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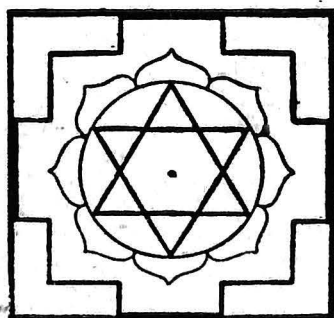


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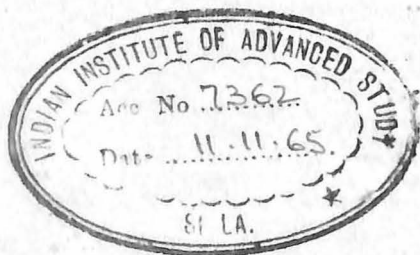
ADHA JAYANTI ISSUE

Vol. XX, parts 3-4

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Capital of Aśoka Pillar excavated at Sarnath 1904.
Dr. Annie Besant standing by the capital, before its later
removal to the Sarnath Museum,

THE ADYAR LIBRARY BULLETIN

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THE ADYAR LIBRARY BULLETIN

Vol. XX, parts 3 - 4

December 1956

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ABBREVIATIONS

ALB	Adyar Library Bulletin
BEFEO	Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient
BSOAS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies
GOS	Gaekwad Oriental Series
HOS	Harvard Oriental Series
IHQ	Indian Historical Quarterly
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
MCB	Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques
PTS	Pali Text Society
SBE	Sacred Books of the East

A FRAGMENT FROM THE SAMYUKTĀGAMA

*found in Chinese-Turkestan ("Turfan")*¹

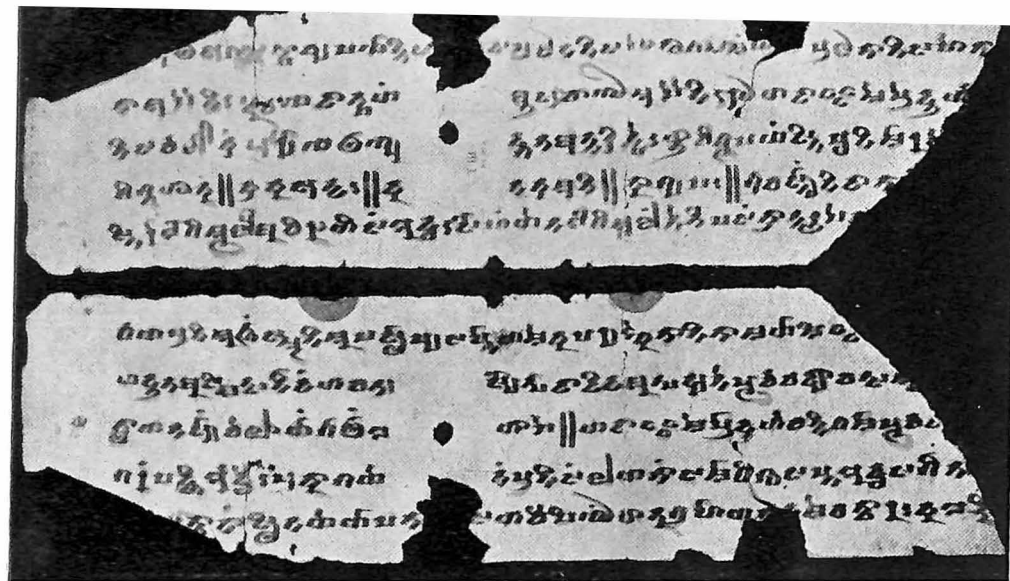
IN MY task of editing fragmentary Buddhist Sanskrit texts found nearly fifty years ago in Chinese-Turkestan by German expeditions, the peculiar style of Buddhist canonical literature, i.e., the frequent repetition of phrases in one and the same text, has very often proved to be of great help. The canonical Buddhist literature indeed presents very little that is not put forward twice or thrice with small variations in the wording. It seems as if no advance in the teaching could be reached without the constant repetition of something already told. This peculiarity of diction is tiresome to the modern reader, but it allows the editor of fragments—and most of the Berlin Buddhist Sanskrit texts are fragments—to restore in many cases a passage which is either totally or partially lost in one place, on the basis of parallel sentences. Furthermore, different canonical texts are conspicuous by the use of clichés, that describe similar incidents with nearly uniform words. By this fact too the reconstruction of lost parts of our texts is made easier.

¹ This article is the free rendering of a paper published in "Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen," Philologisch-Historische Klasse, 1956, pp. 45-53.

R. O. Franke and other modern writers have been unfavourably impressed by the many repetitions in Buddhist canonical literature, and by the resulting monotony. Franke called these repetitions "the ill-habit of men of letters, indications of mental indolence,"¹ but a true judge has to keep in view the fact that the texts were not meant to be read like our books. They found use in sermons and different forms of oral teaching and were to be heard. When preaching, the repetitions served to underline and inculcate the once-told matter. At the same time the monotony of wording is successfully counteracted by a remarkable rhythm in language which in an oral recital will compensate much of the above mentioned deficiency of copious repetitions.

The copyists of our manuscripts from Chinese-Turkestan, though habituated to the repetition of sentences and phrases, have sometimes become tired of their task. Occasionally one finds the full text given by the particular scribe of a certain manuscript with all repetitions in complete wording, while another one undertakes an abbreviation of the text with the indication *pūrvavat* "as above". On the whole, the phrase *pūrvavat* is not infrequent, and such references to preceding portions of the text discomfort the editor of fragments in such cases where passages referred to are missing, and where thereby the arrangement, reconstruction, or understanding of phrases or of parts of the

¹ R. O. Franke, *Dīghanikāya*, transl., Göttingen-Leipzig, 1913, p. LXXVI.



A Fragment from the Samyuktāgama

M 476

text are made more difficult. Some copyists have allowed themselves extensive abbreviations even without any special indication. In such cases a true understanding of the text is possible only if a corresponding passage is found in other Sanskrit or Pali texts or in the extant Chinese or Tibetan translations. As an example of a manuscript fragment containing at first glance some enigmatical abbreviations, I present here the fragment M 476¹ from the Central Asiatic manuscript remains in Berlin. The transliterated text runs as follows:

M 476 Fol. 81.

OBVERSE

1 .. [a]th = (ā)sya kāmṣā vyapayānti sa(rvā)
[y](a)dā prajānati² sahetudharmam³ [yadā]
prajānāti sahet[u] ///

2 nām = upaiti | 4 yadā kṣayaṃ 0 āsravāṇām =
upaiti | 5 yadā⁴ ime prādur = [bh] . . . ///

3 ti sarvalokaṃ sūryo yath = ābhyu 0 dgata⁴ an-
tarikṣe | 6 vidhūpayamṣ = tiṣṭhati māras[ai]-
(nyam) ///

¹ The fragment was discovered by the third German Turfan Expedition in Murtuq and then registered under number T III M 140. It is about 7 cm. broad and the maximum length is about 25 cm. The text is written in five lines on paper, in the so-called later Brāhmī of Eastern Turkestan (700 A.D.). The folio number 81 is given on the reverse. In the lines 2-4 the letters are interrupted by a free space for the hole through which a cord was once passed to hold the leaves together.

² Read: *prajānāti*.

³ Virāma.

⁴ Hiatus *m.c.*

- 4 viśvabhuk¹ || krakasundaḥ || ka 0 nakamuni² ||
 kāśyapaḥ || śrāvastyāṃ nidān[am]¹ ///
 5 s = tire³ bodhimūle⁴ acirābhisambuddhaḥ so =
 haṃ yena bodhimūlaṃ ten = opasaṃkrānta upe-
 [t](ya) ///

REVERSE

- 1 dhāya pratimukhāṃ smṛtim = upasthāpya
 saptāham = ekaparyāṅken = ātināmayāmi⁵ [i]..
 ///
 2 yad = uta⁵ asmin = sat = idaṃ bhavaty = a 0 sy
 = otpādād = idam = utpadyate pūrvavad = yāvat
 = sa[mu] ///
 3 tthāya tasyāṃ velāyāṃ gāthāṃ⁶ ba 0 bhāṣe ||
 yadā⁷ ime prādur = bhavanti dharmā pūr-
 va[v] ///
 4 garaṃ ṣaḍbhir = buddhaiḥ prakāśaye 0 t¹ prati-
 saṃlayanāṃ⁸ samādhiś = ca saptabuddhasa-
 gīta ///
 5 . . . [sa]tvānāṃ⁹ sthitaye yāpan(āya) sa(m)-
 bhavaīṣiṇāṃ c = ānugrahāya [kata]me catvāraḥ
 kaba[ḍiṃ] ///

¹ Virāma.

² Correct Skt.: *kanakamuniḥ*.

³ Read: *tire*.

⁴ Correct Skt.: *bodhimūle = cirā°*.

⁵ Punctuation to be expected.

⁶ Cf. footnote 16.

⁷ Hiatus *m.c.*

⁸ Read: *pratisaṃlayanāṃ*.

⁹ Read: *sattvānāṃ*.

It is obvious to anybody who reads this text that lines O 1-3 are metrical and belong to the *Tristubh* type, i.e., are divided into quarters of eleven syllables. The same metre is also to be found in line R 3, where a stanza, called a *gāthā* at the beginning of the line, commences with the quarter: *yadā ime prādur bhavanti dharmā*. Then we have the abbreviation *pūrvav(at)* "as above" at the end of R 3, indicating that the complete wording of this stanza, which is here only quoted by the first *pāda*, must have already occurred in the preceding text. The ciphers 4 and 5 in line O 2 are somewhat puzzling, as the numbering of *pāda*-s would be extraordinary. On the other hand there is no doubt that the figures are too close to each other to designate stanzas.

The dilemma could only be solved when I traced the *pāda*-s given in lines O 1-3 in the famous collection of Buddhist stanzas known as *Udānavarga*, where they are to be found as the last seven stanzas of the last chapter (Ch. 33), called *Brāhmaṇavarga*. It became conspicuous that the scribe of our manuscripts had confined himself to writing only one or two quarters of each stanza because the wording of the other quarters of the stanzas remained the same throughout. We should easily have acquired the knack of our scribe's abbreviations if the full text had been at our disposal, but, fragmentary as it is, the key could only be given by the discovery of the full text of the stanzas in the *Udānavarga*. The comparison with the *Udānavarga* verses also showed that the words *yadā ime prādur bhavanti dharmā* in R 3 and those of two *pāda*-s in the

beginning of O 1 were the quarters a, c, d of the following stanza:

yadā¹ ime prādur bhavanti dharmā
 (ātāpino dhyāyino brāhmaṇasya |)
 athāsya kāmṅṣā vyapayānti sarvā
 yadā prajānāti sahetudharmam || 1 ||

“When these things (relations) become clear to a zealous, meditating Brāhmaṇa, then all his doubts fade, because he realizes that (every) thing has its cause.”

In treating the stanzas 2-5 our scribe has restricted himself, as it appears from the *Udānavarga*, to the writing down of quarter d of each stanza, because these quarters represent the only changes in stanzas otherwise the same. The *pāda*-s run as follows:

yadā prajānāti sahetu(*duḥkham* || 2 ||
yadā kṣayaṃ vedanānām upaiti || 3 ||
yadā kṣayaṃ pratyayā)nām upaiti || 4 ||
yadā kṣayaṃ āsravāṇām upaiti || 5 ||

(then all his doubts fade)

“because he realizes that (every) pain has its cause;”

“because he understands the dwindling of sensation;”

“because he understands the dwindling of conditions;”

“because he understands the dwindling of sinful passions.”

¹ Full wording (supplements in italics and brackets) from unpublished fragmentary manuscripts of the *Udānavarga* in Berlin.

Moreover the *Udānavarga* shows that in the last two stanzas (6-7) *pāda* c as well as *pāda* d differ from those in the preceding ones. This induced our scribe to pen down the complete wording for stanza 6:

yadā ime prādur bh(*avanti dharmā*
ātāpino dhyāyino brāhmaṇasya
avabhāsayams tiṣṭha)ti sarvalokaṃ
 sūryo yathābhyudgata¹ antarikṣe || 6 ||

“When these things (relations) become clear to a zealous meditating Brāhmaṇa, (then) he stands, illuminating the whole world, like the sun, risen in the atmosphere.”

After giving thus a second complete stanza, the scribe, turning to stanza 7, once more restricted himself to quoting the digressing quarters c and d:

vidhūpayams tiṣṭhati mārasai(*nyam*
buddho hi saṃyojanavipramuktaḥ || 7 ||)

“(then) he stands, dispersing the host of Māra, because he is enlightened (and) free from fetters.”

With this the text of lines O 1-3 of our fragment is completely understood.

Further examination of our fragment shows a new beginning in line O 4, in continuation of a seemingly

¹ Hiatus *m.c.*

incoherent citation of the names of four Buddhas of the past, predecessors of Buddha Śākyamuni. As usual in texts of the *Samyuktāgama* the scene of action is specified in brief by the words *śrāvastyāṃ nidānaṃ*, and the next lines give an account of an event in the life of the Buddha, which, as the words *so 'haṃ* and the use of the first person in the verb show, is communicated by the Buddha Himself. Shortly after achieving enlightenment, He says, He had passed seven days without interruption in the posture of meditation under the Bodhi tree, reflecting on the 'origination by dependence': "when this is, that is produced", etc. By the word *pūrvavat* the text refers to some wording already given. No doubt it is that of the meditation upon the 'origination by dependence', known from the Pali *Mahāvagga* and recorded also in chapter 7 of the *Catuspariṣatsūtra* in Sanskrit. This text, now in the press,¹ gives evidence that the seven stanzas treated above stand in the Sanskrit version at the end of the story, and that these stanzas most probably have been excerpted from the *Catuspariṣatsūtra* for the *Udānavarga*. As the wording of our fragment is in exact correspondence with the text of the *Catuspariṣatsūtra*, we are able to supplement lines R 2-3 of our fragment with fair certainty as follows:—
yāvat samu(dayo bhavati yāvac ca nirodho bhavati | tato 'haṃ

¹ Part I was published in the year 1952 in 'Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Klasse für Sprachen, Literatur und Kunst', Jahrgang 1952, No. 2. Part II is in the press, *ibid.*, Jahrgang 1956. In Part II (Ch. 7) the parallels to the stanzas in Pali and in other texts dealing with the life of the Buddha are discussed.

*tam eva saptāham atināmayitvā tasmāt samādher u)ttthāya tasyāṃ velāyāṃ gāthā*¹ *babbhāse.*

The occurrence of the *pratītyasamutpāda* formula and of the seven stanzas in an account of an event shortly after the enlightenment of the Buddha, as told in our fragment, lines O 4 ff., is not surprising. It remains, however, to be explained in which textual connection the preceding quotation of the formula and of the stanzas, which is to be inferred from the double *pūrvavat* in lines R 2 and 3, and is represented in O 1-3 by parts of the stanzas, has to be put. In this respect the insertion of the names of some Buddhas of the past in O 4 supplies a desirable hint. The insight into the 'origination by dependence' (*pratītyasamutpāda*) or the 'causal law', as it is sometimes called, is, as we know, no peculiarity of the Buddha Śākyamuni, but it also falls to the lot of six of His predecessors, often mentioned in the old canonical texts. A section in the *Nidānasamyutta*² of the Pali canon reports in detail how the earliest of the six Buddhas, Vipassin by name, conceived the importance of the chain of *Nidāna*-s, meditating on it forwards and backwards, *anuloma* and *pratiloma* as it is sometimes called. The Pali text³ adds at the end of the discussion: *sattannam pi buddhānam evaṃ peyyālo*. Geiger in his German translation of the *Saṃyuttanikāya* remarks: " *what, freely rendered, means something as: The*

¹ The Buddha recites all the seven stanzas. Certainly *gāthāṃ* in the manuscript is a mistake for *gāthā*, and is a result of the abbreviation occurring in line R 3.

² *Saṃyuttanikāya*, Vol. II, pp. 5-11.

³ *Loc. cit.*, p. 9 (line 14).

text remains the same in the case of all the seven Buddhas (from Vipassin to Gotama)."¹ "One has to imagine that Sutta 5 and the following ones have exactly the same wording as Sutta 4, only with the insertion of the other names." Accordingly the text for Sikhin, Vessabhu, Kakusandha, Koṇāgamana and Kassapa is confined in the *Nidānasam-yutta* to a few indicating words, and the full wording is brought on the tapis only for the Buddha Śākyamuni again.² The train of thought, we see, is nearly at one with that in our fragment.

After all, we are fully justified in calling the *Sam-yuttanikāya* text a parallel to our Sanskrit text, though the stanzas in the Sanskrit text do not have corresponding verses in the *Nidānasam-yutta*. In any case, there is no doubt that the stanzas in the lines O 1-3 of our fragment were attributed to the Buddha Vipasyin, whereas the *pāda*-s in R 3 are spoken by Śākyamuni. In line O 3 the *pāda* d of stanza 7 is missing, and at the end of O 3 we may probably have to supplement the concluding words *tathā śikhī*. Then the names of the other Buddhas, as we read them in line O 4, will follow. The mere citation of these names is meant to state that the Buddha Śikhin, as well as the rest of the Buddhas

¹ W. Geiger, *Samyutta-Nikāya*, transl., Vol. 2, München, 1925, p. 14. Geiger adds: "I believe that we have to regard such exterior adjections as the work of the last redaction, dating probably only back to the time, when the canon was put in writing."

² It is a procedure not uncommon in Buddhist literature to give the full wording of discussions which are referring to different members of a line, only when treating the first and the last member.

cited, also gained insight into the causal law and spoke the same stanzas as Vipāśyin.

The result hitherto reached, i.e., the proof that the passage extracted from the *Samyuttanikāya* is a close parallel to the text of our fragment, is corroborated by the fact that the continuation in the Pali text resembles the text of R 5 very much. The Pali passage¹ discusses the four foodstuffs (*cattāro āhārā*) and begins with the following sentences: "These four foodstuffs, monks, serve the beings already born for the preservation (of their lives), or are to the promoting of those who (still) crave after existence. Which are the four? Eatable foods, coarse or fine", etc., (*cattāro me bhikkhave āhārā bhūtānaṃ vā sattānaṃ thitiyā sambhavesīnaṃ vā anuggahāya | katame cattāro | kabalimkaro āhāro oḷārīko vā sukhumo vā*). Here we have a fine parallel to line R 5 of our fragment, where the text might be supplemented as follows: (*catvāra āhārā bhikṣavo bhūtānāṃ sattvānāṃ sthitaye yāpanāya saṃbhavaiṣiṇāṃ cānugrahāya | katame catvāraḥ | kabaḍḍim(kāra āhārā audārikaḥ sūkṣmaś ca*). "Four foodstuffs, monks, serve the beings already born for the preservation and continuation (of their lives), and are to the promoting of those who (still) crave after existence", etc., as above in Pali.

After this statement of close affinity between the text of our Sanskrit fragment and of a section of the Pali *Samyuttanikāya*, it may not be astonishing that the affiliation of our fragment to a manuscript of some part

¹ *Loc. cit.*, p. 11.

of the lost Sanskrit *Samyuktāgama* is to be demonstrated. In the *Tsa-a-han-ching*,¹ the Chinese translation of a Sanskrit *Samyuktāgama*, we find a section (*sūtra-s* 369-371) having the same contents and showing the same arrangement as our Sanskrit text. The Sanskrit original used by the Chinese translator must have been the same or nearly the same text as the one of our fragment. Here I offer a translation of the said *sūtra-s* from the Chinese:

Sūtra 369:

So I have heard. Once the Buddha stayed in the garden of Anāthapiṇḍada in the country of Śrāvastī. At that time the Exalted One addressed the monks: Formerly, before the Buddha Vipāśyin had perfected the right enlightenment, he stayed at the place of enlightenment and achieved Buddhahood after not very long (time). He went under the Bodhi tree, spread out grass for his seat, and sat down with crossed legs. He remained sitting straight, in right recollection, continuously for seven days, whilst he meditated upon the origin of the twelve Nidāna-s, along the line and against the line (anuloma and pratiloma): because this is, there is that; because this originates, that originates. On account of ignorance, (there are) saṃskāra-s (etc.), till: on account of birth, there is old age, death (etc.), till: (there is) the arising of the great mass of pain, (there is) the destruction of the great mass of pain.

¹ *Taishō-Tripitaka*, Vol. 2, p. 101.

When the Buddha Vipāśyin had spent seven days in straight posture, he got up from meditation and spoke these Gāthā-s:

- 1 *When all these relations (dharma) become clear to him, the Brāhmaṇa, who exerts himself (and) meditates, puts away all doubts forever and knows that all things arise from causes.¹*
- 2 *When all these relations become clear to him, the Brāhmaṇa, who exerts himself (and) meditates, puts away all doubts forever and knows that pain arises, because causes exist.*
- 3 *When all these relations become clear to him, the Brāhmaṇa, who exerts himself (and) meditates, puts away all doubts forever and knows about the dwindling of all sensations.*
- 4 *When all these relations become clear to him, the Brāhmaṇa, who exerts himself (and) meditates, puts away all doubts forever and knows about the dwindling of conditions.*
- 5 *When all these relations become clear to him, the Brāhmaṇa, who exerts himself (and) meditates, puts away all doubts forever and knows how to make dwindle all sinful passions.*

¹ The Chinese text has here one more stanza, which is recorded neither in the *Catuspariśatsūtra* nor in the *Udānavarga*:

When he knows that pain is produced on account of connections, he (also) knows that all sensations are annihilated; (when) he knows that things are annihilated on account of conditions, then he (also) knows that there is dwindling of sinful passions.

6 *When all these relations become clear to him,
the Brāhmaṇa, who exerts himself (and) meditates,
illuminates all the worlds,
like the sun, staying in the atmosphere.*

7 *He destroys all the hosts of Māra,
is enlightened (and) free from all fetters.*

When the Buddha had preached this sūtra, all the monks who had heard the sermon of the Buddha, were happy and took leave.

The same wording as (for) Buddha Vipāśyin, as (for) Buddha Śikhin is to be preached also (for) Buddha Viśvabhuj, Buddha Krakasunda, Buddha Kanakamuni (and) Buddha Kāśyapa.

Sūtra 370:

So I have heard. Once the Buddha stayed in Urubilvā on the banks of the river Nairāṇjanā, on the spot of the great enlightenment and achieved Buddhahood after not very long (time). He went under the Bodhi tree, spread out grass for his seat, and sat down with crossed legs. He remained sitting straight, in right recollection (etc., the same wording) as preached above in detail.

Sūtra 371:

So I have heard. Once the Buddha stayed in the garden of Anāthapiṇḍada in the country of Śrāvastī. At that time the Exalted One addressed the monks: There are four foodstuffs, useful and bringing increase to living

beings, which make them remain in the world and achieve promotion. Which are the four? They are (1) coarse, ball-like¹ foodstuffs (etc.).

The contents of our fragment M 476, as inferred previously from corresponding texts in Pali and Sanskrit, are corroborated in all details by the passage from the *Tsa-a-han-ching* translated above. The close affinity of both texts is evident and needs no special proof. Besides, the tracing of corresponding *sūtra-s* in the *Tsa-a-han-ching* confers a clue of understanding for the words (na)garam, etc., to be found in line R 4, and of which no notice has been taken by us up to now. They form part of an *uddāna*, i.e., a résumé of a number of preceding *sūtra-s* by catchwords, and the *sūtra-s* referred to are Nos. 366-370 of the Chinese text. The catchword *saptabuddhasagīta*, standing at the end, designates the translated *sūtra-s* 369-370, containing the report of the grasping of the causal law by the seven Buddhas, i.e., Śākyamuni and his six predecessors, accompanied by stanzas (*sagīta*). The beginning of line R 4 might probably be restored as (na)garam śadbhir buddhaiḥ prakāśayet. This sentence refers to *sūtra* 366. There we are told how the Buddha Vipasyin was meditating upon the misery of the world and gained insight into the dependence of old age and death on birth, etc. Towards the end² one reads: *The 'simile of the city'*

¹ The translator takes *sūkṣmaḥ* 'fine' as belonging to the next foodstuff: contact.

² *Taishō-Tripitaka*, Vol. 2, p. 101b, 3.

should be preached as before. This is a hint at *sūtra* 287 of the *Tsa-a-han-ching*, where the 'simile of the city' occurs for the first time. The Sanskrit equivalent of the *sūtra* is well known under the name "Nidānasūtra", and has a parallel in *sūtra* 65 entitled *nagaram* in the *Nidānasamyutta* of the *Samyuttanikāya*.¹ This text contains a passage in which the discovery of the way to enlightenment is compared to the discovery of a way to an old city, no longer inhabited and lying concealed in the wood. At the end of *sūtra* 366 in the *Tsa-a-han-ching* (exactly as in *sūtra* 369 translated above) we find the remark that the complete wording is to be repeated for Śikhin and the other former Buddhas. The sentence appearing in line R 4 of our fragment and cited above would accordingly mean: "One should proclaim (the simile of the) city (also) in relation to the six Buddhas (of the past)." The remaining words *pratisaṃlayanam samādhiṃ ca* in line R 4 are key-words for the *sūtra*-s 367 and 368, in which the Buddha advises his monks to practise contemplation and seclusion (367) and *samādhi* (368) respectively, in order to grasp the true significance of old age, death, etc.²

¹ Vol. II, p. 104 ff.

² Both *sūtra*-s (367 and 368) have the same wording, with the exception of recommendations of the Buddha. Cf. *Nidānasamyutta*, *Sutta* 82 ff., *Samyuttanikāya*, Vol. II, p. 130 ff.

A TITLE OF KANIŠKA

A NAME famous in the annals of Buddhism, the name of the Emperor Kaniška, has been handed down to us in many written sources, in books, on coins and in Indian inscriptions. Among the recently found references are those in the Khotanese legend, in a Sogdian invocation and in the *Gilgit Manuscripts*.¹ The name in the form *Kanaške* occurs in the languages from Kuci and Agni. Thus we have *Kanaške ñomā wāl* 'the king by name Kanaške'. In one document from Kuci we have the name *Kanaška* in a list of tax-payers.²

In a Kharoṣṭhī inscription of Northwest India a title *marjhaka-* is placed before the king's name.³ Here clearly written we have *marjhakasa kaniškasa* 'of the marjhaka- Kaniška'. The task of realizing the full meaning that this word had for his contemporaries demands a wide circuit in Iranian books.

First as to the value of the written signs: the Kharoṣṭhī *jha* is used in the Northwest Prakrit of Gāndhāra and Kroraina to express the sound *z*, except perhaps once in the word *uvajhaa-* (inscription No. 13.4) from

¹ JRAS, 1942, 14; 1949, 2-4, and now in *Khotanese Texts*, 2. 107; Sogdian in E. Benveniste, *Textes sogdiens*, 8. 29; *Gilgit Manuscripts*, III, 1. 9.

² Sieg and Siegling, *Tocharische Grammatik*, p. 57; E. Sieg, *Geschäftliche Aufzeichnungen in Tocharisch B aus der Berliner Sammlung*, p. 218.

³ Sten Konow, *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions*, No. 75, p. 145,

older *upādhyāya*- 'teacher'. Here one would expect the *-jh-* to stand for *-jjh-*. But it should be remembered that this word also gave *vāṣā* in Khotan according to Chinese reports.¹ To express the sound *jh* the Kharoṣṭhī used *j* or *j* with suprascript stroke in the *Dharma-pada* from Khotan or simply *j* in Buddhist verses from Kroraina, as in *jāna-* and *jāna* for older *dhyāna-*, which the Khotanese wrote as *jāna-*.

A Khotanese text published in 1919 contains a verse in which this same title occurs in a Saka form.² The verses (23. 156) read

malysakī hāmāte ce dī śśando biśśā nyanā daiyi
cā nā ni hivyākā ttā nāste rrundā pājiñuvo
tutuṣṭā

That is, 'he (the king) has a malysaka- official who sees all the treasures under the earth, who takes them not for himself, but transfers them to the king's treasury'.

The spelling *ys* is the Khotanese way of giving the sound *z*, and in Khotanese *-lz-* had replaced an older *-rz-*. This we can see also in Khotan. *balysa-* beside another Saka dialect from Tumshuq which has in older spelling *bārsa-* and in later *bārza-* (attested in a gen. plur. *bārzyenu*) the epithet used to render Buddha. Hence we have here the Khotanese equivalent of an older word **marzaka-*.

¹ BSOAS, 13. 132 and 404.

