephew of king of Kashmir. But the most zealous Buddhist in the court of Lalitāditya was Caṅkuṇa. Caṅkuṇa was a native of Tukhāra country and was the Prime Minister of Lalitāditya; he put up two Vihāras, one of which was very lofty and contained golden images of Buddha.[53] His son-in-law Īśānacandra, who was a physician in the royal palace, constructed a large and fine Vihāra.[54] Caṅkuṇa was probably expert in Tāntrika practices and magical arts by means of which he charmed the Emperor. At the latter's request, he imparted the charms to him and received in return the great image of Buddha which had been brought by Lalitāditya from Magadha. Its existence is borne

out not only by Kalhaṇa but also by the 8th century Chinese pilgrim, Ou K' ong.[55]

Under Jayāpida

One of the notable kings of the family of Lalitāditya was Jayāpiḍa, who may have ruled in the latter half of the 8th century A. D. He founded a large Vihāra and set up three images of Buddha in Jayapura, a city which he had established in Kashmir.[56] He also adopted a special name, 'Vinayāditya', "the sun of discipline."[57] King Jayāpīḍa also patronised a 'Draviḍian Sorcerer' who performed miracles,[58] and the famous logician Dharmottara.[59]

Account of Ou K' Ong (A.D. 751-790)

In the second half of the 8th century, a Chinese pilgrim came to Kashmir via Kipin, Kabul valley and Gandhāra, and lived there for four years in the Moung-ti or Mundi-Vihāra. He found more than 300 monasteries in the kingdom and a large number of stūpas and images. Besides the Moung-ti-Vihāra, he mentions the following seven Buddhist establishments in Kashmir; (1) Amitabhavana; (2) Anaṅga or Ānandabhavana; (3) Ki-tche; (4) Nao-ye-le; (5) Je-je; (6) Yi-li-t' e-le; and (7) K'o-toen."[60]

The first Buddhist establishment seems to be identical with the Amṛtabhavana built by the queen Amṛtaprabhā noted above. The second one is evidently the Vihāra of the same name built by the queen of Durlabhavardhana as reported by Kalhaṇa[61]. According to Dr. Sten Konow the ruins of a stūpa in the village of Uskur (Huṣkapura) are the remains of Moung-ti-Vihāra referred to by Ou K' ong. He also noticed the ruins of the monastery built by queen Khādanā in the village of Khādanīyar.[62] One would be tempted to suggest that the Moung-ti-Vihāra referred to by Ou-K' ong may be identical with the Rāja-Vihāra built by Lalitāditya-Muktāpīḍa.

Punach and Rājapura

The people of Pan-nu-tso (Punach or Punats[63] to south-west of Kashmir's capital) were in the time of Yuan Chwang, sincere believers in Buddhism. The State was subject to Kashmir and most of Buddhist establishments here were in ruins, there were only a few monks living in a Vihāra near the capital city. To the South-east of Punats lay the territory called Rājapura ('Rājauri to the south of Kashmir').[64] There were ten monasteries here and a few Buddhist monks.[65]

In the kingdom of Cheh-ka or Takka[66] which lay between the Beas and the Indus rivers, few people believed in Buddhism; most of the population was devoted to the Devas (i. e. were Hindus). Accordingly there were only ten monasteries and hundreds of Deva-temples. One marked feature of this country, which seems to have been an example of Buddhistic and Aśokan piety, was the existence of numerous Puṇyaśālās where free rest-houses for the relief of the needy and the distressed, medicine and food for the sick and the hungry, were supplied.[67] From the Life we learn that Yuan Chwang spent a night at Jayapur (Jammu) in a non-Buddhist temple.[68] From this he went to Śākala (Sialkot) where Mihirakula had wrought devastations in earlier days. In the 7th century there were 100 Hīnayāna monks in a Saṃghārāma of Sialkot.[69]

Cheh-Ka

In the eastern part of the Cheh-ka country, the pilgrim found a large city in an Āmra-grove (mango-garden) wherein lived "a Brahmin 700 years old, looking like a man of 30 years and having all his mental and bodily powers." He had been a disciple of Nāgārjuna and was well acquainted with the sacred lore of Brāhmanism and Buddhism. He had thoroughly studied the following two texts, Prāṇyamūla and Śataśāstra; he had two pupils each of whom was a centenarian. Yuan Chwang lived with him for about a month and studied some sūtras as also the Śataśāstra and Śataśāstra-vaipulya. However, only a few people in this city were Buddhists.[70]

Śākala

The capital city of Chīnābhukti has been equated to the present Patli, and old town 10 miles to the west of the river Beas.[71] The people of this province were both Buddhist and non-Buddhist. There were ten monasteries of the Buddhist monks.[71] One of these is called in the Life Tosa-sana (T'u-she-sa-na, 'Pleasure-giving') where Yuan Chwang resided for 14 months. In this monastery lived a great Buddhist sage, by name Vinītaprabha, a master of the Tripiṭaka and Doctor of Śāstras, who taught the Chinese pilgrim.[73]

Chi-Na-Puh-Ti

Near the capital of Chinabhukti, there was a splendid and spacious monastery known as Tamasavana monastery. The original of Tamasavana ('dark-forest') may have been probably

'Tapovana.' The place is mentioned in the Divyāvadāna and must have been a flourishing centre of Buddhistic culture in older days. Yuan Chwang found here thousands of relic-stūpas all round the monastery, ruins of numerous monasteries, caves and images including an Aśokan stūpa, 200 feet in height. In the Tamasavana Monastery there were at this time 300 learned monks of the Sarvāstivāda school. They lived a pure and strict life and were well versed in Hīnayāna.[74]

Tamasavana

Comparatively speaking, Buddhism was in a more flourishing condition in Jālandhara than in other parts of the Punjab. There were 50 monasteries here and more than 2000 monks who made special studies of Hīnayāna or Mahāyāna as they liked. The city had more than 500 professed-non-Buddhists, the Pāśupatas.[75] According to Life of Yuan Chwang, he visited Jālandhara for a second time and then a king of Northern India who had his capital here, honoured him. This king's name was Wu-ti-to or Udita. He had previously honoured another Chinese monk Hsuan Chao who had lived here for four years in the thirties of the 7th century.[76] In Jālandhara, on entering the country, Yuan Chwang lived in the Nagardhana Vihara where there was Candravarman, a master of Tripiṭaka.[77]

Jālandhara

In the district of Kullu, in the upper valley of the Beas, the pilgrim noticed twenty monasteries in which more than one thousand Brethren lived. They were for the most part followers of the Mahāyāna, a few being Hīnayānists.[78]

Kullu

In the district of Śatadru on the Sutlej river, there were many desolate monasteries and a small number of the monks. The inhabitants lived a moral life, were devoted to Buddhism but observed social distinctions.[79] This shows that even the Buddhist laity was not free from Brahmanical rules of caste.

Śatadru

This province has been identified with Bairat,[80] the site from where a copy of Aśoka's Minor Rock edict has been recovered. It was ruled over by a Vaiśya king, the people were not Buddhists, but Brahmanical deva-worshippers. There were 8 Buddhist monas-

Pāryātra

teries in bad state of ruin; the monks who were very few in number, were Hīnayānists.[81]

Thāneśvara

Thāneśvara or Sthāṇvīśvara[82] in Ambala district of Punjab, had only three Buddhist monasteries, wherein lived above 700 Hīnayāna monks. Votaries of Hinduistic sects were more numerous who had more than one hundred Deva-temples.[83]

Section 2

BUDDHISM IN THE MADHYADEŚA

Mathurā

In Mathurā, the famous city on the Yamunā, the Chinese pilgrim found people of good manners, who believed in the Law of Karma and respected moral and intellectual eminence.[84] There were in the Mathurā district more than twenty monasteries and over two thousand Buddhist monastics, who zealously followed both Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna; this seems to indicate that some were zealous Hīnayānists, the others zealous Mahāyānists.

Mathurā had many Buddhist relics[85] of the past. There were stūpas containing the sacred relics of Tathāgata, Śāriputra, Mudgalaputra (Maudgalyāyana), Pūrṇamaitrāyaṇīputra, Upāli, Ānanda and Rāhula, as also the stūpas built for some Bodhisattvas like Mañjuśrī. Every year, on religious festival days, the Bhikṣus and the Upāsakas, both male and female, used to gather here, and vied with each other in offering worship to their respective idols. The followers of the Mahāyāna worshipped the Bodhisattvas.[86] Yuan Chwang also mentions a cave where Upagupta had lived.[87]

Srughna

The district of Srughna (Lu-le-na, or Su-lu-ki-na) may be identical with modern 'village of Sugh surrounded on three sides by the old bed of Jumna',[88] but its true location is still awaiting. The people of Srughna were not Buddhists but they were honest and esteemed religious wisdom. There were five Buddhist monasteries and more than 1000 Buddhist monks, most of whom were Hīnayānists, a few adhering to "other schools." The phrase 'other schools' may be an allusion to Sautrāntikas. But the phrase is rather puzzling, it cannot refer to the sects of

Hīnayāna as the majority of the monks are clearly said to be Hīnayānists and all the 18 sects were of the Hīnayāna; nor can it refer to the Mahāyānists, for it is characteristic of Yuan Chwang to mention the Mahāyānists prominently.

The Bhikṣus of Srughna were specialists and lucid exponents of the subtle and deep principles. Celebrated Buddhist scholars from other places used to come to them to get their doubts cleared.[89] From the Life we learn that Yuan Chwang enjoyed the company of a learned Doctor of Sautrāntika thought, Jayagupta by name, who dwelt in this district. Yuan Chwang spent one winter and half the spring season in order to study Sautrāntika tenets under him.[90]

Matipura

The territory of Mo-ti-pu-lo (Matipura) has been identified by Cunningham with Mandawar near Bijnor.[91] The people were practical minded and 'well versed in magical arts', and were equally divided between Buddhism and non-Buddhist religious sects. The king, a Śūdra by caste, was not a Buddhist but a Deva-worshipper, and there were more than fifty Deva-temples.

The numerical strength of the Buddhist monks was more than 800 who lived in more than ten monsateries. They were Sarvāstivādins. Close to the capital was a small monastery in which Guṇaprabha had composed 100 treatises including Tattvanirdeśa-Śāstra. This Guṇaprabha, a native of Kashmir, had been a student of Saṃghabhadra whose monastery was also still extant in the seventh century. Both Guṇaprabha and Saṃghabhadra belonged to the late 5th and early 6th century A. D. There were about fifty monks, followers of Guṇaprabha who lived in the monastery of that Doctor; in the Saṃghārāma of Saṃghabhadra which lay close to the former, lived about 200 Hīnayāna (that is to say Vaibhāṣika) monks. Close to the monastery of Saṃghabhadra there was a stūpa containing the relics of Vimalamitra, a native of Kashmir, a Sarvāstivādin Hīnayānist by faith, and a successor and supportor of Saṃghabhadra. He flourished probably in 600 A. D.[92] There also lived in Matipura, Mitrasena, an eminent Buddhist sage, a Doctor of Śāstras, a pupil of Guṇaprabha, who, at the age of 90 years, taught Yuan Chwang for half the spring and the summer following. The texts studied by the pilgrime under him included among others, the Tattvanirdeśa- Śāstra of Guṇaprabha

and the Jñānaprasthānaśāstra of Kātyāyanīputra.[93] From this one may conclude that Mitrasena was a Sarvāstivādin probably of the Vaibhāṣika designation.

Yuan Chwang refers to Haridwar and its religious activities, but does not allude to the existence of Buddhists in that city.

Brahmapura

In Brahmapura country, 'in the districts of Garhwal and Kumaon'[94], the population pursued gain, there were five Buddhist monasteries but the monks were very few. In the country called Suvarṇagotra which lay north of Brahmapura and touched Tibet (T'u-fan) on the east and Khotan on the north, which was ruled over by women, there was probably no Buddhism in Yuan Chwang's days.[95]

Govisana

The old country of Ku-pi-sang-na of Chinese records, restored as Goviṣāṇa, corresponds to modern districts of Kashipur, Rampur and Pilibhit.[96] Most of the people of this kingdom were non-Buddhists, but they were fond of learning and religious merit. There were about 100 Buddhist monks belonging to Hīnayāna, they lived in two monasteries. The country had some Buddha relics in old stūpas of the time of Aśoka.[97]

Ahicchatra

Yuan Chwang found in Ahicchatra (in Eastern Rohilkhand) people of academic temperament and honest ways. There were more than a thousand monks of the Sammitīya School[98] of Hīnayāna. They occupied above ten Vihāras. The number of Deva-temples was nine and the Pāśupata-Śaivas were also more than three hundred in number.[99]

Pi-Lo-Sha-Na

This territory, tentatively restored as 'Virasana', 'Vilasana' or 'Bhilasana' by Julien, Beal and Watters, is difficult to identify. Its capital is equated with the mound of Atranjikherā on the river Kālī, to the north of Etah on the Grand Trunk Road, by Cunningham.[100] Its people were mostly non-Buddhist but a few were faithful. There were two Buddhist monasteries which accommodated 300 Mahāyāna monks. The capital city had some old monuments of Buddhistic cult.[101]

Kapitha

According to Chinese sources the old name of Kapitha (Kah-pi-t'a) was Sankāśya or Sheng-ka-she. It is the sacred spot where according to Buddhist tradition Lord Buddha descended from the Trayastriṃśa Heaven.[102] The modern village of Sankisā lies on the meeting grounds of Farrukhabad, Etah and Mainpuri districts of U. P. In Yuan Chwang's time there were four Buddhist monasteries and 1000 monks of the Sammitīya sect in the capital of Sankāśya.[103]

Kanauj

Its original name was Kanyā-Kubja (now a days also called Kānyakubja), 'city of the humped backed women'.[104] The historic city on the west bank of the Gangā, was the capital of the Buddhist Emperor Harṣavardhana and, then of Yaśovarman, in the 7th and 8th centuries A. D. It was one of the principal centres of Indian culture and also a hot bed of political conflicts and conspiracies during our period.[105] Its people were cultured and refined, devoted to arts, learning and debates. Both Buddhism and Hinduism had their 'equal' votaries here. In Buddhism, both the systems, the Hīnayāna and the Mahāyāna, were thriving together. The Chinese Master of the Doctrine estimated the numerical strength of the monasteries as above 100 and of the monks over 10,000.[106]

Buddhism and Harsa

Emperor Harṣa of the Vaiśya caste, was a liberal patron of philosophers, poets, sages and of the faiths, Hinduistic as well as Buddhistic. He practised some of the Aśokan ideals of piety and shared the military vigour and skill of Samudragupta. He was the contemporary of such noted Buddhist monarchs as Aṃśuvarman of Nepal and Sroṅ-btsan gampo of Tibet, and was the greatest friend and the most enthusiastic patron of Yuan Chwang, 'the Mahāyānadeva' as the latter was styled by the graduates of Nālandā, and who presided over that great philosophical conference convoked by Harṣa in his royal city which was attended not only by thousands of Buddhists, Jaina and Brahmanical theologians and debators, but also by a host of kings and chieftans.[107] Harṣa honoured not only Buddha and Avalokiteśvara, but also Śiva and Sūrya, his family gods. His brother Rāyavardhana was "a devout Buddhist" (Parama Saugata, Sugata 'iva);[108] his sister Rājyaśrī was an intelligent, accomp-

lished lady, actively interested in Buddhism[109] and well versed in Sammitīya school. The Emperor did personal homage to such eminent Buddhist savants and sages as Śīlabhadra, Diwākaramitra, Jayasena, Yuan Chwang, and others.[110] "His qualifications", says Hwui-li, "moved heaven and men."[111] "He forgot sleep and food in his devotion to good works" says Yuan Cḥwang.[112] His virtues and powers exceeded, writes Bāṇa Bhaṭṭa, those of Viṣṇu, Paśupati, Yama, Varuṇa, Kubera and other deities; his sacrifices, his wisdom, poetic faculty and gusto were incomparable..[113]

Harṣa erected thousands of stūpas on the banks of the Gangā, built monasteries on the sacred places of the Buddhists; he bore the expenses of the upkeep of the Nālandā Mahāvihāra, raised a brass monastery there, and enclosed the entire Buddhist establishment with a high wall. He brought the monks togehther, punished the sinners and rewarded the meritorious. He fed every day in his royal lodge 1000 Buddhists and 500 Brahmins.[114] He was perhaps the greatest upāsaka in the 7th century. In the vicinity of Kanauj, close to the Gangā, were three monasteries enclosed by a common wall but each having its own gate. The inhabitant monks were dignified and reserved, and they had thousands of lay Buddhists to serve them.

Not very far from Kanauj was another city called Navadevakula. To the east of this city were three Buddhist monasteries enclosed within one wall but with separate gates, above 500 Sarvāstivādin monks lived in these monasteries.[115]

It is thus clear that Harṣa extended his patronage to all schools of Buddhism. His approaching to Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara[116] shows that he was attached to the Mahāyāna. This is also the conclusion to be drawn from his special respect for Yuan Chwang who was a zealous yogācārin. Emperor's sister Rājyaśrī seems to have been attached to the Sammitīya school.,[117] The system or plan of three monasteries being enclosed within one wall providing each with an idenpendent gate, which the Sarvāstivādins of Navadevakula had been occupying, also seems to have been a royal plan. In the Life, however, Harṣa is represented as showing his disapproval of Hīnayāna doctrines.[118]

In Ayodhyā in modern Faizabad district on the bank of the Sarayū river (Yuan Chwang says on the south of the Gangā, but apparently by mistake), there were more than

one hundred Buddhist monastic establishments with more than 3000 monks belonging to both Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna. The city was rich with a number of old Buddhist stūpas and monasteries now in ruins.[119]

Ayodhyā

Like the people of Ayodhyā, those of Ayamukha (supposed to be modern Daṇḍikherā on the northern bank of the Gangā[120]) were also good, devoted to learning and pious activities, Ayamukha was a centre of the Sammitīya monks, Yuan Chwang found here five monasteries in which more than 100 Bhikṣus of the Sammitīya school resided. Not very far from the capital was the old monastery of Buddhadāsa, a Sarvāstivādin Doctor; in the seventh century A. D. about 200 monks were living in this beautiful monastery.[121] According to the Life while Yuan Chwang was going to Ayamukha with about 84 fellow—passengers on board, his boat was captured by the pirates who were worshippers of Durgā (i.e., the Śāktas). They wanted to kill the Chinese Master for purposes of sacrifice to the Goddess, but he was saved by supernatural intervention of Bodhisattva Maitreya.[122]

Ayamukha

At Prayāga Yuan Chwang found the dominance of the Brahmanical culture; there were hundreds of Deva-temples and most of the people were followers of non-Buddhist faiths. One peculiar feature, current at this time at the confluence of the Gangā and the Yamunā, the pilgrim reports, was the custom of religious suicide.[123] Professor K. Chattopadhyaya has thrown some welcome light on this practice of the Hindus.[124] I-tsing also testifies to the prevalence of religious suicide in Buddha-Gayā and on the Gangā.[125]

Prayāga

There were only two Buddhist monasteries at Prayāga in the time of Yuan Chwang, the number of the monks was small, they were Hīnayānists. A notable custom at Prayāga followed by kings and liberal minded wealthy nobles since ancient times, was to hold sessions of charity or the Assembly of Mokṣa. There was a sacred spot on the holy saṃgam which was actually named the 'Field of Great Beneficence'. During Yuan Chwang's sojourn here, Emperor Harṣavardhana performed this great dāna-yajña for about 75 days, in course of which this 'Sun of Morality' (Śīlāditya) gave away in charity

everything he had, and exhausted the Imperial Treasury. Everyone, from the sacred Buddha, Dharma and Saṃgha, down to the poorest orphan, was benefited by this gift.[126]

Kausāmbi

The ancient city of Kosambī, celebrated equally in Buddhist and Brahmanical literature of ancient times,[127] has been identified with modern village of Kosām in Allahabad district. About ten monasteries were in ruinous state when Yuan Chwang visited the site. Early in the 5th century A. D. Fa-hien testifies to the existence of one 'Shrine' built by 'Ghochiravana' where there still lived some Hīnayāna monks.[128] This 'Ghochira' is most plausibly the same as 'Goṣira' of Hwui-li and 'Ghoṣila' of Yuan Chwang's Si-yu-ki.[129] In the seventh century it was in ruins. Prof. G. R. Sharma has thoroughly excavated the site of Kauśāmbī and has laid bare the beautiful Ghoṣitārāma monastery complex.[130] An inscription found at the site also refers to this Vihāra, while a seal of Toramāṇa, the Hūṇa Chief, found here seems to allude to the destruction of the establishment by his outlandish army. Nevertheless, about 300 monks of the Hīnayāna still lived at Kauśāmbī in the first half of the seventh century A. D. The pilgrim also refers to a large Buddhist temple and the images of Buddha of the time of Kauśāmbi's king Udayana, the Vatsarāja. He also records the tradition that the Doctrine of Buddha would cease to exist at Kauśāmbi.[131]

Pi-Sho-Ka

In 'Pi-sho-ka' (? Viśoka) which district is sometimes identified with Sāket near Ayodhyā, the people were religious and studious. There were more than twenty Buddhist monasteries occupied by 3000 monks of the Sammitīya school. Near the capital was a large monastery where two Arhats, Devaśarman, the author of 'Abhidharma-Vijñānakāyapāda-Śāstra' and Gopa, the author of a 'Śāstra on the essential realities of Buddhism', had advanced mutually conflicting arguments. The former denied the existence of 'Ego and non-Ego', while the latter affirmed the existence of both. They seem to have belonged to the first century A. D. At this large monastery also, Dharmapāla (Hu-fa) had debated and defeated the Hīnayāna doctors. The pilgrim also observed in this monastery "a marvellous tree, six or seven feet high, developed from a tooth-stick which the Buddha after using it had cast down."[132]

Śrāvastī

In the city of Śrāvasti[133] (Yuan Chwang wrongly calls the 'Śrāvastī country', the name of the country or kingdom was Kośala, Śrāvasti being its capital), hundreds of Buddhist monasteries were in ruins. There were few monks, the votaries of the Sammitīya sect, the people who were devoted to good ways and fond of learning, were mostly non-Buddhist. Yuan Chwang estimated the number of Deva-temples as one hundred. The great Jetavana-Vihāra now lay in ruins.[134]

Kapilavastu

The well celebrated holy city of Kapilavastu was in utter ruins; "the district had been left desolate for a very long time' says Yuan Chwang.[135] It was a pitiable sight to see the ruins of more than 1000 Buddhist monasteries here. There was still one monastery existing with 30 monks of the Sammitīya school. The Deva-worshippers, however, had two temples to their credit. This country in the Nepalese Tarai, seems to have had a system of the city states as Yuan Chwang found "each city having its own chief."[135]

The account of Kapilavastu as given by Fa-hien and Yuan Chwang is in sharp contrast with the one preserved in the Shui-ching-chu by a 6th century A. D. Chinese official, Li Tao-Yuan by name. This authority supplies following new information concerning Kapilavastu. He says the kingdom of Kapila had no king then; the city was deserted and dirty. But there were some upāsakas (lay-devotees) about 20 Śākya families, descended from Śuddhodana. They still maintained their old spirit of religious energy. They repaired the old dilapidated stūpas. The king of Siṃhala sent gifts as an aid to finish this task of preserving the old stūpas. At that time there were only 12 monks in the city.[136] At Lummini (Lumbinī, Rummindei) which lay at a distance of 50 li eastward from Kapilavastu (both sites are in Basti district of U. P. bordering on Nepal),[137] Yuan Chwang refers to old relics, Aśoka's stone pillar and stūpas but no mention is made of the monks living here. It means that there were none in his time,[138] and the birth place of Buddha was without Buddhists. The neighbouring district of Rāmagrāma was likewise devoid of Buddhist population ; it had a 'Śrāmanera monastery.' There were few Buddhist monks who were very hospitable to Yuan Chwang.

Kuśīnagara (Kasiā in Dcoriā District of U. P.) was also in ruins, 'the interior of the city being a wild waste.' Hwui-li records; "There is a great Vihāra here, built of bricks, within which is a figure of the Nirvāṇa of Tathāgata; his head is towards the north, and his appearance is as if he were asleep. By the side of the Vihāra is a stūpa about 200 feet high, constructed by Aśoka rāja." Modern archaeological excavations have shown the truth of this account. No mention is made of the monks who do not seem to have been in existence at Kuśīnagara in the 7th century A. D.[140]

Vāranasi

The capital of Kāśī country, now the 'sacred city of the Hindus' since long, was the most sacred place of the Buddhists in ancient time, and seems to have remained so till the Gupta rule. It was in the vicinity of Vārāṇasī that the Blessed One set in motion the wheel of the Doctrine. The people of Vārāṇasi[141] believed in other systems, only a few of them were Buddhist by faith. But all of them were courteous and esteemed learning; they were very wealthy. There were more than thirty Buddhist monasteries with more than 3000 monks who adhered to the Sammitīya school of Hīnayāna. This report of Yuan Chwang's Si-yu-ki is at variance with the one recorded in his Life. According to the Life the number of the Brethren in Vārāṇasī was 2000 and they were Sarvāstivādins.[142]

But there were more than 100 Deva temples and more than 10,000 'professed adherents of other sects', i. e. yogīns or ascetics, Śaiva-Pāśupats and others who practised austerities. The object of worship in these Deva-temples was the liṅgaṃ, and in one of them, the lingam was 100 feet high.[143]

Sarnatha

In contrast to the 'sacred city of the Hindus' or rather of of the Śivaite Hindus, Sarnatha or 'Deer Park' was, still in the 7th century A.D., an exclusively Buddhistic and a flourishing centre of the faith. It was a large living monastic establishment. The sacred spot of Dharma-cakra-pravartana was marked by an Aśokan stūpa and a pillar of polished stone, of greenish colour lustrous as a mirror. The monastic establishment here had eight divisions, all enclosed within one wall. Over one thousand and five hundred Bhikṣus of the Sammitīya school were living here, the handsome Vihāra had a number of beautiful buildings including

one life-size statue of the Lord in Dharmacakra-pravartāna-mudrā. In and around the 'Deer Park' there were a number of sacred structures, mostly stupas, one of them being 300 feet in height.[144]

Chan-Chu

Cunningham had identified Chan-chu with Gazipur District of U. P. This identification has been generally accepted. In the time of Yuan Chwang's visit there were above ten Buddhist Vihāras here and nearly one thousand monks of the Hīnayāna. In and around the capital city, there were some old Buddhist monuments. In this district there was the Aviddhakarṇa-Saṃghārāma, i. e., "the monastery of the Bhikṣus with unpierced ears," built for the monks of the Tokhāra country by the king of Gazipur territory. It is said that two monks from Tokhāra land whose ears were not pierced (aviddha-karṇa) had come to India to visit the sacred sites. But their Indian Brethren did not give them shelter and treated them with disdain owing to their being strange and foreigners. They were, however, patronised by the king of Chan-Chu who constructed a monastery exclusively for them. Near this monastery there were many other monasteries in bad conditions wherein few Mahāyāna bhikṣus were seen by the Chinese pilgrim.[145]

Section 3

BUDDHISM IN MAGADHA AND THE EAST

Magadha[146] had been the cradle of Buddhism and in this territory the religion continued to flourish till the last when it was wiped away by the arms of Islam.[147] Some of the most famous centres of Buddhism lay in ancient Magadha or modern Bihar, viz. Buddha-Gayā,[148] Rājagir,[149] Nālandā,[150] Vaiśālī[151] and Pāṭaliputra.[152]

The picture of Buddhism in the province of Magadha during the seventh and the eighth centuries A. D. was as follows. Buddhist establishments in the city of Vaiśālī were mostly dilapidated; a small number of monks lived in 3 or 4 of them that were intact. Digaṃbara Jainas and other sectarians had gained popularity in this city. In a monastery near the old royal house lived some monks of the Sammitīya school; it was

believed that Buddha had delivered the Vimalakīrtinirdesa Sūtra[153] at this monastery. The house of Vimalakīrti was also in ruins, so was the famous garden of Āmrapālī. A little south of Vaiśālī lay the monastery of Śvetapura in which some Mahāyānist monks lived a strict moral life.[154]

In Vṛji country Yuan Chwang found few Buddhists. There were ten monasteries in which less than one thousand monks students and adherents of both the 'Great and Little Vehicles were living together. The non-Buddhists were numerous. It seems that the Vajjian monks were divided into both Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna systems. The pilgrim reports such 'mixed' faithful people in other parts of the country also as will be seen hereafter.

In Magadha proper, Buddhism seems to have enjoyed perhaps the best position in this period. Yuan Chwang reports the existence of more than fifty Buddhist monasteries and more than 10000 Buddhist monks, most of whom were Mahāyānists.[155] I-tsing who came to Magadha about forty years after Yuan Chwang's visit, says that in Magadha although the doctrines of the 'four Nikāyas', to wit, the Mahāsāṃghika, the Sthavira, the Mūlasarvāstivāda and the Sammitīya, were generally in practice, yet the Sarvāstivāda nikāya flourished the most.[156] The far famed 'Kusumapura city' (Pāṭaliputra) had long been a wilderness. There were mere ruins of the old stūpas, temples and monasteries all around the city. Among the more notable vestiges were the Kukkuṭārāma monastery built by Aśoka, Buddha's foot-prints on stone, and the 'Gong-Call-Tope'. The sacred stone had recently been thrown away by Śaśāṅka but it had been replaced.[157] At a small distance from the Kukkuṭārāma lay the Tilaḍaka monsatery in which one thousand Mahāyāna Buddhist monks were living. They were all masters of the Tripiṭaka and greeted Yuan Chwang cordially. On his way back to China, the pilgrim re-visited Nālandā and learned that close to Nālandā was a learned Doctor Prajñābhadra by name, who lived in Tilaḍaka monastery. I-tsing also mentions the Tilaḍha monastery near Nālandā and in his time the most famous teacher there was Jñānacandra.[158] These references show that in the later half of the 7th century A. D. Tilaḍaka was a fourishing centre of Buddhism.

Next, there was yet another monastery on the slope of

the hills, the high chambers of which had been hewn out of the rock; this rock-cut Vihāra had been built in honour of Guṇa-mati the famous Doctor who had defeated the heretics here. In the seventh century A. D. there were 50 Mahāyāna monks in this monastery.[160]

Quite close to the Guṇamati-monsatery was a monastery built by Śilabhadra, the famous teacher of Yuan Chwang and the Head of the Nālandā University. The inmates of Śilabhadra's monastery were maintained by the revenue of the city which had been bestowed on this Doctor for his victory in a doctrinal discussion with a Brahmin.[161] The event took place probably early in the seventh century A. D. when Dharmapāla was alive.

Gayā

Crossing the Nairañjanā, Yuan Chwang found that the city of Gayā had very few inhabitants; there were only above 1000 Brahmin families who were respected by all and enjoyed the freedom from royal control. The Bodhi Tree was protected by a strong wall from all sides; although, in "recent times Śaśāṅka, the enemy and oppressor of Buddhism, cut down the Bodhi Tree, destroyed its roots down to the water, and burned what remain-ed. A few months afterwards Pūrṇa-Varmā, by pious efforts brought the tree back to life and in one night it became ten feet high. This king then built round it a stone wall 24 feet high." In the centre of the Bodhi-Tree-Inclosure lay the Vajrāsana or Bodhi-Maṇḍala, 'the centre of the Universe.' Around this were the sitting images of Bodhisattva Avalokiteś-vara, one of which was sinking down showing thereby the decay of the Doctrine. The princes and the laymen as also the monks were as a rule in the habit of coming to the Tree to bathe it, worship it and to make offerings here.

Then there was the Mahābodhi Temple, 160 feet high, a large, fine and rich sanctuary, decorated with gold images. On the left and the right of the Shrine were the figures in silver of Avalokita and Maitreya. There was a beautiful image of Buddha in this temple showing him under the Bodhi Tree in bhūsparśamudrā. The abortive attempts of Śaśāṅka to destory the imaged in order to replace one of Śiva, had not been proved successful.[162] Outside of the north gate of the Bodhi Tree was the Mahābodhi Saṃghārāma built by a former king of Ceylon.[163] It was a superb architectural piece deco-

rated with perfect sculpture and enriched by Buddha images of gold and silver. It contained several stūpas wherein were enshrined the sacred relics of Buddha. There were in this monastery nearly 1000 monks. "all Mahāyānists of the Sthavira school, and all perfect in Vinaya observances."[164] The Mahābodhi Monastery is also mentioned several times by I-tsing, but the details are to be found only in Yuan Chwang.

Nālandā

The ruins of the ancient Buddhist establishment at Nālandā, the greatest and the most flourishing centre of Buddhism during this period, have been laid bare by the spade of the archaeologists near the village of Baṛgāon, 7 miles north of Rājgīr, 55 miles south east of Patna, in Bihar.[165] It was a large monastic centre, splendidly built and well maintained by many generations of kings.

Yuan Chwang and I-tsing have left graphic descriptions of Buddhist activities in Nālandā in the seventh century A. D. In the first half of the 8th century A. D. we find valuable information from an Inscription of Mālāda, a Minister of king Yaśovarman, probably of Kanauj. According to Hwui-li, about 10000 monks lived at Nālandā Mahāvihāra. But from Yuan Chwang and I-tsing the strength seems to have been between three thousand and four thousand.[166] In the neighbourhood of Nālandā there was a monastery on the Indra-śaila-guhā, in which some Hīnayāna monks were living. Yuan Chwang narrates an incident by means of which he indicates their appreciation of the Mahāyāna ways of life. At some distance from this Indra-cave-mountain was another monastic abode called the Kapotaka Monastery in which Yuan Chwang found over 200 Sarvāstivādin monks. Not far from this monastery was an Aśokan stūpa, and a temple with an image of Avalokita P'usa, erected by a king of Ceylon. In its vicinity was a monastery on a hill top in which about 50 Hīnayāna monks were living. To the north east of this monastery, on the Gangā was a thickly populated town, in which there were many well adorned Deva-temples.[167]

Hiranya Parvata

A large monastic establishment was flourishing in a monastery on the Hiraṇya-Parvata, identified with modern Monghyr.[168] There were more than ten monasteries and over 4000 Hīnayāna monks. According to the Life most of them were Sarvāstivādins,

in the Record they are said to have been of the Sammitīya school. In early days of the seventh century a king of the eastern frontier had bestowed the capital city upon the monks and had built two large monasteries each of which accommodated about 1000 monks of the Sarvāstivāda school. No other definite source has been known about the identity of this king.[169]

In this country, identified with modern Bhagalpur district,[170] Yuan Chwang found in ruinous condition several tens of monasteries. Yet there were over 200 Hīnayāna monks in Campā. In his biography, however, the monasteries are reported to be ten and without any reference to their ruinous state; moreover, the number of monks is given as 300.[171]

Campā

In Ka-chu-wen-ki-lo ('Khajughire' or' Kankjol' or 'Kajangala' in modern Rājamahal),[172] the people were honest and esteemed learning. Recently king Śīlāditya Harṣa had built a royal sub-headquarters here. There were about 6 or 7 monasteries of the Buddhists in which nearly 300 monks were living in the middle of the 7th century A. D.[173]

Kājangala

The Gunaighar[174] record of the reign of Vainyagupta, belonging to the first decade of the 6th century A. D. records the grants of land for the Buddhists of the 'Avaivarttika Saṃgha,[175] of the Mahāyāna. This Saṃgha was said to have been founded by one Śāntideva and was residing in a monastery called Āśrama-Vihāra. The inscription also refers to two other Vihāras in this locality of south eastern Bengal.[176] In Puṇḍravardhana there were 20 monasteries and more than three thousand monks belonging to both Hīnayāna and the Mahāyāna in the middle of the 7th century A. D.[177] Besides, the Deva-temples 100 in number and the Digaṃbara Jainas were very numerous. Not far from the capital of Puṇḍra-Vardhana towards west was a magnificient Saṃghārāma called 'Po-shih-po' or 'Po-chisha' (? Vasibhasaṃghārāma ?). It had spacious halls and tall storied chambers occupied by more than 700 monks of Mahāyāna Buddhism. Close to this establishment was a temple with an image of Avalokiteśvara. In this monastery many distinguished Buddhist monk scholars from eastern India had also been living when Yuan Chwang visited it.[178]

Buddhism in Bengal

In Bengal Buddhism received royal patronage under the Pāla kings and it was generally speaking in flourishing state throughout the province. The first Pāla ruler, Gopāla is reported to have been a devoted benefactor of the faith. He erected several Vihāras in his territory and maintained them from the royal sources.[179] His contemporary king in the west was Vibharaṭṭa, king of Kaccha who had Buddhistic leanings. In his kingdom, a Tāntrika teacher, Virūpa the younger had consecrated the Amṛtakuṃbha temple.[179] As for the form of Buddhism in Bengal, I-tsing reports that all the 'four Nikāyas' were popular side by side.[180] In Samataṭa Yuan Chwang observed thirty monasteries with more than 2000 monks, "all adherents of the Sthavira School."[181] I-tsing, however, reports that in the last quarter of the 7th century A. D. when another Chinese pilgrim Sheng-chi[182] was in India, the latter found king Rājabhaṭṭa ruling over Samataṭa. This king, supposed to have belonged to the Khaḍga dynasty which ruled over Southern and Eastern Bengal in the 2nd. half of the 7th century A. D.,[183] was, according to this pilgrim, a fervant devotee of Buddhist faith. During his reign there were 4000 monks and nuns in Samatata. It would appear that the number of monastics had doubled owing apparently to the patronage of Rājabhaṭṭa. Moreover, the form of Buddhism now seems to have been rather Mahāyānistic since the king worshipped the images of Buddha, revered Avalokiteśvara and recited the Mahāprajñāpāramita sūtra.[184]

In Karṇasuvarṇa, Yuan Chwang noticed more than 2000 monks of the Sammitīya school living in ten monasteries. He also found here three monasteries in which the resident monks were the followers of the teachings of Devadatta, the disreputed cousin of Buddha, who made the first schism. Near the capital was a magnificent monastery famous for being the resort of illustrious monks.[185]

Tāmralipti

A very flourishing centre of Buddhism in the 2nd. half of the seventh century A. D. in Bengal was Tāmralipti on the sea coast (modern Tamluk). There were more than ten Buddhist monastic establishments here with above 1000 monks in the days of Yuan Chwang. The population of Tamralipti was divided into both Buddhist and non-Buddhist faiths.[186] Yuan Chawng does not specify the particular school to which the Buddhist monks of

Tāmralipti were attached. But it seems that they were Sarvāstivādins and this was a seat of Sarvāstivādin lore. We find not only I-tsing who was a Sarvāstivādin, living in this city for sometime,[187] but also Tao-lin staying for 3 years, and Ch'eng-teng staying in Tāmralipti for a period of 12 years. Tao-lin was initiated to the Sarvāstivāda school in this monastery.[188]

Royal patrons of Bengal

Before the establishment of the Pāla dynasty by Gopāla in the later half of the 8th century A. D., a number of petty local dynasts seem to have held sway over various parts of Bengal. Śīlabhadra, the Head of Nālandā Vihāra came from a royal family of Samatata. The Nidhanapur copper plate of Bhāskaravarman mentions Jyeṣṭhabhadra as a vassal chief. He may have been connected with Śīlabhadra although there is no clear positive evidence.[189] It seems that besides the Pālas, the Bhadras and the Khadgas were also patrons and followers of the Doctrine.[190]

The Kailan inscription of Śrīdharana Rāta, placed on palaeographic grounds in the middle of the seventh century A. D., also points to the popularity of Buddhism in Samataṭa. This king is said to have made land grants to a Buddhist monastery for the provision of food and clothing of monks. This pious act he did at the request of his minister Jayanātha.[191]

Tārānātha in his celebrated Chos hbyuṅ[192] gives a detailed account of some 'Chandra' kings, who ruled in Bengal just before the Pālas. Many of these Chandras were Buddhists. Several coins, inscriptions and Burmese chronicles also corroborate the rule of these kings whose names ended in Chandra.[193] In an inscription known as the Rāmpāla copper plate,[194] Suvarṇacandra, the second king in the genealogical list, appears to be a follower of Buddha. His descendants were staunch Buddhists. This is proved by the facts that they invoked Buddha at the opening of their copper plate grants, adopted the epithet paramasaugata and employed the wheel of the Law in their seals. Dr. R. C. Majumdar suggests that these 'Chandra' kings ruled in East Bengal from about the 6th to 8th century A. D.[195]

That the Khaḍga kings of Bengal were Buddhists like the Pālas, has already been pointed out. King Rājabhaṭa was a devout Buddhist, a followers of Mahāyāna faith.[196]

Gopāla's patronage of Buddhism is referred to in the

Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa.[197] He is said to have built a monastery at Nālandā.[198] It was in his reign, the tradition goes, that a lay follower of Buddhism constructed the lofty monastery of Odantapura.[199] Dharmapāla (cir 770-810 A. D.), a Paramasaugata, was the founder of the famous Vikrama śilā-Mahāvihāra. He patronised the Prajñāpāramitā study and Haribhadra lived in his time in Traikuṭaka-Vihāra. He also founded the well known Somapurī Monastery. Tārānātha makes him the founder of fifty religious institutions. Archaeological finds have borne out to a great extent, the truth of these statements of the Tibetans. The successors of Dharmapāla were also patrons of Buddhist faith.[200]

Kāmarupa

Buddhism seems to have been introduced into the country of Assam[201] late in the 6th or the 7th century A. D. Yuan Chwang found only faint traces of Buddhism in the kingdom of Kāmarūpa. The Assamese of Kāmarūpa "worshipped the devas and did not believe in Buddhism. So there had never been a Buddhist monastery in the land, and whatever Buddhists there were in it performed their acts of devotion secretly". The king, Bhāskaravarmān alias Kumāra, a Brahmin by caste, "was not a Buddhist" but he respected accomplished śramaṇas such as Yuan Chwang himself.[202]

Orissa

Buddhism was quite in flourishing condition in Orissa during our period. The Śailodbhava kings who ruled in this province in the sixth and seventh centuries A. D. were pro-Brahmanic and Tārānātha leaves the impression that in their time the Buddhist monks in Orissa declined in number. But with the advent of the Bhaumakāra house in Orissa, Buddhism again received royal patronage. Under this dynasty which continued to rule up to the 10th century A. D. Orissa was the abode of many Buddhist scholars.[203]

In the middle of the 7th century A. D. there were 100 Buddhist monasteries and a myriad monks all Mahāyānists. From the Life we get the information that the monks of Orissa were all Hīnayānists who often criticised the Mahāyāna doctrines taught in Nālandā Mahāvihāra.[204]

Some Bhaumakāra rulers had apparently Buddhistic names e.g., Paramopāsaka, Paramatathāgata, and Subhākaradeva

(A. D. 790) had the epithet Paramasaugata.[205] The Dhenkānāl inscription of Tribhuvana Mahādevī, queen of King Śivakara III (A. D. 884) records the Buddhist patronage of her predecessors and forefathers in eulogistic terms. They had "exhausted treasures of their vast empire on religious works in order to enlighten their country and others who decorated the earth by constructing in unbroken continuity various maṭhas, monasteries and sanctuaries."[206] A number of archaeological finds in Orissa including the ruins of monasteries, stūpas and images of Buddha, Bodhisattvas, Tārās, also testify to the flourishing conditions of Mahāyāna Buddhism in early medieval Orissa.[207]

The neighbouring tract, around the Chilka Lake, supposed to be the modern representative of Konyodha, now the district of Ganjam, was entirely populated by the Deva-worshippers and there were ten thousand non-Buddhist sectarians.

In Kaliṅga country, there were about ten Buddhist monasteries occupied by 500 monks who followed "the Mahāyānist Sthavira System." The number of Deva-worshippers and Nirgranthas was also very large.[208]

Section 4

BUDDHISM IN DAKṢIṆĀPATHA

Daksina Kośala

This country corresponded to Rāipur-Bilaspur-Sambalpur region of Madhya Pradesh and Orissa. Yuan Chwang found a Kṣatriya king ruling here; this king was a Buddhist by faith and was noted for his benevolence. Who this king was, cannot be said definitely. The Pāṇḍuvaṃśis.[209] had been ruling in southern Kośala in the 6th and the 7th centuries A. D. Dakṣiṇa Kośala had been marked by the fame of Nāgārjuna the Mādhyamika philosopher. But the monastery in which he had lived was now desolate. Yet there were over 10,000 monks of the Mahāyāna living in over 100 monasteries.[210]

Andhra

In the early centuries of Christian era Āndhra was one of the most flourishing centres of Buddhism.[211] There were more than twenty monasteries and above 3000 monks in Āndhra in the middle of the seventh century A. D. The monastery of 'Acara' and the stūpa of Diṅnāga were now old and without any monks.

Although Buddhism in South India during the 7th and the 8th centuries had ceased to receive royal patronage, since the Pallavas and their rival dynasties were followers of Brahmanical religion, yet it continued to face the rising opposition from Jainism and Śaivism.[213]

In Dhānyakaṭaka or Dharṇīkoṭa on the Kṛṣṇā, many Buddhist monasteries were now in ruins when Yuan Chwang visited the province. Still about 20 of them were occupied by about 1000 Mahāsāṁghika monks. The famous Pūrvaśaila and Avaraśaila monasteries near the capital city (modern Bezwāḍā) as also Amarāvatī, were still extant, but without any monks. In the time of Yuan Chwang only "the local deities guarded the monasteries."[214]

In 'Chu-li-yo' (Cola) country most of the Buddhist monasteries were in ruins, and only a few were still occupied by some monks. The Tirthikas and the Digaṃbaras were flourishing and were most numerous.[215]

The province of Draviḍa proper, was, however, still an important centre of Buddhism. Its capital, Kāñcīpura (modern Conjeevaram), had been associated with Diṅnāga (cir470-550 A. D.), Bodhidharma (cir 600 A. D.) and Dharmapāla (cir. 550-610 A. D.), and in the time of Narasiṃha Varman I the Pallava king of Kāñcī in about the year A. D. 640, when Yuan Chwang visited Draviḍa land, there were more than ten thousand Sthaviravādin monks living in more than one hundred monasteries. The number of Digaṃbaras seems to have exceeded that of the Deva-worshippers or the Śivaite Hindus. Quite recently this capital city (Kāñcī) had produced an eminent scholar Dharmapāla who was the son of a city official. Near the capital was another large monastery which was a rendezvous for the most eminent men of the land.[217]

In the far south, Malakūṭa (Travancore Cochin) had few Buddhist monasteries in the state of preservation; there were remains of old Saṃghārāmas; the Brethren were few in number. On the contrary, Deva-worshippers and Digaṃbaras were very numerous. The Potalaka mountain in this country was the favourite resort of Avalokiteśvara--- who still appeared before his devotees in the guise of 'Pāśupata Tīrthika or as Maheśvara.' This last passage seems to indicate that Avalokita who had many

attributes of Śiva,[219] was now in the proces of being converted into Hindu god Śiva.

The Pallava king Narasiṃhavarman II is said to have built in 720 A. D. a Buddhist chapel in Nāgapaṭṭinam. I-tsing also refers to this place as a centre of Buddhism where Wu-hing lived for 30 days.[220] Both Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna monks were living together in the monasteries of Koṅkaṇ (northern Mysore). In this province Yuan Chwang found more than one hundred Buddhist monasteries with about ten thousand monks belonging to both the 'Vehicles.' Near the capital city (probably Banavāsī) was a large Buddhist monastery in which over 300 monks, all distinguished for their learning, were living. The monastery was decorated with Buddha images. In the vicinity there were other monasteries, one of them noted for the image of Maitreya, and a stūpa containing the relics of Arhat Srotaviṃśakoṭi.[221]

The Hiregutti (North Kannara District) record assigned to the 6th century A. D. discloses the gift of a village named Sundarika for the benefit of a Buddhist Vihāra in Dīpaka Viṣaya. The record opens with an invocation to Buddha, the gift was made by Asaṃkita a king of Bhoja family.[222]

In Mahārāṣṭra during the reign of king Pulakeśīn II Chaulukya, Yuan Chwang found over 5000 Buddhist monks occupying about 100 monasteries and belonging to both Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna. These monasteries were rich with stūpas and images. More notable among these was a monastery on the hill top built by Acara an Arhat of West India. Its chapel was 100 ft. high, within was an image in stone of Buddha 70 ft. high. Walls of the temple were decorated with the scenes of Buddha's life.[223] This report seems to refer to an Ajaṇṭā rock-cut Vihāra.

Section 5

BUDDHISM IN WESTERN INDIA

In certain localities of western India Buddhism seems to have been in fairly flourishing condition during the seventh and the eighth centuries A. D. In Bharukaccha (Broach) people were following both Hinduism and Buddhism. There were

more than ten Buddhist monasteries with 300 monks "all students of the Mahāyānist Sthavira school."[224]

Likewise the population of Malwa seems to have been divided into "miscellaneous belief in orthodoxy and heterodoxy." The Deva-temples and Śaiva Pāśupatas were very numerous. Yet the Buddhists of the Sammitīya school held their banner aloft. Yuan Chwang reports that they had several hundreds of monasteries in Malwa and their number exceeded 20,000. There is no reason to doubt this report though the number of monks seems to be sufficiently high. A number of kings of Western India, who ruled in the 6th, 7th and the 8th centuries A. D. in Malwa region, are known from inscriptions to have patronised Buddhist establishments. Yuan Chwang himself records of one 'Śīlāditya' who ruled about 60 years before his visit, that this king was a devout Buddhist and had built a magnificent Buddhist temple with beautiful images of 7 Buddhas.[225]

The pilgrim further tells us that this king Śīlāditya was in the habit of arranging annually a Religious Assembly in which were invited monks and sages from all quarters and the king presented them the robes and other valuables. In this kingdom was a small town called Brahmaṇapura, so called because a proud Brāhmaṇa who had been defeated in debate by Bhikṣu Bodhiruci 'a consummate logician and well versed in the non-Buddhist śāstras', went down alive into a pit in this city.[226]

This whole description, historically speaking, does not seem to be far removed in time from our period. A number of kings of Kathiawar peninsula, belonging to Kaṭachuri and Maitraka dynasties that ruled here from 6th to the 8th centuries, bore the epithet 'Śīlāditya' or 'Sun of Morality'[227] and had a soft corner for Buddhism.

It seems that 'Śīlāditya' of the above narrative is perhaps identifiable with Śīlāditya I Dharmāditya, a Maitraka king of Valabhī, known from inscriptions. His dates range betwwen A. D. 606-612. The Buddhist Doctor, Bodhiruci flourished in the sixth century A. D. and translated Daśabhūmika sūtra in Chinese.[228] The religious activities of Śīlāditya I fit in well with his another epithet Dharmāditya,'the Sun of Righteousness.' One of his inscriptions records a grant to the Buddhist monastery of Vaṃsakaṭa.[229] In K' i-T'a ('Kheda', 'Kaira', modern Kaccha), the Chinese pilgrim found more than ten monasteries

where above one thousand monks belonging to both Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna lived.

Valabhi

One of the most famous centres of Buddhism in the 7th and the 8th centuries was Valabhī; this is testified to by Yuan Chwang, I-tsing and by the epigraphic records of the period. The district around Fa-la-pi maintained in the time of Yuan Chwang, over 100 Buddhist monastic establishments with about 6000 monks of Hīnayāna belonging to the Sammitīya sect. The ruling king Tu-lo-p' o-po-t'a (Dhruvabhaṭa, probably identical with Dhruvasena II, Bālāditya of Valabhī one of whose known dates is A. D. 639, (Gupta Era 320)[230] was, a Ksatriya by birth, nephew of the former king Śīlāditya of Malwa, and the son-in-law of Emperor Harṣavardhana, the Śīlāditya of Kanauj. Dhruvasena II was a sincere believer in Buddhism. Near the capital city was a large monastery in which famous Buddhist Doctors like Guṇamati and Sthiramati had lived and wrote treatises.[231] I-tsing includes these two Buddhist teachers among the celebrities of 'recent age' (cir 500-670 A. D.). He also describes Valabhī as a centre of Buddhist learning like Nālandā.[232] A copper plate grant dated A. D. 580 from Valabhī also refers to Sthiramati.[233] In the district of Ānandapura (in Ahmedabad District) which was a dependency of Malwa, there were nearly 1000 Hīnayāna monks of the Sammitīya sect living in about more than ten monasteries. In Surat the Chinese pilgrim found about 3000 monks, most of whom belonged to the 'Mahāyānist Sthavira System'. There were more than 50 Buddhist monasteries in Surat. Near the capital was a rock-cut Vihāra which was well maintained and frequented by sages and scholars. In Ku-che-lo (Gurjara) few people belived in Buddhism. Yuan Chwang found here only one Buddhist monastery in which about 100 monks of Sarvāstivāda were living. The ruler of this province was a patron of the learned and "a profound believer in Buddhism."[234]

Above picture of Buddhism in Gujrat-Kathiawar and Malwa regions as presented by the Chinese pilgrims may be taken in the light of the royal patronage of several kings of this region, all of whom were not Buddhists yet endowed the Buddhist monasteries with material goods.

Mahārāja Guhāsena of Valabhī (one of whose known dates

is 567 A. D.) records in his copper plate that he arranged water facilities for the Śākya Bhikṣus belonging to 18 sects. This gift was attached to the Mahāvihāra built by Duddā. This Duddā was the daughter of Dhruvasena I's sister. In another inscription the same king is seen recording a grant to the foreign monks belonging to 18 schools and living in Abhyantarika Vihāra built by the venerable Miṃma.[234a]

An inscription of Maitraka king Śīlāditya III, dated (G. E. 343) 663 A. D. from Wālā (Kathiawar) records a grant to the Buddhist monastery of Vimalagupta.[235] Another inscription of this ruler also records a grant to the Buddhist monastery built by Duddā near Valabhī.[236]

An inscription of Dhruvasena III (Maitraka ruler), one of whose known dates is (G. E. 334) A. D. 653, records a grant to the monastery of Duddā near Valabhi.[237] The Duddā-Vihāra was a famous centre of Buddhist monks in the seventh century A.D. The kings of this dynasty continued, as late as the time of Śīlāditya VII of Valabhī (one of whose dates is (G.E. 447) A. D. 766, to contribute to the gifts for the Buddhist monks. These gifts included grants for the monks and the students, foundation of a library, and the ceremonies of Buddhaworship.[238]

A Buddhist inscription of Devadatta dated (Vikrama Era 847=A. D. 789) found in Shergaṛh (Koṭā State) proves that Buddhism was not extinct in this part of Rajasthan in the 8th century A. D.[239]

Inscriptions from Berar (Vidarbha) region also point to the existence of Buddhist laity in the seventh and the eighth centuries in Western part of the Central Provinces.

The Gandheśvara temple compound has yield a large Buddha image in which the Buddhist credo 'E Dhaṃmā hetuppabhavā etc.' is inscribed in the letters of 8th or o 9th century A. D. The inscription is known as Sirpur Buddha image inscription. A Bhāṇḍaka Buddhist inscription from Chāndā District which extolls king Sūryaghoṣa (?), opens with 4 verses glorifying the Buddha under the name of Jina and Tāyīn.[240]

Ujjain

In 'Ujayana' or Ujjain Yuan Chwang found a Brāhmaṇa ruler, learned in heterodox lore, but a non-Buddhist.[241] Buddhist monasteries were mostly in ruins. Only three or four of them were in good condition and they were occupied by about 300 monks

belonging to both Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna.[242] An interesting side light is thrown on the state of Buddhist monks of Ujjainī in about our period in the celebrated Mṛcchakaṭikaṃ, attributed to Śūdraka by some, and to Daṇḍin by others.[243] Buddhism does not seem to have been a dominant religion in Ujjainī. Thus Yuan Chwang's report seems to be corroborated by the play Mṛcchakaṭikaṃ. On the contrary, the site of a Buddhist monk was considered to be inauspicious and was to be avoided. Buddhist monks led a strict life; their career was supposed to be very austere. There were some Buddhist establishments and monks and nuns as would appear from the fact that a Shampooer-monk is shown leading Vasantasenā to a Buddhist nun in a Vihāra near the royal garden. A Saṃvāhaka Bhikṣu is represented as the Head of the Buddhist monasteries of the country and the king himself seems to have been the supreme controller of all the religious endowments in the State.[244]

Buddhism in Sindh

According to both Yuan Chwang and I-tsing Buddhist monks of the Sammitīya school were most numerous in Sindh in their times. The people of Sindh were thorough believers in Buddhism but their learning was superficial. The king who was a Śūdra by caste, was an honest man and adevout Buddhist by faith.

There were, according to Yuan Chwang, many hundred Buddhist monasteries and more than ten thousand monks of the Sammitīya school of Hīnayāna "Most of these were indolent worthless persons, of the superior Brethren who, leading lives of lonely seclusion, never relaxed in perseverance, many attained arhatship."[244]

Along the Indus river bank in the low marshes there were several hundreds of Buddhist families. They reared cattle, killed animals; they were without Government and observed no social distinctions. "They shaved their hair and wore the bhikṣu garb, looking like bhikṣus yet living in the world; they were bigoted in their narrow views and reviled the Great Vehicle."[245] This perhaps refers to the institution of married monks.

The above account of the monks of Sindh shows that the rules of monastic celebacy had been greatly relaxed. This feature of Saindhava bhikṣus seems to be corroborated by the Chāch-Nāmā. It is reported that the king of Sindh, in the

time of invasion of Brāhmaṇābād by Chācha, was under the influence of a 'Samanī' (Śramaṇa) named Buddha-Raku (Buddha-rakṣita); the latter was an expert in magic and had family. Reference is also made to a Nau-Vihāra at Sawandisi and to an old damaged Buddhist temple.[246]

In Mūlasthānapur (modern Multan) on the eastern side of the river Sindhu, there were few who believed in Buddhism; Buddhist monasteries were mostly in ruins and there were only very few monks. To further north east of Multan lay the kingdom of Parvata. Both these territories were dependencies of the kingdom of Ṭakka. In Parvata there were some stūpas, more than ten Buddhist monasteries and about 1000 monks belonging to both the Hīnayāna and the Mahāyāna. Near the capital city was a large monastery exclusively Mahāyānist wherein lived more than 100 monks in the time of Yuan Chwang. From his biography we learn that Yuan Chwang stayed in the monasteries of Parvata for two years in order to study under a few learned monks who dwelt in this country. The monastery in which Śāstra-Masters Bhadraruci and Guṇaprabha had been converted and, where Śāstra-Master Jinaputra (cir 600 A. D.) had composed a ṭīkā called Yogācāra-bhūmī-śāstra-vyākhyā, was now in ruins.

In the small kingdom called A-tien-po-chih-lo (?) which was a province of Sindh bordering on the Arabian Sea, Yuan Chwang noticed more than 80 Buddhist monasteries with over 5,000 monks of the Sammitīya sect. The most imposing religious object in the capital city was, however, 'a large handsomely ornamented Maheśvara Temple.' In the westernmost part of India, beyond the Indus there was the province of Lang-ka-lo, subject to Persia, in this region there were more than 6000 monks, belonging to both Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna, living in over 100 Buddhist monasteries.[247]

Notes and Referenecs

1. Life, p. 57; on the Laṃpakas see Mahābhārata, Droṇaparvan 121, 42-43.
2. Cunningham, AGI, Calcutta, 1924, p. 43.
3. Yuan Chwang, I, pp. 190-192.
4. See V. A. Smith, EHI, 4th ed.; p. 57; H. C. Raychaudhari, PHAI, 6th ed. p. 246.
5. Yuan Chwang, I, pp. 182 f.
6. Giles, Fa-hsien, p. 18.

7. On the Buddhist monuments of Gandhāra, see John Marshall, (1) Taxila, 3 vols., Cambridge, 1951, (2) A Guide to Taxila, Delhi, 1936, and (3) The Buddhist Art of Gandhāra, Cambridge, 1960.

8. Yuan Chwang, I, 198:222.

9. Cunningham, AGI, p. 81; G. Tucci, 'Preliminary Report on an Archaeological Survey in Swat', East and West, Vol. IX, No. 4, Rome, 1958; On Uḍḍiyāna as a Pīṭha, see my article in the Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, 27th Session, Allahabd, 1965.

10. See Giles, Fa-hsien, p. 11.

11. See below Chapter X.

12. Yuan Chwang, I, 225-238.

13. Ibid., p. 239.

14. See Mahāvaṃso, ed. by N. K. Bhagwat, V. 206; Madhyāntika is mentioned in a Sāñcī inscription also.

15. Giles, Fa-hsien, p. 9-16. Cunningham, A. G. I., p. 84.

17. Yuan Chwang, I, 240.

18. Ibid, 240-245.

19. A. G. I., p. 124.

20. Yuan Chwang, I, 248-255.

21. Thomas Watters in Yuan Chwang, I, 256.

22. Yuan Chwang, I, 256.

23. See N. Dutt, Gilgit Manuscripts, Vol. I, Introduction, J. N. Ganhar and P. N. Ganhar, Buddhism in Kashmir and Ladakh, Delhi, 1956.

24. Yuan Chwang, I, 261, Life p. 68.

25. Yuan Chwang I, 279.

26. Ibid., 259; Life, pp. 69-70.

27. Rājataraṅgiṇī, III, 355; see my article 'Buddhist Gleanings From the Rājataraṅgiṇī' in the Journal of the Oriental Institute, vol. XIV, Dec. 1964, Baroda.

28. Life, p. 68.

29. Rājataraṅgiṇī, I, 170.

30. Yuan Chwang, I, 279.

31. Ibid., 279.

32. Ibid., 282.

33. Life, p. 70.

34. Rājataraṅgiṇī, III, 2, 4-8.

35. Ibid., III, 9-10; See Gilgit Manuscripts, I, p. 28.

36. Rājataraṅgiṇī, III, 11-12.

37. Ibid., III. 13.

38. Ibid., III, 14.

39. Rājataraṅgiṇī, Stein's transl. vol. I, Introduction, p. 74 note.

40. Rājataraṅgiṇī, III, 57.

40 a. Jan Yuan Hua, 'Kashmir' contribution to the Expansion of Buddhism in the Far East', I.H.Q., vol. XXVII, 1961, p. 98.

41. Rājataraṅgiṇī, III, 380-381, See Stein, op. cit, p. 105, note.

42. Rājataraṅgiṇī, III, 464.

43. Ibid, III, 476.

44. Ibid., IV. 3.

45. See L'itineraire d' Ou K'ong (751-790), ed. and transl. by S. Levi, Journal Asiatique, 1895, pp. 341-384; Gilgit Manuscript, vol. I, p. 36 f.

46. Rājataraṅgiṇī, IV, 127, 134.

47. Ibid, IV, 144; according to R. G. Bhandarkar, Collected Works, vol. II, Poona, 1928, pp. 430-32, King Lalitāditya ruled 693-729 A. D. or 700-736 A. D. and subdued Yaśovarman in 724 or 731 A.D.

48. Rājataraṅgiṇī IV. 188; Stein, Op. cit., I, p. 140.

49. Smith, EHI, 4th ed. p. 287.

50. Rājataraṅgiṇī, IV. 200; Stein, op. cit., I, p. 142, II, pp. 302-303.

51. Rājataraṅgiṇī IV. 203-204; cf. the Buddhist traditions of 84000

Śarīras or relics and of an equal number of stūpas built by Aśoka.

52. Rājataraṅgiṇī, IV. 210; Stein, Op. cit., I, p. 143.
53. Rājataraṅgiṇī, IV. 211, 215, Stein, op. cit, I, pp. 143. 144.
54. Rājataraṅgiṇī, IV. 216.
55. Rājataraṅgiṇī IV. 259-263.
56. Ibid. IV. 506-507.
57. Ibid IV. 517.
58. Ibid, IV. 594-604.
59. Ibid., IV. 498.
60. See Gilgit Manuscripts, I, Introduction, p. 37.
61. See above note 44.
62. Sten Konow ASR, 1915-1916, p. 50; Gilgit Manuscripts, I, p. 38.
63. Cunningham, AGI p. 128.
64. Ibid, p. 129.
65. Yuan Chwang, I, 283-284.
66. See Rājataraṅgiṇī, V. 150.
67. Yuan Chwang, I, p. 286.
68. Life, p.. 72-73.
69. Ibid p. 73.
70. Ibid, pp. 74-76; see Yuan Chwang, I, 287. Beal thinks that '700 years' is a mistake for '170 years'.
71. Cunningham, AGI, 200.
72. Yuan Chwang. I, 291.
73. Life, p. 76.
74. Ibid., p. 76 Yuan Chwang, I, 294.
75. Ibid., p. 296.
76. Ibid., p. 297.
77. Life pp. 76.
78. Yuan Chwang, I, 298.
79. Ibid., 299.
80. Cunningham, AGI, p. 337.
81. Yuan Chwang, I, 300.
82. Harṣacarita, Chapter III, describes Kanauj as a centre of men and women of all faiths and vocations.
83. Yuan Chwang, I, 314.
84. Giles, Fa-hsien, p. 20.
85. See J. U. P. H. S., vols. XXIV-XXV, Lucknow, 1951-52.
86. Takakusu, I-tsing's Record, p. 14.
87. Yuan Chwang, I, 301 f
88. Cunningham, AGI, 345.
89. Yuan Chwang, I, 317-318.
90. Life, pp. 7879.
91. AGI, 348.
92. Yuan Chwang, I, 322 f. Life, pp. 79-80.
93. Ibid., p. 81.
94. A.G.I., 355.
95. Yuan Chwang, I, 329-330.
96. AGI, 357.
97. Yuan Chwang, I, 330-331.
98. On Saṃmitiya system see Saṃmitiya-Nikāya-Śāstra, transl. in Visvabharati Annals, Vol. V, 1953.
99. Yuan Chwang, I, 331.
100. AGI, 365.
101. Yuan Chwang, I, 332.
102. W. W. Rockhill., Life of Buddha, p. 81; Giles, Fa-hsien, p. 24.
103. Yuan Chwang, I, 333-334; see Hīrānanda Śāstrī, 'Excavations at Saṅkisā', J.U.P.H.S., vol. III, 1927, pp. 99 f.
104. Giles, Fa-hsien, p. 29; Beal, Records of the Western World, Calcutta reprint, p. 235.
105. See R. S. Tripathi, History of Kanauj, History and Culture of

the Indian People, ed. by R. C. Majumdar and A. D. Puslakar, vol. IV, and Yuan Chwang, I, 345.

106. Ibid, 340; Life, pp. 82-83.

107. Ibid., p. 177; R. K. Mookerji, Men and Thought in Ancient India, Chapter V.

108. See Bānsakhera copper plate inscription in D. B. Disalkar, Selections from Sanskrit Inscriptions, Rajkot 1925, p. 35; Harṣacarita chapter V; V. S. Agarwala, Harṣacarita Ek Sanskritika Adhyayana, p. 113.

109. Harṣacarita, Chapter VIII, English Transl. by Cowell and Thomas, p. 288; Life, p. 176.

110. See below Chapters VI-VII.

111. Life, p. 83.

112. Yuan Chwang I, 344.

113. Harṣacarita, Chap. II, Agarwala, op. cit., p. 47.

114. Yuan Chwang I, 343-344; Life, pp. 83, 111, 159.

115. Yuan Chwang I, 352.

116. Ibid, 343.

117. Life, p. 176.

118. Ibid, pp. 175. f.

119. Yuan Chwang, I, 355, Life, p. 85.

120. AGI, 387.

121. Yuan Chwang, I, 359.

122. Life, pp. 86-90.

123. Yuan Chwang, I, 361.

124. K. Chaṭṭopādhyāya, 'Religious Suicide at Prayāg', J U P H S., Vol. X, Pt. I, 1937, pp. 65 f.

125. I-tsing Record, pp. 197-198.

126. Yuan Chwang, I, 361-363; Life, p. 90.

127. See N. N. Ghosh, Early History of Kauśāmbī, Allahabad, 1935, B. C. Law, 'Kauśāmbī in Ancient Literature' M A S I. No. 6 Delhi 1939.

128. Giles, Fa-hsien, pp. 61-62.

129. Life, p. 91; Yuan Chwang, I, 369.

130. G. R. Sharma, Excavations at Kauśāmbī, Allahabad, 1960; Ancient India, No. 9, Delhi, 1955, pp. 145 f. plate LXIV.

131. Yuan Chwang, I, 365-372.

132. Ibid., I, 375-374; Serie Oriental Roma, No. II, p. 32.

133. See B. C. Law 'Śrāvastī in Ancient Literature', M A S I. No. 50, Delhi, 1935.

134. Yuan Chwang, I, 377-401; See A. S.I. Reports, 1907-1908, pp. pp. 81 f.; M. Venkataramayya, Śrāvastī, Delhi, 1959.

135. See Giles, Fa-hsien, pp. 36-38.

136. Yuan Chwang, II, 2 ff.

137. Northern India According to the Shui-Ching-Chu, transl. by L. Petech, S.O.R., II, Rome, 1950, pp. 32-35.

138. See. W. C. Peppe and V.A. Smith in JRAS., London, 1898, pp. 573 f.; AC. L. Carllayle in A.S.I. Reports, vol. XII, p. 83, vol. XIII pp. 1 ff; P. C. Mukherji, Antiquities in the Tarai, A.S.I. Reports, Vol. XXVI, 1901.

139. Yuan Chwang, II, 14 ff.

140. Ibid, 14-45; Life, 96-97; A.S.I. Reports, 1904-1905, p. 41; 1911-1912, pp. 134 ff.; Ancient India No. 9, p. 143; Bhikṣu Dharmarakṣita, Kuśīnagara Kā Itihāsa, Kuśīnagar, 1949.

141. See S.O.R., II, p. 50.

142. Life. p. 98; Yuan Chwang, II, 47.

143. Ibid, loc. cit., see Annual Bibliography of Indian History and Indology, III, Bombay, 1944, p. XII f.

144. Yuan Chwang, II, 48-55; Life, p. 98; V. S. Agrawala, Sārnāth, 1957; B. Majumdar, A Guide to Sārnāth, 1937; Bhikṣu, Dharmaraksita, Sārnāth Kā Itihāsa, Varanasi, 1961.

145. Yuan Chwang, II, 59-60; Cunningham, AGI, p. 438.

146. See Havaldar Tripathi, Bauddha Dharma Aur Bihar, Patna, 1960.

147. See Biography of Dharmasvāmin, Eng. Transl. by G. Roerich Patna, 1959.

148. See B. M. Barua, Gayā and Buddha-Gayā, vol. I Calcutta 1934.

149. See B. C. Lw, 'Rājagriha in Ancient Literature', MASI., No. 58, 1938; M. H. Kuraishi and A. Ghosh, Rajgir 5th ed., 1958.

150. See Hīrānanda Śāstrī, Nālandā and it Epigraphic Material, MASI., No. 66, Calcutta, 1942; A. Ghosh, Nālandā, 4th ed., 1959.

151. See R Sāṃkrtyāyana, Purātattva Nibandhāvalī, Chap. III,

152. See Ancient India, No. 9, pp. 146-147; Satyaketu Vidyālaṅkāra, Pāṭaliputra Ki Kathā, Hindustani Academy, Allahabad.

153. Extant in Chinese and Tibetan versions, cf. SOR, II, p. 29.

154. Yuan Chwang, II, 63-79; Life, pp. 100-101; Hwui Li Says that his master obtained a copy of the Bodhisattva-Piṭaka from Śvetapura monastery.

155. Yuan Chwang, II, 81-83.

156. Ibid, II, 86.

157. I-tsing, pp. 7-8.

158. Yuan Chwang II, 87 f.; Life, pp. 100 f.

159. Yuan Chwang, II, 105-106; Life, p. 103; I-tsing, p. 184, In the Life only 'some tens of priests' but in the Si-yu-ki the number is one thousand.

160. Yuan Chwang, II, 108.

161. Ibid, II, 109.

162. Ibid, II, 110-116; Life, pp. 103-105; Shui-Ching-Chu in SOR, II, pp. 38-40.

163. This 'former king of Ceylon' is King Kittisiri Meghavaṇṇa (362-389 A.D.), a contemporary of Samudragupta; on his history see Mahāvaṃsa, XXXVII. 93 ff. cf. B. C. Law 'contemporary Indian and and Ceylonese Kings' in JBBRAS, Ns. vol. 26, 1950, pp. 88 f.

164. Yuan Chwang II, 136.

165. A. Ghosh, Nālandā, pp. 1 f.

166. Life, p. 112; I-tsing, p. 154; Yuan Chwang, II, 165.

167. Ibid, II, 173, 175; Life, p. 119.

168. Cunningham, AGI, 476.

169. Life, p. 127; Yuan Chwang, II, 178.

170. Capital of old Aṅga, AGI, 477.

171. Life, 128; Yuan Chwang, II, 181.

172. AGI, p. 478.

173. Life, p. 131; Yuan Chwang, II, 182, 182-183.

174. See IHQ, vol. VI, 1930, pp. 55f.

175. Ibid, p. 572.

176. History of Bengal, I, ed. by R. C. Majumdar, Dacca, 1943, p. 413.

177. Yuan Chwang, II, 184.

178. Ibid., II, 148; Life, p. 131.

179. Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa, ed. by T. Gaṇapati Śāstrī, Pt. III, p. 631.

180. See Pag Sam Jon Zang, p. 111.

181. I-tsing, p. 9, History of Bengal, I, pp. 413-425; HCIP, IV, pp. 266-272; Visvabharati Annals, VI, pp. 49-89.

182. Yuan Chwang, II, 187, Life, p. 132.

183. Cf. Life, Introduction, pp. XL-XLI; E. Chavannes's French Translation of I-Tsing's Memoire on 'Religiux Eminents etc., Paris, 1894, p. 128, quoted in History of Bengal, I, pp. 87, 414.

184. History of Bengal, I, pp. 86-88; JASB, NS, Vol. X, p. 86.

185. History of Bengal, I, p. 414.

186. Yuan Chwang, II, 191; Life, p. 131.

187. Ibid, 133; Yuan Chwang, II, 190.

188. I-tsing, pp. 154, 211.

189. History of Bengal, I, p. 414; Life, p. XXXVIII.
190. History of Bengal, I, p. 86; Yuan Chwang, II, 109.
191. IHQ, 1947, p. 235; Visvabharati Annals, VI, p. 52.
192. Relevant portions from Schiefner's German Translation of it are translated by R. C. Majumdar in History of Bengal, I, pp. 182 f. and by N. Dutt in HCIP, IV, pp. 266. f.
193. History of Bengal, I, pp. 192-195.
194. Ibid.,
195. Ibid., p. 192.
196. See History of Bengal, I, pp. 86, 99.
197. Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa, p. 631.
198. Bu-Ston, II, p. 156; Tārānātha (Schiefner), p. 204.
199. Ibid; p. 206; Bu-Ston, II, p. 157, attributes its construction to Dharmapāla.
200. See Tārānātha (Schiefner) p. 217; R. L. Mitra, Buddhist Skt. Lit. Nepal, p. 229; Bu-Ston, II, p. 156. The Prajñāpāramitās, Vol. I, ed. in GOS by G. Tucci, pp. 563-564.
201. See S. C. Goswami, 'Hidden Traces of Buddhism in Assam', IHQ, Vol. III, 1927; See below Chapter X.
202. Yuan Chwang, II, 186.
203. See N. K. Sahu, Buddhism in Orissa, 1958 and Foreword to it by N. Dutt, cf. also Binayok Misra, Dynasties of Medieval Orissa, Calcutta, 1933.
204. Life, pp. 159 f.; Yuan Chawng, II, 193.
205. On the history and chronology of these Orissan Kings, see B. Misra, Op. cit.; HCIP, IV, pp. 62-68.
206. B. Misra, Orissa under the Bhauma Kings, Calcutta, 1934, p. 28; N. K. Sahu, op. cit., p. 86.
207. See R. D. Banerji, History of Orissa, 2 Vols., Calcutta, 1930-1931; R. L. Mitra, Antiquities of Orissa, Reprinted in Indian Studies, Past and Present, vol. II, 1960-1961 ff.
208. Yuan Chwang, II, pp. 196, 198.
209. See HCIP, III, pp. 220 f.
210. Yuan Chwang, II, 220.
211. See V. R. R. Dikshitar, 'Buddhism in Āndhradeśa' in B. C. Law volume, Pt. I, pp. 346 ff.
212. Yuan Chwang, II, p. 209.
213. See K. A. Nīlakānta Śāstrī, 'An Episode in the History of Buddhism in South India' in B. C. Law Volume. Pt. I, pp. 35 ff.
214. Yuan Chwang, II, p. 214.
215. Ibid., p. 224. On Dharmakīrti's birth place see Chap. VII.
216. See A. Aiyyapan and P. R. Srinivasan, Story of Buddhism with special reference to South India, Madras, 1960, pp. 54-55.
217. HCIP, III, p. 261; Yuan Chwang, II, p. 226.
218. See Tārānātha (Schiefner), pp. 141, 157,; see Chap. X below.
219. See Kāraṇḍavyūha-Sūtra in MSS, I, BST-No. 17; ERE, Art. 'Avalokiteśvara'.
220. Story of Buddhism, p. 56; see. Takakusu's note in I-tsing, p. XLVI, quoting 'Religieux Eminents' p. 144.
221. Yuan Chwang, II, 237; Life, p. 146.
222. P. B. Desai, 'Buddhist Antiquities of Karnāṭaka' Journal of Indian History, Vol. XXXII, 1954, p. 87.
223. Yuan Chwang, II, 239.
224. Ibid, II, 241.
225. Ibid, 242; Life, p. 148.
226. Yuan Chwang, II, 242;
227. HCIP, III, Chapters VIII, X; V. V. Mirashi, C. I. I., vol. IV, Dept. of Archaeology in India, New Delhi.
228. Takakusu, Essentials of Buddhist Philosophy, p. 114.
229. Vide D. R. Bhandarkar, A list of the Inscriptions of Northern India in Brāhmī etc., Appendix to Ep. Ind. vols. 19-23, pp. 3, 221; also

Wālā Museum Plates ed. by D. B. Disalkar, JBBRAS, NS, vol. I, pp. 33 f.

230. D. R. Bhandarkar, List of the Inscriptions, p. 3; HCIP, III, p. 103.

231. Yuan Chwang, II, 245-246; I-tsing p. 9.

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233. Ind. Ant., 1877, p. 91; Ibid., 1878, p. 80; A. S. Altekar, Edu. Anc. India, p. 126.

234. Yuan Chwang, II, 247-248.

234 a. Ind. Ant., vol. IV. pp. 106, 175; Ind. Ant., vol. V. p. 206.

235. D. R. Bhandarkar, List of the Inscriptions, p. 185.

236. Ibid., p. 222; see JBBRAS, NS, vol. I, pp. 40 f.

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239. Shyam Sundar Das, Prācīna Lekha-Maṇi-Mālā, Benaras, 1903, p. 7.

240. Hira Lal, Descriptive List of Inscriptions in Central Provinces, Nagpur, 1916, pp. 13, 101-102.

241. Was he the Brāhmanical King Sudhanvana of Ujjainī associated in legends with Kumārila's wars against Buddhism ? see Chap. XII, and Śaṃkara-Dig-vijaya with Diṇdim-Tīkā, I. 93.

242. Yuan Chwang, II, 250.

243. A. A. Macdonell, Hist. Skt. Lit., 1962 (reprint), p. 305, Quoting Pischel's view; see HCIP, III, p. 315.

244. S. Mukerjee, 'Ujjaini in Mrcchakaṭika' in B. C. Law Volume, Pt. I, pp. 414-418;

245. Yuan Chwang, II, 252.

246. H. M. Eliot and John Dowson, History of India as told by its own Historians, vol. I, London, 1866, pp. 147 f; Visvabharati Annals, VI, pp. 30-31.

247. Yuan Chwang, II, 254-257; Life, pp. 152-153.

Chapter III

BUDDHIST ART IN THE MONASTERIES

The following pages, dealing with the Buddhist art of the period, based on information supplied by Yuan Chwang and corroborated by corresponding references to extant archaeological remains and other sources referable to this period, are intended to supplement the general picture of Buddhism sketched above.

General Features of a monastery.

While speaking of the cities, houses and buildings of India in general, Yuan Chwang observes that "the Buddhist monasteries are of the most remarkable architecture. They have a tower at each of the four corners of the quadrangle and three high halls in a tier. The rafters and roof beams are carved with strange figures, and the doors, windows, and walls are painted in various colours." Continuing his remarkable description the pilgrim tells us of the design of the houses of the Buddhist house-holders. He says that "the houses of the laity are sumptuous inside and economical outside. The inner rooms and the central hall vary in their dimensions, and there is no rule for form or construction for the tiers of the terraces or the rows of high rooms. Their doors open to the east, and the throne faces east."[1] The 'throne' probably refers to the siṃhāsana ('lion seat') wherein the image of Buddha was enshrined in the houses of the laity. Near the capital of Nagar (Na-kie-lo-ho) there stood many old Buddhist sacred buildings mostly in ruinous condition. But a large stūpa made of stone, said to have been built by Aśoka, was still in tact; it contained marvellous sculptures and was more than 300 feet in height.[2] At some distance from this city, was "a stone monastery with lofty halls and tiers of chambers all silent and un-occupied." In this establishment there was, moreover, an Aśokan Stūpa, 200 feet high.[3]

Buddhist art in Gandhāra

In the entire records of Yuan Chwang, nothing strikes us more than the dimensions of a stūpa built by Kaniṣka in Gandhāra. It was one and a half li in circuit at the base; the plinth was 150 feet high in five stages; the stūpa itself was 400 feet in height. It was thus an extraordinary architectural piece.

The tiers of the stūpa were decorated with gilt copper disks. Around the Great Tope were several smaller buildings. Two images of Buddha, one four and the other six feet high, representing him in cross-legged seated posture under the Bodhi-Tree, seem to have flanked the main entrance of the monument. On the Southern face of the ascent to the stūpa was a peculiar painting which appears to have been unparalleled. It was a painting of Buddha, "16 feet high with two heads from one body." Close to the south-east of the Great Tope was another Buddha image in white stone, 18 feet in height. Not far from this stupa was a monastery built by Kaniska, which had many storeys and terraces and was an example of "rare art."[4]

Near the Mahāvana monastery in Uḍḍiyāna the pilgrim found a hundred feet high stūpa by the side of which was a large square stone bearing Buddha's foot-prints.[5] In this same territory was a stūpa, 80 feet high, situated near the Sarpauṣadhī monastery.[5] Near the city of Mongkil, the capital of Uḍḍiyāna, was an adbhut-stūpa, above 40 feet high, built of stone. Not far from it lay an image of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara in a Buddhist temple. In the Valley of the river Darel was a great Vihāra which contained a carved wooden image of Bodhisattva Maitreya, 100 feet in height of brilliant golden hue.[6] A number of Stūpas built by Aśoka were still in existence in Takṣaśilā in the middle of the 7th century A.D. a 200 feet high stone stūpa built by Aśoka is reported by the pilgrim in Siṃhapura,[7] and yet another Asokan stūpa of stone and of similar height was found by him in the vicinity of Takṣaśilā. This stūpa has been identified with the Manikyāla stūpa, about 34 miles south-east from Shāh-dherī. Another 200 feet high Aśokan stūpa stood near the capital of Urasha.[8]

In Kashmir

4 Aśokan Stūpas and several magnificent monasteries were seen by Yuan Chwang; Ou-K'ong noticed as many as seven edifices. Notable among them were the Huṣkara-Vihāra, the Jayendra-Vihāra, the Ānandabhavana, the Muṇḍi-Vihāra, and a large number of stūpas and images of Buddha. Kalhaṇa records the construction of a number of artistic and magnificent Vihāras, Caityas, and the erection of lofty Buddha images by the kings, queens and ministers of Kashmir in the seventh and eighth centuries. The testimony of Yuan Chwang is corroborated by

Kalhaṇa and confirmed by archaeological exploration. Mention may be made of a Buddha image which Lalitāditya brought from Magadha, probably from Nālandā.[9]

An Aśokan stūpa built of bright orange bricks stood near the capital of Sthāneśvara; there was here a beautiful monastery which "had high chambers in close succession and detached terraces."[10] In Mathurā, Yuan Chwang observed three stūpas built by Aśoka, besides a multitude of other stūpas containing relics of Buddha's disciples.[11]

Attractive architectural and sculptural pieces existed at Saṅkisā (Dist. Farrukhabad, U.P.).[12] It is the traditional spot where Buddha is supposed to have descended from the Trayastriṃśa Heaven. According to the Shui-Ching-Chu, Aśoka had built on this spot a stūpa and a stone pillar surmounted by the image of a lion.[13] Yuan Chwang found at this place (Saṅkisā or Kapitha) that three precious stairs built of gold, crystal and silver by Indra, had now disappeared, and in their place there existed stairs of bricks and stones built by previous kings. "The present stairs were about 70 feet high" with a Buddhist temple on the top in which was a stone image of the Buddha, and images of Brahmā and Indra were at the top of the right and left stairs respectively.

By the side of these edifices were an "Aśoka-pillar of lustrous violet colour and very hard with a croaching lion on the top facing the stairs; quaintly carved figures were on each side of the pillar." Besides, there were other stūpas, a chapel, a large stone platform 50 paces long and seven feet high where the Buddha used to take exercise. This platform was enclosed by a wall.[14]

Outline of a Vihara

The monasteries (Saṃghārāma, Vihāra) in ancient India were usually planned as a square block formed by four rows of monastic rooms along the four sides of an inner courtyard. They were raised on a platform of brick or stone. The building materials in earlier periods were usually wood and bricks, but during our period bricks and stones of diverse colour and variety seem to have been in universal use. It was a regular feature to enclose a monastic establishment within a boundary wall with one main gate. Instances of several monasteries being enclosed within one wall are also known.

Thus in Kānyakubja (Kanauj) there were, close to the Gangā, "three monasteries enclosed by a common wall but each having its own gate." These Vihāras were adorned with beautiful images.

In a monastery in Hayamukha (supposed to be 'Daundiā-kherā' on the northern bank of the Gangā) Yuan Chwang obsefved an Aśokan stūpa, another 'a dark-blue-stone tope with Buddha-relics', and 'a beautiful life-like image of the Buddha.' The halls and chambers of this monastery were lofty and were of exquisite workmanship.[15]

In Kauśāmbi,[16] the pilgrim found several ruined edifices, including the house of 'Ghoshita' a Buddhist Temple, a hair and nail-relic stūpa, and the ruins of Buddha's bath-room. Not far from the city was the Ghoṣitārāma—the monastery built by Ghoṣita—with a stūpa, about 200 feet high, built by Aśoka. To the south-east of the Ghoṣitārāma was 'a two-storeyed building with an old brick upper-chamber' wherein the great Vasubandhu had lodged for some time.[17]

In Kāsapura, north of the Gangā, there were ruins of a monastery with an Aśokan Stūpa, of which 200 feet still remained above ground.

In Śrāvastī, most of the Buddhist edifices were in ruinous state. At the east gate of Jetavana Vihāra, two stone pillars, one on each side of the gate, eighty feet high, built by Aśoka, were still standing.

The pillar on the left side was surmounted by a sculptured wheel and that on the right side by an ox or bull.[18]

The Dharma-Cakra capital

These are the well known Aśokan styles of the 'Bull Capital' and the 'Dharma-Cakra Capital.' It was quite in the fitness of things that the great Buddhist Emperor raised here a pillar with the sacred Dharma-cakra at the top, because the Jetavana monastery was hallowed by Buddha's numerous discourses. The excellent example of this type is the so-called 'Lion Capital' from Sārnātha, now exalted emblem of the Indian Union. It is in fact the 'Dharma-Cakra-Capital' and not the 'Lion Capital'. Originally, the pillar of Sārnāth was crowned by a 'Wheel' placed in a deep socket between the heads of the lions. Not only the 7 fragments of the wheel extant in the Sārnāth piece but also the above

words, of Yuan Chwang prove that this was a Dharma-Cakra-Capital and not a Lion-Capital, though the latter name has attained to wide renown. Its right designation should be Dharma-Cakra-Capital. Dr. V. S. Agrawala observes: "There is nothing in the range of Buddhist art so meaningful in its symbolism and at the same time so powerful and beautiful in execution as the Aśokan pillar. The long tapering column with its bright polish is a charming conception and an appropriate support for so worthy a monument as the intended capital."[19] In the lonely brick shrine at the site of the Jetavana monastery the pilgrim found an old and beautiful image of Buddha, five feet high, said to have been made in the time of King Prasenajit of Kosala, close by this monastery was a temple, more than sixty feet high, which contained a sitting image of Buddha with his face towards the east.[20]

In the vicinity of Kapilavastu, on the Indo-Nepal border in U.P., Yuan Chwang observed a stūpa and a stone pillar, above 30 feet high, with a carved lion on the top, erected by Aśoka to commemorate the spot connected with Krakucchanda, a previous Buddha. The pillar had an inscription recording the decease of this 'Past' Buddha. Not very far from this place was another stūpa, marking the birth place of another 'Past' Buddha, Kanakamuni; yet another stūpa marking the spot of his attaining Bodhi, and a stone pillar, more than twenty feet high, with a lion on the top, and an epigraph recording the death of Kanakamuni, all set up by Aśoka.[21] This last monument with inscription has come down to our age, and once more testifies to the authenticity of our pilgrim's descriptions.[22] At Lummini, Yuan Chwang already found the Aśokan pillar with a 'Horse capital' broken in the middle, that is, half of it, probably by a thunderbolt. The pilgrim does not refer to the inscription on it, which, however, still exists and is the best readable and clear Brāhmī inscription.[23]

In the Capital city of Rāmgarāma, about 40 miles east of Lummini, was a stūpa 100 feet high, built of bricks by the rulers of that country, i.e., the Mallas, who received a portion of the Relics of Buddha.[24] The great stūpa at Kuśinagara, the scene of Buddha's Mahāparinirvāṇa, which was built by Aśoka, was still 200 feet high; in front of it stood a stone pillar with an inscription describing the Great Decease. In the great temple

or Caitya, built of bricks, was a large image of Buddha, lying down with his head towards the north.[25]

The pilgrim found some of the best specimens of Buddhist art at Sārnātha.[26] First of all, there was an Aśokan stūpa above 100 feet high; in front of it was "a stone pillar, of polished green stone, clear and lustrous as a mirror." The Deer Park Monastery nearby was a magnificent architectural whole. It was in 8 divisions, i.e., 8 groups of Vihāras, all enclosed within one wall, "the tiers of balconies and the rows of halls were extremely artistic." Inside the boundary wall was a temple or Caitya, more than 200 feet high, crowned by an embossed gilt āmra-fruit (Amalaka); the plinth and the steps or stairs were of stone; but the upper portion was built of bricks; in the brick portion were more than 100 rows of niches, each containing a gilt image of Buddha; inside the temple was a metal image of Buddha, as large as life, representing him in the Dharmacakra-Pravartana-mudrā.[27]

This 200 feet high temple noticed by Yuan Chwang has been identified with the Mulagandha-kuṭī-Vihāra, dating from the Gupta period.[28]

The most imposing Buddhist structure at Sārnāth is the Dhamekha-Stūpa, 'a solid cylindrical tower, 93 feet in diameter at base and 143 feet in height including its foundations.'[29] It is supposed to date from the sixth century A.D.

The seated Buddha in preaching posture from Sārnāth has been assigned to the Gupta period, and is one of the best and most well known plastic Buddhas all the world over.[30]

At the sacred spot where Buddha preached his religion for the first time were ruins of a stūpa of which 100 feet still remained above ground. In front of this was 'a stone pillar, above 70 feet high, which had the softness of jade and was of dazzling brightness.' Both these monuments dated from the time of Aśoka.

A standing image of Buddha, "grand and majestic, with long hair from the top of the head (from the uṣṇīṣa) of noted and conspicuous miraculous powers", existed on an artificial platform, more than 50 paces long and seven feet high, in the Sārnāth Complex.

About two or three li to the south-west of the great Buddhist establishment of Mṛgadāva, was a unique stūpa. It was more than 300 feet in height with a broad high base which was

ornamented with precious substances; the stūpa had no storeys of niches for images, but was covered by a dome, and it had a spire but without circular bells.

In Vaiśālī, among the living edifices were a stūpa and a stone pillar, about 50 feet high, with a lion capital.[31]

Interesting reference to the House of Vimalakīrti, the famous building near Vaisālī where the Sūtra called the Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa was collected, are given by the Shui-Ching-Chu and Yuan Chwang, and the Chinese ambassador Wang-Hsüan-tse is said to have measured its demensions.[32] The Śvetapura monastery in the country of Vaiśālī, where from Yuan Chwang obtained a copy of the Bodhisattva-Piṭaka,[33] had "sunny terr aces and bright coloured halls of two storeys."[34]

One of the 84000 stūpas the construction of which is ascribed to Aśoka, was at Pāṭaliputra, the dome of which was ornamented with precious substances and the stone balustrade. In the Temple of Relics at this ancient metropolis, was the sacred stone bearing the foot print of Buddha which were still visible.

The foot prints were "18 inches long by 6 inches wide ; on the right and left sides were wheels or discs; each of the ten toes had artistic venation; the lamination was distinct, and at times shed a bright light." There was also a stone pillar 30 feet high, with an inscription recording Aśoka's benefactions and strong faith in Buddhism.'[35]

Art of the Tiladha Vihāra

The monastery at Tiladha near Nālandā was a beautiful specimen of monastic architecture and sculpture of the period. The establishment had four courts with three storeyed halls, lofty terraces and a succession of open passages. It was the rendezvous of eminent scholars. At the head of the road, through the middle gate, were three temples with discs on the roofs and hung with small bells. Their bases were surrounded by balustrades, doors, windows, beams, walls, and stairs were ornamented with gilt works in relief. The middle temple had a stone image of Buddha thirty feet high; the left side temple had an image of goddess Tārā ('Tārā Bodhisattva'); and the right hand side temple had an image of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara. These images were all of bronze.[37]

On a nearby hill was the Guṇamati-Vihāra, a rock-cut monastery, 'the high bases of which were backed by the ridge,

the high chambers being hewn out of the cliff.' In this locality in another hill was a monastery built by Śīlalabhadra.

In the Gayā Mountain (Gayāśīrṣa) there was a stone stūpa, 100 feet high, built by Aśoka at the spot where the Ratnamegha-sūtra was revealed. The

Art in Buddha-Gaya

Sacred Bodhi-Tree was enclosed by a brick wall, high and strong; this enclosure was long from east to west, and narrow from north to south, and was about 500 paces in circuit. The main gate opened to the east towards the Nairañjanā river; it had three other gates towards west, south and north which last opened towards the walls of a large monastery. Around the Tree were numerous sacred structures of old.[38]

Within the Bo-Tree inclosure, was the 'Adamant Seat' or 'Diamond-Throne', which originated with the

Vajrāsana

origin of the World. "It is the very central point of the Universe, and goes down to the Golden wheel, from whence it rises upwards to the earth's surface. It is perfected of diamond, and is about 100 paces round. In using the word diamond we mean that it is firm and indestructible, and able to resist all things." There were images of Avalokiteśvara all round this seat. King Pūrṇavarmā of Magadha had recently raised a stone wall, 24 feet high, around the Bo-Tree.[39]

One of the most remarkable examples of Buddhist sacred architecture of the period was the Mahābodhi Temple near Bodhi-Tree. "To the east of the

Mahābodhi-Temple[40]

Bodhi Tree was a temple above 160 feet high, and with a front breadth at the base of above twenty paces. This temple was made of bricks and coated with lime; it had tiers of niches with gold images; its four walls were adorned with exquisite carvings of pearl-strings and genii; on the roof was a gilt copper āmalaka. Connected with the east side of the temple were three lofty halls one behind the other; the wood work of these halls was adorned with gold and silver carvings and studded with precious stones of various colours; and an open passage through them communicated with the inner chamber." Such was the architectural outline of this great temple as it existed in cir. 637 A.D.

On the left and right hand sides of the outer door of these

halls were images of Avalokiteśvara and Maitreya respectivēly, each made of silver and over 10 feet in height. Within the temple was an image of Buddha in bhū-sparśa-mudrā sitting under the Bodhi Tree.[41]

The Mahābodhi Temple, as it now stands, appears as a building with straight sides forming 'a square truncated pyramid', '48 feet at its base and between 160 and170 feet in height'. 'It is built of bluish bricks, with a coating of plaster.' "There can be no reaonable doubt that it is, inspite of all its repairs and alterations, the same buildin g which was described by the Chinese pilgrim."[42]

There were other smaller temples and Buddha images within this monastic establishment; an image of Buddha gazing with uplifted eyes (on the Bo-Tree under which he obtained Bodhi); another standing image of Buddha made of bronze and decorated with precious stones, and placed in a nearby temple; a stūpa 100 feet high built by Aśoka and other artistic objects. Summarising his account of Gayā Yuan Chwang says that within this inclosure the sacred memorials were crowded together; and 'it would be impossible to enumerate them.'[43]

Mahābodhi-Vihāra

Outside the North gate of the Bodhi Tree was 'the Mahābodhi Saṃghārāma built by a former King of Ceylon.' Its building formed six courts, with terraces and halls of three storeys, enclosed by walls between 30 and 40 feet high; "the sculpture and painting were perfect."

The image of Buddha was made of gold and silver, and ornamented by precious stones of various colours. There were, in this monastery, several elegant stūpas, lofty and spacious, containing the relics of Buddha.[44]

This Saṃghārāma seems to have been constructed in the 4th century A.D. by the Ceylonese King Śri Meghavarṇa, a contemporary of the Gupta sovereign Samudra Gupta. In the middle of the seventh century A.D., the Chinese envoy Wang Hsüen-tse incidentally refers to the despatch of two Buddhist monks Mahānāma and Upa (sena) with valuable presents by King Meghavarṇa of Ceylon to King Samudragupta of India for the latter's permission to build the monastery at Bodh-Gayā for the use of the monks from Simhala.[45]

The Vajrāṣaṇa-Mahabodhi-Monastery is mentioned

again about A.D. 670, by the pilgrim Hwi-Lun, as the same as the one built by a King of Ceylon, in which priests of that country formerly dwelt.

The Mahābodhi Saṃghārāma,[46] built by the Ceylonese King, was a separate establishment, complete in itself. Its remains have been identified. The mound is from 1500 to 2000 feet in length from west to east, and nearly 1000 feet in breadth from north to south. The outer wall was 9 feet thick with massive round towers at the four corners.[47] A seventh century inscription on the coping of the old stone-railing refers to the fact that the great temple was adorned with a new coating of plaster and paint at the cost of 250 dīnārs. Dr. B. M. Barua identified the donor of this adornment with the Buddhist Śramaṇa of Ceylon, Prakhyātakīrti by name, who came on pilgrimage to Bodh-Gayā in the 7th or 6th century A.D., a fact recorded in another inscription at the same stone-railing.[48]

In Gṛdhrakūṭa hill near Rājagīr, the pilgrim found 'a magnificent brick-hall (Ching-she, temple), opening to the east'; within this hall was "a life-size image of the Buddha in the attitude of preaching."[49] Archaeological excavations at the site of Rājagṛha have brought to light antiquities dating from the days of Biṃbisāra and Ajātaśatru onwards to 10th century A.D.[50]

Art of the Nālandā-Vihāra

The Nālandā Saṃghārāma was "the most remarkable for grandeur and height."[51] The original monastery built by King Śakrāditya (probably Kumāra Gupta I, A.D. 415-455) became the centre of monasteries that were added to it by Kings of succeeding generations. This monastic complex may be indicated through a plan as follows :—

1. Saṃghārāma built by Kumāragupta I, on 'a lucky spot' in Nālandā;
2. to the South of this, Saṃghārāma built by Skandagupta;
3. to the East of this, Saṃghārāma built by Purugupta;
4. on the north-east side, Saṃghārāma built by Narasingh Gupta ('College of Bālāditya-Raja');
5. on the west side (Life, p. 111, 'to the north') probably of the first Saṃghārāma , was the Saṃghārāma built by Kumāragupta II;
6. to the north of this, a great Saṃghārāma built by Harṣa;

7. on the Western side of the Saṃghārāma, at no great distance, a Vihāra;
8. to the south, 100 paces or so, a small stūpa;
9. on this southern side, a standing figure of Avalokita;
10. to the south of this figure a stūpa with Buddha's relics;
11. to the east of this, outside the wall and by the side of a tank, a stūpa; beside this tank was a tree with a two-fold trunk;
12. next to the last, was a great Vihāra, about 200 feet high;
13. to the north of this, another Vihāra with a statue of Avalokiteśvara;
14. to the north of this, another great Vihāra, about 300 feet high, built by Bālāditya;
15. to the north east of this, a stūpa;
16. to the south, was a Vihāra built by Śīlāditya (Harṣa);
17. next to the east, outside the wall, a giant statue of Buddha, standing upright and made of copper. Its height was about 80 feet; a pavilion of 6 stages was required to install it, this pavilion was built by Pūrṇavarmān.
18. To the north of this gigantic statue, at a small distance, was a Vihāra built of bricks which contained a figure of Tārā Boddhisattva;
19. within the southern gate of the wall was a large well;
20. a high wall built round these edifices, made of bricks by Harṣa;
21. the only gate to enter the premises of the Mahāvihāra; this gate was southern.[52]

Archaeological excavations at Nālandā have unearthed more than 11 large monastery sites and several temple sites,[53] besides numerous Buddhist and Brahmanical antiquities belonging to the Gupta and post-Gupta periods upto 11th century A.D.[54]

In the great monastic establishment of Nālandā, "the work of a succession of sovereigns," says Yuan Chwang, "the sculpture was perfect and really beautiful." It seems that the best artistic skill of the golden age of the Guptas and the best intellectual and religious spirit of the best days of the Mahāyānism had been employed in perfecting this wonderful Buddhist centre of art, literature, philosophy and learning. A graphic and enthusiastic picture of the architecture, sculpture and the

general physical beauty of the Nālandā establishment is recorded in the biography of Yuan Chwang, which deserves citation in extenso.

"The whole establishment is surrounded by a brick wall, which encloses the entire convent from without. One gate opens into the Great College, from which are separated eight other halls, standing in the middle (of the Saṃghārāma). The richly adorned towers, and the fairy like turrets, like pointed hill-tops, are congregated together. The observatories seem to be lost in the vapour (of the morning), and the upper rooms tower above the clouds.

"From the windows one may see how the winds and the clouds (produce new forms), and above the soaring eaves the conjunctions of the sun and moon (may be observed).

"And then we may add how the deep, translucent ponds, bear on their surface the blue lotus, intermingled with the Kie-ni (Kanaka, Butea Frondosa) flower, of deep red colour, and at intervals the Āmra groves spread, over all, their shade.

"All the outside courts, in which are the priests's Chambers, are of four stages. The stages have dragon projections and coloured eaves, the pearl-red pillars, carved and ornamented, the richly adorned balustrades, and roofs covered with tiles that reflect the light in a thousand shades, these things add to the beauty of the scene."[55]

This contemporary piece of rare observation reveals the existence of many storeyed buildings and large academic halls of the monastics. The pointed roofs of these structures were very high as to reach the sky, so to say. Besides, there were astronomical observatories, lofty and strong through the windows of which the sun eclipse and the moon eclipse were observed and studied.

The Great Vihāra maintained gardens of mango trees and flowers, and fairly good ponds with lotus flowers of different kinds.

Not only the collegiate buildings, but also the residential buildings oft he Buddhist sages, scholars and students of Nālandā, were four storeyed; their style of construction, of their exterior projections being dragon-like with lower edges of roofs coloured, sculptured pillars and beautified and exhuberant rows of balusters

and parapets with covered copings it was a city complete in itself and may have attracted even princes to come to its precints. There is no reason to doubt the trustworthiness of the above description of a seventh century observer. It is corroborated by an epigraph dating from the middle of the 8th century A.D. and found from the site itself.

We read in the inscription of Mālāda that Balāditya had erected a Buddhist temple at Nālandā "as if with a view to see Kailāśa mountain surpassed." Nālandā which had scholars reputed for their knowledge of the scriptures and the arts (āgama-kalā-vikhyāta-vidvadjanā) was full of "the beams of the rays of the caityas shining and bright like white clouds." "She was mocking, as it were, at all the cities of the Kings who had acquired wealth by tearing asunder the temples in hostile lands.

"Nālandā had a row of Vihāras, the line of whose tops touched the clouds. That (row of Vihāras) was, so to say, the beautiful festoon of the earth, made by the creator, which looked resplendent in going upwards.

"Its temples were made brilliant on account of the net work of the rays of the various jewels set in them and was the pleasant abode of the learned and the virtuous Saṃgha and resembled Sumeru, the charming residence of the noble Vidyādharas."[56]

It has been noted above that this inscription of Mālāda belongs to the time of Yaśovarman of Kanauj, and that Mālāda was one of the benefactors of Nālandā. In the Kapotaka-Vihāra in Magadha, there were many "buildings with miraculous powers and executed with consummate art." In the main temple was a small image of Kuan-tzu-tsai P'usa (i.e., Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara), "majestic and grave, holding a lotus in one hand, and having an image of Buddha above his forehead." This temple, the pilgrim further records, was erected by a King of Ceylon. The Life adds that the marvellous image of Kuan-tzu-tsai P'usa was made of sandal-wood, and was enclosed by railings.[57]

The Po-kih-po monastery in Puṇḍravardhana, "which had spacious halls and tall storeyed chambers" and which could make room for seven hundred monks, as reported by Yuan Chwang,[58] has been identified with the ruins of Bhasuā-Vihāra

near Mahāsthāna, where a great mound, approximately 800 feet x 750 feet x 40 feet still exists.[59]

The Buddhist artistic remains in Assam probably date from the 9th and 10th centuries onward.[60] Yuan Chwang found no Buddhist edifices in Kāmarūpa. In Samataṭa he found in a monastery "a dark blue jade image of the Buddha, eight feet high, showing all the distinctive characteristics."[61]

The Somapura Vihara

The ruins of Dharmapāla's Somapura-Vihāra (in modern Ompur in Bengal) have been recognised through archaeological exploration. In a number of sealings from 8th century A.D. onwards, reference is made to this monastery of a community of monks built by Dharmapāla (Śrī-Somapura Śrī Dharmapāla-deva-mahā-vihāriy-ārya bhikṣu saṃghasya).[62] The great monastery finds mention in inscriptions from Gayā[63] and Nālandā.[64] The entire catablishment occupied a quadrangle measuring more than 900 feet externally on each side, had high enclosure walls lined on the inside with nearly 177 cells, excluding the cells of the central block in each section.[65] Mr. K. N. Dikṣit observed that "no single monastery of such dimensions has come to light in India."[66]

Buddhist art in Bengal

Bengal has yielded a large number of images of Buddhist deities—mostly Tāntrika Buddhist gods and goddesses—belonging to 7th and 8th centuries onwards. These include Vajrasattva, Jaṃbhala, Avalokiteśvara, Mañjuśrī, Tārā, Prajñāpāramitā and some forms of fierce goddesses. Most of them are the products of the Pāla and Sena periods.[67]

General Features

The Pāla rulers were prophessed Buddhists but Brahmanism also flourished vigorously during their rule. They developed a luxurious and pompous taste, their aesthetic sense seems to have appreciated "over-sensitiveness of form and gestures, a sensuous worldliness and meticulous details of ornamentation."

The sculptures of the Pāla period are generally carved out of black-stone (Kaṣṭi-pāthar), either fine or coarse-grained. Images in metal, cast in brass or in Octo-alloy (aṣṭa-dhātu) and wood carvings are also known. The stone and metal

images are generally carved in relief, though some statues are moddelled in the round.

The central point of the Pāla sculptures is the human figure which combines in itself both spiritual and physical symbolism. In the Tāntrika literature, e.g., in the Sādhanamālā, we see that religious suggestiveness and realistic vision go together; spiritual gusto and sensuous beauty go hand in hand. Likewise the images of Buddhist deities, e.g., those in Yab-Yuṃ posture, give a picture of full fleshy and graceful vigorous male and female divinities. The erotic symbolism of Tāntrika texts finds in these images a genuine plastic expression.[68] One noteworthy feature of the iconography of this period is the tendency to represent Bodhisattvas and other divinities with many heads and arms. "The monstrous shape of the eleven-headed Avalokiteśvara, which has become so popular in Tibet, originated in India. It is found in one of the caves of Kānheri."[68a] To this archaeological evidence, may be added the literary evidence of the Ekādaśamukhaṃ, a Dhāraṇī of Avalokita discovered in Gilgit,[69] which mentions this form of Avalokiteśvara.

Magadha

Some writers seem to think that the classical Buddhist art traditions declined with the decay of the Gupta rule. This is not true. "During the two hundred years which immediately followed the Gupta period, i.e., A.D. 600-800, Buddhist art had an aftermath in which the great traditions continued to be an inspiration."[70]

It is true that the art centres became confined to the places of pilgrimage, such as Sārnātha, Gayā, Nālandā, and other places in Magadha. The religious enthusiasm of the pious Upāsakas and the devotional offerings of the devout laity kept the artistic creation alive. Buddha images were still numerous, even after the Tāntrikism had become supreme, but the mass production and careless execution seem to have robbed them of the spiritual calm which characterised early Buddhist images. Exceptions, however, were not unknown. The Buddha image from Kurkīhār, for instance, belonging to 9th century A.D., now preserved in Lucknow Museum, which was a gift from one Vinitabuddhi of Benaras, "is a work of great merit", and is "marked by simplicity and severity of line, the background, on the contrary, displays a profusion of decorative detail."[71]

Orissa

Orissa has yielded a large number of images of Mahāyāna and Tāntrika Buddhist deities. The Buddhist remains of Sālihuṇḍaṃ, and Śaṅkaraṃ have been dated to the 6th century onwards.[72] The Tāntrika temples of Tārā at Bankad and of Baud, are regarded to be the 'gems of art' in Orissa.[73]

A colossal image of two armed Avalokita, now broken into two pieces, flanked on the right and left by the images of four armed Bhṛkuṭī and Hayagrīva, respectively, and bearing on its forehead an effigy of Amitābha, found in Udayagiri is assigned to 8th century A.D. on palaeographical grounds.[74]

Images of Prajñāpāramitā, of Buddha in Bhūmi-sparśa-mudrā, of Dhyānī-Buddha Amitābha and several varieties of the form of Avalokiteśvara, especially, Khaṣarpaṇa Lokeśvara and Jaṭāmukuṭa-Lokeśvara, which are assignable to the 8th and 9th centuries, have also been discovered in Orissa.[75]

South India

Two of the active centres of Mahāyānism and Tāntrika Buddhism, namely, Śrī Parvata and Dhānyakaṭaka were in the South. They were art centres also. The bronze Buddhas from Amarāvatī dating from the 6th century. A.D. may be said to continue the earlier tradition. A bronze Buddha from Amarāvatī of about 6th century. A.D., a granite standing Buddha from Amarāvatī of about 6th century. A.D., a granite standing Buddha from Kāñcīpura, belonging to the 7th century A.D., a figure of Siṃhanāda (granite) from Amarāvatī, belonging to 8th century A.D., figure of Mañjughoṣa (granite) from Amarāvatī of cir. 8th-9th century A.D., and the beauiful standing image of Maitreya (bronze-gilt) found in Tanjore District assigned to the 8th century A.D., are specially noteworthy.[75a]

Ajanta

The history of Buddhist art at Ajaṇṭā covers more than seven hundred years, from the first century B.C. to the 7th century A.D. The following pieces of architecture, sculpture and painting at Ajaṇṭa are asignable to the seventh century A.D. The wall painting in cave No. 1 depicting the attack of Māra on Buddha; Māra's attack and temptation in cave XXVI; the Mahāparinirvāṇa scene on stone in the same cave; the facade of the Caitya Hall, Cave XIX; and the Caitya Hall in cave XXVI.[76]

The rock-cut Buddhist cave III of Aurangabad, showing

a group of men and women worshipping, has been placed in the 7th century. A.D.[77] the worshippers, men and women, kneel into two groups carved almost in the round against the right and left walls of the cave temple, and face towards the image of Buddha which is enthroned in the middle, against the back wall. Professor Stella Kramrisch observes that "the varied coiffures and ornaments of these figures belong to one and the same type of form as the differentiated countenances with their diversified expressions of expectant prayer and devotional surrender."[78]

Among other stray pieces of noteworthy art of the period mention may be made of the Sirpur Buddha image with a halo upon which is engraved the famous gāthā 'Yedharmā etc.' in the letters of the 8th century A.D.[79] The Viśvakarmā cave of Ellora is also probably a product of the 7th century A.D.[80] A beautiful image of goddess Tārā with attendant deities (bronze) from Madhyapradesh is said to belong to the 8th-9th century A.D.[81]

The varied and diverse pantheon of Mahāyāna Buddhism was, in fact, the creation of Esoteric Buddhism.

Esoteric Buddhist Pantheon and Art

The esoteric Buddhist pantheon revolves round the conception of the Holy Pantad—the Five Buddhas of Meditation, Dhyānī Buddhas—these are celestial Buddhas who are the heads of five families of divinities of Tāntrika Buddhism.

The origion and Nature of Vajrayāna Deities

Certain Vajrayāna texts seem to refute the generally current view that the Mahāyāna worship was a gross idolatory. Dr. Bhattacharya also points out that the Buddhist worship was not a mere idolatory.[82] In the Sādhanamālā and the Advayavajrasaṃgraha, the manifestation of deities is described and it is pointed out that they are merely ideal; the icons symbolise śūnyatā and niḥsvabhāvatā.

The abode of the gods is said to be the Akaniṣṭha Heaven, which is the upper most of the Rūpa Heavens.[83] Śāntarakṣita, says at one place that, "In the excellent Akaniṣṭha heaven, which is beyond the Suddhāvāsa heaven, the Bodhisattva attains omniscience, and (under his influence) a Buddha is born in this World."[84] This points to a profound philosophy behind the Buddhist pantheon, especially the (Dhyānī) Buddhas.

The ascetic produces mentally, so to say, in meditation

through a subtle psychic process the deity of his choice out of a seed syllable (bīja-mantra) appropriately assigned to that deity. In his meditation and vision he perceives certain form and attributes which are then represented in icon for purposes of worship.[85]

In the Advayavajrasaṃgraha it is said that, "the form of the deity is an explosion of the Śūnya. It is by nature non-existent. Whenever there is an explosion it must be Śūnya in essence."[86] Elsewhere in the same work we find the process of the evolution of the deity described in the following manner. "From the right perception of Śūnyatā proceeds the germ-syllable, from the germ-syllable proceeds the conception of an icon, and from the icon its external representations. The whole process therefore is one of dependent origination."[87]

Dhyāni Buddhas

In the Guhyasamāja-tantra, the evolution of the five Buddhas of Meditation is described. Here it is shown that these gods originate out of the Primordial Lord, the Sarvatathāgatasvāmīn, who is also known as Vajra-sattva from other sources. The Lord sat in different samādhīs, recited different mantras whence from originated these Buddhas, their female partners, and the guardians of the four quarters. The Five Buddhas thus manifested were Aksobhya ('The Unshakable'), Vairocana ('The Brilliant One'), Ratnaketu or Ratnasaṃbhava ('The Matrix of the Jewel' or 'The Jewel Born'), Amitābha ('The Infinite Light'), and Amoghavajra or Amoghasiddhi ('The Infallible Success').[88] As Dr. Tucci points out, according to the Vajrayāna, the original consciousness symbolised by Vajrasattva or Akṣobhya, is radiated into these Five Buddhas.[89] They are therefore not different from the original Essence represented by Vajrasattva. As Advayavajra says, Vajrasattva is the unity of Śūnyatā and Jñānamātratā.[90]

In a passage of the Sādhanamālā these Buddhas are described thus; the Jinas are Variocana of white colour, exhibiting Bodhyaṅgī-mudra; Ratnasaṃbhava, of yellow colour, exhibiting Varada-mudrā; Amitābha of red colour, showing Dhyāna-mudrā; Amoghasiddhi of green colour, showing abhaya-mudrā, and Akṣobhaya of blue colour, exhibiting the bhū-sparśa-mudra.[91] When represented in painting or plastic forms, each Dhyānī Buddha bears on his forehead a miniature figure of Vajrasattva. From these Dhyānī Buddhas emanate numerous gods and goddesses that fill the Esoteric pantheon.

THE INFLUENCE OF TANTRA ON ART

We owe to Tāntrika Buddhism a large number of images and paintings of Dhyānī Buddhas and of other divinities associated with their kulas or 'families'. Often Hindu deities like Gaṇeśa, Sarasvatī, Mahākāla, etc., were incorporated into Tāntrika Buddhist pantheon.[92] It may be mentioned that except for some exceptional examples, few and far between, the figures of Buddha, the historic Śākyamuni, became rare during this period. He being relegated to the position of Mānuṣī Buddhas, the Dhyānī Buddhas became famous and popular; true it is that the images of Avalokiteśvara, Mañjuśrī and Maitreya, the most famous Bodhisattvas of Mahāyāna, still continued to be popular as is evidenced by their numerous images still extant and dating from the seventh and eighth centuries.[93]

The Buddha image of stone belonging to 8th century A.D. found from Amarāvatī,[94] shows clear deviations from the classical style. The much mutilated figure of standing Buddha with scenes of Mahāpari-nirvāṇa, though of considerable interest, does not reflect the spiritual dignity characteristic of ancient plastic Buddhas.[95] Here and there we find examples depicting the episodes in the life of Buddha. But these classical episodes, e.g., the Nālagiri-taming, are treated conventionally.[96]

Prominence of Female Deities

The influence of Tāntrika Buddhism on Buddhist art is evidenced by other features also. Thus we find prominent place occupied by female divinities, like Prajñāpāramitā, Tārās of various colours and forms, Parṇaśavarī, Mārīci, Nairātmā, Hārīti, Bhṛkuṭī, Ekajaṭā, Vajravarāhī etc.'[97] In early Mahāyāna female Bodhisattvas were extremely rare; Tārā as a goddess is not known even to the Kāraṇḍavyūha which treats of the cult of Avalokita, whose consort Tārā becomes a very popular deity during our period. Even Śāntideva testifies to this view when he prays 'may all the women become men so that they may espouse the career of a Bodhisattva.'[98]

But in Tāntrika Buddhist literature, not only the Buddhas but also the Bodhisattvas are associated with Śaktis or female coefficients. We find Vajrasattva often represented in Yab-Yum posture, in tight embrace with his Yoginī, touching all the

vital points of contact.[99] So is the case with Heruka and Nairātmā.[100] The images of these goddesses are fleshy, youthful and sensuous.

Terrific Aspects of Deity

On the other hand, a large majority of images represents fierce and angry-looking deities who occupy such an important place in Tāntrika texts, especially in the Sādhanas. Thus a unique image of Buddha-Kapāla is preserved in the Baroda Museum. It is a terrific posture, "with three blood-shot eyes rolling in anger, distorted face, canine teeth, ornaments made of bones, a garland of severed heads, and an attitude of menacing dance."[101] In the Sādhanamālā he is described in an embrace with his Śakti (Prajñāliṅgitaṃ).[102] It may be noted that Sarahapāda, the first Siddha, wrote a Tantra called Buddha-kapāla-Tantra.[103] The art illustrations of the god Mahākāla, whose popularity is testified by I-tsing, and whose worship is described in the Sādhanamālā, are equally fearful.[104]

Deities with many Arms and Faces

Yet another distinguishing feature of the Buddhist art of the period is the tendency to represent gods and goddesses with many faces and arms. This tendency too, is attributable to Tāntrika influence.

It may be noted, however, that a Mahāyānasūtra already describes Avalokiteśvara not only with the attributes of Brahmanical gods like Śiva and Brahmā, but also as having 11 heads, a hundred thousand arms and incalculable eyes.[105] Goddesses like Tārā, Mārīci, Parṇaśavarī etc. are shown with many arms.[106]

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3. Ibid, I, 184.
4. Ibid, I, pp. 204, 208.
5. Ibid, I, 233, 235.
6. Ibid, I, 238-39.
7. Ibid, I, 250.
8. Ibid, I, 255-56; see AGI, 121, 103.
9. Life, 68-69; Yuan Chwang, I, 261 ff.; Rājataraṅgiṇī, III. 355, IV. 188 ff., see my article 'Buddhist Gleanings From the Rājataraṅgiṇī', Journal of the Oriental Institute, vol. XIV, Dec., 1964.
10. Yuan Chwang, I, 316.
11. Ibid, I, 302.
12. See H. Śāstrī, 'Excavations at Saṅkisā', J. U. P. H. S., III, 1927' pp. 99-118.

13. L. Petech, Northern India According to the Shui Ching Chu, S. O. R., II, Rome, 1950, pp. 30-31.
14. Life, 81-82; Yuan Chwang, I, 334.
15. Ibid, I, 352, 359.
16. See Ancient India, No. 9, Delhi, 1953, pp. 145-46.
17. See G. R. Sharma, Excavations At Kauśāmbi, Allahabad, 1959; Yuan Chwang, I, 369-70.
18. Ibid, Yuan Chwang, I, 383.
19. 'Buddhist Art—Its Four Bases', ALB., XX, 1956, pp. 319.
20. Yuan Chwang, I, 384, 393.
21. Ibid, II, 5-6 On the 'Past Buddhas', see my article (in Hindi) in Dharmadūta', vol. 29, 1963, (Sārnāth).
22. Ibid, Kanakamuni is the same as Koṇā kamana or Koṇāgamana.
23. Yuan Chwang, II, 14-15; see D. C. Sircar, Inscriptions of Aśoka, Delhi, 1959, plate.
24. Yuan Chwang, II, 20; see DN, Mahāparinibbānasutta; Dharmarakṣita, Kuśīnagara Kā Itihāsa, Kuśīnagara, 1949.
25. Yuan Chwang, II, 28; see A.S.I.R., 1904-1905, pp. 41 f.; Ancient India No. 9, p. 143.
26. See B. Majumdar, A. Guide to Sārnātha, Delhi, 1937; V.S. Agrawala, Sārnātha, Delhi, 1957; Dharmarakṣita, Sārnātha Kā Itihāsa, Vārāṇasī, 1961.
27. Yuan Chwang, II, 48.
28. Ancient India No. 9, p. 143.
29. B. Majumdar, op. cit., p. 67.
30. V. S. Agrawala, op. cit., pp. 23 ff. plate VIII. A 9th Century Buddha image in Bhūsparśa-mudrā from Sārnātha (Ibid., plate XA) is now preserved in the National Museum, New Delhi.
31. Yuan Chwang, II, 52, 50, 55, 65.
32. Ibid, II, 66; L. Petech, op. cit., 28-30.
33. Nanjio, Cata., No. 23 (12) and No. 1005.
34. Yuan Chwang, II, 79.
35. Ibid, II, 91-93.
36. Ibid, II, 105-106.
37. B. M. Barua, Gayā and Buddha-Gayā, vol. II, Calcutta, 1934, pp. 37 ff.
38. Yuan Chwang, II, 111-113.
39. Ibid, II, 115; Life, 103.
40. See Cunningham Maha Bodhi or the Great Buddhist Temple at Bodha Gayā, London, 1892, pp. 18 ff.
41. Yuan Chwang, II, 116.
42. Cunningham, Maha Bodhi, p. 18; B. M. Barua, op. cit., figure 10.
43. Yuan Chwang, II, 121-126.
44. Ibid, II, 136.
45. Barua, op. cit., II, p. 35.
46. Cunningham, Mahabodhi, p. 43.
47. Barua, op. cit., p. 37.
48. Ibid, pp. 56, 70-72.
49. Yuan Chwang, II, 151, ; see D.N. Sen, Rājgīr and Its Neighbourhood, Patna, 1924.
50. See A. Ghosh and M. H. Kuraishi, Rajgir, 5th ed., New Delhi, 1958, pp. 13 ff.
51. Life, p. 112.
52. Ibid, pp. 110-112; Yuan Chwang, II, pp. 166 ff.; H. Heras's article in JBORS, Vol. XIV, 1928, pp. 1-28.
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55. Life, pp. 111-112.

56. MASI., No. 66, pp. 79, 'Nālandā hasatīva sarvanagariḥ śubhrā' bhragaurasphuraccaityāṃśu prakarīstadāgamakalā vikhyātavidvajjnāḥyasyāmbudharāvalehi śikharaśreṇivihārā'valī mālevordhavirājinī viracitā Dhātrā, manojñā bhuvaḥ nānā ratna mayūkhajāla khacita prāsāda devālayā sadvidyādhara saṃgha raṃya vasatir dhatte sumerośriyaṃ.'

57. Yuan Chwang, II, 176.

58. Ibid, 184.

59. History of Bengal, vol. I, p. 489.

60. See N. N. Law, 'Some Images and Traces of Mahāyāna Buddnism in Chittagong', I H Q., VIII, pp. 332-341.

61. Yuan Chwang, II, 187.

62. A. S. I. R., 1927-1928. p. 105.

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64. Ep. Ind., Vol. XXI, pp. 97., 101. The inscription of Vimalaśrīmitra refers to it as "a singular feast to the eyes of the world".

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88. Guhyasamāja-Tantra, GOS., pp. 3-9.

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90. See Chap. XI.
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100. Vide Hevajra Tantra, I, plate facing p. 110., and Sādhanamālā, II, pp. 468ff.
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CHAPTER IV

MONASTIC LIFE AND DISCIPLINE

Section I

BUDDHIST MONASTERIES AND THEIR ORGANIZATION

Buddhist Monachism

It goes without saying that the corner-stone of Buddhist movement consisted of bhikṣus or monks; in the time of Buddha many ascetic mendicants lived a peripatetic life, they were called 'Paribhājakas' or 'wanderers.' A bhikṣu is by definition a 'begger' living on alms, having no permanent abode, the bhikṣu-saṃgha was an 'Order of the Homeless Ones'; it had been, from the very start, an essential member of the Buddhist Trinity called the Tri-ratna. Quite early in the history of Buddhism, Vihāras or monasteries came to be established and the Saṃgha began to have a permanent residence. Though the ideals of 'Piṇḍa-pātika' were never completely abandoned, yet the Buddhist monks now on began to live a settled life in the monastic abodes.[1] Life in these monasteries was regulated by a code of moral conduct, a body of the rules of ethical training and monastic organisation, known as the Vinaya[2] 'Vi-nayati'—'to lead (from evil) to discipline.'

