

# **Buddhism Without Borders**

**Proceedings of the International Conference on Globalized  
Buddhism**

Bumthang, Bhutan  
May 21-23, 2012

*Edited by*

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**The Centre for Bhutan Studies**

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**Proceedings of the International Conference on Globalized  
Buddhism**

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## EDITORIAL NOTE

This book is a compilation of the papers presented during the International Conference on Globalized Buddhism, themed *Buddhism Without Borders*. Attended by about 31 national and international scholars, the conference was jointly organized by the Centre for Bhutan Studies and the Ministry of Home and Cultural Affairs from 21 to 23 May, 2012 in Bumthang, Bhutan. The papers discuss a wide range of traditional Buddhist motifs and emerging developments in the global Buddhist scenario. Even though the papers were presented under seven themes (stated in Hon'ble Home Minister's keynote address) during the course of the conference for sake of convenience, they are essentially a fluid mix of the above concerns and fitted uneasily into those classifications. Therefore, for this publication, no such attempt at categorization has been made. The papers are thus presented here in random order. The Hon'ble Home Minister's adapted keynote address which was delivered at the conference has been reproduced here, forming an introduction to this publication.

The Centre for Bhutan Studies would like to acknowledge and thank the participants for their invaluable contributions. At the same time, the Organizers would like to thank the Gross National Happiness Commission for its financial support in the organization of the conference. We also express our gratitude to the Lam Neten of Bumthang Rabdey. Without the logistical support of the The Dzongdag and Dzongkhag Administration of Bumthang, we could not have held this conference in the sacred atmosphere of Bumthang. Therefore, we put on record our sincere gratitude for their tireless efforts in making the conference possible. We also acknowledge the kind support of the RNR Regional Office in Bumthang for its kind support in the successful conduct of the conference.

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## **Keynote Address by His Excellency Minjur Dorji, the Home Minister of Bhutan**

It is with honour that the Ministry of Home and Cultural Affairs and the Centre for Bhutan Studies, on behalf of the Royal Government of Bhutan, welcome eminent members of the Buddhist scholarly community to this important international conference. At a time when we are all faced with existential questions concerning our very survival on this earth through many complications brought about in large measures by the degeneration of our time-honoured values, this conference presents an ideal opportunity to sit back and reflect on what is best in our collective wisdom through millennia of our shared Buddhist civilisation. Buddhism has often been likened to a medicine for illness and it is true that the vast range of Buddhist philosophy contains in it solutions to all life situations. Through scientific proposition of knowledge, Buddhism presents a guide to an ideal way of life, which if we all follow, should see us get rid of our predicaments at this moment of time. Buddhism provides guidance both for advance practitioners and lay followers to live their lives along principles of virtue and righteousness. Buddhism encourages, through its precepts, wholesome living which will ultimately lead to peace and harmony within ourselves and among our fellow beings.

I would like to say that the choice of the venue in Bhutan increases the potential benefits of this conference. As you would have seen in your travel through the country, Bhutan has a living heritage of Buddhism that assimilates the wellness of centuries of Buddhist wisdom into the daily lives of the people. People follow the Buddhist way of life with its stress on wholesome existence that must necessarily accommodate the wellbeing of all. In the end, in a cyclical chain of distributing wellbeing, Bhutanese in turn enjoy a sustained supply of the means to peace and harmony.

It must be mentioned here that keeping alive this tradition has been a conscious decision on the part of the Wangchuck Dynasty, the Royal Government and the people of Bhutan. We have been trying to hold onto our Buddhist traditions which have been the source of our wellbeing in the face of the often disorienting pace of modernisation and development. Through such policies as Gross National Happiness, which tries to ensure wholesome wellbeing, the Bhutanese state has long been stressing on maintaining a right balance in life that will guarantee that all those aspects of our life that deserves attention get due care. The result is that we have much of our heritage, natural and built, intact. We also enjoy much the same level of faith in this heritage as any of our preceding generations. It has often been noticed that as the level of development increases, an irreconcilable gulf opens up between people's faith such as Buddhism and their material aspirations. Bhutan has been trying to avoid this pitfall by trying to

balance its national ideals and goals with its spirituality. The Gross National Happiness concept, which enjoys wide acclaim and has been adopted by international bodies such as the United Nations, has helped maintain this harmony.

At this moment, I think there is a need to recall the history of Bhutan which is permeated with Buddhism from time immemorial, and thus created conditions ripe for a continuous and sustained influence of Buddhism on the people. The Bhutanese people's memory of our history stretches as far back as the second century when Indian Buddhist influence reached the country. However, it was the building of two temples by the Tibetan King Songtsem Gampo in the seventh century that is held as a landmark. The two temples of Kichu in Paro and Jampa in Bumthang were built at strategic locations of the then Tibetan empire. Subsequently, the arrival of the Indian saint Guru Padmasambhava brought Vajrayana Buddhism which was to change the religious and cultural landscape of Bhutan. From that time onwards, many renowned Tibetan Buddhist saints, who often came for pilgrimage or to escape political turmoils in their motherland, spread the Dharma and increased the popular acceptance of Buddhism among the people. Some of them like Lam Drukpa Kuenley even attained cult hero status among the people with his widely popular method of transmission. However, it was with the arrival of a seventeenth century Tibetan Prince Hierarch, Zhabdrung Ngawang Namgyel that Buddhism attained state sovereignty in Bhutan. Under a widely popular Buddhist state, Bhutan was unified and came to be in its present form. For the first time in its history, national laws based on Buddhist precepts were promulgated and enforced with wide abidance on the part of the people. Transgression was similarly discouraged. In 1907, the political scene of Bhutan took a turn with the establishment of the Wangchuck Dynasty. However, the faith, patronage and acceptance of Buddhism as the sole guiding light of the country remained the same. Buddhist monasteries retained much of its parallel spiritual rights.

What is interesting in all these developments is the position of Bumthang. Bumthang is held as the spiritual heartland of the country. It is literarily an epoch making place. Guru Rinpoche turned the wheel of the Dharma predominantly from this place. Places like Kurjey, which means where the print of the master's body remain, is a testimony to this period of history. Bumthang also saw many other Buddhist luminaries leave their mark. Foremost among them is Kuenkhen Longchen Rabjam, a Tibetan Buddhist master who wrote a glowing eulogy of the place in which he describes in flowing verses the sanctity and greatness of this ancient land. Bumthang is also the birthplace of Bhutan's own Buddhist master Terton Pema Lingpa in the sixteenth century. He revealed many Buddhist treasures supposedly kept to be revealed at appropriate moments in time for the wellbeing of all beings. Today, his tradition of Buddhism flourishes in this sacred

valley and beyond.

Thus, Bhutan is a place that has received many great Buddhist masters who have left an indelible mark on the people that continues to endure to this day. Supportive state policies in this new millennium have ensured that Buddhism continues to be the single most dominant influence on the life of the Bhutanese people.

Buddhism in the 21<sup>st</sup> century has become increasingly globalised, and there is at present a growing international interest in furthering the discussion on the creative and innovative applications of the Buddhist philosophy and ideology across the spectrum of creative and academic fields including, but not limited to, liberal arts, humanities, social, environmental and economic studies, conflict resolution and mediation methods, medical and cognitive sciences, as well as the ever expanding field of technological advancements.

Therefore, a discussion that at once transcends nations and cultures, while at the same time drawing upon the rich tapestry of Buddhist diversity inbuilt in them, will offer a unique opportunity to exchange perspectives on the changes and challenges that we as Buddhists face in today's world by affording an assortment of analysis and interpretations of the main Buddhist philosophy and the various schools of thought emanating from it. The opportunity for creative discussions and shared explorations of Buddhist insights, interpersonal social exchanges and their application in today's world amongst a cross section of Buddhist nations and cultural set-ups will pave the way for key future collaborations in shaping and propagating the timeless Buddhist values as a shared global interest for the wellbeing of all beings. Building a trans-national and cross-cultural network of Buddhist community is therefore considered a vital link in this process.

The Conference will hold discussions on a wide range of traditional Buddhist motifs and emerging developments in the global Buddhist scenario which increasingly encompass all aspects of the modern life. The Conference is thus categorized into the following seven themes.

1. Buddhist Scholarship: Ideals, History and Ethnography
2. Business, Polity, Leadership and the Buddhist Values
3. The Art of Buddhist Living
4. Buddhist Ethics and Environmentalism
5. Cyber Buddhism and the New-Age Buddhist Expression
6. Buddhist Welfare
7. Buddhist Multiculturalism and Reconciliatory Dialogues

As a leader in the field of cultural and religious studies in Bhutan and the region, the Centre for Bhutan studies and the Ministry of Home and Cultural Affairs will

Hon'ble Minjur Dorji

organize the Conference in its continuing effort to promote research, scholarship, dialogue and a greater understanding of the Buddha Dharma as a measure to bolster the critical position of Bhutan as the Mecca of the Buddhist world which feeds the emerging Buddhist vision of the world in bringing about world peace, harmony and wholesome wellbeing. We hope that in the process, Bhutan's proud Buddhist traditions and heritages will stand to gain from an input of diverse and new leads from the evolution of global Buddhism.

As exposure increases, critical examinations of Buddhism and its components, including traditional Buddhist leaders and their sects, are inevitable. Indeed, they are even necessary. Afterall, Buddhism has always promoted critical dialogues. Our Buddhist sutras stand testimony to this fact. From the pre-conference materials, I can see that there will be constructive critique of Buddhism as it forays into previously unknown territories. However, I am excited to see Buddhist scholars counter, through their diligent academic expositions, any negative opinions and misconceptions that might be in the making.

At the end of the conference, the papers presented during the conference will be published as a book in an effort to sustain the interest in cooperation generated from this conference.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank and congratulate all the participants who constitute eminent members of the global scholarly Buddhist community for participating in this important conference. We hope that you will gain immensely from this experience in a land where Buddhism is a way of life. With the arrangements for pilgrimage that the organizers have made, I hope you have an enriching time in our country.

Thank you and Tashi Delek

# 1

## **Buddhism as a 'living tradition': The foundation for Buddhism without borders**

Kathleen Gregory

*Reflecting on the contemporary presentations of Buddhism within the Western context, particularly from the Tibetan traditions, this paper presents Buddhism from a 'living tradition' perspective arguing that the principle which links Buddhism across space and time is the concern with 'lived experience.' This perspective highlights the origins of Buddhism in the Buddha's experience, and serves to unify ordinary and Enlightened experiences as kinds of 'lived experiences.' As a result, the 'living quality' of the teachings is understood in terms of the interrelationship of doctrine and practice; and expressed in relation to the subjectivity of practitioners in space and time. It is argued that this perspective challenges a number of current Western perspectives in the study of Buddhism which can be described as over-determining Buddhism as a heterogeneous and non-Western product; while concomitantly emphasising 'borders' between the ancient and contemporary, text and praxis, and tradition and innovation. Particularly in the West, 'tradition' is seen in diametric opposition to innovation; I argue that this view of tradition is foreign to the living tradition context. Rather, Buddhism engages with and through human experience, which by its nature is always contemporary. 'Living tradition' is thus that which maintains the transformative power of Buddhism; concluding that this living tradition perspective is itself the foundation for Buddhism without borders.*

### **Introduction**

This presentation of Buddhism as a 'living tradition' begins from my reflections as a Buddhist practitioner for twenty years within the Tibetan tradition. I have learnt that Buddhism is primarily a 'practical endeavour' concerned with understanding experience and transforming experience through that understanding. On the one hand, I have wrestled with what presents as dense philosophy to do with questions of causality, ontology and epistemology (to apply those terms), and on the other hand or indeed simultaneously, I have seen how in fact these enquiries are concerned with aspects of our lived experience as human beings. I have come to appreciate these two dimensions – philosophy and application – as not separate endeavours but both referenced directly through,

and to, our own human experience. Further, not only have I found Buddhism directly applicable to lived experience but it also presents to me both firm roots in its traditional past and relevance to my own contemporary experience. In the ways I have experienced Buddhism, I have found no contradiction or tension within this. I have seen how this has challenged not only my own, but also more generally held views about Buddhism when conceived from the perspective of being a 'religious tradition' which of course, remains a contentious categorization of the teachings of the Buddha (Samdhong Rinpoche, 1998, public talk).

Reflecting on these experiences as representative of how many Westerners are engaging with Buddhism through 'traditional' teachers, especially from the Tibetan traditions, this paper considers how Buddhism presents in the contemporary Western context as a 'living tradition.' This perspective serves to highlight not only the very nature of what Buddhism is and where it comes from, but also challenges a number of Western perceptions about Buddhism, Buddhists and traditions.

I present the living tradition perspective as one where 'lived experience' is understood as the *singularity* within Buddhism which unifies doctrine and practice in space and time through the subjectivity of living practitioners. I borrow the concept of singularity from Wolfreys (2004) who utilizes it in relation to Derrida's thesis on deconstruction as a means to both highlight the intent and unify his body of work. The singularity of a tradition or body of work is understood to be the 'sustained and abiding concern' which all writings, concepts and methods 'bear witness to' and demonstrate 'responsibility toward' (Wolfreys, 2004: 25). Applied to the living tradition of Buddhism, I suggest that 'lived experience' is the singularity which all within the tradition 'Buddhism' both bears witness to and demonstrate responsibility toward. As a result, lived experience as the 'sustained and abiding concern' within Buddhism, is that which then functions as the singularity to unify it *in* space and time and *across* space and time. Consequently, the singularity of lived experience 'unifies' Enlightened and ordinary experiences as kinds of human experiences.

Thus the singularity of lived experience highlights the living quality of the teachings; since they arise in human experience they are necessarily *experienced* by practitioners in space and time. As a consequence it can be said that within a living tradition perspective, the 'mind of the practitioner' functions for the

continuity of the 'tradition,' wherein the 'living' component is reflected in the subjectivity of practitioners, conditioned by space and time. It can be then argued that by necessity, Buddhism is always contemporary. This living tradition perspective is presented as a contrast to a number of dominant Western perspectives which can be described as weighted towards emphasising Buddhism as a non-Western product, a heterogeneous entity and as a 'tradition' in diametric opposition to innovation. It is suggested that the living tradition perspective is helpful to pave the way for 'Buddhism without borders' demonstrating in fact that Buddhism challenges many 'borders' imposed on it by these Western perceptions: for example, borders between text and praxis, tradition and innovation, ancient and contemporary. My hope is that the living tradition perspective is in fact, an assertion of what Buddhism is, what its purpose is, and how to understand its doctrine; and as a consequence, more clearly articulate its universal application within the contemporary world.

It is from this position of 'singularity' that I self-consciously employ the generic term Buddhism; not to simplify the plurality which is Buddhism as I am cognizant that it is often necessary to specify Buddhism in relation to a particular tradition, place or period. I rely on the teachings and presentations of contemporary teachers, although not exclusively Tibetan, to bring this perspective to life.

### **Buddhism in the West as a 'Living Tradition'**

Buddhism is now without doubt, 'on Western ground' (Aronson, 2004). It is increasingly both popular and popularized; some of its concepts even entering everyday Western parlance, for example *karma*. It also continues to present as an exotic Other, an object of abstruse Western scholarship, the religious practice of ethnic migrants, the religious choice for an increasing number of Westerners, a psychological therapy, and 'modernized' – or more rightly, a Westernized spiritual endeavor (Prebish & Baumann, 2002; Droit, 1997/2003). In fact categorising the ways Westerners and their Asian counterparts living in the West engage with Buddhism has itself become a disputed academic enterprise (Baumann, 2002; Tweed, 2002; Williams & Queen, 1999).

Within this contemporary Western context it is evident that many diasporic 'traditional' Buddhist teachers are cognizant of presenting Buddhism in a way both relevant and sensitive to contemporary Western needs while introducing

the traditional or essential teachings and practices to Westerners. Chögyam Trungpa Rinpoche, for example, has been described as being 'extremely concerned about how to present dharma without distorting or diluting it, yet in a way that would be relevant to the modern world' (Fremantle in Midal, 2005: 266). Such a perspective can be described in the service of establishing 'a Buddhism which is totally familiar with the modern world yet, at the same time, not completely divorced from its traditional roots' (Traleg Kyabgon, 2003a: 47). Traleg Kyabgon, for example, has called this a 'Neo-Orthodoxy.' At the same time, His Holiness the Dalai Lama has been said to affirm in the context of Western Brain Sciences that, 'if elements of Buddhist doctrine ... are compellingly refuted by new empirical evidence or cogent reasoning, then those Buddhist tenets must be abandoned' (Wallace, 1999: 158). Fundamentally, Buddhists themselves agree that Buddhism changes 'without losing its essential elements' (Traleg Kyabgon, 2004: 22).

This view forms the basis of the living tradition perspective in which Buddhism can be described as a system on the one hand that is neither dogmatically contested nor on the other hand, somehow relativistically benign. These two aspects living and tradition serve in fact to support a balanced Middle Way view, within which the notion of 'tradition' is understood to reflect both orthodoxy and orthopraxy, and the subsequent perpetuation of such a content of beliefs and practices deemed fundamental or essential in the identification of both 'Buddhism' and a 'Buddhist.' However, the counterpoint 'living' in this context goes beyond signifying the debate and controversy existing within the tradition of Buddhism and its engagement with outside cultural, philosophical and religious traditions. From a 'living tradition' perspective, the living quality of the teachings highlights their arising from human experience thus resulting in the contingency and plasticity of form in terms of expression, example and performance of beliefs and practices within the context of human subjectivity in space and time. That is, since Buddhism is derived from human experience, it is necessarily subject to human *beingness*. For indeed for it to be otherwise would be contrary to the fundamentals not only of its beliefs (here the argument is often one of impermanence), but contrary in fact, to what it is.

Thus the living tradition perspective challenges the view that 'traditional' Buddhist teachers are primarily writing and teaching in ways which reflect the contemporary Western context because 'of their willingness to reach beyond the

historical horizons of the texts and the boundaries of their own cultures,' as Cabezón (2000) suggests when referring to for example, His Holiness the Dalai Lama (p. 30). This view I suggest over-determines Buddhism as a 'non-Western cultural product' at the expense of the foundation for what we call Buddhism: human experience. In contrast, a living tradition perspective understands that many traditional teachers like His Holiness the Dalai Lama are writing and teaching responsive to the context in which Buddhism and they themselves are in because of what Buddhism is, and concomitantly, as can be said, where it exists.

### **Buddhism in Mind**

Buddhism from the perspective of Buddhism can be understood to 'exist' in minds which perceive and conceptualize it; minds which are conditioned concomitantly by the functions and processes of the mental factors and by the socio-historical context within which minds in persons are situated. I have explored elsewhere a Buddhist mind and mental factors reading of Buddhism coming into Western consciousness in the nineteenth-century (Gregory, 2012).

From the living tradition perspective Buddhism in space and time is a general category; within which Buddhism in the contemporary Western context is only so as an instance or particular; as it is in all other contexts in which it has taken root. As an instance, the contemporary Western context finds Buddhism simply in relation to 'contemporary subjective experience in the context of modern life' (Olson, 1995: 27). This experience can be characterized in the broad brushstrokes of consumerism, secularism, individualism, skepticism, and rationalism through which contemporary Western minds tend in their intending upon Buddhism. Highlighted here is the necessary mutuality or interdependency of 'Buddhism' and human beings; even suggesting a 'borderless' relationship since Buddhism arises from human experience.

### **The singularity of Buddhism**

When considered in relation to the teachings, scripture, doctrine, or *Dharma*, Buddhism presents in diverse forms demonstrating distinctive 'character and influence'; on the one hand some teachings deal with the *Dharma* on an abstract, philosophical or even theological level, and on the other hand, others deal with the *Dharma* in 'more practical, spiritual and inspirational ways' (Traleg Kyabgon,

2003b: 36). Within the Western context, it has become almost a truism to say that, of course, there is not just 'one' Buddhism but Buddhisms distinguished and distinguishable in terms of geography, historical time and/or doctrine resulting in the conceptualization of Buddhism as primarily a 'multi-faceted entity.' Western Buddhist studies have historically divided the study of Buddhism in these ways, and continue to contest the classifications (Cabezón, 1995). However, from a living tradition perspective, it could be argued that plurality has become over-determined in our contemporary conceptualization of Buddhism at the expense of 'lived experience' as the singular concern across the 'diversity' of Buddhism.

This notion of the 'singularity' in a body of work or tradition finds resonance within the field of comparative religion where Scharfstein (1988) suggests 'unity' within a tradition to refer to that which 'prevails over all the internal differences' a religion may exhibit. This unity, he says, is demonstrated in two ways, through continuity and self-reference. Continuity is the 'relationship that makes everything subsequent in the tradition lead back to the same beginnings in time, place, or attitude.' Self-reference 'is the quality that makes any isolated statement or philosophy difficult to understand without setting it in the contextual web that determines what is internal to the tradition and what is external to it' (pp. 5-6). Thus from a living tradition perspective, the 'singularity' of human experience functions as both the continuity and self-reference in Buddhism. Further, with human experience as the 'data' which forms the content of Buddhism it is linked to both the 'inside' and 'outside' of the tradition through living practitioners who themselves are always 'contemporary.'

### **The Buddha as a human being**

This perspective of the singularity of Buddhism proceeds from and gives primacy to Siddhartha Gautama Buddha, whom we know as the Buddha, as a human being. The Buddha did not claim to be to be a god or 'incarnation of some higher being,' or indeed an 'intermediary between some higher reality and human beings' (Traleg Kyabgon, 2001: 2). He was a human being within the context of his own time and place, his own station within that, and who on the basis of his own experiences set out to find ways to help bring about stable and substantial happiness in a human life. His singular interest was directed to that which was useful and beneficial to such endeavors. His teachings are the result of

such a quest and record the discovery of the 'natural truths' he found in relation to his own experiences (Payutto, 1995). In this way 'Buddhism' is a tradition established by a category of revelation 'sourced' in human experience (Samdhong Rinpoche, 2006: 34).

Moreover, the Buddha 'gave many teachings and provided a multitude of different approaches' responsive to the fact it is human beings who differ in their 'levels of spiritual development, their capacities, mentalities, and attitudes' (Ringu Tulku, 2005: 15); again reiterating the 'living quality' of Buddhism. The origin of Buddhism in the Buddha's experience as a human being serves to establish 'Buddhism' as in fact available to anyone, who given the right circumstances and with the right effort, can 'find out' for themselves. In this way, the teachings function as tools to be utilized; where most fundamentally it can be said what makes Buddhism *Buddhism* is the fact that its doctrine is practice. That is, we 'cannot separate Buddhist doctrine from Buddhist meditative experiences, simply because the doctrine is the path to enlightenment' (Traleg Kyabgon, 2003b: 33-34).

### **Doctrine is practice**

The Sanskrit term *Dharma* as is well-known refers to either experience or the scriptures (Traleg Kyabgon, 1991: 1). Thus it follows the veracity of the teachings is to be affirmed in relation to one's own experience; in this way Buddhist doctrine relies on 'experiential knowledge' (Kalu Rinpoche, 1993/1997: 7). As it is said, the 'scriptures have to conform to our own experience. Otherwise, the scriptures are meaningless. We read the scriptures and then we have to find out whether the scriptures make any sense. We have to relate them to our own experience and find out [for ourselves]' (Traleg Kyabgon, 1991: 1). The doctrine, that is, is 'applied' and 'thereby turned into' experience; wherein as the Buddha's own experience attests to, spiritual 'experience lies in our actual living situation'; it is not *other* to it in some ephemeral otherworldly way (Chögyam Trungpa, 2011: 98).

Thus to be a Buddhist practitioner entails not only to know (i.e. have knowledge about) but also to be able 'to demonstrate the basis of one's knowing' (Samdhong Rinpoche, 2006: 195). The basis of knowing is in, and through, experience through the practice of both intellectual (analytical) and meditative (contemplative) methods (Kalu Rinpoche, 1993/1997: 16); both are considered

essential and one without the other is considered incomplete. In emphasizing the notion of lived experience, Buddhism thus presents as a first-person perspective: by looking directly at one's own individual experience - that looking, informed by the scriptures, when applied to experience through study and contemplation within a subjective world stabilized by meditation, reveals in fact that the 'scriptures' are 'alive' in experience and by finding their 'truth' in experience, they then become the experience of that individual transforming who and how they are as a human being. And further, how through 'skillful means,' they are in turn experienced by others; furthering the notion that 'lived experience' is in fact constituted in life through relation to others. From a Buddhist view, the singular concern with the nature of our condition; when studied and investigated within and through our experience, is in fact 'what will be transformative' (Traleg Kyabgon, 2006, public talk,).

### **Lived experience is without borders**

This process describes the intimate relationship or indeed, collapsing of doctrine and practice in which 'we ourselves are the practice' (Ringu Tulku, 2005: 15). As a result, from a living tradition perspective, Buddhism must encompass the totality of human experience. That is, in relation to content so to speak, Buddhism can neither contain hypothesis or partial truths; it presents the whole 'truth' of human experience encompassing both what is and what could be, in relation to human experiencing. Buddhism can be understood to then both detail and distinguish the 'lived experiences' of human beings in relation to the 'reality of the unenlightened individual' and the 'reality of the enlightened individual' (Samdhong Rinpoche, 1998, public talk); where 'reality' is here understood as 'the world given in such experiences' through mind as Dreyfus & Thompson highlight (2007: 93).

Therefore, the notion of lived experience creates an inclusive category in which both unenlightened, delusory or 'ordinary' experiences - characterized by suffering, greedy, angry, jealous, arrogant, hateful, ignorant, self-cherishing ones; and non-deluded or Enlightened experiences - wisdom based (non-dual, non-conceptual) - are categories (minds) of experiences understood as 'available' to human beings. Thus from within the living tradition perspective, ordinary and Enlightened experiences can be described as 'unified' in relation to being kinds of experiences of human beings. Enlightenment is thus distinguished and

distinguishable from our 'ordinary' experiences, representing the capacity for human beings to free themselves from suffering and to have clarity as to the nature of their condition. As a result, in Buddhism 'experience' can be understood in a wider sense since it entails not only knowing what we already know or have experienced but also coming to 'know' and experience ourselves in ways we do not as yet know and which we can aspire to know – enlightened experiences (Newland, 1999: 15).

Thus the notion of singularity can be further detailed: within the apparent plurality of Buddhism distinguished by geography, tradition, author or concept, is reflected the 'singularity' of seeking to understand and detail lived experience, now understood to encompass both 'ordinary' and 'Enlightened' presentations. 'Bearing witness to' and 'holding responsibility towards' the singular concern with lived experience create an inclusive category to understand our human condition which serves to both 'ground' the experiential nature of 'spirituality' in our condition and widens the domain to include both those experiences we know and those we do not as yet know. In fact, this notion of 'experience' acts as an all-encompassing term incorporating the phenomena of our subjective world as human beings in which experience, knowledge, mind, reality, truth, are all but one in the same.

#### **Minds in relationship: The basis for the tradition**

Importantly, within Buddhism the context which both supports and directs the practitioner's 'experience' is the teacher-student relationship; this is particularly emphasized in the Tibetan system which I will not elaborate here in relation to its particulars. However, the teacher-student relationship provides the fundamental basis to understand Buddhism as *a tradition*; in the sense it is not merely a 'long perpetuated custom' (Samdhong Rinpoche, 2006: 36). The teacher-student relationship is the form through which the *Dharma* has been practiced by many since the Buddha in which the teachings are transmitted 'by means of an unbroken lineage from person to person' (Samdhong Rinpoche, 2006: 36).

However, from a living tradition perspective it is understood, as Chögyam Trungpa (2005) suggests, 'each person in the lineage of teachers develops a self-understanding which adds to the tradition. The process is like handing down a recipe for bread. In each generation, the bread is exactly like the original bread, but possibly more flavourful because of the added experience of the bakers

involved in the handing down. In each generation, the bread is fresh, delicious, and healthy' (p. 44). Thus as has been outlined, because Buddhism is derived from human experience, the notion of 'tradition' here presents as more 'elastic' or malleable than may be usually appreciated from a Western perspective.

### **The notion of tradition**

This notion of lineage as understood from a living tradition perspective sits somewhat at odds with dominant Western views which since the time of the Enlightenment, have seen 'tradition' become a descriptive for 'habits or beliefs inconvenient to virtually any innovation' (Williams, 1983: 320). Thus within the West, *the traditional* has served as the meaning opposite of modern, where tradition has come to signify 'belonging to a previous historical era' (Bruner, 2005: 90). Someone who *values* tradition is seen as conservative and out-of-touch. The continuation or adherence to tradition has been associated with ideas of custom, duty and respect. Traditions are often seen to be held on to merely for their own sake. Furthermore, the notion of tradition sits in relation to modern in a series of oppositions within a basic 'past to present/future dynamic': oppositions which include, for example, closed vs. open, fate vs. choice, external vs. internal, certainty vs. uncertainty, virtues vs. preferences, and control vs. freedom (Heelas, 1996: 3).

However, from the living tradition perspective, since in the context of space and time, they are 'sourced' in human experience and transmitted from person to person, the teachings are understood to be 'always up to date' (Chögyam Trungpa, 1987: 17). Thus the teachings sit outside of this Western tradition/modern opposition; as Chögyam Trungpa (1987) goes on to say, Buddhism is "not 'ancient wisdom,' an old legend. The teachings are not passed along as information, handed down as a grandfather tells traditional folk tales to his grandchildren" (p.17). Buddhism is 'real experience' and thus it remains 'verifiable through common sense and self-knowledge' of individuals (Samdhong Rinpoche, 2006: 36).

### **Conclusion**

Within the context of the theme of this Conference: Buddhism without borders, a living tradition perspective serves to highlight the living quality of Buddhism concluding that it is 'applicable to every age, to every person' (Chögyam

Trungpa, 1987: 17). Furthermore, in contrast to often dominant Western perceptions, a living tradition perspective counters over-determining the borders between the ancient and contemporary, text and praxis, tradition and innovation. When referenced to the singularity of 'lived experience,' Buddhism is without borders, either temporal or geographic. By necessity, it engages with and through our contemporary world; reflecting that by its nature, Buddhism is 'alive' to each of us in our experience in the here and now.

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## 2

### **Buddhist Models of Self: Politics when People Matter**

Georgios T. Halkias

The Venerable Ānanda sat next to the Blessed One and addressed him:

“Reverend Master, I have heard it said again and again ‘the world is empty, the world is empty.’ But in what sense is it said that the world is empty?” “Ānanda, it is because it is empty of self and anything belonging to self that the world is said to be empty.” (SN, III. 196)

#### **The Politics of the Consuming Self**

Many Buddhist texts recommend that a ruler best fit for public office is he who governs according to the precepts of *dharma* and exercises moderation and moral prudence in the domains of law and economy – not unlike the philosopher-king in Plato’s *Republic* who draws his authority from the maxim *the knowing is wise and the wise is good*.<sup>1</sup> Plato and later Aristotle envisioned a political order immune to the superficial excesses of democracy in Athens. They directed their critiques at the shortcomings of a social system that placed its faith on “the majority’s ambivalence to a comprehensive social justice” that led to “political instability, often tending to war and tyranny and the lack of moral virtues.” In their view, democracy in Athens promoted “injustices occasioned by a superficial and selfish ethic of egalitarianism,” the “widespread pursuit of indolent pleasures,” and “the absence of genuine social and moral aims” (Corcoran, 1983: 16-17).

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<sup>1</sup> This view is eloquently summarized by Socrates in the *Republic*: “Until philosophers are kings, or the kings and princes of this world have the spirit and power of philosophy, and political greatness and wisdom meet in one, and those commoner natures who pursue either to the exclusion of the other are compelled to stand aside, cities will never rest from their evils, – no, nor the human race, as I believe, – and then only will this, our State have a possibility of life and behold the light of day” (Book V, 737). Plato’s famous metaphor in the *Republic* of the polis as a tripartite division of the soul clearly indicates some of the complexities involved in the process of organizing the state according to higher principles. For a discussion on Buddhist perspectives on kingship, see Halkias (2012).

The moral degradation of political life was a circular phenomenon, for the sort of popular leaders who possessed and profited from these vices supported in turn political structures that legitimized their own interests. Although we may not necessarily side with the Greek philosophers' solution to these problems, we can relate with their appraisal of the political ills of their times. It is not my intention to add yet another critique to an ongoing instrumentalization of democratic principles by liberal capitalist regimes and political machines. Ever since economic prosperity has become the cornerstone, if not the whole edifice of public policy almost universally, people, communities and the physical environment are increasingly treated as resources, investments and potential capital. This utilitarian view of humanity and the natural world is reinforced by an equally debilitating and short-sighted vision of individualism perpetuated by social institutions, educational establishments, mass media, family settings and the global market. The universal promotion of an appetitive and selfish individual is built on the premise that the individual is the best, indeed the only qualified judge of its own interests, and therefore he should be entitled, encouraged and made as free as possible to fashion a life based on the gratification of desires and wants. Since the self is conceived and shaped in terms of appetites, wants and aversions, it comes to reflect the image of its greedy, unsatisfied, and immodest maker: the global market.

Today we live in the age of so called 'mass democracy,' brandished and marketed in the media as the world's 'universal religion' with its own production and reproduction of truths about human nature with an emphasis on associated rights such as, freedom of choice, equality, self-determination, and so forth, but regrettably with little discourse on the duties of individuals who are meant to represent and uphold such rights. In his critical studies, Michel Foucault challenged the mass mythology of the 'individual self' as it is invariably linked with the legitimization of political and economic exploitation processes in our societies, and with institutional regimes of domination. He writes:

I think that if one wants to analyze the genealogy of the subject in Western civilization, he has to take into account not only techniques of domination but also techniques of the self... he has to take into account the interaction between those two types of techniques... He has to take into account the points where the technologies of domination of individuals over one another have recourse to processes by which the

individual acts upon himself. And conversely, he has to take into account the points where the techniques of the self are integrated into structures of coercion and domination. The contact point, where the individuals are driven by others is tied to the way they conduct themselves, is what we can call, I think government.<sup>2</sup>

In my understanding, knowledge of the processes through which the self is constituted as a subject, however these are derived and explained, cannot be separated from the broader sphere of human culture and expression, including political awareness and economic action embedded in our views, language and actions. "Governing people, in the broad meaning of the word is not a way to force people to do what the governor wants; it is always a versatile equilibrium, with complementarity and conflicts between techniques which assure coercion and processes through which the self is constructed or modified by himself."<sup>3</sup>

Inspired by Foucault's critique, in the following paper I wish to frame some of the economic, environmental and social problems that we face today because of unhealthy and unviable models of individuality and gear the discussion on alternative 'cultures of self,' which directly or indirectly challenge the proximity of self-experience in the construction of subjectivity that lies at the foundation of contemporary economic, political and social forms of rationality and organization. Instead of relying solely on administrative interventions and remedies towards our problems, such as, price regulation and incentives, formulation of laws and public policy, etc, I believe that there is a great deal we can learn from the philosophical orientation of Buddhism concerning a set of practices of the self essentially different from the ones that traditionally influence and shape global discourses on politics and economics.

Garfield (2002: 207) notes that "Buddhism neither precludes nor entails liberal democracy nor does it advocate a specific form of government." The Buddha remained silent about such matters, except for the general guidelines that the goal of any social or political order is the maximization of happiness and minimization of suffering for all beings, and the cultivation of virtuous traits of character such as compassion, patience, generosity, wisdom and so forth. The

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<sup>2</sup> Foucault (1993: 203-204).

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

contrast between the two respective orders is nevertheless real and can be properly emphasized in two ways:

Liberal democratic theory legitimates its goods on procedural grounds; Buddhism legitimates any procedures on the grounds that they produce appropriate goods. Second, and related, procedures of particular kinds are constitutive of liberal democracy, whereas commitments to particular social goods are constitutive of Buddhist societies in very deep ways: whereas liberal democratic societies may differ widely (or one may change wildly over time) with respect to some particular vision of the good (say free education, universal health care, or a minimum wage) and remain recognizably democratic, any society that abandoned election, open access to offices, or transparency of the judicial process would ipso facto no longer count as liberal democracy. There is, however, also a sense in which a specific conception of the good is built into most Western liberal democracies beyond the necessary implication of some minimal conception of the good by the procedural commitments and the initial presuppositions of the contractual situation: most liberals – whether they acknowledge it or not – tacitly supplement democratic principles with a heavy dose of Judeo-Christian values, including the presumption of human domination over the earth, of the sanctity of individual property, of the primacy of individuals over collectives, of the legitimacy of violence in the service of a legitimate cause, among others.<sup>4</sup>

Garfield (2002: 210) is keen to observe that Buddhism and liberal democracy are diametrically opposed on this issue, namely, “the direction of legitimation as between procedure and conception of the good.” Although he will go on and argue that they are capable not only of fusion, but compatible and complementary in a deep sense, I contend that there is another fundamental tension between the two that lies in the philosophical view of the individual. In Buddhism, while the individual is subject to ethical formulation and creative transformation, the ‘self’ per se is not a privileged subject of discourse,<sup>5</sup> but a

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<sup>4</sup> Garfield (2002: 207). He concludes this section by noting that “any society that abandoned commitment to non-violence, to maintaining the welfare of the least advantaged, to providing health care and education to all its citizens, and to facilitating spiritual practice for those who aspire thereto would cease to be recognizably Buddhist.”

<sup>5</sup> Among western scholars, there have been a variety of approaches to the Buddhist understanding of self and its denial; for an informative examination see Collins (1994) and Tillemans (1996).

developmental response to ever-shifting causes and conditions in the social and natural world. It can be localized as an object of knowledge only in conventional terms and not in a metaphysical sense as an 'owner of experiences,' 'a thinker of thoughts,' and 'an agent of actions.' In this respect, the 'self' does not need to be discovered, according to some schools of psychoanalysis, in the dungeons of the unconscious; nor be incessantly interrogated to speak about itself in self-assuring monologues; or be incited to express its 'true nature' against the repression of an ostentatious social order. Rather, this sense of 'I' (the ego-self) arises and ceases like a reflection in a mirror in dependence on internal stimuli (thoughts, emotions) and external attractions (sense objects).

### **The Ethical Management of Self: A Buddhist Approach**

Buddhism has much to offer to a gradual synthesis of ethical, social, and soteriological factors that at once define a set of transformative practices and methods while challenging our common perceptions of what constitutes an individual. Common to all Buddhist schools and traditions is a set of psychosomatic categories that constitute the 'self.' These are known as the five aggregates (*khandhas*): forms, feelings, perceptions, dispositional formations (habitual patterns of thinking, feeling, and acting) and consciousness. The first of the aggregates refers to six sense organs and their corresponding objects of perception – i.e., eye and the visible objects, ear and sounds, nose and smells, tongue and tastes, body and touchables, and also mind with its corresponding thoughts. The remaining four aggregates are mental processes, while all five constitute a complex of relations and experiences that makes up a person and each moment of self-experience. From a Buddhist perspective, there is nothing substantial to the five aggregates that are empirically subject to change from moment to moment. Any essential identification with them is misleading as is the notion of 'ownership,' which may be understood as a reflective mode of such identification. Clinging onto the notion of an unchanging and ongoing substance, compelled to think, feel, and act as though one had an inherent self to protect and preserve, is the very root of suffering. "The slightest encroachment on the self's territory (a splinter in the finger, a noisy neighbour) arouses fear and anger. The slightest hope of self-enhancement (gain, praise, fame, pleasure) arouses greed and grasping. Any hint that a situation is irrelevant to the self (waiting for a bus, meditating) arouses boredom. Such impulses are instinctual, automatic,

pervasive, and powerful. They are completely taken for granted in daily life” (Varela 1993: 62).

Essential to the understanding of how suffering arises by mistakenly identifying with the aggregates and fostering an objective sense of their ownership is detailed in the ‘Four Noble Truths.’ These are called ‘truths’ not as a matter of religious faith or doctrinal convention, but because their ‘truth value’ derives from empirically verifiable reflections of human experience. The first Noble Truth states that the human predicament is defined by lack of satisfaction and accompanying forms of suffering (*dukkha*). This is an experience shared regardless of one’s religious beliefs, social and ethnic status, and individual circumstances. Everyone, everywhere at some point suffers – at birth, in sickness and in death – but also when confronted with an infinite variety of psychophysical experiences including, but not limited to unfulfilled needs, failing aspirations, mental and emotional anguish, and physical discomfort.

In the *Dhammacakkappavattana-sutta* (*Setting in Motion the Wheel of Dharma*), the Buddha proclaimed that lack of satisfaction is a pervasive human condition, but he did not single out an ‘I’ that suffers. This is a crucial point. Instead of highlighting a personal experience of suffering the Buddha avoided theorizing on a substantive ‘I’ outside the field of perception and experience, not unlike the thesis promoted by the Scottish philosopher David Hume (1711-1776) that ‘self identity’ is fiction.<sup>6</sup> The field of neuroscience confirms the Buddhist view of the doctrine of ‘a non-localizable, non-substantial self’ (*annatā*) that has challenging implications not only for the cognitive sciences but also for economic theory (Zsolnai 2011). Significant is the work of Francisco Varela and others (1993) in a direction that frames the alienation of abstract individualism along the lines of believing in an essentialized, permanent and fixed self.

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<sup>6</sup> There are fruitful parallels between Buddhism and Hume on that matter, as noted by Lesser (1979:58): “[Hume concludes] that ‘[persons] are nothing but a bundle or collection of different perceptions which succeed each other with an inconceivable rapidity, and are in perpetual flux and movement.’...Buddhist writers typically make the same point by analyzing a person into the ‘Five Aggregates’ [*khandhās*]. Since a person is nothing more than the sum of these five aggregates, and since soul, in the sense of a permanent unchanging subject of consciousness [viz., the self], cannot be identified with one or more of the five, soul cannot exist...It seems clear that Hume and the Buddhists say the same thing for the same reasons: both analyze the ‘soul’ [viz., *sense* of self] into a series of events or processes, and do so because this is what experience reveals.”

Dispelling the fiction of an immutable self predisposes us to respond to life with a renewed humility and openness without channelling our quest for self knowledge into new forms of egocentric narcissism. It is evident, yet not fully explored, that our self-notions shape our cherished socio-political beliefs and expectations concerning the arrangement of our collective experiences and our participation as citizens of a planetary ecosystem that has felt the disastrous strains of unbridled consumerism. Long time ago, Veblen (1899) noted how our economic reality inspires us to channel our predatory impulses to achieve social status through consumption. Magnuson (2011: 98), commenting on Veblen's work, notes a present-day circularity of self-serving thoughts informing our actions and our actions in turn informing our way of thinking about ourselves and the environment. He writes: "This ongoing, mutually reinforcing process becomes reified into institutional structures. These institutional structures evolve into systems, which control economic activity. In this way, economic activity can be directed in a pathological way, and at the same time reinforce pathological ways of thinking."

This brings us to the second Noble Truth that investigates the roots of dissatisfaction in our lives, which have much to do with an understanding of 'who we are' as they do with the ways we talk or remain silent about it and which in turn reinforce our perception as suffering subjects. The origins of suffering are inseparable from our craving (*tanha*) 'to become something or someone' (*bhava tanha*), 'to gratify sense pleasures' (*kama tanha*), and to resort to all kinds of mental, emotional and physical stratagems to satisfy our desires and avoid that which is physically, mentally and emotionally unpleasant (*vibhava tanha*). Craving after self-gratification is never fulfilled in any ultimate or final way precisely because there is no self to occupy and fill with pleasure. The acknowledgement that suffering originates in ignorance of the relational nature of desire leads us to the third Noble Truth that states that "all that is subject to arising is also subject to ceasing." In other words, *dukkha* ceases when we eradicate the cause of suffering – namely, ignorance in regards to desire's mode of arising and ceasing. Individuals who do not pathologically cling onto a notion of a fixed identity are more apt to assess complex situations with clarity and be more effective in making decisions which are not overshadowed by destructive emotions and self-referential thoughts. They also enjoy a higher degree of happiness and contentment, for the "more bounded, unique and independent is

our sense of self, the more we tend to take personal responsibility and blame ourselves for failure to make the 'right' choice" (Ash 2007: 210).<sup>7</sup>

Stated from another perspective, suffering is caused when our three root impulses, 'passion/desire towards desirable objects,' 'aggression/anger towards undesirable objects,' and 'delusion/ignorance towards neutral objects,' are essentialized and turn into greed (*lobha*), enmity (*dosa*), and deluded habits (*moha*). These 'poisons' affect individuals and their relations with others and they have implications for institutions, society and the natural world at large. As summarized by Helena Norberg-Hodge, the Director of International Society for Ecology and Culture, our actions need to ensure that politics shift from the 'virtues of products' to the 'virtues of people':

The three poisons of greed, hatred, and delusion are to some extent present in every human being, but cultural systems either encourage or discourage these traits. Today's global consumer culture nurtures the three poisons on both an individual and societal level. At the moment, \$450 billion is spent annually on advertising worldwide, with the aim of convincing three-year-old children that they need things they never knew existed, such as Coca-Cola and plastic Rambos with machine guns. Before the rise of consumerism, cultures existed in which this type of greed was virtually nonexistent. Thus we cannot conclude that the acquisitiveness and materialism of people trapped in the global economic system are an inevitable product of human nature. Instead we need to recognize the near impossibility of uncovering our Buddha natures in a global culture of consumerism and social atomization.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Kriger and Seng (2005) building on the work of contingency leadership theorists, argued that effective leadership behaviour depends on four aspects namely: 1) on-going observation by the leader of subtle changes in his or her surrounding environment; 2) on-going real-time self-observation of the often subtle changes in the inner world of the leader (i.e., complex interactions among thoughts, feelings, intuitions, inspirations, and creative imagination); 3) an on-going aspiration to transcend the duality of "self" and "other" (to "self-actualize" in the terminology of Maslow); and 4) a deep wish to serve others to eliminate or decrease human suffering.

<sup>8</sup> Helena Norberg-Hodge (2001: 21). There have been several important studies published on the topic of Buddhist economics and ecology inspired by the pioneer work of E.F. Schumacher *Small is Beautiful: Economics as if People Mattered* (1973). In his important contribution to Buddhist economic theory, Payutto (1994: 42) comments that in classical economic models, unlimited desires are controlled by scarcity, but from a Buddhist perspective they are controlled by an appreciation of moderation and the objective of well-being. He explains that "when the goal of economic activity is

The fourth Noble Truth is prescriptive in that it outlines the practical means and methods for the cessation of the cause of ignorance and its accompanying forms of discontent. These means are subsumed in the 'Eightfold Path,' comprising eight stages of ethical management: 1) right view, 2) right intention, 3) right speech, 4) right action, 5) right livelihood, 6) right effort, 7) right mindfulness, and 8) right concentration. These aspects of self-practice do not form distinct disciplines in a hierarchical or sequential order. They are in mutual support to each other, while central to all is the right view of no-self, which leads to the development of wisdom (*pañña*). The notion of 'right' is here understood as the perfection of practice that stems from the union of application and knowledge, while all preoccupations, beliefs and actions informed by the existence of a perpetual self are wrong views (*micchādiṅṅi*). The five aggregates that represent all the psycho-physical aspects of individuality bear the characteristics of impermanence, suffering and mutability and therefore cannot be taken as permanent substances; they are *anatta* (no-self). A person holding wrong views concerning the aggregates will not be released from suffering and suffer precisely for holding such mistaken conceptions. More on this point the Buddha defined six wrong views (MN. I.2): "There is self existing in me, there is self not existing in me, I recognize self as self, I recognize self as not-self, I recognize not self as self, the self which exists in me and which feels, experiences here and there the fruition of good and bad deeds, is permanent, stable, eternal and unchangeable."

The cultivation of right intention is based on good will, non-violence and non-attachment. As for right speech in the *Abhaya Sutta* (MN 58), the Buddha instructs Prince Abhaya when it is proper not to speak at all, and when it is proper to speak only at the right time. Concerning remaining silent: "In the case of words that the Tathagata knows to be unfactual, untrue, unbeneficial, unendearing and disagreeable to others, he does not say them. In the case of words that the Tathagata knows to be factual, true, unbeneficial, unendearing and disagreeable to others, he does not say them. In the case of words that the Tathagata knows to be unfactual, untrue, unbeneficial, but endearing and agreeable to others, he does not say them. In the case of words that the Tathagata knows to be factual, true, unbeneficial, but endearing and agreeable to others, he does not say them." In all

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seen to be the satisfaction of desires, economic activity is open ended and without clear definition-desires are endless. According to the Buddhist approach, economic activity must be controlled by the qualification that it is directed to the attainment of well-being rather than the "maximum satisfaction" sought after by traditional economic thinking."

other cases, the proper time of speaking ought to be observed: “In the case of words that the Tathagata knows to be factual, true, beneficial, but unendearing and disagreeable to others, he has a sense of the proper time for saying them. In the case of words that the Tathagata knows to be factual, true, beneficial, and endearing and agreeable to others, he has a sense of the proper time for saying them.”<sup>9</sup> Central to the discourse of right speech is sensitivity towards the effect language has on others. Nowhere is it expressed that what is endearing but untrue should be uttered – in other words, freedom of speech is not free of responsibility.

The practice of morality (*sīla*) is dependent on right speech, right action (i.e., abstaining from killing, stealing and sexual misconduct), and right livelihood that precludes making profit from occupations that harm sentient beings. Five inappropriate ways of making a living are listed in the *Vaniija Sutta* (AN 5.177): 1) commerce in weapons and instruments of killing; 2) trading in human beings (slavery, prostitution, etc); 3) trading in animals for meat consumption, including breeding them for that purpose; 4) manufacturing and selling intoxicants, drugs and alcohol; and 5) trading in poisons or substances whose purpose is to kill.

Lastly, right effort or endeavour requires making a conscious effort to forsake harmful thoughts, speech and actions, and prevent their habitual or new arising. At the same time it entails cultivating virtuous qualities that have not arisen and sustaining those which are present. Right mindfulness necessitates familiarizing oneself with a vigilant yet detached observation of physical and mental phenomena as they arise and subside in the present moment, while right concentration entails withdrawing from unwholesome mental attitudes, stilling thoughts and judgments, and remaining mindful, balanced and alert with internal assurance. Right effort, mindfulness and concentration lead to mental stability and meditation (*samādhi*).

At the crux of the matter are misleading views of individuality perpetuated in social and ideological mechanisms, and in political and economic institutions. A Buddhist approach challenges Cartesian dualism that divides the world between self and other, and assigns the individual a monadic consciousness alienated and detached from the larger contexts from where he emerges, and on which his happiness and prosperity depends upon. The absence of an essentialist concept

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<sup>9</sup> Translated from Pali by Thanissaro Bhikkhu.

of self does not lead to nihilism or radical relativism, but makes the cultivation of individuality possible as the by-product of human discipline and effort, while self-control and agency are not theorized outside the path of cultivation. Unlike Western liberal political thought where humans are abstract bearers of particular rights, in Buddhism individuals are relational, context-embedded beings where these abstract rights may be of little consequence if they do not correspond to a pragmatic goal that leads to harmonious co-existence with others and freedom from suffering.

### **The Bodhisattva Training: The Discipline of Self as Altruistic Practice**

The training of the bodhisattva, from Sanskrit a 'being geared toward awakening' offers an integrated model for self cultivation as a form of altruistic practice. In Mahāyāna contexts, a bodhisattva trains in six types of disciplines known as *pāramitā*, a term that has been commonly translated as perfections. The Eightfold Path is included in the six perfections and there are many interpretations of the *pāramitā* relevant to different life aspects and activities. Here I have divided them in two groups insofar as the first three require the presence of others for their perfection and the last three concern self-application. This division is arguably artificial, but it may well serve the purpose of illustrating an eventual synthesis at a later stage of integration where self and other are no longer conceived as immutable structures in competition or symbiosis with each other, but as operational categories in a nexus of intentional and unintentional interactions.<sup>10</sup>

#### *A. Perfecting oneself through the other*

The Discipline of generosity, giving of oneself (Skt. *dāna*)

The acknowledgement of the first Noble Truth may trigger empathy and compassion not just towards friends and family, but also towards strangers and foes, since everyone regardless of their relationship to us experiences suffering at different times and at various degrees of intensity. Hence, equanimity should guide the discipline of giving that may include material assistance (i.e., money,

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<sup>10</sup> While both Śrāvakayāna and Bodhisattvayāna schools agree on the conventional existence of self, they radically differ on the necessity for there to be anything, like the elements (or dharmas) which are said to exist substantially. Although these are important philosophical differences, they do not bear in the overall argument of this paper.

food, shelter), providing services in the form of sharing knowledge, understanding and empathy, and also offering protection to those who are afraid, require protection such as, children, elderly, animals, and so forth. Like all disciplines this one is practiced to perfection when it is executed with a mind free from ulterior motives, expectations and self-recognition. Generally, there are two types of advantages in the perfection of the discipline of generosity: 1) being of service and benefit to others, and 2) cultivating non-attachment towards one's own possessions and accomplishments and thus minimizing the poisons of greed and miserliness. It also implies placing others before oneself, offering with generosity one's time, being available and sensitive to their needs and upholding the most skilful means to bring about their welfare.

#### The Discipline of morality and proper conduct (Skt. *śīla*)

Generally there are two aspects of morality: avoiding negative actions, thoughts and speech which are harmful to self and other, and cultivating what is positive and constructive. There are many ways of discussing the importance of ethical discipline for the welfare of individuals embedded in communities and the physical environment. Morality applies equally to thought-patterns, speech-acts and physical actions, and there is a variety of ways for developing moral sensibility in these respects. Generally speaking, the practice of morality involves avoiding ten unwholesome actions: 1) killing sentient life-forms; 2) taking what was not given; 3) engaging in sexual misconduct; 4) lying; 5) giving into divisive speech; 6) speaking harshly; 7) chattering with frivolity; 8) harbouring covetous thoughts; 9) having hostile thoughts; and 10) holding onto false views about the self and the world. The notion of 'karma,' which means both 'action' and 'intention' plays an important role in Buddhist discourses on morality, for it prescribes consequences to every gross and subtle action. The Buddha stated: "It is intention (*cetanā*) monks, that I call *karma*; intending one does karma through body, speech, or mind" (*Aṅguttara Nikāya*, III, 410).

#### The Discipline of patience, tolerance and forbearance (Skt. *kṣānti*)

The importance of being tolerant and acceptant of different opinions and maintaining flexibility in one's dealings with others are vital qualities of the discipline of patience. Patience also implies forbearance in the face of obstacles, opposition and frictions that rise during the course of daily life; carrying on

despite difficulties without losing our composure and inner tranquility, and being free of resentment, irritation, or retaliation. Feeling grateful for the lessons one receives from others contributes to the development of tolerance and it is fundamentally a non-violent approach to conflict resolution. It is a method for developing objectivity towards oneself and others equally.

*B. Self-perfection with effort and through awareness*

The Discipline of diligence and effort (Skt. *vīrya*)

Diligence is an antidote to laziness and despair. It implies a consistent level of inspiration for discovering new things and for exerting and maintaining a driving force, zeal and sufficient energy to complete tasks and accomplish the responsibilities entrusted in one's post and during one's life. Perseverance, endurance and fortitude are virtues subsumed in this discipline and are essential qualities for learning, self-development and seeing things to an end.

The Discipline of one-pointed concentration (Skt. *dhyāna*)

This training requires maintaining concentration and mindfulness during one's work, learning not to get distracted by surrounding events or by one's inner thoughts and emotions. Through a peaceful and steady mind, we can easily accomplish our objectives. In the Buddhist teachings, there are numerous meditation techniques for cultivating mastery over one self, learning to be unmoved by external distractions and maintaining 'inner peace' regardless of the ways phenomena appear in the world and in one's own mind. Essential to all mindfulness techniques is the observation of one's experiences (mental, emotional or physical) as discontinuous and momentary. A moment of consciousness arises, dwells for an instance and then it vanishes only to be replaced by the next moment of consciousness. We do not need to have faith in Buddhism to justify this kind of perceptual framing. It is validated by experience.

The Discipline of wisdom (Skt. *prajñā*)

This is no ordinary wisdom that comes through age and experience, but one that arises through investigating, recognizing and accepting reality as it is without being carried away by the deception of the physical senses and our mental fabrications of how things should be. In its practice this is the most crucial of

disciplines for it properly informs the other five by relinquishing false notions concerning the self and the world as two events that occur independently of one another. At the heart of the perfection of the discipline of wisdom is the acceptance that phenomena, in an ultimate sense, neither arise nor cease. "Moment by moment, new experiences happen and are gone. It is a rapidly shifting stream of momentary mental occurrences. Furthermore, the shiftiness includes the perceiver as much as the perception. There is no experiencer, no landing platform for experiences" (Varela, Thomson and Rosch, 1991: 60). This is a radical break from substantializing thinking and an active proscription towards cultivating mindfulness and awareness of the present. It generally has three stages of training: at first one has to listen, learn and rely on the authority of expert testimony of those proficient in these methods; the second relies on the application of inference and logical reasoning; and the third relies on direct experience that usually comes through meditation and single-pointed concentration into the nature of reality (Conze 1975: 164).

When the *pāramitā* of wisdom is refined, all other disciplines are perfected by minimizing vested interest, which is to say they are performed without clinging unto a notion of doer, a notion of doing, and the notion that something has been done. The awareness that the nature of interactions in which the self engages actually changes the structure of perception allows for a more textured understanding of our mental processes, while conceptions of 'self' and 'other' are exposed as dual constructions of a singular perceptual process.

With the recognition of previously unperceived patterns of conditioning in which the self is implicated, the possibility of cognitive transformation is made possible and personal growth is enhanced. As the barriers between mind and self-interpretive contexts are challenged, causes and their effects, things and their attributes, and the mind of the inquiring subject and its object are seen to be equally co-dependent on the other. These insights are articulated in detail in the Śrāvākayāna and Bodhisattvayāna teachings, and especially in the work of the Mahāyāna philosopher Acharya Nāgārjuna. In the *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā*, on the chapter on causality (1:1), he succinctly states: "Neither from itself nor from another, nor from both, nor without a cause, does anything whatever, anywhere arise." In other words, no thing, aspect or attribute exists autonomously solely by virtue of its own nature, or being. This is a reformulation of the doctrine of psychophysical causation, or co-dependent origination (*pañiccasamuppāda*), a

cardinal teaching of the Buddha that denies the possibility of any permanent substance.<sup>11</sup>

The philosophical implications of the doctrine of emptiness and dependent origination are far too many and fall beyond the scope of this paper. Nevertheless, the lack of fixed substances in the world implies that there is a good chance that expanded forms of consciousness and higher-order of thinking can emerge in all of us despite rival claims held by theories of social or biological determinism. Emptiness is no other than the condition and promise for fullness. The interdependence and mutual conditioning of phenomena suggests that people have an effect on their environment not only by their physical actions, but also through their mental attitudes, what in some schools of thought has been called “cognitive autopoiesis.”<sup>12</sup> In every act of understanding there is, potentially or partially, an evocative power to influence one’s surroundings in concrete and tangible ways. The inverse holds true as one’s environment may have a positive or negative effect on one’s actions and mental dispositions. In fact their deep-rooted interrelation is conventionally translated through the concept of causation (*karma*), which can be worked out in both positive and negative consequences. Karma is a process of intention that gives rise to volitional action, the accumulation of effects, tendencies and responses, both wholesome and unwholesome. Awareness of one’s intention may serve as a direct method to cut the chain of repetitive patterns of suffering and one’s conditional and compulsive mode of arising.

### **From Self to Selflessness and Back: The Relational Self**

We must die as egos and be born  
Again in the swarm, not separate and self-hypnotized  
But individual and related.  
(Henry Miller, *Sexus*).

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<sup>11</sup> Majjhima Nikāya (28): “Whoever sees dependent co-arising sees the doctrine.” The truth of the conditioned production of suffering (*saṁsāra*) is philosophically elaborated through the standard formulation of the twelve-link origination which, according to the Buddhist tradition, the Buddha discovered during the night of his enlightenment. He recognized that in its reverse order it revealed the way to liberation from discomfort (*nirovāṇa*). Thus, the standard presentation of the twelvefold formula explains the second noble truth, namely that there is discontent, its reverse enumeration explains the fourth noble truth, namely that there is a path that leads beyond frustration.

<sup>12</sup> For Varela et al (1980) and in subsequent publications the concept of *autopoiesis* (Grk. for self-creation) has been increasingly associated with cognition.

Current economic and political models uphold personal freedom on the grounds that society exists for the fulfilment of the individual defined according to universal rights. Following this reasoning, social, political and economic institutions are created by man as a necessary institutional framework within which the individual formulates, pursues and protects his own goals. The much vaunted freedom of choice characteristic of Western society is grounded therefore, in a concept of self according to which an individual regulates his conduct and shapes his choices according to his own perceived needs and wants with little interest towards the needs of his family, community and the natural world. If the relationship between the personal, social and political 'self' can be more clearly delineated, then the processes of socialization, political development and liberal democracy may become better understood both in their obvious benefits and unseen shortcomings. Payutto (1994b: 8-9) notes that in our current democratic climate, we tend to give more attention to our rights and liberties, and "we forget that there are duties required of us." He explains that "rights must arise with duties, and those who perform their duties will value their rights highly. It is the duty of a democratic government to create an awareness of the importance of duties, so that people understand that rights obtained are to be offset by duties performed."

In my paper, I have attempted to introduce the concept of the individual from a Buddhist perspective, and it might be useful to summarize some of the different levels of analysis implied by such a concept. The study of self in Buddhism requires a multileveled approach, for understanding at any one level should be compared and eventually reconciled with all other levels. At the beginning level of analysis, we acknowledge active human agents in society. This seems so basic and it goes without saying - after all, every known community seems to have found it necessary to assign distinct names and responsibility to its members. However, this type of investigation is only a first step and takes us almost nowhere. Both in Buddhism and in western models, the individual must be conceived to be capable of motivated action and initiating decisions; in other words, the individual must constitute a locus capable of action. As argued by Collins (1994: 67), "one might say that human beings are articulated conceptually as agents, by themselves and in relation to each other, in different ways, in different discourses." Nevertheless, the notion of the individual's volition does not turn him into an independent and substantial entity. The mind and the physical body of man are not understood as singular units but as the by-

production of aggregates arising according to causes and conditions. The sense of relative individuality that emerges must be 'illuminated from within'; that is to say, it is crucial that the individual becomes aware of what he designates as self and by extension his actions which are predicated or capable of being predicated upon this notion of self or I. At a deeper level of analysis, the emptiness of self is not merely a discovery but a discipline. When one's awareness looks upon itself, it realizes that there is no hidden substance or self lurking in or beyond the process of investigation, and that it cannot be affected in any fundamental way from the objects that manifest within the cognitive field. Becoming cognizant of the cognitive act is a basic activity of intelligent systems, but when one correctly understands the cognitive process as a conditioned phenomenon, one abandons a self-centred investigation into the past, present and future. The Buddhist teachings provide a variety of skilful techniques to illustrate how cognition shapes our perception of the world rather than reflecting a fixed external reality already in existence. The examination of oneself through mindfulness/awareness meditation is devoid of the practice of confession as there is no hidden subject to be discovered, purged or freed, but the very process of being conscious of the self emerging as a relational process of the five aggregates.

I have attempted to show that a nuanced reading of Buddhist scriptures does not centre on a false dichotomy between self and non-self, but rather on the species of individuality that are possible and desirable following the application of the teachings on selflessness and impermanence. The phrase 'self-conscious' is appropriate if by this we understand that it is at this point that the individual begins to clearly differentiate between an unimpeded field of awareness (Skt. *nirvāṇa*) on the one hand, and notions of individuality reified by craving and clinging after elusive and impermanent phenomena (Skt. *saṃsāra*), on the other. The ethical training outlined in the 'eightfold path' and the 'six *pāramitā*' is particularly important in that it allows for a holistic intervention against false attributions of agency and possession towards people and things that lack both capacities, while dispelling behaviours that result from acting in accordance to misleading attributions.

The combination of these approaches to the subject of individuality yields the type of view we may label as the discipline of the 'relational self' embodying a

concept of the self in an interdependent and expanded sense.<sup>13</sup> 'Relational-model' theories of mind have been described by Mitchell (1988:3-4) as follows:

In this vision, the basic unit of study is not the individual as a separate entity whose desires clash with an external reality, but an interactional field within which the individual arises and struggles to make contact and articulate himself. Desire is experienced always in the context of relatedness, and it is that context which defines meaning. Mind is composed of relational configurations... Experience is understood as structured through interactions.

What may emerge from our observations of a Buddhist notion of a 'centerless self,' is the production of a 'relational self' dependent upon causal operations that manifest in changing contexts and along ever-shifting connections transpiring in the natural and social world. These ways of looking and assessing our individual subjectivity bear implications beyond the fields of psychology and cognitive studies. The discourse on selflessness is very much a prescriptive discourse on self-cultivation, renunciation and liberation from bondage that is suffering. One cannot theoretically recreate or anticipate the results of personal and social transformation, one has to embody the transformation and experience the world through it. The self-abandoning/self-cultivating approach of Buddhism offers a fundamental challenge to existing models of individuality and the politics of self as constructed by consumer-based structures operating under the banner of democracy. The ideas, beliefs and dogmas that we hold about who we are, are in fact not restricted to the level of ideology. They figure at the source of our present environmental, economic and social crises in that they reflect in direct and concrete ways the kinds of systems (educational, social and political) we support willingly or unwillingly, consciously or unconsciously. Foucault's comments in the preface to Gilles Deleuze's *Anti-Oedipus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia* (xiii) resonate with some of the concerns that we addressed here:

Do not demand of politics that it restore the 'rights' of the individual, as philosophy had defined them. The individual is the product of power. What is needed is to 'de-individualize' by means of multiplication and displacement, diverse combinations. The group must not be the organic

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<sup>13</sup> The concept of 'relational self' has been used by several heterogeneous schools of psychoanalysis; for a discussion of related literature and debates, see Schapiro (1994).

bond uniting hierarchized individuals, but a constant generator of deindividualization.

The starting point for social change in a democratic system cannot rest on the demands we place on governing others, but on the demands we place on defining and governing ourselves. In other words, the self is not defined according to its civil rights and right to liberty, but as a liberating discipline and form of practice.

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### 3

## **Introduction to the Collected Works of the Founder of the Drukpa Kagyu ('Brug pa bKa' brgyud) School: Tsangpa Gyare (gTsang pa rgya ras, 1161-1211)\***

Seiji Kumagai, Thupten Gawa and Yasuda Akinori

### **Introduction**

In this century, large-scale economic problems, such as the U.S. Lehman shock and the European economic crisis have successively occurred, causing the whole of international society to see the limits of an economy-driven society. In such a situation, the concept of GNH (Gross National Happiness) has begun to attract attention from all over the world. This principle was first advocated by the Fourth King of Bhutan, His Majesty Jigme Singye Wangchuck (1955-), as the counterpart to GNP (Gross National Product) or GDP (Gross Domestic Product). Recently, more and more Western scholars have begun to focus on and research this concept. However, in order to understand the concept of GNH precisely, it is necessary to grasp the basis of the Bhutanese way of life, thought, and so on, especially Bhutanese Buddhism.

Against such a background, Dr Seiji KUMAGAI (Kyoto Women's University) started the Bhutanese Buddhism Research Project (BBRP) in collaboration with Dasho Karma Ura (Centre for Bhutan Studies).<sup>\*</sup> This project has three pillars, that is to say [1] "past" (philological research on ancient historical and philosophical texts), [2] "present" (anthropological field research on the present Buddhist

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<sup>\*</sup> BBRP officially started on January 10<sup>th</sup>, 2012. On that day, the President Dasho Karma Ura (CBS) and Dr. Seiji Kumagai (Kyoto University) held a press conference at Kyoto University, where they signed documents establishing the BBRP, before Professor Yoshiro Imaeda (CNRS) and in the presence of the Japanese media.

condition), and [3] "future" (inter-disciplinary research for happiness in future society).

Among the above three pillars, we first need to conduct research on "past" Bhutanese Buddhism, that is to say, its history and philosophy, in order to understand the essence of Bhutanese Buddhism. Fortunately, exhaustive historical research on Bhutanese Buddhism has been already done by foreign researchers such as Michael Aris and Yoshiro Imaeda using Western academic methodology, and so it is possible to easily grasp its general history. On the other hand, philosophical research on Bhutanese Buddhism has yet to be done. There are two major schools: *Drukpa Kagyu* ('*Brug pa bka' brgyud*) and *Nyingma* (*rNying ma*) in Bhutan. Contrary to the latter, the former has not yet been academically researched in detail. Thus, we have first begun to study the philosophy of Tsangpa Gyare Yeshe Dorje (gTsang pa rgya ras Ye shes rdo rje, 1161-1211), the founder of the *Drukpa Kagyu* school. We have started to compose a critical edition and English translation of his collected works (*gsung 'bum*). In this paper, we introduce and analyze the general outline of Tsangpa Gyare's collected works.

## 1. Tsangpa Gyare<sup>1</sup>

The *Drukpa Kagyu* is a sub-school of the *Phagmo Drupa Kagyu* (*Phag mo gru pa bka' brgyud*) school, which in turn is a sub-school of the *Kagyu* (*bKa' brgyud*) school. Its founder is Tsangpa Gyare, disciple of Ling Repa Pema Dorje (gLing ras pa Padma rdo rje, 1128-1188), who is a disciple of Phagmo Drupa Dorje Gyalpo (*Phag mo gru pa rDo rje rgyal po*, 1110-1170). He was regarded as the reincarnation of the Indian yogin Nāropa (11<sup>th</sup> century).

Tsangpa Gyare, belonging to *Gya* (*rGya*) clan,<sup>2</sup> was born in 1161 near the sacred mountain *Hewo Gangwa Zangpo* (*He bo gang ba bzang po*) in Upper Nyang (*mNyang stod*) in Tsang region. He was thus called Tsangpa Gyare, meaning "he who is from Tsang region, belongs to *Gya* clan, and wears *Ray* (*ras*: cotton cloths)." He was the youngest of seven sons. At the age of eleven in 1171, he became a disciple of Tathangpa (*rTa thang pa*).<sup>3</sup> In his teenage years, he learned both *sūtra*

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<sup>1</sup> Concerning the life of Tsangpa Gyare, see Imaeda [2011: 19-21], Miller [2005: 389-396], and so forth.

<sup>2</sup> Concerning the *Gya* clan, see Stein [1972: 10-11] and Vitali [2004].

<sup>3</sup> While Imaeda [2011: 20] says that Tsangpa Gyare went into the monastery at the age of eleven, Miller [2005: 390] says he was twelve years old. It seems that Imaeda follows the description of *Ra lung gser 'phreng* and Miller follows Roerich [1949]. This issue needs to be reexamined.

and *tantra*, from *Abhidharma* and *Pramāṇa* to *Dzogchen* (*rDzogs chen*). At the age of twenty two in 1182, he met Ling Repa in *Ralung* (*Ra lung*) near his birth place and studied with him for five years. After Ling Repa's death, Tsangpa Gyare inherited his teacher's disciples. He established Longdol (*Klong rdol*) monastery in around 1193 and then Druk ('*Brug*) monastery<sup>4</sup> in 1205.