² E. Leumann, *Maitreya-samiti*, and again in *Das nordarische (sakische) Lehrgedicht des Buddhismus*,

The meaning of *malysaka-* is clear in the context. The poet is describing the Indian *grhapati-* in the traditional list of the seven jewels of a king's court, the *cakra*; *hastin*, *aśva*, *maṇi*, *strī*, *grhapati* and *pariṇāyaka*. We find also the royal *kośādhyakṣa*, who had charge of the treasury. In this way in the Khotanese Rāma story Rīṣmaṃ has charge of the treasures of his brother King Rāma.¹

The formation of the title **marzaka-* is familiar with the suffix of professional agent *-aka-* from a verbal base *marz-* or a noun *marza-*.

We have then in this title a name for the 'superintendent of a house, a majordomo', a status often found in early documents. The same Indian functionary is found also in the Sogdian story of the Viśvantara Jātaka 254, and 1337. In the earlier passage the 'nṣ'rzkr'k **anbarzakarak* is the fifth minister of the Court. In the second passage the King Šibi calls his *ganzabarak* 'treasurer' and orders the minister who was also the *anbarzakarak* to pay the Brahman for the children and to provide him with food and drink. He acts therefore like the superintendent of hospitality. King Šibi states that he is second to himself in the palace.

The same word is found also in Christian and Manichean Sogdian texts where the work of entertainment and watching over others is described.

This Sogdian word could be derived either from *ham-barz-* or from *ham-marz-*, since as in many other words either *b-* or *m-* could be the older.

¹ BSOAS, 10. 376, and now in *Khotanese Texts*, 3. 76;

To set beside these eastern Iranian words in Khotanese and Sogdian, and in the Kharoṣṭhī inscription we have other words in western Iranian which have hitherto not been fully interpreted. Here we find as loan-words in Armenian *marzpet*, *mardapet* and *mardpet*. The meaning is recorded as *nerk'inaṭet* 'official in charge of the inner apartments', that is, the master of the household, the zenana, who is also called in Armenian *jnikan* when speaking of the Court of the Persian king. This word is an adjective made from *ĵani*- 'woman'.

In *marzpet* we have a common type of compound from *marza*- and *pati*- 'official', where the word *marz*- will express the act of 'keeping' or 'watching over'.

The second form of this word, *mardapet*, shows the familiar southern dialect of Persian where the older group of sounds has been replaced by *-rd*- beside the northern and eastern *-rz*-. This is a sharp dividing line between the Persian and other dialects. Thus too we find *marz*- 'to rub' beside Middle Persian in the Turfan texts *mār*- and in Persian *māl*- changed by way of *-rd*-. Similarly we have Persian *gul* 'flower', 'rose', beside Khotanese *vala*- and Sogdian *ward*.

It is always desirable, if the evidence permits, to connect up Iranian words with the wider group of Indo-European languages. Here we find at once the word **bherǵh-* in Germanic *berg*- 'keep', 'harbour', 'protect', as in Old English *beorgian* 'to

keep'. There are also cognate words in Lithuanian and Slavonic.¹

Thus even though our knowledge of the older Iranian vocabulary is still very incomplete, we can trace here a wide-spread word used of an official who was a 'keeper' or 'warden'. Some such meaning will lie in Kaniška's title. We must await further discoveries if we are to define the functions of the *marjhaka* more closely.

¹ Walde and Pokorny, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen*, II, 172 and J. Pokorny, *Indogermanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch* 145.

* PAÑCAVASTUKA VIBHĀṢĀ OF BHADANTA
DHARMATRĀTA ¹

THE PAÑCAVASTUKA VIBHĀṢĀ ² is a commentary (*vibhāṣā*) on the *Pañcavastuka*, a treatise of five groups of topics of Abhidharma lore. It was composed by one Bhadanta ³ Vasumitra. Vasubandhu in his *Kośabhāṣya* (II, ver. 44 d) refers to a treatise named *Paripṛcchā Śāstra* without naming its author. This *Paripṛcchā* has been attributed by Yaśomitra in his commentary on the *Kośa* to Elder (*sthavira*) Vasumitra. Yaśomitra further says that Vasubandhu speaks of the *Paripṛcchā* instead of its author Vasumitra because there are other treatises of the author such as *Pañcavastuka* (see *Kośavyākhyā*, Calcutta ed. II, add. 44d, p. 89, lines 13-14). It is therefore evident that the author of the *Paripṛcchā* and the author of the *Pañcavastuka* are one and the same person.⁴ Vasubandhu quotes the said Vasumitra as a leading authority on the Sautrāntika school of thought.

* The Sanskrit rendering of this treatise will be published in full in the next issue of the *Visvabharatī Annals*.

¹ In Chinese: Tsun-Che Fa-Chiu. See Appendix, line 1.

² Wu-Chih-Piposa. See Appendix, line 2.

³ Tsun-Che Shih-Yu (See Appendix, line 3). Its Tibetan equivalent is *bisun-pa*. On several Vasumitras, cf. Yamada's paper in *Dr. Ui Commemoration Volume*, pp. 529-550.

⁴ The same opinion has been expressed by Et. Lamotte; vide his translation of the *Karmasiddhi-prakaraṇa* of Vasubandhu, MCB, IV, p. 93, note 77.

We may naturally expect that some similar trend of thought would have been dominant in this *Pañcavastuka* also. Since the original of this text as well as the Chinese translation is lost, we are not able to verify our presumption. What we have at present is only the Chinese translation of its commentary by Bhadanta Dharmatrāta. Nevertheless our surmise that this *Pañcavastuka* forms a textbook of other than the Sarvāstivādin-s gains strength when we come across another treatise under the title of *Sarvāstivādi-pañcavastuka* (Taisho No. 1556).

Louis de La Vallée Poussin has noticed about five authors of the name Dharmatrāta including the present commentator (*Kośa*, Introduction, pp. 47-8). Amongst them there is one Bhadanta Dharmatrāta or sometimes styled simply Bhadanta (*Kośavyākhyā*, I) who is reported to have been inclined towards the Sautrāntika way of thinking. One of the most characteristic theories attributed to the Sautrāntika Dharmatrāta is that of *Vijñāna-darśana*, cognition by sensuous knowledge. Some such theory has also been pleaded for in the present commentary. Another noteworthy view of the Sautrāntika Dharmatrāta is the acceptance of a limited number of *caitasika-dharma*, mental properties, namely, *vedanā*, *saṃjñā* and *cetanā* (La Vallée Poussin, *Kośa*, II, p. 150) and this view has also found its way into the present treatise. La Vallée Poussin further reports that Sautrāntika Dharmatrāta denied *avijñapti* (*Kośa*, Introduction, p. 49). This seems to be improbable. *Avijñapti* has been accepted by almost all the Buddhists

(see *Karmasiddhi*) including Harivarman,¹ a staunch follower of Buddhadeva. But they differ from one another on whether it is to be reckoned under the category of matter (*rūpa*) as the Sarvāstivādin believes or under the category of *saṃskāra* in accordance with the Sautrāntika's pleading. Dharmatrāta accepts the theory of *avijñapti* bringing it under the category of *rūpa*.² The commentary here probably echoes the opinion of Vasumitra. It is also evident that all the Sautrāntika-s do not view *avijñapti* as of a non-material character.

I, therefore, presume that the present commentator was in all probability the same person as the Sautrāntika Dharmatrāta noticed by Louis de La Vallée Poussin.

I have made an attempt in the following pages to note some salient points from his commentary and find out how far it has enriched our knowledge of Buddhist philosophy. The Chinese text that I have used is the Taisho edition (Vol. 28, No. 1555, pp. 989a-995b), translated by Hsuan Tsang.

Bhadanta Dharmatrāta observes at the beginning of his commentary that Bhadanta Vasumitra composed a treatise by name *Pañcavastuka Śāstra* for the benefit of

¹ I say this because Harivarman denies distinction between the primary elements (*bhūta*) and the secondary elements (*bhautika*) as well as distinction between mind (*citta*) and mental properties (*caitasika*). Amongst the earlier authors, it was Buddhadeva who propagated this theory which was accepted by some of the Sautrāntika-s. *Vide Hetubindu-ṭīkāloka*, GOŠ, p. 355.

² This problem is fully discussed in the *Karmasiddhi* and in my *Abhidharma Problems* (ALB, XVIII, Pt. 3-4, p. 74 ff.).

his pupils, who were afraid of long discourses, in order to initiate them in the dispensation of the Buddha and make them understand in brief the subtle distinction between the self-substance (*svalakṣaṇa*) and the general quality of things (*sāmānyalakṣaṇa*).

The question is asked: What is self-substance and what is general quality? The reply is: Hardness (*khakkaṭa*), cohesion (*sneha*), heat (*uṣṇa*), and motion (*īraṇa*) are the self-substances which are termed conventionally as earth, water, fire and air respectively. The qualities like impermanence (*anityatā*), and unrest (*duḥkha*), are common to all the elements mentioned above.

Why is this treatise termed *Pañcavastuka*? Because it treats of five groups of things (*dharma*).¹ These things come into separate being on the basis of their positions (*sthānataḥ*), but their substances are undifferentiated (*Sthānam āśritya utpadyante vastūni abhinnārthāni*).²

However, all the Ābhidharmika-s describe the five groups of things as (1) *svabhāva-vastu*, self-substance, (2) *ālambana-vastu*, object, (3) *saṃyojana-vastu*, contamination, (4) *hetu-vastu*, cause and (5) *parigraha-vastu*, possession.³ Here Dharmatrāta points out that amongst

¹ The five things that are meant here are (1) *Rūpa-dharma*, (2) *Citta*, (3) *Caitasika*, (4) *Citta-viprayukta*, (5) *Asaṃskṛta-dharma*. Some Sautrāntika-s accept only the first two categories and some accept the third also. These five categories are enumerated in the *Sarvāstivādi-pañcavastuka-śāstra*, Taisho No. 1556, and also in the *Prakaraṇapāda* (La Vallée Poussin, *Kośa*, II, p. 150, note 2) and accepted by the Yogācāra-s. See Vasubandhu's *Satadharma-vidyāmukha* (*Ālambana-parikṣā*, Appendix).

² See Appendix, line 4, for Chinese. The same idea is expressed in the *Satyasiddhi*, § 45 (footnote 50⁶).

³ Cf. *Kośavyākhyā*, add. I, 7, p. 24; *Kośa*, II, pp. 286-287.

the above five groups only self-substance, *svabhāva*¹ is real (*vastu*). He further remarks that here the terms *vastu* and *dharma* are synonyms. It has also been noticed that the term *dharma* has different connotations such as *upadiṣṭa* (that which is preached), *guṇa* (quality) and *anātman*,² (that which is not the self).

Dharmatrāta turns next to a discussion of the main topics of the treatise one by one. He first defines *rūpa*, material things, thus: a thing is called *rūpa* because it gradually accumulates, gradually perishes; being planted, it arises, grows, meets³ with good and bad and undergoes modifications (*vipariṇāmitvāt*). These are all connotations of the term *rūpa*. The Tathāgata says it is called *rūpa* because it undergoes modification. Other philosophers say that it is termed *rūpa* because it obstructs others (*pratighāta*). The matter of the past moment (*atīta rūpa*) is also called *rūpa* because it has once discharged the function of obstruction. The very subtle atom can also obstruct when it becomes associated with other atoms. The moral quality known as *avijñapti* is also *rūpa* and can obstruct others through the basis on which it rests. When a tree is shaken, for example, its shadow is also shaken.⁴

Other interpretations of *rūpa* are (1) that which makes clear our inner mind (i.e., mental disposition),

¹ See Chinese in Appendix, line 5.

² This becomes clearer in expressions like *dharmamātra* in the *Kośabhāṣya*, add. I, 42, *Vyākhyā*, p. 96. Read *Mad. Kārikā*, XVII, 14 with Candrakīrti's explanation, pp. 303-5.

³ See Chinese in Appendix, line 6.

⁴ The same example is given by the Sarvāstivādin, vide my *Abhidharma Problems* (ALB, XVIII, Pt. 3-4, p. 78).

or (2) that which manifests the *karma* done by living beings in the past. These two interpretations may also be traced in the *Satyasiddhi* of Harivarman (Ch. 37).

There are four great elements which are technically and collectively termed *rūpa*. The great elements are only four and not five. Space or *ākāśa* lacks the characteristic of the great elements. Though unlimited, it cannot be an element because it is eternally static and never undergoes any change. Bhadanta Ghōṣaka has also expressed the same opinion. The four elements are brought under the category of resultant fruits (*karmavipāka-saṃgrhita*) but *ākāśa* cannot be. The meaning of the term *bhūta* is that which, becoming limited, is an obstruction to others. Or it is *bhūta* because it makes things bigger. The four great elements create *upādāya rūpa-s* (secondary elements). These secondary *rūpa-s* are produced on the basis of the four primary elements, and accordingly every element is created through obstructing and hurting others. No one great element is produced from another great element because the producing elements and the produced elements are quite distinct from each other.

The characteristic trait of the earth element is hardness (*khakkaṭṭha*). This trait is nothing but the self-substance (*svabhāva*) of a thing. It is designated in the *Vibhāṣā* by several terms: *svabhāva*, *ātman*, *vastu-lakṣaṇa*, *mūla-svabhāva*. So it is not to be understood that there is a *lakṣaṇa* (trait) apart from the self-substance of things. We have, for example, the statement: *Nirvāṇa* is characterized by quietude (*upaśama-lakṣaṇa*). This

connotes that there is no quietude apart from Nirvāṇa.¹ It means that Nirvāṇa is quietude. Similarly, the quality of hardness is not different from the earth element. Hardness is the earth element (*prthivī-dhātu*).

Each of the great elements has a separate function. The earth element has the power of retention, so that any two things, stationary or in motion, do not fall down. The water element has the capacity to cohere so that any two opposing elements do not become scattered. The heat element has the power of ripening so that the unripened thing does not move in disorder. The air element makes things grow and move. Each of the great elements has two traits, one peculiar to itself and the other (materiality) common to all.

All these four great elements are inseparably associated² and are mutual accessories. This point is strengthened by the authority of the *Garbhāvākraṇṭi-sūtra*.³

The distinction between the earth element (*prthivī-dhātu*) and the earth (*prthivī*) is that while the former consists of hardness, the latter is formed of colour and shape.⁴ The former again comes under the category of tangibles, *sparsāyatana*, which are cognized by the

¹ Cf. *Mādhyānta-vibhaṅga-ṭīkā*, S. Yamaguchi's ed., p. 7, lines 1-3 and criticism of this in the *Dvādaśamukha*, Ch. 6.

² Harivarman holds the view that no such *niyama* can be maintained, cf. his *Siddhi*, p. 40. Vasubandhu is also of the same opinion, vide *Kośavyākhyā*, II, p. 39.

³ *Kośavyākhyā*, I, p. 77, cites the *sūtra* in the same context.

⁴ According to the *Satyasiddhi-śāstra*, *prthivī-dhātu* alone is real whereas *prthivī* is *prajñāpīṣat*, conventionally real. Read Chs. 38, 43.

sense of touch only, whereas the latter has colour and shape (*rūpāyatana*) cognized by visual consciousness. The same distinction is to be applied in the case of other elements also.

The secondary elements (*upādāya rūpa*) are the eye and other sense organs. Each sense organ has four functions: beautifying the body, protection, producing sensuous consciousness, and cognizing its respective objects. The eye serves as the basis of the visual consciousness and is composed of translucent matter¹ (*rūpaṣasāda*). The statement that the eye serves as basis for the visual consciousness reveals the eye in its active stage (*sabhāga*), and the translucent matter (*rūpaṣasāda*) indicates the eye in its latent stage (*tatsabhāga*). The eye is termed *sabhāga* when it is engaged in discharging its actual function, seeing, and *tatsabhāga* when it does not see anything.

Then, after describing four varieties of the *tatsabhāga* eye and three of the *sabhāga* eye, Bhadanta Dharmatrāta examines the questions: What is it that really perceives a visible object? Is it the eye, the visual consciousness or the *prajñā* associated with the visual consciousness, or the combination (*sāmagri*) of the mind and mental properties? ² After criticizing each one of these propositions, Dharmatrāta arrives at the conclusion that the eye organ perceives only when it is combined with consciousness and never at other times. For example,

¹ Literally *viśuddharūpa*. See Appendix, line 7.

² For advocates of these theories, see my *Abhidharma Problems* (ALB, XVIII, Pt. 3-4, p. 222).

the act of perception by the visual consciousness rests where the eye is situated; and the experiencing of feelings necessarily rests at the centre of the heart. Pursuing this logic, the commentary argues that at the time when the consciousness is operating with other senses, the eye, being deprived of consciousness, cannot perceive. It is therefore evident that according to Dharmatrāta the eye being associated with its consciousness perceives the visible. He further remarks that two consciousnesses cannot operate simultaneously because the preceding moment condition (*samanantarapratyaya*) is only one.

So far we have briefly stated what secondary elements are included in the category of senses. The following are the secondary elements found in categories other than the senses: *rūpa* (colour-shapes), *śabda* (sound), *gandha* (odour), *rasa* (taste), *spraṣṭavya* (tangibles), *avijñapti* (unmanifested matter, vehicle of moral qualities). The *rūpa* (*rūpāyatana* in the *āyatana* classification) is twofold—colour (*varṇa*) and shape (*saṁsthāna*). Colour includes blue, yellow, etc., and shape, long, short, etc. *Rūpa* is cognized by two aspects of consciousness, namely, visual and mental. The visual consciousness first cognizes the self-substance of colour (*rūpa-svalakṣaṇa*) and then the non-sensuous consciousness (*mānasa*) cognizes its generality (*sāmānyalakṣaṇa*). Therefore the non-sensuous consciousness never operates on things of the present moment, but on things of the past only.

Dharmatrāta, unluckily for us, does not discuss whether *saṁsthāna rūpa* (shape) is real (*vastuśat*) as the

Sarvāstivādin holds or unreal as the Sautrāntika maintains.¹

Sound is also divided into two² (1) *upātta-mahābhūta-hetuka*, sound included in the *sattvākhyā*, produced by living beings and (2) *anupātta-mahābhūta-hetuka*, sound known as *asattvākhyā* produced, for example, by wind, and water. Odour (*gandha*) and taste (*rasa*) are also twofold consisting of the agreeable (*manojña*) and the disagreeable (*amanojña*). The tangibles, *spraṣṭavya*, consist of eleven elements, four primary elements and seven secondary. The following are the seven secondary elements: *ślakṣṇa* (softness), *karkaśa* (hardness), *laghutva* (lightness), *gurutva* (heaviness), *śaitya* (coolness), *jighatsā* (desire to eat) and *pipāsā* (desire to drink).

Avijñapti-rūpa, unmanifested matter, is included in *dharmāyatana* and is twofold, *kuśala* and *akuśala*, and there is no *avyākṛta avijñapti*. The commentary divides each of the above into several kinds and explains each kind elaborately.

Commenting on the next topic, *citta* (mind), Dharmatrāta says there is hardly any distinction in such expressions as *citta*, *manas* and *viññāna*. Some people say what is past (*atīta*) is *manas*; what is to come (*anāgata*) is *citta* and what is present (*pratyutpanna*) is *viññāna*. As several consciousnesses arise continuously

¹ His previous statement that *svabhāva* (= *svalakṣaṇa*) only is real (*vide* appendix, line 5) confirms the view that shape (*saṃsthāna*) is unreal and *prajñaptisat* as the Sautrāntika-s maintain. *Vide* my *Abhidharma Problems* (ALB, XVIII, Pt. 3-4, pp. 73-4).

² It has been divided into eight in the *Kośa*, I. See my English translation in the *IHQ*, 1953.

and in succession, they are called *viññāna-kāya* (body of consciousness). This body of consciousness becomes six insofar as it is related to the six different bases. For instance, visual consciousness is that which arises when operative through the eye organ and having a visible thing, *rūpa*, as its object. It is *prati-viññapti*, mere awareness of the *svalakṣaṇa* of each object. Even though there are other factors for bringing about consciousness, such as light (*āloka*) and attention (*manaskāra*), the eye alone is stated to be the extraordinary factor; for example, the eye serves as an extraordinary instrument in enjoying the pleasure of dramatic performances. Then the commentary dwells at length on the various subdivisions of sensuous consciousness and their respective spheres of operations.

Turning to the next topic, mental properties (*caitasikadharma*), Bhadanta specifies *vedanā*, feeling, etc., as mental properties, and justifies their separateness on the authority of the Buddha's sayings. The Buddha says: *Cakṣuḥ pratītya rūpaṇca cakṣurviññānam utpadyate, trayāṇāṃ sannipātaḥ sparśaḥ, sparśasahajā vedanā saṃjñā cetanā* "visual consciousness arises taking its basis on the eye and the visible." Sensation is due to contact of three things, consciousness, eye and sense object. There arise along with the sensation, feeling, concept and will. The commentator further points out that if the mental properties are not distinct *dharma-s*, the several passages which speak of *śamatā* (calmness), *vipaśyanā*, (insight), etc., would prove to be false. Thus he affirms the separateness of the mental properties as opposed to

the view of Buddhadeva and Harivarman (*Satyasiddhiśāstra*). Accordingly, Dharmatrāta says that they are mind's associates (*citta-samprayukta*), and pleads that there is a real association (*saṃprayoga*) between the mind and mental properties. Then follow various explanations of the term *saṃprayoga*. To cite one, *saṃprayoga* is defined as association of the mental properties with the mind in equal proportion.

Now what is *vedanā*? It is an experience (*anubhava*) of objects (*ālambana*). There are three kinds of experience: pleasant (*sukha*), sad (*duḥkha*) and neither pleasant nor sad (*aduḥkha asukha*). In the pleasant experience an element of desire lies dormant (*rāgānuśaya*), in the sad one an element of aversion and in the third experience delusion (*moha*) persists. Though delusion pervades the whole field of human experience, it is particularly dominant in the last variety of experience. Bhadanta remarks that the kinds of experience are immeasurable and countless.

There are some authors who hold the view that there is in fact only *duḥkha-vedanā* and no other *vedanā-s*. Their authority for denying the apparent phenomena of pleasant experience is the passage of the *sūtra* which admonishes the monks to regard all pleasant feeling as essentially sad. This position is supported by the theory of *Abhisamaya* which declares that the true nature of things is unrest (*duḥkha*). If there is really pleasant experience of things the theory of *Abhisamaya* would be a perverted one. The theory of a single *vedanā* has been upheld by Harivarman very strongly and successfully.

The *Abhidharmika-s*, nevertheless, do not accept the above contention as valid. They, on the other hand, affirm that there are really three kinds of experience, namely, pleasant, sad and neither pleasant nor sad. They set forth several arguments which definitely prove their standpoint. There are several scriptural passages which classify experiences into three groups. One of them says: When man becomes happy and care-free then only do his body and mind rest at peace (*sukhitasya kāyaḥ cittaṃ praśrabhyati*). In the light of this passage the denial of the pleasant experience is impossible to maintain. The above scripture further proves that man in a state of trance experiences a pleasant feeling. To deny it will amount to depriving meritorious actions of the fruits of happiness.

At this point the Chinese version ends abruptly. The rest of the commentary is apparently lost.¹ It may be presumed that it is incomplete because there are other mental properties, such as *saṃjñā* and *cetanā*, to be explained. Two other topics indicated in the title of the treatise and not mentioned so far in the commentary are *citta-viprayukta*, things dissociated from mind, and *asaṃskṛta*, uncomposite things.

¹ Cf. Busscho Kaisetsu, *Dai-ji-ten* com. by Dr. Gono, Vol. 3, p. 257 c, d. Dr. B. Watanabe-U-bu, *Abhidharma-ron no Kenkyū*, p. 27.

APPENDIX

1. 尊者法救
2. 五事毘婆沙
3. 尊者世友
4. 依處能生義
5. 無異自性事
6. 會遇怨親
7. 淨色

DHAMMAKĀYA

LE TEXTE en langue pāli intitulé *Dhammakāya*, ou *Dhammakāyassa atthavaṇṇanā*, est un opuscule appartenant à la même école que le traité publié par T. W. Rhys Davids sous le titre *The Yogāvacara's Manual* (PTS, 1896) et traduit par F. L. Woodward sous le nom *Manual of a Mystic* (PTS, 1916), et que le *Saddavimāla* décrit par L. Finot dans ses *Recherches sur la littérature laotienne* (BEFEO, XVII, v, p. 77 et suiv.). L'exorde du *Dhammakāya* dit en effet que ce texte est destiné à être sans cesse présent à la mémoire du fils de famille Yogāvacara, doué d'une intelligence aiguë et désireux de parvenir à l'état de Buddha omniscient.

C'est un abrégé de la doctrine bouddhique, basé en grande partie sur le *Visuddhimagga* et l'*Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha*. Il comprend 30 paragraphes consacrés chacun à un élément de cette doctrine. Chaque élément est identifié à l'une des 26 parties du corps du Buddha et aux 4 composants de son vêtement. L'ordre de ces 30 paragraphes est déterminé, non par un classement logique des sujets traités, mais par l'ordre naturel des parties du corps, à commencer par la tête pour finir par les pieds. Le choix de tel élément de la doctrine comme identique à telle partie du corps a été guidé, soit par un rapport évident: l'oreille divine correspond à l'oreille du Buddha;—soit par un

rapprochement verbal: les bases de pouvoir surnaturel (*iddhipāda*) correspondent aux pieds;—soit par une concordance numérique: les 10 rappels au souvenir correspondent aux 10 doigts de la main. Mais dans plusieurs cas la raison de l'identification n'apparaît pas clairement. Voici d'ailleurs la traduction du tableau de concordance par lequel débute le texte:

Connaissance de l'omniscience	= crâne
Domaine du <i>nibbāna</i>	= chevelure
Quatrième méditation	= front
Connaissance de l'obtention de la	
foudre	= <i>unnā</i>
Fixation visuelle de la couleur	
bleue	= sourcils
Œil divin, œil de science, œil	
universel, œil du Buddha,	
œil du <i>Dhamma</i>	= yeux
Oreille divine	= oreille
Connaissance du <i>gotrabhū</i>	= nez
Connaissance du fruit du chemin	
et du fruit de l'émancipa-	
tion	= joues
Connaissance des 37 ailes de	
l'Eveil	= dents
Connaissances mondaine et supra-	
mondaine	= lèvres
Connaissance des 4 chemins	= canines
Connaissance des 4 Vérités	= langue
Connaissance irrésistible	= mâchoire

Connaissance de l'obtention de l'émancipation inégalée	= cou
Connaissance des 3 propriétés des choses	= gorge
Connaissance des 4 sujets de con- fiance en soi	= bras
Connaissance des 10 rappels au souvenir	= doigts
Sept parties constituentes de l'Eveil	= poitrine
Connaissance des intentions et des dispositions	= seins
Connaissance des 10 pouvoirs	= ventre
Connaissance de la production en consécution	= nombril
Cinq puissances des 5 facultés	= fesses
Quatre efforts parfaits	= cuisses
Dix chemins d'actes méritoires	= jambes
Quatre bases de pouvoirs sur- naturels	= pieds
Maîtrise psychique des pratiques morales	= <i>saṅghāṭī</i>
Crainte du péché	= <i>civara</i>
Connaissance de la voie octuple	= <i>antaravāsaka</i>
Quatre mises en jeu de présence d'esprit	= ceinture

L'identification de la Loi ou des Ecritures au corps du Buddha, qui a fait l'objet de nombreuses spéculations dans les écoles du Māhāyāna, est une notion qui n'est nullement étrangère aux autres écoles. La coutume,

partout répandue, de déposer dans les *stūpa*, ou à l'intérieur des statues, des fragments d'écritures canoniques gravés sur olles ou plaques de métal, montre assez que le *Dhamma* joue dans ce cas le rôle de substitut d'une relique corporelle du Maître destinée à animer *stūpa* ou image, à leur donner vie. Les 84,000 *stūpa*, dont la tradition attribue la construction à l'empereur Aśoka, et qui contenaient chacun une des 84,000 sections du canon, réalisaient tout simplement le corps du Buddha à l'échelle cosmique. Et ce n'est pas par hasard que les coffres servant au Siam à conserver les manuscrits des textes sacrés affectaient volontiers la forme d'un cercueil¹: ici encore, le *Dhamma* était identifié à la dépouille mortelle du Buddha.