Observes Dr. Satkari Mookerjee : "The greatest genius of the Buddha lay in the organization of the ascetic order and the creation of a code of rules and regulations for the conduct of monastic life."[3] The present chapter is intended to give a picture of this life during our period.

(i) ENDOWMENT AND MAINTENANCE OF MONASTERIES

Buddhist monasteries came into existence as a result of the donations made by the kings, officials of the State and merchant-princes. Their maintenance also was due to the charitable endowments and periodical contributions made by royal and rich persons of the society for the upkeep of their inmates.

Right from the days of Buddha, "the kings, elders, and

the gentry of the countries round about, built shrines for making offerings to the priests, and gave them land, houses, gardens, with men and bullocks for cultivation. Binding title-deeds were written out, and subsequent kings have handed these down one to another without daring to disregard them, in unbroken succession to this day. Rooms with beds and mattresses, food and clothes, are provided for resident and travelling priests, without fail, and this is the same in all places."[4]

This account, given by Fa-hien in the early years of the fifth century A.D., applies almost in toto to the seventh and eighth centuries A.D.

Patrons of Nālandā

The example of the development of the Nālandā-Mahā-vihāra would illustrate the position clearly. According to Yuan Chwang, the ground of the monastic establishment was originally a Mango-garden belonging to a Śreṣṭhin or merchant-prince whose name was probably Amara.[5] It was purchased for ten lacs (or Koṭis)[6] of gold pieces by a group of 500 merchants who gifted it to the Buddhist Saṃgha. Laterly king Śakrāditya (identified with Mahendrāditya Kumāragupta I, cir. A.D. 415-455) built a monastery here. His son and successor, king Buddhagupta built another monastery to the south of this; king Tathāgatagupta built a third one to the east; king Bālāditya built a fourth one to the north-east. The son and successor of Bālāditya was king Vajra who constructed another monastery to the west; and to the north of this a king of Mid-India (identified by Father Heras with Emperor Harṣa) erected a large monastery. Then a lofty enclosing wall was built round the whole establishment with one main gate, probably by the same king of 'Mid-India.'

The bounty of king Śakrāditya was still being enjoyed by monks and about 40 Buddhist monks took their daily meals in that monastery.[7] The Nālandā monastery had a farm-house where Yuan Chwang was given a refreshment before entering the Mahāvihāra.[8]

Provisions

In Nālandā he first lodged in the monastery built by Bālāditya where he was entertained by Buddha-bhadra for seven days. Subsequently he lived in the abode of Dharmapāla. Here he was regularly served with rice, fruits, oil, camphor and butter; be-

sides, he was provided with two menial servants and a riding elephant. The Head of the Nālandā-Mahāvihāra used to entertain in this fashion a myriad monks. [9]

Among the royal patrons of Nālandā-Mahāvihāra[10] during our period mention may be made of Emperor Harṣavardhana, king Pūraṇavarmān of Magadha, Kumāra Bhāṣkaravarmān of Kāmarūpa, and perhaps king Aṃśuvarmān of Nepal in the 7th century A.D. Among the royal patrons belonging to the 8th century A.D., Gopāla and Dharmapāla, the first two kings of the Pāla dynasty, seem to occupy the first place. Most likely the Tibetan king Khri-sroṅ-lde-btsan (cir A.D. 755-797) was also a patron of this monastery. Among the lay-followers the most noted patron of Nālandā seems to have been Mālāda, son of Tegina, a minister of king Yaśovàrmān of Kanauj. Besides, a number of seals of Maukharīs, of the kings of Prāgjyotiṣpura and of other non-official personages have been unearthed at Nālandā.[11]

Hwui-li records that the king of the country (probably the country of Magadha wherein lay the Mahāvihāra) had remitted the revenues of one hundred villages for the upkeep of the Monastery at Nālandā. Two hundred householders of these villages, day by day, contributed several hundred piculs (1 picul=133½ lbs.) of rice, several hundred catties (1 catty 160 lbs.) of butter and milk. In this way the clothes, food, beds and the medicines were supplied to the inmates.[12]

In the time of I-tsing, the endowments bestowed on Nālandā had doubled; there were now more than 200 villages in its possession; they had been bestowed by kings of many generations.[13]

The kings who made endowments and land grants for the convents of Buddhist monks also took care to upkeep them. The clepsydrae, which were regularly used in the Indian monasteries, during this period, were also supplied by the kings of many generations, together with some boy-servants to watch and announce the hours.[14] I-tsing found it a universal custom in India that gifts of images, garments, incense, utensils and eatables and articles of daily use were received from the householders—the lay Buddhists, and were distributed among the

monks. Apart from the gifts, the monasteries seem to have earned some income from their corn-fields and fruit-gardens. The monasteries usually received one-sixth of the produce of the land belonging to them and cultivated by hired labour. When any resident monk died his belongings became the property of the church. The monasteries had a common fund out of which the inmates were supplied clothing. This fund was pooled not only by gifts but also by the produce of the farms and gardens. Sometimes, the endowments and provisions exceeded the needs of the monasteries so that they could have "great wealth, granaries full of rotten corn, many servants, male and female, money and treasures hoarded in the treasury."[15]

Material Resources

A Glimpse of the Monk's Property

I-tsing lends us a glimpse of the material possessions of some Buddhist monks who were distinguished and received special favours. Thus among articles in possession of such a Buddhist monk, we find the following : lands, houses, shops, bed-gear, wooden-seats, and iron or copper implements; these were not distributable and became the church property. But small iron or copper bowls, door keys, needles, razors, knives, axes, chisels, earthen pots, water-basins etc. were distributable among the monks.

Animals, including elephants, horses, mules, horses for riding were to be offered to the Royal House; bulls and sheep were to be made church property. Paints of good quality were sent to the temple for colouring images and decorating the sanctuary. Wine was either to be buried or to be thrown away. All medical substances were to be kept in the monastic hospital for the use of sick persons. Valuables, precious stones, gems and the like were to be divided into two portions; one portion was to be used in sacred affairs such as in building or maintaining the 'Lion Seat' or copying of the scriptures; this portion was called Dhaṃmika; the other portion, called Saṃghika, was to be divided among those who were present there. The chairs inlaid with jewels or gold and silver were to be offered to the residents, if not sufficient for all, only the elders took them. But scriptural texts and commentaries were to be deposited in the Library of the Saṃgha to be read by members. If deeds and

contracts were due, they were to be kept in the Treasury of the Order. Gold, silver, raw or worked, shells (cowrie) and coins were divided equally into three parts each went to each member of the Holy Trinity.[16]

Endowments by king Pūrnavarmān

Among the important examples of endowments and munificence of the time of Yuan Chwang's itinerary, mention may be made of Pūrnavarmān of Magadha, probably a Maukharī ruler. He patronised the learned and the virtuous men and assigned the revenue of twenty large towns to support a savant Jayasena by name.[17] It was he who revived the Bodhi-Tree, which had been destroyed by Śaśāṅka, he also erected a protective wall round the Sacred Tree, made of stone, rising 24 feet in height.[18] Two Maukharī seals have been found in the monasteries excavated at Nālandā which also point to their association with the endowments.[19]

Religieux of Emperor Harṣa

The most lavish religious endowments were made by Śrī Harṣa 'Śīlādityarājā', the subduer of 'Five Indias'. He had constructed one of the largest monasteries at Nālandā, and built the boundary wall around the whole establishment.[20] The construction of a large brass monastery financed by him was still going on in Nālandā when Yuan Chwang visited it.[21] He had offered the revenue of 80 large towns in Orissa for the comfort and support of Jayasena.[22] He offered to Yuan Chwang 10,000 pieces of gold, 30,000 pieces of silver (pieces probably refer to gold and silver coinage of the king) and 100 garments of superior cotton. Besides, the kings and chieftains of 19 states —including perhaps Kumāra of Kāmarūpa, Pūraṇavarmān of Magadha, Dhruvabhaṭa of Valabhī and others whose names are not recorded—presented him with rare jewels—Harṣa's piety and charity can hardly be recorded adequately. His charities at the Allahabad 'Arena of Charity' continued for several months, exhausted the imperial resources of the empire accumulated during a period of five years. It seems that in this great Dāna-yajña, Harṣa was probably supported by his allies, particularly Bhāṣkaravarmān, Dhruvabhaṭa and Pūrṇavarmān and other vassals. But this Assembly of Moksa was held every five years and its duration was seventy five days; its beneficiaries included the Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas of all the

Five 'Indias' besides lay-men, the poor, destitute and the orphans. In the session witnessed by Yuan Chwang at Prayāga, Harṣa had invited 10,000 Buddhist monks, each of whom received 100 gold pieces, one pearl, one cotton garment and sumptuous drinks and meats, flowers and perfumes.[24]

On the advice of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, Harṣa assumed the sovereignty and endeavoured to "raise Buddhism from the ruin into which it had been brought by the king of Karṇasuvarṇa." Besides this, Harṣa erected thousands of stūpas on the banks of the Gaṅgā, built Buddhist monasteries and public rest-houses; "he furnished the chapels and liberally adorned the common halls of the monasteries. Owing to his influence, the neighbouring princes and the statesmen also became zealous in good works. At his royal lodge everyday meals were supplied to 1000 Buddhist monks and 500 Brahmins."[25]

Endowments by Gopala

Reference may be made to the endowments made by the Pāla kings of Bengal. According to Tārānātha in the time of Gopāla an upāsaka founded the Odantapurī or Uddaṇḍapura Monastery near Nālandā, now identified with Bihār in Patna district. This king revived the monastery of Nālandā and built several monasteries in his kingdom.[26] A Vāgīśvarī image inscription found at Nālandā refers to king Gopāla, evidently of the Pāla lineage and probably Gopāla I, who flourished in the later half of the 8th century A.D.[27] The Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa describes in detail the religious endowments made by Gopāla. He is represented as making Vihāras, Caityas, gardens, reservoirs, free inns and caves.[28] The Vāgīśvarī image may have been one of his gifts.

Endowments by Dharmapāla

Gopāla's successor Dharmapāla was also a great patron and builder of Buddhist establishments. He founded the Vikramaśīlā Monastery (identified with Pātharaghāṭa in Bhāgalpur District.) It had 108 rooms, 54 rooms for the general use of monks and 54 for esoteric practices; in the centre was the great hall. These were surrounded by a wall with 6 gates. The king maintained 108 eminent Buddhist scholars to carry on the religious and educational activity of this institution. Besides the students other residents were also maintained by the State. Dharmapāla also patronised the Nālandā-Vihāra.[29]

Reference has already been made to the Buddhist leanings of the Khaḍga kings of Samataṭa in Bengal.

Piety of Rājabhaṭa

One of these kings, Rājabhaṭa by name, was according to Sheng-chi, a great upāsaka. He used to prepare everyday hundred thousand icons of Buddha with earth, and recited hundred thousand verses of the Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra. It was a custom with him to take out processions in honour of Buddha, with an image of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara at the front, and make pious gifts. In his royal city, there were 4000 monks and nuns.[30]

Endowments by Kara Kings of Orissa

The Bhauma-kara kings of Orissa are known to have made large religious endowments in favour of Buddhists along with the Brahmanical followers. Their capital city, Virajā (modern Jājapura) has yielded many Buddhist images and monuments.

The Dhenkānāl plate of Tribhuvana Mahādevi, queen of Śivakara III (884 A.D.) a devout Buddhist, records the munificence of her predecessors who had decorated the earth with many monasteries and sanctuaries that were like staircases to ascend to the city of Purandara.[31] The site of Solanapura north of Jājapura, has yielded many Tāntrika Buddhist images belonging to the 8th and the 9th centuries A.D.[32] An inscribed image of Avalokiteśvara found at Khaḍīpadā was installed by a Tāntrika Buddhist called Parama-guru Rāhularuci, in the reign of Śubhakaradeva (790 A.D.).[33]

Ratnagiri in Orissa, which has yielded many pieces of Buddhist art, was also a famous centre of the Buddhistic culture during this period. A Buddhist monk named Prajña, a native of Kapiśā, is known from Chinese sources to have lived and studied at the monastery of Ratnagiri. The king of Wu-ch' a (Uḍra, Orissa) named Su-ba-ka-ra-sim-ha, who patronised this institution, is said to have sent a ms. of a section of the Avataṃsaka to the Chinese emperor Te-tsong through Prajñā. This Orissan king is identified with Śubhakara I (A.D. 790).[34]

A copper plate grant of 9th century A.D. informs us of the fact that in Jayāśrama Vihāra, in Northern Tosala, king Śivakaradeva III donated the revenue of a village called Kallām for the god 'Buddhabhaṭṭāraka'. The temple of Buddhabhaṭṭāraka, enshrining an image of Buddha, was built by Amubhaṭṭāraka in the precincts of the Jayāśrama Vihāra. In

this Vihāra both monks and nuns were living together, and there were ten servants to look after the comforts of the nuns.[35]

An inscription incised on one of the caves at Dhaulī hill reveals the existence of a Buddhist monastery called Arghyakā Varāṭikā. The inscription belongs to early 9th century A.D. The Monastery was built in A.D. 829 by Bhīmaṭa and Loyamaka during the reign of king Śāntikaradeva.[36]

Endowments by Kashmir kings

The Rājataraṅgiṇī records in its third and fourth books, the lavish endowments made by the kings of Kashmir upon the Buddhist monks during the two centuries of our period. King Meghavāhana was a pious person and well understood the sanctity of life; Kalhaṇa compares him with Buddha and Bodhisattvas. He stopped killing of animals in his realm and compelled his neighbouring princes to follow the ideal of non-violence.

His queen Amṛtaparbhā constructed a large and lofty monastery for foreign monks; in this monastery lived a Tibetan Buddhist monk Ston-pa by name. King's maternal uncle built the Jayendra-Vihāra and placed therein a colossal statue of Buddha (Bṛhadbuddha.)[37]

Religious endowments continued to be made during the reigns of Yuddhiṣṭhira, Raṇāditya, and Vikramāditya, specially by the queens and the ministers of the state. During the reign of Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa, we find the golden days of the Kashmirian Buddhists. The endowments of the king, of his queens and ministers have been already referred to. The most famous Buddhist upāsaka in Kashmir in the 8th century A.D. was Caṅkuṇa, the Chief Minister of Lalitāditya. The testimony of Kalhaṇa is corroborated partly by Yuan Chwang and Ou K'ong and partly by archaeological remains.[38]

Reference has been made above to the patronage of Buddhism under king Śīlāditya of Malawa, who seems to have vied with Aśoka in his religieux. Śīlāditya of Malwa of Yuan Chwang's records is most likely identical with Śīlāditya I who also bore the epithet Dharmāditya and one of whose known dates is A.D. 606. This may be taken to correspond, more or less, with Yuan Chwang's statement that the king flourished about 60 years before his visit.

Śīlāditya I Dharmāditya of Malawa is known from some

records which also support the account of Yuan Chwang. He founded several monasteries and granted endowments for many Buddhist establishments. The following description of his piety justifies his assumption of the title of Dharmāditya. He built a large temple and installed in it 7 images of Buddha; he convoked a quinquennial charitable session regularly and lavished precious and rare articles, garments and gold pieces on the Brethren. His mission of piety was continued by his successors. He was so careful observer of the doctrine of ahiṃsā as to supply strained water to his elephants and horses, and himself never killed even an ant. He constructed temporary residences on the largest and the grandest scale and made pious gifts. Other endowments of the Maitraka kings of Valabhī have been discussed above.[39]

Another example of a rare benevolent king is to be found in the person of Dhruvabhaṭa of Valabhī, son-in-law of Emperor Harṣa. He was a typical personality, hasty and impulsive by nature, heavy and dull in manners, but he respected virtue and promoted learning. Although he was 'an Eternal Warrior' (Dhruvabhaṭa), yet he was a devout Buddhist; deeply given to the Tri-ratna; he convoked a great assembly annually and, for seven days entertained monks from all over the country and "bestowed on them food of the best description, choice jewels, bedding and clothes, with varieties of medicaments and other things of different kinds."[40]

Benefactions of Malada

A very comprehensive and interesting record relating to the benefactions of a rich lay-man at Nālandā, is a stone inscription found at Nālandā[41] belonging to the reign of king Yaśovarmadeva, identified with Emperor Yaśovarmān of Kanauj (died cir. A.D. 740). This lay-devotee is Mālāda, son of Tegina a minister of Yaśovarmān. The record opens with a grand eulogy of and reverent salutations to Buddha. A detailed description of the great Buddhist temple built by king Bālāditya at Nālandā is given and the Mahāvihāra with its noble inmates is also eulogised. But the purpose and the burden of the epigraph is to record Mālāda's charity. The epigraph supplies the following important notice with regard to the endowments and provisions for the maintenance of Nālandā Mahāvihāra made by upāsaka Mālāda in the middle of 8th century.

He brought, in person, with profound devotion to Buddha, the pious permanent grant, pure and cool water mixed with fragrant powder, a bright lamp and offerings of clarified butter and curd. Under the orders of the community of Brethren, he distributed daily, in a befitting manner, various preparations of rice, curds and copious ghee to the monks of the four quarters. He also distributed among them pure and scented water (perfumed with tvak, elā, patraka and nāga kesara) daily at the session (sattra). Not satisfied with this charity, Mālāda purchased everything here at Nālandā from the revered Saṃgha and then gave it back to the bhikṣus, according to rites, barring the monk's robe. Mālāda also 'gave away to the Buddhist monks a common dwelling place, wherein to spend time happily, upto and beyond Narddarikā, excepting a place for himself.'

Commenting on this last sentence, Dr. Hīrānanda Śāstrī wrote that "It means that Mālāda became a Buddhist monk for some time and after that again became a gṛhastha."[42]

A Shāhpur stone image inscription of 66th year (Harṣa Era=A.D. 672-673) belonging to the reign of Ādityasena, the later Gupta king, records a pious gift by Śālapakṣa (the Balādhikṛta of Ādityasena) for the Nālandā-Mahā-(-gra-) Vihāra.[43]

(ii) ORGANISATION AND ADMINISTRATION IN MONASTERIES

General Features

Buddhist monasteries seem to have been organised and administered according to the traditional laws of the Saṃgha.[43a] In their internal management they enjoyed more or less complete autonomy from any external secular authority. But the kings and the royal patrons seem to have exercised some power over the institutions they maintained or that were in their dominion. The ideal of universal brotherhood, equality of opportunity and respect for virtue and learning were observed without any consideration of nationality, caste or age. Thus in the 9th century, a Buddhist monk-scholar of Jalālābād, who was on a pilgrimage to the sites in Bihar, was elected to be the Chief of a College.[44] Yuan Chwang, though a foreigner monk-scholar, received the highest honours and the best comforts in Indian monasteries wherever he went.

In a few cases, instances of royal control on the monasteries are known to us. King Kumāra of Kāma-

Royal Control

rūpa is seen threatening through a messenger to Śīlabhadra, that he would demolish the Nālandā Mahāvihāra in case his request for despatching Yuan Chwang immediately to his court was not complied with.[45] This shows that the Kāmarūpa king could exert his influence on that monastic institution.

Likewise, Emperor Harṣa is said to have "brought the Brethren together for examination and discussion, giving rewards and punishments according to merit and demerit. Those Brethren who kept the rules of their Order strictly and were thoroughly sound in theory and practice he advanced to the Lion's Throne (that is promoted to the highest place) and from these he received religious instruction; those who, though perfect in the observance of the ceremonial code were not learned in the past, he merely honoured with formal reverence; those who neglected the ceremonial observances of the Order, and whose immoral conduct was notorious, were banished from his presence and from the country."[46]

In the Mṛcchakaṭika we find Bhikṣu Saṃvāhaka being appointed Head of all the Buddhist monasteries (Kulpati) at the recommendation of Cārudatta, by the king who seems to have been the ultimate supreme authority on all religious endowments in the kingdom.[47]

From Tārānātha we learn that Head of the Vikramaśilā Monastery, built by Dharmapāla, had control over Nālandā Monastery also.[48] This points to the royal control which the Pāla kings exercised over the monasteries within their state.

In Kashmir the king is seen appointing some score of monks headed by Bhadanta Yaśa from among the monks, to help Yuan Chwang when the latter stayed there.[49]

As already observed, in their internal management the monasteries enjoyed full freedom. A regulated papal hierarchy seems to have been evolved by the monastics. At the head of the Monastery was a 'Chief Priest' or 'Head Abbot' (Sthavira, Kulapati).

Internal Administration

Character, learning, seniority and general ability were the qualifications of a monk who could rise up to this distinction. In Kashmir, Bhaddanta Yaśa was the Sthavira of the monastery;[50] in Tāmralipti Monastery, Rāhulamitra was the Sthavira, and all monasteries of Bengal were under his supervision.[50a] In the Tiladha Monastery near Nālandā, Jñānacandra was the Sthavira;[51] a Jñānacandra is mentioned by Yuan Chwang in Nālandā as a man of exceptional virtue and learning; the same scholar seems to have become the Head of Tiladha Vihāra in the time of I-tsing. In the forty's of the 7th century A.D., Śīlabhadra alias 'Treasure of the Good Law', "whose perfect excellence was burried in obscurity", was the Kulapati of Nālandā.[52] In the time of I-tsing this exalted position seems to have been occupied by Ratnasiṃha who is mentioned as the most distinguished teacher at Nālandā.[53] Divākaramitra was the Head of the Forest Monastery, in eastern Vindhya Hills, and under him lived ascetics of various faiths and philosophies.[54]

Kulapati

The Sthavira or Kulapati may be described as Director of the convent; every one respected him and obeyed his orders, all important activities were preceded by his deliberation; he enjoyed the best possible facilities available in the monastery On religious functions he presided over the gathering; he would salute the image and make offerings first, all others will follow him. When king Kumāra of Kāmarūpa wanted to invite Yuan Chwang he sought the sanction of Śīlabhadra; when Emperor Harṣa wished to hold philosophical debates he sought the views of Śilabhadra.[55]

Karmadāna

Next to Kulapati, in position and authority, was a monk called Karmadāna or Vihārasvāmīn or Vihārapāla. He was in fact the Deputy Director of Monastery, and conducted the whole affairs thereof. He regulated the time-table, the hours of the meal and other daily programmes; in the time of Yuan Chwang, the Deputy Director of Nālandā was probably Buddhabhadra, of 70 years' age, who lived in a four-storeyed building in the College built by Bālādityarāja. When Yuan Chwang entered Nālandā Vihāra, the Karmadāna was directed by the Kulapati to sound the gong and proclaim the arrival of the distinguished guest and to arrange the requirements of the latter.[56]

By far the supreme executive body of the monastics living in a monastery or a group of monasteries, was the Parisad or Assembly. All powers concerning sacred and secular affairs of the monastic establishment were vested in this Assembly of monks, which symbolised the entire Brotherhood or Saṃgha. As an eternal member of the Holy Trinity, its dignity and authority were paramount.

Parişad

No one was admitted to the Order or ordained as a bhikṣu or bhikṣuṇī without the sanction of the Assembly; admission to the Order, gradation of the members of the Order, arrangement of the Uposatha ceremony, proper recitation and observation of the Prātimokṣa rules, arrangement of the affairs of the dead monks and the disposal of the latter's belongings and the management of economic life, such as clothing, meals, articles of worship, construction, cultivation and preservation of monastic fields and gardens etc. were the principal functions of the Assembly.[57]

Nālandā stone inscription of Mālāda points to the authority and management of the Order of monks. He could make endowments and charities with the permission of the Order. As many as 775 specimens of monastic seals have been recovered at the sites of the convents of Nālandā complex; they bear the inscription: 'Śrī Nālandā-Mahāvihāra-Āryabhikṣu-Saṃghasya'. These seals point to the administration of the Saṃgha.[58]

The monasteries also maintained some inferior staff and servants. These were probably of two types: Māṇavas and Brahmacārīns. In the three monasteries in Kanauj presumably built by king Harṣa, there were thousands of lay Buddhists to serve them.[59] At Nālandā, Yuan Chwang was given two personal servants to wait on him. On one occasion, he sent "an attendant" to tear out a heretical document pasted on the wall of the Monastery. On being asked as to his identity, the attendant replied : "I am the servant of Mahāyānadeva."[60] Monastic servants are referred in Chinese records as 'pure men' and upāsakas. I-tsing gives more information about their work. The 'pure man' takes the chair and utensils when a monk proceeds to receive a guest; he takes out the remnant of the meals eaten by "priests; who order their servants to carry it to the

Menial Staff

monastery",[61] these servants were also employed to cultivate the gardens, they also beat the time-drum (such watch-keepers were usually bestowed by the kings), but servants were not entitled to sound the gong (ghaṇṭā) announcing the hour of a religious service, which was announced by the Deputy Director (Karmadāna). But all other "unimportant affairs were done by the servants ('pure men') and porters."[63]

Section 2

LIFE AND DISCIPLINE IN THE MONASTERIES

Grades of Monks

Resident monks in the monasteries were divided into classes or grades; the criteria being the monastic seniority, learning or knowledge and spiritual excellence. There were, according to I-tsing,[64] three classes of monks who could not be led in one and the same way; they were the superiors, the mediocres, and the inferiors. The Four Refuges,[65] the Four (proper) Actions,[66] and the Thirteen Dhutāṅgas[67] were ordained for men of superior faculties. The possession of rooms, the acceptance of gifts and the Thirteen Necessaries[68] were allowed both to the mediocre and the inferior classes of monks.

But this three-fold classification, based upon the degree of asceticism practised by each class, seems to have been rather theoretical. The actual grounds, on which the gradation of monks seems to have been based during this period were mainly three: monastic seniority, knowledge of Tripiṭaka and high moral character. Those possessing these merits appear to have enjoyed certain privileges and formed a distinct and upper class among the monks and nuns. The following extracts, gleaned from I-tsing's Record, will give an idea of the gradation of monks.

(1) With regard to the allotment of rooms in the monastery, we find that the respectable and learned monks, as also those versed in the Piṭakas, were allotted some of the best rooms and servants. Not only "Venerable priests, if very learned", but also "to the elders (Sthaviras), better rooms were given and

thus gradually to the lowest." Thus three categories were distinguished in the matter of distribution of cells.[69]

(2) The senior monks and the venerable priests used small chairs to sit on at a dinner, while for the junior members of the Order, blocks of wood were used instead.[70]

(3) If such men delivered daily lectures or sermons, they were freed from the normal duties imposed upon the monks; while going out, they could ride on sedan-chairs, though not on horses.[71]

(4) With respect to the distribution of articles, valuables or other commodities, if they were not sufficient for all the monks of the monastery, only the elders took them.[72]

(5) Seniority was counted from the date and actual, precise time of the ordination (upasampadā); those who had spent ten rain-retreats, were designated sthaviras, 'of settled position' ordinary monks were called Śrāmaneras. A Sthavira could live by himself, "without living under a teacher's care", while a Śrāmanera had to live at least five summars, under the tutelege of some elder.[73]

(6) In ceremonial meets of the monastery, the monks took their seats according to their respective ranks.[74]

(7) Those who were worthy of receiving salutation, did not salute first to their juniors or inferiors.[75]

(8) In observing the uposatha and the pravāraṇā ceremonies also, the monks and the nuns preceded or followed each other according to their rank, 'first bhikṣus, next bhikṣuṇīs, then the lower classes of the members."[76]

Admission to the Order

Rules and regulations concerning the admission of persons to the Saṃgha and ordination of the monks, were similar to those of ancient times and corresponded with those laid down in the Vinaya-Piṭaka.[77] I-tsing's account of the entire procedure of ordination is as follows.

Any one wishing to embrace the monkhood had to approach a teacher of his own choice and request him to be initiated; there was no caste barrier; a minor, a matricide, a patricide, and a eunuch and the like were disqualified for admission to the Order of monks. The selected teacher had to get the permission of the Saṃgha and after this he imparted the Five Precepts to the candidate, Only a Sthavira could act as

an Upādhyāya, and no one could attain the position of a Sthavira without spending ten rain-retreats (Varṣā-vāsa).

The ordination (upasaṃpadā) ceremony was conducted by a priest called Karmācārya; only an elder of pure character and well up in the Vinaya-Piṭaka could officiate as a Karmācārya.[78]

The upāsaka shaved his head and beard, received an undergarment (Nivāsana), a cloak (Saṃghāṭi), a side-covering cloth (Saṅkaṣikā), a bowl (Pātra), and a water-filter (Pariśrāvaṇa).

While imparting the Ten-Precepts (Śikṣāpadas) to the Pravrajita and during his full ordination (upasaṃpadā), perfect dignity, sobriety, and pure attitude of mind were maintained. The early morning hours were prefered for the ceremony of ordination.[79] I-tsing testifies to the fact that the Indian Buddhist monasteries maintained a register in which stranger monks visiting the monastery were noted, and another register wherein the name and etc. of a newly ordained monk were registered.[79a]

Progress of the Monk

Study of the Prātimokṣa and the Vinaya-Piṭaka under the Upādhyāya went on for a long time; having mastered the Vinaya-Piṭaka, the novice proceeded to learn other śāstras. In the path of progress towards higher religious life, certain distinct stages are note-worthy.[80] The first stage was that of an 'Upāsaka', a faithful believer in the Tri-ratna, who observed the Pañca-Śīla (five moral precepts); the next stage was that of a 'Pravrajita', an ordained monk, 'homeless one'; in the third stage when he had received ten (moral) lessons (śikṣāpadas), he was called a Śrāmanera. Then, after receiving the full Upasaṃpadā and having mastered the Prātimokṣa and the Vinaya-Piṭaka, he was called 'Dahara' or a 'minor teacher'. In the fifth stage, when he had completed ten years in monastic life, he became a 'sthavira', of 'settled position' and he could then live by himself, without living under a teacher's care.[81] It is needless to mention that, throughout India, Buddhist monks shaved their heads and the mouth and wore Kāśāya garments.[82]

Pilgrimage

Pilgrimage to the holy Buddhist places sanctified by Lord Buddha's association—seems to have been much in vogue during this period. It is very well known that the Lord himself had advised the followers to visit four places, viz., Lummini, Buddha-Gayā,

Sārnātha and Kuśīnagar, sacred spots connected with Birth, Enlightenment, Dharma-cakra-pravartana and Mahāparinirvāṇa.[83] Caityas of Rājagṛha, Bodhi-Tree (Buddha Gayā) Gṛdhrakūṭa-hill, Deer Park and the holy place of the Śāla-trees (Kuśīnagara), are especially mentioned by I-tsing as the places of Buddhist pilgrimage.[84]

A Buddhist monk took with him, while travelling, a jar, a bowl, necessary clothes, hanging them from over his shoulders, and an umbrella in his hand. "This is the manner of the Buddhist priest in travelling." Besides these, he took a separate jar for unclean water, and leather shoes in a bag, at the same time holding a metal-staff and going about at ease. In this way the monks used to "assemble by thousands in every one of the above places day after day from every quarter." Revered and erudite monks of Śrī Nālandā Vihāra used to ride in sedan-chairs; the monks of the Mahārāja monastery did the same. In this case, necessary luggage was carried by other persons or taken by boys.

Rain Retreat

All the 'Five Assemblies (Pariṣads)[85] of the homeless ones' had to observe the rain retreat (Varṣā-vāsa). The Brethren in India entered on Retreat on the first day of the month of Śrāvaṇa and went out of Retreat on the last day of the month of Āśvin. That is, from July-August to September-October.[85a] It was customary to assign rooms to every member before the commencement of the season; better rooms were given to the elders and thus gradually to the lowest. A member of the lower rank could absent himself in case of necessity, by requesting another member to apply for permission on his behalf. If there be a sick person or an emergent affair to be attended to, a member could go off; when anyone wanted to absent oneself from the rain-retreat, one had to obtain the permission of the Assembly; the maximum time allowed for stay-out was forty nights. The summer or rain Retreat lasted for three months. According to both Yuan Chwang and I-tsing, two periods of Retreat were observed by the professed Buddhists of India. At the end of the Retreat, monks and the lay-followers performed a great ceremony of offerings.[86]

At the close of the Retreat, the community observed 'Sui-i' (lit. 'according to one's wish') that is, Pravāraṇā: "pointing out the fault of others, as one likes, according to the three points (i.e. what one has seen, what one has heard, and what one has suspected). Then followed confession and atoning for faults."[87]

Pravāraṇā day

For the offences against the Vinaya, the Order had a gradation of penalties; for a light offence a reprimand was ordered; for an offence next above this gravity, cessation of oral intercourse with the Brethren was to be added. When the offence was serious, the offender was expelled and excommunicated. Expelled from a community, the monk became a miserable vagrant and often returned to the home-life of previous state.[88] Therefore, the Karmadāna's duty of superintending the monastic life and discipline was a very strict custom.[89]

Offences and Penalties

The uposatha (poṣadha[90]) day is the fast-day; it is the day of religious observance and feasting and celebration for the lay men and the monks. It is a weekly festival when the lay-follower goes to see the monk and takes upon himself the upavasatha vows, viz, to observe the eight śīlas during the day.

The Upavasatha Day

The host first went to the monks, saluted them and invited them for the festival. Utter cleanliness of utensils, chairs and the dinning hall, pure and filtered water, worship of and offerings to the images of sages and caityas preceded the distribution of food at the right time, when the sun was nearly at the zenith. At the end of the row of monks, an offering of food was made to the mother Hārīti. Besides Hārīti, there was another deity, Mahākāla, whose image was to be found invariably in all Indian monasteries, near the kitchen or at the porch. An abundant offering of food was regularly made to this god who 'loved' the Triratna and 'protected' the Five Assemblies.

Articles of food included various preparations of rice, ghee, butter, milk, sugar, fruits, soup and bread.

Food and Drinks

After the meal, the host offered gifts of various kinds to the priestly guests; the poor made such gifts as he could afford; a

handful of food was also offered to the dead and other spirits; when the meals were over, the Dānapati offered tooth-woods to the guests. The guests then thanked the host and read some gāthās from the sūtras and gave blessings for the good of the lay-devotee. Before the monks withdrew to their monasteries, they were offered sugar-water and betel-nuts (śarbat and supārī) as the finishing items.[91] Not only the chewing of 'Pāna' (betel-leaf) but also the taking of 'Cāya' (Tea)[92] or 'hot-drink' was current among the Indians and monks of the time. Throughout India, says I-tsing, monks as well as the lay-men did not take onions and flesh, in exceptional cases, however, these could be used.[93]

Purity and Cleanliness

I-tsing was profoundly impressed by the purity and cleanness maintained by the Indian monks, with regard to body, clothes, utensils, water, sleeping and dinning rooms. The Indians were "proud of their own purity and excellence'; they did not eat their daily food without having first washed; before meals they washed their hands and feet; after meals they cleaned their tongue and teeth with a tooth-wood,[94] and hands with a powder made for the purpose. The ground of the house and the kitchen was strewn with cow-dung, and seats were arranged at intervals of one cubit so that persons sitting on them did not touch one another. "The peculiar distinction between purity and impurity" was very characteristic of the Indian monks, who did not take impure food.

Every monk kept two jugs, one of pottery or porcelain used for keeping drinking water, and another of iron or copper, employed for storing water for cleansing purposes. As a rule, water was always filtered before use; it was the duty of the chief priest of the monastery to see every morning the water of the nearby well and arrange its filteration.[95]

Dress and Bedding

The dress of the Buddhist monks of India was usually of orange colour (Kāśāya); cotton, silken and woolen cloth was used in preparing the monk's robes. Usually, a monk possessed three garments (Cīvara); the patches were sewn close. I-tsing does not seem to have appreciated the style of Indian garments. "The ecclesiastic garments used in the five parts of India are stiched and sewn at random, with no regard to the threads of

cloth being length way or cross way." Fine silk was the most common cloth used for monkish robes.

There were minor points of difference in the dresses of different sectarians; thus for example, among the Mūlasarvāstivādins, the skirt of the lower garments was cut straight, while among the Saṃmitīyas, the Sthaviravādins and the Mahāsāṃghikas, it was cut of irregular shape. The manner of wearing the undergarment (nivāsana) among the Mūlasarvāstivādins differed from the manner of those of other two Nikāyas. The mode of wearing the nivāsana among the Mahāsāṃghikas, says I-tsing, resembled to that of Indian woman.

The nun's mode of putting on the nivāsana was identical with that of a monk of her respective school. The Indians of upper classes wore only a pair of white soft clothes, the poor and lower classes had only one piece of linen. It was only the monks who 'possessed the three garments and six requisites.'[96]

As already noted, rooms in the monasteries were allotted according to the rank of the monks, when a strange monk arrived at a monastery, he was welcomed with due hospitality and supplied with food and bed-gear as suited to his rank. When the monks lodged together, the question arose whether they should be in separate rooms or to be separated by partitions made by ropes, though both methods were lawful. The Mūlasarvāsativādīn community ordained separate rooms in lodgings, while the Saṃmitīya sect allowed separate beds in an enclosure made by ropes.[97]

Regulation of Time

All monasteries in India observed a regulated time-table; two types of time-keepers (watches) were known and maintained : sun-dial and water-clock. The sun-clock based on the measure of time with help of the shadow of a stick, was universally used; it was known as the 'time-wheel' (Velācakra). When the shadow of the stick was shortest, the hour was supposed to be mid-day (noon).

Besides, clepsydrae were much used in great monasteries in India : The clepsydrae of Nālandā were noted for their efficiency. These, together with some boys who watched them, were gifts made by kings. Water is filled in a copper vessel, in which a copper bowl floats. This latter had a pin-hole in its

bottom through which water sprung up. At each immersion of the bowl a stroke of the drum was announced.

Worship and Scriptural study: The daily service

"Though the Great Teacher has entered Nirvāṇa, yet his image exists, and we should worship it with zeal as though in his very presence. Those who constantly offer incense and flowers to it are enabled to purify their thoughts, and also those who perpetually his bathe image are enabled to overcome their sins that involve them in darkness."[99] These words of I-tsing, a seventh century Sarvāstivâdin Hīnayānist, are quite at one, not only with the standpoint of Yuan Chwang[100] and Śāntideva[101] who were devout Mahāyānists of the same century, but also with an ancient saying contained in the Suttanipāta: "By faith you shall be free and go beyond the realm of death."[102]

The monasteries were decorated with the holy images of Buddha, Bodhisattvas, caityas containing the relics of saints, and the images of other deities such as Tārā, Hārīti and Mahākāla,[103] a portion of food was regularly offered to the two last named deities; the monks bathed and wiped the images of Buddha every morning and offered incense and flowers and lighted the lamps in adoration. The case containing the sacred scriptures was placed on one side of the image; at sleeping hour the image was removed into a different room.

Besides Buddha, Maitreya, Mañjuśrī and Avalokiteśvara, were the most popular deities worshipped by the Buddhists.[104] Among the sacred texts popularly studied, the most notable were the dhāraṇīs, the Ratnakūṭasūtra, the Buddha-carita and other hymns by Aśvaghoṣa, the hymns by Mātṛceta, the Jātakamālā, selected parts of the Tripiṭaka and the Mahāyāna sūtras.[105]

Procedure of worship and Recitation

In the forenoon, when the monks were to bathe and worship the Buddha image, the Karmadāna of the monastery announced the time by striking a gong or by beating a drum. After streching a jewelled canopy over the court of the monastery and arranging perfumed water jars in rows at the side of the temple, an image of Buddha, either of gold, silver, copper or stone was put into a basin of the same material, while a band of girls played music there. The image was duly anointed with multiple

Morning Session

with the hands folded on the breast; (5) bending a knee; (6) kneeling with both knees; (7) going down on the ground on hands and knees; (8) bowing down with knees, elbows, and forehead to the ground; (9) prostrating oneself to the earth. The performance of all these nine acts from the lowest to the highest is only one act of reverence.

The Buddhist monks receiving the courtesies of respect only bestow a good wish.[113] One whose date and time of ordination was earlier (i.e. older) could claim a salute from the juniors. When a junior bhikṣu saw his senior, he quietly showed respect and saluted with the word 'Vande' (Śalutations'), and the senior acknowledged the salutation with the word 'Ārogya' holding his hands right in front; this word implied one's praying that there may be no disease. "If they do not say these words, both parties are faulty.....Those who are worthy of receiving salutation need not salute others who are inferior to themselves. Such is the rule among the priests of the five parts of India."[114]

Inside the Room

Since the rooms in the monasteries of India were not spacious, and the residents were numerous, the beds were removed after the occupants had risen; they were put in a corner of the room, or removed outside the doors. The floor of the room was then cleaned and strewn with cow-dung, then the small chairs and blocks of wood and mats were properly arranged, and the monks took their seats according to their rank.[115]

On Sickness

Everyone who fell sick had his food cut off for seven days; during this interval the patient often recovered, but if he could not regain his health, he would take medicine. Various kinds of medicines and various types of skilled medical doctors were known and available.[116]

On Death

The Buddhist monks were forbidden to wail aloud over a departed one; on the death of a parent they read a service of gratitude.

Reception of Visitors

It was a general rule among the monastics that whenever anyone perceived a person coming to the monastery, "whether he be a stranger or a friend, a disciple or pupil, or an acquaintance, he instantly proceeded to receive him, and pronounced 'Svāgata' (welcome). But if he found the visitor to be a

'stranger' he proceeded to pronounce another 'Susvāgata' ('most welcome')." This was done inveriably without questioning whether the new-comer was a superior or inferior to the host. Negligence of these rites was regarded contrary to the Vinaya.

Whenever a person arrived in the monastery, the host took off the visitor's water-jug and bowl, and hung them up on pegs on the wall, and bade the new-comer rest; then having enquired about his health, offered him either tea ('hot-water') or some other drink such as one made of sugar-cane.[118]

High Moral Standard

The 'Chief Priest' or Kulapati of the monastery was, as a rule, "a man of high moral character. He observed with the greatest strictness the religious rules and ordinances. He was possessed of the highest intelligence, and acquainted with all the points of a true discipline. His talents were eminent, his spiritual powers exalted, and his disposition affectionate."[119]

Rāhulmitra, for instance, who was the most eminent sage in the Tāmralipti Monastery in I-tsing's time, and was honoured as the head of the Buddhist monks of Eastern Āryadeśa, was a person of exceptional moral culture. A monk, thirty years old, of excellent conduct and profound scholarship, he never had spoken, since his ordination, with women face to face, except when his mother or sister came, whom he met outside his room. On being questioned by I-tsing, he replied like a true Buddhist; "I am naturally full of worldly attachment, and without doing thus, I cannot stop its source."[120]

Śīlabhadra, the Kulpati of the Mahāvihāra at Nālandā was possessed of unfathomable virtue and piety; he commanded so great respect among the Buddhists that they did not dare to address him except as Ching-fa-tsong, "Treasure of the True Doctrine."[121]

Not only the Chief Priest, but all the monks of Nālandā were "Spontaneously dignified and grave, so that during 700 years since the foundation of the establishment, there had been no single case of guilty rebellion against the rules."[122] I-tsing also praises the strict rules of the Nālandā Mahāvihāra, and Mālāda in his Nālandā stone epigraph, repeatedly refers to the pious and virtuous conduct of its Brethren.[123] 'On account of the priests's mutual confession, their faults were prevented before their growth.'[124]

scanty clothes repeat prayers and dwell on the inconstancy of worldly things."[134] The life of a Buddhist monk was one of austerity.

Self-Denial and Religious Suicide

"In the river Ganges many men drown themselves everyday. On the hill of Buddha-gayā too there are not infrequently cases of suicide. Some starve themselves and eat nothing. Others climb up trees and throw themselves down. Some intentionally destroy their man-hood and become eunuchs. These actions are entirely out of harmony with the Vinaya Canon."[135]

Evidently, here is a reference to religious suicide prevalent among the Buddhist monks during the seventh century A.D. Yuan Chwang notes in his general description of India that when some people became too old or suffered from some incurable disease, they were given a fairwell entertainment with music, after that they drowned themselves into the Ganges.[136] But this "contemptuous" practice, performed with the hope of reaching Heaven, was not shared by all. He does not specially say that the Buddhists resorted to this mode of release.

In his account of Prayāga, Yuan Chwang gives more details of religious suicide, which are corroborated by indigeneous literature.[137] It seems that not only the Brahmanical followers but also the Buddhists, presumably Hīnayānists, also believed in the efficacy of religious suicide in obtaining release. Not only human beings but also the monkeys and other wild creatures took bath in the Gangā and fasted until they died.[138]

Besides religious suicide, I-tsing alludes to the prevalence of other mortifying practices such as burning the body and cutting one's flesh. In his opinion, extreme sacrifices were meant either for the lay-men or for the Bodhisattvas who sacrifice themselves for the good of others without receiving the Vinaya rules at all.

Some young monks seem to have considered the burning of the body a means of attaining Buddhahood. I-tsing disapproves this practice and elucidates his view by quoting the Buddha-vacana. "The Mahāsattva offered his own eyes and body, but a bhikṣu need not do so. Hsien Yu (Ṛṣī-Nandita) surrendered his life, but this is not a precedent to be followed by a Vinaya student. King Maitrībala[139] sacrificed himself, but the

mendicant ought not to follow his example." It appears that some Mahāyānists were inspired by the ideals of the Bodhisattvas and imitated the incidents narrated in the Jātaka stories. But I-tsing is critical of them and remarks : "It is but vain to give up our insignificant body after having studied but a few ślokas of the Sūtra."[140]

Notes and References

1. See Chap. V; N. Dutt, Early Monastic Buddhism, 2nd. ed; S. Dutt, Early Buddhist Monashism, 2nd. ed.
2. S. C. Das, Tibetan Dictionery, p. 586, 'ḥdulva'; V. S. Apte, Skt. Eng. Dicty., p. 513.
3. The Cultural Heritage of India, Vol. I, 2nd. ed., p. 587; see also Eliot, Hinduism and Buddhism, vol. II, p. 175; 211; ERR., Artt. "Monasticism".
4. Giles, Fa-hsien, pp. 21-22.
5. Yuan Chwang, II, 165 'Mango park'; Life, p. 110, 'the garden of the lord (shreṣṭin) Āmra (or Amara).'
6. Yuan Chwang, loc. cit., 'ten koṭis of gold coins'; Life, loc. cit., 'ten lacs of gold pieces.'
7. Yuan Chwang, II, 164-65.
8. Life, pp. 105-106.
9. Ibid, pp. 109-110.
10. H. Heras, 'The Royal Patrons of the University of Nālandā', JBORS XIV, 1928.
11. See MASI., No. 66, pp. 26 f.
12. Life, pp. 112-113.
13. Takakusn, I-tsing, p. 65; R. K. Mookerjee, Ancient Indian Education, 2nd ed., Chapters XII-XV.
14. Takakusu, I-tsing, p. 144.
15. Ibid, Chapters 36-37, pp. 192-194. He reports that the non-Buddhist texts belonging to a deceased monk were to be sold and the money acquired thereof was also distributed among the resident monks.
16. Ibid, Chap. 36.
17. Life, pp. 153-154.
18. Yuan Chwang, II, p. 115.
19. MASI. No. 66, pp. 26 ff.
20. Yuan Chwang, II, 164-165.
21. Life, pp. 158-159.
22. Ibid, p. 154.
23. Ibid, p. 180.
24. Ibid, pp. 184-187.
25. Yuan Chwang, I, 343-344; see above chap. II.
26. See Tārānātha (Schiefner), p. 204; N. Dutt in HCIP., IV, p. 269.
27. H. Śāstrī in MASI. No. 66, p. 74.
28. Ibid, loc. cit; Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa (TSS) p. 631.
29. Tārānātha, (Schiefner), p. 217; HCIP., IV, pp. 270-271.
30. See S. Beal's Summary of I-tsing's 'Memoire' in Life, pp. XL-XLI; Hist. of Bengal, I, p. 87. 414.
31. JBORS., pp. 419-427; B. Misra, Orissa under the Bhauma Kings, p. 28.
32. Ep. Ind, XV, p. 1.

33. Ep. Ind, XXVI, pp. 147 ff.
34. S. Lèvi in Ep. Ind., XV, pp. 363-364; see also HCIP., IV, pp. 65, 80.
35. See Talcher plate of Śivakaradeva III, in B. Misra, Op. cit., pp. 40 ff.
36. Ep. Ind., XIX, pp. 263-64.
37. Rājatarangiṇi, III, verses 2, 4, 9-14, 27, 57, 380-81, 464, 476; see my article in J.O.I., vol. XIV, Baroda, Dec. 1964.
38. Rājatarangiṇī, IV, Verses 3, 188, 201-203, 211, 215-216, 484, 507-508.
39. See above Ch. II; D.R. Bhandarkar's List of N. Ind. Inscriptions, pp. 182, 221; Life p. 148; Yuan Chwang, II, p. 242.
40. Life, pp. 145-150. It is wonderful that this glorious king does not find mention in K. M. Munshi's Glory that was Gūrjaradeśa, 2 pts, Bombay, 1955. One recalls how the Purāṇic Chroniclers ignored Emperor Aśoka.
41. Ep. Ind., XX, pp. 43 ff.; H. Śāstrī, 'Nālandā and Its Epigraphic material', MASI, No. 66; on the controversy about the date of this epigraph see IHQ, vol. VII, p. 664; vol. VIII, pp. 288 ff., 615 ff.
42. MASI, No. 66, pp. 81-82.
43. Ibid., p. 83.
43a. See Gokuldas De, Democracy in Early Buddhist Saṃgha.
44. Ind. Ant, vol. XVIII, p. 307; Altekar, Edu. Anc. Ind; p. 76.
45. Life, pp. 169-171.
46. Yuan Chwang, I, p. 344. Cf. Aśoka Minor Pillar Edict No. 1.
47. Mṛcchakaṭika, Act. X.
48. Tārānātha, op. cit., p. 218.
49. Life, p. 69.
50. Ibid, loc. cit.
50a. I-tsing, pp. 63-64.
51. Ibid, p. 184.
52. Yuan Chwang, II, pp. 109, 165; Life, pp. 106, 158.
53. I-tsing, op. cit, p. 184.
54. Ibid, loc. cit; Harṣacarita, Bk. VIII; V. S. Agrawala, HC-Adhyayana, pp. 190 f.; R. N. Saletore, 'Divākaramitra, His date and Monastery', Proceedings of India History Congress, Annamalainagar, p. 60.
55. Life, pp. 160, 169-170.
56. Ibid, pp. XXXVII, 106, 109; I-tsing, pp. 62, 145, 153-154.
57. Ibid, pp. 87, 96, 190, 193.
58. MASI, No. 66, pp. 36, 87 ff.; see I-tsing, pp. 63, 148 on Assembly's functions.
59. Yuan Chwang, I, p. 352.
60. Life, p. 161.
61. I-tsing, pp. 36, 47.
62. Ibid, pp. 61, 64.
63. Ibid, pp. 144-145.
64. I-tsing, pp. 56-57.
65. Four 'Refuges' are concerning clothes, food, shelter, and medicine,
66. Four 'proper actions' are not returning slander for slander, not returning anger for anger, not meeting insult with insult, not returning blow for blow.
67. Thirteen Dhutāṅgas are enumerated below in chapter V; see Dharma Samgraha, 63, where only 12 are listed.
68. Thirteen 'necessaries' are—1. Saṃghāṭi, 2. Uttarā-saṅga, 3. Antaravāsa, 4. Nisīdana, 5. Nivāsana, 6. Pratinivāsana, 7. Saṅkakṣikā, 8. Pratisaṅkakṣikā, 9. Kāyaproñchana, 10. Mukhaproñchana, 11. Keśa-pratigraha, 12. Kandupratichadama, and 13. Bhaiṣjyapariṣkāra-cīvara; see the Mahāvagga (Nalanda Ed.) chapters VI, VIII; I-tsing, pp. 54-57.
69. Ibid, pp. 64, 80.
70. Ibid, p. 82.
71. Ibid, pp. 30, 64.

72. Ibid, p. 191.
73. Ibid, pp. 103-104.
74. Ibid, p. 112.
75. Ibid, p. 115.
76. Ibid, p. 87.
77. See Vinayapiṭakaṃ (Hindi Tr. by Sāṃkṛtyāyana), pp. 100-136.
78. Cf. Dhammapada, verse 261.
79. I-tsing, Chap. XIX, pp. 95 f.
79a. Ibid, pp. 64-65.
80. Cf. the stages of a Bodhisattva's career in chap. V; Daśabhūmika sūtra ed. in BST, No. 7; Har Dayal, Bodhisattva Doctrine, Chap. VI.
81. I-tsing, pp. 96-104.
82. Ibid, p. 185.
83. See AN, I, p. 126.
84. I-tsing, pp. 29-30.
85. The five pariṣads of the 'homeless ones' are those of Bhikṣus, Bhikṣuṇis, Śikaṣāmāṇas, Śrāmaṇeras, and Śrāmaneris.
85 a. Yuan Chwang, II, p. 138.
86. I-tsing, Chap. XIV, pp. 85-86; Yuan Chwang, I, p. 144.
87. I-tsing, Chap. XV, pp. 86-87.
88. Yuan Chwang, I, pp. 162-163.
89. I-tsing, p. 84.
90. See J. Przyluski, 'Uposatha, a Babylonian Element in Indian Civilization', IHQ, XII, 1936; this view lacks sound evidence.
91. I-tsing, Chap. IX, pp. 35 f.
92. See R. K. Mookerjee, 'A Note on the History of Tea', JUPHS, XII 1935.
93. I-tsing, pp. 137-138.
94. Ibid, Chapters V and VIII are devoted to the discussion of tooth-wood. Tooth-ache, says he, was a rare disease in India.
95. Ibid, Chapters III, IV, X, and XX.
96. I-tsing, pp. 6-7, 58-67; Yuan Chwang, I, p. 148. Six 'Requisites' of a monk are—Saṃghāti, Uttarāsaṅga, Antaravāsa, Pātra, Niṣīdana, and Pariśrāvaṇa; three robes are—lower one, upper one, and the cloak.
97. I-tsing, pp. 6-7.
98. Ibid, pp. 142-145.
99. Ibid, p. 147.
100. See Bhikshu Thich Minh Chau, Hsuan Tsang. The pilgrim and scholar, Nha-Trang (Viettham), 1963, Chapter I, pp. 1-15.
101. See his BCA and ŚS, Summary in Chap. V.
102. Suttanipāta, 1146.
103. See Yuan Chwang's description of Nālandā; I-tsing, pp. 37-38.
104. Fahsien (tr. Giles), pp. 9, 10, 23, 61, 74; Yuan Chwang, I, pp. 238, 343; II, pp.105, 107, 125, 175, 215, 219 etc; I-tsing, pp. 162, 136, 169, 196, 213, ; BCA, X.
105. see I-tsing, pp. 14-15 and chapter 34.
106. I-tsing, Chap. 31; cf. BCA and ŚS in Chap. V see also Yuan Chwang II, p. 115.
107. Harṣacarita, Bk. II, kamaṇḍalu jala śucisaya caraṇeṣu caitya praṇati pareṣu pārāśariṣu.
108. I-tsing devotes a whole chapter (ch. 30) to discuss pradakṣiṇā.
109. I-tsing, Chapters 31-32.
110. Life, pp. 191-192; MASI, No. 66, p. 82.
111. Fa-hsien, p. 20.
112. Life, p. 160.
113. Yuan Chwang, I, p. 173.
114. I-tsing, p. 116.
115. Ibid, pp. 111-112.
116. Yuan Chwang, I, p. 174.
117. Ibid, p. 175.

118. I-tsing, pp. 124-125; see also MASI, No. 66, p. 82.
119. Life, pp. 69-70.
120. I-tsing, pp. 63-64.
121. Ibid, p. 106; Yuan Chwang, II, p. 165.
122. Life p. 112.
123. MASI, No. 66, pp. 81, 83.
124. I-tsing p. 65.
125. Ibid, p. 50.
126. BCA, Ch. VIII, verses 24-29 (condensed).
127. I-tsing, p. 61.
128. Ibid, l. c.
129. Ibid, pp. 63-64.
130. Life, pp. 153-154.
131. Rājatarańgiṇī, IV, 210; L. M. Joshi, 'Buddhist Gleanings From the Rājatarańgiṇī', Journal of the Oriental Institute, vol. XIV, December, 1964.
132. Harṣacarita, BK VIII.
133. I-tsing, p. 183.
134. S. Mookerjee, 'Ujjainī in Mṛcchakaṭika', in B. C. Law volume, Pt. I, pp. 416-417.
135. I-tsing, p. 198.
136. Yuan Chwang, I, p. 175.
137. See Kṣetreśacandra Chaṭṭopādhyāya, in JUPHS, vol. X, pt. I, 1937.
138. Yuan Chwang, I, p. 364.
139. See Maitrībala Jātaka in Āryaśūra's Jātakamālā, BST No. 21, pp. 43 ff.
140. I-tsing, pp. 196-197.

Chapter V

ETHICAL AND SPIRITUAL CULTURE

Section 1

PRACTICAL BUDDHISM AND ITS SOURCES

The quest of Enlightenment

Buddhist moral and spiritual tradition derives its inspiration from Buddha who lived as a solitary monk seeking release and also as a saviour of beings. His love of solitude and silence was matched only by his universal compassion towards the suffering creatures.[1] Hīnayāna seems to have laid emphasis on the former while the Mahāyāna on the latter aspect of Buddha's personality and ideal.

Hīnayāna's Narrower ideal and effort

Accordingly, we find in developed Buddhism, a two-fold ideal and course of action. The Hīnayāna grew a narrower ideal and made a narrower effort towards ethical and spiritual progress.[2] Yuan Chwang[3] as well as I-tsing[4] testify to the practice of asceticism, specially the Dhutāṅgas.[5] But such ascetic practices were not unknown to the ancient Buddhists;[6] their texts do reveal that in certain monastic quarters the Dhutāṅgas[7] were practised and ascetic ideal extolled.[8] The goal of striving was to attain the state of an Arhat.[9] From early scriptures it appears that deliverance from Saṃsāra was attainable through a three-pronged training : morality (Śīla), contemplation (Samādhi) and wisdom (Prajñā).[10] This is indeed the basic path of progress in all Buddhism. Śīla is essentially moderation in conduct and purifies Karman.[11] Śīla includes the entire moral code prescribed for the followers of Buddha; this code is threefold: bodily, vocal and mental.[12] I-tsing reports[13] that the prohibitions of the five Skandhas ('groups of offences') were commonly observed by the Mahāyānists and the Hīnayānists of the 7th century.[14]

Śīla

Samādhi and dhyāna[15] occupy very important place in Buddhist spiritual discipline. To attain samādhi is the object of the Buddhist and dhyāna is the most important means leading to this end. Various degrees of dhyāna and kinds of samādhi are well known to the ancient scriptures.[16] Dhyāna helps the control of the mind, destruction of desire and consolidates the knowledge of four noble truths.[17]

Samādhi

The third member in the triple path is Prajñā, wisdom or gnosis. Prajña is insight, the faculty of wisdom; it includes the right views and consists in the real knowledge of things. The importance of Prajñā in ancient Buddhism is well known and it has remained paramount throughout the history of Buddhism.[18]

Prajñā

The striving for Nirvāṇa needs a good deal of constant spiritual exercises. There are four such exercises, called Brahma-vihāras,[19] living in the spiritual realm by cherishing and practising the four bhāvanās or sentiments, of maitrī (benevolence), karuṇā (compassion) muditā (cheerfulness), and upekṣā (indifferent equanimity). Of these, 'Compassion' has been the most important and vital element in practical Buddhism throughout its history. It was out of compassion that Buddha proceeded to disseminate his spiritual truths;[20] it is out of Mahākāruṇya that Avalokita refuses to enter Nirvāṇa till all beings are liberated.[21] It was out of compassion for a woman that Jyotirmāṇavaka broke his vow of continence after having practised it for 84,000 years.[22]

Brahmavihāras

Compassion

Mention must be made of the four 'elements of friendly treatment' or 'things to be possessed' (Saṃgrahavastuni).[23] They are charity, affable speech, officiousness and cooperation,[24] and are recommended to both laity and the monks.

Saṃgrahavastus

More fundamental to Buddhistic way, and the essential elements of Buddhist moral and spiritual culture, are the thirty seven Dharmas, favourable to Bodhi or Enlightenment.[25] As if to give a summary of the teachings, Buddha is said to have

Bodhipākṣika Dharmas

discussed these principles to a body of monks before entering into Mahāparinirvāṇa. These thirty seven dharmas are grouped into seven categories in the following manner: Four kinds of Thoughtfulness;[26] Four kinds of Right Efforts;[27] Four Stages of Psychic Power;[28] Five Faculties; [29] Five Powers;[30] Seven Constituents of Illumination;[31] and the Eight Limbs of the Noble Path.[32]

Faith and Devotion

There is a "Buddhism of Faith' in which Śraddhā and Bhakti play the prominent part. The most famous Buddhist theologian of the seventh century A.D. was above all a faithful devotee.[33] Great Buddhists like Vasubandhu,[34] Bhāvaviveka,[35] Śāntideva,[36] Yuan Chwang,[37] Harṣa[38] and Sarvajñamitra,[39] are seen displaying their earnest faith in, and devotion to, their favourite Buddhist deities, Śāntideva even believed that "Faith was the supreme vehicle."[40] The sources of this devotional fervour can be traced to some early scriptures. The Suttanipāta[41] declares: "By faith you shall be free and go beyond the realm of death"; again "faith is the best treasure of man—by faith the flood is crossed."[42] The ancient hymnology, the Dhaṃmapada,[43] clearly mentions worship of Buddha and of his noble pupils. The cult of the relic-worship is one of the oldest traits of the Doctrine.[44] In the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra[45] can be seen the development of Mahāyānic worship and devotion. The Sukhāvatīsūtras give an obvious picture of the devotional cult of Amitābha.[46] Likewise the cult of the coming Buddha Maitreya, mentioned at least once in the ancient canon,[47] became popular in our age. Worship of Buddhas, Bodhisattvas and female deities was a universal trait of Buddhist culture during the period.

The aspiration of Mahāyāna

The Mahāyāna derives its inspiration from the compassionate personality of Buddha. Its aim is higher, its outlook broader, and its aspiration more sublime than that of the Hīnayāna. The fundamental principle of Mahāyāna morality is expressed in the first verse of the Śikṣāsamuccaya: "When to myself as to my fellow-beings, fear and pain are hateful, what justification is there that I protect my own self and not others ?"[48] The Mahāyāna is thus literally a "Great Vehicle", in the true sense a gospel for the profit of the many, for the good and bliss of all.[49] The ethical and spiritual,

superstructure of Mahāyāna is founded on the doctrine and ideal of the Bodhisattva, the embodiment of compassion. Here one is confronted with a new moral dimension and a clearer spiritual horizon. A Bodhisattva is called a Mahāsattva because he leads a great multitude of beings to the highest end.[50] The Mahāyāna is so called because in it there is room for immeasurable beings and it is spacious like the space.[51] The loud declaration of the Mahāyāna is that all beings are potential Buddhas.[52] All can and must aspire for the highest goal of Buddhahood. The aspiration of Mahāyāna is universal because it aims at universal liberation. But since all beings cannot of themselves penetrate into the great errors, they need the help of enlightened beings, the Bodhisattvas or the Mahāsattvas.

The Bodhisattva

Men espouse the career of a Bodhisattva not to liberate themselves, but to work for the liberation of all the other sentient beings.[53] This career consists of great moral and spiritual deeds. The essence of the ethical and spiritual culture of Mahāyāna relates to this career of the Bodhisattva, the embodiment of compassion and wisdom. He is the perfect man, the ideal man of the Mahāyāna. He is called Bodhisattva because "his intention or wish is fixed on Illumination."[54] He is the hope and refuge of the suffering multitude of beings. "The essential nature of all Bodhisattvas is a great loving heart (Mahākaruṇācitta), and all sentient beings constitute the object of his love."

Pāramitās

A Bodhisattva masters certains virtues, possesses certain moral qualities and exercises spiritual powers, these are the pāramitās—the transcendental perfections—the roads to freedom. The career of a Bodhisattva consists of these pāramitās whence the Mahāyāna is called the Pāramitānaya.[56]

Metaphyical back ground of Mahāyāna morality

Emancipation is impossible of attainment without practising the pāramitās or perfect virtues. The six pāramitās are : Dāna, Śīla, Kṣānti, Vīrya, Dhyāna and Prajñā.[57] These pāramitās include all aspects of Buddhistic culture, moral, mental and spiritual. It is the pāramitās which establish the superiority of a Bodhisattva over an Arhat or a Pratyeka-Buddha. The ethical and spiritual superstructure of the Mahāyāna Buddhism is founded on its daring metaphysics.

Bondage, in Buddhist doctrine, is the result of ignorance (Avidyā); Awakening or Freedom can be obtained by destroying this Ignorance. From Avidyā springs the whole lot of saṃskāras, and the consequent flood of misery; with the destruction of Avidyā all its products and consequences also disappear.[58] In Mahāyāna the only way to Freedom (Nirvāṇa) is the perception of Truth—the realization of śūnyatā, the destroyer of woe.[59] This means the understanding that not only the self is non-substantial (pudgala nairātmya), but also that the 'things' are non-substantial (dharmanairātmya). This great Truth is variously called 'Śūnya tā, Tathatā, Bhūta-Koṭi, Dharmadhātu, &c.'[60]

Bondage and Liberation

Śāntirakṣita says that ignorance and passions that cover reality, entirely disappear as soon as the truth of non-egoity (nairātmya) is realised, just as darkness disappears in the presence of a strong light.[61] There are two kinds of veils or positive hindrances to moral and spiritual perfection, viz.' the veil of ignorance and passions (Kleśāvaraṇa): and the veil covering the ontological or cognizable reality (Jñeyāvaraṇa).[62] Kamalaśīla establishes that the first kind of veil (i.e. of passions,&c) can be demolished by a direct perception of the illusory character of the ego-principle (nairātmya-darśana); while the second kind of veil (i.e. of cognizables) is removed by a faithful, intensed and prolonged meditation on non-egoity.[63]

Doctrine of non-egoity as the foundation of moral and spiritual life

The doctrine of Non-Egoity (Narātmya) is the central plank of Buddhist philosophy and culture. There is a constant antagonism between the self and the not-self, between egoism and altruism; or in other words, between the lower self and higher self; the latter cannot be affirmed without denying the former.[64] Morality and spirituality cannot be practised unless one abandons the perverted belief in one's ego. This fact has been lucidly established by Kamalaśīla in the following manner:

All kleśas (afflictions, passions)—love, hatred and the like, are rooted in wrong notion of the soul. They do not proceed from external things; their source is the perverted idea of a personal permanent soul, which, however, is entirely false and baseless. It is a matter of logical deduction that, in the

absence of ego-principle, self-love cannot develop, and attachment to external things also cannot arise if they were not affiliated to the self as conducive to self-interest and self-gratification.

In a like manner, hatred also will loose its raison d'etre; for, a man begets hatred towards the things or persons only when they are detrimental to his self-interest. But when a person has no ground to be attached to anything, obstruction has no sense. The same applies to other passions and evils, for directly or indirectly they are founded on self-love. It is thus that a catalogue of ills and passions comes into existence because of ego-consciousness and belief in the ego-principle.

These evils and passions are, however, not innate to living beings; they are exotic growths, born of egoity and, are liable to disappear with the disappearance of the idea of egoity. Whatsoever is a rising thing, that is a ceasing thing. Now, this concept of egoity is an unfounded illusion; this has been taught in the scriptures and demonstrated in the Sūtras and the Śāstras repeatedly.[65] The conception of non-egoity is pure and bereft of egoism. When this state of purity is attained through narātmya-darśana, there opens a vast and free field for virtuous and righteous actions. In this way the doctrine of non-egoity is the foundation of moral and spiritual culture.[66]

Doctrine of the 'Immaculate wisdom' and its logic

This Non-Egoity is the same as 'Vacuity' also called the 'Immaculate Wisdom' (Prajñāpāramitā). The great being, who has thrown away the vulgar illusion of the ego, trains himself thus: "My own self I will place in Suchness, and, so that the world might be helped, I will place all beings into Suchness, and I will lead to Nirvāṇa the whole immeasurable world of beings."[67] This 'Suchness' is the same as the 'Emptiness' or 'Absence of Ego';[68] the same is meant by the phrase 'Climax of Wisdom'. This 'Climax of Wisdom' consists in self-effacement, or in the extinction of the distinction between subject and object; between 'myself' and 'my neighbour'. "The Tathāgata is free from all such thought-constructions and discriminations."[69] The doctrine of Prajñāpāramitā thus leads to the ultimate 'Unity of all life', which is so essential for a righteous life and without which friendship (maitrī) and peace become impossible. This monistic or non-dual knowledge, that is called the 'Immaculate Wisdom', is identical with Buddha

or Tathāgata.[70] Since all beings possess the seed of Buddhahood, all beings are potential Tathāgathas.[71] One who has realised the 'Climax of Wisdom' equates onself with all the beings;[72] when Buddha is in everybeing, His worship means the worship of every being; to love Buddha means to love our fellow-beings. Thus the logic of the doctrine of Prajñāpāramitā indubitably leads to universal love and sympathy; when all beings are devoid of ego; when all beings have the seed of Buddhahood; and when all beings hate pain and fear, and need perfect freedom and peace, all beings are, and must constitute the object of a Bodhisattva's love.[73] There can be no moral or logical justification for an egoistical effort; the ego does not exist. Moral and spiritual perfection is possible only on this profound principle of Prajñāpāramitā.[75]

Section II

ŚĀNTIDEVA ON THE IDEAL OF THE BODHISATTVA

The Śikṣāsamuccaya and its Significance

The Śikṣāsamuccaya means the 'sum total of teaching', or a 'compendium of doctrine'. This teaching or doctrine is Buddhistic and chiefly Mahāyānistic. The work[76] has three parts : (i) Kārikās or memorial verses, 27 in number, they form the text and provide a kind of framework for the whole book, (ii) second part is a commentary on these Kārikās, written by the author himself; (iii) the third part, the bulk of the book, consists of quotations, often very long, from various older texts. These quotations taken from over a hundred sūtras, are meant to illustrate the teachings and duties expounded in the Kārikās.

The Śikṣāsamuccaya is thus a guide to those who aspire for a moral and spiritual life; there is little philosophy in it, although the fundamental idea of śūnyatā is never lost sight of, Its subject matter is ethical and spiritual; it is a theological textbook and embodies all the basic ideas of the Mahāyāna Buddhism. Its value as an exposition of the Mahāyāna's ethical and theological doctrines has not received sufficient attention. The following pages are intended to give a picture of the moral

principles which a great thinker of this period considered to be the essentials of what he called the Śikṣā.

As the fundamental ideas of this great work are contained in the twenty-seven memorial verses,[77] an English translation of these gives us in a nutshell, the essentials of the Śiksā.

Kārikās of the Śikṣāsamuccaya

THE WHOLE DUTY OF A BODHISATTVA

(1) "If fear and misery are hateful to me as to others, what is the special (reason) that I protect myself not others ?"

(2) "One who wants to put an end to one's misery, and gain the goal of bliss, must firmly plant the root of one's faith and direct one's thought towards Enlightenment."

(3) "The Bodhisattva's vow of restraint according to Mahāyāna is manifest; therefore, one should know its vital points in order to remain blameless."

(4) "You must give freely to all beings, your person, the objects of enjoyment, and the store of your merits past, present and future. To protect them (beings) is to cultivate holiness."

(5) "For the enjoyment of all living creatures one's person and all things belonging to it are given; if unpreserved, how then enjoyed ? What gift is given if unenjoyed ?"

(6) "Therefore, for the enjoyment of creatures, preserve your person and all its belongings; (This is to be done) by never abandoning the spiritual friend and by the study of scriptures."

(7) "How to protect one's person ? By avoiding the ills. How to accomplish all that ? By avoiding the fruitless waste."

(8) "(This is also) accomplished by constant mindfulness; mindfulness rises from keen devotion; and devotion, rises from inner peace or quiescence and right understanding."

(9) "Whoever is skilled (in mind) knows (well), thus spake Buddha; the mind should not move from quiescence if outward acts are avoided."

(10) "Steadfast everywhere, by loving speech gently win over worthy folk, in this way you will become acceptable to all."

(11) "The worldly folk that dislikes the scion of Buddha, and rejects him, like the fire covered with ash shall go to hells and burn there."

(12) "Therefore, in the Ratnameghasūtra Buddha has summarised the essential duty (of the Bodhisattva); 'avoid strenuously that which destroys men's happiness (or incurs their sorrow)."

(13) "One should duly preserve one's person by raiment and medicine; but to indulge in enjoyments for one's own desires, leads to an evil lapse."

(14) "Start noble deeds and know the measure (in all things). By this precept it is not difficult to preserve goods of enjoyment."

(15) "Good results are preserved by detachment from selfish fruition; do not repent it (when resigned), nor boast of your merits."

(16) "Beware of gain and honour; shun highmindedness; the Bodhisattva must be glad and established in Righteous Doctrine, and must eradicate doubts."

(17) "When his person is purified, enjoyment will become wholesome, like rice well cooked and cleansed."

(18) "Just as a crop choked by weeds gets diseased and does not flourish, so the shoot of Buddhahood, covered by passions does not reach its goal."

(19) "Self-purification means purging it from sins and passions, to follow strenuously in the foot steps of Buddha, else to hell we go."

(20) "Have patience; seek to hear the 'Word' (of Buddha,) and then repair to the forest abode; fix your mind on intense thought and meditate on the impurities, &c."

(21) "Discern how to purify the goods of enjoyment and how to purify the right livelihood; merits are purified by actions proceeding from Emptiness and compassion."

(22) "Good many are the receivers from thee, little thou possesses; what to avail of that? It does not beget supreme satisfaction; therefore, increase it (as much as thou can)."

(23) "How to increase thy body's weal? By increasing energy and by not increasing the sloth and indolence; enjoyment increases by charity based on śūnyatā and karuṇā."

(24) "With endeavour, first of all, make the firm resolve;

and having prized compassion, strive to increase the merit."

(25) "Keep the ordinance of righteous conduct, and praise, &c. always; practise always the faith and other virtues, and remember Buddha and friendliness."

(26) "In short, good of all beings in all conditions, pure and spiritual gift, mind directed towards Enlightement, and increase of merit—these are the most desirable (things to be done)."

(27) "Success lies in appropriate exertions, and also in watchfulness; and this comes from proper understanding, mindfulness, and right thought."[78]

THE BODHICARYĀVATĀRA

Śāntideva's Bodhicaryāvatāra[79] is perhaps the best known manual of Buddhist ethical and spiritual culture. It is in fact, an authoritative and inspiring 'Introduction to Spiritual Life' written by one of the greatest contemporary Mahāyāna sages. In its Tibetan translation this work is called 'Bodhisattvacaryāvatāra' and its contents justify such a title. Like the Śikṣāsamuccaya, this work also is full of theological ideas of the Mahāyāna; but it has a long and important chapter written from the Mādhyamika standpoint. However, the Bodhicaryāvatāra is devoted, on the whole, to expounding the course and ideal of ethical and spiritual culture of a Mahāyāna saint. By combining the contents of the Śikṣā and the Bodhicaryāvatāra one gets a comprehensive picture of Mahāyānic piety and spirituality during the seventh century A.D. This is as follows:

THE COURSE AND IDEAL OF ETHICAL AND SPIRITUAL LIFE

Human Birth: Its Uses and Ills

Human birth is precious and scarce, and must therefore be devoted to sublime things.[80] Salutations to that (human) body wherein the thought of enlightenment rises.[81] This human body is essenceless; it is impure, a useless bundle of bones and flesh. It is like a temporary slave; one must not spend too much on it.[82] Its only use is that it is a means to

perform meritorious acts. Human body is nothing more than a boat needed to cross the river; it has to be preserved only to be utilised in holy deeds; otherwise it is fit for the food of jackals and wolves, and death will finally throw it before them.[82a]

Bodhicitta

The Lord has said that the 'Will to Enlightenment', the 'thought directed to Illumination' is the supreme. It is the seed of all merits and virtues and a remedy for all ills.[83] It is two-fold, in as much as it consists of two moments: (i) the determination to attain Enlightenment (for the good of all beings), and (ii) the actual march towards Enlightenment.[84] Bodhicitta is precious in itself apart from the Bodhicaryā. The two moments are comparable to two persons: one intending to go, the other actually going. The latter is superior.[85] One should never abandon the Bodhicitta; to do so is to incur the gravest sin.[86] The Bodhicitta is developed through the folowing four ways: (i) instruction by Buddha or his disciple; (ii) by hearing the praise of Bodhi or Bodhicitta; (iii) by developing mercy for the suffering beings; and (iv) by realising the all round perfection of the personality of Tathāgata.[87] Bodhicitta, when combined with joyfulness, begets great merits.[88] A person possessed of the Bodhicitta is the supreme saint, supreme friend and most meritorious.[89]

Faith, Devotion and worship

Faith is the supreme vehicle; the wise are full of faith and act accordingly. The Good Doctrine does not flourish among the faithless, just as burnt seeds do not germinate.[90] Faith combined with the will to Bodhi begets all the more merits.[91] To hate the scion of Buddha is to invite the tortures of the hellish fire.[92] The faithful offer salutations to Buddhas, Bodhisattvas and all beings.[93] The Bodhisattva—a follower of the great vehicle speaks thus : Salutations to the Three Jewels—Buddha, Dharma and Saṃgha, I offer unto the scions of Buddha all that is offerable; I offer my body and wish to be their devoted slave.[94] I bathe the icons of the Buddhas and of their scions with perfumed water in accompaniment of songs and instruments. I offer unto their images good coloured clothes, yellow robes; I adore them with divine, sweet, smooth and beautiful clothes and ornaments. I decorate and adore the gods like Samantabhadra, Ajita, Mañjughoṣa and Lokeśvara.[95]

I worship all the stūpas and caityas and the temples and salute to all teachers and those worthy of salutation. I take refuge in Buddha, the Dharma and Bodhisattvas.[96] I salute them with folded hands, I confess all my sins before them. I pray to Akāśagarbha, Kṣitigarbha and Vajrapāṇi.[97]

Scriptural Study

Great is the merit of hearing the Word of Buddha. Seek to hear it.[98] Hear with faith that word of Buddha by hearing which the great tortures and ills of hells are destroyed.[99] The doctrine must be heard; whatever has been spoken by Maitreya all that has been said by the Buddha.[100] Mere prātimokṣa is not sufficient; knwoledge of its vital parts is necessary. Therefore, one should study the scripture.[101] Scriptural study is necessary also because through it one knows what to do, when to do. Knowledge of actions is necessary for self-purification.[102]

Sciences to be Avoided

The following should not be studied: Material philosophies (Lokāyataśāstras), polity or Political Economy (Daṇḍanīti), Science of debate (Vāda-vidyā), Royal-sports (Kumāra-Krīḍā), Magical sciences (Jaṃbhaka-vidyā) and similar studies.[103]

How to Grow in Holiness

The increase in holiness is furthered by these three ways: (1) concern for the weal of all beings under all conditions; (2) sincere gifts of temporal and spiritual things; and (3) the thought of Enlightenment. Perfection in ethical and spiritual life comes through (i) Watchfulness, (ii) Mindfulness and (iii) right understanding.[104]

Marks of the Sublime Thought of Enlightenment

A saint in whom the thought of Bodhi has taken birth, must display the following attitude: I wish that the miserables be blessed; I affirm full faith in Buddhas and Bodhisattvas; I fully affirm the ocean of production of the thought of Bodhi for the profit and bliss of all creatures. I beseech the omnipresent Buddhas to light the Lamp of Righteous Law so that there may be no darkness in the world; I offer all my merits for ending all the sorrows of all the creatures; let me be a medicine, a physician[105] and a nurse till all their ills are destroyed; let me become their food and drink during the famines; let me become the unending treasure of the poor men. I offer

my body, my person and all its belongings for the benefit of all creatures; Nirvāṇa consists in the abandonment of egoity[106] and its concomitants, I seek such a Nirvāṇa and give my ego up, I have given up my body for the use of beings let them use it as they like. I wish Enlightenment for all whether my lovers or haters, I wish to be a lamp for those who need a lamp, a couch to those who need a couch, and a slave to all those who need a slave. In short I wish to be every-thing for everybody. I will learn all the sciences of a Bodhisattva and abide by all the rules of a sublime career so long as all beings are not liberated.[107]

Reception of the thought of Ealightenment

The wise, having developed the thought of Enlightenment in full faith, must think thus :

Today my birth has become successful; human life is well acquired, in the family of Buddha I am now born; now I am a scion of Buddha; hence on I have to work according to the sacred traditions of the spiritual family so as not to defile this holy clan. The jewel-like Bodhicitta has arisen in me today: this is the chemical mixture which destroys death from the world, an eternal treasure which removes poverty from the earth; an excellent medicine to control all epidemics; it is the rest house where all the fatigued pilgrims of the world take shelter; it is the open bridge to cross the ocean of Saṃsāra; it is the new-moon to quieten the heat of passions; it is the great sun that removes the darkness of the world; it is like the cream taken out of churning of the ocean of the True Doctrine; it is the celestial meal ready for the satisfaction of all the guests—those hungry travellers of Saṃsāra. I invite them all, the immeasurable multitude of beings, before the Tathāgata; I welcome this Bodhicitta. Let all the gods, demons and others welcome this.[108]

Careful Preservation of the same

The pilgrim of the path of spirituality must thus hold fast to the thought of Bodhi. He must strenuously act according to the Teaching (of Buddha) and must fulfil his vow without delay. He has vowed to save all beings, he must not deceive them, must never abandon the sublime thought even for a moment. The Bodhisattva is the hope and refuge of innumerable beings who are crying for peace and happiness. What will happen to those in case the thought of Bodhi is for-

saken ? It will be an evil shameful day and will lead to incalculable ills. Moreover, the human birth is scarce and subject to evil states like disease, old age and death; life is momentary and deceptive. It is a healthful day—the day of the origin of the thought of Enlightenment—I must make the fullest use of it. The senses are ready to enslave me; the fierce foes like passions, are ready to throw me into doom. I must keep guard, be watchful and careful in preserving this rare and precious thought of Bodhi. I will fight these enemies, I will not bend before them even though my intestines are rotten and my head is pulled down. I will not turn back. Having firmly resolved in this way, I have to preserve the sublime thought with utter watchfulness and perseverence.[109]

The Bodhisattva takes the vow to attain perfect Enlightenment for the sake of all beings.[110] His perfection consists in those of others; self-preservation, therefore, is in truth, self-abnegation. Self-abnegation culminates in the perfection of charity.[111] Self-preservation is effected by two ways: (i) by never abandoning the spiritual friend, and (ii) by the study of the Sūtras.[112]

Self-Preservation and Self-Abnegation

The Bodhisattva must be an embodiment of liberality; the virtue of giving (dāna) is essentially a product of compassion (karuṇā), Compassion is the root of Bodhisattva's life. "His enlightenment is nothing but liberality or charity."[113] He thinks thus: "My neighbour suffers his pain just as I suffer mine; why should I be anxious about myself and not about him."[114] The perfection of charity leads to the equivalence of myself and my fellow beings. "When to me, as to others, pain and fear are hateful, there is no special (reason) to protect my own person and not others."[115] Compassion is the only virtue to which a saint must apply himself; all other virtues will follow up naturally.[116] Nothing is superior to charity; even the vow of chastity, it is said, was violated by a certain Bodhisattva out of compassion for a woman.[117] Liberality consists not only in giving material goods, things of enjoyment but also in giving spiritual knowledge, imparting Buddha's teachings and offering one's merits past, present and future, for the good of all beings.[118] Production of the Thought of Enlightenment is the highest

Transcendental Liberality

expression of charity and compassion. Only the ignorant persons do not take refuge in it.[119] Liberality, born of compassion, is the supreme means (upāya) of conciliating creatures (saṃgrahavastu) by alms giving, lovable speech, kind cooperation and by sharing the joys and woes of beings.[120]

Transcendental Morality

The essence of morality (śīla) is self-preservation (ātmabhāvarakṣā) for the sole aim of benefiting creatures. A ghost or one condemned to rebirth in hells cannot be of service to others; it is therefore necessary to ensure good rebirths in order to undertake the career of a Bodhisattva. For this purpose morality must be observed. Without self-preservation, one cannot preserve others. This self-preservation is accomplished by the constant study of the scriptures.[121] In order to increase morality one must beware of Māra's evil deeds. Evil must be avoided, frivolity must be avoided; friendship must be cultivated with those established in the Doctrine.[122] In order to protect against evil lapses, the following must be avoided: bad friends; forgetfulness of the idea of Enlightenment; despondency, and lack of enthusiasm. Evil must be discarded by active service of man, and of the Saṃgha.[123] Confession of sins before Buddhas and Bodhisattvas also contributes to moral growth.[124] The Ādikarmika Bodhisattva must avoid eight sins and ten great transgressions.[125] Above all, carnal passion must be controlled; duties of married life must be observed.[126] Never sit with a lonely woman, nor sleep nor travel with her.[127]

Need of Mindfulness

Those who wish to live up to the Teaching of Buddha must control their mind; without mind control śīla cannot be observed, teaching cannot be preserved. All good things will follow up as a matter of course if only the mind be controlled. Conquest of the mind means the conquest of the world with all its powers and fears. Buddha has said[128] that all fears and miseries proceed from the mind.[129] The perfection of morality is nothing but a detached mind.[130]

One cannot destroy the innumerable foes but one can do so by subduing the angry mind, just as by wearing a shoe one can cover the whole earth with animal hide of which the shoe is made.[131] In a like manner, one can control all the external objects (which are uncontrollable) by controlling only one's

mind. Prolonged meditation and repetition of name are useless when the mind is not reposed. You must therefore, control your mind, protect it from going astray. Thought must be guarded under all evil conditions and disturbances. "I should not spoil my mind even though all my gains, honours, body and all good things are destroyed. I beseech with folded hands all those who aspire for perfection to protect their mind, to be vigilant and mindful."[132]

Just as a diseased person is disqualified for all actions, so a mind devoid of mindfulness is unfit for all good deeds;[133] a mind bereft of watchfulness is like a broken jug which can contain nothing owing to its leakage. Such a man's hearing of the Word (of Buddha), his thought and experiences are futile. In the absence of mindfulness, all merits are lost; those thieves, the passions, creep in and kill the spiritual life. Remember the horrors of hell in order to maintain hold on the mind. Mindfulness is maintained by an aweful regard for the teacher, the discipline and the company of precepters; also by remembering that Buddhas are omnipresent and ommiscient.[134]

Mind-Control the Essence of Morality

Since all actions are preceded by thought, all feelings, sensations and desires proceed from the mind,[135] it is the most urgent task to control it thoroughly. It is necessary to keep the eyes fixed, as it were in meditation. Every action, each motion of the body and its limbs should be preceded by a careful consideration and must be checked from time to time. Care should be taken to see that the elephant like mind always remains tied to the pole of the Doctrine. When the mind is unfree from attachment and hatred, keep quiet like a wooden piece; whenever it becomes noisy, jovial, critical, self-praising, wicked and deceptive, keep quiet like a wooden piece.[136]

"When my mind runs after gain, honour, fame, and wants family and servants, I sit idle like a wooden piece; my mind has turned away from the supreme good, has become selfish; wishes association and conversation, therefore, I am lying like a wooden piece; I do likewise when it becomes intolerant indolent, fearful, wicked, talkative and partial." These are the ways by which a brave soul brings about the control of vain and soiled mind.[137]

... Self-possessed, in the lap of Truth and free from pride, I hold the mind as a created thing; I have rendered my body

completely inactive, it does not react to the objects of sense.[138]

Be ready to learn from all, especially from those who do good to others and preach efficiently. Be thankful for good speeches, prize the merit and enjoy the praise of others; all acts are done for the sake of satisfaction which is scarce even by wealth, therefore enjoy the virtues of others, hatred begets dissatisfaction and pain.[139]

Counsels and Precepts

Speak clear, steady and measured words in kind and sweet voice; look at the beings with ease and spontaneously; thinking that Buddhahood is obtainable by these ways and by their service. Among the six pāramitās (dāna, śīla, kṣānti, vīrya, dhyāna and prajñā) the succeeding ones are of greater worth; if possible, practise them all.[140]

This body is the servant of the True Doctrine; it should not be troubled for petty things; Life should not be sacrificed when the heart is impure; Doctrine must not be imparted to the faithless, the wealthy and the proud,[141] nor to those of meagre intellect, nor even to the husbandless women. Keep equal eye on both the Hīnayāna and the Mahāyāna; one qualified for the Mahāyāna should not be instructed in the Hīnayāna. Never recommend the mere study of sūtras or muttering of the mantras to one devoid of moral conduct. Avoid the company of women.[142]

The Bodhisattva's morals are innumerable, but those that purify the heart must be observed. Nothing should be done, either based on observation or tradition, that does not contribute to the benefit of beings. Never abandon the spiritual friend nor the scriptural study. Mere study is futile, practice is essential; mere study of pathology does not cure the sick.[143]

The Highest Virtue Forbearance

Good conduct, liberality and Buddha-worship practised for centuries are destroyed by hatred. Hatred is the greatest sin; forbearance is the supreme austerity;[144] therefore, practise forgiveness and endurance.[145] Hatred destroys our peace, joy, patience and sleep; it is like a boomrang, and kills its own supporter; an angry man finds peace nowhere; he who kills anger remains happy here and hereafter.[146] Forbearance or Patience is of three kinds: (i) forbearance of suffering; (ii) forbearance of insight into the Doctrine, and (iii) forbearance of injuries.[147] The first and the third types of forbearance are

quite well known in religious thought, the second type is perhaps peculiar to the Mahāyāna and is rather a subtle concept. Professor Poussin says on this point : "The name of patience applied to 'insight into the Law' is justified from a double point of view: (1) resistance and resignation of mind are necessary to the acceptance of the doctrine of the non-existence of the things: those who do not 'uphold the profound teaching' (gaṃbhīra dharma-kṣānti) are numerous; (2) this estimate of the reality of things is an essential element of patience in the ordinary sense."[148] The Anutpattika dharmakṣānti is a state in the career of a Bodhisattva when he adheres patiently to the doctrine of the non-origination of dharmas. 'I must not disturb my joyfulness even when great calamity has befallen on me; dislike destroys all merits.'[149] Suffering is the common lot of men; it is always there, without making any effort one comes across it, therefore steady your mind. When the worshippers of Caṇḍī and other Southerners (probably Bhairavācāryas[150]) endure so many troubles in their worship, why should I not endure suffering for the sake of salvation ? Nothing is impossible of attainment by practice; by enduring small pain, greater pain becomes endurable.[151]

Do not make yourself tender by feeling ordinary things like cold, heat, rain, air, etc., try to overcome pain like a brave man; the wise remain glad even amidst the sorrows which readily attend the constant conflict of soul with passions. They are brave who conquer foes despite blows on their chest, the rest are killers of the killed. Indeed, pain must be welcomed as it removes our pride, generates compassion for the creatures, and fear of sin and increases devotion to Buddha.[152]

Pain is disliked by all; those that are in the grip of passions and torture themselves, may torture others as well. Fire will burn wherever it be, anger rises out of this fire of passion and not out of the objects. It is a pity that I dislike pain but like the body that house of woe.[153] It is unwise to be angry with men who injure us, for they are only acting under the influence of causes and conditions; and the foremost of these causes are our own wicked deeds of previous existence. "My enemy takes a stick to beat me, and I have assumed this body, liable to be wounded, and destined to be beaten. Far from being angry with my enemy I ought to consider him almost as

beneficial as the Buddhas, for he affords me the opportunity of practising patience, and forgiveness of wrongs, which blots out my sins. Am I to make this principle of salvation the cause of my condemnation ? Let us rather pity our enemies who ruin themselves by their anger, and let us think of means of saving them inspite of themselves as the Buddhas do."[154]

Love thy Foe

It is because of anger that I have suffered in hells a thousand times, but have always sought after my own good. It befits my career of patience that I should welcome such pain as would help removal of the miseries of the world. Never grudge the joy of others, rather be happy by the happiness of others.[155]

He who wants Enlightenment wants everything for every body; he who is jealous of the property of others has no thought of Enlightenment.[156] Do not be misled by praise, honour or gain, they are false and deceptive.[157] The living beings are the proper field of spiritual career even as the Buddhas; worship of beings is the worship of Buddha; friendliness towards beings in fact amounts to Buddha worship. All beings have the seed of Buddha-qualities. Our good consists in their good for whose sake the Buddhas cut their flesh and offer their limbs and the Bodhisattvas rush into the Avicī hell. The Lord is happy at their happiness and unhappy at their unhappiness. One who serves creatures serves the Lord.[158] I therefore devote myself wholeheartedly to the service of the world, in the worship of the Tathāgata.[159]

There is no doubt that this whole world is the soul of the Buddhas; it is they who appear as beings, why then disregard these beings ? This indeed is the worship of the Tathāgata; this is the right effort for self-interest; this is the proper removal of misery from the world; therefore, let it be my vow, let this be my mission.[160]

Just as a single royal officer can subdue several persons, for he is armed with the power of the king and the state and is not therefore alone, similarly, we must not insult any weak person for, he is also powerful by the help of the kind Buddhas and the might of the guardians of the hell who are always ready (to punish). So we should respect each being even as a servant honours his stern master. But the service of beings brings greater good than any ruler can reward for his service. More-

over, a man of patience enjoys even in this life beauty, health, joy, longevity, and prosperity just as a sovereign (king) enjoys them.[161]

The Perfection of Inner Strength

Thus having perfected the virtue of patience, the Bodhisattva must grow in the virtue of inner strength or Vīrya. Enlightenment depends on this Energy; merit is impossible without energy, even as motion is impossible without air.[162] Energy means 'the enthusiasm for doing good' (Kuśalotsāha). (i) Indolence (ii) attachment to the pleasures of the world, and (iii) discouragement (or self-inactivity) are its enemies.[163] In order to subdue these enemies, it is necessary to think of (i) the dangers we are vulnerable to : passions and the net of becoming or rebirths; threatened always by death and the guards of hell; 'you have boarded this boat, the human state; cross this river of misery; thou fool, this is no time to sleep; when and for what price shalt thou find this boat again ? 'Death will befall abruptly, all thine programmes will be left incomplete;' (ii) to dislike the pleasures of the world which end in suffering, and to enjoy the supreme taste of meritorious acts; (iii) to remember what Buddha said : "These supreme Buddhas, 'Śākyamuni, Dīpaṅkara, etc. were insects, flies and little worms; it was by exerting themselves that they obtained Enlightenment of a Buddha so difficult to obtain." 'Since I have already obtained the human birth, the most difficult part of the career is accomplished. The life of a Bodhisattva is distressful, but the hells are much more distressful and do not lead to Wisdom.[164]

Means of Increasing Energy

In order to do good to the beings the Bodhisattva requires much energy. To increase his energy he manoeuvres his 'armies' which are the following:

(1) DESIRE (CHANDA): This is the root of all merit: What an excellent task have I undertaken in the destruction of all my vices and those of others. I have to endow myself and my fellows with infinite merits which will take infinite time. I have never enjoyed the joy of Lord's worship; I have never honoured the Doctrine; nor satisfied the needy, nor given fearlessness to victims of fear; I never made the miserable happy, I took birth only to trouble my mother. I must realise the wholesome consequences of meits and the woesome consequences of sins. Will I ever abandon this desire for Dharma (Dharma-

Chanda) which the Lord has declared to be the root of righteousness.

(2) PRIDE (MĀNA): (a) The 'Pride of Work' : It is upon me that so many difficult and mean works devolve; I alone have to do them; let all beings cast on me the burden of their work.

(b) 'Pride against passions' : Shall my ambition of the (spiritual) conquest of the three worlds be turned down ? Son of the Lion of Victors, should I be a slave of passions ? I have to maintain this pride. The most humiliating and the most exacting of the passions is pride. I will take pride in subduing pride.

(c) 'Pride of power' : A Bodhisattva must be proud of his power of endurance: he is inaccessible to the passions. Just as the lion is not defeated by a multitude of deer, so the Bodhisattva is not prevailed upon by a mutitude of passions.[165]

(3) JOY (RATI): It is by virtue of joy that a Bodhisattva, after finishing one task, plunges into another, just as an elephant under the midday sun plunges into a lake. 'He whose happiness is in action itself, seeks actions nothing but action: Rati is the propensity for good work.

(4) ABANDONMENT (MUKTI): The Bodhisattva measure his powers and capabilities before starting any work; he must 'postpone' the task when his powers fail.

(5) EXCLUSIVE APPLICATION (TĀTPARYA): The sword that is mindfulness, must be exclusively applied to avoiding the attacks of those clever enemies, the passions. In this duel, the saint is armed with the memory of the Doctrine of Buddha. If he is wounded, he grieves and reflects : What shall I do to prevent this occurring again ?

(6) SELF-MASTERY (ĀTMAVIDHEYATĀ) : Never for a moment does the Bodhisattva forget Buddha's discourse on diligence (apramāda). He keeps his body, speech and mind alert and organised, so that he may be ready for any work at any time. Just as a cotton plant obeys the wind, coming and going under its impulse, so in body and thought, the saint directs himself according to his will. It is in this way that supernatural powers are obtained and all happiness too.

Perfect Trance

Contemplation (dhyāna) is indispensable to the attainment of merit and wisdom. Having increased enthusiasm and vigour, the Bodhisattva must plunge

into trance (samādhi). Dhyāna or Samādhi[167] pre-supposes two things; (1) abstraction or isolation of the body (Kāya-Viveka); and (2) abstraction or isolation of mind (Citta-Viveka), the former implies a life of retirement, while the latter, apathy to worldly desires.[168] Dhyāna or contemplation, recommended to Bodhisattva, consists in meditating on impurity of body (Aśubhabhāvanā), this leads to the detachment of mind which gets absorbed in ecstasy. Dhyānapāramitā includes (i) practice of dhyāna and the Samāpattis[169] known to old Buddhism, (ii) reflexion on the four noble verities, and study of the truths (relative and absolute),[170] (iii)

Object of Dhyāna

meditation on impurity in order to destroy the vice of passion, (iv) meditation on kindness (karuṇā) in order to destroy hatred, (v) meditation on the dependent origination in order to destroy error, (vi) meditation on the four objects of mindful reflection (smṛtyupasthāna),[171] and (vii) meditation on all the doctrines of Prajñā, i.e., which relate to the true nature of things.[172]

Evils of Worldly Life

A man equipped with trance and wisdom is able to destroy passions; therefore, seek ye first the concentration of mind; this, however, cannot be obtained without disregarding the world. The worldly life is impermanent; it is vain to seek here for the lovely; moreover, attachment to the beloved covers the face of truth. One who acts like the ordinary folk (pṛthagjana) goes to evil condition; one who differs from the ordinary folk is not liked by them. It is hard to satisfy the worldling; now they are friendly, now they become inimical. At any rate, they cannot conduce to our spiritual progress; their company is frought with sinful dangers. Therefore, I would live alone, happy and far from the madding crowd. I would avoid the common folk; if met with any one, I would treat him affectionately like an indifferent saint; talk always of things spiritual, I would remain like an unknown stranger.[173] The wise do not wish pleasure, for wish or desire begets fear; the saint is moved neither by praise nor by abuse, knowing that both the praised and the abused disappear. The worldings like those that benefit them, dislike those that do not; the worldly man is no one's friend, said the Tathāgata because his friendship is founded on selfishness.[174]

The trees are better naturally; they do not get angry, nor require praise and worship. Their association is joyous. When would I be their companion ?[175]

Merits of Forest Life

When would I dwell, away from this confusing world, without looking back, staying in the caves under the trees in the lonely temples ? When would I enjoy the freedom of movement, fearless, with half-covered body, wearing a garment unworthy of thieves and with an earthenpot as my property ? When would I compare this body, destined to decay, with the skeletons in the cemetery ? Soon a day will come when this body will go rot and even the jackals will hate it for its obnoxious smell ? Even the bones born with the body shall become dismembered what to say of the separation from relatives ? A person is born alone, dies alone, none shares his pain; of what use then are those relations that hinder the spiritual life ? Life is like a pilgrim's sojourn; better it should repair to the forest before the weeping mortals take it to the cremation ground.

Impurity of the Body

Let us enjoy that solitude which quietens all disturbances, is free from ills, good and gives (spiritual) benefit; carefree, I shall plunge into absorption.[176]

Evils of Love or (Kama)

The greatest enemy of spiritual life, which begets infinite evils, is love or lust (kāma). It has killed many saintly careers; it renders us pauper, brings us shame and disgrace. The pleasure derived from the embrace of a bundle of bones, flesh and blood, costs all the merits of a man and leads to disasters here and hereafter.[177]

Meditation Leads to Self-Denial for the Sake of Others

As already observed, the doctrine of non-egoity is the foundation of moral and spiritual activity in Mahāyāna.[178] In the Hīnayāna, meditation on this principle of non-egoity seems to lead to perfect peace and Nirvāṇa, the sage becomes 'cooled' and completely inactive (Sitibhūto) by destroying the 'fetters' and removing the veil of afflictions (Kleśāvaraṇa).[179] But Śāntideva adopts, as pointed out by Professor Poussin,[180] an 'original plan' and subordinates the virtue of meditation to the active virtues of charity, humility and patience.[181] In the realization of non-egoity we find, says Śāntideva, a sufficient reason for active sympathy, and a

real ground for sacrificing ourselves for our fellow beings. This practice of self-abnegation destroys attachment (rāga) and hatred (dveṣa); it purifies the mind of error (moha) and thus removes the veil of cognisables (jñeyāvaraṇa). Self-abnegation, so to say, purifies the mind by emptying it ((Śūnya) of erroneous ideas.

The aspirant for moral and spiritual perfection must, therefore, practise (a) equality of self and others (Parātma-Samatā), and (b) substitution of others for self (Parātma-parivartana). Both the practices include a clear insight into the true nature of things.

The essence of Bodhisattva's saṃvara consists in making no difference between himself and others. (a) Parātmasamatā Just as the body is composed of different parts united together so that the hand takes care of the foot, similarly, in this manyfold world of living creatures, pleasure and pain are common to all. What joy means for me, it means the same for others. It is so with pain also. I ought to do for others what I do for myself. I must destroy the sorrows of others just as I destroy mine; because sorrow is sorrow whether 'mine' or 'his'. I must serve others just as I serve myself, simply because they are living beings just as I am. (b) Should one object and say : 'my neighbour's sorrow is his sorrow, not mine'; the reply is, 'What you call your sorrow is so only by an illusion; there is no permanent ego in you, but a series of mental phenomena (which series does not exist in itself, any more than a row of ants), or an aggregate of phenomena without any individual unit. There is thus no existing being to whom we can attribute sorrow, of whom we can say 'his sorrow' or who can say, 'my sorrow'.

Why then contend with suffering, when there is no sufferer? Because, all the schools agree on this point. If it is necessary to contend with it, contend with it, whatever its nature; if it is not necessary, do not make any distinction.[182]

(c) But why should we undertake the painful career of a Bodhisattva ? This career is not painful; even if it were, yet, should the suffering of one person put an end to the suffering of several, it is a career worth undertaking. It is for this reason that the Bodhisattvas, whose spirits are fortified by the equivalence of the self and the fellow beings and for whom

personal joy is the sadness when their fellow-beings are suffering, plunge into the Avicī hell to take the place of the condemned there. The liberation of creatures causes the river of their thoughts to overflow into an ocean of joy. Their cup of happiness is full; Nirvāṇa, in comparison with this, is, insipid. Therefore, do good to others, do not boast of it, or praise yourself, or expect a reward; for you are only doing what is quite natural.[183]

Parātmaparivartana

It is because of erroneous ideas, repeated during the course of several existences, that men attach the false notion of self to this body which is a conglomeration of heterogeneous elements. Why not treat this body as foreign to us ? The Bodhisattva regards 'others' as people regard 'themselves'; he treats his 'self' as people treat foreigners. He says : 'I shall regard myself as a stranger, and I shall find my real self first among the humblest. Then I shall practise pride for the sake of others.' Our only enemy is our selfish 'ego'. "Renounce, O my mind, the stupid hope that I have still a special interest in you. I have given you up to others.'[184]

"If I were so foolish as not to give you to the creatures, there is no doubt that you would deliver me to the demons, the guardians of hell. How often, indeed, you have handed me over (to those wretches), and for what long tortures. I remember your enmity, and I crush you, O self, the slave of your own interests."

"If I really love myself, I must not love myself. If I wish to preserve myself, I must not preserve myself."[185] All these, i.e., Charity &c. are, according to Tathāgata, only a means to Prajñā; without growing in wisdom, suffering cannot be overcome.[186] All success is preceded by 'Right Knowledge.'[187] This 'Right Knowledge' is the knowledge of the true nature of things; it is the 'non-dual perfection of wisdom which is identical with Tathāgata.'[188]

The Climax of Wisdom

Prajñā is the application of the mind to the knowledge of truth; to the knowledge of what is. Its aim is to destroy the false views concerning the self and nature; it is the awareness of the true nature of things. True nature of things is their voidness; things are void because they are born of causes and

conditions (pratītyasamutapanna). The perfection of wisdom consists in the realization of this emptiness (śūnyatā) of the self and the things. It is the destroyer of suffering (duḥkha śamanī); he who wants spiritual perfection must realise this great truth of Śūnyatā and obtain omniscience.[189]

The Budhisattva's Prayer

There are three ways of increasing the spiritual merit: (1) an active care for the weal of all creatures under all conditions. The salvation of the whole world must be our constant mission. (2) An earnest liberality; giving not only material gifts but also spiritual gifts, and (3) the thought of Enlightenment, which, in fact implies all the rest. In order to succeed in this spiritual ideal, it is necessary to have (1) watchfulness, (2) mindfulness, and (3) insight[190]. The course and the ideal of a Bodhisattva may be summed up into two words: Compassion (Karunā) and Wisdom (Prajñā); the former implies a life of universal love (maitrī) and a zealous service of the living world, guaranteed by the phenomenal truth,[191] the latter implies a clear grasp of the unreal nature of things (śūnyatā) which leads to detachment from all things, self as well as not-self and attainment of the truth.

Realising the (i) hollowness of life and of all that surrounds it,[192] and the (ii) suffering of beings, the saint makes a sincere effort in the following manner.

'Let all the creatures in all quarters, who are suffering from bodily or mental pains, enjoy the bliss of my merits. Let them have undiminishing happiness so long as they are in Saṃsāra: may the world enjoy the bliss of Enlightenment forever, may all the beings in hells go to Sukhāvatī. Let those suffering from cold have warmth: let those suffering from heat be cooled by the waters that are the Bodhisattvas.[193]

May the fearful messengers of Yama, the crows and the vultures be surprised at the disappearance of darkness and the appearance of the gentle light in the world that the Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi showers from above. Let the creatures of the hell rejoice at the appearance of the Bodhisattva, at the rise of Bodhicitta, at the birth of the joyous mother. Let the beings in hell welcome the Chief Bodhisattva Samantabhadra who would appear free from veils, perfumed with the cool and pleasant scent of my merits. May the horrible pains of beings

in hells be pacified, their fears removed; those fallen in evil conditions be freed from their evils; let their be no fear of eating each other among the beasts and birds; let the ghosts be as happy as the people of Uttara-Kuru. Let the ghouls be bathed, cooled and satisfied with the streams of milk flown by Avalokita. May the blind see, the deaf hear, and all pregnant women be delivered of their offspring as comfortably as did Māyādevī.

Let all have clothes, meals, drinks and all that they need; let the sickly be healthy, enslaved be free, weak be strong: may all love all. May all beings be equipped with faith, wisdom and compassion: let the treasure of poor become unending; may the ugly become beautiful, the females become males (so that they may udertake Bodhisattva's career). Let all creatures be pious, never without Bodhicitta, may all beings become Bodhisattvas; may the world be spiritualised, may the word death be destroyed. May all the corners be filled with Buddhas and Bodhisattvas: may there be peace and prosperity. May the monks be wise, benevolent and lawful. May the nuns be free from passions and greed. May all worship Buddha and be blessed with Enlightenment. May the Lord's Doctrine last long. Salutations to Mañjuśrī.[194]

Section III

KAMALAŚILA ON THE BHĀVANĀ-KRAMA

The First Bhāvanā Krama

Professor G. Tucci has recently published the Sanskrit text of the first Bhāvanā-krama, with Tibetan version, notes, a summary in English, and a long Introduction dealing with the debate of bSam Yas.[195] This work of Kamalaśīla (the famous commentator of the Tattavasaṃgraha), is partly religious and partly philosophical, and may be classed along with the Bodhisattvabhūmī, Bodhicittotpāda-Sūtraśāstra and the Bodhicaryāvatāra, which are the Mahāyānist manuals for those who seek spiritual perfection.

Kamalaśīla was invited to the bSam Yas during the reign of Tibetan King K'ri sroṅlde btsan (A.D. 742-797). There he was engaged in a great controversy with the Chinese scholar Mahāyāna Hva-Saṅ (or Ho-Shang), a follower of the Ch'an

(Skt. Dhyāna, Jap. Zen) School of Buddhism.[196] This historical debate gave Kamalaśīla the occasion to compose three short works called Bhāvanā-Krama in which chief points of view of his school about the meditation on the Buddhist truth and the path of spiritual perfection are expounded.

The Debate of bSam Yas

The debate of bSam Yas was an important event from the view point of both history and doctrines of Mahāyāna Buddhism in the eighth century A.D. It seems that the Indian Buddhist missionary party headed by Śāntarakṣita and Padmasaṃbhava, could not prevail in Lhasa against the followers of 'heresy', i.e., the C'han Buddhism headed Hva-Saṅ. Śāntarakṣita is reported to have expressed in his will, on his death bed, that should the 'heresy' become widespread in Tibet, his pupil, Kamalaśīla was to be invited from India.

'Karma' and 'Akrama'

"It was a clash between the Indian Buddhist party and the Chinese Buddhist party, between the followers of 'the Gradual Path' and those of 'the Sudden Path."[197]

The debate took place in the bSam Yas monastery (founded in the year A.D. 775) between A.D. 792-794.[198] In the debate Hva Saṅ spoke first, then Kamalaśīla replied. In the end Hva Saṅ was defeated and he offered the garland of victory to Kamalaśīla. The King supported Kamalasīla's standpoint and prohibited the diffusion of the views of Hva Saṅ. Kamalaśīla held that liberation is obtainable gradually, through the realisation of both Prajñā (gnosis) and Upāya (means, compassion). The king requested Kamalaśīla to write down the essentials of the doctrine, which, by the triple method of learning, reflexion and meditation (t'os, bsam, sgom, śrutamayī prajñā, cintāmayī⁰, and bhāvanāmayī⁰) explains the unreality of all notions. Doctrinally, the view point of Nāgārjuna was to be followed; the view of Hva Saṅ. viz. the system of 'immediateness' or sudden realization was harmful to the practice of ten virtues. So the first Bhāvanākrama was written.[199]

Three Essentials of Mahayana Religion

The Mahāyāna is contained with in three things: (1) Compassion; (2) Thought of Enlightenment, and (3) Realization. (1) The first, compassion (Karuṇā) is the basis of all; it is the starting point of spiritual life. The perception of the

omnipresence of misery produces in us a feeling of compassion for our fellow-beings, friends and foes, as well as the desire to liberate them from it. The saint takes all beings as equal to himself (sattvasamatā).[200] (2) This compassion leads us to develop Bodhicitta, the will to reach Enlightenment for the salvation of beings. Bodhicitta is the germ of all virtues of a Buddha.[201] It is twofold (i) the determination (praṇidhi): 'May I become a Buddha for the good of all beings', and (ii) the setting in motion of that thought of Enlightenment (prasthāna).[202] (3) The third aspect of Mahāyāna is practice or realization (Pratipatti). This consists of both the paths—and this was the main contention of Indian scholars at bSam Yas—namely, 'gnosis' (Wisdom) or Prajñā and 'means' or Upāya; these two must be practised simultaneously; no progress is possible if only one is followed to the exclusion of the other.[203] To accept Prajñā alone is to contradict Buddha's teaching and the holy texts; to accept upāya alone is dangerous. Both 'gnosis' and 'means' are necessary, because (gnosis) helps us to avoid the extreme of affirmation (Samāropa) and 'means' helps us to avoid the extreme of negation (apavāda), so that the middle path is fully realised.[204]

Prajñā and Upaya

Prajñā or Gnosis is three-fold :

Triple Gnosis
Way to Truth

(i) based on the study of scriptures and the company of the learned (Śrutamayī);
(ii) based on discursive thought (Ciṇtāmayī);
and (iii) based on contemplative intuition (Bhāvanāmayī).

Śrutamayī prajñā helps in ascertaining the truth as revealed by the Lord and expounded in the sūtras. The Ciṇtāmayī aims at penetrating and investigating the truth by means of logic (yukti) and sacred authority (āgama), and ascertains clearly both implicit meaning (neyārtha) and the explicit one (nītārtha). The bhāvanāmayī is the knowledge of the real nature of things (Vastusvarūpa) arrived at by contemplation of the facts previously ascertained by logic and scriptural testimony.[205]

Those who have entered the path of spiritual progress must strive for direct experience; this is possible by frequency of contemplation. For this purpose, Śamatha is of paramount

importance; it consists in the concentration of mind which latter is by nature unsteady like water.[206] In order to attain the concentration of mind (Cittaikāgratā), the aspirant must be indifferent to gains, &c. must observe righteous behaviour; he should also develop the capacity to endure suffering, and increase inner strength (Vīrya). Progress in Śamatha is furthered also by charity, morality, monastic rules, such as cleanliness, worship of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, confession of sins, rejoicing at the good deeds of others; concentration on the great compassion in order to help other beings in salvation.[207] There are following obstacles in the practice of contemplation which should be avoided. These are: sloth, confusion of the object of contemplation, idleness and frivolity, lack of effort (anābhoga) and striving (bhogatā). In order to suppress them the following correctives must be practiced. These are : faith, zeal, exertion, serenity, mindfulness, awareness, investigation and indiffere[redacted]

Its Aides and Impediments

and the eighth centuries A.D. there takes place a fundamental change in the ethical and spiritual ideals and practices of Buddhism in India. The central philosophical idea is still the the same old idealistic absolute, variously designated as 'Vajra', Śūnya', 'Bodhicitta', 'Vajrasattva' and 'Prajñopāya', but its nature is described as 'Mahāsukha' or 'Great Delight'.[212]

This goal of 'Mahāsukha' is to be realised here and now, in this very life, and this is possible by practising both 'Wisdom' (Prajñā) and 'Means' (Upāya); Prajñā implies the knowledge of the void nature of the self and of things, while Upāya is the spirit of compassion. A perfect union of these two units (Prajñoyāpa) is the proper ideal.

Any action performed in accordance with Prajñā and Upāya is good and lawful; this is to say, it is the intention behind a deed which gives to it a moral or immoral colouring, if the intention (abhiprāya) is good, the action also is good. In other words, 'end justifies the means'. It is the mind which is responsible for the ethical nature of an action.[213] In Tāntrika Buddhism, the ascetic is regarded as beyond good and evil; the dictum, 'everything is pure for a pure man' is often expressed; the bonds of traditional ethics do not apply to him. It is not difficult to observe in these Tāntrika Buddhist texts an utter disregard for the ancient moral code of Buddhism. A few instances will make it clear. The Guhyasamājatantra declares that "No one can succeed in obtaining perfection by painful and difficult rules; one can easily succeed through the satisfaction of all desires."[214] Elsewhere this text forbids the worship of Buddhist holy trinity (the Buddha, Dharma and Saṃgha). At several places it seems to advocate immoral actions including some of the most cruel and obscene.[215] The Prajñopāya-Viniścaya-Siddhi states that since all things are illusory (māyopama), the ascetic should not consider what is worth doing and what is not, and should resort to enjoyments as he desires; among these incest is given the first place.[216] In the Citta-Viśuddhiprakaraṇa it is stated that "the ascetic obtains liberation by those very fierce deeds which become the cause of bondage for the ordinary beings."[217] Besides, this work gives elaborate arguments in defence of its similar attitude.[218] Likewise in the Dohā-Kośa of Saraha, mantras and tantras, meditation and contemplation, are described as causes

of self-deception. "One goes beyond the realm of the world by eating and drinking.'"[219] The Tattvasiddhi breathes with the same unethical spirit.[220]

It is a fact that Buddhism in India became an object of contempt and indiscriminate denunciation chiefly because of the so-called revolting side of Tāntrika practices. Although, we have no evidence to prove that Buddhist Tantras became popular outside the circle of Tāntrika initiates and Siddhas, yet it has become a fashion in these days to remember Buddhism merely as an agency which propagated the supposed "hideous practices of Vajrayāna" in India. Dr. P. V. Kane,[221] e.g., quotes, "as a counterblast to what modern encomiasts often say about Buddhism," the following words of Swāmī Vivekānanda: "The most hideous ceremonies, the most horrible, the most obscene books that human hands ever wrote or the human brain ever conceived, the most bestial forms that ever passed under the name of religion have all been the creation of degraded Buddhism." The present author feels that such a language is neither academic nor sober, and, in his opinion, neither Swāmī Vivekānanda nor Dr. P. V. Kane can be considered to be authorities on Buddhist Tantra, much less on Buddhism as a whole. Attention may be drawn to a rather strongly worded remark of Dr. Benoytosh Bhattacharya,[222] who, replying to those who complain about the Tantra practices and suppose that the latter encouraged corruption and immorality in society says that "such absurd opinions are held by none except the most ignorant of men." Moreover, the critics of Buddhist Tantras must keep in mind that the so-called "hideous practices" and "obscene books" that were associated with "degraded Buddhism" were also produced by Hinduism or Neo-Brahmanism during its best and golden days (500-1500 A.D.). The five makāras, the six (cruel) rites, the strī-pūjā, incest, necromancy and human-sacrifice, etc. are commonly found in Tāntrika texts of the Śaivas, Śāktas, Vaiṣṇavas and other Tāntrika sects of Hinduism,[223] and seem to have been more popular in Brahmanical or Hinduistic quarters than in Buddhist fold.

Notes and References

1. See G. C. Pande, Studies in the Origins of Buddhism, pp. 391 f; N. Dutt, EMB, I, chapters IV-V.

2. S. Radhakrishnan, I.P., I, pp. 589-690, remarks that "the Hīnayāna ignored the groping of the spirit of man after something higher, and wronged the spiritual side of man" This observation is too far-fetched and by no means convincing. I-tsing found both Hīnayāna and Mahayāna in perfect accord with Buddha's teaching, I-tsing's Record, p. 15.

3. Yuan Chwang, II, p. 191.

4. I-tsing, pp. 50, 54, 56-57, 66, 166.

5. On Dhutāṅgas in ancient literature see SN, vol. II, pp. 132-133; AN, vol. I, p. 23; Dīpavaṃsa, Chap. IV, 3; Milindapañha, Chap. VI; Visuddhimagga (PTS ed.) pp. 59-83; Dharma-Saṃgraha, 63; I-tsing, p. 56 and Takakusu's Note 3.

6. C.A.F. Rhys Davids, 'Asceticism' in ERE, vol. II, p. 69.

7. The Thirteen ascetic practices or Dhūtaguṇas are (1) Pāmuskulika or having a garment made of rags, (2) Traicīvarika or keeping only three robes at a time, (3) Paiṇḍapātika or begging alms, (4) Aikāsanika or rule of eating at one sitting, (5) Sapadānacārika or begging from door to door, (6) Pattapiṇḍika or rule of eating from one bowel only, (7) Khalupaścādbhaktika or not receiving food twice, (8) Āraṇyaka or rule of living in the woods, (9) Vṛkṣamūlika or residing at the foot of a tree, (10) Abhyavakāsika or living in an unsheltered place, (11) Smāśānika or living in or near a cemetery, (12) Yathāsanstarika or spreading a night-couch where one happens to be, and (13) Naiṣadyika or being in a sitting posture while sleeping; cf. Dharma-Saṃgraha, 63, where only twelve are listed.

8. e.g. Cullavagga, pp. 196-197; Mahāvagga, p. 55; Suttanipāta, Uragasutta, Khaggavisāṇasutta etc; Dhammapada, verses, 305-330, 353, 404; MN, I, pp. 38 f. II, pp. 231 f.; for modern discussions on this subject see Kern, Manual, pp. 75-76; S. Beal, Catena, pp. 256 f.; E. Hardy, Eastern Monachism, pp. 9, 73 f.; S. Dutt, Early Buddhist Monachism, 2nd ed., pp. 92 f..., N. Dutt, EMB, I, 156-158.

9. See Dhammapada, Arhatvagga; ERE, Artt. 'Arhat'.

10. DN, II, p. 95 :—Sīlaṃ samādhi paññā ca vimutti ca anuttrarā; on this triple path are based the Path of Freedom (Vimuttimagga) and the Path of Purity (Visuddhimagga); on its relative antiquity with respect to the eightfold path, see G. C. Pande, Origins of Buddhism, Chap. XIII.

11. See Suttanipāta, e.g. Dhammikasutta; Dhammapada, Brāhmaṇavagga; E. Conze, Buddhist Scriptures (Penguin Books) Pt. II, Ch. 1, 'Morality'; Tachibana, The Ethics of Buddhism; N. Dutt, EMB, I, chap VII.

12. See DN, I, pp. 5-10; Dharma-Saṃgraha, 106.

13. I-tsing, p. 14.

15. On Dhyāna and Samādhi see Edward Conze, Buddhist Meditation, London, 1959; Anesaki and Takakusu in ERE, vol. IV, pp. 702 f.; Visuddhimagga, Chapters III and XI; G. C. Pande, Origins of Buddhism, pp. 529 ff.

16. AN, I, pp. 150-151; DN, I, pp. 65-67; Ibid, III, p. 173. Dharma-Saṃgraha 72 and 101; Yogasūtra of Patañjali; Samādhipāda, 17; Mahābhārata, Śāntiparvan, 195. 1.

17. See Conze, Buddhist Meditation.

18. DN, I, p. 73; AN, I, p. 14; KN, I, p. 218; MN, II, p. 235; Milindapañha, p. 230; Dhaṃma-Saṃgaṇī, pp. 20-21; Visuddhimagga, Chap. XVII.

19. KN, I, p. 280; Dharma-Saṃgraha, 16; cf. K. J. Sounders The Heart of Buddhism, (1915), p. 46.

20. Mahāvagga, p. 23; Lalita-vistara, p. 301.

21. Kāraṇḍavyūhasūtra in MSS. I, pp. 266 f.

22. ŚS. ed. Bendall, p. 167; ed. Vaidya, p. 93; Kathāvathu, p. 535 where "methuno dhammopaṭisevitabbo" is alluded to and criticised.
23. ŚS, ed. Vaidya, pp. 56, 148, 174.
24. Dharma-saṃgraha, 19; dāna, priyavacana, arthacaryā, and samānarthatā.
25. Ancient sources: DN, II, Mahāparinibhānasutta, epl. p. 95; Dharma-Saṃgraha, 43; Lalitavistara, p. 131, etc.; modern sources; Kern, op. cit., pp. 66-67; N. Dutt, EMB, I, Ch. XII; G. C. Pande, Origins of Buddhism, Chap. XIII; E. J. Thomas, Life of Buddha, pp. 183ff; Brewester, Life of Gotama the Buddha, pp. 197 f.; Har Dayal, Boddhisattva Doctrine, Chap. IV.
26. Satipaṭṭhānas see DN, II, p. 217; Ibid, III, p. 173; Dharma-Saṃgraha, 44; the four 'fields' (upasthānas) of 'mindfulness' (smṛti) are—kāya, vedanā, citta, and dharma.
27. Saṃyakprahāṇas, Dharma-Saṃgraha, 45;
28. Ṛddhipādas, Dharma-Saṃgraha, 46; DN, III, p. 73.
29. Indriyas, see Dharma-Saṃgraha, 47; MN, II, p. 169.
30. Balas, Dharma-Saṃgraha, 48; Lalitavistara, p. 231; Har Dayal op. cit., p. 144.
31. I-tsing, p. 196; DN, III, p. 82; AN, IV, p. 270; Dharma-Saṃgraha, 49.
32. Mahāvagga, p. 13; DN, I, p. 133; Ibid, II, p. 94; MN, I, pp. 22, 65 f; AN, I, p. 201; Lalitavistara, p. 303; Dharma-Saṃgraha, 50.
33. I.e. Śāntideva,
34. See ERE, XII, Artt. Vasubandhu.
35. Yuan Chwang, II, 215.
36. ŚS, ed. Bendali, p. 365.
37. Yuan Chwang, II, 215; Life, p. 108.
38. Ibid, 177.
39. See Chap. VII.
40. Śraddhā hi paramaṃ yānaṃ, Daśadharmasūtra quoted in the ŚS, ed. Bendall, p. 5; on faith in Early Buddhism see L. M. Joshi, 'True Buddhism', The Mahabodhi—Journal, vol. 74 Nos. 1-2, 1966.
41. KN, I, p. 440.
42. Ibid, I, p. 296.—Saddhīdha vittaṃ purisassa seṭṭhaṃ...saddhāya tarati oghaṃ.
43. Dhaṃmapada, vv. 195-196.
44. DN, II, Mahāparinibbānasutta.
45. Saddharmapuṇḍarīka sūtra, BST-6., ch. II, 94; Ch. XV. 21, etc.
46. MSS., I, BST.—17, p. 221 f.
47. D. N., III, p. 60; F. L. Woodward, Some Sayings of the Buddha, pp. 317-318.
48. Śāntideva's ŚS—Karikas, ed. and transl. by L. M. Joshi, Saranath, 1965, p. 9.—

Yadā mamapareṣāṃ ca bhāyaṃ duḥkhaṃ ca na priyaṃ
Tadātmanaḥ ko viśeṣo yattaṃ rakṣāmi netaraṃ contrast Dhaṃmapada, verse 166 and Manu-smṛti, VII. 217.