When he died in 1211, Tsangpa Gyare left the two principal monasteries, *Ralung* (*Ra lung*) and *Druk* ('*Brug*) to his nephew Dharma Sengge (Dharma Seng ge, 1177-1237). Dharma Sengge was the youngest of four children of Lanyen (Lha nyan), the elder brother of Tsangpa Gyare.

In the period of Dharma Sengge, Pajo Dugom Zhikpo (Pha jo 'Brug sgom zhig po, 1184-1251) was sent to Bhutan. This was the first official mission to Bhutan by the *Drukpa Kagyu* school. Pajo Dugom Zhikpo, from the *Kham* region, came to *Ralung* monastery to study *Drukpa Kagyu* doctrine. He was sent to western Bhutan by Dharma Sengge's order, in accordance with Tsangpa Gyare's testament. He established several monasteries including *Tango* (*rTa mgo*), situated above *Thimphu* valley. He had several children in western Bhutan, and they established a good foundation for the *Drukpa Kagyu* school there.

Tsangpa Gyare himself established the *Drukpa Kagyu* school only in southern Tibet and could not visit Bhutan, but apparently had an intention to missionize in Bhutan. The *Drukpa Kagyu* school thus spread into Bhutan, not accidentally but intentionally.

## 2. Collected Works of Tsangpa Gyare

Tsangpa Gyare has been venerated as the founder of the *Drukpa Kagyu* school and his biography has been studied in Bhutan and elsewhere. However, no exhaustive research into the whole of his works, inside or outside of Bhutan, has been conducted because many of his texts were not accessible easily. That is why it has been difficult to grasp his doctrine as a whole. But it became much easier to access his works by grace of the publication of his collected works by the Bhutanese Monastic Body in 2011.

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<sup>4</sup> According to a transmission, it thundered when Tsangpa Gyare performed the completion ceremony of this monastery. The thunder is believed to be the roar of "dragon" ('*brug, druk*), so this monastery was called *Druk* ('*Brug*), and its school was named *Drukpa* ('*Brug pa*). See Imaeda [2011: 20].

Now we can access the following three collected works of Tsangpa Gyare:

1. *The Collected Works (Gsu□-Bum) of Gtsa□-pa Rgya-ras Ye-śes-rdo-rje: Reproduced from Rare Manuscripts and Blockprints Belonging to Various Lamas and Notables of Ladakh* (Darjeeling: Kargyud Sungrab Nyamso Khang, 1972; repr. TBRC, No. 0848)--- called the “Ladakhi Collection” here.
2. *'Gro-ba'i mgon-po chos-rjer gtsan-pa rgya-ras ye-shes rdo-rje mchog-gi gsun-'bum rin-po-che* (Kathmandu: Shri Gautama Buddha Vihara, 1998; repr. TBRC, No. 2761)--- called the “Nepalese Collection” here.
3. *'Brug lugs gsung rab phyogs bsdebs las chos rje gtsang pa rgya ras kyi bka' 'bum glegs bam ka pa bzhugs so* and *'Brug lugs gsung rab phyogs bsdebs las chos rje gtsang pa rgya ras kyi bka' 'bum glegs bam kha pa bzhugs so* (Thimphu: The Bhutanese Monastic Body, 2011) --- called the “Bhutanese Collection” here.

### **2-1. Ladakhi Collection (repr. TBRC, No. 0848)**

In 1972, a collection was published in Darjeeling called *The Collected Works (Gsu□-Bum) of Gtsa□-pa Rgya-ras Ye-śes-rdo-rje: Reproduced from Rare Manuscripts and Blockprints Belonging to Various Lamas and Notables of Ladakh* (Darjeeling: Kargyud Sungrab Nyamso Khang, 1972). As explained in its preface, the manuscripts and blockprints were collected on loan from various masters and notables of Ladakh.

This collection includes the following six works in *dBu med* script (and also two related texts in *dBu can* script).

1. *rJe rtsang (i.e. gtsang) pa rgya ras kyi nam thar* (The biography of the master Tsangpa Gyare), pp. 1-242.
2. *Chos rje rin po che rtsang (i.e. gtsang) pa rgya ras pa'i nam thar mgur 'bum dang bcas pa shin tu rgyas pa* (Extensive biography with sacred songs of the dharma master Tsangpa Gyare), pp. 243-293.
3. *rJe 'gro ba'i mgon po rgya ras pa'i tshogs chos mno 'khor ma* (The treatise for understanding of the collected instructions of the dharma master and protector of beings Tsangpa Gyare), pp. 295-399.
4. *Rin po che rtsang (i.e. gtsang) pa rgya ras pa'i tshogs chos mno 'khor rin chen 'phreng ba* (The precious garland: the treatise for understanding of the collected instructions of the master Tsangpa Gyare), pp. 401-431.

5. *Chos rje gtsang pa rgya ras mdzad pa'i tshogs chos mno 'khor chung ba* (The summarized treatise for understanding of the collected instructions of the dharma master Tsangpa Gyare), pp. 433-462.
6. *Chos kyi rje gtsang pa rgya ras kyis mdzad pa'i 'tshang 'don dug gi tsher ma* (Removal of faults such as poisonous thorn, composed by the dharma master Tsangpa Gyare), pp. 463-487.

## 2-2. Nepalese Collection (repr. TBRC, No. 0848)

In 1998, the next collected works by Tsangpa Gyare was published in Kathmandu. It is called '*Gro-ba'i mgon-po chos-rjer tsa□-pa rgya-ras ye-shes rdo-rje mchog-gi gsu□-'bum rin-po-che bzhu-gs-so*'. This collection includes the following twenty four works. However, the first work is not a treatise, but only a catalogue of this collection, so we can regard the total number of his works to be twenty three.

1. '*Gro ba'i mgon po gtsang pa rgya ras pa'i gsung 'bum dkar chag mthong ba don ldan* (The catalogue of this collection, worthy to be read, composed by the protector of beings Tsangpa Gyare), pp. 1-4.
2. '*Gro mgon rin po che'i gsung mgur gyi rim pa* (A series of spiritual songs by the protector of beings Tsangpa Gyare), pp. 5-185.
3. *Chos rje 'gro mgon gyi zhal gdams springs yig gi skor rnams* (Oral instructions on [how to write] epistles by the dharma master and protector of beings Tsangpa Gyare), pp. 187-236.
  - 4-1. *dPal ldan 'brug pa'i shog bsgril gyi zhal gdams* (Oral instructions on [how to treat] rolled paper of the glorious *Drukpa Kagyu* school), pp. 237-240.
  - 4-2. *sBubs ra'i bshad pa* (Explanation of eye protector), pp. 240-242.
  - 4-3. *rTen 'brel zhwa'i zhal gdams* (Oral instructions concerning the auspicious sign of the crown of Tsangpa Gyare), pp. 242-243.
  - 5-1. *Kha thor rin po che phreng ba* (The precious garland of fragmented texts), pp. 245-251.
  - 5-2. *Mu tig phreng ba zhes bya ba Lo ro ba skal ldan la gdams pa* (The pearl garland: oral instructions given to *Lo ro ba skal ldan*), pp. 251-258.

6. 'Jig rten blos btang rnams kyi bstan bcos tshogs chung mig gi sgron me (The lamp of eyes: a comprehensible treatise for renouncement of the [eight] world-systems), pp. 259-269.
7. *dGe sbyor bdun pa'i rtsa ba 'gro mgon rin po ches mdzad pa* (Root texts on seven virtuous practices, composed by the protector of beings Tsangpa Gyare), pp. 271-278.
8. 'Gag dril rin po che'i sgron me zhes bya ba chos rje 'gro mgon gyi bstan bcos (The precious lamp: a summary of the main points of the dharma master and protector of beings Tsangpa Gyare), pp. 279-307.
  - 9-1. *Tshig gi me tog gdams ngag gi dkar chag 'gro mgon rin po ches mdzad pa* (Flower of phrase: a catalogue of instructions, composed by the dharma master Tsangpa Gyare), pp. 309-313.
  - 9-2. *Bla ma 'brug pa'i zhal gdams* (Oral instruction of the Drukpa Kagyu master), pp. 313-314.
10. *Chos rje 'gro ba'i mgon po'i tshogs chos mno 'khor che ba* (The great treatise for understanding of the collected instructions of the dharma master and protector of beings Tsangpa Gyare), pp. 315-463.
11. *bKa' drin bcu gcig pa'i bshad 'bum 'phrul gyi me long* (The mirror of magic: one hundred thousand explanations about the eleven types of kindness), pp. 465-532.
12. *rNal 'byor bzhi yi zhal gdams chos rje 'gro mgon gyi mdzad pa* (The oral instructions concerning the four yogas, composed by the dharma master and protector of beings Tsangpa Gyare), pp. 533-542.
13. *rNal 'byor bzhi'i zhal gdams thugs kyi rdo rje la gnang ba* (Oral instructions of the four yogas, given to indivisible mind like a diamond), pp. 543-557.
14. *Phyag rgya chen pognas lugs dri med ces bya ba chos rje ras pa'i gdam ngag* (The pure essential nature of *Mahāmudrā*: instruction by the dharma master Tsangpa Gyare), pp. 559-576.
15. *gSer sgom gyi zhu lan rnal 'byor bzhi'i gdams pa dang bcas pa* (A response [to disciples] concerning the meditation of gold with instruction of the four yogas), pp. 577-589.
16. *Jo mo'i mngon rtogs* (The visualization practice of the yogini [Jo Mo]), pp. 591-612.
17. *rJe btsun ma'i tshogs mchod* (The feast offered to the chief of yoginis [Jetsunma]), pp. 613-625.

18. *bDud rtsi ril bu'i sgrub thabs 'gro mgon rin po ches mdzad pa* (The method to realize the *amrita* pills, composed by the dharma master Tsangpa Gyare), pp. 627-636.
19. *lHan skyes kyi lag len sgrub thabs gcig chog ma* (The all-purpose method to accomplish the practice of the Innate [Heruka]), pp. 637-648.
20. *gTum po khyung lnga'i sgrub thabs* (The method of practice of five fierce *garuda*), pp. 649-661.

### 2-3. Bhutanese Collection

The Bhutanese Monastic Body collected the works of the master Tsangpa Gyare scattered throughout Bhutan, edited them into *dBu can* script, and published them in two volumes (*ka* and *kha*) in 2011. The publication brought about the following three benefits: [1] Tsangpa Gyare's works, scattered in different places in Bhutan, were collected into one publication. [2] By grace of the *dBu can* edition made from *dBu med* manuscripts, we can more easily read his texts. [3] The biggest benefit is that the collection provides works which are not included in both the Ladakhi and Nepalese collections, so we can access much more of his works.

However, it is not necessarily completely satisfactory. There occurred no small amount of mistranscriptions even in the new edition. The edition moreover follows the style of the monastic tradition, so it is not a critical edition which identifies the source of each quotation. That is why we need to use it carefully in the case of academic use. In such a situation, Bhutanese Buddhism Research Project (BBRP) decided to collect all available manuscripts and editions, and make a critical edition.

Now we will list the volumes, titles, and their pages in the Bhutanese Collection as follows:

#### [Volume 1] *'Brug lugs gsung rab phyogs bsdebs las chos rje gtsang pa rgya ras kyi bka' 'bum glegs bam ka pa bzhugs so*

- I. [KA] *Chos rjes rin po che gtsang pa rgya ras pa'i rnam thar mgur 'bum dang bcas pa* (Biography with sacred songs of the dharma master Tsangpa Gyare), pp. 1.1-53.6.
- II. [KHA]

- II-1. *rTen 'brel gyi snying po rnam par bshad pa rtsa ba'i mdo* (The root sutra concerning the essence of interdependence: *pratītya-samutpāda*), pp. 55.1-57.4.
- II-2. *dPon grags pa ye shes la gnang ba'i si lu ma'i zhal gdams spring yig* (The epistle of the oral instruction of *Si lu ma*, given to the minister *Grags pa Ye shes*), pp. 57.4-63.3.
- II-3. *Rlung jo ye shes la gdams pa'i rten 'brel ngo sprod gnyis kyi zhal gdams* (Oral instructions on two kinds of introductions to interdependence (*pratītya-samutpāda*) given to the disciple *Rlungjo Yeshe*), pp. 63.3-70.2.
- II-4. *dPon grags pa ye shes la spring pa'i sgom thabs gnyis kyi zhal gdams* (Oral instructions on two ways of meditation, given to the minister *Grags pa Ye shes*), pp. 70.2-72.1.
- III. [GA] *Spyod pa chos kyi glu zhes bya ba 'byung ba ro snyoms kyi gdams ngag* (The instruction on the equal taste of the elements: dharma songs of religious behavior), pp. 73.1-93.5.
- IV. [NGA]
- IV-1. *Tshig gi me tog gdam ngag gi dkar chag 'gro mgon rin po ches mdzad pa* (Flower of phrase: a catalogue of instructions, composed by the dharma master Tsangpa Gyare), pp. 94.1-98.4.
- IV-2. *Bla ma 'brug pa'i zhal gdams* (Oral instruction of the Drukpa Kagyu master), pp. 98.4-99.6.
- V. [CA] *Bla ma'i sgrub thabs thugs rje nyi rgyas pa* (The compassion like the spreading sunlight: methods of practice to meditate on one's master), pp. 100.1-109.6.
- VI. [CHA] *Bla ma'i ngo sprod dmus long mig 'byed* (Guru's introduction which opens the eyes of a blind man), pp. 111.1-119.5.
- VII. [JA] *Bla ma sgrub pa'i zhal gdams kun gsal dri med ces bya ba chos rje 'gro mgon gyi gsung dri ma med pa* (The pure oral instruction, clarifying everything, concerning the practice for one's Guru: faultless speech of the dharma master and protector of beings), pp. 121.1-130.2.
- VIII. [NYA] *Phyag rgya chen po gnas lugs dri med ces bya ba chos rje ras pa'i gdam ngag* (The pure essential nature of *Mahāmudrā*: instruction by the dharma master Tsangpa Gyare), pp. 131.1-147.2.

- IX. [TA] *rNal 'byor bzhi yi zhal gdams chos rje 'gro mgon gyis mdzad pa* (The oral instructions concerning the four yogas, composed by the dharma master and protector of beings Tsangpa Gyare), pp. 149.1-158.1.
- X. [THA] *Phyag rgya chen po bka' drin bcu gcig ma'i (rtsa ba'i) gzhung* (The texts of the eleven types of kindness of *Mahāmudrā*, pp. 159.1-167.3.
- XI. [DA] *bKa' drin bcu gcig pa'i bshad 'bum 'phrul gyi me long* (The mirror of magic: one hundred thousand explanations about the eleven types of kindness), pp.169.1-236.5.
- XII. [NA] *gSer sgom gyi zhu lan rnal 'byor bzhi'i gdams pa* (A response [to disciples] concerning the meditation of gold with instruction of the four yogas), pp. 237.1-250.1.
- XIII. [PA] *rNal 'byor bzhi'i zhal gdams thugs kyi rdo rje la gnang ba* (Oral instructions on the four yogas, given to indivisible mind like a diamond), pp.251.1-264.4.
- XIV. [PHA] *'Gro mgon rin po che'i gsung mgur gyi rim pa* (A series of spiritual songs by the protector of beings Tsangpa Gyare), pp. 265.1-438.3.
- XV. [BA] *dGe sbyor bdun pa'i rtsa ba 'gro mgon rin po ches mdzad pa* (Root texts on seven virtuous practices, composed by the protector of beings Tsangpa Gyare), pp.439.1-445.5.
- XVI. [MA] *Chos rje 'gro mgon gyi zhal gdams springs yig gi bskor rnams* (Oral instructions on [how to write] epistle by the dharma master and protector of beings Tsangpa Gyare), pp. 449.1-495.4.
- XVII. [TSA]
- XVII-1. *dPal ldan 'brug pa'i shog bsgril gyi zhal gdams* (Oral instructions on [how to treat] rolled paper of the glorious *Drukpa Kagyu* school), pp. 497.1-500.3.
- XVII-2. *sBubs ra'i bshad pa* (Explanation of eye protector), pp. 500.4-502.3.
- XVII-3. *rTen 'brel zhwa'i zhal gdams* (Oral instructions concerning the auspicious sign of the crown of Tsangpa Gyare), pp. 502.3-503.4.
- XVIII. [TSHA]

XVIII-1. *Kha 'thor rin po che phreng ba* (The precious garland of fragmented texts), pp. 505.1-510.6.

XVIII-2. *Mu tig phreng ba zhes bya ba Lo ro ba skal ldan la gdams pa* (The pearl garland: oral instructions given to *Lo ro ba skal ldan*), pp. 511.1-518.2.

XIX. [DZA] *Chos rjes 'gro mgon gyi bstan bcos 'gag 'dril rin chen sgron me* (The precious lamp: the summary of the main points of the dharma master and protector of beings Tsangpa Gyare), pp.519.1-540.5.

XX. [WA] *'Gag dril rin chen sgron me'i bsdus don* (The summary of the precious lamp, the summary of main points of Tsangpa Gyare's doctrine), pp. 541.1-547.2.

**[Volume 2] 'Brug lugs gsung rab phyogs bsdebs las chos rje gtsang pa rgya ras kyi bka' 'bum glegs bam kha pa bzhugs so**

XXI. [KA] *Lo rgyus gser gyi yang zhun ma* (The chronicle: refined gold), pp. 549.1-569.6.

XXII. [KHA] *'Jig rten blos btang rnams kyi bstan bcos tshogs chung mig gi sgron me* (The lamp of eyes: a comprehensible treatise for renouncement of the [eight] world-systems), pp. 571.1-581.5.

XXIII. [GA] *Chos rje 'gro ba'i mgon po'i tshogs chos mno 'khor ma che ba* (The great treatise for understanding of the collected instructions of the dharma master and protector of beings Tsangpa Gyare), pp. 583.1-726.4.

XXIV. [NGA] *Chos rje rin po che gtsang pa rgya ras pa'i tshogs chos mno 'khor rin chen 'phreng ba* (The precious garland: the treatise for understanding of the collected instructions of the dharma master Tsangpa Gyare), pp. 727.1-757.1.

XXV. [CA] *Chos rje gtsang pa rgya ras kyis mdzad pa'i tshogs chos mno 'khor chung ba* (The summarized treatise for understanding of the collected instructions of the dharma master Tsangpa Gyare), pp. 759.1-791.2.

XXVI. [CHA] *Chos kyi rje gtsang pa rgya ras kyis mdzad pa'i mtshang 'don dug gi tsher ma dang ma phreng snying rje rgya mtsho* (Removal of faults such as poisonous thorn and the ocean of mother's compassion, composed by the dharma master Tsangpa Gyare), pp. 793.1-823.6.

- XXVII. [JA] *gTum mo khyung lnga'i sgrub thabs* (The method of practice of five fierce *garuda*), pp. 825.1-837.3.
- XXVIII. [NYA] *lHan skyes kyi lag len sgrub thabs gcig chog ma* (The all-purpose method to accomplish the practice of the Innate [Heruka]), pp. 839.1-850.2.
- XXIX. [TA] *Jo mo'i mngon rtogs* (The visualization practice of the yogini [Jo Mo]), pp. 851.1-871.6.
- XXX. [THA] *rJe btsun ma'i tshogs mchod* (The feast offered to the chief of yogini [Jetsunma]), pp. 873.1-886.3.
- XXXI. [DA] *bDud rtsi ril bu'i sgrub thabs 'gro mgon rin po ches mdzad pa* (The method to realize the *amrita* pills, composed by the dharma master Tsangpa Gyare), pp. 887.1-896.5.
- XXXII. [NA] *Chos rje gtsang pa rgya ras kyis mdzad pa'i dge sbyor bdun pa'i smon lam* (The prayer of the seven virtuous activities, composed by the dharma master Tsangpa Gyare), pp. 897.1-918.5.
- XXXIII [Appendix] *rJe gtsang pa rgya ras kyi rnam thar* (The biography of the master Tsangpa Gyare), pp. 1.1-244.6.

As seen in the above list of the Bhutanese Collection, there are thirty three titles. However, II, IV, XVII, and XVIII are not unique works, but they include several independent works. II has four, IV has two, XVII has three, and XVIII has two works; there are forty works in total.

The Bhutanese Collection overlaps with both the Ladakhi collection and the Nepalese collection (except for the third title of the Ladakhi Collection). The following table shows the correspondence among the three collections.

Bhutanese Collection	Ladakhi Collection	Nepalese Collection
I	2	
II-1		
II-2		
II-3		
II-4		
III		
IV-1		9-1
IV-2		9-2

<b>Bhutanese Collection</b>	<b>Ladakhi Collection</b>	<b>Nepalese Collection</b>
V		
VI		
VII		
VIII		14
IX		12
X		
XI		11
XII		15
XIII		13
XIV		2
XV		7
XVI		3
XVII-1		4-1
XVII-2		4-2
XVII-3		4-3
XVIII-1		5-1
XVIII-2		5-2
XIX		8
XX		
XXI		
XXII		6
XXIII		10
XXIV	4	
XXV	5	
XXVI	6	
XXVII		20
XXVIII		19
XXIX		16
XXX		17
XXXI		18
XXXII		
XXXIII	1	
non-accordance	3	

As seen in the above table, the Bhutanese Collection includes five works of the Ladakhi Collection, as well as thirty five more works. It also covers all twenty

three works of the Nepalese Collection (without the catalogue of the collection) in addition to seventeen more works.

This means that the number of accessible works of Tsangpa Gyare has remarkably increased by grace of the publication of the Bhutanese Collection. The condition of study of the *Drukpa Kagyu* school has greatly progressed. Hereafter, we need to compare the manuscripts of the three collections, and analyze their characteristics.

### 3. Category of works of Tsangpa Gyare

We need to know which types of work he wrote in order to grasp Tsangpa Gyare's scholastic characteristics. Here we classify his works into several categories.

#### [Volume 1]

- I. <<Biography: Tsangpa Gyare's biography with his instruction>>
- II-1. <<Philosophy: philosophy on interdependence, especially about the relationship between cyclic existence (*samsara*) and liberation (*nirvana*)>>
- II-2. <<Philosophy: philosophical letter including the instruction concerning interdependence, especially about the relationship between cyclic existence (*samsara*) and liberation (*nirvana*) >>
- II-3. <<Philosophy: epistle concerning philosophy of the two types of interdependence>>
- II-4. <<Meditation: epistle concerning the methods of two types of meditation practice>>
- III. <<Meditation: spiritual songs concerning meditation on the equal taste of the elements>>
- IV-1. <<Meditation: List of various instructions on the practice of meditation>>
- IV-2. <<Meditation: instructions on the practice of meditation>>
- V. <<Meditation: concerning the practice of visualizing one's own spiritual master>>
- VI. <<Instruction: general explanation of Lama>>
- VII. <<Meditation: oral instruction of meditative practice to visualize Lama (spiritual master)>>

- VIII. <<Mahāmudrā: explanation of essential nature of Mahāmudrā>>
- IX. <<Meditation: explanation of gradual practice of the four types of meditation (yoga)>>
- X. <<Mahāmudrā: short texts concerning Mahāmudrā>>
- XI. <<Mahāmudrā: extensive explanation of Mahāmudrā>>
- XII. <<Meditation: questions and answers concerning four types of yoga>>
- XIII. <<Meditation: explanation of four types of yoga>>
- XIV. <<Spiritual songs: a collection of various types of spiritual songs>>
- XV. <<Practice: especially on daily virtuous practice>>
- XVI. <<Treatise for practical purposes: collection of letters of Tsangpa Gyare>>
- XVII-1. <<Treatise for practical purposes: Method for making letters>>
- XVII-2. <<Spiritual song: Tsangpa Gyare's response to criticism concerning the eye protector from a Bonpo>>
- XVII-3. <<Instruction: explanation of the auspicious crown of Tsangpa Gyare>>
- XVIII-1. <<Biography: the oral auto-biography of Tsangpa Gyare>>
- XVIII-2. <<Instruction: oral instructions for how to guide all sentient beings to the route to happiness, given to his disciple Lo ro ba sKal Idan>>
- XIX. <<Philosophy: doxographical philosophy>>
- XX. <<Philosophy: short doxographical philosophy>>
- [Volume 2]**
- XXI. <<Biography: the history of the lineage of the venerable master rGa Lo>>
- XXII. <<Practice: method of practice for the renouncement of the eight types of worldly activity>>
- XXIII. <<Practice: Tsangpa Gyare's instructions on spiritual practice for his disciples>>
- XXIV. <<Instruction: instruction on the necessity of relying on the master in order to accomplish liberation>>
- XXV. <<Biography: instruction on lineage from Marpa to Tsangpa Gyare>>
- XXVI. <<Practice: removal of faults and execution of compassion>>
- XXVII. <<Meditation: meditation on five fierce *garuda*>>
- XXVIII. <<Meditation: meditation of the deity Heruka>>
- XXIX. <<Meditation: visualization of the yogini>>

XXX. <<Ritual: offering to the yogini>>

XXXI. <<Ritual: five types of nectar blessed by mantra>>

XXXII. <<Prayer: prayer of the seven virtuous activities>>

XXXIII [Appendix] <<Biography: biography of Tsangpa Gyare>>

We can categorize his works into nine as follows:

Category	Number
i) Biography	4 works (I, XVIII-1, XXI, XXV)
ii) Philosophy	6 works (II-1, II-2, II-3, XVII-3, XIX, XX)
iii) Mahāmudrā	3 works (VIII, X, XI)
iv) Meditation	12 works (II-4, III, IV-1, IV-2, V, VII, IX, XII, XIII, XXVII, XXVIII, XXIX)
v) Practice	5 works (XV, XXII, XXIII, XXVI, XXXII)
vi) Instruction	4 works (VI, XVII-3, XVIII-2, XXIV)
vii) Ritual	2 works (XXX, XXXI)
viii) Spiritual songs	2 works (XIV, XVII-2)
ix) Treatise for practical purposes	2 works (XVI, XVII-1)

Among all of the forty works, there are twelve works on meditation, three works on Mahāmudrā, five works on practice, two works on ritual, that is to say more than half of the works concern tantric practice. This fact seems to confirm that Tsangpa Gyare was an accomplished practitioner. On the other hand, he also seems to have achieved a mastery of philosophy because he wrote doxographical treatises, philosophical texts concerning cyclic existence and liberation, and so forth. He seems to have been committed to educating his disciples by his composition of several works of instruction. We can surmise that he had literary talents and sophisticated knowledge of the general culture from the fact that he also wrote literary spiritual songs and practical works, such as how to write and make letters.

Needless to say, Tsangpa Gyare was an advanced practitioner of meditation. However, judging from the content of his works, we can see that he also had abundant knowledge of philosophy, and was also familiar with literature,

practical operations, and education. Such aspects of his personality do not contradict the descriptions of his characteristics found in his biography.<sup>5</sup>

## **Conclusions**

Now we will summarize the above observation concerning the collected works of Tsangpa Gyare.

By grace of the publication of the Ladakhi Collection in 1972, six of his works became accessible. The Nepalese Collection published in 1998 provided twenty three works. By grace of the publication of the Bhutanese Collection, we can now access forty works; thus, the conditions for researching Tsangpa Gyare have improved overwhelmingly. However, there remain still some problems such as mistranscriptions and un-identified quotations even in the Bhutanese Collection. We thus need to complete a critical edition, which we are now composing, in order to promote Bhutanese Buddhist studies.

Concerning the characteristics of Tsangpa Gyare's work, we can generally say that he wrote many texts as a practitioner of meditation. Among all of his forty one, he in fact wrote twenty one works concerning meditation, Mahāmudrā, practice, and ritual. However, we must not forget his versatility in writing philosophical, practical, and educational works.

In this paper we have analyzed his general characteristics from the point of view of his collected works. Hereafter, we need to analyze each work in the collection, in order to grasp his characteristics in detail. We are now preparing a summary and English translation of all of his works.

This research is based on academic methodology, but its objective is to contribute to the happiness of all beings through an understanding of Bhutanese Buddhism. May all beings become happy!

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<sup>5</sup>See Miller [2005: 389-396].

## References

### [Primary Sources]

<Collected Works of Tsangpa Gyare>

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  2. *'Gro-ba'i mgon-po chos-rjer tsa□-pa rgya-ras ye-shes rdo-rje mchog-gi gsu□-'bum rin-po-che bzhugs-so* (Kathmandu: Shri Gautama Buddha Vihara, 1998).
  3. *'Brug lugs gsung rab phyogs bsdebs las chos rje gtsang pa rgya ras kyi bka' 'bum glegs bam ka pa bzhugs so* and *'Brug lugs gsung rab phyogs bsdebs las chos rje gtsang pa rgya ras kyi bka' 'bum glegs bam kha pa bzhugs so* (Thimphu: The Bhutanese Monastic Body, 2011)
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## 4

### Conversion to Tibetan Buddhism: Some Reflections

Bei Dawei

#### Abstract

*Tibetan Buddhism, it is often said, discourages conversion. The Dalai Lama is one of many Buddhist leaders who have urged spiritual seekers not to convert to Tibetan Buddhism, but to remain with their own religions. And yet, despite such admonitions, conversions somehow occur – Tibetan dharma centers throughout the Americas, Europe, Oceania, and East/Southeast Asia are filled with people raised as Jews, Christians, or followers of the Chinese folk religion. It is appropriate to ask what these new converts have gained, or lost; and what Tibetan Buddhism and other religions might do to better adapt.*

*One paradox that emerges is that Western liberals, who recoil before the fundamentalists of their original religions, have embraced similarly authoritarian, literalist values in foreign garb. This is not simply an issue of superficial cultural differences, or of misbehavior by a few individuals, but a systematic clash of ideals. As the experiences of Stephen Batchelor, June Campbell, and Tara Carreon illustrate, it does not seem possible for a viable “Reform” version of Tibetan Buddhism (along the lines of Reform Judaism, or Unitarian Universalism) ever to arise – such an egalitarian, democratic, critical ethos would tend to undermine the institution of Lamaism, without which Tibetan Buddhism would lose its *raison d’être*.*

*The contrast with the Chinese folk religion is less obvious, since Tibetan Buddhism appeals to many of the same superstitious compulsions, and there is little direct disagreement. Perhaps the key difference is that Tibetan Buddhism (in common with certain institutionalized forms of Chinese Buddhism) expands through predation upon weaker forms of religious identity and praxis. Implicit within the Tibetan Buddhist appeal is the assumption that traditional Chinese forms of religiosity are, if not defective, at least inadequate. The converts thus exchange a well-established, intergenerational ritual and symbolic community for one in which their primary role is contributing funds.*

## I. Great inner confusion

[F]or those who are seriously thinking of converting to Buddhism, that is, of changing your religion, it is very important to take every precaution. This must not be done lightly. Indeed, if one converts without having thought about it in a mature way, this often creates difficulties and leads to great inner confusion. I would therefore advise all who would like to convert to Buddhism to think carefully before doing so. [...However,] when an individual is convinced that Buddhist teachings are better adapted to his or her disposition, that they are more effective, it is quite right that this religion be chosen.

– The Fourteenth Dalai Lama<sup>1</sup>

Talk of “conversion” assumes the existence of multiple religions (of which Buddhism is one), coupled with the possibility of leaving one and adopting another. In fact the category of “religion” turns out to be rather vague—there exists an abundance of borderline phenomena<sup>2</sup> which may or may not be classed as religious, depending on the scholar, and a growing suspicion that the concept has been disproportionately influenced by the example of Christianity (which initially defined itself in contrast with the secular or pagan customs of the Roman Empire).<sup>3</sup> Although many aspects of religion (e.g. myth, ritual, supernatural belief) seem to be universal (i.e., present in all human societies), they are not necessarily found combined into a unified whole, let alone as an identity group which competes against other, similarly-conceived identity groups. We often hear of societies which lack any notion of “religion” separate from everyday life, or religions which amount to entire “ways of life”; indeed, such integrated or implicit forms of religion may represent the norm from which Christianity has

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<sup>1</sup> From *Beyond Dogma* (1996: 129-140). By “more effective,” the Dalai Lama presumably means, at inculcating spiritual virtues such as kindness and compassion—as the Tibetan dharma emperors (who were the manifestations of several bodhisattvas) must have calculated when they embraced the religion in the seventh to ninth centuries.

<sup>2</sup> For example, my Taiwanese mother-in-law objects to my whistling at night, on the grounds that this attracts malevolent ghosts. It is difficult to decide whether her admonition represents a religious belief which must be respected, a superstition which may be safely mocked, a principle of etiquette, or some sort of primitive science. (For all I know, she may be right.)

<sup>3</sup> That is, Christianity involves the implicit belief that religions exist, that Christianity is a religion, and that outsiders can and should join it, abandoning all rival religious affiliations. The Jewish and Islamic identities evolved against this background, while Hinduism and Buddhism came to be understood as “religions” in more recent times, as a result of contact with/conquest by these cultures. This is the view of Wilfred Cantwell Smith and Jonathan Z. Smith, *inter alia*.

departed. In other words, the concept of religion may itself be a religious concept!

In East Asia, for example, many people are unsure whether they have a "religion," or if so, what it should be called. Although Buddhism is widely acknowledged to be a religion, there is no such consensus on Confucianism, Shinto, Korean shamanism, or the Chinese folk religion (NB: an etic label), and much uncertainty as to who counts as a Buddhist. Some older literature describes this situation in terms of multiple, simultaneous religious identities, or perhaps syncretism. I favor the explanation that East Asian religions tend not to function as identity groups, but take the form of personal interests (like mahjong!) or communal activities (like holiday and life-cycle celebrations) which are difficult to distinguish from their secular counterparts. The identity groups which do exist tend to be ethno-cultural or political in nature. From a functionalist viewpoint, perhaps "being Chinese" or "being Japanese" should be considered the religions, and Confucianism, etc. only identity markers. (Christianity and some New Religious Movements are the major exceptions, while Buddhism exists in both implicit and explicit forms.)

Religious identities have become blurred in the West as well to some extent. To the categories of "Sheilism" (after Robert N. Bellah),<sup>4</sup> "Spiritual But Not Religious" (a 1990's phrase of uncertain origin), and "Nightstand Buddhists" (after Thomas A. Tweed)<sup>5</sup> should perhaps be added, "If I have to have a religion, then maybe I'll be a Buddhist." In this light, Western "conversion" to Buddhism has more in common with participation in other alternative religious milieus such as neo-paganism or the New Age movement, than with conversion to a religion like Islam, with a multigenerational community and well-established customs.

Although Tibetan Buddhist representatives (including the Dalai Lama, cited above) often deny that they are seeking converts, and make statements discouraging conversion, such rhetoric fits uncomfortably with the

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<sup>4</sup> Bellah et al. (1996, ch. 9) quote one "Sheila Madsen" (pseud.) as professing an extremely individualistic set of beliefs which she dubs "Sheilism." See also Bellah's lecture "Habits of the heart: Implications for religion" (21 Feb. 1986), [http://www.robertbellah.com/lectures\\_5.htm](http://www.robertbellah.com/lectures_5.htm)

<sup>5</sup> In Prebish and Baumann (2002, ch. 1). Tweed's expression refers to sympathizers who do not embrace the religion fully or exclusively, and who may not attend or belong to any formal group.

preponderance of converts in the “Tibetan”<sup>6</sup> dharma centers of many countries—not only the West, but also among various Chinese populations of East Asia (noting that Chinese “conversion” to Tibetan Buddhism may also be framed as reaffiliation, like the Methodist who becomes a Baptist). For both Westerners and ethnic Chinese, the popularity of Tibetan Buddhism has come as part of larger trends towards secularism, globalization, and religious pluralism. Where before, such identities would have been assigned or assumed by virtue of membership in a particular (and largely endogamous) community—coexisting with it, like language, in a sort of symbiosis—competitive pressures have made them negotiable. Without succumbing to a misplaced nostalgia, it makes sense to ask whether Tibetan Buddhism represents an improvement over the traditions which it displaces.

If the truth be told, I fall into the same category of spiritual seeker that the Dalai Lama probably had in mind when he made the above statement, so these are not just academic issues for me. In fact, I have spent much of my life looking not only for “the truth,” but also for a plausible religious identity.

I should perhaps mention that despite the Chinese-looking name on the byline, I am actually a white guy from Texas, and that my “real” name is David Bell. (Since there are too many David Bells in the world—some of whom publish in fields that I’m also interested in—I have taken to using the Chinese version of my name in order to avoid confusion.) From this, the alert reader will have surmised that I was not born into a Buddhist family. In fact my parents are members of the Episcopal Church (part of the worldwide Anglican Communion), which for the sake of my non-Western readers, I describe as a mainline denomination of Protestant Christianity.

Like numerous others, I stopped going to church in my early teens—partly because I had come to regard its central articles of faith as unscientific and illogical (I was a *Star Trek* fan), and partly out of discomfort with the whole “church experience” which included dressing up, sitting in wooden pews, and singing dreary hymns to choir and organ accompaniment. (The Dalai Lama would doubtlessly be irritated with me for criticizing my former religion, so let

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<sup>6</sup> Otherwise known as Indo-Tibetan, Tibeto-Himalayan, Tibeto-Mongolian, or Inner Asian Buddhism, a category which imperfectly overlaps with Vajrayana or Tantric Buddhism. “Lamaism” may either refer to Tibetan Buddhism or, within it, to the institution of the lama.

me add that today I am better able to appreciate many aspects of it.) Instead, despite my early rationalism, I gravitated towards certain post-Theosophical and New Age lore (e.g. the paintings of Nicholas Roerich), from which I somehow acquired the image of Tibet—conflated, perhaps, with Shambhala—as a magical land which would fulfill my deepest yearnings, if I could only reach it.

The prospect of actually traveling to Tibet, however, took somewhat longer to materialize. In 1988, at the tender age of 21, I moved to Taiwan—not only to find that elusive first job after university, but also to approach nearer to the mystical Asia of my fantasies. Of course I realized that Taiwan was no Shambhala, but at least it would put me that much *closer* (or so I reasoned). I lived there for two years, working as an English polisher and copy-editor. Gradually I made plans to backpack across Asia, with Tibet and the Himalayas as my particular goals. A passage in *Lonely Planet* mentioned a Tibetan monastery in Nepal called Kopan,<sup>7</sup> which was full of “intense-looking Westerners.” The author of that edition (Prakash A. Raj, if this was not an addition of Tony Wheeler) judged that “a day spent with the monks and nuns here can change your life.” He also noted that the monastery offers an annual month-long meditation retreat every November-December. If a day could change your life, I reasoned, what would a month do? So I went.

At the end of the course, all those who wished to take refuge vows were invited to do so, in a ceremony led by visiting lama Kirti Tsenshab Rinpoche. (Did Kopan’s organizers perhaps fail to receive the Dalai Lama’s memo on the subject of religious conversion? One wonders.) While I did not convert to Buddhism that day, a few months later I tracked down Lama Kirti at his home monastery in Dharamsala, and asked to take refuge. He graciously agreed.

Did Kopan change my life? Yes, I think so. Until recently I thought of it as my spiritual home, which I always hoped to revisit. Every year, around November-December, I reflect on how well I’ve been using my time, and spare a thought for the latest cohort sitting on their cushions. And yet, my Buddhist identity has

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<sup>7</sup> Kopan Monastery was founded by Thubten Yeshe, an exile monk from Sera Je; and Thubten Zopa Rinpoche, a Sherpa and minor *tulku* from Solu Khumbu. During the 1970’s, they began attracting the interest of Western backpackers on the Asian “Hippie Trail,” a subculture which slowly evolved into what some have called the “Banana Pancake Trail.” Lama Yeshe has since died (and apparently been reincarnated as a Spaniard, Osel Hita Torres), leaving his junior colleague Lama Zopa in charge of the Foundation for the Preservation of the Mahayana Tradition (FPMT), an international network of Gelugpa dharma centers.

faltered. After returning to the U.S. for graduate school, I tried to focus on the study of Tibetan Buddhism, but instead found myself pulled (is this too passive an expression?) in other directions, both secular and religious. Among the latter, I would particularly name Orthodox Christianity, and the family of “extremist” (*ghulat*) Muslim sects that includes the Alevi and Baha’i traditions. At the same time, my academic work has reinforced my basic skeptical orientation. If you now find yourself suffering from “great inner confusion,” then—you understand!

My warm feelings for Tibetan Buddhism soured when I discovered Jessica Falcone’s 2008 articles criticizing the FPMT’s Maitreya Project.<sup>8</sup> Beyond the tastelessness of the project itself (a giant Buddha statue planned for Bodhgaya or Kushinagar)—beyond even the ham-fisted, exploitative scheme to force Indian farmers to sell their land—lie more fundamental issues of authority and governance which have alienated me from the religion as a whole. Like most Tibetan Buddhist organizations, the FPMT (which I hasten to add is far from the worst-behaved) is governed by a self-perpetuating board of trustees whose purpose is to carry out the wishes, and pet projects, of its lamas. The lack of accountability to rank-and-file participants reflects a more general top-down spiritual ethos which I term “authoritarian” for its tendency to defer to the authority of traditional texts or leaders. I will say more about this later.

During the decade of the 2000’s I moved back to Taiwan, where I live today, and married Yang Chu-Yu (whose name, unlike mine, does not mislead as to ethnicity). While we were dating, Chu-Yu claimed not to have a religion. When I discovered her bowing before her family altar, she explained that she did not belong to an *organized* religion. Further inquiry revealed that she venerates her ancestors, fears ghosts, and prays to Heaven (Lao Tien Ye), conceived as a sort of plenum from which the various gods and goddesses of Chinese tradition emanate. Scholars refer to this belief system as the Chinese folk religion. Its adherents call it by a variety of names, including Buddhism and Daoism, when they admit it to be a religion at all. (In Indonesia it is called *Khonghucu*, or Confucianism.) In fact this turns out to be the predominant religion of Taiwan, as

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<sup>8</sup> Jessica Falcone, “A Year in India: Questioning the Maitreya Project: What would the Buddha do?” and “A Year in India: What would the Buddha do? The debate continues...” (both Feb. 2008, *Wild River Review*), readable through the Wayback Machine (<http://archive.org>) at the following, now defunct addresses:  
[http://www.wildriverreview.com/airmail\\_india-maitreya.php](http://www.wildriverreview.com/airmail_india-maitreya.php) and  
[http://www.wildriverreview.com/airmail\\_india.php](http://www.wildriverreview.com/airmail_india.php)

well as the wider Chinese cultural sphere. Within it, “Buddhism” and “Daoism” could easily be regarded as the narrow traditions of professional religious specialists serving a broader, largely undifferentiated clientele which cares little either for the Three Jewels (except as represented by the bodhisattva Guanyin, easily Taiwan’s most popular deity) or the Three Pure Ones.

Once I asked each of my in-laws what they would put down as the name of their religion, for example, if they had to fill out a form. Although I received a bewildering variety of answers, after some discussion the family decided that they were Buddhists. God (wink wink) knows what the Dalai Lama would advise them, or me. In any case, I suppose that I am joined with Chu-Yu not only in our profession of irreligion, but also in our secret worship.

## **II. No monks, no magic, no mumbo jumbo? (The West)**

In the West, attraction to alternative religions (including Tibetan Buddhism) is at least partly a reaction against the perceived shortcomings of Judaism and Christianity. For example, rhetoric to the effect that Buddhism is atheistic, rationalistic, or pacifistic is calculated to contrast with these religions. Reincarnation and meditation are embraced as alternatives to Western traditions regarding the afterlife and prayer, respectively. Buddhist statuary calls to mind Western prohibitions of idolatry, with Tibetan iconography being particularly suggestive of demonolatry and/or transgressive sexuality. Whether from frustrated idealism or a penchant for head-banging, disillusionment often ensues as converts come to realize that Buddhism is, at bottom, just another religion. In its wake, they may choose to adhere selectively, call for reforms, search for a more congenial group, swallow their reservations and submit, drift into inactivity, disaffiliate, and/or revert to their original religion whose influence, after all, cannot have entirely disappeared from their lives. Multiple identification is routine among Jews, and not unknown among gentiles. In this spirit, Stephen Batchelor asks whether the Dalai Lama’s admonition against conversion reflects a hidebound view of religious authority at odds with the individualistic, less dogmatic approach of many Western Buddhists.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> “What’s wrong with conversion, Your Holiness?” (29 May 1999, *The Independent*), <http://www.stephenbatchelor.org/index.php/en/whats-wrong-with-conversion-your-holiness>

Religious identity, it seems, is more than a matter of undergoing a particular ceremony, or of having a certain worldview or set of beliefs, but involves the whole of our social and cultural influences. One cannot simply turn these off, any more than one can forget one's native language. (On the other hand, the same difficulty would apply to reversion.) It is easy to sustain a religious identity when it comes as a virtual birthright, and is reinforced by family, holidays, etc. An alternative religious identity, on the other hand, cannot be nominal, but demands deliberate and sustained cultivation. (It is not enough simply to be a Buddhist—one must do meditation retreats, take robes, and/or become a Tibetologist.) These pressures to demonstrate commitment favor a certain traditionalism, which sits uncomfortably with the critical urge impelling converts seek out a new religion in the first place.

In *The Making of Buddhist Modernism*, David L. McMahan observes that

Most non-Asian Americans tend to see Buddhism as a religion whose most important elements are meditation, rigorous philosophical analysis, and an empirical psychological science that encourages reliance on individual experience. It discourages blindly following authority and dogma, has little place for superstition, magic, image worship, and gods, and is largely compatible with the findings of modern science and liberal democratic values. [McMahan, 2008: 5]

While acknowledging that scholars and practitioners may “roll their eyes” at such generalizations, McMahan sees modernist rhetoric as “the lingua franca of Buddhism as it is presented in transnational, cosmopolitan contexts” (p. 259, cf. p. 256). McMahan also identifies an even more iconoclastic Buddhist *post*-modernism—for example, the Open Mind Zen center in Florida promises “no monks, no magic, no mumbo jumbo” (p. 245).<sup>10</sup> However, writes McMahan, “some strains of Tibetan Buddhism have not been as quick to embrace the world-affirming, egalitarian, and democratic reinterpretations of the path,” but have instead moved in the direction of “retraditionalization” (read: fundamentalism), as illustrated by a particularly retrograde-sounding quote from Penor Rinpoche (pp. 246-247).

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<sup>10</sup> The center's website is <http://www.openmindzen.com>. I note that this skepticism does not extend to the practice of seated meditation, or to the role of the resident “Zen master.”

This is not the place to survey the situation of Tibetan Buddhist dharma centers in various Western countries,<sup>11</sup> or the history of orientaling fantasy visions of Tibet;<sup>12</sup> nor can I do much more than allude to the vast literature of interfaith dialogue<sup>13</sup> between Buddhism and the major Western religions (including reactionary apologia for Judaism<sup>14</sup> or Christianity<sup>15</sup>). I would however like to bring up the accounts of a few dissidents and defectors. During the 1990's, one wit quipped that the popular Buddhist magazine *Tricycle*—which had recently featured June Campbell,<sup>16</sup> Jeffrey Hopkins,<sup>17</sup> and Stephen Batchelor<sup>18</sup> in its pages—was promoting the Three Poisons of anger, desire, and ignorance. How

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<sup>11</sup> General descriptions of the convert—and immigrant—Buddhisms of various Western countries include Fields (1981/1992) and Williams & Queen (1999) for the USA; Matthews (2006) for Canada; Croucher (1989) and Rocha & Barker (2011) for Australia; Bluck (2006) for the UK; and Baumann (1995) for Germany. I forbear from listing every Western country. The subculture of Western backpackers in South Asia should not be overlooked; see Moran (2004). Baumann (1997) contains a lengthy bibliography on Western Buddhism.

<sup>12</sup> For this see Dodin & Rather (1996); Bishop (1989/1990 and 1993), and Brauen (2004).

<sup>13</sup> For personal experiences of Buddhism in relation to Judaism and Christianity, see Kasimow, Keenan, & Keenan (2003). For high-level scholarly discussion of the possible compatibility of Buddhism and theism, see Schmidt-Leukel (2006). For ongoing dialogue between Buddhism and Christianity, there is the journal *Buddhist-Christian Studies*, several issues of which have been published as books: Gross & Muck (2000 and 2003). See also Robert A. Jonas, "Buddhist-Christian Bibliography" (2006), <http://www.emptybell.org/articles/bibliography.html>. The best exploration of Buddhism and Judaism is still Kamenetz (1994). For a fuller bibliography see Jacquetta Gomes, "Buddhism and Judaism,"

[http://www.thubtenchodron.org/InterreligiousDialogue/buddhism\\_and\\_judaism.pdf](http://www.thubtenchodron.org/InterreligiousDialogue/buddhism_and_judaism.pdf)

<sup>14</sup> For a Jewish anti-conversion plea, see Tatz & Gottlieb (2005) in which Tatz, an Orthodox rabbi, persuades Gottlieb, a former Zen practitioner, to revert. According to Dr. Tatz, "if Buddhism consists only of 'cultivating mindfulness, watching my breath, realizing the interconnectedness of all things and beings, and striving to recognize and uproot the causes of suffering', we should not find it necessary to argue" (p. 78). Gottlieb's decision was reportedly aided by his wife Galit, who told him "David, [...] your practicing Buddhism is a knife in my heart." Sara See Yoheved Rigler, "Conflicts of a Buddhist Jew" (n.d. but 2011), <http://www.aish.com/sp/so/48905982.html>

<sup>15</sup> For the account of a Gelugpa scholar-practitioner turned Dominican tertiary, see Williams (2002). Strand (2008) is the memoir of a former Zen monk and *Tricycle* editor who found himself praying to Jesus during an episode of airline turbulence. As I understand him, he is not so much a revert as a syncretist; see his blog at <http://wholeearthgod.typepad.com>. For a Nyingmapa convert to Orthodox Christianity, see Nilus Stryker, "Through the Eastern Gate: From Tibetan Buddhism to Eastern Orthodoxy" (2 May 2007), [http://www.pravmir.com/article\\_216.html](http://www.pravmir.com/article_216.html)

<sup>16</sup> Helen Tworhkov, "The emperor's tantric robes: An interview with June Campbell on codes of secrecy and silence" (*Tricycle*, col. 6, no. 2, Winter 1996), [http://www.anandainfo.com/tantric\\_robes.html](http://www.anandainfo.com/tantric_robes.html)

<sup>17</sup> "Jeffrey Hopkins on sex, emptiness, and gay tantra" (*Tricycle*, Summer 1996, vol. 5, no. 4, issue 20). The following issue (Fall 1996, vol. 6 no. 1, issue 22) contained many letters to the editor critical of Hopkins and/or homosexuality.

<sup>18</sup> See "Rebirth: A case for Buddhist agnosticism" (*Tricycle*, Fall 1992, vol. 2 no. 1), <http://www.tricycle.com/feature/rebirth-case-buddhist-agnosticism> and (with Robert Thurman) "Reincarnation: A debate" (*Tricycle*, Summer 1997, vol. 6 no. 4), <http://www.tricycle.com/feature/reincarnation-debate>

so? In an academic study of women's roles in Tibetan Buddhism, Campbell, a former Kagyu nun, had raised eyebrows with a few lines describing her experience as the tantric consort of Kalu Rinpoche (likewise a supposed celibate), in an asymmetrical relationship she later came to see as exploitive (Campbell, 1997, ch. 6). She thus represents anger (at the gurus), although the late Kalu Rinpoche is hardly the only guru to stand accused of scandal. Jeffrey Hopkins, a former Gelugpa monk who wrote a book on gay tantra, represents desire. Finally, Stephen Batchelor, another former Gelugpa monk, represents ignorance (of cause and effect), since his attempt at a "non-contentious" (Batchelor, 2010: 175; the book was Batchelor, 1997/1998) introduction to Buddhism famously brackets the traditional Buddhist teachings of reincarnation and karma.

Jokes aside, it is interesting to consider why Tibetan Buddhists have reacted so defensively to these positions. Batchelor's doubts not only call into question the basic Buddhist goal of liberation from samsara, at least as traditionally understood, but also undermine the legitimacy of the *tulku* system (which depends on the conceit that lamas are capable both of reincarnating, and of identifying one another's reincarnations). The resulting backlash recalls the controversy surrounding John Shelby Spong<sup>19</sup> among Protestants. Compare with the positive reception accorded to Batchelor's old nemesis,<sup>20</sup> B. Alan Wallace (yet another former Gelugpa monk), whose relatively limited skepticism elevates the practice of meditation (conceived scientifically)<sup>21</sup> above various "religious, or quasi-religious, practices of Asian Buddhists, such as fortune-telling, palm-reading, funerary rites, and propitiation of mundane gods and spirits," which "cannot be deemed truly *Buddhist* in any canonical sense of the term" (in Prebish and Baumann, 2002: 35). Campbell extends her critique even wider, to the point of abandoning Buddhism itself:

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<sup>19</sup> Spong, a retired U.S. Episcopal bishop, is the author of a number of books expressing doubt towards various articles of the Christian faith, including the Virgin Birth and the efficacy of prayer.

<sup>20</sup> See their exchange in: B. Alan Wallace, "Distorted visions of Buddhism: Agnostic and atheist" (*Mandala: The Official Publication of the Foundation for the Preservation of the Mahayana Tradition*, Oct. 2010), <http://www.mandalamagazine.org/archives/mandala-issues-for-2010/october/distorted-visions-of-buddhism-agnostic-and-atheist> and Stephen Batchelor, "An open letter to B. Alan Wallace" (*Mandala* magazine, Jan. 2011), <http://www.mandalamagazine.org/archives/mandala-issues-for-2011/january/an-open-letter-to-b-alan-wallace>. See also Ted Meissner, "A reply to B. Alan Wallace's article, 'Distorted visions of Buddhism: Agnostic and atheist'" (*The Secular Buddhist* [blog], n.d. but 2011), [http://www.thesectionalbuddhist.com/articles\\_response.php](http://www.thesectionalbuddhist.com/articles_response.php)

<sup>21</sup> For a history and critique of claims to the effect that Buddhism is uniquely compatible with science, confirmed by science, or a science in its own right, see McMahan (2009: 89-116—i.e. the whole of chapter four—as well as pp. 204-211).

"Once I started unravelling my experiences, I began to question everything," she said. That meant not just the actions of a particular guru, but the very idea of the guru. She began to wonder whether the Tantra was just a fantasy, and whether there is really any difference between Tantric sex and ordinary sex. She questioned the very concept of enlightenment itself and the practice of meditation.<sup>22</sup>

As for the gay issue, controversy has erupted on other occasions. In one incident, the Dalai Lama—under fire for his remarks in *Beyond Dogma* to the effect that homosexual behavior violates Buddhist refuge vows—told gay representatives in San Francisco that he could not change the commentaries of Ashvagosha and other Buddhist worthies, which he assumed to be correct.<sup>23</sup>

Batchelor characterizes Tibetan Buddhism as authoritarian, dogmatic, and incompatible with what he sees as the critical impetus of Buddhist practice:

Despite a veneer of open, critical inquiry, Geshe Rabten did not seriously expect his students to adopt a view of Buddhism that differed in any significant respect from that of Geluk orthodoxy. [...] Moreover, to arrive at conclusions that contradicted orthodoxy was, for Geshe, not only anathema, but immoral. [Batchelor, 2010: 45]

[U]nlike some of my contemporaries, whom I envied, I would never achieve unwavering faith in the traditional Buddhist view of the world. Nor would I ever succeed in replacing my own judgment with the uncritical acceptance of a "root" lama, which was indispensable for the practice of the highest tantras, the only way, so it was claimed, to reach complete enlightenment in this lifetime. [Batchelor, 2010: 7]

"Having been presented with an image of Buddhism as open-minded, rational, scientific and tolerant," he writes, Western Buddhists "often find themselves confronted with a Church-like institution that requires unconditional allegiance to a teacher and acceptance of a non-negotiable set of doctrinal beliefs."<sup>24</sup> (Cf.

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<sup>22</sup> Paul Vallely, "I was a tantric sex slave" (10 Feb. 1999, *The Independent*), <http://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/i-was-a-tantric-sex-slave-1069859.html>

<sup>23</sup> See Steve Peskind, "According to Buddhist tradition" (*Shambhala Sun*, March 1998), [http://www.shambhalasun.com/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=1977](http://www.shambhalasun.com/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=1977)

<sup>24</sup> "An open letter to B. Alan Wallace" (*op. cit.*)

Clark Strand's observation that Buddhism tends to be embraced "not as an alternative religion, but as an alternative to religion."<sup>25</sup> McMahan (2008: 245) describes Batchelor as a modernist for his conviction that religious principles can be argued rationally, and since he defends his theology by attributing it to the historical Buddha himself. However, a modernist would be more likely to amass scientific evidence or philosophical arguments for reincarnation, not reject it entirely; Batchelor's explanation of the doctrine as an Indic cultural artifact is more consistent with postmodernism.

In an online diatribe<sup>26</sup> hosted at [Americanbuddha.com](http://Americanbuddha.com),<sup>27</sup> Tara Carreon (formerly a member of a Nyingma center in Ashland, Oregon) describes the subculture of U.S. dharma centers in withering terms:

In Tibetan Buddhist dharma centers all over America, lamas give orders to a tight hierarchy of appointed followers, who are often chosen for their willingness to donate time, money, real estate and property. [...]n your average Dharma center, the lama's word (or his wife's word) is law. Questioning is disobedience, and disagreement is heresy. If you think I'm exaggerating, I'll give you a list of centers to visit.

The complaint that we shop for Dharma is rather disingenuous. The lamas themselves turned the Dharma into a traveling show, selling tickets to empowerments with vague promises of spiritual benefit [...]

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<sup>25</sup> "Buddhist Boomers: A meditation" (9 Nov. 2007, *Wall Street Journal*), available online [http://online.wsj.com/article/SB119456987882087319.html?mod=taste\\_primary\\_hs](http://online.wsj.com/article/SB119456987882087319.html?mod=taste_primary_hs)  
See also responses by Philip Ryan, "Graying Buddhism?" (14 Nov 2007), on the *Tricycle* blog (<http://tricycleblog.wordpress.com/2007/11/14/graying-buddhism/>); and Christ Suellentrop, "Autumn of the American Buddhist" (12 Nov. 2007, *New York Times*), <http://opinionator.blogs.nytimes.com/2007/11/12/autumn-of-the-american-buddhist/?ex=1352696400&en=ac7beb323c03c9f8&ei=5088&partner=rssnyt&emc=rss>

<sup>26</sup> "Another view on whether Tibetan Buddhism is working in the West" (n.d. but 2001), <http://www.american-buddha.com/tib.bud.working.htm> See also the response by Dzongsar Khyentse Rinpoche, "East-West, West-East" (in the blog Ranjung Yeshe Gomde, 12 June 2009), <http://gomde-dk-sangha.blogspot.com/2009/06/east-west-west-east-by-dzongsar.html>

<sup>27</sup> [Americanbuddha.com](http://Americanbuddha.com) is the website of Victor and Victoria Trimondi (a.k.a. Herbert and Mariana Röttgen), authors of *Der Schatten des Dalai Lama. Sexualität, Magie und Politik im tibetischen Buddhismus* (Düsseldorf: Patmos-Verlag, 1999) and *Hitler-Buddha-Krishna - Eine unheilige Allianz vom Dritten Reich bis heute* (Vienna: Überreuter Verlag, 2002). While no one would call the site balanced (for example, it draws rather sweeping conclusions from some bellicose verses in the *Kalachakratantra*), it hosts a wealth of material calculated to expose the dark side of Tibetan Buddhism and embarrass its apologists.

Possibly we should blame Americans for this venality. Probably not. The teachers chose the teachings, the place and the time. The students came, paid money, and listened.

Carreon's letter deserves to be read in full—not only on its own merits, but as a list of fairly typical complaints. They include repetitious, unedifying “arcane rituals”<sup>28</sup> performed in Tibetan, and reinforced with appeals to fear and psychological compulsion; reliance on “a lot of medieval assumptions about reality, cause and effect, and the need to propitiate the protector deities”; a culture of silence and secrecy which insulates lamas from criticism (but encourages gossip); and a distrust of democracy. “At the Tibetan temple where I invested 22 years,” she writes, “there were no ‘members.’” Carreon bristles at the arrogance of the lamas, and their ungracious contempt for Westerners: “The fact is that due to the financial support they have received from Westerners (and the Taiwanese), they can afford to remain ensconced in relative splendor in Kathmandu and Bhutan.”

All this is in the context of a response to B. Alan Wallace, whose essay (on the problems of Tibetan Buddhism in the West)<sup>29</sup> Carreon feels to be insufficiently critical. After all, she commiserates, “no one wants to be an accused heretic, like Stephen Batchelor.” Although she is “no longer a Tibetan Buddhist” and has learned “to think for myself,” Carreon constantly invokes the rhetoric of Buddhist modernism, citing the scientific method, freedom and democracy, humanitarianism and social activism, biofeedback studies of Zen meditation, and “the Buddha, who called everything into doubt.”

The above criticisms should be seen in the context of a liberal Western tradition with roots in the Enlightenment. Under pressure from the physical sciences, biblical scholarship, and activist social movements such as feminism, Jewish and Christian denominations have famously arranged themselves along a liberal-conservative spectrum, depending on their willingness to entertain proposed revisions. At one extreme lie Reform and Progressive Judaism, Unitarian Universalism, and some Quaker congregations, *inter alia*; the other is occupied by various fundamentalist groups. Western Buddhists thus tend to be drawn from

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<sup>28</sup> Batchelor (2010: 22-23) also reports discomfort with Tibetan ritualism.

<sup>29</sup> “Tibetan Buddhism in the West: Is it working here?” (*Tricycle*, Summer 2001, vol. 10 no. 4), <http://www.alanwallace.org/Tricycle%20Interview.pdf>

among those dissatisfied with even the most sweeping reforms. In recent decades, however, Tibetan Buddhism (in common with other religions) has undergone a conservative retrenchment. As popular responses to the above-mentioned controversies demonstrate, not all Western converts are liberals. It would be interesting to explore how and why this shift has occurred (and I note in passing that similar trends can be observed among adherents of the International Society for Krishna Consciousness as well as the Baha'i religion), and document whether the liberal adherents of earlier years were transformed into, or replaced by, conservatives.

For all the Dalai Lama's vaunted progressiveness, Tibetan Buddhism has much in common with the fundamentalisms of other religions—from the pious insistence of its lamas that the historical Buddha really did teach the Mahayana sutras as well as the tantras; to the claim that Chandrakirti's interpretation of Nagarjuna represents the highest/truest/best possible tenet system; to the embrace of various cosmological and esoteric-anatomical concepts from ancient India. Above all, the system depends upon deference being accorded to various identified saints and teachers, whose authority rests primarily on the very fact of their elevation by tradition. To convert to Tibetan Buddhism is thus to abandon what liberals are likely to regard as theological gains. Even fundamentalist Protestants often affirm democracy and egalitarianism, values which Tibetan Buddhism does not seem capable of embracing. Where would Tibetan Buddhism be without tantra? And where would tantra be without the guru-disciple relationship, the assumption that vows and teachings must be passed down in an initiatory chain, or the conviction that some practices are higher or more effective than others due to unverifiable and essentially magical considerations?

Are there, then, no liberal Tibetan Buddhist groups? I am aware of one possible example, although I only know about it from the internet: Aro gTer, an upstart Nyingma organization whose leaders and members seem to be entirely non-Tibetan. While not even Aro can bring itself to dispense with the trappings of hierarchy and lineage, its leaders take full advantage of the *terma* tradition of mystically-revealed "treasure" texts to manufacture spiritual charisma for themselves, and effect whatever reforms are felt necessary. Critics complain that Aro leaders have misrepresented details of their lineage and endorsements.

### III. They eat the people's rice (East Asia)

Besides the West, Tibetan Buddhism has been making significant inroads into the Chinese ethno-cultural world. By this I do not mean so much China proper (though there is a long history of such exchanges,<sup>30</sup> which in the future will surely grow in importance) as the relatively prosperous Chinese populations of Hong Kong, Taiwan, Singapore, and Malaysia. Abraham Zablocki observes that

This transnational expansion [of Tibetan Buddhism] was due both to the need of the exiles to find patrons to sponsor their reconstruction efforts in South Asia and to their recognition that there was a global demand for their religion that, in accordance with Buddhist doctrine, they ought to satisfy. Taiwanese Buddhists, enriched by the economic boom that had begun in Taiwan during the 1970s, proved to be particularly generous sponsors, and this helped make the island a frequent destination for many Tibetan Buddhist monastics and teachers. From this vantage, Taiwan was simply one site, albeit a very important one, in the emerging transnational networks of Tibetan Buddhism.<sup>31</sup>

His observation is echoed by Peter Moran, who recalls that in 1993 and 1994, "Taiwan figured prominently in many of the conversations I had with Tibetans [in Kathmandu] about Bodhanath lamas and monastery building" (Moran, 2004: 81-83). A letter to the editor of the *Taipei Times* from a Bhutanese disciple of Dzongsar Khyentse Rinpoche confirms this impression:

Countless monasteries and temples in Bhutan, Nepal and in many parts of India have continued to thrive today because of the sheer generosity of their Taiwanese friends. Hundreds of thousands of monks, nuns and lay practitioners depend on Taiwanese generosity for their livelihood. Because of the roles, Taiwanese disciples are commonly referred to as "jindags," which beautifully translates to "the giver of livelihood" or patrons. The Taiwanese jindags should actually feel proud of this. [However...] There are many cases were

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<sup>30</sup> See Tuttle (2005), Kapstein (2009), and Yu (2011).

<sup>31</sup> Abraham M. Zablocki, "The Taiwanese connection: Politics, piety and patronage in transnational Tibetan Buddhism" (ch. 11 of Kapstein, 2009), p. 388. See also his doctoral dissertation, *The Global Mandala: The Transnational Transformation of Tibetan Buddhism* (Cornell University, 2005).

the recipients seem to have become spoilt and intoxicated by the offerings of the Taiwanese, that they have come to think that they are entitled to the offerings.<sup>32</sup>

Lest we suppose that the Taiwanese, etc. are content merely to earn merit by contributing funds, Zablocki traces the appeal of Tibetan Buddhism to “its perceived power to ensure long life, financial success, marital and family harmony, and other this-worldly benefits,” and to its claim of superiority over Chinese Buddhism. In contrast to the situation in Western dharma centers, he finds that in Taiwan, “there is comparatively less interest in Tibetan meditation or philosophy, and more in the efficacy of Tibetan rituals” (in Kapstein, 2009: 385).

Besides the Chinese folk religion (whose adherents, the reader will recall, sometimes call it Buddhism), a minority of Chinese people (in Taiwan, I suppose the figure would be something on the order of five or ten percent) identify with Buddhism *in stricta sensu*—i.e. the form associated with monks or nuns, and marked by such practices as vegetarianism, prayer-beads, and the greeting *Amitofo* (Amitabha). Looming over the numerous small-scale temples are several relatively large Buddhist organizations founded by charismatic sangha. In Taiwan, the most important would be Ciji (Compassion Relief Society), Foguangshan (Buddha Light Mountain), Fagushan (Dharma Drum Mountain), and Zhongtaishan (whose name is not usually translated).<sup>33</sup> Tibetan Buddhist centers in Taiwan (of which there seem to be several hundreds)<sup>34</sup> fall into the same general category as this institutionalized Chinese Buddhism, though none of them approach the size of the larger Chinese groups. The Tibetan groups (of which the largest is Penor Rinpoche’s Palyul Ling organization) are perceived as exotic, though some were founded by ethnic Chinese lamas, or are led by ethnic Chinese *tulkus*. Controversy has arisen over the issues of money (recall the parade of fund-raising tours by lamas, held in conjunction with mass teachings

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<sup>32</sup> Pawo Choyning (sic—should probably read Chonying) Dorji, “Buddhist thanks Taiwan patrons for generosity,” letter to the editor of the *Taipei Times*, (20 March 2012), <http://www.chinapost.com.tw/commentary/eye-on-taiwan/2012/03/20/335173/Buddhist-thanks.htm>

<sup>33</sup> See Huang (2009), Chandler (2004), Laliberte (2004), Madsen (2007), Jones (1999); and DeVido (2010). For an overview, see Bingenheimer, (2003).

<sup>34</sup> See <http://www.lama.com.tw> for announcements of current and upcoming Tibetan Buddhist activities in Taiwan.

or initiations) and sex (with tantra complicating what would otherwise be a set of scandals comparable to those of Chinese Buddhism, or for that matter, any other religion). On that note, a particularly hostile Chinese Buddhist reaction against Tibetan Buddhism has appeared in the form of the True Enlightenment (Zhengjue) Education Foundation. In much the same spirit as Americanbuddha.com, Zhengjue disseminates exposes on various Tibetan Buddhist scandals (especially those of a sexual nature), almost to the exclusion of other interests, and apparently labors under the impression that tantric sex, including rapes and orgies, is a regular activity of Tibetan dharma centers.

Among the lamas who travel to Taiwan, some give irregular teachings and initiations (for which set donations are usually specified), or lead sadhanas (crowds of several hundred are routinely encountered). Like the propaganda of charismatic Chinese Buddhist sangha, their posters and fliers can be seen at stores specializing in Buddhist paraphernalia, among other public places. Some foreign lamas maintain permanent local centers which they visit periodically, offering a more long-term, systematic curriculum. A few have settled here permanently. I am aware of others, both temporary visitors and long-term residents, whose activities are relatively low-key or limited to a select group. For example, Lupon Nikula of Bhutan visits his small circle of Taiwanese disciples (numbering twenty or so) on an annual or semi-annual basis in order to lead them through ever more advanced practices; the group began practicing together about ten years ago, and is essentially closed to newcomers. Turning to the ethnic Chinese/Taiwanese who have assumed the role of lama, several have essentially founded their own "Tibetan" sect on the basis of their own personal revelations (e.g., the True Buddha School), while others boast recognition from some established lineage. As for the followers, one discerns a range of motivations and emphases. Unlike the relative individualism of the West, East Asian participants are often recruited on the basis of family ties. To what extent they cultivate a religious identity distinct from Chinese Buddhism, or the Chinese folk religion, is difficult to say. I note that many Tibetan dharma centers observe the Chinese Ghost Month, and that vegetarianism is widely assumed to represent the Buddhist teaching.

Many Chinese Buddhist groups in Taiwan affirm the ideology of *renjian fojiao* (translated as "Humanistic Buddhism" or "Buddhism for the Human Realm") as taught by Yin Shun (1906-2005), which holds that Buddhism ought not to be

relegated to a purely funerary role. (For example, Ciji runs the island's largest charity.) To my knowledge, none of the Tibetan groups here have involved themselves in such practical activities, apart from donations to their home monasteries. In Malaysia, however, Kechara House (a Gelugpa group led by Mongolian-American lama Tsem Rinpoche, and affiliated with the exile Ganden Shartse in Mundgod, Karnataka)<sup>35</sup> organizes a soup kitchen which distributes vegetarian meals to the homeless, in addition to running a chain of shops and restaurants. Although sent to Malaysia for the purpose of fund-raising, Tsem Rinpoche has settled there, and encourages his students (practically all of whom are Malaysian Chinese) to live and work together under the auspices of Kechara's various wings.