L'opuscule publié plus loin s'inscrit donc bien dans la même tradition que le *Saddavimāla* étudié par L. Finot. "On trouve là, écrit-il, une série d'opérations qui rappellent curieusement les premiers bégaiements de la pensée indienne dans les Brāhmaṇas. Il n'est pas jusqu'à la thèse de la création des membres par les traités de l'Abhidamma qui n'évoque le souvenir de la vieille théorie d'après laquelle les êtres et les objets ne sont que l'écho des mots du Veda éternel. Ces conceptions singulières, bien que la rédaction en soit probablement assez récente, plongent donc par leurs racines dans une tradition fort ancienne, dont il n'est pas sans intérêt de constater la survivance

¹ Vide G. Coedès, *The Vāṇirāṇa National Library of Siam*, Bangkok, 1924, pl. xiii et xiv.

jusqu'à notre époque au sein des communautés bouddhistes." ¹

Le texte du *Dhammakāya* publié ci-après constitue la deuxième moitié de la 13^{me} liasse des manuscrits du *Suttajātakanidānāṇisaṃsa*,² anthologie d'origine et

¹ *Recherches sur la littérature laotienne, loc. cit.*, p. 77.

² Cette anthologie justifie son titre par le fait qu'elle contient pêle-mêle des *sutta* (dont quelques-uns sont inclus dans la collection des *Paritta*) des *jātaka*, des récits de caractère historique (*nidāna*) relatifs à des reliques ou à des images fameuses, et de petits textes faisant connaître les fruits des œuvres méritoires (*āṇisaṃsa*). En voici la table des matières :

- Liasse I: Subhūthieravattu, Silasārasutta, Sappurisa-dānas°, Velāmas°.
- II: Mattas°, Brāhmaṇas°, Catulokapālas°, Sāriputtas°, Mahānāmas°, Upāsakacaṇḍāla upāsakaratanas°.
- III: Pitugūṇas°, Supinasāmaṇera, Parābhavas°, Bāhiraṅga.
- IV: Saṅkrāntam-ārūhāṇisaṃsavannaṇā, Asurindas°, Candimasuriyagahanas°, Kāladānas°, Sumanas°.
- V: Dasasīlas°, Kosalas°.
- VI: Asārakas°, Nibbānasuttavaṇṇanā, Sattadhanas°, Appamattas°, Bālacittappabodhana, Nidhikaṇḍas°.
- VII: Jambupatis°.
- VIII: Devadūtas°, Manussavinayavaṇṇanā, Puñña-vattāranidāna.
- IX: Mātugūṇavaṇṇanā
- X: Devārohaṇas°, Ādikayas° (?), Vāṇijas°.
- XI: Mahākappinajātaka, Puṇṇovādas°.
- XII: Aṭṭhakesadhātu.
- XIII: Bimbābhilāpavaṇṇanā, Dhammakāya.
- XIV: Jāli-abhiseka, Moggallānabimbapaṇhā.
- XV: Ratanabimbavaṃsa.
- XVI: (fin du précédent), Tirokuṭas°, Jānussonis°, Andhakavindas°.
- XVII: Buddhaghosaniḍḍāna.
- XVIII: (fin du précédent), Pasenadikosalarājajātaka.

de date incertaines, dont les deux seuls exemplaires que je connaisse sont d'origine siamoise. J'ai signalé cette compilation dès 1912,¹ date à laquelle je la vis pour la première fois au Vāt Uṇṇālom de Phnom Penh, dans la bibliothèque du Vénérable Mahāvimaladhamma,² composée en majeure partie de manuscrits acquis ou copiés à Bangkok. Plus tard, j'ai eu à ma disposition l'exemplaire conservé à la Bibliothèque Nationale Vājirañāṇa de Bangkok (N° 180 de la liste imprimée).

Le texte publié ici résulte de la comparaison de ces deux manuscrits qui ne diffèrent l'un de l'autre que par des détails d'orthographe. Tous deux font suivre le *Dhammakāya* des stances de l'*Uṇḥassavijaya*, reproduites par L. Finot dans ses *Recherches sur la littérature laotienne* (p. 75).

P. = manuscrit de Phnom Penh.

B. = manuscrit de Bangkok.

Les lectures qui ne sont précédées d'aucun sigle sont communes aux deux manuscrits.

¹ BEFEO, XII, ix, p. 178.

² Cf. sa nécrologie, BEFEO, XXVII, p. 523. Sa bibliothèque a été versée à la Bibliothèque de l'Institut Bouddhique de Phnom Penh.

DHAMMAKĀYA

THE TEXT, in the Pali language, entitled *Dhammakāya* or *Dhammakāyassa atthavaṇṇanā*, is an opusculé belonging to the same school as the treatise published by T. W. Rhys Davids, *The Yogāvacara's Manual* (PTS, 1896) and translated by F. L. Woodward under the title *Manual of a Mystic* (PTS, 1916), and the *Saddavimala* described by L. Finot in his *Recherches sur la littérature laotienne* (BEFEO, XVII, v, p. 77ff.). The exordium of the *Dhammakāya* says that this text is intended to be ever present in the memory of the Yogāvacara clansman, gifted with keen intelligence and desirous of reaching the state of an omniscient Buddha.

It is a summary of Buddhist doctrine, based largely on the *Visuddhimagga* and the *Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha*. It comprises thirty paragraphs, each concerned with an element of this doctrine. Each element is identified with one of the twenty-six parts of the body of the Buddha and the four parts of his clothing. The order of these thirty paragraphs is determined, not by a logical classification of the subjects treated, but by the natural order of the parts of the body, commencing with the head and finishing with the feet. The choice of a particular element of the doctrine as being identical with a particular part of the body has been guided sometimes by an evident correspondence: the divine ear corresponds to the ear of the Buddha ;

sometimes by a verbal affinity: the foundations of supernatural power (*iddhipāda*) correspond to the feet [*pāda*]; sometimes by numerical concordance: the ten calls to memory correspond to the ten fingers of the hand. But in several cases, the cause of the identification does not seem to be clear. The following is the translation of the table of concordance with which the text begins:

Knowledge of omniscience	= skull
Realm of <i>nibbāna</i>	= hair
Fourth meditation	= forehead
Knowledge of obtaining the thunderbolt	= <i>uṇṇā</i>
Visual fixation of the colour blue	= eyebrows
Divine eye, eye of knowledge, universal eye, eye of the Buddha, eye of <i>Dhamma</i>	= eyes
Divine ear	= ear
Knowledge of <i>gotrabhū</i>	= nose
Knowledge of the fruit of the path and the fruit of liberation	= cheeks
Knowledge of the thirty-seven wings of Enlightenment	= teeth
Knowledge, mundane and supra- mundane	= lips
Knowledge of the four paths	= canine teeth
Knowledge of the four Truths	= tongue
Irresistible knowledge	= jaw
Knowledge of obtaining unequal- led liberation	= neck

Knowledge of the three properties of things	= throat
Knowledge of the four subjects of self-confidence	= arms
Knowledge of the ten calls to memory	= fingers
Seven constituent parts of En- lightenment	= chest
Knowledge of intentions and dis- positions	= breasts
Knowledge of the ten powers	= stomach
Knowledge of dependent origina- tion	= navel
Five powers of the five faculties	= buttocks
Four perfect efforts	= thighs
Ten paths of meritorious action	= legs
Four bases of supernatural power	= feet
Psychic mastery of moral practices	= <i>saṅghāṭi</i>
Fear of sin	= <i>cīvara</i>
Knowledge of the eightfold path	= <i>antaravāsaka</i>
Four applications of mindfulness	= belt

The identification of the Law and of the Scriptures with the body of the Buddha, which has been the subject of numerous speculations in the schools of Mahāyāna, is a notion not unknown to the other schools. The wide-spread custom of keeping in the *stūpa-s* or in the interior of statues, fragments of canonical writings engraved on palm leaves or on plaques of metal, shows without doubt that the *Dhamma* plays in

this case the role of substitute for a corporal relic of the Master, meant to animate and give life to the *stūpa* or image. Each of the 84,000 *stūpa*-s, whose construction is attributed by tradition to the Emperor Aśoka, contained one of the 84,000 sections of the canon, thus symbolizing the body of the Buddha at the cosmic level. And it is not by chance that the coffers which serve in Siam to preserve the manuscripts of the sacred texts often took the form of a coffin¹: here again, the *Dhamma* was identified with the mortal remains of the Buddha.

The opusculé published below thus places itself well in the same tradition as the *Saddavimāla* studied by L. Finot. He writes, "One finds there a series of operations which remind one curiously of the first formulations of Indian thought as found in the Brāhmaṇas. Even the thesis of the creation of the limbs explained in the Abhidhamma treatises, does not fail to evoke the memory of the older theory according to which beings and objects are only echoes of the words of the eternal Veda. These singular conceptions, although their redaction is probably fairly recent, extend their roots into a very ancient tradition, whose survival up to our time in the heart of the Buddhist communities is not without interest to consider."²

The text of the *Dhammakāya* published below constitutes the second half of the thirteenth bundle of the

¹ Vide G. Coëdès, *The Vajirañña National Library of Siam*, Bangkok, 1924, pl. xiii and xiv.

² *Recherches sur la littérature laotienne*, loc. cit., p. 77.

manuscripts of the *Suttajātakanidānānisam̐sa*,¹ an anthology of uncertain origin and date, of which the only two copies I know are of Siamese origin. I brought attention to this compilation in 1912,² when I saw it for the first time in the Vāt Uṇṇālom of Phnom Penh

¹ This anthology justifies its title by the fact that it contains a miscellany of *sutta-s* (some of which are included in the collections of the *Paritta*), *jātaka-s*, stories of a historic character (*nidāna*) relating to famous relics or images, and short texts making known the fruits of meritorious work (*ānisam̐sa*). Following is the table of contents:

- Bundle I: Subhūthēravatthu, Silāsārasutta, Sappurisadānas°, Velāmas°.
- II: Mattas°, Brāhmaṇas°, Catulokapālas°, Sāriputtas°, Mahānāmas°, Upāsakacaṇḍāla upāsakaratanas°.
- III: Pituguṇas°, Supinasāmaṇera°, Parābhavas°, Bāhirāṅga.
- IV: Saṅkrāntam-ārūyāhānisam̐savavṇṇanā, Asurindas°, Candimasuriyagahanas°, Kāladānas°, Sumanas°.
- V: Dasasilas°, Kosalas°.
- VI: Asārakas°, Nibbānasuttavavṇṇanā, Sattadhanas°, Appamattas°, Bālacittappabodhana, Nidhikaṇḍas°.
- VII: Jambupatis°.
- VIII: Devadūtas°, Manussavinayavavṇṇanā, Puñṇavat-tāranidāna.
- IX: Mātugavavṇṇanā.
- X: Devārohaṇas°, Ādikayas° (?), Vāṇijas°.
- XI: Mahākappinajātaka, Puṇṇovādas°.
- XII: Aṭṭhakesadhātu.
- XIII: Bimbābhilāpavavṇṇanā, Dhammakāya.
- XIV: Jāli-abhiseka, Moggallānabimbapaṇḥā.
- XV: Ratanabimbavavṇṇanā.
- XVI: (end of the preceding), Tirokuṭas°, Jānussonis°, Andhakavindas°.
- XVII: Buddhaghosānidāna.
- XVIII: (end of the preceding), Pasenadikosalarājajātaka.

² BEFEO, XII, ix, p. 178.

in the library of the Venerable Mahāvimaladhamma,¹ composed largely of manuscripts acquired or copied in Bangkok. Later, the copy preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale Vājirañāṇa of Bangkok (No. 180 in the printed list) was available to me.

The text published here is the result of comparing these two manuscripts which differ from each other only in orthographical details. In both of them, the stanzas of the *Uṇhassavijaya*, which are reproduced by L. Finot in his *Recherches sur la littérature laotienne* (p. 75), follow the *Dhammakāya*.

P. = manuscript of Phnom Penh.

B. = manuscript of Bangkok.

The readings which are not preceded by any initial letter are common to both manuscripts.

¹ Cf. his obituary notice, BEFEO, XXVII, p. 523. His library has been added to the Bibliothèque de l'Institut Bouddhique de Phnom Penh.

DHAMMAKĀYA

Sabbaññutañña-pavarasisaṃ ¹
 Nibbānārammaṇa-pavaravilasitakesaṃ ²
 Catutthajjhāna-pavaralalātaṃ ³
 Vajirasamāpattiñña-pavaraunṇābhāsaṃ ⁴
 Nilakasiṇa-sobhātikkanta-pavarabhamuyugalaṃ ⁵
 Dibbacakkhu-paññācakkhu-samantacakkhu-
 buddhacakkhu-dhammacakkhu-pavara-
 cakkhudvayaṃ
 Dibbasotañña-pavarasotadvayaṃ
 Gotrabhūñña-uttuṅgapavaraghānaṃ ⁶
 Maggaphala-vimutti-phalañña-pavaragaṇḍa-
 dvayaṃ ⁷
 Sattatimsapavarabodhipakkhiyañña-subhadantā ⁸
 Lokiyalokuttarañña-pavaraotṭhadvayaṃ ⁹
 Catumaggañña-pavaracatudāthā ¹⁰
 Catusaccañña-pavarajivhā
 Appatīhatañña-pavaraṇaṇukāṃ ¹¹
 Anuttaravimokkhādhigamañña-pavara-
 kaṇṭhaṃ ¹²
 Tilakkhaṇañña-pavaravilasitagīvavirājitāṃ ¹³
 Catuvesārajañña-pavarabāhudvayaṃ ¹⁴

¹ °ññuta° (*Sic, partout*)

² P. °ramaṇa°

³ °lalātaṃ

⁴ °unā°; B. vajjira°

⁵ nila°, °tikantaṃ, °yuggalaṃ; B. °bhamū°, P. °bhūmū°

⁶ °utuṅga°

⁷ pattaphala vimuttiññāphala (P. °ññāṃ); B. °gandha°

⁸ B. °ñāṇesabha

⁹ B. °lokattara°; P. °lokattura°

¹⁰ °dādhā

¹¹ apatī°

¹² B. °kaṇḍaṃ

¹³ tilakkhaṇaṇa°, P. °giva°, B. om. gīva

¹⁴ P. °raja°

Dasānussatiñāṇa-pavaravaṭṭaṅgulisobhā ¹
 Sattabojjhaṅga-pavarapīṇauratalaṃ ²
 Āsayānusayañāṇa-pavarathanayugalaṃ ³
 Dasabalañāṇa-pavaramajjhimaṅgaṃ
 Paṭiccasamuppādañāṇa-pavaraṇābhi ⁴
 Pañcendriyapañcabala-pavarajagghanaṃ ⁵
 Catusammāppadhāna-pavaraūrudvayaṃ ⁶
 Dasakusalakammaṭṭha-pavarajaṅghadvayaṃ
 Caturiddhipāda-pavarapādadvayaṃ
 Silasaṃādhi-pavarasaṃghāṭi ⁷
 Hirottappa-pavarapaṃsukūlapaṭicchādacivaraṃ ⁸
 Aṭṭhaṅgikamaggañāṇa-pavaraantaravāsakaṃ ⁹
 Catusatipaṭṭhāna-pavarakāyabandhanaṃ ¹⁰

Aññesaṃ devamanussānaṃ
 Buddho ativirocati
 Yassa taṃ ¹¹ uttamaṅgādi
 Ñāṇaṃ sabbaññutādikaṃ
 Dhāmmakāyamattaṃ ¹² buddhaṃ
 Name taṃ lokanāyakaṃ.

Imaṃ dhammakāyabuddhalakkhaṇaṃ yogā-
 vacarakulaputtena tikkhañāṇena sabbaññubuddha-
 bhāvaṃ paṭthentena ¹³ punappunaṃ ¹⁴ anussaritaḥ.

Sabbaññutañāṇaṃ nāma kathaṃ.

¹ °vatta°; B. vattaṅgali°
³ °yuggalaṃ
⁶ P. °samappadānaṃ; B. °samuppādānaṃ; P. B. °uru°
⁷ sila° saṃghāṭi; P. °samādha
⁹ P. aṭṭhamāṅgi°
¹² P. °matam
⁴ P. nātibhi
⁵ °jaṅgaṇaṃ
⁸ °paṃsukala° civaraṃ
¹⁰ B. °bandanaṃ
¹¹ P. bham
¹³ paṭṭhentena
¹⁴ °ppunnaṃ

Yaṃ lokadhātūsu anantasamkhārārammaṇikaṃ
kāmvāvacarasomanassasahagataṃ upekkhāsahagataṃ
vā nāṇasampayuttaṃ¹ asaṃkhārikaṃ² kiriyācittasam-
payuttaṃ nāṇaṃ taṃ sabbaññutañāṇaṃ nāma.

Katamaṃ pana tathāgatassa nāṇaṃ.

Ekam eva nāṇaṃ sabbaññutañāṇaṃ anāvaraṇa-
ñāṇaṃ ti duvidhena uddiṭṭhaṃ.³

Tathāyaṃ pālī.

Sabbasaṃkhatam avasesaṃ jānātīti sabbaññuta-
ñāṇaṃ nāma.

Tattha āvaraṇaṃ⁴ natthīti anāvaraṇañāṇaṃ⁵
nāma.⁶

Tathā hi sabbassa ñeyyamaṇḍalassa⁷ sabbenā-
kārena jānanasabhāvato sabbaññutañāṇaṃ⁸ ti nāmaṃ
labhati.

Atitaṃ⁹ jānātīti sabbaññutañāṇaṃ nāma.⁶

Tattha āvaraṇaṃ natthīti anāvaraṇaṃ nāma.

Anāgataṃ jānātīti sabbaññutañāṇaṃ.

Tattha āvaraṇaṃ natthīti anāvaraṇaṃ nāma.⁶

Paccuppannaṃ jānātīti sabbaññutañāṇaṃ.

Tattha āvaraṇaṃ natthīti anāvaraṇañāṇaṃ nāma.

Atha vā

Yāvata jātijarāmaraṇassa aniccataṃ jānātīti sab-
baññutañāṇaṃ nāma.

Tattha āvaraṇaṃ natthīti anāvaraṇañāṇaṃ nāma.

¹ P. °yutta

² P. asa°, B. aṃsa°

³ B. uddhiṭṭhaṃ; P. udiṭṭhaṃ

⁴ B. anāvaraṇaṃ

⁵ P. ānāva°

⁶ P. nāmma

⁷ B. °maṇḍalassa, P. °maṇḍassa

⁸ P. °bhāvasaññuta°

⁹ B. tatītaṃ

Yāvatā dukkhassa dukkhattham samudayassa ¹ samudayattham ² nirodhassa nirodhattham maggassa ³ maggattham etaṃ sabbam jānātīti sabbaññutaññaṃ nāma.

Yāvatā sadevakassa lokassa jānātīti sabbaññutaññaṃ nāma.

Yāvatā sadevamanussāya paṭṭhāya ⁴ diṭṭha-suta-⁵ muta⁶-viññāta-pattapariyositaanucarathitaṃ ⁷ manasā etaṃ sabbam sayam jānātīti sabbaññutaññaṃ ⁸ nāma.

Tattha āvaraṇaṃ natthīti anāvaraṇaññaṃ ti ādinā idaṃ tathāgatassa sabbaññutaññaṃ.

Tena ⁹ sabbaññutaññaṇena āvajjanānurūpena sabbam jānātīti sabbaññutaññaṃ nāma.

Sabbe saṃkhatāsamkhate ¹⁰ dhamme jānanasīlo ¹¹ ti sabbaññutaññaṃ nāma.

Kilesandhakāravigamena ¹² sabbassa ñeyyamaṇḍalassa ¹³ āvasesajānanasīlo ¹⁴ ti sabbaññutaññaṃ nāma.

Saṃkhatāsamkhataṃ ti dvayapabhedassa ¹⁵ saṃkhatan ti khandhapañcakaṃ tathā asaṃkhatan ti nibbānaṃ.

Bhagavā sabbā ¹⁶ pi paññattiyo anekappabhedato ¹⁷ jānātīti sabbaññū nāma.

Sabbaññutaññaṇapaṭilābhena ¹⁸ vā sabbaññutena vā samannāgatatā ¹⁹ iti sabbaññū nāma.

¹ samudda°

² B. samudda°

³ maggasa

⁴ B. paṭṭhāya ; P. om.

⁵ P. °sutta°

⁶ °mutta°

⁷ B. °pariyāsita° ; P. °pariyyāsita°

⁸ sabbataññuta°

⁹ P. kena

¹⁰ P. saṃkhātā°

¹¹ °silo

¹² P. °sanda°

¹³ P. paṇḍa°, B. paṇḍa°

¹⁴ B. jānanasīlo ; P. °sillo

¹⁵ P. °patedassa

¹⁶ P. sabba

¹⁷ āneka°

¹⁸ P. °paṭiṭṭhā°

¹⁹ B. °gatattā ; P. °gattatā

Idaṃ sabbaññutaññaṇaṃ dhammakāyassa
pavarasīsaṃ ¹ hotīti veditabbo.²

Nibbānārammaṇaṃ nāma kathaṃ.

Ārammaṇatikesu sabbāni etāni appamāṇaṃ ³ nib-
bānaṃ ārabha pavattito appamāṇārammaṇaṃ ⁴
nāma.

Ettha saṃkhepena vuttaṃ.

Aniccā vata saṃkhārā
Uppādavayadhammino
Uppajjitvā nirujjhanti
Tesaṃ vūpasamo ⁵ sukho.

Atha kho yōgāvacaro asubhabhāvanaṃ karoti
arahattaṃ pāpuṇāti. Idaṃ nibbānārammaṇaṃ nāma.⁶

Yaṃ kho bhikkhave dukkhaññaṇaṃ dukkhasamu-
daye ⁷ ñāṇaṃ dukkhanirodhe ñāṇaṃ dukkhanirodha-
gāminipaṭipadāya ñāṇaṃ ⁸ catusaccapaṭivedhāya ⁹
paṭipannassa ¹⁰ yogino nibbānārammaṇaṃ avijjānusa-
yasamugghātaṃ ¹¹ paññācakkhuṃ ārammanassa
sammādaṇṇaṃ ¹² lakkhaṇaṃ pakāsanārasaṃ avijjan-
dhakāraviddhaṃsaṇaṃ nibbānārammaṇaṃ ¹³ paccu-

¹ P. pavaraṃ (om. sīsaṃ); B. °sīsaṃ

³ P. °mānaṃ

⁶ P. nāmma

⁸ P. °padā

¹¹ °samugghātaṃ; P. avijā°

¹³ P. °ramaṇaṃ

⁴ P. °ramaṇaṃ

⁷ °samuddhaye; B. dukkhe°

⁹ °vedāya

² P. °tabbā

⁵ vupā°

¹⁰ P. °panassa

¹² P. sahadassanaṃ

paṭṭhānaṃ nāma asubhakammavasenā ti nibbānārammaṇaṃ nāma.¹

Nibbānārammaṇe t̥hitassa koci kiñci anatto vā dukkhaṃ vā natthi. Tattha asaṃkhatam ajāti ajaram abyādhi amaraṇam asokaṃ anupāyasaṃ nibbānasukhaṃ hoti.

Tenāha.

Avijjā kodhadosā ca ²
Māno diṭṭhi ca pañcamam
Nibbānapatthanā ³ ye te
Chinditabbā ⁴ dine dine.

Idam nibbānārammaṇam dhammakāyassa ⁵
pavaravilasitakesam hotīti veditabbo.

Catutthajjhānaṃ nāma katham.

Sukhassa ca pahānā ⁶ dukkhassa ca pahānā pubbe
vā sōmanassam domanassam atthaṅgamā ⁷ adukkham
asukham upekkhāsati pārisuddhi catutthajjhānam ⁸
upasampajja viharati ⁹ Bhagavā pana catutthajjhānam.

Dukkhasēyyā ¹⁰ pana tathāgatassa va pañcacattāṭṭhā ¹¹
saṃvaccharāni t̥hatvā ¹² sabbabuddhakiccāni
niṭṭhāpetvā ¹³ sukhekattatāsahitam catutthajjhānam

¹ nāmma

³ °paṭṭhanā

⁶ P. mahānā

⁹ P. vihā°

¹¹ °ṭṭhā

² P. kodhasasā dosā ca, B. kodhasasādhū

⁴ chindhi°

⁷ at̥ṭhaṅ°

¹⁰ B. dukkhassayyā; P. seyya (om. dukkha°)

¹² t̥hatvā

⁵ B. om. dhamma

⁸ °jjhāna

¹³ niṭṭha°

sotāpattimaggaphalacittam¹ sukhekattatāsahitam cat-
utthajjhānam sakidāgāmimaggaphalacittam sukhekat-
tatāsahitam catutthajjhānam anāgāmimaggaphalacit-
tam sukhekattatāsahitam catutthajjhānam arahatta-
phalaccittam.

Idam catutthajjhānam dhammakāyassa²
pavaralalātam³ nāma hotīti veditabbo.

*Vajirasamāpattiñānam*⁴ nāma katham.

Tenāha.

Kalāvakañ ca gaṅgeyyam
Paṇḍaram⁵ tāmbam piṅgalam
Gandham maṅgalam hemañ⁶ ca
Uposatham chaddantime.⁷

Yam dasannam chaddantānam⁸ balam tam etassa
tathāgatassa nārāyanasamghātam⁹ balam vuccati.¹⁰
Tattha nārāyanā¹¹ ti rasmijotā¹² nikkhamanti. Nārā-
yanabalan ti vajiram¹³ vuccati. Tasmā vajirabalan¹³
ti attho.

Atha vā

Yam¹⁴ jhānasamāpatti-phalasamāpatti-nirodhasa-
māpattivāsena¹⁵ uppannam tam ñānam samāpatti-

¹ P. sotāpaṭi°

⁴ vajjira° (*partout*)

⁷ chandha°

¹⁰ P. vaccati

¹³ vajji°

² P. °kayyassa

⁵ B. paṇḍaram

⁸ P. chaddha°

¹¹ P. nārāya

¹⁴ P. yaj

³ lalātam

⁶ B. hepañ

⁹ °samkhātam

¹² P. rasmim°

¹⁵ P. om. nirodhasamāpatti

ñāṇaṃ nāma. Samāpattiñāṇaṃ nāma sabbaññuta-
ñāṇaṃ ti sabbāni etāni ñāṇāni ettheva¹ samodhānaṃ
gacchanti.

Idaṃ vajirasamāpattiñāṇaṃ² dhammakāyassa
pavaraunṇābhāsaṃ³ nāma hotīti veditabbo.

*Nīlakasiṇaṃ*⁴ nāma kathaṃ.

Satthā nīlakasiṇaṃ samāpajjitvā bahalandha-
kāraṃ⁵ patthareyya⁶ tesam sattānaṃ.

Atha vā

Ñāṇaṃ vinā brahmaloke
Kathaṃ jāyanti te pana
Lokabyuhā⁷ nāma devā
Saṃvegavacanaṃ⁸ vade.
Saṃvegavacanaṃ sutvā
Mettādīni paripūrayi
Devaloke ca jāyanti
Nibbānāhāraṃ labhanti.
Te vāyokasiṇakammaṃ
Katvā ñāṇaṃ labhanti te
Tasmā te tena ñāṇena
Brahmaloke uppajjare.

¹ P. etthava

⁴ nila° (*partout*)

⁶ B. paṭṭha°; P. patha°

⁷ P. byahā

² vajji°

⁵ B. balahalandha°; P. basālandha°

⁸ P. saṃvetthavaccanaṃ

³ unā°

Idaṃ nilakaṣiṇaññaṃ dhammakāyassa-
pavarabhamuyugalaṃ ¹ nāma hotiti veditabbo.

*Dibbacakkhu-paññācakkhu-samantacakkhu-buddhacakkhu-
dhammacakkhu nāma kathaṃ.*

Āsayānusayaññaṃ
Indriyānaṃ ² paropare
Buddhacakkhun ti niddiṭṭhaṃ ³
Muninā lokacakkhunā.
Hetṭhā maggattaye ⁴ ññaṃ
Dhammacakkhun ti saññitaṃ
Ñeyyaṃ samantacakkhun ti
Ññaṃ sabbaññutā pana.
Yaṃ cakkhu udapādi ⁵
Āgataṃ ññacakkhu taṃ
Sābhiññā cittaṃ ⁶ paññā
Dibbacakkhun ti vuccati.
Maṃsacakkhum pi ⁷ duvidhaṃ
Sasambhārasappasādaṃ ⁸
Sasambhāraṇ ⁹ ca nāma ettha
Akkhikūpe ¹⁰ patiṭṭhitaṃ.