49. Mahāvagga, p. 23; Lalita-vistara, p. 301; Saddharmapuṇḍarīka BST-6. Chapters I-III; Aṣṭasāhasrikā, Chapter I, etc.
50. Ibid, Eng. Transl. by Conze, p. V.
51. Ibid, pp. 9-10 (slightly changed rendering).
52. Ratnagotravibhāga in Buddhist Texts through the Ages ed. and tr. by E. Conze and others, p. 189; cf. Kathāvathu, p. 523.—Sabbā disā Buddhā tiṭhanti, ti ? Hevajra-Tantra, Pt. I, Transl. by D. L. Shellgrove, p. 107; BCA, VI. 122.
53. See Aṣṭa-sāhasrikā, Eng. transl. p. 84; Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, chapters II-III.
54. BCAP (BST-12) p. 200.—Tatra bodhiḥ sattvaṃ'abhiprāyosyeti bodhisattvaḥ.
55. D. T. Suzuki, Outlines of Mahāyāna Buddhism, p. 292.

56. Ye sada pāramitāsu caranti te pratipanna iho mahayāne, Ratnolkādhāraṇī quoted in ŚS ed. Vaidya, p. 6; see Aṣṭa-sāhasrikā, BST-4, p. 112; Sekoddeśaṭīkā, GOS-90, pp. 3-4; Advayavajra-Saṃgraha, GOS 40, p. 14.

57. Dharma-Saṃgraha, 17-18; on the Pāramitās see Aṣṭa sāhasrikā, BST-4, pp. 40-41 and Ālokā, BST-3, p. 282; Standard texts are the Daśabhūmikasūtra; the BCA, the ŚS, and the Bodhicittotpādasūtra of Vasubandhu); best modern work on the subject is Har Dayal's Bodhisattva Doctrine, Chapter V; for a historical survey of the terms 'Pāramitā' and 'Prajñāpāramitā, see Introduction (Bhūmikā) to Vajracchedikā and Kārikāsaptati ed. by L. M. Joshi.

58. BCAP, p. 186. avidyā nirodhāt saṃskārā nirudhyante.

59. BCA, IX. 56. Śūnyatā duḥkha śamanī tataḥ kiṃ jāyate bhayaṃ.

60. BCAP, p. 111, In critical School this becomes 'Unique particular' or "Thing-in-itself" (svalakṣaṇa).

61. TS, II, (GOS) Śloka 3338; Ibid, Eng. Tr. II, (GOS) p. 1474.

62. BCA, IX. 55.—Kleśajñeyāvṛtiḥ pratipakṣo hi śūnyatā; cf. also BCAP, p. 211; TSP. II, GOS, p. 870.

63. TSP., II, p. 870.

64. Vide Dhammapada, verses 160, 380, cf. Bhagavadgītā, VI. 5

65. E. g. see MŚ, XVIII,; Dvādaśamukhaśāstra, pp. 185 f; CŚ, X; Aṣṭasāhasrikā, Eng. Transl. pp. 1-4; Naitrātmyaparipṛcchāsūtra (MSS., I, No. 14); TS Chapter VII and TSP. thereupon, etc.

66. TSP. II, pp. 870-857; Ibid; Eng. Tr. II, GOS, pp. 1474-1481; S. Mookerjee, Buddhist Phil. of Universal Flux, pp. 260-265.

67. APP., Eng, Tr., p. 84.

68. BCAP, p. 171.—Sarvadharmāṇāṃ niḥsvabhāvatā, śūnyatā, tathatā bhūtakoṭiḥ, dharmadhāturityādi paryāyāḥ.

69. Aṣṭasāhasrikā, BST-4, p. 179. —Sarvakalpavikalpaprahīṇo hi Tathāgataḥ.

70. Prajñāpāramitā-Piṇḍārtha ed. in BST—4, p. 263.—prajñāpāramitā jñānaṃ advayam sā Tathāgataḥ; for other similar passages see Vajracchedikāprajñāpāramitā with Asaṅga's commentary called Triśatikā kārikā Saptati, edited in Nāgarī letters and Translated into Hindi by L. M. Joshi, 1966, Bhūmikā.

71. See above note 52.

72. On Parātmasamatā, see note 182.

73. BCA, VI, 122; and BCAP, p. 113.

74. cf. Thomas A. Kempirs, The Imitation of Christ, Penguin Classics 127, p. 43 "whoever is moved by true and perfect love is never self-seeking, but desires only that God's glory may be served in all things."

75. See E. A. Burtt in Philosophy East and West, vol. V, 1955, p. 202; E. Conze, Buddhist Thought, p. 262.

76. Ed. by Cecil Bendall in BB Vol. I reprinted in Indo Iranian Journal, vol. I, The Hague, 1957; also ed. by P. L., Vaidya in BST No. 11, Darbhanga 1961; both the edns. have been cited by us; an English Translation of the ŚS by C. Bendall and W.H.D. Rouse, Indian Texts Series, London 1922.

77. Kārikā portion has been ed. and translated into Hindi by L. M. Joshi in Dharmadūta, vol. 29, May-June 1964.

78. See now Śāntideva's Śikṣāsamuccaya-kārikās ed. and translated into English with Notes and Commentary by L. M. Joshi, Sarnāth, 1965.

79. Edited along with Prajñākaramati's Pañjikā (BCAP) by P. L. Vaidya in BST No. 12, Darbhanga, 1961; See Chapter VII.

80. BCA, I, 4.—Kṣanasaṃpad iyaṃ sudurlabhā pratilabhdhā puruṣārthasādhanī ŚS, BST-12, p. 6—durlabha sattva pṛthagjanakāyā; cf. Vivekacūḍā-maṇi, verse 2.

81. BCA, V. 36.

82. Ibid, V. 64-68; cf. The Imitation of Christ, p. 57—"If you have ever seen any one die, remember that you, too, must travel the same road.".

82 a. BCA, V. 66-67, 70; The Imitation of Christ, Chap. on 'A Meditation on Death', pp. 56 f.; see also Viśuddhimārga, Hindi Translation by Rev. Dharmarakṣita, vol. I, Sarnath 1956, pp. 208 ff. and Theragāthā, Tālapuṭattheragāthā, in KN, II, pp. 376 f.

83. BCA, I. 5-14; ŚS, BST-11, pp. 8-9 ; Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra ed. in BST No. 5, p. 396. —Bodhicittaṃ hi kulaputra bījabhūtaṃ sarva buddha dharmāṇāṃ; this important sentence is quoted in Bhāvanākrama, p. 192; Ālokāvyākhyā ed. in BST No. 4, p. 283; ŚS, BST-p. 6; BCAP, p. 11.

84. BCA, I. 15.

85. BCA, I, 16-17; See L. M. Joshi, 'Conception of the Bodhicitta in Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna', JUPHS, Sampūrṇānanda Felicitation Volume.

86. BCA, IV-12; ŚS, BST-p. 41;

87. Ibid, p. 8.

88. BCA, I. 35.

89. Ibid, I. 29-30; See Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra, BST-5, Chapter 54.

90. ŚS, (BST) pp. 4-5., cf. Suttanipāta in KN, I, pp. 296, 440; Dhaṃmapada verses 195-196; Bhagavadgītā IV. 39; II, 66; Aṣṭasāhasrikā Eng. Tr. p. 63; ŚS—Kārikā 18.

91. ŚS, BST—p. 6.

92. ŚS Kārikā 11.

93. BCA, I. 1: ŚS, Chap. XVIII KBST p. 168 f.).

94. BCA, II, 1-10: ŚS, BST—P. 94.

95. BCA, II, 11-19: I-tsing's Record, Chap. XXXI.

96. The Mahāyāna Saṃgha consists of the Bodhisattvas.

97. BCA, II, Śāntideva's favourite deity is Mañjuśrī, see BCA, X, 58.

98. ŚS Kārikā 20.

99. ŚS Chap. I: I-tsing, p. 167.

100. ŚS BST—p. 12.—yatkiñciñmaitreya subhāṣitaṃ sarvaṃ tad-buddha bhāṣitam. This seems to echo the Mahāyāna myth that Maitreya revealed the secret scriptures.

101. ŚS, loc. cit; BCA, V. 105-106 recommend the study of the ŚS and other sūtras.

102. BCAP, p. 80; ŚS Kārikā 19.

103. ŚS, BST—p. 106.

104. ŚS, Chap. XIX, Kārikā 27, Cf. Bhāvanākrama, p. 157 where compassion, thought of Bodhi and realization are said to be the essentials of the Mahāyāna.

105. Medicine includes spells, charms besides all the other pathological devices for treating the diseases, see specimen in ŚS, BST—pp. 140 f.

106. Vide TS., II, verse, 338 and TSP, p. 870.

107. BCA, III, 1-23; cf. the Imitation of Christ, p. 45.

108. BCA, III. 24-33; Bodhicittotpāda, Chapters I-III, pp. 207-216; The Imitation of Christ, Bk. IV, Chap. 17, 'Eager Desire to receive Christ.'

109. BCA, IV. 1-48 (condensed).

110. See Kāraṇḍavyūha in MSS., I, BST No. 17, p. 268.

111. ŚS, Chap. I, Kārikās 5-6.

112. Ibid, Chap. II, pp. 23-27. on spiritual friend (kalyāṇamitra) see Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra, BST—5, pp. 36 f.; On the study of the sūtras see BCA, v. 105-106.

113. BCA, V. 10; ŚS. BST-p. 22. Quotation from the Ratnamegha-sūṭra-dānaṃ hi bodhisattvasya Bodhiriti

115. ŚS, Karikā 1; BCA, VIII. 95-96.

116. BCA., IX. 76; BCAP, p. 228, quotation from the Dharmasaṃgīti-sūtra,

117. So by Bodhisattva Jyotirmāṇavaka, ŚS, BST-p. 93; Kathā-vatthu, XXIII. 219. 1, p. 535 alludes to those fore-runners of Mahāyān-ism who held : 'ekādhippāyena methuno dhaṃmo paṭisevitabbo' and 'paradārogantabbo'. We know that they were Vetullas or Vaipulyakas.

118. ŚS, Kārikā 4; BCA, V. 70, 84-85; VI. 120; See I-tsing, p. 118. where he expresses his disapproval of extreme forms of liberality.

119. BCA, I. 13.
120. ŚS, Chapter VIII, BST., pp. 91-92.
121. ŚS, Chap. II, Kārikās 5-6; BCA, V. 85.
122. ŚS, Ch. III, Kārikā 7.
123. ŚS, Chap. III, BB, pp. 45-55.
124. Ibid, Chap. IV, BB, p. 59-66.
125. Ibid, Chap. IV, BB, pp. 66-73.
126. Ibid, pp. 73-83.
127. BCA, V. 93; see I-tsing, pp. 63-64.
128. Dhammapada, verses 1-2; cf. Bhagavadgīta , VI. 36.
129. BCA, V. 1-8.
130. Ibid, V. 11; cf. Bhagavadgītā, II. 62-63; V. 7.
131. BCA, V. 12-13.
132. Ibid, V. 14-15; V. 18-23.
133. Ibid, V. 24; ŚS, BB-pp. 116-117.
134. Ibid. Chap. VI, Kārikās 8-10; BCA, V. 25-31.
135. Dhammapada, verses 1-2; S. N.; I, p. 37.
136. BCA, v. 35-51 (condensed); ŚS, Chap. VI and Kārikās 8-13.
137. BCA, V. 52-54.
138. Ibid, V. 57-58; cf. Bhagavadgītā, II, 58; " The man of stilled mind withdraws his senses from all objects just as a tortoise draws in its limbs from every side."
139. BCA, V. 74-78; cf. ŚS, BB-pp. 147 f.
140. BCA, V. 79-83; cf. ŚS, BST-p. 6; ŚS, BB, pp. 125-126.
141. See Saddharma-puṇḍarīkasūtra', Chap. III; Bhagavadgītā, XVIII. 67 etc.
142. BCA, V. 86-93; cf. ŚS, BB, pp. 78-83.
143. BCA, V. 97-109.
144. Cf. Dhammapada, verse 184—khantī paramaṃ tapo titikkhā.
145. BCA, VI. 1-2; ŚS, Chap. 9.
146. BCA, VI. 3-6.
147. ŚS, BST-p. 100, quotation from the Dharmasaṃgītisūtra; see also Dharma-Saṃgraha, 107. The Second type of forbearance, dharmanidhyāna-kṣānti is further sub-divided into three—(i) ghoṣānuga-dharmakṣānti (ii) anulomikī^0, and (iii) anutpattika^0, ERE, II, p. 751.
148. Vallee Poussin, ERE, II, p. 751; see N. Dutt, Aspects, pp. 40, 94, 273; for an explanation of anutpattika dharmakṣānti see ŚS, ed. Bendall, p. 212 and note 3.
149. BCA, VI. 9.
150. See Harṣacarita, Chapter III; Rājataraṅginī, Books IV-V.
151. BCA, VI, 12-14; ŚS, BB, p. 180.
152. BCA, VI. 16-21; cf. The Imitation of Christ, p. 38. —"It is good for us to encounter troubles and adversities from time to time, for trouble often compels a man to search his own heart."
153. BCA, VI. 34-45; Bhagavadgītā; II. 62-63; III. 37; Imitation of Christ, pp. 33-34—"True peace of heart can be found only by resisting the passions, not by yielding to them."
154. BCA, VI. 41-49, ERE, II, loc. cit.
155. BCA, VI. 74-76.
156. Ibid, VI. 83; cf. Bhagavadgītā, v. 7.
157. BCA, VI. 90-94. Further, Ibid; VI. 99-100—"Indeed, those who oppose my praise do protect me from following into the hell; I, who am desirous of salvation, can have no hatred with them."
158. Cf. Bhagavadgītā, XVIII. 61; Rāmacaritamānasa, Bk. I, 'Siya-Rāmamaya sabajaga jānī, and 'Iśvara aṃśa jīva avināsī.
159. BCA, VI. 112-125.
160. Ibid, VI, 126-127; cf. Bhagavadgītā, x. 39.
161. BCA, VI, 128-134.
162. BCA, VII, 1; ŚS, BST, p. 105.
163. BCA, VII. 2.

164. Ibid, VII, 3-21; see ŚS, Chap. XVI (BB, pp. 273 f). where 10 ways in which a Bodhisattva displays energy, are enumerated.

165. BCA, VII. 31-60; BCAP, pp. 124-131; cf. ERE, II, p. 752.

166. BCA, VII. 63-75; BCAP, pp. 131-145; ŚS, Chapters X and XVI study of the Buddhavacana and avoiding the study of the material sciences are among the means of increasing energy.

167. Cf. ERE, IV, p. 702.

168. BCA, VIII. 2-4.

169. Cf. Dharma-Saṃgraha, 82.

170. ERE, II, p. 752.

171. See DN, Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta; Dharma-Saṃgraha, 44.

172. BCA, IX; ŚS, Chapters XII-XIV, BST—pp. 112-130.

173. Cf. The Imitation of Christ, p. 29. —'If you desire to know or learn anything to your advantage then take delight in being unknown and unregarded.".

174. BCA, VIII. 4-24; cf. Words Worth's 'Lucy Poems', but closer is R. W. Emerson's 'Good-bye.'—

'Good-bye, proud world I'm going home,
Thou art not my friend and I'm not thine.'

175. BCA, VIII. 26.

176. Ibid, VIII. 27-29; cf. The Imitation of Christ, Bk. I, Chap. 20.— "Whoever is resolved to live an inward and spiritual life must, with Jesus, withdraw from the crowd."

177. BCA, VIII. 40-43; many more verses are devoted to the analysis of 'love' (kāma), and the Poet comes to the conclusion that the living beings are no better than the skeletons heaped in the cemetery. The 23rd Chap. of BK. I of the Imitation of Christ entitled 'A Meditation on Death' and Buddhagoṣa's 'Meditation on Death', (Visuddhimagga), are perhaps the nearest parallels.

178. See above, Section I.

179. MN, I, p. 221; ERE, II, p. 69.

180. ERE, II, p. 752. The following notes on Parātmasamatā and Parātmaparivārtana are partly based on Vallee Poussin's discussion in ERE, Artt. 'Bodhisattva.'

181. Elsewhere however, Śāntideva says that the succeedding pāramitās from charity to wisdom are of greater worth. BCA, V. 83.

182. BCA, VIII. 90-103; ŚS, Kārikā 1; ERE, II, p. 753. For more cogent arguments and systematic analysis of 'not-self' theory see Candrakīrti, CŚV, pp. 69 f.; TS., Chapters, VII-VIII.

183. BCA, VIII. 104-109.

184. Ibid, BCA, VIII 111-112; 136; 140; 170.

185. Ibid, VIII. 171-173; Bhagavadgītā, VI. 4-5.

186. BCA, IX. 1; Cf. Bhagavadgītā, IV. 33-34.

187. Nyāyabindu ed. in Kāśī Sanskrit Series, 22, Benaras, 2nd ed; 1954, I. 1; cf. Bhagavadgītā, IV. 39.

188. Prajñāpāramita-Piṇḍārtha, opening line-Prajñāpāramitā Jñānaṃ advaym sā tathāgataḥ.

189. BCA, IX. 54-56.

190. ŚS. Chap. XIX.

191. BCA, IX. 168.; ŚS, Kārikā. 21.

192. BCA, IX. 152 f.

193. Ibid, IX. 1-5.

194. BCA, X. 11-57 (Summarised).

195. MBT, pt. 2, SOR vol. IX^2, Rome, 1958. I own my debt of gratitude to the learned Italian Pandit.

196. See D. T. Suzuki, Zen and Japanese Culture; Do. Introduction to Zen Buddhism; Do., Essays in Zen Buddhism, vols. I-III, etc. W. Pachow, 'Zen Buddhism and Boddhidharma', IHQ, Vol. XXXII, 1956, pp. 221-229.

197. G. Tucci, MBT, II, pp. 8-9; L. M. Joshi, 'BSam yas ki Bahasa', Dharmadūta, vol. 29, Oct. 1965.

198. The most exhaustive work on the history of this Debate is that of P. Demieville, Leconcile de Lhasa, Paris, 1952. But as pointed out by G. Tucci, op. cit., p. 32, it was held in b Sam yas and not in Lhasa.

199. MBT, II, pp. 5-41.

200. Bhāvanākrama (MBT, II) pp. 157, 187-189; cf. above 'Parāt-masamatā.'

201. MBT, II, p. 192; cf. ŚS, BST—p. 8; Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra, BST, p. 396.

202. MBT, II, pp. 157-158; 192-193; cf. BCA, I. 15.

203. MBT, II, p. 194. Vimalakīrtinirdeśa and Gayāśīrṣa are cited as authorities for this view.

204. MBT, II, pp. 159, 195 f.

205. Ibid, pp. 160, 198; see Kamalaśīla's comment on verse 3338 of TS, vol. II. The Triple Gnosis is lucidly explained in Vasubandhu's Bodhicittotpādasūtra śāstra, Visvabharati Annals, II, pp. 228 f.

206. MBT, II, pp. 164 ff., cf. Bhagavadgītā, VI. 34-35.

207. Śāntideva's sincere eloquence on these virtues has been already noted above.

208. MBT, II, p. 166; cf. ŚS, BB—pp. 47 f., 51 f. 181-184.

209. MBT, II, pp. 166-167.

210. Ibid, p; 167 f.

211. On the development of Tāntrika thought and culture see Chapters X-XI.

212. See e.g., GST, ed. in GOS 53, p. 12; Sekoddeśaṭīkā, GOS, XC, p. 24; Two Vajrayāna Works, GOS XLIV, pp. 17, 57 f.

213. Vide Cittaviśuddhi-Prakaraṇa, ed. P. Patel, 1949, verse 10.

214. GST, GOS, 53, p. 27.

215. Ibid., pp. 142, 20, 26, 102, 120,

216. Two Vajrayana Works, p. 23.

217. P. Patel's ed. p. 1 verse 6.

218. Ibid., verses 17-18, 26-31.

219. Buddhist Texts through the Ages, ed. and trans. by E. Conze, p. 227.

220. MS. cited by S. B. Dasgupta, An Introduction to Tantric Buddhism, 2nd ed., pp. 188 ff.

221. History of Dharmaśāstra, Vol. V Pt. II (1962), pp. 1029-1030; (Quoting Swāmi Vivekānanda, complete works, vol. III, 7th ed. 1953 (Mayavati), pp. 248-268).

222. An Introduction to Buddhist Esoterism (1932), pp. 168-169.

223. E. g. Pārānandasūtra (Ed. GOS) pp. 1-3, 13; Śakti-Saṃgamatantra (Ed. GOS) Tārākhaṇḍa, Chap. 36, verses 18-20; Kulārṇava, Chapter V verse 48; Rājataraṅginī VII. 278; Mohaparājaya (Ed. GOS), p. 100; Mahānirvāṇatantra, XI. 105; Śāradātilaka, XXIII. 137-141; Śaktisaṃgama-tantra, Kālī-Khaṇḍa, VIII. 102-106; Matsya Purāṇa, Chap. 93, 139-148; Agni Purāṇa, Chapter 138. etc.

Chapter VI

BUDDHIST EDUCATION AND ITS CENTRES

Section I

THE CHARACTER AND SOURCES OF BUDDHIST EDUCATION

(A) THE BACKGROUND

(i) GENERAL CONCEPTION AND IDEALS OF EDUCATION

'Education', in common parlance, is taken to mean some kind of instruction, knowledge, training or skill in any sphere of human activity. The scope of education is coextensive with the varied interests of human life. In its wider sense education may be described as a creative process of progressive development of individual and social life. As an agency or a group of agencies of cultural advancement, it has been an essential element in human civilization all through the ages.

As an agency of progress, education may be conceived as an illumination of, or, an influence on, human life; it gives guidance, increases knowledges and equips us with insight. Education is thus a source of power—an invisible force—which transforms human nature so as to make him or her a perfect personality, physically, morally and mentally or intellectually.

Conceived thus, educational concept takes a philosophic turn; and, infact, education has been called the dynamic side of philosophy, and implies rather a modification of natural growth and a purposive process of development.

With regard to the ideals of education, there has never been a perfect unanimity among educational thinkers. And this is not to be wondered at; for, the educational ideals are correlative to the ideals of life, and, so long there is divergence of ideals of life, so long will there be divergence of educational ideals.[1]

(ii) HIGH IDEALS OF ANCIENT INDIAN EDUCATION

The importance of education was duly recognised and

emphasised in ancient India; though we no longer possess any ancient special treatises on Education, yet we do find educational concepts and maxims, methods of training and courses of study, scattered in various Brahmanical and non-Brahmanical sacred and secular works.

'Forest Colleges', where specialised studies were carried on, are known to a very remote period of Indian history. The Forest Academy of Naimiṣāraṇya was one such centre.[2] Takṣaśīlā and Kāśī are famed in literature as great ancient centres of higher education and learning.[3] The education that was imparted in ancient Indian institutes was 'an education of the kind that lifted the savage to the sage and the saint, the barbarous to the fraternal, the warring to the peace.'[4]

Since the conception of Dharma[5] or Righteousness was the most dominant feature of ancient Indian culture, its stamp is evident on education also; the educational ideals followed the dictums and dictates of sacred Law and Tradition, and never conflicted with the general philosophy of life,[6] which latter was built on an awareness of the temporal nature of the phenomenon which surrounds us, on the one hand, and, a postulation of a supreme spiritual Goal which transcends the world of sense, on the other.

Thus, education in ancient India, was conceived as a process of creative self-culture, and aimed at constant growth and constant illumination of life, ultimately leading to perfect awakening, resulting in the climax of all striving.[7] The aim of education was to illumine life, to give wisdom which is the supreme eye;[8] it disciplined and subdued the human instincts and rendered the individual noble and affable.[9]

(iii) BEGINNINGS OF BUDDHIST EDUCATION

It is in the monkish training of newly ordained disciple that the actual beginnings of the Buddhistic type of education are to be seen. When Buddha ordained Aññāta-Koṇḍañña (who was thus the first Buddhist monk after Buddha) at Iṣipattana, he said 'come then, Brother, well taught is the Dhaṃma. Live the holy life for the utter destruction of woe.'[10] In this way began the Saṃgha, Monastic Order, starting as a union of the teacher and his pupils. Every noviciate had to pass first

five years under a teacher's care; the teacher was usually a sthavira; the system was called Nissaya, i.e., dependence on a preceptor.

Buddha had laid down that every novice must be properly trained in the Vinaya (Discipline) and the Dhamma (Doctrine) and must chose an Upajjhāya (spiritual preceptor). The relations between preceptor and pupil were like that of a father and a son, based on confidence and love.[11]

Literacy in the modern sense of the term was out of question in those days. All the teaching had to be imparted orally and retained in memory; this is inferable from the non-mention of any written document or text-book among the belongings of a monk listed in the canon. Knowledge of time-reckoning, study of the Prātimoksa, and the Vinaya and the Dhaṃma, Buddhist legends and moral fables and basic tenets, these were the subjects of study. The teaching was reinforced in occasional congregational recitations (saṅgïti).[12]

(iv) GROWTH OF MONASTERIES AS CENTRES OF EDUCATION

Before the Buddhist 'Wanderers' settled in residential monastic establishments, the Sthavira-teacher probably took his class informally in the open air. A pre-Gandhāra sculpture from Mathurā shows a Buddhist Master standing in teaching posture with a parasol in his left hand, addressing a group of monks sitting in three lines.[13]

Growth of Abhidharma and, at least two sections of the Sutta Piṭaka, viz., the Niddesa and the Paṭisaṃbhidāmagga, testify to an early growth of intellectual bias, scholasticism and academic temper among the monastics.[14]

Analytic and deductive method of early Buddhist scholasticism was further carried on in the early Sanskrit literature of some Buddhist sects.[15]

With the emergence of the Mahāyāna, Buddhist education, scholasticism and literary activities received a tremendous impetus. Not only the doctrinal, disciplinary and sectarian problems of academic nature, but also secular arts and studies came with in the scope of education and training of Bodhisattvas. Not only the monks, but the laity also came with in the

educational range of Buddhist monasteries. Ornate in art, poetry and literature in general, with a manifest bias for intellectual and metaphysical progress, established in richly equipped monastic halls and with a dominant tendency to uplift the mass of lay-followers, Mahāyānism with its universal cultural mission seems to have exerted a great educational influence on society from the time of its inception. Monasteries, where the masters and poets and debators of the Mahāyāna lived, became the natural centres of Buddhist education and learning.

In Yuan Chwang's account we find that every great monastery in India had in its past record name of some eminent Buddhist scholar and saint who wrote some notable treatise, carried on doctrinal debate and converted men to Buddhism.

It has been perhaps rightly suggested that, ancient India owed the rise of her Temple-Colleges and organised public educational institutions to the influence of Buddhism.[16] Buddhist monastic Colleges were the first systematic educational institutions in ancient India, and they disseminated not only Buddhist teaching but also non-Brahmanical studies and secular branches of learning as will be seen below.

(B) THE CHARACTER SOURCES, AND PURPOSE OF BUDDHIST EDUCATION

Buddhism started as an ascetic movement; in early days, the community of monks that formed the core of Buddhist movement, was almost entirely devoted to a course of ethical excellence and intuitional gnosis leading to spiritual awakening. In a spiritual discipline directed towards a transcendental goal, which was beyond the range and reach of thought and reason, there was little place for education as commonly understood in modern times. The true character of Buddhist education, therefore, must be appreciated in the light of the Way to Nirvāṇa, in which literary and intellectual skill had very little place. However, it is well to remember that, the Dhaṃma that is described as 'Atakkāvacaro', is also said to be 'Paṇḍitavedanīyo.'[17] But the spiritual eye called 'Paññā' was not expected to be earned through much learning; it was the grasping of the 'right view' (Saṃyakdṛṣṭi), constant mindfulness and sustained contemplation on the 'Verities' (ariyasaccāni) that was essential to this

path (Paṭipadā).[18] In early Buddhism, virtues like Brahmacarya, Bala and Ārogya were emphasised.[19] Professor Pande suggests that there were apparently two kinds of Brahmacarya known in Buddha's time, which may be called 'apara-Brahmacarya' and 'Para-Brahmacarya' resembling the 'aparā-vidyā' and the parā-vidyā'. The Parivrājakas, the Brahmanic, Buddhist and Jaina monks were concerned with para-Brahmacarya.[20] The importance of great Vows, to wit, truth, non-violence, continence, non-stealing and non-possession of property, is well known to ancient Indian mendicacy.[21] Purity in thought and conduct were the back-bones of this ascetic training.

But the theory that Duḥkha originates in Avidyā, that the root cause of misery is ignorance whence follows the whole lot of evils, implied, nay it is clearly declared, that freedom from misery could be obtained through the destruction of ignorance. This view thus takes a turn towards a Way of knowledge (jñānamārga); in Mahāyāna Buddhism the only means of attaining Enlightenment is 'wisdom', (Prajñā, the realization of the voidness of the self and the things).[22] Buddhist education had a three-fold aim: moral, intellectual and spiritual, in other words, behind the evolution of Buddhist education and learning there had been three purposive factors at work. In the first place, the monastic community had to tread along the rules and regulations laid down in the Vinaya or the Book of Discipline. This meant a rigorous ethical and moral course of training as also the general code of conduct among the monks and nuns. The relations between teacher and pupil were also governed by the Vinaya.[23] The newly ordained monks had to undergo an arduous ethical training under the supervision of some elder and able monk. Gradually, not only the monks but also the lay-followers seem to have frequented the residence of such Sthaviras in order to receive instruction on the subjects of their choice. I-tsing clearly refers to this feature when he says that 'Students' (Brahmacārīn) and 'Children' (Māṇavas) came to study under the Bhikṣus and studied either Buddhist literature or secular sciences.[24]

The second important aim of education was to help the spiritual growth of the monk. This involved both a regulated process of contemplation (dhyāna), self-introspection, and mastery of mental faculties. Right understanding of and

meditation on the Four Noble Truths (or, Two Truths, Absolute and Relative), mastery of the four degrees of dhyāna,[25] the successful practice of four virtues,[26] and the gradual rise in the ten stages[27] of a Bodhisattva's career, and such subtle and spiritual pursuits, came with in this category. Buddhist masters, saints and authors never lost sight of the fact that it was self-introspection, self-exertion, and intuitional approach that brought about progress and success in spiritual matters.

The third important purpose, which gave incentive to the growth of Buddhist literature, learning and scholasticism, was the need of preserving and defending the tradition (āgama) and doctrine (Saddharma) among themselves and against the opponents. The custom of holding philosophical conferences and doctrinal debates among the sectarians of the same system, or among the votaries of rival philosophies and religious systems, contributed not only to the growth of critical philosophy and logic, but also resulted in transforming monasteries as active centres of education, learning and literary activity.

Section 2

EDUCATION IN THE MONASTIC UNIVERSITIES

(i) TYPES OF EDUCATION

The education imparted in the Buddhist Universities of this period was neither exclusively Buddhistic nor exclusively monastic; non-Buddhist studies and secular arts and literature seem to have received their due share in the educational curriculam of these Universities. Broadly speaking, we may distinguish four types of education :

(i) Spiritual Education;
(ii) Moral Education;
(iii) Literary Education, and
(iv) Technical Education.

Under the first type may be placed the doctrinal teaching; instructions on Buddha's teachings, Buddhist philosophical doctrines, and the essentials of spiritual progress. Besides this theoretical aspect of spiritualism, the practical ways and means of truth-realization, such as Yogic practices (Yoga-Caryā),

mystical trances (dhyāna and samādhi), mastery over the body and the mind and the attainment of gnostic powers, and so on, must have occupied much of the time of the Buddhist masters and sages in their daily life. Scriptural study becomes an aid in spiritual education and self-cultivation as a matter of course.[28]

Moral lessons were of primary importance. Not only the records of Yuan Chwang, and I-tsing, but also the epigraphs of the time testify to the high moral conduct and ethical excellence of Buddhist monks and scholars. Moral precepts and rules of conduct were taught through practical examples; it was in the monastic colleges that the Buddhist and non-Buddhist students learnt the rules of purity, cleanliness, proper food, etiquette of salutation, respect for all forms of life and obedience to elders and so forth.[29] Practice of five moral precepts (pañcaśīla) may be taken to have been the first moral lesson taught to the students.

Literary education may have been perhaps compulsory for all resident monks of these institutions. Monastic education and general literacy had progressed considerably during this age. Reading and writing, study of the Vinaya books, specially of the Prātimokṣa, and general knowledge of the Tripiṭaka and Sanskrit grammer seem to have been the compulsory elements of a monks preliminary education.[30]

Technical education, with special reference to Buddhist art—architecture, sculpture and painting, seems to have been a part of education. An inscription of the time refers to the local artists of Nālandā. The inclusion of Śilpasthānavidyā in the list of studies also points to this fact. An inscription found from Nālandā describes the monks of that Mahāvihāra as versed in the scriptures and arts (āgama-kalā-vikhyāta-vidvadjanāḷ).[31]

(ii) COURSE OF STUDY

As already noted, the Buddhist institution of education and learning entertained a very wide range of subjects of study. Well known are the Five Vidyās: (i) Adhyātmavidyā which must have included inner science or spiritual science, metaphysics and physchology; (ii) Hetuvidyā or Tarkaśāstra, which included logic, epistemology and the art and rules of debate; (iii) Śabda-vidyā or Vyākaraṇa, which included the linguistics, grammatical, and literary studies of Sanskrit

language; (iv) Cikitsāvidyā or medicine and pathology; and (v) Śilpasthāna-vidyā or Arts and Crafts.[32]

In big Universities like that of Nālandā, not only the Doctrines and Literature of the Great Vehicle and of the Eighteen Sects (of Little Vehicle), but also 'Ordinary works', such as the Vedas and other books, Hetu-vidyā, Śabdavidyā, the Cikitsāvidyā, the works on Magic, the Sāṃkhya and also a large number of 'miscellaneous works' were taught and studied.[33]

Indications are not wanting to the fact that Astrology and Astronomy were also taught. A Nirgrantha graduate in Nālandā is seen casting the horoscope of Yuan Chwang[34] and the University is said to have had observatories.[35] I-tsing says that throughout the Five Parts of India, ordinary students and Buddhist monks had to study Śabda-vidyā or grammer and elemcnts of language.[36] To what a great extent the Buddhist scholars were well versed in grammer and intricacies of Sanskrit usages, is reflected by Kamalaśīla's Pañjikā on the Tattvasaṃgraha, wherein the erudite commentator analyses each phrase grammatically.[37]

Yuan Chwang himself studied in various Buddhist Colleges in course of his travels, not only all the collections of the Buddhist books but also examined and penetrated the 'sacred books of the Brāhmaṇas', besides specialising in mysticism and Vijñānavāda.[38]

POPULAR TEXTS

Among the favourite texts studied during this period we have reports of the Mahāyāna sūtras in general; Rāhulamitra studied the Ratnakūṭasūtra daily; I-tsing's teacher, Hui-hsi is said to have studied the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka daily for more than 60 years, so that the perusal amounted to twenty thousand times.'[39] King Rājabhaṭa of Samataṭa used to read hundred thousand ślokas of the Mahāprajñā-pāramitā-śāstra every day.[40] Bāṇa makes a casual reference to the popularity of the Abhidharma-Kośa of Vasubandhu in the Forest Academy of Divākaramitra, where even parrots recited its Kārikās.[41] Hwui-li records that even the spirits and demons followed its doctrines.[42]

SPECIAL STUDIES

Some monasteries were catholic enough to study the

doctrine and discipline of different Buddhist sects, while others specialised in a particular class of Buddhist lore. Thus in a monastery of Uḍḍiyāna the Mahāyānists taught and studied five redactions of the Vinaya, namely those of the Dharmaguptas, Mahīśāsakas, Kāśyapīyas, Sarvāstivādins, and of the Mahāsāṃghikas.[43] The monks of a monastery in Jālandhara made special studies of the Mahāyāṇa and the Hīnayāna.[44] A monastery in Laghman is known to have produced an important work on magical invocations; the monks of Uḍḍiyāna are said to have specialised in magical exorcisms, while some monasteries specialised in Yoga texts.[45] Nālandā University seems to have made provisions for specialised studies in almost all branches of learning then known in India.[46]

(iii) METHOD OF TEACHING AND LEARNING MORAL EDUCATION

A candidate after receiving the Upasaṃpadā ordination had to pay some 'fees' or 'gift' (dakṣiṇā) to his two teachers, Upādhyāya and Karmācārya. This gift could be 'either trifling or extravagant.'

The Upādhyāya then delivered the elementary lessons on the precepts and the offences and gave the contents of the Prātimokṣa. These having been mastered, the monk then proceeded to study the larger Vinaya-Piṭaka. He read it regularly, day and night and was 'examined every morning.'

After having got through the study of the Vinaya-Piṭaka, the monk-scholar was asked to study the Sūtras and the Śāstras, doctrinal and philosophical treatises. These two teachers were likened to parents.[47]

Teacher-Pupil Relation

A live picture of the deep and intimate relations that existed between a teacher and his pupil, is drawn by I-tsing. Early in the morning every day a pupil went, after having cleaned his mouth, to his teacher and supplied him tooth-wood, water, washing-basin and a towel. Then he went to worship the holly image and took a round (Pradakṣiṇā) of the temple.

Returning to his teacher, he makes a salutation, holding up his cloak, and with clasped hands, touching (the ground with his head) three times, remains kneeling on the ground.'[47a] Then

with folded hands and bowed head he enquires of his teacher in gentle words thus : 'whether my Upādhyāya has been well through the night, whether his body has been in perfect health, whether he is active and at ease' and so forth. The teacher answered these inquiries concerning his own health; the pupil then saluted other senior persons in the neighbouring apartments. Afterwards, he read a portion of the scripture, and reflected on what he learnt. He thus 'acquired new knowledge day by day, and searched into old subjects month after month, without losing a minute.'[48]

The following was also a method of education in which the master and the pupil lived an ideal life. The pupil went to his teacher at the first and the last watch in the night. The teacher having given a comfortable seat to the student, selected some passages from the Tripiṭaka, and gave a lesson suitable to the circumstances and left no fact or theory unexplained. The teacher inspected the disciple's moral conduct and warned him of defects and transgressions. Whenever the pupil was found guilty, the teacher made him to seek remedies and repent. The pupil rubbed or massaged the teacher's body, folded or pressed his clothes and often sweeped the apartment and the court-yard. It was his duty to examine whether or not the water for his teacher was free from insects, etc. Thus 'if there be anything to be done, he does all on behalf of his teacher. This is the manner in which one pays respect to one's superior.'

The teacher also, on his part, lent a ready helping hand and cherished a fatherly affection for his pupil. 'In case of a pupil's illness, his teacher himself nurses him, supplies all the medicine needed, and pays attention to him as if he were his child.'[49]

Contents of Elementary Education

Yuan Chwang states that the primary education in India started with a work called Siddham or a 'Primer' in twelve chapters, which dealt with the alphabet and the combinations of vowels and consonants. Having mastered this course, the boy at the age of five began to learn the Five Sciences[50] enumerated above. I-tsing throws a welcome light on the contents of elementary and general education prior to specialisation and higher studies in the monastic colleges of the time.

A boy started his education at the age of six years with a

book called' 'Siddhirastu' which contained 40 letters of the alphabet and 10,000 syllables arranged in 300 couplets. This Primer was finished within 6 months. Next, the student studied the Sūtras of Pāṇinī, 'the foundation of all grammatical science'. It has 1000 Ślokas, and boys of 8 years' age could repeat it in eight months' time. Then followed the book of Dhātu dealing with the grammatical roots. This text was studied by boys of 10 years' age and they mastered it after a diligent study of three years. This was followed by the book on three Khilas, dealing with the details of grammer.[51]

CONTENTS OF A MONK'S SECONDARY EDUCATION

Among the most important Buddhist texts, which a monk who had completed the study of Prātimokṣa, the Vinaya-Piṭaka and some Sūtras and Śāstras, had to study at a Secondary stage of his education, were the following texts. Aśvaghoṣa's 'Service in three parts' was a text which all monks had to learn by heart.[52] The first text of this class was Mātṛceta's famous Sārdhaśataka—Buddha—Prasaṃśā-gāthā ('the Hymn in one hundred and Fifty Verses'). Mātṛceta's another charming composition was a Hymn consisting of 400 ślokas. These texts treated generally of the six perfect virtues (Pāramitās) and expounded the excellent qualities of Buddha, 'the World-Honoured One'. These two texts were taught compulsorily. Says I-tsing, throughout India every one who becomes a monk is taught Mātṛceta's two hymns as soon as he can recite the five and ten precepts. This course is adopted by both the Mahāyāna and the Hīnayāna Schools.[53]

These two texts were taught compulsorily because of their following six educative values. They made known the profound virtues of Buddha; they taught how to compose verses; they ensured purity of language; their singing expanded the chest (or lungs); by reciting them nervousness in an assembly was overcome; and lastly, by acting according to them, good health and longevity were attained. There were a number of commentaries on these hymns; and the work of Jina and Śākyadeva which were their imitations, were also popular.

Another text popularly studied was Nāgārjuna's Suḥṛllekha which exhorted as to the right ways and eulogised wisdom and

Triratna.[54] The Suḥṛllekha inculcated both moral and spiritual virtues because it was advised in this letter to practise the three-fold wisdom (viz., Śrutamayī Prajñā, Ciṇtāmayī,[0] and Bhāvanāmayī[0]), helped to understand the Noble Eightfold Path and explained the four truths.

Indian students learned this Epistle in verse early in the course of their education, 'but the most devout made it their special object of study throughout their lives.' because it was a piece of 'standard literature.'

There was another work of similar character and equally famous. It was the Jātakamālā (the Garland of Birth-Stories) by Āryaśūra. Its popularity during the seventh century A.D. is proved not only by the paintings of Ajaṇṭā but also by an historical episode recorded by I-tsing. King Harṣa Śīlāditya, 'who was exceedingly fond of literature' once commanded the poets and men of letters of his age to show their best compositions. The collection thus produced amounted to five hundred bundles, and, on examination it was found that most of them were based on the Jātakamālā. Another work popularised by Harṣa and composed in verse by himself, was the Jīmūta-Vāhana[55]. Another Buddhist work which was popularly studied in all India in accompaniment with music and dance, was 'Sudāna', a poetical song concerning the Viśvantara-jātaka, composed by Candradāsa; one of the most famous works widely studied in India and S. E. Asia was the Buddhacarita of Aśvaghoṣa.[56]

Contents of Higher Education

Besides elementary literary and grammatical courses noted above, the students had to study such standard commentaries on the Sūtras of Pāṇinī, as the Kāśikā-vṛtti by Jayāditya, the Chūrṇī or Mahā-bhāṣya of Patañjali, the Bhartṛhari—Śāstra, and the Vākya-padīya, another work of Bhartrhari consisting of 700 ślokas with a commentary in 7,000 ślokas. This great work was a 'treatise on the Inference, supported by the authority of the sacred teaching and on Inductive arguments'. Besides these, the Pie-na or Beḍāvṛtti, a joint composition by Bhartṛhari and Dharmapāla, which dealt with 'the secrets of heaven and earth and the philosophy of man', was also a favourite work of those who wished to be Bahuśruta or learned. In logic, Nāgārjuna's work Nyāya-dvāra-tāraka-śāstra, was the text book of advanced students.[57]

(IV) STANDARD OF SCHOLARSHIP AND GRADES OF SCHOLARS.

The Buddhist monks often assembled together for discussion to test intellectual ability and bring moral character into prominence, to reject the worthless and advance the intelligent. Those who brought forward fine points of philosophy, and properly appreciated the subtle principles, who were ornate in diction, refined in speech, and rich in higher attainments, rode richly caparisoned-elephants, preceded and followed by a host of attendants. But those defeated in debate, deficient in doctrine and poor in speech, perverted the sense while keeping the language, 'the faces of such are promptly daubed with red and white clay, their bodies are covered with dirt, and they are driven out to the wilds or thrown into the ditches'. It was not necessary for a learned and virtuous man to become a monk; he could win the highest academic honours even while being a house-holder, as, for instance, Jayasena of Yaṣṭivana, noted above.

A monk who could orally expound one treatise whether the Abhidharma, or Sūtra or the Vinaya, was exempted from serving under the prior, one who could expound two, was invested with the insignia and outfit of a superior. He who expounded three treatises, was given subordinate monks to assist him. A monk who was a master of four treatises had lay-servants assigned to him; he who expounded five texts, rode an elephant, while a master of six treatises received besides a riding elephant, a surrounding retinue; 'where the spiritual attainments are high, the distinctions conferred are extra-ordinary.'[58] We may be sure that the academic environment must have been fairly striking and the lures of honour, gain and eminence must have sustained the zeal of scholars for more knowledge and all that it carried.

Therefore the priests studied not only the Five Vidyās, but 'all the Vinaya works, and investigated the Sūtras and Śāstras as well', 'They oppose heretics as they would drive beasts in the middle of a plain, and explain away disputations as boiling water melts frost. In this manner they become famous throughout Jambūdvīpa, receive respect above gods and men, and serving under the Buddha and promoting His doctrine, they

lead all the people to Nirvāṇa.'[59] There were scholars who could commit to memory several texts and several thousand ślokas. 'This is far from being a myth, for I (I-tsing) myself have met such men.'[60]

Section 3

SOME IMPORTANT CENTRES OF EDUCATION

(i) GENERAL REMARKS

It is necessary to emphasise certain general features that characterised these centres of Buddhist education. It has been repeatedly pointed out above that the Buddhist monasteries were not only the true centres of Buddhistic culture in particular, but also the nurseries and repositories of Buddhist education and learning in general. In course of centuries some of these monasteries of India grew into large educational centres and had some characteristic features which justify their being described as Universities.[61]

They had a truly Universal character; they were free from religious, political or national barriers; they threw open their doors to all persons irrespective of caste, colour, creed or country. This universal and catholic spirit of Buddhist culture and its centres, earned a great international reputation for India and attracted scholars from far off countries. The same cannot be said of the Brahmanical system of education and its institutions. Dr. Mookerjee rightly observes that 'the necessity of a domestic environment under the Brahmanical scheme did not thus favour the expansion of the small school under an individual teacher into a larger educational federation controlled by a collective body of teachers, as was the characteristic of the Buddhist system.'[62] It is, therefore, quite proper to attribute to the influence of Buddhism the rise of organised public educational institutions in ancient India.[63]

The importance of these Buddhist Universities and their singular contributions towards the growth of Indian culture-India's literatures, arts, religious faiths and institutions, philosophical systems, logical theories, and technical sciences—and its expansion beyond the frontiers of India, can scarcely be

over estimated. If the ancient Chinese people regarded India as'the celestial Treasure-House';[64] and if advanced scholars and truth-seekers from Ceylon, Java, China Korea, Tibet, Mongolia, Khotan and Nepal flocked to India to grace the halls of her Universities; and if today we are able to recover our valuable Buddhist scriptures from Simhalese, Tibetan, Chinese, Khotanese, and Mongolian languages; and if we look to-day to the Ceylonese Chroniclers, Tibetan lot-sa-bas and Chinese annalists with an earnest hope of getting useful information concerning our past, and if the Indian historian of today can boast of his country's righteous conquest and cultural empire in bygone days, the credit goes to these Buddhist Universities and their scholars.

(ii) THE UNIVERSITY OF NĀLANDĀ

The ruins of this ancient monastic University have been unearthed near the village of Baṛgāon, 55 miles south east of Patna in Bihar State.[65] The early history and growth of Nālandā Monastery has been discussed above. The general lay-out of its buildings, their architectural and sculptural features also have been noted above.[66] Only a brief outline of its educational activity needs to be discussed here.[67]

Nālandā-Mahā-Vihāra was both a Monastery and a University, its boarding and lodging arrangements were almost modern; large lecture halls, hostel-rooms for students special chambers and many-storeyed buildings for erudite and dignified professors, an efficient clipsydrae and a gong to announce the hours, a menial staff and watch-and-ward, a large fertile farm and a rich garden, a high astronomical observatory, spacious library buildings, and a high boundary wall of stone and brick around the entire establishment with the revenue of 200 villages and a host of kings, petty chiefs and moneyed officials of State to maintain its physical existence and economic prosperity—these in brief, were the material equipments of this greatest Buddhist centre of culture and higher learning that ever existed in the history of Buddhism.

Admission

The University of Nālandā was a centre of higher education and advanced studies; only such students as possessed necessary qualifications were admitted to its post-graduate courses. It was the rendezvous of 'eminent and accomplished men' who assembled

there 'in crowds', to spend two or three years to complete their highest education and to 'discuss possible and impossible doctrines'.[68] As such admissions were restricted and preceded by a pre-admission test of the candidates.

A monk-scholar acted as pre-admission examiner; he was called the 'gate-keeper' and preferably 'Dvāra-paṇḍita'. He asked some hard questions, many were unable to answer and were refused admission. Only twenty to thirty percent of those seeking admission succeeded at the 'entrance examination'. Yuan Chwang writes that 'those who were deeply versed in old and modern learning were admitted, only two or three out of ten succeeding.'[69]

Number of Scholars

In the last quarter of the 7th century A.D. I-tsing reported that there were more than three thousand resident monks in Nālandā.[70] But Yuan Chwang did not give any precise number of its scholars. His biographer, however, records that the number of scholars at Nālandā would always reach 10,000.[71] Relying on this report of Hwui-li, Dr. Mookerjee writes that there were 1,500 teachers and 8,500 students at Nālandā.[72] But the figures given by Hwui-li can hardly be taken at their face value, he had never seen Nālandā himself and the number seems to be a round one.

Standard of Scholarship

The students and teachers of Nālandā lived a very academic and moral life; they were all men of great learning ability and eminence; they strictly observed the moral precepts and the rules of their order. 'They were looked upto as models by all India; learning and discussing they found the day too short; day and night they admonished each other, juniors and seniors mutually helping to perfection. If among them were any who did not talk of the mysteries of the Tripiṭaka, such persons, being ashamed, lived aloof. Hence foreign students came to the establishment to put an end to their doubts and then became celebrated, and those who stole the name of the Nālandā Brother were all treated with respect wherever they went.'[73]

This testimony of Yuan Chwang is corroborated by a contemporary epigraphic record from Nālandā. The Nālandā stone inscription of Mālāda refers to Nālandā Mahāvihāra as 'the pleasant abode of the learned and virtuous samgha'; its

inmates were 'erudite scholars, famous for their knowledge of the sacred lore (āgama) and the arts (kalā).'[74]

From the Life we learn that in the Philosophical Conference, organised by Emperor Harṣa at Kanauj, one thousand eminent monk-scholars from Nālandā were present. Elsewhere, the same source tells us that there were 1000 scholars at Nālandā who could explain 20 collections of the Sūtras and Śāstras; 500 scholars who could explain 30 collections, and perhaps 10 including the Master of the Law (i.e. Yuan Chwang) who could explain 50 collections but the Chancellor of the University, Śīlabhadra, was the person who had 'studied and understood the whole number.'[75]

Not less than one hundred chairs or pulpits were arranged every day in the University for lecture purposes.

100 Lectures Daily

This would indicate that as many as one hundred topics were discussed every day, and the students are said to have attended to them regularly, 'with out any fail, even for a minute.'[76]

Library Facilities

The patrons and professors of the University of Nālandā realised that a monastic University without a good library was like a large granary without corn. The University, therefore, maintained a splendid and well equipped library for the use of hundreds of teachers and thousands of students. The Tibetan sources tell us that there were three huge buildings for housing books located in an area known as the 'Treasure of Religion' (Dharma-gañja). These three library buildings were named poetically, Ratnasagara, Ratnodadhi and Ratnarañjaka. Of these, Ratnasāgara housed the collection of Prajñāpāramitā-sūtras and the Tāntrika texts.[77]

Nālandā University Library was the only standard place where foreign scholars and translators could get authoritative texts. Yuan Chwang had taken to China with him copies of 124 Mahāyāna texts and other works amounting to 520 fasciculi.[78] I-tsing got copies of 400 Sanskrit works at Nālandā which amounted to 500000 verses.[79] Inscriptions refer to the Sumātran monks copying MS. at Nālandā.[80] It is also reported that the monks also kept their private libraries which after their death were to be deposited in the Central Library.

Its Celebrated Scholars

Nālandā University produced a large number of eminent scholars, debaters and authors who flourished during the 7th and 8th centuries A.D. Mention may be made of Dharmapāla, Candrapāla (perhaps Candrakīrti), Dharmakīrti, Śīlabhadra, Buddhabhadra, Jayasena, Guṇamati, Sthiramati, Jñānacandra, Ratnasiṃgha, Jinamitra, Prabhamitra, Sāgaramati, Siṃharaśmi, Prajñāraśmi, Candradāsa, and Śāntideva, all of whom flourished in the seventh century A.D. and are mentioned either by Yuan Chwang or by I-tsing or by Hwui-li.

In the 8th century A.D. also, the University had many distinguished scholars as its teachers and students. Sarvajñamitra of Kashmir who studied Tantras here, Śāntirakṣita who was probably the most learned philosopher and Chancellor of Nālandā in the middle of the century, Kamalaśīla who was the professor of Tantras here; besides these, Dharmottara of Kashmir, Padmasaṃbhava of Uḍḍiyāna and Prajñākaramati, and Śubhākarasiṃha were also associated with the academic activity of Nālandā.[81]

(iii) THE UNIVERSITY OF VALABHĪ

According to I-tsing another Buddhist centre of higher education in India which rivalled Nālandā in fame, was in the city of Valabhī or Valabhīpura in Wālā State of Kathiawar.[82] A number of inscriptions of the Maitraka Kings belonging to the 5th to 8th centuries A.D. refer to the great educational and religious activities in their dominions. But Valabhī their capital city, was the foremost centre.[83]

The first building of this monastic college was built by Princess Duddā, the daughter of the sister of Dhruvasena I. Other buildings of this monastic establishment were the Abhyantarika-Vihāra of Venerable Miṃma and the Bappapāda-Vihāra of Bhadanta Sthiramati. Not far from city was another monastic college built by Arhat Acala.[84] In the seventh century, Dhruvabhaṭa, son-in-law of Emperor Harṣa, was the greatest patron of this University.

Just as Nālandā specialised in Mahāyāna studies so the University of Valabhī was the rival centre of Hinayāna studies; for, most of its scholars studied the little vehicle.[85] Yuan

Chwang found about a hundred monastic buildings in Valabhī the strength of the monk-students amounted to six thousand. Names of three most important scholars who had received higher education in the University of Valabhī are known to us; they were Jayasena, a native of Surāṣṭra, Guṇamati and Sthiramati; all these scholars subsequently lived in or around the Nālandā Mahāvihāra. Hwui-li says that the dominant system studied in Valabhī was that of the Sammitīya school of Hīnayāna. From I-tsing's account we gather that Valabhi like Nālandā imparted higher education on secular subjects also. These were the two academies in India where eminent and accomplished men assembled in crowds, discussed possible and impossible doctrines, and after having been assured of the excellence of their opinions by wise men, became famous in India.

'To try the sharpness of their wit, they proceed to the King's court to lay down before it the sharp weapon of their abilities; there they present their schemes and show their political talent, seeking to be appointed in the practical government'. On being proved successful, they were advanced to high rank and could follow whatever profession they liked. Their famous names were written in white on their lofty gates.[87] This account would indicate that these two Universities turned out not only Buddhist Doctors, but also statesmen, administrators and economists who received appointments in royal courts and governments.

Epigraphical evidence proves that the Valabhī University maintained a Library financed by the royal wealth and the rich contribution of the citizens.[88]

The echo of the great academic fame of Valabhī finds mention in the Kathāsaritasāgara of Somadeva, which shows that even the Brāhmaṇas of Gangetic plain used to send their sons to Valabhī for higher education. It is related in this work that a Brāhmaṇa Vasudatta by name, sent his son Viṣṇudatta, when the latter had completed sixteen years of age, to 'Valabhīpuraṃ' for education from his home in Antaravedi (in Central Doab). It would appear that the dutiful Brāhmaṇa considered Valabhī more suitable place of education than either Vārāṇasī or Nālandā which were nearer his home province.[89]

(iv) UNIVERSITY OF VIKRAMAŚILĀ

Among the later centres of Buddhist studies that throve after the best days of Nālandā, the most famous was the Mahāvihāra of Vikramaśīlā or Vikramapurī, founded by King Dharmpāla (cir, A.D. 770-810). The site of Vikramasīlā has been identified with Sultangañja area in Bhāgalpur District of Bihar.[90] The Monastery is mentioned not only in Tibetan records but also in the late Sanskrit Buddhist texts.[91] The reference to this Vihāra as 'Śrīmad-Vikramaśīla-deva-mahāvihāra' would suggest that' Vikramaśīla was the epithet' of the founder.[92] According to Sumpā' Khan Po the Vikramaśīla Monastery was situated on a hill top on the right bank of the Gangā in Magadha.[93]

There were 108 temples and 6 Colleges in the Monastic establishment of Vikramaśilā.[94] One hundred and eight Buddhist scholars (Paṇḍitas) maintained by the State, looked after its educational and religious activities. Out of 108 chambers, fifty-three were meant for esoteric practices and fifty-four for general use of the monks. Although the institution was a seat specially of Tāntrikism, yet other topics like grammer, philosophy, logic, etc., were also taught. Buddhajñānapāda, a disciple of Haribhadra, performed the consecration ceremony of this monastic College and he became its first Ācārya.[95] A large number of Tibetan scholars lived and studied in this college; besides the study of Prajñā texts and the Tantras, Vikramaśilā University gave facilities for translation of Sanskrit Buddhist works into Tibetan.

King Dharmapāla, the temporal Head, is known to have awarded the title of 'Paṇḍita' to its able scholars. He is reported to have appointed 'an Ācārya for wood-offering, an Ācārya for ordination, another for fire-offering, a superintendent of works, a guard of pigeons, and a supplier of Temple servants.'[96]

(v) OTHER CENTRES OF EDUCATION

There were a number of minor centres of Buddhist education and monastic learning in India during this period. Odantapurī or Uddaṇḍapura, (located in modern Bihar-Shariff) founded by Dharmapala became a famous centre of Buddhist

Tāntrika learning.[97] It was on the model of 'Odantapurī-Vihāra that the first regular monastery was built at Bsamyas in Tibet.[98] Very little is known of the educational activities of this monastic college during our period. JAYENDRA-VIHĀRA, in Kashmir was also a famous seat of Buddhist learning. About 1000 monk-scholars of this college came to great Yuan Chwang when the latter arrived in the capital. The King assigned 20 eminent scholars to help the Chinese scholar in his studies. The most famous saint-scholar was Yaśa, who taught Yuan Chwang; he is said to have explained the Abhidharmakośa, the Nyāyānusāra-śāstra and the Hetuvidyā-śāstra. The College had some noted Buddhist scholars belonging to different schools. Visuddhasiṃha and Jinabandhu were of Mahāyāna; Sugatamitra and Vasumitra were of Sarvāstivāda; Sūryadeva and Jinatrāta were of the Mahāsāṃghika lore. Under these savants Yuan Chwang studied for two years.[99] In the monastery of Chi-na-po-ti lived a Tripiṭakācārya and a Śāstra-Master, Vinītaprabha by name. He was the author of commentaries on the Pañcaskandha-Śāstra and Vidyāmātra-Siddhi-Śāstra, and seems to have been well-versed in Abhidharma philosophy, Idealism and logic. Under him Yuan Chwang studied for 14 months the following texts : Abhidharmaśāstra, Abhidharma-prakaraṇa Śāsana-śāstra, the Nyāya-dvāra-tāraka-śāstra and other treatises.[100]

In the monastic college of Matipura lived a great saint and scholar, Mitrasena by name; under him studied about 200 monk-scholars. Yuan Chwang studied with him the Tattva-Satyaśāstra, the Abhidharma-jñāna-prasthāna and other śāstras. Though the monastic college headed by Mitrasena was chiefly a centre of Abhidharma learning, yet the mention of the people of Matipura as well versed in magical arts indicates prominence of Tāntrikism.[101] Another centre of Vaibhāṣika learning was the Bhadravihāra in Kannauj; its head was Vīryasena, a Doctor of the Tripiṭaka, who taught the Varma-Vibhāṣā-Vyākaraṇa of Buddhadāsa to Yuan Chwang.[102] In Harṣa-carita we find that the Forest Academy in the Vindhya hills, headed by Divākara-mitra, was a centre of Universal learning; there lived scholars of Buddhism, Jainism, Sāṃkhya, Vaiśeṣika, Vedānta, Pāñcarātra, Purāṇic lore and many other religious systems.[103]

Section 4

FOREIGN STUDENTS IN INDIA

Buddhist monastic Universities and Colleges in India attracted a large number of foreign students and scholars who came to study here during the seventh and the eighth centuries A.D. Yuan Chwang was the most famous of them. He spent 16 years in travels and studies in Central Asian and Indian Buddhist centres. To him we owe much of the account of Buddhist education and its centres discussed above. Hardly less famous is I-tsing, who spent 10 years in Eastern Indian monasteries, especially at Nālandā, and specialised in the Vinaya lore and the Sanskrit grammer. After him came Ou-K'ong[104] (751-790 A.D.) also known as Dharmadhātu. He travelled in Kipin, Gandhāra and studied Sanskrit and the Vinaya in Kashmir for four years. Between Yuan Chwang and I-tsing came more than forty monk-scholars[105] from different Asian countries and studied in Indian Monastic Colleges. More notable of them are the following :—

Hiuen-Chiu, a Chinese monk, nick-named Prakāśa-mati, spent 4 years in Jālandhara in order to learn Sanskrit, 7 years in Mahābodhi and Nālandā; at Nālandā he was met by I-tsing; he died in Amarāvatī. Another Chinese monk-scholar, named *Taou-hi* (Indian name, Śrideva), spent many years in Nālandā and besides studying the Sanskrit language, the Mahāyāna, the Vinaya, he translated many Śāstras into Chinese.

Sse-pin, a Chinese monk who was well-versed in 'the Sanskrit forms of magic incantation', studied in India along with Hiun-chiu. A Korean monk, Āryavarman, studied in Nālandā and copied many Sūtras; Hwui-nich, also a Korean student, studied and died at Nālandā, I-tsing found his writings and Sanskrit MS. left by him. Hiuen-Tai and Hiuen-chau, both Korean monk-scholars also came to Mahābodhi Temple at Gayā. Buddhadharma, a Tokhārian by birth, 'a man of great size and strength', was studying at Nālandā when I-tsing came there. Taou-sing, a Chinese scholar studied at Nālandā for some time but spent many years in the study of the Hīnayāna Tripiṭaka in a monas-

tery near Nālandā. Wong-po (Matisiṃha) a fellow-student of Sse-pin, having studied Sanskrit language, returned home via Nepal. Another Chinese 'doctor of the Law', Yuan Hwui by name, dwelt in Kashmir and took charge of the royal elephants. Lung probably a Chinese student, took with him a copy of the Saddharmapundarika-sūtra from Mid-India.

Tāmralipti seems to have been an important centre of Buddhist Sanskrit learning. Besides I-tsing, a Mahāyāna monk of China, Tang by name, spent 12 years at Tāmralipti, and perfected himself in Sanskrit. His full name was probably Ta-cheng-teng. Another Chinese priest, Tao-lin, lived here for 3 years, learnt Sanskrit and was converted to Sarvāstivāda school. At Nālandā he studied the Kośa.[106]

The famous Tibetan scholar and a Minister of King Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po, whose name is spelt as Thonmi Saṃbhoṭa, tell us that he studied in Magadha (probably in Nālandā) under a Paṇḍita Devavitsiṃha, and became master of both Buddhist and Brahmanical lore.[107]

Notes and References

1. Already in the 4th century B.C. Aristotle noticed the controversy with regard to the subjects, ideals and fields of education. Politics, VIII.2; the controversy continues to-day; see John Dewey, Reconstruction in Philosophy, Mentor Ed., Introduction, p. 13; M. K. Gandhi, An Autobiography, Ed. Navajivana Press, pp. 245-253.

2. Mahābhārata, Ādiparvan, I, 1; IX.25, etc.

3. R. K. Mookerjee, Anc. Ind. Edu., 2nd ed., pp. 477 f., 490 f.

4. S. V. Venkatesvara, Indian Culture Through the Ages, Vol. I, London, 1928, p. 161.

5. See P. V. Kane, History of Dharmaśāstra, Vol. I, Introduction; S. Radhakrishnan, The Hindu View of Life (Allen & Unwin, London); A. S. Altekar, Sources of Hindu Dharma, Sholapur, 1952, pp. 5 f.

6. Even Kauṭilya, an unscrupulous political thinker, places Ānvikṣakī at the head of Vidyās, Arthaśāstra, II. 1.

7. Bhagavadgītā, IV.33.

8. Mahābhārata, XII, 399.6.

9. Hitopadeśa (Mitralābha) V. 6.

10. Vinaya Piṭaka, Hindi Transl. by R. Sāṃkrtyāyana, p. 82.

11. Ibid., pp. 100-103; 120.

12. Ibid., pp. 103, 148-149, 418 ff.

13. Mookerjee, Anc. Ind. Edu., Plate XIX. p. 452.

14. See M. Winternitz, HIL, II, pp. 156 f.

15. See E.J. Thomas, "Education in Early Buddhist Schools' in Buddhistic Studies, ed. By B. C. Law, Chap. VIII.

16. A. S. Altekar, Edu. Anc. India., 5th printing, pp. 231, 234.

17. Mahāvagga, p. 6.

18. cf. AN, I, pp. 213 ff. on a threefold training in morality (sīla), contemplation (samādhi) and insight (paññā).

19. Dhammapada, verses 109, 204; Dharmasaṃgraha, 48; I-tsing, Chap. 23.

20. Studies in the Origins of Buddhism, p. 331.

21. Dharmānanda Kosambi, Pārśvanātha Kā Cāturyāma Dharma, pp. 17 f.
22. cf. BCAP, p. 186.
23. I-tsing, Chap. XIX.
24. Ibid., pp. 105-106.
25. Dharmasaṃgraha, 72.
26. Ibid., 16.
27. Ibid., 64; See above Chap. IV.
28. ŚS. Chapters I, XIV, BCA, V. 106.
29. See above Chap. IV.
30. See loc. cit., ; Yuan Chwang, I, pp. 152-153,
31. See MASI, 66; and I-tsing, Introduction.
32. Ibid., p. 169; Yuan Chwang, I, 155 f.
33. Life, p. 112.
34. Ibid., 166-167.
35. Ibid., p. 111.
36. I-tsing, p. 170 f.
37. cf. TSP, 2 Vols. ed. in GOS, XXX-XXXI.
38. Life, p. 125.
39. I-tsing, pp. 14-15, 64, 205.
40. Hist. Bengal, I, p. 414.
41. Harṣacarita, Bk. VIII, V. S. Agrawala, H. C. Eka Addhyayana, pp. 122, 237.
42. Life, p. 80.
43. Yuan Chwang, I, p. 226.
44. Ibid., p. 296.
45. Yuan Chwang, II, 227.
46. I-tsing, pp. 177-178.
47. I-tsing, pp. 103-104.
47a. See Gopīnātha Kavirāja, Bhāratīya Sanskriti Aur Sādhanā, Pt. I, Patna, 1963, Chap. XIII.
48. I-tsing, pp. 116-117. cp. Bhagavadgītā, IV. 33.
49. I-tsing, p. 120.
50. Yuan Chwang, I, 154-155.
51. I-tsing, pp. 170-174.
52. See above Chap. IV.
53. The Adhyardhaśataka of Mātṛceta has been ed. by K. P. Jayaswal and R. Sāṃkṛtyāyana, Appendix to JBORS, Vol., XXIII; Sanskrit fragments found in Turfan ed. in A.F.R. Hoernle, Manuscript Ramains, Vol. I, 1916.
54. I-tsing, pp. 157-160.
55. Ibid., p. 162-164, cf. Winternitz, HIL, II, pp. 273 f; below Appendix I.
56. I-tsing pp. 165-166.
57. Ibid., pp. 175-180.
58. Ibid., p. 64; Yuan Chwang, I, 162.
59. I, ting, pp. 181 f.
60. Ibid., pp. 183-184.
61. See S. V. Venkatesvara, op. cit. Chap. IV, pp. 185 f.; H. D. Sankalia, The University of Nalanda Madras, 1934. R. K. Mookerjee, Anc. Indi. Edu., 2nd Ed. Chap., XXIV, pp. 557 f.; A. S. Altekar, Edu. Anc. Ind., Chap. V, pp. 119 f.
62. Mookerjee, op. cit., p. 460.
63. Altekar, op. cit. p. 231.
64. I-tsing, p. 208.
65. See MASI, No. 66; A. Ghosh, op. cit.
66. See above Chap. III.
67. For details see H. D. Sankalia, op. cit.,
68. I-tsing, p. 177.
69. Yuan Chwang, II, p. 165.

70. I-tsing p. 154. 71. Life, p. 112.
72. Mookerjee, op. cit., p. 565; cf. D.G. Apte, Universities in Ancient India, p. 35.
73. Yuan Chwang, II, p. 165.
74. MASI, No. 66, pp. 79, 81.
75. Life, pp. 112, 177.
76. Ibid., p. 112.
77. See S. C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa, Hist. Ind. Logic, Calcutta, 1921, p. 516; also by him Medieval School of Ind. Logic, 1909, p. 146.
78. Si-Yu-Ki, Introduction, p. 9.
79. I-tsing, p. XVII.
80. Ep. Ind., Vol. XVII, 1923-24; pp. 31 f.
81. See Life, pp. 153, 156, 160; Yuan Chwang II, p. 165;I- tsing, pp. 181 f.; Si-yu-ki, pp. 385-386; Bu-ston, II, pp. 134; 135-136; 161 f.; Tārānātha (Schiefner) pp. 147 ff., 163 ff.; S. C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa, Hist. Ind. Logic, Appendix D, pp. 515 f.; TS., Vol. I, Foreword; Mookerjee op. cit., pp. 576-577.
82. Cunningham, AGI, p. 317; Altekar, op. cit., p. 125.
83. See above Ch. IV.
84. Ind. Ant.,Vol.IV, p.174,Ibid.,Vol.VI, pp.9 ff.; Ibid.,Vol.V,p.206.
85. Yuan Chwang, II, p. 206.
86. Ibid., II, p. 246; Life, p. 159.
87. I-tsing, pp. 177-178.
88. Cf. Guṇasena's Grant, Ind. Ant., Vol. VII, pp. 67 f.—Sad-dharmasya pustakopacayārthaṃ etc.
89. Kathāsaritasāgara, N. S. Press, Bombay, 1903, XXXII. 42-43.
90. Tāranātha (Schiefner), p. 217; Cordier—catalogue, Pt. III, pp. 321-322, R. Sāṃkrtyāyana, Purātattva Nibandhāvalī, pp. 221f.; N.L. De in JASB, 1909, pp. 1f.
91. Sragdharāstotra, ed. by S. C. Vidyābhūṣana, BI, p. 50; Svayaṃbhū Purāṇa, ed. by H. P. Śāstrī, VI, 320-321.
92. R. L. Mitra, Skt. Buddh. Lit. Nepal, p. 229.
93. Pag Sam Jon Zang, pp. LXXI, LXXV.
94. Hist. Bengal, I, pp. 115, 417.
95. Tārānātha (Schiefner), pp. 232, 243; relevant passages translated by P. C. Bagchi in Hist. Bengal, I, pp. 115 and 417; by N. Dutt. in HCIP IV, pp. 270-271.
96. See S. C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa, Hist. Ind. Logic, Appendix E, pp. 519-520; S.C. Das, Indian Pandits in Tibet, JBTS, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 10-12; Phaṇīndranāth Bose, Indian Teachers of Buddhist Universities, pp. 35, 84.
97. Bu-ston, II, pp. 156-157, Hist. Bengal, I, p. 417.
98. MBT, II, Introduction.
99. Life, pp. 69-71.
100. Ibid., p. 76; Yuan Chwang, I, pp. 291 ff.
101. Life, pp. 79-81; Yuan Chwang, I, pp. 32 ff.
102. Life, p. 84.
103. Harṣacarita,Bk, VIII; V.S. Agrawala, H.C. Adhyayana, pp.190ff.
104. L'itineraire d' Ou 'K'ong, ed. and transl. by S. Levi and Chavannes, Journal Asiatique, 1895, pp. 341-384, a short summary in English by N. Dutt in Gilgit MSS., Vol. I, pp. 36-37.
105. I-tsing wrote an account of them which was translated into French from the Chinese by E. Chavannes and published from Paris in 1894. The title of this work is 'Memoire on the Chinese Pilgrims who went in search of the Law to Western Countries'. A short summary of it by S. Beal in Life, Introduction.
106. Vide Beal's summary of I-tsing's 'Memoire' in the Life, pp. XXVII-XXXIX; Hist. Bengal, I, p. 417.
107. Blue Annals, I, pp. 39-40; D. L. Snellgrove, Buddhist Himalaya, pp. 141 f.; V. Bhattacharya, Bhoṭa-Prakāśa, pp. XIX ff.; 2500 Hundred Years of Buddhism, p. 74.

CHAPTER VII

BUDDHIST LEARNING AND LITERATURE

Section I

MAIN FEATURES OF LEARNING AND LITERATURE

(a) CHARACTER OF BUDDHIST LEARNING IN THIS PERIOD

Emphasis on intellectualism and metaphysical enquiry had been a dominant note of Mahāyāna Buddhism from the very beginning. With the spread of education and growth of logical reasoning, the intellectual bias and metaphysical quest received further impetus in Buddhist fold. Consequently we find intellectualism and scholasticism to be the prominent features of Buddhist learning during this period.

After Diṅnāga, the Buddhist scholars had to take a keen interest in philosophical controversies and logical development as a matter of necessity. The Buddhist authors and masters could not ignore the growing need of the art of disputation nor tolerate quietly the waves of Brahmanical attacks often bordering on sectarian animosity. It was, therefore, as a matter of historical necessity that we find the centre of interest being shifted from spiritual endeavour to intellectual endeavour; the Buddhist is now more a philosopher rather than a seer of truth;[1] his efforts became directed not so much to truth-realization as to the explanation and vindication of it. This dominant note of Buddhistic culture had the following objects in view: (i) In the domain of logic proper, the Buddhist scholars elaborated the rules of debate, and tried to distinguish with utmost precision, the valid inference from the invalid inferences. (ii) Besides logic, they developed epistemology, and discussed the problems concerning the origin, nature and sources of knowledge or pramāṇas. (iii) Allied to these epistemological problems, was an exacting theory, namely the theory of the meaning or import of words. (iv) In the field of Ontology proper, we find that the Buddhist philosophers of our period adduced elaborate argu-

ments in defence of Buddhist doctrines based on reasoning alone. (v) On the other hand, they refuted the Ontological doctrines of their opponents with the help of logical reasoning and scientific argumentation. Lastly, (vi) Victory of Buddhist doctrines in public debates was desirable because it assured the physical existence and resources of the order.

(b) BRANCHES OF LEARNING

It is well to remember that one of the virtues to be perfected by a Buddhist saint, a Bodhisattva, is what is called the Upāya-Kauśalya or 'skill in means'.[2] It is his avowed mission to further the good of the beings, to endeavour for their weal and therefore to propagate the Law of Buddha. For this missionary task, he must learn various sciences and arts. Although the ultimate truth could be affirmed best by maintaining a 'Noble Silence' (Ārya-tūṣṇīṃbhāva), yet the saint has to take his stand on the relative truth (Saṃvṛti) in order to do his sacred duty.[3]

Broadly speaking, one can divide the mass of learning current during the seventh and the eighth centuries A.D. into two groups. (i) Sacred and (ii) Secular; within the first category may be distinguished the purely (a) polemical learning, which, however, involved a mastery of all the Indian philosophical systems and the latest logical theories; the (b) esoteric learning, which included a knowledge of magic, mysticism, yoga, the technique of propitiating auspicious and inauspicious deities or demons; besides these, exegetical learning or the intellectual capacity to explain and comment on standard treatises (śāstras) would also come with in the sacred learning. It is needless to mention that the knowledge of the Tripiṭaka and a thorough study of the Sūtras and the Śāstras of various sects of Buddhism was the first and foremost constituent of the body of Buddhist sacred learning.

The second group or category of learning, the secular learning, included a study of such subjects as Sanskrit language and its grammar, knowledge of Chinese and Tibetan languages in order to translate the sacred texts in those languages,especially for those scholars who went to Tibet and China to propagate the Doctrine,[3] a knowledge of magic, medicine, arts and crafts;

ability to teach polity, statesmanship, non-Buddhist studies such as the Vedas, and useful sciences such as astrology, astronomy, alchemy and ability to compose verse and good prose, especially memorial verses, all came within this group of studies.

That all these branches of learning were actually prevalent among the Buddhist men of letters has been indicated in the preceding chapter.

(c) TYPES OF LITERATURES

One of the most significant facts in the history of Indian Buddhism during our period is the decline of Pāli language and literature. It is said that even in Ceylon, the study of Pāli received a set-back during the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. owing to the unfavourable political conditions in that island.[4] The Buddhist literature in this period flourished in several languages. At least five categories of it may be enumerated and substantiated by still extant examples of them: (i) Buddhist literature in pure Sanskrit; (ii) Buddhist literature in mixed Sanskrit or 'hybrid' Sanskrit; (iii) Buddhist literature in Apabhraṃśa; (iv) Buddhist literature in Chinese; and (v) Buddhist literature in Tibetan. (These two last categories belonged to outside India).

Of the first category we have some examples. The philosophical texts, logical treatises, and ethical manuals of the Mahāyāna masters and poets are in pure and standard Sanskrit e.g., the Tattvasaṃgraha, its Pañjikā, the Bodhicaryā-vatāra and its Pañjikā, the Nyāyabindu and its Ṭīkā, and the works of Candrakīrti and Bhartṛhari. To the class of Mixed or Hybrid Sanskrit[5] belong most of the later Mahāyāna-Sūtras, dhāraṇīs, stotras, mahātmyas, Tantras and Sādhanas. It should be observed, however, that there is some difference betweeen the Hybrid Sanskrit of the Mahāyāna-Sūtras, such as the Sūtras quoted in the Śikṣāsamuccaya, the Gaṇḍavyūha, the Prajñāpāramitās on the one hand, and, the Hybrid-Sanskrit of the Sādhanas, the Guhya-Samāja, the Hevajratantra and the Niṣpannayogāvalī, on the other.

The difference consists (i) in the use of some foreign words, e.g. chomā,[6] ḍākini, sākini, hākini; lāmo, etc.[7] and (ii) in the description of erotic-situations and 'pestilent' doctrines[8] which are exclusive to the Tantras.

Some features, e.g., defective construction of compounds and sentences, irregularity of the metre of verses, the use of both prose and verse, and frequent use of Prākṛit words, are common to this class of literature.[9] To the third type of Buddhist literature, i.e., the Apabhraṃśa, belong the mystic songs, Dohās and Caryāpadas of Buddhist Sahajiā saints and poets, most of whom flourished in the late 8th century and after. Their language is traditionally called the sandhā-bhāṣā.[10] This peculiar language belongs to the transitional stage forming a link between the Prākṛit and the hybrid-Sanskrit as well as between the old Hindī, Oriyā and Bengālī and their modern forms.[11]

To the fourth and fifth types of Buddhist literature are referable those numerous works which were translated during this period into Chinese and Tibetan by Indian and foreign scholars.[12] A large number of Buddhist texts in Sanskrit, Sūtras, Śāstras, Commentaries and Tantras, were rendered into Chinese by Yuan Chwang, I-tsing, Vajrabodhi, Amoghavajra, Bodhiruci, and into Tibetan by Thonmi Saṃbhoṭa, Padmasaṃbhava, Śāntirakṣita, Kamalaśīla, and their partymen who went to Tibet in the 8th century A.D.

Section 2

BUDDHIST MASTERS AND AUTHORS

Considerable progress in Buddhist thought and in its dissemination in India and abroad was made during the seventh and the 8th centuries A.D. A large number of Buddhist logicians, philosophers, poets, commentators, scholars and mystics lived and worked during these two centuries. A brief account of the life and works of some of the important personalities of this period will not only substantiate this statement but, also give us an idea of the enormous amount of the varied and extensive Buddhist literature that was produced during this period.

Dharmapāla

Perhaps the most important Vijñānavāda philosopher after Vasubandhu was 'Hu-fa' or Dharmapāla. He was born in the city of Kāñcī in a Brahmin family as the son of a minister of the King of Draviḍa country; he conducted doctrinal discussions successfully in Uttara Pradesh near Kauśāmbī and Viśākhā. He wrote an important com-

mentary on Vasubandhu's Vijñapti-mātratā-siddhi which was translated by Yuan Chwang. Dharmapāla was for some time the chief Professor of Vijñānavāda philosophy in the University of Nālandā. His approximate date is A.D. 540-610. This date is suggested by the fact that he was a contemporary of Bhāvaviveka, Bhartṛhari and a teacher of Śīlabhadra.[12a]

Candrakīrti

One of the most important Mādhyamika philosopher and a commentator of unequalled merit was Candrakīrti. I-tsing does not mention him; one is tempted to identify Candrapāla,[13] mentioned in Nālandā by Yuan Chwang, with Candrakīrti. According to Tibetan authorities, Candrakīrti was born in South in Samanta; he was a pupil of Kamalabuddhi, the latter had been a disciple of Buddhapālita and Bhāvaviveka. As Bhāvaviveka lived about the second half of the sixth century A.D. and was a contemporary of Dharmapāla, the immediate predecessor of Śīlabhadra (cir 640 A.D.) at Nālandā, Candrakīrti, who criticises[14] Bhāvaviveka, may be placed between 560-620 A.D.

Candrakīrti wrote many works : the Prasannapadā or Mādhyamika-vṛtti, the Catuḥ-śataka-Vṛtti, the Yukti-ṣaṣṭikā-Vṛtti, the Śūnyatā-saptati-Vṛtti, and an original work, the Madhyamakāvatāra with an auto-commentary (bhāṣya).[15] He is the most faithful commentator of Nāgārjuna and an erudite dialectician.

Dharmakīrti

One of the towering personalities in the history of Buddhism, whose contribution to critical philosophy perhaps never been surpassed before or since, was Dharmakīrti. The Tibetan historians represent him as a South Indian Brahmin, born in Tirumalai in the Kingdom of Cūḍāmaṇi (probably Coḷa Country). The name of his father is given as Korunanda. Bu-ston, Tārānāth and Sumpā make him a contemporary and a rival of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa; this may be true.[16] He is said to have been a pupil of Īśvarasena and also of Dharmapāla. His immediate pupil was Devendrabuddhi. He is the author of (i) Pramāṇa-vārttika, (ii) Pramāṇa-viniścaya, (iii) Nyāya-bindu, (iv) Hetubindu, (v) Saṃbandha-parīkṣā, (vi) Vādan-yāya, and (vii) Santānāntara-siddhi. Besides, he also wrote commentaries on the first chapter of the Pramāṇa-vārttika and on the Saṃbandhaparīkṣā.[17] According to Tārānātha

Dharmakīrti was a pupil of Dharmapāla and a contemporary of Sroṅ-btsan-gam-po; this Tibetan King died in cir. 698 A.D.[18] I-tsing, writing in about 691 A.D., says that Dharmakīrti flourished in recent years.[19] In some Tibetan Chronicles of Buddhism, Dharmakīrti is represented as a pupil of Īśvarasena, this latter was a direct pupil of Diṅnāga.[20] All these pieces of evidence put together would indicate that Dharmakīrti flourished in the first half of the seventh century A.D., his approximate date seems to be cir. A.D. 580-650. It is a moot point that Yuan Chwang, who may have come to Nālandā in 635 A.D., does not mention Dharmakīrti.[21]

His works

Of the seven treatises, the best and the greatest work of Dharmakīrti is the Pramāṇavārttika; it is not merely a commentary on Diṅnāga's Pramāṇasamuccaya, but is an original explanation of the elements of logic and critical philosophy. The work consists of four chapters. Inference (Svārthānumāna), Validity of knowledge (Pramāṇasiddhi), Perception (Pratyakṣa), and Syllogism (Parārthānumāna). This order of Chapters is not a standard one which latter should have been as follows: Validity of knowledge, perception, inference and syllogism.[22]

The Nyāyabindu has got three chapters dealing with perception, inference and syllogism. It is his best known short work and gives in brief the essentials of Buddhist logic. The Pramāṇa-Viniścaya is an abridgement of the Pramaṇavārttika, and deals in three chapters with perception, inference and syllogism respectively. The Hetubindu is a short classification of logical reasons; the Saṃbandha-parīkṣa is a short work which treats of the problem of relations. The Codanā-Prakaraṇa discusses the art of disputation; it is also known as Vāda-nyāya. The Saṅtānāntra-siddhi treats the reality of other minds, and criticises solipsism. In the Tibetan collection three more works are attributed to Dharmakīrti, viz., a poetical work, and commentaries on Āryaśūra's Jātakamālā and the the Vinayasūtra. Non-Buddhist literary works also seem to suggest that Dharmakīrti was a poet of some merit.[22] Philosophically, Dharmakīrti belonged to that school of critical philosophy which was founded by Diṅnāga. He represents the culmination of the Buddha's dynamic philosophy in which Buddha is conceived as "Embodied Logic" (Pramāṇa-bhūta).[23] All subse-

quent creative minds of India seem to revolve round the magnificient and almost invulnerable thought-structure built by this subtle genius. According to an eminent scholar, Dharmakīrti "was never excelled by any one in his critical reasoning, bold analysis and clear thinking."[24]

Bu-ston says that even his contemporary heretical paṇḍitas were convinced of the subtlty and excellence of Dharmakīrti's intellectual powers and treatises, but out of jealousy and envy, they "fastened them to the tail of a dog" and let the animal run through the streets and hamlets with a view to destroy the leaves of his works.[25]

A king of Vindhya region, who was an admirer of the philosopher is reported to have inscribed on a slab on his royal gate the following lines. "If Dharmakīrti,the sun among disputants, sets and his doctrines sleep or die, the false doctrines of the Tīrthikas will then rise."[26] The colophon of the Pramāṇavārttika reads that Śrī Dharmakīrti exposed the errors of all the Tīrthikas and was an unrivalled sage.[27]

Śāntideva
His life

Bu-ston says that Śāntideva before becoming a bhikṣu at Nālandā under Jayadeva, was known as Śāntivarman and was the son of king Kalyāṇavarman of Surāṣṭra. His favourite deity was Mañjuśrī; he travelled widely in India and converted many heretics to Buddhism; he was expert in exorcism and performed many miracles in South where he spent some years in Śrīparvata.

This biographical account is corroborated by Tārānātha and Sumpā Khan Po. They add that Śāntideva served as a minister to a King of Magadha named Pañcasiṃha. A 14th century Nepalese MS., brought to light by H.P. Śāstrī gives more or less a similar biography of Śāntideva. But it adds that the name of his father was Rājā Mañjuvarmā, and his teacher was Mañjuvajra-Samādhi; Śāntideva became a "Rāut, i.e., a military officer" under the name Acalasena in the Madhyadeśa.

Three of these four sources, to wit, Bu-ston, Sumpā Khanpo and the Sanskrit biography found in Nepal, further record that Śāntideva was known as 'Bhū-sū-kū' and he wrote the Śikṣāsamuccaya, Sūtrasamuccaya and the Bodhi-Caryāvatāra, besides many Tāntrika works.[28]

The accounts of the life and works of Śāntideva the Mahāyāna philosopher and poet, given above, seem to be confused. There is evidence to the fact that there was a second Tāntrika Śāntideva, whose name was Bhū-sū-ku, or Bhūsukupā;[29] he is one of the 84 Siddhas and the author of three esoteric texts, mentioned and attributed to him in the Stan-ḥgyur, viz., Śrī-Guhyasamāja-mahāyoga-tantra-bali-vidhi, Sahaja-gīti, and Citta-Caitanya-Śamanopāya.[30]

Who is Bhūsūkū ?

Bu-ston, Sumpā and the fourteenth century Nepalese biographer, who must have been a Tāntrika author, have, it seems to us, confounded the Mahāyāna author and poet with the Tāntrika Siddha namesake.

It is important to note that Tārānātha is free from this confusion; he does not identify Bhūsūkū with Śāntideva and regards the former as a contemporary of Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna (cir. 1000 A.D.) and therefore much later than the author of the Śikṣāsamuccaya. It is also clear that Śāntideva's teacher was Jayadeva while Bhūsūkū's guru was Mañjuvajra; Śāntideva's father was Kalyāṇavarman, king of Surāṣṭra, while Bhūsūkū's father is named Mañjuvarman; Śāntideva is said to have served as a minister of Pañcasiṃha, a King of Magadha, while Bhūsūkū became a Rāut or Military Officer, under the name Acalasena in Madhyadeśa. Dr. H.P. Śāstri believed that Śāntideva, the author of the Śikṣāsamuccaya was identical with Bhūsūkū or Bhūsukupāda, the author of Tantras and Dohās. He further held that Śāntideva was a Bengali. "The capital city of Śāntideva's father was probably in Bengal though in the MS. it is destroyed"; he supported this view by citing a line of a song of Bhūsukupā, 'Āji Bhūsuku Bengalī bhayilī.'[31] Śrī R. Sāṃkṛtyāyana rightly observed that a person who was a Bengalī by birth would never say that 'today I have become a Bengālī." Moreover, the word 'bhayilī' is not a Bengālī word; it is a word of Bhojapurī, still used in eastern Uttar Pradesh and Bihar.[32] This leads to the conclusion that Bhūsukupā was not a Bengālī but a Bihārī, a man of Magadha, as his biographers say.

Moreover, as is clear from the above discussion, Bhūsukupāda is a different person; he too was known previously (before becoming a Siddha) as Śāntideva; but he flourished

much later, was a contemporary of Śrījñāna as Tārānātha thinks, and also of King Devapāla (cir. 809-849) as is recorded in the Caturaśīti-siddha-pravṛtti.[33]

The peculiar epithet Bhū-sū-kū, was given to him, says the Tibetan Bu-ston, because he indulged in "eating" (bhū), "sleeping" (sū) and "walking" (kū).[34]

Date of Śāntideva

Most likely Śāntideva flourished in the second half of the 7th cent. A.D. Tārānātha states that he was born in the days of Śīla[35] son of Śrī Harṣa; he also says that Śāntideva came after Dharmapāla, and was a pupil of Dharmapāla's successor at Nālandā, Jayadeva by name. The middle of the seventh century A.D. is thus the terminus a quo. The Śikṣāsamuccaya was translated into Tibetan by three persons: Jinamitra and Dānaśīla who were Indian, and Ye-ses-sde, a Tibetan. The last two scholars lived in the reign of King Khri-lde-sron-btsan, A.D. 816-838. These dates would make cir 800 A.D. as the terminus ad quem. Most scholars[36] consider the middle of the VIIth century A.D. as the most likely date of Śāntideva, while Dr. Bhattacharya says that he flourished "in a period between the departure of I-tsing from India in 695 and before Śāntarakṣita's first visit to Tibet in A.D. 743." A verse from the Bodhicaryāvatāra is found quoted in the Tattvasiddhi,[37] a Tāntrika text attributed to Śāntirakṣita. But it is neither possible nor necessary to push his date so late as the early 8th century A.D. The works of Śāntideva do not show any dominant influence of Tantra and he may have actually lived in the 2nd half of the seventh century A.D. although I-tsing did not know of him.

His Works

Śāntideva is famed in the Tibetan tradition as the author of three works: Śikṣāsamuccaya, Sūtrasamuccaya and the Bodhicaryāvatāra.[38] But only two works, the Śikṣāsamuccaya (ŚS.) and the Bodhicaryāvatāra (BCA.) are known to us. Dr. P.L. Vaidya[39] suggested that the bulk of the ŚS. consisting of citations from sūtras may well represent the Sūtrasamuccaya. This suggestion is "indeed very tempting.[40]" This point will be clear when the contents of the ŚS. are analysed.

Śikṣāsamuccaya

This 'conpendium of (Mahāyāna) teaching' consists of three parts: (i) the Kārikā portion, comprising 27 memorial verses, (ii) the commentary portion, and (iii) the illustrations consisting of quotations, often long, from various older Mahāyāna-sūtras. The Tibetans ascribe both the Kārikās and the commentary to Śi-ba-lha, (Śāntideva);[41] the work is extant in Chinese[42] and Tibetan translations as also in the original Sanskrit. Two editions[43] and an English translation[44] of the text have been published. The ŚS. is divided into ninteen Paricchedas (Chapters). Its essential subject matter is a Bodhisattva's ethical and spiritual life; the essential virtues of Mahāyāna piety, such as the six Pāramitās, the Bodhipākṣika-dharmas austerity, faith and devotion, selfless service of the living beings, purity of life and living, worship of Buddha, and Bodhisattvas and the study of Scriptures, the joys of renunciation and meditation and the peace and bliss born of the true knowledge (the knowledge of śūnyatā)—are discussed and illustrated.[45]

Buddhist Texts quoted in the Śikṣāsamuccaya

The work reflects on the extraordinary erudition, extensive study and high bibliographical standard of Śāntideva. Dr. Winternitz says that the ŚS. does not show any 'originality', only betrays "a loquacious learnedness which shows itself in a flood of quotations."[46] But Śāntideva himself expresses this very modestly, that, he has nothing new to say, that he wishes, without claiming any literary skill, to perfect his own mind.[47]

About one hundred texts are quoted in the Ś S. which means that these were existing in the author's age, but most of them are lost to us. A list of these texts is being reproduced here with a view to have a glimpse of the varied literature of Sanskrit that existed in the 7th century A.D. References to the Chinese and Tibetan versions of these texts and to their published editions, in the case of the published texts, are given in the notes. To begin alphabetically[48] with the (1) Akṣayamatisūtra[49] which is quoted most frequently; (2) Aṅgulimālika Sūtra[50]; (3) Acalopāsikā Vimokṣa, probably a part of the Gaṇḍavyūha sūtra; (4) Adhyāśayasañcodana-sūtra[51] (5) Ananta-mukha-nirhāradhāraṇī;[52] (6) Anupūrvasamudgata-parivarta; (7) Apararājāvavādaka-sūtra;[53] (8) Avalo-

kana-sūtra;[54] (9) Avalokitcśvara-vimokṣa; (10) Ākāśagarbha-sūtra;[55] (11) Āryasatyakaparivarta; (12) Ugradatta-paripṛcchā; (13) Uttara-Jātaka; (14) Udayana-Vatsarāja-paripṛcchā;[56] (15) Upāyakauśalya-sūtra;[57] (16) Upāliparipṛcchā;[58] (17) Karmāvaraṇaviśuddhi-sūtra[59]; (18) Kāmāpavādaka-Sūtra; (19) Kṣitigarbha sūtra;[60] (20) Gaganagañja-sūtra.[61] (21) Gaṇḍavyūha sūtra[62]; (22) Gocaraparisuddhi-sūtra; (23) Caturdharmaka sūtra;[63] (24) Candrapradīpa or Samādhirāja sūtra;[64] (25) Candrotterādārikāparipṛcchā;[65] (26) Cundā-dhāraṇi; (27) Jñānāvatīparivarta; (28) Jñānavaipulyasūtra; (29) Tathāgata kośagarbhasūtra;[66] (30) Tathāgataguhya sūtra; (31) Tathāgatabimba parivarta; (32) Trisamayarāja;[67] (33) Daśadharmaka sūtra;[68] (34) Daśabhūmika sūtra;[69] (35) Divyāvadāna;[70] (36) Dharmasaṃgītisūtra;[71] (37) (37) Nārāyāṇa paripṛcchā;[72] (38) Niyatāniyatāvatāramudrā sūtra;[73] (39) Nirvāṇa-Sūtra; (40) Piṭaka (Probably Vidyā-dhara-piṭaka);[74] (41) Pitāputrasamāgama;[75] (42) Puṣpa-kūṭadhāraṇī;[76] (43) Prajñāpāramitā (also called Bhagavatī, Mahatī, Aṣṭasāhasrikā);[77] (44) Pramuditā; (45) Pravrajyan-taraya sūtra; (46) Praśānta-viniścayaprātihārya-sūtra;[78] (47) Prātimokṣa (perhaps prātimokṣa-sūtra);[79] (48) Bṛhatsāgara-nāgarājaparipṛcchā;[80] (49) Bodhisattvapiṭaka;[81] (50) Bodhi-sattvaprātimokṣa;[82] (51) Brahmaparipṛcchā;[83] (52) Bhadra-kalpika-sūtra;[84] (53) Bhadracaripraṇidhānarāja;[85] (54) Bhikṣuprakīrṇaka;[86] (55) Bhaiṣajyaguru-vaidūrya-pra-bharāja-sūtra;[87] (56) Mañjuśrī-Buddhakṣetra-guṇavyūhā'-laṅkārasūtra;[88] (57) Mañjuśrīvikrīḍita sūtra;[89] (58) Mahā-karuṇāpuṇḍarīka sūtra;[90] (59) Mahāmeghasūtra;[91] (60) Mārīci (vidyā);[92] (61) Mālā-simhanādasūtra; (62) Maitreya-vimokṣa; (63) Ratna-karaṇḍaka sūtra;[93] (64) Ratnakūṭa sūtra;[94] (65) Ratnarāśi-sūtra;[97] (68) Ratnolkā-dhāraṇī;[98] (69) Rāṣṭrapālasūtra or Raṣṭrapālaparipṛcchā;[99] (70) Laṅkā-vatārasūtra;[100] (71) Lalita-vistara;[101] (72) Lokanātha-vyākaraṇa;[102] (73) Lokottaraparivarta; (74) Vajracchedikā;[103] (75) Vajradhvaja sūtra; (76) Vinaya-Viniścaya; (77) Vimalakīrtinirdesa;[104] (78) Vīradatta-paripṛcchā;[105] (79) Sālistambasūtra;[106] (80) Śūraṅgama-sūtra;[107] (81) Śraddhā-balādhānā-'vatāramudrā-sūtra;[108] (82) Śrāvakavinaya;[109] (83) Śrīmālāsiṃhanāda-sūtra;[110] (84) Satyakaparivartaḥ; (85) Saddharmapuṇḍarīka sūtra;[111] (86) Saddharma-smṛtyu-

pasthāna sūtra;[112] (87) Saptaikamaithuna-saṃyukta-sūtra; (88) Sarvadharmavaipulya-saṃgraha-sūtra;[113] (89) Sarvadharma-pravṛtti-nirdeśasūtra;[114] (90) Sarva Vajradhara mantra; (91) Sarvāstivāda-Vinaya;[115] (92) Saṃgīti-sūtra; (93) Saṃgharakṣitāvadāna; (94) Sāgaramati-pari-pṛcchā-sūtra;[116] (95) Siṃhaparipṛcchā;[117] (96) Suvarṇa-prabhā-sottamasūtra;[118] (97) Śūkarikāvadāna; and (98) Hastikakṣyasūtra.[119]

Another important, original and celebrated work of Śāntideva is the Bodhicaryāvatāra.[120] It is in memorial Kārikās; the work consists of ten chapters. Its subject matter, like that of the Śikṣāsamuccaya, is also moral and religious or rather spiritual; its ninth and the longest chapter, entitled Prajñāpāramitā, however, is entirely metaphysical and polemical; this-chapter shows that the erudite scholar and theologian Mahāyānist author of the ŚS. was also a subtle dialectician and one of the most important Mādhyamika philosopher.[121] Apart from its unique spiritual value as a manual of moral discipline and a text book of the followers of Bodhisattva's career, the Bodhicaryāvatāra is one of the master-pieces of religious poetry in Sanskrit. This work has received great praise in modern times. Bu-ston says[122] that there were more than one hundred commentaries on the Bodhicaryāvatāra and 8 of them had already been translated into Tibetan in his time.

Prajñākaramati and his Bodhicaryāvatāra-Pañjika

The existence of a number of other Buddhist Sanskrit works, philosophical and religious, in the 7th and the 8th centuries is proved by some other works cited by Śāntideva in his Bodhicaryāvatāra and by Prajñākaramati in his Pañjikā on this work of Śāntideva. Many texts quoted in the ŚS. are also quoted in the BCAP. But the following texts quoted in the BCAP. are not known from the ŚS. The Kāśīrājapadmakāvadāna; the Gayāśīrṣa;[123] the Paramārthaśūnyatā-sūtra; the Bhārahārādi-sūtra;[124] the Bhikṣu-vinaya; the Mañjuśrī-Vimokṣa; the Maitrībala-Jātaka;[125] the Śatasāhasrikā (Prajñāpāramitā);[126] the Śrīsaṃbhava-vimokṣa; the Satya-dvayā-'vatāra sūtra; and the Sūtra-Samuccaya of Nāgārjuna.[127] Besides, Prajñākaramati in his Bodhicaryāvatāra-Pañjikā quotes the following Buddhist Sūtras and Śāstras; the Catuḥ-Stava of Nāgārjuna; Tattva-saṃgraha of Śāntirakṣita,

Dharmapada; Madhyamakāvatāra of Candrakīrti; Abhidharmakośa of Vasubandhu; Viṃśakārikā (probably Viṃśatikā of Vasubandhu); Madhyamaka-śāstra of Nāgārjuna; Bhartṛhari-śataka; Subhāṣita-saṃgraha; Madhyamakālaṅkāra Kārikā (attributed to Śāntirakṣita by Khai-ḍub).[128] The following works, viz., the Laṅkāvatārasūtra, Yuktiṣaṣṭikā of Nāgārjuna, Guṇaparyantastotra, Sugatakīrti-yaśas-tilaka, Aṅavataptahṛdāpakramaṇa, Pratītya-samutpādahṛdaya, and Prajñāpāramitā-stava,[129] quoted by Prajñā-karamati, must also have been in existence in the Buddhist Libraries of the times.

Śīlabhadra

The most outstanding Buddhist scholar at Nālandā-University in the second quarter of the seventh century A.D. was, according to Yuan Chwang, Śīlabhadra. So great was his piety and learning that the Buddhists called him 'Treasure of the Good Law' (Chinese, Ching-fa-tsong). Hwui-li records that Śīlabhadra had studied the entire collection of Buddhist books; this seems to be in eulogistic tone, and the teacher of Yuan Chwang seems to have been an expert in Vijñānavāda studies. He is said to have been a prince of the Brāhmaṇa caste of the Kingdom of Samtaṭa.[130] A work called Ārya-Buddhabhūmī-vyākhyāna, preserved in the Tibetan collection, is attributed to him.[131] From a letter of Yuan Chwang, written from China in A.D. 654 and addressed to Jñānagarbha of Nālandā, it appears that Śīlabhadra died shortly before that date.[132]

Siṃharaśmi

Siṃharaśmi is known from the biography of Yuan Chwang; he was the professor of Madhyamika philosophy at Nālandā University and was the author of two polemical treatises, viz., the Śataśāstra and the Prāṇyamūlaśāstra.[133]

Jayasena

Jayasena is mentioned by Yuan Chwang as a versatile Buddhist scholar and author of the Śāstras. Unfortunately, no śāstra of Jayasena is known to us. He is said to have been educated in the Valabhī University under Sthiramati and Bhadraruci, and in Nālandā University under Śīlabhadra. Yuan Chwang himself studied at his hermitage in Yaṣṭivana near Nālandā, for two years. The texts explained by Jayasena included the Yogaśāstra, the Hetu-

vidyā-śāstra, the Vidyāmātrasidhiśāstra, and others.[134]

Prajñāgupta

Prajñāgupta is reported by the biographer of Yuan Chwang as a great scholar and śāstra-master of the Sammitiya school. He wrote a polemical treatise in 700 ślokas against the principles of the Vijñānavāda. The Nālandā scholars, at the request of Śrī Harṣa, had to accept the challenge and Yuan Chwang is represented as critically studying the treatise of Prajñāgupta before proceeding to criticise the latter.[135]

Bhartṛhari

Little reliable is known about the life of Bhartṛhari. According to Merutuṅga, he was the brother of a king Vikramāditya of Mālavā; another legend makes him a pupil of Gorakṣanātha.[136] Tārānātha relates that 'Bhartāharī' or Bharthari (probably the same as Bhartṛhari) was a king of Mālavā whose sister was married to king Govicandra of Bengal and East India. This event is placed in about the time of the death of Dharmakīrti, the logician. Incidentally, Tārānātha also says that Bhartāharī became a pupil of Jālandharīpāda.[137] It seems that Bhartṛhari of these legends and of those Śivaite traditions that are dramatised in the Bhartṛhari-nirveda, was a different person from the philosopher, grammarian and poet of the same name.

I-tsing places Bhartṛhari's death about forty years before the time of his composition of the Record, i.e., in about 651 A.D. According to him, Bhartṛhari was an eminent philosopher and scholar, a contemporary of Dharmapāla (cir. 540-610 A.D.) and a devout Buddhist by faith.[138] Most scholars place him in the first half of the 7th century A.D. chiefly on the evidence of I-tsing. Fresh evidence however, has greatly modified the statement of I-tsing concerning the date of Bhartṛhari.

Prof. H.R. Rangaswamy Iyengar had pointed out that Bhartṛhari was a contemporary of Diṅnāga and lived in the 5th century A.D. Two kārikās quoted by Diṅnāga in his Pramāṇa Samuccaya are found in the Vākyapadīya of Bhartṛhari. Jinendra-buddhi, the author of the Viśālāmalaṭīkā (on Pramāṇa-Samuccaya) says that Diṅnāga in those kārikās is referring to the view of Bhartṛhari. Secondly, Puṇyarāja, the commentator of Bhartṛhari, as well as the Jaina writer Siṃhasūriṅgaṇī, state

that Vasurāta was the teacher of Bhartṛhari. From Paramārtha's life of Vasubandhu, we learn that a Vasurāta was one of the pupils of Vasubandhu. (See JBBRAS, Vol. 26, 1951, pp. 147-149). This revised date of Bhartṛhari should fall in the first half of the 6th century A.D. and not in 5th Century A.D. as Iyengar insists. Diṅnāga lived in 470-550 A.D. and his contemporary Bhartṛhari may have lived in about the same time. This view is accepted by Dr. Hajime Nakamura, Dr. E. Frauwallner and Dr. D.S. Ruegg. (see Indo-Iranian Journal, Vol. IV, NR. 2-3, 1960, p. 177).

His Works

According to I-tsing Bhartṛhari was a Buddhist scholar and wrote the following works :—

(i) The Bhartṛhari-śāstra, in 25000 ślokas, it was a commentary on the Cūrṇī of Patañjali on the Sūtras of Pāṇinī;

(ii) The Vākya-Discourse (Vākya-padīya)[139] in 700 ślokas, with an auto-commentary in 7000 ślokas.

(iii) The Pei-na (Veda ? Beda? perhaps Beḍā-vṛtti).[140] It contained 3000 ślokas, written by Bhartṛhari; its commentary portion was written by Dharmapāla which consisted of 14000 ślokas.

I-tsing further tells us that Bhartṛhari was a Buddhist by faith and 'Believed deeply in the three Jewels' (Tri-ratna), and 'meditated on the two fold nothingness' (i.e. Pudgalanairātmya and Dharmanairātmya); he was well-versed in the doctrine of sole knowledge (Vidyāmātra)' and 'skillfully discussed about the Hetu and Udāharaṇa'. This narrative shows that Bhartṛhari was a grammarian, a philosopher and a logician and a Buddhist by faith.[141] Perhaps this Bhartṛhari was also a great poet. But unfortunately, I-tsing does not specifically refer to Bhartṛhari's poetical works, the celebrated Nītiśataka, Śṛngāraśatakas and Vairāgyaśataka, works which are among the gems of classical Saṃskrit literature, and through which Bhartṛhari has become immortal in tradition.

There is, therefore, a great controversy with respect to the identification of Bhartṛhari the poet and author of the śatakas, with Bhartṛhari the philosopher and grammarian, the author of Vākyapadīya; that Bhartṛhari the poet was a Buddhist by faith is also not undisputed.

Dr. Macdonell suggested that Bhartṛhari was a gramma-

rian, philosopher and poet in one; 'only the literary training of India could make such a combination possible, and even there it has hardly a parallel.' He also noted that various commentators ascribe the Bhaṭṭi-kāvya to the poet and grammarian Bhartṛhari.[142]

Prof. Max Muller,[143] Dr. L.D. Barnett[144] and Pandita

Candra and Candragomin

I-tsing found in India "a great man (Mahāsattva) named Candra, (or it may be Candradāsa), being like a Bodhisattva, endowed with great talent. This man was still alive when I, I-tsing, visited that country."[152] He was, moreover, a poet as well; and I-tsing attributes to him a poetical song about prince Viśvantara,[153] hitherto known as Sudāna. The people of India recited this song in dance.[154]

It does not appear probable that this Candra, a great man and a poet, who lived in the 7th century A.D. in Eastern India, was identical with Candragomīn or Candrācārya, famous as a philosopher, grammarian and author of stotras, known from Indian and Tibetan traditions. A Candrācārya, who wrote Cāndravyākaraṇa, and censured in it the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali, is mentioned in Kashmir by Kalhaṇa.[155] A similar story is related by Sum-pā-khanpo.[156] The philosopher-grammarian Candrācārya finds mention in Bhartṛhari's Vākyapadīya also.[157] The Vākyapadiya refers to Candrācārya as one of those who contributed to the neglect of Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya. This indicates that Candragomīn, who was a Buddhist scholar, cared little for the Vedic rules. This might be the reason that his Cāndravyākaraṇa, at one time the most popular grammatical text in Kashmir, Nepal, Tibet and Ceylon, the Buddhist provinces, entirely disappeared in India.[158]

According to Tārānātha[159] and Sum-pā,[160] Candragomīn came of a Kṣatriya family of Vārendra in East India, lived for some time in Candradvīpa, encountered Candrakīrti the Mādhyamika teacher at Nālandā, and there became a pupil of Sthiramati. In the Tibetan Stan-ḥgyur,[161] Candragomīn is styled a 'Dvaipa', i.e., an island dweller.

Candragomīn can be safely placed in the 6th century A.D. According to Mr. B. Liebich,[162] Dr. Altekar[163] and others, Candragomīn belonged to the period between A.D. 465-544.

He is credited with the authorship of a Cāndravyākaraṇa with auto-commentary;[164] a drama called Lokānanda which is based on the Bodhisattva ideal;[165] a poetical and didactic work called the Śiṣyalekha-Dharma-Kāvya,[166] perhaps modelled on the lines of Nāgārjuna's Suḥṛllekha; and Āryatārā-antaravali-viddhi[167] and other Tāntrika esoteric texts and stotras in praise of Mañjuśrī and Tārā.[168] It would appear from the above dis-

cussion that Candragomīn was a versatile genius—a Buddhist controversialist, poet, devotee, grammarian, a saint and a logician; for, a logical work called Nyāyasiddhyāloka[169] is also attributed to him.

Not only Bhartṛhari, but also Candragomīn, was an extraordinary product that the unique system of Buddhist learning produced.

An example of the wit and wisdom of Candradāsa the poet, is preserved not only in I-tsing's version, but also in its original in the Subhāṣitāvalī. On being asked, 'which is the more injurious, temptation or poison ?' He at once answered: "There is indeed a great difference between the two; poison is injurious only when it is swallowed, whilst the other destroys (burns) one's intellect when only contemplated."[170]

Śāntirakṣita

One of the most important personalities in the history of Buddhism in India and Tibet and the brightest philosopher of the 8th century A.D. was Śāntirakṣita.

His Birth Place

According to Sumpā[171] Śāntirakṣita was born in a royal family of Zahor during the reign of King Gopāla (cir 750-770 A.D.) and died when King Dharmapāla (cir 770-810 A.D.)[172] was ruling. There is much difference of opinion among scholars with respect to the identity of Zahor. Some writers have identified Zahor with Sahor in Bengal and Śāntirakṣita is regarded as a Bengali scholar;[173] others suggest that Zahor or Sahor is modern Sabor in Bhāgalpur;[174] still other scholars are inclined to locate Zahor in Panjab, modern Lahore or Mandi in North Western Panjab.[175]

The legend concerning Padmasaṃbhava that he was a Prince of Uḍḍiyāna (Svat) and son of Indrabhūti, 'the great King of Uḍḍiyāna', and married Śāntirakṣita's sister, Princess Mandāravā, daughter of the King of Zahor, would indicate that the birth place of the philosopher lay probably in the Panjab, that is nearer to Svat.[176]

His Date

The only reliable source to determine the date of Śāntirakṣita is the Tibetan tradition, which, however, is liable to different interpretations. Dr. B. Bhattacharya, relying on the information given from Tibetan sources by S.C. Das,[177] placed Śāntirakṣita in

A.D. 705-762, giving him a life-span of 57 years.[178] Śāntirakṣita was invited to Tibet by its King 'Khri-Sroṅ-deu-bsan' who was born, according to S.C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa,[179] in A.D. 728 and died in A.D. 864; the monastery of bSam-yas or 'Sam-ye' was built under Śāntirakṣita's supervision in A.D. 747 or 749. This chronological arrangement, however, does not seem to be in agreement with the latest studies in the history and chronology of Tibet which have been substantiated by epigraphic records.

According to the Tibetan sources consulted by Paṇḍita Rāhula Sāṃkṛtyāyana,[180] Śāntirakṣita enjoyed a life-span of one hundred years, cir. 740-840 A.D. The Blue Annals[181] state that the great Vihāra of bSam-yas was built from "the Hare year" (787 A.D.) till the "sheep year" (791 A.D.). According to Bu-ston[182] the construction of the bSam-yas took 12 years, from "the fire-hare year" (787 A.D.) to "the earth-hare year" (799 A.D.) According to Dr. Tucci's chronology, King K'ri Sroṅ lde-btsan ruled from A.D. 742 to A.D. 792.[183] King K'ri Sroṅ lde btsan is said to have been born in A.D. 742, and the bSam-yas convent is reported to have been built by this King at the age of 22 years; Śāntirakṣita had been invited by K'ri Sroṅ lde btsan from Man-yul near Nepal; the Indian philosopher taught ten precepts to the Tibetan monarch and established the first regular monastery at bSam-yas, probably in the year A.D. 775.. Some four years later the sad-mi monks (i.e. the monks on probation) were ordained. The historic Debate[184] took place at bSam-yas between A.D. 792-794 when Kamalaśīla was present but Śāntiraksita was no more. The latter died of the kick of a horse.[185]

Thus the second half of the 8th century A.D. seems to have been the most active period of Śāntirakṣita's life. Before proceeding to Nepal and thence to Lhasa he had been the Chancellor of the Nālandā University and was the Chief exponent of Buddhist thought in India.

His Works

The greatest and the most famous work of our philosopher is the Tattva-saṃgraha, extant in Sanskrit as well as in Tibetan version. This polemical monumental work alone is sufficient to place Śāntirakṣita among the greatest thinkers of the World. Fortunately it has been published, translated and partly studied in

modern times. It is in Kārikās or memorial verses, numbering 3646. The whole work is divided into twenty-six chapters, and betrays an uncommon logical acumen, subtle grasp and a deep and vast knowledge not only of the entire Buddhist lore, but also of Vedānta, Sāṃkhya, Nyāya, Vaiśeṣika, Mimānsā, Yoga, the Grammatical School of philosophy, the Materialist thought and Jainism. It is not without justification that the Tibetans praised Śāntirakṣita as a 'Bodhisattva', 'Mahā-upādhyāya', 'Bahuśruta', 'Ācārya' and one of the four suns who lighted the Lamp of True Doctrine in the Land of Snow.

Both Khai-ḍub and Tārānātha ascribe the Madhyamakālaṁkāra-kārikās with auto-comment to Śāntirakiṣta,[187] the work is extant in Tibetan only. His other logical work is a commentary, the Vādanyāya-vṛtti-vipañcitārtha.[188] A Tibetan translation of Diṅnāga's Hetucakraḍa (ha)—marū is also attributed to Śāntirakṣita.[188a] Some Tāntrika texts extant in Tibetan,[189] and one text, entitled Tattvasiddhi,[190] extant in Sanskrit, are also attributed to one Śāntirakṣita. But whether they are from the pen of the author of the Tattvasaṃgraha, is not beyond suspicion.

Kamalaśīla

The worthy pupil and commentator of Śāntirakṣita was Kamalaśīla. Nothing of his early life is known to us. Dr. Vidyābhūṣaṇa says that he was the Professor of Tantra in the Nālandā University.[191] He was a direct pupil and junior contemporary of Śāntirakṣita. We learn from the Tibetan sources that Bodhisattva mK'an po Si-va-htso (Śāntirakṣita) the first Abbot of the bSam-yas, had recommended, in his will, on his death bed, that if need be, his pupil Kamalaśīla should be invited from India. King K'ri-sroṅ-lde-btsan of Tibet (A.D. 742-797) invited Kamalaśīla to establish the Doctrine of Nāgārjuna and the stand-point of Śāntirakṣita against the growing heresy of the followers of a Chinese Doctor of Dhyāna. School, Mahāyāna Hva-Sañ. A great council or Debate was organised at bSam-yas, probably in A.D. 792 or 794. The Indian Savant prevailed on the Chinese party; it was a clash between the Indian Buddhists who advocated 'the Gradual Path' and the Chinese Buddhists who advocated 'the Sudden Path'. But the Indian Philosopher was murdered, his kidneys were squeezed while he was lying on his bed; the murderers were, according to Bu-ston,[192] the followers

of Hva-San, but according to Old Tibetan Chronicles, they were native heretics, the Bonpos.[193]

His Works

Kamalaśīla is the author of the Tattva-saṃgrahapañjikā,[194] which is a monument of his phenomenal learning, sharp wit and uncommon power of reasoning and debating. He has rendered the terse Kārikās of the TS. intelligible and has supplied the names of the thinkers criticised by his master. Another logical work of his is the Nyāyabindu-pūrvapakṣa-saṃkṣepa, extant only in Tibetan.[195] Bu-ston attributes to Kamalaśīla a work called the Mādhyamika-Āloka and the three Bhāvanākramas.[196] The first Bhāvanākrama has been recently published in its original form in Roman letters along with a Tibetan translation.[197] The third of these, called Uttara-Bhāvanākrama, also exists in Sanskrit original[198] and in Tibetan[199] and Chinese versions.[200]

These three booklets were composed by Kamalaśīla during his stay at bSam-yas after the conclusion of the Debate. They expound the way of gradual progress through meditation on truth from the standpoint of the Yogācāra--Mādhyamika. These three works deal with the three fold method of learning (t'os), reflection (bSam), and meditation (sgom). Even the first text of the Bhāvanā-Krama discusses all these three aspects.[201] The Tibetan Tanjur ascribes the following works also to the authorship of Kamalaśīla :

1. Āryasaptaśatikā-Prajñāpāramitā-ṭīkā;
2. Āryavajracchedikā-Prajñāpāramitā-ṭīkā;
3. Prajñāpāramitā-hṛdayanāma-ṭikā;
4. Dākinīvajraguhyagītināma mahopadeśa. He is said to have translated into Tibetan a work called Mahāmudropadeśa-Vajraguhyagīti.[202]

Sarvajñamitra

The Buddhist poet and monk-scholar of Kashmir named Sarvajñamitra, is known, not only from the Tibetan sources but, also from the Rājataraṅgiṇī, and his works extant in Sanskrit. He is the author of three short hymns in praise of Tārā; these are : the Sragdharā-stotra, the Ekaviṃśati-stotra, and the Ārya-Tārā-Nāmāṣṭottara-Śataka-stotra.[203]

The Sragdharā-stotra is a beautiful poem;[204] Sragdharā is an epithet of goodess Tārā, it is also the name of the metre in which the Stotra is composed.

Tārānāth says that Bhikṣu Sarvajña-mitra was a devotee of Tārā, a son-in-law of the King of Kashmir, and having given all his riches in charity, became a mendicant.[205] The Pag-Sam Jon-Zan states that Sarvajñamitra was a Kashmirian by birth but he was educated in Nālandā University and became the master of sciences.[206] Sarvajñamitra is famed in legends as a man of unbounded charity and virtue. The following story in told of him. On his way to the Kingdom of Vajramukuṭa, Sarvajñamitra sold his person for its weight in gold, which was given to a poor Brāhmaṇa who needed it for his daughter's marriage. The buyer of the Bhikṣu was King Vajramukuṭa who wanted to kill 100 persons for a religious ritual in which he was to wash himself sitting on 100 skulls. He completed the number by purchasing Sarvajñamitra. When all the 100 persons were about to be killed, Sarvajñamitra prayed to Tārā and composed 37 stanzas in her eulogy, and all the victimswere miraculously saved and taken to their homes. The King abashed and surprised, became a disciple of Sarvajñamitra.

This story, which may not be entirely imaginary, is related not only by Tārānātha, Sumpā-khan-po, but also by the commentator Jinarakṣita, a monk of the Vikramaśīlā Mahāvihāra.[207]

With respect to the date of Sarvajñamitra we are more or less certain. The historian of Kashmir refers to this sage and compares him with Buddha (Jinopamaḥ); he lived in Kashmir in the Kayya-Vihāra,[208] built by King Kayya of Lāṭa, a subordinate vassal of King Muktāpīḍa or Lalitāditya, of Kashmir who ruled in the first half of the 8th century A.D. Sarvajñamitra is thus placeable in the middle of the 8th century A.D.

Vinītadeva

Among the noted scholars and commentators of the school of Dharmakīrti, was Vinītadeva, who probably flourished in the later half of the 8th century A.D.[209] According to Tārānātha,[210] he was a contemporary of King Lalitacandra, son of the King Gopīcandra, and lived in the Nālandā University. Vinītadeva was the pupil of Prajñakaragupta (cir. 800 A.D.), the author of the Pramāṇavārttika-Alankara.[211] Yamāri (c. 800-900 A.D.) is the author of the Pramāṇavārtikālaṅkāra-Tīkā,[212] a commentary on the Pramāṇa-vārtikalaṅkara[213] of Prajñākaragupta. This latter logician wrote an independent work also which exists in Tanjur; it is called the Sahālambanirṇaya-siddhi.[214]

According to Bu-ston, Vinītadeva wrote commentaries on the 'Seven (Nyāya) Treatises'. Following works are attributed to Vinītadeva, the Samayabhedoparacana-cakra, which deals with the history of the Eighteen Sects of Early Buddhism;[215] besides this historical work, Vinītadeva wrote the Nyāyabindu-ṭīkā,[216] Hetubindu-ṭīkā,[217] Vādanyāya-Vyākhyā,[218] Saṃbandha-parīkṣā-ṭīkā.[219] Ālambanaparikṣāṭīkā,[220] and Santānāntara-siddhi-ṭīkā.[220] His views are criticised by Dharmottara.[222]

Among the less known Buddhist masters of the period, who wrote commentaries on the logical treatises of the school of Dharmakīrti, the following may be mentioned. The dates assigned to them are only tentative.

Devendrabuddhi or Devendramati

Devandrabuddhi or Devendramati was asked by Dharmakīrti to write a commentary on the Pramāṇa-vārttika. But the great master was not satisfied with his pupil's performance.[223] His commentary on the Pramāṇa-vārttika exists in Tibetan collection.[224] His pupil was Śākyamati (cir 675 A.D.) who also wrote a commentary on this work.[225] Another scholar, who belonged to this school of commentators, was Śaṃkarānanda. According to Bu-ston,[226] he wrote commentaries on the seven treatises (i.e. seven treatises on logic by Dharmakīrti). In the Blue Annals[227] he appears under the name of Ānanda, and is the pupil of Dharmottara. He is the author of the following works: Pratibandhasiddhi,[228] Apoha-siddhi;[229] Saṃbandhaparīkṣānusāra;[230] and the Pramāṇavārt-tika-ṭīkā.[231] He also wrote a work called Prajñālaṅkāra which is quoted by the scholars of Kashmir Śaivism including Abhinava-gupta and Jayaratha (See above Chapter II).

Mention must be made of Jinendrabuddhi or Jinendra-bodhi. He wrote a "very detailed, thorough-going and clear commentary" on Diṅnāga's Pramāṇa-samuccaya.[232] He is also said to have written "the well known Nyāsa on the grammar of Pāṇinī in the 8th century A.D."[233]

Kalyāṇarakṣita

Kalyāṇarakṣita (cir 800 A.D.)[234] is known as the author of Anyāpohasiddhi;[235] Īśvarabhaṅga-Kārikās;[236] Sarvajñasiddhi-kārikās;[237] Śrutiparīkṣākārikās[238] and the Bāhyārtha-siddhi-kārikās.[239] Evidently he was a great and original scholar. Another

scholar of the 8th century was Ravigupta. He was born in Kashmir and had received education in Nālandā. According to Tārānātha and Sumpā, he was a great poet, dialectician and Tāntrika Paṇḍita, and established 12 great religious institutions in his home land and Magadha, and was a contemporary of King Bharṣa of Vārendra.[240] He is to be placed in the middle of the 8th century A.D. on the following considerations. He was the teacher of Sarvajñamitra,[241] cir. middle of the 8th cent. A.D., and he is quoted by Jyanta Bhaṭṭa[242] (cir. 900 A.D.); a Ravigupta is mentioned in the inscription of Vasantasena (Gupta Era, 435, corresponding to A.D. 754-755) as the Sarvadaṇḍanāyaka and the Mahāpratihāra.[243] Ravigupta is the author of the Pramāṇa-vārttika-vṛtti,[244] on the 3rd chapter of the great work of Dharmakīrti, and perhaps of the Ārya-kośa.[245] He wrote some Tāntrika works also.[246]/

Among the commentators of Dharmakīrti we have to mention Karṇakagomīn, who is placed in the 7th century by some,[247] and in the 10th century by others.[248] His commentary on the first chapter with autocommentary of the Pramāṇa-vārttika has been published.[249] One of the less known commentators of Dharmakīrti, whose historical existence is vouched for by the later Buddhist and Jaina logical works, is a scholar named Śāntabhadra. He probably wrote a commentary on the Nyāyabindu even before Dharmottara. He seems to have been an elder contemporary of Dharmottara and may be placed in the first quarter of the 8th century A.D. The existence of Śāntabhadra's work is attested not only by Durveka Miśra,[250] but also by the Nyāyabindu—Tīkā-Tippaṇa.[251] His views are criticised by Dharmottara,[252] and Akalaṅka is also reported to have attacked his views.[253] Moreover, Durveka Miśra[254] mentions Vinītadeva and Śāntabhadra together, a fact which would suggest that the views of these two scholars were more or less identical. There is some uncertainty with respect to the date of Dharmākaradatta or Bhaṭṭa Arcaṭa. Pt. R. Sāṃkṛtyāyana regards Arcaṭa as a different person (and places him in cir. 825 A.D.) from Dharmākaradatta (who is placed in cir. 700 A.D.)[255]. Pt. Sukhlalji Saṅghavī, however, shows that both names refer to the same person. Arcaṭa was his pre-Buddhistic name and when he became a monk, he was given the name Dharmākaradatta. His

Hetubindu-Tīkā[256] has been published in the original; this text shows that its author also wrote two more works, viz., Ksanabhaṅgasiddhi[256a] and Pramāṇadvitvasiddhi.[256b]

Dharmottara

The most famous and the ablest commentator of Dharmakīrti was Dharmottara. Bu-ston reports that according to some writers Dharmottara was the pupil of Vinītadeva, but "in the commentary it is said that that Dharmottara was the pupil of Dharmākaradatta and Kalyāṇaraksita."[256c] The Blue Annals put Dharamottara in the "Lineage of the Pramāṇavārttika" in between Jñānaśrīmitra and Śaṃkarānanda.[257] Jñānaśrīmitra is the teacher of Yamāri noted above. It is curious that Tārānātha does not give Dharmottara's biography. "Although not a direct pupil of Dharmakīrti he was the sort of pupil the great master was wanting, for he not only accompanied his comments by weighty considerations of his own, but had also independent views and successful new formulations on important topics."[258]

With respect to the time and place of the logician's activity we are indebted to Kalhaṇa. The historian says that King Jayāpīḍa, one of the grand-sons of Lalitāditya, saw in a dream that a "Sun was rising in the West" and invited Dharmottara to live and teach in his court.[259] The reign of Jayāpīḍa is placed between cir. 770 A.D. and the closing years of the century.[260] His court was graced by other literary celebrities such as Kṣīra, Bhaṭṭa Udbhaṭa, Dāmodaragupta and others.[261] Dharmottara can thus safely be placed in the latter half of the 8th century A.D. He did not write comments on the great work of Dharmakīrti, but has written two learned commentaries, they are the Nyāyabindu-ṭīkā,[262] and Pramāṇa-viniścaya-Tīkā,[263] He wrote the following original works. Pramāṇa-parīkṣā (and/or Laghu Pramāṇa Parīkṣā),[264] Apoha-Prakaraṇa,[265] Paraloka-siddhi,[266] and Kṣaṇa-bhaṅga-siddhi.[267] Except the Nyāya-bindu-Tīkā, all the other treatises of Dharmottara are probably irrecoverably lost in Sanskrit but preserved in the Tibetan versions.