All types of institutional Buddhism agree on the insufficiency of Chinese folk practices (while also adapting to them to some extent), and grow by predation upon weaker religious identities. Granting the incapability of the folk religion to transmit very complex theological teachings, it deserves to be asked whether the preservation of such minutia is worth the expense of supporting professional religious specialists, or the loss of spiritual independence that would be the result of a shift away from home-based practices. My father-in-law's reaction to TV images of a Tibetan monastery was, "They eat the people's rice," i.e., they live an essentially parasitical social existence. In their different ways, institutional Chinese and Tibetan Buddhism destroy the balance of an earlier Chinese cultural ecology in which Buddhism was relegated to clearly-defined niche roles. Of course, change is inevitable, perhaps even an improvement; while the historical upheavals of the last century or so make it difficult to speak of "balance."

All forms of traditional Chinese religiosity carry significant social costs. Superstition is rife—by which I mean such practices as divination, belief in lucky or unlucky days, hyper-ritualism, petitionary prayer to the exclusion of other practices, and a whole body of apparently unimpeachable beliefs which seem, in cold reality, to be false (such as the curious notion that sacrificing a chicken is proof of a politician's honesty). While such things exist in Western religions as well (perhaps the chicken sacrifice could be compared to swearing on the Bible in court), their role in Chinese religion is far greater. Whether Tibetan Buddhism is less superstitious is a difficult question, and the answer probably varies from

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<sup>35</sup> See <http://www.kechara.com>, <http://blog.tsemtulku.com>

group to group. At least Tibetan groups lack the cozy ties with politicians and/or organized crime that many formal religious institutions enjoy, though this may simply be the result of their small size and relative newness. The fact that Tibetan dharma centers tend to be led by ethnically alien religious figures arguably introduces a kind of spiritual colonialism that is not present in traditional Chinese religious forms.

**Conclusion: Yak's head, sheep's body**

Whether or not it continues into the future, globalization will surely be remembered as one of the great defining trends of our era. Its religious dimension takes not only the familiar form of missionaries and diasporas, but the increasing impossibility of taking our own religious identities for granted. Whatever we may ultimately believe, practice, or join, religion has become a matter of choice rather than an implicit identity which adherents may assume to be true. It is difficult to wall off outside influences, to the extent that this is even possible. As the world integrates further, we can hardly avoid becoming like that yak-headed sheep spoken of by the Dalai Lama as a cautionary symbol for religious syncretism.<sup>36</sup>

Confronted by these globalizing forces, many established religions (including Buddhism, in countries where it dominates) promote romantic nationalistic dreams of an ethnically and religiously homogenous society—often in alliance with right-wing political forces, mafia groups, and other dubious representatives of tradition. Indeed, Buddhist sangha have often allowed themselves to be used as legitimizing symbols of their ethnic group's political domination, or remained silent in the face of ethnic cleansing (when they were not actively fomenting it, as during the Sri Lankan civil war). Such departures from the ideal would make it difficult to support any religion. In any case, in light of impermanence, together with the difficulty of identifying "essential" cultural traits which demand preservation, it is hardly an original Buddhist insight to suggest that such resistance to other cultures is misguided.

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<sup>36</sup> In several places the Dalai Lama applies to religious conversion the Tibetan proverb, "Don't try to put a yak's head on a sheep's body." See for example *The Good Heart* (1998, p. 105).

As for recommendations,<sup>37</sup> I doubt that very many Tibetan Buddhist leaders will particularly care what changes I think ought to be made to their religion. A religion is not a reciprocal relationship like a marriage, in which both parties are obliged to listen and adapt to one another. At the same time, changes will surely come, even if they are not necessarily ones favored by liberal dissidents and defectors such as myself. Possibly the qualities which allow religions the best chances of survival, are ones which also encourage a certain ruthlessness in facing threats or opportunities. Religions, like languages, often take on a life of their own, existing in a kind of symbiosis with their host populations. In this light, the wisest strategy would be to choose the least demanding religion available, albeit one which is nevertheless strong enough to withstand competition. While it is possible to be an atheist, this is difficult to sustain multigenerationally, as any offspring would be vulnerable to predation by relatively gung-ho religious identities (on the assumption that religionlike behavior is universal across all human populations). Against the pressures of group identity and inter-group competition, idealism (as opposed to idealistic rhetoric) tends not to fare very well.

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<sup>37</sup> The original call for papers for this conference (penned, I am told, by Dasho Karma Ura) hoped that participants might address (among a rather dizzying ten-page list of proposed topics) “the theme of Buddhist multiculturalism” and “Buddhism by choice,” in the West and elsewhere. Papers would “counter negative opinions and misconceptions on Buddhism,” and contribute to “a checklist of 108 reasons” for accepting the religion.

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# 5

## Spiritual Development in Children of All Ages

Christina Partsalaki

### Introduction

In the following presentation, I will explore how through the application of Buddhist principles we may aid children of all ages to flourish holistically, how to become empowered in an integral way and have a spiritually meaningful and enlightened start at the earliest stages of their development. In Buddhist philosophy the three interconnected bodies that constitute an individual, namely “body, speech and mind” (action, speech and thinking) will be used as a template for introducing some practical guidelines of enlightened parenting through physical, mental and spiritual nourishment. In order to provide a complete and rounded education, we have to strengthen and integrate all three aspects into daily life. With the word education, I refer to any kind of training or teaching given to another and pertaining to all aspects of life, and not only in the narrow use of the term in schools, academies or other institutions. New knowledge has to be introduced step by step, in a simple way. And the subject matter has to be relevant to the student’s life and be suited to his age, culture, interests and environment.

I am not a trained teacher, nor a parent. I work with holistic medicine and I am trained to recognize the interconnection of all aspects of body, speech and mind. In the last fifteen years of working with adults and children, I have noticed the tremendous potential children have for spiritual development. Buddhist precepts are ideal for this, for they can be adapted in parenthood, education even by those who are not Buddhist practitioners, and applied, in everyday life providing ethics, happiness, and a better quality of life informed with clarity, luminosity and therefore awareness and a higher level of consciousness. Buddhist values concerning life, human existence and the true nature of mind can be used as universal values whose goal is to cultivate spiritual development in children of all ages, the future generations.

His Holiness the Fourteenth Dalai Lama has said:

In this century, there is much more self-centeredness of attitude that gives rise to more depression, fear, distrust, and suicide amongst youth has increased, and there is more anger, dissatisfaction and dysfunction in families and communities. We need to pay more attention to education, and develop more affection, kindness, peace and compassion. As individual happiness is very much dependent upon community, because we are interconnected, interdependent economically, environmentally and in many other fields, it is important to take care of the rest of the world and to develop inner beauty, inner qualities, inner peace and happiness. There is great importance and a sense of urgency to bring the Buddhist principle of compassion into education.

Research undertaken by various disciplines validates the pedagogical benefits of practices such as, mindfulness, contemplation, relaxation, yoga and the development of compassion and awareness. Neuroscientists agree that our brains are designed to change, that they have plasticity and are constantly changing. A child's brain continues to develop long after birth. During the preschool years, 90% of brain growth occurs. The experiences that a child has in the first few years of his or her life create the connections between brain cells and develop the foundation for relationships and learning throughout life. It is critical that parents and educators facilitate positive experiences and promote environments for the optimal development of children during these important years. Nutrition, sleep, regular physical activities such as play, and repeated positive experiences with caring adults, strengthen the connections and allow the growth of the brain and its parts that will enhance all areas of learning including emotional self-regulation. Developing brains adapt to the environment they are exposed to, either it is a negative environment or a positive one.

### **Hearts Full of Love**

Ideally we can start the process of educating and imparting imprints on children while they are still in the womb. A mother nurtures the undelivered baby through her voice, her body and her mind; for example, by selecting what she eats, thinks, speaks and does at all times. After birth there is a variety of nurturing techniques including breastfeeding and infant massage. "Mother love influences brain development in many ways. Her breast milk contains nutrients

and biochemical substances that are essential for the normal development of the infant/child brain and is also essential for the development of the infant's own immunological system which does not mature until 5-6 years of age. The World Health Organization has recommended breastfeeding for "two years and beyond."<sup>1</sup> This is something we can see in all traditional cultures, where babies are breastfeeding until the age of two, and they are also being physically carried by their mothers or other relatives during the early ages of their lives. This is something that has been forgotten in our times, as mothers are very busy working. The IAIM (International Association of Infant Massage) teaches mothers and other relatives the nurturing touch to the children, techniques that we still see in Asian countries, but which they have been lost or forgotten in advanced societies. This is a very kind form of important bonding even for Buddhism since there are many Buddhist techniques where the practitioners are asked to visualize all sentient beings as their mother. For the first two years of their life, the social dynamics, and the bond and intimacy that occurs between mother and child is of vital importance. It leads to a bond of trust and the foundation of all high learning later, including the assimilation of positive values in life such as compassion, loving kindness, caring, and much more. Without enough physical contact, babies all over the world die or become ill, insecure and unsure of who they are as they grow up. In contrast, babies and children that have received full acceptance and nurturing touch from their parents, have more confidence, self-esteem and a stronger immune system. Furthermore, they grow more compassionate towards others and they can give to others the love that they have received during their life.

Short regular massage sessions in the classroom benefits children's behavior and wellbeing and also teach them to respect each other's bodies and to think about the needs of others. Massage increases levels of the 'feel good' hormones (dopamine and serotonin) in the brain, as well as oxytocin which relieves stress and is believed to help humans bond with each other, and help children to become happier, calmer and more focused.

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<sup>1</sup> Prescott, James W. (1996). The Origins of Human Love and Violence. Pre - and Prenatal Psychology Journal. Vol. 10, No.3, pp.143-187. (Spring).

## **Educating in Spirituality**

If we are to reach real peace in this world and if we are to carry on a real war against war, we shall have to begin with children; and if they will grow up in their natural innocence, we won't have to struggle, we won't have to pass fruitless idle resolutions, but we shall go from love to love and peace to peace, until at last all the corners of the world are covered with that peace and love for which consciously or unconsciously the whole world is hungering --- Mahatma Gandhi.

There are schools which have demonstrated surprising results in the intellectual and spiritual development of children, having the vision to bring compassion and spirituality into education, based on Buddhist principles that include: introducing children to the nature and workings of their mind, and teaching them universal values such as honesty, generosity, love, and harmony with each other, with nature and with all of life. Buddhist principles provide a consistent and gentle guidance to help children recognize for themselves which actions bring them happiness and which actions make them feel insecure and unhappy. Moreover, using yoga practices, meditation, guided visualizations, breathing techniques, didactic narratives, attention exercises at the beginning and at the end of each class bring awareness to the child's state of being. There are many benefits in discussions centered on self-inquiry, on questions about life and death, thoughts and feelings, which help children to acquire important skills to handle life's events by maintaining an honest attitude, concentration, control over their emotions, and working in cooperation and collaboration with others. These educational approaches can remedy and prevent psychological distress and behavioral disorders of students, and - in the long term - they can help them to achieve personal, social and existential happiness.<sup>2</sup>

An essential purpose of rounded education is to generate compassion and understanding following the Buddha's teachings on the Four Noble Truths that contain instructions about the workings of suffering and how to deal with painful emotions by understanding their nature and the interconnected nature of all things. Understanding and love often come together. You cannot love if you do not understand and you can only harm that which you do not understand. The first step in teaching compassion to children is to help them recognize their

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<sup>2</sup> Valentino, Giacomini, "Universal Education Action - The Alice Project."

own emotions and the key to develop compassion in life is to make it a daily practice. This can start from parents and educators who should serve as models of honesty and compassion. This can be done by uncovering the mechanisms of empathy by asking children to ask themselves how others might feel, and encourage them to express their own thoughts about how they think others might feel in a particular situation. They should also be encouraged to draw and illustrate their emotions, to enact roles where they express different emotions, and afterwards be encouraged to describe how they feel. Developing a language for mental and emotional experiences give children more tools and possibilities to understand and regulate their different experiences, and to recognize them when they see them occurring in others. The ultimate lesson is to demonstrate in various ways how to ease the suffering of others by focusing on making others happier through kindness, through gestures,<sup>3</sup> since that will make them happier and fulfilled in return. We have to teach children how to be happy by understanding the nature of suffering which stems from an egotistical preoccupation with oneself. Furthermore, happiness is contagious. If we know how to be happy then we know how to put an end to our suffering.

Following the Buddhist teachings on “no-self,” when we give something it is important to do so without placing any importance onto our action. We must teach children to give without expecting anything in return, no payment, and not even to be thanked, since this is how we can help them develop giving to others with detachment and from the bottom of their hearts.<sup>4</sup> And the perfection of generosity can be applied in a variety of ways - through words, silence, forgiveness, offering time and space, or even a smile.

### **Reverence - Responsibility - Critical Thinking**

Children are seldom taught about the origins of their cultural values, the effects of media and advertising on their desires and behaviors, and the ways in which societal values shape, repress or deny individual needs and wants. Similarly, they are seldom taught where their clothes or food come from, how the products they use are made, where their trash goes, how their electricity is produced, or what effects widely used chemicals have on the environment. Children are not

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<sup>3</sup> From 100% of our communication, 50% happens through our gestures, 40% from our voice's nuance, and only 10% from the words we say).

<sup>4</sup> Carlos De Leon De Witt, 1987, “Atrevete a Ser Libre” (Dare to Be Free).

even taught basic information about ecology that underpins their lives. But in order to be able to make informed and responsible choices in their lives, they need to have such information, which is also the basis for critical thinking.

There is a Vietnamese saying, “When eating a fruit, think of the person who planted the tree.” Living in such a way, we can introduce the Buddhist notion of karma and our own responsibility for the world we live in. Though this may be a hard concept to explain, we can begin by teaching the important values of reverence, protection and honor. When a small child feels reverence for goodness, for nature, for the diversity of life, for individual rights, she will likely grow up and make compassionate choices and naturally respect will follow. If children learn to have reverence for other species, showing respect will mean that they won’t destroy or pollute animal habitats or knowingly participate in cruelty. It is much easier to promote respectful attitudes and behaviors among children who feel compassion, wonder, and awe. And students who actively endeavor these positive attitudes are emotionally healthier than those who don’t; their lives increasingly reflect compassion and kindness, and they enjoy a great degree of contentment and happiness.<sup>5</sup>

### **The Educational Importance of Play**

Play is critical to healthy human development since it transforms the quality of life. A child develops natural curiosity and intense concentration when his attention is really captured.<sup>6</sup> This can be ordinarily achieved with toys, not expensive ones but toys made in a simple and economical way from local materials collected from our surrounding environment. Helping to make toys from recycling and reused stuff, for oneself and for other children can be just as educational and fun, as well as a very good practice on how to become environmentally and socially conscious consumers, and to discover how resourceful we can all be. Moreover, it gives children the opportunity to appreciate their surroundings and to respect nature, learning from a young age not to consume, use or waste resources without consideration of the consequences. In addition to that, recycling examples can be used for the deeper understanding of emotional transformation. Negative emotions are useless but

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<sup>5</sup> Zoe Weil, 2003, “Above All, Be Kind: Raising a Humane Child in Challenging Times.”

<sup>6</sup> Rieke Hengelar and Inge Melsen, 2007, “Play, the key to development, the importance of play for children with Cerebral Palsy in Nepal,” pg.42, 44.

when they are transformed into positive emotions, they become useful. They were once garbage that has now turned into a treasure.

### **Singing Bowls – Mindfulness Gong**

There is another tool that comes from the Buddhist tradition that helps children in a playful way to develop this practice. It is the Tibetan gong, the singing bowl, the mindful-bell or any other name we like to call it, that has been used for the practice of meditation. It creates moments of quiet, rest and mindfulness that support classroom environments. When we hear the sound of the bell, we can let go of everything, close our eyes and observe our body, our feelings and our breathing. Through mindful awareness children can recognize that they can control how they respond to situations even if they can't control the situation itself.<sup>7</sup> To bring awareness to what happens in their mind and body is not to control their mind, but to transform it. Singing bowls can also be used in different ways. As a healing object or as a toy it can help children to hear their own music and to follow their own rhythm. The vibration of the singing bowls can bring a state of Alfa waves that corresponds to the state of deep meditation, and can help children to keep alive the connection between the sky and the earth, their mind and their body and sensitize them towards the realization of many different realities.

### **Ecological Consciousness**

Our relationship with nature is also based on listening and understanding. If we encourage children to be in touch with nature, when they grow up they will find it difficult to harm the trees they have planted, the animals they hugged, the plants whose healing power they have been connected with. Given the environmental problems that we face today, it is even more urgent to introduce environmental values. We can do so in a variety of ways, for example by establishing community-school clean up days, taking care of stray animals and freeing others born in bondage, feeding birds and other animals, planting seeds and trees. Integral to this understanding in education is the introduction of tactile sensory experiences and play. This may include: collecting natural objects,

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<sup>7</sup> Susan Kaiser Greenland, 2010, "The Mindful Child: How to Help Your Kid Manage Stress and Become Happier, Kinder and More Compassionate."

making mandalas on the earth, looking for patterns in nature, the sky, the clouds and the reflections in water, barefoot walking and much more.

We can start recognizing every being, every expression of life as sacred, as it really is. We can give new meaning to our existence, setting our goal as high as we can: Enlightenment. And enlightenment, from a Mahayana perspective, means just a simple thing: to become servants of all beings; to put the needs of others higher than ours and to create small paradises of consciousness as we go step by step, beyond the logic of "things" and "matter," and into the world of positive energy and love. Can Buddhism really solve our environmental problems? Can it find a solution to climate change? Can meditation bring back all the species that have become extinct? No, but it can make us more conscious citizens, more conscious human beings, and to take a collective responsibility for all these, since the health of one ecosystem is the collective reflection of the psychological and physical health of all its citizens.

### **Mindful Food**

Dzongsar Khyentse Rinpoche in one of his teachings reminds us that the precious human body is the vessel that takes us to the shore of enlightenment. As we cross the ocean of existence, the preservation of the body becomes an important part of the enlightenment process. Therefore, cook and eat as if you were to die the next day. Let fears, hopes and fixations dissolve. Just appreciate what you have at any given time.

The practice of non-harming, a fundamental view of Buddhist teachings, refers not only to the environment, but to all beings living in our blue planet. Food is the food from our cosmos. Eating is a basic need in our lives, and we all take food several times a day. This makes vegetarianism an ideal example of compassion in action in a personal, direct, and tangible way. Through vegetarianism, we can grow altruism and thereby compassion for oneself and all other sentient beings, for earth and the ecosystems that sustain all living forms.<sup>8</sup> This doesn't mean that everyone has to become vegetarian. But we can at least be conscious of what we are doing and express our gratitude for every living being that we consume, and pray for its future benefit. All that we consume as food and liquid, and the way

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<sup>8</sup> Stepaniak, Joanne M.S.Ed., and Melina, Vesanto M.S., R.D., 2003, "Raising Vegetarian Children, A guide to Good Health and Family Harmony."

we do it, profoundly affect our physical and mental well-being. Since we are all interconnected and one's behavior affects the whole, it does not influence only our stomach or finances. Our feeding habits are not just a personal but a universal matter as well. Through taking time to taste and appreciate different varieties of food, we can think how it was produced, from whom and how, and in this way we can integrate our experience as buyers and as consumers, thereby increasing our consciousness. Our food can be seen to possess an environmental, nutritious, civilizing, and local financial value, instead of being degraded as an external object. We need to be in touch with mother earth when we eat, be present in the process, and have a mindful meal. The Buddha specifically advised us to eat mindfully so that we can maintain compassion in our hearts and ensure a good future for the next generations. He taught that if we take a shortsighted and selfish approach to the food and drink we consume, we will hurt not only ourselves but also our children and our planet. Thich Nhat Hanh writes: "There is a tremendous change that can come to the mind, clarity if we just only turn our "normal" diet to a better vegetarian, a more organic and pure diet."<sup>9</sup>

Children can be taught from a very young age to prefer pure nutrition without added sugar or other chemicals, to honor, respect, and appreciate whatever food they have, and take the amount they can eat without wasting food. Engaging children in the preparation of food, the act of cooking can be transformed to a unique chance to develop consciousness and it can also become an important educational time for instilling important values, as well as relaxing, taming the mind and nurturing the soul. With the use of mantra, prayers and love, the act of cooking can involve a conscious wish and intention to heal and nurture everyone who will receive the meal, and thus turn it into a merit-accumulating-activity by mentally offering the meal to all beings, many of which are hungry.

However, mindful consumption is not only about what we eat and drink with our mouth. What we see, hear, smell, taste, touch, and think, all that we sense with our body and all that we become aware of with our mind, is food for our sense consciousness. The surrounding environment brings bliss to the individual and the individual bring bliss to the place. If we live in a neighborhood with violence, then we consume violence. If we live in a community with peace, harmony and love, then we consume love. The Buddha said: *Nothing can survive*

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<sup>9</sup> Thich Nhat Hanh, 2010, "Mindful Eating, Mindful Life", pp. 47, 50.

*without food.* This is an obvious but very deep truth. If we do not nourish our love, it will die, and may turn into hate. If we want love to last, we have to nurture it and give it food every day. Hate is the same; if we don't feed it, it cannot survive. Nourishing our bodies and mind with wholesome nutriment will help us achieve peace and happiness. And it is important to realize that our mind and body are not separate. In the age of mass-produced food, it is important to protect ourselves, and even more our children by being selective with what we use for nourishment.

### **Mind and Body are not separate - Respecting the Human Body**

Many religious traditions agree that our body plays an important part in our spiritual development. If we don't respect our body, we don't respect our mind. This means nothing more than to be present and connected with what the body feels, and understand that body and mind are interconnected. A very interesting pedagogical work has been done with the Healthy Communities Puzzles.<sup>10</sup> The Healthy Communities Puzzle comprises a set of two colorful puzzles. It was designed to help make health lessons easy. One puzzle details all the components of an unhealthy village comprising a dirty river full of dead animals and rubbish, and bored children throwing stones through the windows of their closed school. There are shops selling instant noodles and sweets instead of tsampa and fruit, and no one visits the local gompa. The second puzzle describes a healthy community consisting of cooperatively owned shops and businesses, volunteers teaching agricultural techniques at an ecologically-sound experimental farm. There is also a thriving monastery and nunnery. The puzzles are the focus of a fun learning activity which illustrates the differences between the villages, the people, and their healthy and unhealthy behaviors. A key aspect to a healthy life is how our bodies and mind are interconnected. Cultivating a deeper understanding of how thoughts and feelings can impact our health will help us to become the master of our body and health.

### **Speech and Listening**

When we are masters of our mind, we are also masters of our speech. From a Buddhist point of view, right speech is an important aspect of the eightfold path, to know when it is proper not to speak at all and when it is proper to speak at the

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<sup>10</sup> THEO Health Learning Series, "Tashi's Dream."

right time. The first step to learning mindful speaking, which is also the greatest tool we have, is to learn how to listen and to learn to be silent. The great Tibetan yogi Milarepa is usually represented naked in the snowy Himalayas in a sitting position, with his hand raised behind his right ear and with a smile full of love and compassion, hearkening to the cosmic sounds of the universe, the transmissions of the enlightened teachers and the pains of countless beings wherever they are. Effective communication among humans is an art that starts and ends by listening to others. It is important to learn to be silent in order to listen. A very good exercise is the practice of "listening walks," remaining silent while walking and just hearing everything carefully without exception, without attraction or repulsion. This practice may change the perception we have for ourselves and others, increasing real communication, while respecting and accepting others and everything as it is.<sup>11</sup> The tongue and therefore speech has the power of life and death. Destructive or encouraging words are sometimes all that someone needs in order to finish or to continue their path in life. Through compassionate listening, and by cultivating loving, truthful speech, using words that inspire confidence, joy and hope, we may relieve suffering and promote reconciliation and peace in ourselves and among others. In order to develop right speech and right listening among children, we can use games. For example, children can take turns one being the ear and the other the mouth, using a stick or a ball for the one who speaks as the other one is listening, recognizing and acknowledging constructive forms of communication. Showing children the power that words have in their life is a way to encourage them to recognize words than can potentially harm others. Complaining doesn't change people. If something can't happen in one way, for sure it can happen in another way. We could even use the alphabet to teach Buddhist perceptions and values - A for Awareness, B for Beneficial, C for Compassion, L for Love, and so on. When we use loving speech we can water the good seeds in our children and inspire them to do as we have done. With right speech and by following our own practice, our children will see and imitate us.<sup>12</sup> Words are the vibrations of nature; beautiful words create beautiful images. Ugly words create ugly images. It is important to put together mouth and mind in practice, and to start using a new language that derives from the heart.

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<sup>11</sup> Gerouki Ariadni, 2011, "Αλλάζοντας τον Κόσμο ... από Μέσα" ("Changing the World... from Inside"),134-136.

<sup>12</sup>Thich Nhat Hanh, 2008,"Answers from the Heart, Practical responses to Life's Burning Questions".

### **The web of Interconnection**

We need to teach children that we are all joined together like the rings of one chain. We are connected with each other just like the hands, the legs, the eyes, the stomach are connected with the whole body. Having children imitating parts of the body, and also imitating birds, trees, and so forth as parts of a bigger body, will help them understand the interconnection of all things. Exercises like these will inspire them to make choices in the future to benefit other people and to become members of a generation where the 'we' will be the leader, instead of the 'I.' Training our speech and mind is not enough, we have to act accordingly. On the other hand, the most important thing is not what we do with our body and speech, but our mind and our emotions. This is where the children's education should be focused, to encourage them to come to know their mind and the way it interacts with the world. If their mind is polluted with egotistical desires and false views, the world will be polluted. If they learn how to control and purify their mental and emotional worlds, they will be able one day to protect and nurture the physical world, the earth and the environment.

There are so many books these days that outline examples and tips on educating children in spirituality, that everyone who is interested in this subject can find great ideas.<sup>13</sup> The truth is that Buddhist values support morality, and bring happiness and worth in the world and in life, and go beyond the narrow confines of Buddhist religiosity. Buddhism is an ancient philosophy that is at the same time contemporary, practical and timely – “a discipline to counteract unhappiness” if you will.<sup>14</sup> It teaches sharing, participation, genuine interest, caring, self-denial, consciousness, responsibility, solidarity and compassion. These universal values are within and beyond any religious tradition and are precious and needed, especially in this world, and in our times.

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<sup>13</sup> Tips for Nurturing Spiritual Development in Children, Sandy Smith, 2003.

<sup>14</sup> Dimou, Nikos, “Ο Έλληνας Βούδας” (‘The Greek Buddha’).

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## 6

### **The masters go West: A story of Buddhism's adaptation to new "fields"**

Francoise Pommaret

The reach and appeal of Buddhism are its faculty of adaptation to other cultural backgrounds and languages, and its egalitarian view of sentient beings. Taking a cultural anthropology perspective, this paper would like to illustrate the fact that Buddhism as a globalized and multi-faceted religion is not a new phenomenon, and that Tibetan Buddhism's diffusion in the West is due to different factors.

"Pure" Buddhism, as opposed to "devious" or adulterated forms, does not exist and was a 19th century Western view. Buddhism as it is practised - we are not talking here about dogma - is essentially a polymorphous religion that evolves according to the specific cultural context that it encounters. After briefly reviewing the past geographical trajectory of Buddhism, we will turn to its more recent impact in the West, the causes of this impact, and its adaptation to a different cultural context and way of thinking.

Buddhism has from the very beginning been a religion without borders. Buddha was born in what is today known as Nepal and spent his life in northern India. After his passing away, Buddhism spread to Sri Lanka, South East Asia, China, Korea and Japan before reaching Tibet and then Bhutan in the 8th century AD.

While spreading all over Asia, the basic tenets of Buddhism remained unchanged. However, the way Buddhism was practised and the rules of conduct were adapted according to different socio-economic, historical and ecological conditions. This explains the vast differences in the dress of the clergy, eating habits, and rules regarding celibacy. Different religious traditions emerged and the Buddha's teachings were translated and written in different languages.

In China, for example, "During the tumultuous years after the fall of the Han dynasty, Buddhism's emphasis on personal salvation and its rejection of worldly ties led to its growth in popularity. Many Chinese Buddhist beliefs built upon and adapted Indian Buddhist beliefs that had been shared by missionaries, traders, and diplomats who had traveled the Silk Roads. As an example of how Buddhism

adapted and incorporated local traditions, consider the role of family in practice. While Indian Buddhists had always stressed the renunciation of family ties, Chinese Buddhists actively promoted the doctrine of filial piety in accordance with the Chinese tradition of ancestor worship"<sup>1</sup>

In Japan, Buddhism, introduced from China, encountered the existing religion of Shinto which stressed worship of the nature and its spirits (*kami*). As a result, the Buddhism found in Japan developed many aesthetic and ritual practices that were based on worship of nature.

On the Silk road in the 8th century, which was then occupied by the Tibetans, the Buddhist missionaries wrote a manual where pre-Buddhist notions such as bloody sacrifices were adapted and transformed into *gtor ma*, the "offering cakes."<sup>2</sup> In Central Tibet, the Samye debate which is said to have taken place at the end of the 8th c. is an illustration of the already internationalised Buddhism as two conceptions were in competition, with both the Chinese and Indians vying for influence into Tibet.

In the West, Buddhism began to be known through translations from Pali, and later from Sanskrit and Tibetan by British, French and German scholars. However "after the chronological precedence of Pali Buddhism had been established, most Orientalists soon began to radically oppose southern Hinayana Buddhism (Pali sources), considered "authentic," from northern Mahayana Buddhism (Sanskrit sources), deemed "degraded." The British Pali scholar Rhys Davids (1843-1922), for instance, held up the rationalism and purity of early Buddhism against the "corruption" of Tibetan Buddhism (*Vajrayana*).<sup>3</sup> In the same line, the 19th century Christian historian Marcus Dods (1834-1909) explained that it was hard to "spot any real kinship between the superstitious and idolatrous religion of northern Buddhism and the Buddha's original way of thinking."

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<sup>1</sup> "Buddhism in China: A Historical Overview" (<http://www.saylor.org/site/wp-content/uploads/2011/05/ARTH406-Historical-Overview-of-Chinese-Buddhism-FINAL.pdf>) (PDF). Saylor.org. <http://www.saylor.org/site/wp-content/uploads/2011/05/ARTH406-Historical-Overview-of-Chinese-Buddhism-FINAL.pdf>

<sup>2</sup> Yoshiro Imaeda, *Histoire du cycle de la naissance et de la mort*, Droz, Genève-Paris, 1981.

<sup>3</sup> Tibetan Buddhism is often called Vajrayana Buddhism. As Vajrayana also exist in Japan, for clarity we use here the term Tibetan Buddhism in a strictly religious sense to identify the type of Buddhism practised all over the Himalayas.

For these scholars and their many commentators, this "authentic Buddhism" as revealed in the oldest texts was thus a "totally rational" and "atheistic" message which had little in common with the religiosity observable everywhere in Asia today. For them, "original" Buddhism, the only authentic form, was a philosophy in the current Western sense of the word, not a religion.<sup>4</sup> This view was typical of times when positivism spread in Europe and this perception of Buddhism did not threaten the supremacy of the monotheist religions such as Judaism and Christianity.

The word "Buddhism" appeared as early as 1820 with the concept of a tree with multiple branches. However it was only with the publication in 1844 of Eugène Burnouf's masterful text, *Introduction à l'histoire du bouddhisme indien*, only translated and published in English in 2010, that a precise understanding was achieved through a critical confrontation of the most diverse sources. Works by European scholars gave rise to a fascination with Buddhism in Europe. The Buddhist Society of London, established in 1924, is the oldest and one of the largest Buddhist organisations in Europe.

The Tibetan Studies chair at the EPHE (École pratique des hautes études) in Paris was created in 1936 and held by the explorer and scholar Jacques Bacot (1877-1965) followed by the formidable lady Marcelle Lalou (1890-1967), a specialist of the Dunhuang manuscripts. Besides France, the UK and Germany, there was no recognition of Buddhism as a scholarly topic in other Western countries until the mid 20th century. In contrast, Japan, with the Otani Buddhist private university in Kyoto (est.1901), and Kyoto National University (est. in 1897), was already producing scholars such as the great D.T. Suzuki (1870-1966), but Japan, unlike European countries, was largely Buddhist and familiarised with Buddhist concepts.

In Europe, the interest in Buddhism remained confined to scholars and esoteric circles, although the books of the French lady Alexandra David-Neel from the 1930s to the 1960s started to propagate Tibetan Buddhist concepts among a larger public when the theosophic ideas were also in vogue. She was the first person to recognise the importance of meditation techniques and oral transmission by a master, therefore moving away from the then dominant textual approach.

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<sup>4</sup> Frederic Lenoir, "The evolution of Buddhism in the West," *Diogene*, [www.fredericlenoir.com/web/content/view/146/103/lang,en/](http://www.fredericlenoir.com/web/content/view/146/103/lang,en/)

In the USA, during the second half of the 19th century, Chinese immigrants settled in Hawaii and California. These immigrants brought a number of Mahayana Buddhist practices with them. The Japanese immigrants, who arrived later, invited Japanese monks who represented various Mahayana Buddhist sects. However, until the mid 20th century, Buddhist activities in the USA remained largely confined to these Asian communities.

From the 1960s, because of ease of communication and travel, and, in the case of Tibetan Buddhism, the tragic events in Tibet, Buddhism moved from the confines of scholarly circles, and was actively propagated in the West.

The first masters to reach Australia, North America and Europe were Zen teachers of Japan, who really broke through the Western monotheist religions and obliged the West to rethink faith in totally different terms. A word and concept like karma had to be translated by a sentence in western languages because the semantic field of the word could not be covered by one equivalent word. Nowadays, most of the Western languages use the word Karma as it had become a common and understood word. Likewise, the word Zen has become incorporated in many languages as implication of a tranquil state of mind.

Buddhism gained influence among mainstream Americans only in the 1960s. Zen was propagated in the USA by Shunryu Suzuki (1904-1971) of the Soto Zen tradition. He founded the first Buddhist monastery outside Asia (Tassajara Zen Mountain Center) and intellectuals such as Alan Watts, Jack Kerouac, or Allen Ginsberg further popularized Zen. Two notable Zen teachers of Vietnamese descent have been influential in Western countries: Thich Thien-An in the USA and Thich Nhat Hanh in France.

After the Zen masters, in the 1970s and 1980s came the Tibetan Buddhism masters, and their popularity in the west grew with time and space.

Although a small part of Buddhism, it won an incredible number of disciples in the West and thousands of centres now exist, further contributing to the spread of Buddhist concepts among the public. Tibetan Buddhist centres are now found in places such as Mexico, Brazil and throughout South America. This is due, no doubt, to the charisma of great masters such as HH the Dalai Lama, and charismatic personalities such as Chogyam Trungpa, Dilgo Khyentse, Dudjom,

Kalu, and Dzongsar Khyentse, to name a few rinpoches. However, the phenomenal growth has also been at least partly attributed to the deep-rooted attraction of the Westerners for all things exotic, especially if they come from Tibet and the Himalayas. The success of James Hilton's novel "Lost Horizon" (1933) which was made as a movie in 1937, made Shangrila a household name, and was a foretaste of the wave which hit in the 2nd half of the 20th century.

Universities in the USA and Canada started to include Tibetan Buddhism courses in their Religious Studies curriculum; they emphasised on the textual aspect of Buddhism and studied it with comparative and critical method. In contrast the approach of the Buddhist centres was quite different stressing on the practice and the lama's spiritual authority.

Buddhism, as a spiritual path of self transformation, appealed to the 1960s and 1970s counter-culture, but several other factors contributed to the spread of Tibetan Buddhism in the West.

The first factor is "the lama," which played a tremendous role. The accomplished masters with their charisma, teachings and meditation techniques attracted people who were often wary of traditional Western religions. They also drew a following among those who had seen psychoanalysis as the modern answer to their problems and were disappointed. Therefore masters were in a logic of spiritual demand and supply.

As Tibetan Buddhism emphasizes the oral tradition and the personal link to the lama who holds the authority to deliver the teachings, many Westerners saw their lama as a saviour, a mentor and a remedy to their problems. The exotic image of Tibet and the loss of their country by these masters also played a part in the Western attraction.

The second factor was the ability of the masters to adapt to Western culture and needs. In order to allow students to attain the disciples, while saving them the arduous task of learning classical Tibetan, the masters had basic texts and prayers translated into Western languages and/or words transcribed into Latin alphabet for easy reading; preliminary practices (*ngondro*) were simplified. Teachings were also adapted to the western logic and time frame; some of the aspects of Tibetan Buddhism, such as wrathful rituals and the cult of local deities, were played down. Even if the master was himself not vegetarian as it was often the case, vegetarian

diet was emphasised. Retreats and seminars were organised along Western norms with inclusive fees for accommodation, teaching, and meditation sessions, all laid out in a programme and a timetable.

One of the most successful masters in this transformation of Tibetan Buddhism for a Western audience was Chogyam Trungpa Rinpoche, and his creation of the Shambhala community. Toning down the paraphernalia of Tibetan Buddhism, incorporating Japanese Buddhist aesthetics, organising his disciples in different levels of duties and privileges, especially the access to the lama, he created a new brand of Tibetan Buddhism and catered to the needs of a different cultural context. While rituals and rigorous practices are very important in Tibetan Buddhism as practised in Asia, they are not given so much importance in the Western context. Therefore, I would argue that Tibetan Buddhism, as it is perceived by many Westerners, is now a new different brand of Buddhism, a Western Tibetan Buddhism, another incarnation suited to the time and place.

The third factor is that Buddhism filled a gap which had seemed to have been left vacant by institutional Western religions, often perceived as too prescriptive.

Buddhism is perceived as a "science of the individual" and a method for personal growth for many Western Buddhists. Their inner experience enhanced through Buddhist meditation and integrating body and mind, is now perceived as a science. Matthieu Ricard, a former scientist who became a Buddhist monk, contrasts "the inner science" of Buddhism, which helps individuals in their quest for happiness, with Western science only interested in outer phenomena. In the West, this individual search for happiness is now the focus of the Buddhist approach. It shifts from the emotional and subjective sphere of religion to the rationality and objectiveness of science, an approach which is deeply ingrained in the Western psyche.

However one may ask with the French sociologist and philosopher Edgar Morin (b. 1921) whether there is such a "science of the individual," and if opposing Western science and Buddhism is really a necessary debate. I will argue here that if Buddhism in the West provides answers to the individual, it is not due to its scientific approach, it is because, as a faith it provides a holistic view of an individual and stresses the individual's willingness to improve without depending on a higher being.

This idea was in vogue amongst the Western intellectuals thanks to the work of the influential thinker Edgar Morin who wrote in 1973 about the "uniduality" of the human being "who is at the same time biological, natural, doted of a brain on one side, and cultural, social and spiritual on the other side, both being inseparable." (My translation).<sup>5</sup>

This exemple illustrates that when Buddhism arrived in the West, similar Western philosophical ideas about the human being were taking root.

The fourth factor which favored Buddhism in the West was the emergence, from the early 1990s, of a planetary conscience regarding the environment and sustainable development which coincides with the respect of nature, all sentient beings and non attachment to material possession which are two Buddhist concepts. The notion that modern civilisation and the supremacy of economy created a deep "mal de vivre" was debated in Europe in the late 1980s by the economist Henri Bartoli (1918-2008) who advocated that man should be at the centre of economic decisions, and not the contrary. The economic thought should contribute to the management of social transformation and herald policies to end poverty (*Rethinking Development: Putting an end to poverty*, Unesco, 1999). At the same time, in the USA, American economists like Joseph Stiglitz were criticizing the forces of the markets and the race for more wealth.

In Bhutan, the GNH concept with the four pillars, which among others include protection of the environment and sustainable development, was conceived in the 1980s by His Majesty the 4<sup>th</sup> Druk Gyalpo. Therefore in different parts of the word, there were movements, not always connected, to rethink the economic and growth models which had been applied to policies until the 1990s. Intellectuals all over the world envisaged the place of man in a different economic and environmental paradigm which happened to coincide with the basic concepts of Buddhism and its emphasis on interdependence of all phenomena. Buddhist ideas found in this Western intellectual movement a space for dialogue, which contributed to its influence.

While it is interesting to observe the evolution of Tibetan Buddhism in the West, a debate is taking place in some quarters in Bhutan. In a recent popular BBS TV show called *People's Voice* (April 22nd, 2012), one question was asked: Can Dharma

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<sup>5</sup> Christoph Wulf, *Synergies Monde* n° 4 - 2008:263-266.

(*chos*) be taught in English? Is it not losing its meaning? To which Dasho Sangay Wangchuk replied that Dharma has always been translated and taught in different languages and this is not a problem as long as the essence is transmitted correctly. The question itself is a reminder of the gap existing between the perceptions of Buddhism in Bhutan and in the West. This brings us in conclusion back to our first point.

Buddhism has always been a transnational religion, and the origin of a person did not matter as long as the person had the authority and recognition. Bhutanese, Kinnauri, Mongolian lamas in the West often pass for Tibetan, and this is in keeping with the long-held tradition of Buddhism: Masters did not belong to one country or to an ethnic group, they belonged to Buddhism. Notable examples include Padmasambhava, who was from the north-west of the Indian sub-continent, the great translator Rinchen Zangpo who was from Kinnaur, the master Atisha who was from Bengal and the 4th Dalai Lama who was Mongolian. Buddhist Universities in India were opened to all, irrespective of their origin. The determining criteria was the lineage and the teachings that one belonged to. However for centuries, Buddhism remained an Asian affair. Western scholars were accepted, but they did not enter the religious stream. The propagation to the West in the 2nd half of the 20th century has been a milestone in the history of Buddhism. We now observe that Western monks and nuns who have become teachers and masters in their own right. The reincarnation process (*tulku*) which is the Tibetan Buddhism feature "par excellence" has gone beyond Asia as American, English, French or Spanish Tulkus have been recognized.

The faculty of adaptation to different cultures and the transnational outlook characterize Buddhism, and makes it a globalized and universal faith, a faith "without borders."

# 7

## **Animal Wellbeing: The Concept and Practice of *Tsethar* in Bhutan**

Dendup Chopel, Sangay Thinley & Dorji Gyaltshen\*

### **Abstract**

*Bhutan is held as the last remaining Vajrayana Buddhist kingdom in the world. There has been increased pressure on the country to lead a morally stainless existence even as the country is facing development issues of its own such as growing population, increased needs and degenerating values. However, it is true to a large extent that there are uniquely Bhutanese values such as compassion, benevolence, nonviolence and an unbound concern for all sentient beings which are manifest in the country's state policies like that of Gross National Happiness, a development philosophy that stresses on the wholesome wellbeing of all. These positive virtues are most noticeable in the country's positive moral conceptions that translate into care and love for animals. Buddhist principles that guide the country ensure that animals are kindly treated. There are policies in place, and abidance on the part of the general people who abstain or limit their consumption of meat so that lives of animals are saved. This generic essay tries to bring out the religious and cultural sentiments of the people which ensure that the wellbeing of animals is taken care of. The practice of tsethar or saving and preserving lives is analyzed in terms of the country's generally positive worldview based on Buddhist principles. It also attempts to give an account of the state of animal welfare in Bhutan and the dietary habits of the people. The paper is meant to spread the message of non-violence and compassion that will ultimately benefit the benefactor, humankind.*

### **Introduction**

Tsethar (*tshe thar*) is the practice of freeing living beings from imminent slaughter and death. *Tse* is literally life and *thar* (literally liberation) has implication of being above the mundane level of emotions like pain. Thus, it can be said that tsethar is the process of helping beings overcome all sufferings and fears in life that come with having to live as either meat or draught animal. In its broadest sense, tsethar can encompass saving every life form on earth including

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vegetation. It is considered virtuous to maintain the environment and refrain from inflicting any harm on living beings. However, tsethar as commonly practiced involves saving lives of animal that are destined to be slaughtered for meat. Animals which are thus spared are absolved from all burdens like draught purpose which is usually entailed upon them in agrarian communities like Bhutan.

While benevolence, compassion and nonviolence are universal Buddhist concepts, tsethar is customarily practiced in Vajrayana countries like Tibet and Bhutan<sup>1</sup> as a noble action which not only obliterate the sufferings of the animals saved, but also as a primary means of gaining merit for the saviours who stand to benefit in their present and successive lives. The practice involves choosing an animal from the family's herd which is given the blessing of life and absolved from all duties for its natural course of life. It is usually done when a member of the family is inflicted with debilitating diseases, or when the general fortune of a family is perceived to have taken a setback, as an offsetting factor against misfortune through the belief in positive karmic reciprocity.

Bhutan has been a largely self-sufficient country which believed in surviving by its own means until recently. Thus, the Bhutanese dietary habit was comparatively frugal. There was only limited consumption of meat which meant that not many animals were slaughtered. Religious and cultural sensibilities made people limit the lives claimed to bare minimum. However, there has been unprecedented development of late. As a result, though still comparatively limited, there has been increased demand for commercial meat production. Thus, tsethar as a moderating factor has assumed greater significance. Monastic establishments, NGOs<sup>2</sup> and individuals spearhead the drive to save animals at a time when the appeal to the Buddhist restraint is being stretched. However, before we proceed further, we have to take a brief look at the country's history which is infused with Buddhist teachings that created conditions ripe for high moral considerations as cultural values.

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<sup>1</sup> In Mahayana countries, such as China, Taiwan etc, this practice is known as *fangshen* - releasing life (Lama Zhenphen Zangpo).

<sup>2</sup> Nongovernmental organizations

## Bhutan: A Buddhist Kingdom

It is claimed that Indian Buddhist influence pervaded in Bhutan from as early as the second century onwards.<sup>3</sup> However, unlike the later Buddhist traditions, the Buddhism of this period was Theravada in nature. It is clear that Buddhism was a major factor in shaping the religious and cultural identity from the very beginning in Bhutan, then known as *Monyul* after the Tibetan appropriation of all lands at its southern periphery with places of cultural darkness as against their perceived superior civilization. However, it was the arrival of the Indian saint Guru Padmasambhava<sup>4</sup> that heralded the Buddhist civilization in Bhutan. He sought to make the people understand and appreciate the complex Buddhist philosophies through a series of mystical display of supernatural accomplishments that are recorded in his biographies which were written by followers of his traditions.<sup>5</sup>

Over the course of the centuries, Bhutan became a favourite conversion ground for many Tibetan Buddhist masters of all traditions. The most noteworthy among them was Phajo Drugom Zhigpo (*Pha-jo 'brug-sgom zhig-po*, 1179-1247) who laid the foundation of the Drukpa influence by engendering his lineage holders who became a source of unmatched power in Bhutan. Buddhism was then firmly established in Bhutan and people's live revolved around the Buddhist worldview. A series of masters like Kuenkhen Longchen Rabjam (*kun mkhyen klong chen rab jam*, 1308-1363) and the Bhutanese born saint Pema Lingpa (*padma gling pa* 1450-1521) helped Buddhism gain wide acceptance in Bhutan.

The arrival of Zhabdrung Ngawang Namgyel (*zhabs drung nga dbang rnam rgyal*, 1594-1651) from Tibet to Bhutan in 1616 formed the basis of Buddhist nationhood in Bhutan. The charismatic Drukpa (*'brug pa*) hierarch who fled his Tibetan homeland due to a tumultuous relation with the country's ruling powers unified different principalities of Bhutan under a dual system of governance (*chos srid lu*

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<sup>3</sup> See Chakravarti (1992) as cited in Dargye (2001: 56).

<sup>4</sup> A myth relates how the tradition of betel nut chewing emerged in Bhutan after Guru's arrival. It is said that until then, the people lived by hunting and survived mainly on meat. Seeing this as unbecoming of a Buddhist country, he substituted this practice by making people eat betel nut instead. The nut (*areca catechu*) was to be considered as bone, the betel leaves (piper betel) as skin and the lime as the flesh, a combination which will produce a red texture akin to the redness of meat. Thus, we can see that there had been efforts to control Bhutanese dietary habits which excluded the consumption right from the country's inception (Choden, 2008: 98).

<sup>5</sup> See Aris (1979). *Bhutan: Early History of a Himalayan Kingdom*

*gnyis*). The law (*bka' khrims*) promulgated for the country was based on the sixteen pure human conducts (*me chos gtsang ma bcu drug*) and ten divine virtues (*lha chos dge wa bcu*). Thus, ethical Buddhist conducts were for the first time promoted as national laws and penalties were accordingly meted out for transgressions.

After more than two and half centuries of this system, the Wangchuck dynasty was established by the first monarch Gongsar Ugyen Wangchuck (*gong sar orgyen dbang phyug*, reign 1907-1926). As a faithful follower of this dual religious system of governance, the successive generations of the Wangchuck monarchs promoted the rule of law according to Buddhist considerations for wellbeing. Today, Bhutan has emerged as a prosperous constitutional Buddhist monarchy with about seven hundred thousand people. Buddhism is claimed as the state religion by the constitution and the wellbeing of all sentient being is held as the ultimate aim of development in the country.

One can thus see that sustained Buddhist influence over millennia has brought about a value system that places particular emphasis on ethics, compassion (*snying rje*) and non-violence (*'tse med*).

### **Buddhist Considerations**

The Buddhist sutras<sup>6</sup> enumerate manifold reasons for not committing the negative action of taking lives. One such anecdote tells that there once existed an agnostic king '*phri chen* who reveled in taking lives and eating fresh meat. After his death, the King was born in the lowest of the eighteen realms of hell (Naraka). Seeing his miserable condition, Ananda (*kun dga'*) reported the matter to the Buddha. The Buddha in turn saw through the man's condition and implicates that whatever suffering he has to bear is because of the negative karmic forces he has incurred. Ananda then approaches the Lord of Death (Yamaraja) and the Lord suggests that the only redemption for the now hapless man lies in saving and preserving the lives of as many beings as possible. Thus, Ananda is said to have embarked on an elaborate mission to save beings. The merits that can be accrued from saving lives have been quantified and theorized

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<sup>6</sup> Discourses attributed to the Buddha.

according to this tradition.<sup>7</sup> Thus, tsethar comes about as a positive action which can both amass instant merit and redress negative karma.

The book of the Buddha's previous existences (Jataka), which relates in prose and verse the experiences of the future Buddha in each of the 550 states of existence previous to his rebirth as Gautama, has many references to the essentially good nature of animals through their exemplary wit, bravery and loyalty. It is portrayed as debased to even think of committing acts of disservice to them, let alone doing them harm. The Elephant and Ungrateful Forester (Jataka 72: i. 319-322)<sup>8</sup> shows the shameless behaviour of man driven by insatiable greed. Animals are said to be of nobler character than man because the latter is subject to manipulation.

The Buddhist argument in favour of non-violence (Ahimsa) is based on the belief in karma, the principle of cause and effect. It is claimed that due to the negative karmic forces, beings are endlessly propelled from one birth to another in a cycle of existence called Samsara. The Buddha has said:

The bones left by a single person in the course of his past lives would form a pile so high that were all mountains to be gathered up and piled in a heap, that heap of mountains would appear as nothing beside it.<sup>9</sup>

If this were taken at face value, it would imply that eating any kind of meat would amount to cannibalism<sup>10</sup> and taking a life would be equal to committing fratricide. The Angulimaliya Sutra cites Buddha, "There are no beings who have not been one's mother, who have not been one's sister through generations of wandering in the beginningless and endless Samsara. Even one who is a dog has been one's father... Therefore, one's own flesh and the flesh of another are a single flesh, so Buddhas do not eat meat." Thus, the Buddhist philosophical foundation provides a strong disincentive to kill and eat meat.

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<sup>7</sup> For example, if you save an animal, the merit is equivalent to taking a monk's vow. If you set a lamb free, you would be spared the suffering of the realms of hell once and so the list goes. It further goes that if thirteen animals are saved, then a person who only has three days to live can live up to three years more. Conversely, if a tsethar animal is killed, the sin is equivalent to killing 100 people.

<sup>8</sup> Burlingame (1922).

<sup>9</sup> As quoted in Burlingame (1922).

<sup>10</sup> Hopkins (1906) argues that cannibalism has left its trace in India in the stories of flesh-eating Yakkas and Pisacas.

The five precepts (panca-silani) that constitute basic Buddhist code of ethics undertaken by lay followers in both the Theravada and Mahayana tradition forbid causing harm to any living being.<sup>11</sup> While abstinence from these actions is virtuous beyond words, the contrary is subject to severe reprimands. Causing harm to others' wellbeing and life is considered the worst of all transgressions.<sup>12</sup>

One can muster even more Buddhist considerations in favour of this argument. However, at this moment, it must also be stated that Buddhism did not impose a blanket ban on all killings and meat consumption. There are times when Bodhisattvas are permitted to commit the seven non-virtuous acts of the body and speech as long as their minds are pure and free from all selfish desire. In a previous life, the Buddha was Captain Compassionate Heart, sailing with 500 merchants who were all non-returning Bodhisattvas.<sup>13</sup> An evil pirate, Dung Thungchen (Blackspear) appeared, threatening to kill them all. The Captain realized that if Dung Thungchen killed the Bodhisattvas, he would have to suffer in the hells for an incalculable number of eons. Moved by an intense feeling of compassion he realized that if he killed Dung Thungchen now, he could save him from hell. Having no other choice, he then killed the pirate, and in doing so gained as much merit as would normally take 70,000 eons to achieve. On the face of it, the act was a harmful one, since the Captain was committing the act of murder. But it was done without any selfish motivation. In the short term, it saved the lives of the 500 Bodhisattvas and in the long term it saved Dung Thungchen from the sufferings of hell. In reality, it was a very powerful positive act.<sup>14</sup>

As per the professed Madyamika way of Buddhism, while indulging in sensory pleasures were off limit for devout Buddhists, people can certainly take meat for sustenance. The Mahasudassana Sutra<sup>15</sup> proclaims, "Eat as you have been accustomed to eat," and "Ye shall eat as has been eaten." Buddhism was practical in its approach and it recognized that under certain circumstances, consumption of meat was unavoidable and sometimes even desirable. Thus, it allows the

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<sup>11</sup> The other four are stealing, lying, intoxication and sexual misconduct.

<sup>12</sup> Patrul Rinpoche's *The Words of My Perfect Teacher* (1998: 102-104) while enumerating the ten imperfections (*mi dge wa bcu*) regards killing as the worst of all transgressions. *srog gcod gong na sdig gzhan med*.

<sup>13</sup> Bodhisattvas who have reached a level where they were no longer obliged to return to samsaric existence.

<sup>14</sup> Quoted by Lingpa (n.d.) from the Jataka. <http://animalsavingtrust.org/deer.htm>

<sup>15</sup> Quoted in Hopkins (1906). *The Buddhist Rule against Eating Meat*

consumption of meat as long as the partaker of meat is convinced that he was not in any way a cause for the butchering of the animal<sup>16</sup> that is being served.

The Vajrayana tradition of Buddhism goes even further in this regards by admitting serving of meat for ritual purposes. The Vajrayana tradition insists on the non-duality of reality asserting that there is no ultimate difference between Samsara (cyclic existence) and Nirvana (liberation) existence. Another important Mahayana teaching is the use of Upaya or skillful means referring to timely use of 'circumstances' to progress towards enlightenment or help others along the same path. Tantric Buddhism regards the previously prohibited activities and substances as tools to enlightenment when used by the properly initiated adepts rather than them being held as hindrances to progress. The prohibited substances are referred to four ritual elements: alcohol, meat, fish and parched grain. They are used by some groups ritually and others use them symbolically or as an element in meditation. However, it acknowledges that use of prohibited substances in powerful and dangerous rituals could result in 1000 years in hell for the 'uninitiated' or the 'careless,' and enlightenment in one lifetime for the 'initiated.'<sup>17</sup>

Tantrayana Buddhism admits another facet to the issue of tsethar. While acknowledging compassion as one of the fundamental tenets, it lays great emphasis on maintaining a moral relationship (*Samaya, dam tshig*) between the saviour and the saved. The saviour is seen to be responding to Karmic urges to save the life of a being who is spiritually bonded to him. Thus, ritualistic elements are introduced as a compelling reason to do more than just save a particular being. A person is made to dedicate the merit of his action to all sentient beings thus multiplying his capacity to do even more for this cause. A renowned Buddhist scholar from Bengal, Atisha Dipankara, has said that giving compassionate love to the helpless and the poor is as important as meditating on Shunyata, i.e. emptiness. This virtue of compassion is the principal foundation stone of Mahayana Buddhism.<sup>18</sup>

This is not an exhaustive analysis. However, anything more than this is beyond the scope of this essay. So, with this understanding of the Buddhist

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<sup>16</sup> Jivaka Sutra (Majjh. i 368) as quoted in Thomas (n.d.). *The life Buddha*. pp. 129.

<sup>17</sup> Cited from Dorji (2012). *Alcohol Use and Abuse in Bhutan*

<sup>18</sup> Quoted from Chatral Sangay Dorjee Rinpoche's introduction on Jangsa website <http://animalsavingtrust.org/benefit.htm>

underpinnings in connection with tsethar, an age-old practice of compassion, we will now proceed to its cultural basis in Bhutan.

### **Cultural Beliefs and Practices**

Bhutan like many places in the Himalayas lived on subsistence agriculture. It was usual to maintain livestock besides farming in family owned fields. Families maintained large herds of cattle and reared backyard poultry and piggery. Cattle served diary and draught purpose and were rarely, if ever butchered. Chicken gave additional nutrition through egg production. However, a normal Bhutanese household would rarely kill chicken for consumption. A pig (*gsad phag*) especially prepared for the purpose was butchered every year on the occasion of the family's annual ritual (*lo mchod*). After making sacrificial offerings to local divinities, the rest of the meat was used for an annual feast. It could be noticed that use of meat for either consumption or ceremonial use was always kept to the bare minimum. Thus, the sacredness of life was maintained in the traditional Bhutanese society.

At this point, it must also be mentioned that pre-Buddhist animist faiths like Bonism (*bon chos*) existed in Bhutan. All these primitive systems could exist in harmony with the mainstream Buddhist religion as they too believed in preserving life which they often took to ritualistic level. It was common practice to barter the lives of animal (by saving it) for the lives of human members of the family in a ritual practice called *srog blugs*.<sup>19</sup> This practice was seen as a means of negotiating with supposed claimants of one's souls in the form of unperceived spirits (*srog bdag*).

Buddhist logic promoted, to a large extent, the idea that tsethar was to be used as upaya for worldly wellbeing. Thus from longevity of life to material prosperity, from communal harmony to instantaneous enlightenment, the method of tsethar was employed. Tsethar thus emerged as an elaborate social mechanism for the conduct of welfare. At the same time, tsethar also became increasingly associated with rituals and ceremonies, which of course only led to the popular acceptance of the practice.

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<sup>19</sup> See Dorji (2002). *The spider, the piglet and the vital principle: A popular ritual for restoring the srog*.

Across the Himalayan region including Bhutan, the ritual of tsethar involved choosing an animal from the family's herd. All domestic animals were eligible candidates for this benevolence, subject to the motivation for the action and the saviour's state of affluence. Roosters were usually the preferred specimen and were released in the safe compound of monasteries. However, it was not uncommon to free bigger animals like lamb, pig and cattle from all manners of pains and sufferings in their lives. The saved animals were then called *tse nor* if it is cattle or *tse phag* if it is a pig, thus implying that they have been given mastery over their lives.

The selected animal is taken to a monk who in turn recites the Dharani mantra of Amitayus (*tshe dpag med*, Buddha of eternal life) close to its ear. He is then released from the worry of a violent death. He is at the same time freed from all his normal duties as a beast of burden. Then the animal is smeared with butter on his chest, head and horns. It is symbolic of his offering to the triple gem<sup>20</sup>. A red string is tied around his neck indicating deathlessness through the blessing of Amitayus. The animal is then washed from head to toe thus cleansing him from the defilements of the world. During this process, the owner makes his pledge to the animal by saying that you are now freed, we won't kill you for meat, we won't sell you for a price, we won't make you work for us, we won't use your wool (in case of a lamb), let the moment be auspicious, let the *rten 'brel*<sup>21</sup> be good. The owner then wish the spared animal a long life.

Bhutanese reservation on violence can also be seen in their attitude towards the act of killing. Therefore, even when the committing purposeful act of butchering an animal for sustenance, a person other than a member of the family will be hired to execute the job. Buddhist sources corroborate that "only the slayer is sinful, not the eater<sup>22</sup>" under such circumstances. The butcher is given a share of the meat called *sdig sha*, literally meaning sinful/unwholesome meat. Because of the negative image attached with the profession of a butcher, people of lowly social position or mentally challenged people bereft of the capacity to judge were coerced into doing the job. Sometimes, there were whole communities of such people. A case in point is the village of Chali where the people's main occupation

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<sup>20</sup> Triratna; the Buddha, Dharma and Sangha

<sup>21</sup> Karmic bond between the saviour and the saved. By extension, the dedication of merit will be for the benefit of all sentient beings through this virtuous act.

<sup>22</sup> Hopkins (1906) cites from the Telovado Jataka (No. 246) defending eating meat when the person consuming harbours no cruel intent.

was meat trade called *toka tshong*.<sup>23</sup> However, with increased awareness and opportunities for alternative profession, even they have left what was otherwise an age-old livelihood.<sup>24</sup> It can also be heuristically observed that most people involved in commercial meat production today are those who belong to faiths other than Buddhism.

### **Bhutanese Dietary Habits: Meat Consumption in Bhutan**

Because of compelling spiritual traditions and societal norms, consumption of meat is limited in Bhutan at just about 3 kilograms per capita.<sup>25</sup> At this level, Bhutanese are the most frugal consumer of meat with even poorer countries than Bhutan like Nepal showing much bigger appetite.<sup>26</sup> It must be said that because of the favourable conditions for agriculture, Bhutanese diet was predominantly based on cereals and vegetables. Bhutan was once a famous rice field though the country produced an assortment of other cereals. Bhutanese trade composition with its northern neighbour Tibet consisted in large measures of rice and chilli. Thus, Bhutanese had dietary alternatives to meat<sup>27</sup> which helped it to maintain their non-violent habits.

Though unconditional vegetarianism was not popular in Bhutan, vegetarian practices in the modern sense did exist. As part of their devotional practices, people refrained from taking meat for varying periods of time. For some rituals like those associated with Drolma (Tara), complete abstinence from all non-vegetarian diets was a prerequisite. People also observe vegetarianism for

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<sup>23</sup> Mentioned in Tobias & Morrison (n.d.) *Animal Rights in Bhutan*.

[http://www.dancingstarfoundation.org/articles\\_Animal\\_Rights\\_in\\_Bhutan.php](http://www.dancingstarfoundation.org/articles_Animal_Rights_in_Bhutan.php)

<sup>24</sup> Domestic meat production has been on a constant decline with exception of a few places. Latest data from the eastern district of Tashigang shows that from more than 30 metric tonnes (MT) in 2007, pork production has decreased to 9.8 MT. Beef production on the other hand decreased from 69.24 MT in 2007 to 37.4 MT in 2011. Religion induced community pressure has been seen as one of the reason for this decrease (Wangdi, 2012).

<sup>25</sup> Figures for the year 2002 cited in Tobias & Morrison (n.d.) *Animal Rights in Bhutan*. The same source show that Nepal which has comparatively lesser per capita income had consumption of 10.3 kg per capita. Western countries are by far the most voracious meat eaters with their consumption at least 50% more than that for Bhutanese. As against the restraining effects of Buddhism, these countries live on the assumption of the absolute mastery of man.

<sup>26</sup> For example, see Choden (2008: xviii) and Ura, K (2012) who cites a passage from the two Portuguese Jesuit visitors to the court of Zhabdrung, the founder of Bhutan's tradition including its gastronomic culture where they mention that Zhabdrung was famous for "his abstinence, as he never eats rice, meat or fish...."

<sup>27</sup> Meat in Bhutan are mostly eaten after being sun or air dried. Because Bhutanese did not produce meat round the year, they preserved their stock of meat and ate only sparingly.

extended periods for other devotional practices. However, turning vegetarian is now on the rise in Bhutan. Studies show that the trend of vegetarianism is more among younger people as a result of increased awareness, though they also factor in health and environmental concerns when determining their dietary preferences.<sup>28</sup>

SI No	Year	Item	Quantity (In Kg.)	Value (In Nu.)
1	2004	Meat and related products	1150699	68526674
		Fish and related products	1370309	50976248
2	2005	Meat and related products	3115180	780609382
		Fish and related products	1501979	57322222
3	2006	Meat and related products	4097931	241075749
		Fish and related products	1915050	77877237
4	2007	Meat and related products	3662947	239685476
		Fish and related products	1651582	76318175
5	2008	Meat and related products	3854200	262419562
		Fish and related products	1076279	91853265
6	2009	Meat and related products	4392476	367500688
		Fish and related products	1749965	114593410
7	2010	Meat and related products	4929453	438685418
		Fish and related products	1875810	135889078

**Fig 1:** Trade statistics on meat import for consumption<sup>29</sup>

The undeniable fact today is that there is increased consumption of meat in Bhutan. Increased affluence and availability of commercial meat has led to consumption in unprecedented quantities, and around the year unlike in the past. Except for minor deviations, the trend from 2004 to 2010 shows a constant rise in the consumption of imported meat of all kinds. Thousands of cattle, pigs, chickens and goats, besides countless fishes, are consumed. The consumption enumerated here is based on just those products that are imported from neighbouring India. Although in much lesser quantities, meat is also imported from other countries as well as produced locally. Thus, the actual meat consumption is higher than this data shows.

<sup>28</sup> Lhamo (2011).

<sup>29</sup> *Bhutan Trade Statistics, 2004 to 2010* published by Department of Revenue and Customs.

However, it must be stated here that Bhutan has a substantial non-Buddhist population. There is an ethnic Nepali minority which constitute not less than 20% of the population of Bhutan.<sup>30</sup> This portion of the Bhutanese population, with even some Buddhists among them, are not subject to the same Buddhist restraints as the general Bhutanese population. Then there is a burgeoning population of expatriate workers that is the result of the present construction boom in the country.<sup>31</sup> For a small population, the expatriate population causes huge distortion of trade and other statistical figures.

### **Animal Welfare in Bhutan: State, Monastic and Public Initiatives**

Considering the general public interest in preserving the sanctity of all sentient beings, the state has put in place policy safeguards against cruelty and mistreatment of animals. It has also ensured that there are measures to limit the consumption of meat by passing various legislations and bans.

Chapter X of the Livestock Act of the Kingdom of Bhutan 2001 has the following provisions for the welfare of animals.

#### **Welfare standards**

- The Ministry shall prescribe a set of minimum standards for animal welfare.
- Livestock shall be kept, cared for and transported with due attention paid to their health and welfare.
- Livestock shall not be subjected to any unnecessary suffering or injury.
- All livestock and poultry must be provided with adequate feed, water and shelter.

The 79<sup>th</sup> session of the National Assembly in 2000 banned the slaughter and sale of meat in Bhutan for the 1<sup>st</sup> and the 4<sup>th</sup> Bhutanese months of the year coinciding with auspicious events in the life of the Buddha. Similar restrictions apply throughout the year on the 8<sup>th</sup>, 15<sup>th</sup> and 30<sup>th</sup> day of each Bhutanese month.

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<sup>30</sup> The 2010 nationwide GNH survey puts the non-Bhutanese sample population which is nationally representative at 17.83%. <http://www.grossnationalhappiness.com/index/>

<sup>31</sup> Kuensel (2012). *A substantial wage bill leaves the country*. According to this report, the Labour Secretary estimates the expatriate labour population to be between 75,000 and 80,000.

Besides, this ban is also applied on those days which coincide with spiritually auspicious days.

The state monastic body (Zhung Dratshang) has been an active advocate for the cause of animal welfare in general and restriction on meat use for rituals in particular. The monastic community successfully intervened on many occasions where rituals involved sacrifice of animal.<sup>32</sup> Vegetarian substitute has been instituted as *dkar chos*<sup>33</sup> with commandment and blessings of the Je Khenpo (*rje mkhen po*).<sup>34</sup> As part of its initiative to lighten the overall burden of funeral costs on the Bhutanese people, the monk body has proclaimed that serving of meat to the Sangha which is often beyond the means of ordinary people should be banned. Serving of meat was also banned from all religious ceremonies in the monasteries as a righteous action. Besides, the Dratshang has also limited the use of meat where complete ban was not possible during the annual rituals (*lo mchod*) of the households with much success. This was one occasion where extensive use of meat was prevalent as portrayed earlier. The Dratshang was also the biggest lobby group behind the legislative restriction on the sale of meat. Even after the nature of governance changed in Bhutan,<sup>35</sup> this restriction endured. All these methods of public pursuance have created great awareness among the people on the issue.

Apart from the state apparatus, the NGOs have been actively involved in creating awareness and taking concrete actions against meat use and for the promotion of animal welfare. One such NGOs, Jangsa Animal Saving Trust<sup>36</sup> maintains about 600 bulls, 40 yaks, 137 pigs, 23 sheep, two goats and nine ducks in the eastern and northern regions of the Bhutan. There are also numerous other groups who work for the benefit of animals. They buy animals destined for slaughter and release them in safe environments. Thousands of animals which include chickens and fishes too are thus saved every year.<sup>37</sup> As great as this

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<sup>32</sup> See for example Ura (2001). *Deities and Environment*. Part 3. *Invocation of Deities*.

<sup>33</sup> Literally white religion, the avoidance of violent sacrifice that is advocated by Buddhism and mainstream primitive faiths like Bonism.

<sup>34</sup> The Lord Abbot of Bhutan. This institution has existed as a parallel religious power to the secular establishment of the country and it retains much of the spiritual authority even now.

<sup>35</sup> Bhutan became a constitutional monarchy with two elected houses of parliament in 2008.

<sup>36</sup> <http://animalsavingtrust.org/>

<sup>37</sup> An interview conducted with the village Tshogpa (elected representative) of Ura where about 400 yaks have been relocated after being saved and the *Kuensel* story of Rinzin (2012) show that even though the animals are rescued from the butchers, the animal welfare organizations are not always able to cope with the aftercare of the animals leading to them being abandoned which bring about

intervention is, they have been most successful in creating unprecedented awareness on this issue as an ethical question with which every people should be concerned with. They have also been able to create guilt in not only the ill treatment of animals but also the natural act of eating meat. Thus, these initiatives which also provide advocacy materials like pamphlets and videos on cruelty have proved to be great deterrents against violence and meat consumption.

It has been rightly said that “the greatness of a nation and its moral progress can be judged by the way its animals are treated.”<sup>38</sup> In Bhutan, this holds true in as much as the people and the state’s intolerance of untoward encroachment of animal rights is concerned. It is estimated that there are as many as 50,000 stray dogs in Bhutan. Bhutan spent millions of its limited resources on the care and protection of this dog population as the country is bound by its dedication to non-violence.<sup>39</sup> It is virtually unthinkable in Bhutan to employ a drastic eradication method. This is most visible in the human wildlife conflict in Bhutan. A nationwide survey<sup>40</sup> found that rampant wildlife destruction of crops and domestic animals is common in Bhutan. Farmers have been forced to leave their fields fallow in absence of any guarantee to their livelihood. However, bounded by their religious commitments, these people still support the strong state measures to preserve the environment and wildlife at all cost.