Akkhikūpaṃ ¹¹ atṭhinā hetṭhā hoti uddhaṇ ca
bhamuatṭhinā. ¹²

¹ °yuggalaṃ

⁴ B. °tṭeye

⁷ B. °cakkhuppi

¹⁰ °kuppe

² P. inri°

⁵ P. upādi ti

⁸ °bhāraṇṇa°

¹¹ B. °kappaṃ; P. °kappa

³ B. niddhi°

⁶ P. cittaṃ

⁹ P. sasāma°

¹² P. bhuma°

Ubhato akkhikūpamhi ¹
 Matthaluṅgena antato
 Bahiddhā ² akkhilomehi
 Paricchinno va yo pana
 Nhārusuttena ³ āveḷo ⁴
 Maṃsapiṇḍo ⁵ ti vuccati
 Sakalo pi ca lokāya ⁶
 Kamalassa dalaṃ viya
 Puthulaṃ ⁷ vipulaṃ ⁸ nīlaṃ ⁹
 Iti jānanaguṇena ¹⁰
 Cakkhunāmena taṃ hoti
 Cakkhu ¹¹ tassā ti vuccati
 Idaṃ pana sasambhāraṃ
 Cakkhun ti paridīpitaṃ ¹²
 Yena cakkhupasādena
 Rūpāni-m-anupassati ¹³
 Parittaṃ sukhumaṃ ¹⁴ etaṃ ¹⁵
 Ūkāśirasamupamaṃ ¹⁶

Idaṃ dibbacakkhu - paññācakkhu - samantacak-
 khu - buddhacakkhu-dhammacakkhuñāṇaṃ ¹⁷
 dhammakāyassa pavaracakkhudvayaṃ nāma
 hotīti veditabbo

¹ °koppamhi

⁴ aveḷo

⁷ P. muthulaṃ

¹⁰ P. itijānanaguṇena; B. idhānanaguṇena

¹¹ vatthu

¹³ B. rūpānisamanupassati; P. rūpānimanamassati

¹⁴ P. sakhumaṃ

¹⁶ okā°

² B. bahidā

⁵ B. maṃsaṃ piṇḍā

⁸ P. om

¹² °dipitaṃ

¹⁵ B. pekaṃ; P. mekaṃ

¹⁷ P. om. buddhacakkhu dhammacakkhu

³ P. ṇhārū°

⁶ Sic Mss.

⁹ nilaṃ

Dibbasotañāṇaṃ nāma kathaṃ.

Yaṃ sotaṃ udapādīti ¹
 Āgataṃ ñāṇasotaṃ ² taṃ
 Sābhiññā saddajā ³ paññā
 Dibbasotaṃ ti vuccati.
 Sotasotaṃ vipassanto
 Tambalohacitto ⁴ tathā
 Aggaṅgulivedhākāro ⁵
 Pasādo ti pakāsitaṃ.

Idaṃ dibbasotañāṇaṃ dhammakāyassa
 pavarasotadvayaṃ nāma hotīti veditabbo.

Gotrabhūñāṇaṃ nāma ⁶ kathaṃ.

Tayo sotāpannā ekabījī ⁷ kolaṃkolo sattakkhattu-
 paramo ⁸ ti.

Sakkāyadiṭṭhi ⁹ vicikicchā silabbataparāmāsā ¹⁰
 tidosaṃ pahāyanakaraṃ sotāpattimaggacittaṃ.

Kāmarāgabyāpādānaṃ tanukaraṃ sakidāgāmi-
 maggacittaṃ.

Kāmarāgabyāpādā niravasesam pahāyanakaraṃ
 anāgāmimaggacittaṃ.

Rūparāga-arūparāga-māna-uddhacca-avijjā ¹¹ nira-
 vasesam pahāyanakaraṃ arahattamaggacittaṃ nāma.

¹ P. upādīti

⁴ °tāmba°

⁷ ekavijjī

¹⁰ silabbatta°

² P. sotantim

⁵ akkhiṅguli°

⁸ °kkhattum°

¹¹ °uddacca°

³ P. saddajjā

⁶ P. om. °ma

⁹ sakāya°

Idaṃ gotrabhūñāṇaṃ dhammakāyassa
pavaraghāṇaṃ nāma hotīti veditabbo.

Maggaphala-vimutti-phalañāṇaṃ nāma kathaṃ.

Catumaggo catuphalo sotāpattimaggaphalo apāya-
bhavato¹ vuṭṭhāti sakadāgāmimaggaphalo sugatibhave-
kadesato² anāgāmimaggaphalo sugatikāmbhavato¹
na hoti arahattamaggaphalaṃ rūpārūpabhavato¹ vuṭ-
ṭhāti. Sabbabhavehi vuṭṭhāti yevā³ ti vadanti.

Idaṃ maggaphalañāṇaṃ dhammakāyassa⁴
pavaragaṇḍadvayaṃ⁵ nāma hotīti veditabbo.

Sattatiṃsapavarabodhipakkhiyañāṇaṃ nāma kathaṃ.

Tenāha.

Cattāri cattāri cattāri ca⁶

Pañca pañca tatheva ca

Satta aṭṭha⁷ ime dhammā

Bodhipakkhīti vuccanti.⁸

Cattarīti cattāro satipaṭṭhānā⁹ kāyānupassanā sati-
paṭṭhānaṃ vedānānupassanā satipaṭṭhānaṃ cittānupas-
sanā satipaṭṭhānaṃ¹⁰ dhammānupassanā satipaṭṭhānañ
ca.

¹ P. °bhagavato

⁴ P. kāyasa

⁶ ttāri ca *effacé à tort dans B.*

⁸ vuccanti

² P. avekadesako

⁵ B. °gaṇḍa°

⁹ P. °paṭṭhā

³ P. yavā

⁷ attha

¹⁰ satti°

Cattārīti cattāro sammappadhānā¹ uppannānaṃ pāpakānaṃ akusalānaṃ dhammānaṃ pahānāya vāyāmo, anuppannānaṃ pāpakānaṃ akusalānaṃ dhammānaṃ² anuppādāya vāyāmo, anuppannānaṃ kusalānaṃ dhammānaṃ² uppādāya vāyāmo, uppannānaṃ kusalānaṃ dhammānaṃ³ bhiyyo bhāvāya vāyāmo ca.

Cattārīti cattāro iddhipādā chandiddhipādo,⁴ viriyiddhipādo cittiddhipādo vīmaṃsiddhipādo⁵ ca.

Pañcā ti pañcindriyāni saddhindriyaṃ viriyindriyaṃ satindriyaṃ samādhindriyaṃ⁶ paññindriyaṃ⁷ ca.

Pañcā ti pañcabalāni saddhābalaṃ viriyabalaṃ satibalaṃ samādhibalaṃ paññābalaṃ ca.

Ṣaṭṭā ti sattasambojjhaṅgā⁸ satisambojjhaṅgo⁹ dhammavicayasambojjhaṅgo viriyasambojjhaṅgo pītisambojjhaṅgo¹⁰ passaddhisambojjhaṅgo samādhisambojjhaṅgo upekkhāsambojjhaṅgo ca.

Aṭṭhā ti aṭṭhaṅgikamaggaṅgāni¹¹ sammādiṭṭhi sammāsaṃkappo sammāvācā sammākammanto¹² sammāājivo sammāvāyāmo sammāsati sammāsamādhi ca.

Idaṃ bodhipakkhiyañāṇaṃ dhammakāyassa subhadantā¹³ nāma hotīti veditabbo.

¹ sama°

⁴ B. chindī°

⁷ B. pañci°, P. kiñci°

¹⁰ P. piti°, B. omet le mot.

¹² P. °kammantā

² P. om. dhammānaṃ

⁵ vīmaṃsi°

⁸ P. °ṅgāna

¹³ B. subhaddantā

³ dhammā

⁶ sāmādhī°

⁹ B. °jaṅgo

¹¹ P. °magāni

Lokiyalokuttarañāṇaṃ ¹ nāma kathaṃ.

Tenāha.

Ekādasa ² kāmabhūmi ³

Rūpabhūmi ca soḷasa

Arūpabhūmi cattāro

Ekatimseva ⁴ bhūmiyo.

Atha vā

Ekāsīti cittāni lokiyaṃ nāma atṭha cittāni nāma
catumaggaphalavasena ⁵ lokuttaraṃ nāma.

Tenāha.

Catupaññāsanā ⁶ kāme

Rūpe ⁷ paṇṇarasiriye

Cittāni ⁸ dvādasārupe

Atṭhadhānuttare ⁹ tṭhitā.

Idaṃ lokiyalokuttarañāṇaṃ ¹⁰ dhammakāyassa
pavaraotṭhāvaraṇaṃ ¹¹ nāma hotīti vedītabbo.

Catummaggañāṇaṃ nāma kathaṃ.

Sotāpattimaggañāṇaṃ sakadāgāmimaggañāṇaṃ ¹²
anāgāmimaggañāṇaṃ arahattamaggañāṇaṃ.

¹ P. °lokattara°

⁴ P. ekasatimseva

⁷ P. rūpepe

¹⁰ P. lokiyakuttara°

² P. ekādassa

⁵ °maggā°

⁸ P. cattāni

¹¹ P. °otṭha°

³ kābhūmi

⁶ P. °sadā

⁹ B. atṭhanā°

¹² B. sakka°

Idaṃ catumaggañāṇaṃ dhammakāyassa
pavaradāṭhā¹ nāma hotīti veditabbo.

*Catusaccañāṇaṃ*² nāma kathaṃ.

Dukkhasaccañāṇaṃ samudayasaccañāṇaṃ³ nirodhasaccañāṇaṃ maggasaccañāṇaṃ, idaṃ catusaccañāṇaṃ nāma.

Tattha catusaccañāṇesu :

Dukkhasaccañāṇaṃ nāma catudhā attho piḷanattho⁴ saṃkhatattho santāpattho vipariṇāmattho,⁵ idaṃ dukkhasaccañāṇaṃ nāma.

Samudayasaccañāṇaṃ nāma catudhā⁶ attho āyuhanattho⁷ nidānattho saṃyogattho paḷibodhattho,⁸ idaṃ samudayasaccañāṇaṃ nāma.

Maggasaccañāṇaṃ nāma catudhā attho niyāmattho⁹ hetvattho dassanattho¹⁰ adhipatīyattho¹¹ idaṃ maggasaccañāṇaṃ nāma.

Nirodhasaccañāṇaṃ nāma catudhā attho nissaraṇattho¹² asaṃkhatattho¹³ vivekattho amatattho idaṃ nirodhasaccañāṇaṃ nāma.

Kāyikadukkhaṃ cetasikadukkhaṃ sabbasattānaṃ¹⁴ uppajjanti¹⁵ dukkhā nāma idaṃ dukkhasaccaṃ nāma.

Atha vā

¹ P. °dāḍham, B. °dā (sic).

³ samuddhaya° (partout).

⁵ °nāma°

⁷ P. °mānattho

⁹ B. nayāattho, P. niyāattho

¹¹ P. adhapa°

¹³ P. saṃkhata°

¹⁵ P. uppajjanti

² P. °secca°

⁴ B. piḷa°, P. piḷi°

⁶ catudā

⁸ B. pali°, P. pili°

¹⁰ P. dasanattho

¹² P. add. nayāattho

¹⁴ P. °satāni

Jāti pi dukkhā jarā pi dukkhā byādhi pi dukkhā maraṇā pi dukkhā¹ sabbasattānaṃ janenti idaṃ dukkhasaccaṃ² nāma.

Taṇhā-avijjādihi³ avasesapaccayehi⁴ ekato katvā dukkhaṃ janeti pavattati⁵ dukkhasamudayasaccaṃ⁶ nāma.

Bhikkhave, nirodho⁷ nibbānasamkhātāṃ nirujjhati sabbasattānaṃ⁸ dukkhaṃ ti idaṃ nirodhasaccaṃ nāma.

Catumaggo catuphalo lokuttaro⁹ nāma idaṃ maggāsaccaṃ nāma.

Tena vuttaṃ.

Dukkhaṃ tebhūmikavattaṃ

Taṇhā samudayo¹⁰ bhavē¹¹

Nirodho nāma nibbānaṃ

Maggo lokuttaro mato.

Bhāro viya dukkhasaccaṃ bhārādānaṃ¹² iva samudayasaccaṃ¹³ bhāranikkhepaṃ¹⁴ viya nirodhasaccaṃ bhāranikkhepanupāyo¹⁴ maggasaccaṃ.

Api ca

Rogo viya dukkhasaccaṃ roganidānaṃ iva¹⁵ samudayasaccaṃ¹⁶ rogūpasamo viya nirodhasaccaṃ bhesajjaṃ viya maggasaccaṃ.

¹ P. dukā

² P. dukkhaṃ°

³ °jādihi

⁴ P. °paca°

⁵ P. pavutteti

⁶ B. °samuddha°, P. °saccaṃ°

⁷ nirodho

⁸ P. °sattānaṃ

⁹ P. kuttaraṇā

¹⁰ samudda°

¹¹ P. bhava

¹² bhāra°

¹³ P. samudda°, B. samuddha°

¹⁴ P. °nike°

¹⁵ P. °nidānaṃ piva

¹⁶ B. samuddhaya°, P. samudayasaccaṃ

Idaṃ catusaccañāṇaṃ dhammakāyassa
pavarajivhā nāma hotīti veditabbo.

*Appaṭihatañāṇaṃ*¹ nāma kathaṃ.

Atitaṃ² se anāgataṃ se paccuppannaṃ se buddhas-
seva bhagavato appaṭihatañāṇaṃ³ nāma jānāti.

Atha vā

Natthi chandassa hāni dosassa hāni mohassa hāni
bhayassa hāni natthi viriyassa hāni natthi samādhissa⁴
hāni natthi⁵ dhammadesanassa hāni natthi paññāssa⁶
hāni.⁷

Idaṃ appaṭihatañāṇaṃ⁸ dhammakāyassa
pavarahanukaṃ nāma hotīti veditabbo.

*Anuttaravimokkhādhigamañāṇaṃ*⁹ nāma kathaṃ.

Dasa¹⁰ pāramitādhammā.

Tenāha.

Dānaṃ silaṇ ca¹¹ nekkhammaṃ¹²

Paññā viriyaṇ ca khanti

Saccaṃ adhiṭṭhānaṃ mettā¹³

Upekkhā dasa pāramitā ti.

¹ P. apatisāhata°

⁴ P. sammā°

⁷ P. *repète ces 3 mots.*

¹⁰ dasara

¹² nikkhammaṃ

² atitaṃ

⁵ P. nati

⁸ P. apaṭi°

¹¹ B. silaṇica, P. silabbā

¹³ P. °naṃmetti

³ °ppaṭihañāṇaṃ

⁶ Sic B; P. paññāssa

⁹ P. °kkhāphagapana°

Sasarājā va dānena
 Saṃkhapālo¹ va silavā²
 Hatthipālo³ va nekkhammaṃ⁴
 Senako cāpi⁵ paññavā
 Viriyavā Janākarājā
 Khantī ca Khantivādī⁶ va
 Saccavāco Sutasomo⁷
 Adhiṭṭhānā⁸ Mūgapakkho⁹
 Mettāya Ekarājā ca
 Lomahaṃso upekkhāvā.

Idaṃ dasa pāramitādharmā nāma.
 Dasa puññakiriyāvattudhammā.

Tenāha.¹⁰

Dānaṃ¹¹ silaṇ ca¹² bhāvanā
 Patti¹³ dānānumodanā
 Veyyāvaccā kāyakammaṇ¹⁴ ca
 Desanā suti¹⁵ diṭṭhijjukaṃ.¹⁶

Idaṃ dasa puññakiriyāvattudhammā.¹⁷
 Atha vā dasa kusalakammaṃpathā.¹⁸

Tenāha.

Kāyena tividdhaṃ kammaṃ
 Vācā kammaṃ catubbidhaṃ

¹ P. °pāpālo

² P. silavā

³ P. hati°

⁴ nekkhammaṃ

⁵ B. kāpi

⁶ °vādi

⁷ Sutta°

⁸ P. °ṭṭhāna

⁹ B. muggapakkavā, P. muggaphakkavā

¹⁰ P. om.

¹¹ dāna

¹² P. silabbā

¹³ pati

¹⁴ P. kavāyaṇ

¹⁵ P. saditi

¹⁶ P. diṭṭhijjakam, B. diṭṭhijukaṇ ca

¹⁷ P. °puññā°

¹⁸ P. °kāmma°

Manasā tividhañ ceti ¹

Dasa kammaṭṭhā ² ime.

Sabbesu pi dhammesu adhigamupāyo ³ nāma.

Idaṃ anuttaravimokkhādhigamaṇāñāṇaṃ ⁴

dhammakāyassa pavaraṇaṭṭhaṃ ⁵ nāma

hotīti veditabbo.

Tilakkhaṇaṇāṇaṃ nāma kathaṃ.

Tenāha.

Ke te aṭṭhakkharā nāma

Kāni tīṇi ⁶ padāni ca

Dukkhañ ⁷ ceva aniccañ ca

Anattā ⁸ ca pakāsitā.

Aniccam ⁹ acirattthena

Dukkham appasukhena ca

Anattā vasikatthena

Samkhārā honti idisā, ¹⁰

Anattānupassanā ¹¹ nāma

Katamā pañca ¹² nāmakā. ¹³

Parato rittato ¹⁴ ceva

Tucchato suññāto pi ¹⁵ ca

Anattā pi ca pañca ¹⁶ te

Matānattānupassanā.

¹ B. cenāti

⁴ B. °vimokkha°

⁷ P. dukkheñ

⁹ P. aniccam, B. niccam

¹¹ B. °passa

¹⁴ ritato

² P. kuṣalakamma°

⁵ B. kaṇḍam, P. kaṭṭham

⁸ P. anettā

¹² P. pañcā

¹⁵ P. pa

³ P. adhigimu°

⁶ P. tīhi

¹⁰ P. gghidisā

¹³ P. nāmatā

¹⁶ B. pañña

Aniccānupassanā nāma
 Katamā dasa bhāsītā
 Aniccato palokato ¹
 Calato ² ca pabhaṅguto
 Addhuvā ³ vipariṇāmā ⁴
 Vibhavā ⁵ ca asārato
 Saṃkhatā maraṇadhammā
 Matāniccānupassanā.
 Pañcavisati saṃkhātā ⁶
 Katamā dukkhānupassanā.
 Dukkhatō rogato gaṇḍā ⁷
 Sallato (a)ghato ⁸ bādhato
 Bhayato upasaggato
 Atāṇāleṇato ⁹ ceva
 Asaraṇā aghamūlato ¹⁰
 Vadhakādinavā ¹¹ ceva
 Sāsavā jātīdhammato
 Mārāmisa ¹²-jarā-byādhī-
 Sokopāyāsadhammato
 Saṃkilesā ¹³ paridevā ¹⁴
 Matā dukkhānupassanā.

¹ P. parasato (= paralokā?), B. cacarato

³ adhuvā

⁴ °ṇāmaṃ

⁶ sakhātā

⁷ B. guṇā

⁹ P. atāṇāleṇako, B. attāṇālelākā

¹¹ B. vacakā°, P. vacatā°

¹² P. mārāmissaṃ, B. mārāmissā

¹³ P. sasamkilesā, B. sasamkikelesā

¹⁴ P. paradevamānā, B. paridevamānā

² palato

⁵ vitāvā

⁸ ghaṭa

¹⁰ °ṇā vāmūlato

Dukkhaṃ sattarasa ¹ kappā
 Aniccaṃ atthārasā ime
 Anattā viṣaṃ ² kappāni
 Bhāvanānisamsā ime.

Idaṃ tilakkhaṇaññaṃ dhammakāyassa
 pavaravilasitagīvavirājitaṃ ³ nāma hotīti veditabbo.

Catuvesārajjaññaṃ ⁴ nāma kathaṃ.

Taṃ pana ñāṇasampadaṃ pahānasampadaṃ ⁵
 desanāsampadaṃ viśesasampadaṃ ⁶ nissāya buddha-
 tādīsu catusu ⁷ tthānesu ⁸ vesārajjabhāvaṃ ⁹ paccavek-
 khantassa uppannaṃ somanassamayaṃ catubbidhaṃ
 paccavekkhaṇaññaṃ.

Tenāha.

Vesārajjā ¹⁰ ti cattāri
 Buddhatte ¹¹ āsavakkhaye
 Antarāye ¹² va niyāme ¹³
 Yehi buddhā visāradā ¹⁴ ti.

Idaṃ vesārajjaññaṃ ¹⁵ dhammakāyassa
 pavarabāhudvayaṃ nāma hotīti veditabbo.

¹ P. °rassa ² visa ³ Mss. omettent °gīva°
⁴ P. °raja° ⁵ P. pahānaṃ°, B. panasahāna°
⁶ P. viśesampadaṃ ⁷ P. catusa ⁸ P. tthānesu, B. dhānesu.
⁹ B. vesāraja°, P. sārāja° ¹⁰ °rajā
¹¹ P. buddhate, B. buddhato ¹² °rāya
¹³ niyāve ¹⁴ B. °raddhā ¹⁵ P. °raja°

Dasānussatiñāṇaṃ nāma kathaṃ.

Buddānussati dhammānussati saṃghānussati silānussati¹ cāgānussati devatānussati upasamānussati² maraṇānussati kāyagatānussati ānāpānanussatitī³ imāni dasānussatiyo nāma.

Idaṃ dasānussatiñāṇaṃ dhammakāyassa pavaravaṭṭaṅgulisobhā⁴ nāma hotīti veditabbo.

Sattabojjhaṅgā⁵ nāma kathaṃ.

Satisambojjhaṅgo⁶ dhammavicayasambojjhaṅgo⁷ viriyasambojjhaṅgo pītisambojjhaṅgo⁸ passaddhisambojjhaṅgo samādhisambojjhaṅgo upekkhāsambojjhaṅgo.

Idaṃ sattabojjhaṅgā⁹ dhammakāyassa¹⁰ pavarapīnauratalaṃ¹¹ nāma hotīti veditabbo.

(Les manuscrits omettent le paragraphe correspondant à āsayānusayañāṇa-pavarathanayugalaṃ de la liste initiale.)

¹ silā°, P. *repète le mot.*

⁴ P. pavarakaṅguli°

⁷ P. °jaṅgo

¹⁰ P. dhammaṃ°

² B. upasā°

⁵ P. °bojjhaṅgo

⁸ P. pati°, B. piti°

¹¹ P. °piṇa°, B. °pilāuratāsaṃ

³ P. aṇā°, B. āṇā°

⁶ P. sata°

⁹ °bojjhaṅgaṃ

Dasabalañāṇaṃ ¹ nāma katham.

Dasabalañāṇesu paṭhamam ² kāraṇākāraṇam eva jānāti.

Dutiyam kammantara-vipākantaram eva ³ jānāti.

Tatīyam kamma-paricchedakam eva jānāti.

Catuttham nānattakāraṇam ⁴ eva jānāti.

Pañcamam sattānam ajjhāsayādimuttim eva jānāti.

Chaṭṭhamam indriyānam tikkhamudubhāvam jānāti.

Sattamam jhānādihi ⁵ saddhim tesam saṃkilesādim eva jānāti.

Aṭṭhamam pubbe nivuttam ⁶ sabbasantatim eva jānāti.

Navamam sattānam ⁷ cutipatisandhim eva jānāti.

Dasamam sabbaparicchedam ⁸ eva jānāti.

Idam dasabalañāṇam dhammakāyassa ⁹ pavaramajjhimaṅgam nāma hotīti veditabbo.

Paṭiccasamuppādam ¹⁰ nāma katham.

Avijjāpaccayā saṃkhārā, saṃkhārapaccayā viññāṇam, viññāṇapaccayā ¹¹ nāmarūpam, nāmarūpapaccayā ¹² salāyatanam, salāyatanapaccayā phasso, phassapaccayā vedanā, vedanāpaccayā taṇhā, taṇhāpaccayā

¹ P. °ñāṇa

⁴ P. nāṇata°, B. nānattā°

⁷ P. satāṇam

¹⁰ B. paṭica°

² pathamam

⁵ P. jjhānā°

⁸ P. soham°

¹¹ P. viññāṇam°

³ P. eru

⁶ P. nivuttam

⁹ B. dhammā°

¹² °rapa°

upādānaṃ, upādānapaccayā bhavo, bhavapaccayā jāti, jātipaccayā jarāmarāṇa-soka-parideva-dukkha-domanassupāyāsā ¹ sambhavanti evam eva ² tassa kevalassa dukkhakkhandhassa samudayo ³ hoti.

Avijjāya ⁴ tveva asesavirāgaṇirodhā ⁵ saṃkhāranirodho, saṃkharanirodhā viññāṇanirodho, viññāṇanirodhā nāmarūpanirodho, nāmarūpanirodhā saḷāyatanirodho, saḷāyatanirodhā phassanirodho, phassanirodhā vedanānirodho, vedanānirodhā taṇhānirodho, taṇhānirodhā upādānanirodho, upādānanirodhā bhavanirodho, ⁶ bhavanirodhā jātinirodho, jātinirodhā jarāmarāṇa-soka-parideva⁷-dukkha-domanassupāyāsā nirujjhanti evam etassa kevalassa dukkhakkhandhassa nirodho hotīti nibbānaṃ nama.

Idaṃ paṭiccasumuppādaṃ dhammakāyassa pavaranaṃbhi nāma hotīti veditabbo.

Pañcindriya-pañcabalaṃ ⁸ nāma katham.

Pañcindriyāni saddhindriyaṃ / la / paññindriyāñ cā ti.

Pañca balāni saddhābalaṃ ⁹ / la / paññābalañ ¹⁰ cā ti.

¹ P. domanussu°

⁴ P. avijjāya

⁷ P. °sokarideva°

¹⁰ B. pañcābalañ

² P. e

⁵ B. °nirodho

⁸ B. pañcindriyāñ ca

³ B. °ddhayo

⁶ P. redouble ca mot.

⁹ B. saddā°

Idaṃ pañcindriya-pañcabalaṃ dhammakāyassa
pavaraṃjaghaṇaṃ ¹ nāma hotīti veditabbo.

Catusammāppadhānaṃ ² nāma kathaṃ.

Cattāri ³ sammāppadhānāni ⁴ uppannānaṃ pāpa-
kānaṃ / la / pahānāya vāyāmo, anuppannānaṃ / la /
anuppādāya vāyāmo, anuppannānaṃ kusalānaṃ
dhammānaṃ uppādāya ⁵ vāyāmo, uppannānaṃ / la /
bhiyyo bhāvāya ⁶ vāyāmo.

Idaṃ catusammāppadhānaṃ ⁷ dhammakāyassa
pavaraūrudvayaṃ ⁸ nāma hotīti veditabbo.

Dasakusalakammaṃpathaṃ kathaṃ.

Kāyena tividhaṃ kammaṃ
Vācā kammaṃ catubbidhaṃ
Manasā tividhañ ceva
Dasa kammaṃpathā ime.

Cha hetukā lobho doso moho alobho adoso amoho.
Kāyena tividhaṃ kammaṃ, pāṇātipātā ⁹ virati,
adinnādānā ¹⁰ virati, kāmesu micchā virati.

¹ B. °jaṅgaṇaṃ, P. °jaṅgaṇaṃ

² °samappadānaṃ

³ cattāro

⁴ P. samappadānāni, B. sampadhānāni

⁵ B. upā°

⁶ bhārāya

⁷ P. °samappadānaṃ, B. °samuppādānaṃ

⁸ °uru°

⁹ P. °pāti

¹⁰ P. adinnā°

Vacikammam¹ catubbidham, musāvādā² pharusavācā pesuññavācā³ samphappalāpavācā⁴ virati.

Manasā kammaṃ tividdham, abhijjhā virati, dosā virati, micchādittḥi⁵ virati.

Tattha dasa kusalakammāpathesu pāṇātipātā virati, pisuṇāvācā virati, pharusavācā⁶ virati idaṃ adosasamuṭṭhānaṃ.

Adinnādānā virati, kāmesu micchācārā⁷ virati, musāvādā⁸ virati, idaṃ alobhasamuṭṭhānaṃ.

Samphappalāpavācā⁹ virati idaṃ amohasamuṭṭhānaṃ.¹⁰

Idaṃ dasakusalakammāpathaṃ dhammakāyassa pavarajaṅghadvayaṃ nāma hotīti veditabbo.

*Caturiddhipādaṃ*¹¹ nāma kathaṃ.

Cattāro iddhipādā chandiddhipādo¹² viriyiddhipādo cittiddhipādo¹³ vīmaṃsiddhipādo.¹⁴

Idaṃ caturiddhipādaṃ dhammakāyassa pavarapādadvayaṃ nāma hotīti veditabbo.

¹ vaci°

² masā°

³ pesuññanā vācā

⁴ B. samphappalāpavācā, P. samphapphalavācā

⁵ P. °dittḥa°

⁶ B. pharussa°

⁷ P. °cāvā

⁸ P. masā°

⁹ B. samphappalāpavācā, P. samphapphalāpavācā

¹⁰ B. alobhasamu°, P. amohasasamu°

¹¹ *Mss. omettent m et ajoutent pavarapādadvayaṃ.*

¹² P. chandhi°

¹³ B. omet.