Haribhadra

According to Bu-ston, he was a contemporary of King Mahīpāla.[268] King Mahīpāla I of the Pāla house is placed in the 10th century A.D. after A.D. 988.[269] This statement of Bu-ston, therefore, may not be true. Because from other sources we learn

that his pupil was Buddhajñānapāda,[270] and this Buddhajñānapāda was the second spiritual teacher of Dharmapāla, and performed the consecration ceremony of the Vikramaśilā-Vihāra founded by Dharmapāla (cir. A.D. 770-810) and became its first Abbot. From the accounts of Sumpā and Tārānātha, Haribhadra appears as the first spiritual teacher of Dharmapāla.[271]

His Works

Haribhadra was a Yogācāra teacher and seems to have specialised in the Prajñāpāramitā literature. He is also known as Simhabhadra,[272] and wrote commentaries on the Prajñāpāramitās. His Abhisamayālaṅkāra-Ālokā, is a commentary not only on the Aṣṭasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā, but also on the Abhisamayālaṅkāra-kārikās of Maitreyanātha, and reflects author's deep knowledge of the mysteries of the Prajñāpāramitās.[273] One unique feature of his commentary is that he utilised the Pañcaviṃśti Prajñāpāramitā in his explanations, and in doing so, Haribhadra virtually made a recast of the Pañca-Viṃśati.[274]

Bu-ston attributes to Haribhadra the following works: a summary of the Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā in 8 chapters, the Abhisamayālaṅkārāloka, the commentary called 'Sphuṭārthā, the commentary on 'Sañcaya', called Subodhinī, and the Prajñāpāramitā-bhāvanā, etc.[275] From the Blue Annals we learn that the Sphuṭārtha was a short comment on the Abhisamayālaṅkāra, and the Sañcaya is probably the Prajñāpāramitā-Sañcaya-gathā.[276] Haribhadra lived in the Traikuṭaka-Vihāra and died in the 22nd year of Dharmapala's reign.[277]

Section 3

EARLY TĀNTRIKA LITERATURE

A detailed discussion of some semi-Tāntrika and early Tāntrika texts, together with the date and contents of the Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa, the Guhyasamāja, the Hevajratantra, the Jñānasiddhi, and the Prajñopāya-viniścaya-siddhi, has been attempted below in the context of the development of the esoteric Buddhism.[278] The same need not be repeated here. A large number of Tāntrika Buddhist texts, Sādhanas and mystic songs, are extant in hybrid-Sanskrit, Apabhraṃśa and the Tibetan lang-

uages; their authors are mostly the Siddhas, the Tāntrika Adepts and the Sahajiā mystics.[279] The Chronological succession of the eighty-four Siddhas is a matter of great confusion and controversy.[280] It is extremely difficult, at the present state of our knowledge, to say precisely how many of these Tāntrika authors belonged to the eighth century A.D., and, as such, it is equally difficult to decide the date of those works that are attributed to the so-called early Siddhas. Some Siddhas, however, seem to have flourished in the eighth century A.D. Thus Sarahapāda, Kaṃbalapāda, Indrabhūti, Nāgārjuna and Anangavajra are placeable in the eighth and early ninth century. But there were more than one Saraha, as pointed out by Cordier;[281] likewise Tārānātha points to the existence of two or three Indrabhūtis.[282] Similarly there was an alchemist Nāgārjuna, probably different from the Siddha namesake.[283] To Sarahapāda are attributed as many as seven Tāntrika texts and sixteen collections of Dohās or mystic songs.[284] Some of the works attributed to Saraha, the Ādi-Siddha, are : Buddhakapāla-tantrapañjikā, Buddha-Kapālasādhana, Buddhakapālamaṇḍala-Vidhi, Trailokya-vaśaṃkarālokeśvara-sādhana, Dohākośagīti, Dohākośa-nāma-caryāgīti, Dohākośopadeśagīti, Kāya-kośāmṛta-Vajragīti, Vākyakośa-rucirasvara-vajra-gīti, Cittakosajavajragīti, Kāyavākcittamanasikāra, Dohākośamahāmudropadeśa, Dvādaśopadeśa-gāthā, Svādhiṣṭhāna-Krama, Tattvopadeśa-śikhara dohāgītikā, Mahāmudropadeśa-Vajraguhyagīti etc. Siddha Nāgārjuna is the author of two Sādhanas, viz., Vajratārā-Sādhana and Ekajaṭā-Sādhana, extant in Sanskrit, and Collected in the Sādhanamālā.[285] To Nāgārjuna are attributed a large number of Tāntrika works, all extant in Tibetan. But many of them seem to be the works of the great Mādhyamika Nāgārjuna; for instance, the Bodhicitta-vivaraṇa,[286] the Lokātīta, Paramārtha, Acintya and Nirūpama Stavas. The Catuḥ-stava[287] is usually ascribed to Nāgārjuna the Mādhyamika philosopher. The Siddha Nāgārjuna is the author of the five sections of the Pañca-krama,[288] its third section is attributed to Śākyamitra, said to be a contemporary of Devapāla of Bengal (cir. 850 A.D.).[289] Among the works of Siddha Nāgārjuna, preserved in the Stan-ḥgyur, mention may be made of the following : Mantrālaṅkāra-Sādhana, Kakṣapuṭapiṇḍīkṛtasādhana, Śrī Guhyasamājamaṇḍalavidhi,

Sekacaturaprakaraṇa, Svabhāvasiddhyupadesa, Vajrayānasthūlapatti, Prajñāpāramitāḥṛdayasādhana, Lokeśvara Sādhana, Nīlāṃbaropasiddhi, Vajrapāṇimaṇḍalaviddhi, Hayagrīvasādhana, Dharmadhātu-stotra, Kālatraya-trayaStotra, Sattvārādhana-stava, Prajñāpāramitā-stotra, Narakoddhāra-Samādhibhāṣāṭīkā etc. King Indrabhūti of Uḍḍiyāna (Svat) who is one of the 84 Siddhas, is the author of a number of Vajrayāna works listed in the Tanjur.[290] Some of these are Śrī Cakrasaṃvaratantrarājasaṃvara-samuccayanāma-vṛtti, Śri Cakrasaṃvara-stotra, Siddha-vajrayoginī-Sādhana, Vajragoginī-mantratattva-Svādhiṣṭhāna-nirdeśa, Ānandapuṣpamālā, Tattvāmṛtopadeśa, Mahāmāyā-Sādhana, Śrī-Sarvabuddha-samaya-yoga-nāma-Tantra-Pañjikā, Vajrasattvopāyika, Sahajasiddhi, Manjuśrīnāma-saṃgiti-vṛtti. etc. Two of his works, the Jñānasiddhi[291] and the Kurukullā Sādhana,[292] are available in Sanskrit also. To Buddhajñānapāda, a disciple of Haribhadra and first Abbot of the Vikramaśilā-Monastery founded by Dharmapāla (cir 770-810 A.D.) are attributed as many as fourteen works by Bu-ston.[293] Some of the works on the scripture of the Guhyasamāja by Buddhajñānapāda are the Mukhyāgama, Samantabhadrasādhana, Ātmasādhanāvatāra, Viśva-cakra, Ratnajvālā, Mahāmūlajñāna, Gāthākośa, Mukti-tilaka-caturthāvatāra, Maṅgala-Vyākhyā, and works on magic.

In the Blue Annals (I, p. 367) Buddhajñānapāda is described as 'a paṇḍita learned in all the branches of knowledge'. Nothing certain can be said about the date of the composition of the Caṇḍa-Mahāroṣaṇa-Tantra,[294] the Śrī Cakrasaṃbhāra-Tantra,[295] and the Tārā-Tantra.[296] A large number of Stotras and dhāraṇis seems to have been composed during this period. Emperor Harṣa composed a morning prayer in praise of Buddha, called Suprabhāta-stotra.[297] The poet Vajradatta, a contemporary of King Devapāla, in early 9th century, composed the Lokeśvara-śataka, in praise of Avalokiteśvara,[298] Dr. Vidyābhūṣaṇa enumerates as many as ninty-six works on Tārā, extant in Tibetan collection, many of them may have been produced during our period.[299] The Ekādaśamukhaṃ, a Dhāraṇī of Avalokita, is a work of 6th century A.D. and was rendered into Chinese by Yuan Chwang in A.D. 656.[300] To the same period may be assigned the Hayagrīvavidyā.[301] The Sarva-

tathāgatādhiṣṭhāna-sattvāvalokana-Buddhakṣetra- Saṁdarśana-Vyūha, translated into Chinese by I-tsing (in A.D. 701) is also a work of the 6th century A.D.[302] A large number of Buddhist texts were translated into Tibetan and Chinese during the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. Mention has already been made of some translators and their works. Yuan Chwang who died in 664 A.D. is reported to have translated into Chinese 74 works from among the Sanskrit books brought by him from India.[303] I-tsing, who died in 713 A.D., translated 56 works, of which as many as 19 works are concerned with the Vinaya of the Sarvāstivāda.[304] In A.D. 654, Yuan Chwang wrote to his Indian friend Jñānaprabha, the following words. "Among the Sūtras and Śāstras that I, Hiuan-tsang, had brought with me, I have already translated the Yogācāra-bhūmī-śāstra and other works in all 30 volumes. The Kośa and the Nyāyānusāra-śāstra are not yet fully translated. They will certainly be completed this year."[305] Among the Indian scholars who went to China and translated Buddhist scriptures into Chinese, we must mention Bodhiruci also called Dharmaruci (cir. 600-650 A.D.). During his stay for 20 years in China where he died, Bodhiruci translated 55 texts, including the Ratnakūṭa class of sūtras.[306] An important Tāntrika text, namely the Mahāvairocana-Abhisaṃbodhi, was brought to China by a Central Asian Buddhist monk, Subhākarasiṃha by name, who died in 735 A.D.[307]

The most famous apostles of Tāntrika Buddhism in China were Amoghavajra and Vajrabodhi.[308] Vajrabodhi was a graduate of Nālandā University and perhaps also of the Valabhī University and was a Tripiṭakācārya and a master of Tāntrika Buddhism. He travelled to Ceylon and went to China where he died in A.D. 732, having translated into Chinese 11 Tāntrika texts.[309]

His pupil Amoghavajra was a Brāhmaṇa of Northern India. He began his journey in A.D. 741 and went to Ceylon via Java, from Canton in China, where he had proceeded along with his teacher Vajrabodhi. In Ceylon he was honoured by King Śilāmegha in 742 A.D., and was taught by Ācārya Samantabhadra of Ceylon. It seems that Tāntrika Buddhism had established itself in Siṃhala before the 8th century A.D. For Samantabhadra is said to have performed the ceremony of

Vajradhātu and Garbhadhātu Maṇḍalas and to have taught the secrets of the Five Abhiṣekas. Amoghavajra collected more than 500 Tāntrika texts, Sūtras, Śāstras and other accessory literature. He also visited India and returned to China in A.D. 746.[310] According to one of Amoghavajra's letters, he had translated 77 works between 746 and 771 A.D. He died in the year 774 and the total number of works rendered into Chinese by Amoghavajra is said to be 108.[311]

The works of Thonmi Sambhoṭa, Śāntirakṣita, Kamalasīla and his party of Indian Paṇḍitas, have been alluded to in the preceding pages. According to Prof. Shyuki Yoshimurā,[312] the catalogue of Den dKar, which is the oldest Tibetan catalogue, had been compiled in A.D. 824. In this catalogue 736 books are listed; 8 books were translated from the Chinese but the rest of them from Sanskrit. The catalogue includes, among other books, the three Bhāvanākramas of Kamalasīla, Prof. Tucci, however, doubts the antiquity of this catalogue.[313]

Notes and References

1. cf. E. Conze, Buddhist Thought, 1962, p. 265, who seems to lament this development in Buddhism. See Chap. VIII.

2. See Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, BST-6, pp. 21 f.

3. cf. Prasannapadā, BB, pp. 55-56.

3a. Such Scholars, of course, learnt these languages in Tibet and China.

4. See Life, p. 113, where political unrest in Ceylon is alluded to; see G. C. Mendis, The Early History of Ceylon, 1954 (reprint), p. 50.

5. On this subject see Edgerton, Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit, 2 vols. OUP, 1953.

6. See Chap. X; the word 'Chomā' seems to be a pre-Vedic word.

7. P.C. Bagchi, 'Foreign Elements in the Tantra', IHQ,Vol. VII, 1931.

8. cf. Winternitz, HIL, II, pp. 392 f.; P. L. Vaidya (Ed.) MSS., Vol. I, p. XV.

10. Wrongly pronounced as 'Sandhyābhāṣā' and translated as 'twilight language'. The correct form is 'Saṁdhābhāṣā', see Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra, Chap. II et. seq. ; modern discussions by V. Bhattacharya, IHQ, Vol. IV, pp. 287 ff.; P.C. Bagchi, IHQ. Vol. VI, pp. 389ff.; F. Edgerton, JAOS, 1937, pp. 135 ff.

11. See R. Sāṁkṛtyāyana, Purātattva Nibandhāvali, chapter X, pp. 131f.

12. R. Sāṃkrityāyana, Bauddha Sanskriti, Calcutta, 1952, pp. 302f.; 401f.; P.K. Mukherjee, Indian Literature in China and the Far East, Calcutta, 1931; P.C. Bagchi, India and China, Bombay; B. Nanjio, Catalogue; Yoshimura, The Denkar ma catalogue; P.N. Bose, op. cit., S.C. Das, op. cit.; G. Tucci, in MBT, II, Introduction.

12a. Yuan Chwang, II, pp. 215, 227; I-tsing, pp. 179-181; H. Ui, Vaiśeṣika Philosophy, p. 2; HCIP, III, p. 286; Takakusu, Essentials of Buddhist Philosophy, p. 85; Story of Buddhism, p. 29.

13. Yuan Chwang, II, p. 155.

14. See chapter VIII.

15. On the life and works of Candrakīrti, see Bu-ston, II, pp. 134ff; Tārānātha (Schiefner) p. 147ff.; Blue Annals, I, pp. 298, 335; II, pp.

882, 909. Three of his works have been published, the Prasannapadā or Mādhyamikavṛtti, BB, St. Petersburg; (a fresh edition in BST No. 10), Madhyamakavatāra, Tibetan text ed. in BB IX, 1922; partly translated into French by Poussin in Le Museon, 1907-1911; chapter VI, of it, restored into Sanskrit by N.A. Śāstrī in JOR, (Madras), 1929-1931; the Catuḥśatak-Vṛtti, Chapters VIII-XVI, (large extracts only) published by V. Bhattacharya along with the Catuḥśataka, Visvabharati, 1931.

16. See Appendix 3.

17. All these works of Dharmakirti are extent in Tibetan. The following have appeared in print—Nyāyabindu, ed. in BB, 1889, also in Kāśī Skt. Series, 1954; Eng. Transl. by Stcherbatsky in B.L. Vol. II, 1932 (reprinted in Indo-Iranian Journal, 1958); Santānāntarasiddhi, Tibetan text ed. by Stcherbatsky in BB, and a Russian translation by the same savant, St. Petersburg, 1922; an English translation from this Russian was published in the Journal of the Greater India Society, Calcutta; Vādanyāya with Śāntirakṣita's Tīkā ed. by R. Sāṃkṛtyāyana, Sarnath, 1936; Pramāṇavārttika-Bhāṣyaṃ ed. by R. Sāṃkṛtyāyana, Patna, 1953; Pramāṇavārttikam (I chapter) with Svavṛtti and Super-commentaries ed. by the same scholar, Allahabad, 1943; a critical edition of the First Chapter with Auto-commentary of this text has been ed. by R. Gnoli in SOR, Vol. XXIII, Rome, 1960. On the life and works of Dharmakīrti see Bu-ston, II, pp. 152-155; Tārānātha (Schiefner), pp. 175-185; Pag Sam Joh Zang p. 106; S.C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa, HIL, pp. 303-306; Stcherbatsky, B.L., I, pp. 34-39; R. Gnoli, in SOR, XXIII, Introduction; R. Sāṃkṛtyāyana, Bauddha Darśana, (1962 reprint, Allahabad), pp. 130-133;

18. Tārānātha (Schiefner), pp. 176-177; Vidyābhūṣaṇa, HIL, pp. 305-306, R.C. Majumdar, Hist. Bengal, I, p. 186.

19. I-tsing, pp. 181-182.

20. Bu-ston, II, p. 152; Blue Annals, I, p. 346.

21. A detailed discussion of the date of Dharmakīrti is attempted in Appendix 3.

22. Stcherbatsky, B.L., p. 37; R. Sāṃkṛtyāyana, Bauddha Darśana, pp. 132 f, see Appendix 3.

23. B.L., I, p. 38.

24. R. Sāṃkṛtyāyana (Ed.) Pramāṇavārttika, Introduction, p. 11.

25. Bu-ston, II, p. 154.

26. Pag Sam Jon Zang, p. 106.

27. Vidyābhūṣaṇa, op. cit. p. 307.

28. See Bu-ston, II, pp. 161-166; Tārānātha (Schiefner), pp. 162-167; Pag Sam Jon Zang, pp. CXLVII, 120; for a fragmentary Sanskrit biography, See H.P. Śāstri, 'Śāntideva', Indian Antiquary, Vol. XLII, 1913, pp. 50-51.

29. See R. Sāṃkrityāyana, Purātattvanibandhāvalī, Chap. on '84 Siddhas', Siddha No. 41.

30. See Cordier, Catalogue, II, p. 140, 230, 241; cf. Hist. Bengal, I, p. 331-31. Ind. Ant., 1913, p. 51; B. Bhattacharaya in JBORS, 1928,

31. Ind. Ant., 1913, p. 51; B. Bhattacharya in JBORS, 1928, p. 355.

32. R. Sāṃkṛtyāyana, Purātattvanibandhāvali, p. 146.

33. Ibid., p. 123; Tārānātha (Schiefner), p. 249.

34. Bu-ston, II, p. 163; Ind. Ant. 1913; p. 50.

35. Does this refer to Śīlāditya, son-in-law of Harṣa? History knows no son of Harṣa. On Śīlāditya see above chapter II.

36. Cecil Bendall's ed. of ŚS. BB-I, pp. V, VI; Winternitz, HIL, II, p. 366; P.L. Vaidya's ed. of ŚS in BST-XI, p. VIII.

37. TS, Foreword, p. XXIII.

38. Bu-ston, II, p. 163; Tārānātha (Schiefner), p. 166.

39. Studies in Āryadeva and his Catuḥ-Śataka, p. 54.

40. See Winternitz, HIL, II, p. 366. note 1; Bendall's ed. p. IV; Vaidya's ed., p. VII.

41. Tanjur, in mDO, XXXI.

42. Nanjio-Cata., No. 1298, called 'Mahāyāna-Saṃgīti—Bodhisattva-vidyāśāstra'.

43. One by C. Bendall, in BB. I, reprinted in Indo-Iranian Journal, Vol. I, The Hague, 1957, another by P.L. Vaidya, in BST No. 11, Darbhanga, 1961; the 27 Kārikās have been separately edited with an Eng. Transl. and explanatory Notes by L.M. Joshi, Sarnath, 1965.

44. By C. Bendall and W.H.D. Rouse, in Indian Texts series, London, 1922.

45. See Chap. V.

46. Winternitz, II, p. 370.

47. ŚS, p. 1; BCA, I.2; cp. Tulasīdāsa, Rāmacaritamānasa Book I, śloka 2.

48. See Vaidya's Ed. of ŚS, Appendix, pp. 197-206.

49. Nanjio-Cata., No. 74; A complete catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons, published by Tohoku Imperial University Sendai (Japan), 1934, hence on abbreviated as Tohoku-Cata., Nos. 89, 175.

50. Nanjio-Cata., No. 434; Tohoku-Cata., No. 213.

51. Nanjio-Cata., No. 37; Tohoku-Cata., No. 69.

52. Nanjio-Cata., No. 956; Tohoku-Cata., No. 525.

53. Nanjio-Cata., No. 998; Tohoku-Cata., No. 221.

54. Tohoku-Cata., No. 195.

55. Ibid., No. 260; Nanjio-Cata., Nos. 67-69.

56. Ibid., No. 13; Tohoku-Cata., No. 73.

57. Ibid., No. 261; Nanjio-Cata., Nos. 23, 52, 926.

58. Ibid., Nos. 23(24), 36, 979; Tohoku-Cata., No. 68; fragments of Sanskrit version have been published in A.F.R. Hoernle MS. Remains, Vol. I, Oxford, 1916.

59. Nanjio-Cata., No. 1094; Tohoku-Cata., No. 218.

60. Tohoku-Cata., No. 64.

61. Ibid., No. 148; Nanjio-Cata., No. 61.

62. Ed. By D.T. Suzuki, H. Idzumi Kyoto, 1949; ed. by P.L. Vaidya, BST—5, Darbhanga, 1960; Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra is quoted also in Bhāvanākrama of Kamalaśila, BCAP of Prajñākaramati and Ālokā of Haribhadra.

63. Nanjio-Cata., Nos. 266-267; Tohoku-Cata., No. 250-64. Ed. In Gilgit Manuscripts, Vol. II-III by N. Dutt; Ed. in BST-2, 1961 by P.L. Vaidya.

65. Nanjio-Cata., No. 441; Tohoku-Cata., No. 191.

66. Ibid., No. 258; Nanjio-Cata., No. 384.

67. Tohoku-Cata., No. 3401.

68. Ibid., No. 53 Nanjio-Cata., Nos. 23 (9), 29.

69. Ed. by J. Rahder, Paris; ed. by P.L. Vaidya, BST, No. 7, 1962.

70. Ed. and transl. into English by Cowell and Neil, Oxford; ed. by P.L. Vaidya in BST No. 20.

71. Nanjio-Cata., No. 426; Tohoku-Cata., No. 238.

72. Ibid., No. 684; ed. by A. C. Banerjee, Calcutta.

73. Nonjio-Cata., Nos. 131-132; Tohoku-Cata., No. 202.

74. Tohoku-Cata., No. 3317; Yuan Chwang has mentioned a Dhāraṇī-piṭaka or Vidyādhara-Piṭaka, Si-Yu-ki. p. 381.

75. Nanjio-Cata., No. 23 (16); Tohoku-Cata., No. 60.

76. Ibid., Nos. 516, 886; Nanjio-Cata., Nos. 337-339, 857.

77. Ed. by R.L. Mitra, BI, Calcutta, 1888, ed. by U. Wogihara with the Ālokā of Haribhadra, 1932-1935; ed. by P.L. Vaidya in BST-No. 4, along with Maitreyanātha's Abhisamyālaṅkārakārikās, Diṅnāga's Prajñāpāramitā-Piṇḍārtha and Haribhadra's Abhisamayālaṅkārālokāvyākhyā, Darbhanga, 1961 (actually made out in 1965); English transl. of Aṣṭa. by E. Conze, BI, 1958.

78. Nanjio-Cata., No. 522; Tohoku-Cata., No. 129.

79. A 'Mahāsāṃghika Prātimokṣasūtra' has been ed. by R. Misra and W. Pachow, Allahabad, 1958.

80. Nanjio-Cata., No. 840; Tohoku-Cata., No. 154.
81. Ibid., No. 56; Nanjio-Cata., Nos. 23(12), 1005;
82. Tohoku-Cata., No. 248.
83. Ibid., No. 158.
84. Ibid., No. 94: Nanjio-Cata., No. 403; Quoted also by Bu-ston, II, p. 102.
85. Tohoku-Cata., No. 4359, it is the 56th Chapter of the Gaṇḍa-vyūhasūtra, ed. by H. Idzumi in Eastern Buddhist, Vol. V.
86. This text is in the course of publication from the K.P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna.
87. Ed. by N. Dutt in Gilgit MS. Vol. I, 1939; also ed. in MSS. Vol. I, BST-17 by P.L. Vaidya.
88. Nanjio-Cata., No. 23 (15); Tohoku-Cata., No. 59.
89. Ibid., No. 96; Nanjio-Cata., Nos. 184-185.
90. Ibid., No. 117; Tohoku-Cata., No. 111.
91. Ibid., Nos. 232, 235, 657, 1063; Nanjio-Cata., No. 244. A Baroda MS bears this name which is said to be a Dhāraṇī.
92. Nanjio-Cata., Nos. 844-847; Tohoku-Cata., Nos. 554, 988.
93. Ibid., No. 117; Nanjio-Cata., Nos. 168-168.
94. Ibid., No. 51, 251; I-tsing, p. 64, says that Rāhulamitra used to recite this sūtra daily and it contained 700 verses.
95. Nanjio-Cata., No. 23(47); Tohoku-Cata., No. 91. It is quoted by Candrakīrti also in Prasannapadā, BB, pp. 68-69.
96. Nanjio-Cata., Nos. 152, 864; Tohoku-Cata., 231.
97. Ibid., No. 88; Nanjio-Cata., No. 23 (44); published in Hoernle MS. Remains, Oxford, 1916.
98. Nanjio-Cata., No. 745; Tohoku-Cata., Nos. 145, 847.
99. Ed. by L. Finot in BB; also ed. by P.L. Vaidya in BST No. 17. 1960.
100. Ed. by B. Nanjio, also ed. by P.L. Vaidya in BST No. 3, 1963; translated into English by D.T. Suzuki; a critical and detailed study of the Sūtra by D.T. Suzuki, Studies in the Laṅkāvatāra, London, 1956 (reprint).
101. Ed. by R.L. Mitra, BI, 1877; ed. by S. Lefmann, Halle, 1902; latest ed. by P.L. Vaidya in BST, No. 1, 1958.
102. Tohoku-Cata., No. 174; Nanjio-Cata., Nos. 165-166.
103. Ed. by F. Maxmuller, Oxford, 1881; Ed. in Roman letters by E. Conze with an Introduction and Translated into English with Glossary, SOR, XIII, 1957; ed. also by N.P. Chakravarti in MBT, Pt. I, SOR IX, 1956; and by P.L. Vaidya in BST, No. 17, 1961; Vajracchedikā Prajñā-ramitā with the comy. of Asaṅga called Triśatikā-Kārikāsaptati, critically edited in Nāgarī letters and Translated into Hindi with Introduction, Notes, and Glossary by L.M. Joshi, 1966.
104. Tohoku-Cata., No. 176; Nanjio-Cata., Nos. 146, 147, 149; quoted in Kamalaśīla, Bhāvanākrama, MBT, II, p. 194; Fragments of Sanskrit text discovered by Pellio from Central Asia.,
105. Tohoku-Cata., No. 72; Manjio-Cata., No. 23(28), 389, 947.
106. Ed. by P.L. Vaidya in BST No. 17, Darbhanga, 1961; earlier edns. by Poussin and by N.A. Śāstri.
107. Translated into English by S. Beal in his Catena.
108. Tohoku-Cata., No. 201; Nanjio-Cata., No. 90.
109. Does it refer to the Sarvāstivāda Vinaya or to the Pāli Vinaya ?
110. Tohoku-Cata., No. 92; Nanjio-Cata., Nos. 23(48), 59.
111. Editions 1) by H. Kern and B. Nanjio; 2) by U. Wogihara; 3) by N. Dutt, and 4) by P.L. Vaidya in BST., No. 6; English translation by H. Kern, SBE, XXI.
112. Tohoku-Cata., No. 227; Nanjio-Cata., No- 679. Does it refer to some Sanskrit version of the Satipaṭṭhāna sutta ?
113. Tohoku-Cata., Nos. 114, 527; Nanjio-Cata., No. 498.
114. Tohoku-Cata., No. 180; Nanjio-Cata;, Nos. 163, 164, 1012.
115. Mentioned by Yuan Chwang and I-tsing, partly edited by N. Dutt in Gilgit MS., Vols. 2, 3 and 4.

116. Tohoku-Cata., No. 152; Nanjio-Cata., Nos. 61, 976.
117. Tohoku-Cata., No. 81.
118. Printed edns. by S.C. Das (Chap. I-XV); by B. Nanjio and H. Idzumi; by J. Nobel (Chinese text); a Sanskrit edition in Nāgarī script is in the course of preparation in BST, No. 8.
119. Nanjio-Cata., No. 193-194., Tohoku-Cata., No. 207.
120. Printed edns., by I. P. Minayeff in Zapiski, IV, 1889; by Poussin, chapter IX, with comy., London, 1898, by the same scholar chapter I-IX with Pañjikā, BI, Calcutta, 1902-1914; full text with Prajñākara's Pañjikā ed. by P.L. Vaidya in BST, No. 12, Darbhanga, 1960; BCA of Śāntideva has been translated into French by Poussin, into Italian by Tucci, into German by R. Schmidt, into English (Summary only) by L.D. Barnett, and into Hindi by Śāntibhikṣu Śāstrī.
121. see Chapter VIII.
122. Bu-ston, II, p. 166.
123. Tohoku-Cata., No. 109; quoted also in the Bhāvanākrama, p.194.
124. cp. Bhārasutta, SN, I, pp. 261-262.
125. cp. Jātakmālā in BST, No. 21, Jātaka 8.
126. Ed. by P.C. Ghosh in BI, Calcutta (only first 14 chapters).
127. Tohoku-Cata., No. 3934; it contains Quotations from 60 Sūtras.
128. Bu-ston, II, p. 136 note.; Prajñakaramati, who quotes Śāntiraksita's TS, may be placed in cir. 780-840 A.D.
129. see BCAP., BST. No. 12, pp. 301-309; the Prajñāpāramitāstava is attributed to Nāgārjuna also called Rāhulamitra, it is published in BST, No. 4, pp. 1-2 foot-note, and translated by E. Conze in Buddhist Scriptures, Ed. and translated into Hindi by me Dharmaduta, 1966.
130. Life, pp. 106-109; 157-160; Yuan Chwang, II, pp. 109, 165; I-tsing, p. 181.
131. Cordier-Cata., Pt. III, p. 365; Hist. Bengal, I, p. 331.
132. The letters of Yuan Chwang and his Indian friends are translated by P. C. Bagchi and published in JUPHS, XVIII, 1945, pp. 74ff., also in India and China, 2nd ed., pp. 82ff.
133. Life, pp. 157-158.
134. Ibid., pp. 153-154; Si-yu-ki, pp. 367-368.
135. Life, pp. 159ff.
136. See Prabandhacintāmaṇī, translation by C. H. Tawney, p. 198; the Bhartṛharinirveda in JAOS, XXV, 1904, pp. 197ff., Winternitz, HIL, Vol. III, Pt. I, Calcutta, 1959, p. 150; A.B. Keith, Hist. Skt. Lit., p. 178 do not attach any historical value to these legends.
137. Tārānātha (Schiefner), p. 197; Mystic Tales, pp. 25-26.
138. I-tsing, pp. 178-180.
139. Ed. by Pandit Manavalli, Benares, 1884-1887.
140. see S.K. Bhandarkar's Catalogue of MS. in Deccan College, Bombay, 1888, p. 146; Takakusu's 'Additional Notes' in I-tsing.
141. I-tsing, pp. 178-180.
142. Hist. Skt. Lit., pp. 277, 286.
143. India what can It Teach us ?, London, 1883, p. 349.This view is endorsed by S. Radhakrishnan, IP, II, p. 465, and S.K. De, Hist. Skt. Lit., Vol. I, p. 161.
144. JRAS, 1923, p. 422, note 1.
145. JBRAS, XVIII, pp. 341 ff.
146. Nītiśataka, Ed. Bombay, 1874, Introduction, p. IX.
147. Hist. Skt. Lit., I, p. 671.
148. HIL, III, English Transl., Calcutta, 1959, pp. 149f.
149. Hist. Skt. Lit., 2nd ed. pp. 176-177.
150. Subhāṣita Triśatī or Śrī Bhartṛharikṛta Śatakatrayaṃ, ed. by D.D. Kosambi and N. R. Acharya, N. S. Press, 1957, pp. 143-144; Vairāgyaśataka, verses 49-50.
151. Ibid., verse 32; cf. I-tsing, p. 180 where Bhartṛihari is seen admitting his lack of continence.

152. Ibid., p. 183.
153. see Jātakamālā, BST. No. 21, Jātaka No. 9.
154. I-tsing, p. 164.
155. Rājataraṅgiṇī, I, 176.
156. Pag Sam Jon Zang, Pt. I, pp. 95-96, reproduced in S.C. Vidyā-bhūṣaṇa, Hist. Ind. Logic. pp. 334-335.
157. Ed. Manavalli, Benares (1884-1887), II, pp. 489-490.
158. Hist. Bengal, I, p. 299.
159. Tārānātha (Schiefner), p. 148ff.
160. Pag Sam Jon Zang, pp. XI, 95ff.
161. Cordier-Cata., Pt. II, p. 302; cf. the instance of Ṛṣi Vyāsa who was called Dvaipāyana owing to his birth in an island.
162. B. Liebich in W.Z.K.M., Vol. XIII, Vienna, 1899, pp. 308-315, and Das Datum Candragomins and Kālidāsas, Breslau, 1903, both works as cited in Hist. Beng., I, p. 297, not 6.
163. Majumdar and Altekar, (Ed.) The Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age, 1954, p. 377.
164. Ed. by B. Liebich; the same scholar has summarised the bibliography of Cāndrayākaraṇa and its accessory literature. Ind. Ant., 1896, pp. 103-105.
165. Winternitz, HIL, III, p. 183; Keith, Sanskrit Drama, p. 168.
166. Ed. by I.P. Minayeff, Zapiski, Vol. IV, pp. 29ff., cf. Keith, Hist. Skt. Lit., p. 72.
167. S.C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa (Ed.) Sragdharā-Stotra, BI, Calcutta, 1908, Introduction, pp. XX f.
168. See Hist. Beng., I, pp. 297-300, 681.
169. S.C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa, HIL, p. 336.
170. I-tsing, p. 183; the verse belongs to Śiṣyalekha-Dharma-kāvya of Candra and is quoted by Vallabhadeva in Subhāṣitāvalī (P. Peterson's Ed.,) verse No. 3368 cf. H. Wenzel in JRAS, 1889, pp. 1133f.; G.K. Nariman, Literary History of Sanskrit Buddhism, p. 290.
171. Pag Sam Jon Zang, Pt. I, pp. XCIX, 49; Pt. II, p. 112.
172. R. C. Majumdar's chronology, Hist. Beng. I, p. 176, See HCIP, IV, p. 45. The Pāla chronology is still unsettled.
173. So S.C. Das in JBTS, Vol. I, 1893, pp. 1ff; B. Bhattacharya, TS, Foreword, pp. XIII ff.
174. R. Sāṃkṛtyāyana, Purātattvanibandhāvalī, pp. 221ff.
175. P.C. Bagachi in IHQ, Vol. VI, 1930, p. 582; A.H. Franke, Antiquities of Indian Tibet, Pt. II, pp. 87-88, D.L. Snellgrove, Buddhist Himalaya, p. 173.
176. See Waddell, Lamaism, pp. 20, 24, 25, 279 ff.
177. JBTS, I, Pt. I, 1893, pp. 1-31.
178. TS, Foreword, pp. XIV-XVI.
179. HIL, pp. 323-324.
180. Bauddha Sanskriti, pp. 404-405; Purātattvanibandhāvalī, p. 181,
181. Blue Annals, I, p. 44.
182. Bu-ston, II, p. 189.
183. Tombs of the Tibetan Kings, SOR, I, 1950, pp. 44, 81, 95.
184. See above Chapter V; L.M. Joshi, 'bSam Yas-kī Bahasa' in Dharmadūta Vol. 29, Sarnath, 1965.
185. G. Tucci, MBT, II, Introduction, pp. 5 ff.; D. L. Snellgrove, Buddhist Himalaya, Oxford, 1957, pp. 154-155.
186. Tattva-Saṃgraha (TS) ed. by Krishnamacharya, GOS, XXX-XXXI, Baroda, 1926, with a long Foreword by B. Bhattacharya; English Translation of the whole text by Gangānātha Jha, GOS, LXXX, LXXXIII, Baroda, 1937, 1939, The original Sanskrit MS. of the TS was discovered by G. Bühler in 1873 in a 'Bhāṇḍār' in Jaisalmer. The Tibetan translation by a Kashmiri scholar Guṇākara Śrī Bhadra exists in STan-hgyur, mDO, CXIII.1. I came across a photostat copy of one more ms. cf TS. in the Library of Nava Nalanda Mahavihara Nalanda in February 1967. It is said to be a more complete ms. and is being edited.
187. Bu-ston, II, p. 136; Tārānātha (Schiefner), pp. 204-205.

188. Ed. by R. Sāṃkṛtyāyana along with the Mūla of Dharmakīrti, Sarnath, 1936.

188a. Stan-hgyur, mDO, XCV, 9.

189. They are, Cordier-Cata., pp. 11-12, 93,—Aṣṭatathāgata-Stotra; Vajradhara-Saṃgīti-Bhagavat-Stotra-ṭīkā; and Hevajrodbhava-kurukullyā-yāha-Pañcamahpoadeśa; see also Ibid., pp. 298, 368, 369.

190. Central Library, Baroda, MS. No. 13124; cf. B. Bhattacharya, Foreword to TS, pp. XX-XXII, who regards this and other Vajrayāna texts as the works of Śāntirakṣita, the logician.

191. HIL, p. 527; cf. S.C. Das, JBTS, I, p. 1.

192. Bu-ston, II, pp. 195 f. cf. Blue Annals, I, p. 41.

193. See G. Tucci in MBT II, pp. 5-154

194. Ed. in GOS, Nos. XXX-XXXI, 1926; Tibetan version in Stan-hgyur, mDO, CXIII.2; English translation by G. Jha in GOS, LXXX, LXXXIII, 1937, 1939.

195. Stan-hgyur, mDO, CXI, 3.

196. Bu-ston, II, p. 136.

197. Ed. by G. Tucci in MBT, II, 1958.

198. See E. Obermiller in Journal of the Greater India Society, Vol. II, 1935, pp. 1-11. Another Sanskrit MS. is reported by G. Tucci as existing in the monastery of POS K'an in Tibet, MBT, II, p. 6.

199. This Tibetan version has been translated into French by E. Lamotte in P. Demieville's book Le Concile de Lhasa, Paris, 1952, pp. 336-353.

200. This Chinese version has been translated into French by P. Demieville, op. cit. pp. 333-335.

201. See above Chap. V.

202. Cordier-Cata., Pt. III, pp. 287-289; Bhattacharya, TS. Foreword, p. XIX.

203. All these three texts have been edited and translated by de Blonay, Paris, 1895.

204. Edited with Jinarakṣita's commentary and two Tibetan versions by S. C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa, Calcutta, 1908.

205. Tārānātha (Schiefner) pp. 168ff.

206. Pag Sam Jon Zang, p. 102.

207. Tārānātha, op. cit., loc. cit., Pag Sam Zang, p. 102; Jinarakṣita's account in Vidyābhūṣaṇa's Ed. of Sragdharā-Stotra, Introduction, pp. XXVIII-XXX.

208. Rājataraṅgiṇī, IV. 210.

209. Sāṃkrityāyana, Purātattva-nibandhāvalī, p. 180, S.C. Vidyā-bhūṣaṇa, HIL, p. 320, places him in cir. 700 A.D.

210. Tārānātha, op. cit., pp. 195-198.

211. R. Sāṃkṛtyāyana, loc. cit.; Bu-ston, II, p. 155, however, says that Vinītadeva was a pupil of the author of the Pramāṇavārttikālaṅ-kāra, i.e., Prajñākaragupta.

212. Cordier-Cata., Stan-ḥgyur, mDO, CIV, 2; CV, CVI, and CVII.

213. This text, called the Pramāṇavārttika-Bhāṣyaṃ has been ed. by R. Sāṃkṛtyāyana in Tibetan Sanskrit works Series No. 1, Patna 1953.

214. Cordier-Cata., Stanḥgyur, CXII, 19.

215. This book is translated by W.W. Rockhill in Life of the Buddha, pp. 181ff.

216. Tibetan text ed. in BI, 1913.

217. Cordier-Cata,, sTan-ḥgyur, mDO, CXI, 5.

218. Ibid., CXII, 3.

219. Ibid., CXII, 1.

220. Ibid., CXII, 5.

221. Tibetan text ed. in BI, by Stcherbatsky and translated into Russian by the same scholar, St. Petersburg, 1922.

222. See Dharmottara-Pradīpa of Durveka Miśra, Tib., Skt. works No. 2, Patna, 1955; pp. 5, 31, 34.

223. Bu-ston, II, 155.
224. Cordier-Cata., Stan-ḥgyur, mDO, XCVI.
225. Called Pramāṇavārttika-Pañjikā-ṭīkā, Cordier-Cata., stan-ḥgyur, mDO, XCVII-XCVIII. See also Tārānātha, op. cit., 187; Blue Annals, I, p. 346.
226. Bu-ston, II, p. 155.
227. Blue Annals, I, p. 346.
228. Cordier-Cata., stan-ḥgyur, mDO, CXII, 21.
229. A text of this title is ed. in BI, by H. P. Śāstrī, 1910.
230. Cordier-Cata., sTan-ḥgyur, mDO, CXII, 2.
231. Ibid., CIII.
232. Pramāṇa-samuccaya-vṛtti, called Viśālāmalavatī, extant in Tibetan, sTan-ḥgyur, mDO, portions of it are translated by Stcherbatsky in B. L. I, Appendix, IV, pp. 461 ff.
233. Vidyābhūṣaṇa, HIL, p. 323.
234. Sāṃkṛtyāyana, Purātattvanibandhāvalī, p. 181.
235. Cordier-Cata., sTan-ḥgyur, mDO, CXII, 10.
236. Ibid., CXII, 11.
237. Ibid., CXII, 7 and 8.
238. Ibid., CXII.
239. Ibid., CXII, 8.
240. For his life and works see Tārānātha op. cit., pp. 146-147, Pag SamJon Zang, pp. 90, 101, 118 (Pt. I).
241. Bauddha Stotra-Saṃgraha, ed. S.C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa, BI, 1908, Introduction, p. XXX.
242. Nyāyamañjarī, ed. by Gangādhara Śāstri (Chaukhamba, Benaras), Chapter VII, p. 462.
243. Vasantasena, king of Nepal of a copper plate grant of the year 435 (?) is placed in A.D. 513 by R. C. Majumdar, HCIP, III, p. 84; but see S.C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa HIL, p. 322 the inscription in question is reported in Ind. Ant. Vol. IX, p. 167.
244. Stan-ḥgyur, mDO, CVIII, 3.
245. Mentioned by W.W. Rockhill, op. cit., p. 228.
246. See Bauddha-Stotra-Saṃgraha, Vol. I, Introduction, pp. V-VII.
247. R. Gnoli in SOR, XXIII, 1960, Introduction, pp. XXII, XXVII.
248. R. Sāṃkṛtyāyana, op. cit., 181.
249. Ed. R. Sāṃkṛtyāyana, Allahabad, 1943.
250. Dharmottarapradīpa, pp. 5, 31, 32, 61.
251. Ibid., Introduction, p. XXV.
252. Ibid., pp. 5, 31, 32, 61.
253. Nyāyaviniścaya-Vivaraṇa, Ed. Bhāratīya Jñānapīṭha, Benaras, pp. 526, 530-531.
254. Dharmottarapradīpa, pp. 5, 31.
255. Purātattvanibandhāvalī, p. 181.
256. Ed. by Sukhlalji Sanghavi and Muni Sri Jinavijaya, GOS, No. CXIII, 1949, sec Introduction, p. XI.
256 a. Ibid., pp. 87, 327.
256 b. Ibid., p. 189.
256 c. Bu-ston, II, p. 155.
257. Blue Annals, I, p. 346.
258. Stcherbatsky, B.L., I, p. 41.
259. Rajataraṅginī, IV, 498.
260. HCIP, IV, p. 114.
261. Rājataraṅgiṇī, IV, 489, 495-496.
262. Ed. by P. Peterson, BI; ed. by Chandrashekhara Śāstri, Kāśī Skt. Series, No. 22, (2nd ed.) 1954; English translation by Stcherbatsky, B.L., II.
263. Stan ḥgyur, mDO, CIX, XCI.
264. Vidyābhūṣaṇa, HIL, p. 330, transcribes the title of this text as Pramāṇaparīkṣā; the text is referred to in the Dharmottarapradīpa, p. 24, as Prāmāṇyaparīkṣā; R. Sāṃkṛtyāyana, (Ed. of Vādanyāya, Appendix F, p. 11), mentions two texts of Pramāṇaparīkṣā, mDO, CXII. 12-13.

265. Stan-ḥgyur, mDO, CXII, 14; Vidyābhūṣaṇa, HIL, p. 330; Stcherbatsky, BL, 1, p. 500.
266. Stan-ḥgyur, mDO, CXII, 5; B.L., I, p. 41.
267. Stan ḥygur, mDO, CXII, 14.
268. Bu-ston, II, p. 158.
269. R.C. Majumdar, Hist. Bengal, I, p. 177.
270. Blue Annals, I, 367; Bu-ston, II, p. 159.
271. Tārānātha, op. cit., pp. 229-232; HCIP, IV, pp. 270-271; Pag Jon Zang, p. XCIV.
272. Tārānātha, op. cit., p. 219; Blue Annals, I, p. 367.
273. Ed. by G. Tucci, GOS, LXII, 1932; ed. by U. Wogihara; also ed. by P.L. Vaidya in BST No. 4, 1960.
274. N. Dutt, (Ed.) Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā, Introduction, pp. VII-XIII; cf. also P.L. Vaidya, in BST No. 4, Introduction.
275. Bu-ston, II, p. 158.
276. Blue Annals, I, pp. 31, 367.
277. See the colophon of the Abhisamayālaṅkāra-Ālokā, GOS, LXIII, pp. 563-64; HCIP, IV, p. 270; Hist. Bengal, I, p. 417.
278. See chapter X.
279. Cordier-Cata., Pt. 2, sTan-ḥgyur, I-LXX (rGyud section), Paris, 1908; a good index to it in H.P. Śāstrī, Bauddha Gān O Dohā, Calcutta 1916, Appendix, see also R. Sāṃkṛtyāyana, Purātattvanibandhāvalī, Chapters 9-10; the account in Winternitz, HIL, II, pp. 375 ff. is now quite superseded; see M. Shahidullah, Les Chants Mystique, Paris, 1928; B. Bhattacharya, Sādhanamālā, 2 Vols., GOS, Nos. 26, 41 (1925, 1928); Valuable Introduction in Vol. II;—Dohākośa ed. by P.C. Bagchi, Calcutta, 1938; Dohākośa (of Saraha) ed. by R. Sāṃkrityāyana, Patna, 1957; Caryāgīti Kośa, ed. by P.C. Bagchi and Śāntibhikṣu Śāstri, Visvabharati, 1956.
280. See Appendix on Early Siddhas.
281. Cordier-Cata., Pt. 2, pp. 232, 375.
282. D.L. Snellgrove, Hevajra Tantra, I, Introduction, pp. 12-13.
283. Winternitz, HIL, II, p. 344, note 2; G. Tucci in JASB, XXVI, 1930, p. 112; see L.M. Joshi, 'Life and Times of the Mādhyamika Philosopher Nāgārjuna', Maha Bodhi Journal, Vol. 73, Nos. 1-2, 1965.
284. R. Sāṃṛtyāyana, (Ed.) Dohākośa, Bhūmikā, pp. 16-17.
285. See Sādhanamālā, Vol. I, pp. 193f., 265f. The Ekajaṭāsādhana was brought from Tibet (Bhoṭa) by Nāgārjuna,
286. See IHQ., Vol. VII, pp. 740f; Vol. VIII, pp. 790f.
287. Tibetan text with Sanskrit restoration by P.B. Patel in IHQ, Vol. VIII, 1932; See also G. Tucci in JRAS, 1932.
288. Ed. By La Vallee Poussin, Louvain, 1896.
289. Winternitz, HIL, II, p. 395; G.K. Nariman, Literary History of Sanskrit Buddhism, Bombay, 1923, pp. 120-121; for a complete list of Tāntrika Nāgarjuna's works see Cordier-cata., Pt. II, rGyud Section; H.P. Śāstrī, Bauddha Gān O Dohā, Appendix.
290. Sādhanamālā, II, Introduction, pp. XCVIII-XCIV.
291. Ed. by B. Bhattacharya, GOS. No. XLIX, 1929.
292. Published in Sādhanamālā, II, pp. 353f.
293. Bu-ston, II, pp. 159-160.
294. Long extracts from its Sanskrit MS. in H.P. Śāstrī, Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Asiatic Society of Bengali, Vol.I, pp. 131-141.
295. Tibetan text ed. in Tantric Texts, Vol. XI. EnglishTranslation by Kazi Dawa Samdup in Tantric Texts, Vol. VII.
296. See H.P. Śāstri, Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts, 2nd series, I, (1900), pp. XXIX f.
297. Ed. by I.P. Minayeff in Zapiski de la societe Archaeologique, t. II, fasc. III, pp. 236f.

298. Ed. and translated into French by S.K. Karpeles in Journal Asiatique, 1919, pp. 357-465.

299. Bauddha-Stotra-Saṃgraha, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1908, Introduction pp. I-XXVIII.

300. Ed. by N. Dutt in Gilgit MS., Vol. I, Srinagar, 1939, pp. 36-40.

301. Ibid., pp. 43-46.

302. Ibid., pp. 59-89.

303. Nanjio-Cata., p. 435.

304. Takakusu, I-tsing' Record, Introduction, p. XXXVII.

305. JUPHS, XVIII, 1945, p. 78. The Kośa here refers to Vasubandhu's AK, Nanjio-Cata., No. 1267; the other work, Nyāyānusāra is that of Saṃghabhadra, Ibid., No. 1265.

306. R. Sāṃkṛtyāyana, Bauddha Saṃskriti, p. 341; for a list of other Chinese and Central Asian Buddhist scholar-translators see Ibid., pp. 334-335.

307. M. Anesaki in ERE, IV, p. 840; Winternitz, op. cit., II, p. 399.

308. According to A.K. Nilakanta Śāstri, Foreign Notices of South India, Madras, 1939, p. 17, Vajrabodhi was the teacher of the Pallava King Narasinghvarman II.

309. See W. Pachow in the University of Ceylon Review, Vol. XII, 1954, pp. 3-4.

310. Ibid., loc. cit. and Journal of the Greater India Society, Vol. XVII, 1958, pp. 1-22.

311. R. Sāṃkṛtyāyana, Bauddha Saṃskriti, p. 346.

312. The Denkarma, an oldest catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist canon, ed. with notes by S. Yoshimura, Kyoto, 1950.

313. MBT, II, pp. 45-47.

Chapter VIII

BUDDHIST PHILOSOPHY AND DIALECTICS

Section I

HĪNAYĀNA AND MAHĀYĀNA : ECHOES OF OLD CONTROVERSY

(a) SECTS OF THE HĪNAYĀNA

It seems that some of the 18 sects of the Hīnayāna[1] had disappeared during this period. I-tsing mentions 'four principal schools of continuous tradition' in which are grouped the 18 sects of ancient days. These four nikāyas were :

1. ĀRYA-MAHĀSĀMGHIKA-NIKĀYA :

It was divided into seven sects and its Tripiṭaka consisted of threc lacs of ślokas.

2. ĀRYA-STHAVIRA-NIKĀYA :

It had three sub-divisions, and its Tripiṭaka was of the same length as that of the Mahāsāṃghika school.

3. ĀRYA-MŪLASARVĀSTIVĀDA-NIKĀYA :

It had four sub sects and the strength of its Tripiṭaka was also three lac ślokas or stanzas.

4. ĀRYA-SAMMITĪYA-NIKĀYA :

It had four sub divisions and its Tripiṭaka consisted of two lac ślokas.

There were several different traditions concerning the origin and growth of these sects; but their position in the seventh century was as described above.[2] "In accordance with several views and traditions, the Tripiṭaka of various sects differ from one another."[3]

(b) SCHOOLS OF THE MAHĀYĀNA

I-tsing could not ascertain which of these four nikāyas should be included in the Hīnayāna or in the Mahāyāna. The special feature of the Mahāyānists was that they studied the Mahāyāna sūtras and worshipped the Boddhisattvas; the Hīnayānists did not do so. The Mahāyāna had two (philosophical) divisions: the 'Mādhyamika' and the 'Yoga' (Yogācāra, Vijñānavāda). The Mādhyamikas held that "what is commonly called existence is in reality non-existence, and every object is but an empty show, like an illusion." The followers of Yogācāra affirmed that "there exist no outer things in reality, but only inward thoughts, and all things exist only in the mind." Both these systems were in accordance with the 'noble doctrine', both lead us to Nirvāṇa; both were prosperous in India and did not differ from each other in essential points.[4]

Evidence of Harmonious relation between Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna

I-tsing further reports that the Mahāyānists and the Hīnayānists had a common code of discipline (Vinaya); the basic principles, like the four noble verities, and five groups of offences were common to both. Both the systems had for their aim the destruction of passions and the salvation of beings.[5] This report is in substantial agreement with what Yuan Chwang had observed some years before. Yuan Chwang found that the Hīnayāna and the Mahāyāna monks lived in the same Vihāras at Jālandhara,[6] Mathurā,[7] Ayodhyā,[8] Vṛji country[9] and Kanauj[10]; similarly, there were 'Mahāyānists of the Sthavira School' at Buddha-Gayā[11], Kaliṅga,[12] Bharoch and Surat.[13] The spirit of catholicity is evidenced from a few passages in the Bodhicaryāvatāra where the Buddhists are advised to look on Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna with equal favour.[14]

Evidence of Secterian Disputes between Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna

On the contrary, evidence is not wanting to the point that bitter quarrels were going on between the followers of the Hīnayāna and the Mahāyāna. We learn from the biography of Yuan Chwang that a South Indian Brāhmaṇa, an old scholar of the Hīnayāna, Prajñāgupta by name, had composed a treatise in 700 verses "against the Great Vehicle", and that Yuan Chwang had to compose a similar polemical work in 1600 verses in order to

refute the same. The book written by Yuan Chwang was entitled "the destruction of heresy." Thus the Sammitīya sect, to which Prajñāgupta belonged, was treated as heretical.[15]

The Hīnayāna monks of Orissa are seen ridiculing emperor Harṣa for the latter's patronage of Nālandā monastery, the chief centre of Mahāyāna. According to them the monks of Nālandā University were 'heretics', their doctrine was a system of "sky flower" which "was not delivered by Buddha." On being requested by Harṣa, the Chancellor or Nālandā sent Sāgaramati, Prajñāraśmi, Siṃharaśmi and Yuan Chwang to refute the views of the Orissan monks.[16] Elsewhere, Harṣa[17] is seen complaining about one Devasena, 'the Chief Sthavira of the priests' who, by advancing "his strange opinions, ever opposed the Great Vehicle."

Śāntideva also lends a glimpse into this old controversy between the Hīnayāna and the Mahāyāna.[18] Likewise, Kamalaśīla declares that the Path of the Śrāvakas cannot lead to complete destruction of passions because it does not destroy false views.[19]

Section II

CONTROVERSIES AND TENDENCIES IN THE MADHYAMIKA SCHOOL

(a) PRĀSAṄGIKA AND SVĀTANTRIKA BRANCHES

Although Nāgārjuna had perfected the Mādhyamika system by one stroke of his genius, the 'Śūnyavada' dialects remained open to difficulties.[20] Towards the middle of the sixth century A.D. this school was split into two branches: Prāsaṅgika and Svātantrika. Bhāvaviveka[21] was the founder of the Svātantrika school, while Buddhapālita[22] held the Prāsaṅgika standpoint. The controversies between these two Mādhyamika philosophers thus inaugurated a new phase in the history of the school, and they were called "the Mādhyamikas adhering to the different factions." The followers of the Prāsaṅgika branch were also known as "the Lokaprasiddhi-vargācāri Mādhyamikas."[23]

According to Bu-ston, Buddhapālita and Candrakīrti were the principal protagonists of the Prāsaṅgika branch, while

Bhāvaviveka was the head of the Svātantrika branch of the Mādhyamikas.[24] According to another Tibetan annalist, Khai ḍub, Buddhapālita explained the theory of Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva from the Prāsaṅgika standpoint; thereafter, Bhavya (Bhāvaviveka) refuted the comments made by Buddhapālita and founded the Svātantrika branch. Thereafter, Jñānagarbha wrote a Svātantrika work called Satyadvaya-vibhaṅga or Mādhyamika Satya-ḍvaya.[25] This Jñānagarbha seems to have been a disciple of Bhāvaviveka and a continuator of the Svātantrika tradition. But Bu-ston includes him among the "Yogācāra-Mādhyamikas,"[26] There was yet another scholar belonging to the tradition of Bhavya, he is Avalokitavrata, the author of the Prajñāpradīpaṭīkā, a sub-commentary on the commentary on the MŚ. by Bhavya.[27] The exact dates of Jñānagarbha and Avalokitavrata are not known.

Points of Controversy

The essential point of difference between the Prāsaṅgika and Svātantrika branches of the Mādhyamika school seems to lie in the method of demonstration. Buddhapālita adopts the method of reductio ad absurdum, for him the essence of the Mādhyamika doctrine consisted in the method of relentless dialectics. This view of his was attacked by Bhāvaviveka; the latter seems to have believed in the efficacy of adducing independent arguments in logical reasoning.[28] Mr. Kajiyama points out that the problem which divided the Mādhyamikas was "whether the system of the relative knowledge can be, so far as the phenomenal world is concerned, recognised as valid or not, though it is always delusive from the absolute point of view."[29] It is known that the early Mādhyamika Doctors regarded Paramārtha (Absolute) as entirely transcendental. It could be affirmed only by a relentless denial of the Samvṛti (relative). This standpoint is upheld by the Prāsangika; Buddhapālita and Candrakīrti hold, along with Nāgārjuna and Deva that a true Mādhyamika can have no thesis of his own.[30] This view is criticised by Bhāvaviveka, who "tended to recognise the validity of relative knowledge"[31] and therefore held the Absolute to be immanent in the phenomenal. He had a realistic bias as would appear from Yuan Chwang's remark that Bhāvaviveka externally wore the Sāṃkhya garb though, internally he was propagating the tenets of Nāgārjuna.[32] He

also seems to have shared Sautrāntika psychology;[33] indeed the Tibetans describe him as a 'Mādhyamika Sautrāntika.'[34] His denial of the phenomenal things is invariably qualified by "from the standpoint of the Absolute."[35]

Candrakīrti

Professor Stcherbatsky has very aptly described Candrakīrti as "a mighty champion of the purely negative method of establishing Monism."[36] It is perplexing that Yuan Chwang and I-tsing do not mention this philosopher unless he is the same as Candrapāla. He seems to have flourished early in the seventh century A.D. and is the author of the Madhyamakāvatāra and Prasannapadā ;[37] this latter work is the best commentary on the MŚ. of Nāgārjuna, written from the Prāsaṅgika standpoint.

Candrakīrti supports Buddhapālita and criticises Bhāviveka. In fact, he became the chief representative of the Prāsaṅgika branch and attacked all Buddhist and non-Buddhist systems through the method of reductio ad absurdum.[38] He considered Bhāvaviveka to be inconsistent although a Mādhyamika;[39] the latter is attacked also for his desire to exhibit his skill as a logician; further, Bhāvaviveka is charged with inaccuracy in formulating the opponent's position.[40] Candrakīrti also disapproves Bhāvaviveka's view that the Śrāvakas and the Pratyekabuddhas could also obtain release without absolute realization of Śūnyatā.[41]

He is also opposed to Bhāvaviveka's use of "from the standpoint of the Absolute" in denying the phenomenal, because the phenomenal world is self-contradictory, there is no logicality in it.[42] The Absolute (Paramārtha) is nothing but 'Noble Silence', for it transcends illogicality of the phenomenal world and has no relation with the latter.[43]

Śāntideva

One of the most important Mādhyamika thinkers who was also a religious poet of unequalled merit, was Śāntideva. There is little philosophy in his Śikṣāsamuccaya,[44] but the ninth chapter of his Bodhicaryāvatāra is a masterly piece of metaphysical literature of the Mahāyāna. That Śāntideva was a Mādhyamika is clear from this chapter which expounds the doctrine of Śūnyatā on the lines of Nāgārjuna.[45] His commentator, Prajñākaramati, also says that this chapter was written from the standpoint of the Mādhyamika (Madhyamānīti-bhājaṃ). Śāntideva does

not appear to deal with the comparative merits of the views of the Prāsaṅgika and Svātantrika Madhyamikas. But he himself seems to adopt the Prāsaṅgika standpoint.[46] The main outline of his thought is identical with that of Nāgārjuna. The doctrine of two truths is stated at the beginning of the ninth chapter: the Paramārtha is Tattva which is transcendental to intellect: the Saṃvṛti is equated to intellect.[47] He does not say anything of Bhāvaviveka's classification of Paramātha into Aparyāyaparamārtha and Paryāyaparamārtha, and of Saṃvṛit into Tatthyasaṃvṛtti and Mitthyā-Saṃvṛtti, nor does he refer to Candrakīrti's division of Saṃvṛti into Lokasaṃvṛti and Alokasaṃvṛti.[48] But his commentator does refer to this latter division of Candrakīrti and elucidates the views of Śāntideva by quotations from the works of Nāgārjuna and Candrakīrti. Without realising Śūnyatā, 'the destroyer of suffering', Nirvāṇa cannot be realised; but in order to gain spiritual merit a Bodhisattva has to resort to saṃvṛti.[49]

(b) MĀDHYAMIKA CRITIQUE OF ABHIDHARMA SYSTEMS

Candrakīrti and Śāntideva have directed polemics against their Hīnayāna brethren. The chief points attacked are concerning the (i) genuineness of the scripture, (ii) 'dharmas' and (iii) causality. Śāntideva is preoccupied with answering to the criticisms of the Sarvāstivāda-Vaibhāṣika against the Śūnyavāda and its scriptures, while Candrakīrti devotes his energies largely to the refutation of causality and the realistic categories, the dharmas.

The fundamental dictum of Śūnyavāda that, truth consists in the perception of the voidness (Śūnyatā) of all dharmas as well as of the self, is questioned by the Sarvāstivādin and the debate follows.

Sarvāstivādin : "The perception of Truth leads to Salvation, but what sense is there in perceiving voidness ?"

Śūnyavādin : "Because (i) that is the way to enlightenment, and (ii) that is laid down in the scriptures"[50] in fact, "there is no other way to Bodhi."[51]

Sarvāstivādin : "The Mahāyāna scriptures are not authentic."

Śūnyavādin : "How are your scriptures authentic ?"

Sarvāstivādin : "The authenticity of our scriptures is accepted by both the parties (by us and by you)."

Śūnyavādin : "This means that originally and prior to our acceptance, your scripture was not authentic."[52] It, therefore, follows that you should respect the Mahāyāna scriptures just as we respect yours; our scripture is authentic for the same reasons by which yours has become authentic."[53]

Moreover, if you argue that the authenticity of the Mahāyāna scriptures is controversial, then we say that your scriptures too are not recognised by the heretics; further, there is controversy among the various sects of Buddhism itself, and each sect differs some-how from other sects.[54]

Moreover, the perception of the voidness of things is essential for uprooting passions; it is the essential ground upon which the tree of spiritual life stands. If it is refuted and passions remained understroyed, Nirvāṇa will be impossible of attainment.[55] If it be admitted that the perception of (four noble truths) results in liberation, then the latter should follow immediately, which is not the case in fact. For it is known that even the Arhats who had destroyed their passions, had to reap the fruits of their deeds. It is evident from this

Mere, Destruction of Kleśas Inadequate

that the view that Arhats are devoid of craving is incorrect; in other words, even Arhats are possessed of ignorance and therefore of craving. This is proved by the fact, that craving rises from feeling, and Arhats do have feeling (vedanā). Thus when craving (tṛṣṇā) is not destroyed, the mind will continue to stick to some support here or there. It is therefore necessary to realise Śūnyatā; without realising Śūnyatā, bondage of mind continues to recur after occasional Samādhi. Thus the scriptures of the Mahāyāna (which teach Śūnyatā) are quite authentic in as much as they lead to salvation by means of the perception of the voidness.[56]

If you say that only that scripture is authentic which is in the form of Sūtras, then the Mahāyāna Sūtras have all the same claim to authenticity, for they too, like your scriptures, are in the form of sūtras. It is also possible to regard the words of

Buddha, scattered in so many scriptures, as one single aphorism. You cannot reasonably disregard the Mahāyāna texts only because they are deep and unintelligible to you.[57]

Fruits of Śūnyatā

It is because of the salutory consequences of Emptiness that, a Bodhisattva (taking his stand on relative truth) lives in the world for the good of beings, but is not defiled by the world. It is, therefore, unreasonable to find faults with Śūnyatā, all those who wish to treat themselves spiritually must realise Śūnyatā. It is the destroyer of both Kleśāvaraṇa and Jñeyāvaraṇa and leads to omniscience. Śūnyatā is the destroyer of suffering, why to dread it.[58]

Criticisms of 'Dharmas' and of Causality

Candrakīrti and Śāntideva have directed a sustained criticism against the Abhidharma categories, and the law of causation.[59] It is well known that the Sarvāstivādins are realists and pluralists;[60] they believe in the existence of 75 dharmas (of mind and matter); three of these are regarded as 'incomposite' (asaṃskṛt) which are free from the laws of causation; the remaining 72 dharmas are 'composite' (Saṃskṛt) and are subject to the laws of causation. These laws bear the general name of dependent origination (Pratītyasamutpāda).[61] The realistic Buddhists further maintain that (i) no effect can ever be produced by a single cause,[62] and that (ii) the cause is different from the effect.[63] The Mādhyamikas refute these views from the Śūnyavāda standpoint and show their untenable position. Candrakīrti, apparently referring to the Abhidharma categories of skandhas, dhātus and āyatanas, says that "the Yogins who abide in the vision of emptiness do not at all apprehend the skandhas, elements and sense-fields as if they were something in themselves."[64]

Theory of Saṃskṛta Untenable

Buddha is reported to have stated: "Three are the phenomenalising characteristics (saṃskṛta lakṣaṇāni) of all phenomena (saṃskṛta): of the saṃskṛta there is origin (utpāda), cassation (vyaya) and change of state (sthityānyathātvaṃ)."[65] The Mādhyamika points out that each one of these marks is not a complete definition of the 'composite'. For then we will have the difficulty of the origin of a thing that has no duration or cessation, of a thing that lasts but has no origination

or decay, or of a thing which ceases to exist but was not born at all.[66] All the three characteristics cannot be applied to a thing simultaneously.[67] A thing cannot have contradictory characteristics like origination and cessation at the same time, nor successively. [68]

Moreover, the doctrine of the momentariness accepted by all the upholders of the theory of saṃskṛt dharmas, also presents difficulties. If a thing is momentary, a point-instant, it exists for a moment only, how could it be said to originate, endure and cease ? The different moments are different, discreet entities; under these conditions it is unintelligible to say that this originates and that endures.[69]

Theory of Asaṃskṛta also Untenable

When the reality of 'composed' (saṃskṛta) dharma is disproved and its marks (lakṣaṇas) also proved to be false (mṛṣā), the 'incomposite' (asaṃskṛta) too cannot be available. The realistic Buddhists have posited the existence of three Asaṃskṛta, dharmas: Ākāśa, Pratisaṃkhyānirodha and Apratisaṃkhyānirodha. They are supposed to be permanent, unchanging realities beyond the realm of causes and conditions. Candrakīrti points out that Asaṃskṛta is related to Saṃskṛta i.e., they are relative to each other, none without the other. When the Lord said that 'this depends on that' he meant that there is nothing in itself, everything is relative (void).[70]

A non-existent thing cannot be eternal; an eternal thing is non-existent, like a sky-flower. Ākāśa (space) is the absence of form; there is nothing like Ākāśa; the same can be said of the two kinds of Nirodhas.[71]

Doctrine of Causality Untenable

The realist's view that the things exist in past, present and future, and that they are causally connected, is also misleading. Āryadeva had declared that the present does not originate out of the past, Candrakīrti adds that what does not exist originally, cannot give rise to anything; in other words, the past is non-existent, the birth of the present out of the past is nonsensical.[72] The theory of the existence of future elements is unreasonable.[73] The Sarvāstivādins, Vaibhāṣikas and Sautrāntikas as also the Vijñānavādins hold the theory of asatkāryavāda.[74]

Śāntideva declares that nothing originates from causes

nor without causes.[75] Prajñākaramati sums up the arguments. (1) The effect (Kārya) does not originate out of itself (Svataḥ) for, before origination it does not exist; what is non-existent in itself cannot produce itself. (2) Nor does it originate from another (Parataḥ); for if a thing could spring out from what is foreign to it, any thing could come out from anything which is never the case. (3) Nor a thing could be produced by both (dvābhyāṃ); if it be urged that a thing originates from both, by itself and by what is other to it, then again the above two difficulties will come up.[76]

Traikālyavāda is also Untenable

The Traikālyavādins (i.e. the Sarvāstivādins) say that "by force of causes and conditions, the elements proceed from the future to the present and from the present to the past. This change in time is called origination, duration and cessation."[77] Śāntideva points out that an element neither comes from some other place, nor it stays, nor even does it go to anywhere. As a matter of fact what these fools have taken to be real (Satyataḥ) is no better than illusion.[78] To hold that an element comes, stays and goes, amounts to saying that it is a permanent entity. But you (Vaibhāṣika) hold that what exists (Saṃskṛta dharma) is impermanent and not eternal. Thus there is contradiction in your theory. A thing which exists in three points of time cannot be Saṃskṛta or impermanent.[79] Other arguments advanced are similar to those of Nāgārjuna.[80]

(c) MĀDHYAMIKA CRITIQUE OF VIJNĀNAVĀDA

Metaphysical controversies between the two well known schools of Mahāyāna philosophy formed one of the principal features of Buddhistic culture during the 7th and 8th centuries. It is the trenchant criticism by Candrakīrti and Śāntideva that brings out the difficulties of the Vijñānavāda and its differences from the Mādhyamika.

The Vijñānavādin asserts: (1) Vijñāna (Idea or Mind) is real, not apparent; its nature is pure consciousness; it is self-luminous and self-cognisable; (2) Vijñāna (Mind) alone is real, not the object; the external world is unreal; objects of perception arise in mind which latter exists ab aeterno, and are mere reflected images.[81]

The Mādhyamika says that the texts[82] which teach the sole reality of 'Mind' (Citta) were taught by Buddha only as a means to the doctrine of Śūnyatā; they are only elementary teachings and not final truths.[83]

The Vijñānavādin controverts the middle way (madhyamā pratipad) taught by Buddha, in as much as he accepts the existence of Vijñāna and denies that of objects. Such a view is not in keeping with the real madhyamā pratipada which latter teaches the transcendence of both 'is' and 'is not'.[84]

The principal criticism centres round the doctrine of the 'Self-Cognisability' (Sva-saṃvitti) of 'Mind' or 'Consciousness'. "The Mind is empty like the illusion, how can it cognise itself at all ? Moreover, the Lord has declared that 'the Mind does not perceive Mind, just as a sword cannot cut itself."[85]

As has been said in the Ārya-Ratnacūḍasūtra, even the sharpest sword cannot cut itself; the finger-tips cannot be touched by the same finger-tips; like-wise the Citta cannot see itself."[86] Therefore, the theory that Citta is self-conscious is not correct.

Furthermore, in the absence of objects, the Citta cannot function;[87] if the objects are non-existent as the Yogācārins hold, what is cognised at all ?[88]

Theory of Self-cognition Untenable

If you argue that 'the mind' cognises itself just as a lamp illuminates itself, then we reply that this analogy is incorrect; because the lamp is not illuminated (since the lamp is not hidden by darkness), the question of its illumination does not arise.[89]

An entity cannot be at the same time an 'action' (Kriyā) as well as 'agent' (Kāraka); 'Mind' cannot be both knower and the known, because two different characteristics cannot apply to a single entity at a moment. Therefore, in truth the selfcognition of 'Mind' cannot be proved.[90]

"The lamp is luminous"—this is known through the Mind (we see and know that lamp is luminous); but how do you know that "the Mind is luminous ?" Whether the 'Mind' be luminous or not luminous, this thesis, in spite of your repeated assertions in the absence of any knower, is false, even as the beautiful gestures of the daughter of a barren woman.[91] If it be said that the Mind is bereft of self-consciousness then, memory will not be possible, the reply is : We recall the knowledge of an object when we experience it, because there is an invariable

relation between the object of experience and its knowledge.[92] The idealist then advances the following argument : the fact that the perfected men (Yogīns) visualise the Vijñana of different times and places, leads us to conclude that the Vijñāna perceives Vijñāna. But this reasoning too is not correct, for if by means of siddhāñjana one sees a treasure-trove burried in the earth, that treasure-trove cannot be regarded as the siddhāñjana itself. In other words, the two Vijñānas are different and not identical, one is the 'knower' the other is the 'known'.[93] We don't deny the (phenomenal) reality of what is seen, heard or known; what we deny is the assumption of those who take phenomenality as ultimate reality, because such an assumption leads to suffering.[94]

The Vijñānavādin points out that the Mādhyamika interpretation of Śūnyata is an unwarranted extremism. Śūnyatā is not the total negation of everything, but of the duality of subject and object. According to Sthiramati, Śūnyatā is real as well as unreal; Yat śūnyaṃ sat, yena śūnyaṃ asat; Śūnyatā is dharmatā, and this dharmatā is real in so far as it represents the real existence of dharmas. But it is also unreal, in so far as it consists in the negation of the duality of subject and object.[96] This constructed subject-object world (of duality) is unreal; but this does not make the Abhūtaparikalpa unreal, because that is the substratum for the unreal duality of subject and object.[97]

Section III

POST-VASUBANDHU DEVELOPMENTS IN VIJÑĀNAVĀDA

Out of Vasubandhu's school arose teachers like Diṅnāga, Dharmapāla, Sthiramati, Śīlabhadra and Dharmakīrti, who are placed between the sixth and the seventh century.[98] Of these, Dharmapāla is said to have been the most famous propagator of the Vijñānavāda tenets as expounded in Vasubandhu's Vijñaptimātratā-siddhi.[99] This work had been commented and annotated by as many as ten authorities, all of whom did not agree in toto.[100] These commentaries and counter-commentaries were melted into one, and translated into Chinese by Yuan Chwang in A.D. 661.[101] But he seems to have followed chiefly the interpretations of Dharmapāla. His report of the views of

these commentators, therefore, "may not be exactly in accordance with the original authors's purports".[102] The crucial verse of Vasubandhu's Trimśikā, which was the centre of controversies between the Vijñānavāda philosophers of the post-Vasubandhu period, runs thus :—

Vijñānapariṇāmo'yaṃ vikalpo yadvikalpyate ।
Tena tannāsti(,) tenedaṃ sarvaṃ Vijñaptimātrakaṃ ॥[102a]

The meaning of the Kārikā, in simple English, is "This construct (=constructed world, the world of thought and constructs) is a transformation of Vijñāna. Hence what is constructed has no reality. Hence all this is only Vijñāptimātra".

Dr. Poussin, following the interpretation of Yuan Chwang, translates the above verse as follows : "The development of Vijñāna is the Thought and what is thought, 'that which thinks and the thing which is thought'. Consequently, that (tat= Ātman and Dharmas) does not exist. Consequently, all that is Vijñapti and nothing else." Commeting upon this verse, Dr. Poussin further observes that on Yuan Chwang's interpretation, 'Pariṇāma' becomes real transformation after the manner of the Sāṃkhya Prakṛti, and the diversified world of thought comes to be real in the same sense in which the world of Vikṛti is real for the Sāṃkhya. On the other hand, the external object and the self become unreal contruct. Vikalpa is the 'darśana bhāga' and its object (Yadvikalpyate) is the 'nimitta-bhāga'. More clearly, Darśanabhāga is the grāhakacitta and nimittabhāga is the grāhya-citta (Poussin, La Siddhi, pp. 416-419).

Commenting upon the XVIIth Kārikā of the Triṃśikā, Sthiramati says :

"Yo'yaṃ Vijñānapariṇāmastrividho' nantaramabhihitaḥ so'yaṃ vikalpaḥ. Adhyāropitā-'rthākāraḥ traidhātukaścitta-caitta vikalpa ucyate. Yathoktaṃ, 'abhūtaparikalpastucitta caittastridhātukaḥ."

"Tena trividhena vikalpenālayavijñāna kliṣṭamanaḥ pravṛttivijñāna svabhāvena sa saṃprayogena yadvikalpyate bhājanamātmā skandha-dhātvāyatana rūpa-sabdādikaṃ vastu tan nāstītyataḥ sa vijñāna pariṇāmo vikalpa ucyate" (Deux Traites, p. 35).

According to Sthiramati the punctuation should be after 'Vikalpaḥ' in the first line of the kārikā and after 'nāsti' in the

second line. According to this interpretation the development of Vijñāna is the Vikalpa and that which is imagined by this imagination does not exist. Vikalpa is equal to tridhātuka citta-caitta, which is adhyāropitārthākāra; it is equal to (1) Ālayavijñāna, (ii) Kliṣṭamanaḥ and six pravṛtti vijñānas; loka, ātmān, skandha, dhātu, and āyatana are the arthākāras (forms of things) which are superimposed (adhyāropita).[103]

Sthiramati believed in three aspects of Vijñāna, viz., Vijñāna-Svabhāva or Svābhāvika-bhāga or Saṃvittibhāga, the original and fundamental reality, and its two-fold transformation, Darśana-bhāga and Nimitta-bhāga. Dharmapāla added a fourth one, Sva-saṃvitti-saṃvittibhāga; Nanda believed in only two and rejected saṃvitti-bhāga. All these scholars believed in the unreality of the superimposed world of things but accepted the reality of the constructing mind. They differed only in distinguishing the different phases of the transormation (pariṇāma).[104] Dr. Takakusu observed that 'the assumption of the separate reality of the eight consciousnesses is Dharmapāla's special tenet and nowhere else in Buddhism can it be seen, not even in Hīnayāna.'[105]

From Dr. Poussin we learn that the Kouei-ki commentary on the Viṃśātikā states that before Asaṅga two bhāgas (of vijñāna) were recognised, viz., Darśana-bhāgā and Nimitta-bhāga, of which pratyakṣa takes place. After Asaṅga, Diṅnāga distinguished three bhāgas, nimitta, darśana, and Sva-saṃvitti-bhāga, which are pratyakṣa. Dharmapāla distinguished 4 bhāgas, of which the last two Sva-Saṃvitti and Sva-Saṃvitti-saṃvitti are pratyakṣa.[106]

The testimony of this Chinese source is confirmed by the Pramāṇa-Samuccaya of Diṅnāga, a verse from which is found quoted in the Nyāyamañjari of Jayanta Bhaṭṭa.[107] The verse runs thus:

Yadābhāsaṃ prameyaṃ tat pramāṇaphalate puṇaḥ ।
Grāhakākārasaṃvittyostrayaṃ nātaḥ pṛthak kṛtaṃ ॥[108]

The three aspects of Vijñāna thus are, according to Diṅnāga, (i) object known (Prameya), (ii) knowing mind (Pramāṇa), and (iii) knowledge (Pramāṇa phala). The first is nimitta, the second is darśana and the third is Svasaṃvitti of Sthiramati's view noted above.[109]

Section IV

GROWTH OF CRITICAL PHILOSOPHY IN BUDDHISM

In order to appreciate (i) the critical philosophy of Dharmakīrti and to ascertain (ii) the correct philosophical standpoint of Śāntirakṣita and Kamlaśīla, it is necessary to discuss the main trends in the evolution of Buddhist thought upto the seventh century A.D.

(a) THE SAUTRĀNTIKA SCHOOL

The origins of this school are traceable to the fourth Buddhist Council in the time of Kaniṣka in the first century A.D. According to the Chinese tradition, the first Doctor of the Sautrāntika school was Kumāralāta or Kumāralabdha. He was a contemporary of Nāgārjuna, Aśvaghoṣa and Āryadeva.[110] Tibetan tradition also makes him a Sautrāntika Ācārya.[111] His work, Kalpanā-maṇḍitikā,[112] bears witness to the fact that he branched off from the Sarvāstivāda,[113] and in fact, doctors of Sarvāstivada are praised in it.[114] Dr. P.V. Bapat points out that "the views ascribed by the Vibhāṣa to the Dārṣāntikas are those ascribed by Abhidharmakosa to the Sautrāntikas."[115] According to Professor Przyluski, Kumāralāta, the author of Dārṣtānita-paṅkti (a portion of the Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā) is known also as the "Dārṣṭāntikācārya" and "Mūlācārya".[116] The possibility of the Dārṣṭāntikas being a branch of the Sautrāntikas is by no means ruled out.[117]

Kumāralabdha

The views of the Sautrāntikas are referred to by Vasubandhu,[118] Bhāvaviveka,[119] Candrakīrti,[120] Śaṅkarācārya,[121] Haribhadra,[122] and Madhvācārya.[123]

The Sautrāntikas were critical realists as distinguished from the Vaibhāṣikas who were dogmatic realists. Their basic tenets were: (i) Thought or Mind knows itself, just as a lamp renders itself manifest.[124]

(ii) The external objects exist, their denial is without any proof. Their existence is proved by (a) inference; e.g. as

nourishment is inferred from a thriving look, as nationality from language, as emotion from its expression, etc.

Doctrines

Their existence is further proved by (b) the fact that consciousness manifests itself in duality; if the objects were a manifestation of consciousness, then, they should appear as consciousness and not as objects. To say that consciousness appears as external objects would be absurd if the latter did not exist. How can the mind appear in the form of a non-entity ?[125]

(iii) Destruction has no cause; things are perishable by their nature; they are not transitory (anitya) but they are momentary (kṣaṇika); past and future do not exist.[126]

Two important points emerge out of the above views: (1) the Sautrāntikas started a 'critical realism' by declaring the incapability of sense-perception in ascertaining the external things which do exist; (2) by so doing they also assumed that the external is something in-itself, a thing in itself.[127] The net result of these speculations was the emergence of logic. This is seen in Vasubandhu, who was a Vaibhāṣika with strong Sautrāntika leaning. He wrote three logical treatises[128] on Vāda (disputation), and Buddhist logic is the outcome of these disputations.[129] It was the critical outlook of the Sautrāntikas that influenced the growth of Buddhist Idealism and led its upholders to make a compromise with critical realists.

Vasubandhu

The Sautrāntikas seem to have liked logic and metaphysics more than the scriptural authority (sūtras).[130] The historicity of Śrīlabdha as a notable 'Sautrāntika Śāstra-Master' is attested not only by Yuan Chwang but also by Tārānātha.[131] Yaśomitra, the commentator of the Abhidharma-Kośa, was perhaps a Sautrāntika philosopher.[132]

(b) DIṄNĀGA

The critical school of Buddhist philosophy, which climaxed during our period in the works of Dharmakīrti and Śāntirakṣita, was really inaugurated by Diṅnāga, "the founder of Buddhist Logic, and one of the foremost figures in the history of Indian philosophy."[133] Professor Stcherbatsky[134] recognised in him not only "a comprehensive system of critical philosophy", ut

also "a most excellent achievement of Indian mind." The sharpness of his insight and the soundness of his critical logic were so great that "No praise seems too high for him. Indeed he may fittingly be styled as the first and last of Indian logicians."[135]

Diṅnāga (Phyogs-glṅ) is represented as a pupil of Vasubandhu;[136] Dr. Frauwallner however, suggests that he may not have been a personal pupil of Vasubandhu.[137] Diṅnāga was a south Indian Brahmin, born in Kāñcī, was originally a Hīnayānist and later became a Mahāyānist and devoted to the study of the Science of Logic and propagation of the Yogācāra.[138]

His Date and Works

Diṅnāga has been placed by modern writers in the fifth century A.D., mainly on the ground that he was a pupil of Vasubandhu.[139] It is, however, possible to place him in the first half of the sixth century A.D., in as much as his direct pupil Iśvarasena (cir. 600 A.D.) was the teacher of Dharmakīrti (cir. 580-650 A.D.), and in as much as I-tsing places Diṅnāga not in the "middle ages", when Asaṅga and Vasubandhu flourished, but in the "recent" years when flourished Dharmapāla, Dharmakīrti and others.[139a]

Diṅnāga was a celebrated logician and controversialist, and his works were studied as text books on Hetuvidyā during our period. His most famous work, the Pramāṇa-Samuccaya,[140] became the most authoritative śāstra of Buddhist dogmatics in seventh and eighth centuries A.D.[141]

Diṅnāga's Philosophical Position

According to an eminent Vijñānavāda authority of ancient times, Diṅnāga having heard the Yogācarabhūmi-śāstra, gave up Hīnayānism and espoused the Great Vehicle with a view to propagate the "Yoga System".[142] This shows that Diṅnāga was a Yogācārīn, a Vijñānavādin in philosophy. This is confirmed from his works, especially by the Ālaṃbanaparīkṣā, which displays him as a champion of Vijñānavāda idealism.[143] But he differed from the protagonists of the Vijñānavāda, and in fact, criticised Vasubandhu however politely.[144]

A tradition, recorded by a certain Tibetan annalist, includes Diṅnāga among the Ācāryas of the Abhidharma system.[145] Yuan Chwang also indicates Diṅnāga's faith in Hīnayāna before his conversion to the Mahāyāna. Professor Stcherbatsky

points out that Diṅnāga quotes from the Abhidharma of the Sarvāstivādins in support of the formulas of the definition of two pramāṇas.[146] All these points of interest suggest that Diṅnāga represented a hybrid school of philosophy which was drawn on Sarvāstivāda realism and Yogācāra idealism.

Diṅnāga's system may be described as a "system of realistic logic"; compared to the naive realism of the Nyāya School,[147] the system of Diṅnāga appears as a critical and dialectical system; but when we compare it with Candrakīrti's method of reductio ad absurdum, bordering on skepticism, which condemned all experience as hopelessly false (mṛṣā), the doctrine of Diṅnāga appears realistic. His system may best be described as a system of transcendental realism or critical philosophy.

Sources of Knowledge

Diṅnāga reduces the means or sources of knowledge (pramāṇas) to two: (i) Sense Perception (Pratyaksa) and (ii) Inference (Anumāna);[147a] the latter is two fold; for one's own sake (Svārthānumāna), and for the sake of others (Parārthānumāna). Diṅnāga thus injured the Nyaiṿāyika theory in which Śabda (Scriptural testimony) and Upamāna (Comparison) were established as separate means of knowledge. The Brahmanical philosophers from Uddyotakara onwards continually attacked Diṅnāga for the latter's doctrinal assault and logical acumen.[148]

Pratyakṣa

"Sense-perception is that which, being freed from pre-conception, is unconnected with name, genus, &c."[149] This definition of direct knowledge (pratyakṣa jñāna) shows that in Diṅnāga's opinion, perceptual knowledge is pure and unqualified perception, stripped of characters. A clear distinction is made between sensation and imagination.

Anumāna

Diṅnāga's definition of Inference (Anumāna) as quoted by Uddyotkara and attested by Vācaspati Miśra, is as follows : "Experience of a thing as inseparably connected is the instrument of inference, for a person who knows this inseparable connection."[150]

In the second chapter of the Pramāṇasamuccaya, Diṅnāga discusses the views of some logicians who from smoke (which is the middle term), infer fire (the major term), which is inseparably connected with it; he also refers to those, who from smo[illegible]

infer the connection between fire (the major term) and the hill (the minor term).

Against the first mentioned logicians he says that it is already known that smoke is inseparably connected with fire; therefore, those who infer fire from smoke, obtain nothing new. Against the second type of logicians, he says that connection cannot be inferred: connection implies two things, whereas here only one thing (viz., the hill) is visible, the other (viz.,the fire) is invisible. What then is really inferred from smoke ? The answer is: it is neither fire nor connection between fire and the hill, but it is the fiery hill that is inferred.[151]

The inference is divided into two kinds: Inference for oneself (Svārthānumāna) is defined as the knowledge of an object obtained through a mark or sign having one of the three characters: (i) effect (Kārya) that is, the mark may be an effect of that which is inferred; (ii) identity (Svabhāva), the mark may be in essence identical with the thing to be inferred; (iii) non-perception (Anupalabdhi), the non-perception of a mark may be indicative of the non-existence of that which is to be inferred.

Inference for the sake of others (Parārthānumāna) takes place, according to Diṅnāga, when a person demonstrates to others the conclusion drawn by him through an inference for one's self. Diṅnāga has been rightly credited with establishing the distinction between the actual process of reasoning for the ascertainment of truth and the reasoning for another, which latter is in the form of communication by a three membered syllogism.

Before Diṅnāga, the following example of a familar case was cited to help the understanding of the listener:

Example

"The hill is fiery; Because it has smoke; Like a kitchen (example)." Diṅnāga's distinction was that he converted an ordinary example into a universal proposition, a proposition expressive of the universal, invariable connection between the middle term and the major term, e.g.; "The hill is fiery; Because it has smoke; All that has smoke is fiery, as a kitchen (homogeneous example"); and "Whatever is not fiery has no smoke as a lake", (heterogeneous example).[152]

(c) DHARMAKĪRTI

Buddhist logic and critical philosophy made further

remarkable progress at the hands of an Indian Kant, Dharmakīrti (Chos-grags) whose life and works have been discussed above.[153] As I-tsing remarks, Dharmakīrti made further progress in Buddhist logic after Diṅnāga, and discussed the problem of the 'means of proof' in his Pramāṇa-Viniścaya, while critically elaborating the doctrines of Diṅnāga in the Pramāṇavārttika.[154]

RIGHT KNOWLEDGE

(i) DIRECT KNOWLEDGE

Right knowledge is the knowledge not contradicted by experience; all successful human endeavours are preceded by right knowledge. This right knowedge is of two kinds: (i) direct (Pratyakṣa) and (ii) indirect (Anumāna). In other words, two are the sources of right knowedge: Perception and Inference. Perception (Pratyakṣa) or perceptive knowledge is knowledge which is free from 'Construction' (Judgement) and 'illusion'; that is to say, direct knowledge is non-constructive and non-illusive cognition.[155]

Dharmakīrti, thus adds one more condition of right knowledge to the definition of Diṅnāga, namely the compound 'abhrānta' "non-illusive'. Right knowledge should be not only 'stripped of characters (Kalpanāpoḍha) but also 'free from illusions' (abhrānta).

Varieties of Direct Knowledge

This direct knowledge[156] is four fold: (i) sensation (indriya jñāna), (ii) mental sensation (mano vijñāna) (iii) self-consciousness (ātma-saṃvedana) and (iv) mystic intuition of the Saint (Yogijñāna).

The usual definition of sense-perception states that it is a cognition produced by the senses or by a stimulus applied by an object on the senses.[157] But this definition was found defective; the Buddhist philosophers, perhaps knowingly, left out the condition of the contact between the object and the senses. By doing so they could include in direct knowledge, such perceptions as Sva-Saṃvitti and Yogijñāna, which are not wholly sensuous.

The Buddhist view of sense-perception, is that it is a pure

sensation, a sensuous sensation, the first moment of perception; its salient feature is that it is non-conceptual, non-constructive. In order to emphasise this, Dharmottara says that "perception is a source of knowledge whose function of making the object present in the ken is followed by the construction of its image."[158] This single moment of pure sensation, 'a point-instant', the philosopher tells us, is an absolute particular, beyond the reach of our knowledge.[159] But this is real and is proved by direct knowledge.[160]

After pure sensation, the next variety is that of mental sensation. Sensation is immediately followed by mental sensation; the former is thus the immediately preceding homogeneous cause; and the latter cooperates with the corresponding moment of the momentary object of sensation.[161]

Third variety of direct knowledge is revealed by the fact that "every consciousness and every mental phenomenon are self-conscious." Every mental state and every mind are self conscious. We are conscious of our existence. This aspect of our knowledge is a direct knowledge; our knowledge is self-luminous like a lamp.[162]

The fourth variety of direct knowledge is the intuition of the Saint which is "produced from the sub-culminational state of deep meditation on transcendental reality."[163] The yogi-pratyakṣa is, in fact, the vivid and immediate image or vision of truth which the yogin is capable of obtaining through special spiritual training and contemplation. Buddha's knowledge of Four Truths belongs to this category of direct knowledge.

Object of Right Knowledge

The object of this type of right knowledge, i.e., direct knowledge, is 'Sva-lakṣaṇa', the utterly unique, extreme particular.[164] This sva-lakṣaṇa is an entity in itself, an essence which is unique and uncommon, not shared by anything else.[165]

It is the distinction of this school of critical philosophy, to which Diṅnāga and Dharmakīrti belonged, that the 'unique particular' (which is different from the 'general') is a 'Thing-in-itself"; "it is the absolute particular, the limit of all synthetic construction"; it is a transcendental reality which cannot be realised in a definite representation (jñānena prāpayituṃ aṣakyatvāt); it is the absolute reality which underlies every efficient empirical reality (dāhādy-artha-kriyā).[166]

Here we find a doctrine of Absolute Reality, as indescribable 'Point-instant', against the utter relativity or vacuity of the Mādhyamikas. Candrakīrti, in spite of Diṅnāga, held even the "Thing-in-Itself" to be relative.[167] It is well known that for the Buddhist the only reality is the efficient-point-instant; to be real means to be efficient; to exist means to produce an effect (artha-krīyā-kāritva); all else is thought construction imagination and interpretation. Only particular is the real which is a moment, a point-instant (kṣaṇa).

Dharmottara says "That which is apprehended in direct perception is the unique." This means that the unique particular is the exclusive object of sense-perception.[168] According to Dharmakīrti, "That alone (which is unique) represents ultimate reality. Because the essence of reality is just efficiency."[169]

Further, real is only the particular, the unique point of efficient moment, not the constructed object. An object, which does not represent the unique point, is general (sāmānya); that is to say, 'different from the unique particular, is the character of the universal (sāmānya)' which latter is the object of inference or indirect knowledge.[170]

(ii) INDIRECT KNOWLEDGE

The second type of right knowledge is the 'indirect knowledge', its source is 'inference'. Inference (anumāna) is of two kinds: for oneself and for others. "A cognition which is produced (indirectly) through a mark that has a three fold aspect, and which refers to an object, (not perceived, but) inferred—is internal inference (Svārthānumāna)."[171]

The three aspects (trairūpya) of the mark (liṅga) are (i) its existence in the object cognised by inference; (ii) its presence only in similar (sapakṣa) cases; and (iii) its absolute absence in dissimilar cases.[172]

Dr. Keith observed that here an advance is made on Diṅnāga in the process of examination of the conditions of a correct middle term.

Dharmakīrti further shows that the cases, where there is the invariable concomitance, are limited to three only. These three varieties of the three-aspected logical mark are: (i) Negation (Anupalabdhi), (ii) Identity (Svabhāva), and (iii)

Causation (Kārya).[173] Knowledge derived through Svārthānumāna is, therefore, of three main types: (i) Here there is no jar; because it is not perceived although the conditions of perception are fulfilled (negation); (ii) This is a tree; because it is a pine (relation of identity); and (iii) Here there is fire; because there is smoke (relation of cause and effect), the cause (fire) is inferred from effect (smoke).[174]

Inference for the sake of others (parārthānumāna) or syllogism, consists in communicating the three aspects of the middle term, when the reason is set out in words to produce a conviction in others.[175] Dharmakīrti was a critical realist from logical standpoint; he was an idealist in philosophy; but his idealism is not identical with the dogmatic Vijñānavāda of the early Yogācāras. He was a transcendental idealist. Specially noteworthy is the omission of the theory of the 'Store-house-consciousness' (Ālaya-Vijñāna). Professor Stcherbatsky[176] observes that "the Pramāṇa-Vārttika never mentions the ālaya-vijñāna doctrine and there is evidence enough to maintain that Dharmakīrti rejected it as a soul in disguise." According to a Tibetan authority[177] "Ārya Vimuktasena, and Haribhadra and also Dharmakīrti in his 'seven treatises' hold that the theory of 'stored consciousness' is an arrow shot into darkness." The same authority quotes a work called the 'Ornament of the Seven Treatises" by Gendundub, wherein it is stated that "those who maintain that in the system of Seven Treatises the 'Store-Consciousness' doctrine is admitted, are blind men (living) in the darkness of their own ignorance."[177]

Philosophical Position of Dharmakīrti

That Dharmakīrti believed in the doctrine of Sva-Saṃvedana or Self-Consciousness like the Vijñānavādins, and held the reality of external objects on logical grounds and in refined technology, is clear from the Nyāya-Bindu as well as the Sarva-Darśana-Saṃgraha.[178] In the Sarva-Darśana-Saṃgraha of Madhvācārya the view of Dharmakīrti is specifically quoted and he is referred to as an Yogācārin. His definition of sense-perception hints at his Sautrāntika side of logical reasoning. Perception according to Dharmakīrti, as we have seen, consists in the apprehension of an object in its own specific character; knowledge thus obtained is free from imagination and illusion.

The light of consciousness makes the dead matter shine and if one were to suppose that consciousness is hidden and veiled in itself and by itself, one cannot explain how knowledge can arise at all. Therefore, "self-subsistent cognition must be allowed, or it will follow that the whole universe is blind. It has conformably been proclaimed by Dharmakīrti, 'to one who dis-allows perception the vision of objects is not competent' ", (Sarva-Darśana-Saṃgraha, Eng. transl. Cowell and Gough, p. 24).

Sva-saṃvedana

In the Nyāya-Bindu, as noted above, Dharmakīrti declares that "Every consciousness and every mental phenomenon are self-conscious" (Nyāya-Bindu, I.10; B.L., II, p. 29). In a number of verses of the Pramāṇa-vārttika, he affirms the Vijñaptimātratā and Sva-Saṃvitti. Thus at one place he says that if thought reflects external objects then it should be held to have the form of that object. Now the thought will rest in the form, and the external object would be unnecessary; since the external object is never known by itself, but only in conjunction with thought, its separate assumption is groundless.[178a]

Else-where he says though there is no diversity, the intellect, owing to illusory perceptions, appears to possess a duality of cognitions, of percepts and of percipient.[178b]

The tenet of Sva-Saṃvedana is put forth more poignantly in the following Kārikā:

Dhiyā' tadrūpayā jñāne niruddhenubhavaḥ kutaḥ ।
Svānca rūpaṃ na sā vettītyutsannonubhavo'-rthinaḥ ॥

—(Pramāṇavārttika-Bhāṣyaṃ, Ed. R. Sāṃkṛtyāyana, p. 429, verse 427).

"Perception of an object is impossible if perception itself is unperceived" (apratyakṣopalaṃbhaṣya nārtha dṛṣṭiḥ prasiddhyati).[178c]

The difference between the objects is due to vāsanās and not due to external objects; in other words, the (form of) thought is determined by Vāsanās and not by objects. (Pramāṇavārttika-Bhāṣyaṃ, Ed. Sāṃkṛtyāyana, p. 390, verse 337. Kasyacitkiñcidevāntarvāsanāyāḥ prabodhakaṃ, tatodhiyā viniyamo na bāhyārthāvyapekṣayā).

In short, the identity of percipient and percept is inferrable thus; that which is cognised by consciousness is nothing else than that consciousness; e.g., the mind is no other than the

cognition of the mind; and blue and other momentary objects are cognised by cognitions. If there were a difference (between percept and percipient) the object could not be connected with cognition, there being no identity to determine the constant connection, and nothing to account for the rise of such a connection. As far as the interval between the object and consciousness is concerned this is an illusion, like the vision of two moons when there is only one. The cause of this illusion is ideation of difference in a stream without beginning and without interruption. Therefore, it is declared that "As invariably cognised together, the blue and the cognition thereof are identical; and the difference should be accounted for by illusory cognitions, as in the example of the single moon" (SDS, Eng. transl., p. 25). The following verse quoted in the Sarva-Darśana-Saṃgraha :

Sahopalaṃbhaniyamādabhedo nīlataddhiyoḥ ।
bhedaśca bhrānti-vijñānai-r-dṛśyetendāvivādvaye ॥[178d]

seems to belong either to Diṅnāga or to Dharmakīrti. In Dharmakīrti's Pramāṇavārttika, the second line of this śloka occurs, and is put among the verses containing the same idea as has been put forth above. It appears that Dharmakīrti has commented upon the verse 'sahopalaṃbha niyamādabhedo nīlataddhiyoḥ' in the following two ślokas, Pramāṇavārttika-Bhāsyaṃ, Ed. Sāṃkṛtyāyana, pp. 409-410, verse 388-389 :—

Sakṛtsaṃvedyamānasya, niyamena dhiyāsaha ।
Viṣayasya tato'nyattvaṃ kenākāreṇa siddhyati ॥
Bhedaścaya bhrānti vijñānairdṛ śyetendāvivādvayaṃ ।
Saṃvitti niyamo nāsti bhinnayo rnīlapītayo ॥

Besides these, the doctrine of the identity of the percept and the percipient is emphasised in Pramāṇavārttika Bhāṣyaṃ, p. 397, verse 355, p. 416, verse 398 also.

Buddhist Transcendentalism and Historical Tradition and Rational Dialectics

It is important to note that in spite of the growth of intellectualism, scholasticism, logical subtlties, dialectics and disputations among the Buddhists of this period, and in spite of the fact that the sages and scholars of the Mahāyāna were preoccupied with the task of rationally expounding and defending their doctrines in current logical technology, they remained religious men at heart. Candrakīrti Dharmakīrti, Śāntirakṣita, Kamalaśīla and

Dharmottara, the towering personalities in the galaxy of Buddhist philosophers of the age, never for a moment seem to forget the essential and fundamental position of Buddhist mysticism and transcendentalism. Even Diṅnāga, the Father of Buddhist Logic, and the systematiser of the critical philosophy of Buddhism, who inaugurated, perhaps, consciously, an age of historical debates and tense doctrinal controversies in the history of Indian thought, observes, that the "Climax of Wisdom is Monism". In the very final Absolute subject and object coalesce. This 'Climax of Wisdom' (Prajñāpāramitā), this spiritual 'Non-Duality', says the philosopher, is identical with Absolute, the Buddha.[178e] Commenting upon this statement of Diṅnāga, Dr. Stcherbatsky, rightly remarks that "philosophy here passes into religion" (B.L., I, p. 512). Towards the end of his great polemical treatise of three thousand six hundred and forty-six memorial verses, Śāntirakṣita points out that whatever Buddha wishes to know, He comes to know without fail; having secured the knowledge of all things, "He becomes the Lord", and that, what is apprehended by "the Mystic Consciousness" is not that universal which is discussed by people as real; the "Reality" apprehended by the Mystic Consciousness is "Unutterable", and transcends thought and imagination (vide T.S., cspl. vv. 3628-3629, 3635-3636; Eng. Translation, Vol. II, pp. 1573-1576).

Even Dharmakīrti, despite his rich arsenal of logic, commits himself thus. "The essence of consciousness is undivided, subject and object is an illusive division. Their unity is Buddha's Omniscience, his spiritual Body." (See his verse quoted above, and B.L., I, p. 537). We may also note that he gave prominent place to Yogijñāna (mystic intuition) among the means of proof or sources of right knowledge. His definition of sense-perception and his view that the object of right knowledge is the unspeakable, unique particular, also point to his mystical and transcendental attitude, (vide Nyāyabindu, I.4; I.11; I.12; B.L., II, pp. 14, 30, 33).

Diṅnāga says that "Dharma is not the subject of logical reasoning"; one who seeks to lead to Absolute Truth by way of logical reasoning "will be very far from the teaching of Buddha, and fail"; logic is 'uncertain' (anitya), merely empirical and limited to conventional truth (saṃvṛti), and is 'of interest only

to the foolish people' (bālāśraya) and at least 'tiresome' (khedavāna) (Pramāṇa-Samuccaya quoted by Dr. Conze, Buddhist Thought in India, London, 1962, p. 265).

Candrakīrti, the unsurpassed dialectician, stoutly maintained that the ultimate reality can be cognised only in mystic intuition (Madhyamaka-vṛtti, B.B. ed., p. 58; Eng. translation in Stcherbatsky, Conception of Nirvāṇa, p. 140) and that the Absolute is unspeakable and the saints maintain a "noble silence" when questioned on this point (Madhyamaka-Vṛtti, p. 57).

What is the need of logic ? Diṅnāga answers that although logic cannot lead to the Absolute, yet we study it in order to correct the mistakes of the realisıs; the realists are bunglers in logic; they have given wrong definitions, we only correct them; in logic we explain the daily experience of life scientifically, describe the sources of knowledge and their respective objects; but we do not accept their transcendentality (B.L., I, p. 539).

It is thus clear that Buddhist logic and dialectics were the product of historical tradition and social circumstances. The Buddhist philosophers were mystics at heart; they developed logic and rational dialectic in order to defend their fundamental transcendental and mystical position. When the validity of Saddharma was questioned, the omniscience of Buddha challenged, the philosopher-mystic could not face the circumstance by having a recourse to the scriptures which had no evidential value for the opponent; nor could he dissociate the truth from the intuitional gnostic experience within which it operates.

As a matter of historical necessity therefore, the spiritual experience and meditational background had to be detached (for the sake of argument) and Buddhist truth had to be reduced to a series of rational propositions and logical conventions which were commonly accepted by both the parties. Hence the definition of perception as pure sensation (Kalpanāpoḍha) and hence also its object as the unique particular (Svalakṣaṇa). This definition of perception as pure sensation, bereft of all characters, is unlike any thing that is known as common sense perception; and the definition of its object as the un-utterable Thing-in-itself is a pointer to the unspeakable state of Nirvāṇa which the Yogīn, free from fetters, self-possessed ard calmed (sītībhūto) enjoys through scientia intuitiva.[178f]

Section V

ŚĀNTIRAKṢITA'S STATEMENT OF BUDDHIST DOCTRINES

There are indications in the Tattva-Saṃgraha and its Pañjikā, that Buddhist philosophy of transcendental idealism, critical realism and universal flux, reached its acme in the hands of Śāntirakṣita and Kamalaśīla at the close of our period. There seems to be some confusion with regard to the correct standpoint of these two philosophers.

(I) PHILOSOPHICAL STANDPOINT OF ŚĀNTIRAKṢITA AND KAMALAŚILA

(a) INDICATIONS OF THEIR BEING MĀDHYAMIKA

The structure of the Tattva-Saṃgraha indicates its Mādhyamika character;[179] the opening verses of it and the author's obeisance to the Teacher of the Law of Dependent Origination, as also the method of 'parīkṣa' of various theories and concepts adopted in this work, at once remind us of the techniques of Nāgārjuna, manifested in the Mādhyamika-Śāstra and the Dvādaśamukha-Śāstra.[180] The dominant note of the TS is refutation and the work is largely polemical.

Besides this, Śāntirakṣita is said to have written a work entitled Mādhyamikālaṅkāra-Kārikā;[181] this work is extant in Tibetan translation and as its name suggests, seems to be a Mādhyamika text. Bu-ston includes Śāntirakṣita and Kamalaśīla among the "Yogācāra-Mādhyamikas."[182] Gos-lo-tsaba puts Śāntirakṣita in the lineage of Nāgārjuna, Bhavya, Śrī Gupta and Jñānagarbha;[183] Khai-ḍub states that Bhāvaviveka and Jñānagarbha were "Sautrāntika-Mādhyamika-Svātantrikas,"[184] while Bu-ston expressly includes these two Doctors among the 'Yogācāra-Mādhyamikas' along with Śrīgupta, Śāntirakṣita, Kamalaśīla and Haribhadra.[185] Besides, from the accounts of the debate of bSam Yas (so called 'Council of Lhasa'), in which Kamalaśīla defeated the Dhyāna Master Mahāyāna Hva-Saṅ, we learn that in philosophy the doctrine of Nāgārjuna was decided to be followed and in practice the 'Gradual Method' of 'Gnosis' and 'Means'.[186]

(b) INDICATIONS OF THEIR BEING VIJNĀNAVĀDIN

Dr. B. Bhattacharya held, on the basis of Tattva-Siddhi, a Vajrayāna work alleged to be from the pen of Śāntirakṣita, that Śāntirakṣita "was a Vijñānavādin, or more correctly a Vajrayānist." The MS. of the Tattva-Siddhi is said to lay emphasis on Vijñāna, and a passage from the Tattva-Saṃgraha is said to have been quoted in this MS.[187] The Tattva-Saṃgraha and its Pañjikā clearly support the doctrine of "Sva-Saṃvedana" and its 'self-luminous' nature.[188] The author of the Bhāvanākrama, to wit, Kamalaśila, sympathetically quotes the Vijñānavāda view that the universe is a mere ideation.[189] Both Śāntirakṣita and Kamalaśīla, accept at many places, the views of Diṅnāga and Dharmakīrti concerning the self-cognising consciousness.[190]

(c) INDICATIONS OF THEIR BEING SAUTRĀNTIKA

According to Khai-ḍub, Śāntirakṣita founded a separate school, "another school of the Mādhyamikas", after the split made by the controversies between Buddhapālita and Bhāvaviveka. The main tenets of this new school, which were expounded in the Mādhyamikālaṅkāra by Śāntirakṣita, were as follows :

(1) Denial of the reality of the external world;

(2) Acceptance of the doctrine of "introspective perception" (i.e. sva-saṃvitti); and

(3) the view that consciousness was not an ultimate reality—"differing in this from the Yogācāra Vijñānavādins." Khai-ḍub designates this school as "that of Yogācāra-Mādhyamika-Svātantrika", perhaps, appropriately enough.[191] According to this source Śāntirakṣita was neither thoroughly Śūnyavādin nor thoroughly, Vijñānavadin.

The fact, that Bhāvaviveka and Śāntirakṣita belonged to the same philosophical standpoint, as is affirmed not only by Bu-ston but also by Gos-lo-tsaba,[192] is important and sets one thinking. (i) Bhāvaviveka, according to Yuan Chwang, wore the "garb of the Sāṃkhya" though he was a follower of Nāgārjuna.[193] This points to the admission by Bhavya of some sort of realistic doctrines. Indeed, Khaiḍub expressly says that

Bhavya as well as Jñānagarbha (the author of a "Svātantrika Work", Mādhyamika-Satya-dvaya) represented a system which "maintained the reality of external objects from the Empirical Standpoint."[194] Apart from these Chinese and Tibetan testimonies, the works of Bhāvaviveka also indicate that he recognised the science of logic and its efficacy, and admitted the empirical reality of the external objects (tathya-saṃvṛti').[195] Moreover, whenever, he condemned and denied the existence of empirical world, he did so "from the Absolute standpoint."[196] Like Diṅnāga, Bhavya was a logician, a critical realist in logic, and a transcendentalist in philosophy. We know that Candrakīrti attacked Bhavya for the latter's faith in logic, in tathya-saṃvṛti and in maintaining a positive thesis. We also know Candrakīrti's assault on Diṅnāga.[197]

In short, Bhāvaviveka made the same revolution in Mādhyamika thought which Diṅnāga made in the Vijñānavāda; both these Doctors were influenced by the Sautrāntika doctrines, and we shall, perhaps, be not far from truth to suggest that Śāntirakṣita accepted the views of Bhāvaviveka and Diṅnāga and not of Vasubandhu and Candrakīrti. The fact that Śāntirakṣita does not expound the uncompromising tenets of Nāgārjuna nor of Vasubandhu the author of the Vijñāptimātratā-Siddhi, but adopts a logical and critically realistic standpoint, shows that, the author of the TS and his faithful commentator, were attempting a synthesis of Mādhyamika, Yogācāra and Sautrāntika tenets.

Śāntirakṣita perhaps makes a clear reference to the views of Bhāvaviveka (though the name of this Doctor is not specified) when he says, "Even those who regard all things as featureless (devoid of characters), always have recourse to such qualifying terms as 'Truly' and the like."[198] As if to make the point clearer, Kamalaśīla adds that "In fact it must be admitted by all men that the fact that a thing is somehow existent is quite certainly recognised."[199] Moreover, a passage in the Bhāvanākrama of Kamalaśīla bears a striking resemblance to a passage in the Karatalaratna of Bhavya. The passage concerns the principle of non-duality.[200]

(2) BUDDHIST DOCTRINES STATED

Śāntirakṣita, after having criticised at length the doctrines

concerning God, Matter, World, and Soul, commits himself thus: "All this effort is made needlessly as all such doctrines are really set aside by the well established doctrine of the Perpetual Flux of things."[201] So important and so fundamental is this doctrine of impermanence of things that, Kamalaśīla regards this as the climax of Buddhist Philosophy, and says that, without doing much labour, we could have with one stroke (eka prahāreṇa eva) demolished all these theories of permanent entities quite easily (svalpa Upāyena) had we applied our great doctrine of momentariness.[202]

(a) DOCTRINE OF EXISTENCE (KṢAṆIKA-VĀDA)[203]

In accordance with their admission of a two-fold source of knowledge (perceptive and inferential) the Buddhist philosophers of this school postulate a double existence—Particular and general or universal. The first is cognised through sense perception, the second through understanding or reason. This existence, they further maintain, consists of momentary, discreet entities which are in a state of perpetual flux and are by nature impermanent. The idea of an all pervasive matter, eternal and durable, is a figment of imagination. All existence without exception is momentary; things are instantaneous.

Definition of Kṣaṇa

'Moment' or Kṣaṇa is that form of the thing which ceases as soon as it originates; a thing which has this character is called 'momentary' or Kṣaṇika. The nature of a thing is not different from the thing itself. The term Kṣaṇika is applied by the wise to the thing that does not continue to exist after its coming into existence.[204] In other words existence is identical with moment; existence is a point-instant.

Definition of the Real

Kamalaśīla observes that what is normally regarded by the people as real (vastu), is proved by us (Buddhists) to be momentary. These real things, i.e., the objects of some purposeful actions, are called entities or things by the intelligent persons; they are so called because they are capable of producing some useful action. This rule is universal and there is no exception to this; we might even say that this feature (i.e. the capacity to produce a purposive action) is conterminous with existence.

The real is, therefore, an efficient entity (artha-kriyā-kārī).[205] The essence of this reality (pratītyasamutpāḍaḥ), says Śāntirakṣita, is motion (Cala);[206] this real which is 'Cala' (Cala-bhāva-svarūpa) is momentary (Kṣaṇika). Causation, i.e., the interdependence of Kśaṇas following one another, produces the illusion of stability and uninterrupted continuity, but these moments are discreet and without any enduring substance in them.[207]

The Buddhist is thus an advocate of the dynamic constitution of things and he genuinely maintains that there is no existence, no reality which is static and stationary; things are in perpetual motion, constantly originating constantly ceasing without any break (nirantara).

In this school of thought, 'existence', 'reality', 'change', 'efficiency' are synonymous, applicable to a real fact. For example, a jar (ghaṭ) which is produced by the labour of a potter, is describable as variable, as a product, having an origin, as efficient and as existent. This truth is borne out by the following doctrinal declarations: "Whatever is real is changing"; "Whatsoever is produced by a conscious effort is impermanent."[208]

Non-existence does not exist; non-existence or annihilation is a mere name, nothing corresponds to it; a thing is never annihilated. The Universal is not something residing in the particular, it is a mere idea, a pseudo-idea like the idea of space and time. Existence is efficiency, and efficiency is the thing itself; causality is the dependent origination of things originating; these things themselves are the causes; there is no causality besides their existence.[209]

Contradictions of the Doctrine of Permanance

Śāntirakṣita puts forth, as an argument in support of the doctrine of momentariness, a remarkable formula, namely, that "the momentary thing represents its own annihilation", that is, "the destruction in the form of the momentary thing appears along with the thing itself."[210] This means that every thing ceases as soon as it arises, it does not survive in the next moment; if it stayed on, it would be eternal and not Kṣaṇika, because it would go on staying in the subsequent moments. But an eternal thing like Ākāśa etc., is a fiction, a flower growing in the sky.

The Ākāśa and the like have been held to be uncreated and permanent (e.g. by the Realistic Buddhists),[211] but these are really non-existent in the form of entities; because they are devoid of all potentiality. They cannot be called even momentary (as only the real is the momentary), like the son of a barren woman.

Space, Time, God and the rest which are supposed to be existent, could never have an existence if they were not momentary; permanent things cannot serve any purposive action, either successively or simultaneously, they are therefore, non-existent: If you accept the permanence of the thing, you cannot accept its fruitful activity as succession and simultaneity.[212]

(b) DOCTRINE OF 'MEANING' (APOHA-VĀDA)

The philosophers of our school made, as noted above, a sharp differenciation between direct and indirect knowledge.[213] This fact seems to have led to the development of a new and striking theory about the import of words.[214] Ordinary experience admits some sort of a relation between a word and the object. The Buddhist holds that the word does not represent the actual object, it only negates what the object is not.

Our knowledge, our concepts, our language and all the namable things are dialectical. The words do not signify anything positive, or an essence or a universal; they merely denote an exclusion (apoha) or negation of everything else.

"Every word or every conception is correlative with its counterpart and that is the only definition that can be given. Therefore all our definitions are concealed classifications, taken from some special point of view. The thing defined is characterised negatively. What the colour 'blue' is, e.g., we cannot tell, but we may divide all colours in blue and non-blue.The definition of blue will be that it is not non-blue and, vice versa, the definition of non-blue that it is not the blue."[215] Such in short is the meaning of apoha.

Development of the Theory of Apoha

It was Diṅnāga, who, for the first-time, evaluated the doctrine of Apoha in Buddhist thought in the fifth chapter of his Pramāṇa-Samuccaya. Dharmakīrti discussed the problem in the first chapter of the Pramāṇavārtika. His pupil Dharmottara wrote a special work on it, the Apohanāma-prakaraṇa, extent in Tibetan. Śāntirakṣita devoted

one of the biggest chapters of his Tattva-Saṃgraha, the XVIth chapter, containing 345 verses, to the discussion of Sabda-Artha-Parīkṣā, and Kamalasīla added an equally voluminous comment thereto. Ratnakīrti wrote a short text, the Apoha-Siddhi[216] (in the 10th century A.D.). Vācaspati Miśra gives a fairly detailed account of the theory if 'Neglected Difference' (Bheda-agrāha) held by the Idealistic Buddhist Logicians (Nyāya-Vādino Bauddhāḥ).[217]

There are three distinguishable land marks in the career of the Buddhist doctrine of Apoha. (i) In the first place, in Diṅnāga, Apoha or Anyāpoha had a purely negative meaning, apoha stood for pure negation; (ii) in the next phase, probably in Śāntirakṣita, Apoha is given a new meaning, it was "supposed to stand for a positive conceptual construction, a purely subjective idea"; and (iii) in the hands of Ratnakīrti, we find the old sense given to it by Diṅnāga is restored.[218]

The Import of Words

In this school of critical philosophy, words and names do not represent the true nature of things. "The name can express its own meaning only by repudiating the opposite meaning."[219] Knowledge that is derived from the words and names is in principle identical with inference. "Language is not a separate source of knowledge and names are not the adequate or direct expressions of reality. Names correspond to images or concepts, they express only universals. As such they are in no way the reflex of Reality, since reality consists of particulars, not of universals."[220]

Jinendrabuddhi, commenting upon the above view of Diṅnāga, says "Therefore the meaning of a word consists in a repudiation of the discrepant meaning."[221] Or to put it otherwise: "the repudiation of the contrary is the exclusive meaning (of every word)."[222]

At the outset in the second śloka of the Tattva-Saṃgraha, Śāntirakṣita says that "(the Truth) is amenable to words and cognitions only in an assumed (superimposed) form."[223] He as well as Kamalaśīla, maintain that though the words are mere concepts and notions, there being no basis for them, "the only basis for them consists in the seed located in the purely subjective consciousness",[224] yet they indirectly refer to the particular real thing. This 'Thing' itself is Negation (Apoha);

it is a unique thing in as much as it is "Ontological" (arthātmaka) negation.[225]

Śāntirakṣita and Kamalasīla argue as follows:

The essence of entities is such that whatever is said to be object of a verbal expression is never really perceived, whether it be specific individuality or the like.[226] Specific individuality cannot be denoted by words, because it can have no connection with the time of convention and usage.[227] Because the 'thing conceived by convention is never met within actual usage; even within the specific individualities, e.g., the Himālaya, which does not differ with time and place, there are atoms which differ with time and place, and are therefore changing and momentary.[228]

That the names and ideas do not represent realities is clear from the following; the idea of 'heat' which follows when we hear the word 'hot' is not so distinct as the perception of the hot thing brought about by sense-organ. It is therefore wrong to think of any connection between the particular and the word; nor does the 'thing' appear in the cognition brought about by the word, just as taste does not appear in the cognition of the colour. As regards the form of consciousness, it rests in the consciousness itself and does not follow the object, therefore the form of consciousness also cannot denote the import of words.[229] The examination of 'words' and 'names' is concluded thus: just as a man of diseased vision says to another man of diseased vision that 'there are two moons', so also is all verbal usage.[230]

(c) DOCTRINE OF CAUSATION (PRATITYA-SAMUTPĀDA)

Śāntirakṣita pays homage to Buddha as "the Best of Expounders of the Doctrine of Pratītya-Samutpāda", and Kamalaśīla says that "Of all the gems of Buddhist thought the doctrine of causation is the excellent gem."[231] The doctrine of causation as evaluated by the Buddhist philosophers of our period seems to be a direct outcome of their doctrine of universal momentariness. 'Causality', 'reality', 'efficiency' and 'momentariness' are interchangeable terms in this system.

The phrase pratītyasamutpāda means 'contingent co-production' or 'combined Dependent Origination.' Existence

means efficiency; this efficiency is nothing but the capacity to produce or cause something. This something is nothing but the point-instant, the efficient moment, caused by the preceding efficient moment. The universe is a moving show of these momentary entities that are causes themselves. "Whatsoever exists is a cause, cause and existence are synonymous (yā bhūtiḥ saiva kriyā)."[232] "Causation is Kinetic". What exists is always acting, always moving; it is an illusion that a thing exists placidly, that it exists without acting; what does not act, does not exist; action is motion, this motion itself is causation.[234]

Replying to a criticism by Uddyotakara, Kamalaśila remarks that "the Buddhists, who are conversant with Logic, hold that a non-cause is necessarily a non-reality."[235] The old formula of causation, to wit, "asmin sati idaṃ bhavati", is too well known.[236] But during our period the doctrine of causation, like other Buddhist doctrines, is stated dialectically; says Kamalaśīla, "The relation of an agent to the instrument and (to the object of his action) is not ultimately real; because all real elements are momentary and cannot work at all."[237]

Dharmottara, in reply to a critic who remarks that if causation is only imagined, it cannot be real, says: "Yes, but although serial existences (i.e., objects having duration) are not realities, their members (santāninas), the points instant, are the reality....."[238] "When an effect is produced, we do not really experience causation itself as a sensible fact (separately from the effect). But the existence of a real effect presupposes the existence of a real cause, therefore (indirectly) the relation of causality is also necessarily a real one." i.e., empirical causality is contingently real.[239]

The doctrine of momentariness proves that the cause is momentary and the effect is also momentary; cause had come into existence at the first moment and it does not exist at the second moment when the effect has appeared. Cause and effect cannot exist simultaneously; it is not the case that the effect comes into existence by firmly embracing its cause like the tight embracement of the lover and the beloved; the cause does not catch hold of the effect with a pincer. So the simultaneity of cause and effect is not possible.[240]

Kamalaśīla sums up the doctrine by saying that as a matter of fact, neither the cause nor the effect do any work, they are

powerless and aimless or 'unemployed'; the whole universe is entirely devoid of activity. It is only a metaphorical description or a conventional expression that we say a cause produces something. We should rather say that "the effect arises in functional dependence on such and such a thing".[241]

If it be asked: what is this 'function' or 'operation' and what is this 'dependence' (i.e. the 'need' of the effect), the answer is as follows: 'the effect appears immediately after the existence of the cause, hence this existence itself may be called the operation'; 'the dependence of the effect on the cause, or the need that an effect has of the cause, consists in the fact that the effect comes into existence immediately after the cause.' The cause is the Thing by itself, the bare thing, without any form or operation.[242]

(d) DOCTRINE OF CONSCIOUSNESS (VIJÑĀNAVĀDA)

It has been noted above that this critical school of Buddhist philosophy, inaugurated by Diṅnāga, admits, with a peculiar adjustment and coordination, the doctrines of Absolute Monism, Idealism and Critical Realism.[243] The doctrine of the reality of 'Self-Consciousness' (Sva-saṃvedana) is fundamental to this school and Kamalaśīla supports his statements by citations from Diṅnāga and Dharmakīrti. It should be noted however, that while Diṅnāga and Dharmakīrti who call themselves idealists, and are, in fact, realists in Logic and idealistic monists in metaphysics and ontology, their successors, Śāntirakṣita and Kamalaśīla, while accepting the doctrine of 'Introspective Ideation' (Sva-saṃvitti) are not thorough going Idealists. Though old arguments of Idealism are given, but Vijñānavāda of Śāntirakṣita and Kamalaśīla does not maintain that Consciousness Alone (Vijñāptimātratā) is the one and only reality. This is clear from the following lines.