## Conclusion

The Buddhist ethics and moral considerations have served to uplift humanity for thousands of years. With each passing moment, we continue to realise the profound wisdom contained in the philosophy behind them. A case in point is the Buddhist stand on compassion and meat consumption. It is now corroborated by scientific findings that meat has indeed much less nutritional health benefits than previously thought. In fact, excess indulgence in meat based diet, that is

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problems like sickness and lack of pasture and proper nutrition. While *tsethar* was originally conceived in a rural setting in Bhutan, now things need to be arranged so as to accommodate the shift towards a non-agricultural society.

<sup>38</sup> Mahatma Gandhi in his speech *The Moral Basis of Vegetarianism* as quoted in Tobias & Morrison (n.d.).

<sup>39</sup> The Royal Society for the Protection and Care of Animal in tandem with the Royal Government and other NGOs started a campaign to humanely manage the spiraling dog population at a cost of Nu 46 million.

<sup>40</sup> The result of the GHN survey 2010 as cited in Thinley & Chopel (2012).

incidentally most condemned by Buddhism, is linked with increased morbidity<sup>41</sup>. On the contrary, research evidences show that vegetarians enjoy relatively lower blood cholesterol levels, lower blood pressure, less obesity and consequently lower risk of mortality from ischaemic heart disease, stroke, diabetes, cancer and lower rates of all-cause mortality.<sup>42</sup>

New findings also show that the current rate of commercial meat production is unsustainable. Commercial meat production is damaging to our existence on earth on two major accounts. Commercial animal rearing requires huge space and resources that has been associated with large scale environmental degradation.<sup>43</sup> The inefficiency of animals to convert plant protein to animal protein means that large areas of land are used up for animal feed production. It is estimated that about six kilograms of plant protein is needed to yield one kilogram of animal protein.<sup>44</sup> Concurrently, animal farming has also been associated with high levels of pollution. Grain-fed beef is estimated to need 35 calories of fossil fuels for every calorie of beef.<sup>45</sup> Most damaging in this regard is that livestock and its by-products would account for more than 51% of all man originated greenhouse emissions.<sup>46</sup> Thus, it is plain to see that livestock farming for meat production is one of mankind's most harmful activities that not only endangers all the other species on earth that have to make way, but also our own survival on this earth.

In any case, inevitable cruelty on mute and defenceless animals that comes with meat eating is a less than honourable act. However, there is hope, as this article tried to prove, in our own traditional wisdoms based on the restraining philosophies of Buddhism. While Buddhism does not promote asceticism as an alternative, it does show that there should be a natural limit to our consumption.

Bhutan's culture and tradition that is dear to its populace promotes values of compassion, love and kindness to all. In this age of high consumerism, these values act as a guide towards a sustainable way of life that protects the interest of all, including our environment and the beings that it harbours. Meat

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<sup>41</sup> Gold, M. (2004). *Global Benefits in Eating Less Meat*

<sup>42</sup> American Dietetic Association (1997) as quoted in Lhamo. (2011).

<sup>43</sup> Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations. (2009). *The State of Food and Agriculture*

<sup>44</sup> Pimentel & Pimentel (2003) and Baroni et al. (2007) as cited in Lhamo. (2011).

<sup>45</sup> Horrigan et al (2002) as cited in Lhamo. (2011).

<sup>46</sup> Goodlands & Anhang (2009) as cited in Lhamo. (2011).

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consumption and animal cruelty is now not just an ethical question, but a matter of our own interest. We cannot continue to mistreat the earth by consuming our own compatriots in this Samsara without running the risk of being forever wiped out from the face of the earth. Thus, Bhutan's best practices in regards to its impressive treatment of animals and its moral restraints are things that people all over the world will do well to emulate.

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# 8

## Buddhism Without Borders

Khenpo Phuntsok Tashi

### Introduction

Buddhism is a path to liberation that is often described as a mixture of philosophy and religion taught by the Buddha. If Buddhism falls under the category of religion, it is a religion of enlightenment rather than the worship of a deity, and if it falls under the category of philosophy, it is best described as the scientific examination of the mind. Buddhism does not rely on blind faith, but rather on an exploration of the nature of conscious existence through active reasoning and rationale.

In order to discover the truth as it exists within the mind and disassociate it from outer objective phenomena, a follower of Buddhism needs to apply both intelligence and unwavering faith in one's own intuitive intelligence, or Buddha nature, as well as faith in the wisdom imparted by the great realized teachers of the tradition who have passed before, (although that faith is never blind faith, and instead is based on observation).

Buddhism provides to everyone, without any kind of discrimination, the freedom to analyze and examine the teachings until one can find the truths by oneself. Buddhism contains no policy of expansionism or aim to encourage conversions either through crossing physical or geographical landscapes or conquering mental landscapes of the mind. This is why Buddhism is widely known as a religion of non-violence and tolerance. No enlightened being has any history of a desire related to invading others beyond their borders. True Buddhists, instead, are focused on invading and overcoming their own self enemies of obscurations and delusions in order to liberate themselves from suffering so that they can then show others the way to be free of suffering.

Buddha said:

He overcomes delusions  
And from the tower of wisdom  
He looks down with dispassion  
Upon the sorrowing crowds.

Buddha himself discovered the true path of liberation from the suffering of samsara, and he also laid out the accompanying philosophy that forms the foundation of the path. Utilizing his own experience and practice, he taught his

disciples contemplation of the four noble truths. This practice is essential for beginning the journey towards self-liberation and, equally important, for creating within oneself the motivation to develop great compassion and unconditional love. This great compassion, known as Bodhichitta, inextricably links one's own liberation with the liberation of others. The Buddha strongly emphasized that a great amount of practice is necessary in order to attain liberation, and this is why Buddhist philosophy is very much like modern science which requires extensive research and critical examination of evidence. Along with meditation, a Buddhist practitioner also needs to dig deep philosophically to explore internal emotional states of consciousness, and the nature of external objective phenomena, in order to realize concrete results.

While modern science deals mostly with the outer objective world as a concretely existing field of exploration, Buddhism deals primarily with mind and its emotions, as well as the process of perception of the phenomenal world. That is why many thinkers and philosophers today describe Buddhism as the science of mind. Both modern science and Buddhism are equally relevant for solving the fundamental questions regarding our existence in the world.

The primary purpose of following the path of Buddhism can be condensed into two steps: first, we need to purify or remove obscurations, and second, we need to achieve complete enlightenment. As for obscurations, there are two types: delusion-based obscurations to liberation (*Nyonmong gi dripa*) and obscurations to omniscience (*Shejai dripa*). The moment that these two types of obscurations become purified through the practice of the four noble truths, or by seeing the two truths of the possibility of liberation and of the path leading to liberation, whether through relative or ultimate realization, then enlightenment is attained. There is not even a split second's gap between purification and attainment. It is similar to the way sunrise spontaneously clears the darkness as it rises in the sky. It is not possible that sunshine could come earlier than the darkness giving way, since the two related states of existence proceed simultaneously.

### **Two Obscurations**

Delusive obscurations affect us in broad, rather obvious terms and are a little easier to identify and purify than obscurations to omniscience. It is like dealing with a big pile of dirty laundry that needs only some effort to wash the dirt and stains away. For example, miserliness, unethical action, intolerance, laziness, distraction and ignorance are some delusive obscurations among eighty-four thousand delusions that can plague us. Even while engaging in meditation, there are sixteen levels of delusive obscurations which need to be abandoned. These include the six from the Desire Realm, such as desire-attachment, anger,

ignorance, pride, an incorrect view of the transitory collection and holding either of the extreme views of nihilism or eternalism. If one can abandon these six delusive obscurations, one will never be born again in the Desire Realm.

The five delusions of the Form Realm also include desire-attachment, pride, ignorance, incorrect view of the transitory collection and the two extreme views, and the five delusions of the Formless Realm are desire-attachment, pride, ignorance, incorrect view of the transitory collection and the two extreme views. These delusions can be further categorized into the three negative emotions of ignorance, desire-attachment and anger. These three negative emotions are the root causes of evil actions and suffering. Among these three, ignorance is the root cause of all other delusions.

Therefore, as one can see, because of its philosophical nature Buddhism has no clear boundary, or border, as a religion that needs to be defined, protected or expanded. The teachings of Buddhism can be applied to any religion or moral philosophy because it is fundamentally a careful, methodical and logical analysis of the nature of the mind, and also of the self and the phenomenal world. The only boundaries in the Buddhist tradition are the delusions described above because they are the challenges, obstructions and barriers which we face that block off and obscure the path to liberation. Because of their influence and power, we become confused and are unable even to recognize the difference between right and wrong.

Once our vision is tainted by obscuration, we are blocked from utilizing our innate capacity for pure vision which would allow us to see the clear path with moral clarity for others as well as oneself. Because of obscurations, our suffering tends to increase and grow more and more, until eventually we are able to overcome delusive obscurations through learning and contemplation as taught by the Buddha.

In our fortunate times, the Buddhist path is always available for those seeking clarity. The tradition has held on consistently through time and is always there as a reference for people who wish to contemplate and discover for themselves the true nature of the self and of phenomena.

As for applying direct antidotes to the six delusive obscurations described above, we can cultivate and then apply generosity against miserliness, observe moral discipline to overcome unethical action, learn patience to rid ourselves of agitation (and intolerance), make effort in order to combat laziness, use mindfulness against distraction and lastly, strive for wisdom over ignorance and delusion.

The practice of calm abiding meditation (*shamatha bhavan*) is also another antidote which can be applied to eliminate delusive obscuration. The practice of the six perfections and calm abiding meditation acts as a kind of passport for crossing the border of delusive obscuration and negative actions in order to reach the pure land, or the state of enlightenment. This is the true Buddhist land in which only enlightened and sublime beings can live. It does not require the crossing of many miles in order to reach this border, as it is within the mind itself.

The good news for all practitioners is that on the journey to enlightenment, there is no expiration date! If we persevere, we will eventually remove the obscurations blocking our pure vision and become enlightened, in this or some future lifetime.

The second type of obscuration, related to omniscience, is much more subtle and is extremely difficult to purify. Overcoming it requires extensive analysis utilizing knowledge and wisdom. It is like a more subtle stain that requires special products and great effort to cleanse. There are two types of obscurations to omniscience: the innate obscuration that is related to subtle habitual tendencies within the mind, (*bagchag thramo*) which is the most difficult to get rid of, and intellectual obstacles to omniscience, which also exist as well. There are nine levels of purification involved in eradicating subtle habitual tendencies.

The associated residue is extremely thin and translucent, almost like finger prints on the surface of glass or the smell of the garlic on cooking utensils. Even though the finger print remains unseen except in a certain light, the glass still contains the stain and it needs to be skillfully wiped away with great care and patience. It is also compared to the smell of the garlic that a mortar and pestle retain days after the actual use - the smell of garlic is still within and it is very difficult to get rid of completely. It needs to be washed over and over again, and dried out on the sun in order for the odour to completely disappear. In much the same way, eradicating these two subtle obscurations requires many levels of recognition of the true nature of mind and also the ability to rest in this pure state of awareness at all times.

There are ten levels of Bodhisattva attainment, and in the last three stages, from eight to ten, one is totally free from being ego-centered. In fact, at these stages, one has the ability to reach up to the eleventh stage, and is held back from omniscient clarity only due to the fact that these subtle obscurations have yet to be completely purified. It is only by going through this process that one can become fully enlightened. At the highest stage, there is no existence and even the idea of obscuration-based boundaries to be crossed and navigated from is

obsolete, as one now is in the golden land. Whatever one picks up becomes like gold, and no ordinary pebble or gravel can be found within this location.

The antidote to subtle obscuration is Penetrative Insight meditation, (*Vipasana*), which is practiced alongside calm abiding (Shamatha) meditation, which was mentioned earlier. The most secret inner border to be overcome is that of the obscurations which prevent us from seeing the face of primordial wisdom that resides within us. This is the subtle obscuration that ultimately bars us from reaching the pure land.

Buddha taught eighty-four different thousands ways and means for us to cross the border of obscurations, and all of these ways are still available to us. We just need to select the right method to suit our situation according to our own disposition. Once we have crossed the border of obscurations successfully through practice of the middle path, as taught in the three baskets of teachings (*Tripitakas*), we can then call ourselves Arhats, Bodhisattvas, or even a Buddha, for those who are extremely realized.

Actually, at these advanced stages, no desire exists to call ourselves anything, nor is there a desire to be known as even a semi-enlightened being because all desire is extinguished. Those who are truly enlightened would never claim to have reached enlightenment. Those who are not enlightened may claim to be enlightened, but in reality they should use other labels instead, since their thoughts about themselves are only the mental projections of ego of someone still caught in the web of self-deception and delusion. True enlightenment is defined as a state of perfect awareness of our self-nature, where ignorance, anger and greed have been fully purified through the clear recognition of self arising awareness, which is the essence of reality.

### **Two Bodies (Kayas)**

If the two types of obscurations are completely purified, the two Bodies of the Buddha are attained, known as the Rupakaya and the Dharmakaya (Form Body and Truth Body). Having attained these two kayas, one becomes like the rising sun in the sphere of space, which is unobstructed by any darkness because it is always free from darkness and has the power to illuminate the whole world. In the same way, the Dharmakaya or Truth Body remains as it is in the state of perfection, free from all faults, defects or stains. This is the nature of absolute truth. The Rupakaya, or Form Body, is innately reflected within the mind of all conscious beings, and is like a wish fulfilling gem which can fulfill all wishes for all levels of sentient beings. The fully enlightened one has no intention as such because desire has completely been extinguished but still performs all noble activities effortlessly like the full moon's reflection in the waters of a pond.

Dharmakaya, or the Truth Body, is the foundation of all qualities which exist and also the source of the four Kayas or "Bodies." The four bodies include the Natural Truth Body, (*Ngowo Nyidku*), the Wisdom Truth Body, (*Yeshe Choku*), the Complete Enjoyment Body, (*Longchoed Dzogku*), and the Emanation Body (*Trulku*). The four bodies or kayas can be condensed into Two Bodies or Kayas: the Truth Body and Form Body. The Natural Truth Body and the Wisdom Body fall under the Dharmakaya or the Truth Body. The Enjoyment Body and the Emanation Body come under Rupakaya or Form Body. These two representations of a Buddha are the object of attainment for all Mahayana Buddhists.

These two bodies are also beyond tangible and intangible phenomena as they have no border or element of obscuration, instead they are characterized by two kinds of knowledge related to all conventional phenomena as well as knowledge of all ultimate phenomena.

These two bodies are able to display and appear in the mind of enlightened beings without their travelling anywhere. For example, a practitioner who is totally free from desire-attachment, ego and anger can see the true face of the Rupa kaya or Form Body through his/her own recognition of primordial wisdom while meditating in the sitting posture. If a person is completely free from all five delusions and has instead transformed or manifested the five wisdoms, he or she will be able to see the Truth Body through their own Self-Arising Awareness.

This is why all practitioners aim to attain the Two Bodies through their practice, but the time required to accomplish this will vary from practitioner to practitioner. Some require only a few years or only one life time, however some may need multiple life times to achieve this goal. Therefore, good karma and rebirth are required to attain these two bodies, which in turn are fully dependent on the accumulation of merit from many previous lives.

### **The Two Merits**

There are two types of merit, compounded and un-compounded merit. Compounded merit is normally impermanent and more easy to accumulate. This type of merit is the primary cause for producing the resultant Form Body or Rupa Kaya (*Zuku*) of the Buddha. Practicing of generosity, moral discipline, patience, effort, concentration and faith or performing prostrations or making offerings are considered means of accumulating compounded merit which is the cause of the Form Body.

The practice of following the perfection of wisdom results in uncompounded merit which is beyond cause and condition. This type of merit falls under the categories of permanent and non-destructible. This merit can be accumulated only through the recognition of primordial awareness within the mind and by sustaining the state of perfection in every step and moment. Its result allows the practitioner to attain the Truth Body or Dharma Kaya which is totally free from mental fabrications or manipulations. Primordial awareness can be sustained only through the Self-arising Awareness.

The dual accumulation of merit is an indispensable path for Buddhists and as mentioned above, there are many different ways of accumulating merit. As for those practicing the Theravada tradition, training in moral discipline and abstaining from harmful actions are considered a means to generate compounded merit. For Mahayana Buddhists, merit which is accumulated through the three positive doors of body, speech and mind are also regarded as compounded merit due to its association with cause and condition. When merit is free from the causal conditions and is instead accumulated through sustained states of primordial wisdom which transcends any mental fabrication, this is then known as uncompounded merit.

### **Conclusion**

The entire teachings of Buddhism can be summarized into one path of action which is the training of one's mind through application of mindfulness and awareness. If one is able to tame his or her mind fully, the Buddha said this is the true realization of the key teachings of the Buddha.

He never taught his disciple that they should go beyond the borders of various physical landscapes in order to tame others first, but taught that the focus should always be on one's own situation and mind. He also always encouraged his disciples to remain free from all negative emotions, and to cross over the borders of unwholesome thoughts and actions whenever they arise and wherever his students might be - that they should remain as a source of inspiration through the practice of mindfulness, and that sustaining the continuity of the fresh present moment is the ultimate goal when cultivating primordial awareness. This represents the real blessings of all Buddhas and Arhats.

As the Buddha said:

With single-mindedness,  
The master quells his thoughts.  
He ends their wandering.  
Seated in the cave of the heart,  
He finds freedom.

## 9

### **Buddhist sacred natural sites conservation: A meeting ground between international and local**

Riamsara Kuyakanon Knapp

This paper introduces sacred natural sites conservation, and details why sacred natural sites are a meeting ground between international conservation values and local place-based values. While sacred natural sites conservation encompasses and invites critical scholarship, the aim of this paper is to approach the topic from a conservation practitioner's viewpoint and to give an overview of Buddhist sacred natural sites conservation with some examples drawn from the Bhutanese context. This paper first describes what sacred natural sites are, highlighting some examples in Bhutan, and discusses the growth of sacred natural sites conservation and the international instruments supporting it. It then highlights Buddhist elements in sacred natural sites conservation and lastly discusses sacred natural sites as meeting grounds between the globalized and the local, as sites of religio-environmental evolution where value-action gaps are foregrounded.

Sacred natural sites embody the nature-culture nexus, and as such are inherently places of complexity, change and evolution, even while they may preserve relict species and are themselves preserved through 'traditional' beliefs and practices. It should be noted that while sacred natural sites have always existed, and many have been closely connected to resource conservation in one form or another, 'sacred natural sites conservation' as a formally institutionalised practical approach towards environmental conservation is relatively new. Disciplines that involve sacred natural sites conservation include ecology, Buddhist studies, human geography, environmental history, cultural, historical and political ecology, environmental anthropology and ecological economics. Existing conservation approaches that incorporate sacred natural sites include the IUCN's Protected Landscapes approach and UNESCO's Biosphere Reserves\* and

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\* Initiated in the early 1970s, UNESCO's Man and the Biosphere Programme has been identified as the first policy action to explicitly stress 'the virtuous link between spiritual beliefs, cultural practices and nature in a perspective of social and environmental sustainability' (Shepherd-Walwyn 2012: 1).

Heritage Sites listings.

### **Sacred natural sites**

From a conservation practitioner's viewpoint, the definition of a sacred natural site may be as flexible as the sites themselves are diverse. A site can be any natural area that has acknowledged religious or spiritual importance, though the reasons for their sacredness may differ widely. In terms of area, the site may be as small as a rock or a spring, or it could be as large as the area covered by the present-day borders of Bhutan, which has been conceived of in its entirety as a *beyul* (sbas yul, 'hidden land') in Vajrayana Buddhist culture. Entrance into a sacred site may be easy or difficult. According to Dudley et al. (2005:18) '[i]n most cases, access is strictly controlled, for example being confined to the religious leaders or elders, although in other places access is open to anyone so long as they show respect and conversely a few sites are totally off-limits, being retained wholly for the gods or spirits. There is usually an identifiable religious figure in charge and a strong sense of acceptance from the local community.' In some cases, one may very well be in or near an unmarked sacred site with no awareness of it. This can sometimes be the case in Bhutan, which is abounding in *neys* (gnas, 'sacred site') and *beyuls*. The ignorance that one is near or in such a site may be attributable to the absence of a guide or to the unenlightened mind of the visitor.

Examples of sacred natural sites include: mountains, meadows, hills, volcanoes, rivers, lakes, lagoons, springs, caves, rock formations, forest groves, individual trees, ponds, beaches, coastal waters, islands, entire landscapes and natural phenomena such as rain, clouds and rainbows.<sup>1</sup> In terms of conservation, sacred natural sites are recognised as sites that may provide and maintain ecological functions as well as support biological diversity (Dudley et al. 2010). The sites may range from smaller habitats that support relict species of plants and animals to entire landscapes such as the Mt. Kailash area. They contribute to human wellbeing in countless ways, from spiritual and cultural to material resources, which recent ecosystem services research modelling attempts to capture (Bhagwat 2009, Daniel et al. 2012). Many Buddhist sacred natural sites have higher incidences of biodiversity and may preserve the habitats of plants and

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<sup>1</sup> Compiled from Dudley et al. (2005), Sponsel (2008), Wild & Macleod (2008) and Verschuuren et al. (2010).

animals that are no longer existent in surrounding areas, as well as harbour valuable resources for human use and wellbeing.

Within conservation literature, sacred natural sites are considered a subset of sacred sites (Wild & Macleod 2008), which can also be built environments or monuments. Dudley et al. (2005) typologize sacred 'semi-natural sites' as semi-cultivated areas of spiritual importance that might also have high biodiversity value, and built monuments within protected landscapes as well as built monuments with incidental ecological values or remaining natural vegetation as possible categories of sacred natural sites. In Bhutan, due to the condition of the surrounding environment, many sacred sites – built structures such as temples, can also be considered as sacred *natural* sites. Sites that were suggested at the WWF 'Seminar on Sacred Natural Sites, Bio-cultural Diversity, and Climate Change in the Eastern Himalayas' hosted in Thimphu in 2010 included Taktsang Phelphug in Paro and Punakha Dzong in Punakha (Higgins-Zogib et al. 2011). According to the typology above, a (reportedly) uninhabited and unbuilt place such as Beyul Khempajong in Bhutan would be considered a sacred natural site, Aja Ney as a sacred semi-natural site, Nabji Korphu Lakhang as a built structure within a protected area (Jigme Singye Wangchuck National Park) and Taktsang Phelphug or Tango Chari as built monuments with ecological value in their surrounding areas. Well-known Buddhist sacred natural sites in the region are Sagarmantha (Mt. Everest) National Park and Buffer Zone, which has spiritual place-based values of *beyul*, *Yul-Lha*, sacred forests, trees, water sources and rocks (Spoon 2010). The Kailash Sacred Landscape, a place of pilgrimage and veneration by several different religions, is in process of becoming a transboundary conservation area between India, Nepal and China (ICIMOD & UNEP 2009).

It is in the defining and attempted categorization of such sites that the nature-culture nexus becomes visible and where fertile crossover exists between the conservation of culture and the conservation of nature at policy and implementation level.<sup>2</sup> Sacred natural sites conservation by its nature incorporates notions of human ecology, indigenesness and biocultural diversity. Thus the proposed listings for Sakteng and Bumdeling Wildlife

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<sup>2</sup>That nature and culture are separate and sometimes opposing conceptual entities is increasingly accepted as a false dichotomy, but on the ground this dichotomy has practical utility and remains structurally reflected in most national governance systems.

Sanctuaries in Eastern Bhutan as UNESCO natural World Heritage Sites (UNESCO 2012) draw on these areas' strengths not only as outstanding habitats and refuges of endangered species, but also as places that contain significant sacred sites (Bumdeling) and distinct cultures (Sakteng). The WWF Living Himalayas Network Initiative recognizes these crossovers in its linkage of biodiversity conservation with human wellbeing and cultural diversity in the Eastern Himalaya.

In Bhutan, sacred natural sites are usually the abodes of deities, spirits, and other classes of beings, or places where enlightened beings have been, often marked by legend, history or actual imprints. A site can be both the abode of a local deity as well as the place where an enlightened being subsequently came and subjugated the local deity to uphold and defend Buddhism. Unlike in places where nature itself is considered sacred,<sup>3</sup> in Bhutan it would appear that the sacredness is a quality conferred, though at times the line between inherent and associated values may be blurred. Dr. Françoise Pommaret's in-depth study (2004) on deities and their territories in Bhutan detailed the spheres of influence and power of different deities over the environment and humans. A seminal study on deities in Bhutan, the places they inhabit and their environmental significance was conducted by Dasho Karma Ura (Ura 2001, 2004). Nearly 400 deities were documented in a provisional list, and the conservation effects of the natural sites associated with them were suggested. These included the sites serving as protected areas, habitats for species refuge and reproduction and gene banks. The role of human belief in the deities in limiting human pollution and defilement of the environment through fear of angering the deities and negative repercussions on human wellbeing was pointed out. Looking more deeply into one aspect of this topic, Dr. Elizabeth Allison investigated the nature and ecology of 'deity citadels'<sup>4</sup> as a means of spiritually motivated natural conservation in Eastern Bhutan (Allison, 2004).

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<sup>3</sup> For a discussion on the term 'sacred' in relation to sacred natural sites conservation, see Dudley et al. (2005: 11-12).

<sup>4</sup> Allison uses this term, noting Ura's (2001) use of the English term 'deity' to cover various types and classes of beings. The use of 'citadel' for the deity 'habitats' which Allison investigated presumably comes from Ura's translation of *pho-drang* (2001), which in Allison's study correlates with 'sacred groves' as used in Phuntsho's study (2011).

### **Growth of sacred natural sites conservation and instruments supporting it**

The care, management and protection of sacred sites in nature by humans is nothing new, and has been practiced for millennia. However, 'sacred natural sites conservation' as a conservation concept and device is a relatively new development with many roots. Some of these can be traced to diverse academic fields, which are however largely unified in their practical goal of working towards nature conservation. Developing in the mid-to-late 1970s, these roots include seminal ecological and sociological research done on sacred groves in India, on indigenous knowledge, on traditional natural resource management methods and on socio-ecological systems. The 1980s saw NGO-driven calls for the involvement of organized religion in addressing environmental problems, with the high-profile 1986 Assisi Declaration organised by WWF including eminent leaders from the five major world religions. The 1990s saw the growth of religion and ecology (including spiritual ecology) as fields of inquiry and the institutionalization of conservation organizations working with religious bodies through the formation of the Alliance of Religions and Conservation (ARC) in 1995. Such conservation – religious institutions partnerships recognize the power and legitimizing force that culture plays in conservation, from the amount of land held worldwide by religious institutions to the importance of religious institutions and teachers in forming human values and imparting environmental awareness and stewardship.

Since the first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, national policies and initiatives for the conservation of sacred natural sites have been slowly growing. For example, the Delos Initiative was formed to investigate the significance of sacred natural sites in developed countries and how they contribute to conservation (Mallarach et al. 2012). In Mongolia, sacred natural sites are designated as Special Protection Areas (Wild et al. 2010), and in Nigeria the sacred Osun-Osogbo Grove was designated as a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 2005 (UNESCO 2012). In addition to national policies and initiatives, international agreements and instruments are being created to support sacred natural sites conservation. These include: the Millennium Ecosystem Assessment's recognition that religious beliefs are 'drivers' of environmental action that need to be better understood (MEA 2005); IUCN Resolution 4.038 calling on governments, NGOs and protected area managers to act on the conservation of sacred natural sites (IUCN 2008); UNESCO's Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural

Heritage (2003); the IUCN Specialist Group on the Cultural and Spiritual Values of Protected Areas, the IUCN Best Practices Guidelines 16, *Sacred Natural Sites: Guidelines for Protected Areas Managers* (Wild & McLeod 2008); the Convention on Biological Diversity's *Akwé Kon: Guidelines for conducting cultural, environmental and social impact assessments on land occupied by sacred sites and local or indigenous communities* (CBD 2004); the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP 2008) and the Sacred Natural Sites Initiative, a developing coalition of custodians, conservationists, scientists and supporters.

Conservation of sacred natural sites in Bhutan may however differ significantly from generic prescription, as ground realities are different from most countries. Significantly, over 50% of Bhutan is already designated as protected area, these protected areas or their buffer zones are inhabited, and most if not all, have recognized sacred sites in them. This means that many of the sacred natural sites in Bhutan are de facto under some form of landscape protection, if not active management. However, it is the sites outside of protected areas that may be at risk of disappearing (e.g., Phuntsho 2011) whether through development and changing land-use pressures or loss in cultural transmission.

### **Globalization of Buddhist concepts and environmentalism**

The active engagement of Buddhist practitioners and leaders has been strongly behind many of the developments in the growth of religion-ecology partnerships, and Buddhist leaders with global profiles have been active environmental proponents. Most prominent since the 1990s has perhaps been the 14<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama through his environmental messages and engagement with conservation organisations in disseminating them. His Holiness's interest in and promotion of nature conservation and the natural sciences accords with modern Buddhism's engagement with scientific disciplines (Lopez Jr., 2008), notably exemplified through the Mind and Life conferences (Wallace 2003). Other globally influential leaders are the Venerable Thich Nhat Han and other leaders of the Engaged Buddhism movement (cf. Tucker & Grim 1997; Kraft 2005). Gaining hugely in profile in recent years is the 17<sup>th</sup> Gyalwang Karmapa Ogyen Trinley Dorje, who last year published a special article in the high impact journal *Conservation Biology* read by conservationists worldwide. It was entitled 'Walking the Path of Environmental Buddhism with Compassion and Emptiness' (Dorje 2011). In 2008 His Holiness the Karmapa issued the *Environmental Guidelines for*

*Karma Kagyu Buddhist Monasteries, Centers and Community* (Dorje 2008). In addition to the global network of Karma Kagyu monasteries and communities, 'Green' Buddhist monasteries, nunneries and centres exist in many parts of the world. These include the hamlets of the Venerable Thich Nhat Han's Plum Village in the Dordogne, France.

Globalization and the increased mobility and connectivity between people and places has been a key factor in enabling the spread of Buddhist teachings and Buddhist influence around the world,<sup>5</sup> allowing cultural cross-fertilization in the expression of environmental and Buddhist concepts and practices. Thus in the 1960s, when many in North America and Western Europe were confronting the enormity of environmental degradation and the failure of modern materialist society to care for the health of the planet, they embraced alternative worldviews, as part of what Campbell (2008) calls the 'Easternization of the West.' As the environmental and counter-culture movements got under way, key Buddhist concepts of *ahimsa* ('avoidance of violence'<sup>6</sup>) and *pratītyasamutpāda* ('interconnectedness') became part of western environmental discourse. In turn, as some of these concepts became reinterpreted for a western audience, they too took on more environmental significance and resonance worldwide, including back in predominantly Buddhist countries such as Thailand (Harris 2001, Swearer 2006). Through globalization, what may have been formerly identified as Buddhist concepts (e.g., respecting all life), and practices (e.g., compassion, meditation) and their underlying philosophies have, to a degree, been universalized. These concepts may be as much a part of an environmental, spiritual or scientific worldview as they are a 'Buddhist' worldview, and inform theorizing in fields such as cognitive science, quantum physics and ecology.

Sacred natural sites conservation is cross-cultural, growing out of an internationalized conservation movement and engaging with different faith and belief communities and sites custodians worldwide (e.g., Verschuuren et al. 2010). It is a field that by its very nature relies on globalization for its diversity and universality. It can be considered as an internationalised conservation

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<sup>5</sup> While globalization has been argued to have occurred at different points in the modern era, the 20<sup>th</sup> century has seen particularly accelerated changes. With regard to the dissemination of Buddhist teachings to the West in the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, the role of samsaric upheavals such as social unrest and war in Vietnam and Tibet, and consequent dispersal of Buddhist masters to the West has been significant.

<sup>6</sup> Also generally translated as doing no harm, and at the most basic level, not killing.

approach, with an international network, policies, instruments and initiatives, that at the same time must be site-specific in application.

### **A meeting ground between place-based and international values**

A Buddhist sacred natural site that is located in a protected area is to an extent embedded in international norms, and conventional methods of conservation and protected areas management as per the Convention of Biological Diversity, which Bhutan is a signatory of. As such, the sacred natural site embodies internationally accepted conservation ideals, especially if it is an unbuilt landscape.

In terms of place-based value, each sacred natural site is unique in itself to varying degrees. This uniqueness is highly informed by the site's location in the historical, cultural, political, socio-economic and physical landscape. These are all significant place-based influences that are often not easily perceived from the outside, but are vital to the successful management of a site. Many Himalayan Buddhist sites were pre-existing sites of religious and spiritual importance prior to the advent of Buddhism. In many places, elements behind the existence of what are broadly considered to be Buddhist sacred natural sites are the deities, beliefs and practices which existed prior to the advent of Buddhism. These have influenced place-specific expressions that are now considered 'Buddhist.' While doing no harm is a Buddhist precept, on the ground, it is also the influence of cultural practices with pre-Buddhist, animist or Bon influences that are often cited as having preserved the environment, through fear or respect of a numinous environment. Thus hunting may be a village or household tradition in a Buddhist country, but when certain wildlife species are believed to belong to the local deity, they are usually not hunted. Pre-existing local beliefs and practices, along with the role of Buddhization, have interacted throughout time to transform the meaning of the environment and deities.

As sites that hold internationalized conservation values, globalized Buddhist values or 'Buddhicized' indigenous values, sacred natural sites are sites of evolution. From past to present to future, the landscape can be conceived of as a palimpsest of transitioning beliefs and significances, affected and reconceptualized through human activity. 'While many sacred natural sites have historical significance, they are not static in time or space; new sites can be created in response to changing circumstances and environment' (Oviedo &

Jeanrenaud 2006: 80). Contemporary Buddhist sites can continue to grow or change, absorbing external influences. Thus the current construction of the Buddha Dordenma in Thimphu is enabled through Chinese ties. Following on from this, Kuenselphrodang Nature Park in Thimphu was created (inaugurated November, 2011) below the Buddha Dordenma statue in order to preserve the area surrounding the newly constructed statue, and can be seen as a 'new' sacred natural site, linked to Bhutan's history via past prophecy and *terma* (gter ma, 'hidden treasure') text.

Because they are meeting grounds between differing values and therefore sites of religio-environmental evolution, sacred natural sites may be places where the value-action gap is foregrounded, and negotiations are made. While in Bhutan, there was no mass hunting of animals such as in India or Africa, this does not mean that hunting (called poaching when it is illegally done) does not exist on a smaller scale, or in certain pockets. When it comes to feeding one's family, the reality is that the Buddhist precept of taking no life is an ideal and a guide. The householder must negotiate between the demands of daily life and the ideals that will guide him or her towards enlightenment in a future lifetime. The precept on not killing also highlights a difference between general Buddhist values and conservation aims, namely that international nature conservation practices do at times endorse killing, called culling, on a general idea of sacrificing individuals in order to save the species. This can be a problematic area for conservationists who are also Buddhists when they are faced with hard decisions. In contrast to culling, there exist meritorious life-saving practices, such as Tsethar in Bhutan, which may sometimes have unintended effects leading to benign neglect and further misery for the rescued animals and environmental degradation and spread of disease from the conservationist's point of view (Shiu & Stokes 2008; Gilbert et al. 2012). The purpose here is not to express opinion on these practices, but to simply point out that between nature conservation practice and Buddhist precepts, certain contradictions and value-action gaps exist that are difficult to reconcile in the lived reality of a samsaric world. These can lead to unforeseen complications. In the case of Bhutan as a beyul and a Buddhist kingdom, compassion towards animals and recognition and respect towards non-human beings, aversion towards mindless killing and a strong conservation policy has exacerbated 'human-wildlife conflict,' where huge livelihood losses are suffered by villagers living with wildlife.

## **Conclusion**

We have seen above how sacred natural sites can be a meeting ground for both international conservation values and practices, and local, place-inflected values and practices, and that they are sites where management and values may need to be negotiated. The coming of visitors into a place for pilgrimage or ecotourism (arguably a form of globalized pilgrimage) can be a practice that bridges place-based values with more universal values when it fosters respect for nature and promotes understanding and knowledge as well as raising the standard of living and wellbeing of local communities. Often (though not always<sup>7</sup>) there is less extraction of natural resources from Buddhist holy sites, and a respectful treatment of nature in the environs of the site by local communities (WWF 2011). However, while pilgrimage or mindful ecotourism to a sacred natural site may be a linking factor between different values (place-based and external), it may also cause divisions to arise and exacerbate differences. Ownership over knowledge, resources and information can be divisive and has been known to lead to different practices and competition in religious practice rather than respect for differences (Kang 2009). Many sacred natural sites in Bhutan are places with 'layered' histories, representing a palimpsest of beliefs, from the localized to the mainstream, the heterodox to the orthodox. The management of a sacred natural site can be a complex, with many stakeholders and requiring a thorough knowledge of values and institutional arrangements surrounding the site (Rutte 2011). Even the recognition or non-recognition of a sacred natural site as part of conservation practice may be an act of affirmation or erasure of pre-existing beliefs and practices that were responsible for the internalized respect for nature which has left Bhutan with a remarkable environmental legacy (Ura 2004).

Sacred natural sites within a conservation landscape are meeting grounds between national, local and global influences, the endogenous and exogenous. They can be sites where practices, rules and conceptions concerning the site undergo a process of change, but where preservation is also enacted as old roots bring forth new shoots. In Thimphu, the Buddha Dordenma and Kuenselphrodang Nature Park is becoming a place of pilgrimage for travellers from afar, for prayer and ecotourism, as new meanings are created in an old landscape.

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<sup>7</sup> Pilgrimage practices can be extractive - for example the collection of bark, seeds, soils, bits of rock from sacred places.

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# 10

## How Avidya Leads to Suffering:

### Paradigms and Transformations in Contemporary Japanese Society

Yoshinari Fuji

#### Introduction

One year ago, a sudden earthquake, and the ensuing flood waves and nuclear crisis have violently drawn the world's attention to Japan, a Japan afflicted by economic regression, staggering production and an ever widening gap between rich and poor. The Japanese society is rapidly ageing: almost one out of three Japanese is over 65 years old and the pension system is operating at its limits, just like the public sector as a whole.

It seems that a lot of people are suffering from mental disease, or torment by mental sufferings by losing hope for the future. The main sufferings of contemporary people are distress of isolation, loneliness, anxiety, distrust, inconvenience, emptiness of life (or a sense of meaninglessness), fear of death and so on. As a result, mental sufferings like depression are on the rise and more than thirty thousand people commit suicide every year, for more than ten years now.

We Japanese have to cure our mind and cope with these problems. We have to look for a way to live an energetic and hopeful life again.

In this paper, I will try to present the way to settle those mental problems from a Buddhistic point of view. I will eventually come to the conclusion that a major cause of those worries is a wrong way of thinking which is based on the scientific worldview adopted in the modern times. Although we have constructed much of our civilization through the modern scientific worldview and its way of thinking, we have to pay attention to the fact that such a way of thinking in itself must be called Avidya in Buddhism.

Avidya is what we Buddhists call the root of suffering. It means no-wisdom. What we need, and what we strive to develop, is its opposite, Prajna, or Jnana in

other words. It means the power to see things as they are, to cast light on the real facts. In order to overcome Avidya, we have to change our way of thinking. We have to recover our ties with other people, with society, Mother Nature and the universe. Once we set out on recovering ties, we are well on our way to obtaining true wisdom, Prajna, and overcome Avidya. The way to Prajna starts by recovering our relations to the world and the living beings within it. It is the way to overcome mental sufferings through true insight.

In this paper, I would like to analyze the present Japanese society from a Buddhist point of view. Japanese society, as we will see, is mostly secular and non-religious. I would also like to look behind this fact and provide some background information.

### **1. Japan as a non-religious society**

Researchers in the sociology of religions have recently described Japan as the most secularized and non-religious country in the world. In such a non-religious society, religion has only a limited ability to influence people's lives. A "religious" lifestyle is that which grants access to the world beyond mere appearances, to the invisible and even incomprehensible world. In contrast, a 'non-religious' lifestyle puts a narrow limitation on people's lives, limiting their outlook to the world of mere appearances. In this way, the 'non-religious' approach encourages a worldly outlook on life, it encourages secularity.

Once people put their whole awareness only in worldly appearances, it does not only limit their perception, but deeply affects their values, too. When values become secularized, limited to a materialistic approach, people lose their contact with the invisible dimension, there will be no more certainty about life after death and people start to think that life will vanish after death.<sup>1</sup> The very idea of death is then beset with all kinds of horrors, and it becomes a taboo to even talk about death.

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<sup>1</sup> Tatsuo Haya [2011] has commented about the way of cognition in contemporary people, "Most of the Japanese who have been influenced by modern rationalism believe only in what they see, and not in what is invisible. Since they don't believe in the invisible, they come to think that what they cannot see does not exist, thinking in a scientific manner. They will not be able to accept the existence of the Pure Land or salvation by Buddha Amitabha."

## 2. How did the Japanese society become secularized?

### -The problem of education-

#### 2-1. Education based on scientific thought, and the mental sufferings of contemporary people

One of the factors underlying such mental suffering is in a way of cognition which Japanese people has adopted through the education system, based on the scientific thoughts of Western modernism after the second World War. Thus, people have been trained to understand the world through the scientific paradigm, which was established by Descartes (1596-1650).

Modern science tries to achieve pure and objective understanding, and it is widely held that such understanding can only be achieved through a strict separation between matter and mind, by isolating mind and matter from their fundamental interconnection. This principle of scientific thinking has been widely adopted. On this basis, material things are held in highest esteem, and so material achievements take absolute precedence over all other values.

Nonetheless, such a way of thinking includes a mechanical view of Mother Nature, a dualism of matter and mind. It has cut the relation between humankind and Mother Nature.<sup>2</sup> Therefore, the Japanese have come to hold scientific materialism to be the only truth,<sup>3</sup> and to be perplexed about the meaning of religion and its inherent value.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Yujiro Nakamura (1977: 138-139) points out the problem of the mechanical view of Mother Nature and says, "This mechanical view of Mother Nature is skillfully made, the view of a physically solid Mother Nature. Descartes brilliantly explains its mechanism. He distinguished between soul and physical solid as different dimensions. The actuality of the soul is to think, real substance of physical solid is not in weight, solidness of color but only in spatial expanse. A physical solid thing and Mother Nature (as an object) are completely separated from the soul (as a subject), and was restored to the spatial expanse with three dimensions. In such a mechanism, both mathematical rationalism and demonstrativeness, which are hardly connected, came to be connected in the mechanical view of Mother Nature.

<sup>3</sup> Ryuji Ito [1999] introduces Yujiro Nakamura's opinion [1992], "Since the beginning of modern times, we human beings adopted a mechanical and analytical way of understanding, and objectified the phenomena and Nature, and come to know the universal rules of them, and tried to used them," and says "I think that, (The lost of Humanity through the development of civilization is), caused to the education influenced by soul-less psychology, which is based on the science influenced by thought of universality, objectivity, and restoring elements. Such psychology has usurped the awe and respect

To be sure, the Japanese people have accomplished unprecedented economic developments, and lead a more convenient and comfortable life with technical innovations within the modern Western scientific paradigm.

Thus, most of the people have adopted a value system which regards material progress and possessions alone. Meanwhile they have lost, slowly but surely, any sensitivity for the invisible power of the religious sphere. Such a value system has caused mental sufferings like distress of isolation, emptiness of life, the fear of death and so on.<sup>5</sup>

Human existence is inevitably linked to searching for meaning. He has the power of thought, and so he cannot avoid yearning for the meaning of his life. If he cannot find it, he will suffer from an emptiness which never satisfies him. But he cannot solve this problem with science, because the object of science is confined to the material dimension. And within the material dimension alone, there is no meaning. In this way, the education based on the approach of Western modern science, does not have the power to help us on our searching for meaning and fulfillment. In this way, Japanese people have lost track of a meaningful life.

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for something transcendence from Human, and has weekend sensitivity of them, and has made the noble humanity a secular one.”

<sup>4</sup> Tatsuo Haya [2011] says, “In our case, the influence of the view of restoration to elements, which make all the phenomena to be scattered. We hardly know it, because it is very naturally attached to us. It is fixed to the base of our point of view, worldview, a view of human beings, and a sense of values while we are not aware of it. (p.195)

<sup>5</sup> In Japan, the education based on modern scientific paradigm has caused not only mental sufferings in individuals but social problems. Now, Many Japanese people have come to take the theory of self-responsibility for granted. And it comes to be difficult for them to ask somebody to help, because of remote relationship with others. In education, the principle of competitions, results and adaptation to environment of school have been emphasized after the Second World War, now the most of people cannot find the meaning of life, and they have to endure the isolation, the meaninglessness of life and the fear of death. NHK, the broad casting station set to the air the program, “Persons in thirties cannot say ‘Help me!’” on Oct 7<sup>th</sup> 2010. This program showed that persons in thirties cannot say “Help me!,” even though they are about to die of starvation.

Because people have been educated in such sense of values, like principle of results and competitions, and the theory of self-responsibility, most of them think that all the responsibilities for their own problems are themselves, and they have to solve them only by themselves. Thus, In fact, a number of homeless persons in thirties have been rapidly increasing. SPA, an internet news pointed out that the number of isolated death has increased in persons of thirties and forties, and said “ Their way of thought which brings out their own isolation in society, would be the largest problem in Japanese society,” on Jan 20<sup>th</sup> 2011.

## **2-2. The problem of language in education**

Now, I point out the problem of language in education focused on scientific worldview. With this focus, language was reduced to a tool for material achievements. We, the contemporary people have not been taught to make the connection between immediate experience and language. In school education, language has been kept aloof of real experience, focusing on abstract expressions and concepts. Thus we trust language as a semiotic system and have begun to compulsively understand all phenomena through language, but this language has no relation with our actual experience or reality.

To perceive the world through such empty abstraction does not give us the power to live. Therefore, we come to live in a world of ideas and abstract concepts. Our languages create a virtual world out of touch with reality. We have not learned how to go beyond this scientific world and connect with reality again in school.

It is thus easy to see that this trap of conceptual and abstract perception causes loss of purpose and happiness in life. It is a truly idealistic way of life, trapped in ideas and conceptions. So most Japanese have no choice but to shut themselves inside this unrealistic world. They cannot touch the real world, and lose their relation with their actual, immediate environment. This is called Avidya, lack of wisdom, the darkness of ignorance in Buddhism. Thus, we comprehend that Avidya, the unrelated way of approaching the world, lies at the root of the distress which a lot of Japanese experience these days.

## **2-3. A more effective approach to the meaning of life**

The best way, thus, to resolve this kind of distresses, is to free oneself from Avidya through Wisdom, Prajna. Prajna is a sensitive way of understanding through mind and body, and of building a relation with the reality, an intimate relation with the world. When we regain the sense of relation with other people, with society, Mother Nature and the universe, we regain the ability to see ourselves in a balanced and objective way. It is in this way that we can find the answer to the meaning or purpose of our own life, to the meaning of our human existence. We can recover the original way of life.

In order to overcome such a situation, we have to transform the way of thinking which is solely based on the narrow scientific worldview. At a certain stage, the scientific model obstructs us from seeing the world as it is. This paradigm separates substance from soul, it abstracts and conceptualizes them.

By going beyond the world of ideas, we can build a relation with the real world. If we thus connect language with the reality of experience, whatever we learn through the language has the power to enrich our daily lives; it gives us the power to live.

When we recover the relation between ourselves and others, we can feel the suffering of others near us. We develop empathy and we begin to find ways of helping them.

If we recover the relation between ourselves and the society, we can find ways to contribute to the society on a larger scale, tackling its various problems. This will naturally fill our lives with purpose and meaning. Then our anxiety and the trifling lethargy of an undirected life will be overcome. Ultimately, the purpose of our life is finding ways in which we can help others and contribute to the well-being of society as a whole. The first step to such a purposeful life is recovering our sense of relation with others, with individuals right near us, and with the society as a whole. In the same way, we can recover the sense of relation with Mother Nature and the universe.

Life of man forms an integral part of Mother Nature. Our human body consists of the Mother Nature's elements, it is maintained and nourished by many forms of life that circulate in Mother Nature. Mother Nature is a part of earth, and earth is a part of the universe. If we look at our physical reality, the human body is always open to Mother Nature and the universe, and is intimately connected with them.

In the same way, I think, human minds have to be opened to Mother Nature and the universe, just like the body. The meaning of life is already given by Mother Nature, by our place in the universe. We cannot find the meaning of life by our own abstract ideas and conceptual thought.

Only humans are given the power to think freely, so they ask for comfort and the fulfillment of sensual pleasure in life. Once a desire is filled, they feel comfort,

and easily mistake comfort for happiness. So they tend to use their free will to satisfy their senses.

It often happens that human beings create an artificial world where their egocentric desires are satisfied. Especially, the development of technology since the Industrial Revolution was aimed at controlling and conquering Mother Nature. This manufactured environment provides us with comfort and convenience. This has, however, deeply affected Mother Nature to the point of destruction. At the same time, we see an increasing gap between rich and poor countries, and various kinds of inequality crimes against mankind. The present economy, with its compulsive obligation to ever-faster growth, burdens our earth conspicuously and it cannot be sustained forever. The egocentric way of life is on its way ruin human existence; humans have not been able to escape from this egocentric way of life.<sup>6</sup>

Such egocentricity is strengthened by the abstract, idea-based way of perceiving the world. Obviously, it does not relate properly to other people, society, Mother Nature and the universe. Without such relations, they cannot find the meaning of life. Instead of finding relations and purpose, people hope to find satisfaction in the fulfillment of their ever-increasing desires. Such a loss of contact with the real world brings mental sufferings to the people, because of Avidya.

While most forms of live do not act against Mother Nature, only man is given 'will' which he can employ detached from Mother Nature. Why is this so?

Animals and plants are inseparable from Mother Nature, they have no ability to create a new artificial world on their own. The power to construct his environment is given only to man. Instead of wasting this precious ability for the mere fulfillment of egocentric desire, we can use it in a truly constructive way. If

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<sup>6</sup> Takeshi Umehara [2012] points out that we have to innovate the civilization which pursues the egocentric desire, based on modern scientific paradigm, and he says "The accident of the Fukushima atomic power generation is the accident of civilization." "We have come to get power out of atoms according to demands of Western civilization which aims at affluent life." "Now the view of the world is on the issue, Western civilization has produced the scientific and technical civilization based on the thought that conquering Mother Nature brings happiness. But such a thought is about to cause the destruction of the environment and bring untold sufferings, ultimately breaking the human race. Now it is the time for Non-Western countries to provide advices against Western civilization. (Newspaper of Nishinihon, Feb 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2012, 'Thinking about Atomic Power Generation, My point of View).

we convert our short-sighted and narrow-minded craving into true compassion, we can find and carry out our mission to create a new world of peace and equality.

#### **2-4. What is the effect of prajna on the mental state?**

Prajna is the ability to look at reality as it is. Prajna, wisdom, is fundamental to Buddhism. Sakyamuni discovered the way to remedy trifling agony through true wisdom. To those who understood this opportunity, he taught the structured way to Prajna, which includes ethical behavior, meditation and understanding, the three points known as "the three kinds of training." The realization of Prajna is understanding things as they really are.

There are three kinds of wisdom: wisdom through listening, wisdom through reflection, and wisdom through cultivation. These three correspond to a stepwise approach. First, one develops some interest and listens to Sakyamuni's teaching. After this, as a second step, one contemplates the teachings heard before and scrutinizes them on one's own. The third and highest step is then to put it into practice in daily life, in its whole profundity. Only listening to the Buddha's teaching will not be enough to comprehend the deeper aspects of it. It takes some reflection, some time in quiet to really think it through conclusively. If we then find conviction based on our own scrutiny, we bring these teachings to our mind in very ordinary, daily life situations. This is the way to come to actual, deep insight. This blends into the wisdom through cultivation, in which we practice applying these teachings again and again. We connect to the experience of reality in our daily life.

In order to deepen our meditation, we have to direct our concentration at an object. In the teaching of early Buddhism, we concentrate our consciousness before meditation. The focus of our concentration then rests on the 'three treasures,' the Buddha, the Dharma and the Sangha. In this state of concentration, we can overcome our conceptual thinking, our habitual construction of ideas, and come to rest in a state of meditation. Once conceptual thinking comes to a rest, we gain a connection with the real world, with both body and mind. In this way we can perceive our relation with the people around us, with society, Mother Nature and the universe as a whole. We come to know the relations between individuals and the whole, and realize that all individuals are united in one body. We come to realize that all existence is based on altruistic

compassion without self-centeredness. And we come to know that only man lives a self-centered life filled with desires. We come to feel out of place with such a way of life. We come to perceive that our egoism is wrong, comparing the universe which has no egoism, but has compassion instead. Such an understanding is Prajna, or wisdom. Through correcting errors, we will come to be what we ought to be. We can get a real feeling of the world in which we are connected to each other through meditation, not through the head, but body and mind.

Prajna is the true understanding of what we are, both subjectively and relatively. Once we begin to feel the world which connects us all, we understand just how much we have been living an egocentric lifestyle. We make our self-centered mind itself the object of our meditation, thus rectify our self-centered way of life, and recover our true Mother Nature of compassion. Ultimately, Prajna is a sensitive understanding through one's own experience rather than just intellectual and rational cognition.

The Buddha Sakyamuni taught that the way to Prajna is the way of meditation. Meditation is mindfulness, the concentration of our consciousness. The tradition of Mahayana Buddhism transmits various ways of meditation, such as samatha and vipasyana, repeating of the name of Buddha Amitabha, chanting the Nichiren prayer, Zen meditation while sitting or even while walking, to name just a few. All these practices have the same fundamental function, they are methods of meditation.<sup>7</sup> They assist us in focussing our consciousness so that we can recover the feeling of relation between ourselves and others, the society, Mother Nature, and the universe. Rather than perceiving the world through abstract language and ideas, we can touch it directly with body and mind without language.

To sum up, we can say that there are two fundamental ways of relating to the world:

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<sup>7</sup> Hideho Arita [2011], a neurologist says "Meditation in sitting revitalizes the serotonin nerves. Increasing secretion of serotonin in the brain appears in the change of actions of the cerebrum while awakening, and positive feelings appears in emotion. Furthermore, in such circumstances, blood flow in frontal brain increases and has good influence on such actions of brain like concentration, intuition, empathy, and self-consciousness." And he corroborated that humans can get the same effects through walking practices with enchanting mantra in mountaineering asceticism, and pointed out that they will get the same effect through chanting the holy invocation in Jodo-sect and Jodo-Shin-sect of Japan."

- 1) Avidya; the perception through abstract language and concepts, through self-centered desires and focus on superficial appearances.
- 2) Prajna; the direct recognition based on experience, a relating to the world in an unbiased and direct way, through our body and senses.

These two ways of relating to the world have already been pointed out by Shinran (1173-1263), who was the founder of the Shin-Buddhism, Jodo-Shin-Sect in Japanese Buddhism.<sup>8</sup>

In order to follow the teachings of Buddha, it is not sufficient to just listen to the Buddha's teaching, and grasp it as an abstract concept. That is not the way out of the world of ideas, but rather another virtual world of imagination. We have to live these teachings in order to connect to our experiences in daily life.

To that end, we have to practice the three kinds of training and the three kinds of Jnana. We have to first listen to the teaching in concentration, then repeat those teaching and take them to heart, and finally master deep aspects of the teaching in life.

## **Conclusion**

### **-In order to overcome the avidya in contemporary society-**

Being ignorant has become a kind of fashion. Of course, it is convenient to rely on the school's textbooks as long as that fulfils one's material needs. But from a Buddhist perspective, this is nothing but Avidya. It does not help in recognizing things in the manner they actually are, but we grasp them as abstract ideas. There is no true Prajna in it. Our education is limited to a certain set of ideas, and our students are left on their own, exposed to all the distress that comes from such a way of perceiving the world. If we just look at the facts, at the state most people

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<sup>8</sup> Shinran denied the idealistic way of recognizing the Buddha's Prajna through abstract language and concepts, and had considered this to be the erroneous 'way of Self-Power, Avidya.' People cannot gain Prajna in such a way. And Shinran taught "the true way of Other-Power" in which people can gain Prajna. The word 'Other' here means Amitabha Buddha, or more specifically Amitabha Buddha's vows to rescue living beings. Shinran thought that people could gain Prajna by entrusting their whole existence to Amitabha Buddha through faith and His name. If people perceive Other-Power and repeat to concentrate the consciousness to it through practices in daily life, and entrust their whole existence to Amitabha Buddha, then they come to gain Prajna, the Power of the Other, the power of Amitabha Buddha.

are in, we can see that science as such has not helped us to overcome worry and distress. For that, an altogether different approach to our existence and our experience is necessary. It would require transforming the analytical and conceptual way of seeing the world into cognition by body and mind, touching the real world.

Such transformation is possible through the various ways of meditating and focusing one's mind as I described earlier, invocation, walking meditation and so on. In Japan, various Buddhist denominations, such as the Pure-Land tradition, Zen, or Nichiren have transmitted these practices for a long time, though the teachings have gradually weakened, the essence of the practices has become evasive and a lot of priests have turned to a secular life.

We Buddhists need to call out to the Japanese people to change their approach and overcome the spiritual crisis of the present society. We, the people of today, have to recover our relation with the reality. We have to recover it through obtaining Prajna by the practice of Buddhistic meditation. Then, we will be able to see the real world for the first time.

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# 11

## **Ethnic Identity and Buddhist Tradition: An Analysis on Ethnic Shan Festivals in Thailand**

Siraporn Nathalang

### **Abstract**

*The concept of “Buddhism Without Borders” in this paper will be interpreted as when Buddhist people from one country migrate to another Buddhist country and still carry on their Buddhist tradition. Interestingly, the time and the place in carrying on the Buddhist tradition is also used as the time and place to express the ethnic identity in the context of the country they migrate into.*

*Today, there is a huge influx of migrant laborers from the neighboring countries, particularly from Myanmar, coming to work in Thailand. Shan people from the Shan State, Myanmar, is one of the ethnic groups from Myanmar who crosses border in the north of Thailand to work in Chiangmai province. Interestingly, the Shan people uses certain Buddhist temples in Chiangmai to carry on their Buddhist Shan festivals in the same tradition as they do in Shan State, Myanmar. Buddhist Thai temples in Chiangmai have thus become the venue in transmitting Buddhist Shan tradition as well as the “cultural contact zone” for social gathering and expressing Shan ethnic identity in the context of Thailand.*

*This paper illustrates how Shan Buddhist festivals have been “transplanted” to be performed in Thailand. The Shan festivals of poy awk-waa (welcoming the Buddha descending from heaven to earth) is selected as a case study to portray how Buddhist Shan festivals have become re-territorialized and how Shan ethnic identity is expressed through various means, e.g., costumes, food, performances, etc. in these festivals in the context of Thailand.*

### **Introduction**

Thailand and Myanmar are neighboring countries. When there are political problems, people then cross the border migrating to live in the other side of the border. Due to the conflict between the government and the ethnic groups in Myanmar, people of various ethnic groups from Myanmar have been migrating

to live in Thailand, particularly in the provinces of western and northern Thailand. Recently, there has been a huge influx of migrant laborers from Myanmar coming to work in Thailand. Shan people from Shan State, Myanmar, is one of the ethnic groups who crosses border in the north of Thailand to work in Chiangmai province.

But since both Thailand and Myanmar are predominantly Theravada Buddhist countries, the Shans as well as the Thais are Theravada Buddhists, they then share certain common religious traditions. Interestingly, the Shan people uses certain Buddhist temples in Chiangmai to carry on their Buddhist Shan festivals in the same tradition as they do in the Shan State, Myanmar. Buddhist Thai temples in Chiangmai have thus become the venue in transmitting Buddhist Shan tradition as well as the “cultural contact zone” for social gathering and expressing Shan ethnic identity in the context of Thailand.

The phenomenon of “Buddhism Without Borders” in this paper will then be presented as when people from one Theravada Buddhist country migrates to another Theravada Buddhist country, and still carry on their Buddhist traditions.

This paper will illustrate how Shan Buddhist festivals are performed in Thailand. Shan festivals of *poy awk waa* (*poy* meaning festival, *awk* meaning leaving, *waa* shortening from the Pali word, *wassa*, meaning rain or rainy season; it is a festival to welcome the Buddha back from his visit to preach his mother in *tavatimsa* heaven during the rain’s retreat) is selected as a case study to portray how a Buddhist Shan festival has become re-territorialized and how Shan ethnic identity is expressed through various means, e.g., costumes, food, performances, etc. in the Buddhist festival in the context of Thailand .

### **From Shan State to Thailand**

The Shan people speak Tai language, the same language family spoken by Thai people in Thailand. Today, the majority of Shan people live predominantly in the Shan State, Myanmar. There are also other ethnic Shan people living in Assam, Arunachal Pradesh, India; Dehong Prefecture, Yunnan, China; and Mae Hong Son, Chiangrai and Chiangmai provinces, Thailand.

Historically, since the sixth century, Mawk Khao Mao Luang Kingdom, an ancient Shan kingdom, was founded in the Salween riverine area where today is

the area between Dehong Prefecture, Western China and Shan State, Eastern Myanmar. The kingdom expanded its political power for centuries. Until the thirteenth century, the kingdom was invaded by China. The Shan king at that time immigrated his Shan people crossing the mountains to found a new kingdom which is in Assam, India today. During the time, the new rising center of Shan kingdom, Saenwi Kingdom, was founded in the area which is in present day Shan State, Myanmar. In the past, Shan kingdoms always had socio-political relations, e.g., trade, marriages, wars, etc. with the Burmese, Chinese and Lanna Thai kingdoms (See more detail in Sompong Wittayasakphan, 2001).

Under the British rule over Burma during the colonial period, the British established the Federation of Shan States uniting all the cities of the Shan people to counter balance with the Burmese power. In the year 1947, Shan State, Kachin State, Karen State and Chin State signed a Panglong Agreement to be together under the Union of Burma for 10 years with the agreement that after 10 years, they would have autonomous ruling right. However, in 1957, Burma broke the promise and did not allow all these states to be autonomous. This resulted in long lasting wars between the Burmese government and these ethnic minorities until today (See more detail in Pornpimol Trichot, 2000: 59-62).

Since all along, the Burmese government has treated the other ethnic minorities in their country not nicely, this resulted in the Shan, the Karen, the Mon, etc. migrating to live and work in Thailand. As a consequence, many Shan soldiers and people migrated into western and northern Thailand. The Shan army, which was previously situated in the Shan State near the border of Thailand, in 1958, moved to set their headquarters in Chiangmai, later on setting another headquarter in Chiangrai and Mae Hong Son, Thailand. In 1969, Shan United Revolution Army (SURA) was established at Piang Luang Village, Wiang Haeng District, Chiangmai (Wandi Santiwutmethi, 2008: 25-26).

During the past several decades, there was a series of Shan migrations from the Shan State to Thailand. Thus, there were Shan settlements in Mae Hongson in northwestern Thailand, in Chiangrai and Chiangmai in northern Thailand. Shan people who came long time ago have been, to a certain extent, assimilated with northwestern and northern Thai people. In the late 1990's, the on-going wars between Burmese army and Shan army resulted in a new series of Shan migration to Thailand.

Today, there must be over one million migrant laborers (registered and non-registered) from Myanmar working in Thailand (Huguet et al, 2011: 12). In Chiangmai, a large number of Shan migrants live in Wiang Haeng District in the border area but recently many of them fluctuated down to work in the city of Chiangmai since there are more job opportunities. Today there must be over a hundred thousand Shan people working as foreign wage labors in Chiangmai province.

### **Shan Buddhist Tradition: The Case of the 12 Months' Ritual**

It is remarked by Buddhist scholars that in every Theravada Buddhist country, whether it is Sri Lanka, Myanmar, Thailand, Laos, or Cambodia, there tends to be local interpretation of Buddhism such that it creates some kind of folk Buddhism in each Theravada Buddhist country.

An example of folk interpretation of Buddhism is illustrated in Shan 12 month rituals in Shan folk life; the details are as follows (Chaichuen Khamdaengyodtai, 2011):

- Month 1: *Poy pee mai*, celebrating Shan traditional new year, and the offering newly harvested rice to the monks
- Month 2: Monks' intensive meditation in the temples
- Month 3: Lighting fire to worship the Buddha and warm the Buddha images
- Month 4: Pilgrimage to pay worship to the Buddha's relics
- Month 5: *Poy Sang Long*, ritual of novice ordination, and *Poy Sang Khan*, celebrating new year
- Month 6: Watering the Bodhi tree
- Month 7: Merit-making and worshipping the city guardian spirits/Rain-making ceremony
- Month 8: Offering flowers and *poy khaw waa*, entering the rains retreat
- Month 9: Donating food and things to the temples
- Month 10: Offering food to the Buddha/worshipping Upakutta
- Month 11: *Poy awk waa*, leaving the rains retreat, making *jong para* to welcome the Buddha back from heaven to earth
- Month 12: Offering new robe to monks

The activities in the 12 month rituals illustrate Shan way of life that is interwoven with Buddhist tradition. Among the 12 month rituals, I would say that in Thailand *poy sang long* and *poy awk waa* are the most popular Shan rituals and can also be perceived by other ethnic groups as Shan cultural identity.

*Poy sang long* is a Shan tradition to ordain a young boy to be a Buddhist novice. What is interesting is the Shan's unique interpretation and performance of this tradition. Shan people interpret this tradition that a young boy who is becoming a novice is like when Prince Sidharata was leaving his laymanhood to enter monkhood. Thus, in the ritual, the boy would dress up colorfully and beautifully like a prince. Such creative interpretation enhances *poy sang long* to be popularly known as a Shan Buddhist tradition, particularly in the Shan State and in western and northern Thailand due to the colorful and the vivid parade of the young novice riding on horseback surrounded by his relatives and people from his village.

*Poy awk waa* is another tradition that can also be perceived as another of Shan's unique interpretation and ritualization of the Buddha's life history. When approaching the month of *poy awk waa*, every Shan household would build a *jong para* (*jong* meaning palace or temple, *para* meaning the Buddha), which is supposed to be a symbol of a palace or a pavilion to receive the Buddha back from heaven to earth by placing this *jong para* in front of each house. This tradition can also be perceived as a marker of Shan identity of Buddhist tradition.

#### ***Awk Waa Festival: The Narrative behind the Ritual Performed***

During the rainy season in Theravada Buddhist countries, there is a tradition of monks residing in the temples without spending overnight elsewhere for three months. The starting month of the rains retreat is called *khaw waa*, meaning entering the rains retreat and the ending month is called *awk waa* meaning leaving the rains retreat.

Let me now cite the Shan's belief which is based on a story back to the Buddha's time since this following story is used to explain the origin of Shan *awk waa* ritual and performance:

After the Buddha was enlightened, he went up to heaven to preach his mother for three months. The Buddha told Makkhalana monk that he

would return to earth on the full moon day of the eleventh month. Makkhalana then told all human beings and animals to prepare to receive the Buddha. Knowing this news, all human beings and animals were overjoyed and prepared to receive him.

When that day came, *Indra* God magically built the golden and silver stairs from *tavatimsa* heaven to the earth. Human beings offered food and desserts to the Buddha. Mythical animals from *Himawan* forest, for example, *kinnaree*, a mythical half-man-half-bird creature, welcomed him by dancing gracefully as a gesture of paying respect to the Buddha. *Toh*, a mythical lion with beautiful long hair resembling Yak or Jammaree, also went to welcome the Buddha. People who could not go to receive the Buddha would make a small *jongpara*, a palace-like, in front of their house as a sign to welcome him.

Upon descending to earth, the Buddha surrounded by the six colored radiance creates bright light from heaven to earth and down through hell. This made all creatures see the Buddha and they were thus overwhelmed by his *parami* (religious charisma). The six colored radiance also shined on every beings and on the *jongpara* that every house prepared to welcome him." (Chaichuen Khamdaengyodtai, 2011 and Social Research Institute, Chiangmai, 2008)

Referred to this narrative, the Shan then followed the tradition performed at the Buddha's time. The tradition of making *jongpara* at the temples and people's houses at the time of *awk waa* on the full moon day of the eleventh month has then become one of the identities of Shan tradition. Tannenbaum (2009: 181) describes the appearance of *jongpara* in Mae Hong Son province in Thailand, "It is usually made out of bamboo and displayed attached to a house or a temple; minimally it is a platform with a roof, although they can be more elaborate. Inside the platform, people place food and rice and other cooked offerings. Fruit and large vegetables are suspended underneath the platform."

Based on the above narrative, it is also a Shan tradition to perform *kinnaree* (*ging gala* or *nang nok* in Shan language) dances and *toh* dances in *awk waa* festival as gestures of welcoming the Buddha descending from heaven to earth. *Ging gala* and *toh* have then been used as markers of ethnic Shan dances to be performed in

various Shan festivals not only in *awk waa* festival but also in other festivals as well to express Shan cultural identity.

### **Expressing Shan Identity in *Awk Waa* Festival in the Buddhist Temples in Thailand**

Today, in the city of Chiangmai, at the time of the Buddhist festivals, one would find a recent phenomenon of Shan migrant workers organizing Shan festivals and gathering at certain Buddhist temples in Chiangmai, particularly at Papao Temple and Kutao Temple. So, whenever there are Shan Buddhist festivals, e.g., *poy awk waa*, *poy sang long* (novice ordination), or *poy pee mai* (Shan new year), these Shan migrant workers use these two temples as the venue to conduct Shan ritual and performance and as their “cultural contact zone” for their social gathering.

Historically, Kutao Temple is an old Buddhist temple dating back to the 14<sup>th</sup> century. The pagoda in this temple is believed to house the relics of a brother of the King of Burma who died during the war between Ayuddhaya and Burma in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The temple architecture is the combination between northern Thai and Shan style. Today, Kutao Temple is the place where Shan Language and Culture Association is located.

As for Papao Temple, it is also an old temple dating back to the 14<sup>th</sup> century. In the beginning, the place used to be an old palace of a king of Lanna, later on after the king died, a temple was built on this land. In 1891, a Shan lady who married the ruler of Chiangmai repaired the temple and built a pagoda with Shan style architecture, and later on she had a *vihara* built in order to enshrine a Shan style Buddha image. Since then, Papao Temple has been under the care of Shan people in Chiangmai.

On October 23<sup>rd</sup> 2010, I had a chance to collect field data regarding Shan festival of *poy awk waa* at Papao Temple and Kutao Temple. I was impressed by the crowd of Shan people in the temples. Both temples were filled with so many young Shan workers. Shan’s *jong para* were constructed and placed in the center of both the temples. Male and female Shan workers came to participate in the festival, placing the offering food and fruits at *jong para* as a means to pay respect to the Buddha. Shan’s religious activities also include the listening to the sermons

of the Shan monks and donating money to the temple due to the Buddhist beliefs and tradition.