¹⁴ vīmaṃs°

(Les manuscrits omettent le paragraphe correspondant à silasamādhi-pavarasaṃghāṭi de la liste initiale.)

Hirōtappaṃ nāma kathaṃ.

Hirimā¹ pāpalajjāya samannāgato² ottappi³ pāpa-
bhayāya samannāgato.²

Idaṃ hirōtappaṃ⁴ dhammakāyassa
pavarapaṃsukūlacivaraṃ⁵ nāma hotīti veditabbo.

Aṭṭhaṅgikamaggañāṇaṃ dhammakāyassa pavaraan-
tavāsakaṃ nāma hoti.

Aṭṭhaṅgikamaggañāṇaṃ heṭṭhā vuttanayena vedi-
tabbo.

Catusatipatṭhānaṃ dhammakāyassa
pavarakāyabandhanaṃ⁶ nāma hotīti.

Cattāro satipatṭhānā⁷ heṭṭhā vuttanayena vedi-
tabbo.

Dhammakāyassa atthavaṇṇanā samattā.

¹ P. hirimo, B. hirimoḥ

² °gatā

³ Mss. ajoutent moḥ (mot siamois signifiant 'c'est à dire')
addition provoquée peut-être par (hiri)moḥ > hirimā.

⁴ hirōtappaṃ

⁵ P. pavaraṃ paṃsukulaṃ civaraṃ ; B. paṃsukulacivaraṃ

⁶ B. °tāya°

⁷ °patṭhānaṃ

FOUR NOTES ON VAJRAPĀṆI

I

IN HIS first work on a Buddhist subject (*Le Voyage du Buddha dans le Nord-Ouest de l'Inde* in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1914), Jean Przyluski called attention to the unusual apparition, as companion of the Buddha, of the *yakṣa* Vajrapāṇi: "In the accounts of the voyage of the Buddha in the North-West of India, the choice of the Master's companion has enabled us to make a distinction between two traditional strata: one, in which the Buddha is followed by his usual companion; another, more recent, in which the Kashmirian narrator has replaced Ānanda by Vajrapāṇi. . . If the drafters of the Vinaya [of the Mūlasarvāstivādin] preferred him to the great disciple, this is because at the time when they wrote Ānanda was no longer so revered as during the first centuries of the Church's existence. The substitution of the *bhikṣu* by the *yakṣa* can only be a later event."¹

Today, on re-reading these lines, it seems to me that if there certainly was a falling off in the popularity of Ānanda and even a veritable intrigue worked up against him—which is recorded in the accounts of the First Council—his supersession by Vajrapāṇi was perhaps motivated by a further reason. Let us resume the

¹ See also *La légende de l'empereur Aśoka*, p. 4 and 64.

episode: the Bhagavat thinks that he has no more than a short time to live and that he has still to undertake many conversions. "If I go with the *bhikṣu* Ānanda into the countries of Northern India to convert them, I will have much ado to manage it. I must go to these countries with the *yakṣa* Vajrapāṇi." The Bhagavat therefore says to the latter: "You must come with me to Northern India in order to convert the redoubtable *nāgarāja* Apalāla." "I agree to this", replies the *yakṣa* and both leave through the air. As far as the palace of the *nāgarāja* Apalāla, the ostensible objective of their journey, their itinerary is marked by four halting-places at which the Buddha *alone* converts three compliant *yakṣa*-s and a *ṛṣi*. But the task of overcoming Apalāla turns out to be difficult; his angry manifestations oblige the Buddha to engage with him in the classic struggle of magic powers. Hail-stones and clods of earth hurled by the *nāga* are transformed into sandalwood and clouds; his weapons become lotus-flowers; the smoke he emits is neutralized by that which the Buddha in turn sends forth. But this does not suffice to defeat the *nāga* and the Buddha, hard-pressed, asks Vajrapāṇi to intervene, which he does, brutally. Apalāla, gripped by pain and fear, seeks to flee. Then the Buddha enters into the ecstasy of the world of Fire. The *nāga*, who seeks to escape from the mass of flames formed thereby, finds no way of doing so. The only point which is cool and calm is at the Buddha's feet. Apalāla comes cowering there and states that he is going to accept the moral precepts ("Defenses"). Once this

difficult conversion has been ensured, the Buddha, still accompanied by Vajrapāṇi, continues on his round and this brings him back to his starting-point. There he finds Ānanda once more whose questions show that he knows nothing of what has occurred.

This narration of the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādin, in which Vajrapāṇi takes Ānanda's place and where the *yakṣa's* magical power backs up that of the Buddha, certainly seems to be an interpolation. But is this, as Jean Przyluski writes, merely due to a falling-off in Ānanda's fame? Is it not one of the first signs of the curious destiny of Vajrapāṇi? Through the *Mahāmāyūrī* we know that Vajrapāṇi is the *yakṣa* protector of Rājagṛha, residing on the *Gr̥dhrakūṭa*, and this already marks a promotion in the Buddhist world. So that his choice as companion of the Buddha would therefore be a second stage, and Ānanda the first victim of a re-emergence of local cults of which one finds trace elsewhere than in the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādin and in Tantric Buddhism. Let us recall, in fact, what La Vallée Poussin pointed out: in the *Majjhima-nikāya* (I, p. 366) Śākyamuni is called "adorable yakṣa".

II

Since Sten Konow's short article entitled "*Note on Vajrapāṇi-Indra*" which was published as far back as 1930, there has been no work in a European language concerned with the complex divinity called Vajrapāṇi. Even in his aspect of a Bodhisattva, he has been much

less studied than the two other members of the so-often-mentioned triad: Mañjuśrī and, above all, Avalokiteśvara. Such absence of information is due to the small number of Buddhist Tantra-s which have been scrutinized. This literature, abundant, congested, and confused as it is, discourages research work. Eugène Burnouf himself, who indeed urged its exploration, for he had clearly grasped the importance of Tantric studies, admitted to lacking the courage necessary for discovering the beauties of the Tantra-s reported by Csoma de Körös.

This shirking of obligations has as consequence a big gap in our knowledge of certain religious aspects of India, for Tantrism is not an ephemeral, sectarian flowering but rather an ebb-tide of ancient speculations.

Fifty years ago Louis de La Vallée Poussin taught in lectures given at the Catholic Institute of Paris and grouped together in a publication entitled *Bouddhisme, Opinions sur l'histoire de la dogmatique*: "The study of Tantric Buddhism is of manifold interest. Its gods and its rites are extremely interesting to the Indianist and to the Ethnographer for no Heathenism has been so luxuriant and so sincere." Apart from the word "Heathenism" which seems to us rather pejorative, but which the cadre in which the lectures were delivered explains, this opinion remains remarkably valid.

Later on, Jean Przyluski showed that one is led to distinguish a popular Buddhism and a Buddhism of the élite; that at every period contradictory tendencies co-exist and that the doctrine of the élite is still influenced

by the religion of the masses. Reality, he added, is always more complex than our analyses lead us to think. And yet, when he wrote these lines, in 1932, as introduction to a study of magical formulae (*vidyā*) personified and graded, Jean Przyluski only knew by the first chapters of the *Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa* the extraordinary richness of this popular Buddhism.

III

After having shown that the identity of Vajrapāṇi-yakṣa and Indra which appears in the commentary of the *Ambatṭha Sutta* is confirmed by two passages in the *Saṅghātasūtra*, a Mahāyānist text translated into Tibetan and into Chinese and of which we possess in addition several fragments of a Śāka version,¹ Sten Konow concludes the above-quoted article with these words: "This assimilation of Vajrapāṇi to Indra, last stage in the evolution of the personage, would seem to be the result of an influence of Brahmanist orthodoxy".

Some years later, Professor S. Toganoo in *Rishukyō no Kenkyū* (*Researches on the Nayasūtra*) has brought out different aspects of Vajrapāṇi. He shows him as the "guardian" of Śākyamuni, then he distinguishes an "outer" Vajrapāṇi, that is to say "out of mind", attendant on the Buddha, destroying demons and obstacles, and an "inner" Vajrapāṇi, that is to say "in the mind", destroying the *kleśa*. Finally, having noted

¹ And also the Sanskrit text. Through the kindness of Dr. Lokesh Chandra, I have just received the microfilm of a manuscript in the collection of his father, Professor Raghu Vira,

in Tantrism the identity of Vajrapāṇi and the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra and the identity of this duality with Vajrasattva, he recognizes in this the notion of Ādibuddha which is ancient, he says, if the designation is not.

Let us keep in mind these two conclusions: that of Toganoo concerning the Ādibuddha in order to point out its signal interest; that of Sten Konow in order to try to go a step further by showing that the identity Vajrapāṇi-Indra is certainly not "the last stage" in the evolution of the personage.

IV

The *Vidyottama-mahātantra* is an enormous text the Tibetan translation of which fills 362 leaves of the *Kanjur* (Narthang edition, Rgyud, xvii, fol. 3-365). In the context of a ritual of the Vidyādhara-s, Vajrapāṇi figures therein as chief of the *yakṣa-s*, as a Bodhisattva, and he is even called Bhagavat. Vidyottama is the name of the magical formula (*vidyā*) personified, which is his emanation.

A curious piece of information is given in a dialogue between Īśāna and the Buddha: "O Bhagavat! says Īśāna, the four syllables of the *vidyārāja* are guaranteed (*gnas-pa*) during four *kalpa-s*. . . This *Vidyārāja* is a big magic, a great force; it is redoubtable, ferocious, cruel. To utter its name hurts me!" Bhagavat replies: "O Master of the *bhūta*! it is certainly thus! it is exactly as you say! This *Mahāvidyārāja* is a big magic! It has the aspect of a *draviḍa*; it speaks the language of the *draviḍa* ('*gro ldiñ gi skad*).'" Further on

Vajrapāṇi announces the disclosure of his *hṛdaya* which is also called *draviḍa*.

Between times, a fairly long chapter describes the construction of a *maṇḍala* in relief, the axis of which is the Meru. The divine population of the storeys and their cosmic symbolism, as well as the plan and shape of this temple-mountain evoke the Barabudur. Once the construction is completed "on the North side of the Meru will be placed Vajrapāṇi, whose strength is great, the very cruel, the great Vajradhara who bears the great River of the Law. With his left foot, he crushes Maheśvara; with his right foot, he crushes Umādevi. Between the steps (*ban-rim*) and the enclosure (*'khor-yug*) of the King of the Mounts, one will dispose according to their place [of orientation] the four great Dvīpa-s". The manner in which Vajrapāṇi bears the River of the Law is a transposition of the descent of the Gaṅgā: the River of the Law, "of which one solitary drop would suffice to transpierce Devī, Īśvara and his *gaṇa*, falls on the three: head and both ears" (*lag na rdo rje'i mgo bo dan || rna gñis dan ni gsum du dbab ||*).

Vajrapāṇi dominates therefore in this case Maheśvara = Śiva, one of the gods of the Hindu triad to which Indra has become subordinated. But so many Tantra-s in which Vajrapāṇi reigns still remain to be studied that I will be careful not to conclude in my turn by saying that this is a "final stage" in the evolution of the personage.

A PALI REFERENCE TO BRĀHMAṆA-CARAṆA-S

THE DĪGHA NIKĀYA of the *Sutta Pitaka* contains some of the oldest dialogues of the Pali canon, and, of these, the *Tevijja Sutta* (No. 13) belongs to the earliest group. Thus Mrs. Rhys Davids says: "the *Tevijja* has for me a core of very old teaching, for it shows Śākyan and Brāhmaṇ seeking salvation under the figure of a Way or Path (*mārga*)".¹ Prof. T. W. Rhys Davids, citing the opinion of Bühler, expressed the belief that the Pali Nikāya-s, of which the *Dīgha* is admittedly the earliest collection, "are good evidence, certainly for the fifth, probably for the sixth, century B.C. . . . And it is this which gives to all they tell us, either directly or by implication, of the social, political, and religious life of India, so great a value".² A careful analysis of the contents of the *Tevijja Sutta* not only confirms the above view but also makes it highly probable that the early Pali Nikāya-s reflect religious and social conditions prevailing in India *before* the actual end of the Brāhmaṇa literary period when the Upaniṣad-s had not yet assumed the character of independent texts.

This historically important *Sutta* commences with a reference to the sojourn of several distinguished Brahmin leaders with their pupils at the Brahmin centre of

¹ *Wayfarer's Words*, Vol. II, p. 601.

² *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Pt. I, p. xx.

Manasākaṭa in Kosala. The commentator Buddha-ghoṣa adds that Manasākaṭa was a pleasant retreat to which at various times influential Brahmins resorted to spend their time in reciting and studying the Vedic *mantra-s* (*manta-sajjhāya-karaṇatthaṃ*).¹ Among such Brahmin leaders are mentioned Caṅkī, Tārukkha, Pokkharasādi, Jāṇussoṇi, and Todeyya. It is significant that at least one of these names could be traced in the later Brāhmaṇa literature, namely, Tārukkha, which, at least phonetically, is no other than Tārukṣya found as the name of a teacher in the *Aitareya Āraṇyaka* (iii. 1.6) and the *Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka* (vii. 19).² The episode begins with a discussion between two young Brahmins, Vāseṭṭha, pupil of Pokkharasādi, and Bhāradvāja, pupil of Tārukkha, regarding the true way to union with Brahmā (*ayam eva ujumaggo ayam añjasāyano niyyāniko niyyāti takkarassa brahma-sahavyatāya*, §5). Being unable to settle the dispute (*viggaha, vivāda*, §8) among themselves, they approach the Buddha who Himself was staying at Manasākaṭa to ask Him for his opinion. The Buddha enquires as to the precise point about which there is a difference of opinion between them and Vāseṭṭha replies:

“Maggāmagge bho Gotama. Kiñcāpi bho Gotama
brāhmaṇā nānāmagge paññāpenti—Addhariyā
brāhmaṇā, Tittiriya brāhmaṇā, Chandokā brāh-

¹ *Sumaṅgalavilāsini*, Vol. II, p. 399.

² v.l., *Tārūkṣya* in the former passage can also give Pali *Tārukkha*.

maṇā, Chandāvā¹ brāhmaṇā, Bhavyārijjhā² brāhmaṇā—atha kho sabbāni tāni niyyānikāni niyyanti takkarassa Brahma-sahavyatāya? Seyyathā pi bho Gotama gāmassa vā nigamassa vā avidūre bahūni ce pi nānāmaggāni bhavanti, atha kho sabbāni tāni gāma-samosaraṇāni bhavanti, evam eva kho bho Gotama kiñcāpi brāhmaṇā nānāmagge paññāpentī—Addhariyā brāhmaṇā. . . Brahma-sahavyatāyāti?” (§10).

This passage may be translated literally as follows: “Concerning the (real) path and the false path, venerable Gotama. Although, venerable Gotama, the *brāhmaṇa-s* declare various paths—(that is to say) the Addhariya *brāhmaṇa-s*, the Tittiriya . . Chandoka . . Chandāva . . the Bavharij(jh)a *brāhmaṇa-s*—yet do all those [*tāni*, neuter] saving paths, do they lead to the Brahma-companionship of the pursuer thereof? Just as, venerable Gotama, near a village or a hamlet there are many and various paths, yet they all meet together in the village—just in that way all the various paths declared by various *brāhmaṇa-s*—the Addhariya *brāhmaṇa-s*, etc.,—do they lead to the Brahma³-companionship of the pursuer thereof?”

This passage, it will be admitted, is important both for its language and for its subject-matter. In the first

¹ Omitted in one Burmese Ms. and one Sinhalese Ms. out of six Mss.

² I have preferred this Burmese v.l. to *Brāhma-cariyā* of the PTS text.

³ Here Brahma is masculine; cf. Buddhaghoṣa, *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, Vol. II, p. 400: ‘*Tassa Brahmuno*’.

place, the neuter plural *tāni* referring to the various 'paths' to Brahma-companionship is a curious anomaly if its antecedent is to be regarded as *nānāmagge* which has the accusative plural ending (-e) of the masculine declension, for this noun (*magga*) is never found in the neuter gender either in Pali or in Sanskrit. Buddha-ghoṣa has noticed this irregular employment of the neuter plural in *sabbāni tāni* referring to *magge* but dismisses it with the curt remark that it is a case of gender change (*liṅga-vipallāsa*).¹ Prof. Rhys Davids surprisingly ignores *sabbāni tāni* but commenting on the following *nānāmaggāni* says that the latter is "noteworthy as a curious change of gender".² But the neuter plural used in *nānāmaggāni* is obviously due to the influence of the preceding *sabbāni tāni niyyānikāni*, and the real problem, as the Pali commentator has appreciated, is to explain the change of gender in *sabbāni tāni*. Now, change of gender is not an unusual phenomenon in Pali. As Geiger has pointed out,³ the sense for grammatical gender has already become hazy in Pali, and due to 'syntactical irregularities' masculine and feminine substantives sometimes show neuter inflexional forms and *vice versa*. However, this kind of gender change is without exception confined to *substantives* only, and not a single case of an irregular change of gender of a pronoun can be adduced from the literature. Moreover, the subject of *niyyanti* can only be *tāni* for

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 401.

² *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Pt. I, p. 303, footnote 3.

³ *Pali Literature and Language*, §§ 76, 78. 7.

niyyānikāni never appears in Pali as a substantive but is always an adjective.¹ Hence it cannot be argued that *tāni* is due to the influence of *niyyānikāni*. These considerations rule out the possibility of any syntactical irregularity being the cause of the gender change in *tāni*.

What, then, could have contributed to this surprising anomaly of gender? It may be pointed out here that in Pali as in the Prakrits, idiom and syntax are to a considerable extent governed by popular psychological factors which hardly find a place in a strictly codified system of grammar as that of classical Sanskrit. Instances of morphological, phonological, and syntactical irregularities can be adduced from these dialects, which are in the main due to reasons of 'popular psychology'. It is obvious that in the above paragraph the parenthetical clause beginning with *Addhariyā* is not a negligible factor and could have had some semantic influence on the rest of the sentence. An examination of the meaning of these terms appears to justify such a surmise.

The term *Addhariyā* is derived from *adhvarya-* the denominative verbal base from *adhvara*, sacrifice, from which the usual Vedic derivative is *adhvaryu*,² and has doubtless the same meaning, i.e., 'follower of the *Yajurveda*'. *Tittiriya* (*Tittiri+ya*) is beyond doubt a parallel form of *Taittiriya* 'followers of a school of the *Black Yajurveda*'.³ *Chandokā* represents the Vedic *Chandogāḥ*

¹ See references listed in PTS Dictionary, s.v.

² Cf. Grassman, *Wörterbuch zum Rigveda*, s.v.

³ Suffix *-ya* being added in the popular dialect to the simple base *Tittiri* without *vrddhī* instead of *-īya* with *vrddhi*; see Macdonell, *Vedic Grammar for Students*, § 182. 2. This was possible due to the

(hymn-singing),¹ denoting 'the followers of the *Sāma-veda*', with the phonetic confusion of the latter part *-ga* (from the root *gā*) with the frequent suffix *-ka*. The next term *Chandāvā* which occurs in the majority of manuscripts, although it is dropped, probably for its obscurity, in one Sinhalese and one Burmese manuscript, presents a more difficult problem. If any word in the Brāhmaṇic nomenclature of the relevant period can be considered to be the original form of this obviously corrupt term, there is no doubt that *Cāndrāyaṇāḥ* found among the Pravara-gotra names, as will be shown below, appears to be the most plausible. This, however, should in the normal course of phonetic development become in Pali, *Candānā* by the well-known contraction of *-āya-* to *-ā-*.² The aspirated *ch* in the Pali *Chandāvā* can be accounted for as being due to the influence of the aspirate *ch* in the initial syllable of the immediately preceding *Chandokā*. The only real difficulty in this identification is the substitution of the sound *-v-* in the last syllable for the original *-n-*. In view of the rather frequent confusion of sonantal sounds (*y, v, r, l, m, n*) in Pali and Prakrit,³ and the fact that the term in question is an obscure proper name borrowed from the learned Brāhmaṇic vocabulary and

popular syncopated form **Tittri*. The *Pali Proper-Names Dictionary* cites only *Addhariyā* and *Tittiriya*, the rest being omitted altogether.

¹ Keith and Macdonell, *Vedic Index*, s.v., take *chando-* here as 'metre' without justification.

² Cf. Geiger, *op. cit.*, § 27. 2.

³ *Ibid.*, §§ 43-46; Pischel, *Prakrit Grammar*, § 254-256.

incorporated into the popular dialect and thus more liable to phonetic corruption, the suggested etymology may not be wholly unjustifiable. The last term appears in four variant readings listed in the Pali Text Society edition of the text. For its own reading it selects the form *Brāhma-cariya*. The Burmese manuscripts show three different forms *Bhavyārijjhā*, *Bavhadijā*, and *Cavhadijā*. Prof. Rhys Davids has adopted the reading *Bavharijā*¹ and has also identified it correctly with the Vedic *Bahvṛcāḥ*, the name traditionally accorded to the followers of the *Ṛgveda*.

From the foregoing discussion of the names of Brahmins occurring in the Pali parenthetical passage the important fact emerges that the author was presumably referring to various schools of Brahmins holding different views as to the path of union with Brahma. To regard these names as merely indicating the classes of *priests*² divided according to their functions in the sacrificial ritual would be to miss the author's point altogether. If that were the intention the three names *Bavharijā*, *Addhariyā* and *Chandokā* would have certainly sufficed, and *Tittiriya* and *C(h)andāvā* would not have been added, because there were no officiant priests by those names. Moreover, the specific terms *hotṛ* and *udgātṛ* in their corresponding Pali forms should have been preferred. But the author's idea was to indicate that these five schools held different (*nānā*) views regarding the way to union with Brahma. The

¹ *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Pt. I, p. 303; he does not indicate Ms.

² Rhys Davids, *ibid.*, footnote 2,

history of Vedic literature shows that such schools of ancient Brahmins did exist holding different views in such matters. In fact we read in an ancient text, the *Aitareya Āraṇyaka* (iii. 2. 3) [= *Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka* (viii, 4)], "That same [Self] the Bahvṛcas formulate in the great *Uktha*, the Adhvaryus in the Fire, the Chandogas in the Mahāvratā rite. They see him in this earth, in heaven, in the air, in the ether, in the waters, in plants, in trees, in the moon, in the constellations: in all beings. Him they call the Brahman."¹ It is well known that the exegetical works of the followers of these three Veda-s, namely, the collections known as the Brāhmaṇa texts, contain both commandments (*vidhi*) and explanations (*arthavāda*). As Sāyaṇa points out in his introduction to the *Ṛgveda-bhāṣya*, "The commandments are of two kinds, either causing something to be done which was not done before, or making something known which was not known before. . . . Of the latter kind are all philosophical passages, such as, 'Self was all this alone in the beginning'."² This shows that from very early times the Vedic schools in which these explanations and speculations were developed had differences not only in their separate interpretations of strictly ritual matters, but also in their speculative beliefs regarding the method of attaining the Goal. Past investigations,

¹ Cf. Ranade and Belvalkar, *History of Indian Philosophy*, Vol. II, p. 167; Keith (Introduction to HOS 25—*Rig-veda Brāhmaṇas Translated*) opines that this part of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* belongs to about the latter part of the sixth century B.C.

² See Max Müller, *A History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature* (1906), p. 342.

especially the researches of Max Müller,¹ have established beyond doubt that such schools or communities had grown up among the Brahmins of Vedic India long before the composition of the Brāhmaṇa texts. In fact, with cogent reasoning Max Müller has postulated the existence, during the centuries of the development of Vedic literature, of three classes of such communities or "ideal successions of teachers and pupils who learn and teach a certain branch of the Veda,"² which traditionally came to be known as *carāṇa-s*. In his opinion the name *carāṇa* should be reserved for "those ideal successions or fellowships to which all belonged who read the same *śākhā* or recension of the Veda."³

First of all, argues this authority, arose the *Samhitā-carāṇa-s* or those which originated with the texts of the *Samhitā-s*; secondly, those which originated with the texts of the Brāhmaṇa-s, which he calls the *Brāhmaṇa-carāṇa-s*; and, thirdly, those which originated with the *Sūtra-s* called the *Sūtra-carāṇa-s*.⁴ He points out further that the first *carāṇa* to grow up must have been that of the Bahvṛca-s or followers of the *R̥gveda Samhitā*, as there is no evidence of the existence at the period of the compilation of that *Samhitā* of *carāṇa-s* or *śākhā-s* of the Adhvaryu-s and the Chandoga-s, followers of the *Yajurveda* and the *Sāmaveda* respectively. "When the growth

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 125 ff., 187 ff., 360 ff.

² *Ibid.*, p. 130.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 378; the later confusion of *śākhā* with *carāṇa* has probably led N. Dutt (*Early Monastic Buddhism*, Vol. I, p. 10) to regard the Pali terms as referring to 'Vedic *Śākhās*'.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 187.

of a more complicated ceremonial led to the establishment of three or four classes of priests . . . there must have been a floating stock of Brāhmaṇas, *dicta theologica*, peculiar to each class of priests.”¹ It was this adoption of a Brāhmaṇa text by each community that led to the second class, the *Brāhmaṇa-caraṇa-s*. There was originally only one body of Brāhmaṇa-s for each of the three Veda-s; for the *R̥gveda* the Brāhmaṇa-s of the Bahvṛca-s, for the *Sāmaveda* the Brāhmaṇa-s of the Chandoga-s, and for the *Tajurveda* in its two forms the Brāhmaṇa-s of the Taittirīya-s, and the more ancient elements of what later became the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*.² The earliest Brāhmaṇa text to be put together was naturally that of the Bahvṛca-s,³ and the *Āpastamba Śrauta Sūtra*, which is not later than 250-300 B.C., cites a Bahvṛca Brāhmaṇa nine times.⁴ This must have been followed soon after by the compilation of the Brāhmaṇa-s of the Adhvaryu-s and the Chandoga-s, a state of affairs reflected in a passage in the *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa* (vi. 11) which lists these three schools.

There is evidence that the Adhvaryu-s developed several schools, the earliest of which was known as the Carakas; the Taittirīya-s together with the Kāṭha-s were but two original sections of these.⁵ The *Śatapatha*

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 188-9.

² Max Müller, *ibid.*, p. 345, seems to have omitted the qualification necessary in including the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* in the same class as the older Brāhmaṇa-s; but see *ibid.*, p. 360.

³ Cf. Keith, *Rig-veda Brāhmaṇas Translated* (HOS 25), p. 22.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 48-9.

⁵ Max Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 350.

Brāhmaṇa of the *White Yajurveda* is only the "sacred code of a new *Carāṇa*" which according to tradition broke away from the Taittirīya school of the Adhvaryu-s as the result of "a schism introduced by Yājñavalkya Vājasaneyā".¹ Hence Keith remarks that the Brāhmaṇa portion of the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* must be reckoned among the older Brāhmaṇa texts, earlier than the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*,² and is to be dated about 600 B.C.³ The omission of the name of this new school in the Pali-list is therefore not without considerable significance for the relative chronology of the early Buddhist canon and the period of the composition of the Brāhmaṇa texts, as we shall see below. A Brāhmaṇa of the Chāndogya-s which included the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* is referred to in the *Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra* (xxii), the *Parāśara-smṛti* (i. 38/39. 4. 28) and by Pāṇini (iv. 3. 129). Thus it becomes clear that the Pali passage refers to the followers of the *older* schools or *carāṇa-s* that were distinguished by their separate Brāhmaṇa texts and are therefore designated '*Brāhmaṇa-carāṇa-s*' by Max Müller. The only doubt is about the C(h)āṇḍāvā who, as suggested above, may represent the Cāṇḍāyana-s. Although there is no evidence of a Vedic school so named, the Pravara lists do make mention of Brahmins with that designation, both as an *upa-gaṇa* of

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 349-350; cf. Keith, *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda*, p. 19.

² Keith, *The Veda of the Black Yajus School Translated* (HOS 18), p. clxvi.

³ *Ibid.*, p. lxxii.

the Bhrgu-s and of the Kevala-Aṅgīrasa-s.¹ This occurrence may be paralleled by the fact that even the Chandoga-s appear in the Pravara lists as Chāndogeya-s.² It is quite possible therefore that there was an older *Brāhmaṇa-caraṇa* by the name of 'Cāndrāyaṇāḥ' which disappeared as such by the time of the conclusion of the Brāhmaṇa period.³ Probably the reference is to a 'school' that practised the Cāndrāyaṇa ritual fast regulated by the observation of the course of the moon as referred to also in the *Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa* (xvii. 13. 17). The Pali passage may have included these inasmuch as the followers of such a rite must have regarded it too as a path to union with Brahma.