In the fourth verse, in the opening of the Tattva-Saṃgraha, Śāntirakṣita describes pratītya-samutpāda (which, as we have seen, appertains to the inter-dependence of the entities or serial existences) as 'resembling the reflection of things (prati-biṃbādisannibhaṃ).[244] This, says Kamalaśīla, is the standpoint of the idealistic Buddhists, who maintain that, the entire universe comprising the three fold phenomena, is mere Ideation

(Vijñāna).[245] But he challenges the contention of the Monists who maintain the unique reality of the One Immutable Whole (yathopaniṣad vādināṃ). He says, the Vijñāna of the Buddhist Idealists is not like that.[246]

Unreality of the External World

This consciousness (Vijñānaṃ) is infinitely manifold (Anantaṃ), changing every moment (pratikṣaṇa-viśārāru) and is pure and bright and manifests itself in all beings (ojāyate sarvaprāṇabhṛtaṃ). This Vijñāna alone exists, the existence of objective, non-mental world, is impossible. It is impossible for two reasons: (a) it involves contradiction, and (b) the comprehension of it (i.e. of objective world) is incomprehensible.[247]

The theory of the reality of the external world (bahiraartha) is fraught with contradictions as would be clear from the following antinomy (ekāneka-svabhāvaṃ i.e. paramāṇu (atom) and avayavīn (conglomeration of atoms).[248] The external object must be either simple or composite (i.e., it must be either in the form of an atom or, in the form of an aggregate of atoms); there is no third possibility.[249] If it is proved that it is neither one simple thing nor a composite thing, it would as a matter of course, be proved that it is nothing, like a flower in the sky (Vyomotpalaṃ). Indeed a sky flower is neither simple nor composite.

That the composite must consist of simple parts is proved by the following manner. Suppose these parts are taken one by one until the smallest uncompound remains. This last residue would be indivisible and unextended, like the 'point-instant', a momentary feeling, therefore, it would be incorporal, a mere idea.[250]

Another argument may thus be pressed against the realists. Granting that a simple unit, an atom, is surrounded by other such atoms, the question then arises does it face the surrounding atoms, the one in front and the one in the back, by the same face or not. If it faces them by the same face, the atoms will coalesce and there would be no composition. If it faces them by two different faces, it will have two faces and also two parts. It will be a composite thing.[251]

According to the theory (of the Realists) says Śāntirakṣita, an atom must be a simple, one; but it cannot be so

because the parts also are held (by them) to be atoms. The upshot is that the atom is a non-entity; like a sky lotus, it is neither one nor many.[252] The same fate awaits the composite, said to be an aggregate of those misleading atoms.

Reality of Consciousness

Referring to the view of the Upaniṣadic Vedāntins that "there is nothing which is endowed with the character of apprehensibility; and all this is a mere modification of manifestations of consciousness", the philosopher says that "there is only a slight error in this philosophy, due only to the assertion that this consciousness is eternal (Nitya)."[253] Kamalaśīla also affirms that "the view that consciousness is the only entity is quite reasonable" but the doctrine of an "Eternal Consciousness" is not right.[254] It is, however, a fact that Idea or Consciousness alone exists.[255]

But it is not Eternal

"Consciousness is different from all unconscious forms; the fact of its being 'not unconscious' constitutes its self-consciousness." "There can be no self-consciousness of the consciousness in the sense that it is both action and the agent. One and the same entity cannot be the cogniser, the cognised and the cognition. The only right view is that the self-consciousness of the consciousness is owing to its being of the very nature of consciousness. It is not possible to have a consciousness of an object apart from the consciousness itself."[256]

Self-cognisability of Consciousness

Kamalaśīla points out that "Self-consciousness does not mean that it is the cogniser of itself, what is meant is that it shines, becomes manifest by itself, by its very nature, just like the Light diffused in the atmosphere."[257]

We do not hold that consciousness bears the imprint of the object;[258] the subject to object relation is incomprehensible. It is indeed, a very poor hypothesis to imagine that consciousness moves towards an object external to it, catches hold of its form, and then comes back with this booty.[259]

The meaning of Self-Consciousness is that it does not need anything else for its being conscious. Consciousness, by nature is self-conscious.[260] The consciousness rests within its ownself and does not apprehend any object at all, nor is it ever imprinted by the objective form.[261] At the end of this chapter,

Śāntirakṣita observes: "The fact of the consciousness being the only entity has been clearly established by clever writers. We also have trodden the same path for the ascertainment of Truth."[262] Kamalaśīla, however, expresses elsewhere[263] that "the view that ideation only exists does not coincide with truth."

(e) BUDDHA'S OMNISCIENCE (SARVAJÑATVA)

The existence and possibility of an omniscient person is tacitly assumed in early Indian philosophical literature. The Upaniṣads repeatedly affirm that by knowing the Ātman (Brahman, Ultimate Reality) everything is known.[264] Buddha is held to be omniscient in several places in the Tipiṭaka.[265] Āryadeva says: "he who sees one sees all; for, voidness of one thing is the voidness of all things, voidness is the nature of all things."[266] Likewise the Jainas regarded Mahāvīra to be omniscient and held that he who knows one knows all and vice versa.[267] True it is that, the Lokāyatas (Cāravakas) and the Purva-Mīmānsakas opposed the belief in omniscience. But until Kumārila systematically attacked and refuted the idea of a person being omniscient,[268] the doctrine did not receive a rational and logical support. Buddhist philosophers of our age especially, Dharmakīrti, Śāntirakṣita and Kamalaśīla, discuss the problem of omniscience at length and refute the arguments advanced by Kumārila. The Tattva-Saṃgraha opens with a salutation to that "Omniscient Being, the Best of World-Teachers, who revealed the Doctrine of Pratityasamut-pāda."[269]

Kumārila says that neither sense-perception nor inference can prove the existence of an omniscient person; and that Buddha was an omniscient person can be negated both by perception and inference. Thus, e.g. (a) We do not perceive an omniscient person at the present moment; (b) Buddha was not omniscient, because he was a man like ourselves.[270]

Dharmakīrti says at one place that a teacher who is the knower of Four Noble Verities, and leads the beings on the path of freedom from birth and death, should be taken as an authority (pramāṇa); it is immaterial whether or not, he can see things at a great distance. A vulture (gṛdhra) cannot be

a spiritual authority although it sees things from a great distance.[271]

The Logician refuses to accept the view that an Omniscient person does not speak; Karuṇā for the beings, and knowledge of truths are essential for imparting instructions.[272]

Candrakīrti, likewise says that although the Ultimate Truth is 'Āryaṇ Quiescence', yet out of compassion the Buddha and Bodhisattvas speak and instruct.[273] Elsewhere Dharmakīrti also maintains that we can neither cognise nor express Omniscience. The Omniscient Being, like the Absolute Truth or Ultimate Reality, is unutterable.[274]

Kamalaśīla points out that an Omniscient person is not amenable to sense-perception; the inapplicability of perception to Omniscient Being cannot annal the existence of the latter; ordinary beings have very limited powers of vision; only an Omniscient person can perceive another onniscient person. Nor can inference prove the non-existence of an Omniscient Being; because it is held that inference always envisages affirmation.[275] You cannot perceive a being possessed of the knowledge of all things unless you also had the knowledge of all things. In fact, the Sarvajña is by nature imperceptible and his existence cannot be denied on the ground of rules laid down to prove the existence of perceptible objects.[276]

Moreover, if you (the Mimānsaka) deny the reality of the Omniscient Being merely on the ground of non-apprehension, then you might also deny the marriage of your mother and &c. (i.e. her relation with your father); if you persist in your dull-wittedness that your non-perception should set aside things, you are damned : it would be impossible to name your father.[277]

It is quite possible that, the Sarvajña, being self-luminous (ātmajyoti) perceives Himself by Himself, so that there can be no certainty regarding the non-perception of the Sarvajña by all men.[278]

It is wrong to say that the Sarvajña, who is said to have a direct perception of all things, experiences impure and unclean things also. The Omniscient does not perceive all things through sense-organs as is the case with ordinary mortals. He perceives things through Citta (Consciousness). Moreover, the unclean taste and such other things appear themselves only

through ignorance; but these are not perceived by the Wise one.[279]

Buddha is the only Omniscient because the unique doctrine of 'no soul', that "gate to the Highest Good", which is the only ultimate truth, was realised by Buddha only; all other doctrines are lost in the false doctrine of soul.[280] The possession of the perfect knowledge of all things, the knowledge of the true nature of things (i.e. of their soul-lessness) is the sole characteristic of a Buddha. And it is Buddha alone in whom this characteristic is seen, therefore he is the only omniscient person.[181]

Omniscience follows as soon as the hindrances of afflictions (Kleśāvaraṇa) and the hindrances of cognisables (Jñeyāvaraṇa) are removed, just as darkness disappears as soon as the bright lamp shines.[282]

Buddha stands at the head of the list of all philosophers and seers because it was He who for the first time expounded the truth of nairātmya; therefore the omniscience belongs to Him and not to Vardhamāna, Kapila and others. Other teachers who have expounded false doctrines, cannot stand a comparison with the Blessed Lord, the knower of the complete truth, whose words are free from impurities like the gold tested by heating, cutting and touching.[283]

"The Omniscient person whose existence we have established", says Śāntirakṣita, "is one who comprehends within a single cognitive moment the entire round of all that is to be known."[284]

"Whenever he wishes to know he comes to know it without fail; such is his power; he has shaken off all evil. He knows things either simultaneously or in succession, just as he wishes, and having secured the knowledge of all things, he becomes the Lord."[285]

Notes and References

1. On early Buddhist sects, see Andre Bareau, Les Sectes Boudhiques du Petit vehicule, Saigon, 1955, and other sources listed (note 8 to Chapter I) above.
2. I-tsing, pp. 7-8.
3. loc. cit.; cf. Kathāvatthu.
4. I-tsing, pp. 14-15.
5. loc. cit.,
6. Yuan Chwang I, p. 297.
7. Ibid., p. 301.

8. Ibid., p. 355.
9. Yuan Chwang, II, p. 81.
10. Ibid., p. 341.
11. Ibid., p. 136.
12. Ibid., p. 199.
13. Ibid., pp. 241, 248.
14. BCA, V. 89.
15. Life, pp. 159, 165; TSP, Eng. Transl., p. 242.
16. Life, pp. 159-160.
17. Ibid., pp. 175-176.
18. BCA, IX. 42, 49.
19. Bhāvanākrama in MBT, II, pp. 172-173.
20. T.R.V. Murti, Central Philosophy of Buddhism, pp. 144ff. G.C. Pande, Bauddha Dharma, p. 394; cf. Kumārila's criticism in Chap. IX.

21. On his life see Yuan Chwang, II, pp. 215-224. who makes him a contemporary of Dharmapāla, the teacher of Śīlabhadra. Bhāvaviveka, therefore, seems to have lived in the 6th century A.D. and not in 5th as is held by N. Peri and Winternitz. He wrote (1) Mahāyāna Karatala-ratna-Śāstra, Sanskrit restoration by N.A. Śāstrī in Visvabharati Annals, II, 1949; (II) Mādhyamika-hṛdaya with auto-commentary called Tarkajvālā notices of its Sanskrit MS. by R. Sāṃkṛtyāyana in JBORS, Vol. XXIII, Pt. I; a Peking edition of this work is cited by Y. Kajiyama in NNMVRP, Vol. I, pp. 291 f.; (iii) Madhyamārtha-Saṃgraha a short work, restored into Sanskrit by N.A. Śāstrī in JOR, Madras, Vol. V; transcribed into Nāgarī letters and translated into Hindi with notes by L. M. Joshi in Dharmadūta, Vol. 29, July-August, 1964; (iv) His famous work is the Prajñāpradīpa, a commentary on the MŚ of Nāgārjuna, Tibetan text ed. by M. Walleser, BI, 1936; Chinese translation in Nanjio-Cata., No. 1189.

22. Little is known about his life. He wrote a commentary on the MŚ of Nāgārjuna, which exists in Tibetan version; see Bu-sTon, II, p. 135; Tohoku-Catalogue, No. 3842; Tibetan Text ed. by M. Wallaser, 1923; First Chapter restored by Indumati Datar in JBBRAS, NS, Vol. 26 Pt. 2, 1951, pp. 129-139.

23. Bu-sTon, II, p. 135 and Obermiller's note; Murti, op. cit., pp. 95, 98; Takakusu, Essentials of Buddhist Philosophy, p. 101.
24. Bu-sTon, loc. cit.
25. This information is given by Khai-ḍub in his work called 'sTon thun bskal bzan mig hbyed', cited by E. Obermiller in Bu-sTon, II, pp. 135-136, note.
26. Ibid., loc. cit.
27. A Peking edition of this text is cited by Kajiyama in his paper 'Bhāvaviveka and the Prāsaṅgika school' in NNMVRP, Vol. I, pp. 310, 313 et. seq.

28. Bhāvaviveka did not believe that the system of 'dialectics' alone can serve the purpose of asserting the Absolute Truth. The system of 'dialectics' seeks to reduce every thesis to contradictions. E. Conze observes: "Dialectics is that form of logic which, without denying the validity of the principles of contradiction, maintains that all truth must be expressed in the form of self-contradictory statements." Buddhist Thought in India, p. 162.

29. Karatalaratna, ch. I; Y. Kajiyama, op. cit., p. 291.
30. cf. Vigrahavyāvartanī, verse 29, MŚ, XIII. 8.
31. Karatalaratna, p. 35; NNMVRP, I, p. 293.
32. Yuan Chwang, II, 215.
33. Visvabharati Annals, II, p. 10.
34. Bu-sTon, II, p. 135.
35. Karatalaratna, pp. 34-35.
36. Buddhist conception of soul, p, 67.
37. See above Chapter VII.

38. Bu-sTon, loc. cit.,; Stcherbatsky, op. cit., p.67, says that he put "Bhāvaviveka's school into shade".
39. Prasannapadā, BB, p. 25; Murti, op. cit., p. 95.
40. Prasannapadā loc. cit.,
41. Ibid., pp. 351-353.
42. Ibid., p. 26 (on I.4); Y. Kajiyama, op. cit., p. 309; Murti, op. cit., pp. 95-96.
43. Prasannapadā, p. 55.
44. see, however, my Edition and English Translation of ŚS Kārikās, Sarnath, 1965.
45. BCA, IX, pp. 167ff.
46. Murti, op cit., p. 100.
47. BCA, IX. 2; BCAP, pp. 170-177.
48. See my Nāgarī Edition and Hindi Translation of the Madhyamārtha-Saṃgraha in Dharmadūta, Vol. 29, pp. 54f.
49. BCA, IX, verses 53-54, 56, 152, 168.
50. Ibid., IX. 41.
51. BCAP, pp. 203.
52. BCA, IX. 42.
53. Ibid., IX. 43; BCAP, p. 205; gives the following four marks of an authentic scripture—(i) it should be meaningful and not meaningless, (ii) it should embody righteousness and not unrighteousness, (iii) it should help lessening the miseries and should not increase the same, and (iv) it should praise Nirvāṇa and not Saṃsāra.
54. BCA, IX, 44; I-tsing, pp. 6-7; BCAP, p. 206.
55. BCA, IX; 45.
56. Ibid., IX. 46-49; BCAP, pp. 208-209.
57. BCA, IX. 50-52.
58. Ibid., IX. 53-56.
59. This had been done already by Nāgārjuna, MŚ. Chapter I, III-IV, V; Dvādaśamukhaśāstra, chapters, I, II, XI; by Āryadeva, CŚ. chapters IX, XI, XIII, XV.
60. See Abhidharmakośakārikā (JBBRAS, 1946); Abhidharmāmṛta of Ghoṣaka, (Visvabharati Annals, V, 1953), Y. Sogen, Systems, Ch. III; Stcherbatsky, Central conception of Buddhism and the Meaning of the word 'Dharma', Calcutta, 1956; E. Conze, Buddhist Thought, pp. 178-191; see also Takakusu, 'Sarvāstivāda', ERE, Vol. XI. pp. 198-200.
61. See Abhidharmakośa, III, 18, 28; the theory of dharmas means that if something appears such and such result will follow, asminsati, idam bhavati, i.e., dependent origination.
62. TSP, p. 155; Sogen, op. cit., p. 117.
63. Prasannapadā, p. 78.
64. Buddhist Texts, ed. by E. Conze, p. 168; cf SN, II, p. 207.
65. Quoted from AK in Prasannapadā, p. 145; CŚV, p. 232.
66. Prasannapadā, p. 146; MŚ, VII. 2.
67. Prasannapadā, p. 545; Murti, op. cit., p. 193.
68. CŚV, p. 246.
69. Ibid., p. 238.
70. Ibid., pp. 197-198.
71. CŚV, pp. 35-36.
72. Ibid., p. 113.
73. Ibid., p. 114.
74. Ibid., pp. 110-120, 122.
75. BCA, IX, 142.
76. BCAP, pp. 268-270.
77. Ibid., loc. cit.
78. BCA, IX. 143.
79. BCAP, p. 270.
80. BCA, IX. 145-149; cp. MŚ, I, IV, and the whole of the Dvāda-

śamukhaśāstra; CŚ, IX, IX, and XV. The Traikālyavāda is attacked also by Śāntirakṣita, TS, Chapter XXI.

81. See Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi ed. in NNMVRP, I, verses 1-3; Prasannapadā, pp. 61ff.; Madhyakāvatāra, VI, 45ff.; Navaśloki, verse 7(11) in MBT, I, pp. 217, 228.

82. See AN, I, p. 10; Buddhist Texts, ed. E. Conze, p. 33.

83. Prasannapadā, p. 276; BCAP, p. 194.

84. Prasannapadā, p. 275.

85. BCA, IX. 7, Madhyamakāvatāra, pp. 59ff.

86. BCAP, p. 188.

87. Madhyamakāvatāra, VI, 46.

88. BCA, IX. 16.

89. Ibid., IX. 18.

90. BCAP, p. 190. This argument is also pressed by Śāntirakṣita, TS, Śloka. 2001.

91. BCA, IX. 22-23.

92. Ibid., IX, 24.

93. Ibid., IX. 25; BCAP, pp. 192-193.

94. BCA, IX. 26; BCAP, p. 193.

95. His work, Madhyāntavibhāgasūtrabhaṣyatīkā, Pt. I, is ed. by V. Bhattacharyya and G. Tucci, London, 1932. I-tsing, p. 181, places him along with Dharmapāla and Śīlabhadra.

96. G. Tucci, Aspects of the Doctrines of Maitreyanātha and Asaṅga, pp. 29-31.

97. Ibid., pp. 33-35; Madhyāntavibhāgasūtrabhāṣyaṭīkā, pp. 12-13.

98. See chapters VI-VII.

99. Translated into Chinese by Paramārtha, Nanjio-cata., No 1239, and by Bodhiruci, Nanjio-Cata., No. 1238. The work had two parts, one of twenty verses (Viṃśatikā) and another of thirty verses (Triṃśikā); ed. with Yuan Chwang's Siddhi by Vallee Pousin, Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi La Siddhi de Hiuan Tsang, 2 Vols., Paris, 1928, also Deux Trailes de Vasubandhu, ed. par S. Levi, Paris, 1925; see Narendradeva, Bauddha Dharma Darśana, Patna, 1957, pp. 422 ff.; G.C. Pande, Bauddha Dharma, pp. 425-450.

100. Takakusu, Essentials of Buddhist Philosophy, p. 85, observes that there were, in India, three lines of transmission of Yogācāra Idealism after the death of Vasubandhu:—(i) the line of Diṅnāga, Agotra, and Dharmapāla, whose centre was Nālandā, Śilabhadra, and his Chinese pupil Yuan Chwang, belonged to this line; (ii) the line of Guṇamati and Sthiramati, whose centre was Valabhī University. Paramārtha belonged to this line; (iii) third line was that of Nanda, whose tenet was followed by Paramārtha and Jayasena, who instructed Yuan Chwang on certain questions. This last line did not flourish much in India.

101. Nanjio-cata., No. 1240; published by Poussin, (note 99); partly restored into Sanskrit by R. Sāṃkṛtyāyana in JBORS, Vols. XIX-XX.

102. Takakusu, op. cit., p. 87; Winternitz, HIL, II, p. 360, note 4.

102a. Vijñaptimātratasiddhi Deux Traites de Vasubandhu, ed. by S. Levi, Kārikā 17, p. 35; Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi La Siddhi de Hiuan Tsang, ed. by Vallee Poussin, Kārikā 17, p. 416;

103. Sthiramati's Triṃśikā Bhāṣya in Deux Traites, pp. 35-36.

104. See G. C. Pande, Bauddha Dharma, pp. 448-449.

105. Takakusu, Essentials, p. 87.

106. La Siddhi etc., p. 133.

107. Ibid., p. 131.

108. Nyāyamañjarī, ed. in Vizainagaram Skt. Series, Vol. I, p. 72, Vol. II, p. 50.

109. For further developments in Vijñānavāda see Section V, Śāntirakṣita's statement of the doctrine of Consciousness.

110. Life, pp. 67, 199; Yuan Chwang, I, p. 245; II, pp. 286-289; Si-Yu-ki, p. 181.

111. Tārānātha, op. cit., p. 78.
112. Sanskrit fragments published by H. Lūders, Leipzig, 1926.
113. On Sarvāstivāda history see Takakusu in ERE, XI, pp. 198 f.
114. Winternitz, op. cit., pp. 267, 269.
115. In his paper in the Cultural Heritage of India, Vol. I, 2nd ed., p. 473.
116. In his paper 'Dārṣṭāntika, Sautrāntika and Sarvāstivādin', IHQ, Vol. XVI, No. 2, pp. 246 ff.
117. Ibid. loc. cit., see Vallee Poussin, 'Sautrāntika', ERE, XI, p. 213.
118. AK-Vyākhya on I. 20.
119. Karatalaratna II, p. 72.
120. Prasannapadā, BB, pp. 61, 263, 281f.
121. Br. SŚ., II, 2, 18, SBE, XXXIV, p. 401.
122. Saḍdarśana-Samuccaya (Chaukhamba Skt. Series, 95), p. 3.
123. SDS, Eng. translation by Cowell and Gough, Chapter 2, pp. 27f.
124. Poussin ERE, XI, p. 214; Stcherbatsky, BL, I, p. 29, note 1.
125. SDS, Eng. translation, pp. 26-29 (Summarised).
126. Prasannapadā, p. 281; ERE, XI, p. 214, Stcherbatsky, Central Conception, pp. 62ff.
127. According to Stcherbatsky, BL, I, p. 529, the Sautrāntikas "were apparently the first to assume the reality of a thing-in-itself behind the outward phenomenon."
128. Vādavidhi, Vādavidhāna, and Vādahṛdaya.
129. See Tucci, Doctrines of Maitreyanātha etc., chap. V. Stcherbatsky, BL, I, Introduction.
130. Cf. J. Przyluski in IHQ, XVI, p. 251—"the formula sarvamasti proves a liking for metaphysical subtlty"; see also the remarks of G.C. Pande, Bauddha Dharma, p. 284.
131. Yuan Chwang, I, pp. 355-56; Tārānātha, op. cit., p. 4, 67.
132. His work, Sphuṭārthā-Abhidharma-Kośa-Vyākhyā, ed. by U. Wogihara, Tokyo, 1932; also ed. by N.N. Law and N. Dutt, Calcutta; See P.V. Bapat in the Cultural Heritage of India, 2nd ed., I, p. 469; Radhakrishnan, IP, I, p. 622.
133. Winternitz., HIL, II, p. 363.
134. Ibid , note 1
135 S.C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa, op. cit., pp. 130f.
137. E. Frauwallner, Date of Vasubandhu, SOR, III, Rome, 1951 p. 63.
138. Yuan Chwang II, pp. 209-213; Life, p. 136; I-tsing, pp. 181, 186; Tārānātha, op. cit., pp. 130-135.
139. So Winternitz, op. cit. p. 262; Stcherbatsky, BL, I, pp. 31-32; R. Sāṃkṛtyāyana Purātattvanibandhāvalī, p. 177. The alleged reference to Diṅnāga in the Meghadūta, Pūrvamegha, verse 14, of Kālidāsa, is taken as an evidence for 5th century date. It may be noted however, that the phrase 'dignāgānāṃ', may mean 'the guardians (nāgas) of the (four) quarters', and not necessarily the Logician. Moreover, the date of Kālidāsa is largely a matter of conjecture. Kṣetreśacandra Chaṭṭopādhyāya places Kālidāsa in the first century B.C., and Frauwallner thinks that Diṅnāga may not have been a direct pupil of Vasubandhu.
139a. I-tsing, p. 181; Vidyābhūṣaṇa, HIL, pp. 272, 506.
140. Ibid., pp. 276-296, and by the same writer, 'Diṅnāga and his Prāmāṇasamuccaya', JASB, Vol. I, No. 9, 1905; H.N. Randle, Fragments from Diṅnāga, London, 1926; pp. 3-4; H.R. Rangaswami Iyangar Bhartṛhari, and Diṅnāga', JBBRAS, NS, Vol. 26, 1950, pp. 147-149.
141. I-tsing, pp. 186-187, gives a list of 8 logical works of Diṅnāga, most of them are extant in Tibetan and Chinese translations, Diṅnāga's Ālaṃbanaparīkṣā is restored by N.A. Śāstrī, Adyar, 1942; his Prajñapāramitā-Piṇḍārtha is ed. by G. Tucci, JRAS, 1947, re-edited by P.L. Vaidya in BST No. 4; several extracts from his works quoted by Uddyotakara and

others have been collected and translated by H.N. Ranade in 'Fragments from Diṅnāga'; Nyāyapraveśa, ed. by A.B. Dhruva, GOS 38, 1930, formerly ascribed to Diṅnāga, is now known to be a work of Śaṃkaravāmin (550 A.D.).

142. Yuan Chwang, II, pp. 209-210.

143. See Poussin in JRAS, 1903, p. 383, note 2; Keith, Buddhist Philosophy, p. 305; Summary of Ālaṃbanaparīkṣā in BL, I, pp. 518-521.

144. Pramāṇasamuccaya, I, 14, cited by Frauwallner in SOR, III, p. 63; cf. also BL., I, pp. 32-33.

145. Blue Annals, I, p. 346.[1]

146. BL, I, p. 32, note 1.

147. On the Naiyāyika realism see Sadānanda Bhādurī, Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika Metaphysics, Calcutta, 1947.

147a. Fragments from Diṅnāga, pp. 71 ff.

148. Diṅnāga's views are cited and sacked by Uddyotakara, Nyāya-vārttika, Chaukhamba ed., pp. 60f., and Vācaspati, Miśra, Nyāyavārttika-Tātparyaṭīkā, Cnaukhamba ed., pp. 2-3, 205, etc.; see Fragments, pp. 48-50.

149. Pratyakṣaṃ kalpanāpoḍhaṃ nāmajātyādyasaṃyuktaṃ, Fragments, pp. 8 f.; Nyāyavārttika, I. 1-4, II, 2-4; See Vidyābhūṣaṇa, HIL, p. 277; Jwālā Prasād, Hist. Ind. Epistemology, 2nd ed., Delhi, 1958; pp. 206-207.

150. Fragments, p. 21; Nyāyavārttika, p. 56; Nyāyavārttika-Tātparyatīkā, pp. 120, 127; H.N. Randle, Indian Logic in the Early Schools, OUP, 1930, p. 155.

151. See Fragments, pp. 48 ff.; Randle, Indian Logic etc., pp. 310, 317; Diṅnāga's Nyāyamukha (Nyāyadvāra) quoted in TSP, Eng., translation, pp. 618-625; See also Vidyābhūṣaṇa, HIL, pp. 280-281.

152. Vidyābhūṣaṇa, op. cit., pp. 280, 282, 295; Randle, Indian Logic, p. 181, Keith, Buddhist Philosophy, p. 307.

153. See chapter VII; See also our Appendix on him.

154. See Isshi Yamada, 'Pramāṇavārttika and Pramāṇaviniścaya', Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies, Vol. VIII, 1960, pp. 41-45.

155. Nyāyabindu (Ed. Kāśī Skt. Series, 22, 1954), I, 1-3; BL, I, pp. 148f., BL, II, pp. 12-14.

156. Vide SDS, p. 33.

157. Vide Nyāyasūtras, I, 1.4—Artha-indriya sannikarṣa-utpannaṃ.

158. Nyāyabindu-Tīkā, (KSS. 22, 1954), Chapter I; BL, I, p. 150.

159. Ibid., loc. cit.,

160. Pramāṇavārttika, III. 125—Pratyakṣaṃ kalpanāpoḍhaṃ pratyakṣenaiva siddhyati.

161. Nyāyabindu, p. 13; BL., II, p. 26.

162. Nyāyabindu, p. 14; BL, II, p. 29; cp. BCA, IX. 18.

163. Nyāyabindu, p. 14; BL, II, p. 30; cp. Mahāvagga, pp. 9-10.

164. Nyāyabindu, p. 15; BL, II, p. 33

165. Nyāyabindu-Ṭīkā, p. 15; BL, II, p. 33.

166. BL, II, p. 33, note 3.

167. See Stcherbatsky, Buddhist Conception of Nirvāṇa, pp. 149ff.

168. Nyāyabindu-Ṭīkā, p. 16; BL, II, p. 36.

169. Nyāyabindu, p. 17; BL, II, p. 36.

170. Nyāyabindu, p. 17; BL, II, p. 37.

171. Nyāyabindu, II, 1-3; BL, II, pp. 47-48; op. Diṅnāga's view of Inference above.

172. Nyāyabindu, II. 5-7; BL, II, pp. 51-56.

173. Pramāṇavārttikam, First chapter, ed. Gnoli, SOR, XXIII, p. 2—ta ete kāryasvabhāvā-'nupalabdhi lakṣaṇāstrayo hetavaḥ.

174. Nyāyabindu, II, 11-18, BL, II, pp. 60-67.

175. Nyāyabindu, III, 1; BL, II, pp. 109ff.; see Vidyābhūṣaṇa, HIL, pp. 315 ff.

176. BL, p. 13; BL, II, pp. 328-329, note 7.

177. Jan Yan Shadpa, quoted in BL, II p. 329.

178. Nyāyabindu, I. 19; SDS, Eng. translation p. 24, where Dharmakīrti is quoted by name.

178a. Pramāṇavārttika Bhāṣyaṇ, ed. R. Sāṃkṛtyāyana, Patna, 1953, p. 388, verses, 335-336; see also p. 415 6 verse 398, on 'Sva-Saṃvitti niyama', p. 425, on 'Sva-Saṃvadanacinṭā.'

178b. Ibid., p. 397, verses 354-355; see SDS, Eng. translation, pp. 25-26.

178c. cp. Tattva-Saṃgraha, verses 2026-2028, and Satkari Mookerji, Buddhist Philosophy of Universal Flux, pp. 325-326.

178d. SDS, Ed. Ānandāśrama Skt. Series, No. 51, 1928, p. 13.

178e. See Prajñāpāramitā Piṇḍārtha, verse 1—Prajñāpāramitā jñānam advayaṃ sā Tathāgataḥ, BST-No. 4, p. 263; quoted also by Haribhadra in his Ālokā, and by Stcherbatsky in BL, I, p. 512. This view is restated by Kaṃbalapāda in Navaślokī, verse 7, MBT, I, p. 228.

178f. See now Vajracchedika Prajñāpāranitā with Asaṅga's commentary called Triśatikā-Kārikā-Saptati, edited in Nāgarī letters with an Introduction and Translated into Hindi with notes and Glossary by L.M. Joshi, (1966), especially Bhūmikā.

179. T.R.V. Murti, op. cit., p. 102.

180. Restored into Sanskrit by N.A. Śāstri, Visvabharati Annals, VI, 1954.

181. With auto-commentary. See Bu-sTon, II, p. 136; BL, II, p. 329.

182. Bu-sTon, loc. cit.

183. Blue Annals, I, p. 54.

184. Bu-sTon, II, pp. 135-136; foot note by E. Obermiller.

185. Bu-sTon, II, pp. 135.

186. MBT, II, Introduction, pp. 5-6, 39.

187. B. Bhattacharya, Foreword to TS, Vol. I, pp. XXI-XXII. The sTan-ḥgyur does not mention this text.

188. TS, verses 2000—2004; 2009-2012; TS, English translation G. Jha, pp. 949-951, 953-954.

189. MBT, II, pp. 172-173.

190. TS and TSP, English translation, Vol. II (GOS), pp. 964, 987-988, verses 2083-2084.

191. Bu-sTon, II, loc. cit.

192. loc. cit. and Blue Annals, I, p. 34.

193. Yuan Chwang, II, p. 215.

194. Bu-sTon, II, p. 136.

195. See Karatalaratna Chapter I, pp. 17-19; Madhyamārthasamgraha, verses 6-8.

196. NNMVRP, Vol I, pp. 301ff.

197. See above Section II, BL, I, pp. 45, 539f.

198. TS, verse 1393; English translation, p. 690.

199. TSP, English translation, p. 691.

200. Karatalaratna, II, 106 (Visvabharati Annals, II, p. 84) animittatvāt animittaikalakṣaṇacaryayā sarvadharmān bhāvayittvā adveye avatarati, cp Bhāvanākrama 16, 18 (MBT, II, pp 168, 214)—tato cittaṃ grāhyagrāhaka-viviktaṃ advayaṃ eva cittaṃ iti vicārayet advaya-lakṣaṇe tathatālaṃbane sthtivā tadapi cittamātraṃ atikramet.

201. T. S. Verse 350; English Translation, p. 227

202. TSP, Tr. p. 228, See S. Mookerjee, Buddhist Philosophy of Universal Flux, Calcutta, 1935.

203. The VIIIth Chapter of TS, Consisting of 125 verses, is devoted entirely to this doctrine.

204. TS, verses 288, 390.

205 TSP, pp. 140, 151.

206 TS, p. 1.

207 Ibid., loc. cit .

208 Nyāyabindu, III, verses 12, 13, 15; BL, II, pp 122-125.

209. TS, verses 378; See Stcherbatsky's excellent discussion in BL, I, p 92

210. TS, p. 137: Tr., p. 239.

211. TSP, Tr., p. 242; Kamalaśīla regarded the Vaibhāṣikas as heretics who "cannot be regarded as followers of the Buddha."

212. TS, verses 385, 392-394.

213. Pramāṇa-samuccaya, Ch. 1; Nyāyabindu, Ch. I.

214. See E. Conze, Buddhist Thought, p. 269.

215. Stcherbatsky, BL, I, p. 147.

216. Ed. by H.P. Śāstri in Six Buddhist Nyāya Tracts, Bl, Calcutta, 1910; See now Anantalal Thakur's ed. in Ratnakīrtinihandhāvalī, Patna, 1957.

217. See Nyāyavārttika Tātparyaṭīkā, Benares ed., 1926, pp. 483ff.

218. BL, I, pp. 477ff.; S. Mookerjee, op. cit., p. 132.

219. Pramāṇa-Samuccaya, V. 1; BL, I, p. 459.

220. Ibid., p. 458.

221. Ibid., p. 461, Pramāṇa Samuccaya-Vṛṭṭi, V. 11.

222. BL, I, p. 463.

223. TS, p. 1.—Śūnyamāropitākāra śabdapratyaya gocaram.

224. TS, verse 869.

225. BL; I, p. 471.

226. TS, verse 870.

227. TS, verse 872.

228. TS, verses 873-875; English Translation, pp. 470-472.

229. TS, verses 879-880; English Translation, pp. 475, 479.

230. TS, verse 1211, English Translation, p. 613.

231. TS, verse 6; TSP, p. 10.

232. BL, I, p. 119, note 2.

233. TS, p. 1—Calaḥ pratītyasamutpādaḥ.

234. TS, p. 177.—Sattaiva vyāpṛtiḥ, i.e. "the mere presence of the cause is its work."

235. TSP, p. 140; English Translation, p. 242. The older Buddhists, who were not conversant with Logic, posited an eternal empty space (ākāśa), and held it everlasting like their Nirvāṇa. The older Buddhists' were the Abhidharmikas, the Sarvāstivādins, who maintained that the two Nirodhas (Pratisaṃkhyā^0 and Apratisaṃkhyā)^0 and Ākāśa are asaṃskṛt dharmas. See Abhidharmakośa-Kārikā, I, 5-6 (JBBRAS, 1946, p. 76). Kamalaśīla says, loc. cit., that "they were not Buddha's followers".

236. See AK, III, 18, 28 with auto-comy. and Stcherbatsky, Central conception, p. 24; note 85.

237. TSP, p. 399, BL, I, p. 126.

238. Nyāyabindu-Ṭīkā (BI ed.) p. 69; BL, I, p. 127.

239. Ibid., l.c.

240. TS, verses 509-510, 515-517, English Tr., p. 300-302.

241. TSP, p. 176, English Translation, p. 303.

242. TSP, pp. 176-177; English translation, pp. 304-305; See BL, p. 121.

243. Diṅnāga wrote his Prajñāpāramitā Piṇḍārtha 'from the standpoint of the Monist'. In the opening line of this text he says—Prajñāpāramitā jñānam advayam sā Tathāgataḥ, BST., No. 4, p. 263. Stcherbetsky, BL, I, p. 512, renders it thus—"The Climax of wisdom is Monism, we identify this spiritual Non-Duality with the Buddha." In his Ālaṃbana-parīksa (Tibetan and Chinese versions with a French translation, published by S. Yamayuchi and H. Meyer, Paris, 1929; restored into Sanskrit with commentary by N.A. Śāstrī, Adyar, 1942) a short work of 8 mnemonic verses (summary in English by Stcherbatsky, BL, I, pp. 518-521), Diṅnāga defends Idealism. In his Pramāṇasamuccaya (see Fragments from Diṅnāga pp. 71ff.; Vidyābhūṣaṇa, HIL, pp. 276ff.) he establishes a critical Realism.

244. TS, p. 1; English Translation, pp. 2f. cf. Viṃśatikā, Kārikā 1; Navaślokī, verse 7 (11).

245. Viṃśatikā, Vasubandhu's commentary on verse 2.—cittamātraṃ bho jinaputrāḥ yadut traidhātukam iti Sutrāt' NNMVRP, I, Texts, p. 1.
246. TSP, p. 550; English Translation, p. 936.
247. Ibid., l.c., See BL, I, p. 513.
248. TS, verses 1967-1971; TSP, pp. 550-551; English Translation, pp. 937-938.
249. See, however Kumārila's reply, ŚV. 'Śūnyavāda', 219 :—"That one thing should have one and only one form is not a Divine Edict."
250. TSP, pp. 550-552; BL, I, 514.
251. TSP, pp. 556-557; English Translation, pp. 944-947.
252. TS, verse 1997.
253. TS, verses 328-330; English Tr., pp. 213-214.
254. TSP, Eng. Transl., pp. 214-215.
255. Ibid., p. 949.
256. TS, verses 2000-2002.
257. TSP, Eng. Transl. pp. 949-950.
258. TS, verse 2006.
259. TSP, p. 559; BL, I, p. 527.
260. TS, verse 2012; English Transl., p. 954.
261. TS, verse 2034; Eng. Transl., p. 967.
262. verse 2084; Eng. Tr., p. 988.
263. Bhāvanākrama (MBT, II) Text, p. 211, Eng. Tr., p. 173.
264. e.g. Ch. up. VI.1; Br., up. II, 4, 5.
265. e.g. Cūlamāluṅkyaputtsutta (MN, II), pp. 107 ff.; Milindapañha, IV. I. 19-27 (Ed. Bombay) pp. 105 ff.
266. CŚ, VIII. 16, p. 19.
267. Ācārāṅgasūtra, (Ed. PTS) I.3.4, p. 17.
268. ŚV, Engl. Tr. by G. Jha, Calcutta, 1909 pp. 38-41.
269. TS, verse 6.
270. ŚV, Eng. Tr., p. 38; cp. TS, verse 3186.
271. Pramāṇavārttika, II. 32-35.
272. Ibid., II, 148.
273. CŚV, on XII, 7, 146; Prasannapadā, p. 55.
274. Santānāntarasiddhi quoted in BL, I, p. 339.
275. ISP, Eng. Tr., pp. 1441-1442.
276. TS, verses 3276-3277; Eng. Translation, pp. 1448-1449.
277. TS, verse 3282; TSP, Eng. Tr., p. 1453.
278. TS, verse 3290; Eng. Tr., p. 1455 and TSP thereto.
279. TS, verses 3318-3318; TSP, Eng. Tr., p. 1466-1467.
280. TS, verse 3322; Eng. Translation, p. 1468.
281. TS, verses 3335-3336; Eng. Tr., pp. 1472-1473.
282. TSP, Eng. Tr., p. 1474.
283. TS, verses 3340-3344; Eng. Tr., pp. 1483-1485.
284. TS, verse 3627; Eng. Tr., p. 1569.
285. TS, verses 3628-3629; English Tr., p. 1573. See E.A. Solomon 'The Problem of Omniscience (Sarvajñatva)', ALB, Vol. XXVI, 1962, pp. 36ff. (mostly based on TS and Pr. Vārttika); S. Mookerji, "The Omniscient As the Founder of a Religion", NNMVRP, II, 1960, pp. 1-44.,

Chapter IX

BUDDHISM AS VIEWED BY KUMĀRILA AND SAMKARA

Section (A)

KUMĀRILA'S VIEW OF BUDDHIST THOUGHT

Kumārila Bhaṭṭa, the great Mimānsā Doctor,[1] was perhaps the foremost and the fiercest critic of Buddhist thought. He has devoted two long chapters of his great polemical work, the Ślokavārttika,[2] exclusively to the refutation of the two well known systems of Mahāyāna philosophy, viz., the Vijñānavāda Idealism and the Mādhyamika Absolutism. In course of his penetrating and sustained criticism, Kumārila has attacked the Buddhist view of Buddha's 'Omniscience', the theory of 'no-soul' (nairātmya), the theory of 'momentariness', the doctrine of 'unique particular' (svalaksaṇa), and the theory of phenomenal reality (saṃvṛti-satya)—all this diverse and severe polemic only in defence of the eternality of śabda and the infallibility of the Veda.

(i) NIRĀLAMBANAVĀDA (THE VIJÑĀNAVĀDA)

Kumārila starts by saying that all the paraphernalia of secular and sacred life will become useless if ideas or cognitions were devoid of (corresponding supports) objects (in the external world); in order to understand Dharma, therefore, it is necessary to examine the question of the existence and non-existence of external objects by means of proofs. He devotes 200 ślokas to the consideration of Buddhist doctrine of Vijñānavāda or Vijñaptimātratā; the system is called by Kumārila Nirālaṃbanavāda, i.e., the theory that there is no external support (ālaṃbana) of ideas which are the only realities.[3]

The Buddhist Case

The Buddhist holds that the Idea alone (Jñānamātra) is the real entity,[4] all this manifestation (the external world) can be explained as the Saṃvṛti (false) reality, as such, it is useless to adhere to the reality of the external world.[5]

But this theory (of two realities)[6] is quite untenable. There can be no reality in Saṃvṛti (falsity); as such it cannot be a form of reality. If it is a reality, how can it be Saṃvṛti ? If it is Saṃvṛti (false), how can it be real ? Reality cannot, in common, belong to two mutually contradictory objects, true (satya) and false (saṃvṛti); the character of the 'tree' cannot belong in common to a tree as well as to a lion. Moreover, the words saṃvṛti and mithyā (false) are synonymous, and the assumption of 'saṃvṛtisatya' is either meant to hoodwink ordinary men or with a view to removing the stain of atheism from Buddhist doctrine. Furthermore, when the external world is void (śūnya), how can consciousness assume it at all ? It, therefore, follows that, what exists is real, and what does not exist is unreal; a thing is either absolutely real or absolutely unreal; therefore the doctrine of two truths is untenable.[7]

Criticism

The Buddhist View

The Bauddhas (Vijñānavādins) further hold that the experiences of Heaven &c., are similar to the experiences of a dream.[8]

It is for the refutation of this theory that we (the Mīmānsakas) seek to establish the reality of the external world.

Criticism

Nobody will practise Dharma for the pleasures of a dream; for dream experiences come spontaneously to a man in sleep, the Paṇḍita will rather lie down quietly, instead of performing sacrifices, &c., when desirous of obtaining the real results. It is for these reasons that the Mīmānsaka seeks to prove the truth of external things.[9]

Among the Bauddhas, both the Yogācārins and the Mādhyamikas, deny the external world. The former hold

The Buddhist Case

that Ideas are without corresponding supports or realities in the external world; while the latter deny the reality of the Ideas also. But the denial of the external world is common to both these classes of Buddhists.[10] The Mādhyamikas hold that, in as much as the external object is unreal, no cognition based on it can be real. It is only after setting aside the reality of the object that they lay down the falsity (Saṃvṛti) of the Idea (Jñāna).[11]

The denial of the external world, is, according to the

Bauddha of two kinds. The first kind of denial is based upon the examination of the object itself ; this is as follows. Neither atoms nor a conglomeration of atoms, are amenable to the senses ; as the aggregate too can have no existence apart from the atoms themselves. Nor can the embodied substance be sensed; for this has no existence apart from the constituent atoms which cannot be perceived by the senses. For these reasons it is concluded that there is no external object that can be perceived by the sense.[12]

The Buddhists have reasoned out yet another kind of denial, and this second kind of denial is in fact the root of the theory of Nirālaṃbanavāda. Here also the denial of the external world is introduced in two ways : first, through Inference, and then, after an examination of the applicability of sense-perception, through its inapplicability (to external objects). It is this kind of denial based upon Inferential argument, which is discussed here.[13] The Buddhist argues as follows :—

"(i) It has been declared[14] that sense-perception (pratyakṣa) is only that which is produced by contact (of the senses) with the particular object; but there is no relation between the objects and the sense-organ in reality; while as for an assumed contact, this is present in a dream also ; therefore, it is impossible to differentiate between cognitions produced by such contact, and not so produced."

"(ii) Again it has been said that falsity is only of two kinds, and not more, but here it is added that all congnition is false; why then should there be any such specification ?"[14]

"Thus, the cognition of a pole is false, because it is a congition; because whatever is a cognition has always been found to be false for instance the cognitions in a dream."[15]

Kumārila's Criticism

Kumārila employs logical as well as dialectical devices to refute the Buddhist argument. He has formulated the Pūrvapakṣa in a manner that would suit his way of criticism. Thus while stating the Buddhist view he says that the Buddhist accepts the self-congnisability (svāṃśagrāhya) of cognition (jñāna, vijñāna) and denies the reality of the external objects of perception.[16]

Untenability of Self-Cognition and its Import

He repeats this view when he starts his own thesis (siddhānta) and says that when the self-

cognisability (of cognitions) is refuted, what remains there (in the Buddhist theory) is only a pure denial of everything that is cognisable.[17]

The Difficulties in a total Denial of Externality

But this denial, says Kumārila, cannot be sustained. Because the object of sense-perception does have an existence in the external world, and hence if you deny this (external world) you would simply contradict your own theory by sense-perception.[18] Moreover, if you deny every conception, then your own theory, being a conception, would also be denied.[19] Moreover, the Predicate and Subject (the Major and Minor terms of your syllogism) being (according to you Buddhists) incapable of being cognised (i.e., being no real objects of comprehension), you would be open to the charge of having both the Subject and the Predicate, or only one of them such as has never been known. If the cognition of the Subject and the Predicate, as belonging to the speaker and the hearer, were without corresponding realities, then both of them would stand self-contradicted. Nor would any differentiation be possible between the Subject and the Predicate. For these reasons your declaration of the conclusion is not right.[20]

'We do not admit of any such entity as not having a real corresponding object (nirālambanatā nāma na kiñcidvastu gaṃyate); therefore it is not right to raise any questions with respect to the absence or otherwise of such entities.[21] Kumārila asks: 'if the congnition is not a real entity, then in what way do you wish to explain it to us? Or how do you yourself comprehend it?'[22]

If it be urged that "We assume its existence and then seek to prove it"—then (we reply) how can there be an assumption of something that does not exist? And even if it is assumed, it comes (by the mere fact of this assumption) to be an entity. If it be asked—"How do you (Mīmānsakas) apply cognisability to Negation (which is a non-entity)?"... (we reply) that we hold Negation to be a real entity.[23]

Whether (you have, for your minor term 'Cognition') as a property of the soul, or independently by itself—in any case, your argument has the great defect, viz., of

Mere Ideation Cannot be Cognised

having the subject unknown. Nor is there any such thing as 'Mere Mind' (Vijñānamātra) without objects, because such a Mere Ideation cannot be recognised or specified.[24] Though for others (e.g. the Mīmānsakas) there is a specification in the shape of mere signification of a word, but such cannot be the case with you, for you do not accept any difference between the word and its signification.[25]

If you seek to prove the fact of being devoid of a substratum, as Universal—then you are open to the faults of having your Predicate unrecognised, and that of the absence of an example.[26] If, however, you assert the fact of being devoid of substratum only partially, we also admit the cognition of taste to be devoid of colour, so that your argument becomes superfluous.[27] And again, if you seek to reject only such substratum as the form in which the cognition appears, then (we say that), in as much as you accept the cognition of the cognition itself (svākāra), such denial (of the form of cognition) would be a self-contradiction.[28]

If by Nirālambanatā (Vijñaptimātratā) you mean that consciousness has no such substratum (in the external world), as the pole and the like, then this would contradict a visible fact.[29]

For us (the Mīmānsakas), the reality or the unreality of a cognition is based upon the contact of the senses with the objects—and it is on the authority of this that we accept the cognised object, as real or unreal.[30] For you, however, there being no sense-organs, there can be no other ground for holding the fact of the cognition having a real substratum, than the cognition itself; and as such, a denial thereof is unreasonable.[31]

Moreover, when you do not recognise the reality of any external object, how could you have such a minor term as "cognition appears to be external ?"[32]

You will have to face graver difficulties if you go on asserting the non-difference between the object of cognition and the cognition itself.[33] There is no denotation whithout connection, and this connection is impossible without some difference between the word and its denotation; but you do

not accept any difference between the word and its signification, therefore your argument becomes unintelligible and faulty.[34]

Further, it is impossible to impart any instruction with regard to Dharma and the like, without ascertaining, in its reality, the difference between dharma and adharma; or between teacher and pupil; we therefore, conclude that, the difference of the idea (of Dharma from Dharma itself) is accepted even by your Teacher (Buddha). And in denying the difference between the percipient (congition) and the perceptive (cognised) you contradict your own Master.[35]

The view of (you Buddhists) goes against the facts known to all persons who always recognise objects apart from their cognitions.[36]

Analogy of Dream Cognition is Untenable

Above all we press against you the following argument: 'cognitions have real substrata in the external world; and this notion is correct because it is a notion free from contradiction, like the notion of the falsity of dream-cognition'. Now if you urge that this notion is also false, then dream-cognition would never be false, and consequently it could not supply the instance (of falsity) in the agrument you have brought against us. (Here the Buddhist is put into a fix: if he accepts the falsity of dream-cognition, he cannot say anything against the counter-argument put forward above, and he loses his ground; but if he does not accept, to avoid this fix, the falsity of dream-cognition, then he contradicts himself, for he has employed dream-cognition as an instance of falsecognition.)[37]

In the same way, if you were to accept the correctness of the notions of momentary character, distinctness and existence of cognitions, then your argument (i.e. the middle term) would become inconclusive or doubtful; while if you accept the falsity of such notions, you contradict your own theory. Moreover, there could be, in your theory, no such distinction as that into the 'bound' and the 'liberated'; and hence you would have the absurdity of the fruitlessness of any efforts toward liberation.[38] Then, if all cognitions were false, there could be no idea of comparative reality or unreality of objects, in regard to the sense-organ concerned.[39]

For us (the Mīmānsaka), dream-cognition would certainly be falsified by the perception of a waking-cognition contradicting it; but for you, what would constitute the difference (between the reality of waking cognition and that of dream-cognition, both of which are held by you to be equally false)?[40]

We do not come across any such instance where a waking cognition as such is contradicted by another waking-cognition, while the whole world knows that the dream-cognitions are contradicted by waking-cognitions.[41]

If you urge that even waking-cognitions become invalidated by the contrary cognitions of a Yogīn (who knows all worldly things to be false), we reply that, such yogic cognition does not belong to any person in this life; and as for those who have reached the state of a Yogīn, we do not know what happens to them.[42]

Mīmānsā view of Error

Kumārila, then adduces some striking arguments which would appear to anticipate modern parapsychology and theories of dream-cognition, he says, the external substratum is not altogether absent; in all cases there is a real substratum, though in dreams appearing under diverse conditions of time and place. What is perceived in dream is some real external object that has been perceived previously either in this life or in some past life, or at some other time, and it is cognised in dreams either in the same context or under different circums tances.[43]

Thus the cause of misconception in the notion of the 'fire-brand-circle' is the fire-brand whirled with extreme rapidity; in that of 'imaginary cities' (Gandharvanagare), the particular shape of the clouds; as also some pre-conceived notions, &c.; in that of the 'Mirage', pre-conceived water, or sand heated by and reflecting the rays of the sun; the cause of the notion of 'hare's horns' would be either the horn of the other animals, or the peculiar character of the hare itself. And of the negation of the hair's horns, the cause is the baldness of its head. Of the notion of 'emptiness' in the object, the cause is the place untouched by any other object. And in the case of improbable utterances (e.g., 'hundreds of elephants on the tip of one's finger'), the cause lies in the objects themselves (as under the influence of extreme proximity of giving rise to such misconceptions).[44]

A typical example of Kumārilian dialectic and technique of disputation or debate is observable in the following few lines.

Kumārila — Even such objects as are never perceived (e.g., the Sāmkhya Prakṛti according to Pārthasārathī Miśra) are comprehended by cognitions, and the origin of these cognitions lies in (its constituent elements) the earth, &c. It is a peculiarity of sense-perception (pratyakṣa dharmaśca) that it comprehends the objects existing at the present time, and also that it functions over objects in contact with the senses; (such is not the case with Inference).

Opponent — 'How could an object, not existing, bring about a cognition ?'

Kumārila — Whence do you conclude the capacity of non-existing objects to produce cognitions ? The point of debate between us is the fact of cognitions having external substrata and even if there be no proximity of the objects (with the sense-organ) how could that affect our theory ?[45]

Criticism of the Doctrine of Vāsanā — After dilating on the Inferential arguments, Kumārila proceeds to refute the Buddhist tenet of Vāsanā (impression), basing his arguments chiefly on the Buddhist theory of momentariness (kṣaṇabhaṅgavāda).

The Theory of Pure Idea is Contradicted by by the Theory of Vāsanā — It is impossible for the Buddhist to specify the impression (vāsanā), for he has no cause for specification. The Idea (cognition) is said to exist by itself, it is without differentiation and hence it cannot be the cause of specification, moreover, to say that the difference of Vāsanā is due to the difference of Idea, is to land upon Reciprocity and thus contradict the tenet that the idea by itself is of pure form.[46]

There is no evidence either for the existence of the Vāsānā, or the differentiation thereof; even granting its existence, the Vāsanā would only bring about the differentiation of the apprehender (grāhaka); and then by what would the differentiation of the apprehended (grāhya) be brought about ? Appearing as it does in consciousness (saṃvitti) alone, the the Vāsanā could only give rise to memory.[47]

The Incompatibility of the tenet of Vāsanā with that of Momentariness

Moreover, the Buddhist theory of momentariness goes against the theory of Vāsanā. The ideas (citteṣu)being momentary, and their destruction being total, and their being no association of the impressed and the impresser (i.e. two do not appear together) ,—there can be no Vāsanā.

The next moment (uttara-kṣaṇa) having not yet appeared, cannot be impressed by the foregoing moment (pūrva-kṣaṇa); and the following moment having been destroyed as soon as it appears, there can be no impression thereby, by the foregoing, and even if the two moments appeared together, they could have no relation between them; and hence there can be no Vāsanā or impression.

(The preceding and following moments) being momentary, they cannot operate upon one another; how can that which is in the course of destruction be impressed by another which too is undergoing destruction? It is only the permanent entities (i.e., those that last for some moments) that can be impressed by other entities which are also permanent.[48]

Causal Relation between Ideas is Impossible

For you (the Buddhists) who hold doctrine of the momentariness of things, there can be no causal relation between the preceding cognition; and the following cognition; the preceding cognition cannot produce an effect unless it is destroyed, nor can it do so after having been destroyed. Therefore, the assertion that there exists a causal relation between two ideas is wrong.[49]

Further, since the cognition is destroyed totally, whence can there be such similarity (samāna dharmatā) (as you would have us believe)? As in the subsequent cognition there exists no such property as belonged to the preceding cognition, and barring the sameness of properties no other 'similarity' is possible. (Pārthasārathi Miśra adds : if the property of the previous cognition persists in the subsequent cognition then the former cannot be said to have been destroyed totally.)[50]

It is only on the destruction of the cause—and not otherwise—that the effect is held (by you) to appear. And hence the destruction of a single idea would bring about the destruction of all impressions (based thereupon). And then, the Universal Idea, that had been brought about by all these

impressions, would all, in a single mement, disappear.[51] If you hold the potentiality of the idea to subsist even after its destruction, its momentary character would disappear and your theory of momentariness would stand contradicted.[52]

If you have assumed the existence of the Vāsanā (impression) as a false reality (i.e. Saṃvṛti Satya) only and not as true reality, then, in that case, no effect can ever be produced by such assumed false reality.[53]

Concluding his survey of and polemic against the Vijñānavāda (Nirālambanavāda), Kumārila makes the following remarkable observation. "As a matter of fact, this denial of (the reality of the external world) objects—following upon the assumption of such an 'impression-theory', which is incorrect and devoid of reason—was declared by the Buddha with the sole object of alienating the affections (of men from such wordly objects); and some-how or other, some people (the so-called followers of the Buddha) fell into a mistake (and accepted it to its utmost extent, as the denial of all external substratum of cognitions)."[54]

(ii) ŚŪNYAVĀDA (THE MĀDHYAMIKA)

In the Śūnyavāda Section of the Ślokavārttika, the Mimānsā Doctor considers certain Buddhist doctrines, which he puts under 'Śūnyavāda', in two hundred and sixty-three verses; sixty-three of them are devoted to the Pūrvapakṣa and the remaining two hundred to criticism of the same.[55]

The Buddhist Position

The Buddhist, addressing the Mīmānsaka, says : 'You stick to sense-perception, and the contradiction thereof you urge as an objection against our argument; now just consider following points'.

'Is it a fact that a cognition is able to function, only when such objects as the post and the like, have an existence in the external World? Or is it that the cognition rests only in itself as the object cognised, and not in any extraneous object? If it is only the external object that is perceived by the cognition, then the objections urged by you are right enough; but if it is the cognition itself which is cognised, then each and every one of them falls to the ground.[56]

It must be admitted, the Buddhist states, that all living

creatures are aware of the fact that the fact of cognisability belongs to objects, in the form of blue, yellow, long, short, &c. And we do not perceive any difference in the form of the cognition and the cognised; nor do we have any clear idea of this or that property as belonging to this or that object. What is real must be cognisable, what is incognisable cannot be real ; it must therefore be admitted that there exists something with a form, in as much as it possesses the character of congnisability. Now, if the investigators of this problem find that the cognition itself appears as having a shape, then the trustworthiness (of the existence of the form) would rest solely in congnition, and the postulation of an external object would be groundless.[57]

The Form Belongs to the Cognition

If, however, the form belonged to the external object, then the latter would have to be accepted as really existing, on the sole ground of its being congnised ; and for the accomplishment of this (perception) we would also have to accept the existence of the cognition.[58]

Now, which (of the two alternatives) is correct ? It must be the consciousness itself which has the form (as perceived). Why ? Because we find that it is one and the same object which has the form and it is cognised as such. If what has the form were held to be some extraneous object, then its cognisability not being otherwise possible, we would have to postulate something else as the cogniser. But in doing so, we would be postulating a groundless cogniser, which would be formless and something foreign to the cognisable object. If, in order to avoid the postulation of a groundless entity, you were to attribute the character of the cogniser to the object itself—then the difference between us would be only nominal, (i.e. you would be holding the external object to be both the cogniser and the cognised ; while we hold cognition itself to be both). In any case, we assert the identity of the cogniser (consciousness) and the cognised (the object); the assumption of either externality or internality is utterly groundless.[59]

In my theory, the Buddhist goes on, although the real character of Consciousness is naturally pure,[60] yet in this

beginningless world, there is an agglomeration of diverse dispositions or impessions born of foregoing cognitions and it is owing to these that the cognition appears in various forms tinged with the grāhyagrāhaka-bheda, which latter, however, is not something apart from the cognition; and as such, the cognition does not need any extraneous object. The reciprocal causality of the cognition and its faculty (in the form of dispositions) is not faulty just as the reciprocal causality of the seed and the shoot or tree is not faulty. The assumption of one is certainly better than that of many ; and the assumption of a diversity in the faculty (of an object) is better than that of a diversity in the objects themselves.[61] For these reasons it is far more reasonable to postulate the form to belong to the cognition itself ; congnition must be held to have the form, because, being self-luminous it is accepted even by you, to be the means of illuminating the external object, which in itself is devoid of any luminosity. Moreover, without the camprehension of the cognition, the object cannot be comprehended ; because such comprehension depends upon the cognition, like the jar under the light of a lamp.[62]

This Form is due to Vāsanās

Cognition is Pure and Bright

Even when the objects have appeared, the Buddhist continues, they are not cognised, either because there is no illumination (of consciousness) or because there is some impediment (to their cognition). For the congition, however, when it has appeared, there is no impediment ; it being ever luminous cannot but be cognised. You accept the appearance of the cognition even prior to the appearance of the object and as such we would have the comprehension of the cognition (even prior to that of the object). If such comprehension were denied even in the absence of impediment, then we can as reasonably deny its comprehension at all times, even after the comprehension of the object.[63] Because what would accrue to the cognition subsequently (i.e. after the comprehension of the object) which did not originally belong to it—and accompanied by which it has never been really comprehended, but only comes to be known subsequently, as 'comprehended' ? The luminosity (the appearance of cognition) does not stand in need of the appearance

of another cognition; for if it were so, then the comprehension of one cognition would require the appearance of another cognition, and so on ad infinitum; and there would be no resting ground for any cognition.[64]

We find that even in the absence of External objects, we have a reminiscence of their forms following upon mere ideas thereof; how could this memory be possible if the cognition did not always embrace the form of the objects; and even in the past, the objects were not cognised only as preceded by such cognition?

Even with respect to the cognition of the objects existing at the present time, we see the people asserting: 'this is a blue object, for with respect to it I have such a notion'.

It is, therefore, clear that the objects are cognised only after the cognitions having been cognised; nor is there any comprehension possible when the cognitions are without any definite forms. Because there is no difference between the objective form and the cognition, and because only such objects are cognised as have forms, it stands to reason that it is the cognition alone, and not any external object, that can ever be comprehended as having that form.[65]

Objects are not Reflected in the Cognition

We have already said that it is only after the cognition of the cognition itself that the external object is cognised; it is impossible for the form of the object to enter the inner cognition and therefore, the form cannot be said to be superimposed on the cognition.[66]

Moreover, there is no evidence that the object is endowed with (such) a form (as would enter the cognition); for this reason, we do not accept the position (held by the Sautrāntikas) that the form is reflected upon the cognition. It is only the person who has seen the surface of the water during the day as without any reflection of the moon, that seeing at night, the moon in the sky, can recognise its reflection in water. But in the case of cognition, it has never before been seen without a form, nor there has been any idea (without cognition) of the external object being endowed with a form; and hence, in this case, there can be no notion of reflection.

And again, what sort of reflection could there be in the case of (incorporeal objects like) sound, colour, taste, &c.?

And how could there be any notion of the form belonging to the object when it is distinctly comprehended as belonging to the cognition ?[67]

Impossibility of Contact between Cognition and Object

Being as they are, located (separately) in the external world, and inside (the man)—there can be no mutual contact between the object and the cognition; and hence, no amount of stupidity could give rise to the notion of identity (of the form of the object and the cognition).[68]

Since we do not find any person who is not so decieved, the assumption of such stupidity is ruled out; even if such deception could be assumed, it would apply equally to both (cognition and object). For this reason it is improper to assert that the form is a property of the contact (between the cognition and the object); such a contact is improbable, because of the difference of their locations, and because of cognition being incorporeal and the object being corporeal.

Such contact cannot be said to consist of the coevality or contemporaneity, for that would apply to the whole Universe. Nor is there any such position of the object as is face to face with the cognition. If such contact could be held to be universal, then taste, would come to be perceived by the eye, which is impossible. Nor can it be said that the mere existence of the object, as an object of cognition, constitutes the said contact; because of what sort would the character of the object be, prior to the comprehension of its forms ?[69]

Nor can it be proved that the diversity of cognitions or the diversity of forms is due to this (i.e. contact) which itself is formless; the form of the cognition cannot originate in the object which itself is also formless. We have already said that the cognisable does not exist apart from the form; the theory of contact therefore, is without any foundation.[70]

Thus, by both affirmative and negative inference we get at the fact of the form belonging to the Idea. There is no proof for the existence of an external object independently of the Idea—while we have the Idea independently of the external object. The contact theory could be maintained only with reference to the impressions. It cannot be maintained that both the Idea and the Object have one and the same form, because (i) there is difference in their positions;

because (ii) there is no contact between them, and because (iii) there is no definite notion of the two being distinct and different.[71]

Objects do not exist

Moreover, in the case of the use of such words as Naksatra (neuter), Tārakā (feminine), Tiṣya (masculine) and Dārāḥ (masculine plural) it is impossible for the contradictory genders, &c. to apply to one and the same thing. Similarly, with regard to a fair-girl, for example, (a single object), there could not be such diverse notions of a corpse &c. In other words, (says the Buddhist), the terms 'Nakṣatra', 'Tārā', 'Tiṣya', all signify stars; now if the object star had any real existence in the external world then names of such contradictory genders could not be applied to it. In the same manner, the term 'dārā' is always used in the masculine-plural, which could not be the case, if any such thing as woman (dārā), really existed in the external world. And again, in the case of a fair-girl, the ascetic looks upon her as a disgusting corpse, the licentious man looks upon her as an object of pleasure, and the dog looks at her as an article of food, which diversity would not be possible if the fair-girl had a real existence.[72]

Further, with regard to the same object we have the notions of its being long and short, in comparison with different objects, and with regard to the same object (e.g. one finger appears long in comparison with one, while shorter in comparison with another finger). A jar, e.g., is conceived as a jar, being earthly, being a substance, and being predicable—all these notions appear simultaneously in the observer; but this could never be the case, if there really existed any such single object as the jar. For, in one and the same object, the application of contradictory forms is not possible. As for the ideas, they are different in each case, and as such adjustable to the diversity in the force (of impressions).[73]

The object should be traced to the form that an idea takes, and never the vice versa; the form of the object depends on the idea, so that the existence of the external object is not possible. As for the idea, it could rest in itself.[74]

Kumarila's Criticism

Having summarised the doctrines of 'Sūnyavādā' as he viewed them, Kumārila proceeds to refute the same with his characteristic logical subtlety and polemical skill.

What has been said by the Buddhist, says he, is not true; you (Buddhists) hold the Idea to be both cogniser and the cognised; but you cannot cite any instance wherein such a duplicate character belongs to a single entity.[75] Because, fire and the like, that are illuminators (of the jar and the like), cannot be said to be themselves illuminable, because they do not stand in need of any illuminator. And whenever they come to be cognised they are cognised through a sense-organ; the sense-organ is cognised by the Idea. And this Idea itself is cognised by another Idea; but in no case can the same object be both cogniser and the cognised.[76]

Moreover, at the time of cognising a cognisable form, such as the blue, we do not come across any idea which has the form of (this cognising) cognition.[77]

No pure idea would be possible if it were to be non-different from the object (which has a form); if the object cannot be comprehended, the cognising agency too cannot be comprehended, because they are held to be non-different.[78]

And again, as the comprehension of the cognisable object would not lead to that of the cognising Idea—and as the comprehension of the cognising Idea would not lead to that of the cognisable object—there would be non-comprehension of both these (because they are held to be non-different).[79]

The Buddhist asserts that since both Idea and the object are identical in form, therefore when one is comprehended, the other too is comprehended; but this is not true; for this is proved neither by perception nor by inference. As a matter of fact it is only one form that is comprehended, and yet you (Buddhist) assume a second; why then cannot you assume a thousand such forms to be included in that single Idea ?[80]

If, however, it is only conventionally that you call these entities 'jñāna', then let that be so; the word 'jñāna', when applied to the object, would be explained as 'that which is known', and when applied to the cognition, it would be

explained either as 'knowledge', or as 'that which cognises anything'. In any case, the duality of existence (in the form of cognition and the cognised) becomes cstablished.[81]

There is no such distinct class as 'Jñāna' which embraces both (cognition and the cognised); you do not admit of any distinct class of Jñāna apart from the individuals. Even if there were such a distinct category of 'Jñāna' different from the cognised and the cognition, then in that case, the character of 'Jñāna' could not belong to these two; thus there being a total absence of form or character of 'Jñāna' there would result an absolute negation of 'Jñāna'.[82] And as there is no other substance (than Idea), even an 'Apoha' (negation) cannot be possible for you; because the Buddhist Idealist does not admit of a non-Idea that could be negatived by Apoha.[83]

Since Ideas do not appear together, the two Ideas cannot be causally related; they can have no such relation as 'conceived' and 'the means of conception'; as has been said in the Bhāṣya (i.e. Śabara-Bhāṣya, vide Professor K. Chaṭṭopādhyāya, 'References to Buddhist philosophy in the Vṛttikaragrantha of Śabara-Bhāṣya', Jha Commemoration Volume, pp. 115 ff., espl. p. 118). "It (Idea) is momentary &c.", therefore, the object (of cognition) must be something other (than the Idea itself).[84]

It is thus that there can be no causal relation between the two ideas even when they appeared simultaneously, the mere concomitance of the Idea and the object cannot be called a causal relation; the wise people take into account the notion of sequence besides the notion of concomitance. On the contrary also, if sometimes the cow followed the horse, this mere sequence could not constitute the causal relation.[85]

Your example of the lamp and the light emitted by it as an example of the simultaneity of the cause and the effect, is unsound; because in this case also, there is a minute point of time (intervening between the appearance of the lamp and that of the light), though this is imperceptible, just as is the case with the piercing (with a needle) of the hundred petals of the lotus. The same criticism would apply even if you assert the simultaneity of the two parts (of cognition), i.e., the comprehender and the comprehended.[86]

What is comprehended by memory is nothing but a comprehended object, mixed with its past character; in dream-consciousness, however, it cannot be so, because the dream-consciousness is always false, as in dreams what is not present is cognised as present; but this is not so with the cognitions of a waking state.[87]

The theory that the cognition cognises itself is not sound; while comprehending the object, the cognition does not approach itself (does not render itself comprehensible); though the Idea illuminates other things, yet for its own illumination it needs something else; its illuminative character consists in cognising objects and not in cognising itself. As in the case of the eye, we see, though the eye illuminates things, but its illuminative character is limited to specific objects, colour, form, etc. an eye does not see itself, likewise, the Idea cannot know itself.[88]

For those who hold that cognitions have cognitions for their objects, the distinction between the 'cognition of a jar' and that of 'a cognition of this cognition' is impossible.[89]

Different persons comprehend one single thing in different forms so that it is possible for a thing to have different forms. There is no such hard and fast rule laid down by God, that "one object must have one and only one form."[90] As a matter of fact, apart from the form of the object, there is no recognition of the Idea. And the Idea being recognisable by another's form it cannot be the object of cognition, because it is like a mirage.[91]

Observations

The remarkable review and the trenchant criticism of the tenets of Buddhist systems reproduced above, shows that Kumārila was well trained in the niceties of Buddhist dogmatics. M. M. Dr. Gopīnātha Kavirāja observes somewhere[92] that "Kumārila's knowledge of Buddhist philosophy was more profound and more accurate, though Śaṃkara is better known as having been more deeply influenced by Buddhism."

At one place (viz., Śloka 14, Nirālambanavāda, S.V.) Kumārila refers to the two well known schools of Mahāyāna philosophy (the Vijñānavāda and the Mādhyamika) and says that "the Yogācāras hold that the Idea is devoid of the corresponding reality (in the external world), and the

Mādhyamikas deny the reality of the Idea also." The arrangement of two different sections entitled 'Nirālambana-vāda' and 'Śūnyavāda' also shows that the Mīmānsa Doctor intended to deal with these two schools separately. But in spite of this pronounced scheme, we find that the great author of the Ślokavārttika has confused between the tenets of the two schools, throughout these two large sections, it is only the doctrines of Vijñānavāda school that attract his attention; the essential doctrine of void, of the 'Śūnyavāda', is left untouched. On the whole, we find a very good review of the Vijñānavada philosophy which is without a parallel in Brahmanical quarters.

Section (B)

ŚAṂKARA'S VIEW OF BUDDHIST THOUGHT

Śaṃkarācārya, the most famous among the Brahmanical philosophers, and the supreme champion of Advaita-Vedānta, who is now supposed to have lived in the last quarter of of the 8th century A.D., presents us an account of Buddhist philosophical systems. In keeping with the old and honoured tradition of Indian philosophers, he also gives in his commentary on the Brahma-sūtras,[93] first the Pūrvapakṣa and then a critique of the same afterwards. In discussing Śaṃkara's view and review of Buddhist doctrines his own plan has been followed below.

Buddhism according to Śaṃkara is a system of 'nihilism' (sarva-vaināśika); but he distinguishes three principal systems of these "thorough goining nihilists"; (1) the Sarvāstivāda ; (2) the Vijñānavāda and (3) the Śūnyavāda. The Śarvāstivāda is taken up first.

(i) THE SARVĀSTIVĀDA ('SARVĀSTITVAVĀDA')

Theory of Dharmas

According to the Sarvāstitvavāda,[94] everything, external as well as internal, is real; what is external is either 'matter' (bhūta) or 'material' (bhautika); and what is internal is either mind (citta) or mental (caitta). The elements (of matter) are the earth, water, &c. ; the elemental are eye, colour and etc. The

external world arises out of the four kinds of atoms, which are either hard, fluid, hot or mobile, according as they are earth, water, fire and air, respectively.[95]

And of Skandhas

The internal world, which constitutes the personal existence of man, consists of the five groups (skandhas), of matter (rūpa), sensation (vijñāna), feeling (vedanā), Ideas (saṃjña), volitions (saṃskāra).[96]

Criticism

With regard to this view, says Śaṃkara, we have to observe that neither the elements (or atoms) nor the aggregates (or groups) of elements called the Skandhas, are able to achieve the two classes of groups assumed by the Buddhists. Because the elements of these groups are non-intelligent; nor can they enter on activity of their own accord; for that would imply their ceaseless activity (in consequence of which) there will be no liberation. The Buddhist admits of neither the existence of a self or a permanent intelligent being, who enjoys, nor that of a Lord, who governs; nor a chain of cognitions of one's 'ego' be said to be the cause (of the activity of these elements). For if the chain is different in character from the several momentary cognitions of which it is constituted, it would be tantamount to the acceptance of an eternal Self of the Vedānta. But if the chain too is momentary, it cannot bring about the motion in atoms so that the latter would not be able to form an aggregate and in the absence of the aggregates, the external and the internal worlds will be non-existent, and the mundane existence will disappear altogether.[97]

The Buddhist may argue as follows. Although there exists no Lord who rules, and no Soul who enjoys, yet the mundane existence is rendered possible by the force of causal links. This series in the causal chain comprises Avidyā, Saṃskāra, Vijñāna, Nāma-rūpa, Ṣaḍāyatana, Sparśa, Vedanā, Tṛṣṇā, Upādana, Bhava and Jāti, (and the whole lot of painful things attending on mundane existence).[98] These links in the chain of causes and effects revolve ceaselessly like pots in a water-wheel, and explain the Saṃsāra.[99]

Chain of Causation

Criticism

But this argument, says Śaṃkara, cannot be accepted, because it merely accounts for the origin of several members in the series by

reference to the preceding members of the of the same; it does not explain how the external and internal aggregates are formed. It has been pointed out above that even on Vaiśeṣika doctrine,[100] it cannot be proved as to how the atoms are combined, in spite of the fact that the doctrine admits the the existence of permanent atoms and of the souls in which the unseen fruits of actions reside. It is much more impossible, on the Buddhist view, to explain the combination, when the atoms are held to be momentary and are bereft of any connection with souls and with the unseen fruit.

Difficulties of the Doctrine of Impermanence

The series of Avidyā and so on, being itself dependent on the assemblage of atoms and skandhas, cannot be the cause of the latter. If you (Buddhists) say that the series of Avidyā and so on, as well as that of atoms and skandhas on which it depends, are simultaneously responsible for the continued existence of Saṃsāra, we ask: are the successive aggregates of atoms and skandhas like unto each other or unlike? In the first case (i.e. if they are like unto each other) a man, in spite of his good or bad deeds, will never be able to obtain the bodies of birds and animals or of angels and gods; in the second case (i.e. if they are unlike each other) a man may change at any time, even while living, into an elephant or a god. Moreover, in the absence of an eternal self it is inconceivable how a man can wait till the objects of enjoyment are formed for his sake, or till the time of his final liberation.[101]

Causality and Momentariness are Incompatible

There can be no causal relation between any two momentary things, because it is only after the first momentary entity has ceased to exist that the second momentary entity comes into existence. If it be said that the mere existence of the antecedent entity produces the consequent entity, then the doctrine of universal impermanence will be contradicted, because such an assumption would mean that the antecedent entity continues to exist in the subsequent entity.

Apart from this flaw, what does the Buddhist mean by the origination and destruction of things? It may

Tenet of Momentariness Untenable

mean the nature of a thing, in that case, whether a thing is destroyed or not, it will continue to maintain its nature in spite of the theory of momentariness; if however, origination and destruction are the initial and final stages of one and the same intermediate thing, then the thing would be existent during moments of time which would mean the abandonment of theory of momentariness; and finally, if the origination and destruction are absolutely different and distinct from the thing, just as a horse is different from the buffalo, even then we reach the same conclusion; the thing will be permanent and will not be affected by origination and cessation. However, if origination and destruction were merely to imply the perception and non-perception of a thing, then these terms would refer to the percipient being and not to the thing at all. Hence it is thus that the Buddhist view is untenable.[102]

The Bauddha may say that 'there may be an effect even if there is no cause;[103] but then, the basic tenet of the school that the mind and mental states arise on account of the four different causes (pratyayas)[104] will have to be abandoned; moreover, anything may arise at any time, if no cause is required.[105]

Refutation of three Asaṃskrt 'Dharmas'

These 'Nihilists' (Vaināśikāḥ), Śaṃkara goes on, imagine that all produced things, save the triad of 'Space' (Ākāśa), 'Cessation through intellectual power' (Pratisaṃkhyā-nirodha) and 'Cessation through the absence of productive cause' (Apratisaṃkhyānirodha), are momentary. This triad, they hold to be non-substantial, of negative character (Abhāvamātra) and devoid of all positive traits.[106]

Now the two-fold cessation (nirodha-dvaya) is impossible. Why? Because of the absence of interruption; both kinds of cessation must refer either to the series of the momentary existences, or to the single members of this series. But neither of these alternatives is admissible; the series of things cannot be destroyed, as the members are causally related in an uninterrupted manner; and it is equally impossible to maintain that any momentary existence should be annihilated by itself. A thing is known, either by perception or by inference, to exist in various states through which it passes; e.g., the clay is known as such whether it appears as a jar or the potsherds

into which it is broken. It is for these reasons that the two kinds of cessations cannot be proved to be real;[107] nor can it be proved that they are devoid of positive characters and of non-definable nature. The Scripture (Śruti) declares that "Space came forth from the Self;[108] this shows that space is a real entity; moreover, the existence of space can be inferred from the quality of sound. If you say that the Ākāśa is simply uncovered space, then the existence of any flying bird in the sky would render the space covered, so that there would be no room for a second bird wishing to fly at the same time. If you reply that another bird may fly in another portion of the sky where there is an absence of covering body, then we point out that that portion of the sky is a positive entity, viz., space; and not a mere non-existence of covering bodies.

Moreover, by defining the space negatively, you (Buddhists) go against Buddha's ipse dixit; for Buddha (Sugata) says that "the air is founded on space".[109] How 'air' which is a positive entity could have its support in space (Ākāśa) if the latter were a non-entity ? Further more, it is contradictory to say (as you do) that the two 'Nirodhas' and the 'Ākāśa' are non-entities and of negative character and also 'eternal' (Śāśvata) and 'not produced' (asaṃskṛt). How can a thing which is negative and unreal be eternal ?[110]

Doctrine of Momentariness is Invalidated by Recollection

The 'nihilist' philosopher holds the doctrine of universal momentariness of all things; he will have to extend this momentariness to the experiencing subject also. But this is rendered impossible by the fact of recollection or rememberance. It is not the case that one man cognises things and another recognises; recollection belongs to the same person who had previously made the perception. Even the 'Vaināśika' thinker will admit that the perceptions which he had yesterday, he remembers to-day; he knows that the perceptions he remembers to-day belonged to him in the past as surely as he knows that fire is hot.

Buddhist view of Causation

The Buddhists (says Śaṃkara), are Asatkāryavādins; they deny the existence of permanent and stable causes and therefore believe that an entity arises from a non-entity. This belief is expressed in the

following manner. The sprout comes forth after the seed is destroyed; curd is formed only when the milk ceases to be milk; and the clay ceases to be a mere lump of clay before we see a jar out of it. If effects did spring from changeless or permanent causes, all effects would originate from all causes at once, and no specification would be required.

To this Buddhist tenet we reply (says Śaṃkara): (entity does) not (spring) from non-entity; if non-entity were to produce entity, then there would be no meaning in assigning specific causes for specific effects, such as seed for sprout, clay for jar, or milk for curd; on the contrary, we will have to assume that the sprout originates from the hare's horns, which is absurd. In no case would a non-existence possess causal efficiency, simply because like a hare's horn it is non-existence. Every effect wears a peculiar aspect of existence. The Buddhist view that nothing, which does not change, can become a cause, is false.[112]

Criticism

(ii) THE VIJNĀNĀSTITVAMĀTRA-VĀDA

The Vjñānavādin Buddhist thinker says that the Buddha indeed expounded the doctrine of the reality of the external world in order to cater some of his pupils who were too much attached to the world. But this was not his real view; Buddha's real doctrine was that nothing but the consciousness is real.[113]

External Objects do not Exist

(According to this system), all experience—the act of cognition, the object of cognition and the result of cognition (pramāṇa-prameya-phala-vyavahāra)—is an internal one, existing only in the mind (buddhi), Even if things existed in outside world, we cannot experience them unless the mind determines their form. But if the things existed in the external world, they would be either of the nature of atoms or of their aggregates. Obviously, things like pillars cannot be apprehended as atoms, because the latter are imperceptible; nor can they be apprehended as aggregates of atoms; for if these aggregates are different from atoms, they cannot be considered as composed of atoms; and if they are non-different, they will be as imperceptible as atoms, and hence there will be no cognition of pillars as pillars.

In a like manner, one can demonstrate that the external objects have neither Universality (Jāti) nor any other category.

The cognitions—which are of uniform nature only in so far as they are various states of consciousness—undergo modifications according to their objects, so that the mind is presented now with the idea of a post, now the idea of a wall, now the idea of a jar, and so on. In other words, the forms of objects of our knowledge are determined by our ideas, and not given by the reality of the external world.

Sahopalambhaniyama

Our knowledge of the objects in the form of ideas and of objects themselves being always simultaneously presented (Sahopalambhaniyama), they must in reality be one and the same. Had they been different, we might have been aware of one and not the other, which, however, is not the case. When we are conscious of the idea we are conscious of the object also. Hence we maintain that the world of external things is unreal.[114]

One more reason for not believing in the reality of the external things is that our perceptions of waking life are silmilar to our experiences of dreams and illusions. The ideas present to our mind during a dream, a magical illusion, a mirage and so on, appear in the two-fold form of subject and object, in spite of the fact that there is no external object. Therefore, it is legitimate to hold that the experience of our waking life also may be independent of external things. Our perceptions of the objects are simply ideas.

Diversity Due to Vāsanās

The variety and diversity of ideas is not due to external objects, but due to the diversity of impressions (Vāsanās) of past ideas. In this beginningless Saṃsāra the ideas and impressions succeed each other as causes and effects, as necessarily as the seed and sprout succeed each other. The following affirmative and negative judgements also lead to the same conclusion. We both (the Vedāntins as well as the Baudhas) admit that in dreams and illusions, there presents itself a variety of ideas which arise from mental impressions, without any external objects ; we (the Bauddhas) do not admit that any variety of ideas can arise from external objects,

without mental impressions. We therefore conclude that the external things do not exist.[115]

Criticism

To all this, Śaṃkara makes the following reply. The non-existence of external things cannot be maintained; because our perceptions point to the existence of external things corresponding to our ideas. Nobody will pay heed to a man who, while eating and relishing his dinner, says that he is neither eating nor having any satisfaction out of it; let the Buddhist say as he likes. The truth is that consciousness itself points out to us that what we are aware of in perception, is not perception itself, but the object of perception.

The Buddhist seems to accept this fact when he states that consciousness appears "like something external". How can there be 'something like external' when there is really nothing external ? No one says : 'Viṣṇumitra appears like the son of a barren woman'.[116]

Moreover, the possibility and the impossibility of the objects of perception cannot be made dependent on our pre-conceived notions ; that must depend on the authority of perception or some other means of proof. As a matter of fact, external things are apprehended by all instruments of knowledge; you cannot maintain their non-existence on the ground of such an idle dilemma as that about their difference or non-difference from atoms.[117]

Moreover, it is difficult to understand how can the ideas have the forms of objects ; does it mean that forthwith the objects whose forms the ideas have, are all reduced to these forms only ? The fact is this that objects are perceived as external and as distinct from the ideas ; therefore, the invariable concomitance of the ideas and the objects should be construed as the expression of a causal connection between them and not as that of identity. That the idea and the object are different and distinct from each other can moreover be shown by reference to the difference between a substantive and the attributes belonging to it. Thus, e.g., the perception of a white cow differs from the perception of a black cow, though the knowledge of a cow in general is the same; the knowledge of 'white' and the knowledge of 'black' are different from the generic knowledge of cow which latter

remains the same; the same is the case with perception and rememberance of a jar, although the jar is the same.

If you (Buddhists) say that we are aware of the idea, you must admit that we are also aware of the external thing. To say that the 'idea is self-luminous' like a lamp, is tantamount to the absurd statement that 'fire burns itself'; while you deny the common and rational view that we are conscious of the existence of things by means of the ideas which are different from things. This is an extraordinary philosophical insight indeed, which makes a thing an object of its own activity.[118]

The lamp-like self-illuminating idea of the Vijñānavādin appears neither in need of any means of proof nor of any knowing being. But this is like believing that a thousand lamps burning inside an impenetrable rock manifest themselves.

The view that the self-luminous Idea of the Vijñānavādin resembles the view of Vedāntin is not correct; the witnessing-self of the Vedāntin is one, eternal and self-manifesting, the Ideas of the Vijñānavādin are many and momentary and without any intelligent principle (i.e. Ātman).[119]

The view that the ideas of waking life are similar to the ideas in a dream, is not correct; the experience of a dream is cancelled by waking life; the experience in dream is due to memory or infatuation by sleep, while the experience in waking life is due to the apprehension of the presence of the objects.[120]

The view that the variety of ideas can be explained through the variety of mental impressions (Vāsanāvaicitrya), and without any reference to external things, is incorrect.[121]

If you maintain that the store-house consciousness (Ālaya-vijñāna), assumed by you, may constitute the abode of mental impressions, we reject that; because that is momentary in character, and impermanent and therefore cannot be the abode of impressions any more than the quasi-external cognitions (Pravṛtti-vijñāna). Unless there be something which continues to exist and is connected with the past, present and future, or unless there is the abolutely eternal on-looker (=Self) of all things, there will be no proper explanation of the whole of practical life which consists of memory, recollection and the various impressions.[122]

(iii) SAMKARA ON ŚŪNYAVĀDA

With regard to the Śūnyavāda the "Sarva Śūnyatva-Vāda" 'the doctrine that everything is void', Śaṃkara's treatment is striking. He says that this doctrine goes against all means of right knowledge, and therefore, it is unworthy of refutation—tannirākaraṇāya nādaraḥ krīyate. This apparent world, the existence of which is attested by all means of knowledge, cannot be denied except on the recognition of some other truth, a general principle is proved by the contrary instances.[123]

The height of Saṃkara's criticism of Buddhist thought reaches in his comment on the 32nd sūtra of the Second section of the Second chapter of the Brahma Sūtras. He says, therein, that no further consideration (for this system) is in fact required. From whatever point this Buddhist philosophy is examined, it collapses from all sides, like the walls of a well dug in sandy soil. It has, in fact, no foundation to rest upon, and hence it is unworthy of becoming a practical guide in life.

Moreover, Buddha by propounding the three mutually contradictory systems, viz., the reality of external world (Sarvāstitva), the reality of ideas only (Vijñānamātra) and general nothingness (Śūnyavāda), has made it clear that either he was a man given to making incoherent assertions, or else, that his hatred of all beings induced him to propound absurd doctrines by accepting which they would become thoroughly confused. The essence of this Sūtra is that the Buddha's doctrine should be entirely discarded by all those who wish to achieve their spiritual good.[124]

Observations

It is not possible here to give any exhaustive Buddhist answers to the strictures made by Śaṃkarācārya. It is not difficult to see that much of the foregoing animadversion is based on certain fundamental misunderstandings concerning Buddhist principles.

The epithet 'nihilist' (Vaināśika) applied to Buddhist philosopher by Śaṃkara, is not in keeping with Buddhist's true position. Nowhere in the whole mass of Buddhist philosophical sūtras and śāstras can we cite any single instance to justify the epithet Vaināśika. Right from Buddha down to

Śāntirakṣita, over a period of about fourteen centuries of Buddhism's active life in India, we find that the Buddhists have been giving warnings against falling into grave mistakes of believing in eternalism or nihilism; the Mādhyamikas had always championed the doctrine transcending both est and non-est, is and is-not, asti and nāsti.[125]

Śaṃkara's criticism of the Sarvāstivāda views is far from being sound ; it does not seem to be true that "Śaṃkara had a firm grasp of the real significance as well as the limitations of Buddhist thought";[126] on the contrary, it is true that "Śaṃkara's knowledge of Buddhist philosophy was naturally superficial",[127] and that he misunderstood and "ignored the fundamental principles of Buddhism.".[128]

Thus Śaṃkara is not right in identifying the mental (adhyātman) with the aggregate of the five skandhas ; the cittam or vijñānaskandha, in Sarvāstivāda, stands for one of the components of the aggregate. Similarly, Śaṃkara's view that the Buddhists deny that causes produce their effects, is clearly wrong; the Buddhists do not deny the causal relation between things, they only say that there are no permanent causes ; nothing, which is changeless and eternal, can produce an effect ; the law of pratītyasamutpāda had always been the central plank of Buddhist philosophy ; and to say that the Buddhists deny the fact that causes produce effects is absolutely wrong.[129]

Śaṃkara is not right when he regards the trinity of Asaṃskṛt dharmas (to wit, Ākāśa, Prati-Saṃkhyānirodha and Apratisaṃkhyā nirodha) as 'mere nothing' or 'non-existence' (abhāvamātra). The Vaibhāṣikas hold that they are uncompounded (asaṃskṛt) and immutable dharmas ; they are positive entities though incapable of description in words ; Pratisaṃkhyā nirodha, like Upanisadic Ātman, is the goal of spiritual efforts, though anabhilāpya, yet pratyātmavedanīya.

Śaṃkara's statement that Buddha taught these doctrines out of hatred (dveṣa) for the people (prajā) and owing to his desire to confuse the people, is a serious and baseless charge against the Blessed One, the all compassionate (Sabhabhūtānukaṃpī) Buddha. Such a stricture, paralleled only in some Purāṇic passages,[130] can be understood only as a product of odium theologicum.

It is remarkable that Śaṃkara has not dealt with the doctrines of the Mādhyamika-Śunyavāda, and has summarily dismissed it as unworthy of refutation. It is well known that his grand-gurū, Gauḍapāda's work, the Āgama-Śāstra, displays unmistakable influence of Mahāyana philosophy. It is not unlikely that Śaṃkara discovered his own non-dual philosophy in the system of Nāgārjuna[131] and left it unexplained. His debt to Śūnyatā doctrine was so great that he quietely passed over it.

Notes and References

1. On the date of Kumārila see Appendix on the date of Dharmakīrti.

2. The following Text and Translation have been utilised in this section.—Mīmānsā Ślokavārttika of Kumārila Bhaṭṭapāda, with the commentary, Nyāyaratnākara, of Pārthasārathi Miśra, edited by Rāma Śāstri Tailanga, Chaukhamba Sanskrit Series No. 3, Fasc. I-III, Benaras, 1898, abbreviated as 'ŚV-Text', English Translation of the Ślokavārttika by Gangānātha Jhā, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1909, abbreviated as 'Tr'.

3. ŚV, Text (Nirālaṃbanavāda), verses 1-4; ŚV. Tr., p. 119.

4. See Deux Traites de Vasubandhu, ed. S. Lèvi, and the Vijñānavāda sources cited in chap. VIII above.

5. ŚV-Text, 5; Tr. p. 119.

6. Vide MŚ, XXVI.8; XXIV.10; Madhyamakāvatāra, VI. 28; Madhyamārtha-Saṃgraha; BCA, IX.2. Pārthasārathi actually quotes MŚ XXIV.8, in his commentary on ŚV-Text, 5.

7. ŚV-Text, 5-10; Tr. pp. 119-120.

8. See Viṃśatikā of Vasubandhu, verses 3-4.

9. ŚV-Text., 11-13; Tr., p. 120.

10. See MŚ, chapters III-V; the Dvādaśamukhaśāstra, pp. 185f.; CŚ, chapters IX, XIII and CŚV thereon; BCA, IX, 75, 86, 147ff. and the Yogācāra authorities cited above.

11. ŚV-Text, 14-16; Tr., p. 120.

12. ŚV-Text, 17-18; Tr. p. 121. Classical treatment of this subject in TS, Chapter XXIII.

13. ŚV-Text, 19.

14. Ibid., 20-20; Tr., p. 121. 'It has been declared', and 'it has been said', these sentences refer to the earlier contents of the Bhāṣya. Kumārila gives here the Pūrvapakṣa or the statement of the Buddhist view, in the light of the Buddhist's objections raised against the definition of perception as given in the Sūtra (of Jaiminī), and the two kinds of falsities as given by the Bhāṣyakāra (Śabara). The Pūrvapakṣa passage of the Bhāṣya runs thus—'Nanu sarva eva nirālaṃbahaḥ svapnavat pratyayah pratyayasyāpi nirālaṃbanatā svabhāva upalakṣitaḥ svapne jāgrato'pi staṃbha iti vā kudyā iti vā pratyaya eva bhavati. Tasmāt so'pi nirālaṃbanaḥ'. Quoted by G. Jhā in ŚV-Tr., p. 121, note. Now, first connection of this Pūravapakṣa (with the Mīmānsā theory) is that it objects to the definition of sense-perception as embodied in the Aphorism. The second connection is this: the Vṛtti has said that there are only two kinds of false notions—(1) that of which the origin is faulty, and (ii) which is contradicted by a subsequent stronger cognition ; it is to the latter that the Pūrvapakṣa (i.e. the Buddhist) objects, on the ground that all cognitions are equally false.

On some references to Buddhist Philosophy in Śabara Bhāṣya, See Kṣetreśacandra Chaṭṭopādhyāya's paper in Jhā Commemoration Volume, Poona, 1937, pp. 115-127.

15. ŚV.-Text, 23; Tr. p. 121.

16. ŚV.-Text, 25; Tr. p. 122. On the doctrine of Sva-Saṃvedana, see Nyāyabindu, I.10; Pramāṇavārttika Bhāṣyaṃ, p. 425, and p. 429; Tattva-Saṃgraha, verses 2001-2012.

17. ŚV-Text, 31; Tr. p. 123.

18. ŚV. Text, 32; Tr. p. 123. On Buddhist view of perception see Fragments from Diṅnāga, Fragment A; Nyāyabindu, I, 4; TS, English Tr., pp. 614ff.

19. ŚV-Text, 34—Gṛhītamātrabādhe tu svapakṣo'pina siddhyati.

20. ŚV.-Text, 35-37; Tr. p. 124.

21. ŚV-Text, 38; Tr. p. 124.

22. ŚV.Text, 39.

23. Ibid., 39-40.

24. Ibid., p. 47, Tr. p. 126.

25. ŚV-Text, 48. On the Buddhist view of Apoha see above chapter VIII section 4 and the sources cited there.

26. ŚV-Text, 49; Tr. p. 126.

27. ŚV-Text, 50; Tr. p. 126.

28. ŚV-Text, 51; Tr. p. 127.

29. ŚV-Text, 53; Tr. p. 127.

30. ŚV-Text, 54, Tr. p. 127.

31. ŚV-Text, 55-56; Tr., p. 127. On the Mīmānsā theory of sense-perception see, ŚV, Pratyakṣa Sūtra, and on its criticism as a reply to Kumārila's objections, see TS, verses 1286-1292; English Tr., pp. 645-648.

32. ŚV-Text, 57, Tr. p. 127; See SDS, English Tr., p. 27 where this argument is pressed by the Sautrāntika against the Vijñānavādin.

33. ŚV-Text, 58-68 (condensed); ŚV-Tr., pp. 128-130.

34. cf. Laṃkāvatārasūtra, III. 65; X. 58.

35. ŚV-Text, 69-72 (Abridged), Tr., p. 130.

36. ŚV-Text, 74.

37. ŚV-Text, 79-81; Tr. pp. 131-32.

38. ŚV-Text 82-83.

39. ŚV-Text, 85-87 (summarised) Tr. p. 132.

40. ŚV-Text, 88-89; Tr. p. 133.

41. ŚV-Text, 89-91.

42. Ibid., 91-94.

43. ŚV-Text, 107-109; Tr. pp. 136-137. As already noted, the verse numbers of ŚV-Text are those of the Nirālaṃbanavāda Section of the ŚV.

44. ŚV-Text, 107-113; Tr. pp. 136-137.

45. ŚV-Text, 113-117; Tr. p. 137.

46. ŚV-Text, 178-179; p. 144.

47. ŚV-Text, 180-181., Tr. p. 145.

48. ŚV-Text, 181-185; on the Buddhist doctrine of momentariness of things see TS, Ch. VIII with Pañjikā.

49. ŚV-Text, 187-188; Tr. p. 146.

50. ŚV-Text, 189-190.

51. Ibid., 193-195, Tr., p. 147.

52. ŚV-Text, 195-196.

53. Ibid., 198-99, Tr. p. 147.

54. ŚV-Tr., p. 148. See the counter criticism of all the above arguments in Śāntirakṣita, TS, and Kamalaśīla; TSP, Engl. Tr. op. 711f., 949 f.,

55. In this Section, the verse numbers of ŚV-Text refer to those of the 'Śūnyavāda' Section of the ŚV, and G. Jhā's English Translation is cited according to page numbers.

56. ŚV-Text, verses 2-4; Tr. p. 148; see TS, verses 2001-2012.

57. ŚV-Text, 5-8; Tr. pp. 148-149.
58. ŚV-Text, 9. On the sole reality of consciousness see Pramāṇa-vārttika-Bhāsyas, (Ed. Sāṃkṛtyāyana) verses 335-336, 398 etc.; TS, English. Translation, pp. 985, 988, 992 etc.
59. ŚV-Text 10-15; Tr., p. 149.
60. ŚV-Text, 15-18; Tr. pp. 149-150.
61. On Vijñāna see AN, I, p. 10; Laṅkāvatārasūtra, III, 121; TS, verses 2009-2012.
62. ŚV-Text, 19-22; Tr. 150; a better statement of these views in TS, verses 2012-2022; English Translation, pp. 954-958.
63. ŚV-Text, 23-25.
64. ŚV-Text, 26-27; Tr. p. 150; see the same verse (27) in TS, verse 2025, English Translation p. 959.
65. ŚV-Text 28-32; Tr. p. 151.
66. ŚV.Text, 34-35; Tr. p. 151. cp. the view of Dharmakīriti quoted in SDS, English Translation p. 24 and of Śāntirakṣita in TS, verse 2022.
67. ŚV-Text, 36-39, contra. Sautrāntika view in SDS, Eng. Tr. pp. 27-28.
68. ŚV-Text, 40, Tr. p. 152.
69. ŚV-Text, 41-45; Tr. p. 152.
70. ŚV-Text, 48-51; Tr. p. 153.
71. ŚV-Text, 53-55; Tr. p. 153.
72. ŚV-Text, 58-59, and Nyāyaratnākara on these verses.
73. ŚV-Text, 59-61, Tr. p. 154.
74. ŚV-Text, 62-63
75. This argument is advanced by Śāntirakṣita also in TS, verses 2001-2002.
76. ŚV-Text, 64-67.
77. Ibid., 74.
78. ŚV. Text, 77; Tr. p. 156.
79. Ibid., 78, Tr. p. 156.
80. ŚV-Text, 119-121; Tr. pp. 161-162.
81. ŚV.Text, 128-129, Tr. p. 163. See counter-criticism in TS chapter XXIII, English Transl. p. 855 ff.
82. ŚV.Text, 131-133; Tr. p. 163.
83. ŚV-Text, 136. See the replies in TS, Chapter XVI, Eng. Transl. pp. 493 ff.
84. ŚV-Text 149-150; Tr. p. 165.
85. ŚV-Text, 151-155 (condensed).
86. Ibid., verses 156-158.
87. Ibid., verses 159-161; Tr. p. 167.
88. ŚV-Text, 184-187; Tr. p. 170; cp. TS, verses 2012-2016; also BCA, IX, with Pañjikā, where this argument is advanced and supported with citations from Sūtras attributed to the Buddha.
89. ŚV-Text, 197; Tr. p. 171.
90. ŚV-Text, 219, Tr. p. 175, cp. TS, verses 2033-2084.
91. ŚV-Text, 246; Tr. 179.
92. See Tantravārttika, Eng. Translation, p. IX.
93. The text and English translations utilised in the following account are : Brahmasūtra Śaṃkara Bhāṣyaṃ, ed. by N.R. a Āchārya, 3rd ed., Nirnayasagar Presss, Bombay, 1948 (abbreviated as 'Br. SŚ'); Vedāntasūtras with the commentary of Śaṃkarācārya, Translated into English by George Thibaut, Part I in SBE, Vol., XXXIV, Oxford, 1890 (abbreviated as 'Thibaut, I'); and occasional use has been made of V. H. Date's Vedānta Explained, Vol. I, Bombay 1954.
94. Some sources of Sarvāstivāda: Jñāna-prasthānasūtra of Kātyāyanīputra, Pt. I, restored by Śāntibhikṣu Śāstri; Abhidharmāmṛta of Ghoṣaka, restored by the same scholar; L'abhidharmakośa de Vasubandhu, French Transl. Poussin, Paris, 1923-1931; Abhidharmakośa-Kārikā, ed. by V.V. Gokhale, JBRRAS, 1946; Abhidharmakośa, Pt. I, Hindi › Transl. by Narendradeva, Allahabad, 1958; CŚ, Chapter IX; TS, chapterVIII; Sogen, Systems, chapter III; J. Takakusu in JRAS, 1905 and in ERE, XI, pp.

193f,; A. C. Banerjee, Sarvāstivāda Literature, Calcutta 1957.

95. Br. ŚS, II. 2. 18; Thibaut, I, p. 402.

96. See Stcherbatsky, Central Conception, pp. 5f.

97. Br. SŚ, II, 2. 18; pp. 239-240; see however, Sogen, loc. cit.,

98. See DN, Poṭṭhapādasutta and Pratītyasamutpāda-Vibhaṅganirdeśasūtra in MSS., I, pp. 117f.; Abhidharmāmṛta, chapter VIII.

99. Br. SS, II, 2.19, p. 240.

100. This refers to Śaṃkara's criticism of the Vaiśeṣika system in BrSŚ, II. 2. 11-17, pp. 229-238.

101. Ibid., II. 2. 19; see counter-criticism from Sarvāstivāda view in Sogen op. cit., pp. 140-142.

102. BrSŚ, II. 2. 20; Date, Vedānta Explained, p. 318; replies in Sogen, op. cit., pp. 136-137.

103. This imaginary piece of Pūrvapakṣa is improbable; no Buddhist even for argument's sake, can conceive of things originating without causes.

104. cf. MŚ, I. 2f.

105. BrSŚ, II. 2 21; p. 242.

106. On asanskṛt dharmas, see Abhidharmāmṛta of Ghoṣaka, ch. XVI section 24.

107. BrSŚ, II. 2. 22; Thibaut, I, pp. 410-411.

108. Vide Tait. Up., II. 1; R. E. Hume, Thirteen Upaniṣads, p. 283; cp. A. B. Keith, RPVU., II, p. 561.

109. See Sphuṭārthā Aphidharmakośa-Vyākhyā, ed. N. N. Law, Calcutta, 1949 (Pt. I), On Sūtra 5, p. 17—Vāyurbho Gautama, kva pratiṣṭhitaḥ ? Ākāśe pratiṣṭhitaḥ.

110. BrSŚ, II. 2. 24, pp. 243-244; Thibaut, op. cit., pp. 412-413.

111. BrSŚ, II. 2. 25; Thibaut, I, pp. 413-415.

112. BrSŚ, II. 2. 26;Thibaut, I, pp 415-417.

113. BrSŚ, II. 2-28; p. 247—nāsau Sugatābhiprāyaḥ, Kasya tu Vijñānaikaskandhavāda eva 'bhipretah. See Saddharmapuṇaḍārīkasūtra (BST) ch. II, p. 21.

114. See Pramāṇavārttika Bhāṣyaṃ, pp. 388, 416.

115. BrSŚ, II. 2. 28; Thibaut, I, pp. 418-421.

116. This argument, as we have seen, is pressed by the Sautrāntika and Kumārila against the Vijñānavādin.

117. This 'dilemma' is presented best in TS, verses 1993-197.

118. BṛSŚ, II. 2. 28; p. 249.

119. Ibid., pp. 249-250; Thibaut, I, pp. 420-424.

120. BṛSŚ, II, 2, 29; Date, op. cit., I, p. 331.

121. The Anvaya and Vyatireka, i.e., the positive and negative judgements whereby the Buddhist supports his view, are rather in Vedāntist's favour, BṛSŚ, II. 2. 30, p. 251; Thibaut, I, pp. 425-426.

122. BṛSŚ, p. 251.

123. BṛSŚ, II, 2. 31; Thibaut, I, pp. 426-427.

124. BṛŚS, II. 2. 32, p. 252.

125. See Brahmajālasutta in DN, I, pp. 12 f., 30 f.; MŚ opening verses, and MŚ, V. 8.—Astittvaṃ ye tu paśyanti nāstittvaṃ cālpabuddhayaḥ.

Bhāvānāṃ te na paśyanti dṛṣṭavyopaśamamśivaṃ. see also BCA, IX.2; BCAP, pp. 171-177; Madhyamakāvatāra, VI. 23, and TS. Opening verses.

126. S. Radhakrishnan, IP, II, p. 473.

127. Gopīnātha Kavirāja, Preliminary Essay, p. x in English Translation of Tantravārttika by G. Jha.

128. Sogen, Systems pp. 129.

129. See, e.g., TSP pp. 10, 140, 175-176, and chapter VIII above.

130. Śaṃkara's language reminds us of several anti-Buddhist passages in Brāhmanical texts. He has made the following remark—api ca bāhyārtha Vijñāna Śūnyavāda trayamitaretara viruddhaṃ upadiśatā Sugatena spaṣṭikṛtamātmano' saṃbaddha pralāpitvaṃ, pradveṣo bā prajāsu virtuddhārtha pratipattvā yimuhyeyurimāḥ prajā iti. Sarvathā apyanādaraṇīyo'yaṃ Sugata Samayaḥ śreyaskāmairi-tyabhiprāyaḥ.' (BṛSŚ, II. 2. 32, p. 252).

Compare Tantravārttika, p. 203.—Smaryante ca purāṇeṣu dharmavilupti hetavaḥ.

Kalau Śākyādayasteṣāṃ ko vākyaṃ śrotu marhati.

and Bhāgavata Purāṇa, I. 3. 24—

Kalau saṃpravṛtte saṃmtohāya Suradviṣāṃ.
Buddha nāmnā' 'janasutaḥ kīkaṭeṣu bhaviṣyati.

and Śaktisaṃgamatantra (GOS), Kālīkhaṇḍa, I. 17.

Āvirbhavati deveśi divyaughadvārataḥ śive.
Bauddhapāṣaṇḍanāśārthaṃ saṃpradāyārthameva ca.

131. See Āgamaśāstra, ed. by Vidhusekhara Bhattacharya, (Calcutta, 1943) Introduction; Stchersbatsky, Buddhist Conception of Nirvāṇa, p. 38; S.N. Dasgupta, Hist. Ind. Phil., I, p. 495; and Appendix 4 below.

Chapter X

ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF ESOTERIC BUDDHISM

(A) ESOTERISM AND TĀNTRIKISM BEFORE THE TANTRAS

The phrase 'Esoteric Buddhism' seems to be an appropriate mode of expressing the significance and essential character of the contents of the Buddhistic Tantras. These texts profess to be meant for the initiates and their teaching is said to be 'esoteric' or 'secret' (guhya). Historically, this 'esoteric Buddhism', commonly described as 'Tāntrika Buddhism', is the last phase of Buddhism in India, and its beginnings are wrapped up in obscurity.

Tantra

Etymologically the term 'tantra' seems to have been connected with the idea of weaving and its derivatives: warp, loom, thread. The grammarians derive the word from the root 'tan', meaning 'to extend' or 'propagation';[1] it is also used for a book, e.g., Pañca-tantra, a collection of stories; Śaṃkara used the word for a philosophical system,[2] and the Amara-Kośa[3] refers to various treatises as 'tantrāṇi'.

In the Kāmika Āgama, Tantra is explained as a class of texts 'that deals with profound matters concerning tattva and mantra'.[4] In this sense a tantra would mean a manual giving the principles of truth and mystic sounds. In modern Sanskrit lexicons tantra is understood as "a class of work teaching magical and mystical formularies."[5] Tantra is also understood to mean a religious system or science (śāstra) dealing with the means (sādhana) of attaining success (siddhi) in secular or religious efforts.

In Tibetan, the term 'rGyud' (tantra) stands for a tāntrika text, "a ritual book for coercing deities and for other magical ceremonies".[6] One of the large sections of the Kaḥ-gyur (Kanjur) which contains numerous Buddhist tāntrika texts, is known as 'rGyud'. It would seem from the above discussion that the word 'Tantra' connotes several meanings,[7]

but its special, technical meaning is a religious system now commonly called 'Tāntrikism', and the scripture belonging to this system. Mahāyāna Buddhism came to be transformed, in course of time, into 'Tāntrika Buddhism' just as Mahāyāna Sūtras were supplanted by Buddhist Tantras.

Esoterism or Tāntrikism

The religion expounded in the Tantras is a peculiar mixture of mystic syllables (mantras),[8] magical diagrams (yantras), ritualistic circles (maṇḍalas),[9] physical gestures (mudrās), sex-play (maithuna), psycho-physical discipline (yoga)[10] a fearful pantheon, elaborate worship and ritualism, magical sorcery, necromancy, symbolism, astrology, alchemy, coefficiency of female element and a monistic philosophy.[11]

The affirmation of the material world, the dogma that all gods together with the supreme truth reside in the human body; the assumption of the principle of an apparent duality in an essential non-duality; the dogma of the coefficient female partner (Śakti-sāhcarya) as a *sine qua non* in the process of liberation; a radical ethics that every thing is pure for a pure man or *omnia sancta sanctis* and above all, the concept of the *summum bonum* of life in terms of the Great Delight (Mahāsukha) born of the union (Yabyum) of 'male' (upāya) and 'female' (Prajñā)—would appear to be some of the fundamental postulates of 'Tāntrikism' or 'Esoterism' of the Buddhists and the Hindus alike.

ANTIQUITY OF THE SEEDS OF TĀNTRIKISM IN INDIA

The Tantras make no claims for historicity; instead, they claim to be revelations. All the Tantras, Buddhist as well as Brahmanical, ascribe their doctrines and practices to the highest personalities in their religious hierarchy.[12] The Tantras are regarded as scriptural authority par excellence,[13] and often classed with the Vedas.[14] The Purāṇas clearly recognise the Tantras as authorities on religious affairs.[15] In spite of all this, the developed Tāntrika religion as it was prevalent during our period and became popular in medieval times, is not a very old religious system of India, although its seeds may be traced back to the remotest period of Indian civilization.[16]

Is Tantra of Foreign Origin?

It has been held by some that Tantra was af foreign origin. Pt. H.P. Śāstrī, while maintaining that 'Śakti-worship' is the *raison de'tre* of Tantra, held that "Tantra came from outside India. Most probably it came with the Magi priests of the Scythians". As anar gument he pointed out hat wonder is expressed in the Niḥsvāsatattva-Saṃhitā at the novel mode of Tāntrika initiation.[17]

Likewise, Dr. B. Bhattacharya opined that "The introduction of Śākti worship in religion is so un-Indian that we are constrained to admit it as an external or foreign influence".[18]

Dr. P.C. Bagchi[19] pointed out some possible foreign elements in the Tantras; but they are quite late importations and belong to a period when Tāntrikism had become popular in India and when India's cultural contacts with northern neighbours had become well established. It is true that Tantras contain many un-Indian elements and in some Brahmanical texts[20] they are condemned, yet it is far from truth to regard the Tantra as a whole or Śakti-worship in particular, as 'un-Indian' or of foreign origin.

Prehistoric Background of Tāntrikism

According to Pt. H.P. Śāstrī, Tantra "really means the worship of Śakti or female energy".[21] M.M. Dr. Gopīnātha Kavirāja observes that "Tāntrika worship is the worship of Śākti".[22] It is becoming increasingly manifest that the cult of Śakti is related to the cult of the Mother Goddess[23] on the one hand, and to phallic worship and Śaiva cult, on the other. Archaeological discoveries in the Indus delta have indicated that the seeds of Śāktism go back to the days of Harappa and Mohenjo-daro,[24] that is, about the 3rd millennium B.C. Tāntrikism has so much in common with Śaivism and Śāktism that it might eventually be taken as the most ancient living faith in the world except for the elements incorporated in its body in the course of centuries.

The famous steatite seal from Mohenjo-daro described by Sir John Marshall as a 'male god' and "the prototype of historic Śiva"[25] may equally be regarded as the prototype of the Tāntrika Siddhas. There is much indirect and extremely suggestive evidence for Śākti worship in Harappan culture. The well known bronze "dancil girl"[26] from Mohenjodaro

might be taken as the prototype of Tāntrika Yoginī; the continuity of this custom of female religious and professional dancer from the third millennium before Christ to the pre-Mauryan, Mauryan and Pre-Kuṣāṇa days is attested by the gold plaque from Lauriyā-Nandangarh, supposed to represent Goddess Pṛithvī,[27] the so-called "Naṭi of Pāṭaliputra",[28] and a number of terra-cotta statuattes from Mathurā.[29]

The association of sex with religion was a common feature of primitive beliefs; phallism has been a feature of popular religion since the dawn of civilization.[30] Vedic literature is said to bear traces of phallic worship.[31] Numerous antiquities found in Harappan sites by Mr. E. Mackay and Sir John Marshall,[32] and in the Neolithic sites of the Deccan by Prof. Bruce Foote,[33] also indicate the worship of yoni and liṅga. Possible traces of the cult of hierodule have been suggested by some writers even in the Vedic literature.[34]

Vedic Background of Tāntrikism

A large number of Tāntrika elements, such as mantras, sacrifice, priestly sorcery and magical charms, use of wine, worship of semi-divine and demoniac beings were, perhaps, the legacy of the Vedic people.[35]

About a dozen hymns of the Ṛg Veda are concerned with the magic; "magic is the main and essential subject matter of the Atharvaveda; it is a collection of metrical spells".[36]

The Ṛg Veda frequently refers to the magicians and sorceror (Yātudhāna) and to the power of the spells; a person says : "may he lose his ten sons who falsely calls me sorcerer";[37] at one place we read : "With mighty spells the Fathers found the hidden light".[38] Ṛg Veda also knows men possessed of supernatural powers, "the gods had entered into them.[93]" In Vedic literature the place for the practice of magic is usually a cemetery or the seat of flesh eating demons.[40]

The cult of female-worship remained subordinate throughout the great days of the Vedic Āryans, perhaps, because of its being a cult of the pre-Āryan races and cultures. But popularity seems to have been enjoyed by what are known as Apsarases, lit. 'goers in the water', water nymphs.

The long-haired Muni, with magic powers, is said to move

on the path of Apsarases and Gandharvas;[41] the Gandharvas are lovers of the Apsarases. The fact that in a rite the priest points to the young men and maidens present when he means to indicate Gandharvas and Apsarases[42] would appear to be a pointer to the Tāntrika mode of addressing 'Vajradhara' and 'Vajrī' ('male' and 'female').

The Tāntrika idea of the unity of male and female and of the female aspect being inherent in the male aspect, may be compared to a passage in the Ṛg Veda where Indra appears as manifold by his Māyā.[43] This concept is echoed in the Śvetāsvatara Upaniṣad,[44] and strongly reminds of the Śivaite theology. Mystic syllables or 'gibberish' like 'Svadhā', 'Svāhā', 'Vat', 'phat', 'vasat', 'Śrīsat', etc. abound in the Yajurveda.[45] Of the 'puerilities of muttering mantras or spells and reciting hymns for controlling the forces of nature, subduing the foe and winning the love of a woman, "the Brāhmaṇas are never tired."[46]

According to some scholars the semi-religious and semi-magical practices of the Tantras seem to correspond to a phase of Vedic ritual represented by the Sāmavidhāna Brāhamaṇa, the Saḍviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa and the Atharva Veda.[47]

Esoteric Symbolism of the Upaniṣads

In the Taittirīya Upaniṣad, the entire universe (macrocosm) with its elements and forces is equated to the human body (microcosm).[48] The Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad compares the 'sacrificial horse' its limbs and organs with the universe, its forces and elements.[49] A similar symbolical account of the human personality is given in the Chāndogya Upaniṣad.[50] This upaniṣad says that the vowls (svara, 'āli') proceed from Indra, while the consonants (varṇas, 'kāli') proceed from Brahmā.[51] As pointed out by Professor G.C. Pande, the Śvetāśvatara also presupposes a "Siddha-body".[52]

The Pañcavidyās described in the Upaniṣads have manifest Tāntrika import. The Bṛhadāraṇyaka and the Chāndogya describe male as a 'fire' and female also as a 'fire'; the gods sacrifice vital energy in this 'female fire' (Yoṣāgni); that is to say, male fire is sacrificed in the female fire.[53] The Ṛg Veda also states that "the gods offered sacrifice of sacrifice"[54], and the Bhagavadgītā refers to those offering sacrifice of

sacrifice itself.[55] In the Tantras, Vajrasattva and Vajravilāsinī make sacrifice into Vajra and attain to Yab-Yum.

In the Chāndogya, Ghora-Āṅgirasa tells Kṛṣṇa-Deṿakīputra that all actions of a man, who sacrifices self into the self, become spiritualised including, eating, laughing and maithuna.[56]

The worshipper of the 'Dahara-Puṇḍarīka' is conceived as possessed of all the powers of attaining all objects of enjoyment.[57] The vision of the 'Nemi' and 'Cakra' revealed by a sage in the Śvetāśvatara is strikingly Tāntrika in character.[58]

A passage of the Bṛhadāraṇyaka describes the joyful condition of the union of Jivātman with Paramātman, and compares it with the state of a person embraced by his beloved. The passage hardly admits of translation and is in agreement with the language of the Tantras.[59]

The foregoing discussion should suffice to establish the indigeneous origin and great antiquity of a large number of elements, theoretical and practical, which may have contributed to the evolution of Tāntrikism on Indian soil.[60] The question that now crops up is concerning the time and circumstances in which Tāntrikism came to be introduced into Buddhist fold. Such a question presupposes that early Buddhism was entirely free from traces of Tāntrikism or Esoterism as it is now known from the Buddhist Tantras. But such a presupposition runs contrary to certain traditional accounts and the views of some modern scholars. Moreover, the Tantras themselves claim to have been 'proclaimed by Buddha'. To the examination of this aspect of the problem we now turn our attention.

(B) ALLEGED BEGINNINGS OF ESOTERIC BUDDHISM

Traditional Evidence

The Buddhist Tantras, like the Mahāyāna Sūtras, claim to have been revealed by Buddha; the origin of Esoteric or Tāntrika Buddhism is therefore traced to Buddha himself. In the Sekoddeśaṭīkā, a comment on the sekoddeśa section of the Kālacakra-tantra, it is stated that Mantrayāna had been first imparted by Buddha-Dīpaṅkara but it had to be adapted to our age by Buddha-Gautama or Śākyamuni. At the

request of Sucandra, king of Śaṃbhala, Buddha Sākyamuni convened a Council at Śrī Dhānyakaṭaka and delivered a discourse on esoteric path or Mantranaya, just as he had previously delivered a discourse on the Mahāyāna (Prajñāpāramitānaya) at Gṛdhrakūṭa.[61]

This tradition is confirmed by the Tibetan historians. According to Bu-ston Rin-po-che, the Kālacakra system was preached by Buddha in the year of his Enlightenment. He rejects the view, held by other Tibetan annalists, that the event took place in the 80th year, the year of Nirvāṇa of Buddha.[62] According to yet another Tibetan authority, Buddha performed the act of 'Turning the wheel of the Law' three times : first in the year of Englightenment at Ṛṣipattan (Sārnāth); second, in the 13th year of Enlightenment at Gṛdhrakūta near Rājgīr where he taught the Mahāyāna; and third, in the 16th year of Enlightenment at Śrī Dhānyakaṭaka where he taught Mantrayāna.[63]

Not Reliable

There is not even the slightest reliable ground to attach any historical importance to these legends. The tradition of a third Dharma-cakra-pravartana like that of a second, seems to have been fabricated to give an air of authenticity to the 'Way of spells'. The references to Dhānyakaṭaka and to Śaṃbhala, an enigmatic country real or imaginary, are, however, significant for the history of the origin and growth of Buddhist esoterism.

1. There is no reliable evidence to assume that Buddha ever went to the far south at Dhānyakaṭaka. The Pali Tipiṭaka and the Ceylonese histories do not know this tradition. (2) That it is a late invention is apparent from the fact that the Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa, possibly the earliest Vaipulyasūtra which contains many elements of the Mantrayāna, does not know this tradition although, it refers to Śrīparvata and to Śrī Dhānyakaṭaka as favourable seats for the practice of mantra-siddhi.[64] (3) The Guhyasamāja tantra, perhaps the earliest known Buddhist Tantra, which gives all essential elements of Tāntrikism is also silent on this point. (4) In fact, the Guhyasamāja contradicts the Tāntrika Buddhist tradition when it records that (i) Buddha, when he appeared as Dīpaṅkara, did not expound

the guhyasamāja tenets and (ii) the graphic description of astonishment of the Bodhisattvas who fell into coma by hearing the radical teachings.[65]

More Traditions

A number of sādhanas and mantras are attributed to the authorship of Sugata. We read in the Śādhana-mālā that the Sādhana of Jāṅgulī was prepared by Buddha;[66] that the Sādhana of Vajra-saraswatī was composed according to the instructions of Sugata;[67] and that the mantra "Om picu picu prajñāvar-dhani...svāhā" was delivered by Buddha.[68] The Tārā-Tantra, equally acknowledged by Brahmanical and Buddhist Tāntri-kists, states that Buddha, while he was living in Mahācīna (China) initiated Vasiṣṭha in the secret doctrines of Cīnacāra.[69] According to the Mahācaṇḍaroṣaṇa, the great truth that "the Buddhahood abides in the female organ" was discovered by Śākyamuni who attained Buddhahood by practising Tāntrika rites.[70] The Guhya-samāja-Tantra[71] and the Havajra-Tantra[72] represent Buddha delivering secret doctrines while enjoying the blissful state with the Vajrayoginī.

Criticism

A balanced criticism of these Tāntrika traditions requires great sympathy and an unbiased mind. Seldom will one come across any toher instance wherein with less sympathy the founder of a spiritual discipline may appear to be systematically, and, perhaps innocently, transformed by his own followers who advocated an easier path for salvation, composed new treatises to propa-gate their chosen practices, and attributed them to Śākya-muni, making him a Tāntrika of the first order.