*Jong para* at Papao Temples

During *awk waa* festival, Shan Buddhist belief was transmitted; *ging gala* and *toh* dances were performed to concretize the Buddhist narrative that these mythical animals came from the forest to welcome the Buddha descending from heaven.



*Ging gala* dance



*toh* dance

Identity of Shan performance based on Shan's Buddhist narrative

Interestingly, the two Buddhist temples are not just the venue to host the Shan Buddhist festivals, they have temporarily become *an imagined Shan land* where

one can buy Shan ethnic costumes and textiles, Shan food and merchandises, e.g., cosmetics, face powder, lipsticks, shoes, cds and dvds, books of Shan literatures, etc. Accordingly, the Buddhist temples in the city of Chiangmai have become the space to express Shan ethnic identity.



(Left) A crowd of Shan migrant workers participating in *poy awk waa* at Papao Temple.

(Right) Hanging fruits at *jongpara* offering to the Buddha



Shan ethnic costumes and T-shirts sold in the temple



Shan food sold in the temple



All kinds of merchandizes: dry food, books, cds, dvds from the Shan State, Myanmar

Being far away from their Shan State, Myanmar, there occurs the phenomenon of what social scientists call “re-territorialization,” meaning the creation of a new community in a new space, in this case, in the Buddhist temples in the city of Chiangmai. Festival time is then a good time and opportunity to express their Shan ethnic identity.

Compared to other ethnic migrant workers from Myanmar, e.g., Mon, Karen, Kachin, Akha, the Shan people better assimilate with the Thai considering their language, historical and cultural proximity. Assuming the cultural proximity between the Shan and the northern Thai people who speak the same language family, Shan migrant workers declare their existence and cultural identity to the northern Thai and Thai people in the Buddhist ritual time and venue. Their intention to integrate with the Thai people can be seen in other activities such as their “place-making” in Thai television news, their invitation of Thai government officials to preside over their various festivals.

Not only in *poy awk waa*, but also in other festivals, we can now see young Shan migrant workers gathering in Buddhist temples in Chiangmai. Announcements, e.g., posters, banners, news on television, websites, etc. concerning time and venue for *poy sang long*, *poy pee mai*, etc., have been publicly made in Chiangmai. Their attempts to be integrated with Thai people have been continuously remarked. Being Theravada Buddhists the same as Thai people make things easier for the Shan people to participate and assimilate in many other religious and social activities in Thai society.

### **Concluding Remarks**

Buddhist tradition is a vital part of Buddhist people anywhere. Since “Buddhism has no borders,” in this paper, I have illustrated how Shan Theravada Buddhist people from Myanmar have used Buddhist temples in Chiangmai, Thailand through the cultural event of Buddhist festivals to transmit their Shan Buddhist tradition, as well as to express their Shan identity in the context of Thailand, a country of fellow Theravada Buddhist people.

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# 12

## The Role of Buddhist Temples in Thailand in Transmitting Shan Language and Culture\*

Supin Ritpen

### Abstract

*In the Shan State, Myanmar, Buddhist temples serve as the center for passing on the Dharma teachings as well as transmitting Shan customs and traditions along with informally teaching Shan texts to Buddhist monks and Shan people. After the Shan people had to migrate from the Shan State into Thailand, Chiangmai Province in particular, due to various political problems, the Shan people continue using Buddhist temples as their meeting places, both the new temples they have built upon their arrival and the existing local ones in Chiangmai. Thus, Buddhist temples have become the central meeting places of the Shan immigrants.*

*The objective of this paper is to study the roles of Buddhist temples on the Shan immigrants in five areas in Chiangmai where the Shan immigrants have settled down. The paper explores the roles of the temples through the activities of the Shan people held in the temples.*

*The study shows that the Buddhist temples in Chiangmai play significant role among the Shan migrants, e.g. serving as the center for their gathering to learn, share, pass on and promote their art and culture as well as being the center for Shan language teaching, helping the Thailand born Shan children of the Shan migrants to learn Shan language and culture. The temples also provide all sorts of assistance to the Shan people and serve as an important social network that unite the Shan immigrants. This creates a core conscience of Shan identity in conserving the language, as well as art and culture, resulting in the younger generation being able to take pride in their history and ethnicity in a social context outside their homeland, the Shan State.*

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## **Introduction**

The Shan people have their own history, language and culture, as well as art, that were handed down since the 7<sup>th</sup> Century as recorded in their history. Their origin was founded in the area known as Mawkkhao Maoluang in the north of Myanmar and in the northwest of Yunnan Province, China. Their kingdom was prosperous in the time of the ruler named Chao Sueakhanfa before it began to decline and fall apart around AD 1560.

At present, Shan people have their settlement in five areas: Shan State in Myanmar, northwest of Yunnan, Assam, India, northern region of Laos and northwestern and northern Thailand.<sup>1</sup>

The Shan State and Myanmar were under British rule during the Anglo-Burmese War. After the British pulled out from Myanmar in accordance with the Atlantic Charter, the Shan State and other ethnic minorities arranged to sign the Pangluang Treaty with Myanmar. The essence of the treaty was that all groups would be together for 10 years (1947-1957) and after that, they could exist independently.<sup>2</sup> But after the ten years ended, Myanmar refused to abide by the treaty and forced the Shan and other ethnic minority groups to remain under their rule and ignored their freedom, education, language as well as the expression of their arts, culture and traditions.

These political conflicts between Shan State and Myanmar affected the security and posed a threat to their lives and possessions, including their mental state and ethnicity. In 1996-1997, the army of Myanmar constantly pursued the Shan State Army and civilians, and restricted the people for assisting the Shan soldiers in terms of food, information and shelter. The suppression was so severe that as many as 1,400 villages were wiped out from the Shan State Map. More than 300,000 Shan people became homeless and had to flee across the Thai - Myanmar

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<sup>1</sup> Somphong Wittayasakphan [สมพงษ์ วิทยาศักดิ์พันธุ์]. *Prawattisarhtaiyai [ประวัติศาสตร์ไทใหญ่]*. (Bangkok: Project of History and Tai Social cultural in TRF), 2010: 77-79. (In Thai).

<sup>2</sup> Pornphimon Trichot [พรพิมล ตรีโชติ]. *Chonklumyoy lae Ratabanphama (Ethnic Minority and the Burmese Government) [ชนกลุ่มน้อยกับรัฐบาลพม่า]*. (Bangkok : Research Fund Office, 1999: 60). (in Thai).

borders to seek refuge in some temporary shelters and villages where there were some Shan migrants living such as Mae Hong Son, Chiangrai and Chiangmai.<sup>3</sup>

Chiangmai became one of the provinces where a large number of Shan immigrants came to take up residence. In the earlier period, the main purpose for their coming was for commercial benefits. These migrants would live in the city areas while those engaged in the agricultural occupation spread around to mix with other groups or cultures where they were the majority of the residents, or they often mingled with other groups.

The Shan immigrants who formed a specific group or majority population of the community or village would have a temple as the center for their cultural expression and performances. However, those that lived with other groups would find ways to affirm their identity and often participated with the other two groups in conducting their cultural activities.

This paper aims to study the role of the temples in transmitting the language and culture of the Shan immigrants in Thailand through relevant documents, field research and in depth interviews with the Shan people in their annual festivals.

## 1. Shan Temples in Chiangmai Province

The Shan immigrants studied in this paper live in Mueang, Maetaeng and Wianghaeng Districts. They joined in Shan religious and cultural activities in the selected five temples. The context and relationship between each temple and the people are as follows:

### 1.1 Wat Papao (Papao Temple)

Wat Papao is in the area of Mueang District, Chiangmai Province. It used to be the old dwelling of Phra Chao Kue Na, one of the Buddhist kings who reigned over Chiangmai. It was later abandoned until the Shan immigrants who lived in Chiangmai asked for permission from the ruler of Chiangmai to build a temple in this precinct as a center for performing religious activities.

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<sup>3</sup> Yuphin Khemmuk [ยพิน เข้มมุคคี]. *phiteekham sayyainaiwitheelanna* [พิธีกรรม สายใยในวิถีล้านนา]. (Chiangmai: Sangsilp Printing Ltd, 2011: 33). (In Thai).

In B.E. 2432 (AD 1889), Mom Bualai, the consort of Phrachao Inthawichayanonda, the ruler of Chiangmai sponsored the renovation of the lodging inside the temple along with the construction of a chedi preserving the Shan style. She also continually supported the religious activities at Wat Papao.<sup>4</sup>

The abbots of the temple were usually of Shan ethnicity who served to communicate and act as the religious leaders of their temple. Phrakhru Amonwirakhun, a Shanni from Mueangsat of Shan State is the present abbot. He has showed mercy toward the Shan people in Chiangmai Province by opening the temple for culture and traditional activities.

Wat Papao school, in the temple area, gained support from the Quality Learning Foundation (QLF) to provide basic education to children of Shan laborers during weekends. The school has Shan teachers who teach in the Shan language on subjects concerning culture along with providing clothes and lunch for all of their students.



**Figure 1:** Shan's volunteer teacher transmitting Shan language and culture to Shan children.

**Source:** The researcher

## 1.2 Wat Kutao

Wat Kutao in Mueang District, Chiangmai Province was built by the Yuan but the date of its construction was not known. An inscription has it that it used to hold the relics of Mangnorathacho, a Burmese warrior who led his army to battle

<sup>4</sup> Encyclopedia of Culture Foundation, Vol.7 ,Thai Commercial Banks. *Encyclopedia of northern Thai culture*. (Bangkok: Siam Express Management. Co., Ltd., 1999: 3771). (In Thai).

with Ayutthaya around B.E. 2122 – 2156. Most of the abbots of this temple were Yuan ethnics. The present abbot (Khruba Chanta) is also a Yuan monk from Sankamphaeng District, Chiangmai Province.<sup>5 6</sup>

The Buddhist art of the temple is a mixture between Lanna and Shan styles with a large pavilion for multiple functions such as a community hall or exhibition hall. Although the temple was originally a Yuan temple, the abbot has shown mercy to the Shan by allowing The Shan Education and Culture Club of Chiangmai to place an office in the precinct as well as allowing the club to hold meetings of Shan people in Thailand along with other traditional events since 2004. A large number of Shan immigrants in Chiangmai would gather at the cultural events held at the temple.



**Figure 2:** Pagoda (Ku) with watermelon shaped (Ba Tao – watermelon in Northern Thai language), that is the origin of the name "Wat Kutao."

**Source:** Encyclopedia of northern Thai culture, Vol. 1, 1999: 409

### 1.3 Wat Koklang

Wat Koklang is in Mueang District, Chiangmai Province. It was built in B.E. 2410 (AD 1867) in the Yuan community. Though its religious activities are held according to the Lanna ceremonial calendar of the twelve months, it serves as the

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<sup>5</sup> Encyclopedia of Culture Foundation, Vol. 7., Thai Commercial Banks. *Encyclopedia of northern Thai culture*. (Bangkok: Siam Express Management.Co., Ltd., 1999: 3771). (In Thai).

<sup>6</sup> Encyclopedia of Culture Foundation, Vol. 1, Thai Commercial Banks. *Encyclopedia of northern Thai culture*. (Bangkok: Siam Express Management. Co., Ltd., 1999: 409. (In Thai).

center of the Shan immigrants from Shan State who work in different areas as well as the Shan people who live in Chiangmai, Chiangrai and Maekongson and Lampang to perform their rituals.



**Figure 3:** Shan in Poy Sang Long at Wat Koklang, Chiangmai province (2011)

**Source:** The researcher

The main reason for Wat Koklang to become the center of Shan rituals can be traced back to the time when Phraathikan Wirat Kittisophano, the abbot, was loyal to and respected Somdetachayatham, the ruler of Kengtung in the Shan State of Myanmar. He followed the arch monk to bless and preach to the Shan people in many provinces in the Shan State, and became famous and respected by the people there.

Public facilities and utilities were facilitated from Thailand to Shan State through the abbot's connection resulting in increasing respect and loyalty as word spread among the Shan who lived in Thailand. Therefore, on special traditional occasions, such as the Shan New Year, Poi Awk Waa and Poi Sang Long festivals, the Shan people in Chiangmai would ask for permission to hold their celebrations at Wat Koklang since 1997.

The religious art of the temple is a mixture of Yuan, Shan and Tai Khoen traditions where the principle Buddha image is in the Chiangsaen style (Tai

Yuan), while Phra Uppakhut is in a mixed style (Tai Khoen and Shan) and the chedi (pagoda) being a mixture of Shan and Mon art. During the painting of the murals, the artist added current events to the art work such as the portraits of “Chuangchuang and Linhui,” the two pandas that are now serving as Thai – Chinese ambassadors, now in Chiangmai Zoo, along with the history of the construction of the temple and certain folk tales.

#### 1.4 Wat Tiyasathan Taiyai

Wat Tiyasathan Taiyai in Maetaeng District, Chiangmai was built in B.E. 2452 when Nantiya and Saengmam, a Shan couple who were in the first generation of exiles from Shan State, Myanmar donated their land for the temple to be used as the spiritual and cultural center for the Shan immigrants. Wat Tiya Sathan Taiyai has always had Shan monks oversee the temple. The current abbot is Luangpho Siwan Warintha from Pangluang, Shan State, Myanmar.



**Figure 4:** Nantiya and Saengmam, a Shan couple who donated their land for the temple to be used as the spiritual and cultural center for the Shan immigrants.

**Source:** The researcher.

The Buddhist art of Wat Tiyasathan Taiyai is in the Shan style. Even though most of the first generation Shan immigrants have passed away and their descendants have adopted the Yuan culture who are the major population of Maetaeng District into their lifestyle. The abbot and monks of Wat Tiyasathan

Taiyai, who were mainly from the Shan State have put an effort into maintaining and promoting Shan culture for the younger generations of Tiyasathan Taiyai Villlage.

The temple has a large document room that stores ancient Shan scriptures written in Shan characters which was donated by the Shan people and monks under the scripture preservation project. The monks and scholars of the Shan people here have also initiated a Shan Culture promotion project of Shan reading and writing, crafts and housekeeping for the Shan children on weekends.<sup>7</sup>

Annually, Wat Tiyasathan Taiyai would hold festivals according to the Shan traditions. However, becoming one of the villages under the Sub-District Administrative Organization, Ministry of the Interior and having to follow the policies given by the government together with being surrounded by Taiyuan, the abbot of the temple had to hold other festivals of the Yuan and the government as well. For example, in 2011 the festivals of Poi Ok Wat (Shan) and Kuai Salak (Yuan) were held in October, the Shan New Year and Yi Peng Festival (Yuan) were held in November and Father's Day and Poi Sang Long festival were held together in December as homage to His Majesty the King.

### **1.5 Wat Fawiangindra**

Wat Fawiangindra is situated in Piangluang Sub-District, Wianghaeng District, Chiangmai Province. It is believed to have been founded by King Naresuan the Great when he led his Thai troops through Wianghaeng. Later the temple was left deserted until B.E. 2512 when it was restored by Chao Kon Jaeng or General Mo Heng, who was the president of the Shan State Army, when he used Ban Piang luang as the base for his forces. He also built the monks' quarters and some architecture in the Shan style in the temple. The renovation and patronage provided by the general has made the temple into a center for the Shan Buddhist followers in Piangluang Sub-District.

The recent agreement on the Thai - Myanmar border division has resulted in splitting the temple's compound around two mountains into two parts where the

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<sup>7</sup> Siwan Waritha [สิวัน วารินทะ]. . Nuengsattawath Wattiyasatantaiyai [หนึ่งศตวรรษ วัดดัยะสถาน ไทใหญ่]. (Chiangmai : Daocompewgraphic, 2007). (In Thai).

Ubosot (ordination hall) is situated on the Myanmar side and the Chedi and the wiharn (ceremonial hall) are on the Thai side.

One reason for the Shan immigrants to strongly advocate the temple as much as their faith in the older temple, Piangluang, is because it was built by their hero. After General Mo Heng passed away in 1993, his family brought his ashes to be kept in a *stupa* on the hill behind Wat Fawiangindra. Thus, most of the Shan immigrants in Piangluang Sub-District and those elsewhere like to visit the temple and pay respect to their hero.<sup>8</sup>



**Figure 5:** Wat Fawiangindra in Piangluang Sub-District

**Source:** The researcher

The current abbot of Fawiangindra Temple, Phra Pricha Panyasaro, is from Shan State. He is an advocate of Shan traditions and customs. He works with the Sangkha Council and Shan immigrants in the sub-district to offer Shan language courses and annual Shan festivals.

All five of the temples mentioned have served as centers for the preservation of the Shan culture and heritage in Chiangmai. Some of them were built or renovated by the Shan people and have Shan monks as abbots. At the same time, the temples advocated by Tai Yuan people would have a Tai Yuan monk as their abbot. This practice and differences have not interfered with their function. Both ethnic groups consider themselves as observing the same religion although their race is different. They are living in a Buddhist society whose cultural roots are

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<sup>8</sup> Saiwan Phio-on [สายวัน ศิวอ่อน]. *Prawatwatfaweinginn*. (Chiangmai : klangweing Printing, 2549) (in Thai).

similar, so they are always continuing to interact, share and support each other in many activities.

## **2. The Roles of the Temples Among the Shan Immigrants**

The Shan people are Buddhist and several of their cultural activities stem from the temples and they often come together in unity to demonstrate that they belong to the Shan nationality. For those reasons, temples have very significant roles among the Shan people. The following are some of the important roles of the temple among Shan immigrants.

### **2.1 The Center That Binds the Shan People's Hearts Together**

The Shan immigrants in Chiangmai take on as their duty to take care of and look after the temples that are close to their residences or are convenient to reach. Some dedicate themselves as the "male and female patrons" (*pho-ok* and *mae-ok*). They come and make merit or offer alms at the respective temples on the Buddhist Sabbath days or special Buddhist occasions. Some perform the role of strong devotees (*pu-sila* and *ya-sila*) by spending the night of Buddhist Sabbaths at the temple during the Buddhist Lent. Some take on the duty of ceremony performers reading Shan texts for funeral rites in Chiangmai. Shan illegal migrant workers in particular demand that the temple arrange funeral rites for their deceased kin. Therefore, it can be said that the lives of Shan immigrants in Chiangmai are bound to the temples, which serve as the heart binding center for all Shan Immigrants.

### **2.2 Promotion of Art and Culture**

Each year there are basically twelve monthly festivals for Shan immigrants to participate in. The temples provide the stage for their art and cultural presentations. Monks, novices, ritual performers and Shan people of all ages and genders get involved and take on the roles assigned to them. Almost all Shan festivals held at temples are means for the promotion and propagation of their art and culture in light of their way of life, namely styles of dress, good manners, food, literature, including details and procedures of the festivals and other relevant aspects of interest depending on individuals and participants. The festivals can be a means to stimulate learning and appreciation among members of the younger generation through participation, involvement, reproduction and

so on, which will be carried out and continually put into practice when they grow up, and then passed farther down to succeeding generations. As a result, if one wants to learn about Shan culture and society, one can start at their temples.

Furthermore, as Shan immigrants live with the Tai Yuan and various other groups of people in their communities in Chiangmai, it is natural that it would result in a cultural mix or hybrid. In this respect, temples become the forum for ideas when the Shan immigrants can choose to blend with or incorporate into their own culture, leading to a form of abstract innovation in the form of new concepts and new tastes along with some forms of concrete innovation like new styles of products and clothing/dress, for instance.

### **2.3 Shan Language Transmission**

Shan immigrants admit that whether they are living in the Shan State or in Thailand, they would not be able to use the Shan language as the first or as an official language, although it is very significant to them and their lives. This is because the surroundings require them to use the mainstream language at both the fundamental and higher levels of education. Thus, the Shan language has become merely the language of a specific group. Nevertheless, the Shan people generally wish to maintain their language as part of their identity and appreciation of their ethnicity.

In this regard, the abbots of Papao, Kutao, Tiyasathan Taiyai, Koklang and Fawiang Indra Temples give significance to passing on the Shan language to the younger generation of Shan immigrants. They therefore arrange to have monks as the main teaching staff and some knowledgeable Shan people or experts as the supporting team members. The curriculum covers fundamental teaching to reading and writing, and is put into real communication among their groups.

Their success can be observed in the teaching of Shan youth and adults who could not use the language at first. In many big Shan festivals, the Shan people of all ages and sex would communicate in the Shan language. Many would look for various kinds of teaching and learning kits for the Shan language, namely books, cassette song tapes, CD Rom's, VCD's, calendars and postcards put out by Shan merchants who always make quite a good profit from this type of product during most large Shan festivals.



**Figure 6:** In Shan festival, Shan people are interested in books and other media

**Source:** The researcher

#### **2.4 Cooperation and Promotion for Ethnic Maintenance**

The Shan ethnic group maintained a large and well-known history among themselves before having to give up their kingdom and migrate from the Shan State, being dispersed to other places. Nevertheless, many of their competent and knowledgeable leaders have managed to create a network within the group to bind the Shan people together within the present state of the world without borders. The MAP Foundation is a prominent organization that incorporates various Shan groups as a network for health and education among ethnic minority workers. The Foundation receives a grant from the UN and other NGO's to form a working team comprising representatives from several Shan groups to evaluate and develop the projects to accomplish their goals and efficiency to benefit the Shan immigrants who live outside the Shan State.<sup>9</sup>

The Foundation oversees four projects as follows: (1) Promotion of Community Health and Potential, (2) Assess to rights for all, (3) Laborers' rights and (4) Communication for ethnic groups. It can be seen that the Foundation tries to provide assistance in all dimensions.

Moreover, the Shan Art and Culture Study Club of Chiangmai Province is one activity in the project to study art and culture along with the identity of an individual, which can be counted as a sub-project of the project for access to

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<sup>9</sup> MAP Foundation. *MAP Foundation*. (Chiangmai: Nuntapun Printing, 2006: 2).

rights for all. The office of the club is located in Pa Pao Temple, Mueang District, Chiangmai Province. It serves as a center for implementation of education, and art and culture of Shan immigrants in Chiangmai with the aim to promote knowledge and pride in their history and expressions, in terms of language and culture, among the Shan youth, and to make it accepted and recognized among the public at large.<sup>10</sup>

In addition, the Club also works in connection with the MAP Foundation to promote the physical and mental health of the Shan immigrants so that they will be able to comply to the law and regulations of the new society along with keeping up with news and information around the world

### **Conclusion**

The Shan people have strong faith in Buddhism. Therefore, the temple is considered the center for expression of their beliefs and a place for displaying their art, culture, customs and rituals. The Shan immigrants from Shan State who move to Thailand have steadfastly maintained their beliefs and way of life.

Chiangmai is one of the provinces in Thailand where a large number of Shan immigrants have moved to. These immigrants constantly go to the temple to make merit and sacrifice offerings along with holding annual festivals. This results in a number of temples in Chiangmai playing the role of a place of unification, binding the people's hearts as well as providing space for cultural expression and assistance among the migrants. The temples set up a center for Shan language transmission and become a place for Shan social networks and unity to ensure that the people are able to live a quality life in the new society and join hands in maintaining and passing on their art and culture to the younger generation of the society.

Thus, the temples have constructive roles in providing happiness and security to the Shan immigrants in Chiangmai. As a result, the Shan immigrants have become Buddhist followers who contribute to the maintenance and support of the religion, and the temples become the places that bind their hearts together and provide space for them to express their identity.

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<sup>10</sup> Interview with Mr. Saengmueang Mangkorn and Mr. Chaiya Khonghuean, 2012, January 22, and 24.

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# 13

## **Buddhist Environmentalism in Modern Thai Poetry**

Suchitra Chongstitvatana

### **Abstract**

*This paper is an attempt to explore the significant theme of nature and the ultimate goal of preserving nature and environment through Buddhist philosophy expressed in modern Thai poetry.*

*Nature and the beauty of nature have always been a significant theme in Thai poetry of various genres. In modern Thai poetry, the theme of nature still prevails. Nevertheless, since Thailand faces the serious problem of deteriorating environment, modern Thai poets try to convey their concern through their works. Angkarn Kalayanaphong is one of the most prominent poets who passionately advocate the protection of nature and to declare his ultimate goal in composing poetry to save humanity.*

*The poet perceives nature as the great teacher for mankind. He believes that it is the duty of human beings to follow the path of loving kindness of nature and live in harmony with nature. Without nature, human beings may not be able to attain the real value of humanity, let alone to attain enlightenment.*

*Another prominent poet, Naowarat Pongpaiboon emphasizes the virtue of nature as an object of contemplation. The poet describes magnificently the 'wisdom' gained through contemplating the movement, the beauty or even the mystery of nature. Thus nature becomes an indispensable environment and spiritual enhancement for dharma practice.*

*In summary, we can say that modern Thai poets are offering a 'Buddhist' solution to the problem of environment through the virtue and 'wisdom' of nature.*

### **Buddhist Philosophy and Thai Literary Convention**

Buddhism has always been the most important influence in the creation of Thai literary works. Most classical Thai poetry has been composed from Jataka stories and has a 'function' of 'teaching' Buddha Dharma in the most impressive and

successful manner. Therefore, one can say with confidence that most 'didactic' poetry in Thai is an expression of deep-rooted faith in the teaching of Lord Buddha.

In modern Thai poetry, the poets no longer compose long poems from Jataka tales, but they are still under the influence of Buddhist thought and value. The contemporary poets under this study are all modern Buddhists who convey the value of enlightenment as wisdom through their works.

### **Angkhan Kalayanapong: Love of Nature and Path of Wisdom**

Like most Thai poets from the past to the present, Angkhan is very much inspired by the beauty and marvel of nature. As a painter-poet, he is capable of 'painting' nature with the beauty of language as well as with the beauty of colors. Angkhan's description of nature is vivid and unique. He uses a lot of personification to render more liveness and gentleness to nature.

His deep love for nature makes him admire the apparent beauty of nature he describes very vividly by creating beautiful images with details and colors.

Far beyond the wide horizons are the mountains lines,  
With the cliffs and valleys intertwined.  
Forlorn and lonely are the clouds uphigh,  
And on each mountain shines the blue, pale gray divine!<sup>1</sup>

(Angkhan, 1992: 121)

Flowering indeed are these wild green screens,  
Full of buds and blossoms, yellow, red, white, and cream,  
With young and tender leaves ravishingly adorning,  
Thus render divine and beautiful the whole surrounding!

(Angkhan, 1992: 121)

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<sup>1</sup>All the quotation from the practical texts are this researcher's translations.

This soft golden moss, gleaming in orange beams,  
Is like a magic carpet on the rocks' recesses.  
Precious ornaments of the mountains are they all  
With wonderful wild flower of every kind!

(Angkhan, 1992: 98)

Besides, the poet also sees beyond the surface of nature to the spiritual beauty of nature that is normally overlooked by others. The poet looks at nature closely and gives equal value to all elements in nature for he sees that all elements are interrelated and interdependent.

Thousands of grains of dust and sand  
Creating the Earth for us to live  
Are, no doubt, more virtuous and precious  
Than any gems or diamonds!  
Why look down on small wild flowers?  
Are they not the precious gifts from Heaven  
To beautify and adorn this Earth?

.....

Without sand, stone and earth,  
What is the value of gems and diamonds?  
Even the lowest creatures, insects or worms,  
Are worthy of our appreciation,  
With the heart free from contempt,  
We can learn the values of all things!

(Angkhan, 1992: 14)

The poet clearly expresses his respect for nature especially when he declares that nature is in fact his great teacher or Guru.

My divine teachers are all over the sky  
The Moon and bright Stars in heaven  
Kindly tell me the wondrous mystery of Night  
And various universes, glittering like diamond!  
The Mountains teach me the taste of loneliness,  
And the Clouds train my forlorn heart to wander.  
The falling Dew teaches me how the heart can freeze  
When love and hope fade away like Night.  
The flowing stream, weeping to the pebbles,  
Invites me to cry silently for my broken dreams!  
For Cupid wakes me up to Love  
Only to show me all its sweet sufferings!  
Even the smallest wild flowers are like friends  
Who help to enlighten and sharpen my mind.  
Thus will I devote my life to all Nature Teachers  
Trying to realize the divinity of poetry!

(Angkhan, 1992: 101)

For the poet, nature is more than just beauty but a source of spiritual wisdom. The beautiful big trees in the forest never protest the cruelty of men who slaughter them. They only give fragrant flowers, fruits and even their lives to all men with out discrimination. In fact they are like a Bodhisatava who sacrifices all for the benefit of others.

Thus the poet believes that to learn from nature the way to live without greed would be the ideal solution to the crisis of modern men. If we appreciate and respect nature enough, we could save all natural environments and know how to exploit nature within limits for the common good of all. If we follow the noble example of nature we will not only save our environment and our world but we will also save humanity from dehumanizing themselves.

Angkhan emphasizes that to be able to see and perceive the real beauty of nature is a basic quality of any human being. He persuades his readers to emulate the noble example of nature. He tries to 'wake' men up from their blindness and ignorance towards the invaluable beauty of nature by advocating the teaching of the Lord Buddha as the ideal way of life.

Now awake, let us find the divine path  
Of our noble and great Buddha.  
With our whole heart let us sacrifice  
And truly give for joy, day and night.  
Come, let us change beliefs and ways of life  
To create a heavenly world well-purified.  
Pray, never kill, have mercy on others.  
Instead use the blood to grow flowers!  
Raise our heart as high as the bright stars  
Let it be shining with brilliant noblesse  
With bravery and sound wisdom,  
And immortal heart, forever timeless!

(Angkhan, 1992: 15)

#### **Naowarat Pongpaiboon: Love of Nature and Dharma Contemplation**

Like most Thai poets, the theme of nature and Buddhist philosophy are highly predominant in the works of Naowarat Pongpaiboon.

In his two famous collections of poetry 'The Flute Song' and 'Point of View,' the poet exquisitely combines the theme of love for Nature and Dharma contemplation. The expression of respect and love for nature is in accordance with Angkhan's attitude. The first example illustrates the poet's delicate expression of love for nature.

**Roadside Flowers<sup>2</sup>**

Roadside Flowers  
Twinkling Twinkling swiftly  
Those sweet small flowers  
Dancing lively, radiantly  
Parading their beauty in the wind!  
  
The fog curtain closing  
The sun softening the rays  
Consoling the delicate flowers  
Sinking into the unfathomable universe!  
  
The rough wind will destroy you  
Flowers sweet, be not too vain  
Your precious petals falling  
Spreading over, everywhere!  
  
How fragile and precious you are  
How I love and value you  
On every wild Path  
Sweet flowers blossoming fearlessly!

(Naowarat, 1983: 32)

In this poem, the poet is trying to convey the 'value' of natural wild flowers as an important environment for human beings. The title of the poem 'Roadside Flowers' or in Thai 'Dokmai Rimthang' has a connotation of 'worthless' or 'insignificant' flowers or 'girls.' As these flowers are easily seen and picked with no effort by anyone passing by the road or the path.

But in this poem these 'insignificant' flowers are being praised as an important element in nature that beautifies and creates natural balance for the environment.

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<sup>2</sup> The titles of the poetry in Point of View and The Flute Song are given by the researcher for the convenience of reference.

The poet's respect for all elements in nature also leads to the contemplation on nature and learning Dharma lessons from nature that finally render 'wisdom' to human beings.

**Follow flowing water**

Follow the flowing water  
Listening to its murmurs  
The leaves whispering  
And the glorious green grass!

Follow the flight of birds  
To the yond mountain!  
And in deep dark forest  
Taking a sweet rest!

Follow the dance of the wind  
Blustering far far away  
The leaves floating in the air  
Falling down to earth!

Follow the roaming heart  
Ever unending  
Till the body crumbling  
No more mind nor dreams!

(Naowarat, 1992: 15)

The above poem reflects the perfection of the abundance of nature - flowing water, green grass, birds, mountains and forests. This 'perfection' of nature becomes an object of Dharma contemplation for the poet. This could be an 'indirect' message from the poet that natural abundance is so essential to the development of spiritual wisdom. The end of the poem likewise reflects this wisdom where the poet discovers the 'reality' of unending samsara.

As the poet realizes that nature contemplation enhances the understanding of Dharma, he encourages everyone to pay attention to the natural environment around us. The changes in all surrounding nature reflect both the 'fragility' of environment and the 'virtue' of this fragility that enhances the understanding of impermanence.

**Now wake up**

Now wake up  
Look at the impermanence  
And the wisdom  
Side by side with ignorance  
  
Joyous just for a day  
Like the floating smoke  
Going up and then falling down  
Becoming the melting dust!  
  
Red blossoms spreading  
Growing into a big tree  
Just to swiftly die  
And give birth to a new one  
  
Now wake up  
Look at the changing impermanence  
Here and there  
Each moment in the wind!

(Naowarat, 1992: 26)

The poem above illustrates clearly the cycle of lives in samsara. The poet advocates the importance of 'being awake' in order to be able to see this ongoing movement of samsara. The verb 'wake up' or to be 'awake' significantly conveys the concept of Buddhist philosophy. To 'wake up' in a Buddhist sense is to be

awaken from ignorance. In other words, to be 'enlightened' in a Buddhist sense is to get rid of ignorance or defilements in the mind.

The poet seems to be suggesting that observing the impermanence of nature is a 'way' of gaining wisdom. In this sense, nature is a 'great Dharma teacher' for human beings.

This similar idea is expressed beautifully in another poem 'Beyond The World'

**Beyond The World**

At the merging point of blue sky and horizon  
Bathed in the sun radiance  
Of the sky of Time  
Our hearts will meet  
Myriads of Everything  
Both Magnificent and Insignificant  
The peaceful stability  
Greeting the swift Movement  
Remaining so free  
No bondage, day or night  
For always  
In the world yet Beyond  
Beyond joy and sorrow  
Acting within reason  
As should be done!

(Naowarat, 1992: 13)

This poem could be considered as a 'summary' of the Dharma lesson learnt through the contemplation of nature. The 'ultimate' goal of this practice is to be in this world yet be 'beyond' this world. This means to remain 'free' from all worldly bondages. By remaining free from worldly bondages, one is also free

from joy and sorrow, and could hope to attain the ultimate joy of serenity and peace.

### **A Buddhist Solution for Preserving Environment**

From the study of the works of these two contemporary Thai poets, we will see how 'Buddhist environmentalism' is expressed in the form of poetry which has always been a means of perpetuating and sustaining 'wisdom' for Thai society from the past to the present.

These two modern poets have simply followed the 'path' of their 'guru' in advocating the ultimate goal of 'saving' humanity through their works.

Though the 'style' of the two poets are quite different, they seem to share the same aspiration and the same goal. Their passionate love for nature and their deep faith in Buddhist philosophy are 'fundamental' inspiration for their literary success.

The exquisite description of nature by both poets serves ultimately to endear nature to the reader. At the same time, the multifaceted nature explored by the poets expanded the reader's perception of nature. Thus when the poets contemplate the greatness of nature as their 'spiritual' guru, the reader could follow the poets and learn to appreciate nature more deeply.

As the readers' appreciation of nature increase, so are their love and respect for nature. This would be a great step to their awareness of the importance of preserving nature and environment.

In the case of Noawarat Phongpaiboon, the poet even strongly suggests that contemplating the movement and finesse of nature could bring 'wisdom' like the wisdom gained through meditation in Buddhist tradition which finally would lead to ultimate good of enlightenment.

When we learn to see the wisdom of nature, we can improve and develop our mind accordingly. With this spiritual improvement, we can ourselves become better environmentalists for the society and for the world.

Suchitra Chongstitvatana

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# 14

## The Lho-Druk tradition of Bhutan

Gembo Dorji

Bhutan, the Land of Happiness, was blessed by Ugyen Guru Rinpoche in the beginning of the 8<sup>th</sup> Century. After that, great masters like Langchen Pelgi Singay, Drubchen Dampa Sangay, Ngokton Choeku Dorji, Zhang Tsundroe Drakpa, Lorepa Drakpa Wangchuk, Phajo Drukgon Zhigpo, Jamyang Kunga Singay, Palden Lotay Singay, Maha Pandit Ngagi Rinchen, Maha Siddha Thangthong Gyelpo, Barawa Gyeltshen Pelzang, Great Treasure Discoverer Dorji Lingpa, Great Treasure Discoverer Pema Lingpa, Matchless Gyelwang Choeje, Maha Siddha Drukpa Kunleg, Eminent Ngawang Chogi Gyelpo, Gyelse Ngagi Wangchuk, Mipham Chogi Gyelpo, Dungsey Ngawang Tenzin, Mipham Tenpi Nyima and so on came to Bhutan.

Although all participants here are Buddhist scholars and teachers, please allow me to introduce a brief background of the Kargyud tradition in order to introduce *Lhodruk* (Southern Drukpa) or the Bhutanese Buddhism.

### History of the Kargyud Tradition

The Kargyud tradition highlights the unbroken chain of oral instructions passed down from master to student. The word *Kargyud* means "the lineage of the oral instructions." The Kargyud Lineage traces its origin back to Buddha Shakyamuni through accomplished masters namely Tilopa, Naropa, Marpa, Milarepa and Gampopa or commonly known as Dagpo Rinpoche. The Dagpo Kargyud of Gampopa further developed into four lineages called Barom Kargyud, Tshelpa Kargyud, Kamtshang Kargyud and Phagdru Kargyud.

From Phagdru Kargyud, eight additional schools developed namely Drigung Kargyud, Taklung Kargyud, Lingre Kargyud, Yarsang Kargyud, Throphu Kargyud, Shugsep Kargyud, Yelpa Kargyud and Martshang Kargyud. Lingre Kargyud later became known as the Drukpa Kargyud during the time of Tsangpa Jare. This regrouping happened due to the growth of the sheer number of practitioners. It was a belief that the tradition spread as far as eighteen days' flight by a vulture. Therefore, it was said that half of the population were

Drukpas, half of the Drukpas were ascetic vagabonds, and half of the ascetic vagabonds were Sidhas.

### **The Drukpa Kargyud Tradition**

Drukpa Kargyud further developed into three sections; the Toed-druk, Bar-druk and the Med-druk. The Bar-druk also grew into two traditions known as Boed-druk and Lhodruk. The Bhutanese tradition is the Lho-druk tradition emphasizing the practice of nine deities and five sealed sacred instructions.

The practices on the nine deities are: Vajrasattva, Aksobhya, Amitayus, Avaloketesvara, the Innate Chakrasamvara, the 13 Deity Chakrasamvara, Vajrayogini, the Wrathful Vajrapani, and the Dharma Protectors led by Mahakala.

The first of the Five Sacred and Sealed Instructions is Mahamudra, the Great Seal of Emptiness, an exalted meditation on the nature of mind.

The second is meditation on the Six Yogas of Naropa. They are:

- i) Yoga of Psychic Heat
- ii) Yoga of Illusory Body
- iii) Yoga of Clear Light
- iv) Yoga of Consciousness Transference/Transmigration of the Soul
- v) Yoga of Dreams
- vi) Yoga of Intermediate state

The third is the instruction series on the Six-fold transmission of Equal Taste or six instructions on experiencing the single taste of all phenomena. They are:

- i) Taking conceptualization as a path
- ii) Taking delusions as a path
- iii) Taking illness as a path
- iv) Taking gods and demons as a path
- v) Taking suffering as a path
- vi) Taking death as a path

The fourth is the Seven-fold teachings bestowed by the seven Buddhas to Tsangpa Jare Yeshey Dorji. This practice is very exclusive to the Drukpa Tradition only and still practiced in Bhutan. The uniqueness of this practice is that, the practice consists of seven Buddhas, seven receivers, seven teachings, seven circumblances, seven prostrations and seven Mandala offerings practiced for seven months and seven days.

The fifth one is the Guru Yoga. This is the most essential and base practice for all other practices mentioned above. This Sadhana deals with the profound path of propitiation of the Guru.

### **Arrival of Buddhism in Bhutan**

Buddhism first came to Bhutan in the 7<sup>th</sup> century during the reign of Songtsen Gampo (629-710), the 33<sup>rd</sup> Dharma King of Tibet. He built hundreds of temples in and around Tibet to obliterate the negative forces or energies prevailing in the region due to the geographical location and position of the land. It was believed that eleven temples were built in Bhutan of which eight are still intact and visible. They are Lhakhang Karpo and Lhakhang Nagpo in Haa district, Kechu Lhakhang and Pelnang or locally known as Pana Goenpa in Paro, Jampa Lhakhang, Anu Lhakhang, Geney Lhakhang and Chuchi Lhakhang in Bumthang district. It was believed that Songtsen Gampo built these temples in Bhutan to mark his return to Bhutan as Zhabdrung Ngawang Namgyel. Songtsen Gampo was the 3<sup>rd</sup> and Zhabdrung was the 12<sup>th</sup> in the line of successive reincarnation of Avaloketeshvara as per *Phunsum Tshogpa*, affirmed by the omniscient Padma Karpo.

### **The Lhodruk Tradition**

But ever since the arrival of Zhabdrung Ngawang Namgyel, the Father of Bhutan in 1616, Buddhism became the source of peace, happiness and unity for Bhutan. The first Dzong was built in 1621 at Cheri and the Sangha was set up. It became the basis for the development of many aspects of Bhutan's unique culture and tradition. Then gradually the dual system of governance was set up and Buddhism became the state religion of Bhutan. The *Drig Lam Chos Sum* or the code of conduct, the culture, and the Buddhist belief became the three fundamental ethical underpinnings of Bhutanese tradition.

Gembo Dorji

This *Lhodruk* or the Bhutanese Buddhist belief comprizes of two categories, the tradition of the great fathers known as the *Phachos* and tradition of the sons or succeeding followers known as the *Buchos*.

The *Phachos* comprises *Dam-ngag Dongpo Sumdril* or the Three Sacred Sources of Instructions, namely:

1. *Togpa Gampo Lugs* – The authoritative source for a *Lhodruk* view or philosophical stand, the teachings of Mahamudra etc. was handed down to us from Choeje Dhakpo Lhaje, Gampopa Sonam Rinchen, the Sun-like disciple of the great Yogi Milarepa.
2. *Dam-ngag Rechung Lugs* – The second source for sacred instructions, such as the sixfold transmission was handed down from Rechungpa Dorji Drakpa, the Moon-like disciple of Milarepa.
3. *Tendrel Khowo Lugs* – The third source for the seven sacred instructions bestowed by the seven Buddhas originated from Choeje Tsangpa Jare Yeshey Dorji, the founding father of Palden Drukpa Karguid tradition.

The *Buchos* comprises of *Gar Thig Yangs Sum*. *Gar* refers to various ritual dances. *Thig* refers to creations of Mandalas and vocational training such as paintings. And, *Yangs* refers to ritual chants and usage of various musical instruments. These are very distinctive and unique from other traditions prevailing elsewhere in the world.

### **Ritual and simple practices**

Ritual services in our Bhutanese tradition are very unique and vast. We have over seventeen volumes of ritual texts performed in uniquely different ways from any other traditions of the world. Musical instruments and their usage are also typically different from that of even the Tibetan traditions. Though we share many of the ritual texts, the musical cadence and melody are distinctively different. These were developed in 17th century during the reign of Zhabdrung Ngawang Namgyel, the Father of Bhutan and Gyelse Tenzin Rabgay, the First Regent.

The Dharma is a path that cleanses all defilements such as attachment, anger, ignorance, and so on that are in the minds of all sentient beings. It is a method

that liberates sentient beings from endless suffering of Samsara and leads them toward enlightenment, the state of perpetual bliss. It is a path that avoids harming others and concentrates only on benefiting others.

Suffering takes so many different forms in this world. We feel there is little we can do to stop it. Apart from sickness, old age and death, we have wars, environmental disasters and poverty. Our mind or inner consciousness is also troubled constantly by the disturbing emotions. So, as sentient beings, we wish for some miracle to happen and transform all the miseries into a world of happiness and peace.

According to Vajrayana tradition, this is possible through simple practices - making aspiration prayers, dedicating the merit, and rejoicing in virtue. It is beyond just a simple good-hearted or well-intended gesture. These practices are very powerful skilful means for affecting positive changes. When practiced with sincerity, they lead us beyond our limited notions of self and other, and therefore, awaken our wisdom and compassion. Throughout the ceremony, the union of compassion and wisdom are never lost. This philosophy can actually work miracles. We can see the state of our own mind and the profound state of all phenomena, the emptiness including of our own emotions. All these components are integrated in the chant or the ritual music.

As a result of gaining greater understanding of our emotions, we develop more profound skills to monitor and transform them. We gain the ability to change the emotions that usually disturb our mind and perpetuate habitual patterns. Since emptiness is the nature of phenomena, we can make progress and realize emptiness through practice. If emptiness were not the actual true nature of phenomena, it would be an illusion and practice would bring no result. But emptiness is the state of all phenomena and therefore these ritual services lead the practitioners and all those associated with them towards seeing, hearing, feeling and visualizing to achieve peace and tranquillity, and attain enlightenment.

#### **The four different approaches**

Coming back to the practical part of the Dharma - there are four different methods or ways of approach:

1. Viewing the lower realms as suffering and craving for birth in the upper realms. This is called the 'Perfect Mundane Vehicle.' The essence and key to this practice is to have a strong faith in Karma, the law of cause and effect.
2. Understanding the whole Samsara as suffering and opting for self liberation. This is called the 'Basic or Root Vehicle.' The key essence to this practice is to take refuge in the Triple Gem (Buddha, Dharma and Sangha).
3. Seeing Samsara as suffering and choosing the complete Liberation of all sentient beings. This is called the 'Mahayana' tradition. The key essence of this practice is the generation of Bodhichitta for all sentient beings.
4. Looking at the very nature of all phenomena and existence, and realizing enlightenment. This is called the 'Vajrayana.' The key essence of this practice is Guru Yoga or Devotion.

The first three takes the cause as path. They are called the Sutrayana. The fourth takes the result as path. This is called the Tantrayana or Vajrayana. The Sutra approach looks at the source of enlightenment, which is the accumulation of merit and wisdom. The Tantra deals with the means and methods directed towards realization of the natural state of one's own mind which is the ultimate attainment.

### **Conclusion**

As we know, Buddhism is a religion that deals with human nature; it is the philosophy of mind and therefore of creations. The tradition deals with the philosophy of wisdom and emptiness through appropriate reasoning, and takes a systematic approach. It also deals with various means and methods directed towards the realization of the natural state of our individual mind. Thus, Buddhism enables one to get enlightenment by using powerful means such as music and chants. If one is very diligent in these practices, he or she can achieve full enlightenment within one lifetime. Among the various sects of Tibetan Buddhism, the *Drukpa Kagyu*, with its 800 years of tradition, is seen as a particularly pure and holistic teaching. It is well grounded in both theory and practice, and has been proven as a great vehicle of deliverance by the great masters of the tradition.

## Filial Piety with a Zen Twist:

### Universalism and Particularism Surrounding the *Sutra on the Difficulty of Reciprocating the Kindness of Parents*

Michel Mohr

*My paper includes four sections: 1. The introduction suggests one way to envision filiality from the perspective of our entanglement in saṃsāra; 2. The second section provides a sample of pre-Buddhist and Buddhist texts and their various blends of filial piety; 3. The third section more specifically discusses what I called the Zen twist of Tōrei, a Japanese teacher of the Rinzai school who lived in the eighteenth century. 4. The last section deals with universalist and particularist appropriations of filial piety, a set of reflections leading to the conclusion.*

#### I. Introduction

Let us first envision the broader picture. Not many certainties are shared by all human beings regardless of their personal, cultural, and religious backgrounds. Among them figures the inevitability of death, which also implies its correlate: the undeniable reality of birth. Because of their emphasis on impermanence, Asian religions and Buddhist traditions in particular have always accentuated the bond between life and death. Such perspective is reflected in the technical term *saṃsāra*, often translated as “life-death,” so deeply intertwined that a hyphen needs to link both terms. The Chinese translation of the same concept—*shēngsǐ* 生死 — also suggests that life and death are akin to the two sides of the same coin.

As soon as one explores the awareness that death occurs as the natural consequence of birth, it leads to questioning the philosophical and moral implications of having received life from two human beings we usually call our parents. It also entails problematizing the socio-historical contexts in which the concept of filial piety was reinterpreted in significantly different ways. Our understanding of this concept needs to be complicated accordingly.

This leads us to a general reflection about the present relevance or obsolescence of filial piety in the globalizing world. For this, we need to consider how

formulations of filial piety can either be bent in the direction of an all-encompassing universalist concept, or on the contrary be appropriated as an instrument to justify particularism and enforce submissive behaviors.

## II. Filial Piety as a Genre of Pre-Buddhist and Buddhist Literature

The theme of filial piety (*xiào 孝*), or “family reverence” as it recently has been translated,<sup>1</sup> was emphasized in China long before the introduction of Buddhism. On the other hand, we know that filial devotion was not a uniquely Chinese phenomenon. Remaining inscriptions in South Asia tell us that donors often made a gift dedicated to their parents, living or dead.

For instance, sometimes the dedication is explained by the donor as “an act of *pūjā* for my mother and father (and) for the advantage and happiness of all beings.”<sup>2</sup> The most surprising feature of these inscriptions is not only that their stated purpose was the worship of the donors’ parents and their well-being, but also that “this concern for the well-being of deceased and living parents was an active concern and major preoccupation of Indian Buddhist monks in particular.”<sup>3</sup> Thus, Schopen’s discoveries contribute to put into perspective conventional geographical divides and to problematize the usual distinction between clergy and lay followers.

Yet, depending on whether the emphasis is put on the concept or on the practices that are performed independently from the various labels attached to them, one needs to fine-tune the analysis and not to take for granted the prevalence of a universal set of attitudes towards one’s parents. I suggest that the widespread distribution of practices associated with “family reverence” indicates the coexistence of two distinct phenomena: 1. A generic form of filial worship resulting from the perception of the importance of receiving life and the indebtedness associated with it, which knows no particular geographical boundaries and appears especially ubiquitous in Asia. 2. The specifically Sinitic interpretation of this perception, which took a life of its own and spread across East Asia in particular.

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<sup>1</sup>See Ames, Roger T. & Rosemont, Henry. (2009). *The Chinese Classic of Family Reverence*.

<sup>2</sup>Schopen (1997). *Bones, Stones, and Buddhist Monks*, pp. 59.

<sup>3</sup>Schopen (1997: 64).

For the purpose of this paper, I shall mostly focus on the Sino-Japanese developments, before returning to wider issues.

### **The Sinitic Interpretation**

References to filial piety in ancient Chinese sources abound, for instance in the *Book of Rites*, which precedes the introduction of Buddhism into China by several centuries. This text suggests that filial piety was often understood in a twofold way: active dedication during one's parents' lifetime, and performance of memorial services after their demise. This behavioral code was further systematized in the *Classic of Family Reverence (Xiàojīng)*, which appeared between 436 and 239 BCE.<sup>4</sup>

When examining such ancient examples, it is crucial to remember that both the concept and the practices associated with filial piety were not monolithic: they constantly shifted with their sociohistorical context. This is illustrated by the emergence of controversies surrounding filial piety, which are already visible in the second century CE. John Makeham has shown how filial piety was sometimes criticized as a form of hypocritical behavior, because "being seen to practise this particular virtue provided a means of acquiring reputation."<sup>5</sup>

In any case, the ancient Chinese concept of filial piety implied a deep link between the personal sphere of family relations, the public sphere of government, and its consequences for the achievement of social fame and "success." It is thus no surprise that this concept served as one of the central pillars of the Confucian ideology: its implication was that citizens either would comply with it or rebel against it, the latter case implying social exclusion.

This indicates that respect due to one's parents was and still is no small matter. Fortunately, there is an alternative to simply seeing this as an unavoidable duty toward one's relatives: some Buddhist traditions suggest a much wider understanding of what this concept entails, especially of who are the beneficiaries. Such reinterpretation—called "great filial piety"—provides a way to *universalize* the idea. This constitutes the crucial juncture where I see a movement from the particularist interpretation of filial piety to a universalist take.

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<sup>4</sup> Ames, Roger T. & Rosemont, Henry. (2009: 18).

<sup>5</sup> Makeham, John. (1994). *Name and Actuality in Early Chinese Thought*, 100.

## The Buddhist Sutras and Their Appropriation of Filial Piety

At any rate, around the third century CE in China, filial piety had become both an unavoidable form of social behavior and a rather lifeless idea, because it implied conformity with the established social norms. It is in this context that we witness the emergence of several Buddhist scriptures touching the same theme while claiming to put new wine in old bottles.

I suggest to focus on one particular piece: the *Sutra on the Difficulty of Reciprocating the Kindness of Parents* (T 16 no. 684). Its translation is attributed to Ān Shīgāo, who reached Luoyang in 148, but this attribution is suspicious.

According to recent research only about thirteen of Ān Shīgāo's works can be regarded as genuine.<sup>6</sup> Another indication in this regard is provided by Sēngyòu in his *Catalog of Works Included in the Tripitaka*, who wrote that "It was copied from the *Middle-length Discourses*."<sup>7</sup> Actually, the source that seems to have inspired the *Sutra on the Difficulty of Reciprocating the Kindness of Parents* is rather found in the Chinese translation of the *Ekottarāgama-sūtra*, which contains the main ingredients of the narrative.<sup>8</sup> This translation was completed in 397. If we admit that this constitutes the main source for the narrative found in the *Sutra on the Difficulty of Reciprocating the Kindness of Parents*, it pushes the date of its composition to after the end of the fourth century. Let us now have a brief look at its close equivalent in the Pāli Canon.

### Source in the Pāli Canon

This piece is included in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, or *Numerical Discourses*.<sup>9</sup> I will skip the reading of this text, but it carries a very simple message: first it emphasizes the child's indebtedness and the impossibility to reciprocate through material means the kindness he has received, secondly it prescribes to use the only means of true reciprocation, which is to convey four of the essential tenets of Buddhism.

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<sup>6</sup> Nattier, Jan. (2008). *A Guide to the Earliest Chinese Buddhist Translations*, 68.

<sup>7</sup> T 55 no. 2145, 29c03.

<sup>8</sup> T 2 no. 125, 601a10–a20. Passage partially translated in Cole, Alan. (1998). *Mothers and Sons in Chinese Buddhism*, 117–118.

<sup>9</sup> Bodhi, Bhikkhu & Nyanaponika, Thera. (1999). *Numerical Discourses of the Buddha*, 42–43.

Considerable work remains to be done to establish the precise chronology of the early Buddhist sources, as well as of their translations or reiterations, and I will leave the mapping of this research area to specialists, but the main textual sources can be summarized as follows:

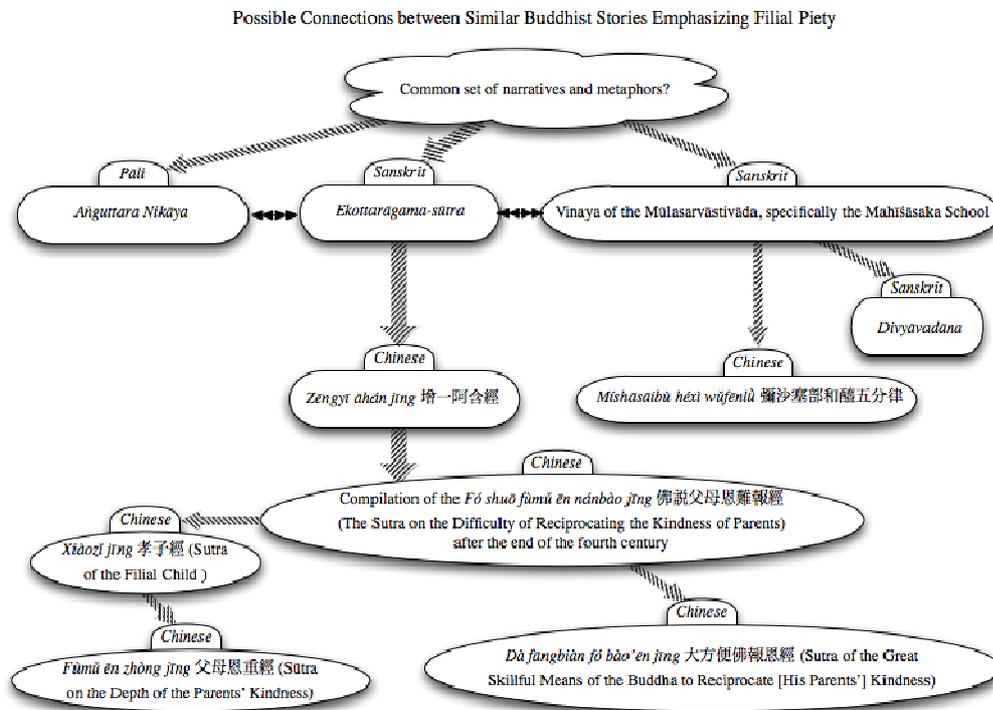


Figure 1: Speculative Connections

**Fig. 1:** Possible Connections between Similar Buddhist Stories Emphasizing Filial Piety

Let us now fast-forward more than twelve hundred years to examine a commentary on this sutra composed in eighteenth-century Japan.

### III. Tōrei's Zen Twist

The *Annotated Commentary on the Sutra on the Difficulty of Reciprocating the Kindness of Parents* (*Bussetsu bumō onnanpōkyō chūge*) by Tōrei Enji sheds a different light on the text discussed so far. Tōrei also wrote another work focusing on the theme of filial piety: the *Oral Explanation of the Filial Piety Classics*

in the *Three Teachings of Shinto, Confucianism, and Buddhism* (*Shinjubutsu sanbō kōkyō kuge*). This indicates Tōrei's lifelong interest in an early form of comparative studies, stemming in part from his personal commitment to practice a dying form of Shinto while assuming the abbacy of a major Rinzai monastery. Tōrei's *Annotated Commentary* was composed in July 1770, when he was fifty years old according to the traditional reckoning. These lectures coincided with a memorial service for his own parents.

### **An Early Comparative Approach**

In his *Annotated Commentary*, Tōrei reviews and compares three main sources, and describes how each of them borrowed from the previously existing scripture. He begins with the *Sutra on the Difficulty of Reciprocating the Kindness of Parents*, saying that it can be considered the "primary source." Secondly, he mentions the *Sutra of the Filial Child* (T 16 no. 687), saying that "its essential message is lacking and it has lost the deep meaning of the sutra." The third source is the *Sutra on the Depth of the Parents' Kindness* (T 85 no. 2887), which Tōrei considered to be "an apocryphal sutra."

Although Tōrei's knowledge of the scriptures was amazing in many ways, he did not consider questioning the claim that the first sutra had been authored by Ān Shìgāo, an oversight showing the limits of his scholarship. Aside from this issue of authorship, the originality of Tōrei's analysis is that he considered the older and more concise *Sutra on the Difficulty of Reciprocating the Kindness of Parents* as not only the most reliable, but also as the most profound source. He viewed subsequent scriptures as merely popular adaptations. This begs the question of what Tōrei considered to be the "essential message" of the sutra.

The answer is linked to the actual scripture, which I have retranslated below for the sake of this paper.

### **New Translation of the Sutra**

The Sutra on the Difficulty of Reciprocating the Kindness of Parents

Fó shuō fùmǔ ēn nánbào jīng 佛說父母恩難報經<sup>10</sup>

[1] Translated by the Buddhist monk<sup>11</sup> Ān Shīgāo in the Later Han (25–220 CE).

[2] Thus have I heard. Once, the Bhagavat was staying in the city of Śrāvastī, at the [Jetavana monastery in the] Anāthapi□□ada Park. At that time, the World-Honored One told all of the monks (*bhik□us*):

“Fathers and mothers immensely contribute to the wellbeing<sup>12</sup> of [their] children. [After] having breast-fed<sup>13</sup> and nourished [them], [they] raise and educate<sup>14</sup> [them] in accordance with [their] age, [so that] the four great elements can fully develop.<sup>15</sup>

Suppose [they] were to carry [their] father on the right shoulder and [their] mother on the left, went through this for a thousand years, and further let [them] relieve themselves on their back<sup>16</sup> without bearing any resentment. Still, this would not be enough for these children to reciprocate the kindness<sup>17</sup> of [their] parents.

<sup>10</sup>Original text included in the Taishō Canon (hereafter abbreviated “T”) volume 16, no. 684, pp. 778c–779a. The punctuation and some characters have been modified to follow Tōrei Enji 東嶺圓慈 (1721–1792) and his commentary *Bussetsu bumo onnanpōkyō chūge* 佛說父母恩難報經註解, which was completed in 1787. Significant differences will be indicated in the footnotes.

<sup>11</sup>The Taishō text has “the Tripi□aka of Parthia” (© *Ānxiguó sānzàng* 安息國三藏) instead of “the Buddhist monk” (© *śrama□a* © *shāmén* 沙門).

<sup>12</sup>In this context the technical term *zēngyì* 增益 (© *pau□□ika*) indicates what causes growth or welfare.

<sup>13</sup>The Taishō text has © *rǔbù* 乳舖 instead of © *rǔbǔ* 乳哺 in Tōrei’s version.

<sup>14</sup>The compound *jiāngyù* 將育 is read *yashinai sodatete* by Tōrei.

<sup>15</sup>Meaning that the four elements (earth, water, fire, and wind) resulted in a full-fledged human body.

<sup>16</sup>The Taishō text has “just” (© *zhèng* 正) instead of “further” (© *gèng* 更). Cole translates this passage as “while making them comfortable on his back,” and further explains his choice in note 19, p. 247. Cole, Alan. (1998). *Mothers and Sons in Chinese Buddhism*, 43. The translation of © *biànlì* 便利, which could be interpreted as either “comfort” or “feces” was problematic, but the identification of the source of this sutra as being the *Zēngyì āhán jīng* 增一阿含經 (*Ekottarāgama-sūtra*) and the corresponding text in the *A□guttara Nikāya* allows to dispel all doubts. Additionally, a passage in the *Vinaya of the Mahāsāhaka School* (© *Mishāsāibù héxì wūfēnlǚ* 彌沙塞部和醯五分律) is very explicit about this, with the clause “[even if they should] discharge feces and urine on [them]...” (© *yú shàng dàxiǎo biànlì* 於上大小便利). This text was translated into Chinese in 434 CE. For a complete translation of this passage, see Guang Xing. (2005). “Filial Piety in Early Buddhism,” 98. Thus, the translation by Yifa, and Peter Matthew Romaskiewicz is correct. See Yifa, and Peter Matthew. (2008). *The Yulan Bowl Sutra and Collection of Filial Piety Sutras*, 21.

<sup>17</sup>The Chinese word *ēn* 恩 is usually translated as “kindness,” but it also involves the idea of a favor and of a debt that must be repaid or reciprocated (© *bào* 報). Buddhist texts provide various lists of four types of benefactors (© *sìēn* 四恩), always including one’s parents. A benefactor (© *ēnrén* 恩人) is someone from which enormous indebtedness has been accumulated.

[3] If [your] father and mother lack trust,<sup>18</sup> enjoin them to trust [the Buddha],<sup>19</sup> so that they achieve a state of ease and peace (*huò ānwěn chù* 獲安穩處).<sup>20</sup> If they lack morality,<sup>21</sup> instruct them in morality so that they achieve a state of ease and peace. If they do not listen [to the Dharma], instruct them in listening so that they achieve a state of ease and peace. If they are stingy and greedy, enjoin them to appreciate generosity; promote their happiness<sup>22</sup> and instruct them so that they achieve a state of ease and peace. If they lack wisdom (*prajñā*), make them sharp and wise;<sup>23</sup> promote their happiness and instruct them so that they achieve a state of ease and peace.<sup>24</sup>

[4] This is the way to trust the Tathāgata, [who has realized the] Ultimate Truth, the Perfectly Awakened One,<sup>25</sup> Accomplished in Knowledge and Conduct.<sup>26</sup> He is called the Well-Gone, the Knower of the World,<sup>27</sup> the Unsurpassed Being, the Charioteer of the Dharma, the Teacher of Deities and Human Beings. Such are the epithets for the Buddha, the World-

<sup>18</sup> To avoid meek nuances, I prefer to translate the character 信 (S *śraddhā*) as trust, rather than faith or belief.

<sup>19</sup> In this text, the word 教 (S *śikṣā*) is almost always used as the factitive “make...”, read by Tōrei as *-seshimu* in Japanese. In this translation the verb 教授 (S *śikṣā*) has been rendered as “to instruct” and 教令 (S *śikṣā*) as “to enjoin.” This last compound is used as an equivalent for 教化 (S *śāsana*), which refers to the selfless guidance of others (S *śāsana*).

<sup>20</sup> The Taishō text has 安隱 (S *ānyin*) instead of 安穩 (S *ānwěn*). Both compounds suggest a wide range of meanings including security, peace, comfort, ease, rest, and tranquillity, corresponding to the Sanskrit *kṣema*. Since ultimate peace is understood as the actualization of *nirvāṇa* (S *ānyin nièpán* 安隱涅槃), the peace of mind obtained by the parents seems to imply an anticipation of the serenity obtained through realization. Although the last character 處 means a location, it also indicates an inner “state.” The verb 獲 means “to acquire” but to achieve a certain mental state sounds more natural.

<sup>21</sup> The Chinese word 戒 corresponds to the Sanskrit *śīla* for morality, while 律 corresponds to the precepts (*vinaya*).

<sup>22</sup> The compound 勸樂 refers to joy and pleasure, such as the enjoyment experienced by the devas. See Nakamura Hajime. (2001). *Kōsetsu bukkyōgo daijiten*, 247a–b. Tōrei’s text dissociates the two characters as 樂を勸め (encouraging pleasure).

<sup>23</sup> 點慧 (S *diǎnhuì*) indicates a type of intelligence dominated by sharpness. One of its Sanskrit equivalents, *paṇḍita*, suggests someone who is learned, but also shrewd and clever. Tōrei emphasizes clarity by adding the reading 明 (S *akiraka*) to the character 點 (S *katsu*).

<sup>24</sup> Here, the Taishō text has the variant 護 instead of the leitmotiv with 獲, but this appears to be a typo.

<sup>25</sup> The Chinese 等正覺 is one equivalent for the Sanskrit *samyak-saṃbodhi*.

<sup>26</sup> Translation of the three characters 明行成 corresponding to the Sanskrit *vidyācara-saṃpanna*, often rendered into Chinese as 明行足.

<sup>27</sup> The name 世間解 corresponds to the Sanskrit *lokavid*, also one of the ten epithets of the Buddha.

Honored One.

[5] Make [your parents] trust the Dharma, and instruct [them] so that they achieve a state of ease and peace. All the Dharma teachings being profound, the achievement of their fruits<sup>28</sup> in the present body [also] has a profound significance.

[6] [With] such insight,<sup>29</sup> clear knowledge permeates their conduct.<sup>30</sup> Instruct [your parents] to trust the noble community.<sup>31</sup> The Tathāgata's noble community is extremely pure; their conduct being forthright and incorruptible, they are constantly in accord with the Dharma.<sup>32</sup> When the Dharma is realized, morality is realized; *samādhi*, wisdom, liberation, and liberated insight are realized.

[7] What is known as the noble community [includes the] four pairs and the eight types of accomplished practitioners.<sup>33</sup> They constitute the Tathāgata's noble community [made of] the most venerable and the most eminent. You should worship and respect [them], as this field of merit is unsurpassed in this world. Thus all children should make their parents

<sup>28</sup> The “fruits” indicate the various forms of realization of Buddhahood, such as the four attainments (© *siguǒ* 四果) mentioned later in the text where it speaks of the four pairs and the eight types of accomplished practitioners. The mention of these attainments, usually emphasized in pre-Mahāyāna sources, suggests either that when this sutra was composed the boundaries between Mahāyāna and non Mahāyāna were ill-defined or that it aimed at being all-inclusive. Tōrei favors the latter interpretation and speaks of the three vehicles and the five natures (㊦ *sanjō goshō* 三乘五性) all trusting the wonderful Dharma in accordance with their abilities (㊦ *ōki* 應機).

<sup>29</sup> Here I followed Tōrei's interpretation of © *zhìzhě* 智者 as a nominalization of © *zhì* 智, commonly translated as “wisdom.” The translation “wisdom” has been kept for the compound © *zhìhuì* 智慧, corresponding to the Sanskrit *prajñā*.

<sup>30</sup> This passage seems to allude to the compound © *míngxíng* 明行 (knowledge and conduct) used as one of the above-mentioned epithets of the Buddha, *Míngxíngchéng* 明行成 (Accomplished in Knowledge and Conduct). I did not follow Tōrei's interpretation of © *míng* 明 as the adverb “clearly” (㊦ *akirakani kono gyō ni tsūzu* 明らかに此の行に通ず). In this context, © *xíng* 行 seems to indicate “conduct” (© *acara* or *ācāra*) rather than practice. The explanation of “their conduct” (© *cǐ xíng* 此行) follows.

<sup>31</sup> The compound © *shèngzhòng* 聖眾 is the Chinese equivalent for the Sanskrit *ārya-saṅgha*.

<sup>32</sup> The way Tōrei punctuates this passage gives it a significantly different meaning. Most texts including the Taishō edition and the translation in the Buddha's Light series have the Chinese text divided as 甚清淨行。直不曲常和合。法法成就, whereas Tōrei understood it as 甚清淨。行直不曲常和合法。法成就。My translation follows Tōrei's interpretation.

<sup>33</sup> These four categories include those of: 1. Stream-enterer (© *srota-āpanna* © *yùliú* 預流) in the initial stage (*xiàng* 向) and in the realization stage (*guǒ* 果); 2. Once-returner (© *sakā-d-āgāmin* © *yīlái* 一來) in the initial stage and in the realization stage; 3. Nonreturner (© *anāgāmin* © *bùhuán* 不還) in the initial stage and in the realization stage; 4. Arhat (© *āluóhàn* 阿羅漢) in the initial stage and in the realization stage.

practice compassion.<sup>34</sup>

[8] All monks consist<sup>35</sup> of two ‘children’: the child who was produced,<sup>36</sup> and the child who is nurtured. This is what is meant by speaking of ‘monks who consist of two children.’ It is for this reason that all monks should learn about the child who was produced, and [reciprocate by] emitting from their mouth the flavor of the Dharma.<sup>37</sup> This is how all monks should engage in this [form of] learning.”<sup>38</sup>

At this time, once all of the monks had heard what the Buddha taught, they were uplifted in delight and respectfully put [these teachings] into practice.

[9] [End of] *The Sutra on the Difficulty of Reciprocating the Kindness of Parents*.

### The Essential Message of the Sutra According to Tōrei

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<sup>34</sup> As noted above, here 教 *jiào* indicates the factitive “make...” and does not mean “instruct.”

<sup>35</sup> Depending on the context, 有 *yǒu* can sometimes be translated as “to have” or “to be.” Here, it seems to refer to the fundamental constituents of existence, two modalities of “being” (S *asti*) in the world: as a physical body inherited from one’s parents, and as person who can nurture or cultivate buddhahood. We will return to Tōrei’s detailed explanation.