The general conclusion cannot thus be avoided that the Pali passage in citing these names was referring to *doctrines* held by these various schools of Brahmins. The 'collective Brāhmaṇa-s'⁴ of the earlier *caraṇa-s*, as was indicated above, must have been partly records of such doctrines or *dicta theologica* which are generally referred to in Vedic literature by the neuter plural 'brāhmaṇāni'. In analyzing the linguistic peculiarities of the Pali passage it was suggested that the 'irregular' neuter plural in the pronoun *tāni* could have been the result of a psychological factor. If it is now suggested

¹ See *Gotra-Pravara-Mañjari* translated, 31, 76, in J. Brough's *The Early Brahmanical System of Gotra and Pravara*, pp. 82, 124.

² Brough, *Ibid.*, p. 144; cf. Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, s.v.

³ Cf. Max Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 365: "they were absorbed or replaced by a more modern class of *Caraṇas*, the *Sūtra-caraṇas*".

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 360.

that the author had *at the back of his mind* the idea of the several conflicting theological doctrines, 'brāhmaṇāni', of the various Brahmin schools, cited in the Pali parenthetical clause and called '*Brāhmaṇa-caraṇa-s*' by Max Müller, then it would be easy to justify the use of the neuter plural *tāni* as a case of unconscious psychological influence on syntax. Such a phenomenon is not infrequently met with in the syntax of popular dialects such as Pali. This interpretation receives definite confirmation from the traditional use of the *masculine plural* for the names of the followers of the *older* (Brāhmaṇa) *caraṇa-s* to indicate their respective *works or doctrines*. In fact, as Max Müller has clearly shown,¹ Pāṇini rests his opinion as to the old and new Brāhmaṇa-s on precisely this usage. "A book", he says, "composed by a certain author may be called by an adjective derived from the author's name".² A book composed, for instance, by Vararuci may be called *vāraruco granthaḥ*. If, however, the supposed author was only the promulgator of a traditional body of knowledge and not responsible for its actual composition, it should not be called his *grantha*, but should bear its own title such as '*vyākaraṇam*' together with an adjective derived from his name.³ Thus Pāṇini's own work may be called *Pāṇinīyam vyākaraṇam*. Or, it may be

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 361-2; the following paragraph is almost completely based on Max Müller's treatment.

² Pāṇini, iv. 3. 116: "*kṛte granthe*".

³ *Ibid.*, iv. 3. 115: "*upajñāte*"; and iv. 3. 101: "*tena proktam*" (Bhāṣya: "*yat tena proktam na ca tena kṛtam*").

that Pāṇini further lays down that it would be wrong to speak of the Yājñavalkya-s in the same sense as we speak of the Taittirīya-s, and the works promulgated by Yājñavalkya, although they are Brāhmaṇa-s, are to be called *Yājñavalkyāni brāhmaṇāni*.¹ Kātyāyana adds: "because they are of too recent an origin; that is to say, they are almost contemporaneous with ourselves". "Here then, we see", says Max Müller, "that as early as Pāṇini and Kātyāyana a distinction was made, not only by learned men, but in common language, between old and modern Brāhmaṇas."²

The above discussion of the evidence from Pāṇini shows, firstly, that the use of the plural masculine forms *Addharyā brāhmaṇā*, etc., in the Pali indicates that the author was referring thereby to the doctrines or utterances of the promulgators of *ancient* Brāhmaṇa-s, that is to say, their *brāhmaṇāni*; and, secondly, that the omission of any reference to Yājñavalkya-s or Vājasaneyin-s (Pali * Yaññavakkā, * Vājasaneyā) is quite in keeping with the chronological position of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*. For, if Pāṇini in the fourth century B.C.,³ and even his successor Kātyāyana, could characterize the Brāhmaṇa-s of the Yājñavalkya-s as contemporaneous with themselves, obviously then the author of the *Tevijja Sutta*, probably in the fifth, or according to the lowest estimate fourth, century B.C., omitted that *carana* either

¹ Pāṇini, iv.3.105.1: "yājñavalkyādibhyaḥ pratiṣedhas tulyakālatvāt.

² Max Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 363 (italics mine).

³ Keith, *The Veda of the Black Yajus School Translated* (HOS 18), pp. clxviii, clxix.

because he preceded it in time or because he was prompted by the same reason as Pāṇini to regard it as a modern school that did not count among the ancient *Brāhmaṇa-caraṇa-s*. The obvious conclusion that results in regard to the relative chronology of the early Pali *Sutta-s* and the Brāhmaṇa texts, namely, that at least the older *Sutta-s* of the *Dīgha Nikāya* were composed *before* the end of the Brāhmaṇa period when the Upaniṣad-s had not yet come to be regarded as independent texts, is supported by the general observation that no specific reference is made to the Upaniṣad-s either as texts or doctrines anywhere in the Pali Nikāya-s.

P. H. POTT

SOME SCENES FROM THE BUDDHA'S
LIFE IN STONE

In The National Museum Of Ethnology, Leiden

THE RIJKSMUSEUM voor Volkenkunde (National Museum of Ethnology) at Leiden, Holland, is well known for its beautiful collection of Hindu-Javanese sculpture, of which the Durgā-Mahiṣāsūramardīnī, the Gaṇeśa and the Brahmā from Singasari (13th century A.D.) rank among the finest specimens of this rather delicate branch of Indian influenced art. By far the most famous of the Leiden sculptures, however, is the beautiful Prajñāpāramitā sculpture, illustrated in almost every work on Buddhist art, which Havell once described as "one of the most spiritual creations of any art, Eastern or Western."¹

Though it is especially for its magnificent collection of Hindu-Javanese art that the Leiden Museum is known in India, it contains also some other collections of Indian art which are of some interest. The collection of Indian sculpture is rather small, but examples of several epochs of Buddhist art in India are to be found in it, among which the Hellenistic-Buddhist art of Gāndhāra, and the Mathurā school of sculpture are fairly well represented. The collection of Mathurā

¹ E. B. Havell, *Indian Sculpture and Painting*, pp. 51 f., pl. XIV.

sculpture consists mainly of a number of Buddha heads and some fragments of high-class sculpture, e.g., a fine garland-bearer. But some of the Hellenistic-Buddhist reliefs are more interesting for the scenes from the Buddha's life which they represent.

Most of those sculptures deal with the rather well-known events from the Buddha's life-story, like the nativity in the Lumbinī Park at Kapilavastu, the *mahābhiniṣkramaṇa*, the assault of Māra and his army, the invitation to preach the law, and the *parinirvāṇa* scene. Those are the usual scenes which have been found rather frequently. So it is especially to some of the less-known scenes that I would like to draw the attention of those interested in the Buddha's life. Those scenes are less stereotyped than the ones I have mentioned, but nevertheless they have some peculiar traits by which it is possible to identify them with more or less certainty. As to this identification we have a good guide in Mr. Foucher who, in his excellent book on the art of Gāndhāra, has analyzed a large number of reliefs representing scenes from the life of the Buddha.¹ So it will be possible, I believe, to identify some of the pieces in the Leiden Museum.

First of all, I would like to discuss the panel illustrated in figure 1. The panel itself is slightly curved, which makes it probable that it once decorated the lower part of an ornate stūpa-pedestal. On either side of a central panel, a narrow side-panel illustrates

¹ A. Foucher, *L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gāndhāra*, I, Paris 1905, pp. 270-599.

a standing figure under a tree, one of them standing cross-legged, and each holding a branch of the tree. It seems without question that they represent *yakṣiṇī-s*. The central panel, however, is more interesting. Quite in the middle we see the Buddha standing, followed by the inseparable Vajrapāṇi holding his vajra-club in his left hand against his breast. He is followed in his turn by a monk and a young layman, dressed like a man of wealth. The Buddha Himself is conversing with another man in rich attire, who is taking something out of a basket with his right hand, the basket being held for him by a servant standing at the door of a house with a balcony from which three persons are looking at the proceedings. I suppose that we can with some reason identify this panel as the donation of the Jetavana to the Buddha by Anāthapiṇḍada, the leader of the merchants of Śrāvastī.

The donation of a park, or perhaps better, of a pleasure garden, to a famous itinerant ascetic and his followers, was a deed of great merit in the days of the Buddha's life, as it remains up to the present day. According to the *Nidānakathā*, the merchant Anāthapiṇḍada wished to acquire merit by donating a park to the Buddha. For this reason he wanted to buy a pleasure garden from the prince Jeta, who was reluctant to sell it and could be brought to do so only for the price of as many gold coins as could cover its surface! To his astonishment the merchant accepted the price asked by Prince Jeta, and then donated the park to the Buddha with the proper formalities.



Some Scenes from the Buddha's Life in Stone

Fig. 1

This donation of the Jetavana, the "finest of gifts" as it was called, was a scene important enough to be represented in the Buddha's life in stone, and so we can find it, for instance, among the circular panels of the railing of the Bharhut-stūpa, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.¹ As far as I know, however, the subject is not very popular in Gāndhāra, though Foucher has given one example of its being represented. I would suggest that the relief in the Leiden Museum is another example of an illustration of the donation of the Jetavana. The servant on the left side of the panel is holding a basket filled to the brim with gold coins, which Anāthapiṇḍada has to spend to buy the pleasure garden from Prince Jeta. In the two richly dressed persons, we can recognize the merchant and the prince, while the merchant's relatives are witnessing the proceedings from the balcony of his house. The two *yakṣiṇī*-s on the side-panels could represent the Jetavana itself, as being its *genii loci*, thus completing the theme.

Another sculpture in the Leiden Museum which is not easily identified, is illustrated in figure 2. It is a double panel, the two parts being separated by a heavy pillar. Both panels are sculptured in narrative relief, so we may assume that they represent two facts from the Buddha's life which were related in time. That means that in case we are able to identify one of them, the subject of the other one is more or less restricted to

¹ A Cunningham, *The Stūpa of Bharhut*, London 1879, pl. LVII; cf. Foucher, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 473 ff.

an event which happened just before or just after the one we have identified. As it is very probable that the decorations were meant to be studied by a devout follower of the Buddha when making a perambulation in the prescribed way for a *pradakṣiṇa* round the structure of which the sculpture once formed a part, the scene to the right will refer to a fact previous to that illustrated in the panel on the left. This is furthermore suggested by the way in which the main figure in the panels is illustrated, while going to the left. Now the subject of the panel on the left is not difficult to identify with the help of some other sculptures published by Foucher.¹ It is the story of the *nāga* king Kālīka and his wife, the *nāgī* Suvarṇaprabhāsā, paying homage to the Bodhisattva. This brings us at once to the period of the Buddha's life between the end of His six years of penance and His illumination, or to name it with the term mentioned in the texts, the *bodhimāṇḍagamaṇa*. It is the preparation for the *bodhi* which takes place in this period, and it begins with the Bodhisattva recovering his strength by taking the right food, whereupon the *nāga* Kālīka pays Him homage, and predicts that He will attain illumination. For this reason we may suggest that the scene on the right represents the Bodhisattva recovering His strength by taking food from the girl Sujātā. It is told in the *Lalitavistara*, for instance, that Sujātā, the daughter of the village headman, Nandika, took the milk of a thousand cows, and after

¹ Foucher, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 383 ff.



Some Scenes from the Buddha's Life in Stone

separating the cream of this milk seven times, obtained cream of the best quality. Then she cooked this cream with fresh rice in a new pot, and when it was ready, sent a servant to invite the Bodhisattva to come to her house and have this meal. When the Bodhisattva had accepted the invitation and had taken the food, the thought came to His mind that the moment of attaining *bodhi* was near. As the same thought is just afterwards strengthened by Kālīka's *stuti*, it seems to be acceptable to suggest that the panel on the right represents the event of Sujātā's offering, while that on the left is Kālīka paying homage. In both panels the figure of Vajrapāṇi, the inseparable follower of the Buddha in the Gāndhāra sculptures, is represented just over His left shoulder with only the upper part of the body visible, while the Bodhisattva is followed by a man in monk's dress, which is rather confusing, as the Bodhisattva had no followers in this period of His life. I am inclined to suggest that this detail is influenced by another scene from the Buddha's life-story which closely resembles the event of Kālīka's homage, namely, the conversion of the *nāga* Apalāla, which took place at the end of the Buddha's life, and which seems to have been very popular among the sculptors of Gāndhāra.¹

The third and last sculpture, which I should like to discuss, was acquired only a short time ago; it is illustrated in figure 3. Its subject is not enigmatic at

¹ Foucher, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 544 ff.

all; it is a rather interesting representation of the partition of the relics of the Buddha. According to tradition, a dispute arose just after the cremation of the Buddha's corpse between the Malla-s and seven other princes who claimed the relics. The Malla-s at first thought to neglect those claims, but in due time realized the consequences and asked for the advice of the *brāhmaṇa* Droṇa. This *brāhmaṇa* with this significant name divided the relics into eight equal portions and handed them to the eight claimants. Each of them placed his part of the relics in a fine *stūpa*. This dealing out of the equal parts of the relics is clearly shown in this sculpture. The bearded *brāhmaṇa* Droṇa is shown standing behind a table on which eight parcels are placed in a row. Four of the eight claimants come to him with relic caskets in hand, to obtain their part of the holy remains. The table is covered with a tablecloth, and just in front of it an incense-burner is placed. It is interesting to compare this sculpture with the pieces illustrated by Foucher¹ and to note that the same details are to be found also in the other sculptures. This holds good also for some other details, like the legs of the tables with the heavy turnery decoration, which look so completely un-Indian. From those details it seems to be clear that the subjects illustrated in sculpture must have been largely canonized, leaving the sculptor only very restricted space to elaborate his theme. From the way in which the sculptor has

¹ Foucher, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 589 ff.



Some Scenes from the Buddha's Life in Stone

Fig. 3

represented the figures of the *brāhmaṇa* Droṇa and the four claimants, we may conclude that this piece is much better than many other sculptures on the same subject, and for this reason it may be of some use to bring it to the notice of those interested in the Buddha's life as depicted in stone.

BUDDHIST ART—ITS FOUR BASES

BUDDHIST ART represents the expression of a rare creative urge that once distinguished the religious and spiritual movements of India and also of a large part of Asia. It is an art that is beautiful in form and vibrant with deep spiritual meaning.

The historic art of India commenced with the creations of Mauryan art, which reflect the mighty mind and childlike faith of one of the greatest emperors of history, Aśoka. The greatness of Aśoka's mind has offered a lasting solution to a problem that is most baffling to us at the present day, namely, the problem of war or insensate annihilation which threatens humanity. The words of Aśoka about the evils of war and the virtues of peace are simple and firm:

The drums of war must cease.

The Law of Righteousness shall prevail.

Concord alone is wholesome.

समवाय एव साधुः

With his intense passion for the peace and happiness of mankind the Emperor launched a series of measures for the good of men and animals, not only in his dominions but also in the kingdoms of his neighbours.

THE DHARMA-CAKRA CAPITAL

His benevolent spirit found its lasting expression in the Dharma-cakra capital that once crowned the tall monolithic pillar at Sarnath. This was erected at the spot hallowed by the Buddha's *Dharma-cakra-pravartana* or Exposition of the Law of Piety. 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.

The capital¹ comprised four constituent parts: first, a lotus with inverted petals spreading downwards; second, a round abacus beautified by four prancing animals—a bull, a lion, an elephant, and a horse—alternating with four small wheels, each of twenty-four spokes; third, four lions seated majestically back to back and facing the four directions of space; fourth, in a deep socket between the heads of these lions, was once inserted the tenon of a big Dharma-cakra, which was the crowning emblem of the capital. Thus it is unwarranted to designate it the Lion capital; its proper designation should be the Dharma-cakra capital or *Dharma-cakra-dhvaja*, as such an object was known in ancient times. This Dharma-cakra is still preserved in seven fragments which are enough

¹ See frontispiece.

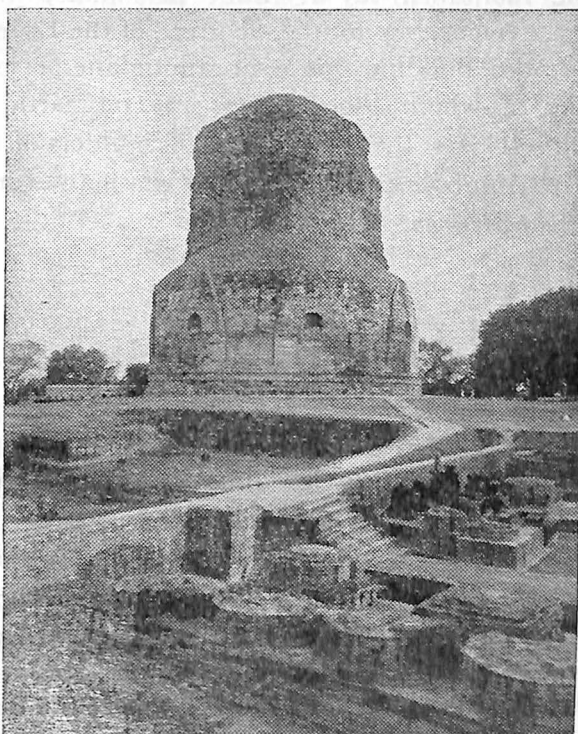
to show that the big wheel originally consisted of thirty-two spokes and had a diameter of thirty-two inches.

Here we have, as it were, the forerunner of the Buddha image as evolved in the first century A.D. The four lions signify the lion-seat (*siṃhāsana*) of the Buddha as *cakravartin* (sovereign) and the wheel of thirty-two spokes the person of the Buddha himself endowed with the thirty-two marks of a *mahāpuruṣa*. The Buddha was in effect a sovereign who established an empire of *Dharma* destined to last through time and space. A nobler conception for illustrating these abstract ideas in plastic form than the Dharma-cakra capital could hardly have been possible. It marks the triumph of Mauryan art and is a worthy beginning to Buddhist art which unfolded like a vast panorama in the subsequent centuries. Such wheel-crowned pillars became a theme of popular attraction repeated in the *stūpa-s* of Bharhut, Sanchi, Amaravati, Mathura and other centres.

STŪPA ARCHITECTURE

The raising of massive *stūpa-s* in earth or brick or stone was another prominent feature of the Mauryan age, which exercised a strong influence on and also determined the nature of Buddhist monuments. Of the original *stūpa-s* at Sarnath only one remains and that too in a modified form with subsequent enlargements. But the idea of a simple commemorative

mound of earth was later perfected in accordance with the high artistic traditions, such as we find in the great *stūpa*-s of Bharhut, Sanchi, Amaravati, Mathura, Nalanda and Peshawar and in numerous other places in the Swat valley and in Afghanistan.



Stūpa architecture has been explained in terms of a cosmic or microcosmic symbolism. Its central axis unfolds into circles of expanding dimensions with multiple forms and enclosures. It was through it that

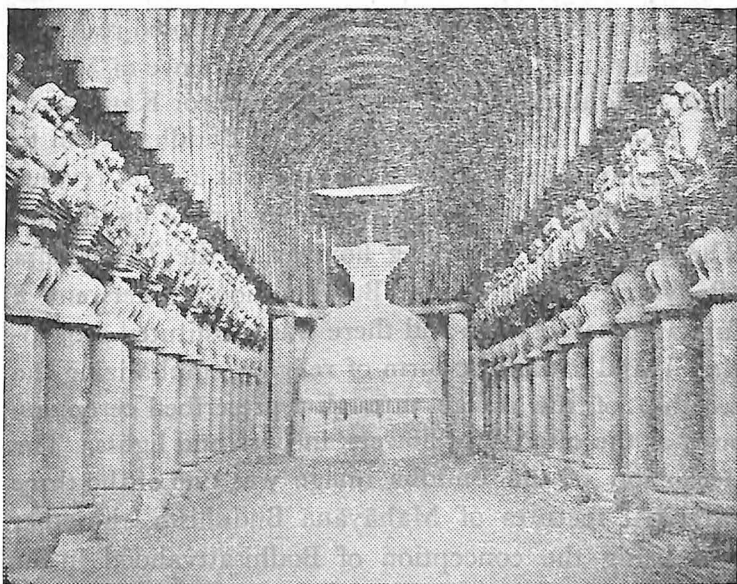
Buddhist artists in India and abroad rose to the full heights of genius in devising plastic and architectural forms.

In India, Ceylon, Burma and in Indonesia, we find a common basic idea, namely, the raising of a suitable monument to a cosmic personality like the Buddha. According to the doctrine of the Lokottaravādin-s, the Buddha was a supramundane personality the like of whom there never was on earth or in heaven. It was the lofty ideal of builders of monuments to symbolize His memory even many centuries after His *parinirvāṇa*.

CAITYA HALLS

A third category of Buddhist monuments is the Caitya hall which is the archetype of shrines or temples for the installation of the symbolic *stūpa* or the image of the Master. From the time of the great Caitya halls excavated in Western India at Bhaja, Karle, Kanheri, etc., to the great cave temples of Ajanta and Ellora and up to the time of the caves of the Thousand Buddhas on the western borders of China and at Loyang and Lungman in China proper, runs a unifying thread of art subserving the *Dharma* of the Buddha, through sculpture, painting, and architecture, developed from an identical pattern and inspiration and cultivated through ten or twelve centuries. From India to China and from Indonesia to Afghanistan intimate human links based on spiritual foundations brought-

about a community of thought and aspiration such as has seldom been seen in the annals of mankind. The Buddhist art of India and Asia was only the outward



manifestation of human relationships, the outcome of mutual understanding and concord, of the ideals of peace and love that once swept the continent of Asia.

THE BUDDHA IMAGE

As mentioned above, the basic conception of the Buddha image was inherent in the Aśókan capital. Nowhere in early Buddhist art do we find the human figure of the Buddha. It was the practice in the

Buddhist religious orders and among laymen to worship the Master only through symbols like the Bodhi tree, the *dharmacakra*, the *stūpa*, the alms-bowl, the *cūḍā* or hair, the *uṣṇīṣa* or head-dress, and the *triratna* or three jewels. But this self-imposed restraint was ultimately overcome under the influence of Mahāyāna Buddhism in the time of the Emperor Kanishka.

About the first century A.D., the Buddha began to be worshipped in human form. It was a great revolution, perhaps the greatest in the history of Buddhism. The conception of paying homage to the *Dharmakāya* (Body of Law) of the Buddha now underwent a fundamental change and there was substituted a devotional and ritualistic form of religion emphasizing the worship of the image through a prescribed ceremony such as the offering of flowers, incense and lights. The perfection of the Buddha image was one of the three principal features of Mahāyāna Buddhism, the other two being the conception of Bodhisattvahood in the place of Arhatship and *śūnyatā* in the place of *anattā*. From the aesthetic point of view the elements of Buddhist iconography appear to have been already present in Indian sculpture. Amongst the various constituents of the image we find that the lion-throne, the Bodhi tree, the halo, the two attendants, the flower-scattering celestials, the lotus-seat, were all known in the pre-Kuṣāṇa art of Bharhut and Sanchi.

In perfecting the Buddha image, the form of the *cakravartin* and that of the *yogin* were fused together. Once the image was introduced and installed under a



Some Unpublished Masterpieces at Adyar

Fig. 1

parasol like the Sarnath Bodhisattva of Bhikṣu Bala, the raising of modest shrines was but the next step in the inevitable process of religious development. The *stūpa*-s began to be adorned with multiple images of the Buddha. The Caitya halls also gave welcome to the image side by side with the *stūpa* that was enshrined within during the transitional period.

Thus, soon the image became the chief centre of attraction and the most popular object of worship. Of the numerous Buddha images from about the first to the twelfth century in India, some very fine specimens have fortunately been preserved; for example, the standing haloed image of the Mathura school dedicated by the monk Yasadinna, and the seated Buddha image of Sarnath in the pose of 'Turning the Wheel of the Law'. The master artists of the Gupta period developed some of the most beautiful representations of the Enlightened One in the form of a *yogin* while the painted Avalokiteśvara Buddha in the Ajanta caves represents the highest achievement in the domain of Buddhist art throughout Asia.

SOME UNPUBLISHED MASTERPIECES AT ADYAR

THE MUSEUM of the Theosophical Society at Adyar, though small, contains a number of items of archaeological and artistic value. Most of these are Buddhist sculptures from different parts of Asia. There are nearly forty statues, statuettes and other Buddhist antiquities in the Museum which are unknown to the public. A descriptive catalogue of these is being prepared. Meanwhile, we bring to the attention of our readers three pieces of special interest.

The most important of these represents a very early Buddha in the Indo-Greek style (figure 1). Measuring eighteen inches high and made of gray sandstone, it may be attributed to the first century A.D. The extent to which the realism of Greek art has been substituted by the idealism of the indigenous workers is an accurate measure of the date of the image. The damaged nose has been reconstructed in cement though this is against archaeological principles. This sculpture was found near the boundaries of the old Northwest Frontier Province.

A leap in time from the first century A.D. to probably the twelfth century is registered in the style and workmanship of the sculpture shown in figure 2. It is of gray sandstone, approximately twenty-six inches in height. It is a typical example of Pāla sculpture



Some Unpublished Masterpieces at Adyar

Fig. 2

from Bengal or Bihar, showing the Buddha in the *Dharma-cakra* or preaching attitude. Around His head is the famous inscription, "He taught the cause of all things as also the means of cessation." The paleography is in characters of the twelfth century which helps to date the piece.

Another unpublished masterpiece (figure 3) is a marble Buddha, probably from Cambodia. It measures thirty-six inches in height. What adds to its rarity is the fact that the Buddha is depicted with a crown which is usually found only in Bodhisattva sculptures. That the figure represents the Buddha Himself is clear from the position of the hand in *Bhūmi-sparsa* or the attitude of calling the earth to witness. This piece of sculpture may be attributed to the sixteenth century.

ORTHODOXY AND ORIGINALITY OF BUDDHISM

(*Translated from the French*¹)

THE FIRST question to be put, in regard to any doctrine or tradition, is that of its intrinsic orthodoxy, that is to say the question of knowing whether that tradition conforms, not necessarily to such and such a determinate orthodox traditional outlook, but to the Truth purely and simply. In the case of Buddhism one therefore does not have to ask whether its 'non-theism'—not 'atheism'—is reconcilable, in its expression, with the Semitic Theism or any other, but solely whether that 'non-theism' expresses the Truth or a sufficient and effective aspect of that Truth—a Truth of which Theism for its part represents another possible expression, opportune within that particular world of which it is a governing principle. To the above must be joined the fact that any particular perspective is usually to be found somewhere within the framework of the very tradition that in a more general way excludes it: thus 'theism' is to be found in a certain sense within the framework of Buddhism as, for instance, under the form of Amidism,² and that, despite the 'non-theistic'

¹ By Marco Pallis.

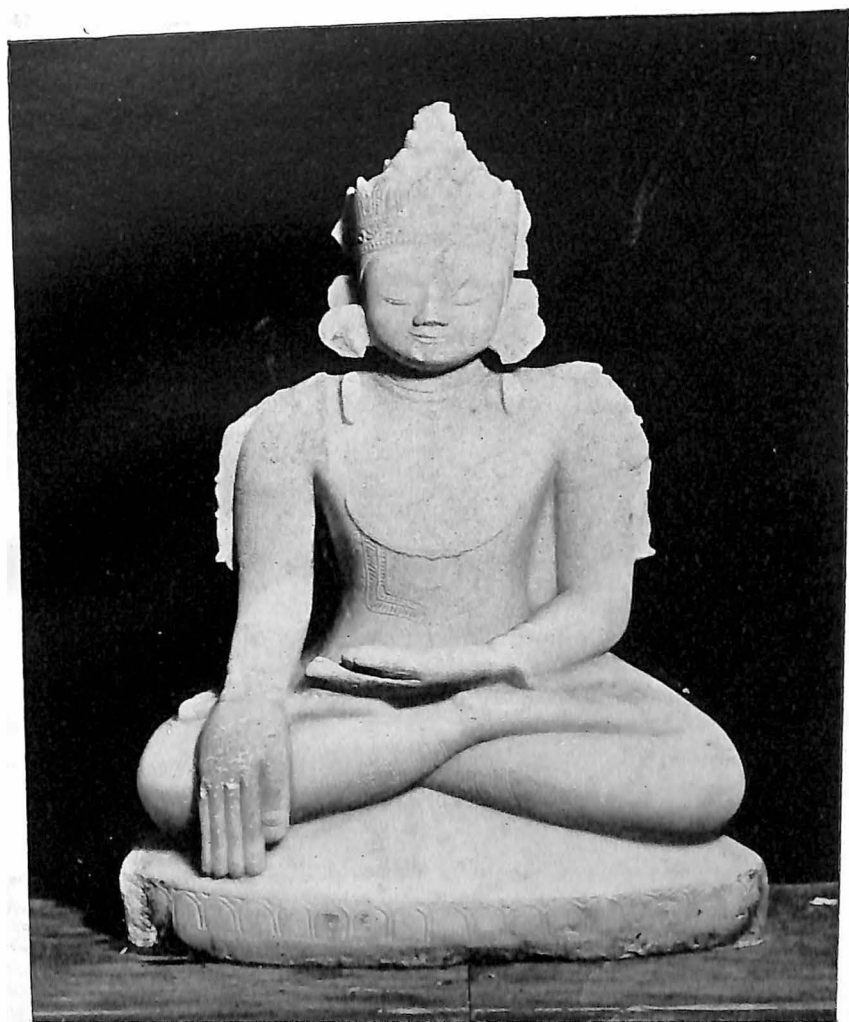
² *Bhaktic* form of Buddhism much practised in Japan, of which the chief 'spiritual support' is *japa* of the formula "Namo Amida Butsu" (= *Namo Amitābha Buddha*).

character of the tradition viewed as a whole; while that same 'non-theism' in its turn is to be found in the conception of the 'Impersonal Essence' of the Divinity as occurring in the monotheist esoterisms, in Sufism for instance; whence it can be seen that the 'frameworks' have nothing exclusive about them but that it is all a matter of emphasis or spiritual economy.