According to Dr. Benoytosh Bhattacharya there is no room for any doubt that "the Tantras and Mantras, Mudrās and Dhāraṇīs, were taught by the Buddha to the lay-brethren"[73]

Buddha's Teachings and Tāntrikism

that "A clever organiser as the Buddha was, he did not fail to notice the importance of magical practices in his religion to make it popular from all points of view and thereby attract more adherants."[74] The learned scholar seems to have placed absolute reliance on the statements of the Tāntrika authors of the Sādhanas noted above, which he himself places between A.D. 300 and 1200.[75] It is evident that these sādhanas cannot be regarded as Buddha's creations

or revelations. Nor is there any evidence beyond doubt which points to the existence of Tantras, Maṇḍalas and Dhāraṇīs in the time of Buddha.[76]

A Passage in the Tattva-Saṃgraha

Dr. Bhattacharya refers to two verses[77] in the Tattvasaṃgraha of Śāntirakṣita as explained by Kamalaśīla in his Pañjikā thereon. Both these worthies lived in 'Tāntrika Age' and flourished about thirteen centuries after Buddha.

The passage in question in the Tattva-saṃgraha runs thus : "That is described as Dharma by all wisemen, from which follows prosperity and the highest good ; whosoever properly practises the rules laid down there, regarding mantra, yoga, and such things, becomes endowed even with obvious qualities such as knowledge, health, greatness and so forth".[78] Kamalaśīla, commenting on these ślokas, says that the phrase "and such things" (mantra-yoga-ādi) is meant to include "Mudrās and Maṇḍalas".

Not a Sufficient Proof

But there is nothing specially Buddhistic about the first Śloka (3486), it is borrowed from the Vaiśeṣika Ṣūtra as a definition of Dharma;[79] it is not a Buddhistic definition. In the next Śloka (3487) Śāntirakṣita refers to the merits accruing to the man who practises the mantras, yoga, &c. He does not say that Buddha taught mudrās, mantras, and maṇḍalas so that people may become happy and prosperous by practising them. The explanation of Kamalaślīa that '&c.' (ādi) is meant to include them is rather arbitrary; and he himself lived and wrote at a time when mudrās, maṇḍalas and mantras had become common features of religion. The testimony of Kamalaśīla, therefore, is a very slender thread which cannot be relied on. As Professor Winternitz observed, "There is nothing in the Tripiṭaka or any early Buddhist document to prove that Gautama and his early disciples had anything to do with the Mudrā, Maṇḍala and Dhāraṇīs."[80]

Buddha's Disdain of Magic and

Buddha has been described as a rationalist of the first order;[81] the Tattva-Saṃgraha-Pañjikā itself bears witness to the fact that Buddha discouraged superstition and recommended critical enquiry.[82] The Vīmansa-kasutta of the Majjhima Nikāya shows that

Material Philosophy

Buddha discouraged blind faith,[83] and the Kesamutti Sutta of the Aṅguttara Nikāya reveals that Buddha was not in favour of winning disciples unless they were satisfied after critically examining his teachings.[84] What Buddha emphasised to his pupils was the need of purity, fear from doing evil, sense-control and mindfulness.[85] Buddha's characteristic saying was that the disciples should seek refuge in themselves, should seek no other refuge.[86] The Pāsarāsi Sutta reveals Buddha's true attitude when it records that running after the enjoyments is an ignoble quest.[87] The Kevaṭṭa Sutta shows that Buddha disapproved of magical and superhuman feats, and regarded these as black arts like the 'Gandhārī Vijjā'.[88] In the Brahmajāla sutta a long list of pseudo sciences (Vijjās) is given, but Buddha apparently condemns them as low arts.[89]

(c) HISTORICAL BEGINNINGS OF ESOTERIC BUDDHISM

The beginnings of Esoteric Buddhism seem to be inseparable from the beginnings of the Mahāyāna; indeed the Tibetans never made any difference between Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna. What are known as sūtras (mDo) in Sanskrit are classed by them as tantras (rGyud);[90] they even went so far as to give Nāgārjuna a life-span of 600 years and attributed to him both the Madhyamaka-Sāstra as well as the Guhyasamāja system.[91]

Mantras became so fundamental to the Esoteric Buddhism that the latter is often called Mantrayāna (Mantranaya).[92]

(i) Evolution of Mantras

Mantras seem to have been developed from Dhāraṇīs. These Dhāraṇīs are often traced to the Parittas known, for instance, to the Āṭānāṭīya sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya,[93] and to the Milinda-Pañha.[94] But their sense in these texts is not identical with those of mantras as found, for example, in the Sādhanas. The Mahāsāṃghikas are known to have compiled a Vidyāhara Piṭaka or Dhāraṇī-Piṭaka,[95] and citations from this text are still known to us.[96] Dhāraṇīs are known to the Lalita-Vistara,[97] the Samādhirājasūtra,[98] the Saṅdhinirmocana-sūtra,[99] the Saddharma-puṇḍarīkasutra,[100] and the Laṅkāvatārasūtra (Chapter IX) among the early Mahāyāna texts.

A number of texts discovered in Gilgit and assignable on palaeographic grounds, to the 5th and the 6th centuries A.D. contain dhāraṇīs and mantras. These texts are older than their script.[101] The Kāraṇḍa vyūha attributes a dharaṇi to Buddha.[102] The celebrated spell associated with Avalokita, viz. "Om Maṇipadme hūṃ" occurs in the Divyāvadāna,[103] which refers to many other spells. The Mahāmāyūrī dhāraṇī famed as a 'Vidyārājñi' had been translated into Chinese in the 4th century A.D.[104] The Laṅkāvatāra contains many magical formulae[105] and the Bodhisattvabhūmī dwells at length on the meaning and mystic aspect of the syllables.[106] Bhāvaviveka is found reciting Vajrapāṇī dhāraṇī in order to have that god's vision.[107] In the 6th century A.D. mantras were written on birch-bark and used as amulets.[108] The Mañjuśrīmūla-kalpa contains numerous mantras of numerous dieties.[109] A large number of Mahāyāna sūtras are little more than dhāraṇīs; to this class may be assigned the shorter Prajñāpāramitā sūtras.[110] Śāntideva quotes very many dhāraṇīs from earlier sūtras.[111]

Dr. B. Bhattacharya's attempt[112] to trace the evolution of the seed syllable (bijamantra) 'Praṃ' hints at a possible process of the development of mantras from dhāraṇīs. 'Praṃ' symbolises Prajñāpāramitā. The Aṣṭasāhasrika was a stupendous text which could not be recited by illiterate Mahāyāna laity. It was therefore reduced to Prajñāparamitā hṛdaya. It may be noted that this shorter text was preserved in the Horiuzi convent of Japan since 609 A.D. and was considered as a mantra which alleviates pains.[113] The Prajñāparamitā hṛdaya sūtra[114] was then reduced to Prajñāpāramitā Ekākṣarī and out of this latter was evolved the bījamantra 'Praṃ'. It was believed that by muttering 'Prāṃ', Śūnyatā would transform herself into Prajñāpāramitā, who is "a veritable metamorphosis of the Prajñāpāramitā literature".[115]

(ii) Evolution of Buddhist Pantheon

Besides the Mantras, a vast and varied pantheon is another principal feature of Esoteric Buddhism. A number of semi-divine, semi-human and even demoniac beings like Māra and his retinue, Yakkhas, Gandhabbas, Nāgas and Devas are known to old Buddhism; there they all appear

as much inferior to Buddha and as protectors and devotees of the Dhaṃma save the evil Māra.[116]. The early Indian Buddhist art of Sāñcī and Bharhut, Ajaṇṭa and Amarāvatī and Mathurā and Gandhāra, is full of the plastic forms of these beings.[117] Likewise tree and serpent worship was an equally old feature of popular Buddhism.[118]

The Lalita-Vistara, a text partly Sarvāstivādin and partly Mahāyānist, introduces Buddha in an Assembly attended not only by Bhikṣus, Bhikṣuṇīs, Upāsikās, but also by Devas, Nāgas, Yakṣas, Gandharvas, Garuḍas, Kinnaras, Mahoraga, Śakra, Brahmā and the Lokapālas.[119] Professor Poussin did not find 'Padmapāṇi' either in the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka or the Amitāyus, or the Sukhāvatī or the Kāraṇḍavyūha.[120] Padmapāṇi in later times was an epithet of Avalokita who is eulogised in the Kāraṇḍavyūha and the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka. But Padmapāṇi, originally probably a Yakṣa, is represented in pre-Kusāṇa art of Mathurā.[121] When "the necessities of bhakti determined the appearance of all deities in visible forms" the old Yakṣa figures became the model for cult images of Buddha, Bodhisattvas and other Brahmanical deities.[122] This fact points to great antiquity of Buddhist images.

The glorification and deification of Prajñāpāramita in the Prajñā texts indicates that she was revered as a powerful goddess. Besides, Aṣṭasāhasrikā also describes "Ganges Goddess" who passes from one Buddha-field to another Buddha-field. Prajñāpāramitā is the goddess supreme, the teacher and mother of the Tathāgatas.[123]

The Dharma-Saṃgraha, attributed to Nāgārjuna, knows the following deities[124]; five Buddhas : Vairocana, Akṣobhya, Ratnasaṃbhava, Amitābha and Amoghasiddhi;[125] four goddesses Rocanī, Māmakī, Pāṇḍurā, and Tārā;[126] the list of 18 Lokapālas[127] inlcudes, among others, Indra, Yama, Varuna, Kubera, Brahmā, Kṛṣṇa, Candra (Moon), Sūrya (Sun), Pṛthvī (Earthgoddess), and Asura (demon). The six yoginīs mentioned in it are : Vajravārāhī, Yāminī, Saṃcāraṇī, Saṃtrāsanī, and Cāṇḍikā;[128] the eight Bodhisattvas listed are : Maitreya, Gaganagañja, Samantabhadra, Vajrapāṇi, Mañjuśrī, Sarvanīvaraṇaviṣkaṃbhī, Kṣitigarbha, and Khagarbha. Strangely enough, the most famous Bodhisattva, viz., Avaloki-

teśvara, with whom the list in the Mahāvyutpatti opens,[129] is omitted here, unless he be Vajrapāṇi.

Amitābha or Amitāyur (Amitāyus) finds mention first in the Sukhāvatīvyūha.[130] Vasubandhu is known to have been a devotee of Amitābha.[131] Lalita-Vistara mentions Maitreya and Dharanīśvara among 32,000 Bodhisattvas who listened to Buddha.[132] Avalokita is eulogised in the Sadharmapuṇḍarīka,[133] the Dharmasamgīti,[134] and the Sukhāvatīvyūha. Fa-hien testifies to the worship of Maitreya, Avalokitesvara, Mañjusrī, and deified Arhats.[135] Yuan Chwang describes images, temples and worship of Avalokita, Mañjusrī, Maitreya, Tārā, Hārīti, Vajrapāni, and Yaksas.[136] I-tsing also testifies to the popular worship of Hārīti, Mahākāla, Maitreya, Mañjuśri, and Avalokiteśvara.[137]

The prose version of the Kāraṇḍavyūha shows that Avalokita issued out of the primordial Tathāgata (Ādi-Buddha?); in this text many attributes of Śiva are given to Avalokita; e.g., he is 'Maheśvara' with eleven heads and hundred thousand arms.[138]

Maitreyanātha testifies to the existense of the doctrine of Ādi-Buddha in the time of the Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra.[139] The Suvarṇa-prabhāsa introduces not only four Dhyānī Buddhas, to wit, Akṣobhya, Ratnaketu, Amitābha and Dundubhīśvara, but also Śrī, Srī Mahādevi, and Saraswati.[140] Sāntideva testifies to the existence of deites like Ghosadatta (a Tathāgata), Gaganagañja, Mañjughosa, Avalokita, Nakṣatrarāja (a Tathāgata), Rutāvatī (a Sāgaradevī, 'inventress of music'), Simhavikridita (a Tathāgata), Vidyutapradīpa (another Tathāgata), Indra, Amitābha, Akāśagarbha, Anantaprabha (a Tathāgata), Akṣobhya, and demi-goddesses like Mārīci, Cundā, Dākinī, and a non-human deity Jaṃbhala.[141]

(iii) Antecedents of Erotic Mysticism

If coefficiency of female element is a *sine qua non* in the esoteric career of an ascetic, and if Śakti-Worship is the *raison de'tre* of Tāntrikism, one must point one's finger at the docetism and the erotic fancy of the Andhra Vaitulyakas and the early texts of Mahāyāna known as Prajñāparamitā sūtras. The esoteric career of a Bodhisattva, who is supposed to embody in his being two great qualities, to wit, 'compassion' (Karuṇā) which includes skill in means and

transcends the bonds of morality,[142] and 'Wisdom' (Prajñā) which from the standpoint of Sunyatā (Paramārtha) teaches the utter substancelessness of all things material and mental, already detailed in early Mahāyāna sūtras, leads to the same conclusion.

The Kathāvatthu records how the Vaitulyakas had made a provision that "On account of a particular intention, the the saint could resort to sexual-intercourse."[143] Śāntideva refers to an old story of a saint who had broken his vow of continence out of Karuṇā for a woman.[144] The declaration of the Dharmasaṃgīti sūtra that "the Buddhas are beyond Nirvāṇa and Saṃsāra"[145] might well have given the clue to the dogma that the Siddhas are beyond good and evil and they do not incur sin.[146] The virtue of Prajñāpāramitā having been defied is seen developing into a supreme Goddess and invoked like Buddha at the beginning of Sūtras. She becomes 'Bhagavatī' to whom all Buddhas and Bodhisattvas owe their existence.[147] Avalokita, the supreme advocate of the gospel of compassion (Upāya) is seen as the 'husband' of Prajñāpāramitā now called Tārā ("Saviouress") the embodiment of wisdom (Prajñā).[148] This development had taken place much before Yuan Chwang (A.D. 630). The description of Nairātmya (i.e. Prajñā, Truth, Śūnyatā) in the Nairātmya-paripṛcchā-sūtra, reads like the description of Prajñopāya; in fact the compounds like 'Mahāsukha', 'Bodhicitta' and 'Prajñāpāramitā' are used here as synonyms and this is called the 'Prajñapāramitānaya.'[149] This 'Mahāsukh', according to Vajrayāna authorities, is impossible of attainment without "Śakti", the embodiment of Karuṇā.[150]

A few verses in the Mahāyāna-sutrālaṅkāra of Maitreya-Asaṅga have been subjected to much critical explanation and controversy. Whether symbolical or actual, their essential import is erotic[151] and they are concerned with esoteric, erotic mysticism involving sexual-intercourse and psycho-physical discipline which plays an important part in subsequent Buddhist esoterism.

(D) EMERGENCE OF ESOTERIC BUDDHISM

The generally accepted opinion among modern scholars is that the Tāntrika Buddhism appeared in the seventh century

Time and Place

A.D., the Buddhist Tantras were published from the seventh century onwards.[152] Dr. Bhattacharya, Dr. Tucci, M.M. Dr. Gopīnātha Kavirāja and Dr. Pande seem to have been inclined to push the date of the emergence of Buddhist esoterism back to the time of Maitreya and Asanga. The late Paṇḍita Rāhula Sāṃkṛtyāyana had also drawn attention to the great antiquity of Mantrayāna.[153] Yet the chronological problem concerning the approximate time of the emergence of Buddhist Tāntrikism does not seem to have been finally settled. The following discussion is intended to correlate the available material with a view to suggest a possible chronological outline of origin and growth of esoteric doctrines and literature in Buddhism.

1. Nāgārjuna and Esoteric Tradition

According to the Tibetan traditions,[154] Nāgārjuna, the great Mādhyamika dialectician and the putative father of Mahāyāna, was a great magician (Mahāsiddha); he acquired many dhāraṇīs, Prajñā texts and Sādhanas and propagated esoteric teachings. He was expert in medical sciences, alchemy and divination. He lived in Śrīparvata for 200 years and at other places, enjoying a life of over five hundred years.

In all probablity this Tibetan account of Nāgārjuna refers to another person of that name, a Tāntrika author and a Siddha, who flourished in about the 8th century A.D.[155] This fact apart, the great philosopher the author of the Madhyamaka-Śāstra and Suḥṛllekha, a contemporary of Kaniṣka,[156] and a native of south, who spent many years in Śrīparvata, and was a teacher of Deva or Ārya (Kāṇa) Deva, is known to have been an expert in medicine and alchemy. The Madhyamaka philosopher's association with mystical system is suggested not only by the confused Tibetan traditions[157] but also be fairly reliable authorities like Yuan Chwang, I-tsing, Bāṇa Bhaṭṭa, and the Mañjuśrīmūlakapla.[158] Moreover, if pāramitānaya (the worship of Prajñāpāramitā) is in essence identical with Mantranaya (Tāntrikism), as seems not unlikely in as much as Prajñā of the sūtras has become 'Śakti' in the Tantras,[159] Nāgārjuna's own encyclopaedic treatise the Mahāprajñāpāramitā śāstra,[160] and his Prajñāpāramitāstava would lead to the same conclusion.

(ii) Maitreya-Asaṅga and Esoteric Tradition

There are strong Tibetan and Chinese traditions concerning the intimate connection between Asaṅga and Maitreyanātha and of both with esoteric Buddhism. These traditions are confirmed by internal evidence of the treatises of these masters. Asaṅga is said to have been initiated into the esoteric path by his teacher Maitreyanātha. Both these worthies flourished probably in the 3rd and 4th centuries of Christian era.[161]

Asaṅga is famed in tradition to have received from Maitreya in Tuṣita Heaven not only esoteric teaching but also a number of works. This Maitreya, supposed to be a celestial Bodhisattva by Yuan Chwang and Tārānātha,[162] was a historical person, who wrote some standard texts on Buddhist mysticism which were commented upon by Asaṅga.[163]

The Mahāyāna-sūtrālaṅkāra, which expounds the doctrine of "parāvṛtti of maithuna" is one such work, composed by Maitreyanātha and explained by Asaṅga. Bu-ston attributes to Maitreyanātha a work called Mahāyanottara-tantra-śāstra;[164] this text introduces the concept of "Sahaja-kāya" or 'Innate Body' which became the apex of Tāntrika mysticism. There is a common dictum among the late Mahāyānists and the Tāntrika Buddhists, that "Whatever is spoken by Maitreya, that is Buddha's word";[165] this Maitreya seems to be Maitreyanātha and new esoteric ideals were attributed to him with a view to ensure their authenticity.

Moreover, as professor G.C. Pande has pointed out, in Asaṅga's Abhidharma-Samuccaya also there is an allusion to erotic mysticism and the author uses the compound "Abhisaṅdhiviniścaya", which implied a double meaning, one manifest and the other intended; the latter was different from the manifest sense. This clearly seems to be the forerunner style of the Tāntrika 'Sandhābhāṣā'.[166]

Thus the names of Maitreyanātha and Asaṅga are closely and inseparably associated with the emergence of (i) erotic mysticism, (ii) sahajakāya, and (iii) mysterious language (saṅdhābhāṣā). Besides these important points Yuan Chwang records that Asaṅga was an expert in (iv) "the law of entailing (or conferring on others) the power of samādhi" and that Asaṅga had a disciple named Buddhasiṃha, "a man whose

secret conduct was unfathomable."[167] Tārānātha says that esoteric texts were secretly transmitted from the time of Asaṅga onwards.[168] Dr. B. Bhattacharya held the opinion that the Prajñāpāramitā-Sādhana, attributed in its colophon to Asaṅga, is also a work of this celebrated Yogācāra Doctor.[169] His view that Asaṅga was also the author of the Guhyasamāja stands on a very slender piece of suggestive evidence.[170] But even without making Asaṅga the author of this first known Vajrayāna text, Asaṅga's connection with Esoteric Buddhism seems to be a well ascertained fact from the above discussed correlation of diverse pieces of evidence.

Dr. G. Tucci[171] had drawn a pointed attention to the fact that in the Tattvasiddhiśāstra of Harivarman[172] (cir. IVth cent. A.D.) there is a reference to a Tāntrika school called Na-ya-siu-mo (? Nayasauma, probably a Tāntrika Kāpālika sect) which believed in sixteen categories. These sixteen categories are enumerated in the Madhyāntānugamaśāstra of Maitreyanātha after the Māheśvara school. The list includes among other topics, medicine, mantras, stars, planets, gods and divine practices. Dr. Tucci concludes that this fact points, on the one hand, to the existence of some 'Tāntrika doctrines and practices in the time of Harivarman, and to the close relation between the Buddhists and the Śivaites (Kāpālikas) on the other.[173] It was probably the Soma-siddhānta.

Dr. Winternitz[174] criticised the great antiquity claimed for the rise of Buddhist Tantrikism by Dr. Bhattacharya and Dr. Tucci. These scholars pointed to the fourth century A.D. as the probable time of the appearance of Vajrayāna. The preceding discussion of the growth of mantras, deities and the antecedents of erotic mysticism, should show that the historical beginnings of Buddhist esoterism go back at least to the first century B.C. when the Vaitulyakas flourished, Nāgārjuna lived, Prajñāpāramitā texts and a Dhāraṇī-Piṭaka were composed and when the Buddha image was published in plastic form.[175] Tāntrikism seems to have influenced some sections of the Buddhist Order of Monks some centuries before Asaṅga composed Prajñāpāramitā sādhana. Goddess Prajñā-paramitā, 'Sarvatathāgata Mātā', might well be considered as the true prototype of Tāntrika "Śakti" or "Prajñā". What

"Sakti" is in Brahmanical Tantras, "Prajñā" is in Buddhist Tantras, and the evolution of "Prajña" dates from 100 B.C., or perhaps even from an earlier period.

(ii) The Age of Semi-Tāntrika Texts

The Kāraṇḍavyūha sūtra possibly existed before the 4th century A.D. The cult of Avalokita is known to Fa-hien, and his paintings of the 5th century A.D. are still extant in Ajaṇṭā. This text bears clear impact of Tantra and Purāṇic religion; it mentions 'Umā', 'Maheśvara', 'Mahākāla', 'Mahāvidyā-Maṇḍala'; true it is, Tārā is not mentioned. But it glorifies the six-syllabled spell, "Om Maṇipadme hūṃ"; this is called the innermost core of Avalokita (hṛdaya); this "Maṇipadmā" also called 'Ṣaḍākṣarī' 'Mahāvidyā-rājñī', is most likely a designation of female partner[176]

The Suvarṇaprabhāsa-*sūtra*, first translated into Chinese in A.D. 414-433 by Dharmakṣema and in the 6th century by Paramārtha and in the 7th century by I-tsing, "for a great part, already bears the stamp of a Tantra", and is "quite tāntrika in its contents, formulae, and rites." Goddesses like Śrī Mahādevī and Saraswatī are introduced in Buddhist Theology.[177]

The Bhaiṣajya-Guruvaidūrya-Prabharāja-Sūtra had been translated into Chinese by Śrīmitra between A.D. 317-322, by Dharmagupta in A.D. 615, and by Yuan Chwang in A.D. 650. This text shows unmistakable influence of Tāntrikism. It refers to dreadful Tāntrika practices, and spells, and includes Rākṣasas among deities that were worshipped; those who eat flesh and blood, frequent cemetery and perform sādhanas, ghora vidyās, are also described.[178]

A few more texts, the contents of which are quite Tāntrika, are also known. The Mahāmāyūrī-Vidyārājñī, a Tantrika dhāraṇī was translated into Chinese by Śrīmitra (A.D 317-322) and by Kumārajīva (A.D. 402-412).[179] The Ekādaśamukhaṃ, which mentions so many spells of Avalokita was translated into Chinese by Yaśogupta (A.D. 557-581). The Hayagrīva-Vidyā eulogises a horse-faced god and Avalokita.[180] This short work is a Tāntrika text of mantra and ritual; the horse-faced deity is associated with Avalokiteśvara; directions are given for drawing his image. It is significant

that the Vajrayāna deity Vajradhara is mentioned here along with Hayagrīva; this latter is described in the Sādhanamālā as a minor god. The text is written in upright Gupta characters of about the 5th and 6th centuries.[181] To the same age and category belongs the semi-tāntrika text called Sarvatathāgatādhiṣṭhāna-Sattvāvalokana-Buddha-Kṣetra-Sandarśana-Vyūha. This text was translated by I-tsing in A.D. 701. Dr. N. Dutt, the editor of the text, places this work in the 5th or 6th century A.D.

The text locates Buddha's residence at Potalaka, a mountain in South India referred to by Yuan Chwang as the abode of Avalokiteśvara; a number of Dhāraṇīs are recorded and also the rites given by Mahāyakṣiṇi Anopamā, Śaṃkhinī and Bhīmā Mahādevī.[182]

Among the characteristic texts containing exorcism, mantras and dhāraṇīs, mention may be made of Nīlakaṇṭha-dhāraṇī discovered from Central Asia, and the Mahāpratyaṅgirā-dhāraṇī,[183] which invokes Tārā, and belongs to the 6th century A.D. The Śikṣāsamuccaya quotes from the Ananta-Mukha-nirhāra, the Cundā, the Puṣpakūṭa, the Mahāmegha, the Mārīci, the Ratnolkā, the Vidyādhara and the Sarvavajradhara mantra, all of which deal with mantras and dhāraṇīs and existed before the seventh century A.D.[184]

(iv) The Mañjuśrimūlakalpa—its Date and Contents

It is a ritual text of the Mantrayāna dealing with numerous gods, goddesses, their iconography, mudrās, mantras, maṇḍalas and popular worship, although it styles itself a Mahāyāna-Vaipulya-Sūtra;[185] it is written in what is called 'gāthā dialect' or 'mixed Sanskrit'. The printed text is a voluminous work and seems to be a compilation, reflecting not only the developed popular Mahāyānism, but also showing the growth of Tāntrik a ritual and worship. The text glorifies Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī, who is called Kumārabhūta and many Śaiva deities are associated with him. Goddess Tārā is introduced and her worship is prescribed. In the last two chapters goddess Vijayā is the chief speaker; in the IXth chapter the mantra of Mañjuśrī, viz., "Kllhūṃ" is described as the great king of sciences.

The MMK seems to belong to the class of later Mahāyāna sūtras, although the Tibetans put it under the 'rGyud'

section; but they did the same for the Suvarṇaprabhāsa which is a Mahāyānasūtra and one of the 'Nine Dharmas'. The MMK was translated into Chinese so late as the Xth century A.D. and it consisted at that time of only 28 chapters.[186] The printed text in original Sanskrit contains about 13,000 granthas in 55 chapters. In the 53rd chapter, the text refers, among other things, to the defeat of Śaśāṅka by Harṣa, king Śīlāditya of Lāṭa (i.e. Śīlāditya I, Dharmāditya, (see above Chapters II-IV) and to the election of the first Pāla ruler, Gopāla. These facts show that the present text is placeable in the 8th century A.D. or even later. It was translated into Tibetan in the 11ths century A.D.[187]

Dr. B. Bhattacharya placed the original text of the MMK, which had 28 chapters only, in the 2nd century A.D. The subsequent chapters he described as later additions. His main argument was that the MMK does not know a systematic theory of Five Dhyāni Buddhas and their Śaktis. He says that its 27 chapters must be placed in the 2nd century A.D.; this dating is arrived at after comparing the MMK with the Guhyasamajatantra; the latter states the theory of 5 Dhyāni Buddhas and their Kulas, it is therefore, later than MMK. The Guhyasamāja is placed by him in the 3rd or 4th century A.D. and its authorship is attributed by him to Asaṅga.[188]

Dr. M. Winternitz criticised these views at length and said that MMK has not much to do with GST; the former is a Vaipulya sūtra of the Mahāyāna, while the latter is a 'Mahāguhya Tantra rāja'. Dr. Winternitz, Dr. Jayaswal and Dr. Dutt have suggested 8th century A.D. as the date of the composition of the final text of the MMK, while Prof. Przyluski places the final redaction of MMK between 8th and 10th centuries A.D.[189]

It may be noted that Śāntideva does not quote the MMK which glorifies Mañjuśrī, a favourite god of this seventh century Mahāyāna theologian. But this cannot lead to any positive result. The MMK mentions in its older sections[190] texts like the Gaṇḍavyūha, the Suvarṇaprabhāsa (said to have been explained by Kāśyapa Mātaṅga in China in the reign of Ming-ti, A.D. 58-75, but translated first in the 5th century A.D.), Prajnāpāramitā, and Candrapradīpa-Samādhi (probably Samādhirāja, supposed to be a work of 100 A.D.

and known to Candrakīrti and translated into Chinese first in 148 A.D.). In the XIVth Chapter are mentioned texts which were translated in between 702 and 705 A.D.[191] Many Vajrayāna mantras like 'Klhūṃ' (Chapter IX) and "bhrūṃ" (Chapter XIV), and "Jinajika" "Ārolika", "Vajradhṛka", "Surāraka", and "Pinādhṛka"; Tāntrika deva-kulas like "Tathāgata Kula", "Padma Kula" and "Sarvavajrakula", together with some names of Dhyānī Buddhas like Amitābha, Ratnaketu, and Śaktis like Māmakī, Locanā, and Bodhisattvas like Vajrapāṇi, Ratnapāṇi, Viśvapāṇi, are, as is well known, mentioned in the MMK.[192] The fact that erotic mysticism and disregard to ethical rules are still absent in the MMK[193] which otherwise is almost a Tantra, goes to show that it was and remained till the last a 'Mahāyāna-sūtra', a Bodhisattva-Piṭaka', but underwent considerable interpolations in the Gupta and post-Gupta periods.

(v) MORE EVIDENCE FOR TĀNTRIKISM DURING THE PERIOD 400-700 A.D.

The foregoing discussion should suffice to indicate the appearance of Tantras before the seventh century A.D. But Dr. Winternitz emphatically maintanied that "the word 'Tantra' ought to be restricted to the texts connected with Śakti worship. Tantra texts in this sense cannot be proved to have existed before the seventh century".[194] This opinion should be modified in view of the fact the Mahāṃāyūrī, already translated by Kumārajīva in between A.D. 402-412, probably mentions goddess Bhīmā or "Bhīṣaṇā" and her consort "Śivabhadra"; the temple of this Śakti or Bhīṣaṇā lay in the north-western region.[195] Attention may be drawn to a passage in the Si-yu-ki where Yuan Chwang describes the image of "Īśvara" and goddess "Bhīmā," that is Bhīmādevī or Durgā, spouse of Śiva-Maheśvra, in the state of Gandhāra.[196] No one can deny that all the Tantras centre round two deities, one male the other female. The very word "Tantra" occurs in an inscription of the 5th century A.D. The Gaṅgdhār stone inscription of Viśvavarman records the erection of "The very terrible abode of the Divine Mothers, filled full of Dāḳinīs,....." and the performance of "Tāntrika rites of their religion".[197] It is presumable that these 'Tāntrika

rites' may have been based on some Tāntrika treatises of the time, in fact, the royal minister Mayūrākṣa, who built this temple of Divine Mothers and Dākinīs, seems to show some knowledge of Śakti-ritual.[198]

There is yet another piece of epigraphic evidence bearing on Tāntrika Śakti-worship. The Bihar stone Pillar Inscription of Skandagupta refers not only to Skanda-Kārtikeya, but also to the 'Divine Mothers' (Mātṛbhiśca).[199] Varāhamihira in his Bṛhat Saṃhitā clearly mentions Śakti-worship and men versed in its sacred lore, i.e., those who were well versed in the "maṇḍalakrama" concerning the images of the Divine Mothers, and of gods like Viṣṇu, Sūrya, Buddha and Śaṃbhū. The commentator refers to such texts as the Vātulatantra of the Paśupatas and the Pāramitās of the Buddhists.[200]

Yuan Chwang clearly refers to the Śāktas or worshippers of Durgā who sacrificed human beings to their deity. The pilgrim himself narrowly escaped his death at the hands of Durgā-worshippers somewhere between Ayodhyä and Ayamukha.[201] From the Siṃhalese Nikāya Saṃgraha it appears that Vajrayāna originated in the sixth century A.D. in the time of king Kumāradāsa of Siṃhala (515-524 A.D.)[202]

According to Dr. Schrader the Pāñcarātra system is "practically concerned with one force, the "Śakti".[203] He is of the opinion that the Ahirabudhnya Saṃhitā was written in Kashmir in about the 4th century A.D. This text mentions the Sātvata and the Jayākhya Saṃhitās which must be still older. The Pāñcarātrā is mentioned in the Śāntiparvan of the Mahābhārata.[204]

Bāṇa Bhaṭṭa mentions in his Kādambarī[205] certain Tāntrika rites involving human flesh and bloody-worship, prevalent among a lower class of people, the Śabaras; he also refers to a temple of Caṇḍikā, where a Dravidian priest performed Tāntrika rites. In the Harṣacarita[206] we find a graphic description of the Tāntrikā. Sādhanas and practices performed by a Tāntrikist Bhairavācārya by name; he seems to have been a Śivaite sorcerer and king Puṣpabhūti had great faith in him.

Vākpatirāja in his Gaüḍa-vaho[207] shows that Tāntrika goddesses like Kālī, Cāmuṇḍā, and Gaurī were widely wor-

shipped in his time. Kalhaṇa mentions a Pāśupata Siddha in Kashmir in the time of king Pravarasena, a successor of Toramāṇa on the throne of Kashmir; he also testifies to the witch-craft (abhicāra), worship of Mahākāla, Durgā-Vindhyavāsinī, magical feats and alchemy of Caṅkuṇa, a minister of Lalitāditya, and the prevalence of Khāra-Khoda.[208] The Devī-Purāṇa itself is said to have been composed in the 7th or the 8th century A.D.[208a]

(VI) EARLY SEATS OF ESOTERIC BUDDHISM

With respect to the place of the development of Esoteric or Tāntrika Buddhism, there is a generally accepted opinion among many scholars that the cradle of Tāntrika Buddhism was Bengal in particular and Eastern India (specially Assam and Orissa) in general.[209] The late Pt. Rāhula Sāṃkrtyāyana, however, had opined that the cradle of Mantrayāna and Vajrayāna was the country around Śrīparvata and Dhānyakaṭaka in the far south of India.[210]

In the Tantras, as is well know, there is a tradition about the four famous seats or Pīṭhas where esoteric doctrine and Śakti-worship were first revealed. These pīṭhás, sacred for the Buddhist as well as Brahmanical Tāntrika followers, are[211] : (1) Kāmākhyā, (2) Śrīhaṭṭa, (3) Uḍḍiyāna and (4) Pūrṇāgirī. These are sometimes called 'Śāktapīṭhas' owing to the legend associated with the corpse of Śakti (Dakṣa's daughter) which is said to have fallen in these places. The origin of the idea of these pīṭhas is known to the Mahābhārata and late Brahmanical Tantras,[212] and their mention in late Buddhist Tāntrika texts, shows that these pīṭhas are of late origin. They became the famous centres of Tāntrika culture, it is a fact, at a late date, from about the seventh century A.D. onwards. They are not mentioned in the GST. nor in the earlier chapters of the MMK. Except Uḍḍiyāna, these pīṭhas were not the original seats of Buddhist esoterism.

Śri-Pravāta, Dhānyakataka and Uḍḍiyāna

The view[213] that Mahāyāna Buddhism originated in Gandhāra under the patronage of Kaniṣka and the influence of Indo-Greek culture, can hardly be supported by any ascertained fact. The attempt[214] to prove that Orissa was the

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cradle of both Mahāyāna and Tāntrika Buddhism is far from being in keeping with historical truth. Nor is there any evidence to support the Bengali origin of Tāntrika Buddhism: while it is quite evident that it was in Bengal, Orissa and Assam and the sub-Himalayan regions that Tāntrikism flourished during the early medieval period of Indian history. One has to look for the earliest seats of Buddhist esoterism to two places, one in the far south and the other in extreme north-west of India. This suggestion may be substantiated by the following evidence :

(i) The Aṣṭasāhasrikā,[215] the oldest Pajnāpāramitā text, states that the Pāramitānaya originating in south (Dakṣiṇāpatha) will spread towards east in order to flourish in the north (Uttarāpatha). The Pāramitānaya gave birth to the Mantranaya.

Śrīparvata

(ii) The Sekoddeśa-ṭīkā of Nāropā[216] an authority on esoterism, records that the Mantrayāna was promulgated by the Lord in Śrī Dhānyakaṭaka.

(iii) Buddhist traditions preserved in Indian,[217] Chinese[218] and Tibetan[219] literature, are unanimous on the fact that Nāgārjuna, the "putative father" of Mahāyāna, who rescued the esoteric science and the Prajñā texts from the Nāgas, was a South Indian Brāhmaṇa. All authorities further agree that Śrīparvata was the centre of the sage's activities. The hill of Nāgārjunikoṇḍā might well have been named after him.

(iv) Yuan Chwang[220] records that the Mahāsāṃghika Brethren had a whole Piṭaka of spells or Dhāraṇīs as a part of their canon. Āndhradeśa was the centre of the culture of sub-sects of this community as is proved by epigraphic evidence.[221] The Tibetans also attribute to them the earliest Prajñā text written in Prākṛt language.[222]

(v) The Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa, a book of Mantrayāna ritual and popular Mahāyānism, has been discovered from the Manalikkara Maṭhaṃ near Padmanābhapuraṃ in South India. This cannot be without some significant point concerning the origin of this text. At one place, the author refers to Vidiśā (modern Bhelsa, M.P.) as being situate "between west and north" (paścimottarayormadhyaṃ). Paṇḍita Rāhula Sāṃkṛtyāyana rightly suggested that the author wrote this

from a place in south, probably from Dhānyakaṭaka.[223] (vi) In the Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa itself, Dhānyakaṭaka and Śriparvata are mentioned as favourable places for Buddhist worship and Mantra-siddht.[224]

(vii) The Gaṇḍavyūha sūtra[225] mentions Sāradhvajavyūhacaitya in the city of Dhānyakaṭaka, where many devotees lived; Mañjuśrī himself proceeds from Śrāvastī to the south; Suddhana is advised to meet Kalyāṇamitras living in South.

(viii) Yuan Chwang further records that Bhavaviveka came to Dhānyakaṭaka where god Vajrapāṇi resided, and the Doctor recited the Vajrapaṇi dhāraṇi for a long time in this country in order to have his wishes fulfilled and doubts removed.[226]

(ix) The Sarvatathāgatādhiṣṭhāna-Vyūha, a semi-Tāntrika Buddhist text found in Gilgit and belonging to the 5th or the 6th Century A.D., states that the Lord delivered this text at Potalaka Parvata. This Potalaka is represented by Yuan Chwang as the Abode of Avalokita where this god frequently appeared to his devotees in the guise of Mahesvara ('Pāśupata-Tīrthika'[227]). Tārānātha also represents Potalaka as the abode of Avalokita, and describes Śāntivarman's journey to this place and how this upāsaka-pilgrim invoked, for safety, Avalokita ahd Tārā and Ekajaṭā. He also represents Candragomīn as going to Potalaka from Nālandā and invoking goddess Tārā on his way to the holy place.[228]

This Potalaka is located by Yuan Chwang in Malakūṭa, identified by Cunningham with a tract between Madura, Tanjore and Travencore. Nandolaī De suggested that Potakala lay in Western ghāṭs. Dr. Dutt suggests that modern Poṭiyam may represent Potalaka.[229] This Potalaka was near Dhānyakaṭaka and Śrīparvata which places have been identified with Amarāvatī and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa respectively.[230]

It is needless to state that, Avalokita and Tārā, whose one abode was this southern extremity, played a great part in the evolution of Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna. We hardly know any place in Bengal, Assam or Orissa, which is represented at an early date, as a centre of Mahāyāna and Mantrayāna in equally numerous and diverse, ancient and medieval sources, as is the case with Śrīparvata, Dhānyakaṭaka and Potalaka in South India.

(x) Pt. R. Śāṃkṛtyāyana probably rightly pointed out that owing to its being an early centre of the Vajrayāna, Śrīparvata may have come to be known as 'Vajraparvata'. This 'Vajraparvata' is mentioned in the Nikāya-Saṃgraha; in this text many Vajrayāna works are attributed to the authorship of the Buddhists belonging to the 'Vajraparvatavāsinikāya'.[231] This 'Vajraparvatavāsīnikāya' seems to be identical with Vajrayāna.

(xi) The contemporary secular works of our period, e.g., the Harṣacarita,[232] the Kādaṃbarī[233] and the Mālatī-Mādhava,[234] also testify to the fact that Śrīparvata was an early centre of Mantras and Tantras. Kalhaṇa, too, records that a famous Siddha came from the famous Śrīparvata to show his marvels in Kashmir.[235]

Another original centre, where from Tāntrikism spread in and outside India, was Uḍḍiyāna or Udyāna, mentioned in the Tantras as one of the four pīṭhas.

Uḍḍiyāna

Of the four pīṭhas, Kāmākhyā has been identified with Kāmarūpa Śrihaṭṭa with Sylhat; Pūrṇāgiri is most likely identical with Pūṇyāgiri or Pūrṇāgiri of modern days, a famous holy centre of Ṣakti-pūjā in Almorā District of U.P. Much controversy has been raised over the location of Uḍḍiyāna or Udyāna. Dr. Bhattacharya following Pt. H.P. Śāstri, identified it with Orissa.[236] Professors Waddell, Levi, Tucci and Bagchi,[237] have convincingly shown that the Tibetan name 'Urgyan' and the Chinese name 'Wutch'ang' (Wu-chang-na) correspond to Uḍḍiyāna, which is pronounced Udyāna by Yuan Chwang, and is identical with modern Svat Valley in the extreme North-West of India (now in Pakistan). One writer has recently made a renewed attempt to identify Uḍḍiyāna with Orissa which latter province he regards as "the cradle of Tāntrika Buddhism"[238] But this is improbable; the Chinese refer to Orissa as "Wu-T'u' or 'Ota' or 'Wu-cha', while the Tibetans refer to Orissa as 'Oḍiviśa', which must be different from Urgyan or Wu-Chang. Moreover, Orissa became a centre of Tāntrika Buddhism after the 7th century A.D.; even if the Uḍḍiyāna pīṭha of the Tantras is to be identified with Orissa, it must refer to a period posterior to Yuan Chwang, and the credit which is due to

Uḍḍiyāna or Swat as an earlier centre and, in fact the second great and early seat of Buddhist Esoterism after Śrīparvata, remains unquestioned. The following points should show that the Swat Valley was a centre of Tāntrika Buddhism long before 700 A.D.

In ancient Indian literature the extreme North-Western region of the country, especially Uḍḍiyāna, Gandhāra, Kapiśa and Tukhāra country or Śvetadvīpa, find frequent mention. A Kuṣāṇa inscription mentions a monk 'Jīvaka Oḍiyānka'[239] that is, Jīvaka of Oḍḍiyāna. This is probably the earliest epigraphic reference to Uḍḍiyāna: it is certainly not in Orissa or Oḍiviśa; the Vihāra of Huviṣka to which Jīvaka Oḍiyānaka made gift of a pillar was in the North-West. Yuan Chwang entered India from the North-West route and his biographer clearly locates Udyāna's capital in the valley of the Darel.[240] Fa-hien, who also came from that pass, clearly says that Udyāna lay in the north on the Svat river.[241]

It is of Udyāna or Wu-chang-na and not of Orissa or Wu-ṭa, that Yuan Chwang deplores when he says that the people of Uḍḍiyāna held in high esteem the magical arts and spells.[242]

Already in the Pāli canon we find mention of "Gandhārī-Vijjā" which like the "Bhūta-Vijjā" was an art of sorcery and exorcism.[243] The Śāntiparvan[244] relates the legend that Nārada received the Pāñcarātra (a Brāhmanical Tāntrika Śāstra) during 'five nights in Śvetadvīpa'. This Śvetadvīpa like the 'Tuṣāraśaila' of Harṣacarita, seems to be a name of north-western sub-Himalayana region.

Yuan Chwang mentions the town of Mong-kie-li as the capital of Uḍḍiyāna; this place has been identified by Prof. Foucher with Mangakoṣṭha of a Nepali MS. (8th-11th century A.D.), which illustrates among other gods, a Vajra-pāṇi of Mangakoṣṭha in Uḍḍiyāna.[245] Yuan Chwang also narrates the legends concerning 4 sacred places in Uḍḍiyāna (Wu-tchang-na) where Buddha in his former existences as P'usa (Bodhisattva) had sacrificed his life and dismembered his limbs.[246] Whether here we have a Buddhist counterpart of the Brahmanical legend concerning the dismemberment of the body of Satī (Dakṣa's daughter, Śiva's wife) in four places, which is famed in Brahmanical literature and the Tantras, one cannot say anything with any certainty.

It is in this north-western part, in Gandhāra, that Yuan-Chwang found the temple of Bhīmā or Durgā, consort of Maheśvara, where the Tāntrika followers came for worship and got their wishes fulfilled through the miracles of the Goddess.[247]

In the petty hill state of Panjab, viz., Chamba, Dr. Vogel discovered numerous Tāntrika antiquities some extant, most of them destroyed, dating from the 7th-8th centuries A.D. In the upper Rāvī valley he found Shrines of 84 Siddhas, early Tibetan inscriptions and temples of Śaktidevī and their paintings as also the yoginī bronzes.[248]

Dr. H. Goetz points out that the temple of Lakṣaṇā Devī had been damaged by the Tibeṭans in the 8th century A.D. and that most of the monuments belonging to the period prior to 7th century A.D. have disappeared owing to Tibetan and Muslim invasions.[249] In ancient days Chamba was probably a part of the Udumbara Republic. These Udumbaras, the ancient people of Panjab, are known to have worshipped serpent deities (nāgas), demons like Rākṣasas and Yakṣas, and a cruel mother-goddess demanding human sacrifice.[250] All these references to the north-western parts of India in ancient times, should clearly indicate that this part supplied a suitable climate for the rise of Tāntrikism. From the time of the composition of the Dīgha Nikāya and the Mahābhārata to the time of Yuan Chwang and Padmasaṃbhava, we have regular historical and traditional references to the prevalence of magical arts, exorcism, Tantra, Devī-worship and Ḍākinīs in Panjab, Gandhāra and the Swat region.[051]

It may be noted that Asaṅga who had so much to do with esoterism in Buddhism, hailed from Gandhāra.[252] The Tibetans clearly say[253] that Uḍḍiyāna lay in the west of India. Padmasambhava the apostle of Buddhism of Tibet, Indrabhūti the celebrated Tāntrika author, Lawapa the rescuer of Yoginītantras, all are represented as coming from Uḍḍiyāna. Caṅkuṇa, the great exorcist Prime Minister of Lalitāditya, belonged to Tukhāra country.[254] It is therefore clearly established that the earliest seats of Tāntrika Buddhism were not in Bengal, Orissa and Assam, but in Uḍḍiyāna (Swat) and Āndhradeśa.

(E) EARLY ESOTERIC TEXTS AND SIDDHĀCĀRYAS

Date and Authorship of the Guhya-samāja-Tantra

As the title of the work seems to suggest, the Śrī Guhya-samāja-Tantra (GST) or "Treatise of the Illustrious Secret Society" must have been a work of those Esoteric Buddhists who practised secret yoga, confidential rites and ceremonies, held secret gatherings, employed secret signs and mysterious language. As such the GST and similar esoteric texts were perhaps, not meant for modern critical and 'heretical' study; they were meant for the initiates; for, they are said to be not only 'Sacred' (suddha) and 'Unique' (anuttara) but also 'the most secret of secrets' (guhyātiguhya).

Dr. B. Bhattacharya, the learned Editor of GST, placed it in the 3rd or 4th century A.D. and attributed its authorship to Asaṅga, the famous brother of equally famous Vasubandhu, the Yogācāra Doctor. He gave two main reasons; a comparison of the GST and the MMK with respect to the doctrine of the Holy Pantad-Pañca-Tathāgata, shows according to Dr. Bhattacharya that the MMK does not give a systematic account of Five Dhyāni Buddhas and their Śaktis, where as the GST supplies this for the first time; therefore, the MMK must be earlier than the GST. Secondly, the five Dhyāni Buddhas and their respective 'Śaktis' are mentioned in the Prajñāpāramitā-Sādhana, which is attributed in its colophon to Ācārya Asaṅgapāda. No other Asanga than the Yogācāra Doctor is known to us; Asaṅgapāda therefore, is the most likely author of the GST also.[255]

These views of Dr. Bhattacharya have been questioned and criticised by Dr. M. Winternitz[256] and others. Dr. Winternitz held that the attribution of Sādhana No. 159 (Prajñāpāramita-Sādhana) to Asaṅga the Yogācāra philosopher of 4th century A.D., is not beyond doubt. Nor the GST, can on any authority or tradition worth the name, be ascribed to him. Neither the GST nor the Sādhana No. 159 are mentioned in the list of the works attributed to Asaṅga and Maitreyanātha in Chinese and Tibetan tradition and literature. The language as well as the teachings of the GST are much inferior to that of the Sūtrālaṅkāra of Maitreya-Asaṅga. With regard

to the date of the GST, he held that no Tantra concerned with Śakti-worship can be proved to have existed before 7th century A.D.

Dr. N. Dutt placed[257] the GST and the MMK after the Kāraṇḍavyūha and before Mahāpratyaṅgirā-dhāranī, 'about the fifth or sixth century A.D.' ; he is of the opinion that the Sādhana No. 159, ascribed to 'Ācārya Asaṅgapāda' is not a work' of the founder of the Yogācāra school; 'the very name with "pāda" as suffix and preceded by the appellation Ācārya indicates that he cannot be identified with 'Ārya Asaṅga'.

Dr. G.C. Pande[258] opines that there is no definite evidence in support of Asaṅga's authorship of the GST, but Asaṅga's relation with Tantra is evident and his dissociation from the author of the Sādhana No. 159 is groundless. The date and authorship of the GST are thus still in the melting pot; the following points, however, deserve a careful attention while considering the date and authorship of the GST. One line of approach is as follows :

(i) Some scholars[259] are of the opinion that the 'Ārya-Tathāgata-guhyasūtra' frequently quoted in the Ś.S. of Śāntideva is identical with the Guhyasamāja-tantra also called Tathāgata-guhyaka. But this opinion is apparently based on a confusion; it has been shown[260] that the text quoted in the ŚS. is a Mahāyānasūtra the teachings of which are quite ethical and noble, and entirely different from the Tathāgata-guhyaka which is a Vajrayānatantra and teaches things contrary to the Mahāyāna ethics. In brief the ŚS. does not prove that the GST is older than it.

(ii) The fact that the GST was translated into Chinese[261] so late as the 10th century and into Tibetan in 11th century, further prevents us from placing it at a very early date.

(iii) The fact that the contents of the GST are, for the most part, similar to that of the MMK, except for certain erotic elements and a particular grouping of the pantheon based on the Holy-Pantad, which are peculiar to the GST, would also indicate that the two texts belong to about the same period.[262]

(iv) The view that Asaṅga, the Yogācāra philosopher of cir. 4th century A.D., was the author of the GST is not

supported by any indubitable evidence. The oldest MS. of the Sādhanamālā, which contains Sādhana No. 159 and attributes it to 'Asaṅgapāda', is dated A.D. 1165 (Newari Era, 285),[263] and may not be a very old compilation. Most of the Siddhas, who composed these Sādhanas, are assigned, even in the chronology arrived at by Dr. Bhattacharya, to the period 700-1200 A.D. The authority of the Sādhanamālā too, thus, cannot be of much help in datermining an early date for the GST.

The above line of approach to GST problem would indicate that the work may have been composed in the seventh-eighth centuries A.D.[264]

Two Asaṅgas

Tārānāth speaks of one Asaṅga who was a contemporary of Luipā,[265] the disciple of Saraha;[266] this Asaṅga may be associated with the Sādhana 159 and may be placed in the 8th century A.D. Thus while Ārya Asaṅga (400 A.D.) cannot be dissociated from Esoteric Buddhism, the possibility of a second Asaṅgapā, who flourished some 4 centuries later and was a contemporary of Lui-pā, is also not entirely groundless.

Is Siddha Nāgārjuna the Author of the GST ?

It is admitted by some noted critics[267] that there may have been two, three or even four persons bearing the name Nāgārjuna. But there is a strong possibility to the histrical existence and distinct identity of at least two Nāgārjunas. The first was the Mādhyamika philosopher (cir. 80 B.C. to 120 A.D.) who was a towering dialectician, scholar and mystic. The Tibetans have confounded this great Nāgārjuna with a Tāntrika Siddha namesake; supernatural powers and yogic siddhis can readily be admitted to have been possessed by the Mādhyamika philosopher. All sages, saints, and mystics are known to have possessed superhuman powers. Even fairly reliable and comparatively earlier authorities like Bāṇa, Yuan Chwang and I-tsing, in whose time siddha Nāgārjuna perhaps had not yet been born, associate our great Buddhist philosopher with Nāgas, marvels, alchemy and medicine.[268] Of his connection with the mysteries of Prajñāpāramitā, there can be no doubt. He was, therefore, very likely to be mistaken by the credulous medieval Tibetan Buddhists as the actual author of Esoteric Buddhism and many of its treatises

(Tantras). It appears to us that a Siddha Nāgārjuna, the author of the Ekajaṭā-Sādhana, the Vajratārā-Sādhana and other Vajrayāna works, a disciple of Saraha or Rāhulabhadra, and a historical person of about 8th century A.D. is confounded and identified with Nāgārjuna the author of the Madhyamakaśāstra and the "putative father" of the Mahāyāna Sūtras. The two persons were, however, quite different from each other.

It is very likely that Nāgārjuna II, the Siddha, and a Tāntrika author is the real writer of the Guhyasamājatantra. Where as there is some evidence in support of this view, there is no contradictory evidence which can be brought forth against this suggestion. To be more precise; the view suggested here that Siddha Nāgārjuna of 8th century A.D. may have been the author of the GST, is based on the following considerations.

(i) According to Dharmasvāmīn, who travelled around Magadha in the 13th century A.D., there were many Buddhists in India in his time who followed the "Guhyasamāja according to Nāgārjuna system".[269]

(ii) In the Blue Annals (Deb-ther Snoṅ-po) of Gos lo-tsa-ba g Zon-ñu-dpal (A.D. 1392-1481) it is stated that "The Ācārya Nāgārjuna and his disciples obtained the Yoga-Tantras, including the Guhyasamāja, and others (the Anuttara-Yoga-Tantras) were also called Mahāyoga Tantras, and preached them. They spread from the South".[270]

(iii) In the Nikāya-Saṃgraha, a 14th century Simhalese work, Śrī Guhyasamāja ('Sāmājatantra') is attributed to the followers of the Vajraparvata-Vāsī-Nikāya.[271] As already explained, this Vajraparvata is the same as the Śrīparvata and Siddha Nāgārjuna lived for a long time in this place, hence the followers of this Vajraparvata Vāsī-Nikāya seem to be identical with the followers of the Vajrayāna.[272] The Nikāyasaṃgraha thus corroborates the origin of GST in the south and its association with Nāgārjuna and his disciples who preached the GST from south as the Blue Annals state.

(iv) In the Sadhanamala the cult of goddess Ekajaṭā is attributed to Nāgājunapāda.[273] This goddess is clearly mentioned as 'Vajra-Ekajaṭā' in the GST.[274]

(v) In the Tibetan rGyud section several works connected with the explanation of the GST are attributed to Nāgārjuna,

viz., Guhyasamājamandalavidhi; Guhyasamāja-tantrasya-tantra-ṭīkā and Cuhyasamāja-mahāyoga-tantrotpatti-krama Sādhana.[275]

The foregoing discussion may perhaps finally settle one of the most complicated and controversial problems of the history of Buddhist Esoterism. The composition of the GST, thus, may be placed in the 8th century A.D. and Siddha Nāgārjunapāda may well have been its author. It may be argued that the work is not ascribed to Nāgārjunapāda in the colophon. In fact, the GST has no such colophon, the text ends without any reference to its author; this is probably because of its utterly secret tenets, and their author may not have liked to openly associate his name with such doctrines as astonished even the 'Bodhisattvas' who consequently fell into coma.

That the GST is perhaps the earliest Anuttara Yoga Tantra, or at least, one of the earliest esoteric texts,[276] seems to be indicated by the text itself. Thus in the Vth Chapter the Bodhisattvas express their great surprise and resentment at the uncoventional and radical ethics taught by the Lord; in the XVIIth Chapter it attempts to record the esoteric tradition of secret practices being taught by the Tathāgata; and in the XVIIIth Chapter, the text tries to explain technical terms, symbols and esoteric practices and situations.

The text opens with a salutation to Śrī Vajrasattva; he is called the 'Sarva-Tathāgata-Kāya-Vāk-Citta' and is represented in an erotic embrace with Vajra-Yoṣit or Vajra-yoginī. The Vajrayāna is defined as that which has recourse to 'Moha', 'Dveṣa', 'Rāga', 'Vajra' and 'Rati'. The text describes itself as the 'king of the treatises of the Illustrious secret society'. It is not unlikely that the 'Mūlatantra' ('Original Tantrā') often quoted in Vajrayāna works, corresponds to the GST.[277]

After the time of Dharmakīrti many esoteric treatises and Masters of Esoteric Science (Mahā-Vidyādharas, Mahāsiddhas) are known to have appeared. The life and works of the 84 Perfected Ones (Siddhas) are preserved in the Tibetan canon and the hirtories of Bu-ston, Gos lo-tsa-ba, Tārānātha and the Pag Sam Jon Zaṅ of Sumpā-khan po. They are also known from medieval Indian and Nepalese traditions as also,

from their songs preserved in the original Apabhraṁśa. In spite of these sources, a connected and chronogical account of the Siddhas and early Tāntrika authors has been a task of admitted difficulty. This problem has been treated below in an appendix.[278]

From the Blue Annals we learn that in the beginning a Yoga-Tantra called the Sarva-Tathāgata-tattvasaṃgraha, was obtained by king Pradyota Candra of eastern India. After that Nāgārjuna and his disciples composed the Guhyasamāja and other Anuttara-Yoga-Tantras in southern India. Then Kaṃbala and others brought out the Yoginī-Tantras from the country of Uḍḍiyana, in the west of India.[279]

Tārānātha informs us that Saraha and Kaṃpala composed the Hevajra-Tantra, an Anuttara-Yoga-Tantra.[280] This text has been now published and is placed in the 8th century A.D. Tārānātha also attributes to Saraha a work called the Buddha-Kapāla-Tantra. A large number of mystic songs of Saraha[281] have been published and studied in modern times. According to a Tibetan tradition, Saraha alias Rāhulabhadra, was a Brāhmaṇa of Rajñī in East India, and was the first of 84 Siddhas; he was a contemporary of Pala king Dharmapāla (A.D. 768-809). According to the Mystic Tales, Saraha was a native of Orissa and one of his pupils was Nāgārjuna.[282]

The Hevajra Tantra, a joint creation of two teachers, Saraha and Kaṃbala, is a Tantra of the class of Guhyasamāja. Its philosophical basis is derived from the Mādhyamika and the Yogācāra schools; the theory of 'Two-in-one' and the 'Innate' (Sahaja); of 'Bodhicitta', and a symbolical analysis of the psycho-physical mechanism of human personality, find classic treatment from the Vajrayāna standpoint. The chief diety or rather, Supreme Reality is termed 'Hevajra' (Kyehir Dorje), the text treats at length of the Mantras, secret signs, and painting of the images. Of special historical interest is the mention of the centres of esoteric culture; the list of places includes Jālandhara, Oḍḍiyāna, Paurṇāgiri, Kāmarūpa, Mālavā, Sindhu and Nagara (probably Nagarahāra of Chinese accounts).[283]

Dr. Tucci has recently published another work of Kaṃbalapāda, the 'Navaslokī'; this work is also extant in Chinese

and Tibetan versions; its Sanskrit title being Bhagavatī-Prajñāpāramitā Piṇḍārtha.[284] Tārānātha makes Kaṃpala (Kaṃbala, Kamalāṃbara, Kamalī, and Kaṃbalapāda) a contemporary of king Gopīcandra and of Vinītadeva, and in his Mystic Tales, he represents Kambala as a teacher of Indrabhūti.[285]

This Indrabhūti, a king of Uḍḍiyāna, was also one of the early Siddhas. One of his works on esoterism has been published in the original; it is called the Jñānasiddhi.[286] In this text the GST is quoted several times. Tārānātha says, "the great king Indrabhūti was master in Guhya-Tantra'. The Blue Annals, however, state that "Indrabhūti, the great king of Uḍḍiyāna", was the same as Kaṃbala; the Jñānasiddhi of Indrabhūti, as well as the Guhyasiddhi[287] of Padmavajra, are based on the Guhyasamāja. Ārya Deva's work, the Caryāmelayanapradīpa, was also based on the GST system.[288] Ārya Deva is represented by Tāranātha as a pupil of Nāgārjuna and teacher of Rāhula. One of his works in Sanskrit, viz., Cittaviśuddhi-Prakaraṇa,[289] has been published. Anaṅga-Vajra, whose esoteric treatise, the Prajñopāya-Viniś-caya-siddhi,[290] has been published in Sanskrit, is said by Tārānātha to have been a teacher of Saraha. All these teachers of esoteric Buddhism seem to have flourished in the 8th century A.D.[291]

(F) ESOTERIC BUDDHISM : GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

(i) The Mahāyāna and the Esoteric Buddhism

The Buddhist Tāntrika scholars and Tibetan historians make little or no clear cut distinction between the Mahāyāna as taught in the Mahāyāna Sūtras and Śāstras on the one hand, and the esoteric doctrines and practices expounded in the Tantras and Sādhanas, on the other.

Kamalaśīla was inclined to include 'Mantras', 'Mudrās', 'Maṇḍalas' and 'Yoga' in 'Dharma' (i.e. Buddha's teachings).[292] Tārānātha maintained that there had been much study devoted to the Kriyātantras and the Caryātantras from the time when Mahāyāna began to spread.[293] This view would seem to be supported by the tendency of a large number of Mahāyāna sūtras, noted above, to incorporate many

esoteric elements. However, sometimes, the esoteric authorities seem to distinguish between Esoterism and Mahāyānism. Thus a tenth century author, Siddha Nāropā,[294] says that the Lord gave discourses on two occasions, at two different places, first on Prajñāpāramitānaya (Mahāyāna) and then on Mantranaya (Esoteric Vehicle). Another esoteric authority, Maitrīpā or Advayavajra, belonging to 12th century A.D, while maintaining that the Mahāyāna is two-fold, viz., Pāramitānaya and Mantranaya, states that whereas the former could be explained by the philosophical system of the Vaibhāṣikas, Sautrāntikas and the Mādhyamikas, the latter is accessible only through the systems of Mādhyamikas and the Yogācārins.[295] Moreover, as if to exalt the esoteric method, he says that Mantranaya is very abstruse and deep; its Śāstras transcend all other Śāstras and it is meant for men of sharpenend faculties.[296]

Bu-tson, however, regards Mantranaya as an easy and shorter way of reaching the goal.[297] Some medieval Tibetan scholars talk of "the Mahāyāna Tantras", called "the old Tantras" (g San-snags—rnin-ma), belonging to the "Mantra School" (Nag-gi lugs).[298] Bu-ston Rin-po-che (born A.D. 1288) author of the famous Chos ḥbyuṅ or 'History of Buddism', who is credited with the first compilation of the Tibetan 'Śruti and Smṛti', bKaḥbgyur (Kanjur) and b Stanḥgyur (Tanjur) respectively,[299] it is said, did not include these rNin-ma Tantras in his catalogue, because they were not regarded as genuine Tantras.[300]

ii) Aspects of Esoteric Buddhism

The esoteric texts represent a miscellaneous collection of material; they are not uniform in contents. Broadly speaking, the Tantras are divided into two types : 'Higher' Tantras and 'Lower' Tantras.[301] In a well known scheme we find the following four classes of Tantras :

1. Kriyātantra (Rites of ceremonial magic).
2. Caryātantra (Rites of religious practices).
3. Yogatantra (Rites of communion); and
4. Anuttara Yoga Tantra (Rites of Supreme Communion).

Tārānātha states that first two categories of Tantras appeared at about the same time when the Mahāyāna Sūtras

appeared, but the Yoga and Anuttara Yoga Tantras were transmitted esoterically from the time of Asaṅga to that of Dharmakīrti. The latter type of Tantras became popular during the rule of the Pāla kings chiefly by the efforts of the Vajrācāryas and Siddhācāryas.[302]

It is interesting to note that a parallel division is to be found in the Padma-Tantra (a Vaiṣṇava Tantra), viz., Jñānapāda, Yogapāda, Kriyāpada and Caryāpāda.[308]

The Kriyā and caryā tantras were meant for the beginners, like the Ādikarma of the Mahāyāna. The Yoga tantras and the Anuttara Yoga tantras were meant for advanced saints. Most of the tantras now published belong to this higher class; the MMK, however, may be regarded a tantra for the beginners.[304]

Notes and References

1. V.S. Apte, Skt. Eng. Dicy., p. 229.

2. Śaṃkara, BṛSŚ, II., 11, speaks of Sāṃkhya as 'Tantra'—Smṛtiśca tantrākhyā paramarṣi praṇītā; at Bṛ. SŚ, II. 2. 32, Buddhist thought is called 'vaināśika tantra vyavahāra'. Sāṃkhyakārikā, verse 70 calls the system a 'tantra' propagated by various sages.

3. Amarakośa (Poona ed. 1940) p. 1—'Samahrtya'nya-tantrāṇi' The word 'tantra' in the sense of loom is traceable to the Vedic texts. Thus the term is used in Ṛgveda, X, 71. 9; Atharvaveda, X. 7.42; and Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, II. 5. 5. 3, and possibly stands for a loom and cognate paraphernalia. As is well known, the 15th Adhikaraṇa of Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra is captioned 'Tantrayukti', where 32 yuktīs or 'propositions' are enumerated, It seems that the Arthāśāstra uses the word 'tantra' in the sense of a system or 'Śāstra', so that the given 32 propositions give an exposition of that system. According to the Bhāṣya of Śabara on the Mimānsāsūtra of Jaiminī (XI.4.1) 'when an action or a thing, once done, becomes beneficial in several matters, that is known as tantra'-yatsakṛtkṛtaṃ bahunāṃ upakaruti tat tantraṃ uccyate, e.g., a lamp placed amidst many priests. P. V. Kane has drawn our attention to the ocurrence of this word in some other Brahmanical works, see History of Dharmaśāstra, Vol. V Part II. Poona, 1962, p. 1033 and notes. We known that the esoteric texts, called Tantras, must have come into existence long before the time of Aparārka and the Bhāgavata Purāṇa.

Among the late grammarians we find a peculiar sense of the term, e.g., Patañjali Vyākaraṇa Mahābhāṣya with Kaiyaṭa's 'Pradīpa' and Nāgeśa's Uddyota', 5th ed., N.S. Press, Bombay, 1951, on I. 1.6.p. 330 arthadvaya bodhecehayā ekasya sakṛduccāraṇaṃ iti tantram.

4. John Woodroffe, Shakti and Shākta, 2nd edition, pp. 18-19; cp. Cultural Heritage of India, Vol. IV, p. 211.

5. Monier-Williams, Skt. Engl. Dicy., p. 436.

6. S. C. Das, Tibetan Enlish Dictionary, p. 318.

7. H. P. Śāstrī, Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts, Vol. I, Preface, p. XXIV; 'the word tantra means shortening abbreviation'

8. See Gopīnātha Kavirāja, op. cit., Pt. I, Chapter 17; 'Mantra-

vijñāna'; M. B. Jhaveri, Comparative and Critical Study of Mantraśāstra, Ahmedabad, 1944.

9. G. Tucci, Theory and Practice of the Maṇḍala, London, 1961.

10. Evans-Wentz, Tibetan Yoga and Secret Doctrines, 2nd edition, Oxford, 1960.

11. S. B. Dasgupta, An Introduction to Tantric Buddhism, 2nd edition, Calcutta 1958; Anagarika Govinda, Foundations of Tibetan Mysticism, London, 1959; B. Bhattacharyya, Buddhist Iconography, 2nd edition, Calcutta, 1958; by the same author, Introduction to Buddhist Esoterism, OUP, Mysore, 1932.

12. Guhyasamāja-Tantra (GST), ed. GOS No. 53, Ch. I; Hevajra-Tantra, LOS No. 6, Pt. I, Chapter I; Rāmānuja says, Śrī Bhāṣya, II, 2.43, that the Lord Himself composed the Pāñcarātra-Śāstra; see O. Schrader, Introduction to the Pāñcarātra, Adyar, 1916.

13. Padmavajra in his Guhyasiddhi (MS. cited by B. Bhattacharyya, Introduction of Buddhist Esoterism, p. 70) says: Śrīsamājāt paraṃ nāsti ratnabhūtaṃ tridhātuke.

14. Kullūka Bhaṭṭa on Manu, II. 1. Śrutiśca dvividhā vaidikī tāntrikī ca.

15. e.g. Bhāgavata Purāṇa, XI, 3, 47-48; XI, 5, 28; See R.C. Hazra, Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs, Dacca, 1940, Pt. II, Chapter V, pp. 260 ff.

16. See Chintaharana Chakravarti, Tantras: Studies on their Religion and Literature, Calcutta, 1963, Chapter II, and a Critical review of this book in JAOS, Vol. 84, 1964; See now L. M. Joshi, 'Protohistoric Origins of Esoterism in India', Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, XXVIth Session, Ranchi, 1964.

17. N.N. Vasu, Modern Buddhism and Its Followers in Orissa, 1911, Introduction by H. P. Śāstri, pp. 10-11.

18. Intro. Buddh. Esoterism, p. 43; Sādhanamālā, Vol. II GOS XLI, p. XXXVI.

19. IHQ, VII, 1931, 'Foreign Elements in the Tantra',

20. e.g. Śaṃkara, Br.SŚ. II, 2, 7-8.

21. Modern Buddhism, Intro. pp. 10-11.

22. Bhāratīya Sanskriti Aur Sādhanā, Pt. I, See two Chapters on Tāntrika Bauddha Sādhanā.

23. On the cult of the Mother Goddess in the ancient world see Will Durant, Our Oriental Heritage, New York, 1933, Chapters VII, VIII, IX, XXIII.

24. John Marshall (ed.) Mohenjodaro and the Indus Civilization, Vol. I, London, 1931, pp. 48-58.

25. Ibid., pp. 52 f., plate XII. 17.

26. Ibid., pp. 44-45, plate XCIV-6, 8.

27. See Benjamin Rowland, Art and Architecture of India, 2nd edition, pp. 21-23, plate 60.

28. A Banerji Śāstri, 'The Naṭī of Pāṭaliputra', IHQ, IX, 1933, pp. 164-165 and plate.

29. B. Rowland, op. cit., pp. 21-23, cf. A.K. Coomaraswamy in Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Dec., 1927.

30. See H. Hartland on Phallism in ERE, IX, pp. 815 f.

31. Vidhusekhara Bhattacharya, 'Phallic Worship in the Veda' in IHQ, IX, 1933, pp. 103 f.; RgVeda, VII, 21.5 and X. 10.99 on Śiśnadeva; cf. A. P. Karmarkar, The Liṅga Cult in Ancient India' in B.C. Law Volume, Pt. I, pp. 456ff.

32. Marshall, op. cit., pp. 48-78.

33. Bruce-Foote, Collection of India Prehistoric and Protohisteric Antiquities, Madras, 1916, pp. 20, 61, 139.

34. D.D. Kosambi, 'Urvaśī and Purūravas' reprinted in Ind. Studies, Past and Present, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 144, 163, 175, by the same

Scholar, 'On the Origin of Brahmin Gotras' in JBBRAS, NS, Vol. 26, 1950, pp. 55, 72 etc.

35. A.B. Keith, RPVUP., I, pp. 61, 71, 184, 200, 26off.; II, pp. 379f.

36. A.A. Macdonell in ERE, VIII, p. 311.

37. RgVeda, VII, CIV. 15.

38. Ibid., VII, LXXVI, 4.

39. RgVeda, X. CXXVVI. 2.

40. A.A. Macdonell, in ERE, VIII, p. 314. Mention may be made in this context of the hymn of Lopāmudrā and Agastya in RgVeda, I.179.

41. Keith, RPV Up. I, pp. 181-182; G. C. Pande, Origins of Buddhism, pp. 260-261.

42. Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, XIII. 4. 3. 7-8. Keith, op. cit., p. 180.

43. Ṛg Veda, VI. 47. 18 cp. Bhagavadgītā, VII. 14—daivī hyeṣā guṇamayī mamamāyā duratyayā.

44. Śvet. Up., VI. 10—māyāṃ tu prakritiṃ vidyān māyinaṃ tu maheśvaraṃ.

45. M. Winternitz., HIL, I, p. 185.

46. Keith, RPV Up. I, p. 312; Vide Śat. Brāhmaṇa, I. 43.11 ff.

47. P. C. Bagchi in Cultural Heritage, Volume IV, p. 213.

48. Tait. Up., I. 7.

49. Bṛh. Up., I. 1. 1.

50. Ch. Up., VIII, 1. 3.

51. Ibid., II. 13. 3.

52. Śvet. Up. II. 12; G.C. Pande, Bauddha Dharma, p. 461.

53. Ch. Up. V.7.1; V. 8. 1-2; Bṛh. Up. VI, 2. 12-13.

54. Ṛg Veda X, 90.16—Yajñena yajñaṃ yajayanta devāḥ.

55. Bhagavadgitā, IV. 25.

56. Ch. UP. III. 17, espl. verse 3; RgVeda, I. 164. 150 ; Keith, RPV Up., I, pp. 221, 218. Agnisomā is a dual deity; on the secrets of Yajña, Śacrifice', See Gopīnātha Kavirāja, Bhāratīya Sanskriti Aur Sādhanā, Pt. I, pp. 166-190.

57. Ch. Up. VIII. 3. 1-10.

58. Śvet. Up. I.4-5; G.C. Pande, Bauddha Dharma, p. 441.

59. Bṛh. Up. IV. 3.21-22.

60. John Woodroffe (Principles of Tantra, p. XXVII) says that Tantra 'is that development of the Vedika Karma-Kāṇda which under the name of the Tantra-Śāstra is the scripture of the Kali Age'. In the opinion of Charles Eliot (Hinduism and Buddhism, Volume II, p. 190) "Tantrism is a species of religious magic, differing from the Vedic sacrifices in method rather than principle". According to Monier-Williams (Hinduism, p. 88) Tāntrika doctrine owed its origin to the popularity of the Sāṃkya theory of Puruṣa and Prakriti. Gopinātha Kavirāja (Bhāratīya Sanskriti Aur Sādhanā, Pt. I, Chapter XVII) points out that the Tāntrika Mantraśāstra is rooted in Vedic religion.

61. Sekoddeśa-Tīkā, GOS, XC, pp. 2-4.——'Śrīdhānye niyatamantranaya deśanāsthāne', etc. and the following is quoted from the Mūlatantra(?) :—

Gṛdhrakūṭe yathāśāstaḥ prajñāpāramitānaye ll
Tathā mantranaye proktā śrīdhānye dharmadeśanā ll

Gṛdhrakūṭe mahaśaile prajñāpāramitānayaṃ l
Sandeśya Bodhisattvānāṃ mahāyānaṃ niruttaraṃ ll

62. Blue Annals, II, p. 754, Note 1.

63. Rāhula Sāṃkṛtāyana, Purātattva Nibandhāvalī, p. 113, Note 3.

64. Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa, (TSS) p. 88.

65. GST, Chapters V and XVII.

66. Sādhanamālā, Vol. I, (GOS) p. 248.

67. Ibid., p. 334—Prajñādisādhanaṃ idaṃ sugatopadiṣtaṃ.

68. Ibid., p. 335.

69. Tārā-Tantra ed. Vārendra Research Society, 1913; The Cultural Heritage, Vol. IV, p. 225.
70. ERE, XII, p. 196.
71. GST, p. 1.
72. Hevajra Tantra, I, p. 47; R.L. Mitra, Skt. Buddh. Lit. Nepal, pp. 261ff.
73. Buddhist Esoterism, p. 19; also in his Introduction to Two Vajrayāna Works, GOS, XLIV, p. X.
74. Sadhanamala, II, Introduction, pp. XVI-XVII.
75. Sādhanamālā MS. is dated A. D. 1165, Introduction, pp. XLf.
76. See Winternitz, 'Notes on the Guhyasamāja Tantra and the Age of the Tantras', IHQ, IX, 1933, pp. 1 f.; P.C. Bagchi, 'Reviews on Sādhanamālā', IHQ, VI, 1930; S. B. Dasgupta, Obscure Religious Cults, 2nd edition, p. 19; N. Dutt in HCIP., IV, pp. 264f.
77. Buddist Esoterism, p. 18; Buddhist Iconography, 2nd edition, p. 9.
78. TS Verses 3486-3487; English translation, p. 1527.
89. Vaiśeṣikasūtra, 2.—Yato abhyudayaniḥśreyasa siddhih sa dharmaḥ.
80. Winternitz in IHQ, IX, p. 9.
81. S. Mookerjee, Buddhist Phil. of Flux, p. XI.
82. TS verse 3588:
Tāpācchedāccanikasatsuvarṇaṃ iva paṇḍitaiḥ l
parīkṣa bhikṣavo grāhyaṃ madvaco na tu gauravāt ll
83. MN, I, pp. 389f.
84. AN, I, pp. 174f.
85. MN, I, pp. 333-343.
86. DN, III, pp. 46, 61,
87. MN, I, pp. 209f.
88. DN, I, pp. 183f.
89. Ibid., pp. 10-12, 60-61 etc. Tīracchānavijjā includes bhūtavijjā or bhūtakaṃma, visavijjā, arts dealing with manes and poisons; Cullavagga, pp. 199-200, records Piṇḍola Bhāradvāja's feat of sorcery which is condemned by the Buddha.
90. Blue Annals, I, p. 102.
91. Tārānātha's Mystic Tales, pp. 9-10; IHQ, XXX, 1954, p. 94; L.M. Joshi, 'Life and Times of the Mādhyamika Philosopher Nāgārjuna', Maha Bodhi, Volume 73 Nos. 1-2, 1965.
92. Sekoddeśa Ṭīkā, pp. 2-4.
93. DN, III, pp. 150f.
94. Milindapañha (Vadekar's edition) p. 153; Gopīnātha Kavirāja and G.C. Pande are of the opinion that the especial emphasis on Pānāpānasati (cf. DN, Satipaṭṭhānasutta) may be viewed as a possible source of later Tāntrika Yoga.
95. Si Yu Ki, p. 381.
96. ŚS, Vaidya's edition, p. 79 (Bendall's edition, p. 142)—'Vidyādharapiṭakopanibaddhaṃ sarvabhayarakṣārthaṃ prayuñjita. Tadyathā—aṭṭe. baṭṭe. naṭṭe. kunaṭṭe. ṭake. ṭhake. tharake. urumati. rurumatituruhili mili sarvajñodupadagga. namo sabbasammā saṃbuddhānaṃ. sijjhantu me mantapadā svāhā'.
97. BST No. I, p. 1.
98. BST No. 2, p. 250, verse 100.
99. HCIP, IV, pp. 260, 360 note 6.
100. BST No. 6, pp. 234-235.
101. Gilgit Manuscripts, Volume I, ed. by N. Dutt, pp. 55-58, 67, 71.
102. BST No. 17 (MSS. Volume I) p. 301.
103. Divyāvadāna, edited by Cowell and Neil, p. 118,
104. JUPHS, Vol. XV, 1942, pp. 24-27.
105. BST No. 3; D.T. Suzuku's English Translation, Chapter IX on spells.
106. Edited by U. Wogihara, pp. 272-274.
107. Si Yu ki, pp. 426-427.
108. Gilgit MS., I, p. 40; HCIP, IV, p. 20; See a valuable paper

by E. Conze, "Tantric Prajñāpāramitâ Texts", in Sino-Indian Studies, Volume V, Pt. 2, pp .100-122.

109. Ed. in TSS. Nos. 70, 76, 84, Pt. I, Introduction, and pp .87-94. See also K. P. Jayaswal, An Imperial History of India in a Sanskrit Text, verses 572, 577.

110. BST No. 17 Sūtra Nos. 4-7, pp. 93-99.

111. ŚS, Bendall's edition, pp. 142, 155, 173, 188, 256, 257.

112. Buddhist Esoterism, p. 56.

113. Winternitz, HIL, II, p. 381.

114. Ed. in BST No. 17, p. 97.

115. Buddhist Esoterism, p. 56; cp. Yogasutra I, 27, 'Om' symbolises the Lord.

116. See Petavatthu KN, (II, pp. 135f.), Lalitavistara, p. 111; H. Kern. Manual, pp. 59-60; Vallee Pousin, ERE, XII, p. 194.

117. See John Marshall, The Monuments of Sānchī, 3 Volumes (1940); B. M. Barua, Bharhut, 3 Parts(1937); G. Yazdani, Ajaṇṭā, Volumes I-IV; Debala Mitra, Ajaṇṭā (1959); A. Grunwedel, Buddhist Art of India; John Marshall, Buddhist Art of Gandhāra(1960); V. S. Agrawala, Catalogue of the Mathurā Museum, JUPHS; A.K. Coomaraswamy, Yakṣās, 2 Parts.

118. See J. Fergusson, Tree and Serpent Worship, 2nd edition, London 1873; J. Ph. Vogel, Indian Serpent Lore, London, 1926.

119. BST No. I, pp. 1-2, 111.

120. ERE, II, p. 260.

121. See JUPHS, VI, 1933, pp. 81f. figure 13.

122. A. K. Coomaraswamy, Yakṣas, I, p. 29.

123. Aṣṭasāhasrikā, English Translation, pp. 93, 140-142.—This view seems to be confirmed by Śāntideva who refers to this text as 'Bhagavatī', SŚ (ed. Bendall) pp. 188, 202, 275.

124. BST No. 17, p. 329.

125. These are the Pañca Dhyānī Buddhas of the Vajrayāna, see Chapter XI.

126. Tārā is Avalokita's consort in Mahāyāna, the rest are Vajrayāna deities.

127. Four Lokapālas are known to the DN, III, Āṭānāṭiyasutta, pp. 150 f. and fifteen yakṣas, including yakṣiṇis, are mentioned in Bharahut inscriptions, JUPHS, VI, 1933, pp. 121f.

128. All these are Tāntrika deities and make doubtful the ascription of the DS to Nāgārjuna the Mādhyamika philosopher.

129. See ERE, II, p. 257; Kern, Manual, p. 65.

130. BST No. 17, p. 235.

131. See above Chapter I.

132. ERE, II, p. 257.

133. BST, No. 6, Chapter XXIV.

134. Quoted in ŚS, ed. Bendall, p. 286.

135. Giles, Fa-hsien, pp. 23, 9, 61, 45, 20.

136. Yuan Chwang, I, pp. 238, 216, 239, 302, 265, 295,; II, pp. 35, 105, 107 (Tārā as Avalokita's wife), 214, 300, 210, 221, etc.

137. I-tsing, Record, pp. 37, 38, 136, 162, 198, 213.

138. BST No. 17, pp. 262-263.—namo' stvavalokiteśvarāya, maheśvarāya, padmaśriye..... ..Śatasahasrabhujāya, koṭiśatasahasranetrāya, ekādaśaśīrṣāya, Vaḍavāmukhaparyantāya.

139. Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra, IX, 77.

140. Suvarṇaprabhāsasūtra (S.C. Das's ed.) p. 4; see ERE, I, p. 99; Winternitz, HIL, II, p. 340.

141. ŚS (Edition Bendall), pp. 155, 142, 14, 9, 175, 314, 8, 133, 9, 346, 371.

142. Dharmasaṅgītisūtra Quoted in ŚS (ed. Bendall), p. 286.

143. Kathāvatthu, XXIII. 219, I. (p. 535)—Ekādhippāyena methuno dhaṃmo paṭisevitabho.

144. Upāyakauśalyasūtra quoted in ŚS (ed. Bendall) p. 167.

145. Dharmasaṃgītisūtra quoted in ŚS (ed. Bandall); p. 322

Buddhā bhagavanto mahatpuṇyajñāna saṃbhāra mahāmaitrī mahākaruṇā-gocara..... saṃsāra-nirvāṇa-vimuktā.....

146. Āryadeva's CVP, verses 6,33.

147. See Vajracchedikā and Adhyardha-Śatikā, opening lines in BST No. 17, pp. 75, 90.

148. Yuan Chwang, II, p. 107; See HCIP, IV, p. 261. A historical survey of the concepts of Prajñā and Prajñāpāramitā has been attempted in Vajracchedikā Prajñāpāramitā with Asaṅga's Comy. edited and translated into Hindi by me, 1966, Bhūmikā.

149. BST No. 17, pp. 175-170, espl. verses 11, 17—Prajñāpāramitārūpaṃ bodhicittasya lakṣaṇaṃ.

150. Advayavajra-Saṃgraha, ed. H.P. Śāstri, GOS XL, p. 28.

151. Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra, IX. 45-46.

Pratiṣṭhāya parāvṛtau vibhutvaṃ labhyate paraṃ ll
Apratiṣṭhita nirvāṇaṃ Buddhānāmacale pade ll
Maithunasya parāvṛtau vibhutvaṃ labhyate param ll
Buddhasaukhya vihāre' tha dārā saṃkleśadarśane ll

The controversy surrounds the phrase 'parāvṛtti of sexual act' Kmaithuasya paravrtau); S. Lèvi said that it refers to "the mystic couples of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas which have so much importance in Tantrism". M. Winternitz, IHQ, IX, p. 1, questioned this translation and gave the meaning of parāvrtti as "turning aside, discard". P.C. Bagchi, Studies in the Tantras, Pt. I, p. 92, suggested that parāvṛtti of maithuna refers to the enjoyment of bliss similar to that arising from that act. Gopinātha Kavirāja, Foreword to B. Upadhyaya's Bauddha Darśana Mīmānsā, p. 14, holds that parāvṛtti means the "process of sublimation" or "reversion"; see also Keith, Buddh. Phil., p. 301; G.C. Pande, Bauddha Dharma, p. 464.

152. Winternitz in IHQ, IX, pp. 1 f.; S.K. De in Ind. Studies-Past and Present, Vol. I, pp. 570f.; N. Dutt in Foreword to N. K. Sahu's Buddhism in Orissa, pp. XIf.

153. See GST, Introduction; JASB, Vol. XXVI, pp. 128 f. Bhāratīya Sanskriti Aur Sādhanā, pp. 512 ff.; Bauddha Dharma, pp. 464-65; Purātattva Nibandhāvali, pp. 111-112.

154. See L.M. Joshi, 'Life and Times of the Mādhyamika Philosopher Nāgārjuna', Mahabodhi, Vol. 73, Nos. 1-2, 1965.

155. See Appendix on Early Siddhas.

156. Rājataraṅginī, I, 173.

157. W.Y. Evans—Wentz, Tibetan Yoga and Secret Doctrines, pp. 344f.; by the same scholar, Tibetan Book of The Great Liberation, pp. 156-157.

158. See Yuan Chwang, II, 201; I-tsing, pp. 34-35; Harṣacarita, Eng. Tr., p. 252; Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa, pp. 616f.

159. Prajñāpāramitā is already deified and called Bhagavatī in the Prajñā texts and in the ŚS; See Bhūmikā of my Edition of the Vajracchedikā referred to above.

160. See E. Lamotte, Le Traite de la grande Vertue de Sagesse de Nāgārjuna, Bibliotheque du Museon, Vol. XVIII, 2 Vols, Louvain, 1944, 1949, Prajñāpāramitāstava is printed on pp. 1-2 of BST No. 4, 1960 (1965), cf. R. Kimura in Journal of the Dept. of Letters, Vol. XII, p. 56.

161. See Yuan Chwang, I, p. 365f.; ERE, II, p. 62.

162. Si Yu ki, pp. 248-249, Winternitz, HIL, II, pp. 352ff.

163. G. Tucci, Aspects of the Doctrines of Maitreya (nātha) and Asaṅga, pp. 1-18.

164. Ed. by E.H. Johnston and T. Chaudhari, Patna, 1950, Eng. Translation by E. Obemillar in Acta Orientalia, IX, 1931.

165. Adhyāśayasañcodanasūtra quoted in ŚS (BST No. 11), p. 12 —Tatkiñcin Maitreya subhāṣitaṃ sarvaṃ tad Buddha bhāṣitam.

166. Abhidharmasamuccaya ed. by P. Pradhana, pp. 106-107; cf. G. C. Pande, Bauddha Dharma, p. 465.

167. Si-Yu-ki, pp. 248-249.

168. Tārānātha (Schiefner) p. 201; Kern, Manual, p. 133.

169. Sādhanamālā, Vol. I, No. 159, p. 321, the colophon to this Sādhana reads—Prajñāpāramitā-Sādhanaṃ samāptaṃ Kritiriyam ācārya Asaṅga-pādānām.

170. GST, Introduction, p. XXXIV; IHQ, III, 1927, pp. 736 f.; Buddhist Iconography, 2nd edition, pp. 12-13.

171. 'Animadversiones Indicae', II, in JASB, Vol. XXVI, 1930, pp. 129f.

172. On the date and doctrines of Harivarman, see Y. Sogen, Systems, Ch. IV, pp. 172 f.

173. JASB, XXVI, pp. 129-130

174. IHQ, IX, 1933, pp. 1 f.

175. The Mahāsāṃghika group of Buddhists had burried the eggs not only of the Mahāyāna but also of the Vajrayāna. Buddhist esoterism seems to have sprung up from the Lokottaravāda docetism in Āndhradeśa in cr, 150 B. C. But it took centuries to emerge out as a system. See L. M. Joshi, 'Original Homes of Tāntrika Buddhism' Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, XXVIIth Session, Allahabad, 1965.

176. See BST No. 17, pp. 292 ff. pp. 300-304.

177. See its contents in R. L. Mitra, op. cit., pp. 241 f. comments of G. Tucci in JASB, XXVI, p. 129 and of Winternitz, HIL, II, p. 339.

178. Gilgit MS., I, pp. 13-14; ed. also in BST No. 17, see pp. 168-169.

179. JUPHS, XV, pp. 26f.

180. Gilgit MS, I, pp. 44-45.

181. Ibid., pp. 60-62; cf. Bhattacharya, Ind. Buddh. Iconography, 2nd edition, pp. 129-131.

182. Gilgit MS., I, pp. 48ff. The text opens with these lines—
—Evaṃ mayā śrutaṃ ekasmin samaye Potalakaparvate Āryāvalokiteśvarāyātane divya maṇiratne śrī-Indranīlamaye puṣpasaṅstṛte devasiṃhāsane Bhagavān sārdna mahatā bhikṣu saṃghena.

183. See JRAS, 1912, pp. 62 f., F.A.R. Hoernle, MS. Remains, Vol. I, pp. 52 ff.; Winternitz, HIL, II, p. 387.

184. ŚS (BST No. 11) Appendix I, pp. 197-205.

185. Edited by T. Gaṇapati Śāstrī in TSS Nos. 70 (1920), 76 (1922), 84 (1925); On its controversial date see J. Przyluski in B. E. F. E. O., Vol. XXIII, 1923; M. Winternitz, in IHQ, IX, 1933, and in HIL, II, pp. 396-397.

186. B. Nanjio, Catalogue, No. 1096 (A.D. 980-1001), 28 Chapters.

187. K.P. Jayaswal and R. Sāṃkṛtyāyana had ed. and compared with the Tibetan text 53rd Chapter of the MMK, See An Imperial History of India in Sanskrit Text, Lahore, 1934.

188. GST, Introduction, pp. XXXII-XXXVIII.

189. See Winternitz, HIL, II, p. 397; in IHQ, IX, pp. 5-6; K.P. Jayaswal, An Imperial History of India, Introduction, p. 3; N. Dutt in HCIP, IV, p. 262; Przyluski, in BEFEO, XXIII, p. 306.

190. Mañjuśrīmulakalpa, I, p. 38 ; GST, Intro. p. XXXIII.

191. IHQ, IX, p. 5.

192. Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa, pp. 384-385; B. Bhattacharya himself knows these facts, GST, Intro., p. XXXVI.

193. R. Sāṃkṛtyāyana, Purātattva Nibandhāvalī, pp. 106-113.

194. IHQ, IX, p. 8.

195. See S. Lèvi's ed. of the Mahāmāyūrī in Journal Asiatique, 1915, p. 370; See also Yuan Chwang, I, on Gandhāra and Uḍḍiyāna.

196. Yuan Chwang, I, p. 221; Si-Yu-ki, pp. 162-163.

197. J. F. Fleet. (ed. and translated) Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum (C.I.I.) Vol. III, p. 78.

198. Ibid., pp. 72-78.

199. Ibid., pp. 47-48.

200. Bṛhat Saṃhitā, S. Dvivedi's edn., 59. 19; cf. J.N. Banerjee, Development of Hindu Iconography, 2nd, edition, pp. 230, 494.

201. Life, pp. 86-88. The Śakti-worshippers, who sacrificed human beings for propitiating the goddess, are known to the Bodhicarayāvatāra of Śāntideva and the Rājataraṅgiṇī of Kalhaṇa.

202. R. Sāṃkṛtyāyana, Purātattva Nibandhāvalī, p. 18.

203. O. Schrader Introduction to Pāñcarātra, p. 31.

204. Mahābhārata, Śāntiparvan, 218, 11-12.

205. P. Peterson's edn., pp. 32, 224-228.

206. Harṣacarita, Book III (Chaukhamba edition, 1958) pp. 165 ff.; V. S. Agrawala, H. C. Adhyayana, pp. 57-59.

207. Ed. by S.P. Pandit and N. B. Utgikar, Poona, 1927, Verses 46, 297, 1091.

208. Rājataraṅgiṇī, III. 267; IV, 94.112, 153. 162, 246-251.

208 a. New Indian Antiquary, Bombay, Vol. V, pp. 2 f.

209. Winternitz, HIL, II, p. 400; B. Bhattacharyya in B. C. Law Volume, I,pp. 354 f.; S.K. De in Ind. Studies—Past and Present, Vol. I, No. 4, p. 604; in Hist. Bengal, I, Ch. XIII, See however, L.M. Joshi, 'Original Homes of Tāntrika Buddhism' in proceedings of XXVIIth session of Ind. Hist. Congress., Allahabad, 1965.

210. See R. Sāṃkṛtyāyana in Journal Asiatique, 1934, pp. 200ff. and Purātattva Nibandhāvalī, pp. 106f.

211. Sādhanamālā, II, pp. 455; Hevajra Tantra, English Tr., p.70, also mentions 3 of them and other Kṣetras.

212. See D.C. Sircar, Śākta Pīṭhas in JASB(L), XIV, pp. 8ff.

213. A.B. Keith, Buddh. Phil., p. 216; S. Dutt, Buddha and the Five After Centuries, pp. 241-243.

214. N.K. Sahu, Buddhism in Orissa, pp. 68f.

215. Aṣṭasāhasrikā, BST No. 4, p. 112 (R. L. Mitra's edition, p. 225; E. Conze's Tr., p. 79)—ime khalu punaḥ śāriputra ṣaṭpāramitā pratisaṃyuktāḥ sūtrāntāstathāgatasyātyayena dakṣiṇāpathe pracariṣyanti, dakṣiṇāpathātpunareva vartanyāṃ praçariṣyanti, vartanyāḥ punaruttarapathe pracariṣyanti. Haribhadra in his Ālokā, BST No. 4, p. 427, says, Vartanyāṃ iti pūrvadeśe.

216. Sekoddeśa-Ṭīkā, pp. 3-4—Śrīdhānyne niyata mantranayadeśanā sthāne; the following is quoted from the Mūlatantra—Gṛdhrakūṭe yathāśāstaḥ prajñāpāramitānaye l Tathāmantranaye proktā Śrīdhānye dharmadeśanā ll

217. See Laṅkāvatārasūtra, BST No. 3, p. 118.

Dakṣiṇāpatha vedalyāṃ bhikṣuḥ śrīmān mahāyaśaḥ l
Nāgāhvayaḥ sa nāmnā tu sadhsatpakṣadārakaḥ ll
Prakāśya loke madyānam mahāyānamanuttaraṃ l

Harṣacarita, Book VIII (Chaukhamba edition 1958), p. 440, also associates Nāgārujana with the Nāgārāja, Nāgaloka and king Sātavāhana who was the 'Lord of the three seas'.

218. Yuan Chwang, II, pp. 200-206; Si Yuki, pp. 414-419; I-tsing, p. 159.

219. Tārānātha's account in IHQ, XXVIII, p. 43; Sumpā mkhanpo's account, IHQ, XXX, p. 94; Blue Annals, II, p. 753.

220. Si Yu ki, p. 331.

221. Ep, Ind., Vol. XX, pp. 1-37; Vol. XXI, pp. 61-71; Ancient India No. 16(1962), pp. 65ff.

222. N. Dutt, Aspects, p. 39, H. Nakamura, op. cit.

223. Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa, p. 175; cf. Purātattva Nibandhāvalī p. 108

224. Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa, p. 88—

Śrīparavate mahāśaile dakṣiṇāpathasañjñike l
Śrīdhānyakaṭake caitye jinadhātudharebhuvi l
Sidhyante tatra mantra vai kṣipraṃ sarvārthakarmaṣu l

225. Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra, BST No. 5, pp. VII, p. 39.—dakṣiṇāpathe Dhanyākaraṃ nāma mahānagaram.....Dhanyākarasya mahānagarasya pūrveṇa vicitrasāradhyajavyūha nāma mahāvanaṣaṇḍaṃ pūrva Buddhādhyu-

ṣita caityaṃ....., p. 394—Dhanyākarānnagarādupādāya sarvadakṣiṇāpathamaṭan deśottaram kalyāṇamitraśataṃ.....

226. Yuan Chwang, II, p. 215; Bu-sTon, II, p. 164, says that Śāntideva went to Śrīparvata to learn and perform the miracles.

227. Yuan Chwang, II, 229.

228. Gilgit MS., I, p. 68, 70; Tārānātha (Schiefner) pp. 132, 157.

229. Yuan Chwang, II, 229. AGI, p. 549; N.L. De, Geographical Dictionary, p. 132; Gilgit MS., I, p. 69.

230. cf. Story of Buddhism with special Reference to South India, pp. 39, 41.

231. Nikāya Saṃgraha, Colombo, 1908, pp. 8-9; Purātattva Nibandhāvalī, pp. 107, 115, 116.

232. Harṣacarita', Book I, Chaukhambā edition, p. 9.—Sakalapraṇayi manoratha siddhi Śrīparvato Harṣaḥ.

233. Kādaṃbarī, P. Peterson's edition, pp. 224-228; Nirṇya Sagar Press, edition, p. 399.

234. Mālatī-Mādhava, Acts, I, VIII, X.

235. Rājatarangiṇī, III, 267, IV. 390.

236. Sādhanamālā, II, Intro., pp. XXXII-XXXIII: B.C. Law Volume Pt. I, p. 360; Buddhist Iconography, 2nd edition, pp. 10-17,See my criticism of Bhattacharyya's views in 'Original Homes of Tāntrika Buddhism' Proceedings of Ind. Hist., Congr., XXVIIth Session, 1965.

237. L.A. Waddell, Lamaism, p. 15; G. Tucci in East and West, Volume IX, pp. 279ff.; S. Lèvi in Journal Asiatique, 1915, pp.105 f.; P.C. Bagchi in IHQ, VI, pp. 576ff.

238. N. K. Sahu, op. cit., pp. 142f.

239. H. Luders, List of Brāhmī Inscriptions, No. 62.; V. S. Agrawala, 'Geographical Contents of the Mahāmāyūri, JUPHS, XV, p. 48 from S. Lèvi in Journal Asiatique for 1915.

240. Life, p. 66.

241. Fa-hsien, p. 11.

242. Yuan Chwang, I, 225-226.

243. D N., I, pp. XIX, 12, 61 etc.

244. Mahābhārata, Śāntiparvan, 335. 8-12.

245. Yuan Chwang, I, 227; M. Foucher, Etudes sur l, iconographie bouddhique, pp. 121, 148.

246. Yuan Chwang, I, 227-237, cp. Jātakamālā, BST No. 21, Jātaka Nos. 2, 8, 28 and 30.

247. Yuan Chwang, loc. cit.

248. J. Ph. Vogel, Antiquities of Chamba State, Volume I(ASI, New Imperial Series, XXXVI, Calcutta, 1911), plates 4f.

249. H. Gorez., 'Antiquities of Chamba State; An Art Historical Outline', JUPHS, Vol. I(NS), 1953, pp. 76f.

250. J. Przyluski 'An Ancient People of Panjab: the Udumbaras', Ind. Studies—Past & Present, Volume I, 1960 (reprint), pp. 729 f.

251. See above Section VI.

252. ERE, II, pp. 62f.

253. Tārānātha's Mystic Tales, p. 23; Evans-Wentz, Tibetan Yoga, p. 153; Blue Annals, II, p. 753; Waddell, Lamaism, p. 15.

254. Rājatarangiṇī, IV, 211.

255. GST, Intro. pp. XXXIIf.

256. IHQ, IX, pp. 6-7.

257. HCIP, IV, p. 262; Foreword to N.K. Sahu's Buddhism in Orissa, p. XI.

258. Bauddha Dharma, p. 469.

259. H. P. Śāstrī, Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in A.S.B., Volume I, Buddhist Manuscripts, Calcutta, 1917, pp. 17f; N. Dutt, in HCIP, IV, p. 360, note 17.

260. Thomas Watters and C. Bendall, in ŚS (ed. Bendall) p. 274; M. Winternitz, IHQ, IX, pp. 1-2.

261. Nanjio-Cata., No. 1027 (p. 225) translated between 980-1000 A.D.
262. Nanjio-Cata. No. 1056 (pp. 232-33), translated between 980-1001 A.D.
263. B. Bhattacharyya, Buddhist Iconography, 2nd edition, p. 2.
264. See below.
265. See Appendix 5 on Early Siddhas.
266. Tārānātha (Schiefner) as quoted by N. Dutt in HCIP, IV, p. 267.
267. G. Tucci in JASB, XXVI, pp. 132, 138; Winternitz, HIL, II, pp. 343-344.; B. Bhattacharyya, Sādhanamālā, II, p. XIV. See L.M. Joshi in Maha Bodhi, Volume 73, Nos. 1-2, 1965.
268. Mahā Bodhi, Vol 73 pp. 14-15, 43-45.
269. G. Roerich, Biography of Dharmasvāmīn, Patna, 1959, pp. 107, 110.
270. Blue Annals II, p. 753.
271. Nikāya Saṃgraha, (1908), pp. 8-9.
272. R. Sāṃkrityāyana, Purātattva Nibandhāvalī, p. 115.
273. Sādhanamālā Volume I, p. 267; the Colophon to the Ekajata Sādhana reads—Ekajaṭā Sādhanaṃ samāptaṃ, ārya-Nāgārjuna-pādair Bhoṭeṣu uddhṛtaṃ; also p. 193 where the Vajratārā Sādhana is attributed to Nāgārjuna.
274. GST, GOS No. 53, p. 88. —Vajraikajaṭaṃ nāma mahāsarpā-parājita vāgvajragrīṃ.
275. Ibid., Intro., pp. XXXI f.
276. It is to be noted that Bhagini and Ḍākinī Tantras are mentioned by Dharmakīrti in Pramāṇavārttika-svavrtti ed. R. Sāṃkrityāyana, Allahabad, 1943, p. 578, Ed. Gnoli (SOR XXIII), p. 163.
277. GST, pp. 1, 154, 172, Sekoddeśa-Ṭīkā, pp. 3-5.
278. See Appendix 5 on Early Siddhas.
279. Blue Annals, II, p. 753; the Sarvatathāgata-Tattva-saṃgraha is extant in Northang Kanjur, Gyud, VII. An old Sanskrit MS. of it has been found in Nepal as reported by D. L. Shellgrove, Hevajra Tantra, I, p. 18.
280. Tārānātha (Schiefner), p. 188.
281. See Caryāgīti Kośa, edited by P.C. Bagchi and Śāntibhikṣu Śāstri, Visvabharati, 1956; Dohā Kośa of Saraha, ed. and transl. into Hindi by R. Sāṃkrityāyana, Patna, 1957.
282. Mystic Tales, pp. 8-9, Purātattva Nibandhāvalī, pp. 119-130.
283. Hevajra Tantra, I, pp. 19f., 50f., 66f., 170, 114f.
284. Edited in Roman Script with Tibetan and Chinese versions and translated into English, MBT, Pt. I, Rome, 1956.
285. Mystic Tales, p. 23; Tārānātha (Schiefner) p. 198.
286. Edited by B. Bhattacharya in GOS No. XLIV, 1929.
287. Still unpublished; copies of its Sanskrit MS. are in Central Library, Baroda, No. 3/24 and in the private collection of H. P. Śāstri.
288. Blue Annals, I, pp. 362-363; Tārānātha (Schiefner,) pp. 275f.
289. Sanskrit text published by H.P. Śāstri (Fragmentary) JASB, 1998; Tibetan text with Sanskrit Restoration published by P.B. Patel, Visvabharati, 1949.
290. Edited by B. Bhattacharyya in GOS No. XLIV, 1929.
291. Sumpa mkhan po, Pag Sam jon Zang, Index p. CXV, says that Luipā was a contemporary of a king of Uḍḍiyāna; Tārānātha, Mystic Tales, p. 11, makes him a Kāyastha of king Samantasubha of Uḍḍiyāna. This king may be identified with king Śrī Sāmantadeva whose coins have been found in the Swat region. See HCIP, IV, p. 112; G. Tucci in East and West, IX, p. 324.
292. TSP, p. 905, Comy. on TS. verse 3487.
293. Tārānātha (Schiefner) p. 275.
294. Sekoddeśa-Ṭīkā, pp. 2-5.
295. Advayavajra-Saṃgraha, GOS No. XL, p.14. Mahāyānaṃ ca dvivihaṃ pāramitānayo mantranayaśceti. tatra Pāramitā nayaḥ sautrān-

tika-yogācāramādhyamika-sthityā vyākhyāyate. mantranayastu yogācāra mādhyamika sthityā vyākhyāyate.

296. Ibid., pp. 21, 28.
297. Bu-sTon, I, pp. 39-40.
298. Blue Annals, I, p. 102.
299. See Csoma de Koros, Life and Teachings of Buddha, Calcutta, 1957, Appendix on Literature of Tibet, pp. 104ff.; F.W. Thomas, Indianism and Its Expansion, Calcutta, 1942, pp. 82ff.; R. Sāṃkṛtyāyana, Tibbat Main Bauddha Dharma, pp. 48f., G. Tucci, 'The Debate of bSam Yas' in MBT, II, Rome 1958.
300. Blue Annals, I, p. 102, note 1.
301. Waddell, Lamaism, p. 152.
302. Tārānātha (Schiefner), pp. 201, 275.
303. See Evans-Wentz., Tibetan Yoga and Secret Doctrines, pp. 155f.; Kazi Dawa Samdup, Tāntrika Texts, Vol. VII, Introduction; D.L. Snellgrove, Buddhist Himalaya, 1957.

Chapter XI

DOCTRINES AND PRACTICES OF ESOTERIC BUDDHISM

Section I

THE PHILOSOPHICAL BASIS OF ESOTERIC BUDDHISM

Mysticism often finds philosophical expression in a theory of absolute unity or monism or non-dualism. The esoteric Buddhism displays a manifest influence of the idealistic and absolutistic ideas of the Mahāyāna; its doctrines and practices are based on the Mādhyamika and the Vijñānavāda thought. Indeed, according to one authority, the esoteric mysticism of the Buddhist Tantras can be understood only through the Mādhyamika and the Vajñānavāda systems.[1]

Echoes of Vijñānavāda and Śūnyavāda

The Buddhist esoteric treatises often describe the Truth in negative terms; the terms 'Śūnyatā',, 'Śūnya', 'Vijñāna', 'Cıtta', and the compounds 'Nairātmya', 'Bhāvābhāva-vivarjita' and Niḥsva-bhāva', etc. frequently occur in connection with ceremonies and secret yogic practices. These texts do not seem to be concerned so much with metaphysics as with the practical implications of the philosophical ideas of the Mahāyāna.

The description of 'Bodhicitta' given in the 2nd chapter of the Guhyasamājatantra is thoroughly permeated by the ideas of the Śūnyavāda as well as of the Vijñānavāda. Thus it is "bereft of all existence, unconnected with skandhas, dhātus and āyatanas, free from the subject-object categories; it is beginningless, of void nature, like all objects which are devoid of substance."[2] At another place, it is said that "Because the Dharmas have no origin there is neither existence nor thinking; existence is like the existence of sky."[3]

Anaṅgavajra in his Prajñopāya-viniścaya-siddhi declares that all existence issues out of the absolute which is bereft of the thought-construction; the false conceptual construction is the source of all miseries.[4] The author argues that "it is

better to imagine the world as real, rather than to regard everything as non-existent; because, a burning lamp can be extinguished, but how can it be extinguished if it is not burning at all ?"[5] It means that our struggle for moral and spiritual perfection is necessitated by the presumption of a world of objectivity, in the absence of the latter, there will be no incentive for spiritual endeavour.

Elaborating the point, Anaṅgavajra says that so long as there is the notion of bhava or saṃsāra, there remains the possibility of nirvāṇa; but in the absence of the notion of bhava, there can be no final extinction; there is no possibility of destroying the beginningless voidness.[6] With respect to the ultimate Truth, the author says that "it cannot be defined, not even by the Jinas; because, it can be known only by oneself (pratyātma vedyarūpatvād) and not through external means."[7]

The Hevajratantra gives a negative description of the Reality (Tattva). "In reality there is neither form nor seer, neither sound nor hearer; there is neither smell nor one who smells, neither taste nor taster; neither touch nor one who touches, neither thought nor thinker."[8] This passage strikes a note of similarity to the opening lines of the Madhyamaka-Śāstra of Nāgārjuna, containing the famous eight No's.[9] Kāṇhapā, commenting upon this passage, says : "Form refers to blue and all other attributes. It is all this that does not exist. Yet how does it not exist, for one certainly sees it ? It does not exist in its essential nature. An essential nature should be uncreate, transcendent, non-contingent, self-comprising and in this capacity it does not exist, because it arises from dependent causation."[10]

The ultimate reality, says Indrabhūti, is 'unsupported like the sky, all-pervasive and devoid of characteristics; it is the Highest Reality and the unique Vajrajñāna. It is known as Mahāmudrā, Samantabhadra, and Dharmakāya; it is the ideal to be known and knowledge itself."[11]

The Reality called Gnosis (Prajñātattva) is to be known by realising the substancelessness of dharmas and by a careful discrimination of the knowledge and the object of knowledge.[12] The nature of dharmas is described in the Guhyasamāja by declaring that they belong neither to the Kāmadhātu, nor to

the Rūpadhātu nor to the Arūpadhātu, and nor even to the four great elements.[13]

The Vajrayāna sages speak of Saṃsāra and Nirvāṇa in the same vein in which Nāgārjuna the great had characterised them. "Between nirvāṇa and saṃsāra there is not the slightest shade of difference", because they both are neither produced nor annihilated.[14] In actua !experience the nature of the world is identical with the nature of the Tathāgata; Tathāgata is devoid of any essence, so is this world.[15] The Tathāgata is free from all concepts and thought-constructions.[16]

We read in the Hevajratantra that "such as is nirvāṇa, such is saṃsāra. There is no nirvāṇa other than saṃsāra, we say. Saṃsāra consists in form and sound and so on, in feeling and other constituents of personality, in the faculties of sense in wrath, delusion and the rest. But all these elements are really nirvāṇa, and only from delusion (moha) do they appear as saṃsāra."[17] This means that all men are really Buddhas; yes they are : "All beings are Buddhas, but this is obscured by accidental defilement (āgantukamala). When this is removed, they are Buddhas at once, of this there is no doubt."[18]

Another picture of this attitude towards saṃsāra and nirvāṇa is to be observed in the Prajñopāya-viniścaya-siddhi in the following words. "The Vajrayānist calls the saṃsāra as a condition of the mind which is enveloped with the darkness born of innumerable false ideations, is as ephemeral as the lightning in a storm, and is besmeared with the dirt of attachment &c. not easily removable."[19] The same mind becomes excellent jewel when it is freed from these excretions. Hence the Vajrayānist further holds that "the excellent Nirvāṇa is another condition of the mind when the latter is bright and luminous, free from conceptual excretions that envelop it; it (the Mind) then becomes the foremost Reality which is neither objective nor subjective."[20] Advayavajra, a late Vajrayāna saint and scholar, says that, in Esoteric system "Śūnyatā is described as Vajra, because it is firm and sound, indivisible, impenetrable, cannot be burnt and cannot be destroyed."[21] The term Vajra, thus stands here for the whole truth itself; although, more frequently as will be seen below, Vajra symbolises one of the two coefficients of truth.

The supreme Being (Sattva) which is the goal and apex of esoteric culture, is often called Vajrasattva. Advayavajra observes that "By Vajra is meant śūnyatā and by sattva is meant Jñānamātratā. The identity of the two follows from the nature of Vajrasattva."[22] Thus this idea of Vajrasattva embodies both the Śūnyatā and the Cittamātratā. Some earlier authors, however, explain Vajrasattva in a slightly different manner. In the Hevajratantra we are told that "It is indivisible and so known as Vajra. A Being which is unity of three ; because of this device he is known as Vajra-sattva."[23] The unity of the the three is the unity of Body, Speech and Mind; Tathāgata, the Supernal Being, is the unity of Body, Speech and Mind as is clear from the Guhyasamāja.[24] Dharmakīrti, a 9th century Tāntrika Buddhist author and a commentator of the Hevajratantra, however, regards this unity as the unity of the three worlds, Kāmādhātu, Rūpadhātu and Arūpadhātu, which is attained in the state of voidness (śūnyatā).[25] One is often tempted to understand Vajrasattva as a monotheistic God-head of the esoteric system; indeed He is invoked as such and is described as the Lord and the saviour of the world.[26]

Āryadeva in his Citta-viśuddhi-prakaraṇa echoes the views of Vijñānavāda phenomenology. At one place he para-phrases the first verse of the Dhaṃmapada. Mind is the real agent of all actions; it is the antecedent factor of all dharmas; it is the most important and the quickest; all our speech and actions follow the pleasure and displeasure of the mind.[27]

Sarahapāda observes that "the great tree of non-dual mind spreads throughout the three worlds in its vastness; it contains flowers and fruits of compassion, there is nothing beyond it."[28] Elsewhere, he says "Mind is the universal seed; both saṃsāra and nirvāṇa spring forth from it; pay honour to this that like a wish-granting gem gives all desirable things. Thought bound brings bondage, and released brings release; of that there is no doubt."[29]

Kamalāṃbarapāda in his Navaślokī sets forth the Vijñānavāda philosophy when he says : all objects of perception arise in mind which exists *ad aeterno* and are similar to

reflected images ; so also consciousness which takes their form, as a series of reflected images connected with one another (as perceiver and perceived).[30]

Section II

SOME ASPECTS OF ESOTERIC BUDDHISM

(a) ŚAKTI-SĀHACARYA ('FEMALE-COEFFICIENT')

One of the most important aspects of Buddhist Tāntrika culture is its emphasis on the female counterpart; we may call it 'Śakti-Worship' or worship of female energy, or association with coefficient female partner in spiritual effort. The consensus of opinion among acknowledged scholars[31] is that Śakti-sādhana is the essence of Tantra, whether Hinduistic or Buddhistic. Some scholars[32] have, however, pointed out that the use of the term 'Śakti' in the context of Buddhist esoterism, is misleading.

According to Lāmā Anāgārika Govinda "The concept of Śakti, of divine power, of the creative female aspect of the highest God or his emanations does not play any role in Buddhism. While in the Hindu Tantras the concept of power (śakti) forms the focus of interest, the central idea of Tāntrika Buddhism is Prajñā, knowledge, wisdom. To the Buddhist Śakti is māyā, the very power that creates illusion, from which only prajñā can liberate us".[33] Elsewhere he remarks in this connection that "There is no need to resort to such superficial reasons as the necessity to comply with the grammatical gender of Prajñā (feminine) and upāya (masculine)." He thus concludes that "the concept of Śakti has no place in Buddhism".[34]

Even granting that the Buddhist Tantras are written in an enigmatical or mysterious language which is to be interpreted symbolically rather than literally, it is quite clear from the esoteric texts, esoteric symbolism, esoteric art representation and the biographies of 84 Mahāsiddhas, that the concept of female element, commonly called 'Śakti' and symbolically described as 'yoginī', 'prajñā', 'mudrā' and 'woman' is very vital and fundamental to esoteric Buddhism. It is the essential coefficient of Mahāsukha, the Goal of life.

The view that in the Hindu Tantras "the focus of interest" is power (śakti) does not seem to be well grounded. In Śaiva and Śākta Tantras, the relation of Śiva and Śakti, of the surpreme God and the supreme Goddess, is one of identity. Śakti is the feminine aspect of the Absolute when conceived *sub specie temporis*, and in essence, is inseparable from her Lord. As such "the focus of interest" is not active, creative power, but the idea of Unity (Advaya), Identity (Tādātmya) and Harmony (Sāmarasya).

Śakti is worshipped not for the sake of power or creation, but for the sake of Integration of 'male' and 'female' polarities ; worship of Śakti is essential for the fusing of the Two-in One (Yuganaddha).

It is well known that those who worship the wisdom aspect (Śiva, male god) of Reality are known as the Śaivas, and those that worship the power aspect (Śakti, female element) are known as Śāktas ; in other words, when Śiva is worshipped, Śakti also is worshipped, and vice-versa, when Śakti is worshipped, Śiva also is worshipped. The two are, in essence, identical, Śiva and Śakti, male and female, are two essential and apparent aspects of Reality which is the unity of two; Śiva-Śaktiriti hyekaṃ tattvamāhurmanīṣiṇaḥ.

The same is true of the Buddhist Tantras; here also the supreme truth is the unity of the 'male' and the 'female', called in Tibetan, 'Yab Yum' (Zuṅ-ḥjug). We read in the Hevajra Tantra that "twofold is the Innate (Sahaja), for wisdom is the Woman and Means is the Man."[35] The only difference between Śākta and Buddhist Tantras concerning female element is that in the Buddhist Tantras and in the esoteric Buddhist art the female (yum) or Prajñā (se'-rab) is represented embraced by an active male aspect or god, often called 'Hevajra' or 'Vajrasattva'. In the Śākta Tantras the posture is reversed : Śakti is active element and the god is passive. But this difference is superficial and makes no material difference in the essential doctrine of Tāntrika theology. 'Prajñā' (Wisdom) alone is not the central idea, even as 'Upāya' (Means) alone is insignificant. The scriptures declare : "na prajñāmātraṃ; na upāyamātraṃ;" "The way of Bodhisattva consists in the practice of Prajñopāya; neither Prajñā alone, nor upāya alone." "Means without

Wisdom, and Wisdom without Means, leads to bondage. Means in unison with Wisdom and Wisdom in unison with Means, leads to salvation."[36]

The argument that "to the Buddhist Śakti is Māyā, the very power that creates illusion, from which only Prajñā can liberate us", advanced to differentiate śakti and Prajñā, may be counter-balanced by drawing attention to the fact that the Buddhist does not make any distinction between māyā or saṃsāra and prajñā or nirvāṇa. If Śakti stands for Māyā which symbolises Saṃsāra and bondage, and Prajñā stands for Śūnyatā the realisation of which results in Nirvāṇa, we have the express declaration of the Mahāyānist and the Vajrayānist authorities that, from the view-point of actual experience, "there is not the slightest shade of difference between Saṃsāra and Nirvāṇa";[37] "Such as is Nirvāṇa, such is Saṃsāra. There is no Nirvāṇa other than Saṃsāra."[38] Saṃsāra (or Śakti), as a matter of fact, is not different from Nirvāṇa (or Tathāgata); the Prajñāpāramitā, which is often called "Bhagavati", the female counterpart of Buddha, who is often called "Bhagavan", is, says Diṅnāga, the same as the "Non-Dual Gnosis, the Buddha."[39] Just as Śiva and Śakti are two sides of the same ultimate Truth, so are Tathāgata and Prajñā : Prajñāpāramitā Jñānaṃ advayaṃ sā Tathāgataḥ.

Moreover, it is too much to brush aside the fact of the grammatical gender of Prajñā (feminine) and Upāya (masculine). These terms are used deliberately and stand for their respective genders. It would be impossible to deny that in Buddhist esoterism the term 'Prajñā' stands for female counterpart. The term 'Śakti' is also used in some standard esoteric texts.[40] The Buddhist Tāntrika sādhaka practices esoteric yoga with his female partner: this is the essential import of the Yoginī Tantras or Anuttara-Yoga-Tantras. Dr. D.L. Snellgrove complaints that modern scholars refer to 'feminine element' as 'the Śakti' and says that "She is not Śakti (active power)."[41] It may be pointed out that the word Śakti need not be interpreted too literally in the sense of 'power' alone. In the esoteric treatisses this term is employed for woman, goddess, and ḍākinī: symbolically it represents prajñā or śūnyatā. But the terms Yoginī; Vajrī, Mudrā, Tārā, Bhagavatī, Vidyā, Prajñā or Prajñā-

pāramitā etc. which abound in these texts, clearly point to the fact that Śakti-sāhacarya or Śakti-sādhana is the most important aspect of this system. M.M. Dr. Gopīnātha Kavirāja points out that "Tāntrika worship is the worship of Śakti. From the Buddhist standpoint Prajñā is essentially a form of Śakti."[42]

(b) PRAJÑOPĀYA (ADVAYA, YUGANADDHA)

The supreme Reality is often described as the Unity of Prajñā (Wisdom) and Upāya (Means); it is the 'Non-Dual', 'Two-in-One', the state of final realisation. The conception of Prajñā and Upāyā, both philosophically and esoterically, is cardinal in Esoteric Buddhism. Prajña is the same as Śūnyatā (Voidness) and Upāya is the same as Karuṇā (Compassion); these two terms are very well known to Mahāyānā sūtras. Bodhisattva is the embodiment of both Wisdom and Compassion; by means of Prajñāpāramitā or Transcendental gnosis, he realises the voidness of the phenomenal things and knows that this Saṃsāra is ephemeral and miserable. Out of Karuṇā or Compassion for the beings he endeavours for the salvation of suffering beings. These two elements of wisdom and compassion, constitute the essence of the Thought of Enlightenment or Bodhicitta. The Bodhisattva fixes his intention on obtaining Bodhi or Enlightenment and this he does by constantly endeavouring for the liberation of all living beings.[43]

'Bodhicitta'

In Mahāyāna, Bodhicitta is the Mind directed towards Enlightenment, but in Esoteric Buddhism the compound Bodhicitta is of great technical significance and complex nature.[43a] In short, it is a state of consciousness in which Prajña and Upāya, female and male, Wisdom and Means, Yoginī and Yogīn, have perfectly commingled. The description of Bodhicitta as detailed in the second chapter of the Guhyasamāja gives a clear idea of its nature in esoteric Buddhism. It is the utterly indescribable reality, beginningless and endless, neither existent nor non-existent, non-substantial like the void and the space. It is eulogised as the pure tattva, born of non-substantiality, the heart of Tathāgata and the giver of Buddha's Bodhi.[44] Elsewhere, this text declares that "Bodhiçitta is the unity of the Voidness

(Śūnyatā) and Compassion (Karuṇā)"[45] This last definition becomes steriotyped and standardised in all subsequent esoteric texts. The Citta-Viśudhi-Prakaraṇa describes Advaya or 'Non-Dual' in the same terms in which Guhyasamāja describes Bodhicitta. It is said to be "beginningless, deathless, quiescent, free from the notions of 'is' and 'is not', devoid of thought-construction, supportless and immutable.[46]

Anaṅgavajra, describes Bodhicitta as "Non-dual" "Supreme", "Diamond", "Enlightenment" and equates it with Śrī Vajrasattva and Saṃbuddha.[47] Bodhicitta is eternal, luminous, pure, the abode of Buddha; it is divine, it includes all the dharmas and is the root cause of the whole universe.[48] This supreme Reality is known by the self alone, it is eternal called Prajñopāya; it is omnipresent, good, quiescent, neither dual nor non-dual.[49]

The same Reality is called Prajñopāya because of its two constituents, to wit, Prajñā or wisdom and kṛpā or compassion; they are both absolute and without any support; they commingle together in Prajñopāya so entirely and completely as one sky merges into another sky.[50] The Jñānasiddhi of Indrabhūti also describes Prajñopāya as Bodhicitta and as non-dual, eternal unity of Wisdom and Means.[51] The Hevajratantra uses the compound Bodhicitta in the sense not only of the thought of enlightenment, but also in that of 'Śukra' (male energy), of 'maṇḍala' and of the 'mahāsukha'.[52] It is clear that the compounds Prajñopāya, Bodhicitta, Vajrasattva and Advaya stand in Tāntrika Buddhism chiefly for the ultimate truth which is the Unity of Gnosis (Female) and Means (Male).