<sup>36</sup> Tōrei explains the mundane and supra-mundane implications of this analogy. According to him, the child who was produced or engendered (C *suōshēngzǐ* ① *shosei no ko* 所生子) indicates everything that was received from the parents, such as predispositions (① *kishitsu* 氣質), flesh and blood (① *kechiniku* 血肉), material possessions (① *zaisan* 財產), and wisdom and qualities (① *chitoku* 智德). Even after having learned about one’s predispositions, and having personally received these karmic manifestations (① *gōhō* 業法), one’s vital energy (① *ki* 氣) cannot thoroughly implement filiality, and one’s karma cannot exhaust all its subtleties (① *myō* 妙): this is what is called the child who is nurtured (C *suōshēngzǐ* ① *shoyō no ko* 所養子), implying that cultivation is necessary. Both pertain to the mundane dimension (① *se* 世), whereas the supramundane dimension (① *shusse* 出世) indicates the application of the same two to the teacher-disciple relation.

<sup>37</sup> This term (S *dharmarasa* ① *fǎwèi* ① *hōmi* 法味) frequently appears in the *Flower Ornament Scripture* (*Dāfang guāng fó huáyánjīng*) in 60 fascicles (T. 9 no. 278). Here, Tōrei indicates that one of the keys to this passage is the section of the *Lotus Sutra* where Śāriputra exclaims: “Now I have heard from the Buddha what I had never heard before, a Law never known in the past, and it has ended all my doubts and regrets. My body and mind are at ease and I have gained a wonderful feeling of peace and security. Today at last I understand that truly I am the Buddha’s son, born from the Buddha’s mouth, born through conversion to the Law, gaining my share of the Buddha’s Law!” *Miàoǎ liánhuājīng*, T. 9 no. 262, p. 10a11–a14. Translation by Watson, Burton. (1993). *The Lotus Sutra*, pp. 48. Two ideas contained in this passage help us clarify *The Sutra on the Difficulty of Reciprocating the Kindness of Parents*: 1. The idea of “having gained a wonderful feeling of peace and security” (C *kuài dé ānyīn* 快得安隱), and 2. The idea of being “born from the Buddha’s mouth” (C *cóng fókǒu shēng* 從佛口生).

<sup>38</sup> In this context the distinction between learning and practice is, of course, irrelevant. The expression translated as “engage in this [form of] learning” (C *dāng zuò shì xué*, ① *masani kono gaku o nasu beshi* 當作是學) is an injunction to understand the indebtedness to one’s parents and the importance to reciprocate this debt by teaching the Dharma.

Let us now examine how Tōrei extracted the core meaning of this scripture, which otherwise could easily be read as commonplace. He dissected the sutra into three main sections, focusing in particular on its symbolic meaning, which he describes thus in his *Annotated Commentary*:

[The sutra] considers the wisdom and the excellence of the Tathāgata as the father and considers the compassionate vows of the Bodhisattva as the mother: they engender all the children who emit the thought of awakening. This indicates the conditional cause. [The sutra] considers the ever-present Buddha nature as the father and Prajñā's light of wisdom as the mother. This indicates the direct cause. [The sutra] considers the skillful means of practice as the father and the perfection of wisdom [realized through] the actualization of one's [true] nature as the mother, [thus] progressing and reaching the supreme stage of perfection. This indicates the concluding cause.

Rather than viewing the sutra as a moral tale, this commentary suggests a philosophical take. Yet, it only reflects Tōrei's application of scholastic categories and is not especially Zen-like.

His commentary on section 6 in the translation of the sutra introduces an altogether different perspective. He analyzes each of the words in the apparently trivial passage saying, "When the Dharma is realized, morality is realized; samādhi, wisdom, liberation, and liberated insight are realized," and he provides the following comment concerning the last clause:

The single eye on one's forehead cuts off the wisdom eye and surpasses the Dharma eye. Without penetrating the tiny matter of going beyond [according to] the Zen approach, how could one obtain this small share?

According to Tōrei, the various types of insight gained by accomplished practitioners who follow traditional Buddhism are still limited and need to be surpassed by the subtler awakened perception gained through the practice of going beyond (㊦ *kōjō* 向上).<sup>39</sup> He considers that this advanced phase of practice requires overcoming attachment to the initial realization of one's true nature

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<sup>39</sup> Concerning this crucial concept, see Mohr, Michel. (2009). *Beyond Awareness*.

until all traces of the initial breakthrough have disappeared. This is where Tōrei gives a different twist to the narrative of the sutra, and extrapolates from the simple idea of reciprocating the kindness of one's parents through filial behavior to the idea of reciprocating the kindness of all sentient beings by leading them to the ultimate stage of realization.

After having examined the main features of Tōrei's *Annotated Commentary*, we can now widen our discussion and consider how filial piety was either interpreted from the perspective of its application to one's blood relatives, or envisioned as including all sentient beings among its beneficiaries. This particular point, I believe, may serve to establish a link with the present significance of this concept in an increasingly globalized world.

#### IV. Universalist and Particularist Appropriations of Filial Piety

Obviously, Tōrei was not the only cleric to have reformulated the concept of filial piety to allow for a broader interpretation. He was particularly inspired by the work of Fórì Qìsōng (1007–1072), who had attempted to demonstrate that Buddhist teachings largely converge with Confucianism and Daoism but nevertheless provide a deeper interpretation of “great filial piety” (© *dàxiào* ① *daikō* 大孝).<sup>40</sup> The last section of Fórì's *Fǔjiāobiān* 輔教編 (Supplement to the Teachings) is dedicated to an elaborate Discourse on Filial Piety (© *Xiàolùn* 孝論) including twelve chapters.<sup>41</sup> The last section of Fórì's work includes an extended “Discourse on Filial Piety.” Fórì explains that his discourse aims at “expounding the profound rationale and the hidden intention of our sages.” In his *Oral Explanation of the Filial Piety Classics in the Three Teachings of Shinto, Confucianism, and Buddhism*, Tōrei repeatedly quotes Fórì to emphasize the universality of filial piety.

Fórì and Tōrei both wanted to convey to their respective audiences the central idea that all beings could have been our relatives in previous lives, or may become so in a future existence, and that “great filial piety” thus needs to be understood as including all sentient beings.

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<sup>40</sup> The same word (© *dàxiào* 大孝) is used in Confucian classics such as the *Mencius* or the *Doctrine of the Mean* (*Zhōngyōng*), but its meaning is purely conventional and often simply indicates a “person of great filiality.” See for example Ames, Roger T, and David L Hall. (2001). *Focusing the Familiar*, 96.

<sup>41</sup> See Araki Kengo 荒木見悟. (1981). *Hogyōhen* 輔教編. Included in *Tánjīn wénjí* 譚津文集 (Collected Works [of Qisong] of Tanjin, T 52 no. 2115).

In his *Annotated Commentary* Tōrei legitimates this interpretation by quoting the *Sutra of the Great Skillful Means of the Buddha to Reciprocate [His Parents'] Kindness*:

Because [they] receive a bodily form, all sentient beings have also been the mothers and fathers of the Tathāgata. For the sake of all sentient beings the Tathāgata has also become [their] fathers and mothers. Because he becomes the father and mother of everyone, he constantly cultivates the most difficult practices and the hardest austerities; he is expert in renouncing what is difficult to renounce.<sup>42</sup>

## **V. Conclusions**

The above should suffice to indicate the extent of the shift that occurred between the earlier Confucian sources exclusively stressing respect to one's parents as a gateway to morality, their equivalent in early Buddhist scriptures, and the reinterpretation of the same concept by Fōrì and Tōrei. What may have been on the verge of becoming an obsolete idea was infused with new vitality as its implications were expanded from one's own family to the unlimited sphere of all sentient beings. We still need to fine-tune some of the details of this evolution, but a general picture of how filial piety was skillfully reformulated in Song China and in eighteenth-century Japan begins to emerge. To what extent this transformation may yield further insight into ways to reach out to those eager to focus on "family" values remains to be seen. What clearly appears is that particularist interpretations of filial piety limited to one's relatives lack the suggestive power supplied by Tōrei's twist of the same concept.

## **Postscript**

The above paper has been edited to closely reflect the actual conference presentation, with the exception of the translation of the sutra, distributed as a handout. A more elaborate version of this paper with additional references will be published as one chapter of my forthcoming book entitled *Tōrei Enji and the Construction of Rinzai Orthodoxy*.

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<sup>42</sup>T 3 no. 156, 127c11–c14.

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# 16

## Buddhist Original Philosophy to Pursue Worldwide Peace

Shinkan Murakami

It is true that the Early Buddhism is not a mere philosophy, but a kind of unique system of religious training and discipline to pursue inner tranquil peace (*nirvāṇa*, *nibbāna*). But in order to understand these systems deeply and give expression to them anew, we have to recourse to philosophical terminology and think over these religious systems philosophically, i.e., logically, ontologically, epistemologically, and so on.

In the first place, I want to point to the fact that Buddhism (or Buddha's teaching) has been based on the perceptual reality and accepted on one's own experiential realizations, but not on mere reasoning.

### 1. Buddha's Fundamental Stance

According to the early Buddhist Canon, Buddha was often asked questions by Brahmins and others about metaphysical questions to which He never gave any definite answer: yes or no (*avyākata*, unanswered, unexplained, 無記). There are several kinds of list of these questions. The most popular one consists of ten questions: whether the world is eternal (*sassato loko*), or not eternal (*asassato*), whether the world has an end (*antavā*), or no end (*anantavā*), whether the soul is the body (*taṃ jīvaṃ taṃ sarīraṃ*), or different from the body (*aññaṃ jīvaṃ aññaṃ sarīraṃ*), whether the thus Come One (a liberated person) exists after death (*hoti tathāgato param maraṃ*), or does not exist after death (*na hoti ...*), or exists and does not exist after death (*hoti ca na hoti...*), or neither exists nor does not exist after death (*n'eva hoti na na hoti...*). This indifferent stance of the Buddha shall be influential to the coming formation of the systems.

### 2. Buddhist Systems are confined within the scope of our perceptual experience.

In this way Buddhism avoids answering such metaphysical questions as are beyond our perception; consequently its systems seem to be confined in the

scope of our perception. The topics of discourse are liable to be limited within the scope of our (my, your) experience. These systems consist of our physical and mental elements, which are perceptible and conscious of, and which start from everyone's organs of sense. These elements are analyzed in two categorical systems.

(1) The first system is based on our five organs of sense and the mind. In Buddhism these six are called organs of sense (*indriya*) or sphere of perception (cognition, *āyatana*), which are the basis of our being: perception and the perceived, or experience and the experienced. Six organs of sense and their objects constitute 12 spheres of cognition (*āyatana*). They consist of the six organs of sense (=inner spheres of cognition: *ajjhata āyatana*), i.e. eyes, ears, nose, tongue, body (*kāya*, tactile and somatic sense organ) and the mind (*manas*) together with the six objects (*visaya*, or six outer spheres of cognition: *bāhira āyatana*), i.e., colour (the visible, *rūpa*), sound, odour, taste, the tangible and bodily sensible (*po□□habba*, *spra□□avya*), and the thinkable and imaginable (*dhammā*, *dharmā*□, those which are understood, thought, imagined, etc.). This is called everything (*sabba*□) and 12 spheres of cognition (*āyatana*). Everything means all of our (my, your, etc.) experiential world.

(1') 18 elements of cognition (*dhātu*) are mentioned which consist of six organs of sense, six objects and six cognitions (consciousness, *viññā□a*, *viññāna*) that are the function of the six organs. These are also everything.

(2) The next system speaks of our being (or existence) without mentioning an individual. It enumerates the perceptible (*rūpa*), feeling (*vedanā*), conception (*saññā*, *sañjñā*, imagination), mental and physical living energies (*sa□khārā*, *sa□skārā*□), and cognition (*viññā□a*, *viññāna*: perception, consciousness). These are called the five groups (aggregates: *kandhā*, *skandhā*□), which seems to hint at our individual being. Or our being is looked on as name (*nāma*, mental element) and the perceptible (*rūpa*). These are often akin to or the same as the five groups.

Each of these elements (=constituents of our being) is impermanent (*anicca*, *anitya*), painful (*dukkha*, *du□kha*), and not the self (*anattan*, *anātman*). On expounding the organs of sense, the Pāli text runs as follows (S.IV. p.1<sup>12-16</sup>):

What is impermanent is painful, what is painful is not the self; anything that is not the self is to be looked upon actually with due intellect in this way that

'this is not mine, I am not this, this is not my self (*n' eta mama, n' eso 'ham asmi, na me so attā, ti evam eta yathā-bhūta samma-ppaññāya da habba*).'

In this context, we can understand that the meaning of what is impermanent (*anicca*) seems to be most important; and what is impermanent shall be akin to what is painful and what is not the self.

What is impermanent (*anicca*) must be momentary or transitory, though in the Early Buddhist Canon, the so-called momentary destruction of constituents (elements) of our being is hardly seen. Our thought (*citta*), or mind (*manas*), or consciousness (*viññāna*, cognition) rises and vanishes night and day, just as a monkey grasps one branch, releases it, and holds another (in two texts of *Nidāna-samyutta*, S. II. pp.94-97).

The above-mentioned constituent elements of our being are called properties or qualities (*dhammā, dharmā*) which are impermanent, etc., as shown above. Then these *dharmā* (*dhammā*) are enumerated and classified. Our constituent elements are called the conditioned *dharmā* (elements, or properties) that are impermanent, while inner tranquil peace (*nirvāna*) is the unconditioned *dharma* which is not impermanent.

### 3. Momentary existences are directly grasped by perception.

The theories of momentary destruction (*kāla-bhāga*) and discussions about it are traced in the treatises of the *Abhidharma* and *Abhidhamma*-texts.

Vasubandhu (4-5<sup>th</sup> century) summarized, in his *Abhidharma-kośa-bhāṣya* (AKBh.), the philosophical system of the Sarvāsti-vādin School which asserted the theory of momentary destruction. According to the Sarvāsti-vādin School, each of the conditioned *dharmā* (mainly constituents of our beings) is in possession of four marks: arising, abiding, changing and extinction (impermanence) in one moment (*kāla*). But he asserts as a new theory of momentary destruction that the existences (*bhāvā*) are momentary, i.e., at the moment when they arise they vanish without any cause (AKBh.p.194). He pursued the true existences (*bhāvā, santa*) that are conditioned elements (*dharmā*), such as the perceptible (*rūpa*, colour, etc.), the mind (*citta*), and mental functions (*caitasikā*). These are all momentary and perceptible, i.e. directly grasped by perception. His theory was inherited and developed by his followers as shall be seen next.

Dignāga (ca 480-540) was an influential philosopher in Indian history. He invented a new system of epistemology, i.e., philosophy of the means of cognition in his *Pramāṇa-Samuccaya* (PS.). According to him, the means of cognition are only two, i.e., perception and inference; and perception is free from conceptual construction (*pratyakṣa kalpanāpoḥa*, PS.1.3c). He excludes any verbal conception and expression from direct perception. Direct perception is grasped by organs of sense (including the mind). What is existent truly is grasped by perception only, but not by conceptual construction, i.e., verbal cognition and inference. His theory of perception seems to be influential to the next coming theories of momentary destruction.

Dharmakīrti (early 7<sup>th</sup> century) says: “What is existent (*sat*) is only momentary (*kṣanikam*). If it is not momentary, because that is contradictory to useful activity (*artha-kriyā*), it fails to be real fact (*vastutva*) which has the characteristic of useful activity” (HB.I, p.376-7).

Jñānaśrīmitra (ca 980-1030) says: “What is existent is momentary just like a rain cloud (*yat sat tat kṣanika yathā jala-dhara*). Yet these existences are existent (*santas tu bhāvā ime*). [Therefore these existences are momentary]. Here existentness is potentiality to useful activity (*sattā śaktir artha-karma*). *Jñānaśrīmitra-nibandhāvalī* p.1.” “While the momentary destruction is not proved yet its understanding is ascertained by perception (*pratyakṣe graha-sthiti*). It’s momentary destruction is ascertained because of being understood through perception (*pratyakṣe grahād asya kṣanabhaḡa-vyavashṭiti*). *Jñānaśrīmitra-n.* p.155<sup>14-15</sup>.”

In this way, these momentary existences are truly existent and stand for the conditioned elements (*saḡskṭā dharmā*), i.e., the perceptible (*rūpa*), the mind (*citta*), and mental functions (*caitta, caitasika*), all of which are simply called *dharmā* (constituent elements, functions, or properties of our being, i.e., our existence). And these constituent elements (*dharmā*) are momentary and vanish without cause. These are all directly grasped by perception. And these are also void of self-identity (*svabhāva-śūnya*) of verbal expression (*Prajñāpāramitā-hḡdaya*).

**4. What does *nirvāṇa* (*nibbāna*, inner tranquil peace) or *parinirvāṇa* (*parinibbāna*, perfect inner tranquil peace) mean?**

The above-mentioned Buddhist view of one's own physical and mental constituent elements (*dharmas*) is very fundamental, and which I want to call a basic trend of Buddhist original philosophy. But Buddhism is not a mere philosophy. Any Buddhist seeks or is eager to seek one's own enlightenment, or in other words, eager or wishful to be enlightened, i.e., to become Buddha (*buddha*, *abhisambuddha*), and to get to *nirvāṇa* (*nibbāna*, inner tranquil peace). Being enlightened or getting to *nirvāṇa* implies not only to destroy ignorance and to know reality of one's own being, but also to destroy one's own mental defilements and afflictions (*āsava*, *kilesa*), such as desire, ignorance, greed, hatred (anger), delusion, etc. According to the Pāli Canon, the Blessed one (Buddha) Himself tells us as His own experience of enlightenment as follows:

When the concentrated mind was without blemish pure, malleable, workable and not vacillating, I directed the mind to the knowledge of the destruction of defilements (so *evaṃ samāhite citte parisuddhe pariyodāte anaṃgaṃ e vigatūpakkilese mudubhūte kammaniye ṃhite āneñjappatte āsavānaṃ khaya-ñāṃ āya cittaṃ abhininnāmesi*): Then I thoroughly knew as it really is, this is suffering (so *idaṃ dukkhan ti yathā-bhūtaṃ abbhaññāsi*). Thoroughly knew..., this is the arising of suffering (*ayaṃ dukkha-samudayo ti y.-b. Ab.*). Thoroughly knew..., this is the cessation of sufferings (*ayaṃ dukkha-nirodho ti y.-b. Ab.*). Thoroughly knew..., this is the path to the cessation of suffering (*ayaṃ dukkha-nirodha-gāminī paṃipadā ti y.-b. ab.*). Knew as it really is, these are defilements (*ime āsavā ti y.-b. Ab.*). Knew..., this is the arising of defilements (*ayaṃ āsava-samudayo ti y.-b. ab.*). Knew..., this is the cessation of defilements (*ayaṃ āsava-nirodho ti y.-b. ab.*). Knew..., this is the path to the cessation of defilements (*ayaṃ āsava-nirodha-gāminī paṃipadā ti y.-b. ab.*). When I knew and realized this, my mind is released from defilements of desire also (*tassa me evaṃ jānato evaṃ passato kāmāsavā pi cittaṃ vimuccittha*), released from defilements of living also (*bhavāsavā pi c.v.*), released from defilements of ignorance also (*avijjāsavā pi c. v.*). Knowledge arose that I am released (*vimuttasmiṃ vimuttam iti ñāṃ aṃ ahoṣi*), birth is ended, the holy life is lived to the end, what should be done is done (*khīṃ ā jāti, vusitaṃ brahmacariyaṃ kataṃ karaṃīyaṃ*), there is nothing more to be (*nāparaṃ itthattāyā'ti abbhaññāsi*). This is, o Brahmin, the third knowledge I realized in the third

watch of the night (*ayañ kho me, brāhmaṇa, rattiyā pacchime yāme tatiyā vijjā adhigatā*). Ignorance was dispelled and Enlightening knowledge arose (*avijjā vihatā vijjā uppannā*), darkness was dispelled, and illumination appeared (*tamo vihato āloko uppanno*), just as the one who is living diligent and endeavouring himself without negligence (*yathā tañ appamattassa ātāpino pahit'attassa viharato*). (M.I.p.23<sup>11-28</sup>, A.IV.pp. 178<sup>25-79</sup><sup>11</sup>)

This enlightenment is the last of the six super knowledges (*abhiññā*).

After the first sermon, He delivered a discourse (*Anatta-lakkha*) *a-suttanta*<sup>∞</sup>, JA.I.p.82<sup>11</sup>) that the perceptible (*rūpa*), feeling (*vedanā*), etc. are impermanent, painful, and not the self, and He added as follows:

When, o bhikkhus, any learned noble disciple sees [the perceptible, etc.] as such, becomes weary of the perceptible (*rūpasmim pi nibbindati*), etc. becoming weary of all that divests himself of desire (*nibbindaṇ virajjati*); by absence of desire he is released (*virāgā vimuccati*); when he is released, knowledge arises that he is released (*vimuttasmiṇ vimuttam iti ñāṇaṇ hoti*); and he realises that birth is ended... (*khīṇā jāti, ... ti pajānāti ti*). (Vin.I.14<sup>25-32</sup>, S.III.68<sup>21-26</sup>)

Similarly after subduing three Kassapa-brothers together with their disciples, who had been worshipping fire, He discoursed the sermon that everything is burning (*sabbaṇ ādittaṇ*):

“The eye, o bhikkhus, is burning, the visible are burning; the cognition based on the eye is burning; the contact of the eye [with the visible] is burning (*cakkhu ādittaṇ, rūpā ādittā, cakkhu-viññāṇaṇ ādittaṇ, cakkhu-samphasso āditto*); the perceived by the contact of the eye [with the visible], be it pleasant, be it painful, be it neither pleasant nor painful, that also is burning (*yam idaṇ cakkhu-samphassa-paccayā uppajjati vedayitaṇ sukhaṇ vā dukkhaṇ vā adukkha-m-asukhaṇ vā tam pi ādittaṇ*). With what fire is it burning (*kena ādittaṇ*)? I declare that it is burning with the fire of lust, ... of hatred (anger), ... of ignorance; it is burning with birth, decay, death, grief, lamentation, suffering, dejection, and despair (*rāg'agginā dos' agginā moh'agginā ādittaṇ, jātiyā jarāya maraṇena sokehi paridevehi dukkhehi domanassehi upāyāsehi ādittan ti vadāmi*). The ear is burning, ... The nose, ... The tongue, ... The body ..., the tangible and bodily sensible elements are

burning, ... The mind is burning, the thinkable and imaginable are burning, ... When, o bhikkhus, a learned disciple sees [the perceptible, etc.] as such, becomes weary of the eye, the visible, the contact of the eye [with visible things], the perceived by the contact of the eye [with visible things], be it pleasant, be it painful, be it neither pleasant nor painful, ..., he divests himself of desire; by absence of desire he is released; when he is released, he becomes aware that he is released; and he realises that birth is ended..." When this exposition was propounded, those thousand bhikkhus' minds were released from the defilements (*āsavehi cittāni vimucci*su). (Vin.I. pp.34<sup>17</sup>-35<sup>12</sup>, S.IV.pp.19<sup>25</sup>-20<sup>23</sup>).

In this way, the enlightenment (release, deliverance, liberation) is achieved after having known and become weary of the constituents of one's own being (5 aggregates, 12 spheres of cognition, and 18 elements of cognition) as shown above.

The inner tranquil peace (*nirvā*na, *nibbāna*) is another name of the enlightenment. The realms of inner tranquil peace (*nirvā*na-dhātu, *nibbāna-dhātu*) are two, i.e., the realm of inner tranquil peace possessed of remainder of bio-functions (*saupādi-sesā nibbāna-dhātu*) and the realm of inner tranquil peace without remainder of bio-functions (*anupādi-sesā nibbāna-dh.*).

In the case of the former (*saupādi-sesā nibbāna-dhātu*), it runs as in the following:

This bhikkhu is a worthy one, whose defilement is exhausted, [holy life] is lived to the end, who has done what should be done, put down his burden, arrived at the right goal, exhausted fetter of life, and who by means of right enlightening knowledge has been released (*bhikkhu araha*na hoti *khī*na<sup>o</sup> *āsavo vusitavā kata-kara*na<sup>o</sup> *īyo ohita-bhāro anuppatta-sad-attho parikkhī*na<sup>o</sup> *bhava-sa*na<sup>o</sup> *yojano sammad-aññā vimutto*). His five organs of sense remain as ever, these are not destroyed, and he perceives the pleasant and unpleasant (*tassa ti*na<sup>o</sup> *hant'eva pañc'indriyāni yesa*na<sup>o</sup> *avighātattā manāpāmanāpa*na<sup>o</sup> *paccanubhoti, sukhadukkha*na<sup>o</sup> *pa*na<sup>o</sup> *isa*na<sup>o</sup> *vedeti*). His desire is exhausted, hatred is exhausted, and delusion is exhausted (*tassa yo rāgakkhayo, dosakkhayo, moha-kkhayo*).

In the case of the latter (*anupādi-sesā nibbāna-dhātu*), it runs as follows:

This bhikkhu is a worthy one,... has been released... here now is all the perceived are not rejoiced and shall become cool (*tassa idh'eva... sabba-vedayatāni anabhinanditāni sīti-bhavissanti*). (It.44, p.38<sup>5-21</sup>)

Without remainder of bio-functions, i.e., with no sense-functions and no living functions, no one can live.

The inner tranquil peace without remainder of bio-functions means nothing but death of the enlightened one. This death of the enlightened is called as perfect inner tranquil peace (perfect enlightenment, *parinirvāṇa*, *parinibbāna*), as for instance Mahā-parinibbāna-suttanta (D.16 大般涅槃經). But in some context, the perfect inner tranquil peace (perfect enlightenment) is that of living enlightened one (Buddha, or bhikkhu). It runs thus:

The blessed One said, 'By the path made by himself, o, Sabhiya (*pajjena katena attanā, Sabhiyā ti bhagavā*), he who has gone to perfect inner tranquil peace, crossed over doubt (*parinibbāna-gato vitiṅka-kaṅkha*), having abandoned both non-existence and existence (*vibhavañ ca bhavañ ca vipphāya*), has lived his life, whose next existence is destroyed, he is a bhikkhu (*vusitavā khīṅka-puna-bbhavo sa bhikkhu*).' (Sn.514).

The blessed One, who has gone to perfect inner tranquil peace, teaches the doctrine for the sake of the perfect inner tranquil peace (*parinibbuto so bhagavā parinibbānāya dhammaṅ deseti*).'' (D.III.55<sup>1-2</sup>)

The inner tranquil peace (*nibbāna*) is called immortal (*amata*, *amṅta*, nectar), good fortune (*maṅgala*), pleasant and comfortable (*sukha*), etc. After His enlightenment the Buddha (Gotama) addressed the five bhikkhus who had attended on Him before, "Listen to me, o bhikkhus. The immortal has been won. I will teach you. I will preach the doctrine (*dhammaṅ desemi*) ..." (Vin.I.p.9<sup>14</sup>, M.I.172<sup>1</sup>)

At the moment of Buddha's parinibbāna (demise), when Sakka, the king of the gods, uttered a verse:

Ah! impermanent are the living energies (*anicā vata saṅkhārā* 諸行無常) that consist of arising and vanishing elements (*uppāda-vaya-dhammino* 是生滅法). Having come into existence they pass away (*uppajjitvā nirujjhanti*)

生滅滅已). Pleasant is their complete cessation (*tesaṃ vūpasamo sukho* 寂滅為樂). (D. II. pp. 157, S. 1. p. 158, cf. T.1.204c)

And this complete cessation (*vūpasamo*) seems to suggest the Blessed One's (Buddha's) perfect inner tranquil peace (*parinibbāna*, demise, death).

“And experience of inner tranquil peace — this is the utmost good fortune (*nibbāna-sacchi-kiriyā ca, etaṃ maṅgalam uttamaṃ*).” (Sn.267cd)

According to the Pāli tradition the ‘inner tranquil peace (*nibbāna*)’ referred to the happiness of married life uttered by a young girl (JA.I.pp.60<sup>30</sup>-61<sup>12</sup>, cf. BvA.pp.280<sup>36</sup>-281<sup>1-7</sup>, DhA.I.85<sup>10-14</sup>). A similar story is seen in the Sarvāsti-vādin School's tradition too (SBV.I. p.78<sup>13</sup>, T.24.114b<sup>16</sup>).

But here is a problem. Traditionally one who attained enlightenment or inner tranquil peace after having destroyed all kinds of desire cannot enjoy married life. It runs as follows:

If a householder attains to become arahat (a worthy one whose defilements are exhausted, and who gets to enlightenment), his destinies are only two with no others; i.e., either he leaves home [to enter the Buddhist Order] or enters perfect inner tranquil peace (=dies), for he cannot live beyond this day (*yo gihī arahattaṃ patto, dve vāssa gatiyo bhavanti anaññā, tasmīṃ yeva divase pabbajati vā parinibbāyati vā. Na so divaso sakkā atikkametuṃ*). (Mil. p.264<sup>29</sup>-265<sup>1</sup>)

I cannot comment on this here. If this is true, it must be dangerous for an ordinary lay person to get to enlightenment and attain to inner tranquil peace. But even so, I think, enlightenment and perfect inner tranquil peace shall be an ideal goal for most Buddhists.

##### **5. The role of the self (*attan, ātman*) in the practical life of Buddhist monks and lay persons.**

As above-mentioned, Buddhist Canon repeats that all the constituent elements of our own being (*dhammā, dharmā*) are impermanent, painful, and not the self (*anattā*). And anything that is not the self is to be looked upon as...‘this is not mine (*n' etaṃ mama*), I am not this (*n' eso 'ham asmi*), and this is not my self (*na*

*me so attā*).' Here I feel difficulties. Of course I can easily understand that I am not any of these elements and that none of these elements is my self, because any of these elements is only a part of my organs of sense, etc. But it is difficult to understand that any of these elements is not mine, because we cannot say that my eye is not mine, my ear is not mine, or so on. In order to clear these difficulties, impermanence or momentariness shall be helpful. Our existence as well as our organs of sense, perceived objects, and physical and mental elements (and functions) are impermanent and even momentary, i.e., every moment of our existence together with our organs of sense, perceived objects and others become different. Then, for instance, we can say that my eye which has just before seen the visible (scene) is changed and not mine now, or the visible (scene) which has just before been seen is gone and not any more. If my existence is impermanent and even momentary, there must be no eternal self. Then we could easily say that Buddhism denies the eternal self and eternal soul. This must be true.

But here we have a great difficulty. The impermanent and momentary self must be admitted, because without any consciousness of my self we cannot understand that 'this is not my self.' We have to be conscious of my self every moment when we hear or read 'this is not my self.' The above-mentioned phrases of not-mine and not-self cause us every time to be conscious of mine and my self. In this way my self and mine must exist even if momentarily. We cannot neglect my self and mine if we are to understand and interpret this Canonical phrase.

Buddha (*sama*□*a* Gotama) often spoke of the self (*attan*) negatively, i.e., not-self (*anattan*), and not my self (*na me attā*), in His dialogues with His opponent visitors as well as in His sermons to His disciples. But on a few occasions, He gave hearers significant messages to go in search of themselves (*attāna*□*gaveseyyāthā*, Vin.I. p.23), and live relying on themselves (*atta-dīpā viharatha attā-sara*□*ā*), seeking no other refuge than themselves and the Doctrine (Law, *dhamma*). (D.II.p.100, S.V. pp. 58, 77)

The 12th chapter of the Pāli *Dhammapada* is named 'chapter of the self' (*atta-vagga*, vv.157-166), which corresponds to the Sanskrit *Udāna-varga* (Udv. 23<sup>rd</sup> Ch. *Ātma-varga*, vv.1-26), and the Buddhist Hybrid *Dhammapada* (BHSDh.vv.306-326). Moreover, the *Dhammapada* (Dh.) has exceptionally many examples of *attan* in a positive context in the other chapters too.

The self is semantically subject in some verses (nominative case: *attā*, accusative case: *attāna*□): The self is compared to the lord (*nātha*) of self (Dh.160a, 380a), and one's own refuge (*sara*□*a*, Dh.380b). And it is dear (*piya*), as it is said:

'If one holds oneself dear (*Attānañ ce piya*□ *jaññā*), one should guard oneself well.'

But also it means 'oneself' (himself, his own self) that is in reality not one's own (his own): It runs:

'For he himself is not his own' (*Attā hi attano n'atthi*, Dh.62c).

But the self is to be subdued. It runs:

'For one's own self is, as is said, difficult to subdue' (*attā hi kira duddamo*, Dh.159c).

It is the object of such verbs as: guard (*rakkheya* Dh.157), establish (*nivesaye* Dh.158b, *niveseyya* Dh. 282e), make (*kayirā* Dh.159a; *karoti* Dh.162c), know (*jaññā* Dh.157a), subdue (tame: *damayanti* Dh.80d, *dametha* Dh.159c, *damayam* Dh.305c; - *danta* Dh.159c, 160c, Dh.323c; - *dama* Dh.159), cleanse (*pariyodapeyya* Dh.88c), conquer (*jine*, *jeyyam* Dh.103bc; *jita* Dh.104), apply (*yuñjam*, *yojaya*□ Dh.104ab), guard (*gopetha* Dh. 315c), draw (*uddharatha* Dh.327c), censure (*codaya* Dh. 379a), scrutinize (*pa*□*imāse* Dh.379b), and control (*saññamaya* Dh.380c). Some of these verbs take as an object the mind (*citta*).

In this way, Pāli *attan* (*attā*, *attāna*□, *attanā*, *attano*) is in many cases almost the same as English reflexive pronouns: oneself, myself, yourself, etc. In a case one's own self is just as its English equivalent (Dh.159d). The Genitive *attano* means often one's own (good Dh.166a,c; fault Dh.252b,e; lord Dh.380a; refuge Dh.380b).

Here I have a question whether the above-mentioned self (*attan*, *ātman*) is impermanent and even momentary or not. The Early Buddhist Canon is silent. The Abhidharma-texts or Abhidhamma-texts never include the self (*ātman*, *attan*) in the list of *dharmas* (*dharmā*□, *dhammā*, constituents of our own being). Vasubandhu criticized 'the self' (*ātman*) and 'the person' (*pudgala*, another name for *ātman*) which other schools asserted, then he advocated and ascertained the doctrine that there is no eternal self (*nirātmatā*, *nairātmya*), i.e., without the self

our existence and experience can be explained with five aggregates of our physical and mental elements (AKBh.pp.461-478). He said:

Because [the mind is] based on I-consciousness, the mind is metaphorically called as the self'' (*aha-kāra- sannīśrayatvāc cittam ātmā ity upacaryate*, AKBh.p.276).

He quotes two lines of the Canonical stanzas:

With self well subdued, a wise person attains to the heaven. (*ātmanā hi sudāntena, svarga-prāpnoti pa-ita*, Udv. 23.17cd, cf.Dh.160c, AKBh.p.277).

To subdue the mind is good. A tamed (subdued) mind is conducive to happiness. (*cittasya damana-sādhu citta-dānta-sukhāvaham*, Udv.31.1cd, cf. Dh.35cd, AKBh.p.279).

If Vasubandhu's such interpretation is true, the self must be impermanent and momentary, just the same as the mind and other mental elements or functions. Then what follows? Here we find the Buddhist unique view of the practical life. Momentary constituents of our being are always vanishing but most of them are renewed and succeeded continually and constitute a stream of life (*santāna, santati*). This theory seems like a film (movie) which is a series of moving images, and which lets us have an illusion that motion is occurring.

These constituents (*dhammā, dharmā*) exist when their causes and conditions exist. They do not exist, when their causes and conditions do not exist. And they are originated dependently (*pa-icca-samuppanna, prat-tya-samutpanna*), i.e., according to the Law of dependent origination (*pa-icca-samuppāda, prat-tya-samutpāda*).

The above-mentioned Canonical phrase of 'not mine' and 'not my self' cannot and must not in reality dispel our (my) consciousness of mine, and my self, not only in ordinary life, but also in practical holy life.

At first, if I have no notion of mine and my self, I cannot understand this Canonical phrase.

Next I must be conscious of and very careful not to forget mine and my self every day and even every moment. On condition that every constituent of my being is impermanent and even momentary, I must not forget my promises, vows, and moral precepts, always being conscious of mine and my self (myself).

In ordinary life, Buddhists must follow ordinary moral precepts (5 and 10 precepts). Originally Buddhist monks (*bhikkhus*) must follow monks' Order's precepts (about 250 precepts) and nuns (*bhikkhunis*) must follow nuns' Order's precepts (about 350 precepts) respectively, although very few follow Order's precepts in Japan. To follow the precept not to take (steal) what belongs to others, I must be conscious that this is mine, and that is not mine, etc.

What is the most famous teaching of Buddhas? It runs thus:

The non-commitment of all evil (*sabba-pāpassa akaraṃ*),

The perfecting of goodness (*kusalassa upasmpadā*),

The purifying of one's mind (*sacitta-pariyodapanam*),

This is the teaching of the Buddhas (the enlightened). (*etaṃ buddhāna sāsanaṃ*. (Dh.183)

The first half is a universal ethical norm, and not solely particular to Buddhism. But the purifying of one's mind is very characteristic of Buddhism. According to the commentary, 'the purifying of one's mind (*sacitta-pariyodapanam*)' is purification of one's own mind from the five coverings (hindrances, *pañcahi nāvaraṇāni attano cittassa vodāpanaṃ*. DhA. III. p.237<sup>17-8</sup>). The five coverings mean mental defilements (*kilesa*), which consist of desire for sensual enjoyment (*kāma-cchanda*), malevolence (*vyāpāda*, hatred, fury), sloth and torpor (*thīnamiddha*, low-spiritedness and sleepiness), excitement and remorse (*uddhacca-kukkucca*, frivolity and regret), and doubt (*vicikicchā*).

Among them, malevolence (hatred) is always deemed as evil in Buddhist texts. This explanation indicates simply how to purify one's mind, and this is a characteristic of Buddhism that aims at tranquil peace of mind that should be free from hatred (malevolence), mental excitement, etc.

This is, I think, the most important characteristics of Buddhism, that is not in common with the other theistic religions, i.e., Christian, Jewish, and Islamic

religions, all of which extol hatred or anger towards their or their God's enemies in their Canons, and never deny entirely their hatred toward inimical people.

## **6. Concluding Remarks.**

The Buddha's legendary biographical texts and His past stories (*Jātakas*, *Avadānas*, etc.) tell us of His compassion and mercy, but never hint at His anger even towards evil. Buddhist Canon leads us to be calm and peaceful, and not to get angry, excited, and hostile. Images (sculptures, pictures, etc.) of Buddhas (*Tathāgatas*) and Bodhisattvas also seem to let us be calm and peaceful, dispelling anger, fear, and hatred.

On the other hand, God and gods of most other religions seem to make people feel awe and fear of being scolded and punished. For God and gods are not always free from anger, jealousy, and hatred. We can easily find 'God's (or the Lord's) anger or wrath' or the phrase: 'God (or the Lord) is angry with ...' in the *Old Testament* (Nahum, Zephaniah, Zechariah, Malachi) as well as in the *New Testament* (Revelation). The *Koran* (*Qur'ān*) warns Muslims to fear Allah's anger and punishment.

Indian Vedic and Hindu gods, Greek, Roman gods, and Japanese gods are very awful and numinous, liable to get angry, excited, or jealous. There is a god of wrath (*manyu*) in Vedic religion (*rig-veda* 10.84). But later some Indian philosophers tried to demonstrate that the highest god (*ṣvāra*) is free from anger and evil qualities or devoid of any quality (*guh*). And Indian religious philosophies have been engaged in inquiring into how to get liberation from recurring transmigrations.

The Buddhist trend of inner tranquil peace without hatred has been dominant in the history of Buddhism in many countries and regions over the past two millenniums. This trend of Buddhism contrasts with other religions such as monotheistic Christian, Jewish, and Islamic religions, as well as polytheistic Greco-Roman religions, Hinduism (Vedic religion), Shinto, etc., all of which are characterized by faith in one God or many gods.

This Buddhist trend: inner tranquil peace without hatred and the precept of non-killing (non-violence) should be a modest but hopeful possibility to lead to non-violence and finally worldwide peace.

At the time of Buddha, war was not avoidable. Buddha is said to have prevented twice war between Kosala-king Viḍḍabha and Sakya-people who were Buddha's relatives but in vain. Sakya-people, who kept Buddha's precept of non-killing, were fighting but without killing their enemies, but all were killed. Many texts tell us this tragedy (DhA.I.pp.337-361, *Jātaka*□□*hakathā* IV.pp.144-153, etc.).

The tradition of non-violence (non-killing) had risen before Buddhism, and has also been prevailed in Hinduism and Jainism in India widely.

In the first half of the last century, Mahatma Gandhi's (1869-1948) non-violent resistance and independence movement succeeded to acquire independence from the British Empire; though he himself was assassinated by a Hindu radical (Nathuram Godse).

Although Gandhi's idea of non-violence has been influential worldwide, wars do not cease in the world, and the hard-fought and incessant 'war on terror' is raging these ten years. The 'war on terror' cannot stop terror as of yet; on the contrary terrors and disasters are increasing more and more. So, all of us feel far less safe and convenient to travel abroad owing to the 'war on terror.'

Owing to Buddha's precept of non-killing, no Buddhists can approve of these wars. In the present day, any kind of war would become a catastrophic danger to the survival of human beings on the earth. We are now at the very verge of a total annihilation due to nuclear weapons, which would destroy human lives and the natural environment all together. We must take into further consideration any possibility to avoid violence and war, because we wish the survival of human beings now and in the future. We need to endeavour more to prevent violence and war in the world. I hope that the tradition of non-killing and non-violence is going to prevail worldwide. For this purpose, Buddhism's inner tranquil peace is to be accepted, sought and pursued widely and deeply.

\* My thanks are due to Dr. Andrews Dale Kenneth, an associate professor of Tohoku Gakuin University, who kindly corrected my English.

# 17

## Buddhist Impact on Chinese Language

Guang Xing

### Abstract

*The Buddhist impact on Chinese language is enormous. This is mainly due to the translation and introduction of Buddhist scriptures from Sanskrit and other Indic languages. The translation of Buddhist scriptures lasted for more than a thousand years in China and there are about 173 known translators who had translated 1700 more scriptures in about 6000 more Chinese scrolls. As the Indian ways of thinking are different from Chinese, so their ways of expression are also different from Chinese. Therefore, the translators of Buddhist scriptures had to invent and introduce many new words in order to express the highly abstract ideas and concepts in Buddhism apart from finding similar words and concepts in Chinese language. Thus these new words and concepts gradually have been integrated into Chinese language and some of them even become part of their daily conversation. The translation of Buddhist scriptures in Sanskrit and other Indic languages greatly influenced the semantic and syntax of mediaeval Chinese as well as enriched the literary genres and rhetoric techniques. The Sanskrit phonetics brought along with Buddhist translation raised the awareness of Chinese people about phonetics in their own language. This triggered an unprecedented interest in linguistic studies, in particular the description and analysis of the phonetic values of Chinese characters. The result is the compilation of numerous rhyme dictionaries which are of great value for the reconstructions of the different stages of the phonetic systems of Middle Chinese.*

### 1. Introduction

The Buddhist impact on Chinese language is enormous. This is mainly due to the translation and introduction of Buddhist scriptures from Sanskrit and other Indic languages. The translation of Buddhist scriptures lasted for more than a thousand years in China as it started in the second century CE and ended up by the end of Song dynasty in twelfth century. There are about 173 known translators who had translated 1700 more scriptures in about 6000 more Chinese

scrolls.<sup>1</sup> As the Indian ways of thinking are different from Chinese, so their ways of expression are also different from that of Chinese. Therefore, the translators of Buddhist scriptures had to invent and introduce many new words in order to express the highly abstract ideas and concepts in Buddhism apart from finding similar words and concepts in Chinese language. Thus these new words and concepts gradually have been integrated into Chinese language and some of them even become part of our daily conversation. The translation of Buddhist scriptures in Sanskrit and other Indic languages greatly influenced the semantic and syntax of mediaeval Chinese as well as enriched the literary genres and rhetoric techniques. The Sanskrit phonetics brought along with Buddhist translation raised the awareness of Chinese people about phonetics in their own language. This triggered an unprecedented interest in linguistic studies, in particular the description and analysis of the phonetic values of Chinese characters. The result is the compilation of numerous rhyme dictionaries which are of great value for the reconstructions of the different stages of the phonetic systems of Middle Chinese.

The distinguished Chinese linguist Wang Li 王力 said that the Buddhist terminology contributed to Chinese vocabulary tremendously and some of these terms have already embodied in the blood of Chinese language so much so that people do not even know that they are originally from Buddhist literature.<sup>2</sup> For instance, *shi-jie* 世界 means the world, but ancient Chinese people used *tian-xia* 天下 to mean the world. The Sanskrit word for *shi-jie* is *loka* which means a land or a state of existence.

The American scholar Victor Mair has summarized the Buddhist impact on Chinese language and literature into eight aspects and three are related to language.<sup>3</sup> They are 1. enlargement of the lexicon by at least thirty-five thousand words, including many that are still in common use (e.g., *fang-bian* 方便 [convenient; from Sanskrit, *upāya*, skill-in-means] and *cha-na* 刹那 [instant; from Sanskrit, *kṣaṇa*, instant]); 2. advancement of phonology as a type of linguistic

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<sup>1</sup> The number of translators is given in Nanjio (1989): Appendix II. According to Taisho Edition of Tripitaka, there are a total number of 1692 Chinese translations of Indian texts. But there are some more Chinese translations of Buddhist texts found in Dunhuang and other places.

<sup>2</sup> Wang Li (1990: 678-686).

<sup>3</sup> Mair (2001: 56-57).

science; 3. partial legitimization of the vernacular. Victor Mair even tries to analyze the causes of Buddhist impact on Chinese language as he says,

The question of exactly how a foreign religion like Buddhism could have had such an enormous impact on linguistic usage in China is extraordinarily complex. Some of the factors involved are: (1) a conscious desire on the part of Buddhist teachers and missionaries (starting with the Buddha himself) to speak directly to the common people in their own language; (2) the maintenance of relatively egalitarian social values among Buddhists in contrast to a strongly hierarchical Confucian order; (3) an emphasis on hymnody, storytelling, drama, lecture, and other types of oral presentation; and (4) the perpetuation of sophisticated Indian scholarship on linguistics, which highlighted the importance of grammar and phonology as reflected in actual speech, in contrast to Chinese language studies, which focused almost exclusively on the characters as the perfect vehicle for the essentially mute book language.<sup>4</sup>

## 2. Enlargement of Chinese Lexicon

According to modern scholars' studies, it is estimated that approximately thirty-five thousand new words entered Chinese language through the agency of Buddhism.<sup>5</sup> The Buddhist influence on and contribution to Chinese lexicon can be summarized, according to Sun Changwu's 孫昌武 study into the following aspects.

First, many existing Chinese words are used in the Buddhist translation of scriptures, but their connotations are new. Such as the words used to express doctrinal teachings: *kong* 空 (*śunya*, empty) is used as empty of self nature, but in Chinese it can mean nothing similar to *wu* 無 which means nothingness; *you* 有 (*asti*, existence) is the opposite of *kong* 空 and it means existence in Buddhist sense, but in ancient Chinese philosophy, it means being. In fact, *you* 有 which means being and *wu* 無 which means non-being are important philosophical terms in ancient Chinese philosophy. *Fa* 法 (*dharma*) is used to denote the

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<sup>4</sup> Mair (2001: 154).

<sup>5</sup> Mair (2004: 154). This is based on the Buddhist Dictionary 《佛教大辭典》 compiled by Mochizuki Shinkō 望月信亨 (1869-1948).

Buddhist teaching in general, specific thing in particular, but it can mean regulation, law etc. in Chinese; *xing* 性 (*svabhāva*, nature) is used for the nature of things, but in Chinese it can mean character, gender, sex etc. *Yin* 因 (*hetu*, cause) means direct cause, *yuan* 緣 (*pratyaya*, condition) means indirect cause. *Yin* 因 *hetu* is like a seed, *yuan* 緣 *pratyaya* the soil, rain, sunshine. *Zhiran* 自然 (self-existing) and *wuwei* 無爲 (*asaṅkṛta*, un compounded) are two words borrowed from Chinese philosophy to express Buddhist meanings as they are similar to Buddhist usage.

Again, for instance, the twelve phrases used in the Dependent Origination 十二因 緣 to explain the Buddhist idea of the rise of human suffering are also taken from the existing words in Chinese language: *wuming* 無明 (*avidyā*, ignorance), *xing* 行 (*saṅkāra*, action-intentions), *shi* 識 (*viññāna*, consciousness), *mingse* 名色 (*nāmarūpa*, name and form), *liuru* 六入 (*saṅāyatana*, the six-fold sphere of sense contact), *chu* 觸 (*sparśa*, contact), *shou* 受 (*vedanā*, sensation, feeling), *ai* 愛 (*tṛṣṇā*, thirst, desire, craving), *qu* 取 (*upādāna*, grasping, appropriation), *you* 有 (*bhava*, becoming), *sheng* 生 (*jāti*, birth), *laosi* 老死 (*jarāmaraṇa*, old age and death), etc. All these words are found in the classical Chinese, but they are given new meanings to denote a Buddhist meaning in the translations.

Second is the creation of new words by transliteration. There are a large amount of such words introduced into Chinese language with the Buddhist translations. It can be broadly classified into the following two categories, and the first and the largest category is proper name such as *fo* 佛 (Buddha, full transliteration is 佛陀), *pusa* 菩薩 (bodhisattva, 菩提薩埵), *luohan* 羅漢 (*arhat*, 阿羅漢 worthy one), *biqiu* 比丘 (*bhikṣu*, monk), *biqiuni* 比丘尼 (*bhikṣuni*, nun), *sheng* 僧 (*sangha*, community of monks, 僧伽), *shijiamoni* 釋迦牟尼 (*Śakyāmuni*), *ta* 塔 (*stūpa*, 塔婆), *jiasha* 袈裟 (*kaṣyā*, robe), *qianlan* 伽藍 (*ārāma*, a Buddhist building).

The second category of transliteration is more complex and Xuanzang gave five reasons for this category (1) for reason of secrecy such as *darani*, (2) for reason of numerous meanings such as *bóqiéfàn* 薄伽梵 (*bhagavat*, meaning the *blessed one* or *world-honoured one*), (3) for reason of no such terms in Chinese such as *chan* 禪 (*dhyāna*, meditation 禪那), *ye* 業 (*karma*, action), *jie* 劫 (*kalpa*), *niepan* 涅槃 (*nirvāṇa*), *sheli* 舍利 (*śarīra*, relics), *yánfútí* 閻浮提 (*Jambudvīpa*, the great continent

south of Mt. Sumeru) etc., (4) for complying with tradition such as *ānòuduōluó sānmiǎo sānpútí* 阿耨多羅三藐三菩提 (*Anuttarā-samyak-saṃbodhi*, highest supreme enlightenment), *boluomi* 波羅蜜 (*pāramitā*, perfection), and (5) for the rising of goodness such as *bōrě* 般若 (*prajñā*, wisdom).

The largest category is the third, new terms and concepts which are not found in Chinese. The third is the creation of new words by translating its meaning to express the newly introduced Buddhist concepts. Such words are as *rulai* 如來 (*Tathāgata*, thus come one), *guiyi* 皈依 (*śaraṃa*, to take refuge in), *jingtū* 淨土 (*Sukhāvātī*, Pure Land), *jietuo* 解脫 (*mokṣa*, liberation), *lunhui* 輪回 (*saṃsāra*, round of birth and death), *shiji* 實際 (*bhūtakoṭi*, apex of reality), *zhenshi* 真實 (*bhūta or yathābhūtam*, true form of something), *youqing* 有情 (*sattva*, sentient being), *xindi* 心地 (*mano-bhūmika*, mind ground), *gongde* 功德 (*puññā*, merit), *fangbian* 方便 (*upāya*, skilful means), *wuchang* 無常 (*anitya*, impermanence), *wuwo* 無我 (*anātma*, non-soul), *bukeshiyi* 不可思議 (*acintya*, unthinkable), etc.

The best example of this category is the Sanskrit word *tathatā* which means suchness, or the true nature of phenomena. There is no such a concept in Chinese philosophy and the translators faced huge troubles in finding a suitable word to express the Indian concept. At first Lokakṣema used *benwu* 本無 to translate it, but it was misleading as *benwu* means that originally there is nothing in Daoist philosophy. It was Kumarajiva who created the new word *zhenru* 真如 to translate this highly philosophical concept.

The fourth is the creation of new words by a combination of transliteration and translation of its meaning or a combination of transliteration of a Sanskrit word and a Chinese word, such as *foqu* 佛曲 (Buddhist song, *fo* 佛 is a transliteration while *qu* 曲 is Chinese word), *foxiang* 佛像 (Buddha image) is same; *chanshi* 禪師 (meditation master, *chan* 禪 is a transliteration and *shi* 師 is a Chinese word), *chanfang* 禪房 (meditation hall) is same; *niepanzhong* 涅槃宗 (Nirvāṇa School, *niepan* 涅槃 is a transliteration and *zhong* 宗 is a Chinese word).

*Fanbai* 梵唄 (Buddhist Music) is a good example for the combination of transliteration and translation of meaning. Here *fan* 梵 is a translation denoting India and *bai* 唄 is a transliteration from *baini* 唄匿 (*bhāṅaka*) means chanting song. Another is *wanzi* 萬字 (Svastika), a symbol, *wan* 萬 is a transliteration and *zi* 字 is a Chinese word.

All these words denote things and concepts, and are not found in Chinese so the translators had to create new words to express them, but the meanings of some Chinese characters were retained while others were changed completely. However there is a close relationship between the meanings of newly created words and the original meaning of each Chinese character. This means that in translation of Buddhist scriptures, the original meanings of Chinese characters are borrowed to create new words usually by combination of two or more Chinese characters, but the meanings of the newly created words are completely different from the original meanings of the characters.

The fifth is the new expressions added to the Chinese language through the influence of Buddhism but these are not direct translations from Sanskrit such as *chūjiā* 出家 (*parivraj*) leaving the family to become a monk; *chushi* 出世, to transcend the world; *tidu* 剃度, ordained by shaving his or her head; *huayuan* 化缘 to beg for food or something else; *kuhai* 苦海, a bitter sea, meaning life is dangerous as the rough sea; *fangzhang* 方丈, literally means one square zhang (3.3 meters), but it designates abbot of a monastery.

The sixth is the increase of Buddhist related idioms and phrases. As Buddhism was gradually accepted by Chinese people, Buddhist ideas, thought and concepts gradually got integrated into Chinese language and as a result, new idioms and phrases were formulated.

For instance, (1) there are idioms from Buddhist stories such as *tiān nǚ sàn huā* 天女散花 which means to make a mess of everything, *tiān huā luàn zhù* 天花亂墜 means to speak things untenable, *jiè huā xiàn fó* 借花獻佛 means literally to borrow flowers to offer to the Buddha, actually it means to get things from another person to entertain one's own guest, *shuǐ zhōng zhuō yuè* 水中捉月 or *shuǐ*

*zhōng lāo yuè* 水中撈月 means literally to try to fish the moon out of water, but it obviously means to make futile efforts, etc.

(2) There are idioms from Buddhist doctrinal teachings such as *dà cí dà bēi* 大慈大悲 which means great compassion and loving kindness, *liù gēn qīng jìng* 六根清淨, means literally the purification of six sense organs, true meaning: free from human desires and passions; *bù èr fǎ mén* 不二法門 means the only way, *yī chén bù rǎn* 一塵不染 means immaculate, spotless, *sì dà jiē kōng* 四大皆空 means literally all the four elements of solidity, fluidity, temperature and mobility are impermanent. According to Buddhist teaching the human physical body is made of the four great elements, so the human physical body is also empty of self nature and impermanent, just an instrument.

(3) There are idioms from Buddhist similes such as *mèng zhōng shuō mèng* 夢中說夢 which means literally talking about dreams in a dream, actually meaning talking something nonsense; *tán huā yī xiàn* 曇花一現 means to last for a very brief period of time just as the epiphyllum blooming at night, or short lived; *zhēn fēng xiāng duì* 針鋒相對 means to oppose each other with equal harshness, to attack each other in equally sharp language, to match point by point; *shuǐ yuè jìng huā* 水月鏡花 means illusions like the moon in the water and flower in a mirror; *xīn yuán yì mǎ* 心猿意馬 originally means that the mind is like a monkey or a horse that is very difficult to bring under control, but always prone to outside attractions, and it means that the mind is unsettled and restless.

The seventh is the Buddhist proverbs and Buddhist related common sayings. (a) *jiù rén yī mìng, shèng zào qī jí fú tú* 救人一命，勝造七級浮屠 means that to save a person is better than building a seven storey stupa. It means that saving a life is better than other meritorious deeds. (b) *fàng xià tú dāo , lì dì chéng fó* 放下屠刀，立地成佛, a butcher becomes a Buddha at once if he gives up his knife. It means that an evil person can become a good person if he realizes his bad deeds. (c) *wú shì bù dēng sān bǎo diàn* 無事不登三寶殿, one will not come to the shrine room without having to do something. It means that one will not come to you without a purpose. (d) *lín shí bào fó jiǎo* 臨時抱佛脚, it means that one does a thing without preparation.

### 3. Increase of Disyllabic and Polysyllabic Words

According to Chinese linguists, there were mostly monosyllabic words and each character is a word to express something in written Chinese in ancient China. But with the translation of Buddhist scriptures, there was an increase of many disyllabic and polysyllabic words which played an important role in the development of Chinese language and vocabulary from monosyllabic to polyphony. During the time of six dynasties from first century CE to the end of sixth century CE, a large number of disyllabic and polysyllabic words appeared and used and these words were mainly created by Buddhists.

Liang Xiaohong 梁曉虹 who has made a study of the Buddhist vocabulary says that there was a huge increase of disyllabic words from Han dynasty to Southern and Northern dynasties and this was mainly brought by Buddhist translations. She gives the following as example: there are only 2300 disyllabic words amongst the 210,000 words of Wang Chong's *Lunheng* 《論衡》 written in Eastern Han dynasty (25-220). But there are 1541 disyllabic words amongst 61,000 words of Liu Yiqing's 劉義慶 (403-443) *Shisui Xingyu* 《世 · 新語》 (New Account of the Tale of the World) of Southern dynasty.<sup>6</sup> She also gives the following example to show that there are more disyllabic words in Buddhist scriptures than in non-Buddhist texts. 1500 disyllabic words are found in the chapter three "Simile and Parable" of Kumārajīva's translation of the *Lotus Sutra* 《法華經 · 譬喻品》, which contains 7750 words. There are 250 more disyllabic words amongst 1400 more words of the chapter on "Maitreya's Miracles" of the *Bodhisattova Buddhānussmānti Samādhi Sūtra* 《菩薩念佛三昧經 · 彌勒神通品》 translated by Gunaśāra in Southern dynasty. However, there are only 60 more disyllabic words amongst also 1400 more words of chapter on Politics of Liu Yiqing's *Shisui Xingyu* 《世 · 新語 · 政事篇》.

Apart from these, Buddhist translators also introduced polysyllabic words such as *pú ti xīn* 菩提心 the mind of enlightenment, *gōng dé shuǐ* 功德水 meritorious water, *zhèng sī wéi* 正思維 right thought, *pō luó mì duō* 波羅蜜多 *pāramitā* means perfection, *fēi xiǎng fēi fēi xiǎng* 非想非非想 neither thought nor non-thought.

In ancient Chinese language, there were few polysyllabic words. So the introduction of polysyllabic words made a huge change in Chinese language. All

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<sup>6</sup> Liang Xiaohong (1994: 175).

these show that the Buddhist translators created not only variety of words for Chinese language but also the ways and methods to create new words by careful synthesis and analysis of the characteristics of Buddhist vocabulary. This makes Chinese language a powerful tool to express complex abstract ideas and thoughts, as well as the finest details of things.

Thus, according to Kuiji 窥基 (632-682), a Buddhist monk who lived in the seventh century, the Buddhist translators even introduced the Sanskrit way of explaining words called “liu li han shi” 六離合釋 (sat-samāsāh) which means six ways of explaining a word through first explaining each word individually and then followed by explanation of the meaning when they are combined. Today these Buddhist created words are used in our daily life without their Buddhist traces.

#### **4. The Invention of *Qieyun* 切韻 and the Summary of the Four Tones 四聲**

Buddhist scriptures were translated from texts written either in Sanskrit or other Indic languages which are all phonogram languages. However the Chinese is not a phonogram but a logogram language 象形文字. The phonogram refers to the written symbols which carry the phonetic information, whereas the logograms are those meaning-laden written symbols.

Chinese Buddhist translators learnt and some even mastered these phonogram languages in order to help in translation. This in turn promoted the awareness and understanding of phonetic sounds in Chinese language which is an important step in the development of Chinese language. The Song scholar Zheng Jiao 鄭樵 (1104-1162) said, “The Indians excel in sound so they acquire their knowledge mainly from hearing ... while the Chinese excel in characters so they acquire their knowledge from seeing (reading).”<sup>7</sup>

Some scholars are of the opinion that the creation of *qieyun* 切韻, a way to get the phonetic sound of a Chinese character, and the formation of the theory of the four tones 四聲 in Chinese language are closely related to or even directly

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<sup>7</sup> Zheng Jiao 352.

influenced by Buddhist translation of Sanskrit scripture. Others are of the opinion that Chinese people knew these before the introduction of Buddhism.

Chen Yinke 陳寅恪 (1890-1969) is the first Chinese scholar who said that the four tones in Chinese language were created after the Buddhist monks' recitation of sutras.<sup>8</sup> His arguments are as follows:

(1) The Chinese four tones were created by imitating the three tones of Buddhist recitation of sūtras at the time, which were from the three tones of Vedas in ancient India. (2) The Chinese four tones were created in Yongming's 元明 era (489) because King Xiao Ziliang 蕭子良 (460-494) invited many Buddhist monks who were well acquainted with Buddhist recitation to assemble at his home in order to create new Buddhist music (經唄).<sup>9</sup> (3) There were many Buddhist monks from Central Asia who lived in Jiankang (Today Nanjing) and were learned in Buddhist recitation.

However, other scholars such as Yu Min 于敏 who wrote papers in 1984 questioned it with a support of Buddhist Vinaya rule that the Buddha prohibited monks from using heretic (Brahmin) way of reciting the Buddhist sutras.<sup>10</sup> However, he agreed that Chinese people became aware and understood the four tones in our language because of the Buddhist study of phonetic sound.

Jao Tsung-I 饒宗頤 wrote a paper in 1987 and he also questions Chen Yinke's ideas, but his questions are mainly concerned with the three tones. Professor Jao argues that (1) there are more than three tones in Vedas and the ways of Veda recitation had long been lost before the sixth century CE when the Buddhist monks in China discussed the ways of Buddhist recitation. (2) The four tones existed in Liu Song (420-479). (3) Same as Yu Min, Buddhist Vinaya rule prohibited monks to use heretic ways of recitation. (4) As Buddhists used hybrid Sanskrit and the Brahmin ways of recitation, this may have been used in the Buddhist recitation of Buddhist hybrid Sanskrit sutras but the link with Veda recitation is not clear. However, Professor Jao argues that the four tones were

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<sup>8</sup> Chen Yinke (2001: 367-381).

<sup>9</sup> *Nanqi Shu*, Vol. 2, 698. 招致名僧，講語佛法，造經唄新聲。道俗之盛，江左未有也。

<sup>10</sup> Yu Min (1999: 43).

created after the fourteen phonetic sounds introduced in the Buddhist *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra*.<sup>11</sup>

Hirata Shoji 平田昌司 argues against Yao and Yu Min, and says that although Buddhist monks were prohibited to use heretic (Brahmin) way of reciting the Buddhist sutras, this rule was relaxed and Sanskrit, for example, was used by a Buddhist school called Sarvastivada later around the first century BCE, although during the Buddha's time, it was prohibited to use.

Here let me also add more evidence in support of Hirata's argument concerning the Vinaya rules in Buddhism. The Buddha, just before he passed away, said to Ananda, his attendant, "When I am gone, let the monks, if they should so wish, abolish the lesser and minor rules."<sup>12</sup> This idea influenced later Buddhists so much that a special Vinaya was established called "Vinaya According to Locality" which means that the lesser and minor rules can be changed and even abolished according to the location. Yu Min does not know this so his argument is not valid because the rule of not allowing the use of heretic way of chanting was relaxed later and even chanting mantras was also allowed in and after Sixth century when Vajrayāna rose in India.

Aśvaghosa 馬鳴菩薩 (ca. 100 CE), the eminent Indian Buddhist monk scholar, poet and playwright, used both Sanskrit and music to promote Buddhist teachings in the first century.<sup>13</sup> He is considered the father of Sanskrit drama and he also popularized the style of Sanskrit poetry known as *kavya*. This shows that Buddhists already used music or phonetic sound system to promote the Dharma in the first century CE although there is a rule prohibiting monks to attend musical shows. So Mair asserts that

Nevertheless, exposure to the Sanskrit language and Indian linguistics for several centuries made the Chinese more aware of the phonological features of their own language. The first fruit was the invention of the *fanqie* 反切 method of spelling (namely, taking the initial sound of one character and the

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<sup>11</sup> Jao Tsung-I (1993: 79-92).

<sup>12</sup> Dighanikāya ii, 154. Chinese translations of *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra* of the *Dirghāgama* (T1, no.1, 26, a28-29), the *Mahīśāsaka-vinaya* (T22, no.1421, 191, b3-4), the *Mahāsaṅghika-vinaya* (T22, no.1425, 492, b5-6), the *Dharmaguptaka-vinaya* (T22, no. 1428, 967, b12-13), and the *Sarvāstivāda-vinaya* (T23, no. 1435, 449, b13-14).

<sup>13</sup> Khoroché (2004: 35). Warder (2004: 323-4).

final sound of a second character to represent the pronunciation of a third character).<sup>14</sup>

Although the creation or formation of the four tones may not be directly linked to Veda, but Sanskrit influence is quite evident and Sanskrit was introduced in China together with Buddhism. The linguistic study of Sanskrit inspired the Chinese to examine the phonetics in their language. At least, Chinese people became aware of the four tones in their language due to the influence of Sanskrit used in Buddhist scriptures.

Today many Chinese scholars support this idea such as Wang Bangwei 王邦維, a specialist in Sanskrit and Buddhist studies at Beijing University who argues with evidence from historical records that the well known Chinese literati Xie Lingyun 謝靈運 (385-433) was highly involved with the study of the fourteen phonetic symbols in his life time.<sup>15</sup>

*Sui Shu* 《隋書·經籍志》 the History of Sui Dynasty, records this:

Buddhism reached China since the Latter Han dynasty and there came the foreign letters from Xiyu (western region). It can represent all vocal sounds with fourteen letters. It is concise and compendious and is called the Brahman letters. It differs from our characters which are divided into Eight Styles 八體 (of writing) and Six Orders 六文 (of formation).<sup>16</sup>

According to Guanding 灌頂 (561-632), the *Mahāparinivāṇa Sūtra*, translated by Dharmakīema in northwestern part of China, was transmitted to South during the reign of emperor Song Wendi 宋文帝 (424-453 in power) who loved the sutra so much so that he asked Huiguan 慧觀, Huiyan 慧嚴 and Xie Lingyun 謝靈運 to re-edit the scripture.<sup>17</sup> Three of them revised the sutra and divided “the Chapter on Lifespan” into four chapters and “the Chapter on the Nature of Tathagata” into ten chapters in which there is a chapter on Letters (文字品). There are only

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<sup>14</sup> Mair (1991: 392).

<sup>15</sup> Wang Bangwei (1998: 631-646).

<sup>16</sup> *Sui Shu* Vol.4: 947.

<sup>17</sup> CBETA, T38, no. 1765, p. 14, b3-10.

thirteen chapters in the original translation and twenty-five chapters in the revised version which proved true when the existing two versions were checked.

According to Fei Zhangfang who was a contemporary of Guangding, the reason for revising the Dharmakṣema's translation is that the original was a literary translation and the language was not polished well enough for dissemination.<sup>18</sup> This means that Huiguan, Huiyan and Xie Lingyun added the chapter on letters. So Xie Lingyun clearly knew the discussion of letters in the Dharmakṣema's translation of the *Mahāparinivāṇa Sūtra* in which there is a mention of the fourteen phonetic symbols.<sup>19</sup>

According to Huijiao's 慧皎 (497-554) *Gaoseng Zhuan* 《高僧傳》 (Biography of Eminent Monks):

Xie Lingyun of Chen County loved Buddhist studies, especially the comprehension of sounds different from ordinary ones. He consulted Huiri (355-439) concerning the letters in sutras and the different sounds with their variations in meaning and he wrote the *Shisi Yinxun Xu* 《十四音訓序》 (A Study of the Fourteen Phonetic Symbols). He made it clear by listing Chinese and Sanskrit words so that the written characters have their evidence.<sup>20</sup>

Huijiao's *Gaoseng Zhuan* also informs us that Huiri travelled to many kingdoms up to South India and learned various phonetic symbols, literary genres and interpretation. It is clear that Xie Lingyun wrote his *Shisi Yinxun Xu* based on the fourteen phonetic symbols in the *Mahāparinivāṇa Sūtra* after consultation with Huiri. According to Wang Bangwei's study mentioned above, the fourteen phonetic symbols in Xie Lingyun's *Shisi Yinxun Xu* refer to the fourteen vowels of Sanskrit language based on Sarvavarman's *Kātantra*, a Sanskrit grammar book.

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<sup>18</sup> CBETA, T49, no. 2034, p. 89, c27-p. 90, a6.

<sup>19</sup> 《大般涅槃經》卷8 (13 文字品) : 「善男子, 有十四音名為字義。」 (CBETA, T12, no. 375, p. 653, c24).

<sup>20</sup> CBETA, T50, no. 2059, p. 367, b13-17.

As discussed above, it was in such a situation that King Xiao Zilian 蕭子良 invited many Buddhist monks who were well acquainted with Buddhist recitation to assemble in his home in order to create new Buddhist music (經唄).<sup>21</sup>

Shen Yue 沈約 (441-513) and Zhou Yong 周顒 both were Buddhists who were interested in phonetic symbols. Japanese monk Kukai 空海 (774-835) said in his *Bunkyo Hifuron* (Chin: *Wenjing Mifu Lun*) 《文鏡秘府論》, “From the end of [Liu] Song dynasty (420-479) the four tones came into being. Mr Shen wrote an easy to discuss their genealogical table (譜) in which he said that it came from Zhou Yong.”<sup>22</sup> According to *Nanshi* 《南史》, a historical book, Zhou Yong wrote the *Shisheng Qieyun* 《四聲切韻》 (A Study of the Four Tones and Qieyun).<sup>23</sup>

All these evidences show that Buddhist use of Sanskrit directly influenced the creation of *qieyun* 切韻, a way to get the phonetic sound of a word, and the formation of the four tones. It triggered the Chinese interest in linguistic studies. This also indirectly influenced the study and use of rhyme in Chinese poetry.