What has just been said means implicitly that Buddhism inasmuch as it represents a characteristic perspective and, independently of its various modes, is necessary. It cannot but be so, given that a non-anthropomorphic, 'impersonal' and 'static' consideration of the Infinite is a possibility; this perspective therefore had to manifest itself at a certain 'cyclic moment' and in a human environment that rendered it opportune, for where the receptacle is to be found, there also the content imposes itself. It has moreover sometimes been remarked that the perspective in question cannot be distinguished in any essential respect from certain given doctrines or spiritual ways of Hinduism; this is true in one sense and is all the more likely inasmuch as Hinduism is characterized by an uncommon wealth both of doctrines and methods; but it would be wrong to draw from this a conclusion that Buddhism does not constitute a spontaneous and independent reality just as in the case of the other great Revelations. Buddhism extracted, so to speak, the 'Yogic sap' of Hinduism—not as a borrowing, of course, but as a divinely inspired 'remanifestation' thereof—and it gave to this substance an expression that was simplified

in certain respects but that was also new and powerfully original. This is shown with shining clarity by Buddhist art, of which the prototypes doubtless are recognizable in the sacred art of India and in the yogic *āsana-s* or again in Indian dancing which, for its part, is like an intermediary between *yoga* and the statuary of the temples. Buddhist art (and we especially have in mind the images of the Buddha) seems to have extracted from Hindu art, not such and such a particular symbolism, but its contemplative essence. The plastic arts of India evolve, in a final analysis, round the human body in its postures of recollection; in Buddhism the image of that body and face has become a symbol of extraordinary expressiveness and a means of Grace of incomparable power and nobility.¹ It is through this crystallization that what Buddhism contains of the absolute and therefore also of the universal is most vividly exteriorized.

¹ The genius of the yellow race has added to the Indian prototypes something not far short of a fresh spiritual dimension, not fresh from the point of view of their symbolism as such, but from that of their expression. The image of the Buddha, after having passed through the Hellenistic aberration of Gāndhāra—providentially perhaps, since it was but a question of transmitting a few formal elements—found among the yellow peoples an expansion made up of depth and serenity that we would readily describe as supernatural; it is as if the 'soul' of Divinity, the *nirvāṇic* Beatitude, had made its home in the symbol. The *Citrakāśana*, containing the Indo-Tibetan canon of pictorial art, attributes the origin of painting to the Buddha himself; tradition also speaks of a statue made of sandalwood that King Prasenajit of Śrāvastī (or Udayana of Kauśāmbī) caused to be made even during the lifetime of the Buddha; the Greek images of Gāndhāra may possibly have been stylized copies of this statue.



Some Unpublished Masterpieces at Adyar

Fig. 3

From a doctrinal point of view the great originality of Buddhism, to which we have already alluded, lies in the fact that it considers the Divine, not in reference to its cosmic manifestations, therefore not as ontological Cause and anthropomorphic personification, but on the contrary in reference to its acosmic and impersonal character, therefore as supra-existential 'state', a state which will appear as Voidness, *śūnyatā*, when seen from the point of view of the false plenitude of Existence, *saṃsāra*. This also carries with it a certain unconditional character of the divine goodness or rather of the *nirvāṇic* Grace, which projects itself as a myriad of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas into the Round of Transmigration even down to the hells and as far as to deliver sinners, not by reason of their merits—regarded as out of the question—but in spite of their demerits; faith in the boundless compassion of Buddha—Himself an illusory appearance of the blissful Voidness—is itself already a grace or a gift. To be saved is to come out of the infernal circle of 'concordant actions and reactions' and in this respect morality appears as a quite provisional and often inoperative thing, as being something still involved in the indefinite chain of acts and the existential fruits of acts. Forms such as Amidism, already mentioned, and Zen¹ are especially prone to

¹ *Zen*, the Japanese form of the word *dhyāna*, has given its name to a whole branch of Buddhism, which has been of great spiritual fertility both in China and Japan, and in which meditation is practised according to a method calculated to carry the *sādhaka* to a flash-point of Enlightenment by attacking the ratiocinative tendency in its very roots,

arouse a consciousness of the subtle relations, made up of imponderables and mysteries, that both separate and unite the world of transmigration and extinction, *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa*.

* * * *

In order to understand Buddhism in all its extension and under its many aspects, it is important to distinguish, in the case of the Buddha Himself, between the doctrine and the being: the doctrine, which is the doctrine of suffering, of the way of salvation and of *nirvāṇa*, and the being, who is manifested pre-eminently in the visible form of the Buddha, a form that was later to be crystallized in sacred images and subsequently also in the sermons of the end of the Buddha's earthly life, those on which is founded the *Mahāyāna*.

What we have called 'the being of the Buddha' refers to whatever that celestial Message contains of a compassionate and at the same time esoteric character; this feature is also to be found in Buddhism of the *Theravāda*, despite the fact that the latter has remained a stranger to the *Mahāyānic sūtra-s*; but more especially we are thinking here of the sacred image of the Buddha, the cult of which is widespread throughout the Buddhist lands, and that, irrespective of whatever accent may have been placed upon it by this or that local tradition.

From a purely logical standpoint, it might be argued that there is a contradiction between the fundamental teaching, which rejects every cult of the person of the Blessed One, the *Dhamma* alone being considered salutary, and all those other elements which, on the

contrary, have crystallized around that person, His body and His name, elements of which the spiritual heritage dominates Northern Buddhism. However, each of these two viewpoints is equally legitimate in its way; a relative opposition between two complementary dimensions of one and the same Truth is in the very nature of things, no less than the saving virtue of the instrument itself through which the Revelation operates. Something of the same kind is to be found in this word of the Christ: "It is good for you that I should depart", and in the fact that neither the Eucharistic Sacrifice nor the descent of the Holy Spirit would have been conceivable without the departure of Jesus. The differences of metaphysical perspective, of spiritual alchemy and of traditional structure that distinguish Christianity and Buddhism are certainly profound, but the same laws of spiritual economy do nonetheless manifest themselves in both cases and necessarily so, as indeed in all forms of the Spirit.

In order to understand the Buddha's teaching it is necessary to keep track of the following: this perspective is founded *a priori* upon the concrete fact of general human experience, under its most immediate and most tangible aspect, coupled with a provisional setting aside of every element that does not enter in a direct manner into that experience; now the Buddha, as spokesman of that perspective—and by 'perspective' we mean something perfectly 'concrete' and in no wise a philosophical opinion—the Buddha, as we were saying, could not exteriorize his own redemptive nature on the selfsame

level as a Law which by the logic of things confers upon man all the initiative of deliverance, though that nature is nevertheless evident enough. It is evident because there must be a sufficient reason for the fact that it is He, Śākyamuni, and not one out of thousands of other men, who discovered the way out of the *karmic* wheel of births and deaths—or rather that particular way out which is the specifically Buddhist way and which alone is under discussion here; likewise there must be a sufficient reason for the fact that He alone “has broken existence like a breastplate”; this uniqueness of function or of miracle, which first of all effaced itself before the *Dhamma* as not being the contents thereof, had in its turn to be affirmed in virtue of its own nature and its quality of a celestial gift, and this was done first under the form of the monastic initiation¹ and secondly under the form of the final sermons.² These are sharply distinguishable from those of the Law; they reveal the metaphysic of the Void, which will presently take on a doctrinal aspect with Nāgārjuna and a purely ‘experimental’ aspect with the school of *Dhyāna* or *Zen*, of which Bodhidharma was the great initiator; the Sermon of the Flower is especially significant in this respect. Yet another expression of this

¹ This quite plainly indicates the possession of initiatic power and consequently of a ‘divine nature’.

² It must not be forgotten that some of these Scriptures belong, not only to the *Mahāyāna*, but also to *Theravādic* Buddhism. For us, these two main divisions of Buddhism—that of the ‘North’ and that of the ‘South’—correspond to two orthodox perspectives issued from one and the same Revelation,

profound aspect of the Buddha is the saving invocation of the Name of Amitābha and lastly, as we have said, the sacramental image of the Buddha, that true 'manifestation of the Void' (*Śūnyamūrti*) and 'expression of the Inexpressible'. All these elements derive from that aspect that we have called, in order to distinguish it from His general and more or less 'exterior' doctrine, the 'being' of the Buddha.

* * * *

In conclusion, the translator of the essay, acting upon instructions given by the author, has added a passage taken from the works of a great Japanese sage, Honen, in his *Summary of Nembutsu Doctrine*. This passage offers a fitting commentary upon the nature of the Buddhist tradition, under the double heading of Orthodoxy and Originality. This time, however, the first-named is envisaged not only in relation to Truth unqualified but also from the more special standpoint of its own internal consistency, that is to say, of the conformity of its various doctrines to the original message as delivered through the mouth of Śākyamuni himself, the unique source whence they all ultimately derive and their common point of reference. A tendency of certain branches of the tradition to claim for themselves exclusive orthodoxy, such as Honen described, has again been much in evidence in recent times, especially where modernistic influences, Western in origin and character, have been powerful, to the point in some cases of quite losing sight of that variety in unity which is so characteristic of Buddhism—of Buddhist orthodoxy

one might just as well have said, as also of Hindu orthodoxy. This variety in the expression of a selfsame basic Truth is in fact one of the principal 'notes' indicating, in Buddhism, its great originality. Put in more purely metaphysical terms, one could also say that the aspect of orthodoxy corresponds, at the traditional level, to the divine Necessity while that of originality, for its part, expresses the divine Freedom. Or, as one could also say, in any authentic tradition its orthodoxy is necessarily free and original, and likewise its originality remains orthodox both in spirit and form. In this respect Honen's conclusions cannot be improved upon; we will give the quotation in full:

"Now we find in the many teachings the great Master (Buddha) himself promulgated during his lifetime, all the principles for which the eight Buddhist sects, the esoteric and exoteric and the Greater and the Lesser Vehicles stand, as well as those elementary doctrines suited to the capacity of the immature, together with those intended for people able to grasp reality itself. Since then there have been various expositions and commentaries on them such as we now have, with their multitude of diverse interpretations. Some expound the principle of the utter emptiness of all things. Some bring us to the very heart of reality, while others set up the theory that there are five fundamental distinctions in the natures of sentient beings, and still others reason that the Buddha-nature is found in them all. Every one of these sects claims that it has reached finality in its world view, and so they keep contending-

with one another, each persisting in saying that its own is the most profound and is absolutely right. Now the fact is that what they all say is exactly what the Sūtras and Śāstras say, and corresponds to the golden words of Nyorai himself, who, according to men's varying capacity, taught them at one time one thing and at another time another, as circumstances required. So it is hard now to say which is profound and which is shallow, or to distinguish their comparative value, for they are all equally taught, and we must not go to either extreme in our interpretation. If we but attend to our religious practices as the Sūtras teach, they will all help us to pass safely over the sea of birth and death to the other shore. If we act according to the Law, we shall attain Enlightenment. Those who go on vainly disputing as to whether a colour has a light or dark shade, are like deaf men talking about the quality of a man's voice whether it is good or bad. The one thing to do is to put the principles into practice, because they all teach the way of deliverance from the dread bondage." ¹

¹ From *Honen the Buddhist Saint, His Life and Teaching*. Translation by Rev. Harper Havelock Coates and Rev. Ryugaku Ishizuka; Kyoto, 1949.

“THE EVERLASTING MESSAGE”

THIS YEAR of the *Buddha Jayanti* will be marked, as is fitting, by joyful celebrations in all places where the memory of the Great Pilgrim is treasured; devout souls will gather round *stūpa*-s and temples bearing their offerings while others will, as in the present volume, pay their personal tribute under the form of a spoken or written dissertation on one or other aspect of the holy Message which, by the mouth of the Lion of the Śākya-s, once was uttered for the illumination of a darkened and suffering world.

If then, in His time, mankind was already regarded as in urgent need of light, what is to be said about the present time? For never, in all recorded history, has there been a generation whose prevalent preoccupations were so far removed from the things that the Buddha came to teach, nor ever before—at least so far as our present information extends—have men shown themselves so enamoured of the things that must bind them fatally to the wheels of *saṃsāra*. Therefore any reminder is timely which might serve to recall the attention, be it only of a few, to those principles of which tradition, in its every authentic form, is the implacable witness; since without some such reminders what other inducement would there be for people to come out of

¹ Marco Pallis.

their present state of complacent passivity in the face of the modern world and its profane suggestions? For the truth is, things have now come to such a pass that little short of a total act of self-examination is of any avail, a reorientation of one's whole outlook such as must needs precede any true reform. The Buddha taught just this when He named ' Perfect Vision ' as the first milestone along the Noble Eightfold Path. In fact, from the moment that what might be termed ' a *nirvāṇic* view of things ' has begun to unfold itself, obstacles in the way of the complete vision will already be in process of losing some of their opacity; where, on the other hand, a *saṃsāric* view of things is still openly or else tacitly accepted, all striving for human betterment is thereby self-condemned to futility and its fruits, however sincere may seem the intentions behind the effort, will continue to be the fruits of ignorance containing, as they do, seeds of impermanence and further suffering.

A quickened awareness, this is the primary need. The alternative to its awakening is to pay the price of unmindfulness down to the last *anna*, a price which, when viewed on a world scale, is represented by the twofold possibility of mass destructiveness, Māra's fiery volley, and the would-be creation of a fool's paradise upon this earth, one in which human ' welfare ' is conceived as being actually realizable minus any spiritual norm, the old seduction by Māra's daughters presented under up-to-date disguise; nor is it even certain which of these two possibilities offers the more terrifying prospect in the long run.

For those who are compelled by force of circumstances to face a crisis of these proportions, recollection, a return to first principles as also to their own centre, becomes a matter of the utmost urgency. Such a process of recollection will moreover, if it is to be of real effect, embrace both *prajñā* and *upāya*, wisdom-cum-method that inseparable sizygy; that is to say, it will require both a clear perception of the essential aspects of *dharma* and also their actualization through a life remodelled in conformity with that wisdom. Focussing one's attention upon *dharma*—this in fact is vision ('theory' according to the root-meaning of the word), a vision which is no sooner unfolded than applied through a deploying of the appropriate *upāya*-s or spiritual means. At the level of forms and in practice, these will include both ritual conformity, in the widest sense, and the cultivation of the virtues as being contributory but indispensable factors in any awakening to knowledge. For similar reasons, the field of *upāya* will also extend in the direction of artistic and scientific conformity to traditional canons, by a conscious selection and use of traditionally compatible instead of self-contradictory 'supports' all of which must, for their proper discernment, be considered from the complementary viewpoints of their utility and their implicit symbolism.

An important thing to bear in mind, as regards the proper framing and balancing of one's life, is that spirituality always calls for concomitant means that are best described as 'concrete'; it abhors abstractions, whereas the profane mentality delights in them; this

gives the measure of the difference between a traditional doctrine, ‘non-human’ both as regards its source and its finality, and a ‘philosophy’, or in other words a system formed out of the products of human ratiocination and little else. No phrase could in fact be more inappropriate than ‘Buddhist philosophy’, or ‘Hindu philosophy’ for that matter (though both these expressions are commonly heard today, even from the mouth and pen of some who should know better), and its loose employment in any context is but to lend countenance to a modern tendency that would reduce the Buddha’s own function and that of other great Revealers to purely human stature by eliminating the transcendent element and by treating the sacred teachings as if they were simply an outcome of more or less well-turned thinking. It cannot be said too often, a Buddha is not ‘a thinker’, in the modern sense, or even the best of all thinkers, nor is He a ‘social reformer’, an early revolutionary or an ethical philosopher—all these labels have been applied to Him at different times by exponents of Western modernism and by their Eastern imitators.

That the Buddha was a man and therefore also could exercise reason when necessary, no one has ever called in question, for were this not true how could the perfectability of human nature have been exemplified in His life? But that is very different from saying that the Buddha is ‘mere man’, for if He were, or if anybody were, then the Deliverance from existential bondage that He preached would be but a chimera, since it

is, to say the least of it, contradictory to suggest that what *per se* is conditioned in terms of such and such limits can somehow escape out of the circle of its own limitations by climbing up the ladder of those limitations alone. Such a suggestion contains an evident absurdity, which does not however prevent some people from giving it utterance, probably out of an unconscious urge to make Buddhism fit in with the sentimental cult of 'humanity' which is now in fashion. A parallel absurdity is the notion according to which the relativity constituted by the phenomenal world is something absolutely irreducible (thus precluding all possibility of *mokṣa*), a belief which for a number of more contingent reasons or else from sheer want of metaphysical insight is to be found in various schools of Christian thought as well as among those professed materialists to whom this doctrine more properly belongs.

His realization while in the human state, in the case of a Buddha, is in fact a demonstration of the latent Buddhahood in man, recognizable to the eye of the intellect even behind the veil of ignorance that masks its presence, and it is by virtue of this conjunction alone that Deliverance is possible. Naturally, the same would apply in respect of any other form under which a Buddha would choose to appear in this or other worlds, for in this respect all *saṃsāra* is one and the human state, though 'central' by comparison with other beings situated at the same degree of existence, is not for that reason to be regarded as privileged in an absolute sense, otherwise the many references in the sacred books to the

possibility of “deliverance down to the last blade of grass” would have no meaning. Nevertheless, the fact of being situated upon the axis that runs through the centre of all the worlds justifies the common dictum about “human existence hard to obtain” and the importance of not wasting that rare opportunity: for Deliverance, from any situation that is, by comparison, peripheric, however extended its intrinsic possibilities may be, must necessarily involve first becoming human (or the equivalent), that is to say becoming centred on the axis itself, which is the *sūtra* in a pre-eminent sense, the thread of Buddha-nature running through the heart of every being.

Regarded from man’s own angle the *sūtra*, inasmuch as it connects him with the centre, is that which shows him his direction, spiritual life, the path of initiation; and that likewise is the general sense of *sūtra* under its more usual, scriptural connotation as treating primarily of means for regaining a centre that had become hidden to human view. Regarded from the complementary angle, that is to say inasmuch as it connects the centre with man, the *sūtra* marks the channel for the Buddha’s influence, tradition, the downflowing of Grace. Either of these aspects may be stressed on occasion, for reasons of opportunity or method, but neither can be denied or ignored altogether, since they are as inconceivable apart as the two images that coincide in ordinary bodily vision. Buddhism comprises its ways of Love or Grace as well as its more typical ways of Knowledge and *yogic* endeavour and any one of these

ways may on occasion be called 'the way', as constituting an adequate specification thereof in view of a particular set of human circumstances. In any case no way that can properly be described as Buddhist can fail to be an intellectual way fundamentally, whatever may be its apparent form, just as no way can exclude the element of Grace, if only because of the obvious inadequacy of human resources, any distinction as between way and way being merely a matter of which element happens to occupy the foreground of the picture and which remains relatively implicit. Similar considerations apply even to that broader distinction of ways indicated by the terms *Mahāyāna* and *Theravāda*. Such a distinction is valid in its place and within given limits. Only if it be taken to represent an irreducible opposition is there call for protest, because such an opinion itself springs from a certain confusion between formal or methodic and more essential factors.

But for the Buddha's Grace no human effort could reach success; but if that effort be withheld then man himself will be the author of his own failure. The eternal message, *akālika dhammā*, is no other; for us there remains but to pay heed by applying its lessons here and now.

TRANSFER OF MEANING—A BUDDHIST VIEW

THE BUDDHIST views on the nature of meaning and their place in the theory of general linguistics according to the different Indian schools have already been dealt with at some length in a previous issue of this Bulletin.¹ The present paper draws attention to the discussion by the fifth century Buddhist scholar, Sthiramati,² on the true nature of the transfer of meaning. In his commentary on the *Triṃśikā* of Vasubandhu, Sthiramati discusses the essential nature of a metaphoric transfer like *Agnir māṇavakaḥ* (The boy is fire). The three relevant conditions that are generally accepted as essential for such a qualitative transfer are given there as (1) the primary referent of a word, (2) the actual referent resembling the primary one, and (3) a common quality existing between the two. In the case of the example considered the primary meaning of the word *agni* is 'fire', the actual referent is the boy who resembles it, and the quality common to both is the bright tawny colour, or the fiery nature.³

¹ "The Theory of Meaning according to Buddhist Logicians", ALB, XVIII, 3-4.

² Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, II, pp. 362 f.

³ *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi*, edited by Sylvain Lévi, Paris, 1925, p. 17: उपचारो हि त्रिषु भवति नान्यतमाभावे मुख्यपदार्थे तत्सदृशे तयोश्च सादृश्ये । तद्यथा मुख्येऽग्नौ तत्सदृशे माणवके तयोश्च साधारणधर्मे कपिलत्वे तीक्ष्णत्वे वा सत्यमि-
माणवक इत्युपचारः क्रियते ।

An objection is raised against this common view. The metaphor cannot be applied to the boy either on the basis of the universal common attribute of 'fire-ness', or on the basis of the qualities in a particular fire. The colour or the fiery nature is not an essential quality of the fire, as otherwise 'fireness' will be present in the boy also, and then there will be no necessity for a metaphoric transfer. Again, it cannot be applied to the boy on the basis of the qualities in a particular fire, for quality being inseparably linked with the substratum, the brightness of the boy is essentially different from the brightness of the fire. What we can say is that the quality of the fire is similar to that of the boy; the quality can be metaphorically applied to that of the boy, but not to the boy himself.¹

Moreover according to the Buddhist logicians there is no primary referent for a word, for the essential nature of an object transcends the pale of all forms of knowledge and expression. Each word is applied to its object only indirectly by a sort of transfer, or *upacāra*. The thing-in-itself (*svalakṣaṇa*) cannot be directly denoted by a word. It is only the mental image, or *vikalpa*, that is connoted by words, and this image is not an objective reality, being the negation of its counter-

¹ *Ibid.*, अविनाभावित्वे चोपचाराभावोऽप्राविब माणवकेऽपि जातिसद्भावात् । तस्मान्न माणवके जात्युपचारः संभवति । नापि द्रव्योपचारः सामान्यधर्माभावात् । न हि योऽग्नेस्तीक्ष्णो गुणः कपिलो वा स एव माणवके । एवं अग्निगुणस्यैव माणवकगुणे सादृश्यादुपचारो युक्तः ।

correlate (*anyāpoha*), the exclusion of all things other than itself.¹

We meet the same view in the *Vigrahavyāvartanī*² of the Buddhist writer Nāgārjuna also. There, as a *prima facie* objection, it is said that if words are themselves devoid of essential nature, it should not be possible to apply them to refute that essential nature.³ Non-existent fire does not burn; then how could words which have no reality be used to prove that very unreality? ⁴ The answer to this question is to be found in the Buddhist view that even though words have no direct connection with the ultimate reality, they have the power of practical utility (*arthakriyākāritā*) as they can refer to the objects indirectly through metaphoric transfer, or *upacāra*.

It may be observed that among the schools which are opposed to the Buddhists and which accept the primary meaning of words to be the Universal some of the Mīmāṃsaka-s also accept that it is through the secondary significative power that words denote the particular objects in a sentence. According to them

¹ *Ibid.*, मुख्यपदार्थो नास्ति तस्य सर्वज्ञानाभिधानविषयातिक्रान्तत्वात् । . . . अपि च सर्व एवायं गौण एव, न मुख्योऽस्ति ।

² Edited by Tucci, *Pre-Dinnāga Buddhist Texts on Logic from Chinese Sources*, GOS, 1930.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 1: सर्वेषां भावानां सर्वत्र न विद्यते स्वभावश्चेत् ।

त्वद्वचनमस्वभावं न निर्वर्तयितुं स्वभावमलम् ॥

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 10: न ह्यसतामिना शक्यं दग्धम् । . . . एवमसता वचनेन न शक्यः सर्वभावप्रतिषेधः कर्तुम् । Cf. *Bhāṣya* on *Nyāyasūtra* IV, 2.30 for such an argument.

the primary meaning of a word is the Universal which is the essential quality common to all the particular instances of the class; but when the word is used in a sentence it has to refer to the particulars. Some scholars assume that the particular comes from the Universal because of the invariable connection between the two, while others like Maṇḍanamīśra explain it as being due to the secondary significative power, or transfer.¹

Thus to the Buddhists of the Yogācāra school, as well as to some of the Mīmāṃsaka-s, there is an element of transfer of meaning even in ordinary sentences. So the ordinary cases of transfers like "The boy is fire" have to be considered as transfers of the second degree. Such qualitative metaphors are termed *gaunī* by the Mīmāṃsaka-s.² But to the Buddhists the first type of ordinary usage of words is a metaphoric transfer from the absolute (*pāramārthika*) point of view, whereas ordinary metaphors are transfers from the worldly (*vyāvahārika*) point of view.

¹ *Vedāntaparibhāṣā*, IV: कथं तर्हि गवादिपदाद् व्यक्तेर्मानमिति चेद्, जाते-
व्यक्तिसमानसंविस्सवेद्यत्वादिति ब्रूमः । अथवा व्यक्तेर्लक्षणयावगमः ।; *Tantravārttika*
on 1.3.33: व्यक्त्याकृत्योरभेदाच्च व्यवहारोपयोगिता ।; Maṇḍanamīśra as
quoted in *Śabdaśaktiprakāśikā*, p. 87. जातेरस्तित्वनास्तित्वे न हि कश्चिद्विवक्षति ।
नित्यत्वाल्लक्ष्यमाणाया व्यक्तेस्ते हि विशेषणे । See also *Nyāyakośa*, p. 857.

² *Tantravārttika*, p. 318, "अभिधेयाविनाभूते प्रवृत्तिर्लक्षणे व्यते ।

लक्ष्यमाणगुणैर्योगाद् वृत्तेरिष्टा तु गौणता ॥"

BUDDHOLOGICAL TEXTS AND THE EPICS

EVER SINCE the *Buddhacarita* of Aśvaghoṣa was first published, the influence of the epic *Rāmāyaṇa* on this Buddhist poet has been noted and also expatiated upon, e.g., by Cowell,¹ Walter,² Gawronski,² Gurner,³ and Johnston.⁴ With reference to the description by Aśvaghoṣa (Canto V) of the scene in the harem at night when the Prince was finally leaving it, a description which has palpable echoes of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Book V, where Vālmiki describes Hanumān seeing Rāvaṇa's harem at night, Johnston doubts Gurner's statement that Aśvaghoṣa knew all the three passages where this description occurs in Book V of Vālmiki's epic, i.e., cantos 9 and 11 besides 10. There is however no doubt that Aśvaghoṣa knew all the three passages; the picture of a big lotus-pond with its lotuses closed at night which Vālmiki aptly uses as comparison for the sleeping harem in both 9 and 11 (verses 36, 33),⁵

¹ *Buddhacarita*, Oxford, 1893, Introduction, p. xi.

² See references in Johnston's Translation of the *Buddhacarita* (*Acts of the Buddha*), Lahore, 1936, Introduction, p. xlviii.

³ *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1927, pp. 347-368.

⁴ See footnote 2.