(c) MANTRA ('HYMN', 'SPELL', 'SṄAGS')

Another important feature of Esoteric system is the significant place occupied in it by the mantras. The term mantra means a 'hymn' or 'prayer' sacred to a deity; it is also understood to mean a 'spell', a 'charm' or 'incantation'.[53] The growth of mantras from dhāraṇīs sketched above, would show that in its preliminary stage Tāntrika Buddhism was actually Mantranaya or Mantrayāna.[54] According to one authority 'Mantras' are the special scriptures of the Mantrayāna school of Northern Buddhism.[55] These 'Mantras' along with 'Tantras' are the fruits of the Sūtras which are the seeds.[56]

Dr. H. Zimmer gives a brilliant analysis of the word mantra which is as follows: In the word mantra, he says, the root 'man' "to think", is combined with the element 'tra', which forms tool words. Thus "mantra is a tool for thinking, a thing which creates a mental picture. With its sound it calls forth its content into a state of immediate reality."[57] Mantra thus renders thought more tractable; it is a help to meditation and yogic vision.[58]

Mantra is a symbol; thus "Praṃ" symbolises the Prajñāpāramitā;[59] mantra often symbolically represents a deity or even Reality, thus Oṃ represents or rather denotes the Lord through its sound.[60] In the Upaniṣads,[61] the famous monosyllabic mantra, Oṃ, is a means (praṇayo dhanuḥ) as well as the goal itself (Oṃ iti Brahman). Mantra is a power; its repeated uttering brings out certain extra-ordinary results, such as the subjugation of demons, destruction of enemies or controlling the forces of nature. By practising the secret mantras the Buddhist masters of esoteric vehicle acquired powers of travelling in the sky or becoming invisible.[62]

"A mantra", says Dr. Evans-Wentz, "is a syllable or series of syllables of the same frequency as the thing or being (usually an invisible spiritual being, god or demon) to which it appertains; and an expert magician who knows the mantra of any deity or order of lesser beings can, by intoning it properly, invoke the deity or dominate the lesser beings."[63] The mantras seem to have been the backbone of Tāntrika worship; these mantras, as known to us from the esoteric Buddhist texts, are almost invariably unmeaning[64] compilation of words. For instance, "Om hūṃ jinariti he hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ phaṭ svāhā"; "Oṃ ṭakki hūṃ jaḥ"; "Oṃ cchinda cchinda bhinda bhinda han han dah dah dīptavajra cakra kṣum phaṭ."[64a] The mantra for causing a city to tremble is "Oṃ a ka ca ṭa ṭa pa ya sa svāhā"; the mantra for subduing is "Oṃ am svāhā", and for bewitching is "Oṃ būṃ svāhā."[65] The mantra of Yamāntaka is "Oṃ hrīh strīh vikṛtānan hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ phaṭ svāhā"; of Maitreya is "Oṃ mai Maitreya Svāhā", a mantra for obtaining wealth from Jaṃbhala is "Oṃ ah jaṃ dhanaṃ me dehi hūṃ."[66]

The Tāntrika authors were formidable optimists; they believed in extra-ordinary and super-human powers of the

mantras, charms and spells. Says one author : "What is impossible for the mantras to perform, if they are applied according to rules ?"[67] Great emphasis is laid on the correct pronouncing of words. They are regarded as the desire-yielding fruits and their power and efficacy are said to be beyond dispute. The power generated by muttering a mantra is so tremendous as would astonish the whole world ;[68] the mantra can confer even Buddhahood ;[69] even an ass can memorise three hundred scriptures by muttering the dhāraṇī of Avalokiteśvara,[70] not to say of man. So innumerable are the merits that accrue to the reciter of the mantra of Mahākāla, that even all the Buddhas cannot count them for several days and nights.[71] By repeating the mantra of Lokanātha are washed away even the five gravest sins,[72] and by muttering of the mantra of Khaṣarpaṇa Buddhahood becomes easily accessible.[73]

The Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa, as we have seen above, is full of mantras and their merits. The Guhyasamāja devotes one whole chapter to Mantracaryā,[74] while the Hevajratantra discusses various mantras, their efficacies and methodology in one full chapter[75] besides scattered discussions.

(d) GURU ('PRECEPTOR')

It is impossible to tread the path of esoteric culture without the kind offices of the Guru or teacher. The preceptor has to be respected and obeyed as the very incarnation of Truth. In Buddhism, as in other ancient Indian educational systems and spiritual disciplines, the importance of a preceptor was never lost sight of.[76] But in esoterism which is concerned with secret, mystic and confidential doctrines and practices, a qualified teacher is indispensable. Accordingly we find the Buddhist esoteric texts eulogising guru above everything else. A pupil has to be initiated by a worthy teacher[77] who is well-versed in the mysteries of the Vajrayāna.

The Guru is reverenced even as the Lord ; he is the destroyer of all coverings ; he is wisdom embodied, supreme, eternal and full of bliss ; the disciple accepts a life long status of a slave of his guru ; for, till he obtains Siddhi and mukti, there is no other shelter for him.[78] One who insults the preceptor, never succeeds in his efforts.[79]

In the Advayasiddhi attributed to Lakṣamiṅkarā, we are told that "in all the three worlds, movable and immovable, there is nothing superior to the teacher (Ācārya), through whose grace the wise obtain manifold success."[80]

The fierce Mahākāla eats alive those who hate the preceptor and the Tri-ratna.[81] The Hevajra-tantra declares that "Even when he has attained to Siddhi and is resplendent in his perfect knowledge, a disciple respectfully greets his master, if he wished to avoid the Avicī Hell."[82]

Almost every esoteric text bears witness to the importance of Guru ; the qualifications of an able teacher are often enumerated. The Jñānasiddhi repeatedly mentions the characteristics of the guru, and at one place the disciple eulogises his preceptor in superlative terms.[83] It is laid down that the excellent truth can be obtained only through the kindness and grace of one's teacher, otherwise the fools remain deluded for a long time.[84]

(e) SĀDHANA ('PROPITIATION', 'ACCOMPLISHING')

The term sādhana means accomplishing by means of a mantra or charm or prayer ; it means 'evocation', i.e., calling forth of a deity or demon, male or female, usually by means of repetitive recitation of the appropriate mantra of the idol, and by meditating over his or her form or symbol. A large number of such Sādhanas, composed by esoteric adepts, written in mixed Sanskrit, are known to us.[85] They contain eulogies of various gods and goddesses, their prayers, different forms, iconographic details, attributes, mantras and modes of worship.

An approximate *modus operandi* of an ascetic sādhana according to esoteric Buddhist texts is as follows :

On a chosen day the ascetic, after performing the regular ablutions, wearing a neat dress or new dress, goes to a solitary place, either auspicious, a wood or the bank of a river, or loathsome, a cemetery, according to the purpose. He sits there at ease in a purified spot and fulfils in order the different acts of Mahāyānic worship ; offering of flowers, perfumes, either mental or real, to a host of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, makes confession of sins, etc. He practises in

the same style the virtues of joy, pity, friendship, indiferrence and dwells on voidness.[86]

Thus he is supposed to have acquired both merit (puṇya) and wisdom (prajñā); all this is only a preparation to the rite itself. The rite begins with the meditation on the seed (bīja) of the god who has been chosen for some technical purpose. If the god is Yamāntaka or Yamāri (the destroyer of Yama, the god of death), the seed syllable (bīja-mantra) is hūṃ. It is to be written on the disc which, in the maṇḍala, symbolises the sun. The yogīn then causes to arise from hūṃ the angry Yamāntaka, hair-bristling, blue, with 6 faces, 6 arms and 6 feet, riding a bull, standing in the ālīḍha pose, wearing a garland of skulls, immensely fearful.

Having summoned the god in this way the yogīn then begins the second part of the rite; he fancies that he is a god; he realises the metaphysical identify of himself and the god. As soon as the ascetic knows that he is a god, he acquires all the powers that belong to the god; any wish he utters in the appropriate form—for his voice must be the voice of the god—will surely be accomplished.[87]

In the Guhyasamājatantra we are told that the aim of Upasādhana is to visualise the deity and this is to be practised for six months without any restriction with regard to the food and other desired objects. If within this time the ascetic does not visualise the deity, he should perform the same sādhana three times. And if, even then, the god does not present himself before the sādhaka and Bodhi is not obtained, he should then, resort to the Haṭhayoga.[88]

(f) UPĀYA (MEANS) OR THE WAY OF YOGA (COMMUNION) ACCORDING TO THE GST

The Guhya-samāja-tantra, in its 18th chapter gives a brief outline of Vajrayoga called 'Upāya', to be adopted by an ascetic for obtaining Bodhi or Enlightenment. This Upāya or the 'Course' is four-fold : 'Sevā', 'Upasādhana', 'Sādhana', and 'Mahāsādhana'.[89] Sevā is again twofold : Sāmānya Sevā and Uttama Sevā ; the former consists of four Vajra-pratices, while the latter consists of the ambrosia or nector of knowledge. The four aspects of Vajra are : (i) the awareness of Vacuity (Śūnyatā) ; (ii) the transformation of Vacuity in

the form of seed (bīja) ; (iii) the development of this seed in the form of a deity (biṃba), and (iv) the outward representation of the deity (nyāsa).[90]

In Uttama-Sevā is enjoined a six-fold yoga[91] : (i) Pratyāhāra[92] (the process by which the sense organs are controlled); (ii) Dhyāna (the 'conception of the five desired objects through the five Dhyānī Buddhas'); dhyāna[93] is also five-fold : Vitarka, Vicāra, Prīti, Sukha and Ekāgratā. (iii) Prāṇāyāma[94] is the regulation of breath; 'breath is of the nature of five elements and five kinds of knowledge; it is regarded as a lump and is placed on the tip of the nose in the form of a jewel with five colours and is meditated upon'. (iv) Dhāraṇā[95] is the concentration of one's chosen mantra in the heart, and the restraint of the senses placing them in the Prāṇabindu. When this is achieved five kinds of signs (Nimittas) make their appearance : first in the form of mirage, then in that of smoke, third in that of fire-flies, fourth in that of a light, and fifth in the form of a cloudless sky. (v) Anusmṛti[96] is the constant remembrance of the object for which the exercise is undertaken and by this revelation (Pratibhāsa) takes place. (vi) Through the combination of Wisdom and Means all existing objects are meditated as one lump; their meditation in the lump (biṃba) and the sudden obtaining of transcendental knowledge is called Samādhi.[97]

(g) ESOTERIC PERFORMANCE

An interesting account of esoteric ('erotic') mysticism as practised in Buddhist Tāntrika circles is given in the Hevajratantra, a summary of which is as follows :[98] In order to gain perfection in the cult of Hevajra, the ascetic proceeds thus : he wears a tiger-skin, bone necklace, sacred ear-rings, bracelets on his wrists and girdle round his waist. He associates himself with the five families of Tathāgata ('Kulas'[99] of Vajra, Padma, Karma, Tathāgata and Ratna), and meditates preferably at night beneath a lonely tree or in a cemetery, or in the mother's house (i.e. the dwelling of goddess), or in some unfrequented spot.

After having gained some 'heat' (prabhāva) from meditation he proceeds further on the path. He takes "a

girl of a 'Vajra-family[100] fair-featured and large-eyed and endowed with youth and beauty" who has been consecrated or embraced by oneself, and has a compassionate heart. With her the practice should be performed. In case a girl of Vajra-family is not available, any other woman[101] may be adopted and duly consecrated with the seed of enlightenment. Then the yogīn along with the yoginī sings and dances in various postures of Hevajra.

While practising this esoteric performance, the ascetic abandons desire and folly, fear and anger, and every sense of shame; he destroys the notion of a self and forgets sleep; he makes, so to say, an offering of his body, by dedicating it to the cause of liberating all the beings. Enjoying food and drinks as they come, without making discrimination between good and bad, eatables and non-eatables, suitables and unsuitables,[102] and honouring the guru all the more, the yogīn performs the practice.

"Free from learning and ceremony and any cause of shame, the yogīn wanders, filled with great campassion in his possession of a nature that is common to all beings. He has passed beyond oblations, renunciation and austerities, and is freed from mantra and meditation. Released from all conventions of meditation the yogīn performs the practice. Whatever demon should appear before him, even though it be the peer of Indra, he would have no fear for he wanders like a lion."[103]

(h) SAṄDHĀ-BHĀṢĀ ('ESOTERIC SPEECH')

All modern scholars agree that the language of the Buddhist esoteric texts or the Tantras is a mixed variety of Sanskrit, and its import is 'special', 'cryptic' and 'esoteric'. Sandhā-bhāṣā[104] refers to a linguistic device of that cirle of initiates which employs among its members some intentional symbols and signs called 'Chomā.'[105] It refers to "the real meaning of a text or doctrine opposed to its *prima facie* or superficial meaning."[106] The following extracts from a few esoteric texts would clearly elucidate this point.

It is well known that in some of their mystic songs the Siddhas address their female counterpart and say that marriage with her resulted in the attainment of great bliss. Thus in

song number 10 Kāṇhupāda addresses a Doṃbī, a low caste or out-caste female. The Sanskrit commentary clearly says that the word ḍoṃbī is said in esoteric sense (ḍoṃbī śabdaḥ sandhyābhāṣayā kathayati).[107]

Doṃbi in the above usage is explained as the Nairātmā or the purified central nāḍī called Avadhūtī (Doṃbī pariśuddhāvadhūtī Nairātmā bodhavyā).[108] it is well known that according to the Mahāyāna, Nirvāṇa or Enlightenment is realised as soon as the Vacuity or nonegoity or substancelessness (nairātmya-darśana) of all things and the self is grasped.[109] The Siddhas say the same truth in their mysterious words.

We may take yet another example of Saṅdhā. The compound 'Vajrasativa' literally would mean 'Diamantine Being', or a being whose essence or nature is thunder-bolt or diamond. But the real and esoteric meaning of Vajrasattva, says Advayavajra, is this : "By Vajra is implied śūnyatā and by sattva is meant jñāna-mātratā; Vajrasattva is the utter unity of the two."[110]

By the compound 'Tri-śaraṇa', i.e., taking refuge in the three', one is apt to understand that this three-fold refuge is the refuge in Buddha, Dharma and Saṃgha. As a matter of fact, in this esoteric language, 'tri-śaraṇa' refers to taking refuge in "Body, Speech, and Mind" (Kāya, Vāk, Citta) the unity of which is the Sahajakāya, the "Innate Body", also called the "Island of Great Bliss" (Mahāsukhakāya).[111]

The Hevajra-tantra, one of the early Yoginī Tantras, explains at several places a number of cryptic words and devotes one whole chapter to the treatment of Chomā or 'Secret Signs', some fanciful or mysterious etymologies are explained. For instance : "Prajñā is called the Mother, because she gives birth to the world"; "She is called Washerwoman (rajakī) because she tinges all beings (rañjanāt)"; "Our speech is called uttering (japa) because it is the enunciation (prajalpana) of āli and kāli." The words 'Āli' and 'Kāli' stand respectively for vowels and consonants.[112] "A maṇḍala is a foot-mark, and it is called maṇḍala because it arises from pressure (malanāt)"; "The bliss that is found in the Fathar, that bliss is enjoyed of oneself, and that bliss by which occurs the Slaying, such bliss is said to be dhyāna".

The 'Father' is Vajradhara, and 'slaying' of Death is Release, according to the Commentator.[113]

Two kinds of secret signs (chomā) were employed by the Yogīns "by which the right yogīn and yoginī may be recognised with certainty"; these were : bodily signs, and verbal signs. Thus whoever showed one finger, implied : 'am I welcome?' : the showing of two implied he is welcome.[114] In this way the Vajra-Yogīns and Vajra-Yoginīs explained things conventionally by means of signs and counter-signs.

(i) MAṆḌALA

Literally the term maṇḍala is understood to mean 'round', 'circular', 'multitude', a 'province' or 'part', an 'association' a 'charmed circle' or a 'halo round a figure' such as of any god.[115] But technically, and in esoteric Buddhism, maṇḍala implies one of the subtlest concepts of Indian mysticism. In this system maṇḍala denotes 'an idealised representation of existence', a 'mystic circle', a magical diagram, or 'a sphere of divinity'.[116] In the Guhyasamāja, the maṇḍala is created by the Five Dhyānī Buddhas, their emanations, female counterparts, spiritual sons, and the guardians of the four quarters.[117] More deeply, maṇḍala is the means of 'integration', a symbol of unity and a pictorial representation of cosmic process and its forces. The origin of this idea of maṇḍala is of great antiquity and is wrapped up in obscurity.

Professor Tucci has given an excellent interpretation of the Esoteric theory and practice of the maṇḍala in a language intelligible to modern mind. "A maṇḍala", he says, "delineates a consecrated superficies and protects it from invasion by disintegrating forces symbolised in demoniacal cycles."[118]

Of course, a maṇḍala is not merely a consecrated area that must be kept pure for ritual, liturgical ends. "It is, above all, a map of the cosmos. It is the whole Universe in its essential plan, in its process of emanation and of reabsorption."[119] By means of the maṇḍala a disciple obtains to his eternal condition, maṇḍala is the strong-hold, "the essence of all Buddhas"; the Lord said : "The maṇḍala is the very essence, we say ; it is bodhicitta and the great bliss itself."[120]

In its geometrical pattern in paintings, a maṇḍala is divided into five sections or parts ; the central point is

occupied by the central symbol or image, and at each of the four cardinal points, four other images or symbols are placed. This quinary grouping of images is significant from the doctrinal and psychological stand-points. They correspond to the five constituent elements of human personality (pañcaskandhas); they further correspond to the five members of the holy pantad (pañca dhyānī Buddhas) :—Akṣobhya, Vairocana, Ratnasaṃbhava, Amitābha and Amoghasiddhi ; just as the macrocosm corresponds to the microcosm, so that external quinary complex corresponds to the internal, spiritual quinary principle.[121]

These Five Tathāgatas are essentially associated with the Five Components of human personality (viz., Rūpa, Vedanā, Saṃjnā, Saṃskāra and Vijñāna). These five Buddhas are not remote gods ruling from distant heavens ; they reside in human body ; the component parts of human personality are of the nature of Five Buddhas who represent the entire cosmos and macrocosm.[122] The ascetic imagines, as he must, in course of Sādhana and meditation that, he himself is in the centre of the maṇḍala as an embodiment of supreme divine Buddhahood or Vajrasattva. The seed syllable (bīja) which is placed at the centre of the disc in the maṇḍala, is the symbol of that profound Reality which is the goal of Tāntrika Sādhana.[123]

(j) THE FIVE FAMILIES OF DHYANI BUDDHAS

Although the Mahāyāna Buddhists had long been worshipping Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, some demi-gods and a number of deified sages and arhats, yet the evolution of a Buddhist Pantheon, properly so called, is attributable to the Tāntrika Buddhists of our period.[124] The first crystalization of a systematic pantheon in Buddhism seems to be reflected in the order of the Holy Pantad—the Five Buddhas, 'Meditative Buddhas' or 'Celestial Jinas'. They are the spiritual sons of the Ādi-Buddha, called Vajrasattva in some texts, Heruka or Hevajra in others, and known as Svayaṃbhū and Ādi-Buddha in Nepal and Tibet. Most scholars believe that this was a theistic or rather monotheistic development in Buddhism.[125] At one place in the Hevajra-tantra, we read : The saṃsāra is Heruka's phenomenal aspect, and he is the Lord, the saviour of the world."[126]

The emanation of the Five Dhyāni Buddhas and of their families (Kulas) from the meditations of the Supreme Lord

is detailed in the first paṭala of the Guhyasamāja-tantra in the following manner : From the meditation called Jñāna-pradīpa-Vajra, by uttering the mantra Vajradhṛk, the Lord produced Dhyānī Buddha Akṣobhya ('Unshakable'); from the meditation called Samaya-saṃbhava-vajra, by uttering the mantra Jinajika, was produced the Dhyānī Buddha Vairocana (Brilliant One'); from the meditation called Ratnasaṃbhava-Vajraśrī, by uttering the mantra Ratnadhṛk, was produced the Dhyānī Buddha Ratnaketu or Ratna-Saṃbhava ('Matrix of Jewel'); from the meditation called Mahārāgasambhava-vajra, by uttering the mantra Ārolika, was produced the Dhyānī Buddha Amitābha ('Infinite Light'); in the same way, from the meditation called Amoghasamaya-saṃbhava-vajra, by uttering the mantra Prajñādhṛk, came forth the Dhyānī Buddha Amoghasiddhi ('Infallible Success').

These Buddhas of Meditation belonged to five families, namely, Dveṣa, Moha, Cintāmaṇi, Vajra, Rāga and Samaya, respectively. Subsequently, the Supreme Lord transformed himself through a meditative process into five female counter-parts, namely, Dveṣarati, Moharati, Īrṣyārati, Rāgarati and Vajrarati, associated with each of the Dhyānī Buddhas in the aforesaid order. As if to complete the maṇḍala of these divinities, the Lord produced through contemplation four guardians of the four quarters, namely Yamāntakṛt, Prajñān-takṛt, Padmāntakṛt and Vighnāntaka.[127]

In Buddhist Tāntrika literature an elaborate discussion of complex liturgy, iconography and theology of these Buddhas is frequently given. Each Dhyāni Buddha is associated with one Śakti or female counterpart, with a human Buddha, a Bodhisattva, a family, a seed-syllable, an element, a skandha, a vehicle, a particular direction and location in the human body.[128]

In the Hevajra-tantra the following arrangement of the Five Buddhas and their associations is given : Akṣobhya; the name of his family is Vajra, the Yoginī affiliated with him is Vajrī or Doṃbī, and his family symbol is Viśvavajra. Vairocana has Tathāgata as the name of the family, Brahmāṇī as yoginī, Cakra as symbol. Amitābha's family is called Padma, Yoginī Nartī, symbol Padma. Ratnasaṃbhava's family is Ratna family, yoginī Caṇḍālī, symbol ratna.

Amoghasiddhi's family is called Karma, yogini Rajakī and symbol Khaḍga.[129] Akṣobhya's colour is black, of Vairocana White, of Amoghasiddhi dark-green, of Ratnasaṃbhava yellow and of Amitābha red. These are described as Five Families or Classes; "He who practises the yoga of Heruka should frequent the five classes. These five classes that are associated together, he conceives as of one."[130] These five Buddhas are said to represent, among other things, five skandhas of our existence.[131]

(k) MAHĀSUKHA ('GREAT BLISS')

The Buddhist conception of Nirvāṇa is envisaged as Mahāsukha in this esoteric vehicle. Though a fully developed theory of Nirvāṇa as Mahāsukha, "intense bliss', or 'great delight', was elaborated by the Sahajayānists,[132] yet the conception of Mahāsukha as the Goal of spiritual endeavour is found also in some esoteric texts belonging to our period. The compound, 'Mahāsukha' does not occur in the Guhyasamāja, although the Nairātmya-paripṛcchā already refers to it and equates its nature with Bodhicitta which is said to be the Quiescence of the phenomenon (prapañca samatikrānta).[133] Although often negatively described in the old canonical and philosophical texts, the idea of Nirvāṇa as the 'Supreme Bliss' is well known to the oldest scriptures.[134] The famous *ipse dixit* of Buddha : "There is, O Bhikṣus, an Unborn, Unoriginated, Uncreate and Uncompounded sphere",[135] and the idea that Nirvāṇa is the cessation and opposite of Duḥkha,[136] also point to a positive conception of Nirvāṇa in early texts. It is this positive conception that is emphasised in Tantras.

Mahāsukha is the essential nature of the final Truth in Vajrayāna, called Bhagavān or Vajrasattva; that is to sav, the Ultimate Reality is of the nature of Great Bliss. This is the state of unity of Śūnyatā and Karuṇā or Prajñā and Upāya; Mahāsukha is Prajñopāya; the non-dual fusion of Wisdom and Means.[137] This is clear from the fact that sometimes Goddess Nairātmā is represented in tight embracement with Lord Heruka, or the Goddess Varāhī with Lord Mahāsaukhya.[137a] This Lord Śrī-Mahāsukha is of the form of infinite bliss.[138] Mahāsukha is the Reality (Tattva)

which even the Jinas never discuss because it transcends discussion.[139]

Mahāsukha is the Wisdom of all the Tathāgatas, by nature self-knowable (Sva-Samvedya); it is the supreme bliss among all forms of bliss.[140] Mahāsukha is described negatively also. Thus Saraha says that Mahāsukha is essencelessness (niḥsvabhāva), indescribable (akatha), devoid of self and not self.[141]

Section III

OBSERVATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

(a) THE SOCIAL ROLE OF ESOTERIC MASTERS

When we study carefully a few standard esoteric texts, or when we read the biographies of Siddhas recorded by the Tibetan chroniclers and translators, we at once realise the striking role and a strange, revolutionary and unconventional social circle of tāntrika authors, their teachers and followers. The Tantras seem to have spread among the circles of outcastes, voluntary outcastes and carefree wanderers. The Hevajratantra refers to such circles of 'yogīns' and 'yoginīs', their meeting places, performing esoteric practices, eating flesh of diverse kinds and drinking wine and blood. They used their 'special language' and 'secret signs', so that "the malicious outsiders and wanderers would be bewildered."[142] The followers of Hevajra-yoga did not make any difference between classes; they regarded all classes as one.[143] Many of the technical terms used by them testify of their unorthodox origin.[144]

These Masters of esoteric culture were by no means social reformers; but they reformed, so to say, indirectly a number of ugly features of Indian society; they did not care for social distinctions or the rules and regulations of Varnāśrama organization. When they declared that all men are Buddhas,[145] they meant that all men are equal, must have equal opportunity in religious life.

The fact that a large number of 84 Siddhas came from lower orders of society, about half of them being of the rank of ḍomba, camāra, cāṇḍāla, washerman, oilman, tailor, fisher-

man, wood-cutter, cobbler, and so forth,[146] indicates that the Tāntrika movement was accelerated chiefly by the members of the lower orders of society that had been always relegated to an inferior lower position in Brāhmanic theology and orthodox sociology.[147] This movement succeeded in raising some of the lowliest of men to the status of Adepts or Perfect Ones (Siddhas). These men reasserted their position by means of the powers with which they got credited, and it was by their success (siddhi) that they were vindicated.

These teachers, who wandered free from convention and social taboos, did teach through their teachings and doings that there is practically no distinction between a Brāhmaṇa and a Doṃb, a king and a slave. Some of them like Saraha, who was a Brahmin by caste, became voluntary out-caste; he married a girl of the mean class, a daughter of an arrow-maker. In his very first Dohā, Saraha attacks his own former caste, that of the exalted Brāhmana. He could find no reason to regard a Brāhmaṇa as the highest of men. The Brahmanic practices of study, sacrifice, saṃskāras and rituals are ridiculed openly. Not only the priestly class, but also the scholars, magicians, Kāpālikas, Śaivas, and Jaina Kṣ̌apaṇakas, are taken to task for their vain practices, high claims and religious exclusiveness. The daily life and practices of the Siddhas and their pupils seem to have helped in lessening caste-distinctions, bonds of varṇa in matters of marriage, food, education and religious avocation.[148]

(b) 'REVOLTING' SIDE AND ABUSES OF ESOTERISM

What strikes to the casual reader of the Tantras as some thing puzzling and unconventional, is their so-called 'revolting' side. The description of esoteric practices and situations, śakti-sāhacarya, ceremony of secret initiation of young Yogin and Yoginī, details of diverse kinds of food and drinks including flesh and wine, etc. that find frequent mention in the pages of esoteric texts, have been subjected to rather much uncharitable criticism. According to H. Kern,[149] "Tantrism is, so to say, a popularised and, at the same time, degraded form of Yoga, because the objects are commonly of a coarser character,

and the practices partly more childish, partly more revolting". R.L. Mitra[150] declared that "no good purpose would be served by dwelling further on the absurd and often disgusting prescriptions of such works as the Tathāgataguhyaka" and Charles Eliot[151] held that "the details of Śāktism are an unprofitable study". Even discerning critics, like Winternitz and La Vallee Poussin, do not seem to have appreciated the language and style of the Tantras. The former found in them an "unsavoury mixture of mysticism occult pseudo-science, magic and erotics" couched in "strange and often filthy language."[152] The latter frankly attributed to Tantrism "disgusting practices, both obscene and criminal.[153] Dr. B. Bhattacharya stigmatises the Tantras as examples of "the worst immorality and sin"[154] and Tāntrikism as a "disease".[155]

Perhaps we may not be justified in such a whole-sale condemnation of Tāntrikism or Esoterism. It is true that the Vajrayāna Yogin is said to find Nirvāṇa in the blissful embrace of a Young girl;[156] it is stated that the Buddha-hood resides in the female organ;[157] that lust is crushed by lust;[158] and that there can be no liberation without a female partner.[159] But the Tantras make it clear that their language is not to be interpreted literally and that the darker aspects of Tantra practices were not meant for the ordinary men. According to Dr. Giuseppe Tucci, apart from some exceptions, "the Tantras contain one of the highest expressions of Indian mysticism, which may appear to us rather strange in its outward form, chiefly because we do not always understand the symbolical language in which they are written".[160] More recently, in his excellent work on the Maṇḍala, where he compares the symbols of the Tantras with those of the Upaniṣads, Dr. Tucci shows the profound mystical and metaphysical import of Tāntrika symbolism.[160a] The authoritative and interpretative studies concerning the doctrines and practices of the Tantras published by M.M. Dr. Gopīnātha Kavirāja, indicate that the real import of the Tantras is quite beyond our reach.[160b] Reference may be made to the appropriate protest against the strictures on Tantras made by Dr. D.L. Snellgrove,[160c] and the just and faithful appreciation of the Tāntrika mysticism by Lāmā Anāgārika Govinda.[160d] All

scholars seem to agree that Tāntrika mysticism became the subject of controversy in modern times owing mainly to its cryptic or esoteric language, technically known as the saṅdhābhāṣā. It is generally believed that the abuses of Tāntrika practices may have resulted in moral degeneration and the decline of Buddhism.[161]

Notes and Referenses

1. Advayavajra-Saṃgraha, p. 14—Mantranayastu Yogācāra-Mādhyamika sthityā Vyākhyāyate—

2. GST, p. 12:—
Sarvabhāvavigataṃ skandhadhātvāyatana grāhyagrāhakavarjitaṃ l
Dharmanairātmyasamatayā svācittamādyanutpannaṃ śūnyatābhāvaṃ ll

3. Ibid., loc. cit. :—
Anutpanneṣu dharmeṣu na bhāvo na ca bhāvanā l
Ākāśapadayogena iti bhāvaḥ pragīyate ll

4. Prajñopāyaviniścayasiddhi, I.3

5. Ibid., I, 9 :—
Varaṃ hi bhāva saṃkalpo na tvabhāvakalpanā l
Nirvāti jvalito dīpo nirvṛtaḥ kāṃ gatiṃ vrajet ll

6. Ibid., I. 10

7. Ibid., Chapter II, p. 7.

8. Hevajra Tantra, Pt. I, p. 60.

9. MŚ, Opening lines :
Anirodhamanutpādamanucchedamaśāśvatam l
Anekārthamanānārthamanāgamamanirgamam ll

10. Hevajra Tantra, Pt. II, p. 160.

11. Jñānasiddhi, I, 47-48.—
Apratiṣṭhaṃ yathākāśaṃ vyāpi lakṣaṇa varjitaṁ l
Idaṃtata paramaṃ tattvaṃ vajrajñānamanuttaram ll
Khyātāsamantabhadreti mahāmudrā ca sañjitā l
Dharmakāyaṁ idam jneyamādarśa jnānam ityapi ll

12. Prajñopāyaviniścayasiddhi, I.14 :—
Parāmarṣaṇayogena dharmānāṃ niḥsvabhāvatā l
Jñāna jñeya vibhāgena prajñā tattvaṃ taducyate ll

13. GST, Chapter IX, pp. 37-38.

14. MŚ, XXV, 19—
Na saṃsārasya nirvāṇātkiñcidasti viśeṣaṇam l
Na nirvāṇasya saṃsārātkiñcidasti viśeṣṇam ll

15. Ibid., XXII, 16 :—
Tathāgato yatsvabhāvastatsvabhāvam idaṃ jagat l
Tathāgato niḥsvabhāvo niḥsvabhāvam idaṃjagat ll

16. Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra, BST, No. 4, p. 177, R.L. Mitra's Edition, p. 358.—Sarvakalpa vikalpa prahīṇo hi Tathāgataḥ; cp. Vajracchedikā Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra, ed. E. Conze (SOR XIII) p. 57—Dharmato Buddhā dṛṣṭavyā dharmakāyā hi nāyakāḥ l dharmatā ca na vijñeyā na sā śakyā vijānitum l cf. Haribhadra, Ālokā (BST-4) p. 282.

17. Hevajra Tantra, Pt. I, p. 104.

18. Ibid., p. 107.

19. Prajñopāyaviniścayasiddhi, IV.22.

20. Ibid., IV, 23.—
Prabhāsvaraṃ kalpanayā vimuktaṃ prahīṇarāgādimala pralepam l
Grāhyaṃ na ca grāhakamagramattvaṃ tadeva nirvāṇa varaṃ jagād ll

cp. AN, Volume I, p. 10.—Pabhassaraṃ idaṃ, bhikkhave, cittaṃ. taṃ ca kho āgantukehi upakkilesehi upakkiliṭṭhaṃ l

21. Advayavajra-Saṃgraha, p. 37—
Dṛḍhaṃ sāraṃ asauśīryaṃ acchedyābhedya lakṣaṇam l
Adāhi avināśi ca śūnyatā vajraṃ ucyate ll
22. Ibid., p. 24—
Vajreṇa śūnyatā proktā sattvena jñānamātratā l
Tadātmyaṃ anayoḥ siddhaṃ vajrasattva svabhāvataḥ ll
23. Hevajra Tantra, Pt. I, p. 47.
24. GST, pp. 1 f.
25. Quoted by D. L. Snellgrove in Hevajra Tantra Pt. I, p. 47, note.
26. See Hevajra Tantra, Pt. 1, pp. 92, 117; GST, opening lines, Jñānasiddhi, opening lines.
27. CVP, p. Patel's edition, verse 10 :—
Manaḥ pūrvaṅgamanā dharmāḥ manaḥ śreṣṭhā manojavāḥ l
Manasā hi prasannena bhāṣate vā karoti vā ll
cp. Dhaṃmapada, verse 1—
Manopubbaṅgamā dhaṃmā manoseṭṭhā manomayā l
Manasā ce puduṭṭhena karoti vā bhāsati vā
Tatonaṃ dukkhamanveti cakkamiva vahao padaṃ ll
28. Dohākośa, edited by P.C. Bagchi, p. 23.
29. Buddhist Texts, edited and translated by E. Conze and others, p. 230.
30. Navaślokī, edited by G. Tucci, MBT, I, pp. 217, 228 :—
Pratibiṃbanibhaṃ grāhyamanādicittasaṃbhavaṃ l
Tadākāraṃ ca vijñānaṃ anyonyapratibiṃbavat ll
31. So Harprasād Śāstri in N.N. Vasu's Modern Buddhism, Introduction, pp. 10-11; Vallee Poussin in ERE, XII, p. 193; L.A. Waddell, Lamaism, p. 14; Gopīnātha Kavirāja, Bhāratīya Sanskriti Aur Sādhanā, Pt. I, p. 534; B. Bhattacharya, Introduction to Buddhist Esoterism, p. 53; S.B. Dasgupta, Introduction to Tantric Buddhism, pp. 3-4; M. Winternitz in IHQ, IX, pp. 1 f. etc.
32. D. L. Snellgrove in Hevajra Tantra, Pt. I, p. 44; Lāmā Anāgarika Govinda, Foundations of Tibetan Mysticism, pp. 94f.
33. Ibid., pp. 96-97.
34. Ibid., p. 98.
35. Hevajra Tantra, Pt. I, p. 76.
36. First Bhāvanākrama, MBT, II, pp. 194-195 :—
Bodhisattvasya prajñopāyarūpa pratipattir na prajñāmātraṃ na upāya mātraṃ l Yathā Ārya Vimalakīrtinirdeśe, 'Prajñārahita upāya, upāya rahita ca prajñā bodhisattvānām bandhanam', iti uktaṃ Upāyasahitaprajñā prajñāsahita upāya mokṣatvena varṇitaḥ l Āryagayāśīrśe ca uktaṃ l 'dvāvimau bodhisattvānāṃ saṃkṣiptaumārgau dvābhāyaṃ mārgābhāyaṃ samanvāgatā bodhisattvāḥmahāsattvāḥ l.....Katamau dvau ? upāyaśca prajñā ca' l iti l such is the opinion of Kamalaśīla (in 800 A.D.) who was the Professor of Tantra in the University of Nālandā and, one of the putative fathers of 'Tibetan mysticism'.
37. MŚ, XXII. 16; XXV.19.
38. Hevajra Tantra, Pt. I, p. 104.
39. Prajñāpāramitā-Piṇḍārtha, opening line (BST No. 4, p. 263) —Prajñāpāramitā jñānaṃ advayaṃ sā tathāgataḥ l cp. Prajñāpāramitāstava of Nāgārjuna (BST No. 4, p. 1)—Ākāśamiva nirlepaṃ niṣprapañcaṃ nirakṣaram l Yastvāmpaśyatibhāvena sa paśyati Tathāgataḥ ll
40. GST, pp. 28, 154; according to Snellgrove, Hevajra Tantra, I, p. 44, note 1, the word occurs also in the Sanskrit MS. of the Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha.
41. Hevajra Tantra, Introduction p. 44; the point has been discussed by me in some detail in a forthcoming paper 'Notes on Śakti as Female Coefficient'.
42. Bhāratīya Sanskriti Aur Sādhanā, I, p. 534.
43. On Bodhicitta in Mahāyāna see ŚS, Chapter I; my ed. tr. of ŚS

Kārikās; BCA, I, 9-12; Gaṇḍavyuhasūtra, chapter 54; Bodhicittotpāda Sūtraśāstra, p. 209. Bodhicitta-vivaraṇa etc.

43a. Lal Mani Joshi, 'TheConception of the Bodhicitta in the Mahāyāna and the Vajrayāna' contributed to Sampūrṇānanda Volume of the JUPHS.

44. GST, pp. 11-13.

45. Ibid., p. 153.—
Anādinidhanaṃ śāntaṃ bhāvābhāvakṣayaṃ vibhum l
Śūnyatākaruṇābhinnaṃ bodhicittaṃ iti smṛtam ll

46. CVP, p. Patel's edn., verse 1:—
Anādinidhanaṃ śāntaṃ bhāvābhāvavivarjitam l
Nirvikalpaṃ nirālambanavasthitamadvayam ll

47. Prajñopāyaviniścayasiddhi, IV. 17—
Etadvayamityuktaṃ bodhicittaṃ idaṃ param l
Vajraṃ Śrīvajrasattvaṃ ca Saṃbuddho bodhireva ca ll

48. Ibid., II.29 :—
Nityaṃ prabhāsvaraṃ śuddhaṃ bodhicittaṃ jinālayam l
Sarvadharmamayaṃ divyaṃ nikhilāspadakāraṇam ll

49. Ibid., I, 20 :—
Na dvayaṃ nādvayaṃ śāntaṃ śivaṃ sarvatra saṃsthitam l
Pratyātmavedyamacalaṃ prajñopāyamanākulam ll

50. Ibid., IV. 11 :—
Nirālaṃbapade prajñā nirālaṃbā mahākṛpā l
Ekībhūtā dhiyā sārdhaṃ gaganegaganaṃ yathā ll

51. Jñānasiddhi, p. 72-75.

52. Hevajra Tantra, Pt. I, pp. 64, 76, 97.

53. V. S. Apte, Skt. Eng. Dicy., p. 424.

54. See above chapter X, in fact, Nāropā (Sekoddeśaṭikā, pp. 2-5) and Advayavajra (Advayavajra-samgraha, p. 14), have called this system of Buddhism 'Mantranaya' in contradistinction to 'Pāramitānaya' or Mahāyāna.

55. Evans-Wentz., Tibetan Book of the Great Liberation, p. 129.

56. Ibid., p. 148.

57. Anāgārika Govinda, Tibetan Mysticism, p. 19, Quoted from H. Zimmer, Eviges Indian, p. 81.

58. See Gopīnātha Kavirāja, op. cit., pp. 323f.

59. Bhattacharyya, Buddhist Esoterism, p. 56.

60. Yogasūtra, I. 27—Tasya vācakaḥpraṇavaḥ l

61. Muṇḍaka Up., II.4.

62. Tārānātha's Chos ḥbyung, p. 82 cited in Hevajra Tantra, Pt. I, p. 11.

63. Tibetan Book of the Great Liberation, p. 141 note 1; cp. Tibetan Book of the Dead, pp. 220-222.

64. See however, Kumārila, Tantravārttika, G. Jha's English Translation, Volume I, p. 99—"all mantras have meanings, some are known some unknown".

64a. GST, pp. 81, 84, 91.

65. Hevajra Tantra, Pt. I, pp. 50-51, 116-118.

66. Sādhanamālā, Vol. II, 558, 560, 581.

67. Ibid, p. 575—Kimatsyasādhyaṃ mantrāṇāṃ yojitānām yathāvidhi; cf. Tārānātha, Mystic Tales, pp. 12ff.

68. Sādhanamālā, Vol. I, p. 334.—Viśvavismāpane śaktirasmādasyopajāyate.

69. Ibid, p. 270.—ayaṃ mantrarājā buddhatvamapi dadāti kiṃ punaranyāḥ siddhayaḥ.

70. Ibid, p. 87.—gardabho'pi granthaśatatraya grhṇati.

71. Sādhanamālā, Vol II, p. 600. —Sarvabuddhasya mantrarājasya balidānena puṇhyasaṃbhāraṃ gaṇayitaṃ na samarthā buddhai rātrindivamavichhinnadhārayā devā api tat puṇyaṃ gaṇayitum na samarthaḥ.

72. Ibid., Vol. I, p. 31.
73. Ibid., p. 62.
74. GST, pp. 27ff.
75. Hevajra Tantra, Pt. I, pp. 50ff.
76. See Gopīnātha Kavirāja, op. cit., pp. 241ff; A. S. Altekar Edu. Anc. Ind., pp. 49f; I-tsing, pp. 103-104; G. Tucci, Maṇḍala, p. 76, above chapter VI.
77. cf. Two Vajrayāna Works, p. 72.
78. Sekoddeśa-Tīkā, p. 24. (the pupil addresses his preceptor in the following words)—

Namaste Kālacakrāya sarvāvaraṇa hānaye l
Paramākṣarasukhāpūrṇa jñānakāya namostu te ll
Śūṇyatākaruṇābhinnaṃ bodhicittaṃ yadakṣaram l
Tena sekena me nātha prasādaṃ kuru sāmpratam ll
Putradārādibhiḥ sārdhaṃ dāso'haṃ tava sarvadā l
Ābodhimaṇḍaparyantaṃ nānyosti saraṇaṃ mama ll

79. GST, p. 20—Ācāryanindanaparā naiva siddhyanti sādhane l
80. Advayasiddhi of Lakṣamīṃakāradevī, Ms. (presrved in Central Library, Baroda) quoted by B. Bhattacharya, Intro. Buddhist Esoterism, p. 77, note 3. —ācāryātparataraṃ nāsti trailokye sacarācare l yasya prasādāt prāpyante siddhayo'nekadhā buddhaiḥ l
81. Sādhanamālā, II, p. 586 :—

Acāryye yaḥ sadā dveṣī kupito ratnatraye, api yaḥ l
Anekasatvravidhavaṃśī Mahākālena khādyate ll

82. Hevajra Tantra, I, p. 65.
83. Jñānasiddhi (GOS), 44) pp. 12, 71, 72.
84. Ibid., p. 33, verse 23 :—

Guruprasādo yasyāsti sa labbhet tattvamuttamam l
Anyathā kliśyate bālāḥ cirakāla vimohitaḥ ll

85. Only 312 sādhanas have been so far printed in the Sādhanamālā, 2 Vols. GOS, 26, 41.
86. See Chap. V above.
87. Sādhanamālā, I, pp. 183; 224; ERE, XII, p. 196; A. Foucher, Etude Surl' Iconographie Bouddhique, Pt. II, pp. 8f.
88. GST, p. 165.
89. Ibid., p. 162.

Sevā vidhānaṃ prathamaṃ dvitīyamupasādhanam l
Sādhanantu tṛtīyaṃ vai mahāsādhanaṃ catuhakam ll

See Gopīnātha Kavirāja, op. cit., Chapters 37-38.
90. GST, pp. 162-63 :—

Sāmānyottamabhedena sevā tu dvividhā bhavet l
Vajracatuṣkeṇa sāmānyamuttamaṃ jñānāmṛtena ca ll
Prathamaṃ śūnyatābodhiṃ dvitīyaṃ bījasaṃhṛtaṃ ll
Tṛtīyaṃ bimba niṣpattiścaturthaṃ nyāsamakṣaram ll

91. GST, pp. 163-64 :—

Pratyāhārastathā dhyānaṃ prāṇāyāmo'tha dhāraṇā l
Anusmṛtiḥ samādhiścaṣaḍaṅgo yoga ucyate ll

The treatment in the text between notes 91 and 97 is based on fourteen verses of the GST, pp. 163-64, which could not be reproduced here due to lack of space.
92. Yogasūtra, II, 54.
93. Ibid., III. 2.
94. Ibid., II, 49.
95. Ibid, III. 1.
96. Cp. Pāli Sati in DN, Satipaṭṭhāsutta.
97. Yogasūtra, III. 3.
98. Hevajra Tantra, Pt. I, pp. 63. 66.
99. See Ibid, p. 61 and contrast GST, p. 6.
100. In the Hevajra Tantra, I, P. 96, she is called "Prajñā of 16 years."
101. She might be of any caste or outcaste, sister, daughter or another's

wife; vide Two Vajrāyāna Works, pp. 22-23, 39ff.; Sekoddeśaṭīkā, pp. 23f.

102. What is condemned as a 'moral anarchy' among men and women, is the accepted order among these yogīns who, being 'beyond good and evil' 'wander like lions'. For instances of disregard to moral rules see GST, pp. 26, 120, 161 etc., Two Vajrayāna Works, pp. 32, 33, 38, 39; CVP, verses 6, 17-19.

103. Hevajra Tantra, Pt. I, pp. 65-66.

104. See Winternitz in IHQ, 1933, p. 4; B. Bhattacharya, Two Vajrayana Works, Introduction, p. XIII; V. Bhattacharya in IHQ, 1928, pp. 287ff.; F. Edgerton in JAOS, Vol. 57, pp. 185ff. and Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary, p. 556.

105. Hevajra Tantra Pt. I, p. 66 note 1.

106. F. Edgerton, BHS Dictionary, p. 556.

107. Caryāgītikośa, ed. by P. C. Bagchi and Śānti-bhikṣu Śāstri, pp. XIX—XX.

108. Ibid, p. XXII.

109. See above Chap. V.

110. Advayavajra-Saṃgraha p. 24.

111. Caryāgītikośa, p. XXI.

112. Hevajra Tantra; Pt. I, p. 62.

113. Ibid, p. 63.

114. Ibid, pp. 66-67.

115. V. S. Apte, Skt. Eng. Dicy., p. 418.

116. D.L. Snellgrove, Hevajra Tantra, Pt. I, p. 136.

117. GST, p. 7; cf. Hevajra Tantra, Pt. I, pp, 81f.

118. G. Tucci, Maṇḍala, p. 23.

119. loc-cit.

120. Hevajra Tantra, Pt. I, p. 97.

121. G. Tucci, Maṇḍala, pp. 45-50.

122. Two Vajrayāna Works, p. 41; Sādhanamālā Vol., I, p. 318.; Vol. II, p. 544.

123. Ibid, Vol. I, pp. 173, 224; cf. G. Tucci, Maṇḍala, pp. 30-34; Anāgārika Govinda, op. cit., p. 181.

124. B. Bhattacharya holds, Intro. Buddh. Esoterism, p. 120, that "the varied, extensive and diversified pantheon of the Northern Buddhists owes its origin to Tantric Buddhism or Vajrayāna". This remark should be modified in view of the fact that Nāgas, Kinnaras, Gandharvas, Yakṣas devas, etc. were recognised by the earliest Buddhists, and a large number of celestial or mythical Buddhas and Bodhisattvas were worshipped by the Buddhists long before the emergence of the Vajrayāna.

125. Vallee Poussin in ERE, I, 'Ādibuddha' pp. 93f; L.A. Waddell, Lamaism, p. 131; Csoma de korös in JASB, II, 1833, pp. 57ff. ; B. Bhattacharya, Buddhist Iconography, pp. 42f; A.K. Gordon, Iconography of Tibetan Lamaism, pp. 49f.; see R.L. Mitra, Skt. Buddh. Lit. of Nepal, pp. 249f. for contents of the Svāyaṃbhū Purāṇa. It may be pointed out that the Buddha is already called 'Svayaṃabhū' (self-born) in the Buddhacarita of Aśvaghoṣa (cir. 100 A. D.) XVI. 64, and the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka sūtra (cir. 100 A. D.), II. 47, 56, BST No. 6, pp. 30-31.

126. Hevajra Tantra, Pt. I, p. 117.; cf. Buddhacarita, XVI. 69; Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, has 'lokapitā', 'Khalveṣāṃ sattvānāṃ pitā', pp. 53-54, 62 among the epithets of Buddha.

127. GST, pp. 5-10; cf. Niṣpannayogāvali, GOS, CIX, pp. 16-17.

128. See A. K. Gordon, op. cit., p. 52; S. B. Dasgupta, Intro. Tantric Buddhism, p. 87.

129. Hevajra Tantra, pt. I, pp. 118, 128.

130. Ibid, pp. 61, 119.

131. Jñānasiddhi, p. 41.

132. S.B. Dasgupta, Obscure Religious Cults, 2nd. ed., 1962, Chapters II, IV; also Intro. Tantric Buddhism, 2nd ed., 1958, p. 134.

133. BST No. 17, Sūtra No. 14, verses p. 175.

Ataḥ sarvaṃ idaṃ tyaktvā divyaṃ svargamāhasukham l
Bhāvayet satataṃ prajño bodhicittaṃ prabhāsvaram ll
Niḥavabhāvaṃ nirālaṃbaṃ sarvaśūnyaṃ nirālayam l
Prapañcasamatikrāntaṃ bodhicittasya lakṣaṇam ll

134. Dhaṃmapada, verses 203-204, KN, I, p. 36: —
Jighacchā paramā rogā, saṃkhārā paramā dukhā l
Etaṃ ñatvā yathābhūtaṃ, nibāṇaṃ paramaṃ sukhaṃ ll
Ārogya paramā lābhā, santuṭṭhī paramaṃ dhanaṃ l
Vissāsa paramā nāti, nibhāṇaṃ paramaṃ sukhaṃ ll

135. Udāna, VIII. 3.6, KN, I, p. 163 :—
Atthi, bhikkhave, ajātaṃ abhūtaṃ akataṃ asaṃkhataṃ l

136. G.C. Pande, Origins of Buddhism, Chap. XII, pp. 443f. where numerous views on Nirvāṇa, ancient and modern are discussed; see also E. Conze, Buddhist Thought in India, pp. 69-79. This short account of Nirvāṇa seems to be so far the best and the most faithful modern discussion of this supreme Buddhist concept.

137. Advayavajra-Saṃgraha, p. 50 :—
Vajrasattvaṃ namaskritya prajñopāyasvarūpivam l
Mahāsukhādvayaṃ vakṣye vastu tattvaṃ samāsataḥ ll

137a. Sādhanamālā, II, p. 491; Hevajra Tantra, Pt. I, p. 110 and Plate.

138. Prajñopāya-viniścaya-siddhi, p. 6 :—
Anantasukharūpatvāt Śrī Mahāsukhasñajitam l

139. Jñānasiddhi, VII. 1.

140. Ibid, VII. 3, p. 57 :—
Sarva tathāgataṃ jñānaṃ svasaṃvedyasvabhāvakam l
Sarvasaṅkhyāgra bhūtatvāt mahāsukhaṃ itismṛtam ll

141. Dohā-Kośa of Saraha Ed. by R. Sāṃkṛtyāyana, p. 12 :—
Jahiṅ maṇa pavaṇa ṇa sañcarai, ravisasi ṇāhi pavesa l
Tahiṅ baḍha citta visāma karu, Sarahaiṅ kahia uaesa ll
Ekka karu mā veṇṇi karu, mā karu viṇṇi visesa l
Ekkaiṅ raṅge rañjiā, tihuaṇā sa alāsesa ll
Āi ṇa anta ṇa majjhatahi, ṇau bhava ṇau ṇivvāṇa
Ehu so paramamahāsuha, ṇau para ṇau appāṇa ll
Cf. Udāna, VIII. 1, 2, KN, I, p. 162 :—
Atthi, bhikkhave, tadāyatanaṃ yatha neva paṭhavī
na āpo na tejo na vāyo na ākāsānañcāyatanaṃ
na viññāṇañcāyatanaṃ na akiñcaññāyatanaṃ na
nevasaññā nāsaññāyatanaṃ nāyaṃ loko na
paraloko na ubho candimā suriyā.....etc.

142. Hevajra Tantra, Pt. I, pp. 54, 59, 66.

143. Ibid, pp. 94, 96; Snellgrove's Introduction, pp. 11-12.

144. E.g. the word 'Chomā' which means 'Secret Sign' seems to be of pre-Vedic origin; Hevajra Tantra, Pt. I, p. 66.

145. Ibid, p. 107.

146. Tārānātha's Mystic Tales, pp. 8ff.; R. Sāṃkṛtyāyana, Purātattva Nibandhāvalī, pp. 120-125.

147. See R.C. Hazra, Pūrāṇic Records, pp. 260ff.

148. Dohā kośa of Saraha, Bhūmikā and the first seven Dohās.

149. Kern, Manual p. 133.

150. R. L. Mitra, Skt. Buddh. Lit., pp. 261-264.

151. Eliot, Hinduism and Buddhism II, p. 124.

152. Winternitz, HIL, II, pp. 388-389.

153. Vallee Poussin in ERE, XII, p. 195.

154. B. Bhattacharya in Sādhanamālā, II, Introduction, p. XXII

155. Introduction to Esoteric Buddhism, Preface.

156. Hevajra Tantra, pt. I, pp. 90, 96.

157. Mahācaṇḍaroṣaṇa as quoted in ERE, XII, p. 196.

158. CVP, verses 36-38; GST pp. 26-27, 155.

159. GST, pp. 161 f. ; Hevajra Tantra, Pt. I, p. 94.

160. JASB, Ns, XXVI, 1930, p. 128.

160a. Theory and Practice of the Maṇḍala, 1962, see Preface. Some problems of the study of Esoteric Buddhism are raised by Edward Conze in Buddhist Thought in India, 1962, pp. 270f.

160b. Bhāratiya Sanskrit Aur Sādhanā, 1963, Chapters II, XIV-XVII, XXXVII-XXXVIII.

160c. Hevajra Tantra, Pt. I, Introduction, pp. 6-10.

160d. Foundations of Tibetan Mysticism, 1959; See also E. Conze, 'Recent Work on Tantric and Zen Buddhism', Middle Way, XXXV, 1960, pp. 93f. H.V. Guenther, Life and Teachings of Naropa, (1963) OUP.; Gopīnātha Kavirāja Tāntrika Vāṅgmaya main Śākta Dṛṣḍi, 1964.

161. Gopīnātha Kavirāja in his Preface, p. VI, to G. Jha's English Translation of Tantravārttika, vol. I; see Chapter XII.

Chapter XII

BEGINNINGS OF THE DECLINE OF BUDDHISM IN INDIA

Section I

THE STATE OF DECLINE OF BUDDHISM IN THE 7TH CENTURY A.D.

(i) TESTIMONY OF CHINESE PILGRIMS

The writings of the Chinese pilgrim-scholars, viz., Fa-hien, Song-Yun, Yuan Chwang and I-tsing, who visited India in the fifth, sixth and seventh centuries respectively, testify to the decadence of Buddhism in several parts of the country.

Fa-Hien

Travelling across the plains of the Gaṅgā in the first quarter of the fifth century A.D., Fa-hien found Buddhism generally in a prosperous condition in most places he visited save and except Kanauj, Kapilavastu, Rāmagāma, Vaiśālī and Gayā. At Kanauj there were only two Hīnayāna monasteries.[1] Kapilavastu had "no king nor people" and was "like a wilderness, except for priests and some tens of families."[2] Rāmagāma had only one monastery,[3] while at Vaiśālī he observed only the Vihāra of the "Great Forest."[4] The city of Śrāvastī was also in ruinous state with a negligible population.[5]

A progressive decline in Buddhist population is evidenced by the records left by the successors of Fa-hien. What is more striking is that, Buddhism is seen giving way to Hinduism in its very strong-holds of earlier days. Thus in the time of Yuan Chwang though the city of Vaiśālī had not fallen into ruins, yet the Buddhist establishments, some hundreds in number, were, with the exception of three or four, dilapidated and deserted, and the monks were very few. On the contrary, there were some tens of Deva-temples, the various sects of Hindus lived pell-mell and the Digaṃbara Jainas flourished.[6]

In Kanauj where, in the first decade of the fifth century

Song-Yun and Tao-Sheng

A.D. Fa-hien had seen two monasteries of Little Vehicle, Song-Yun and Tao-Sheng (A.D. 518-521) found neither monks nor nuns, though the temples were numerous.[7] It was perhaps the Hūṇa invasion and its destructive effects that had resulted in Buddhism's decline. But even Kanauj, the metropolis of Harṣa, the famed patron of Buddhism and Buddhist Pilgrim in the first half of the seventh century A.D., is seen populated by anti-Buddhist Brāhmaṇas and Deva-worshippers and the number of temples exceeded that of the Vihāras.[8]

Yuan Chwang

In Udyāna (or Uḍḍiyāna in Swat)[9], which had once boasted of its 1,400 monasteries and 18,000 monks, there were very few of them left in the 7th century A.D., and they understood the doctrine very poorly. What is more, they had now been addicted to magical exorcism.[10] Gandhāra presented to Yuan Chwang a miserable scene with its 1000 monasteries in ruins, solitary, to every inch, while heretics were numerous living in some hundred temples.[11]

North West India

The monasteries in the kingdoms of Takṣaśilā, Siṃhapura and Wu-la-shi (Urṣa) were likewise desolate.[12] In Kashmir also Buddhism was declining. Yuan Chwang observes about Kashmir; "At the present time this kingdom is not much given to the Faith and the temples of the heretics are their sole thought."[13] Nonetheless, Buddhism was still flourishing in some parts of Kashmir,[14] and Yuan Chwang thought it worthwhile to study and participate in its scholastic debates. In Sindh, though there were numerous Buddhists, more than 10,000, and hundreds of monasteries, but most of them were "worthless persons",. "as a rule, they were indolent and given to indulgence and debauchery.[15]

Mid India

In Sthāṇavīśvara, the home province of the House of Harṣa, there were only three monasteries against some hundred Deva-temples.[16] In Mathurā, there were 20 monasteries, the same number as in the time of Fa-hien, but while in Fa-hien's days they were tenanted by 3,000 monks,[17] the number had come down to 2,000 in the time of Yuan Chwang.[18] In Śrughna there were five monasteries as against 100 Deva-

temples with many non-Buddhists; in Matipura there were 10 monasteries but 50 Deva-temples; in Brahmapura 5 monasteries to match against 10 Deva-temples; in Govisāṇa 2 monasteries against 30 Deva-temples; in Ahicchatra and Kapitha, the Śaiva-Pāśupatas out-numbered the Buddhists. Ayamukha had five monasteries to match against 10 Deva-temples, while in Prayāga only 2 monasteries against 100 Deva-temples. In Kauśāmbī there were about 10 monasteries, "but all in utter ruin", while the number of Deva-temples was more than fifty, in P'i-shoka (Viśākhā) also the Buddhists and their sacred establishments were out-numbered by 'heretics' and their temples. In Śrāvastī most of the monasteries were in ruins with few followers, the number of the non-Buddhist votaries was far more numerous who commanded 100 Deva-temples.[19] In Vārāṇasī, there were 30 monasteries with 3,000 monks, but the number of Deva-temples was above 100, and their worshippers, more than ten thousand, mostly Śaivas.[20] Thus these statistics tend to suggest a progressive decay of Buddhism in comparison to Hinduistic sects. Everywhere the latter seem to be thriving at the cost of the former.

Eastern India

It is only in Magadha, especially around Nālandā, that Buddhism is seen to be a living and prominent religion, still holding its banner aloft as the great institution of self-culture and higher learning. This ancient land was populated by people who "esteemed learning and reverenced Buddhism. There were above fifty Buddhist monasteries and more than ten thousand ecclesiastics, for the most part adherents of the Mahāyāna system." It is legitimate to presume that this vigour of the Doctrine in Magadha may have been chiefly due to the influence of Nālandāmahāvihāra, which seems at this time to have been the greatest and the best equipped international centre of Buddhistic culture.[21]

Although Buddhism is supposed to have lasted longest in eastern India, upto as late as the 13th century A.D., yet contemporary records point out that the condition of Buddhism in the 7th century A.D. was hardly enviable in this part of the country.

In the province of Bengal, Tāmralipti (Tamluk) was a famous centre not only of sea-borne trade but also of Bud-

dhism. But here also a palpable decline in Buddhist following is apparent from the fact that the number of monasteries in the time of Fa-hien was 24 but it had come down to 10 in that of Yuan Chwang, while I-tsing mentions only one or two important convents in Tāmralipti.[22] In Puṇḍravardhana there were 100 Deva-temples against 20 convents; in Samataṭa 100 Deva-temples against 30 monasteries; in Karṇaṣuvarṇa likewise, there were 50 Deva-temples against 10 monasteries.[23] The people of Kāmārūpa did not believe in the Law of Buddha; there were no Buddhist chapels nor monasteries at the time of Yuan Chwang's visit. King Kumāra of Kāmarūpa, though a friend of the pilgrim, was not a Buddhist by faith.[24]

Orissa seems to have been a flourishing centre of Buddhism,[25] but its neighbouring tract of Konyodh (Kongodh, around the Lake Cilkā), was bereft of Buddhist traces. In Kaliṅga there were some 'Students of the Mahāyānist Sthavira school system' with only ten monasteries as against numerous adherents of heretical sects, with 100 Deva-temples, and Jainism was most prosperous.[26]

South India

In the South[27] Buddhism seems to have been losing ground before the rising movements of Śaivism and Jainism. Most of the monasteries of Dhānyakaṭaka were deserted, while the Deva-temples were more than one hundred with numerous followers. Similarly in the Coḷa country, 'the Buddhist monasteries were in ruins', only a few had some monks but they were out-numbered by several tens of Deva-temples, besides, the Nirgranthas were numerous. In Dravida land the strength of the Digaṃbara Jainas was little less than that of the Buddhists. In Malakūṭa in the southerne xtremity (probably Trovancore-Cocin), there were 'remains of old monasteries', the number of Brethren being very little in comparison to those of the Jainas and others.[28]

Western India

The same phenomenon of decadence is manifest in Western India. In Kaccha, Surat, Ujjain and Maheśvarapura, everywhere the non-Buddhists out-numbered the Buddhists, while in Gurjara, Buddhism was virtually extinct. In Cittor (Rājapūtānā) the majority people were non-Buddhists. Of

the decadence of Buddhism in Sindh mention has already been made above.[29]

I-Tsing on Decline

Not only Yuan Chwang but I-tsing also leads us to conclude that "the teaching of the Buddha is becoming less prevalent in the world from day to day".[30] He asks people to be more alert in future, but in vain; the conditions had deteriorated in his time. He records this deterioration in a language full of sincerity and pathos : "When I compare what I have witnessed in my younger days with what I see today in my old age the state is altogether different, and we are bearing witness to this, and it is to be hoped that we shall be more attentive in future."[31]

But the history of Indian Buddhism after the 7th century A.D. reveals that the Buddhists never became 'more attentive' and the hopes of I-tsing were never fulfilled so that the Doctrine of Śākyamuni went on declining until it finally disappeared from India. The 'altogether different state, was nothing but the decadent state of Buddhism in the seventh century A.D.

The foregoing survey should serve to illustrate the state of decline of Buddhism in India during this period.

(ii) DATE OF THE BEGINNING OF DECLINE OF BUDDHISM IN INDIA

Some modern writers have traced the decline of Buddhism from the seventh century A.D. Thus Dr. P.C. Bagchi was of the opinion that the decline of Buddhism "commenced from the 7th century A.D.", that "the internal degeneration in the faith became manifest from the 7th century A.D."[32] Likewise Dr. R.C. Mitra traces the decline of Buddhism in India from the seventh century A.D., perhaps chiefly because of the evidence of the Chinese travellers[33] It appears, however, that the decline of Buddhism in India had started at a considerably earlier date; it was in fact a long drawn process, slow but steady, the beginnings of which seem to go back by several centuries. It is, therefore, not advisable to fix any particular point of time for the

Cir. 700 A.D. as the starting point in the process of decline

Evidence for an Earlier Date

beginning of decline. · On the other hand, one can trace the process of decline from a much earlier period of Buddhist history. It is proposed here to indicate this earlier phase of decline and its detailed examination during our period.

Prophetic Traditions

In this connection it is interesting to note a striking phenomenon in Buddhistic tradition, viz., prophecies concerning the life-span of the Doctrine of Buddha., The relevance and significance of such ancient and medieval Buddhist traditions, preserved in Indian, Siṃhalese, Tibetan and Chinese documents, of both Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna, can hardly be overestimated in the context of an historical study of the decadence of Buddhism. To begin with the tradition

Prophecy in the Cullavagga

preserved in the Pāli canon itself. Buddha is said to have prophecied that the duration of the Doctrine would be shortened by five centuries as a result of the admission of women to the Saṃgha :

"If, Ānanda, woman had not received permission to go out from the household life and enter the homeless state, under the doctrine and discipline proclaimed by the Tathāgata, then would the pure religion, Ānanda, have stood fast for a thousand years. But since, Ānanda, women now have received the permission, the pure religion, Ānanda, will not last so long, the Good Law would now stand fast for only five hundred years."[34] The purport of this passage is that the Saddhaṃma would begin to decay five hundred years after the Buddha, i.e., in about the first century A.D.

Corroborated by Bu-ston

This ancient tradition finds support in Bu-ston's Ch'os ḥbyuṅ. Quoting from an old text, 'the Sūtra of the Gratitude of Buddha', he says that "the prophecy therein lays down that if the Lord permits that women enter his congregation, the Highest Doctrine will cease to exist 500 years earlier (than it would otherwise)".[35]

Bu-ston also records extracts from some other older works which tend to suggest 1,000 years life-span of the Doctrine. So it is said in the Vinaya-Kṣudraka, the Abhi-dharmasūtra, and the Abhidharma-kośa-vyākhyā. According to the Bhadra-

kalpika sūtra "the real Doctrine is to exist for 500 years and the next 500 years there will be only a resemblance of it."[36]

Prophecy in the Theragāthā

The Theragāthā, an ancient collection of the songs of the 'Elders' also refers to a prophecy concerning the decay of moral rules among the monks. In an answer to the question as to what the monks of the future will be like, Phussa says that the monks will be full of all the evil qualities like anger, hatred, envy and obstinacy and that they will transgress the teachings of the Lord, and will live without any discipline.[37] It is difficult to say what precise period this prediction is referrable to; even if it refers to a later period,[38] it is presumable from this and other similar passages in the canonical texts[39] that, the ancient Buddhists themselves entertained a belief about the impending tragedy in their faith.

In the Rāṣṭrpāla Sūtra

The well-known Rāṣṭrapāla-paripṛccha-Sūtra also records a prophecy, said to have been made by Buddha, concerning the lax morals of the monastics and decay of the religion. The work belongs to the sixth century A.D. and might well reflect the contemporary conditions.[40]

Legends in the Si-Yu-Ki and the Life

Yuan Chwang has recorded with a feeling of despair a number of legends which were current in India in the seventh century A.D. and were greatly suggestive of the imminent catastrophe that was to befall on the Sacred Law. Two or three of them may be reproduced here without sharing the pilgrim's credulity in more or less imaginary tales. They are, as said above, not historic facts, but suggestive of the historical course of things.

Thus he narrates the story of Kaniṣk's Stūpa, of which Buddha had predicted (so he heard from the people) that "When this Tope had been seven times burned, and seven times rebuilt, his religion would come to an end." In the days of Yuan Chwang, it had been burned down four times, so that the fulfilment of the prophecy was nearing.[41]

At Buddha-Gayā the pilgrim saw the figures of Avalokiteśvara which were destined to sink down with the disappearance of Buddhism. "An image at the south corner had already disappeared upto the breast,"[42] In his biography is

recorded a dismal dream that Yuan Chwang dreamt one night while residing at Nālandā that, soon after the death of Śīlāditya Harṣavardhana, the Doctrine of Buddha would be visited by a terrific calamity and the great halls of Nālandā would be deserted, its glorious chambers turned into the dwellings of the water-buffaloes and that a devastating fire would reduce to ashes all its structures and towns around it.[43] That this prophetic dream of Yuan Chwang was in course of time fully materialised to its tragic climax is borne out, not only by the Muslim records,[44] but also by archaeological excavations at Nālandā.[45] Elsewhere in his Si-yu-ki, the Chinese pilgrim records the tradition that the final extinction of the Law would take place in Kauśāmbī. According to the Mahāmāyā sūtra the Doctrine was to disappear after 1,500 years of Buddha's Nirvāṇa.[46]

Summary of the above

The foregoing discussion would seem to indicate that Buddhism had declined to a considerable extent in several parts of the country in the seventh century A.D. It cannot be denied that in certain parts of India it was still in prosperous condition and in a healthy state when the Chinese pilgrims were touring. It is equally undeniable, however, that on the whole, in most places of India, Buddhism was losing its hold on people before the expanding and ever-growing tide of Hinduism; while in South India Jainism was gaining the upper hand. Thousands of monasteries throughout the length and breadth of India had been deserted and dilapidated before the seventh century was out. The various legends and prophecies concerning decline of Buddhism seem to suggest that the declining tendencies had been in progress from about the fifth century after Nirvāṇa.

Section II

FACTORS IN THE DECLINE OF BUDDHISM IN INDIA

The decadent state of Buddhism discussed above was brought about by a number of factors. These factors were partly 'internal' and partly 'external'. To begin with the internal factors.

(1) INTERNAL FACTORS

Among the internal factors in the decline of the faith our sources point to the laxity of monastic rules, sectarian disputes among the votaries of different sects of Buddhism, neglect of study, popularity of magical exorcisms and indulgence in non-religious acts.

(a) DEGENERATION IN MORAL AND SPIRITUAL ATTAINMENTS

Degeneration in moral and spiritual attainments of the Buddhist monks and nuns during the seventh and the eighth centuries is reflected in the accounts of the Chinese pilgrims and clearly alluded to in the contemporary Indian literature. Yuan Chwang refers to the careless moral conduct of the Buddhist monks of Bolor or Balti and says that they were without any definite learning.[47] Of the worldly life and indisciplined ways of the Sammitīya monks of Sindha, Yuan Chwang gives a graphic description. They were indolent, worthless persons given to debauchery. Though they wore the monastic dress yet killed animals, reared cattle and maintained wives and children. This may well be described as the institution of 'married monks' which became popular in Nepal and still exists in Tibet[48] and Japan.

The Kashmiri historian Kalhaṇa also alludes to this feature among the monks of that country. In the Vihāra built by Yūkadevī, a queen of king Meghavāhana (cir. 600 A.D.), one half was allotted to regular monks of good conduct and the other half to those who had wives, sons and property and were thus blameworthy.[49]

Occasional cases of lax morals and transgression of the rules of monastic celebacy are not unknown to earlier phase of Buddhist history.[50]

It is quite likely that there may have been many other lesser monks than Bhartṛhari who wavered seven times between 'the joy of renunciation' in a forest abode, on the one hand and, the 'voluptuous embrace' of a fair youthful lady, on the other.[51]

In a number of literary works belonging to the seventh and eighth centuries the Buddhist monks and nuns are repre-

sented as active participants in political, military and matrimonial affairs of the times.

In the Mālatī Mādhava of Bhavabhūti we find that Kāmandakī, an old bhikṣuṇī along with her two associates, is engaged in bringing about a private union among the lovers. The intrigues and almost un-Buddhistic activities of Kāmandakī in this play are a pointer to the degenerate condition of the Buddhist church during this age.[52]

Likewise in the Daśakumāra-carita of Daṇḍīn, which 'reflects a corrupt state of society', the Buddhist nuns are the 'go-betweens', and a Buddhist woman is depicted as an expert in procuring lovers.[53] In the Matta-vilāsa-prahsana of Pallava king Mahendravarman I (cir. 600-630 A.D.), the Buddhist monks along with the Śaivas, are ridiculed for their lack of self-control and indulgence in sense-pleasures.[54]

Already in Mālavikāgnimitra of Kālīdāsa[55] we find Parivrājikās acting as a go-between the lovers. In the one-actor plays, the 'Bhāṇas', the Buddhist sacred terminology is employed for sex purposes in quite vulgar and corrupt sections of society ; the Buddhist monks and nuns are found engaged in making advances of love. Thus in the Caturbhāṇī,[56] a product probably of the seventh and eighth centuries A.D., not only the princes, Brāhmaṇas, poets and learned grammarians, but also the Buddhist bhiksus are described as frequenting the houses of courtezans.[57] Monks and nuns are seen acting as 'Pīṭhamarda' and 'Pīṭhamardikā' respectively. The character of the Buddhist nun Saṃghadāsikā provokes reader's contempt for her. She is being consoled by a degraded monk who quotes Buddha-words. This dissolute bhikṣu named Saṃghalika, is badly taken to task and ridiculed by a group of drunken and love-sick persons given to debauchery. They also attack the doctrine of Buddha, the institution of monks, the Saṃgha which is being pollutted by such impure monks. Saṃghalika is shown to be careful about the rule of taking food in time but abrogating the Five Precepts (Pañcaśikṣāpadas).[58]

The 'Sūtra of the Face of Lotus' translated into Chinese in A.D. 584, records a prophecy in which it is said that "the Bhiksus shall then take pleasure in doing only evil deeds. They

shall be given to theft, pillage, tending of meadows and cultivation of lands."[59]

Referring doubtless to the growth of wealth and greed among the monks, I-tsing laments that most of the monasteries in India maintained corn fields, bulls and monastic servants; some of them were 'very avaricious' and did not divide the produce.[60] At another place in his record he observes that "it is unseemly for a monastery to have great wealth, granaries full of rotten corn, many servants male and female, money and treasures hoarded in the treasury without using any of them."[61]

Bu-ston records from the Candragarbha-paripṛcchāsūtra that 1,300 years after the death of Lord (i.e. in about 800 A.D.) the monks shall covet riches and articles of enjoyments.[62]

The Bhagavadajjukam, a work ascribed to Bodhāyana by its commentator and which, according to some, may by a work of Mahendravarman I the Pallava king, shows that beggars flocked to the Buddhist Saṃgha in order to get free food easily and other material comforts merely at the cost of shaving their heads and wearing the yellow robes.[63] On the other hand, some monasteries in the time of I-tsing, were occupied by the monks who appropriated everything among themselves, did not provide food for other resident monks and compelled the latter to seek their own food. These monasteries, where selfish and greedy monks must have been living, "did not admit a stranger to reside there." Thus those who come from any quarter are induced by these monasteries themselves to lead the unlawful life."[64]

The Rāṣṭrapāla-Paripṛcchā-sūtra, a work commonly placed in the 6th century A.D., depicts in the form of a prophecy, a life-like sketch and a satirical picture of the lax morals of the Buddhist monks. It says, for example: "My monks will be without shame and without virtue, haughty, puffed up and wrathful.....intoxicating themselves with alcoholic drinks. While they bear the banner of the Buddha, they will only be serving the householders." They will have cattle, slaves and will indulge in agriculture and trade; they will be devoid of moral conduct, deceitful and possessed of wives, sons and daughters. They will be indisciplined and

uncontrolled in eating and sex-play; devoid of education and honour, they will live without Prātimokṣa rules, and as unrestrained as elephants without elephant-goad.[65] As Dr. Winternitz obsreves, this picture "must necessarily reflect actual facts" of the 6th century A.D.[66]

It is evident from these references that decadence of Buddhism in India is related, at least in some measure, to the decay of moral and spiritual discipline among the Buddhist monks and nuns. Indulgence in non-religious affairs by monks and nuns is testified to by the Mṛcchakatika and the accounts of the early Arab invasions of India also. Mention has already been made of a 'Samanī' of Sindh named Buddharaksita who had family and was actively associated with the political and military affairs of the king.[67]

The Mṛcchakaṭika shows that the Buddhist monks were not held in honour in Ujjainī. A Shampooer-monk is seen associated with the plot of the drama and is represented as leading Vasantasenā to a bhikṣuni in the Vihāra in the precints of the royal garden. Saṃvāhaka bhikṣu, to whom Cārudatta was grateful for saving the life of Vasantasenā, is shown as being appointed the head of monasteries in the kingdom at the recommendation of Cārudatta.[68]

(b) SCHISM AND SECTARIAN DISPUTES

Decay of moral discipline among the Buddhists was not the only factor which hastened Buddhism towards its decline from within, but another very harmful factor was the schism in the Saṃgha and fierce disputes among the sectarians and scholars of Buddhism. Yuan Chwang, in his general description of India, observes : "Buddhism now is pure or diluted according to the spiritual insight and mental capacity of its adherents. The tenets of the schools keep these isolated, and controversy runs high; heresies on special doctrines lead many ways to the same end. Each of the Eighteen schools claims to have intellectual superiority; and the tenets (or practices) of the Great and Small Systems (lit. vehicles) differ widely .....and many are the noisy discussions. Wherever there is a community of Brethren it makes (its own) rules of gradation."[69]

Buddhism was no longer one system, it had become a

family of several systems and schools and communities long before our period. Buddha had apprehended the danger of internal disunity, and Saṃghabheda was condemned as one of the five deadly sins.[70] But, in fact, the history of schism in Buddhism dates back from the time of Buddha himself.[71]

In has been noted above that the followers of Devadatta were still in existence and commanded three convents in Karṇasuvarṇa in the 7th century A.D.[72] It is in the philosophical controversies and doctrinal differences of the Buddhists that the most extreme form of this weakening phenomenon is visible. Not only the Sammitīyas of Sindh were reviling the Mahāyāna,[73] but one of the most famous teachers of Hīnayāna, Prajñāgupta by name, had composed "a treatise in 700 Ślokas against the Great Vehicle" and Yuan Chwang was inspired by Mahāyānists of Magadha to 'destroy the heresy' by composing a polemical work in 1600 ślokas.[74]

Even Śāntideva devotes so many verses of the Bodhicaryāvatāra to the refutation of Abhidharma systems and the Vijñānavāda.[75] Candrakīrti's fierce attacks on all non-Mādhyamika systems of Buddhist thought are too well known.[76] Śāntirakṣita devotes a long section of his Tattva-Saṃgraha to demolish the tenets of the Vātsiputriyas, and he as well as Kamalaśīla, declare that the Pudgalavādins have no claims to be called the followers of Buddha.[77] In short, the controversies among the Buddhists were as bitter as between the Buddhists and the non-Buddhists.

(c) MAHĀYĀNISM AND TĀNTRIKISM

One writer has remarked that "it was to the corruptions of the Mahāyāna rather than of the Hīnayāna that the decay of Buddhism in India was due."[78] This unpleasant remark can hardly be regarded to be without some substance in it. The growth and popularity of Mahāyānism resulted not only in the increase of the votaries of the religion, but also in a corresponding qualitative decay. To a seventh century critic Mahāyāna Buddhists appeared as mere worshippers of Bodhisattvas and readers of Mahāyāna sūtras.[79] The Great Vehicle laid emphasis on the image-worship, prayers and incantations,[80] pompous ceremonies and rituals;[81] it incorporated many folk-beliefs and made room for the emotional

demands of the laity, and in doing so, the Buddhists made a near and clear approach to Hinduism, which process ultimately led to the destruction of distinction between the two faiths. The laymen and lay-women of India found no difference between the worship of Viṣṇu and Buddha, of Śiva and Avalokita and of Tārā and Pārvatī.[82]

The Buddhism taught and practised in the Nālandā-vihāra was a popularised form of Buddhism; certain innovations of Mahāyāna doubtless made the religion of Buddha easily acceptable to races and classes of men, but these features in course of time resulted in the inner decay of the Faith. The Bodhisattvayāna, for instance, seems to have given birth to the institution of 'married monks' the reality of which is attested during our period by Yuan Chwang, Kalhaṇa and Chācha-nāmā.[83] The Mahāyānists advocated the ideal of Bodhisattva; not only the monks but householders also could embrace Bodhisattvacaryā. Since Śākyamunī, in his earlier existences had been living in the world, it was therefore possible to embrace the career of a Bodhisattva even though married. Already the Vaitulyakas, the fore-runners of the Mahāyāna, had made provisions for the followers of this career that, under special conditions 'methun dhammo' could be observed;[84] Śāntideva records of a Bodhisattva's extreme case in which he broke his vow of continence after having kept it for many thousands of years.[85] It is legitimate to conclude that this peculiar form of religious course was the source of the doctrine of co-efficiency of female element in the Tantra.

The first known Vajrayāna text, therefore, declared : 'Rāgacaryā Kulaputrā Yadut Bodhisattvacaryā'. The Buddhist ascetic now went to his teacher along with a female partner.[86] Almost all the 84 Perfect Men (Siddhas) of Tāntrika Buddhism were either married or had espoused 'Yoginīs'.[87]

The increasing Hinduistic manifestations in the plurality of divinities, worship, ritualism and litany had already considerably weakended the original impulse and pristine purity of Buddhism. With the introduction of Tāntrīkism in Buddhist quarters, the process of decline seems to have been quickened. Tāntrikism further narrowed down the

distinction and difference between Buddhism and Hinduism; Buddhist Tantras, inspite of their being "proclaimed by Buddha", are almost identical with the Śivaite and Śākta Tantras.[88] A large number of gods and goddesses became common to the pantheons of Hinduism and Buddhism.[89] The Śākta Pīṭhas became equally important and holy places for Hindu and Buddhist Tāntrikists. The strange "mixture of mysticism, occult pseudo-science magic and erotics", was a common feature of all Tāntrikism.

Moreover, the Vajrayāna texts reveal a radical departure from classical Buddhism in the domain of both doctrine and practice. The world of sense, which was considered as the source of evil, and the Buddhist saint's essential endeavour was directed towards the destruction of attachment to Saṃsāra, is now taken as the true medium, a proper field for making spiritual progress. Liberation, according to Vajrayāna, is to be attainable here and now, in this life and through the Saṃsāra. This Saṃsāra is to be realised as Nirvāṇa.[90] The Vajrayāna dogma that "everything is pure to a pure man" and that the Yogīns are beyond good and evil, may have proved very dangerous. Some of the printed texts of the Vajrayāna clearly advocate a moral anarchy among the Yogīns and Yoginīs. The Five Moral Precepts are no longer heard of, their place is taken by Pañcamakāras and Five Sacraments; the ideal of incomprehensible Nirvāṇa gives way to that of Great Delight (Mahāsukha), attainable not through Śīla, Samādhi and Prajñā, not even by the Noble Eightfold disciplinary course, but by a mystic union with the Yoginī.[91]

The pessimistic odour of Buddha's sermons seems to have been replaced by a hedonistic temper of the revelations of Vajrasattva; the rationalism and intuitionalism of early Buddhism disappears and a superstitious sorcery and erotic esoterism comes to the foreground; early Buddhism condemned attachment as the fiercest fire, Vajrayāna regarded it as the supreme joy. In short, fundamental principles of Buddhist ethics, the spiritual elements conducive to Enlightenment, are entirely transformed in Vajrayāna mysticism. It seems that it is of the abuses of Vajrayāna that I-tsing speaks when he records : "Some have committed sins as numerous as the grains of sand of the Ganges, yet they say they have realised

the state of Bodhi."[92] Among the internal factors in the decay of Buddhism in India, the abuses of Vajrayāna perhaps occupy the foremost place.

(2) EXTERNAL FACTORS

(a) BRĀHMANICAL HOSTILITY

The Brāhmaṇas never fully accepted the growth of Buddhist faith, although at a later date they counted Buddha as one of the Avatāras. This fact of Brāhmanical hostility to Buddhism has not usually been given the attention it deserves. Right from the days of Buddha the orthodox 'Hindus' (the followers of Vedic, Brāhmaṇic and Paurāṇic religious doctrines and practices) have been showing a bitter hostility towards Buddha's teachings. This hostile attitude was vigorously sustained till Buddhism was overpowered in India and disappeared from the land of its birth.[93]

Bu-ston records the tradition that even after being fully convinced of the subtlety and correctness of the logical works of Dharmakīrti, the heretics of other schools fastened his treatises to the tail of a dog and drove the animal in order to destory them [94]

The Brāhmaṇas, who had been the custodians of the religion of the classes and the masses, whose hereditary superiority had been challenged by the Buddhist conception of a superior man, were naturally dissatisfied with the Buddhists, and looked at Buddhist monks with disdain. Yājñavalkya declares that the very sight of a Buddhist monk, even in dreams, is inauspicious and should be avoided.[95] The Bṛhannāradīya Purāṇa laid it down as a principal sin for the Brāhmaṇa to enter the house of a Buddhist even in times of great perils.[96] The drama Mṛcchakaṭika shows that in Ujjainī the Buddhist monks were despised and their sight was considered inauspicious and was to be avoided by non-Buddhists as far as possible.[97] The Agni Purāṇa declared that the son of Śuddhodana beguiled the 'daityas' to become Buddhists.[98] The author of the Vāyu Purāṇa records his contempt perhaps for Buddhists in the following words. "With white teeth, eyes brought under control, head shaved and red clothes, the Ṣūdras will perform religious deeds."[99]

The Viṣṇu Purāṇa regards Buddha as a great seducer. He is called "Māyā Moha", who appeared in the world to delude the demons, taught the doctrines of Ahiṃsā and Nirvāṇa and made people devoid of Vedic rites and religion. The followers of the Māyā Moha were finally destroyed by the gods.[100]

Even the most noted philosophers of Brāhmanical thought seem to have been unfree from this sectarian jealousy, Uddyotakara's polemics against Buddhist thought were not only full of transparent sophistry and claptrap but also 'smacked of rankling jealousy.'[101] He wrote his great work with a view to refute the doctrines of the Buddhist logician Diṅnāga.[102]

Far more fatal to Buddhism were the onslaughts of Kumārila, the fiercest critic of Buddhism. It was out of sheer hatred and bitter hostility that Kumārila went to the extent of saying that the teaching of Buddha was 'useless like the milk split on a dog's hide'.[103] The Ślokavārttika shows that he was a hostile critic and avowed enemy of Buddhistic ideals.[104] He is reported, both in Indian and Tibetan traditions, to have organised a religious crusade against Buddhists. He is said to have instigated King Suddhanvan of Ujjainī to exterminate the Buddhists. This report has not been accepted by modern scholars as a genuine and historical fact. No other historical details of this pro-Brāhmanical king of Ujjainī are known to us.[105] Yuan Chwang refers to a king of Ujjaina who was a Brahmin by caste and 'well versed in heterodox lore, but not a Buddhist.'[106] This king was ruling when the pilgrim visited the city of Ujjainī. From the Mṛcchakaṭika we learn that the king's brother-in-law in Ujjainī harassed the Buddhist monks. He beat with blows a newly turned mendicant, Saṃvāhāka by name, and treated other Bhikṣus as 'bullocks by passing a nose-string through their nose and yoking them to the cart'.[107] It may not be an impossibility that the evidence furnished by the Śaṃkara-Digvijaya, Yuan Chwang and the Mṛcchakaṭika—three independent sources—allude to some historical episode in which the Brāhmanical followers persecuted the followers of Śākyamuni in the country around Ujjain.

There can be no doubt as to the fact that Kumārila was the strongest protanogist of vedic ritualism, Brāhmanical

theology and priestly superiority. The Tibetan historians[108] also record his wars against the Buddhists. The Kerala-Utpatti[109] documents his extermination of the Buddhists from Kerala. The name of Kumārila is thus associated with the decline of Buddhism in diverse sources. According to one eminent scholar, Kumārila "was one of the most potent forces actively employed in bringing about this decline."[110]

According to Dr. G.C. Pande, philosophical criticism of Buddhism by non-Buddhist thinkers cannot explain the decline of Buddhism.[111] It is true that Jainism survived the attacks of Bhāhmanical thinkers, and that the Buddhist philosophers also strongly criticised the Brāhmanical systems. But it is evident from the evidence discussed here that Brāhmanical hostility to Buddhism was not confined to mere doctrinal attacks. The Purāṇas, the Mṛichakaṭika, the Yājñavalkya-smṛiti, the Rājataraṅgiṇī, the works of Kumārila and Śaṃkara and the latter's biographies, the accounts of Chinese travellers and the histories of Bu-ston and Tārānātha, do seem to point to deeper hatred for Buddhism. It is not unlikely that there were some social factors also working behind "the war of pen" against the followers of Śākyamuni. Unfortunately only few examples of such actual social counterpart of theoretical wars against Buddhists are known to us, e.g., Puṣyamitra's activities, Śaśāṅka's activity, and Mihirakula's activity.

M.M. Paṇḍita Gopīnātha Kavirāja observes : "The struggle between Buddhism and Hinduism was a war of the pen and not of the sword."[111a] This considered opinion is true so far as the philosophical controversies and doctrinal debates of our period are concerned. But it would be evident that this "struggle" assumed the form of a severe bloody war against the Buddhists, in the case of Kumārila, if any weight is to be attached to the tradition recorded in so many ancient and medieval, Indian and Tibetan works. And the tradition is too weighty.

The mounting tide of anti-Buddhist propaganda in Brāhmanical literature, seems to have reached its apex in the hands of the famous Saṃkarācārya (cir. 788 A.D.). His debt to Buddhist thought[112] has been well recognised by modern scholars, and while his works justify the epithet of 'Crypto-

Buddhist' (Pracchanna-Bauddha), he himself, nothingwithstanding, describes Buddhist systems as 'Vainaśika' or 'Sarva-Vainaśika', and regards Madhyamaka philosophy as unworthy of consideration.[113] Thus far *odium theologicum*,[114] Śaṃkara's biographies tell us that the great Guru led a religious expedition against the Bauddhas and caused their destruction from the Himālayas to the Indian ocean.[115]

Śaṃkara is known to have founded his Śṛṅgerī Maṭha on the site of a Buddhist monastery.[116] His anti-Buddhist activities may have been very terrible, and according to the Tibetan tradition, at his approach "the Buddhist monasteries began to tremble and the monks began to disperse pell-mell."[117] Dr. R.C. Mitra says that, 'No special animosity against the Buddhists is betrayed in the writings attributed to him."[118] Attention may be invited to a passage in the Bhāṣya on Brahma-Sūtras in which Śaṃkara says: "Buddha was an enemy of the people and taught contradictory and confusing things."[119] The statement is quite in keeping with the hostile attitude of Brāhmanical works like the Purāṇas. Thus Śaṃkara and Kumārila, are the two most important representatives of Brahmanical hostility towards Buddhism in India during this period.

(b) REVIVAL OF BRĀHMANISM

Allied to the above discussed factor of Brāhmanical hostility there was a Brāhmanical renaissance. Besides preparing a hostile atmosphere in society for Buddhism, the protagonists of Vedicism and Brāhmanic philosophy, like Uddyotakara, Kumārila, Śaṃkara, Udayana and Vācaspati Miśra, also endeavoured to re-establish Brāhmanism on stronger grounds. They advanced all sorts of arguments in defence of Hinduistic theology and Paurāṇic mythology. They accepted as sacred authority the Purāṇas which ridiculed Buddhism.

The growth of Brahmanical cults like those of the Bhāgavatas and the Śaivas and re-establishment of Varṇāśrama-dharma during the Gupta and post-Gupta periods had a declining influence on Buddhism. The spread and the popularity of Buddhism, the prominence that Buddhist monks had been gaining since the days of Aśoka—a class of persons

which did not believe in Varṇas, questioned the authority of the Vedas, challenged the validity of Law-givers (Smṛti-writers) and priestly authority, and opened the doors of higher and spiritual life for all able persons irrespective of their social status, colour and occupation—all this and the rest for which Buddhism stood, was perhaps never appreciated by the Brāhmanical custodians of Indian culture. The reactions of the priestly section of Hindu Society may be seen in the Purāṇas and the later smṛtis. Owing to the progress of Buddhistic culture in India Brāhmanism seems to have suffered a distinct set-back during the centuries immediately preceding and following the Christian era.

Attempts to fortify the sanctity and the authority of the Vedas; to put the Varṇas, Āśramas and their respective dharmas on more powerful and popular foundations; to counter-balance the growth of Buddhist monasticism by exalting the life of a gṛhastha; to incorporate and accommodate the mixed-castes and to make Hinduism more appealing and more attractive to the common people by devising and prescribing various Vratas, Upavāsas, Saṃskāras and so on, are perceivable in the literature of the Gupta and post-Gupta periods of Indian history.[120]

That parts of the Purāṇas were compiled with this end in view is evident from the Purānas themselves. The Devī-Bhāgavata Purāṇa says : "Women, Śūdras and the dvija-bandhus, (ordinary twice-born) are not entitled to hear the Vedas; it is but for their good that the Purāṇas have been composed."[121] The Bhāgavata Purāṇa states that the Mahābhārata was written by the sage in order to enable the women, śūdras and the mean twice-born to perform good works.[122]

The Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa teaches that it is absolutely necessary for every person to lead a householder's life to be free from the debt to his Pitṛs, before he could join the Sanyāsa.[123]

These texts of 'Neo-Brāhmanism' seek to re-establish the exalted position of the Brahmin, the authority of the Veda and the sanctity of the Varṇāśrama organization by means of illustrative stories. Thus the Matsya Purāṇa eulogises the Karmayoga which is said to consist in performing five

daily sacrifices, doing good to Brāhmaṇas, with cows, money etc [124] According to Viṣṇu Purāṇa, God cannot be satisfied except by one who is loyal to the duties required by one's own caste and stage of life. Non-Vedic works are declared to be delusive and leading to misfortune. The legend of Veṇa is cited to show that those who would neglect the Varṇāśramadharma shall be killed like Veṇa.[125] The sons of Rājī were destroyed by Indra because they espoused Jinadharma and gave up Vedic dharma.[126] In this way Vedicism was fortified to counteract the growth of Buddhist culture, and various kinds of horrible consequences were prescribed for those acting against the injunctions of the Vedas and conforming to the ways of the Śramaṇas.

(c) *RAPPROCHEMENT* WITH BUDDHISM

It has been observed that "Buddhism perished in India, to be born again in a refined Brāhmanism."[127] To put the fact in a simple language, one may say that one of the potent factors in the decline of Buddhism in India was its assimilation to Hinduism ; Hinduism appropriated or adopted many of the cardinal elements of Buddhism. The following features seem to have gone to weaken the distinct existence of Buddhism :

Most of the kings of ancient India showed a marked religious catholicity. The Gupta rulers, most of whom were devout Vaiṣṇavas (parama-bhāgavatas), are known to have patronised Buddhist scholars and monastic establishments.[128] The Maitraka kings of Kāṭhiāwār peninsula made lavish grants to Buddhist monasteries and patronised Buddhist scholars though they were mostly Śivaites.[129] King Kumāra of Kāmarūpa was not a Buddhist yet he respected Buddha and the accomplished Śramaṇas.[130] The Bhauma-kāras of Orissa were Brāhmanical followers but they patronised Buddhist establishments.[131] Emperor Harṣa-Vardhana, the famed patron of Mahāyāna, divided his loyalty into Śiva and Sūrya besides worshipping Buddha.[132] His parents adored Śiva and the Sun while Rājya-Vardhana was a Parama-Saugata.[133]

The Pāla kings of Bengal, reputed to be the devout patrons of Buddhist faith, were never entirely free from their Brāhmanical leanings. Throughout their rule the Brahmanic culture never ceased to be a living force in Bengal.[134] They

built not only the Vihāras for Tāntrika Buddhist monks and Tibetan lotsabas but also built Hindu temples. Tārānātha says that their chief ministers were generally Brāhmaṇas who used to erect non-Buddhist images in Buddhist shrines.[135]

Kings of the Kārakoṭa dynasty in Kashmir were followers of Brāhmanical religion but they, their queens and ministers continued to support Buddhism.[136]

These historical instances of common patronage of Hinduism and Buddhism by kings and their officials may have made it possible for both the Buddhists and the Hindus to borrow heavily from each other. Yuan Chwang found non-Buddhists of Siṃhapura copying the customs of the Buddhists;[137] in Gayā he saw the sacred Buddhist place completely populated by the Brāhmaṇas.[137] The Nepalese Buddhists believed both in 'true' (Buddhist) and 'false' (non-Buddhist) religion and the Deva-temples 'touched' the Buddhist monasteries.[138]

In the Potalaka hill, Avalokita had started appearing as Pāśupata (Śiva); the people of Śatadru though Buddhists, were observing social distinctions.[138a] Dharmadāsa, a commentator of Cāndravyākaraṇa took pride in having Rudra as the titular deity and Buddha as the ornament of his family.[139] The Brāhmanical writers did not lag behind.

Buddha had penetrated the Indian mind very deeply; his images had covered thousands of pillars, walls, and gates of so many monasteries all over the country, his teachings had been papularised and broadcast through an almost inexhaustible mine of Pāli and Sanskrit literature, many emperors and subtle thinkers had espoused the cause of his rational and humanitarian mission, and his praise had been sung by numerous Indians for centuries ; he was too great to be neglected. He naturally came in as the most exalted member in the galaxy of Avatāras. The inclusion of Buddha as an Incarnation had been accomplished probably in the sixth century A.D. first in the Matsya Purāṇa.[140] The Matsya Purāṇa's verse is found engraved on Pallava monuments of cir. 700 A.D. at Mahābalīpuram; the Buddha is mentioned as the 9th Avatāras of Viṣṇu.[141] In early medieval Brahmanical texts ten avatāras are often referred to. The Matsya Purāṇa, 285. 6-7 reads thus.

Matsyaḥ Kūrmo Varāhaśca Narasiṃho'tha Vāmanaḥ ।
Rāmo Rāmaśca Kṛṣṇaśca Buddhaḥ Kalkī iti ca kramāt ॥

Almost an identical verse occurs in the Varāh Purāṇa (IV.2). This verse is quoted by Aparārka in his comy. on Yājñavalkyasmṛti (Ānandāśrama Ed., p. 338). In the cave temples of Ellora there is one Daśāvatāra cave. Varāhamihira mentions Buddha's attributes and prescribes iconographical details of his image (Bṛahtsaṃhitā 57.4). Kṣemendra in his Daśāvatāra carita (I.2) includes Buddha (Sugata Muni) among the ten incarnations. Buddha-avatāra is also known to Māgha (Śiśupālavadha. XV. 58). The Śāntiparvan of the Mahabhārata mentions ten avatāras but it omits Buddha. The Bhāgavata Purāṇa mentions Buddha as a deity and also as a god who deluded demons. This version is known to the Viṣṇu Purāṇa also (III. 17-18). The Bhāgavata Purāṇa, I. 3. 24 reads thus:—

Tataḥ kalau sampravṛttc saṃmohāya suradviṣāṃ ।
Buddho nāmnā' janasutaḥ kīkaṭeṣu bhaviṣyati ॥

Buddha as a god occurs also in Bhāgavat Purāṇa, X. 40.22. The ten avatāras including Buddha are mentioned in the Meru Tantra (Ch. XXVI, on Buddha verses 1314-1328). A hymn of the 9th century Saint Naṃmalwar also points to the popularity of Buddha avatara in South India.[142] In a number of Brahmanical Purāṇas compiled in the post-Gupta period, Buddha is mentioned as an avatara of God.[143] M.M. P.V. Kane has collected a good number of references to ten Avatāras from early medieval Brahmanical texts. (History of Dharmaśāstra, Vol. V, Pt. II, pp. 992-998).

Thus Buddha became a Hindu divinity and one of the makers of modern Hinduism;[144] Gayā is now the foremost of Hindu Tīrthas. Śaṃkara organised the monastic institution of his followers on the model of Buddhist Saṃgha.[145] His philosophical terminology, his concept of Māyā and of the 'Non-Dual' are very much like those of the Mādhyamika, and his grand guru's attempt to synthesise Vedānta and Buddhism is too well-known.[146] Lastly, the Tantra practices harmonised the two systems so completely that Buddhism's independent existence might have appeared needless or even impossible.

(d) DECLINING ROYAL PATRONAGE

Decline in the royal patronage of Buddhism is regarded by some modern scholars[147] as the foremost factor in the disappearance of Buddhism from the land of its birth. While it cannot be denied that Buddhism developed and became popular, to a considerable extent by the munificence and sympathy of kings and the richer sections of the laity, it will be perhaps too much to regard Buddhism completely dependent on royal patronage. Its doctrines and practices were so sublime and so rationally appealing that numerous instances are known where the followers of other religious sects and philosophical schools are seen turning to Buddhism. The missionary zeal of some of the Buddhist sages and monks, who set their backs on the royal thrones and pleasures of the world and volunteered themselves to uplift the suffering mass of humanity, to lessen ignorance and the ills of the world, and suffered incalculable tortures, can hardly be regarded to have been inspired by the patronage of the royal dynasties.

It is, however, true that after Harṣavardhana no strong and whole-hearted patron of Buddhism in India is known, except some of the Pāla kings, who, however, were patrons equally of the Brāhmanical religion. No king came forth to protect the Buddhists of Sindh when they were attacked by the Arabs; no Indian army came forward to protect Nālandā when it was sacked by the soldiers of Bakhtyar Khalji. Buddhist monks either fell before the swords of invaders or fled to Nepal and Tibet.[148]

(e) ROYAL PERSECUTION

One of the really potent factors contributing to the decline of Buddhism in the country was royal persecution, forceful ill treatment of the monks and damage to or destruction of their holy establishments by the kings. It is, however, a fact that, royal persecution of Buddhism in India was only sporadic and occasional; it was not a regular feature.[149]

Vikramāditya

Yuan Chwang has recorded a curious Buddhist legend concerning the harassment of a Buddhist philosopher Manoratha, a teacher of Vasubandhu, by a certain king Vikramāditya. It is said that Manoratha had once paid his barber

one lac gold coins for shaving his head and mouth. The king was chagrined to hear of this news and felt ashamed. He resolved to bring public shame on the philosopher and organised a gathering of 100 learned heretical scholars to meet Manoratha in debate and issued a decree that if the Buddhist monks fail to prevail, 'they shall be exterminated'. Manoratha had defeated 99 of them, but when he was arguing with the 100th opponent, the king and the non-Buddhists cried out and disturbed the meeting, Manoratha thereupon, bit his tongue, wrote to his pupil, Vasubandhu:

"In the multitude of partisans there is no justice", and died. The pilgrim further adds that king "Vikramāditya lost his kingdom, and was succeeded by a king who showed respect to men of "eminence." Under him Vasubandhu washed the disgrace of his master by vanquishing all the heretics.[150]

This account has the appearance of a legend; but it does not seem to be entirely bereft of historical truth although the episode is not corroborated by any other source. From the context it would appear that the 'Vikramāditya' of this legend may have been a Gupta king of the fifth century A.D. His successor was a patron of Vasubandhu. This would lead one to identify this 'Vikramāditya' with Skandagupta who bore this epithet and who lost his kingdom probably to the Hūṇas. Afterwards came Narasiṃhagupta 'Bālāditya'[151] who was a patron of Buddhism and repulsed the Hūṇa inroads.

The Hūṇas

The greatest of royal persecutors of Buddhism in India was the Hūṇa tyrant Mihirakula (Mahiragula). His sacrilegious acts against Buddhism are recorded by Kalhaṇa and corroborated by Yuan Chwang and the Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa. The Kashmir historian compares Mihirakula with Yama the god of death, for the former's atrocities.[152] At one place Kalhaṇa remarks: "One's tongue would become pollutted if one attempted to record his cruelties and evil deeds in detail."[153] From this authority we learn that Mihirakula patronised Brāhmaṇas, worshipped Śiva, and erected a temple of Śiva called Mihireśvara in Śrīnagar.[154] His coins also prove that Mihirakula was a Śaiva; they bear the legend: 'Śri Mihirakulaḥ jayatu vṛṣaḥ'.[155] His name 'Mihira' ('Sun', cf. 'Mithra') points to his association with

the sun god. The Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa also records the anti-Buddhist activity of a king who was marked with the appellation of a planet (Sun); he patronised the Brāhmaṇas.[156] Thus from literary as well as archaeological sources Mihirakula seems to have been a follower of Brāhmanism and a fanatical Śaiva. Besides, he had one more reason to persecute the Buddhists: he had been enraged by the Buddhist monks who had sent to him a monk of low rank to teach him the doctrines of Buddhism. Thereupon, says Yuan Chwang, the king ordered "the utter extermination of the Buddhist Church throughout all his dominions". This royal edict was opposed by king Bālāditya of Magadha, who was "a zealous Buddhist", the two monarchs came to war; Mihirakula was jailed but owing to the misplaced clemency of the queen mother, the captive was set free. He went to Kashmir for shelter, killed its ruler and usurped the throne of Kashmir and then renewed his unrighteous project. He "overthrew stūpas, destroyed the Saṃghārāmas, altogether one thousand six hundred foundations." Besides, he "put to death nine hundred koṭis of lay-adherents of Buddhism." His evil career was cut short only by his sudden demise.[157]

According to the Rājataraṅgiṇī, Mihirakula killed 'three crores' of human beings and did not show mercy even to his own person and committed suicide by plunging into the fire.[158]

We learn on the authority of Mr. Watters that according to 'the Sūtra of Lotus-flower-face', Mihirakula was the exterminator of Buddhist Brethren in Ki-pin and broke the sacred bowl of Buddha.[159] According to the 'Fu-fa-tsang-yin-yuan-ching', Mihirakula destroyed monasteries in Ki-pin, slaughtered Brethren and murdered the 23rd Patriarch, by name Siṃha.[160]

Mention has already been made of another persecutor, king Suddhanvan of Ujjainī, who is said to have ordered the slaughter of the Buddhists all over the country. This may be an exaggeration; but the historical identity of this king remains still a problem.[161]

Mention may be made of a seal of Toramāṇa, another Hūṇa king, found in the ruins of the Ghoṣitārama monastery

at Kauśāmbī.[162] This indicates that the Buddhist establishment here was perhaps destroyed by the Hūṇas.

According to Mr. Joseph Edkins, "at the beginning of the sixth century, the number of Indians in China was upwards of three thousand..... They came as refugees from Brāhmanical persecution,"[163] This may have been a consequence of the Hūṇa persecution; the Hūṇa kings were Śaivas and patronised Brāhmaṇas.

Śaśāṅka

Among the ancient Indian princes, the most notable example of anti-Buddhist Brāhmanical fanaticism after Puṣyamitra Śuṅga, is presented by Śaśāṅka, the king of Gauḍa. He had died only a few years before Yuan Chwang's visit to India. Śaśāṅka was a Brahmin by caste[164] and Śaiva by faith[165] as his coins testify to. Moreover, he had been a treacherous murderer of king Rājyavardhana of Thāneśvar who was a Parama-Saugata.[166] These facts seem to point out that Śaśāṅka's sacrilegious acts were rooted in his religious hatred for the Buddhists.[167] Yuan Chwang records that Śaśāṅka exterminated Buddhist monks in the region around Kuśīnagara as a consequence of which "the groups of Brethren were all broken up." He threw into the Gaṅgā a sacred stone bearing the foot-prints of Buddha in Pāṭaliputra; he cut down the holy Bodhi-Tree at Gayā, down to the roots and burned what remained. And, as if to crown his misdeeds, he removed a Buddha image from a temple east of the Bodhi-Tree, and replaced it by that of Śiva.[168]

A more systematic endeavour to destroy Buddhism was never made in India before. The testimony of Yuan Chwang is supported by the coins of the persecutor, "the oppressor of Buddhism", he was a fanatic Śivaite.

The Ārya-Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa, corroborating the evidence of Yuan Chwang, says "Somākhya (Śaśāṅka) of wicked intellect, will destroy the beautiful image of Buddha. He, of wicked intellect, enamoured of the words of the Tīrthikas, will burn the great Bridge of Dharma as prophesied by the former Buddhas. Then, that angry and greedy evil-doer, of false notions and bad opinion, will bring down all the monasteries gardens and caityas, and the rest houses of the Nirgranthas".[169]

Even making due allowance for the Buddhistic bias of Yuan Chwang and Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa, one cannot consider Śaśānka to be a small persecutor free from anti-Buddhist fanaticism. For, the tradition is echoed in late genealogies of Bengali Brahmins also.[170]

SECTION III

SOME CURRENT OPINIONS ON THE DECLINE OF BUDDHISM

On "Assimilation"

A number of scholars, including Dr. V.A. Smith,[171] Dr. S. Radhakrishnan,[172] Dr. B.M. Barua,[173] Dr. P.C. Bagchi,[174] Dr. R.C. Majumdar,[175] Dr. R.C. Mitra,[176] Dr. Sylvain Lévi[177] and others, have opined that the most important fact concerning the decline of Buddhism in India was a "gradual almost insensible assimilation of Buddhism to Hinduism." The Mahāyāna borrowed heavily from Hinduism and the latter appropriated many cardinal elements of the former. This mutual rapprochement betweed Hinduism and Buddhism proved fatal to the latter faith. The acceptance of Buddha as an Incarnation of Viṣṇu by Hinduism was a "well conceived and bold stroke of policy (which) cut the ground from under the feet of Buddhism." The disapproval of animal-sacrifice, the relaxation of caste rigidities in Brāhmanical quarters owing to Buddhistic influence and the organization of monastic community on the lines of Buddhist Saṃgha by Śaṃkara, the standard bearer of Hinduism, may have further helped the merger of Buddhism into Hinduism. The existence of Buddhist concepts, rites and ceremonies in modern Hinduism also indicates that gradually Buddha became "a maker of modern Hinduism."[178]

On "Social Failure"

According to Dr. G.C. Pande one of the most important factors in the decline of Buddhism in India was "the social failure of Buddhism."[179] Dr. N. Dutt remarks that "Buddhism was never a social movement."[180] There is much truth in this view. Buddhism could not become a sufficiently secular movement; it did not try to evolve a complete society on its

own lines; it did not prescribe any ceremonies for births, marriages and deaths of the householders. The laity continued to practise the current practices and ceremonies, prescribed largely by the Brāhmanical clergy; this non-interfering attitude of Buddhism, though it helped the smooth spread of the religion, resulted in the long run in lessening its hold on society. Thus the precarious relation between the Saṃgha and the Upāsaka-world, the aloofness of the former from the latter, was a serious flaw which confined the Buddhistic culture to the monasteries. These monasteries were the strongholds and the only centres of Buddhistic culture; when they were invaded by indigenous or foreign rulers, or when they lost royal or popular support, or when they became deserted and dilapidated by some other calamities, Buddhism also decayed. In such circumstances lay followers of Buddhism, who were never made free from the influence of the traditional orthodox culture, returned more and more towards the latter. The seemingly everlasting strength of Brāhmanism (Hinduism) would appear to lie in the fact that its religion and society are inseparable. The fabric of Hinduism rests on the bed-rock of Varṇāśram Orgnization, the classification of the members of society into four categories, and of each individual life into four stages, with an orthodox arrangement, fortified by sacred scriptural authority, of the duties and obligations of each caste and each stage. Hinduism survived even when the Muslims killed its ascetics and pulled down its temples; it survived in society. The leaders of Brāhmanism were priests who were usually householders. Such an inseparable and solid relation between Buddhism and its laity was never conceived in Buddhist circles. No effort was ever made to make the laity members of a special corporation,[181] the Saṃgha had no authority over any member of the laity to punish him or her in case of transgressions. Specific Buddhist doctrines and practices were to be found in the monasteries only.

No wonder when Yuan Chwang found the Buddhists observing caste distinctions in India; he is meticulous in recording the caste of Indians, specially of the Buddhist monks and its lay-adherents.[182] Udayanācārya was right when he claimed that even the Bauddhas followed Hindu

customs and rites. "There is no philosphy", says he, "which is free from the injuctions of the Veda; nor any people who do not abide by the Vedic rules in their rites from inception to cremation."[183] Thus, in spite of Buddhism and its gospel of priestless, casteless and rational approach to the problems of life, the Indian mind could not be freed from priestly craft, casteism, superstition and the like. The upāsakas who took 'refuge' in Buddha, Dharma and the Saṃgha, did not swear exclusive allegiance to the Holy Trinity they invoked. Perhaps this fact is essentially related to that of 'assimilation' both as a cause and consequence of the latter.

On 'Buddhism in Relation to Brāhmanism'

In the opinion of one writer "the historic significance of the rise of Buddhism must be realised in its proper context." This proper context, in his opinion is that "Buddhism never cut itself asunder from the parent stock of Brāhmanism", and that the great Buddha was "a child of that noble culture which is generically known as Brāhmanism". This writer further maintains that the monastic rules of the Buddhist Saṃgha were modelled on those of the Sanyāsīn in the fourth Āśrama of life.[184] A noted scholar of Hindu philosophy has observed at one place that "The Buddha did not feel that he was announcing a new religion. He was born, grew up, and died a Hindu. He was restating with a new emphasis the ancient ideals of the Indo-Aryan civilization."[185]

This has been the generally accepted and 'official' view about the origin of Buddhism and its relation to Brāhmanism. It is also frequently believed that Buddhism was a 'schism' and aimed at reforming the Brāhmanical religion.

Recent studies, however, have brought to light some new facts concerning the origin of Buddhism. It has been suggested that the ancient Vedic ideals differed in important respects from the ideals of the non-Vedic people. The culture of the Munis and Śramaṇas was different from those of the Vedic Āryans. Śākyamuni like Mahāvīra, was a representative sage of this Śramaṇic tradition and his teachings contained many elements which were foreign to Vedic or Brähmanical culture.[186] Historically as well as doctrinally, the term 'Hindu' can hardly be applied to Buddha.

One is not justified in completely identifying Buddhist culture with Brāhmanical culture ; the presumption that the institution of the fourth Āśrama of life is pre-Buddhistic, is not borne out by evidence. One of the oldest Upaniṣads mentions only the first three Āśramas,[187] and even this Upaniṣad cannot be definitely regarded to be older than Buddha.[188] The Pāli Tripitakas do not know Upaniṣads nor do they refer to the idea of a neuter Brahman.[189] The concept of Buddhist Nirvāṇa and the doctrine of Pratitya-Samutpāda are, perhaps, quite new and independent discoveries of Buddha. Indian monachism in its disciplined form is most likely a legacy of Buddha. Buddha distinguished his gospel by disregarding the Vedas, animal-sacrifice and caste barriers. He did not belong to the culture of the Indo-Āryans.

Unlike Vedic religion, original Buddhism was essentially an ascetic and monastic movement which could not at that time be looked upon as progressing within the Brāhmanical culture as then known. Later on, Brāhmanical religion imbibed a great deal of the ascetic tendency and thus came nearer Buddhism. There was considerable interchange of ideas and tendencies between Buddhist and Brāhmanical religions in course of time and that explains sheer gradual but partial similarity of aspects.[190]

Moreover, Brāhmanical religion is inseparable from the national culture of India and had thus in ancient times the aspect of a national religion. On the other hand, Buddhism is a truly universal religion which has never identified itself with any particular national culture. That is why Buddhism spread beyond the borders of India and, one can hardly say that the culture of Ceylon or of Burma or of Korea or of Tibet or of Japan is the child of Brāhmanical culture.

To say that the Mādhyamika thought is "a modification of the theory of Name and Form of Scholastic Vedāntins"[191] is a radical historical anachronism. Nāgārjuna flourished several centuries before the 'Scholastic Vedāntins' like Gauḍapāda and Śaṃkara. The basic hypothesis that, Buddhism was a child of Hinduism, has led some writers to still more hypothetical conclusions which are far removed from historical truth.

According to one writer,[192] "the ultimate result of the teachings of the Buddha was disappointment in society and chaos in the Order", and "both the rise and the decline of Buddhism began almost simultaneously." As far as the first statement is concerned, neither sober history, nor any careful and impartial student of Indian history and culture, can furnish any evidence in support of such a view, which, therefore, remains as a mere view. And, the view depends upon the view-point. The second statement contains at best a contradictory notion; 'rise' and 'decline' are two mutually opposed events, and can never take place simultaneously. The same writer further opines that one of the main causes of the decline of Buddhism in India was that the Buddhists hated the Sanskrit and adopted Pāli language.[192]

Now, one may ask : how are we to account for the progress and continued existence of Jainism which also adopted Prākrit—a non-Sanskrit language in place of Sanskrit? Further more, the Mauryas adopted Māgadhī or Pāli as their official language, will it not be an absurdity to attribute the decline of Maurya Empire to their adoption of a non-Sanskrit language? But it is not true to say that the Buddhists hated Sanskrit. The whole mass of Buddhist literature from about the 1st century B.C. onwards is written in Sanskrit; the Buddhists thought in Sanskrit, wrote in Sanskrit and taught its grammar as a compulsory subject in their universities.[193] The total output of Buddhist Sanskrit authors does not seem to be lesser than those of the Brāhmanical authors. The numerous texts on Abhidharma, the Vinayas of so many Buddhist schools, the Prajñāpāramitāsūtras, and the hundreds of Mahāyāna sūtras are in Sanskrit; the philosophical treatises and commentaries by Kātyāyanīputra, Nāgārjuna, Kumaralabdha, Ārya Deva, Maitreyanātha, Asaṅga, Harivarman, Vasubandhu, Manoratha, Saṅghabhadra, Diṅnāga, Bhavya, Buddhapālita, Īśvarasena, Chandrakīrti, Dharmakīrti, Śāntideva, Śāntirakṣita, Kamalaśīla, Dharmottara, Haribhadra, and so on, are in chaste Sanskrit. The history of Buddhist literature from cir 200 B.C. to cir. 1200 A.D. is an essential and important part of the growth of Sanskrit literature. Some of the greatest names in the history of Sanskrit literature are those of Aśvaghoṣa, Āryaśūra, Bhartṛhari and Śānti-

deva, who were Buddhists by faith. We cannot conceive of such tremendous contribution to the development of Sanskrit language and literature by those who hate Sanskrit. Buddhists's love of Sanskrit and their contribution to it is too great to be discussed here.

Mahāmahopādhyāya P.V. Kane has recently reasserted the Brahmanical theory of the origin of Buddhism. According to him, Buddha was a reformer of "the Hindu religion as practised in his time"; he did not renounce the Hindu religion; referred to "Hindu sages" and "took over several beliefs current among the Hindus in his day".[194] As pointed out above, the use of the terms 'Hindu' and 'Hinduism' in the context of the age of Buddha (cir. 624-544 B.C.) is entirely wrong, both historically and doctrinally. There were neither Hindus nor Hinduism in the 7th and 6th centuries before Christ. The orthodox religion of that age was what is called Vedic Brāhmanism; the other 'heterodox' religions of that age were the sects of Śramaṇism, such as Jainism, Buddhism, Ājīvikism, etc. Buddha was a Śramaṇa, a Muni, a founder and follower of a non-Vedic and non-Brahmanical system, the roots of which cannot be traced to Vedic religion. The beginnings of Śramaṇic system go back to the pre-Vedic and pre-Āryan epoch of Indian culture. The ascetic tradition of Harappan culture was continued by the munis, yatis and vrātyas of the Vedic age and it culminated in the rise of Buddhism in 6th century B.C.[195]

Notes and References

1. Fa-hsien, Tr. by H.A. Giles, Cambridge, 1923, p. 29.
2. Ibid., p. 36.
3. Ibid., p. 40.
4. Ibid., p. 41.
5. Ibid., p. 30.
6. Yuan Chwang, II, 63.
7. BEFEO, III, 1903, p. 379.
8. Yuan Chwang, I, 340; Life, pp. 179-180.
9. G. Tucci, 'preliminary report on an archaeological survey in Swat', East and West IX, 1958, pp. 279f.
10. Yuan Chwang, I, p. 226.
11. Ibid., 199.
12. Ibid., 240, 248, 256.
13. Si yu-ki, p. 195.
14. N. Dutt, Gilgit Ms., Vol. I, Introduction.
15. Yuan Chwang, II, 252.

16. Ibid., I, 314.
17. Fa-hsien, p. 20.
18. Yuan Chwang, I, 301.
19. Ibid., 318; 322; 329; 330-331; 333; 359; 361; 366; 373 and 377.
20. Ibid, II, 47.
21. Ibid, 86f.; Life pp. 105f.; J.N. Sammadar, The Glories of Magadha, 2nd. ed. Patna, 1927; H.D. Sankalia, The University of Nālandā, Madras, 1934.
22. Fa-hsien, pp. 65-66; Yuan Chwang, II, 190; I-tsing, pp. 44, 154.
23. Yuan Chwang, II, 184; 187; 191.
24. Ibid., 186; Life, pp. 170-172.
25. Cf. N. K. Sahu, op. cit.
26. Yuan Chwang, II, 136; 193; 196; 198.
27. A. Aiyappan and P. R. Srinivasan, op. cit.
28. Yuan Chwang, II, 214; 224; 226; 228.
29. Ibid., 245-252; see above Chap. II.
30. I-tsing, p. 52.
31. loc. cit.
32. P.C. Bagchi, 'Decline of Buddhism in India and its causes' in Asutosh Mukerjee Silver Jubilee Volumes, Vol. No. III, Calcutta, 1925, p. 412.
33. R. C. Mitra, The Decline of Buddhism in India, Visvabharati, 1954, p. 2.
34. Cullavagga, pp. 376; Brewster, Life of Gotama the Buddha, p. 119.
35. Bu-Ston, II, pp. 102-103.
36. Ibid., pp. 102-103.
37. Theragāthā, XVII, 949-980, KN, II, pp. 362f.
38. On the date of these Gāthās see Winternitz, HIL, II, pp. 110-111.
39. Therīgāthā, XV, 400-447, KN, II, pp. 455f.
40. Rāṣṭrapāla pariprcchāsūtra in BST No. 17, pp. 136f.
41. Yuan Chwang, I, 204-205.
42. Ibid., II, 115.
43. Life, pp. 154-155.
44. Tabqāt-i-nāsirī, Eng. Transl. by H.G. Raverty, Calcutta, 1881, p. 552.
45. A. Ghosh, Nālandā, 4th. ed., p. 26.
46. Yuan Chwang, I, 371-372.
47. Ibid., I, 240.
48. Ibid., II, 252; Si yuki, pp. 461-462.
49. Rājataraṅgiṇī, III. 12
50. E.g. the cases of Seyyasaka, Assaji and Punabbasu of Kiṭāgiri, Cullavagga, pp. 18-19; of Channa, Ibid., p. 40; of Subhadda, Ibid., p. 406. The followers of Devadatta are said to have been engaged in manufacturing the weapons of war, Rockhill, op. cit., p. 92. In the Theragāthā (KN, II, p. 361) we are told that "They, who once forsook wealth, wife and child, now do evil for the sake of a spoon-ful of rice." One of the 'Ten Heresies' (dasavatthuni) of Vasālian bhiksus was concerning wealth and money, jātarūpa-rajata, Cullavagga, p. 416. Bhavya reports that "The bhikṣus of Vaiśāli said—'Venerable sirs, enjoy yourselves', and they made enjoyment lawful." Rockhill, op. cit., p. 171. According to a Theravādin author, Moggaliputta Tissa, the Vetullas (Vaitulyakas, authors of the Vaipulya Sūtras ?) had laid down as a rule the following—Ekādhippāyena methuno dhammo paṭisevitabbo.....para dāro gantabbo; Kathāvatthu, XXIII. 219. 1, p. 535. Another Theravādin author, Mahānāma, reports., that Aśoka expelled 60,000 bogus monks who practised many things contrary to the Vinaya, Mahāvaṃsa, Chapter V, 270-271. Such instances could be multiplied from diverse sources.
51. I-tsing, p. 179. Though a devout Buddhist and no mean scholar,

Bhartṛhari became seven times a monk and returned as many times to the life of a householder.

52. Mālatī-Mādhava, Act I, scene 1, et seq.
53. A.A. Macdonell, Hist. Skt. Lit., p. 80.
54. Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, Vol. V, pp. 697-717; HCIP, Vol. III, p. 260; already Kauṭilya had prescribed the services of Bhikṣukī (nun) for espionage. Arthaśāstra, I. 11, Gūḍhapuruṣaniyoga.
55. Mālvikāginimitra, Act I, et seq.
56. Caturbhāṇī or Śṛṅgārahāṭa, ed. by V. S. Agarwala and Motichandra, Bombay, 1960, F. W. Thomas placed it in 7th century. A.D., JRAS, centenary supplement, 1924, p. 136.
57. Caturbhāṇī, pp. 14, 157-158.
58. Ibid., pp. 31-35.
59. B. Nanjio-Cata. No. 465; cf. BEFEO, Vol. V, pp. 296-299.
60. I-tsing, p. 61.
61. Ibid., p. 194.
62. Bu-Ston, II, pp. 171f.
63. Bhagavadajjukam, pp. 4, 13 as quoted in Visbabharati Annals, VI, p. 141.
64. I-tsing, pp. 194-195.
65. Rāṣṛṭapālaparipṛcchāsūtra, BST, No. 17, pp. 137-138.
66. HIL, II, p. 331.
67. Eliot and Dowson, op. cit. p. 147.
68. Mṛcchakatika, Acts, VII-VIII, cf. S. Mukerjee, 'Ujjainī in Mṛcchakaṭika', B.C. Law Volume, Pt. I, pp. 416-418.
69. Yuan Chwang, I, 162.
70. S. Hardy, Eastern Monachism, p. 142.
71. See Cullavagga, pp. 283f, 406f; Rockhill, Life of Buddha, pp. 187f; Life p. 176; Yuan Chwang, I, 32, 325, 373; II 100, 252.
72. I-tsing, pp. 6-7; Yuan Chwang, II, 191.
73. Ibid., II, 253.
74. Life, pp. 159, 165.
75. BCA, IX, 15 ff.
76. CŚV, Chapters IX, XI.
77. TS and TSP, Eng. Tr., pp. 217ff.
78. Eliot, Hinduism and Buddhism, II, p. 6.
79. I-tsing, p. 14.
80. see E.g., Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, Chap. II, XXI; BCA, Chap. V, VII; Ś.S. Chap. I, II, VII.
81. Life, pp. 177 f.; I-tsing, pp. 147ff; BCA (BST-12) pp. 283ff; ŚS. (BB-1) pp. 296f; see above chapters IV-V.
82. Vide Yuan Chwang, II, 229. Avalokiteśvara used to appear in the guise of Pāśupata Tīrthika, i.e.' Śiva. Long before Yuan Chwang, the Kāraṇḍavyūhasūtra (prose version) had eulogised this Bodhisattva with the epithets of Śiva and other Brahmanical gods. BST No. 17, pp. 262-263.
83. Yuan Chwang, II, 252; Rājataraṅgiṇī, III. 12; Elliot and Dowson, op. cit., p. 147.
84. Kathāvatthu, XXIII. 219. 1.
85. ŚS (BST) p. 93, (BB) p. 167.
86. GST, p. 37.
87. Mystic Tales, pp. 8f.; R. Sāṃkṛtyāyana, Purātattva Nibandhāvalī, Chap. VIII-IX; also Bhūmikā to Dohākośa of Saraha.
88. A. A. Macdonell remarked that "nothing of Buddhism remains in them," ERE, VIII, p. 89. Vallee Poussin went still further and said that "Buddhist Tantrism is practically Buddhist Hinduism, Hinduism or Śaivism in Buddhist garb." ERE, XII, p. 193. E. Conze has recently observed (Buddhist Thought, p. 273) that "with the Tantras the tribal imaginations of the Hindu race re-assert themselves, and without a profound

knowledge of the Vedas and the Brāhmaṇas it is quite impossible to understand the significance of the mythological figures who occur here, there and everywhere.'