It was on the *Mahāparinivāṇa Sūtra* and the *Avataṅsaka Sutra* that the late Tang dynasty Buddhist monk Shouwen 守 𠂔 first created the thirty letters with Chinese characters for the study of phonetic symbols and later it was added to thirty-six.<sup>24</sup> Shouwen’s phonetic table was discovered in Dunhuang.

## 5. Compilation of Rhyme Dictionaries

The Chinese interest in the Sanskrit phonetic symbols gave rise to unprecedented interest in linguistic studies, in particular the description and analysis of the phonetic values of Chinese characters. This resulted in the compilation of numerous rhyme dictionaries. Although these dictionaries were mainly compiled for the purpose of reading and studying Buddhist scriptures but they are also valuable for Chinese linguistic and other historical academic studies.

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<sup>21</sup> *Nanqi Shu* Vol.2: 698.

<sup>22</sup> Kukai (1983: 80).

<sup>23</sup> *Nan Shi* Vol.3: 895.

<sup>24</sup> *Cihai: Yuyan Wenzhi*, 44.

In fact, there is a tradition of study of the form, the sound and the meaning of Chinese characters in Chinese history. Chinese Buddhists adopted this tradition and borrowed from non-Buddhist works to compile many rhyme dictionaries. As early as the Northern Qi 北齊 (550-577), a Buddhist monk named Daohui 道慧 compiled a book entitled *Yiqiejing Yin* 《一切經音》 (The Sound of All Scriptures) and later Zhisai 智騫 compiled *Zhongjing Yin* 《眾經音》 (The Sound of All Scriptures). But in Tang dynasty there appeared many important works by eminent Buddhist linguists such as Xuanyin 玄應, Huilin 慧琳 and Fayuan 法雲 in Song dynasty.

Xuanyin was a learned person who was even selected by the emperor as one of the ten leading Buddhist monks who formed the Xuanzang's translation committee. Xuanyin compiled the *Yiqiejing Yinyi* 《一切經音義》 (The Sound and the Meaning of All Scriptures) and explained the difficult Chinese characters in four hundred and fifty six Buddhist texts. According to Daoxuan 道宣 (596-667), Xuanyin was not happy about Daohui's work mentioned above so he compiled his own and quoted from more than a hundred and a dozen Chinese works apart from Buddhist literature.<sup>25</sup> It is a valuable work for modern scholars as his editing and study were of a high quality.

Second, Huilin compiled a work with the same title *Yiqiejing Yinyi* 《一切經音義》 in a hundred fascicles. Huilin was originally from Kashgar and came to China and studied under Amoghavajra. So he was learned in Indian phonetics and Confucian texts. Huilin in his work explained the difficult words in one thousand and three hundred Buddhist texts. Just as Xuanyin, Huilin also quoted more than a hundred Chinese works and some of them are lost already. Most of the linguists in Qing dynasty made Huilin's work as their main source book.

Then in the Song dynasty, Fayuan 法雲 compiled, around 1151, the well known *Fanyi Mingyi Ji* 《翻譯名義集》 (A Collection of Chinese Transliteration of [Sanskrit] Names and Terms). It contains 2040 entries of transliteration of words

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<sup>25</sup> CBETA, T55, no. 2149, p. 283, b22-28.

from Sanskrit with careful explanation of the sources and meaning. The author also quoted more than four hundred non-Buddhist works.

Another important work entitled the *Fanyu Qianzi Wen* 《梵語千字文》 (A thousand Characters of Sanskrit Language) was compiled by Yijing 義淨 (635-713) who travelled to India through the South China Sea during the eighth century. This is a bilingual dictionary. All these Buddhist dictionaries promoted the linguistic study of Chinese language and introduced new light.

## 6. The Use of Vernacular Language

Victoria Mair says,

What Zurcher and Zhu Qinzhi have both shown clearly is that, from the very beginnings of Buddhism in China, the translated texts of this new religion display a higher degree of vernacular content than do non-Buddhist texts. No other texts from the same period can begin to compare with the early Buddhist translations for the large amount of vernacularisms they contain. Indeed, it is extremely rare in non-Buddhist texts of the same age ever to find even a single unambiguously vernacular usage.<sup>26</sup>

Chinese Buddhists are the first people to use vernacular to translate the Buddhist scriptures in China and this influenced the use of vernacular amongst the Chinese. Mair even thinks that later it became the national language of China.<sup>27</sup>

Mair lists six reasons why Buddhism used vernacular and some of his reasons are quite forceful.<sup>28</sup> I think the main reasons for Buddhism to use vernacular are as follows: The first and the most important reason is the Buddha's language policy. Mair points out that the injunction of the Buddha is to transmit his *dharma* (doctrine) throughout the world in the languages of various regions, rather than in the preclassical language of the Vedas as recorded in the Vinaya (rules of discipline governing the community of monks), because the Buddha wanted all people, mostly the ordinary, to learn and understand his teaching. Mair calls it

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<sup>26</sup> Mair (1994: 712).

<sup>27</sup> Mair (2004: 154).

<sup>28</sup> Mair (2001: 30).

the Buddhist egalitarian social values that favor demotic forms of language over elitist, hieratic forms.

It is this sanction of using vernacular language that is reflected in Chinese translation of Buddhist scriptures. According to the preface to the Chinese translation of the *Dharmapada*, when Vighna just came to China in 224, he was invited to translate Buddhist scriptures with his friend Zhu Jiangyan 竺將焰 but the latter had not mastered Chinese yet although he knew Sanskrit well, so the translation was plain and not elegant. But Vighna said, “The Buddha said, ‘Go with the meaning without decoration, take the teaching (Dharma) without ornamentation.’ It is good if the translator makes it easy to understand without losing the meaning.”<sup>29</sup> Thus they translated the Buddhist texts in vernacular language. However, this vernacular is, on one hand, coupled with massive borrowing from Indic words and even grammatical usage and syntactic structures and on the other hand, modified by the Chinese Buddhists who helped in the translations so it became a mixture of vernacular and literary style. Scholars call it Buddhist Hybrid Sinitic or Buddhist Hybrid Chinese.

There are a large number of manuscripts in vernacular language preserved in the Dunhuang cave library which were recovered in the early twentieth century. The entire corpus of vernacular narratives in Dunhuang was referred to as *bianwen* 變文 (transformation texts), which includes *jiangjing wen* 講經文 (sūtra lecture texts, elaborate exegesis of specific scriptures), *yazuo wen* 押座文 (seat-settling texts, prologues for the sūtra lecture texts), 因 起 *yinyuan* (circumstances, stories illustrating karmic consequences), and 起 *yuanqi* (causal origins, tales illustrating the effects of karma), etc.

The nature of this collection of literatures shows that they were used for public lectures, preachings, tale illustration of Buddhist teachings and even dramas. As they used vernacular, so they were easy to understand and thus it became the best tool for the spread of the Buddhist teaching.

The second major reason for the use of vernacular language is the Chan school’s philosophy of not dependence upon words and letters, but a special transmission outside the scriptures. Thus the Chan masters transmitted their teaching by word of mouth such as relating enlightening stories called *Gongan* 公案. However,

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<sup>29</sup> CBETA, T04, no. 210, p. 566, c4-22.

later, the disciples collected the stories and speeches of their masters and compiled into books called *yulu* 語 (Record of Sayings). As the Chan masters used dialects and even colloquial to instruct their disciples, so vernacular language is used in the *Yulun* to record their masters' speeches as they were.

The use of vernacular language in Buddhist literatures was widened in Song dynasty as there are a large number of collections preserved. There are two kinds of such collections: "Denglu" 燈 which means the "Record of Lamp" and "Yulu" 語 which means the "Record of Sayings." The representative work of "Record of Lamp" in Song dynasty is the *Jingde Record of the Transmission of the Lamp* 《景德傳燈》 composed by Daoyuan 道原 during the Jingde 景德 era (1004-1007). The representative of the "Record of Sayings" is the *Blue Cliff Record* 《碧岩》 compiled by Keqing 克勤 (1069-1135) who wrote short introductions to each story and even added notes and comments to some important stories.

Buddhist use of vernacular language in the "Record of Sayings" influenced Confucians in the Song dynasty so much so that they also used vernacular with the same literary style. Jiang Fan 江藩 (1761-1831), a scholar of the Qing dynasty has said, "Chan School had *Yulu* and Song Confucians also had *Yulu*; Chan School used vernacular language (Lit: street language) in their *Yulun* and Song Confucians also used vernacular language in their *Yulu*."<sup>30</sup> Again Qian Daxi 錢大昕 (1728-1804) said, "The Buddhist use of *Yulu* started from Tang dynasty while Confucian use of *Yulun* started from Song dynasty."<sup>31</sup> Just as Mair says, "Thus, with the Buddhist sanctioning of the written vernacular, a sequence of revolutionary developments occurred that radically transformed Chinese literature for all time. Moreover, hand in hand with vernacularization came other Buddhist-inspired developments in Chinese literature." So we find the Record of Sayings of Song Neo-Confucian Chen Yi 程頤 (1033-1107), Zhang Jiuchen 張九成 (1092-1159), and Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130-1200).

However, "the mainstream Confucian literati never accepted anything other than Literary Sinitic as a legitimate medium for writing. To them the vernacular was crude and vulgar, beneath the dignity of a gentleman to contemplate," as pointed

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<sup>30</sup> Jiang Fan (1983: 190).

<sup>31</sup> Qian Daxi (1997: 488).

by Mair.<sup>32</sup> But ordinary people paid no heed to this opinion and proceeded to use vernacular for dramas, stories, on the foundations that had been laid by the Buddhists of medieval China. It was after the May Fourth Movement in 1919 that literati Chinese started to use vernacular in their writings and hence became the national language. So Mair asserts that “it is safe to say that Buddhism legitimized the writing of the vernacular language in China.”<sup>33</sup>

Even the development of the Korean national language and Japanese national language has been influenced by Buddhism as Mair demonstrated in his study “Buddhism and the Rise of the Written Vernacular in East Asia: The Making of National Languages.”

In conclusion, the Buddhist impact on Chinese language forms an enormous range from vocabulary to phonetics, such as the four tones and *Qieyun*, and even the use of vernacular. The Sanskrit phonetic studies triggered the Chinese people’s interest in linguistic studies and eventually led Chinese people to invent tonal prosody as pointed by Mair, and to compile many rhyme dictionaries. Thus it gave rise to the recent style prosody which occupied a special position among Chinese verse forms.

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<sup>32</sup> Mair (2004: 156).

<sup>33</sup> Mair (2004: 157).

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# 18

## Sources for the Yogācāra Critiques of the Two Truths

Zhihua Yao

In a recent study, I discuss Yogācāra critiques of the two truths on the basis of the *Yogācārabhūmi* and related sources.<sup>i</sup> As a by-product of this study, the current paper presents the Sanskrit, Chinese and Tibetan editions and my English translation of some main passages that I discussed in my earlier study. I will supply some annotations, which reveal the subtlety and difficulty of reading and understanding classical Buddhist philosophical texts.

### 1) *Yogācārabhūmi* (The *Tattvārthapañāla* section of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*)

Sanskrit edition from Takahashi 2005<sup>ii</sup>

5.3.4 ato ya ekatyā durvijñeyān sūtrāntān<sup>iii</sup> mahā (N21b1) yānapratīsaṅyuktā<sup>iv</sup> gambhīrā<sup>v</sup> śūnyatāpratīsaṅyuktān<sup>vi</sup> ābhiprāyikārthanirūpitā<sup>vii</sup> śrutvā<sup>viii</sup> yathābhūtaṅ bhāṅitasyārtham avijñāyāyoniśo<sup>ix</sup> vikalpayitvāyogavihitena<sup>x</sup> tarkamātrakeṅaiva<sup>xi</sup> dṅṅṅayo bhavanty evaṅvādinaṅ<sup>xii</sup> prajñaptimātram eva sarvam<sup>(10)etac ca<sup>xiii</sup> tattvaṅ yaś caivaṅ paśyati sa samyak paśyatīti<sup>xiii</sup> teṅāṅ</sup>

<sup>i</sup> Zhihua Yao. (Forthcoming). *Yogācāra Critiques of the Two Truths*.

<sup>ii</sup> Takahashi Koichi 高橋晃一. (2005). *Bosatsuji shinjitsugibon kara sho-ketchakubun chu bosatsuji eno shiso tenkai: Vastu gainen o chu-shin to shite* 『菩薩地』 「真実義品」 から 「撰決撰分中菩薩地」 への思想展開: vastu概念を中心として. To-kyo: Sankibo Busshorin.

<sup>iii</sup> durvijñeyān sūtrāntān NKR; durvijñeyānā sūtrāntānā C.

(C=Mss from Cambridge, K=Mss from Kyoto University, R=Mss of R. Sākyāyana, N=Mss from Nepal, W=Wogihara ed.)

<sup>iv</sup> -ṅ C; -n NKR

<sup>v</sup> -ṅ C; -n NKR

<sup>vi</sup> śū- NKR; cchū- C

<sup>vii</sup> -ṅ C; -n NKR

<sup>viii</sup> śrutvā NKR; cchrutvā C

<sup>ix</sup> avijñāyā- NKR; anabhijñāyā- C

<sup>x</sup> vikalpayitvāyogavihitena; vikalpayitvā ayogavihitena NKR; vikalpyāyogavihitena C

<sup>xi</sup> evaṅvādinaṅ C; evamvādinaṅ NK; evaṅvādinaṅ / R

<sup>xii</sup> etac ca NKR; etat C

<sup>xiii</sup> // K; / NR; om. C

prajñāptyadhi□□hānasya vastumātrasyābhāvāt saiva prajñāpti□<sup>1</sup> sarve□a sarva□<sup>2</sup> na bhavati//<sup>3</sup> kuta□ puna□ prajñāptimātra□<sup>4</sup> tattva□ bhavi□yati<sup>5</sup>//<sup>6</sup> tad anena paryāye□a tais (18)tattvam api prajñāptir<sup>7</sup>) api tadubhayam apodita□<sup>8</sup> bhavati//<sup>9</sup> prajñāptitattvāpavādāc ca pradhā (C21b1) no nāstiko veditavya□//<sup>10</sup>

5.3.5 sa evan<sup>11</sup> nāstika□ sann akathyo<sup>12</sup> bhavaty asa□vāsyo bhavati<sup>13</sup> vijñānā□<sup>14</sup> sabrahmacāri□ām//<sup>15</sup> sa ātmānam api vipādayati<sup>16</sup>/<sup>17</sup> (29)lokam api yo 'sya d□□□yanumatam āpadyate<sup>18</sup>//<sup>19</sup> (Takahashi 2005: 99-100)

*Chinese translation by Xuanzang, CBETA, T30, no. 1579<sup>20</sup>*

《瑜伽師地論》[4 真實義品]卷36：「如有一類，聞 ▪ 難解大乘相應空性相應未極顯了密意趣義甚深經典，不能如實解所 ▪ 義，起不如理 ▪ 妄分別，由不巧便所引尋思，起如是見，立如是論：一切唯假，是為真實；若作是觀，名為正觀。彼於 ▪ 假所依處、所實有唯事、撥為非有，是則一切 ▪ 假皆無，何當得有一切唯假、是為真實？由此道理，彼於真實及以 ▪ 假、二種 ▪ 謗都無所有。由謗真實及 ▪ 假故，當知是名最極無者。

如是無者一切有智同梵行者，不應共語，不應共住。如是無者，能自敗壞，亦壞世間隨彼見者。」(XBETA, T30, vo.1579 π. 488, β28-χ10)

<sup>1</sup> -□ NKC; -□/ R

<sup>2</sup> sarva□ KRC; sarvan N

<sup>3</sup> //; / R; om. NKC

<sup>4</sup> -□ RC; -n NK

<sup>5</sup> -ti NKC; -titi R

<sup>6</sup> // K; / NR; om. C

<sup>7</sup> tattvam api prajñāptir NC; tatva□ api prajñāptir K; tattva□ prajñāptir R

<sup>8</sup> apodita□ NKR; apy āpādita□ C; cf. W: apy apavādita□

<sup>9</sup> // K; / NR; om. C

<sup>10</sup> // K; / NR; om. C

<sup>11</sup> -n NK; -□ RC

<sup>12</sup> akathyo NRC; akatho K

<sup>13</sup> bhavati NK; bhavati/ R; om. C

<sup>14</sup> -□ NKC; -□/ R

<sup>15</sup> // K; / NR; om. C

<sup>16</sup> vipādayati NKR; visa□pādayati C

<sup>17</sup> / NR; // K; om. C

<sup>18</sup> lokam api yo sya d□□□yanumatam āpadyate NKRC; cf.W: loko 'pi yo 'sya d□□□yanumatam āpadyate.

<sup>19</sup> // K; / N; om. C; illegible R

<sup>20</sup> All the Chinese texts are my punctuation.

Tibetan translation, Derge 4037; Peking 5538

de bas na gang dag kha cig shes par dka' ba'i mdo sde theg pa chen po dang ldan pa zab mo stong pa nyid dang ldan pa/ dgongs pa'i don bstan pa dag thos na bshad pa'i don yang dag pa ji lta ba bzhin du ma shes na/ tshul bzhin ma yin pa rnam par brtags te/ rigs pa ma yin pas bskyed pa'i rtog ge<sup>21</sup> tsam gyis 'di thams cad ni btags pa tsam du zad de/ 'di ni de kho na yin no// su 'di lta ba de ni yang dag par lta ba yin no zhes de lta ba zhing de skad smra'o/ de dag gi lta na 'dogs pa'i gzhi'i<sup>22</sup> dngos po tsam yang med pas/ 'dogs pa de nyid kyang thams cad kyi thams cad du med par 'gyur na/ btags pa<sup>23</sup> tsam gyi<sup>24</sup> de kho na lta yod par ga la 'gyur te/ de bas na rnam grangs des na de dag gis ni de kho na dang<sup>25</sup> btags pa de gnyi ga la yang skur ba btab par 'gyur te/ btags pa dang/ de kho na la skur ba btab pas na/ med par lta ba'i gtso bo yin par rig par bya'o//

de lta med par lta ba de<sup>26</sup> ni tshangs pa mtshungs par spyod pa mdzangs pa rnams kyis smos pa'i 'os ma yin pa dang/ 'grog par mi bya ba yin te/ de ni bdag nyid kyang phung<sup>27</sup> bar byed la/ 'jig rten gang de'i lta ba la phyogs pa yang phung<sup>28</sup> bar byed do// (D4037: wi26a2-6; P5538: zhi31a1-6)

English translation

Therefore, when some people hear the difficult and profound Mahāyāna sūtras that deal with emptiness and are considered to convey a meaning that needs to be interpreted, they do not discern the correct meaning of that which is spoken [in the sūtras]. They develop false concepts, and with mere logic (*tarka*) that is unreasonably performed, they come to have the following view and make the following statement: “All is nothing but a designation (*prajñāpti*) and that is the reality. Whoever sees it this way, sees correctly.” For these people there is no real thing itself (*vastumātra*) to serve as the basis of designation. This means that there

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<sup>21</sup> rtog ge D; rtogs pa P

<sup>22</sup> gzhi'i D; gzhi P

<sup>23</sup> btags pa D; btags P

<sup>24</sup> gyi D; gyis P

<sup>25</sup> dang D; dang/ P

<sup>26</sup> lta ba de D; om. P

<sup>27</sup> phung D; 'phung P

<sup>28</sup> phung D; 'phung P

cannot be any designation at all. Moreover, how can reality be nothing but a designation? In this way, they come to deny (*apodita*)<sup>29</sup> both designation and reality. Someone who denigrates (*apavāda*) designation and reality should be known as the worst kind of nihilist (*nāstika*).

Since he is a nihilist, those who are wise and practice a religious life should not speak or share living community with him. He causes himself to fall, and people who follow his views to fall as well.

## 2) *Yogācārabhūmi* (The *Tattoārthapañāla* section of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*)

*Sanskrit edition from Takahashi 2005*

5.4.1 ... yena hi śūnya<sup>30</sup> (40)tadasadbhāvāt<sup>31</sup> yac ca śūnya<sup>32</sup> tatsadbhāvāc<sup>33</sup> chūnyatā<sup>34</sup> yujyeta<sup>35</sup>//<sup>36</sup> (K31b1) sarvābhāvāc ca kutra<sup>37</sup> ki kenā śūnya bhaviyati<sup>38</sup>//<sup>39</sup> na ca tena tasyaiva śūnyatā yujyate<sup>40</sup>//<sup>39</sup> tasmād eva durgāhītā śūnyatā bhavati<sup>40</sup>//

5.4.2 katha<sup>41</sup> ca puna sugāhītā śūnyatā<sup>42</sup> bhavati<sup>43</sup>//<sup>43</sup> yataś ca yad yatra na<sup>44</sup> bhavati tat tena śūnyam iti samanupaśyati<sup>44</sup> yat punar<sup>45</sup> atrāvaśi<sup>46</sup> a<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> The Chinese translation of *bang* 謗 and the Tibetan translation of *skur ba btab pa* support the alternative reading of *apavādita* suggested by Wogihara and Dutt editions of the text.

<sup>30</sup> - C; -n NK; illegible R

<sup>31</sup> tadasadbhāvād NKC; illegible R

<sup>32</sup> - C; -n NK; illegible R

<sup>33</sup> -c C; -t NK; illegible R

<sup>34</sup> chūnyatā C; śūnyatā NK; illegible R

<sup>35</sup> yujyeta N; yujyaita K; yujyete C; illegible R

<sup>36</sup> // K; / N; om. C; illegible R

<sup>37</sup> kutra C; kuta NK; illegible R

<sup>38</sup> // K; / N; om. C; illegible R

<sup>39</sup> // K; / N; om. C; illegible R

<sup>40</sup> // K; / N; om. C; illegible R

<sup>41</sup> - C; -ñ NK; illegible R

<sup>42</sup> śūnyatā C; om. NK; illegible R

<sup>43</sup> // K; / N; om. C; illegible R

<sup>44</sup> / RC

<sup>45</sup> bhava+++++++++++r N; bhava=====yat punar K; illegible R

<sup>46</sup> atrāvaśi a NC; anyavaśi a K; illegible R

bhavati tat sad ihāstīti yathābhūta □ prajānāti / /<sup>47</sup> iyam ucyate śūnyatāvakrāntir<sup>48</sup>  
yathābhūta aviparītā / /<sup>49</sup> (Takahashi 2005: 101)

*Chinese translation by Xuanzang, CBETA, T30, no. 1579*

《瑜伽師地論》[4 真實義品]卷36：「由彼故空，彼實是無；於此而空，此實是有。由此道理，可為空。若一切都無所有，何處、何者、何故名空？亦不應言由此、於此即為空。是故名為惡取空者。

云何復名善取空者？謂由於此彼無所有、即由彼故正觀為空；復由於此餘實是有、即由餘故如實知有。如是名為悟入空性如實無倒。」(CBETA, T30, no.1579 p. 488, c24~ p. 489, a02)

*Tibetan translation, Derge 4037; Peking 5538*

gang gis stong pa de med pa dang/ gang stong pa de yod pa'i stong pa nyid ni  
rigs pa'i phyir ro// thams cad med na ni gang du ci zhig gang gis stong par  
'gyur te/ des na de nyid stong pa nyid du 'gyur du ni mi rung ngo// de bas na  
de lta bu ni stong pa nyid la log par zin pa yin no//

ji ltar na stong pa nyid la legs<sup>50</sup> par zin pa yin zhe na/ gang gi<sup>51</sup> phyir gang la  
gang med pa de ni des stong par yang dag par mthong la/ 'di la lhag ma gang  
yin pa de ni 'di ni<sup>52</sup> yang dag par yod do zhes yang dag pa ji lta ba bzhin du rab  
tu shes pa de ni stong pa nyid la yang dag pa ji lta ba bzhin du phyin ci ma log  
par zhugs pa zhes bya ste/ (D4037: wi26b4-6; P5538: zhi31b5-8)

*English translation*

[This (x)] is empty of that (y), because that (y) does not exist. And this (x) is empty, because this (x) does exist.<sup>53</sup> In this way, emptiness is justified. If everything does not exist, what is empty? Where is it empty? What is it empty

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<sup>47</sup> // K; / NR; om. C

<sup>48</sup> -ntir NK; -nti C; illegible R

<sup>49</sup> // K; / NR; om. C

<sup>50</sup> log D; legs P

<sup>51</sup> gi D; gis P

<sup>52</sup> ni D; na P

<sup>53</sup> See Willis's (1979: 162) translation: "One thing is empty of another because of that [other's] absence and because of the presence of the void thing itself."

of? And emptiness is not justified to mean this (*x*) itself (*eva*) is empty of this (*x*) [itself]. Hence, this is the bad understanding of emptiness.

What, then, is the good understanding of emptiness?<sup>54</sup> One rightly observes that if something (*y*) does not exist in whatever place (*x*), this [place] (*x*) is empty of that [thing] (*y*). Moreover, one knows in accordance with reality that whatever remains in this place (*x*) [except for that thing (*y*)] still exists, and it is something that exists in this place (*x*). This is called the unmistaken understanding (*avakrānti*) of emptiness, which is in accordance with reality.<sup>55</sup>

### 3) *Yogācārabhūmi* (*Viniścayasaṅgrahanī* section)

Chinese translation by Xuanzang, CBETA, T30, no. 1579

《瑜伽師地論》卷75：「復次於大乘中，或有一類，惡取空故，作如是言：由世俗故，一切皆有；由勝義故，一切皆無。

應告彼言：長老！何者世俗？何者勝義？

如是問已，彼若答言：若一切法皆無自性，是名勝義；若於諸法無自性中，自性可得，是名世俗。何以故？無所有中建立世俗、假設、名言而起說故。

應告彼曰：汝何所欲？名言、世俗為從因有，自性可得？為唯名言、世俗說有？若名言、世俗從因有者，名言、世俗從因而生，而非是有，不應道理。若唯名言、世俗說有，名言、世俗無事而有，不應道理。

又應告言：長老！何緣諸可得者，此無自性？

如是問已，彼若答言：顛倒事故。

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<sup>54</sup> The Derge edition of the Tibetan translation reads “*stong pa nyid la log par zin pa*” (= *durg*ṅ *hītā śūnyatā*), and should be corrected by the Peking edition, which reads “*stong pa nyid la legs par zin pa*” (= *sug*ṅ *hītā śūnyatā*).

<sup>55</sup> This definition of the good understanding of emptiness is a direct quotation from the *Cūṅasuññata-sutta*, *Majjhima-Nikāya* III.104: “*Iti yaṅ hi kho tattha na hoti, tena taṅ suññāṅ samanupassati, yaṅ pana tattha avasiṅṅhaṅ hoti, Taṅ santaṅ idaṅ atthīti pajānāti.*” The translation by Bhikkhu Ñāṅamoli and Bhikkhu Bodhi (1995: 966ff) reads: “Thus he regards it as void of what is not there, but as to what remains there he understands that which is present thus: ‘This is present.’”

復應告言：汝何所欲？此顛倒事，為有？為無？若言有者，說一切法、由勝義故、皆無自性，不應道理；若言無者，顛倒事故、諸可得者、此無自性，不應道理。□  
(CBETA, T30, no. 1579, p. 713, b2-18)

*Tibetan translation, Derge 4038; Peking 5539*

theg pa chen po pa la la rang gi nyes ba gzung<sup>56</sup> nas 'di skad ces kun rdzob tu ni thams cad yod la/<sup>57</sup> don dam par ni thams cad med do zhes zer ro//

de la 'di skad ces<sup>58</sup> tshe dang ldan pa don dam pa ni gang yin/ kun rdzob ni gang yin zhes brjod par bya'o//

de skad ces<sup>59</sup> dris pa na/ gal te de 'di skad ces chos thams cad kyi ngo bo nyid med pa<sup>60</sup> gang yin pa de ni don dam pa yin la/ ngo bo nyid med pa'i chos de dag la ngo bo nyid du dmigs pa gang yin pa de ni kun rdzob yin no/ /de ci'i phyir zhe na/ 'di ltar de ni yod pa ma yin pa dag la kun rdzob tu byed pa dang/ 'dogs pa dang/<sup>61</sup> mngon par brjod pa dang/<sup>62</sup> tha snyad du byed pa'i phyir ro zhes lan 'debs par gyur na/<sup>63</sup> de la 'di skad ces brjod par bya'o//

ci ngo<sup>64</sup> bo nyid du dmigs pa de mngon par brjod pa dang kun rdzob kyi rgyu las byung ba yin par 'dod dam/ 'on te mngon par brjod pa dang/ kun rdzob tsam zhig yin par 'dod/ gal te mngon par brjod pa dang/<sup>65</sup> kun rdzob kyi rgyu las byung ba yin na ni des na<sup>66</sup> mngon par brjod pa dang/<sup>67</sup> kun rdzob kyi rgyu las

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<sup>56</sup> nye bar bzung D; nyes pa gzung P

<sup>57</sup> la/ D; la P

<sup>58</sup> ces D; ces/ P

<sup>59</sup> skad ces D; skad P

<sup>60</sup> med pa D; med pa nyid P

<sup>61</sup> dang/ D; dang P

<sup>62</sup> dang/ D; dang P

<sup>63</sup> na/ D; na P

<sup>64</sup> ci ngo D; ngo P

<sup>65</sup> dang/ D; dang P

<sup>66</sup> des na D; de nas P

byung ba yin pas yod pa ma yin pa zhes byar mi rung ngo// gal te mngon par  
brjod pa dang/ kun rdzob tsam zhig yin na ni des na gzhi med par mngon par  
brjod pa dang/ kun rdzob ces byar mi rung ngo//

de la 'di skad ces tshe dang ldan pa ci'i phyir na gang dmigs pa de med pa yin  
zhes kyang brjod par bya'o//

de skad dris pa na/ gal te de<sup>68</sup> 'di skad ces phyin ci log gi dngos po yin pa'i phyir  
ro zhes lan 'debs par gyur na/

de la 'di skad ces brjod par bya ste/ ci phyin ci log de yod par 'dod dam 'on te  
med par 'dod/ gal te yod na ni des na chos thams cad kyi ngo bo nyid med pa  
nyid ni don dam pa'o zhes byar mi rung ngo// gal te med na ni des na phyin ci  
log gi dngos po yin pa'i phyir gang dmigs pa de ngo bo nyid med do zhes byar  
mi rung ngo// (D4038: zi42b5-43a4; P5539: 'i46a7-46b7)

*English translation*

Some nihilists among the Mahāyāna<sup>69</sup> hold that [seen] from the [standpoint of  
the] conventional [truth], all things exist; [seen] from the [standpoint of the]  
ultimate [truth], nothing exists.<sup>70</sup>

Then we should ask them: “The Venerables, what is the conventional [truth]?  
And what is the ultimate [truth]?”

They would answer: “The fact that all *dharmas* are devoid of intrinsic nature  
(*svabhāva*) is called the ultimate [truth]. The fact that intrinsic nature can be  
apprehended within the *dharmas* that are devoid of intrinsic nature is called the

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<sup>67</sup> dang/ D; dang P

<sup>68</sup> te de D; te P

<sup>69</sup> Literally, those among the Mahāyāna who understand emptiness badly (*e qu kong* 惡取空, *durgāhītā śūnyatā*, *stong pa nyid la log par zin pa*). The Tibetan translation reads differently as “*theg pa chen po pa la la rang gi nyes pa gzung nas*” (Peking) or “*theg pa chen po pa la la rang gi nye bar bzung nas*” (Derge). Both terms suggest a meaning similar to Paramārtha’s rendering of “some Mahāyānists who are attached to [their own] wrong views” (大乘中學有偏執者) in his translation of the same passage in the \**Buddhadhātusāstra* (*Fo xing lun* 佛性論) (See Text 4).

<sup>70</sup> The interpolation of “truth” is supported by Paramārtha’s renderings of “conventional truth” (*su di* 俗諦) and “ultimate truth” (*zhen di* 真諦) (See Text 4).

conventional [truth].<sup>71</sup> Why? Because conventions (*shisu* 世俗, *kun rdzob*, \**sa□v□ti*), designation (*jiashē* 假設, 'dogs pa, \**prajñāpti*), linguistic expressions (*mingyan* 名言, *mngon par brjod pa*, \**abhilāpa*) and verbal conventions (*shuo* 說, *tha snyad*, \**vyavahāra*) are imposed on nonexistents.<sup>72</sup>

We should tell them: “Do you intend to say that linguistic expressions and conventions arise from a causal relation and intrinsic nature can be apprehended therein, or that they are merely linguistic expressions and conventions? If linguistic expressions and conventions arise from a causal relation, then it is unreasonable to regard [such] linguistic expressions and conventions, which arise from a causal relation, to be nonexistents. If they are merely linguistic expressions and conventions, then it is unreasonable that linguistic expressions and conventions exist without a real thing (*vastu*) [as their basis (*gzhi*)].”<sup>73</sup>

Again we should ask them: “The Venerables, why is it that knowables (*zhu kede zhe* 諸可得者, *gang dmigs pa*) are devoid of intrinsic nature?”<sup>74</sup>

Thus we have asked, they would answer: “Because of the perverted view of real things (*vastu*).”

We should again tell them: “Do you intend to say that this perversion (*phyin ci log*)<sup>75</sup> is existent, or that it is nonexistent? If the perversion is existent, then it is unreasonable to say that all *dharmas* are devoid of intrinsic nature in the sense of the ultimate [truth]. If the perversion is nonexistent, then it is unreasonable [to say] that because of the perverted view of real things these knowables are devoid of intrinsic nature.”

#### 4) \**Buddhadhātuśāstra* (Fo xing lun 佛性論)

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<sup>71</sup> Paramārtha renders “the conventional truth” (*su di* 俗諦) (See Text 4), while the Tibetan translation reads “*kun rdzob*” (conventions).

<sup>72</sup> To make sense Xuanzang’s translation, I have followed the Tibetan translation, which reads: “‘*di ltar de ni yod pa ma yin pa dag la kun rdzob tu byed pa dang/ 'dogs pa dang/ mngon par brjod pa dang/ tha snyad du byed pa'i phiyir ro.*”

<sup>73</sup> The Tibetan translation reads alternatively: “without [a real thing as] their basis” (*gzhi med par*).

<sup>74</sup> The Tibetan translation omits “of intrinsic nature.”

<sup>75</sup> Xuanzang’s translation reads: “this perverted view of real things.” The simpler “this perversion” is supported by the Tibetan translation and Paramārtha’s rendering (See Text 4).

[Quotation of the entire passage from the *Viniścayasa*□*grahanī*:

復次為破大乘中學有偏執者應知，若汝<sup>76</sup>：一切有皆由俗諦，一切無皆由真諦，應作此問：善友，何者是真實？何者是俗諦？

答曰：一切諸法無有自性，是為真實。於無自性法中，<sup>77</sup>有自性，是名俗諦，以於無中假<sup>78</sup>有故。

問曰：是執無有自性，為當依世俗言故有？為當唯是語言？若依世俗言有此執者，此執<sup>79</sup>則不可<sup>80</sup>。何以故？執是無故。若此執唯是語言，則無所詮，世俗語言不成就故。若不成就是世俗者，是義不然。又若汝謂於無自性中，執有自性，是名為俗。若執有者，云何是無？

答曰：為顛倒品類故，故無中<sup>81</sup>有，乃至於無常樂我等諸法，<sup>82</sup>言皆有常等諸德<sup>83</sup>，其體實無，但假<sup>84</sup>有。如此執者，為四倒攝。是故雖執是有，而得是無。

問曰：如此顛倒，為有？為無？若是有者，一切諸法無有自性，是義不然。若是無者，此執顛倒亦不得成。若無性中，執有自性，為俗諦者，是義不然<sup>85</sup>。]

何以故？二諦不可<sup>86</sup>有，不可<sup>87</sup>無，非有非無故。真諦不可<sup>88</sup>有，不可<sup>89</sup>無者，無人法故，不可<sup>90</sup>有；顯二空故，不可<sup>91</sup>無。俗諦亦爾，分別性故，不可<sup>92</sup>有；依他性故，不可<sup>93</sup>無。復次真諦不定有無，人法無、不<sup>94</sup>無，二空有、不有。俗諦亦爾，分別性故，非決定無；依他性故，非決定有。(CBETA, T31, no. 1610, p. 793, c8-p. 794, a2)

### English translation

[Quotation of the entire passage from the *Viniścayasa*□*grahanī* skipped]

Why [does the text give the above criticism of the two truths]? We cannot say that the two truths exist or do not exist, because they are neither existence nor nonexistence. As for the fact that we cannot say that the ultimate truth exists or does not exist: 1) we cannot say that [the ultimate truth] exists, because there is no persons or *dharmas*; [but] 2) we cannot say that [the ultimate truth] does not exist, because of the demonstration of the emptiness of the two [i.e., persons and

<sup>76</sup> [此執] —【宋】【元】【明】【宮】

<sup>77</sup> 德=法【宮】

<sup>78</sup> 然=成【宋】【元】【明】【宮】

<sup>79</sup> 不=一【明】

*dharmas*]. The same is true of the conventional truth. Because of its imagined nature, we cannot say that [the conventional truth] exists. Because of its dependent nature, we cannot say that it does not exist. Moreover, the ultimate truth is not definitely existent or nonexistent. Persons and *dharmas* do not exist, and yet they are not nonexistent. The emptiness of the two [i.e., persons and *dharmas*] exists, and yet it is nonexistent. The conventional truth is likewise. It is not definitely nonexistent because of its imagined nature. Nor is it definitely existent because of its dependent nature.

5) \**Madhyamkānusāra* (*Shun zhong lun* 順中論)

Chinese translation by Bodhiruci, CBETA, T30, no. 1565

《順中論》卷2：「答曰：何法無滅？何法無生？」

問曰：第一義諦。

答曰：若如是者，有二種諦。所謂世諦、第一義諦。若有二諦，汝朋則成。

問曰：若異世諦，有第一義諦，成我朋分，為有何過？如說偈言：

如來說法時	依二諦而說
謂一是世諦	二第一義諦
若不知此理	二諦兩種實
彼於佛深法	則不知實諦

答曰：汝快善說。我說亦爾，依於二諦如來說法。依二諦說，說法真如，不破不二。若其二者，異第一義法真如，別有世諦法真如。一法真如尚不可得，何處當有二法真如而可得也？若說二諦，此如是說：不異世諦，而更別有第一義諦，以一相故，謂無相故。此如是義，師偈說言：

若人不知此	二諦之義者
彼於佛深法	則不知真實

問曰：此云何諦？

答曰：若此不破。

問曰：此之二諦，何物不破？

答曰：一相，所謂無相、無自體，如本性空，如此則是諦。如有偈中說諦相言：

二種法皆無 戲論不戲論

不分別不異 此義是諦相

若如此偈，云何如來依二諦說？一切如來皆無所依。不依世諦，亦復不依第一義諦。如來說法，心無所依<sup>80</sup>。何用多語？」(CBETA, T30, no. 1565, p. 45, a13-b10)

### English translation

Answer (=the proponent): What *dharma* does not cease? What *dharma* does not arise?

Question (=the opponent): The ultimate truth.

Answer: If this is the case, then there are two truths, i.e., the so-called conventional and ultimate truths. If there are two truths, then your thesis will be proven.

Question: If there is ultimate truth distinct from conventional truth, then it proves my thesis. What is wrong with that? As [Nāgārjuna] says in the following verses:

“When the Tathāgata teaches the *dharma*, he relies on the two truths: first, conventional truth; second, ultimate truth. Those who do not know the two kinds of reality (*liang zhong shi* 兩種實) [illustrated] by the two truths cannot understand the real truth (*shi di* □□) of the Buddha’s profound teaching.”<sup>81</sup>

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<sup>80</sup> 依 = 衣【元】

<sup>81</sup> Cf. MMK 24.8-9: *dve satye samupāsṛitya buddhānā dharmadeśanā/ lokasa v tisatya ca satya ca parmārtha/ ye 'nayoṛ na vijānanti vibhāga satyayor dvayo/ te tattva na vijānanti gambhīra*

Answer: Your thesis is pleasing; but so is mine; it is based upon the two truths, a doctrine expounded by the Tathāgata. When [the Tathāgata] teaches the thusness of *dharmas* through the two truths, he does not destroy non-duality. If there were two [truths], then the conventional thusness of *dharmas* would be distinguished from the ultimate thusness of *dharmas*. Now, even one thusness of *dharmas* is non-apprehensible; how, then, could one know two thusnesses of *dharmas*? If we are to talk about the two truths, we should say that there is no ultimate truth other than the conventional truth, because there is only one characteristic, which is no characteristic at all. This meaning is implied in Master [Nāgārjuna's] following verse:

“Those who do not know the meaning (*yi* 義) of the two truths cannot understand the true reality (*zhen shi* 真實) of the Buddha's profound teaching.”<sup>82</sup>

Question: What (*yunhe* 云何) is this truth?

Answer: That which is not destroyed (*rou ci bu po* 若此不破).

Question: What is not destroyed by the two truths?

Answer: One characteristic, which is no characteristic and no intrinsic nature, just like the emptiness of own nature. Such is the truth, as the characteristic of the truth is explained in [Nāgārjuna's] following verse:

“These two *dharmas* (=two truths?) are both nonexistent, and are not fabricated by mental fabrication. They are neither imagined nor separated. This meaning is the characteristic of the truth.”<sup>83</sup>

If following this verse, how can the Tathāgata teach on the basis of the two truths? The Tathāgata has nothing at all to rely on, neither the conventional truth

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*buddhaśāsane*//. I have translated these verses literally by closely following the Chinese, which apparently overinterprets them by holding that there are “two kinds of reality” (*liang zhong shi* 兩種實) illustrated by the two truths.

<sup>82</sup> The proponent refers to MMK 24.9 again with a different translation that does not imply two levels of reality.

<sup>83</sup> Cf. MMK 18.9: *aparapratyaya* □ *śānta* □ *prapañcair aprapañcitam/ nirvikalpam anānārtham etat tattvasya lakṣaṇam*/. The beginning part of the verse “these two *dharmas* are both nonexistent” does not agree with the extant Sanskrit version of MMK, and the context of this verse does not support its relation to the two truths either.

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nor the ultimate truth. When the Tathāgata teaches, his mind has nothing to rely on. What else can we say?

# 19

## Sri Lankan Impacts on East Asian Buddhism: Transmission of a Dhāraṅī Sūtra

Norihisa Baba

### 1. Introduction

As the primary religion of Sri Lanka today is Theravāda Buddhism, and Mahāyāna Buddhism is nowhere to be seen now, it is generally believed that there was no significant exchange of Buddhist ideas between Sri Lanka and East Asia. Nonetheless, since the fifth century, Buddhist exchanges did take place between China and Sri Lanka.

In the first half of the fifth century, Sri Lanka began interacting with China. In 428 or 429 as well as in 435, the Sri Lankan king Mahānāma sent an envoy to China. This indicates that state-level interactions had begun. Additionally, Faxian 法顯, a monk who came to India from China, stayed in Sri Lanka for two years around 410. He returned to China via Java with many texts, traveling on a merchant ship.\* Furthermore, the *Samantapāsādikā*, compiled in Sri Lanka, and the *Vimuttimaggā*, a work by the Abhayagiri school based in Sri Lanka, were translated into Chinese in 489 and 505 respectively.† In addition, in the early fifth century, nuns from Sri Lanka went to China to propagate Buddhism. This further suggests the importance of Buddhism in early interactions between China and Sri Lanka.

From the evidence gathered in this paper, it is clear that Sri Lanka played an important role in the development of East Asian Buddhism. Among the many examples, through a comprehensive use of inscriptions from Sri Lanka and documents from China and Japan, this paper will focus on how a dhāraṅī sūtra transmitted from Sri Lanka to China influenced the Buddhist cultures of East Asia.

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\* Nagasawa (1996: 121-125, 179-181).

† Mizuno (1996: 118-119).

## 2. The Transmission of the *Sarva tathāgatā dhi□□hānah□daya*

It is clear that Mahāyāna Buddhism existed in Medieval Sri Lanka for two primary reasons. First, Xuanzang 玄奘, who travelled through India in the early seventh century, reported that there were two fraternities of Theravāda in Sri Lanka: “one is the Mahāvihāra fraternity that rejects Mahāyāna and the other is Abhayagirivihāra fraternity which studies both Mahāyāna and Theravāda.”<sup>1</sup> Second, inscriptions and manuscripts from the eighth or ninth century tell us that at least four Mahāyāna scriptures were circulating in Sri Lanka<sup>2</sup>: the *Pañcavi□śatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*,<sup>3</sup> the *Ratnakū□a*, the *Kāyatrayastotra*, and the *Sarva tathāgatā dhi□□hānah□daya*.

The latter is known by the full title, *Sarva tathāgatā dhi□□hānah□daya guhyadhātu kara□□amudra-dhāra□ī-sūtra*.<sup>4</sup> A stone inscription that quotes the dhāra□ī from this *sūtra* has been found near a stūpa at the Abhayagiri Temple in Sri Lanka. This discovery is extremely important because the quotation was found at the Abhayagiri Temple, which Xuanzang described as studying both Mahāyāna and Theravāda. This discovery proved the validity of Xuanzang’s descriptions concerning the temple.

In addition, it is significant that the *sūtra* was translated into Chinese by Amoghavajra 不空 (705–774), who studied in Sri Lanka. The earliest record of his life is an inscription referred to as *Daguanzhanghisanzangheshangzhibei* 大廣智三藏和上之碑 which was composed in 774 following closely after his death. According to this inscription,<sup>5</sup> he received an imperial order and together with his disciples went to Sri Lanka just after the death of his master Vajrabodhi 金剛智 in 741. There, after presenting an official letter to the king of Sri Lanka, Amoghavajra studied under Puxian Asheli 普賢阿闍梨 (\*Samantabhadra Ācārya) and was given more than five hundred scriptures, including the *Tattvasa□graha* and the *Mahāvairocana Tantra*. He returned in 747.

<sup>1</sup> 『大唐西域記』卷十一：「一曰：摩訶毘訶羅住部，斥大乘、習小教。二曰：阿跋邪祇釐住部，學兼二乘，弘演三藏」（T51, 934a）

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Mudiyanse (1969), Bechert (1977), Mori (1999), and Baba (2011).

<sup>3</sup> von Hinüber (1983).

<sup>4</sup> Schopen (1982) identified dhāra□ī inscribed on the granite tablets found in Abhayagiri temple with the *Sarva tathāgatā dhi□□hānah□daya*.

<sup>5</sup> 授以十八會金剛頂瑜伽并毘盧遮那大悲胎藏，五部灌頂，真言秘典經論梵夾五百餘部（T52, 848bc）cf. Higata (1943).

All together – that the *Sarva tathāgatā dhi□□hānah□daya* existed at the Abhayagiri Temple at this time; that Amoghavajra studied in Sri Lanka, bringing back and translating into Chinese many other documents; and that he is credited with translating this dhāra□ī sūtra (一切如來心祕密全身舍利寶篋印陀羅尼經) – this evidence suggests that Amoghavajra obtained the text in Sri Lanka and brought it back to China from there. This means that it did not take even a hundred years for the sūtra to come to Japan via China. Kūkai 空海□774-835□first brought the text from China to Japan in 806 (大同元年), followed by Ennin 円仁 in 847 (承和十四年) and Enchin 円珍 in 858 (天安二年).<sup>6</sup>

### 3. The 10<sup>th</sup> century prints of the *Sarva tathāgatā dhi□□hānah□daya* by Qian Hongchu

The *Sarva tathāgatā dhi□□hānah□daya* consists primarily of a story that goes as follows. When the Buddha was in Magadha, he received from a Brahmin a request for a commemorative service. On his way to the Brahmin's house, the Buddha saw an old stūpa in a state of ruin. When the Buddha approached the stūpa, a light suddenly emanated from it and from there, a voice was heard, "Wonderful! Wonderful, Sakyamuni!" The Buddha told his disciples that inside the stūpa was placed the dhāra□ī of the *Sarva tathāgatā dhi□□hānah□daya*. After preaching to his disciples the merits of this dhāra□ī, the Buddha then orally transmitted it to those disciples. The Buddha explained that by placing the dhāra□ī inside a stūpa, that stūpa becomes a seven-treasure stūpa. Those who pay homage and make offerings to this tower will be freed from karmic sins and will obtain supreme awakening.

It is significant that the *Sarva tathāgatā dhi□□hānah□daya* propogates a dhāra□ī to be placed inside a stūpa or statue. This often deeply influenced East Asian cultures in later times, including the printing of the *Sarva tathāgatā dhi□□hānah□daya* by Qian Hongchu 錢弘俶 (reigned 947-978).

From the late Tang dynasty to the Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms period, Buddhism suffered political persecution especially in the North China so that center of Buddhism shifted to the South China.<sup>7</sup> In this time, Qian Hongchu, the

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<sup>6</sup> 『御請来目録』 (大正五五、一〇六一上)、 『入唐新求聖教目録』 (大正五五、一〇七九下)、 『智証大師請来目録』 (大正五五、一一〇三中)。

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Sun (2007: 310).

fifth King of the Wuyue, one of Ten Kingdoms, was keen on reviving Buddhism. According to the *Fozutongji* 佛祖統記, he followed the model of King Aśoka by erecting 84,000 stūpas with the *Sarva tathāgatā dhi□□hānah□daya* placed inside.<sup>8</sup>

Of the many stūpas Qian Hongchu sponsored, more than forty have been found in China and Japan.<sup>9</sup> At least (probably many more than) eight copies of the printed sūtra survive. The dates of the stūpas are as follows: bronze stūpa 955;<sup>10</sup> iron stūpa 965; silver stūpa 972 and 976. The dates of the printing of the sūtra are 956, 965, and 975. Therefore, the dates of the creation of the stūpas roughly match those of the printing of the sūtra. This suggests that the *Sarva tathāgatā dhi□□hānah□daya* was printed to coincide with the creation of the stūpas.

As Carter (1955) points out, the *Sarva tathāgatā dhi□□hānah□daya* that Qian Hongchu printed is significant also in that it is one of the earliest printed materials in China. The *Jingang Banruojing* 金剛般若經 (*Vajracchedikā Prajñāpāramitā*) found in Dunhuang is the oldest complete printed book in China known to date. In the Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms period, many state printing projects developed. Lagging slightly behind the printing of Confucian material in the Later Zhou Dynasty, the Wuyue Kingdom also printed the *Sarva tathāgatā dhi□□hānah□daya*.<sup>11</sup>

From the viewpoint of Buddhist history, some features of the stūpas sponsored by Qian Hongchu cannot be traced to India. On the one hand, while the legend of King Aśoka erecting 84,000 stūpas comes from the *Aśokāvādāna*, wherein King Aśoka builds stūpas for the Buddha's relics, however, neither miniature stūpas nor the *Sarva tathāgatā dhi□□hānah□daya* are mentioned. On the other hand, the practice of offering miniature stūpas originates in India. Many miniature stūpas containing Dharmadhātu have been found, however, none has been found containing the *Sarva tathāgatā dhi□□hānah□daya*. Therefore Qian Hongchu was the first to combine all three of the following elements: first, the legend of King

<sup>8</sup> [吳越忠懿王錢弘俶] 慕阿育王造八萬四千塔。金銅精鋼冶鑄甚工，中藏寶篋印心呪經，亦及八萬四千數。(T49, 206bc)

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Hattori (2019)

<sup>10</sup> A Japanese monk Dōki 道喜 wrote in the *Hōkyōikyōki* 宝函印經記 that he observed the bronze stūpa of Qian Hongchu in 961 and that the nine-inch stūpa contained the *Sarva tathāgatā dhi□□hānah□daya*. The shape of the stūpa he describes matches the shape of the existing Qian Hongchu stūpa, so Dōki definitely saw the bronze stūpa firsthand.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Zhang (1978 and 1989)

Aśoka erecting 84,000 stūpas; second, the practice of offering miniature stūpas; and third, the practice of offering the *Sarva tathāgatā dhi□□hānah□daya* in stūpas. This is historically significant because no other example has been found in India or in China that predates Qian Hongchu.

Who designed the combination of the three elements? According to a record from the Song Dynasty, it was most likely Yongming Yanshou 永明延壽(705-774). Yanshou had been a bureaucrat in the Wuyue Kingdom and continued to be supported by Qian Hongchu after his ordination as a Buddhist monk. According to the *Yongming Zhijuechangshifangzhanshilu* 永明智覺禪師方丈實錄<sup>12</sup> written by Lingzhi Ranruo 靈芝蘭若, Yanshou “requested the state to create 84,000 iron stūpas so as to implant in all sentient beings a cause for enlightenment.”<sup>13</sup> If this record reflects historical facts, the one who combined the above three elements is Yanshou. It can be surmised that Qian Hongchu received the request of Yanshou and carried out the creation of 84,000 miniature stūpas containing the *Sarva tathāgatā dhi□□hānah□daya*.

Why then did Yanshou focus on the *Sarva tathāgatā dhi□□hānah□daya* among so many dhāra□ī sūtras? The key to answering this question is in the title of this sutra itself: the *Sarva tathāgatā dhi□□hānah□daya*, which means “the core of power of all Buddhas,” is translated into Chinese as *Yiqie Rulaixin* □□□□□, which means “the heart of all Buddhas.” Because the heart, h□daya in Sanskrit, is the core concept in Yongming Yanshou’s thought, there is no doubt that the title of the Chinese translation of the sutra resonated with his central tenets.<sup>14</sup> That is most probably why he chose this sūtra.

#### 4. Qian Hongchu’s Influences on Japan

Because the *Hōkyōikyō-ki* 宝篋印經記, written by a Japanese monk, Dōki 道喜, in 965, describes Qian Hongchu’s placing paper-printed copies of the *Sarva tathāgatā dhi□□hānah□daya* in 84,000 stūpas, and *Hōkyōikyōki* spread along with the *Sarva tathāgatā dhi□□hānah□daya*, Qian Hongchu’s offering of 84,000 stūpas became a well-known story in Japan from early on. But it was only in the late Heian period, in the twelfth century, when Qian Hongchu’s influence became manifest

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<sup>12</sup> The text is included in the *Xinfuzhu* 心賦注 of Song version 宋版.

<sup>13</sup> 請国家鑄八万四千鉄塔与一切衆生作得度縁。

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Welter (2011).

and the *Sarva tathāgatā dhi□□hānah□daya* began to enjoy popularity.

#### 4.1. Cloistered Emperor Go-Shirakawa 後白河法皇's Offering of 84,000 Stūpas

In 1181, Cloistered Emperor Go-Shirakawa (1127-1191) had 84,000 five-inch stūpas made and therein placed manuscripts of the *Sarva tathāgatā dhi□□hānah□daya*. In 1185, he sought to build 84,000 nine-inch "five-wheeled stūpas" each containing a manuscript of the same sūtra in order to pray for the peace of the nation and in order to commemorate those who died in battles since the Hōgen Rebellion.<sup>15</sup> It is clear that Emperor Go-Shirakawa combined the three elements as discussed above. Therefore his offering of 84,000 stūpas was influenced by Qian Hongchu. It is likely that Emperor Go-Shirakawa sought not only to model himself after King Aśoka, but also imagined himself following Qian Hongchu, who revived Buddhism after its decline in the late Tang dynasty.

#### 4.2. Shōgun Minamoto no Yoritomo 源頼朝's Offering of 84,000 Stūpas

The Kamakura Shogunate also actively engaged in the offering of stūpas. The 84,000 stūpas made in 1197 by the first shōgun Yoritomo (1147-1199) were five-inch "five-wheel stūpas" containing manuscripts of the dhāra□ī of the *Sarva tathāgatā dhi□□hānah□daya*.<sup>16</sup> His offering of 84,000 stūpas followed the model provided by Emperor Go-Shirakawa.

According to the *Azumakagami* 吾妻鏡, the second shōgun Minamoto no Yoriie 源頼家, the third shōgun Minamoto no Sanetomo 源実朝, Shikken Hōjō Yasutoki 北条泰時, the fourth shōgun Fujiwara no Yoritsune 藤原頼経, the fifth shōgun Fujiwara no Yoritsugu 藤原頼嗣, and the sixth shōgun Munetaka Shinnō 宗尊親王 also offered 84,000 stūpas. If we assume that they followed Minamoto no Yoritomo in their offering, we can surmise that their stūpas also contained manuscripts of the dhāra□ī of the *Sarva tathāgatā dhi□□hānah□daya*.

#### 4.3. Chōgen 重源 and the Kei School's 慶派 Building of Statues.

In the late Heian period, Buddhist revival movements became active in Nara temples, which had been devastated by the Heike 平家 force. Many temples were

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<sup>15</sup> Hino (1938).

<sup>16</sup> Nishiyama (2006: 17-18).

rebuilt during the Kamakura period. Often copies of the *Sarva tathāgatā dhi□□hānah□dayasūtra* or its *dhāra□ī* were placed inside the Buddhist statues created during this time.<sup>17</sup>

Chōgen (1121–1206), who reestablished Tōdaiji's Daibutsu Hall 東大寺大仏殿 in 1185, supported by Go-Shirakawa and Minamoto no Yoritomo, placed the *Sarva tathāgatā dhi□□hānah□daya* inside the new Daibutsu. The Daibutsu re-dedicated is no longer extant, but in his book, *Namu Amida Butsu Sazenshū* 南無阿彌陀佛作善集, it is recorded that he placed the *Sarva tathāgatā dhi□□hānah□daya* inside the rebuilt Daibutsu. In addition, copies of the *Sarva tathāgatā dhi□□hānah□daya* were placed in each of the two Vajrasattva 金剛力士 statues in Tōdaiji's southern gate built in 1203 by sculptors from the Kei school under the guidance of Chōgen.

The Hudō-myōwō 不動明王 (Acalanātha) and Bishamon-ten 毘沙門天 (Vaiśrava□a) statues at Ganjōju-in 願成就院, created in 1186, and Bishamon-ten 毘沙門天 (Vaiśrava□a) statue at Jōraku-ji 淨樂寺, created in 1189, by Unkei 運慶 (?-1224), a representative sculptor of Kei school, contain stūpa boards with the *dhāra□ī* of the *Sarva tathāgatā dhi□□hānah□daya* written on them in Sanskrit. Likewise, the Miroku-butsu 弥勒佛 (Maitreya Buddha) statue at the Kōfukuji Temple 興福寺, created in 1212 by Unkei, contains stūpa boards with the *dhāra□ī*.

The Maitreya Buddha statue, originally in Kōfuku-ji and now in a Boston museum, by another representative sculptor of Kei school, Kaikei 快慶, in 1189, also has the *dhāra□ī* (written in 1190) inside. The Shaka-muni 釈迦牟尼 (Śyākyamuni) statue of the Bujōji Temple 峰定寺 in Kyoto is thought to be a work by someone from the Kei school in 1199, and this statue also contains a copy of the *dhāra□ī*.

Cloistered Emperor Go-Shirakawa and Shōgun Minamoto no Yoritomo had deep relations with Chōgen, who was also familiar with artisans from the Kei school. Therefore, it is probable that Chōgen encouraged them to dedicate 84,000 stūpas with the *Sarva tathāgatā dhi□□hānah□daya* as well as to place the sūtra inside statues they were making.

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<sup>17</sup> Hiraoka (1990).

#### 4.4 Hōkyōin-tō 宝篋印塔

In the medieval period, many artisans created stūpas called Hōkyōintō 宝篋印塔. This is one of Japan's most numerous stone-built stūpas along with the Gorintō 五輪塔 ("five-wheel" stūpa). Hōkyōin-tō means "the stūpa of *Sarva tathāgatā dhi□□hānah□daya gulhyadhātu kara□□amudra-dhāra□ī-sūtra*." As Ōtsuka (2010: 12-13) points out, it became known by the name because the form of Hōkyōin-tō corresponds with Qian Hongchu's stupa described in the *Hōkyōintō-ki*. In that sense, there is strong connection between this sort of stūpa and the sūtra. According to Miki (1996 and 1999), only five have been found with the *Sarva tathāgatā dhi□□hānah□daya* or its dhāra□ī inscribed in the medieval times,<sup>18</sup> but Hōkyōinkyō began to be inscribed on Hōkyōin-tō much more frequently in the early-modern period.

#### 5. Conclusion

1. The *Sarva tathāgatā dhi□□hānah□daya* was brought from Sri Lanka to China and was translated into Chinese by Amoghavajra; the translation was brought from China to Japan by Kūkai, Ennin, and Enchin.
2. The Wuyue king Qian Hongchu, with Yongming Yanshou's suggestion, combined the legend of King Aśoka's erection of 84,000 stūpas and the practices of offering miniature stūpas and dedicating the *Sarva tathāgatā dhi□□hānah□daya*; Qian Hongchu accordingly made 84,000 miniature stūpas and placed inside the *Sarva tathāgatā dhi□□hānah□daya*, which is one of the earliest surviving prints in China.
3. In Japan, the influence of Qian Hongchu became manifest in the Kamakura period: Cloistered Emperor Go-Shirakawa and Shōgun Minamoto no Yoritomo dedicated 84,000 stūpas with manuscripts or stūpa boards of the *Sarva tathāgatā dhi□□hānah□daya*. Chōgen and sculptors of the Kei school like Unkei and Kaikei placed manuscripts of the *Sarva tathāgatā dhi□□hānah□daya* or its dhāra□ī inside the Buddhist statues. The sūtra or its dhāra□ī were inscribed in

<sup>18</sup> They are: 1. Hakone-yama Hōkyōintō (Kanagawa Prefecture, 1296), 2. Hotoke-iwa Hōkyōintō (Nagano Prefecture, 1311), 3. Myōkō-ji Hōkyōintō (Saitama Prefecture, 1354), 4. Shinpuku-ji Hōkyōintō (Aichi Prefecture, 1384), 5. Myōkan-ji Hōkyōintō (Nagasaki Prefecture, 1442). Cf. Miki (1996) (1999).

medieval times on some Hōkyōintō, one of most popular stūpas in Japan, and with increasing frequency only in the early-modern period.

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T = Taishō Shinshū Daizkyō 大正新修大藏經.

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## Contested Identities in Chan/Zen Buddhism: The “Lost” Fragments of Mazu Daoyi in the *Zongjing lu*

Albert Welter

### Introduction: Mazu Daoyi and the Hongzhou Faction

Mazu Daoyi 馬祖道一, the founder of the Hongzhou faction is a major figure in the Chinese Chan, Korean Seon and Japanese Zen traditions.<sup>i</sup> He is especially credited with the unique Chan innovation known as “encounter dialogue.” Encounter dialogues (*jiyuan wenda* 機・問答) constitute one of the unique features of Chan *yulu* 語・, and served as a defining feature of the Chan movement.<sup>ii</sup> Until recently, it was commonly assumed that *yulu* and encounter dialogue were the products of a unique Tang Chan culture, initiated by masters hailing from Chan’s so-called golden age.<sup>iii</sup> Recent work on the *Linji lu* 臨濟・ exposed how dialogue records attributed to Linji were shaped over time into typical encounter dialogue events that did not reach mature form until the early Song.<sup>iv</sup> Regarding Mazu, Mario Poceski has shown how his reputation as an

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<sup>i</sup> Many of the prevailing assumptions regarding Mazu and the Hongzhou school have been challenged by the work of Mario Poceski, *Everyday Mind as the Way: The Hongzhou School and the Growth of Chan Buddhism* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), and Jia Jinhua. *The Hongzhou School of Chan Buddhism in Eighth- through Tenth-Century China* (Albany, New York: State University of New York Press, 2006).

<sup>ii</sup> It is important to note that the term *jiyuan wenda* to describe the phenomena known in English as “encounter dialogue” is a modern expedient devised by Yanagida Seizan 柳田聖山, without precedent in original Chan sources. The significance of Hongzhou and Linji faction Chan to the development of *yulu* and encounter dialogue is one of the presuppositions animating Yanagida Seizan’s work on the development of Chan *yulu*, “Goroku no rekishi--zenbunken no seiritsu shiteki kenkyū” 語録の歴史: 禅文献の成立史的研究 (*Tohō gakuho* 東方学報 57 [1985: 211-663]).

<sup>iii</sup> Works discussing the development of *yulu* that challenges this view include Jinhua Jia, *The Hongzhou School of Buddhism*; my own work, *The Linji lu and the Creation of Chan Orthodoxy* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008); Urs App, “The Making of a Chan Record: Reflections on the History of the Records of Yunmen” (*Zen bunka kenkyūjo kiyō* 禅文化研究所紀要 17 [1991: 1-90].); and Mario Poceski, “Mazu *yulu* and the Creation of the Chan Records of Sayings,” in *The Zen Canon*. Ed. Steven Heine and Dale Wright, pp. 53-81 (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

<sup>iv</sup> *The Linji lu and the Creation of Chan Orthodoxy*, especially pp. 81-108.

iconoclast derives from later sources.<sup>1</sup> Morten Schlutter points out that in earlier sources, Mazu “appears as a rather sedate and deliberate champion of the doctrine of innate Buddha-nature,” and his record in the *Zutang ji* 祖堂集 gives a decidedly less iconoclastic picture than in later sources.<sup>2</sup> The view of Mazu as a conventional sermonizer is borne out in the depiction of him in the *Zongjing lu* 宗鏡錄, in fragments that have been virtually ignored, especially in terms of their significance, where Mazu appears as a scripture friendly exegete, citing canonical at every turn and spinning at times elaborate commentaries around them. In the current paper, I examine these “lost” (i.e., ignored) fragments in the *Zongjing lu* that shed light on Mazu’s contested identity as a scriptural exegete.<sup>3</sup>

### The Classic Image of Mazu and the Hongzhou Faction: Encounter Dialogue in the *Jingde Chuandeng lu*

The classic image of Chan is determined by what may be referred to as the “Mazu (and Hongzhou faction) perspective,” which I have described elsewhere as follows:

By the “Mazu perspective,” I am referring to a style and interpretation of Chan attributed to the Mazu lineage, including

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<sup>1</sup> Poceski, “Mazu yulu and the Creation of the Chan Records of Sayings,” and *Ordinary Mind as the Way*. Recently, Poceski has outlined a similar process in the case of records of Baizhang Huaihai’s teachings, “Monastic Innovator, Iconoclast, and Teacher of Doctrine: The Varied Images of Chan Master Baizhang,” Steven Heine and Dale Wright, eds. *Zen Masters* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

<sup>2</sup> Schlütter, *How Zen Became Zen* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2008), p. 16. Schlütter also notes how this process also related to the development of the *Platform sūtra*, the early eighth century version of which contains no encounter dialogues or antinomian behavior. On this, see Schlütter, “A Study in the Genealogy of the *Platform Sūtra*,” *Studies in Central and East Asian Religions* 2. (1989: 53-114). Schlütter credits David Chappell (p. 186, n. 19) as the first to note the discrepancy between the earlier and later depictions of Mazu.

<sup>3</sup> The *Zongjing lu* is a work by the scholastic Chan master Yongming Yanshou who has been uniformly marginalized in modern Chan and Zen interpretation as a “syncretist,” who represents a decline in the fortunes of “pure” Zen. With the undermining of the supposition that Chan transmission records (*denglu* or *tōroku* 燈錄) preserve faithful renderings of Tang Chan teachings, it is no longer tenable to treat Yanshou’s record as anachronistic nostalgia for a bygone age, but to restore his place as a participant in an ongoing debate about the nature of Chan that was a germane issue of his age. The Chan fragments found in his works, virtually ignored for many years, also need to be considered as viable alternatives to the way Chan masters are depicted in transmission records. For a full treatment, see Welter, *Scholastic as Chan Master: Yongming Yanshou’s Conception of Chan in the Zongjing lu* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011). Much of the discussion that follows is taken from my work there.

Mazu and his more immediate descendants. More than any other Chan group, this contingent of masters is regarded in Chan lore as the instigators of the “classic” Chan style and perspective, memorialized in terms of a reputed Chan “golden age.” It is this style and perspective that became the common property of Chan masters in *denglu* texts, beginning with the *Zutang ji* and *Chuandeng lu*. This common style and perspective represents the standardization of Chan as a uniform tradition dedicated to common goals and principles. While factional differences may still have the potential to erupt into controversy, the standardization of the Chan message and persona tended to mask ideological disagreements. The standardization of Chan also provided the pretext for a Chan orthodoxy that was no longer the sole property of a distinct lineage.<sup>4</sup>

The “Mazu perspective” is typified by the development of encounter dialogues, the witty, often physical and iconoclastic repartee between Chan protagonists that characterizes their enlightened behaviour. While the encounter dialogue genre became fully developed among Mazu’s descendents, it is also, by necessity, projected on to the behaviour of Mazu himself as founder and hypothetical progenitor of the style that his faction came to typify. Two examples from Mazu’s record in the *Jingde Chuandeng lu* bear this out.

In the first example, an unidentified monk famed for his lectures on Buddhism visits Mazu and asks him, “What is the teaching advocated by Chan masters?”, to which Mazu posed a question in return: “What teaching do you uphold?” When the learned monk replied that he had lectured on more than twenty scriptures and treatises, Mazu exclaimed: “Are you not a lion (i.e., a Buddha)?” When the monk declined the suggestion, Mazu huffed twice, prompting the monk to comment: “This is the way to teach Chan.” When Mazu asked what he meant, the monk replied: “It is the way the lion leaves the den.” When Mazu remained silent, the monk interpreted it also as the way to teach Chan, commenting: “The lion remains in the den.” When Mazu asked: “When there is neither leaving nor remaining, what way would you say this was?”, the monk had no reply but bid Mazu farewell. When the monk reached the door, Mazu called to him and he

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<sup>4</sup> *Monks, Rulers, and Literati: the Political Ascendancy of Chan Buddhism* (New York: Oxford University Press, [2006: 69]).

immediately turned toward Mazu. Mazu again pressed him for a response, but the monk still made no reply. Mazu yelled out: "What a stupid teacher!"<sup>5</sup>

The encounter dialogue here draws on a common trope of the Mazu faction perspective, contrasting the Buddhist understanding of the learned exegete against the penetrating insight of the Chan master. The example draws attention to the typical way in which the Buddhist understanding of allegedly renowned Buddhist exegetes is undermined, and revealed to be lacking the penetrating insight of true awakening that Chan engenders. In a manner not uncommon in encounter dialogues, the episode ends with the Chan master (Mazu) yelling out his denunciation, "What a stupid teacher!" (which may be more colloquially rendered: "You're an idiot!"). Yelling and shouting in Chan--expressions of spontaneous enlightened insight--displace the reasoned disputations of exegetical discourse. Recourse to the trope of the renunciation of the learned Buddhist exegete in Mazu's discourses proves ironic in light of Yanshou's suggestion, considered in detail below, that Mazu himself epitomized in his sermons the learned Buddhist exegesis that he is here criticizing.

A second example demonstrates that Mazu not only participated in shouting and belittling techniques, but also fostered the physical denunciation practices that Chan is renowned for. When a monk asked Mazu the common question intended to test one's Chan mettle: "What is the meaning of Bodhidharma coming from the West?", Mazu struck him, explaining, "If I do not strike you, people throughout the country will laugh at me."<sup>6</sup>

The above examples typify the way in which Mazu's image as an iconoclast has been received in the Chan and Zen traditions. This image is ubiquitous to the point of being unchallengeable. It solidifies Mazu's image as the progenitor of a movement that came to represent an orthodox interpretation of Chan and Zen enshrined in classic sources like the *Jingde Chuandeng lu*.