⁵ The main references to the *Rāmāyaṇa* text in this paper are, as in Gurner's paper, to the text printed in the Nirṇaya Sagar Press, Bombay; but I have made comparative citations from the other two recensions also, the Eastern published by Gorresio and the Northwestern published from Lahore. As I pointed out

is repeated by Aśvaghoṣa with a slight variation in V. 62:

सरसः सदृशं बभार रूपं पवनावर्जितरुग्णपुष्करस्य ।

To note some other examples of Vālmiki's influence: One of the well-known lines of Vālmiki in which he brings out the insatiable love of King Daśaratha for his son Rāma is *Rāmāyaṇa* II. 3. 29 : न ततर्प समायान्तं पश्यमानो नराधिपः; Aśvaghoṣa could hardly forget this line; for he says of those men and women who gazed and gazed upon the Buddha:

तं देवकल्पं नरदेवसूनुं निरीक्षमाणा न ततर्प दृष्टिः ।

Bud. Car. X. 7

And as Rāma entered the Daṇḍaka forest, the sages who looked at his fine physique, beauty, grace and the ascetic garb, which seemed to add to the charm of his personality, were struck with wonder:

रूपसंहननं लक्ष्मीं सौकुमार्यं सुवेषताम् ।

ददृशुर्विस्मिताकारा रामस्य वनवासिनः ॥

Rām. III. 1. 12

When the Buddha enters Rājagṛha, Aśvaghoṣa does not describe him differently:

गाम्भीर्यमोजश्च निशाम्य तस्य वपुश्च दीप्तं पुरुषानतीत्य ।

विसिस्मिये तत्र जनस्तदानीं स्थाणुव्रतस्येव वृषध्वजस्य ॥

Bud. Car. X. 3

before (See my *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit*, S. K. Chatterji Volume of *Indian Linguistics*, p. 317), there are more Southern text readings which are nearer to the older ones.

Every limb of the Buddha was so perfect in proportion and beauty, that on whatever limb the eye gazed, there it was held:

भ्रुवौ ललाटं मुखमीक्षणे वा वपुः करौ वा चरणौ गतिं वा ।

यदेव यस्तस्य ददर्श तत्र तदेव तस्याथ बबन्ध चक्षुः ॥

Ibid. X. 8

This is a more elaborate statement of the *anuṣṭubh* that Vālmīki puts in the mouth of Rāvaṇa when he pours forth his infatuation for Sītā:

यद्यत्स्यामि ते गात्रं शीतांशुसदृशानने ।

तत्र तत्र पृथुश्रोणि चक्षुर्मम निबध्यते ॥

Rām. V. 20. 15

The *Saundarananda* of Aśvaghoṣa is no less full of the echoes of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Here again, whether he is describing Śuddhodana or Siddhārtha, Aśvaghoṣa has always before him the physical, moral and spiritual qualities with which Vālmīki described his Rāma, e.g.

Saundarananda

Rāmāyaṇa

नावमेने परान्

II. 2

न चावमन्ता भूतानां

II. 1. 30

यत्र रामो भयं नात्र नास्ति तत्र परावः ।

II. 48. 15

वपुष्मान्

II. 4

वपुष्मान् देशकालवित्

II. 1. 18

Saundarananda

Rāmāyaṇa

कर्ता न च विस्मितः

II. 4

वीर्यवान् न च वीर्येण महता स्वेन गर्वितः ।

II. 1. 13

The N. W. text has विस्मितः
itself. II. 3. 23

हितं विप्रियमप्युक्तो यः शुश्राव

न चुक्षुमे

II. 9

उच्यमानोऽपि परुषं नोत्तरं प्रतिपद्यते ।

II. 1. 10

दुष्कृतं बह्वपि त्यक्त्वा सस्मार

कृतमण्वपि ।

II. 9

कथञ्चिदुपकारेण कृतेनैकेन तुष्यति ।

न स्मरत्यपकाराणां शतमप्यात्मवत्तया ॥

II. 1. 11

आत्मवत्तया

II. 14

Cf. also II. i. 5 in Gorresio's ed.

नोवाचाप्रियमण्वपि ।

सलिलेनेव चाम्बोदो वृत्तेना-

जिह्वदत्तजः ।

II. 30

घर्माभितप्ताः पर्जन्यं हृदयन्तमिव प्रजाः ।

II. 3. 29

तेनारिरपि दुःस्वार्तो नात्याजि

शरणागतः ।

II. 41

This is a summary of the whole sequence of verses on *śaraṇā-gata-rakṣaṇa* or the high virtue of affording protection to one who seeks refuge even though he be an enemy, which Rāma utters when receiving Rāvaṇa's brother Vibhīṣaṇa (VI. 18. 22-34).

*Saundarananda**Rāmāyaṇa*

न तेनाभेदि मर्यादा कामाद्वेषा- नैव लोभान्न मोहाद्वा न ह्यज्ञानात्तमोऽन्वितः ।
 द्भयादपि । सेतुं सत्यस्य भेत्स्यामि गुरोः सत्यप्रतिश्रवः ॥
 II. 42 II. 109. 17

प्रियविप्रिययोः कृत्ये न तेना- This ideal of *nirdvandvatā*—being
 गामि विक्रिया । being unruffled by the pairs of
 II. 43 opposites—is given expression
 to by Vālmīki in the episode
 of Bharata meeting Rāma in
 the Citrakūṭa; Bharata praises
 Rāma's philosophic calmness
 thus (II. 106. 2):

को हि स्यादीदृशो लोके यादृशस्त्वमरिन्दम ।
 न त्वां प्रव्यथयेद्दुःखं प्रीतिर्वा न प्रहर्षयेत् ॥
 (Gorresio, II. cxiv. 27-8)

धर्मो विग्रहवानिव रामो विग्रहवान् धर्मः
 II. 56 II. 37. 13

Saundarananda XV. 31-34 resemble Rāma's lecture to Bharata in *Rāmāyaṇa* II. 105. 15 ff. and would be one more evidence against Johnston's deduction that in Āśvaghoṣa's *Rāmāyaṇa* the episode of Bharata seeing Rāma in the forest did not exist.¹ Not only Āśvaghoṣa,

¹ *Acts of the Buddha*, Introd., pp. xlix-x. Another evidence which Johnston cites to show that Āśvaghoṣa's *Rāmāyaṇa* did not have the episode of Bharata calling on Rāma (Book II) is

but the *Saddharmapuṇḍarika* too seems to know the episode of Bharata's visit. Among the verses here that Rāma speaks is one comparing the body to a well-built house which, by passage of time, becomes dilapidated and falls:

यथागारं दृढस्थूणं जीर्णं भूत्वावसीदति ।

तथैव सीदन्ति नरा जरामृत्युवशगताः ॥

Rām. II. 105. 18

In the *Saddharmapuṇḍarika*, this is worked into a long sustained metaphor running into several verses, beginning with:

Bud. Car. IX. 9, according to which Vasiṣṭha and Vāmadeva called on Rāma ; Johnston calls the visit of Vasiṣṭha and Vāmadeva an 'episode', and says that the only reference to Vāmadeva going with Bharata is in *Mahābhārata* III. 15981. The conclusion drawn by Johnston is that "the entire passage recounting Bharata's visit to Rāma was not in the text the poet knew, that it had in its place an account of a *mission* [*italics mine*] headed by Vasiṣṭha and Vāmadeva with the object of inducing Rāma to return to Ayodhyā", etc. Now the evidence is too slender and the conclusion too sweeping. The *Mahābhārata* lines merely mention Vasiṣṭha and Vāmadeva among the numberless persons that went from Ayodhyā. This is mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa* also, in all its recensions. It hardly stands to reason to suppose that the chief royal preceptor and the other priests and counsellors did not go; in fact, when Bharata calls on the sage Bharadvāja, Vasiṣṭha and other priests are mentioned (II. 90. 4, 29); later again, Vasiṣṭha is mentioned (99. 2); the *Bhārata* at any rate does not support the assumption of a *mission* headed by Vasiṣṭha and Vāmadeva; Aśvaghoṣa who wanted, for the sake of comparison, two elderly counsellors, naturally singled out Vasiṣṭha and Vāmadeva.

यथा हि पुरुषस्य भवेदगारं जीर्णं महन्तं च सुदुर्बलं च ।

विशीर्णप्रासादु तथा भवेत स्तम्भाश्च मूलेषु भवेयु पूतिकाः ॥

pp. 82 ff.¹

बभूवासुलभैर्गुणैः

Bud. Car. II. 45

बहवो दुर्लभाश्चैव ये त्वया कीर्तिता गुणाः ।

Rām. I. 1. 7

would show Aśvaghoṣa's knowledge of even the opening canto of the first book of the epic as it is now. "As regards the *Uttarakāṇḍa*" (of the *Rāmāyaṇa*), says Johnston,² "I can find no reason to suppose that the poet [Aśvaghoṣa] knew any portion of it." But on the same page Johnston refers to *Saundarananda* I. 76 which shows Aśvaghoṣa's knowledge of Vālmiki having performed all the *saṃskāra-s* (not merely the teaching of the poem as Johnston states) for the two sons of Sītā; now, where could Aśvaghoṣa have known of Vālmiki acting as the father, as far as the performance of all the *saṃskāra-s* are concerned, for Sītā's sons, except from the *Uttarakāṇḍa*?

Saundarananda XI. 16

अप्रियं हि हितं स्निग्धमस्निग्धमहितं प्रियम् ।

दुर्लभं तु प्रियहितं स्वादु पश्यमिवौषधम् ॥

¹ Ed. *Bibliotheca Buddhica*, X, Kern and Nanjio, St. Petersburg, 1912-3.

² *Acts of the Buddha*, Introd., pp. xlix.

is a clear recast of the famous *Rāmāyaṇa* verse

सुलभाः पुरुषा राजन् सततं प्रियवादिनः ।

अप्रियस्य च पथ्यस्य वक्ता श्रोता च दुर्लभः ॥

which occurs twice, once as Mārīca's words to Rāvaṇa, III. 37. 2, and again as Vibhīṣaṇa's words to Rāvaṇa, VI. 16. 21.

Even the scrappy fragment of the *Śāriputraprakaraṇa*¹ discloses passages where Aśvaghoṣa describes the Buddha in words used by Vālmiki for Rāma: p. 66, स पुरुषविग्रहो धर्मः, cf. *Rāmāyaṇa*, II. 37. 13, रामो विग्रहवान् धर्मः । It is Tārā, wife of the monkey-king Vālin, who describes Rāma as the tree-like abode to which all good men resort: निवासवृक्षः साधूनाम् IV. 15. 19. This expression is used by Aśvaghoṣa in the play (p. 66) with reference to the Buddha: सर्वा एव तावदेनं वासवृक्षीकुर्मः ।

It has been accepted by scholars² that the new mythological and devotional orientation in Buddhism, the Buddha-bhakti, was an outcome of the influence of the epics and the Purāṇa-s and their Kṛṣṇa-bhakti and Rāma-bhakti. The influence of the epics and the Purāṇa-s is, therefore, not confined to Aśvaghoṣa's writings; it is common to the whole class of works, the *Lalitavistara*, the *Mahāvastu*, the *Saddharmaṇḍarīka*, etc., some of which, in part, served as the source for

¹ Lüders, *Bruchstücke buddhistischer Dramen*, Berlin, 1911.

² See Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, II, pp. 203, 230, 306; E. J. Thomas, *The Life of the Buddha as Legend and History*, pp. 10, 11, 12. Fousböll himself pointed out the Purāṇic and *Rāmāyaṇa* inspiration of the Śākya legend; Kern, *Indian Buddhism*, p. 122; Kern, *SBE.*, *Saddharmaṇḍarīka*, pp. xxv-xxviii.

Āsvaghoṣa. The *Lalitavistara* which calls itself a *Purāṇa* and the *Mahāvastu-avadāna* have parallels to the *Rāmāyaṇa* in ideas and expression as striking as those in Āsvaghoṣa's poems and play. The depiction of the Buddha as a superman, a *mahāpuruṣa*, with a certain number of marks and characteristics of the body and qualities of greatness pertaining to head and heart (*lakṣaṇa-s*, *vyāñjana-s* and *anuvyāñjana-s*), as also accomplishments in all the arts, sciences and pastimes, has pre-Buddhistic origins, and is adopted from the portrayal of the heroes in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*.¹

It is not in Āsvaghoṣa alone that the description of the harem at night is portrayed after the one in the *Rāmāyaṇa*; in the *Lalitavistara* and the *Mahāvastu* also, the description of the harem in sleep contains echoes from Vālmiki. We see especially in *Lalitavistara*,² Vol. I, p. 206 : काश्चिद्वयपकृष्टवस्त्राः, काश्चिद्व्यूतकेश्यः, काश्चिन्मृदङ्ग-मुपगृह्य³ परिवर्तितशीर्षशरीराः, काश्चिद्वीणावल्लव्याद्यपरिबद्धपाणयः ; *Mahāvastu*,⁴ Vol. III, pp. 407, where a larger variety of musical instruments are mentioned, reminds us more strongly of the *Rāmāyaṇa* :

काचिद्वीणामुपगृह्य, काचित्तूणं, काचित्सुषोषकां, काचित् नकुलं,
काचिद्वेणुं, काचित् महतीं, काचिद्वादिशं, काचिद्विकूटकं, काचिद् भ्रमरिकां,

¹ Senart traced them through the epics to the Vedic literature itself. See Har Dayal, *The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature*, London, 1952, pp. 299ff.

² Lefmann, Halle, 1902.

³ It should be उपगृह्य.

⁴ Senart, Paris, mdccclxxxii ff.

काचिदेकादशिकां, काचित् मृदङ्गं, काचिदालिङ्गिकां, काचित्पणवं, काचिद्
दर्दुरं, काचित् परस्परस्य अंशे बाहां कृत्वा, काचिद् हनुकां गृह्य etc.

If the harem shunned by Siddhārtha reminded these Buddhologists of Rāvaṇa's harem, the army of Māra, the Satan of their theme, reminded them of the Rākṣasa-s and Rākṣasī-s described by Vālmīki as surrounding the captive Sītā in the Aśokavana—all the hideous forms, those with heads of diverse animals, some headless ones, others with more than one head, and yet other one-eyed and one-footed beings. Cf. *Lalitavistara*, p. 306 ; *Mahāvastu*, II, pp. 411-2 ; *Rāmāyaṇa*, V. 17.

In Book IV of the *Rāmāyaṇa* we have the episode of Rāma convincing the monkey-chief Sugrīva of his valour by piercing seven *sāla* trees with one arrow and by kicking and throwing afar with the toe, a carcass of huge weight (Canto 12). In the *Lalitavistara* and *Mahāvastu* these two exploits, along with the bending of a bow, are set forth under the general heroic accomplishments (*śilpa-prasādana*) of the Prince and his companions : *Lalitavistara*, p. 145, describes the kicking and flinging afar of an elephant's carcass, and pp. 154-5, *dhanur-āroḥa* and *sapta-tāla-bheda*, and *Mahāvastu*, Vol. II, pp. 75-6, *hastikāya-utkṣepa* and *sapta-tāla-bheda*.

An unmistakable influence of the *Rāmāyaṇa* is seen on p. 130 of the *Lalitavistara* in the line

या श्री वैश्रवणे च वै निवसते या वा सहस्रेक्षणे

which is after the description of the opulent abode of Rāvaṇa in *Rāmāyaṇa*, V. 9. 8 :

या हि वैश्रवणे लक्ष्मीः या चेन्द्रे हरिवाहने ।

सा रावणगृहे सर्वा नित्यमेवानपायिनी ॥

In the description of qualities and personal features, the *Lalitavistara* shows echoes of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, some of which remind us of the opening canto of Book I of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the mention there of qualities in the question of Vālmiki and the answer of Nārada. This goes against the assumption of Johnston and others that the Buddhological texts do not know the *Bālakāṇḍa* or the beginning of the *Rāmāyaṇa* as we have it now.

Māyādevī was स्मितमुखी and पूर्वाभिलाषिनी in *Lalitavistara*, p. 26 ; cf. *Rām.*, II. 1. 13 पूर्वभाषी and II. 2. 40 स्मितपूर्वाभिभाषी in the description of Rāma. *Lalitavistara*, p. 106, सुविभक्तगात्रः can be compared to *Rāmāyaṇa* I. 1. 11 समविभक्ताङ्गः ; सर्वसत्त्वहितसुखोद्यतः about Siddhārtha in *Lalitavistara*, p. 112 will certainly remind us of Vālmiki's question to Nārada, सर्वभूतेषु को हितः in *Rāmāyaṇa* I. 1. 3, and सर्वसत्त्वदयावतः, *Rāmāyaṇa* V. 30. 6. These are only cases where an explicit parallel is seen, but there are whole passages and contexts in these works written under the general influence of the epics, and of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in particular. These early works of Buddhābhakti assimilated the Buddha to Nārāyaṇa and expressly depicted Him in terms of Nārāyaṇa or Kṛṣṇa long before later Brahmanical writings thought of including the Buddha among the *avatāra-s*.

II. NOTES AND REVIEWS

NOTES

UNESCO

The Ninth General Session of UNESCO was opened in New Delhi on November 5th, in a magnificent hall, the Vijnana Bhavan, on King Edward Road, built for the Session by the Government of India. The Session continued for about one month. A number of cultural questions figured in the discussions, such as East-West understanding, aid to education in war-affected areas, protection of cultural material in war zones, mass communication media, effect of media such as the cinema on the young, free flow of information and exchange of cultural material and personnel. *The Indian Heritage*, an anthology of Sanskrit writings in translation by Dr. V. Raghavan, was published by UNESCO at this Session as part of the programme of translations of classics and representative works of different nations for the promotion of greater understanding. Sometime before the Session, UNESCO sponsored conferences on the preservation of Traditional Cultures in select centres of South-East Asia; the Madras University, which organized a seminar in this series, has under consideration the setting up of an Institute for the Study of Traditional Cultures in South-East Asia, with the aid of UNESCO.

BOOKS EXHIBITION

Utilizing the occasion of the UNESCO Session, the Sahitya Academy, Delhi, organized an exhibition of books in all the thirteen languages of India. Dr. V. Raghavan, Convener of the Sanskrit Board of the Academy, was in charge of the Sanskrit Section of this exhibition. Among institutions and libraries which lent rare exhibits to this Section was the Adyar Library. The Sanskrit Section displayed select manuscripts to illustrate different materials and scripts, different ways of writing Devanāgarī, earliest lithograph and other printed Devanāgarī editions of Sanskrit texts from India and abroad, select examples of major

forms of Sanskrit literature, the best printed and illuminated texts, Sanskrit texts recovered from outside India in Central Asia, China, etc., Sanskrit translations from regional Indian languages, Sanskrit writings of women authors, Sanskrit literature produced under Muslim patronage, Sanskrit translations of the Bible and modern European literature, and three 'trees' illustrating the all-India and trans-India 'expansion' of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Mahābhārata* and the works of Kālidāsa. Sri K. V. Sarma, one of our contributors, was specially deputed to look after the exhibits of this Section.

BUDDHA JAYANTI

The 2500th anniversary of the *Parinirvāṇa* of the Buddha was celebrated on a grand scale in the land of the Buddha's birth. The Government of India decided to organize the celebration officially in 1956 under the Ministries of Education and Information and Broadcasting, and a special Committee under the Chairmanship of Dr. S. Radhakrishnan. The All-India Radio scheduled a network of programmes on Buddhism for the whole year and the Information Ministry published special volumes on 2500 years of Buddhism. The celebration reached its climax towards the end of November when a Buddhist Seminar was held in New Delhi, to which representatives of Buddhism and scholars in Buddhist literature and thought from India and abroad were invited. The visit of State dignitaries from neighbouring Buddhist countries and the presence of the delegates of the UNESCO Session in Delhi added to the importance of the Seminar. The Academy of Fine Arts, in co-operation with the Archæological Department, arranged an exhibition of Buddhist art. On November 24th a public meeting was held which was addressed by the Prime Minister, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru and the President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad. A four-day Symposium was held from November 26th to 29th, attended by scholars and representatives from twenty-three countries. This Symposium on Buddhist contributions to art, literature and

philosophy, which was held in the Vijnana Bhavan, was inaugurated by the Prime Minister, who also addressed its closing session. Among the State dignitaries who attended were the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama of Tibet who were on their first visit to India, Rani Chuni Dorji of Bhutan, the Maharaja and Maharajkumar of Sikkim, Prince Dhani Nivat of Thailand, Prince Narodom of Cambodia, H. R. H. A. Hadisiswaja of Indonesia, and U Nu, former Prime Minister of Burma; other foreign delegates included Lupon Namgye of Bhutan, Bhikkhu Amritanand, Prajnanand Mahathera, Bal Chandra Sharma, and Guhya Harsha Vajracharya of Nepal, Mr. T. Gombodo of Mongolia, Mr. Shaichiro Tanaka, Mr. Nittatsu Fujii, Mr. Shoson Miyamoto, Mr. Hajime Nakamura, and Mr. Nakayama of Japan, Mr. Shirob-Jaltso, Mr. Chang Keh-Chiang, Mr. Chao-Pu-Chu, Kolatsang Lama, Mr. Cha Tsan and Dr. Fung-Yu-Lan of China, Madam Wee Thean Hiang Neoh of Malaya, A. Rajadhon of Thailand, Mr. Mai Jho Truyen, Mr. Le Dinh Tham, H. H. Thich-Tri-Do and Ven'ble Naga Thera of Viet Nam, and Mr. Samsary and Ray Buc of Cambodia, Mr. Chan Htoon, Mr. Htin Aung, Mrs. Aung San, Saw Hla Tun and Thein Maung of Burma, Pedende Ida Kamenuh and Dr. R. N. R. M. N. Poerbatjaraka of Indonesia, Hon. Jayaweera Kuruppu, Dr. Malalasekhara, Bhikkhu Narada Thero and D. Pannasara of Ceylon, Professors Edgerton and E. A. Burt of U.S.A., Mr. C. Humphreys of England, Dr. O. Lacombe of France, Dr. de Jong of Holland, Dr. Baktay Etwin of Hungary, Dr. C. Regamey of Switzerland, Dr. E. Sluszkiewicz of Poland, Dr. Helmut Hoffman and Dr. H. von Glasenapp of Germany. Far-East and South-East Asia were very well represented and visitors from these countries presented India with archæological and artistic objects connected with Buddhism in their respective countries and received in return albums of Buddhist art from India.

Buddha Jayanti celebrations took place on a smaller scale at Sanchi, Bodh Gaya and other places. The Indian celebration proved a great occasion for the coming together of the South-East

Asian countries in a fresh realization of the cultural unity which has always bound them with India.

One of the most useful books to be published during this anniversary year is *The Path of the Buddha*, Buddhism Interpreted by Buddhists, published by the Ronald Press, New York. This excellent book has been edited by Prof. Kenneth Morgan of Colgate University for the National Council for Religion in Higher Education for which organization Mr. Morgan brought out his *Religion of the Hindus* in 1953. The present volume on Buddhism has received contributions from Buddhists of India, Burma, Ceylon, Tibet and Japan.

70TH ANNIVERSARY

On December 28, 1956, the Adyar Library completed its 70th year.

In this Buddha Jayanti issue of *Brahmavidyā* it is of interest to note that on the occasion of the opening of the Library, there was published a special commemorative issue of *A Buddhist Catechism* according to the Sinhalese canon, by Henry S. Olcott, Founder of the Adyar Library and President-Founder of the Theosophical Society. A copy of the Catechism was presented to each person in attendance at the opening ceremony. Col. Olcott was himself a Buddhist, having taken Pancha Sila in Ceylon in 1880, and an untiring worker for the revival and unification of the Buddhist faith in India, Ceylon, Japan and other countries; he was an exponent of religious tolerance, and through his efforts (and probably for the first time in India) at the opening on December 28, 1886, religious teachers—Brahmin, Buddhist, Parsi and Muslim—participated together in a public function, invoking blessings and prosperity on the enterprise.

Eighty-six works have since been published in the Adyar Library Series, four of which are in the field of Buddhism:

Bhavasāṅkrānti-sūtra and Nāgārjuna's *Bhavasāṅkrānti Śāstra* with the commentary of Maitreya-nātha are works of the Mahāyāna School dealing with the theory of rebirth, in the form of a

dialogue between the Buddha and Bimbisāra, the King of Magadha. They have been restored into Sanskrit from the Tibetan and Chinese versions and edited with the Tibetan version and English translation.

Ālambanaparīkṣā and *Vṛtti* by Dinnāga, with the commentary of Dharmapāla, a work on Logic, dealing with the examination of the true nature of Ālambana or 'object of consciousness'—restored into Sanskrit from the Tibetan and Chinese versions—with an English translation and notes.

Āryaśālistambasūtra, *Pratītyasamutpādavibhaṅganirdeśasūtra* and *Pratītyasamutpādamahāyānasūtra*, three works of the Mahāyāna School, dealing with a discourse of Bodhisattva Maitreya to Śāriputra explaining Dependent Origination, one of the fundamental doctrines of Buddhism; edited with Tibetan versions, notes and introduction.

Edicts of Aśoka (Priyadarśin), the Text of the famous Edicts with Roman transliteration and Sanskrit and English translations.

The first three of the above works are restorations by Sri N. Aiyaswami Sastri, a contributor to this issue.

REVIEWS

SINO-INDIAN STUDIES, Volume V, Part 1, 1955, Visvabharati, Santiniketan. Edited by DR. P. C. BAGCHI. Annual subscription: Inland Rs. 12, Foreign 18s.

The establishment of the Cīna Bhavan and the interest taken in it by Dr. P. C. Bagchi, its late head, himself a specialist in Indo-Chinese cultural contacts, have made Visvabharati, Santiniketan, a centre of Chinese Buddhistic studies. The results of the researches of scholars working there on Buddhist literature preserved in Chinese and Tibetan translations are published as separate works, or as part of the *Visva-bharati Annals*, or in the pages of the *Sino-Indian Studies*, a quarterly journal issued by them. In the number under review, Dr. W. Pachow continues his comparative study of the Prātimokṣa or the monastic disciplinary rules, transgressions and expiations which are available in Pali as well as Sanskrit versions, the latter preserved in one Tibetan and four Chinese versions. W. Liebenthal writes on the antiquities in Yünnan, pagodas, bronze images, sculptures, Sanskrit inscriptions and the Mahākāla figure, and after a discussion of the influences responsible for these, considers China as the immediate source rather than Burma or India. The third and last contribution is a note by Kalyan Sarkar on Mahāyāna Buddhism in Fu-nan, which is an amalgamation with the earlier Śaivism and worship of Maheśvara; his conclusion is that the Mahāyāna of fifth century Indo-China came directly from some parts of India through the overland route.

V. RAGHAVAN

JÑĀNAPRASTHĀNA-ŚĀSTRA OF KĀTYĀYANĪPUTRA, Volume I, Book One and Two, by ŚĀNTI BHIKṢU ŚĀSTRĪ. Visvabharati, Santiniketan, 1955. Pages 185. Rs. 12.

Of the Abhidharma literature of the different Buddhist sects, we have surviving today the Pali texts of the Theravādin-s and the Sanskrit texts of the Sarvāstivādin-s, each comprising seven works. The first and most important book in the Sanskrit Abhidharma is the *Jñānaprasthāna Śāstra* of Kātyāyanīputra which was really composed 300 years after the Buddha, though now found as part of the canon. The Sanskrit Abhidharma texts have been preserved only in the Chinese versions.

In this volume, Sri Śānti Bhikṣu has undertaken the task of restoring into Sanskrit the extensive *Jñānaprasthāna* from its two Chinese translations of the fourth and seventh centuries A.D. by Saṅghadeva and Hsuan-Tsang, but mainly from the latter's version. Kātyāyanīputra's work deals with all aspects, religion, metaphysics, epistemology, etc., and when Sri Śānti Bhikṣu's restoration is completed, Sanskrit scholars and students of Indian philosophy will have a very valuable text for comparative study.

It may be noted that on page 5 the text speaks of five great rivers of India, the last of which is named Mahi.

V. RAGHAVAN

SOME FUNDAMENTAL VALUES OF BUDDHISM,
1953, Pages 26. Re. 1.

BUDDHISM AND THE INDIAN OUTLOOK, 1954,
Pages 46. Rs. 2.

By DR. R. L. SONI, the World Institute of Buddhist Culture,
Mandalay, Burma.

These publications are No. 3 and No. 6 of the Popular Pamphlet Series published by the Institute with the aim of promoting better understanding of Buddhism and its cultural significance. The former gives a succinct summary of the fundamentals of Buddhism in its religious, social and historical perspectives and will serve as a popular elementary introduction to the

subject; the latter emphasizes the importance of Buddhism for contemporary India as containing the solution to many of the problems facing India today. Dr. Soni refutes the view expressed by some that what is good in Buddhism was already in Hinduism and that the initial success of Buddhism was mainly due to the personality of the Buddha. Buddhism was not pushed out of India, but "was entirely absorbed into the ocean of Indian culture."

K. K. RAJA

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