89. See Niṣpannayogāvalī, Introduction, pp. 20ff, 61f; Bhattacharya, Buddhist Iconography, pp. 344f.

90. See Dhammapada, verse 90 and contrast Hevajra Tantra, Pt. I, ii. iv. f. (32) and Prajñopāya-viniścayasiddhi, p. 23.

91. CVP, verses 6, 19, 33; GST, pp. 26, 120; Hevajra Tantra, Pt. I, pp. 65, 71, 91, 96; Jñānasiddhi, pp. 32, 50 etc.

92. I-tsing p. 52; see also S. Beal, Catena, pp. 410-411; Waddell, Lamaism, p. 14; Eliot, Hinduism and Buddhism, II, pp. 129-130.

93. Some historical instances of Brahmanical hostility to Buddha and Buddhism prior to our period are :—Kasī Bhāradvāja's contempt for Buddha KN, I, p. 280; Aggika Bhāradvāja called Buddha an 'outcaste', Ibid., p. 287; Buddha did not get a grain of food in the village of the Brāhmaṇas, SN, I, Piṇḍasutta; Brāhmṇa Soṇadaṇḍa hesitated to salute Buddha in public lest his community might ex-communicate him, DN, I, p. 97; 'heretics' or Brāhmanical followers are said to have killed Moggalāna, Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā, III. 65; DPPN, II, p. 546; 'heretics' or Brāhmanical dogmtists are said to have murdered the the philosopher Āryadeva, Sogen, Systems pp. 187f; King Gautamiputra Sātakarṇi, who considered himself on 'eka bamhaṇa' 'Unique Brāhmaṇa' is known to have "crushed the pride of the kṣtriyas" (Khatiya dapa mana madanasa) and to have "stopped the mixing of castes", D.C. Sircar, Select Inscriptions, Vol. I, pp. 196-198 This was apparently an anti-Buddhist measure adopted by the King. Yuan Chwang has described, rather mysteriously, the murder of the philosopher Nāgārjuna by a Sātavāhana king, Yuan Chwang, II, 201. I think that this Sātavāhana prince is identifiable with the 'Eka Bamhaṇa'; see my article on Nāgārjuna in Maha Bodhi, Vol. 73, Nos. 1-2, 1965. The rich laity continued to patronise Buddhism despite the Brahmnical rule of the Satavahanas and hence the growth of Buddhist art in the Deccan in early centuries A.D. Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra, II. 6. 30, says that the Āśrama called Prāvṛajyā (ascetic ordination) was introduced by an Asura (demon) who was not on good terms with the gods. I believe that 'the gods' here are the priestly orthodox Brāhmaṇas who were often called 'bhūdevas', gods on earth, and who were always angry with Buddha and his followers. The Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 109. 34 denounces Buddha as an atheist. The Purāṇas display a similar attitude of hostility and disdain for Buddhism; see e.g., R.K. Chaudhary, 'Heretical Sects in the Purāṇas,' ABORI, XXXVII 1957, pp. 234ff.

94. Bu-Ston, II, p. 153.

95. Yājñavalkya Smṛti, Ānandāśarama Skt. Series, 46, (1903) I, 271-272.

96. Bṛhannāradīya Purāna, Ch. XIV.

97. Mṛcchakaṭika, Act. VII.

98. Agni Purāṇa, XVI. 1, 3.

99. Vāyu Purāṇa, L XXVIII, 58-59.

100. Viṣnu Purāṇa (III) XVIII. 13-18.

101. Cf. S. Mukerjee, Buddh. Phil. of Universal Flux, p. XXXVII.

102. Nyāyavārttika, Introductory stanza.

103. Tantravārttika cited by Śāntibhikṣu Sāstri, Uhāpoha, 1955 (Lucknow), p. 44.

104. Ślokavārttika, pp. 163ff.

105. Tantravārttika, Eng. Tr., vol. I, Introduction; Śaṃkara-Vijaya of Ānandagiri, Calcutta ed., p. 235; see also Eliot, Hinduism and Buddhism, II, pp. 110-270.

106. Yuan Chwang, II, 250.

107. Mṛcchakaṭika, Act. VIII.

108. Bu-ston, II, p. 152; Tārānātha (Schiefner) p. 177 and note.

109. P. Menon, History of Kerala, Vol. I, p. 453; f.n. 1.
110. Gopīnātha Kavirāja, see note 111a below.
111. Bauddha Dharma, p. 492.
111a. 'Preliminary Essay : Tantravārttika and its Author' in Eng. Transl. of Tantravārttika, Vol. I, BI, Calcutta, 1924, pp. VI-VII.
112. Cf. T.R.V. Murti, op. cit., Chap. IV; S. Mukerjee in NNMVRP, I, Chap. I, Thibaut, I, SBE-24, Introduction; V. Bhattacharya, Āgamśāstra of Gaudapāda, Introductory Essay; and Appendix 4 above.
113. Br.SŚ, pp. 239, 252.
114. U. Dhammaratana, 'The Reason for Anti-Buddhist Propoganda in Brahmanical Literature', Maha Bodhi, Vol. 62, pp. 421f.
115. Mādhava's Śaṃara-Digvijaya, I, 93; R. Sāṃkṛtyāyana, Buddhacaryā, (Sārnātha, 1952) Introduction, pp. 11-12, tries to refute this tradition without giving any convincing reasons.
116. Journal of Mythic Society, 1916 (Bengalore), p. 151; Eliot, Hinduism and Buddhism II, p. 211.
117. Visvabharati Annals, VI, p. 129.
118. Ibid, p. 130.
119. Br.SŚ, II, 2.32
120. See R. C. Hazra, Pūraṇic Records, Pt. II Chap. II-IV; HCIP, IV, Foreword; also HCIP, III, Preface.
121. Devī-Bhāgavata Purāṇa, I, 3.21.
122. Bhāgavata Purāṇa, I. 4. 25, 29.
123. Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, Chap. 95, 14-15, 19-20.
124. Matsya Purāṇa, Chap. 52, 12.
125. Viṣṇu Purāṇa, III. 18, 9-12; VI. 18.
126. Matṣya Purāṇa, Chap. 24, 43-49.
127. S. Radhakrishnan, Ind. Phil., I, p. 609.
128. See above Ch. I.
129. See above Ch. II.
130. loc. cit.
131. loc. cit.
132. loc. cit.
133. loc. cit.
134. Hist. Bengal, I, pp. 397f., 414f.
135. Tārānātha (Schiefner) Chapter XXVIII; cf. Eliot, Hinduism and Buddhism, II, p. 111.
136. Rājataraṅgiṇī, Book, IV.
137. Yuan Chwang, I, 251; Ibid., II, 110-111.
138. Ibid, II, 83.
138a. Ibid, II, 229; Ibid, I, 299.
139. Visvabharati Annals, VI, p. 56.
140. Matsya Purāṇa, Chap. 54, R. C. Hazra, op. cit., p. 41.
141. MASI, No. 26, p. 5.
142. ABORI, Vol. XIV, 1932-1933, pp. 200-221.
143. R. C. Hazra, op. cit., pp. 41-42, References to Buddha-Avatāra in the Gita-Govinda and the Daśāvatāra are later in date and too well known.
144. S. Radhakrishnan, 'Foreword' to 2500 years of Buddhism, pp. XIV-XV. But Radhakrishnan's observations (p. IX) that Buddha "was born, grew up, and died a Hindu. He was restating with a new emphasis the ancient ideals of the Indo-Āryan civilization", and that (p. XIII) "Buddhism did not start as a new and independent religion. It was an offshoot of the more ancient faith of the Hindus, perhaps a schism or a heresy," are not in keeping with historical facts. The term 'Hindu' is misleading in the context of the most ancient religious thought of India; it originated as a name of a geographical locality, the districts on the river Indus (Greek 'Indos', 'Sinthos', Persian 'Hindu' for the Vedic Sindhu). Later on the Turks called India by the name of Hindustān; but prior to the 12th century A.D. there is no proof that the word 'Hindu' had any other meaning except that

of a geographical entity. What is now known as 'Hinduism' is in fact a conglomeration of diverse elements born of centuries of growth of Vedic religion or Brāhmanism with a very large mass of Buddhist and Jainist elements. 'Hinduism' is properly speaking 'Purāṇicism', a product of early medieval India. (cir. 600-1200 A.D.) it has incorporated in its body more than half of Buddhism, some doctrines of Jainism, and a few elements of Zoroastrianisms and Christianity, while it still traces its authority and sources to the Saṃhitās, Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads. In no sense can the word be applied to Buddha, and his gospel in its original form was 'Śramanism' as different and distinguished from 'Brāhmanism'. Megasthenes knew only these two classes of Indian religious protagonists, whom he mentioned as 'Brahmanes' (Brāhmaṇas) and 'Sarmanes' (Śramaṇas), J.W. McCrindle, Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian, Calcutta, 1926, pp.97, 104-105. Aśoka in his Inscriptions regularly mentions the 'Samaṇas and Bamaṇas; and Patañjali on Aṣṭādhyāyī, II. 4.9, clearly points out the antagonism between them. Buddha was a Śramaṇic Indian (Bhāratiya) and not a Brāhmanical Indo-Āryan. The term Hindu is not a name of any race or tribe; such a tribe never existed in history; it is a geographical name; and before 1200 A.D. no Indian religion was known as Hinduism. Today all those Indians who follow Brahmanism-Purāṇicism, Jainism, and Buddhism and dwell in India are generally called 'Hindus'. The term Hindu has assumed to-day a communal sense which never existed in ancient India. Some observations on this problem of Hinduism and Buddhism have been made by me in my paper 'Kalikāle Bauddhāvatāre', Dharmadūta, Vol. 30 July-September, 1965, pp. 55-59. See now my detailed discussion of this point in my paper 'New Light on the origins of Pali Culture' in Proceedings of the Pali Culture Seminar, Nalanda 1967.

145. S. Mukerjee in the Cultural Heritage of India, Vol. I, p. 587.

146. See above Chapter IX; V. Bhattacharya's ed. of Āgamaśāstra, Introduction; and below Appendix 4.

147. R.C. Majumdar in the cultural Heritage of India, Vol. IV, p. 47; Gopīnātha Kavirāja in Eng. Transl. of Tantravārttika, p. VII.

148. cf. the story which Yuan Chwang (I, 288 f.) relates concerning King Bālāditya of Magadha against the Hūṇa tyrant Mihirakula. No such examples for Buddhism are known to subsequent periods.

149. The destruction of the Śākyas by the ruthless arms of king Vidudabha of Kosala in the last year of Buddha's existence on earth, is too well known. Rock-hill, op. cit, pp. 117f. The most violent persecution of Buddhists was at the hands of the Brāhmaṇa ruler Puṣyamitra Śuṅga (Cir. 187-151 B.C.). An avowed enemy of Buddhism and a fanatic champion of Brāhmanism, he murdered his sovereign the Maurya Bṛhadratha, usurped the throne of Pātaliputra, waged a cruel war against the helpless Buddhist monks, and announced a prize of 100 gold pieces (dīnāra śatam) for each head of a bhikṣu; he destroyed or burnt the vihāras from Pāṭaliputra to Śākala (from Magadha to Panjab). This tradition, which has all the force of a historical fact, is recorded in (i) Divyādāna, Cambridge Ed., p. 434; BST Ed. p. 282; (ii) Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa, p. 619-620; (iii) Chinese and (v) Japanese Buddhist traditions place Puṣyamitra at the head of the list of persecutors (Journal of the Deptt. of Letters, Vol. I, p. 19); (v) Tārānātha (Schiefner) p. 81 dwells at length on this episode. The argument that the Buddhist monuments of Sāñcī and Bharhut were raised during the "reign of Śuṅgas" does not exonerate Pusyamitra from the blame; the monuments were the creation of the local officers, artisans, guild-leaders and the wealthy laity and not of any Śuṅga king. For modern discussion on this problem see H.C. Raychaudhari, PHAI, 6th ed. p. 389; H. P. Śāstri in JASB, 1910, pp. 259f; N.N. Ghosh in B.C. Law Volume, Pt. I, pp. 210 ff.; R.C. Mitra in Visvabharati Annals, VI, p. 126. On the monuments and their dates see A. Foucher and John Marshall, The Monuments of Sāñchī,

3 Vols.; N.G. Majumdar, A guide to the Sculptures in the Indian Museum (Calcutta) Pt. I, p. 13.

150. Yuan Chwang, I, 211-212.
151. Ibid, I, 288 f.
152. Rājataraṅgiṇī, I. 289.
153. Ibid., I. 304.
154. Ibid, I, 305-307.
155. See Asutosh Mukerjee silver jubilee Volume, Pt. III, p. 407.
156. K.P. Jayaswal, An Imperial History of India in a Sanskrit Text, pp. 52-53, Text verses 778-779.
157. Yuan Chwang, I, 288-289.
158. Rājataraṅgiṇī, I, 309-310.
159. Yuan Chwang, I, 290.
160. Ibid., I, loc. cit.
161. See above section on Brahmanical hostility.
162. Ancient India, No. 9, p. 146.
163. Joseph Edkins, Chinese Buddhism, p. 99.
164. K. P. Jayaswal, An Imperial Hist, in a Skt. Text, pp. 49-50.
165. Hist. Bengal, I, p. 67; see J.N. Banerjee, Development of Hindu Iconography, 2nd, ed. pp. 152, 271, plate IX figure 12.
166. Harṣacarita, Book VI, Chaukhamba Ed. p. 321 :—Gauḍādhipena mitthyopacārocitaviśvāsam.
167. For other views on Śaśāṅka and Buddhism, see R.C. Majumdar in Hist. Bengal. I, pp. 59-68 and in HCIP, III, pp. 80-81; R.S. Tripathi, History of Kanauj, pp. 102-105; R.K. Mookerjee, Harṣa, Chap. II, note; R. G. Basak in IHQ, VIII, 1932, pp. 1-20.
168. Yuan Chwang, I, 343; II, 43, 92, 115-116; Si yu ki pp. 236, 290, 326, 349.
169. K.P. Jayaswal, Imp. Hist. in a Skt. Text p. 59; Text of Chap. 53, verses 715-718; see B.M. Barua Gayā and Buddha Gayā, II, pp. 12f.
170. R.C. Majumdar, Hist. Bengal, I, p. 67 note 2.
171. Smith, EHI, 3rd ed., p. 368.
172. Radhakrishnan, Ind. Phil., I, p. 609.
173. B.M. Barua Prolegomena to a Hist. of Buddhist Philosophy, p. 19.
174. P. C. Bagchi in Asutosh Mukerjee Volume, Pt. III, pp. 420-421.
175. The Cultural Heritage of India, Vol. IV, pp. 47-48.
176. Visvabharati Annals, Vol. VI, pp. 150-155.
177. Le Nepal, II, p. 317.
178. See H. P. Śāstrī, Discovery of Living Buddhism in Bengal (1897); N.N. Vasu, Modern Buddhism and its followers in Orissa (1911); S.K. Chatterjee, 'Buddhist Survivals in Bengal', in B.C. Law Volume, I, pp. 75-87; The cultural Heritage of India, Vol. IV, Chapters 16-19. pp. 273-299. A critical and comprehensive study of the inter-relations between Brāhmanism and Buddhism and a survey of Buddhist legacy in Indian Culture, are still wanting. It is regrettable that Brahmanical scholars have not been able to correctly appreciate Buddhism.
179. Bauddha Dharma, pp. 491-492.
180. Buddha Jayanti Souvenir New Delhi, 1956, p. 97.
181. Eliot, Hinduism and Buddhism, Vol. II, p. 120.
182. See above Chapter II.
183. Ātmatattvaviveka, ed. by Dhuṇḍirāja Śāstri, Benaras, 1936, p. 417. My attention to this passage was drawn by my teacher, G. C. Pande.
184. R.C. Mitra, op. cit., pp. 149-151.
185. S. Radhakrishnan, Foreword, pp. IX, XIII in 2500 years of Buddhism. Recently Pandurang Vaman Kane has also asserted this Brahmanical theory of the origins of Buddhism. See History of Dharmaśāstra, Vol. V, Pt. II, BORI, POONA, 1962, Chapter XXV, pp. 1003-1030. See above

note 144. I have examined and criticised the views of P.V. Kane in a separate article in press).

186. G.C. Pande, studies in the Origins of Buddhism, Chapter VIII; cf. H. Zimmer, Philosophies of India (Meredian Ed.) pp. 595; 600; and Vedic Index Vol. II, pp. 167-168, p. 185 and pp. 342-344, for an idea of the Munis, Yatis and Vrātyas, the non-Brahmanical fore-runners of Jainism and Buddhism.

187. Ch. Up., II. 23.1.

188. Cf. E.J. Thomas, History of Buddhist Thought, 2nd, ed.; p. 90; A. B. Keith, RPV Up. II, p. 502; E. W. Hopkins in JAOS, Vol. XXII, p. 336. Brahmanical dislike of Sanyāsa or asceticism is evident from Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, 33. 11; Bauddhāyana Dharmasūtra, II. 6.30 and Yājñavalkya Smṛti, I, 270-272.

189. E.J. Thomas, loc. cit., Keith, RPV Up. pp. 558-559; Bhikkhu J. Kashyap, DN, Vol. I, Introduction, p. XXII; O. H. de A. Wijesekera, 'A Pāli Reference to Brāhmaṇacaraṇas', ALB, Vol. XX, pp. 294ff.

190. G.C. Pande, Origins of Buddhism, Ch. VIII; Bauddha Dharma, Ch. I.

191. R.C. Mitra, op. cit., pp. 153-154.

192. Umesha Mishra, in Ganganathathe Journal of the Jha Research IX, Pt. I, 1951, pp. 111-122. See my cirticism of his views in the same Journal's Vol. XXI.

193. See above chapters VI-VII; I-tsing, Record, Chapters 32, 34.

194. P.V. Kane, History of Dharmaśāstra, Vol. V. Pt. II, BORI, Poona, 1962, pp. pp. 1004-1005.

195. The Upaniṣads contain a fusion of Vedic and pre-Vedic, Brahmanic and Śramanic cultures; they attack the Vedas and the sacrificial way, but retain a great deal of Brahmanical theories at the same time, they incorporate many non-Brahmanic elements such as yoga, meditation, ascetic ideals. Sculptures of ascetics in meditation have been discovered from Mohenjo-daro and Harappa, which date from cir. 2500-2000 B.C. cf. John Marshall, Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization, Vol. I, pp. 48-58, plates XII. 17. c.; XVI 29; CXVIII. 11. Munis, Yatis and Vrātyas are mentioned in Vedic texts, and we are told that their beliefs and practices were foreign to central Vedic culture, the sacrificial culture, and their ideals were opposed to those of the Brāhmaṇas. These non-Vedic people were most likely the remnants of the pre-Āryan Harappan population. See Ṛgveda, X. 136, 2.4.5. on muni; Atharva-veda, VII. 74.1 on deva-muni; Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, VI. 33, 3 on muni Aitasa; Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa, XIV.4, 7 on Muni-maraṇa; Ṛg-Veda, VIII.3, 9; VIII.6, 18; X. 72, 7 on Yatis; Taittirīya Saṃhitā, II, 9.2; VI. 2, 7, 5; Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā, VIII. 5; XI.5; Pañcaviṃśa Br. VIII, 1.4; XIII.4, 16; Aitareya Br., VII. 28, 1, on yatis; Yajurveda-Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā, XXX. 8 and Taittrīya Brāhmaṇa, III. 4, 5, 1; Pañcaviṃśa Br. XVII. 1, 4 and Atharvaveda, XV, 1, 1 foll. on Vrātyas. See A.A. Macdonell and A. B. Keith, Vedic Index, Vol. II (Delhi, 1958 reprint), pp. 167-168; 185, and 342-344.

APPENDIX 1

EMPEROR HARṢA AS A BUDDHIST AUTHOR

Mention has been made above of the religious activities and Buddhist patronage of Śrī Harṣa, Śīlādityarāja, Emperor of Thāneśvara and Kanauj, who ruled cir. 606-647 A.D. It is too well known that besides being a patron of Buddhism and of Yuan Chwang, Harṣa was a patron of poets and men of letters.[1] It is not unlikely that besides Bāṇa, Mayūra and Yuan Chwang, other thinkers and literary celebrities like Uddyotakara, Subandhu and Dharmakīrti may have enjoyed Harṣa's patronage.[2]

ŚRĪ HARṢA AS AN AUTHOR

Apart from these considerations, there is ample evidence to believe that Emperor Harṣa himself was a poet, dramatist and a man of literary skill, and that he wrote as a Buddhist author of considerable merit. Three dramas in Sanskrit are attributed to his authorship. They are Priyadarśikā, Ratnāvalī, and Nāgānanda; their author is called King Harṣadeva. Doubts have been entertained with regard to Harṣa's authorship of them, and it was also held at one time that their author was Śrī Harṣa, King of Kashmir. The evidence, for the view that these dramas may have been written by some unknown author and they go by the King's name, dates from the 9th century A.D.

In the opening passage of his Kāvya-prakāśa,[3] Maṃmaṭa states that Dhāvaka (variant reading, Bāṇa) and others obtained wealth from Śrī Harṣa and the like. Nāgojibhaṭṭa[4] in his commentary on Kāvyapradīpa of Govinda, says that 'Dhāvaka' wrote the Ratnāvalī in the name of King Harṣa, and obtained much wealth for this. The reading Bāṇa instead of Dhāvaka occurs in certain MS. and some scholars like Hall, Bühler and Macdonell ascribed the three plays to Bāṇa, while Pischel ascribed them to Dhāvaka, a contemporary of Śrī Harṣa.[5] We know nothing of any poet named Dhāvaka, and most of the

modern scholars including Keith,[6] Winternitz,[7] Jackson,[8] S.K. De,[9] and others accept Harṣa's authorship of them.

The following evidence may be reproduced in support of this view : (1) In the Udayasundarīkathā of Soḍḍhala[10] (11th cent. A.D.) Śrī Harṣa is mentioned along with Vikramāditya, Muñja, and Bhoja, as being both Bhūpāla (king) and Kavīndra (lord of poets); in another place in the same work, Harṣa is referred to as one whose joy lay in words in his own assembly, and who, as king, had honoured Bāṇa with plentiful gold. (ii) Dāmodara Gupta, a 9th century author, describes in his Kuṭṭinīmata,[11] a performance of the Ratnāvalī, and ascribes the work to Harṣa (iii) I-tsing (cir 671-691 A.D.) refers to Harṣa as a great lover of literature, who "versified the story of the Bodhisattva Jīmūtavāhana" which was dramatised and performed in accompaniment of music and dance.[12] As will be seen below, the story of Jīmūtavāhana is the subject of the Nāgānanda. (iv) Yuan Chwang also refers to Harṣa's various accomplishments, including his love of music and ability to compose verses.[13] (v) Bāṇa Bhaṭṭa says that Harṣa's poetical ability (kavitva) was supreme and that he was skilled in composing ornate peosy (kāvya) and stories (kathā).[14] All this literary evidence and Chinese testimony go to show that Harṣa was a man of letters, a poet and dramatist. But the strongest evidence in support of Harṣa's authorship of Ratnāvalī, Priyadarsika, and Nāgānanda, is that the Prologue-stanza in the Ratnāvalī speaks of Harṣa as an able poet and attributes its authorship to him.[15] That all the three works are from the pen of the Emperor is clear from the occurrence of this same prologue-passage in the same set words in the beginning of all the three works.[15] As Dr. Keith observed, "absolute similarity of style and tone in the three works renders any effort to dissociate them wholly impossible."[16]

Moreover, Harṣa displays himself in these works in other diverse ways. Thus the reference to a multitude of Kings (rājasamūha) having come from different parts of the country (nānādigdeśāgatena) were attending on King Harṣa (rājñaḥ Śrī Harṣadevasya pādapadmopajīvinā) may be understood in the light of history of Harṣa's Kanauj Assembly and his subjugation of numerous Kings of Northern India.

ŚRI HARṢA AS A BUDDHIST AUTHOR

Śrī Harṣa, thus appears as the real author of the Ratnāvalī, Priyadarśikā and the Nāgānanda. Besides these, Harṣa is known from the Tibetan Translations as the author of the Suprabhāta-Stotra[16a] and the Aṣṭamahāśrīcaitya saṃskṛtstotra. It is likely that the Emperor himself composed the beautiful lines in Sanskrit in the epigraphs found in Madhuvana and Bārsakherā copper plates. The two pieces, Ratnāvalī[17] and Priyadarśikā,[18] are called Nāṭikās; they are both in 4 Acts, their theme is identical with some variations; the similarity of characters, situations and of structure is more than accidental. Their subject-matter is the amourettes of the happy and brave Udayana, the famous king of Vatsa (Kosaṃbī).

It may be noted that the heroine of the Priyadarśikā is named 'Āraṇyakā' (cp. Vṛkṣamūlikā). The doctrine of Karma and the evils of worldly life are alluded to in the beginning of the play.[19]

The Ratnāvalī, while reflecting the royal court and harem life, displays poetical beauties and Buddhist sentiments of piety. At one place, we find pious wish for general peace and the company of the good.[20] The Nāgānanda,[21] however, is characteristically Buddhist in subject, ideal and general atmosphere.

The Nāgānanda is in Five Acts; its hero is Vidyādhara prince Jīmūtavāhana, who reveals Buddhist ideas of the impermanence of life, and the evils of desire. In the opening passage respectful reference is made to Buddha (Munīndra), Bodhi (perfect wisdom) and contemplation (dhyāna). In the two last Acts, Jīmūtavāhana appears as a Mahāyāna Bodhisattva. The ideal life of an ascetic in the woods, who sits on stone slab, under the trees, lives on roots and has deer as his companion, is reminiscent of certain verses of the Boddhicaryāvatāra.[22]

The view that "Nāgānanda can hardly be considered to be a Buddhist drama"[23] is somewhat misleading. Prayer is offered to Buddha in the beginning; Jīmūtavāhana, the hero frequently imitates the Bodhisattva ideal; I-tsing clearly says that king Śīlāditya who was exceedingly fond of literature, had "versified the story of the Bodhisattva Jīmūtavāhana"; the play clearly advocates the ideal of peace and the principle of non-violence. It belongs to Śrī Harṣa when he had become very

much influenced by Buddhism, and had established relations with Śīlabhadra, Divākaramitra, Yuan Chwang and Nālandā University. The other two plays seem to be his earlier compositions.[24] The Suprabhāta-stotra is a morning hymn in praise of Buddha, in 24 verses.[25] This work clearly proves Harṣa as a Buddhist author and refers to Harsa as its writer.[26] The Aṣṭamahāśrīcaitya-Stotra also is a Buddhist hymn in 5 stanzas.[27] It is said to be a hymn to the Eight Great Buddhist Shrines. It is preserved in Chinese and is attributed by Yuan Chwang to an Indian King designated in Chinese as "Sun of Virtue", i.e., Śīlāditya, which is the epithet Yuan Chwang usually applies to Harṣa.[28]

Lastly, mention may be made of the beautiful lines in Sanskrit verse in the Madhubana and Bāṇskherā plates. The Bānskherā plate inscription even bears Harṣa's name, probably his own signature. In a stanza, Harṣa describes how fortune is unstable, like lightning or a bubble of water, and then follows the following pious admonition. "By body, mind, and speech should good be done to all creatures; this has been declared by Harṣa as the best acquisition of Dharma."[29]

Notes and References

1. On Emperor Harṣa see R.K. Mookerjee, Harṣa, 2nd. ed., 1959; by the same scholar, Men and Thought in Ancient India, 1957, Ch. V; R.C. Majumdar's prejudiced account in HCIP, III, Ch. IX, pp. 93f. Nanigopal Majumdar, 'Śrī Harṣa, The King-Poet' in IHQ, XII, 1936, pp. 504 f., 701f. Among the original sources are the Bānsakherā and Madhuvana copper Plate epigraphs of the King; Harṣacarita, Chapters II and VIII, Life, pp. 175f; Yuan Chwang, I, pp. 343f; I-tsing, pp. 163-164.
2. See Appendix 3.
3. Kāvya Prakāsa, I. 2.
4. Winternitz, HIL, III, Eng. Tr. by Subhadra Jha, Delhi, 1963, p. 251.
5. A.A. Macdonell, Hist. Skt. Lit., pp. 305-306; cf. HCIP, III, p. 309.
6. A.B. Keith, Sanskrit Drama, 1924, pp. 170f.
7. Winternitz, HIL, III, p. 251.
8. Jackson in JAOS, XXI, 1900, pp. 88f.
9. S.K. De, Hist. Skt. Lit., I, pp. 255-256.
10. Ed. in GOS No. 11, 1920, cited in Priyadarsikā ed. by Nariman, Jackson and Ogden, Introduction, pp. X f.
11. Kuṭṭinīmata ed. in Kāvyamālā, III, Bombay, 1887, pp. 98-99, 194-195.
12. I-tsing, pp. 163-164.
13. Life, pp. 173-174. When Harṣa first met Yuan Chwang, he bowed at the latter's feet "and uttered his praises in verses innumerable."
14. Harṣacarita, A. Führer's ed., Bombay, 1909, pp. 112, 421; Eng. Tr. by Cowell and Thomas, pp. 58, 65.
15. e.g. Ratnāvalī (Chaukhamba Ed. 1959) p. 8—asmatsvāmiṇā Śrī Harṣadevenāpūrva vasturacanā laṅkṛtā Ratnāvalī nāmanāṭikā kṛtā. Śrī Harṣo nipuṇaḥ kaviḥ parisadpyeṣā guṇagrāhiṇī.

16. Keith, Sanskrit Drama, p. 170.
16a. Ed. by I.P. Minayeff in Zapiski de la societe Archaeologique, t. II, fasc. III, pp. 236f.
17. Ed. by K. Joglekar, Bombay, 1913; Text and Hindi Transl. published from Chaukhamba, Varanasi, 1959.
18. Ed. by A.V.W. Jackson, and C.J. Ogden with Notes and English Transl., New York, 1923; Hindi Translation published by the Hindi Sahitya Sammelana, Allahabad, 1947.
19. Priyadarśikā, Hindi Tr. p. 2.
20. Ratnāvali, I, 5.
21. Ed. by T. Ganapati Śāstrī, TSS 59, 1917; English Transl. by Palmer Boyd, London, 1872; Hindi Transl. by Gangadhar Indukar, Allahabad, 1947; Tibetan version in Tanjur, m Do xcii, Cordier-cata.,III, p. 419; extracts from it restored by V. Bhattacharya in Bhoṭa Prakāśa, Calcutta, 1939, pp. 33-70.
22. See Chap. V.
23. Winternitz, HIL, III, p. 257.
24. I-tsing, pp. 163-164; Nāgānanda, verses 1-2; A.B. Keith, Classical Sanskrit Literature, pp. 54, 60.
25. See Zapiski, t. II, fasc. III, pp. 236f.; Winternitz, HIL, II, p. 377.
26. F.W. Thomas in JRAS, 1903, pp. 703-722.
27. Winternitz, HIL, II, p. 377.
28. Nariman, Jackson and Ogden, (Ed.), Priyadarśikā, p. XIV.
29. See Ep. Ind., Vols. I, pp. 67-75; IV, pp. 208-211.

APPENDIX 2

List of Works translated into Chinese by Yuan Chwang between A.D. 645 and 664.

1. Mahāprajñāpāramitā sūtra, Nanjio-Cata., No. 1.
2. Vajracchedikāprajñāpāramitāsūtra, Nanjio-cata., No. 13.
3. Prajñāpāramitāhṛdayasūtra, Nanjio-cata., No. 20.
4. Mahābodhisattvapiṭakasūtra, Nanjio-cata., No. 23.
5. Daśacakrakṣitigarbhasūtra, Nanjio-cata., No. 64.
6. Anantabuddhakṣetraguṇanirdeśasūtra, Nanjio-cata., 95.
7. Sūtra on the duration of the law fore-told by Buddha just before his entering into Nirvāṇa, Nanjio-cata., No. 123.
8. Vimalakīrtinirdeśasūtra, Nanjio-cata., No. 149.
9. Sūtra on explaining the first and excellant gate of the law of Nidāna, Nanjio-cata., No. 140.
10. Bhaiṣajyaguruvaidūryaprabhāsapūrvapraṇidhānaguṇasūtra, Nanjio-cata., No. 171.
11. Sukhāvatīvyūhasūtra, Nanjio-cata., No. 199.
12. Saṅdhinirmocanasūtra, Nanjio-cata., No. 247.
13. Tathāgatarājāvavādakasūtra, Nanjio-cata., No. 249.
14. Adbhutadharmaparyāyasūtra, Nanjio-cata., No. 261.
15. Sūtra on the greatest incomparableness, Nanjio-cata., No. 269.
16. Mahāyānaguṇastutisūtra, Nanjio-cata., No. 276.
17. Buddhabhāṣita āryadharma pratītyasamutpāda sūtra, Nanjio-cata., No. 272.
18. Amoghapāśahṛdayasūtra, Nanjio-cata., No. 316.
19. Ekādaśamukhadhāraṇīsūtra, Nanjio-cata., No. 328.
20. Pañcamantrasūtra, Nanjio-cata., No. 330.
21. Subāhumudrādhvajadhāraṇīsūtra, Nanjio-cata., No. 361.
22. Buddhahṛdayadhāraṇīsūtra, Nanjio-cata., No. 489.
23. Dukhonmūlanadhāraṇī, Nanjio-cata., No. 490.
24. Aṣṭānāmasamantaguhyadhāraṇīsūtra, Nanjio-cata., No. 491.
25. Sūtra spoken by the Buddha on the Dhāraṇī of holding the world, Nanjio-cata., No. 492.
26. Saḍmukhīdhāraṇī Sūtra spoken by the Buddha on the Dhāraṇī of six gates, Nanjio-cata., No. 493.

27. Buddhabhāsitabuddhabhūmīsūtra, Nanjio-cata., No. 502.
28. Praśāntaviniścayaprātihāryasamādhisūtra, Nanjio-cata., No. 522.
29. Sūtra on the merits produced from reciting the names of seven Buddhas, Nanjio-cata., No. 528.
30. Nidānasūtra, Nanjio-cata., No. 628.
31. Itivṛttakasūtra, Nanjio-cata., No. 714.
32. Devaparipṛcchāsūtra, Nanjio-cata., No. 753.
33. Bodhisattvakarmaṃ, Nanjio-cata., No. 1097.
34. Bodhisattvaprātimokṣa, Nanjio-cata., No. 1098.
35. Yogācārabhūmīśāstra, Nanjio-cata., No. 1170.
36. Mahāyānasaṃparigrahaśāstravyākhyā, Nanjio-cata., No. 1171.
37. Ālambanapratyayadhyānaśāstra, Nanjio-cata., No. 1173.
38. Mahāyānapañcaskandhaśāstra, Nanjio-cata., No. 1176.
39. Śāstra on expounding the Holy Teachings, Nanjio-cata., No. 1177.
40. Mahāyānābhidharmasaṃyuktasaṅgitiśāstra, Nanjio-cata., No. 1178.
41. Śataśāstravaipulya, Nanjio-cata., No. 1189.
42. Buddhabhūmīsūtraśāstra, Nanjio-cata., No. 1195.
43. Vidyāmātrasiddhiśāstra, Nanjio-cata., No. 1197.
44. Śataśāstravaipulyavyākhyā, Nanjio-cata., No. 1198.
45. Mahāyānābhidharmasaṅgītiśāstra, Nanjio-cata., No. 1199.
46. Rājadharmanyāyaśāstra, Nanjio-cata., No. 1200.
47. Yogācārabhūmīśāstra Kārikāvyākhyā, Nanjio-cata., No. 1201.
48. Āryavācāprakaraṇasāstrakārikā, Nanjio-cata., No. 1201.
49. Mahāyānasadharmavidyāddharaśāstra, Nanjio-cata., No. 1213.
50. Vidyāmātrasiddhitriṃśatikāsāstra, Nanjio-cata., No. 1215.
51. Hetuvidyānyāyapraveśatarkaśāstra, Nanjio-cata., No. 1216.
52. Mahāyānakarmasiddhiprakaraṇaśāstra, Nanjio-cata., No. 1224.
53. Hetuvidyānyāyadvāratārakaśāstramūla, Nanjio-cata., No. 1224.
54. Mahāyānakaratalaratnasūtra, Nanjio-cata., No. 1237.
55. Vidyāmātrasiddhiviṃśatiśāstra, Nanjio-cata., No. 1440.
56. Madhyāntavibhāgaśāstra, Nanjio-cata., No. 1244.
57. Madhyāntavibhāgaśāstravyākhyā, Nanjio-cata., No. 1245.

58. Mahāyānasaṃparigrahasāstramūla, Nanjio-cata., No. 1247.
59. Abhidharmamahāvibhāṣāśāstra, Nanjio-cata., No. 1263.
60. Abhidharmanyāyānusāraśāstra, Nanjio-cata., No. 1265.
61. Abhidharmaprakaraṇaśāsanaśāstra, Nanjio-cata., No. 1266.
62. Abhidharmakośaśāstra, Nanjio-cata., No. 1267.
63. Abhidharmakośakārikā, Nanjio-cata., No. 1270.
64. Abhidharmajñānaprasthānaśāstra, Nanjio-cata., No. 1275.
65. Abhidharmasaṅgītiparyāyapādaśāstra, Nanjio-cata., No. 1276.
66. Abhidharmaprakaraṇapādasāstra, Nanjio-cata., No. 1277.
67. Abhidharmavijñānakāyapādaśāstra, Nanjio-cata., No. 1281.
68. Abhidharmadhātukāyapādaśāstra, Nanjio-cata., No. 1282.
69. Pañcavastuvibhāṣāśāstra, Nanjio-cata., No. 1283.
70. Śāstra on the principles of different schools, Nanjio-cata., No. 1286.
71. Abhidharmāvatāraśāstra, Nanjio-cata., No. 1291.
72. Vaiśeṣikanikāyadaśapadārthaśāstra, Nanjio-cata., No. 1295.
73. Abhidharmaskandhapādasāstra, Nanjio-cata., No. 1296.
74. Record of the duration of the Law Spoken by the great Arahant Nandimitra, Nanjio-cata., No. 1465.[1]

Notes and References

1. See Bhikshu Thich Minh Chau, Hsuan Tsang: The Pilgrim and Scholar, Vietnam Buddhist Institute, Nha-Trang, Vietnam, 1963, pp. 85-89; G.H. Sasaki in 2500 Years of Buddhism, pp. 244-247; according to S. Beal, Yuan Chwang took with him copies of 135 Buddhist texts.

APPENDIX 3

THE DATE OF DHARMAKĪRTI

One of the vexed problems in the history of Buddhist thought in India is the date of Dharmakīrti, the celebrated Buddhist logician and philosopher. It may be noted at the outset that there was a second Dharmakīrti, a Tāntrika scholar, author of a commentary on the Hevajra-Tantra,[1] and probably a contemporary of Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna[2] (cir. 10th century A.D.). It is proposed here to correlate the available information and to discuss the current opinions on the date of Dharmakīrti the famous Buddhist philosopher and logician whom we have placed in the first half of the VIIth century A.D.

One eminent and undisputed fact about the time of Dharmakīrti is that he is mentioned by I-tsing (A.D. 671-695) as one who made important advancement in Logic after Dinnāga, and one who flourished in 'recent years' when lived Dharmapāla and Śīlabhadra.[3] M. Fujishima's view that the phrase 'of recent years' or 'of late years' may be taken to mean 'of contemporary days', would make Dharmakīrti a contemporary of I-tsing.[4] Śīlabhadra and Dharmakīrti may have been class-fellows under Dharmapāla;[5] but Śīlabhadra was the Chancellor of the University of Nālandā in about A.D. 635 when Yuan Chwang first visited the University. It is strange that Yuan Chwang does not mention Dharmakīrti, while in one of his letters he informs us that Śīlabhadra had died in about the year A.D. 654.[6]

Yuan Chwang's silence about so famous a Buddhist Doctor as Dharmakīrti, is interpreted by Śrī Rāhula Sāṃkṛtyāyana[7] to indicate the death of the philosopher before the Chinese Master of the Law came to Nālandā. But we have no clear, nor even suggestive evidence, to arrive at such a conclusion. Yuan Chwang's silence about Dharmakīrti proves nothing and negates nothing. He does not speak of Bhartṛhari who was, according to I-tsing, associated with Dharmapāla and died in cir. 650 A.D.,[8] he does not mention Śāntideva who was the most famous Buddhist poet in the middle of the 7th century A.D.[9] We

cannot say that Śāntideva had passed away before Yuan Chwang's visit to India. The view of Śrī R. Sāṃkṛtyāyana[10] that Dharmakīrti flourished in "600 A.D." is therefore not well grounded. The period between 550-600 A.D. for Dharmakīrti proposed by Pt. Dalsukhbhai Malvania[11] is equally inadmissible. The sixth century A.D. as the date of our Logician is controverted, not only by I-tsing[12] who places him along with Dharmapāla and Śīlabhadra, but also by Tārānātha,[13] who states that he was a contemporary of Sroṅ-btsan sgampo (7th century A.D.).

Relying on the Tibetan sources, Professor Stcherbatsky placed Dharmakīrti "in the middle of VII century A.D."[14]

According to Bu-ston one of Diṅnāga's pupils was Īśvarasena, and Dharmakīrti was the pupil of Iśvarasena.[15]

From the Chinese sources[16] it appears that a teacher named Śaṃkarasvāmīn flourished between Diṅnāga and Īsvarasena, and wrote a work called the Nyāyapraveśa.[17] It may be that both Iśvarasena and Śaṃkarasvāmīn were Diṅnāga's pupils. In the Blue Annals the following lineage of teachers is given : Vasubandhu-Diṅnāga-Īśvarasena-Dharmakīrti. This is also the line of succession given by Bu-ston.[18] These sources do not mention Śaṃkarasvāmīn.

Now, Vasubandhu of the above list cannot be Vasubandhu the elder or older who is placed in 320-380 A.D.; Vasubandhu the teacher of Diṅnāga, seems to have been the younger and later Vasubandhu, who is placed by Prof. Frauwallner in 400-480 A.D.[19] and by Prof. Takakusu in 420-500 A.D.[20] Diṅnāga, who is said to have met Vasubandhu when the latter was very old, may be placed in cir. 470-550 A.D. Diṅnāga's pupil Īśvarasena may be assigned to the period of cir. 530-600 A.D. In this way we can place Dharmakīrti, a direct pupil of Īśvarasena, in the period cir. 580-650 A.D. Tārānātha records,[22] on the one hand that, Dharmakīrti was the pupil of Dharmapāla (540-610 A.D.) when the latter was the Chief of Nālandā-Vihāra, and that Dharmakīrti was a contemporary of Tibet's noted monarch Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po.[23] Both these facts are quite in keeping with our dating.

Dharmakīrti seems to have studied Vijñānavāda under Dharmapāla and Pramāṇasamuccaya under Īśvarasena. It appears that Dharmapāla had died shortly before Yuan Chwang

came to Nālandā. He was succeeded by Śilabhadra as the Professor of Idealism in Nālandā University.

Dharmapāla may have been Bhartṛhari's contemporary[24] in about the middle of 6th century A.D. In this way also Dharmakīrti's contemporaneity with Dharmapāla in the last quarter of the sixth century A.D. becomes historically plausible. The second statement of Tārānātha namely that Dharmakīrti was a contemporary of Sroṅ-btsan sgam-po, and that Dharmakīrti's death synchronised with the accession to the throne of King Govindacandra of Bengal[25] also supports the date proposed above.

King Sroṅ-btsan sgam-po is said to have died in A.D. 698.[26] He is known to have married a daughter of the Nepalese King Aṃśuvarman in cir. A.D. 639 and to have sent his Minister Thon-mi Saṃbhoṭa to India to procure an alphabet in the same year.[27] Thus Dharmakīrti and Sroṅ-btsan sgam-po were contemporaries in the first half of the seventh century A.D.

With respect to the date of the Candra King, Govindacandra of Bengal, it is known that the Candra dynasty ruled in Bengal before the Pālas. Lalitacandra, who succeeded Govindacandra, was the last ruler of this dynasty and after that Gopāla founded the Pāla dynasty in cir. A.D. 750. There intervened some chaotic years between the death of Lalitacandra and the election of Gopāla. The end of Lalitacandra's rule may be placed in the first quarter of the 8th century A.D. His predecessor Govindacandra's accession may be placed in the middle of the seventh century A.D. which coincides with the death of Dharmakīrti.[28]

The date of Dharmakīrti from Tibetan sources raises one more significant problem. This concerns with the contemporaneity of our philosopher with the Mīmānsaka thinker Kumārila Bhaṭṭa. Bu-ston, for example, writes that Kumārila, "the heretical teacher" was the uncle of Dharmakīrti.[29] This tradition is corroborated by Tārānātha[30] and Sumpā mkhan po.[31]

DHARMAKĪRTI AND KUMĀRILA

The last two Tibetan historians record that Kumārila had to accept the doctrine of Dharmakīrti alongwith his 500 followers, having been defeated in a philosophical debate in

which Dharmakīrti proved victorious. Prof. Stcherbatsky did not attach any value to this tradition and rejected it[32] without adducing any evidence to contradict the unanimous report of the Tibetan chroniclers.

Dharmakīrti was a Brahmaṇa of Tirumalay in Coḷadeśa (Cūḍāmaṇi); his father was a Tīrthika by faith (i.e. a Brāhmanical follower) whose name was Parivrājaka Korunanda belonging to Brāhmaṇa caste. Kumārila also was a Brāhmaṇa by caste and a Tīrthika ('Heretic'), i.e., a Brāhmanical follower. It does not seem improbable that Dharmakīrti may have been a nephew of the great Mīmānsā Doctor. Besides Tārānātha and Sumpā, the Śaṃkara-Digvijaya of Mādhava also records that Kumārila was defeated and converted by Dharmakīrti.[33] Dr. S.C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa,[34] Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. G. Kavirāja[35] and Dr. B. Bhattacharya,[36] who agree in placing Dharmakīrti in the first half of the seventh century A.D., find no difficulty in admitting the contemporaneity of Dharmakīrti and Kumārila.

Kumārila, besides being a contemporary of Dharmakīrti, lived into the early years of the 8th century A.D.[37] Dr. S.N. Dasgupta's view that Kumārila was a senior contemporary of Śaṃkara whom he places in '788 A.D.',[38] does not seem to be in keeping with other known facts. For example, the Tattvasaṃgraha of Śāntirakṣita, a work which must have been composed by its author before he left for Tibet, in cir. 770 A.D.,[39] is full of Kumārila's criticism.[40] Kumārila, who was a contemporary of Sroṅ-btsan sgam-po and of Dharmakīrti, cannot have been alive in 788 A.D.[41] when Śaṃkara is believed to have been born. Kumārila was a contemporary of Dharmakīrti who seems to have died in between A.D. 640 and 650.

Mr. S.P. Pandit first noticed that in the colophon to the Act III of Bhavabhūti's Mālatī-Mādhava, the author is referred to as "the pupil of Śrī Bhaṭṭa-Kumārila", in the colophon to the Act VI the author is referred to as "Śrīmat Uṃvekācārya, who attained to his learning through the favour of Śrī Kumārila-Svāmī"; and finally at the end of the Act X, it is stated that "here ends the Act X. of the Mālatī-Mādhava composed by Śrīmat-Bhavabhūti."[42]

A passage in the Citsukhī seem to support the authenticity of this MS. There the commentary identifies Uṃveka with Bhavabhūti.[43] Uṃveka is referred to twice in the Tattva-

Saṃgraha.[44] He is also referred to by Karṇakagomin (cir. 700-750) the commentator of the Pramāṇavārttikam. It is difficult to say whether Bhavabhūti and Umveka were two names of one and the same person or they were two different persons.[45] Likewise, it is not our present concern whether Bhavabhūti, Umveka and Sureśvara or Maṇḍana Miśra were names of one and the same person or they were different persons.[45] Maṇḍana Miśra is also quoted by Karṇakagomin besides Umveka. Prof. Gnoli has shown that Maṇḍana Miśra has quoted in his Sphoṭasiddhi a few lines from the Pramāṇavārttikam of Dharmakīrti, (Gnoli, op. cit., pp. XIX-XX). At any rate, it is a fact that Bhavabhūti was a pupil and a contemporary of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa.[46]

Vākpati Rāja, the author of a Prākṛt historical poem, the Gauḍa-Vaho, respectfully admires Bhavabhūti and regards him as his teacher or leader. It appears that Bhavabhūti was an elder contemporary of Vākpati.[47] This Vākpati was a court poet of King Yaśovarman of Kanauj who is the hero of this work.

From the Rājataraṅgiṇī we learn that this Yaśovarman of Kanauj who was the patron of Bhavabhūti and Vākpati, was subdued by King Lalitāditya of Kashmir.[48] Yaśovarman of Kanauj is probably known from the Nālandā stone Inscription of Mālāda,[49] the characters of which resemble those of Apsaḍa record of Ādityasena. He can be placed in the first half of the 8th century A.D. Almost all modern scholars place Yaśovarman in the first half of the 8th century A.D. He is known to have sent an envoy to the Chinese emperor. The envoy was a Buddhist scholar, Buddhasena, who reached the Chinese court in A.D. 731.[50] The Kashmir King Lalitāditya is also known to have sent an embassy to China in reply to which the Chinese Emperor awarded the title of 'the King of Kashmir' to Muktāpīḍa. This exchange of embassies is placed by Dr. P.C. Bagchi in 724 A.D.[51] Dr. Stein placed this event in 736 A.D.[52] while Dr. Smith placed the same in 745 A.D.[53] Dr. R.S. Tripathi and Dr. R.C. Majumdar think that the subjugation of Yaśovarman by Lalitāditya may have occurred before Lalitāditya sent his envoy to China with a letter in which he referred to the Kanauj King as an ally.[54]

The reign of Yaśovarman is now fixed tentatively between 700 and 740 A.D. and that of Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa between

724 and 760 A.D.[55] Thus the patron of Bhavabhūti flourished most likely in the first half of the 8th century A.D. Bhavabhūti may be placed between the last quarter of the 7th and first half of the 8th century A.D. As he was a junior contemporary of Kumarila Bhaṭṭa, the latter may safely be placed between the first quarter of the seventh and first quarter of the 8th century A.D., so that his contemporaneity with Dharmakīrti, Sroṅ-btsan sgam-po and Bhavabhūti becomes intelligible and plausible as the works of Bu-ston, Tārānātha, Sumpā and Bhavabhūti himself would have us believe.

Mr. S.P. Pandit and N.B. Utgikar placed Kumārila between 590 and 650 A.D., and Bhavabhūti between 620 and 685 A.D.[56] Dr. P.V. Kane while doubting the identity of Uṇveka and Bhavabhūti, placed the latter's literary activity between 700 and 730 A.D.[57] Dr. Keith placed Bhavabhūti "somewhere about 700 A.D."[58] while Dr. D.G. Devasthali thinks that Bhavabhūti who was a Mīmānsaka pupil of Kumārila, cannot be placed later than the beginning of the 8th century A.D.[59] Dr. Macdonell placed him in the first half of the 8th century A.D.[60] This is also the view of Professor V.V. Mirashi[61] and Dr. B. Bhattacharya.[62] Dr. S.N. Dasgupta opined that Kumārila "flourished in the seventh and eighth centuries."[63] But his view that "Dharmakīrti in all probability lived in the fifth century A.D."[64] is perhaps clearly an historical anachronism. He believed that the definition of pratyakṣa : "Pratyakṣaṃ kalpanāpoḍharaṇ tato'rthāditi kecan kalpanāṃnāmajātyādi yojanāṇı pratijānate" as quoted by Bhāmaha in his Kavyālaṅkāra (V. 6) "is directly borrowed from Dharmakīrti". Therefore Dharmakīrti must have lived before Bhāmaha.[65]

Dr. Dasgupta does not seem to have noticed that this definition of perception is not of Dharmakīrti but of Diṅnāga. The line 'Pratyakṣaṃ kalpanāpoḍhaṃ nāmajātyādisaṅyutaṃ' is to be found in the Praṃnāṇasamuccaya of Diṅnāga[66] and the phrase 'Kalpanāpoḍhaṃ' is quoted by Uddyotakara which Vācaspati definitely attributes to Diṅnāga.[67] Dharmakīrti added the condition 'abhrāntaṃ' to the above definition.[68] It is therefore clear that Bhāmaha borrowed the above cited definition not from Dharmakīrti but from Diṅnāga. The date of Dharmakīrti cannot thus be taken two centuries back on the basis of a confusion which is altogether groundless. Dharma-

kīrti is quoted in the Tattva-saṃgraha and his views on perception and inference are referred to.[69] He is also quoted and criticised by such eminent Brāhmanical philosophers as Vācaspati Miśra,[70] Sureśvarācārya,[71] and Jayanta Bhaṭṭa.[72]

But whether Kumārila has criticised the views of Dharmakīrti cannot be so readily ascertained. Nor is there any unmistakable evidence to show that Dharmakīrti has in his works criticised the views of Kumārila, although, as already noted, not only the Tibetan historians but also the author of the Śaṃkara-Digvijaya, record a fierce debate between the two great controversialists.

Some scholars, e.g., Pt. M.K. Jain[73] and Pt. Dalsukhbhai Malvania[74] maintain that Dharmakīrti has criticised the views of Kumārila. Accepting cir. 550 A.D. as the date of Kumārila proposed by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja,[75] it is held that Kumārila has criticised the views of Diṅnāga but not of Dharmakīrti, but the latter has criticised the views of Kumārila.

This early date of Kumārila does not seem to coincide with the historical conclusions indicated above. Nor the points of Kumārila attacked by Dharmakīrti have been brought to light. It is therefore very uncertain to say that Dharmakīrti has criticised the views of Kumārila.

UDDYOTAKARA AND DHARMAKĪRTI

Dr. S.C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa for the first time expounded the theory that Dharmakīrti and Uddyotakara were contemporaries, and that the author of the Nyāyavārttika has quoted and criticised the tenets of Dharmakīrti.

Uddyotakara Bhāradvāja in his famous work the Nyāyavārttika, quotes from a work called Vādavidhi[76] but its author is not named. He also quotes from another work called the Vādavidhānaṭīkā,[77] the author of which is also not named. His commentator Vācaspati Miśra also does not give the names of the authors of these works. Dr. Vidyābhūṣaṇa held that the Vādavidhi quoted here is the same as the Vādanyāya of Dharmakīrti and the Vādavidhānaṭīkā is no other work than Vinītadeva's Vādanyāya-ṭīkā. He therefore concluded that Dharmakīrti and Uddyotakara were contemporaries and that the latter quoted and criticised the former.[78] This view of Dr. Vidyābhūṣaṇa was accepted by Dr. A.B. Keith who supported it in

several of his writings.[79] Already Mr. Rangaswamy Iyengar,[80] Dr. Tucci,[81] and Dr. Bhattacharya[82] had pointed out the wrong foundation of this theory and argued at length to demolish the view that Uddyotakara quoted from the works of Dharmakīrti; the theory can no longer be maintained after the painstaking and convincing discussion of the whole problem by Dr. Andre Vostrikov.[83] It seems to have been finally established that the Vādavidhi quoted by Uddyotakara is a work of Vasubandhu. There is moreover, a manifest chronological difficulty which prevents us from identifying the Vādanyāyaṭīkā of Vinītadeva (cir. 800 A.D.) with Vādavidhāna-ṭīkā, a work already quoted in cir. 600 A.D. when Uddyotakara flourished. The theory of nigrahasthānas expounded by Dharmakīrti is not known to Uddyotakara. On the contrary, Dr. Vostrikov has convincingly shown on the basis of a comparison of numerous passages of the Nyāyavārttika with those of the Vādanyāya, that Dharmakīrti has quoted and criticised Uddyotakara.[84] Uddyotakara, therefore, seems to have flourished some time before Dharmakīrti.

DHARMAKĪRTI AS A POETICAL AUTHOR

One more point, which is supposed to have a bearing on the date of Dharmakīrti, is that he might have been a junior contemporary of Uddyotakara. The source of this view is a passage in the Vāsavadattā of Subandhu. The passage runs thus "Nyāyasthitiṃ'iva Uddyotakara-svarūpaṃ Bauddha-saṃgatiṃ'iva alaṅkāra bhūṣitaṃ."[85] It is supposed that the logician Uddyotakara is referred to, the next reference, on the suggestion of the commentator Śivarāma, is supposed to refer to Dharmakīrti as an author of a work on poetics,[86] perhaps, Bauddha-saṃgatyalaṅkāra. Unfortunately, such a work no longer exists now.

Dr. P.V. Kane, Dr. S.K. De, and Dr. S.N. Dasgupta pointedly draw our attention to the fact that the reading, cited above, is not found in all the MS. of the Vāsavadattā.[87]

It may be noted that the word 'alaṅkāra' as a part of the title of a work is not unknown to Buddhist authors, e.g., we know of the Abhisamaya-Alaṅkāra of Maitreya, of the Mahāyāna-sūtra-Alaṅkāra of Maitreya-Asaṅga, and of the Madhyamaka-Alaṅkāra-Kārikās of Śāntirakṣita.

Some scholars including Dr. Winternitz,[88] Dr. Keith,[88] and Dr. Macdonell,[88] have placed Subandhu in the seventh century A.D. and he is regarded as a contemporary, not only of Uddyotakara but, also of Bāṇa Bhaṭṭa, for the latter refers to the excellent poetical position which the Vāsavadattā (of Subandhu) enjoyed.[89] It is not unlikely that Uddyotakara was a senior contemporary of Subandhu and of Bāṇa Bhaṭṭa, who lived in the first half of the seventh century A.D. But Dharmakīrti seems to have survived Uddyotakara and to have been a famous poetical author by the first quarter of the seventh century A.D.

Bu-ston[90] refers to Dharmakīrti's special training in grammar; Tārānātha[91] attributes to him a verse in which Dharmakīrti boasts to have surpassed Candragomin[92] in grammar and Āryaśūra in poetry. Curiously enough this verse is found engraved in Borobudur.[93] In the Tibetan Tanjur,[94] a collection of verses and comments on Jātakamālā, the poetical work of Āryaśūra, are ascribed to Dharmakīrti. Whether the work on Alaṅkāra referred to by Subandhu may be this 'collection of verses' it is difficult to say yes or no. Whether Dharmakīrti was one of those poets who submitted their poetical compositions based on the Jātakamālā to emperor Harṣa Śīlāditya (cir. 606-647 A.D.) referred to by I-tsing,[95] it is difficult to say any thing with certainty. It is not impossible that the commentaries on the Jātakamālā by Dharmakīrti, still extant in Tibetan, may have been among those prized by Harṣa whose date coincides with that of Dharmakīrti.

Bhadanta Dharmakīrti's poems are found quoted in the noted anthologies of Sanskrit literature. Thus one poem of his is quoted in the Sāraṅgadhara-paddhati,[96] While the Subhāṣitāvalī[97] of Vallabhadeva, quotes as many as five verses of Dharmakīrti. A passage bearing on poetics is quoted by Ānandavardhana in his work Dhvanyāloka, and he refers to Dharmakīrti.[98]

Keeping all these diverse pieces of evidence in view, one may say, without any fear of contradiction, that Dharmakīrti, the author of the Pramāṇavārttika, the conqueror of Kumārila, a contemporary of Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po, was perhaps also a poet of merit who may have enjoyed the patronage of Harṣa who was exceedingly fond of literature,

Notes and References

1. Hevajra Tantra, I, pp. 13-15, 28.
2. Blue Annals, I, pp. 244, 246; II, pp. 499, 803.
3. I-tsing, pp. 181-182.
4. See Takakusu's note in I-tsing, p. 181.
5. R.C. Majumdar's date of Dharmapāla the Idealist teacher, viz., "A.D. 635", HCIP, III, p. 383, is not proved by Yuan Chwang; Dharmapāla was not alive when Yuan Chwang came to India.
6. JUPHS, XVIII, 1945, pp. 77-78.
7. Bauddha Darśana, pp. 131-132; Purātattva Nibandhāvali, pp. 179-180.
8. See above Chapters VI -VII.
9. loc. cit.
10. op. cit. loc. cit.
11. Dharmottara-Pradīpa (Ed.) Introduction, pp. XVI-XVII.
12. I-tsing, p. 181.
13. Tārānātha (Schiefner) p. 176.
14. BL, I, pp. 29-30.
15. Bu-sTon, II, p. 152. Īśvarasena wrote a comy. on the Pramāṇa-samuccaya, now lost but quoted and criticised by Dharmakīrti.
16. R. Sāṃkṛtyāyana, Purātattva Nibandhāvalī, p. 178.
17. Ed. by A.B. Dhruva, GOS No. XXXVIII, 1930; cf. G. Tucci, "Is the Nyāya Praveśa by Diṅnāga?' in JRAS, 1928, pp. 7-13.
18. Blue Annals, I, p. 346; Bu-sTon, II, p. 152.
19. See the very exhaustive treatment of the problem of the date and identity of Vasubandhu by E. Frauwallner in SOR, Vol. III, Rome, 1951.
20. See Takakusu in JRAS, 1905, and in Essentials of Buddhist philosophy p. 55.
21. Frauwallner, op. cit., p. 65, doubts the tradition that Diṅnāga was a direct pupil of Vasubandhu. He would probably place Diṅnāga in 480-540 A.D. and Dharmakīrti in 600-660 A.D.; J.F. Staal in JAOS, Vol. 84, No. 1, 1964, pp. 91-92. I was glad to note that his dates for these logicians more or less agreed with those arrived at my discussion.
22. Tārānātha (Schiefner) p. 176.
23. Ibid., p. 195.
24. I-tsing, pp. 179-180.
25. Tārānātha (Schiefner) loc. cit.
26. S.C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa, HIL, p. 305; F.W. Thomas, Indianism, pp. 72, 77, puts his death in 650 A.D.
27. Ibid., pp. 73-74, see however, R. Sāṃkṛtyāyana, Bauddha Sanskriti, pp. 403-404; Tibbat Main Bauddha Dharma, Allahabad, 1948, pp. 5-9. According to him the period of Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po is 617-698 A.D.
28. See R.C. Majumdar's Translation of this Chapter of Tārānātha's Choshbyung (from Schiefner's Geschichte) in IHQ, XVI, pp. 129f. and in History of Bengal, I, pp. 176, 183.
29. Bu-ston, II, p. 152, Tārānātha (Schiefner) p. 177.
30. Ibid., pp. 175-185.
31. Pag Sam jon Zang, p. 166, Index p. VI.
32. BL, I, p. 35.
33. Gopīnātha Kavirāja in Tantravārttika, Eng. Tr., Vol. I, pp. XII-XIII.
34. HIL, pp. 304-305.
35. Tantravārttika, Eng. Tr., I, p. VIII.
36. Foreword to TS, p. LXXXIII.
37. Tantravārttika, Eng. Tr., I, pp. XII-XIII.
38. Hist. Ind. Phil., I, p. 370.
39. See above Chapter VII and G. Tucci in MBT, II, pp. 5f.
40. Vide TS, Eng. Tr., pp. 166, 171, 275, 585, 671, 711 etc. till the last chapter, pp. 1532, 1552,

41. HCIP, IV, P. 303.
42. Gaüḍavaho of Vākpati, ed. by S.P. Pandit, re-ed. by N.B. Utgikar for a 2nd. ed., Poona, 1927, Introduction, p. CCVI.
43. See JASB, 1918, p. 243; IHQ, 1931, p. 304.
44. TS. Eng. Tr., pp. 1385-1386.
45. These questions are debated in JRAS, 1923, pp. 259 ff. TS, Foreward, p. LXXXIII; IHQ, 1931, pp. 301ff. Proceedings of the III Oriental Conference, Madras, pp. 480-481; cf. also V.V. Mirashi, Studies in Indology, Vol. I, pp. 43f.
46. This is also the view of Gopīnātha Kavirāja, Tantravārattika, Eng. Tr., I, loc. cit.
47. Gaüḍavaho, p. 221 verse 798.
48. Rājataraṅgiṇī, IV. 141.
49. Ep. Ind., Vol. XX, pp. 43ff.; IHQ, Vol. VII, p. 664; IHQ. Vol. VIII, pp. 288ff.
50. See P.C. Bagchi in Sino-Indian Studies, Vol. I, p. 71.
51. Ibid, l.c., also HCIP, III, p. 130.
52. Rājataraṅgiṇī, Eng. Transl. I, Book IV. 134 note and Introduction, p. 85.
53. EHI, 4th ed., p. 312; JRAS, 1908-1909, p. 761.
54. HCIP, III, pp. 131, 133, 135.
56. Gaüḍavaho, Introduction, p. CCIX.
57. History of Dharmaśāstra, Vol. I, p. 263.
58. Sanskrit Drama, p. 187.
59. HCIP, III, p. 308.
60. History Skt. Lit. p. 307.
61. Studies in Indology, I, p. 26.
62. TS Foreword, p. LXXXIV.
63. Hist, Skt. Lit., Vol. I, p. 532.
64. Ibid., p. 533.
65. Ibid, loc. cit. He regards Bhāmaha, a Buddhist, to have lived after the 5th century A.D.
66. Fragments From Diṅnāga, p. 8; S.C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa, HIL, p. 277.
67. Nyāyavārttika, I, 1, 4, II.2.4; Nyāyavārttika Tātparyaṭikā (Chaukh. ed.) pp. 2-3; 205; cf. Randle in Fragments, p. 8.
68. See above Chap. VIII Section 4.
69. TS, pp. 7, 568, 857 Eng. Tr., pp. 10, 964, 1458.
70. Nyāyavārttika Tātparyaṭikā, I. 1. 1.; Bhāmatī, II, 2.28.
71. Bṛhadāraṇyakavārttika, Chap. VI. On the identity of Sureśvarācārya see D.C. Bhattacharya in IHQ, VII, 1931, pp. 301 f.; Gangānātha Jhā, (Ed.) Bhāvanāviveka, Pt. II, 1923, Introduction; and HCIP, III, p. 308 note 3.
72. Nyāyamañjari, (Chaukhambā Ed.) p. 100.
73. Akalaṅka-Grantha-Traya, (Ed.), Intro. p. 18.
74. Dharmottara Pradīpa (Ed.) Intro., pp., XVI-XVII.
75. Ślokavārttika-Tātparya-ṭikā, (Ed.) Intro. p. 17.
76. Nyāya-vārttika, (Chaukhambā, K.S.S. 1916) pp. 117, 20.
77. Ibid., p. 117, 1.
78. JRAS, 1914, pp. 601-604; HIL, p. 124; Bilingual Index to Nyāyabindu, p. IX.
79. JRAS, 1914, p. 1103; IHQ, IV, pp. 221-227; Indian Logic and Atomism, p. 28.
80. JBORS, XII, pp. 587-591; IHQ. V, pp. 81-86.
81. JRAS, 1928, pp. 380-382; IHQ, IV, pp. 630-636; JRAS, 1929, pp. 451-488.
82. TS., Foreword, pp. LXXVIII-LXXIX.
83. A. Vostrikov, 'The Nayāyavārttika of Uddyotakara and the Vādanyāyay of Dharmakīriti', IHQ, XI, 1935, pp. 1-31.
84. Ibid., pp. 11f.

85. Vāsavadattā of Subandhu with the commentary of Śivarāma Tripāṭhī, ed. in BI. F. Hall, 1859, p. 235.

86. S.P. Bhattacharya, JASB, XII, 1950, pp. 49-66, tries to show that Dharmakīriti wrote a work on poetics.

87. P.V. Kane, History of Sanskrit Poetics, Delhi, 1961, pp. 64-66; S.K. De and S.N. Dasgupta, Hist. Skt. Lit., Vol. I, pp. 217-218.

88. Winternitz, HIL, III, fasc. I, Eng. Tr., Calcutta, 1959, pp. 28-29; Keith, Hist. Skt., Lit., 1948, p. 308; Macdonell, Hist. Skt. Lit., (1962 reprint) p. 280.

89. Harṣacarita, Book I, śloka 1; see V.S. Agrawala, HC-Adhyayana, p. 5.

90. Buston, II, pp. 151-152.

91. BL, I, p. 36 note 3.

92. See above Chapter VII.

93. BL, I, p. 36 note 3.

94. Stan-ḥgyur, m Do, referred to in BL, I, p. 37.

95. I-tsing, pp. 162f.

96. Śārangdhara-paddhati, verse No. 947 as quoted by P.V. Kane, op. cit., pp. 65-66.

97. Subhāṣitāvali, ed. by C. Bendall, verse Nos. 737, 1987, 1617, 2246, 3232.

98. Dhvanyāloka, Nirṇayasāgar Press Ed., 1925, p. 270.

APPENDIX 4

GAUDAPĀDA'S SYNTHESIS OF BUDDHISM AND VEDĀNTA

The Āgamaśāstra of Gauḍapāda :

One of the important philosophical texts written in Ancient India is the Āgamaśāstra also called Māṇḍūkya-kārikā or Gauḍapāda-kārikā, attributed to Gauḍapāda, traditionally supposed to be the grand-teacher of Śaṃkarācārya. It is, possible that Gauḍapāda hailed from Bengal (Gauḍa), as 'Gauḍapāda' seems to be an epithet rather than a personal name. This does not mean that Gauḍapāda was not a historical person although little reliable information is available with regard to his life and date.[1] It is very difficult to fix his date. The tradition which makes him a grand-teacher of Śaṃkara, would place him in cir. 700 A.D. as Śaṃkara is believed to have been born in 788 A.D. Dr. S.N. Dasgupta held that "in order to be able to teach Śaṃkara, Gauḍapāda must have been living till at least 800 A.D."[2] Dr. R.D. Karmarkar holds that "the date of Gauḍapāda must be somewhere between 300 to 500 A.D."[3] Dr. Vidhusekhara Bhattacharya believed that he may have lived in the 5th century A.D. as he is quoted in the Tibetan translation of the Tarkajvālā of Bhāvaviveka who is generally placed in the 5th century A.D.[4] We must point out that Bhāvaviveka may be placed in 550-620 and was most likely a contemporary of Dharmapāla (cir. 540-610) as reported by Yuan Chwang, who in his turn was a senior contemporary of Śīlabhadra (died in 654).[5] Dr. S. Radhakrishnan assigns Gauḍapāda to the end of the 7th century A.D. but inclines towards Dr. Walleser's view.[6] We may place Gauḍapāda in 550 A.D., and we cannot be quite certain that he was Śaṃkara's teacher Govinda's guru, although his influence on Śaṃkara's thought is well established.

To Gauḍapāda are, ascribed some other works also such as the Sāṃkhyakārikā-bhāṣya, Uttaragītā and Subhagodaya-stuti[7], but their authorship is very doubtful. The text of the Āgamaśāstra is divided into four chapters called Prakaraṇas

and consists of 215 memorial verses. The work starts as a commentary on the Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad but assumes the form of an original treatise. Chapter I (*Āgama*) seeks to elucidate the text of the Māṇḍukyopaniṣad and for that reason the work is designated Māṇḍūkyakārikā. Chapter II is on falsity (Vaitathya) and discusses the phenomenality and non-substantiality of the world of day-to-day experience. Chapter III is on the tenet of non-duality (Advaita). Chapter IV entitled Alātaśānti, literally 'the extinction of the burning coal,' further elaborates the tenet of non-duality, and the striking title is employed to denote the unreality of phenomenal diversity which is like a stick burning at one end and which when moved creates the impression of a fire brand circle.

Different Theories of Interpretation of Āgamaśāstra :

Dr. Walleser had pointed out that the Āgamasāstra of Gauḍapāda bears considerable Mahāyāna Buddhist influence.[8] Dr. V. Bhattacharya has discussed with remarkable scholarly thoroughness the Mahāyāna influence on this text and therefore on the Śāṃkara-Vedānta. But he is of the view that the IVth Chapter, Alātaśāntiprakaraṇa, is not an integral part of the Āgamaśāstra, and that the four Chapters of it "are four independent treatises and are put together in a volume under the title of Āgamasāstra."[9] This opinion is shared by Dr. T.R.V. Murti who remarks that the first three chapters are the works of "a keen Vedāntin", while the fourth Chapter was "written most probably by a Buddhist".[10] Dr. S.N. Dasgupta, however, held that 'there is sufficient evidence in his kārikās for thinking that he was possibly himself a Buddhist, and considered that the teachings of the Upaniṣads tallied with those of Buddha."[11] Fairness requires mention of Dr. R.D. Karmarkar whose preconceived notions seem to lead him to an outright denial of all Buddhist doctrinal influence on the Gauḍapāda-kārikā. He thinks that all the four Chapters are from the pen of Gauḍapāda who, being a thoroughgoing Vedāntist has employed Buddhist phraseology to attack the Buddhist doctrines.[12]

Without going into unnecessary controversies, we should like to point out that there is no cogent reason to doubt the fact that the 215 verses of the Āgamasāstra are from the pen of a

single author. We have no definite answers to such questions as, e.g., who is the author of the Alātaśāntiprakaraṇa ? Who put together the four chapters into one Volume ? Dr. Murti says that this problem is "a matter of conjecture."[13] His attempts to explain away the Buddhist elements in classical Vedānta and to exclude the possibility of doctrinal borrowings by the classical Vedāntists like Gauḍapāda and Śaṃkara, are quite unconvincing. "It is our contention", Dr. Murti asserts, "that there could not be acceptance of any doctrinal content by either side from the other, as each had a totally different background of tradition and conception of reality." Realising, however, that "there is no difference between the Absolute of Vedānta and that of the Mādhyamika or Vijñānavāda," he is constrained to admit that "there has been borrowing of technique and not of tenets."[14] This argument is not satisfactory because it is contradicted by historical facts. For example, as late as the time of the Dharmaśāstras, we find that Brahmanical tradition was against Śramaṇic way of life; Śramaṇas were denounced as 'outcastes' and 'inauspicious' and tha institution of the ordination of Bhikṣus (Pravrajyā) was attributed to asuras or demons. The oldest Upaniṣads (Br. Up. & Ch. Up.) prove that the greatest Brāhmanical teachers like Yājñāvalkya, were married and householders. Other early Upaniṣads clearly reveal Śramanic influence. However, in the Smṛtis and Purāṇas the institution of Sanyāsa finds a respectable position showing thereby that the Brāhmanical authors had at last accepted elements of non-Brāhmanical or Śramaṇic origin. Then again, the followers of Buddhism and Brāhmanism had different background of tradition and concept of reality, yet we find the Brāhmanical priests, the compilers of the Purāṇas, accepting Buddha as an Avatāra of Viṣṇu. Further, earliest Brāhmanism or Vedicism involved animal sacrifice and there is no mention of the principle of non-violence (ahiṃsā) in the entire Vedic literature prior to the Chāndogya Upaniṣad. But due to the popularity of Jainism and Buddhism which laid particular emphasis on Ahiṃsā and Maitri, the Brahmanical authors of the Manusmṛti (200 A.D.) and the Mahābhārata (200 B.C.—200 A.D.) and others also accepted the tenet of Ahiṃsā and thenceforth it became a cardinal principle in Brahmanism also. It is impossible to deny that the Purāṇic Hinduism has bor-

rowed the institution of Sanyāsa, the tenet of Ahiṃsā and reverence to Munis, Yatis and Yogīns from Śramanism or Buddhism and Jainism.[15] In short, we cannot rule out the possibility of doctrinal borrowing by the Brahmanical or Vedāntist thinkers from Buddhist thought.

But we are not going to argue that Gauḍapāda has borrowed Buddhist doctrines, or that he was himself a Buddhist. Our humble suggestion is that he had made an attempt to harmonise Buddhist tenets with those of the Upaniṣadic or non-dualistic Vedānta; in the Āgamśāstra we find an endeavour to synthesise and bring about a concord between Mahāyāna Buddhism and Advaita Vedānta. In this endeavour seem to have crept into Vedānta certain basic tenets of Mahāyāna philosophy, and the result was the non-dualistic Vedänta of Śaṃkara. It would be historically correct to say that the Śāṃkara-Vedānta has been influenced by the Mādhyamika thought, and the link is preserved in the Āgamaśāstra of Gauḍapāda.

Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. Gopīnātha Kavirāja rightly maintains that the Mādhyamika-Kārikās of Nāgārjuna had influenced the thought of the Gauḍapādakārikās.[16]

Vedānta and Buddhist Thought before Gauḍapāda :

It is a fact that the Vedānta-sūtras or Brahmasūtras of Bādarāyaṇa are theistic rather than monistic. It is equally universally admitted that the Brahmasūtras were commented upon before Gauḍapāda by avowed dualists.[17] We don't know any Brāhmanical author or thinker who expounded monistic (advaita) doctrine before Gaudapāda and Śaṃkara.[18] The scattered seeds of monism in the Upaniṣads[19] were developed for the first time by Gauḍapāda (600 A.D.) and Śaṃkara (800 A.D.) who established the classical form of the Advaita Vedānta. In fact, Śaṃkara credits Gauḍapāda, with the discovery of the Advaita doctrine, which, according to him, lay deep in the Vedas.[20]

The necessity of conjectural explanations, viz, the IV Chapter of Gauḍapāda's work being from the pen of a Buddhist, unknown to history, and its being added to the first three Chapters by some one who is also unknown to history, seems to

have arisen out of an inclination to adhere to the myth of the originality of monistic absolutism of classical Vedānta. This myth disappears when we realise that pre-Gauḍapāda Vedānta is niether systematic nor monistic, and that Gauḍapāda flourished after all important Vijñānavāda and Mādhyamika philosophers had diffused their idealistic, monistic and absolutistic tenets. The advaita turn in Vedānta in and after Gauḍapāda can be reasonably and satisfactorily explained only by recognising the debt of Gauḍapāda and Śaṃkara to the Mādhyamika and Vijñānavāda systems of thought.

It is a matter of historical truism that the doctrine of two truths (Satya-dvaya-Vyavahāra and Paramārtha) was first expounded by Nāgārjuna (B.C. 100 to 100 A.D.) and subsequently propogated by Āryadeva (100-200 A.D.), Bhāvaviveka (600 A.D.) , Candrakīrti (600-700 A.D.) and Śāntideva (700 A.D.) but its seeds are perceivable in the Pāli Canon itself.[21] It is legitimate to suppose that the classical Vedāntists took this double-truth theory from the Mādhyamikas. Nāgārjuna was the father of the kārikā style in Sanskrit literature, and after his Madhyamakakārikās, many other Buddhist and Brahmanical authors began to write philosophical texts in Kārikās or memorial verses.

The doctrine that this phenomenal world is void of truth and its appearance is due to illusion (moha) born of ignorance (avijjā, avidyā) and perverted view (dṛṣti āsrava), is very well known to the Pāli sources and the Mahāyāna sūtras and Śāstras.[22] In the Nikāyas the world is said to be void (suññā loko ti vuccati),[23] it is compared to a house set on fire;[24] the goal of Nibbāṇa is often understood to mean the 'extinction' of this fire born of tṛṣṇā, The method of affirming the transcendental truth by a system of relentless denial of the reality of phenomenal world was evolved first in Buddhist quarters by Nāgārjuna. The entities, the elements of mind and matter, are known as 'dharmas' exclusively in Buddhist quarters. Nāgārjuna, the father of Indian system of dialectics, was the first thinker to give prominent place to the method of four-fold description (catuḥ-koti), though the method is already employed in the Pāli Nikāyas.[25]

The doctrine of non-dual idealist absolute was developed first by the Buddhists in the Saṅdhinirmocanasūtra, the Laṅkā-

vatārasūtra, and it received its classical form at the hands of Maitreyanātha (300 A.D.), Asaṅga (400 A.D.) and Vasubandhu (500 A.D.). Diṅnāga (480-540 A.D.) had declared that "the climax of wisdom is the non-dual Absolute."[26]

Buddhism in the Āgamaśāstra :

The age of Gauḍapāda was one of philosophical controversies and almost warlike activities of theologians espousing different sects. But as pointed out above, it was also the age when *rapprochement* between Brahmanical theology and Mahāyāna Buddhology was nearly complete; an age when Parama-Saugatas worshipped Brahmanical gods (see Chap. II), supreme divine Bodhisattvas assumed the form of Pāsupata Tīrthika (see Chap. X), Brahmanical images were being enshrined in Buddhist temples (see Chap. XII), Buddhist logicians were being quoted as authorities on Kashmir Śaivism (see Chap. II) and when historical Buddha was being sacrificed at the alter of mythical Viṣṇu by making him an Avatāra for the Kali Age (see Chap. XII). In such an age it is neither curious nor surprising to find a synthesis between Buddhist absolute and that of the Vedānta. Gauḍapāda was true to the spirit of his age, therefore, he comments on the Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad and pays devout homage to the Buddha.

Buddhist contents of the Āgamśāstra are already well known to scholars, some have acknowledged while others have them explained away. We shall briefly review the concordance between the Āgamaśāstra (Abbr. AŚ) and Buddhist sources.

AŚ. I. 7 refers to those who view creation as being of the nature of dream and illusion (Svapnamāyāsarūpeti). This obviously refers to the Buddhist view of the world.

See, e.g.—māyādisvapnasadṛśaṃ vipaśyaṅto vimucyate/ Laṅkāvatārasūtra, X. 251 cf. ibid. X. 279, ibid, X, 291. etc. In the Aṣṭasāhasrikā we read the following :—

Māyā ca sattvāśca advayametadadvaidhīkāram, iti hi svapnaśca sattvāśca advayaṃ etadavaidhīkāram/sarva dharmā api devaputrā māyopamāḥ svapnopamāḥ (BST-4), p. 20.

The Buddhist philosophical terms occur in the very first chapter, e.g., AŚ I. 29, Upaśamaḥ Śivaḥ: I. 17 Prapañca, comparable to MŚ. opening lines, and AŚ I. 18, Vikalpa.

I think that the idea expressed in AŚ, I. 22 reminds us of Buddha's perception of the triple world (tridhātu=triṣu dhāmasu) and 'Mahāmuniḥ' is meant to indicate the Great Ascetic Buddha.

In AŚ, II. 1, Gauḍapāda says like Vasubandhu, 'as in dream, so in waking, the objects seen are unreal', compare Viṃśatika-kārikā, verses 1-2. "The wise men (who) speak of the sameness of the dream and waking states", AŚ, II. 5, are probably Vijñānavādins. "The knowers of the mind" referred to in AŚ, II. 25, are evidently the Idealist Buddhists.[27] The term 'Vitatha' is found used in the Vajracchedikā Prajñāpāramitā in the sense of 'false' (Vch. ed. SOR, XIII, pp. 35, 48).

There is a remarkable harmony between MŚ, opening lines and AŚ, II. 32.[28] The concept expressed in AŚ, II. 35 with emphasis on 'the quiescence of the phenomenon that is non-dual' (prapañcopaśamo' dvayaḥ) at once recalls similar ideas expressed in the opening lines of MŚ, Aṣṭasāhasrikā (BST) P. 177, and Prajñāpāramitā Piṇḍārtha (in BST-4) opening line. According to Dr. S.N. Dasgupta[29] "the Buddhists were the first to use the words prapañcopasamam śivam." The thought of AŚ, II. 31 seems to be a mere repetition of some verse of the Laṅkāvatārasūtra; see for instance Laṅkāvatāra, X. 291.

The use of the word 'Saṃghāta' in AŚ, II. 3 and III. 10 for objective bodies is manifestly a Buddhist usage. The argument for the non-origination of things in AŚ, II. 20 strongly reminds us of the dialectical approach evinced in the Mādhyamika-Śāstra and the Catuḥ-Śataka of Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva respectively.

At AŚ, III. 29-30. one feels that Gauḍapāda is giving a most faithful expression to Vijñānavāda philosophy as known from the Laṅkāvatārasūtra and the works of Vasubandhu. I am inclined to observe that at AŚ, III. 33, the first line is eminently Vijñānavādin while the second line equally clearly Upaniṣadic. Here in this verse we find a perfect combination of the two thought-currents.

The epithets used in AŚ, III. 37 remind the reader of Nirvāṇa which is said to be atarkāvacara and anabhilāpya. The Aṣṭasāhasrikā (BST, p. 177) states 'sarvakalpa vikalpa

prahīṇo hi Tathāgataḥ'. It is likely that the mention of asparśayoga at AŚ, III. 39, refers to the intangible cessation called Nirodha or Nirvāṇa. The description given at AŚ, III. 47, fits in well with that of Buddha and Nirvāṇa as given in Buddhist texts. We have seen that the hypothesis of the AŚ, IV, being an independent treatise is not well grounded. The chapter is captioned Alātaśānti, and we find that the course of thought in the AŚ reaches its logical conclusion in this chapter. The Laṅkāvatārasūtra uses the words 'alātacakra', Laṅkā, X. 173. The use of the word 'dharma' at AŚ, IV. 1, in the sense of entity is "peculiarly Buddhistic". There can be no doubt that the opening verse of Chap. IV adores the Fully Enlightened One (Saṃbuddha), the best among men (dvipadām varam). Likewise AŚ, IV. 2, repeats the salutation to him who, being the benefactor of all beings (sarvasattvasukho hitaḥ, cp. Sabbabhūtānukaṃpī), taught the supreme contemplation (asparśayoga, probably asaṃprajñāta samādhi), and a doctrine which can neither be disputed nor contradicted.[30] Commenting on this verse Dr. Radhakrishnan says that "The kārikā is an attempt to combine in one whole the negative logic of the Mādhyamikas with the positive idealism of the Upaniṣads."[31] Eminent scholars including Jacobi, Vallee Poussin, V.S. Sukthāṇikar, S.N. Dasgupta and V. Bhattacharya have already eminently shown the Buddhist influence in the last chapter of the Āgamaśāstra. As I cannot improve upon their discussions, I feel no justification in reproducing what is already well acknowledged. In order to complete my survey I add the following notes. AŚ, IV. 4-5, 19, subscribe to the theory of non-origination of things; AŚ. IV. 22-23, are comparable to MŚ, I. 1, 7 and XXI. 13 which deny causality, AŚ, IV. 33 contains the most common words of Buddhist philosophy, such as 'Saṃvṛti' and 'sarve dharmā mṛṣā', (cp. Nāgārjuna's credo- 'Sarve dharmāḥ śūnyā' and Candrakīrti—'anubhava eṣa mṛṣā' etc.). AŚ, IV. 42, seems to speak in the vain of Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra and other early Mahāyāna Sūtras. AŚ, IV. 57 compares with MŚ, XXIV. 8-10. AŚ, IV. 58-59 recall Catuḥaśataka, X. 14 and so many passages in the Aṣṭa-sāhasrikā and the Vajracchedikā. AŚ, IV. 61-62 compare well with Laṅkāvatārasūtra, III. 65, 121. Phrases such as 'Agra-yāna' AŚ, IV. 90; 'Sarve dharmā anādayaḥ', IV. 91, 'Ādi-

buddhāḥ', IV. 92, and 'Ādisāntā', IV. 93, are obviously Buddhistic in connotation.

Notes and References

1. M. Walleser was of the opinion that Gauḍapāḍa's theories represented the tenets of a Bengal School of thought and he placed the Māṇḍukya-kāriṣās in cir. 550. A.B. Keith RPVUP, II, p. 503 and note 1.
2. Hist. Ind. Phil., Vol. I, p. 423.
3. Introduction (p. IV) to his Edition of the Gauḍapādakārikā, BORI, Poona, 1953.
4. Āgamśāstra of Gauḍapāda, edited with critical Introduction, Translation and Comy. into English (1943) and Sanskrit (1950) byV. Bhattacharya, University of Calcutta, see Sanskrit Version, pp. 43ff.
5. See above Chapter VII.
6. Ind. Phil. II, p. 452 and note; The Tarkajvālā is an auto-comy, on Bhāvaviveka's original work, the Mādhyamika-hṛdayakārikā, its Sanskrit Ms. was discovered by R. Sāṃkṛtyāyana (See JBORS, Vol. XXIII Pt., I for brief notices of the Ms.) and is preserved in the K.P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna.
7. Gauḍapāda-Kārikā, ed. R.D. Karmarkar, Intro., pp. V-X.
8. Keith, RPVUP. II, p. 503, note 1, Quoting Der-altere Vedānta, pp. 5 f.
9. Āgamaśāstra, (Ed.), pp. IV, Lvii.
10. Central Philosophy of Buddhism pp. 14-15.
11. Hist. Ind. Phil., I, p. 423.
12. Gauḍapādakārikā (Ed.), XXXXLI.
13. Op. cit., I. c. note.
14. Central Philosophy of Buddhism, pp. 116-117.
15. See above Chapter XII; cf. G. C. Pande, Origins of Buddhism, pp. 280 f. cf. R. C. Hazra Purāṇic Records; Dharmānanda Kosambī, Pārśvanātha Kā Cāturyāma Dharma; R. C. Jain, Most Ancient Aryan Society, Sri Ganganagar, 1964.
16. Bhāratīya Sanskriti Aur Sādhanā, Pt. I., Chapter 5, pp. 132-133.
17. See the Brahmasūtras ed. and translated by S. Radhakrishnan, (Allen and Unwin, London).
18. Cf. S.N. Dasgupta, Hst. Ind. Phil., I., p. 422; S. Radhakrishnan, Ind. Phil. II, p. 452.
19. Cf. Keith, RPVUP, II, pp. 516f.; R.E. Hume. Thirteen Principal Upanishads, 2nd. ed., p. 71.
20. Śaṃkara's comy. on Gauḍapāda-Kārikā, Ed. Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series, p. 214; cf. S.N. Dasgupta, op. cit., pp. 422-423.
21. SN, I, Arhantasutta, p. 15.—Loke samaññaṃ kusalo viditvā, vohāramattena so vohareyyā I cf. MŚ. XXIV.8; XXIV. 10; CŚ, VIII. 8; Madhyamakāvatāra, VI. 23-28; Madhyamaka-Vṛtti (BB Ed.) pp. 55-56; Madhyamārthasaṃgraha, 1-2; cf. L.M. Joshi in Dharmadūta, Vol. 29, July-August, 1964, pp. 54-56; BCA IX. 2.
22. Cf. Mahāvagga, pp. 13-15; MN, I, Mūlaparyāyasutta, pp. 3-10; Nettippakaraṇa, 85; SN, I, Upanīyasutta, p. 4; Visuddhimagga (PTS Ed.) pp. 496, 542; Vajracchedikā Prajñāpāramitā, Ed. E. Conze, SOR, XIII, pp. 35. 42, 48; other sources see E. Conze, 'Mahāyāna Treatment of the Viparyāsas' in Lessing Festchrift.
23. Vide SN, III, pp. 50-51; DN, I, p. 17; AN, I, p. 279; and DN, III, p. 30.
24. Cf. Mahāvagga, pp. 34ff. Ādittapariyāya.
25. DN, I, pp. 51-52, 151ff.
26. Cf. Saṅdhinirmocanasūtra, ed. by E. Lamotte, Louvain, 1935; Laṅkavatāra-sūtra ed. in BST No. 3 and D.T. Suzuki, Studies in the

Laṅkāvatāra; G. Tucci, Aspects of the Doctrines of Maitreya (nātha); etc. S. Levi's ed. of Deux Traites de Vasubandhu, Paris, 1925, and G. Tucci's ed. of Prajñāpāramita Piṇḍārtha, JRAS, 1947, pp. 55-56.

27. See V. Bhattacharya, Āgamaśāstra, p. 33 where numerous parallels from Buddhist sources are cited.

28. Ibid., pp. 38-43.

29. Hist. Ind. Phil., I, p. 425, note.

30. cf. V. Bhattacharya, Āgamaśāstra, pp. 92-98.

31. Ind. Phil. II, p. 465 and note 2.

APPENDIX 5

CHRONOLOGY OF SOME EARLY SIDDHAS

(1) THE SOURCES

TĀRĀNĀTHA

Tārānātha says that during the time of the Pāla Kings of Bengal many Siddhācāryas appeared and diffused the Tāntrika teachings after the time of Dharmakīrti. The Anuttara-Yoga-Tantras appeared in the following order: (1) Saraha's Buddhakapāla-Tantra, (2) Luipāda's Yoginīsaṃcaryā, (3) Kaṃbala and Padmavajra produced the Hevajra-Tantra, (4) Kṛṣṇa's Saṃputa-tilaka, (5) Lalitavajra's Kṛṣṇa-yamāri-Tantra, (6) Gaṃbhīravajra's Vajrāmṛta, (7) Kukkurī's Mahāmāyā, and (8) Piṭo's Kālacakra. This account is given by Tārānātha in his Chos ḥbyuṅ.[1] In his first work on Indian history, the Mystic Tales,[2] he gives the following succession of these Siddhas.

1. 'Mahācārya Brāhmaṇa Rāhulabhadra' for the first time revealed the Mahāmudrā. He later on became known as Saroha or Saraha.
2. His pupil was Nāgārjuna, his disciple was
3. Siddha Śavarī, also known as 'Younger Saroha'. The pupil of Śavarī was
4. Luipāda, whose pupil was
5. Ḍoṃbī, whose pupil was
6. Tilly, whose pupil was
7. Nāro, the latter's pupil was
8. Younger Ḍoṃbī, and the latter's pupil was
9. Kuśalībhadra.

It will be noticed that in these two lists of succession of Siddhas the first Siddha is Saraha alias Rāhulabhadra. There was yet another namesake who was known as Younger Saraha. Luipā figures in both the lists.

bStan-ḥgyur

An entirely different list of succession of early Siddhas

is given in the Tanjur (bStan-ḥgyur) which is given below : (1) Padmavajra, (2) Anaṅgavajra, (3) Indrabhūti, (4) Bhagavatī Lakṣaṃī (5) Līlāvajra, (6) Dārikapā, (7) Sahaja-yoginī Ciṇtā, and (8) Doṃbī Heruka.[3] Two most important Siddhas, viz., Saraha and Nāgārjunapāda, it is to be noticed, are not mentioned in this group of early Siddhas.

PAG SAM JON ZAN

Another tradition, preserved in the work of Sumpā mkhan-po, gives the following list of early Siddhas : (1) Saraha, (2) Nāgārjuna, (3) Śabarīpā, (4) Luipā, (5) Vajraghaṇṭa, (6) Kacchapa, (7) Jālaṅdharīpā, (8) Kṛṣṇācārya, (9) Guhya, (10) Vijayapā, (11) Tailopā, and (12) Nāropā.[4] It will be observed that many names are common to the lists of Tārānātha and Sumpā. Secondly, in Tārānātha as well as in Sumpā, Saraha alias Rāhulabhadra is at the head of the list of these Siddhas.

THE BLUE ANNALS

In the Blue Annals are mentioned at several places, a large number of Siddhas. A certain King Pradyotacandra is credited to have first obtained the Yoga Tantras in the east. After him are placed Nāgārjuna and his disciples who intro-duced the Guhyasamāja and other Mahāyoga-Tantras. Then comes Śrīkaṃbala who introduced Yoginī-Tantras from Uḍḍiyāna. After that the Bodhisattvas ("here Bodhisattvas mean the Kings of Śaṃbhala") introduced the Kālacakra and other Tantras from Śaṃbhala.[5] Among these "Bodhisattvas" of Śaṃbhala were King Indrabhūti, his sister Lakṣamīṅkarā, and his son, Padmasaṃbhava, as we shall see below.

The author of the Blue Annals feels that the Kālacakra system had appeared in the 'Āryadeśa' earlier than is usually believed. According to him the chronological succession of the Line of Ācāryas of the Kālacakra system is as follows : (1) Mahāsiddha Vajraghaṇṭapāda, (2) Kūrmapāda, (3) Vijaya-pāda, (4) Kṛṣṇapāda, (5) Bhadrapāda, (6) Vijayapāda, (7) Tilli-pā or Tailipā, and then (8) Nāropā. "Thus from Ghaṇṭa (pāda) till Nāropā there have been eight teachers in the Line." Nāropā's son was Kālacakrapāda.[6]

It seems that there were several lines of teachers, or 'Āmnāyas', i.e., mystic schools of the Tāntrika Buddhists. Some Siddhas belonging to a particular branch of mysticism may have been contemporary with those belonging to other branch. This seems to be inferable from the fact that the Blue Annals enumerate groups of gurus or different guruparaṃparās. Thus as many as "54 Siddhas, males and females", appear as belonging to different branches of Tāntrika Buddhism, although they were, perhaps, contemporaries also. Members of one branch are : (1) Vāgīśvara, (2) Buddhagupta, (3) Godhārī (4) Karṇavajra (5) Javāri, (6) Jñānapāda, (7) Nāgabodhi, (8) Ānanda, (9) Kṛṣṇapāda, (10) Vasudharma, and (11) Padmavajra. These teachers belonged to the Lineage of the 'Father' class of Tantras, and seem to have been all teachers of a great soul (Siddheśvara), Dam-pa by name, a native of Be-ba-la in South India.[7]

Another line of teachers belonging to the 'Mother' class of Tantras, is as follows:

(1) Anaṅgavajra, (2) Saroruha, (3) Indrabhūti, (4) Ḍombhī-pā, (5) Vajraghaṇṭa, (6) Tillipā, (7) Kṛṣṇapā, (8) Lilāvajra, (9) Luyī-pā, (10) Virūpā, (11) Ānandagarbha, and (12) Kukkurīpā.[8] It is noticeable that in this last list are several persons belonging to the list given by Tārānātha and Sumpā.

SANSKRIT BIOGRAPHY OF THE SIDDHAS

Dr. Tucci[9] brought to light some interesting details concerning the Siddhas given in a Nepalese palm-leaf MS. discovered by him. This Biography of Siddhas, is unfortunately very fragmentary and cannot be of much help in settling the complicated and confused history and chronology of the Siddhas. This Sanskrit Biography of the Siddhas shows that a Nāgārjuna, who was an alchemist, was a contemporary of Śabara and Advayavajra (also called Dāmodara, Maitrīgupta). This work thus points to a different line of teachers, which claimed Nāgārjuna as its head.

CATURĀŚITI-SIDDHA-PRAVṚTTI

The late Paṇḍit R. Sāṃkṛtyāyaṇa[10] has reconstructed the

geneology and chronology of the Siddhas on the basis of the Caturāśīti-Siddha-Pravṛtti, preserved in the Tanjur, and has supplemented his account by other Tibetan sources.

THE EIGHTY-FOUR SIDDHAS IN HISTORY AND LEGEND

The historicity of the 84 Siddhas or Perfect Onés of Tāntrika Buddhism, is indicated not only by a number of Indian and Tibetan legends and traditions but also by some historical references to them. Besides the works of Tārānātha, Sumpā, the Blue Annals, the Caturāsīti-Siddha-Pravṛtti and the Sanskrit Biography, mentioned above, many other Tibetan works written after the time of Bu-ston and before that the Sumpā mkhan-po, also refer to their life and works. The Śābaratantra gives a list of 24 teachers of the Kāpālika sect, and 'Nāgārjuna', 'Mīnanātha', 'Gorakṣa', 'Carpaṭa' and 'Jālandhara', are included in the list.[11] We know from other sources that these are included among the 84 Siddhas also. These 84 Siddhas are also well known to the literature of medieval Indian Chemistry and Alchemy.[12] The fifteenth century poet and mystic, Kabīradāsa refers to them in one of his songs.[13] Some of these are mentioned in the literature of the Nātha School.[14] A fourteenth century writer, Jyotirīśvara also mentions them in his Varṇaratnākara.[15] A few Siddhas are mentioned in some inscriptions also.[16] A large number of them are known from their Tāntrika works, Sādhanas, Dohās and commentaries, extant in Tibetan, Sanskrit and Apabhraṃśa.[17]

The list of 84 Siddhas, as preserved in the Tibetan sources, is as follows :—

(1) Luhī-pā, (2) Līlā-pā, (3) Virū-pā, (4) Ḍoṃbī-pā, (5) Śabara (Śavarī-pā), (6) Saraha (Rāhulabhadra), (7) Kaṅkali-pā, (8) Mīna-pā, (9) Gorakṣa-pā, (10) Caurangī-pā, (11) Vīṇā-pā, (12) Śānti-pā, (13) Tanti-pā, (14) Carmāri (Camarīpā), (15) Khaḍga-pā, (16) Nāgārjuna, (17) Kāṇha-pā, (18) Karṇari-pā (Āryadeva), (19) Ṭhagana-pā, (20) Nāro-pā (Naḍapāda), (21) Śāli-pā (Śṛgāla-pāda), (22) Tilo-pā (Tailika-pāda), (23) Chatra-pā, (24) Bhadra-pā, (25) Dvikhaṇḍī-pā (Do-khaṇḍhi-pā), (26) Ajogi-pā, (27) Kāḍa-pāda (Kāḷa-pā), (28) Dhovī-pā, (29) Kaṅkaṇa-

pā, (30) Kaṃpala-pā (Kaṃbala), (31) Geṅgi-pā (Teṅki-pā), (32) Bhade-pa, (33) Taṇḍhipā, (34) Kukkurī-pā, (35) Cujbi (Kusulī)-pā, (36) Dharma-pā, (37) Mahī-pā, (38) Acinti-pā, (39) Bhalaha-pā, (40) Nalina-pā, (41) Bhūsūkū-pā, (42) Indrabhūti, (43) Megha-pā (Meko-pā), (44) Kuṭhāli-pā (Kuṭhāri), (45) Karmara, (46) Jālandhara-pā, (47) Rāhula-pā, (48) Garbhari-pā, (49) Dhakari-pā, (50) Jogipā, (54) Celuka-pā, (55) Gundari-pā, (56) Luñcaka-pā, (57) Nirguṇa-pā, (58) Jayānanda, (59) Carpaṭi-pā, (60) Caṃpaka-pā, (61) Bhīkhan-pā (62) Bhali-pā, (63) Kumāri-pā, (64) Cavarī (Javāri)-pā, (65) Maṇibhadrā (Yoginī), (66) Mekhalā-pā (Yoginī), (67) Maṅkhalā-pā (Yoginī), (68) Kalakala-pā, (69) Kaṇthali-pā, (70) Dhahuli-pā, (71) Udhali-pā, (72) Kapāla-pā, (73) Kīla-pā, (74) Sāgarapā (Puṣkara), (75) Sarva-bhakṣa-pā, (76) Nāgabodhi-pā, (77) Dārika-pā, (78) Putuli-pa, (79) Upānaha-pā, (80) Kokila-pā, (81) Anaṅga-pā, (82) Lakṣamīṅkarā (Yoginī), (83) Samudra-pā, and (84) Vyāli-pā (Bhali-pa).[18]

(ii) CHRONOLOGICAL POSITION OF SOME EARLY SIDDHAS

Most of the modern scholars agree in placing the 84 Siddhas between 8th and 12th centuries A.D. The chronological discussion of all these Siddhas is, properly speaking, beyond our present scope, because most of them flourished after the 8th century A.D. But it is extremely difficult to decide how many of these 84 Buddhist sages flourished in the 8th century A.D. As a matter of fact, the whole problem of the history and chronology of 84 Siddhas is a confused and complex one. All attempts to reconstruct their systematic chronology at the present state of our knowledge and available evidence, must be tentative.

Dr. Benoytosh Bhattacharya was perhaps the first to make such an attempt.[19] He placed SARAHA in A.D. 633, a date which is too early, and perhaps cannot be substantiated by any undisputed evidence. There are indications that lead us to place Saraha in the later half of the eighth century A.D.[20] Saraha or Rāhulabhadra, according to Sumpā mkhan-po, was

a Brāhmaṇa born in the city of Rājñi in the East, and flourished in the reign of King Candanapāla of Prācya (East).[21] Dr. K.L. Barua suggests that this Rājñī is probably Rānī in Western Assam.[22] In Śrī Sāṃkṛtyāyana's list, Saraha seems to belong to Nālandā, and was a contemporary of King Dharmapāla (cir. 770-810 A.D.).[23] Some writers suggest that Saraha was a contemporary of Ratnapāla, a King of the Brahmapāla dynasty of Kāmarūpa, who is placed in Xth-XIth century A.D.[24] According to Tārānātha, Rāhulabhadra alias Saraha, was a Brāhmaṇa of Oḍiviśa (Orissa).[25]

From the Tibetan Tanjur Saraha appears to be a contemporary of Śāntirakṣita and Kamalaśïla.[26] Almost all the Tibetan sources agree on the point that Saraha's pupil was Nāgārjuna.[27] This Nāgārjuna, one of the Siddhas, flourished in the 8th century A.D. as discussed above.[28] Śrī Sāṃkṛtyāyana informs us that Saraha was a pupil of Haribhadra,[29] who was the guru of king Dharmapāla. An eighth century inscription, inscribed on the pedestal of an image of Avalokiteśvara, preserved in Orissa Museum, and installed in the reign of Śubhakaradeva of Kāra dynasty (cir. 790 A.D.), refers to one 'Mahāmaṇḍalācārya Paramaguru Rāhularuci.'[30] This Rāhularuci may be identical with Rāhulabhadra alias Saraha. Thus all these pieces of evidence put together seem to place Saraha in the second half of the 8th century A.D. Śrī Sāṃkṛtyāyana suggested that Saraha may have died in cir. 780 A.D. which date is probable enough.

When we fix the date of Saraha, we fix the date of some of the earliest Siddhas; Saraha, the first of 84 Siddhas, seems to have flourished in the middle of the 8th century A.D.; one of his direct pupils, in Vajrayāna mysticism, was NĀGĀRJUNA, whose Tāntrika works have been mentioned above. There were several persons bearing this name, and the Tibetan sources are full of confused legends concerning this name. Even the great Mādhyamika metaphysician and perhaps the earliest known Master of the Mahāyāna, is brought into Tāntrika age and is confused with an alchemist and Tāntrika namesake.[31] In Śrī Sāṃkṛtyāyana's list, Nāgārjuna (Siddha 16) appears as a pupil of Saraha and a Brāhmaṇa of Kāñcī in the south.[32] The Blue Annals attribute to Nāgārjuna the introduction of the Guhyasamāja in South India.[33] Tārānātha and Sumpā,[34] although

both give a confused and legendary account of this person, inform us that Nāgārjuna came from Vidarbha in South, and met Saraha (Sorajavajra, Saroruha, or Rāhulabhadra) at Nālandā, and again went to South and spent many years in Śrīparvata.

Dr. Bhattacharya placed Nāgārjuna in 645 A.D.[35] But such an early date perhaps cannot be accepted in as much as he was a junior contemporary of Saraha who died in the last quarter of the 8th century A.D. Dr. Tucci's report shows that there were perhaps two Nāgārjunas even among the Siddhas. One Nāgārjuna is said, in the Sanskrit Biography of the Siddhas, to have been born in Karhāṭaka (probably Karṇāṭaka) and his pupil ('incarnation') was Dāmodara also known as Maitrīpā and as Advayavajra.[36] Even in the list prepared by Śrī Sāṃkṛtyāyana, we cannot say that Siddha 16 (Nāgārjuna) is identical or different from Siddha 76 (Nāgabodhi). Moreover, Nāgārjuna the pupil of Saraha (cir 800 A.D.) cannot be the same as Nāgārjuna the teacher of Advayavajra or Maitrīpā, the author of the Advayavajrasaṃgraha, Madhyamaka-Ṣaṭka and other Tāntrika texts who lived in 1100 A.D.[37] We may also note as pointed by Dr. Tucci, that the Gorakṣa-siddhānta-saṃgraha knows not only a Nāgārjuna, but also Malayārjuna and Sahasrārjuna.[38] It is not unlikely that a Siddha Nāgārjuna, who was a pupil of Sarahapāda, who introduced the Guhyasamāja, and whose Sādhanas of Ekajaṭā and Vajratārā, have been published in the Sādhanamālā, flourished in the late 8th and early 9th century A.D. This date seems to find some support in a work of Tārānātha in which he says that Nāgārjuna fought many "enemies of Mahāyāna" including "Śaṃkara".[39] This statement, which does not seem to have received due attention of scholars, would show that Nāgārjuna the Siddha, was a contemporary of the great Śaṃkara, the chief exponent of Advaita Vedānta, whose birth is placed in cir. 788 A.D.

According to Tārānātha two of Nāgārjuna's pupils were Āryadeva[40] (Siddha 18, Karṇaripā) and Śavarīpā.[41] The latter was also called 'younger Saraha'. ŚAVARĪ or ŚABARAPĀ is the 5th Siddha, was a Kṣatriya by caste, and associated with Vikramaśilā; he was a pupil of Saraha also, and a teacher of Lui-pā.[42] To him are ascribed 16 Tāntrika

works in Tanjur and his Sādhana on Kurukullā is published in the Sādhanamālā.[43] He seems to have flourished about the turning point of the 8th and 9th centuries A.D. Dr. Bhattacharya, however, placed Śabara in 657 A.D.[44] which is a very unlikely date of ĀRYADEVA or KARṆARĪPĀ, the 18th Siddha, the author of the Citta-Viśuddhi-Prakaraṇa; we have already suggested that he seems to have belonged to the late 8th century.[45]

LUHĪ (or LUĪ) PĀ, who heads the list of the 84 Siddhas, was not the first Siddha, but was a pupil of Saraha the Ādi-siddha. According to Śrī Sāṃkṛtyāyana's sources, Luhī-pā was a Kāyastha by profession, who belonged to Magadha and was a clerk in the employ of king Dharmapāla (cir. 770-810 A.D.) of Bengal.[46] Tārānātha, however, clearly says that Luīpā, the pupil of younger Saraha (i.e. Śabarapā) was "a writer of the King of Udyāna in the west named Samantaśubha."[47] Dr. N. Dutt writes 'Ujjayinī' instead of Udyāna.[48] Whether there was any King named Samanta-Śubha in Ujjayinī (Mālawā) in the second half of the 8th and the first half of the 9th century A.D., may very well be doubted. While there is numismatic evidence[49] to prove the existence of a King named Sāmantadeva or Samantaśubha (Tibetan Kun-tu-dge-ba)[50] in the Svat region, the Kabul valley and Afghanistan. It, therefore, stands to reason, to place Luīpā in the early 9th century A.D. and to regard him as being a clerk of King Samantaśubha of Shāhī family of the N.W. Frontier Province.

KAṂBALA (Siddha 30) and his collaborator (in producing the Hevajra-Tantra), PADMAVAJRA, are also placeable in the second half of the 8th century A.D. Their works have been mentioned above.[51]

INDRABHŪTI, one of the Siddhas (no. 42), was the King of Udyāna in the N.W. of India. His son Padmasambhava reputed as a second Buddha in Tibet, who was instrumental in formulating Lamaism, lived in the second half of the 8th and first half of the 9th century A.D. A notable figure is Lakṣamīṅkarādevī, sister to Indrabhūti, who became a Siddha and may be placed in the 9th century A.D.[51] There is no doubt that there were several persons who bore the name Indrabhūti. Dr. Snellgrove says that there were "Three Indrabhūtis."[52] Tārānātha seems to refer at least to two Indrabhūtis,

one Indrabhūti, king of Udyāna, was the teacher of Mahāpadmavajra; another Indrabhūti is called the "junior" who was the pupil of Saroruha and Kaṃpala.[53]

The other Siddhas seem to have belonged to the period between 9th and 12th centuries A.D. Even the Siddhas who have been tentatively placed here in the 8th and 9th centuries A.D., are placed by other scholars much later.

Dr. H.P. Śāstrī[54] held that the Tāntrika works, collected in the Bauddha Gān O Dohā, were products of the 10th century A.D. The authors of these Dohās are mostly Siddhas. Dr. S.K. Chatterji[55] also placed the Buddhist Caryāpadas in the 10th century and after. Dr. P.C. Bagchi was of the opinion that Lui-pā was the same as Matsyendranātha,[56] and that most of the Siddhas lived in the 11th century A.D.[57]

Notes and References

1. The Chapter from Tārānātha's Geschichte (Schiefner) as summarised by N. Dutt in HCIP, IV, pp. 266-268.
2. Tārānātha's Mystic Tales, pp. 8-11.
3. Cordier-Cata. Pt. II, pp. 211-212.
4. Kazi Dawa Samdup, Tāntrika Texts Series, Vol. VII (Śrīcakrasaṃbhára-tantra), Introduction, p. XXXV.
5. Blue Annals, II, p. 753.
6. Ibid., pp. 754-755.
7. Ibid., pp. 867-869.
8. Ibid., p. 868.
9. See his paper 'A Sanskrit Biography of the Siddhas and Some questions connected with Nāgārjuna' JASB, XXVI, 1930, pp. 138-158.
10. See his learned paper 'L' Origine du Vajrayāna des 84 Siddhas', Journal Asiatique, 1934, pp. 209-230; Hindi version in Purātattva-Nibandhāvalī pp. 109-130.
11. JASB, XXVI, 1930, p. 132.
12. cf. Satya Prakāśa, Prācīna Bhārata main Rasāyana kā Itihāsa, Lucknow, 1960, Ch. XII, pp. 209f.
13. Kabīra-granthamālā, Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Sabhā's Ed., p. 54.
14. Gorakṣa-Siddhānta-Saṃgraha, (Banaras Ed.) p. 40; cf. Hajārī Prasād Dvivedī, Nātha Saṃpradāya kā Itihāsa, Allahabad, 1950.
15. Cultural Heritage of India, Vol. IV, p. 274.
16. IHQ, March, 1929, pp. 14-30; Ep. Ind., Vol. XXVI, pp. 247f.
17. See Hist. of Bengal, I, Chapters XI-XII, pp. 304f.
18. R. Sāṃkrtyāyana, Purātattva Nibandhāvalī, Table on pp. 120-125.; cf. P.C. Bagchi in the Cultural Heritage of India, Vol. IV, p. 274.
19. TS, Foreword, pp. XCV-XCVI; Śādhanamālā II, Intro., p. XLIII; JBORS, XIV; pp. 341-357; Buddhist Esterism, pp. 65.
20. See above Chap. X.
21. Pag Sam Jon Zang, Index. p. XII
22. Journal of Assam Research Society, Vol. II, p. 47.
23. Purātattva Nibandhāvalī, p. 120.
24. K.L. Barua, in the Journal of the Assam Rsearch Society, Vol. II, pp. 47 85; Maheshwar Neog in IHQ Vol. XXVII, pp. 146-147.
25. Mystic Tales, p. 8.

26. Cordier-Cata, 2nd Partie, p. 248.
27. Mystic Tales, p. 9; Blue Annals, I, p. 35, 344.
28. See above Chapter X.
29. Dohākośa of Saraha, Bhūmikā, p. 12.
30. S.C. De, 'The Orissa Museum Image Inscription of the Time of of Śubhākaradeva', Proceedings of Ind. Hist. Congress, 1949, pp. 66ff.
31. Nāgārjuna the author of the Sādhanas (Sādhanamālā, I, pp. 193 ff., 265ff.) seems to be different from Nāgārjuna the author of a Rati-śāstra. See my paper in Maha Bodhi, Vol. 73 Nos. 1-2, 1965.
32. Purātattva Nibandhāvalī, p. 121.
33. Blue Annals, II, p. 753.
34. Mystic Tales, p. 9; S. K. Pathak, 'Life of Nāgārjuna from the Pag Sam Jon Zang', IHQ XXX, p. 93.
35. Sādhanamālā, II, Intro., p. CVI.
36. JASB, XXVI, p. 139.
37. Sādhanamālā, II, Intro. p. XCV.
38. JASB, XXVI, p. 141.
39. Mystic Tales, p. 9.
40. Ibid., p. 46.
41. Ibid., p. 11.
42. Purātattva Nibandhāvalī, p. 120.
43. Sādhanamālā, II, Intro. pp. XCIV-CXV, and Text, pp. 285 f.
44. JBORS, XIV, p. 346.
45. See Chap. X and Bu-Ston, II, pp. 130-132.
46. Purātattva Nibandhāvalī, p. 120.
47. Mystic Tales, p. 11.
48. HCIP, IV, p. 267.
49. See HCIP, IV, pp. 112, 117.
50. See G. Tucci in East and West, Vol. 9, 1958, pp. 280, 324.
51. Purātattva Nibandhāvali pp. 123, 125; Mystic Tales, pp. 21, 23; Blue Annals, I, pp. 259, 361-363; above Chap. X; Sādhanamālā, II, p. XCVIII.
52. Hevajra Tantra, I, Introduction, p. 12.
53. Mystic Tales, pp. 18-20.
54. Bauddha Gān O Dohā, Vāṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat, 1916, see Intro.
55. Origin and Development of Bengali Language, p. 81.
56. Kaulajñānanirṇaya (Ed.), Intro, pp. 22-27
57. In the Cultural Heritage of India, Vol. IV, p. 276.

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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

P. 2, L. 36 read practice for pratice
P. 2, L. 37 read Buddhism for Budidhism
P. 4, L. 32 read Hīnayānist for Hinyanist
P. 8, L. 23 read Besides for Bsides
P. 10, L. 28 read Emergence for Emerence
P. 13, L. 2 read R. Kimura for H. Kimura
P. 13, L. 6 read Takakusu for Takakhsu
P. 13, L. 17 read Suzuki for Suzaki
P. 13, L. 53 read Sekoddeśaṭīkā for Sekodoesatika
P. 14, L. 26 read Nationale for National
P. 15, L. 4 read Foreword for Foreward
P. 15, L. 17 read U. Wogihara for V. Wogihara
P. 15, L. 20 read Frauwallner for Frouwallner
P. 23, L. 30 read Saṃskṛti for Sanskrit
P. 57, L. 6 read Law for Lw
P. 82, L. 9 read Chanda for Chandar
P. 83, L. 8 read Paribbājakas for Paribhajakas
P. 103, L. 8 read perpetually bathe his image for perpetually his bathe image
P. 108, L. 19 read Practice for Practic
P. 113, L. 39 read Vietnam for Viethan
P. 142, L. 12 read Krama for Karma
P. 147, L. 34 read anuttarā for anuttrara
P. 148, L. 6 read Mahāparinibbānasutta for Mahāparinibhanasutta.
P. 148, L. 27 read Bendall for Bendali
P. 148, L. 54 read Snellgrove for Shellgrove
P. 149, L. 21 read Nairātmyaparipṛcchāsūtra for Naitratmya°:
P. 149, L. 39 read Kempis for Kempirs
P. 178, L. 24 read Guhāsena for Gunasena
P. 183, L. 26-27 read thus : whose contribution to critical philosophy has perhaps never been surpassed
P. 199, L. 39 read goddess for goodess
P. 201, on Kalyāṇarakṣita add : It is possible to identify this philosopher with Bhadanta Śubhagupta whose views are referred to and criticised by Kamala-

śīla. Firstly, in Tibetan language both the names viz. Śubhagupta and Kalyāṇarakṣita, can be rendered in identical terms. In Saṃskṛt Śubha and Kalyāṇa have the same meaning, and-gupta or-rakṣita also have the same sense. Secondly, the five treatises (viz. 1. Sarvajñasiddhikārikā, 2. Bāhyārthasiddhikārikā, 3. Śrutiparīkṣākārikā, 4. Anyāpohasiddhi, and 5. Īśvarabhaṅgakārikā) are attributed in the Tibetan Tanjur to a person whose name is read as Kalyāṇarakṣita by S. C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa and Rāhula Sāṃkṛtyāyana and as Śubhagupta by N. Aiyaswami Śāstrī. The name Śubhagupta is attested by the Tattva-Saṃgraha-Pañjikā. From the Bāhyārthasiddhi and the TSP it is clear that this philosopher was a Vaibhāṣika realist.

P. 204, L. 17 read Viṃśati for Vimasti
P. 206, L. 11 read Vajrayoginī for Vajragoginī
P. 209, L. 22 read Pag Sam Jon Zaṅ for Pag Sam Joh Zang
P. 211, Note 104 read P. Pelliot for Pellio
P. 211, Note 105 read Nanjio-cata. for Manjio-cata
P. 213, L. 19 read Cāndravyākaraṇa for Candrayakarana
P. 214, L. 6 read Pañcamahopadeśa for Pancamahpoadesa
P. 216 Note 284 read Sāṃkṛtyāyana for Sāmṛtyāyana
P. 218, L. 2 from bottom read Tripiṭakas for Tripiṭaka
P. 230, L. 17 read Commenting for commeting
P. 232, L. 20-21 read Dārṣṭāntapaṅkti for Dārṣṭānita-paṅkti
P. 264, L. 1 read Randle for Ranade
P. 264, Note 171 read cp for op.
P. 165, L. 47 read advaye for adveye
P. 265, L. 50 read sthitvā for sthtivā
P. 266, L. 51 read Stcherbatsky for Stcherbetsky
P. 266, L. 55 read Yamaguchi for Yamayuchi
P. 267, L. 25 read Cūlamāluṅkyaputtasutta for Cūlamāluṅkyaputtsutta
P. 283, L. 1 read Śūnyavāda for Śūnyavādā
P. 284, L. 3 read established for cstablished
P. 300, L. 3 from bottom, read pradveṣo vā prajāsu for pradveṣo ba prajāsu

P. 301, L. 5 read Saṃmohāya for Saṃmtohāya
P. 305, L. 7 read Statuettes for statuattes
P. 309, L. 22 read other for toher
P. 316, L. 33 read by for be
P. 333, L. 37 read Nāgārjunapāda for Nāgājunapāda
P. 337, L. 24 read bKaḥgyur for bKahbgyur
P. 342, L. 3 from bottom, read patisevitabbo for Patisevitabho
P. 343, L. 18 read (maithunasya) for Kmaithuasya
P. 343, Note. 109 read Obermiller for Obemiller
P. 343, Note 165 read Yatkiñcin for Tatkiñcin
P. 344, L. 32 read sārdha mahatā for sardna mahatā
P. 345, L. 40 read Sadasatpakṣadārakaḥ for sadhsatpakṣa-dārakaḥ
P. 345, L. 43 read Nāgārjuna for Nāgārujana
P. 346, L. 42 read Goetz for Gorez
P. 347, L. 32 read Snellgrove for Shellgrove
P. 373, L. 18 read Vahato for Vahao
P. 375, L. 24 read anekasattvavidhvaṃśī for anekasatvra vidhvaṃśī
P. 377, L. 7 read nibbāṇaiṇ for nibīṇaṃ
P. 377, L. 9 read nibbānam for nibhanam
P. 377, L. 23 read Śrī Mahāsukhasañjñitam for Śrī Mahā-sukhasnajitam
p. 378, L. 11 read Dṛṣṭi for Dṛṣḍi
P. 406, L. 17 read between for betweed
P. 413, L. 55 read Mālavikāgnimitra for Mālavikāginimitra
P. 415, L. 12 read Śaṃkara-Digvijaya, for Śamara-Digvijaya
P. 416, L. 44 read Divyāvadāna for Divyādāna
P. 416, L. 10 read Megasthenes for Megashenes
P. 418, L. 20 read as follows : Umesha Mishra in the Journal of the Gangānātha Jhā Research Institute.
P. 418, L. 4 from bottom, read : Taittīriya for Taittriya
P. 420, L. 21 read : poesy for peosy
P. 421, L. 30 read : Bodhicaryāvatāra for Boddhicaryāvatara
P. 441, L. 19 read : the for tha
P. 450, L. 33-34 in no. (3) read : Jālandharapāda for Vijayapāda
P. 455, L. 3 read Sarojavajra for Sorajavajra
P. 457, L. 43 read Esoterism for Esterism.
P. 462, L. 4 add : this text has been re-edited by S. Bagchi in BST No. 9, Darbhanga, 1965.

P. 462, L. 12 add : Hetubinduṭīkā of Bhaṭṭa Arcaṭa with the sub-commentary entitled Āloka of Durveka Miśra ed. by Sukhlalji Sanghavi and Muni Sri Jinavijayaji, GOS No. CXIII, Baroda, 1949. This volume also includes in an appendix the text of the Hetubindu restored by Rāhula Sāṃkṛtyāyana from Tibetan version. Hetutattvopadeśa of Jitāri, ed. by G. Tucci, MBT, Pt. I, Roma, 1956; reconstructed Sanskrit text with Tibetan version ed. by D. Chattopadhyaya, Calcutta, 1939.

P. 462, last line, read : Brewester for Brewster

P. 463, L. 6 add : Mañjuśrīmūlakalpasūtra, ed. by P. L. Vaidya, BST No. 18, Darbhanga, 1964

P. 463, L. 15 add : Madhyamārthasaṃgraha should properly be called Madhyamakārthasaṃgraha.

P. 466, L. 9 add: Record of Buddhist Religion as Practised in India and the Malay Archipelago by I-tsing, English Translation by J. Jakakusu, Oxford, 1896.

P. 466 after L. 11 add : Ratnakīrtinibandhāvalī, ed. by A. L. Thakur, Tibetan Sanskrit works series, Vol. III, Patna, 1957

P. 468, L. 14 read : Chos ḥbyuṅ for Ghos ḥbyuṅ

P. 468 between L. 21 and 22 add : Tarkabhāṣā of Mokṣākaragupta ed. by Embar Krishnamacharya, GOS No. XCIV, Baroda, 1942. Tarkasopāna of Vidyākaraśānti ed. by G. Tucci, MBT, Pt. I, Roma, 1956.

P. 469, L. 18 read : Ñāṇamoli for Nānamoli

P. 470, L. 20 read : Gleanings for Cleanings

P. 476, L. 21 read : Buddha for Boddha

P. 481, L. 35 read : Lobzang for Lebzang

P. 482, L. 8 add Vol. II, Part I, BORI, Poona, 1941.

P. 486, L. 37 and P. 487, L. 1 read : Hajime for Hajima

P. 486, L. 12, read : Ancient for Ancicnt

P. 493, L. 19, read : Imperial for Imperia

P. 495, L. 13 read : Viññāṇa for Viññāma.