### **The "Lost" Fragments: Mazu as Sermonizing Exegete in the *Zongjing lu***

In spite of the rather tame, prosaic character of the teachings attributed to Hongzhou 洪州 masters like Mazu in early sources, his reputation in the Chan

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<sup>5</sup> CDL 6 (T 51.246b). Following Chang Chung-yuan, trans. *Original Teachings of Ch'an Buddhism* (New York: Vintage Books, [1971: 151-152]).

<sup>6</sup> CDL 6 (T 51.246b). Following Chang Chung-yuan, trans. *Original Teachings of Ch'an Buddhism*, p. 150.

and Zen traditions affirms his central role as the progenitor of the iconoclastic movement Chan and Zen are most noted for. Yongming Yanshou 永明延壽, compiler of the *Zongjing lu*, acknowledged what must have been a growing trend to interpret Mazu as an iconoclast, a trend that was already evident in the late Tang critiques by the scholastic Chan protagonist, Zongmi 宗密.<sup>7</sup> Yanshou inherited Zongmi's concerns, and the *Zongjing lu* was written, in part, to counter this trend by proposing that Mazu's teaching was not iconoclastic, but fully compatible with doctrinal teachings.

This line of argument represents a significant change in our understanding of Yanshou and his position in the development of Chan. Previously, when Mazu was assumed to be the champion of radical, iconoclastic Chan, characterized by an aggressive antinomian posturing, Yanshou's characterization of Mazu was deemed an anachronistic fancy, a wishful fantasy of who Yanshou would like Mazu to be, but a far cry from who Mazu actually was. The discovery of the *Zutang ji* in the twentieth century, coupled with a more nuanced text-critical approach to the sources of Mazu's teachings, have reshaped our understanding of Mazu along the lines described above, and made us more aware of the forces in the later Chan tradition that animated Mazu as champion of Chan iconoclasm. This makes a reevaluation of Yanshou's characterization of Mazu both timely and significant. This is not to suggest that Yanshou's depiction of Mazu is unbiased, or lacking in motivations close to Yanshou's own heart. It does suggest that Yanshou's characterization not be casually discarded as irrelevant, but be entertained as a further piece in our understanding of Mazu and the pressures influencing how he came to be interpreted within the Chan community.

In the eyes of Yanshou, Mazu Daoyi and other Hongzhou faction masters were like any other Chan master worthy of the name, relying on scripturally based doctrinal teachings to promote Chan principles. On the basis of this, the suggestion that the Mazu inspired Hongzhou faction stood for an interpretation of Chan independent of the scriptures and doctrinally based Buddhist practices was untenable. In order to demonstrate the effect of Yanshou's portrayal, I contrast fragments of Mazu's teaching in the *Zongjing lu* against those recorded in Chan transmission records that came to inform his image as an iconoclast.

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<sup>7</sup> See Jeffrey Broughton, *Zongmi on Chan* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009); Peter N. Gregory, *Tsung-mi and the Sinification of Buddhism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991); and Jan Yün-hua 冉雲華. "Tsong-mi, His Analysis of Chan Buddhism," *T'oung Pao* 58 (1972: 1-54).

Perhaps the most telling fragment is the fragment of Mazu's teaching in the *Zongjing lu* that contains a commentary on the meaning of the key *Lankavatāra sūtra* passage: "Buddha taught that mind is the implicit truth (*zong*), and 'gatelessness' (*wumen*) is the dharma-gate." Because of its length and for the sake of comparison with other sources, I have broken the commentary into four sections. The first three sections have no counterpart in either the *Zutang ji* or *Chuandeng lu* 傳燈 ； they appear solely in the *Zongjing lu*.<sup>8</sup>

### Section 1

何故佛語心為宗。佛語心者。即心即佛。今語即是心語。故云。  
佛語心為宗。無門為法門者。達本性空。更無一法。性自是門。  
性無有相。亦無有門。故云。無門為法門。亦名空門。亦名色門。  
何以故。空是法性空。色是法性色。無形相故。謂之空。知見  
無盡故。謂之色。

Why does [the *Lankavatāra sūtra* say] "Buddha taught that mind is the implicit truth?" As for "Buddha taught that mind is the implicit truth," mind is Buddha. Because the words currently [attributed to the Buddha] are mind-words (i.e., designations for mind; *xinyu*), when it says, "Buddha taught that mind is the implicit truth, and 'gatelessness' is the dharma-gate," [it means that] they understood the emptiness of the inherent nature [of things] (*benxing*), on top of which there is not a single dharma. Nature itself is the gateway. But because nature has no form and also lacks a gateway to access it, [the *sūtra*] says "'gatelessness' is the dharma-gate." Why is it also known as the "gate of emptiness (*kongmen*)," and as the "gate of physical forms" (*semen*)? Emptiness refers to the emptiness of the dharma-nature; physical forms refer to the physical forms of the dharma-nature. Because the dharma-nature has no shape or form, it is referred to as "empty." Because the dharma-nature is known and seen in everything without limit, it is referred to as "physical forms."

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<sup>8</sup> The commentary is found in *Zongjing lu* 1 (T 49.418b16-c5).

## Section 2

故云。如來色無盡。智慧亦復然。隨生諸法處。復有無量三昧門。遠離內外知見情執。亦名總持門。亦名施門。謂不念內外善惡諸法。乃至皆是諸波羅蜜門。色身佛。是實相佛家用。經云。三十二相。八十種好。皆從心想生。亦名法性家焰。亦法性功勳。菩薩行般若時。火燒三界內外諸物盡。於中不損一草葉。為諸法如相故。故經云。不壞於身而隨一相。今知自性是佛。於一切時中行住坐臥。更無一法可得。乃至真如不屬一切名。亦無無名。故經云。智不得有無。

Therefore, the scriptures say:<sup>9</sup> “The physical forms of the tathāgata are unlimited, and wisdom is also like this as well (i.e., unlimited).” Since the various dharmas occupy their respective positions in accordance with the process of arising, they also serve as inestimable gateways to *samādhi*. Distancing oneself far from emotional attachments to what is known internally and seen externally is referred to as the gateway to esoteric techniques, on the one hand, and as the gateway to practices that bestow blessings, on the other.<sup>10</sup> It means that when one does not think of the various dharmas as subjective or objective, as good or evil, the various dharmas all become gateways to the *pāramitās*. The Buddha comprised of a physical body (*śeṣhēng fo*)

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<sup>9</sup> This line appears in both a gatha in the *Da baoji jing* 大寶積經 (Scriptures of the Great Treasure Storehouse; T 11-310.673a7), and in Fazang’s 法藏 commentary to the *Awakening of Faith*, the *Dacheng qixinlun lunyi ji* 大乘起信論義記 (T 44-1846.247a27-28), where it is attributed to the *Shengman jing* 勝鬘經.

<sup>10</sup> The reference to “the gateway to esoteric techniques” (*zongchi men* 總持門) corresponds to “what is known internally.” “Practices which bestow blessings” (*shimen* 施門) refer especially to the practice of almsgiving, corresponding here to “what is seen externally.”

is the true form [of the Buddha] (*shixiang*) used by members of the Buddhist faith.<sup>11</sup>

The scriptures say:<sup>12</sup> “The thirty-two distinctive marks and the eighty distinctive bodily characteristics [of a Buddha] are all products of imagination.”<sup>13</sup>

They (i.e., the scriptures) also refer to it (i.e., the Buddha’s physical body) as the blazing house of the dharma-nature, or as the meritorious deeds of the dharma-nature.<sup>14</sup> When bodhisattvas practice *prajñā*, the fire [of wisdom] incinerates everything in the three realms [of desire, form and formlessness], whether subjective or objective, but does not harm a single blade of grass or leaf in the process. The reason is that the various dharmas are forms existing in the state of suchness (*ruxiang*).<sup>15</sup> That is why a scripture [*Vimālakīrti sūtra*] says:<sup>16</sup> “Do no harm to

<sup>11</sup> Pan Guiming, the translator of selected sections of the *Zongjing lu* into modern Chinese (*Zongjing lu*, Foguangshan, [1996: 36 & 39]), punctuates the text so as to make the last two characters of this sentence, *jiayong* (literally, “house use,” or “used ‘in-house’”) the title of the scripture that follows, the *Jiayong jing* 家用經. As there is no scripture bearing such a title, I have refrained from following this suggestion, and have taken the cited scripture as an abbreviated reference to the *Guan wuliangshou jing* 觀無量壽經 (see below).

<sup>12</sup> An abbreviated citation from the *Guan wuliangshou jing* 觀無量壽經 (T 12.343a21-22).

<sup>13</sup> The thirty-two distinctive marks and eighty distinctive bodily traits are auspicious signs accompanying the physical attributes of a Buddha, distinguishing him from ordinary human beings. A common list of the thirty-two distinctive marks are: flat soles; dharma-wheel insignia on the soles of the feet; slender fingers; tender limbs; webbed fingers and toes; round heels; long legs; slender legs like those of a deer; arms extending past the knees; a concealed penis; arm-span equal to the height of the body; light radiating from the pores; curly body hair; golden body; light radiating from the body ten feet in each direction; tender shins; legs; palms; shoulders; and neck of the same proportion; swollen armpits; a dignified body like a lion; an erect body; full shoulders; forty teeth; firm, white teeth; four white canine teeth; full cheeks like those of a lion; flavoured saliva; a long, slender tongue; a beautiful voice; blue eyes; eyes resembling those of a bull; a bump between the eyes; and a bump on top of the head. These are listed in *Guan wuliangshou jing* (T 12.343a); the list here is drawn from *Japanese-English Buddhist Dictionary*: 255a (see also Nakamura: 472d-473d).

The eighty distinctive bodily traits represent similarly construed, finer details of a Buddha’s physical appearance. They are discussed in fascicle 2 of the *Dirghāgama sūtra* (Pali: *Dīgha nikāya*; C. *Zhang ahan jing* 長阿含經 [T1.12b]; see Nakamura: 1103c-d, *Japanese-English Buddhist Dictionary*: 95b-96a).

<sup>14</sup> The reference to the burning house is undoubtedly to the parable contained in the *Lotus sūtra*; given the context, the reference to meritorious deeds is likely to the *Lotus* as well.

<sup>15</sup> The term *ruxiang* 如相 (suchness) is common in Chinese Buddhism. It appears, for instance, in the *Weimo jing* 維摩經 (*Vimālakīrti sūtra*); T 14.547b22).

<sup>16</sup> This phrase is found in Kumarajiva’s translation of the *Vimālakīrti sūtra* (*Weimo jing*; T 14.540b24), and appears in various Chinese Buddhist commentaries: Sengzhao’s 僧肇 *Zhu Weimojie jing*

the physical body, and be in accord with the universal form [underlying all phenomena] (*yixiang*).”

Since we now know that [our own] self-nature is Buddha, no matter what the situation, whether walking, standing, sitting, or lying down, there is not a single dharma that can be obtained. And even though true suchness (*zhenru*) is not limited by any name, there are no names that do not refer to it. This is why a scripture [*Lankavatāra sūtra*] says:<sup>17</sup> “Wisdom is not obtained in existence or non-existence.”<sup>18</sup>

### Section 3

內外無求。任其本性。亦無任性之心。經云。種種意生身。我說為心量。即無心之心。無量之量。無名為真名。無求是真求。

Internally or externally, there is nothing to seek. Let your original nature (*benxing*) reign free, but do not give reign to a “mind” (*xin*) [that exists over and above] nature (*xing*). When a scripture (the *Lankavatāra sūtra*) says:<sup>19</sup> “All the various deliberations give

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注維摩詰經 (T 38.350a25); Zhiyi’s 智顛 *Weimo jing lueshu* 維摩經略述, summarized by Zhanran 湛然 (T 38.619c17 & 668c15); Zhiyi’s *Jingguangming jing wenju* 金光明經文句, recorded by Guanding 灌頂 (T 39.51a6); Guanding’s *Guanxin lun* 觀心論 (T 46.588b27 & 599b18); and Jizang’s *Jingming xuanlun* 淨名玄論 (T 38.847a22) and *Weimo jing yishu* 維摩經義疏 (T 38.940c1).

<sup>17</sup> A line from a verse in the *Lengqie jing* 楞伽經 (*Lankavatāra sūtra*; T 16.480a28, 480b1 & b3). What follows in the *sūtra* is, in each case, the verse: “... and yet one gives rise to a mind of great compassion.” The line also appears in Jizang’s (T 35.386b22) and Chengguan’s (eg., T 35.855a19) commentaries on the *Huayan jing* 華嚴經; and Zongmi’s *Da fangguang yuanjue xiuduoluo liaoyi jing lueshu zhu* 大方廣圓覺修多羅了義經略述註 (T 39.541b4).

<sup>18</sup> The first thing to note here is that some lines from this section are also attributed to Qingyuan Xingsi 青原行思. *Zongjing lu* 97: T 48.940b24-26 & 28. The teaching attributed to Qingyuan Xingsi there reads:

...is the true form [of the Buddha] (*shixiang* 實相) used by members of the Buddhist faith. The scriptures say: “The thirty-two distinctive marks and the eighty distinctive bodily characteristics [of a Buddha] are all products of imagination.” They (i.e., the scriptures) also say (i.e., the Buddha’s physical body) is the blazing house of the dharma-nature, and also the meritorious deeds of the dharma-nature....no matter what the situation, there is not a single dharma that can be obtained.”

<sup>19</sup> Lines from a verse in the *Lengqie ching* 楞伽經 (T 16.500b17). “Contents of the mind” (*xinliang* 心量) is another name for “mind-only” (*weixin* 唯心) (Nakamura, *Bukkyōgo daijiten* 770a).

rise to [notions of] physical bodies; I say they are accumulations of the mind (i.e., mind-only),” it refers to ‘mindless mind’ (*wuxin zhi xin*, i.e., the mind of ‘no-mind’, or a mind of spontaneous freedom) and ‘contentless contents’ (i.e., the contents of ‘no-contents’). The ‘nameless’ is the true name.<sup>20</sup> ‘Non-seeking’ is true seeking.

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The long commentary from Mazu, cited in sections 1 through 3 above, has no counterpart in the *Zutang ji* or *Chuandeng lu* 傳燈 錄. The only portion of the commentary from the *Zongjing lu* recorded in the *Zutang ji* and *Chuandeng lu* is the fragment cited below (section 4). The fragment is recorded in the *Zongjing lu*, as follows:<sup>21</sup>

Section 4

經云。夫求法者。應無所求。心外無別佛。佛外無別心。不取善  
不作惡。淨穢兩邊俱不依。法無自性。三界唯心。經云。森羅及  
萬像。一法之所印。凡所見色。皆是見心。心不自心。因色故心  
。色不自色。因心故色。故經云。見色即是見心。

[According to Mazu Daoyi]:<sup>22</sup>

The scriptures say: “Those who seek the Dharma (*fa*) should not seek anything.”<sup>23</sup> There is no Buddha separate from mind; there

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<sup>20</sup> An allusion to passages regarding the nameless (*wuming* 無名) in the *Daode jing* 道德經.

<sup>21</sup> *Zongjing lu* 1; 418c5-10.

<sup>22</sup> Although there is no attribution to Mazu by Yanshou in the *Zongjing lu* text, these lines clearly correspond to the *Mazu yulu* 馬祖語 錄 (X 69 2b22ff.; Iriya Yoshitaka 入矢義高, trans., *Baso no goroku* 馬祖の語録 (Kyoto: Zenbunka kenkyūjo, [1984: 19-21]), and other sources that record Mazu’s teachings, the *Jingde Chuandeng lu* 景德傳燈 錄 (T 51.246a9ff.), and the *Tiansheng Guangdeng lu* 天聖廣燈 錄 (X 78.448c11ff.).

<sup>23</sup> This is a common assertion found in Buddhist scriptures; see for example, the *Weimo jing* (*Vimālakīrti sūtra*; T 14.546a25-26). “There is nothing to seek” is one of the four practices attributed to Bodhidharma in the “Treatise on the Two Entrances and Four Practice” (*Erru sixing lun* 二入四行論). In the *Mazu yulu* and *Tiansheng Guangdeng lu* this passage is not attributed to a scripture but to Mazu himself. The *Jingde Chuandeng lu* concurs with the *Zongjing lu* in attributing the statement to a scriptural source.

is no mind separate from Buddha. Do not grasp good; do not create evil.<sup>24</sup> In both realms, the pure and the defiled, there is nothing to depend on. Phenomena (*fa*) have no intrinsic nature. The triple realm is simply [the manifestation of] mind (*weixin*). The scriptures say: “Infinite existence and its myriad images bear the seal of a single truth.”<sup>25</sup> Whenever we see physical forms, we are seeing mind. Mind is not mind of itself. Mind is mind because of physical forms.<sup>26</sup> Physical forms are not physical forms of themselves. Physical forms are physical forms because of mind. That is why the scriptures say: “To see physical forms is to see mind.”<sup>27</sup>

The *Zutang ji* and *Chuandeng lu* versions are virtually identical, and read as follows.<sup>28</sup>

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又云。夫求法者。應無所求。心外無別佛。佛外無別心。不取善  
不捨惡。淨穢兩邊俱不依怙。□□□□。念念不可得。無自性故。  
三界唯心。森羅萬象。一法之所印。凡所見色皆是見心。心不自  
心。因色故有心。

It [the *Lankavatāra sūtra*] also says: “Those who seek the Dharma should not seek anything.”<sup>29</sup> There is no Buddha separate from

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<sup>24</sup> The *Mazu yulu* and other sources have *shewu* 攝惡 (“reject evil”) for *zuowu* 作惡 (“create evil”).

<sup>25</sup> This phrase, “Infinite existence and its myriad images bear the seal of a single truth,” is found in the Chan apocryphal text, the *Faju jing* 法句經 (T 85.1435a23), cited by Chengguan 澄觀 in his commentary on the *Huayan jing* (T 36.60c28-29 & 586b6-7). Elsewhere in the commentary (T 36.301b16-17), Chengguan attributes the phrase to a *Prajñāparāmita* source.

<sup>26</sup> This is where the *Mazu yulu* and other sources end. I have attributed the following lines to Mazu, however, as best fitting the context of the *Zongjing lu*.

<sup>27</sup> The phrase is reminiscent of general Māhāyāna teaching. With slight variation, it appears in the *Panro xinjing zhuji* 般若心經註解 (Commentary on the Heart Sūtra) by Patriarch Dadian 大顛祖師 (X 26-573.949a1), suggesting that the phrase is an extrapolation of *Heart Sūtra* teaching (see T 8-251.848c4-23).

<sup>28</sup> Save for the character *xin* 心 at the end of the *Zutang ji* passage, which the *Chuandeng lu* lacks, the two versions are identical.

<sup>29</sup> As noted above, this is a common assertion found in Buddhist scriptures; see for example, the *Weimo jing* (*Vimālakīrti sūtra*; T 14.546a25-26). “There is nothing to seek” is one of the four practices

mind; there is no mind separate from Buddha. Do not grasp good; do not reject evil.<sup>30</sup> In both realms, the pure and the defiled, there is nothing to depend on. Sinfulness, by nature, is empty; passing thoughts are incapable of [committing sins] because they have no intrinsic nature of their own. Therefore, the triple realm is simply [the manifestation of] mind (*weixin*). Infinite existence and its myriad images bear the seal of a single truth.<sup>31</sup> Whenever we see physical forms, we are seeing mind. Mind is not mind of itself; the existence of mind depends on physical forms.<sup>32</sup>

(*Zutang ji* 14; ZBK ed. 514.8-13 & *Chuandeng lu* 6; T 51.246a9-14)

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The *Zutang ji* and *Chuandeng lu*, in effect, skip the long exegetical commentary attributed to Mazu in the *Zongjing lu*, cited in sections 1 through 3 above, and go directly to a second scripture quotation, which they attribute, by inference, to the *Lankavatāra sūtra*. Even here, where the *Zongjing lu* punctuates Mazu's comments with citations from scriptures to verify the accuracy of his interpretation (concurring with Yanshou's own stipulated methodology for revealing *zong*, the implicit truth), the *Zutang ji* and *Chuandeng lu* simply cite the *Lankavatāra* briefly and attribute the rest of the passage to Mazu himself. This effectively makes Mazu the authority, not the scriptures. Ishii Kōsei has suggested that the role of the *Lankavātara sūtra* in Mazu's teachings lessens from the *Zongjing lu* to the *Zutang ji* to the *Chuandeng lu*.<sup>33</sup> The omission of the long commentary attributed to Mazu in the *Zongjing lu* only reinforces this point. In the *Zongjing lu*, Mazu is depicted as a traditional Buddhist master, whose intimate knowledge of the scriptures and interpretive acumen are readily apparent. The presentation of

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attributed to Bodhidharma in the "Treatise on the Two Entrances and Four Practice" (*Erru sixing lun*). Here it appears to be attributed to the *Lankavatāra sūtra*.

<sup>30</sup> See n. 28 above.

<sup>31</sup> As noted above, this phrase, "Infinite existence and its myriad images bear the seal of a single truth," is found in the Chan apocryphal text, the *Faju jing* (T 85.1435a23), cited by Chengguan in his commentary on the *Huayan jing* (T 36.60c28-29 & 586b6-7). While Yanshou acknowledges its scriptural origin, the *Chuandeng lu* and other sources portray it as Mazu's own declaration.

<sup>32</sup> This is where the *Mazu yulu* ends. I have attributed the following lines to Mazu, however, as best fitting the context of the *Zongjing lu*.

<sup>33</sup> Ishii Kōsei 石井公成, "Baso ni okeru Ranka kyō, Ninyū sigyō ron no iyō" 馬祖における『楞伽經』『二入四行論』の依用, *Komazawa tanki daigaku ronshū* 11 (2005: 112-114).

Mazu as a Buddhist exegete conflicted strongly with the aims of later Chan lineage advocates. The latter shaped Mazu's image so as to minimize Mazu's scripture-friendly persona and exegetical tendencies.

In addition, one other item of note is the substitution of the character *she* 捨 (to reject) in the *Zutang ji* and *Chuandeng lu* in place of the character *zuo* 作 (to create) in the *Zongjing lu* version. This changes the *Zongjing lu* line: "Do not grasp good; do not create evil" (不取善不作惡) to read "Do not grasp good; do not reject evil (不取善不捨惡)" in the *Zutang ji* and *Chuandeng lu* versions. The *Zutang ji* and *Chuandeng lu* versions were eventually standardized in the *Mazu yulu* 馬祖語 . This small alteration effectively changes Mazu from advocating a conventional Buddhist morality, "do not create evil" into an advocate of an antinomian Chan, "do not reject evil," that has transcended the limitations of a moral dualism (good versus evil).

The *Mazu yulu* also incorporates the passages cited above from the *Zutang ji* and *Chuandeng lu*. The placement of the fragments occupies a prominent place in the *Mazu yulu*, the first sermon following the opening biographical section.<sup>34</sup> The fragments thus constitute the first teachings of Mazu that readers of the *yulu* are introduced to. Not surprisingly, the long *Zongjing lu* commentary is omitted from the *Mazu yulu*. As a result of this editing process, Yanshou's view of Mazu as scriptural exegete was effectively removed from historical memory.<sup>35</sup> As Yanshou was marginalized from the ranks of "true" Chan, his characterization of Mazu was similarly ignored.

In other words, the *Zongjing lu* fragments relating to Mazu Daoyi not only augment the source material that we have attributed to Mazu, they also dramatically challenge the way he has normally been depicted as the instigator of the iconoclastic, antinomian style of Chan promoted in Linji faction rhetoric.

As seen above, Yanshou's depiction of Mazu is built around fragments of sermons that are not recorded elsewhere, and as a result, did not make it into the

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<sup>34</sup> The *Zutang ji* and *Chuandeng lu* fragments are found at *Mazu yulu*, X 69-1321.2b19-c1 & GDL X 78-1553.448c8-15; Iriya Yoshitaka, *Baso goroku*, pp. 17-23.

<sup>35</sup> The *Zongjing lu* commentary is included among the appended supplementary materials not contained in the original *Mazu yulu*, in Iriya Yoshitaka's modern Japanese edition of the *Mazu yulu*, *Baso goroku*, pp. 193-197.

*Mazu yulu* (The Dialogue Records of Mazu), the standardized record of Mazu's teachings. There is one other major fragment of Mazu's teaching recorded in the *Zongjing lu* that augments and challenges the conventional image of Mazu derived from his existing *yulu*. It reads as follows.

如馬祖大師云。若此生所經行之處。及自家田宅處所。父母兄弟等。舉心見者。此心本來不去。莫道見彼事則言心去。心性本無來去。亦無起滅。所經行處。□□□□□□□□。今所見者。由昔時見故。皆是第八含藏識中。憶持在心。非今心去。亦名種子識。亦名含藏識。貯積昔所見者。識性虛通。念念自見。名巡舊識。亦名流注生死。此念念自離。不用斷滅。若滅此心。名斷佛種性。此心本是真如之體。甚深如來藏。而與七識俱。

As the great master Mazu says: "If you apply this passage from the scriptures to your own circumstances--your own family, land holdings, and domicile, your father and mother, older and younger brothers, and so on--and consider how to view mind, this mind never goes away. You cannot say mind passes away as a result of observing [your own] objective circumstances. The mind-nature never comes or goes, nor does it rise or perish. When the passage from the scriptures is viewed in terms of the current [situation] as it applies to your own family, your father and mother, dependents, and so on, all of these are recollections lodged in the mind, contained in the eighth alaya-consciousness, as the result of past views. It is not that the mind [generated by] present [circumstances] goes away. It is known both as seed consciousness and alaya-consciousness. When the stored-up accumulations of the past appear, the consciousness-nature reveals an illusory existence. Thoughts [currently] manifesting themselves are known as the consciousness derived from past [karmic accumulations]. It is also known as the pouring out of birth and death (i.e., samsara). Since these thoughts are naturally separate [from the original mind-nature], there is no need to extinguish them. When you extinguish the mind, it is known as

eliminating the seeds of Buddha-nature.<sup>36</sup> This mind is fundamentally the essence of true suchness, the very profound womb of the tathagata, and yet it complements the [other] seven consciousnesses.” (*Zongjing lu* 49 ; T 48.707b16-26)

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This passage is not attributed to Mazu in any other source. It is obviously intended to link Mazu to scriptural and doctrinal teachings, especially the *Lankavatāra sūtra* and the Weishi/Consciousness-Only School. The preceding passage in the *Zongjing lu* cites/paraphrases passages from the classic work of the Weishi School, the *Cheng weishi lun* 成唯識論.<sup>37</sup> Mazu’s remarks are intended as a commentary on these passages. The dependence on standard doctrinal formulations (like alaya-consciousness, which is nowhere mentioned in other sources for Mazu’s teachings) stands in contrast to the way Mazu is depicted in other sources. It emphasizes Yanshou’s view of Mazu as an expert in doctrine who readily applies his expertise in scriptural exegesis.

### **Contested Chan Identities: A Separate Transmission Outside the Teaching vs. Reliance on the Scriptures**

The competing images of Mazu Daoyi, as prototypical Chan iconoclast and as dedicated Buddhist exegete, are not unique but are part of a larger struggle over Chan identity as it emerged from the Five Dynasties period and entered the new Song milieu.<sup>38</sup> Although the debate was not always as reducible as is often supposed, the contest boiled down to two competing views over Chan identity: as a “separate transmission outside the teaching (i.e., scriptures)” (*jiaowai biechuan* 教外別傳) or a “special transmission within the teaching” (*jiaozhong techuan* 教中特傳).<sup>39</sup> With the predominate interpretation of Chan ceded to

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<sup>36</sup> Reading 斷佛性種 for 斷佛種性.

<sup>37</sup> T 31-1585.

<sup>38</sup> I have written elsewhere of these developments, in *The Political Ascendancy of Chan Buddhism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006) and *The Linji lu and the Creation of Chan Orthodoxy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008).

<sup>39</sup> Unlike *jiaowai biechuan*, *jiaozhong techuan* is not a phrase used in the tradition itself, but is a phrase I have coined to represent the contrasting view. For a fuller exposition see Welter, *Scholastic as Chan Master: Yongming Yanshou’s Conception of Chan in the Zongjing lu, A Special Transmission within the Scriptures.*

Linji/Rinzai orthodoxy, Yanshou's position has never really been given the consideration it is due. The position embedded in the Chan fragments in the *Zongjing lu* have remained "lost" in the fog of orthodoxy and not examined in light of a viable alternative on the nature of Chan identity in the early Song. The restored *Zongjing lu* fragments tell a different story of the Chan tradition, where the teachings of legitimate masters concur with the messages conveyed in scriptural teachings. In this interpretation, Mazu Daoyi is no longer the iconoclast depicted in encounter dialogues, but a sermonizing exegete who expounds Chan teachings through commentaries on well known scriptural passages in a highly conventional manner.

In conclusion, this study of the "lost" fragments of Mazu Daoyi in the *Zongjing lu* has two aspects or dimensions. On the one hand, Yanshou's interpretation of Mazu in the *zongjing lu* has implications for our understanding of the Chan tradition. By imagining Mazu as a prosaic sermonizer and exegete, the *Zongjing lu* challenges the received interpretation of Mazu in "encounter dialogues" and his place as a progenitor of the interpretation of Chan as a "separate transmission." In short, it challenges the image of "true" Chan promoted in orthodox sources. Secondly, the study points to the importance of the *Zongjing lu* for study of Chan. The Chan fragments in the *Zongjing lu* challenge the orthodox interpretation of the Linji/Rinzai School, replacing the interpretation of Chan as "a separate transmission outside the scriptures" with a different message of a scripture reliant Chan as a "special transmission within the scriptures"

# 21

## The Sacred Writing by Central Asian Buddhist Monks in China (3-5 C)

Tsui Chunghui

### Abstract

*The earliest existing Chinese Buddhist manuscript found in the world, the Buddhasaogxti S(tra, was excavated at Toyuq in Turfan, and was dated the sixth year of Yuankang 元康六年 (296 CE), in the Western Jin. It was written by Dharmaraksa's monk disciple Zhu Fashou 竺法首. (Figure 1, 1a) Who was one of the distinctive Buddhist scribes in Dharmaraksa 竺法護 translation team and was probably of Yuezhi or Indian origin. During the period when Buddhism was initially transmitted into China, historical documentation and archaeological findings both demonstrated that the sacred Buddhist writing by Buddhist monk scribes from Central Asia played a key role in transmission of Buddhism without borders. It also enhanced producing the diversity and vigorous calligraphic styles in China during 3rd to 5th century. However, before the 20<sup>th</sup> century, early Buddhist scribes or foreign calligraphers were unknown in history of Chinese calligraphy or official records. This paper presents a broader and more in-depth study of the extent and nature of the role of the Central Asian Buddhist scribes, as well as the significance of their calligraphic expertise to the history of Chinese calligraphers and calligraphy.*

### 1. Introduction :

In the early 20th century, as many as 100,700 Buddhist manuscripts were excavated from Dunhuang and Turfan.\* ( Table 1 ) The time span of the Dunhuang and Turfan Buddhist manuscripts runs from the 3rd to the 13th centuries which makes it extremely valuable for the study of the historical,

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\* See Guo Feng 郭鋒.1991. 敦煌西域出土文獻的一個綜合統計 (*General Statistics of Documents Unearthed from Dunhuang and the Western Region*), 敦煌學輯刊 (*Journal of Dunhuang Studies*), (1991-1: 63-76). The exact total number of the Turfan and Dunhuang manuscripts is still a mystery because the manuscripts were scattered in different countries' collections, some were lost, and some are in private collections and unpublished. The data is mainly based on Guo Feng's 郭峰 statistics compiled in 1991, Fang Guangchang 方廣錫 in 2003, and Xia Shengping 夏生平 in 2008.

cultural, and religious development of the Silk Road, as well as for the historical

development of Chinese calligraphy.

Table 1: Survey of number of Buddhist manuscripts excavated from Dunhuang and Turfan<sup>1</sup>

Place	China	Japan	Russia	Germany	UK	France	Others	Total
Dunhang Manuscripts	19,000	1,000	19,000		13,300	6,000		58,300
Turfan Manuscripts	12,000	8,000		20000 <sup>2</sup>	276		2,003 <sup>3</sup>	42,400

Among these numerous manuscripts, the earliest existing Chinese Buddhist manuscript found in the world, the *Buddhasaogxti S(tra*, was excavated at Toyuq in Turfan, and was dated the sixth year of Yuankang 元康六年 (296 CE), in the Western Jin. The manuscript was first recorded in the *Archive of Archeological Findings from the Western Region (Seiiki kōko zufu 西域考古圖譜)*<sup>4</sup> by Otani Kozui (大谷光瑞 1876-1948), a Japanese explorer, who conducted archaeological explorations of the ancient Buddhist sites in Xinjiang, Gansu, and Tibet three times between 1902 and 1914. It was written by Buddhist monk scribe Zhu Fashou 竺法首 (Figure 2) who was one of the Buddhist scribes in Dharmarakśa 竺法護 translation team and was probably of Yuezhi or Indian origin.

The translation of Buddhist scriptures into Chinese was the primary vehicle used to promote Buddhism from the early Eastern Han period (ca.1<sup>st</sup> century CE) onwards. During the initial stage, Buddhist scriptures were still transmitted and translated orally.<sup>5</sup> Before the invention of printing technology, ancient texts were all copied or written by hand by scribes “*xiejingsheng*” 寫經生, who were either Buddhist monks, lay persons, professional calligraphers or scribes, named a

<sup>1</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2</sup> 3,400 pieces in Chinese.

<sup>3</sup> 1,917 pieces in Chinese, Finland collection.

<sup>4</sup> 香川默識, 《西域考古圖譜》卷下 (日本: 國華社, 1915年6月), p. 3-4. The Archive of Archeological Findings from the *Western Region – Seiiki kōko zufu* (西域考古圖譜).

<sup>5</sup> Ren, vol.1, p.91, The Indo-Scythians conquered Bactria in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE, and accepted the Bactrian culture. Buddhism was popular at the end of the first century BCE. It is probable that the Buddhist scriptures were orally transmitted into Chinese by missionaries during that time.

“bishou 筆受, 筆授”, or “shoushou 手受.”<sup>6</sup> Many Buddhist monks or laymen from Central Asia played important roles in translating and writing the Buddhist texts. However, these scribes were largely unknown in history. So what is their identity? If they were Chinese, their calligraphic style could also have the same aesthetic qualities of contemporary calligraphers who influenced them. If they were foreign Buddhist scribes or monks, quite obviously it would take a longer period of time for foreigners to practice and learn to write Chinese calligraphy than a native Chinese. Who, then, played the major role in teaching Buddhist scribes to write Chinese calligraphy?

According to a comprehensive survey which focuses on the foreign monk translators and scribes ( bishou 筆受 ) in and before the 5<sup>th</sup> century, from literary records such as *Sengyou Catalogue* ( 出三藏記集), the *Biography of Eminent Monks* ( 高僧傳), *A History of the Development of the Buddhist Canon from the Latter Han to the Sui Dynasties* ( 歷代三寶紀), *An Illustrated Record of Translated Scriptures Past and Present* ( 古今譯經圖紀), indicates that in the very early stages, foreign monks assisted in the transcription of Buddhist texts by local Chinese or monks. (Table 2 ) Historical documentation shows that an increasing number of Central Asian Buddhist scribes joined the translation team of Dharmarakṣa from the Western Jin. Of further significance is that after the time of Zhu Fashou in 292 CE, some Central Asian and Sogdian scribes had acquired the ability to write Chinese calligraphy and join the translation team in the late 3<sup>rd</sup> to early 5<sup>th</sup> centuries.

**Table 2:** Ethnicity & number of Buddhist scribes in the translation team

Date	Translation team	Buddhist Scribes	Number of scribes		
			C	W	U
Ca.181	An Xuan 安玄	Yan Fotiao 嚴佛調	1		
ca. –186	Lokakṣema 支識	Foda 佛大, Mengfu 孟福, Zhanglian 張蓮	2		1
224	Wei Qinan 維祇難	Zhi Qian 支謙 (active 223-253)		1	

<sup>6</sup> Bishou 筆受 (or 筆授) is the title of Buddhist scribe who takes down the oral recitation from the translation master.

Date	Translation team	Buddhist Scribes	Number of scribes		
		CE)			
255	Zhi Qiangliangjie 支疆梁接	Zhu Daoxing 竺道馨		1	
266-308	Dharmarakṣa 竺法護	Nie Chengyuan, 聶承遠, Zhang Xuanbo 張玄伯, Sun Xiuda 孫修達, Rong Xiye 榮攜業, Hou Wuying 侯無英, Zhang Shiming 張仕明, Zhang Zhongzheng 張仲政, Nie Daozhen 聶道真, Zhe Xianyuan 折顯元, Zhu Fashou 竺法首, Bo Yuanxin 帛元信, Zhi Fadu 支法度, Zhao Wenlong 趙文龍, Kang Shu 康殊, Bo Faju 帛法炬	10	5	
291	Zhu Shixing 朱士行	Zhu Taixuan 祝太玄, Zhou Xuanming 周玄明	2		
382-413	Zhu Fonian 竺佛念	Tanjing 曇景, Sengdao 僧導, Tanjiu 曇究, Sengrui 僧叡, Huili 慧力, Sengmao 僧茂, Daohan 道含, Huisong 慧嵩 (from Gaochang)		1	7
383	Saṅghabhadra 僧伽跋澄	Huisong 慧嵩, Zhimin 智敏, Zhao Wenye 趙文業	1	1	1
397-398	Gautama Saṅghadeva 瞿曇僧伽提婆	Daozu 道祖, Daoci 道慈 (筆受), Li Bao 李寶, Kang Hua 康化 (共書)	1	1 (S)	2
398	Buddhabhadra 佛跋陀羅	Faye 法業, Huiyi 慧義, Huiyan 慧嚴			3
Ca.406	Vimalākīa 卑摩羅叉	Huiguan 慧觀			1
412	Kumārajīva 鳩摩羅什	Huigong 釋慧恭, Sengqing 僧 <sup>切</sup> 若, Sengqian 僧遷, Baodu 寶度, Huijing 慧精, Faqin 法欽, Daoliu 道流, Sengrui 僧叡, Daohui 道恢, Daobiao 道標, Daoheng 道恒, Sengzhao 僧肇, <sup>7</sup>		1	14

<sup>7</sup> “以弘始五年歲在癸卯四月二十三日,於京城之北逍遙園中出此經, 法師手執胡本口宣秦言, 兩釋異音交辯文旨, 秦王躬攬舊經, 驗其得失, 諮其通途, 坦其宗致, 與諸宿舊義業沙門釋慧恭僧

Date	Translation team	Buddhist Scribes	Number of scribes		
		Tangui 曇曇, Tanying 曇影, Bo Huirong 帛慧融			
423	Buddhajīva 佛馱什	Long Guang 龍光, Daosheng 道生, Dongan 東安, Huiyan 慧嚴			4
421-439	Dharmakīema 曇無讖	Hui Song 慧嵩, Dao Lang 道朗		1	1
439	Buddhavarman 浮陀跋摩	Daotai 道泰			1

(Symbols of Nationalities: C-Chinese; W-Western Region; S-Sogdian; U-Uncertain)

Having done careful research on numerous Buddhist manuscripts in the Lüshun Museum, Chinese scholar Wang Zhenfen 王振芬 compared the calligraphy of the *Buddhasaogxti S(tra* and *The Sūtra on the Metaphor 譬喻經*, dated the first year of Ganlu in the Former Qin 359 CE 前秦甘露元年), ( Figure 3 ) and identified the calligraphic style of the *Buddhasaog ti S(tra* by Buddhist monk scribe Zhu Fashou as being in the Zhong You 鍾繇 tradition of calligraphy,<sup>8</sup> which was mainly used in writing official government documents of the Western Jin, ‘*Jinshu Zhengxie 晉書正寫*,’ or “*Zhengshu Jinyan 正書晉言*.”<sup>9</sup> Owing to its authority, solemnity and faster writing speed than the official style of calligraphy, Standard Script, was not only used by government officials but was also adopted for

<sup>7</sup> 若僧遷寶度慧精法欽道流僧叡道恢道欄道恒道悰等五百餘人，詳其義旨，審其文中，然後書之，以其年十二月十五日出盡，校正檢括，明年四月二十三日乃訖。” *Sengyou Catalogue*, T55.53, b3-11.

<sup>8</sup> By the time of the Western Jin Dynasty, Zhong You’s 鍾繇 calligraphy of the standard script (*zhangchengshu* 章程書) had been adopted as the government official writing style. In the Western Jin, the *zhangchengshu* 章程書 in Zhong You tradition was called *Jinshu Zhengxie* 晉書正寫, which was also used for writing sacred Buddhists texts.

<sup>9</sup> Wang, Zhenfen 王振芬, 2006. 從西晉元康六年 (296 CE) 寫本探寫經體之源, (Research on the Origin of Buddhist Scripture’s Style: Based on the Manuscript of *Buddhasaog ti S(tra* Dated the 6th year of Yuankang Reign of the Western Jin), 書法叢刊 (Calligraphy Series), 2006-6, Vol.94, 文物出版社 Cultural Relics Publishing House, Beijing.p.1.

copying sacred books and writings, such as the Confucian classics and Buddhist sūtras, i.e., the *Buddhasaṅgati Sūtra*.<sup>10</sup>

Reviewing literary evidences from *Sengyou Catalogue* that specifically indicate that the calligraphic style used by Dharmarakṣa and Gautama Saṅghadeva's translation team before the 4<sup>th</sup> century was that of the Western Jin language (正書晉言), or the Standard Script *zhengshu* 正書, among which there are four sūtras written in the Standard Script of the Western Jin language; the data from Table 3 enables us to confidently conclude that the Standard Script was the main type of script used for copying Buddhist sūtras before the 4th century.

Table 3: Four Sūtras in Standard Script in *Sengyou Catalogue* 《出三藏記集》

Time	Buddhist Scribes	Nationalities	Buddhist Sutra	Calligraphic style
284	Rong Xiye 榮攜業 Hou Wuying 侯無英	Chinese	<i>Yogācārabhūmi Sūtra</i> 修行道地經	Standard Script 正書
290	Zhu Taixuan 祝太玄、 Zhou Xuanming 周玄明	Chinese	<i>Pañcaviśāti-sāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā Sūtra</i> 放光經 <sup>11</sup>	Standard Script 正書
291	Nie Chengyuan 聶承遠、 Nie Daozhen 聶道真	Chinese	<i>Tathāgatamahkaru ṅānirdeśa Sūtra</i> 如來大哀經 <sup>12</sup>	Standard Script 正書晉言

<sup>10</sup> A more detailed research about the use of Standard Script in Zhong You tradition in the Eastern Han period, please refer to my PhD thesis: TSUI Chung-hui (2010), *A Study of Early Buddhist Scriptural Calligraphy –Based on Buddhist Manuscripts found in Dunhuang and Turfan* (3-5 C), Chapter 1.

<sup>11</sup> 《出三藏記集卷7·放光經記第三》：「惟昔大魏潁川朱士行。以甘露五年（260 CE）出家學道為沙門。出塞西至於闐國。寫得正品梵書。胡本九十章。六十萬餘言。乙太康三年（282CE）遣弟子弗如檀晉字法饒送經胡本至洛陽。住三年。復至許昌二年。後至陳留界倉垣水南寺。以元康元年五月十五日（291CE）。眾賢者皆集議。晉書正寫。時執胡本者于闐沙門無叉羅優婆塞竺叔蘭口傳。祝太玄周玄明共筆受。正書九十章。凡二十萬七千六百二十一言。」（CBETA, T55, no. 2145, p. 47, c11-28）

<sup>12</sup> 元康元年七月七日，燉煌菩薩支法護，手執胡經，經名如來大哀，口授聶承遠道真正書晉言，以其年八月二十三日訖，護親自覆校，當令大法光顯流布，其有攬者，疾得總持暢澤妙法。” *Sengyou Catalogue*, T55, 63, b14-18.

Time	Buddhist Scribes	Nationalities	Buddhist Sutra	Calligraphic style
397	Gautama Saṅghadeva (translation) 瞿曇僧伽提婆 Dao Ci 道慈筆受 Kan Hua 康化, Li Bao 李寶書寫	Chinese/Sogdian	<i>Mādhyamāgama</i> 中阿含經 <sup>13</sup>	Standard Script 正書
481	Dharma-jātayaśas 曇摩伽陀耶舍	Central India	<i>Sutra of Innumerable Meanings</i> 無量義經 <sup>14</sup>	Clerical Script 隸書

## 2. Early Buddhist Scribes along the Silk Road

It is furthermore noteworthy that Dharmarakṣa was assisted by a group of various ethnics from Central Asia, India as well as native Han Chinese. A multi-ethnic cultural translation team included around thirty more assistants or scribes from various geographical regions of Central Asia. Zhu Fashou was one of the foreign monk scribes in Dharmarakṣa's translation team.

Through an analysis of the Table 2, we may classify the Buddhist scribes into three categories according to various ethnicities: (1) Chinese Buddhist scribes: the surnames of these scribes indicates they are Chinese; (2) Buddhist scribes from the Western Region (including Sogdian): the surnames of these scribes are Zhi 支, Zhu 竺, Bo 帛, Kang 康...; (3) Uncertain ethnicity: their ethnicity cannot be identified from their names. Based upon the above literary resources, information about the Buddhist scribes and script forms used by the scribes when they copied the sūtras can be learned from its scrutiny.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>13</sup>梁·僧祐《出三藏記集》卷9：「然後乃以晉隆安元年丁酉之歲十一月十日（397 AΔ）。於揚州丹楊郡。建康縣界在其精舍更出此中阿含。請罽賓沙門僧伽羅叉令講胡本。請僧伽提和轉胡為晉。豫州沙門道慈筆受吳國李寶唐化共書。至來二年戊戌之歲六月二十五日。草本始訖。此中阿含凡有五誦。都十八品。有二百二十二經。合五十一萬四千八百二十五字。分為六十卷。時遇國大難未即正書。乃至五年辛丑之歲。方得正寫校定流傳。」（CBETA, T55, no. 2145, p. 64, a11-20）

<sup>14</sup>《出三藏記集卷□·無量義經序第二十二》：「忽有武當山比丘慧表。生自羌胄。偽帝姚略從子。國破之日為晉軍何澹之所得。數歲聰黠。澹之字曰螟蛉。養為假子。俄放出家。便勤苦求道。南北遊尋不擇夷險。以齊建元三年（481AΔ）。復訪奇搜祕遠至嶺南。於廣州朝亭寺。遇中天竺沙門曇摩伽陀耶舍。手能隸書口解齊言。」（XBETA, T55, no. 2145, p. 68, a29-b6）

<sup>15</sup> See Appendix 4 in TSUI Chung-hui (2010). PhD thesis, p.423-425.

## 2.1. Chinese Buddhist Scribes

The first Buddhist monk to assist An Shigao 安世高 (active 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE)<sup>16</sup> in the transcription of Buddhist texts in the Eastern Han (25-220 CE), was the Chinese monk Yan Fotiao 嚴佛調 (ca.117–197 CE).<sup>17</sup> In 148 CE, An Shigao 安世高, went to Luoyang as a Parthian missionary where he established an informal translation group. He worked alongside An Xuan, 安玄 (active 181 CE), and Yan Fotiao.<sup>18</sup> An Xuan was a merchant who went to Luoyang around 185–189 CE.<sup>19</sup> Yan Fotiao joined An Shigao and An Xuan to translate the sūtras, and translated the *Ugradattapariprccha* (*Fajing jing* 法鏡經).<sup>20</sup> During the translation Yan Fotiao wrote down *bishou* 筆受, the oral translation of An Xuan.<sup>21</sup> This could have been a very early informal organization for translating Buddhist scriptures in China. There were some 35 Buddhist scriptures in 41 fascicles, and 20 of these are still in existence.<sup>22</sup>

There were other Chinese scribes who assisted the foreign monks during the initial stages. Among these were Meng Fu 孟福, Zhang Lian 張蓮, and Foda 佛大, according to records from *Sengyou Catalogue*. The Buddhist text translation teams were still on a small scale during these early stages. In the translation team of Lokakṣema 支讖 (ca.167 CE), and Zhu Shufo, 竺朔佛 (active 178–189 CE), the texts were translated by the two foreign monks and then written down by the Chinese scribes Meng Fu 孟福 and Zhang Lian 張蓮 at Luoyang. The sūtras

<sup>16</sup> An Shigao was a Parthian Buddhist monk translator, who was one of the earliest foreign monks to translate a large number of Buddhist texts into Chinese during the late Eastern Han.

<sup>17</sup> 玄與沙門嚴佛調, 共出法鏡經, 玄口譯梵文, 佛調筆受, 理得音正." *Sengyou Catalogue*, T55. 96 a14-15.

<sup>18</sup> Yan Fotiao was also the first monk in the history of Chinese Buddhism. "玄與沙門嚴佛調, 共出法鏡經, 玄口譯梵文, 佛調筆受, 理得音正, 盡經微旨郢匠之義見述後代, 佛調, 臨淮人也, 綺年穎悟, 敏而好學, 信慧自然, 遂出家修道, 通譯經典見重於時, 世稱安侯, 都尉, 佛調三人傳譯號為難繼, 佛調又撰十慧, 並傳於世, 安公稱, 佛調出經省不煩全本妙巧." *Sengyou Catalogue*, T55. 96 a14-20.

<sup>19</sup> Ma Yong 馬雍. 1990. 東漢後期來華中亞人考 (Survey of Central Asian People went to China during the Late Eastern Han) in 西域史地文物叢考 (Essays on History and Cultural Heritage of Western Region), 文物出版社. Cultural Relics Publishing House, Beijing. p.5.

<sup>20</sup> Zurcher, p.34, "...the attribution is confirmed by Kang Seng-hui 康僧會 (mid. 3<sup>rd</sup> c.) ' of Wu in the Three Kingdoms.

<sup>21</sup> According to the 6<sup>th</sup> chapter of the *You Lu* 祐 : "...Yan Fotiao took down the dictation by An Xuan 安玄, the language of what he transmitted was archaic but achieved the meaning of Buddha's doctrine", (...都尉 [An Xuan 安玄] 口陳, 嚴調筆受, 言既稽古, 義又微妙.) .

<sup>22</sup> Mizuno, p.45.

included the *Pratyutpannasamādhi Sūtra* in 179 CE,<sup>23</sup> the *Akṣobhya-buddha-kṣetra Sūtra* 阿閼佛國經, and the *Mahāsaṅghata Sūtra* 大集經<sup>24</sup>... etc., in 186 CE. The translation team of two other Buddhist scribes consisted of Foda 佛大, and Lokakṣema, who participated in the oral translation of the *Aśāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā Sūtra* 道行經 in 179 CE at Pusasi 菩薩寺 in the western Luoyang city.<sup>25</sup> Although Foda's 佛大 nationality is unknown, Meng Fu 孟福 and Zhang Lian 張蓮 were native Chinese and pious Buddhists 清信士 of Henan Province.<sup>26</sup>

## 2.2. Buddhist Scribes from Central Asia

From the above discussion we know that when Buddhism was transmitted to China from the Eastern Han onwards, many Buddhist monks or laymen from Central Asia played important roles in translating and writing the Buddhist texts.<sup>27</sup> Most Buddhist texts were mainly introduced into China by Buddhist monks from the Western Region, such as Kāśyapamātanga 加攝摩騰 (active ca.67 CE-), Dharmaratna 竺法蘭 (active ca.67 CE-), An Shigao 安世高 (d.ca.170 CE),<sup>28</sup> Lokakṣema 支謙 (or 支婁迦讖 147-185 CE).....etc., from Yuezhi, Central India, Parthia, Kucha, or the ancient Kushan Empire of the Central Asia.<sup>29</sup> Chinese scholars presumed that the Yuezhi were probably a

<sup>23</sup> 《出三藏記集》 般舟三昧經, 光和二年十月八日 (179 XE), 天竺菩薩竺朔佛於洛陽出, 菩薩法護時傳言者, 月支菩薩支謙授與, 河南洛陽孟福字元士, 隨侍菩薩, 張蓮字少安筆受, 令後普著, 在建安十三年□於佛寺中校定悉具足, 後有寫者, 皆得南無佛, 又言, 建安三年歲在戊子八月八日 (208 XE) 於許昌寺校定. " *Sengyou Catalogue*, T55. 48 c10-16,

<sup>24</sup> 沙門支婁迦讖, 月支國人, 操行純深性度開敏, 稟持法戒諷誦群經, 志在宣弘遊方化物, 以桓帝建和元年歲次丁亥, 至靈帝中平三年歲次丙寅, 於洛陽譯阿閼佛國經 (二卷) 大集經 (二十七卷), 般若道行品經 (十卷), 首楞嚴經 (二卷), 屯真陀羅尼經 (二卷) 阿闍世王經 (二卷) 無量清淨經 (二卷) 孝本經 (二卷), 般舟三昧經 (二卷), 古品遺日說般若經 (一卷), 寶積經 (一卷), 問署經 (一卷), 梵般泥洹經 (一卷), 阿闍世王問五逆經 (一卷) 兜沙經 (一卷), 內藏百品經 (一卷), 大方便報恩經 (一卷), 光明三昧經 (一卷), 禪經 (一卷), 雜譬喻經 (一卷), 阿育王太子壞目因·經 (一卷), 總二十一部合六十三卷, 審得本旨曾不加飾, 可謂善宣法要弘道之士, 河南清信士孟福張蓮等筆受." *An Illustrated Record of Translated Scriptures Past and Present*, T55. 348 c6-20,

<sup>25</sup> 《出三藏記集》 光和二年十月八日, 河南洛陽孟元士口授, 天竺菩薩竺朔佛時傳言者譯, 月支菩薩支謙時侍者南陽張少安南海子碧, 勸助者孫和周提立, 正光二年九月十五日洛陽城西菩薩寺中沙門佛大寫之." *Sengyou Catalogue*, T55. 47 c5-9,

<sup>26</sup> See Appendix 4 in TSUI Chung-hui (2010). PhD thesis, p. 423-425.

<sup>27</sup> Lin Meicun 林梅村, 1995. 西域文明--考古 民族 語言和宗教新論 *New Theory of Civilization of the Western Region*, Archaeology, Ethnicity, Language and Religion, p. 4.

<sup>28</sup> Chen, p.43. An Shigao 安世高 arrived at Luoyang during the reign of Emperor Huan 東漢桓帝 (ca.148 CE) .

<sup>29</sup> Mizuno, p.45, "Lokakshema, who went to China at about the same time as An Shigao, was born in Kushan, a large country that spread from Central Asia to northwestern India and was the most

branch of the Tocharian, who were active between Dunhuang and the Qilian Mountain. Due to their multicultural background these Buddhist monks were quite familiar with the various Central Asian languages.<sup>30</sup> Yang Fuxue suspected that the early translation of Buddhist scriptures used various languages, such as Tocharian, Sanskrit or Pali.<sup>31</sup> The earliest languages of Buddhist scriptures probably used were Tocharian A (in Gaochang and Qarasahr 焉耆), and Tocharian B (which was popular in Kucha).<sup>32</sup>

What is worthy of note from the list in Table 2, is that the number of foreign Buddhist scribes gradually increased from the 3<sup>rd</sup> century onwards. Buddhist scribes' nationalities can be ascertained from their family names, since their various surnames represented their geographic origins. Those Buddhist monks and translators might be good with several different kinds of Central Asian languages as well as Chinese.

However, what kind of Chinese writing script was adopted by Buddhist monk translators to write down the sacred texts during the period when Buddhism was initially transmitted into China? According to Ouyang Zhongshi 歐陽中石, "Clerical Script 漢隸 evolved gradually from Seal Script 篆書 and was in common use among the people during the late Warring States period (221-207 BCE). It reached its mature stage after the reign of Han Emperor Wu (140-87 BCE)."<sup>33</sup> Scholars such as Hua Rende 華人德,<sup>34</sup> generally believe that the gradual transformation of the mature Clerical Script 隸書 into Running Script 行書, Draft Cursive Script 章草 and Standard Script 正書 during the middle to late Han

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powerful nation in the area. ... Lokakshema went to China and at Luoyang translated into Chinese 12 scriptures in 27 fascicles.

<sup>30</sup> Yang, p.181.

<sup>31</sup> "支樓迦識,亦直云支識,本月支人,操行純深性度開敏,稟持法戒以精勤著稱,諷誦群經志存直法,漢靈帝時遊於雒陽以光和中平之間,傳譯梵文,出般若道行般舟首楞嚴等三經,時有天竺沙門竺佛朔,亦以漢靈之時,齋道行經,來適雒陽,即轉梵為漢,時又有優婆塞安玄,安息國人,性貞白,深沈有理致,博誦群經多所通習,亦以漢靈之末,遊賈雒陽,以功號曰騎都尉,性·靖·恭,常以法事為己任,漸解漢言,志宣經典,常與沙門講論道義,世所謂都尉者也,玄與沙門嚴佛調共出法鏡經,玄口譯梵文,佛調筆受,理得音正盡經微旨,郢匠之美見述後代...." *Biography of Eminent Monks*, T50.324, b13.

<sup>32</sup> Lin Meicun 林梅村, (1995: 3).

<sup>33</sup> Ouyang Zhongshi 歐陽中石. 2008. *Chinese Calligraphy*, p.59.

<sup>34</sup> Hua Rende 華人德. 2009. 中國書法史-兩漢卷 (*History of Chinese Calligraphy*), 江蘇教育出版社 Education Press of Jiangsu Province. P. 15.

dynasty (25-220 CE) constituted the first peak in the history of Chinese calligraphy and exerted profound influence on the calligraphy of ensuing generations. As such, it led to a bloom of calligraphers during the Han Dynasty and marked the first peak period of calligraphy in Chinese history.<sup>35</sup> (Figure 4)

Due to the different cultural and language backgrounds, at the start the Buddhist scribes who assisted in writing the texts were local Chinese. As Buddhism grew in popularity more foreign monks or Buddhists also learned Chinese calligraphy as scribes and joined translation teams or copied sutras for circulation. One must take into consideration that it took time for foreign monks to become proficient in writing Chinese calligraphy. The Buddhist scribes or calligraphers from the Western Region really made great contributions to the transmission of the doctrine of Buddhism in Chinese history. However, they were largely unknown in the traditional history of Chinese calligraphy.

Some of them were translators, while some practiced Chinese calligraphy of high quality as professional Buddhist scribes. Some of them were also good in writing Chinese calligraphy because their ancestors had immigrated to China generations previously,<sup>36</sup> such as Kang Senghui 康僧會, Zhi Qian 支謙,<sup>37</sup> and Dharmarakṣa 竺法護<sup>38</sup> ... etc. They learned Chinese calligraphy with the utmost devotion, respect, and perseverance so that they may help to spread the teachings of the Buddha.

### 2.2.1. Zhi Qian 支謙

The very early foreign Buddhist translator and scribe was Zhi Qian 支謙 (active 223–253 CE). Zhi Qian was of Yuezhi origin and was the earliest foreign *upāsaka* translator.<sup>39</sup> He was also a skillful scribe<sup>40</sup> during the end of the Eastern Han until

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<sup>35</sup> Hua Rende 華人德. (2009: 14-15).

<sup>36</sup> 康僧淵,本西域人,生於長安,貌雖梵人語實中國, *Βιογραφησι οφ Εμινεντ Μονκσ*, T50. 346 γ28–29.

<sup>37</sup> 後有沙門維祇難者,天竺人也,以孫權武三年齋曇鉢經胡本來至武昌,曇鉢即法句經也,時支謙請出經,乃令其同道竺將炎傳譯,謙寫為漢文," *Sengyou Catalogue*, T55. 96 a22-25.

<sup>38</sup> See *Sengyou Catalogue* (T55.97c20) .

<sup>39</sup> "時孫權已制江左,而佛教未行,先有優婆塞支謙,字恭明,一名越,本月支人,來遊漢境,初漢桓靈之世有支謙,譯出眾經,有支亮字紀明,資學於謙,謙又受業於亮,博覽經籍莫不精究,世間伎藝多所綜習,遍學異書通六國語,其為人細長黑瘦,眼多白而睛,時人為之語曰,支郎眼中,形軀雖細是智囊,漢獻末亂避地于吳,孫權聞其才慧,召見悅之,拜為博士,使輔導東宮," *Biography of Eminent Monks*, T50. 325 a17-26.

the period of the Three Kingdoms. Zhi Qian's ancestors had immigrated to China from Yuezhi in the time of the Emperor Ling in the Eastern Han, 東漢靈帝 (r.156–189 CE). He had been well educated in the traditional Chinese culture since childhood, and had also studied Sanskrit when he reached adulthood. In the latter period of the Emperor Xian of the Eastern Han 東漢獻帝 (r.189–220 CE), when the Luoyang area was in chaos, Zhi Qian escaped to the Wu Kingdom in the south. In 224 CE, he joined the translation team of Wei Qinan 維祇難 and Zhu Jiangyan 竺將炎 who were both from India.<sup>41</sup> These two Indian monks were not well versed in Chinese, which left the assigned task of writing down *Dhammapada* in the Chinese of the Wu Kingdom to Zhi Qian.<sup>42</sup> According to the *Sengyou Catalogue*, Zhi Qian escaped together with a group of his countrymen to the southern Wu Region during the latter period of the reign of the Emperor Xian of the Eastern Han, r.189–220 CE, when chaos was spreading in Luoyang throughout the northern area. Zhi Qian received most of his formal education in Central China where the influence of Zhong You calligraphy was pervasive. Zhi Qian was renowned for his linguistic skills, being fluent in six languages. Zhi Qian's talent and abilities greatly impressed the ruler Sun Quan, 孫權 (182–252 CE) of Wu who appointed him as a prince tutor.<sup>43</sup> This record illustrates the very high level achievement of Zhi Qian's Chinese calligraphy and literature.

The record in the *An Outline of Historical Researches into the Śākya Family Lineage* (*Shi shi ji gu lue*, 釋氏稽古略),<sup>44</sup> states that Zhi Qian went to the southern Wu area

<sup>40</sup> “吳黃武二年 (223 CE), 西域月氏國優婆塞支謙, 字恭明, 博覽經籍遊洛邑, 黑瘦眼多白睛。時語曰, 支郎眼中, 形雖小是智囊, 避地歸吳, 吳主悅之拜為博士, 譯佛經一百二十九部凡一百五十二卷。謙受業於支亮, 亮字紀明, 亮受業於支識。世謂天下博知不出三支。” *An Outline of Historical Researches into the Śākya Family Lineage* 弘明集, T49. 770b20-26.

<sup>41</sup> Zhi Qian translated many Buddhist sūtras, two of the important texts were *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa Sūtra* 維摩經 and the *Sūtra of Perfect Enlightenment* 瑞應本起經。

<sup>42</sup> “以孫權。武三年齋曇鉢經胡本來至武昌, 曇鉢即法句經也, 時支謙請出經, 乃令其同道竺將炎傳譯, 謙寫為漢文。時炎未善漢言, 頗有不盡, 然志存義本近於質, 實今所傳法句是也。白延者, 不知何許人, 魏正始之末重譯出首楞嚴, 又須賴及除災患經凡三部云。” *Sengyou Catalogue*, T55. 96a23-28.

<sup>43</sup> “漢獻末亂避地於吳, 孫權聞其才慧, 召見悅之, 拜為博士, 使輔導東宮, 與韋曜諸人共盡匡益, 但生自外域, 故吳志不載。” *Biography of Eminent Monks*, T50.325a25-27.

<sup>44</sup> “吳黃武二年 (223CE), 西域月氏國優婆塞支謙, 字恭明, 博覽經籍遊洛邑, 黑瘦眼多白睛。時語曰, 支郎眼中, 形雖小是智囊, 避地歸吳, 吳主悅之拜為博士, 譯佛經一百二十九部凡一百五十二卷, 謙受業於支亮, 亮字紀明, 亮受業於支識, 世謂天下博知不出三支 (弘明集)。” *An Outline of Historical Researches into the Śākya Family Lineage*, T49.770b20-26.

from Luoyang between 189 and 220 CE. He translated 129 volumes *bu* 部 with a total of 152 fascicles *juan* 卷 of Buddhist sūtras, fifty-three of which are still in existence. Zhi Qian's translation project was mainly carried out in the south. Some early important texts, such as the *Vimalakīrti Nirdeśa Sūtra* 維摩詰經, and the *S(tra of Perfect Enlightenment* 瑞應本起經, were translated by Zhi Qian. There may have been other scribes working together as a collaborative team to assist in such a large project.

However, very little record is known about him and other foreign monks in official Chinese history because they were foreigners.<sup>45</sup> Zhi Qian's translations and transcriptions of Buddhist texts were made in the south. The Buddhist calligraphy of a man of his stature surely did not go unnoticed and had an influential effect in the southern region. According to my research of early Buddhist scriptural calligraphy, the mature Standard Script of the Zhong You tradition had been created in 176 CE during the Eastern Han period.<sup>46</sup> Archaeological findings proved that it was adopted as government official writing as well as for the public daily usage in north and south China.

A comprehensive review of the Dunhuang and Turfan Buddhist manuscripts did not find any fragments or manuscripts bearing dates before 300 CE which were attributed the sūtras translated by Zhi Qian. The earliest extant dated Buddhist manuscript of a sūtra whose translation is attributed to Zhi Qian was dated to 368 and 373 CE in the Former Liang 前涼 *Dhammapada* 法句經. (Figure 5) The calligraphic style of the manuscript of *Dhammapada* is very close to a non-Buddhist text - the manuscript *Biography of Sun Quan* (in History of the Kingdom of Wu) 三國志吳孫權傳, which was unearthed from ancient city Yingsha 英沙故城 in Turfan in 1965 and dated to the early fourth century. (Figure 5a, 5b) The calligraphy of both manuscripts still retained strong implication with the archaic style of bamboo slips in the Han dynasty.

As mentioned above, the earliest Buddhist manuscript *Buddhasaṅgati S(tra* was written by Zhu Fashou in 296 CE in the Zhong You 鍾繇 tradition of calligraphy. (Figure 6, Figure 6a) We observed that some fragments were Buddhist texts

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<sup>45</sup> Ibid

<sup>46</sup> See TSUI Chung-hui (2010). PhD thesis, Chapter 1.

originally translated by Zhi Qian and then copied in the Zhong You calligraphic tradition. The calligraphy also preserved the archaic style of the usage of bamboo slips during the Han dynasty.

### 2.2.2. Zhu Fashou 竺法首

One of the distinctive foreign Buddhist scribes in Dharmarakṣa 竺法護 translation team to draw our attention is Zhu Fashou 竺法首, who was probably of Yuezhi or Indian origin. According to a comprehensive survey from Sengyou Catalogue which focuses on the foreign monk translators and scribes in and before the 5<sup>th</sup> C (Table 2), historical documentation shows that an increasing number of foreign Buddhist scribes joined the translation team of Dharmarakṣa from the Western Jin. Of further significance is that after the time of Zhu Fashou in 292 CE, more foreign and Sogdian scribes had acquired the ability to write Chinese calligraphy and join the translation team in the late 3<sup>rd</sup> to early 5<sup>th</sup> centuries.

The Buddhist manuscript, *Buddhasaṃgati Sūtra*, was excavated at Turfan in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. This manuscript has been determined to be the earliest Chinese Buddhist manuscript in existence, translated by Dharmarakṣa and written by his disciples, Nie Chengyuan 聶承遠 (from Luoyang) and Zhu Fashou 竺法首. It was written in the Western Jin style, using the Standard Script “zhengshu” of the Zhong You 鍾繇 (ca.151-230 CE) tradition, dated 296 CE, four years later than the date of the original translation 292 CE. Hence, it was written about 60 years after Zhong You had passed away. It is the earliest example discovered to date of the Standard Script style which includes the exact date and name written on paper from the Western Jin period.

According to records in the *Senyou Catalogue*, Zhu Fashou 竺法首 joined Dharmarakṣa's translation group three times. (Table 4) His first joining was in 292 CE, at Luoyang, to translate the *Buddhasaṃgati Sūtra*,<sup>47</sup> his second in 294 CE (at Jiuquan 酒泉, to translate *Acaladharmamudrā Sūtra* 聖法印經) and the third

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<sup>47</sup> See Appendix 4 (Buddhist scribes/calligraphic styles in translation teams, 181-439 CE) in TSUI Chung-hui (2010). PhD thesis, p.423-425.

time was to translate the *Tathāgatajñānamudrāsamādhi Sūtra* 佛說慧印三昧經 and *Sarvavaipulyavidyāsiddhi Sūtra* 佛說濟諸方等學經 respectively.

**Table 4: Main Buddhist scribes in Dharmarakṣa's translation team**

(The scribes listed in the table who had joined the translation team to write down more than two Buddhist sūtras)

Buddhist Scribes	Year	Sūtras
Nie Chengyuan, 聶承遠	266	<i>Suvikrāntacinti-devaputra-paripīcchā Sūtra</i> 須真天子經
Nie Chengyuan	286	<i>Pañcaviṃśati-sāhasrikā-prajñāramitā Sūtra</i> 光讚般若經
Nie Chengyuan	286	<i>Saddharma-puṣṭī Sūtra</i> 正法華經
Nie Chengyuan	289	<i>Vimaladattāparipīcchā Sūtra</i> 離垢施女經
Nie Daozhen 聶道真	289	<i>Paramārthasamvṛtisanirdesa Sūtra</i> 文殊師利淨律經
Nie Daozhen	289	<i>Mañjuśrīśrīvīkuroṣṭāpanavarta Sūtra</i> 魔逆經
Nie Daozhen	291	<i>Śūramgamasamādhi Sūtra</i> 首楞嚴三昧經
Nie Chengyuan, Nie Daozhen	291	<i>Tathāgatopattisambhavanirdeśa Sūtra</i> 如來興顯經
Zhu Fashou 竺法首, Nie Chengyuan	292	<i>Buddhasaṅgati Sūtra</i> 諸佛要集經
Zhu Fashou	294	<i>Acalaḍḍharmamudrā Sūtra</i> 聖法印經
Zhu Fashou	294	<i>Tathāgatajñānamudrāsamādhi Sūtra</i> 佛說慧印三昧經
Zhu Fashou	294	<i>Sarvavaipulyavidyāsiddhi Sūtra</i> 佛說濟諸方等學經
Nie Chengyuan	297	<i>Daśabhūmika Sūtra</i> 漸備一切智經

In 292 CE, Zhu Fashou and Nie Chengyuan worked together to write down the *Buddhasaṅgati Sūtra* at Luoyang 洛陽. Because there is no record of Nie Chengyuan traveling to Dunhuang or Jiuquan 酒泉, Chen Guocan 陳國燦 speculates that the *Buddhasaṅgati Sūtra* was copied by Zhu Fashou at Jiuquan first in 296 CE, and then brought to Turfan subsequently.<sup>48</sup> Thus, the manuscript

<sup>48</sup> Chen Guocan 陳國燦, 1983. 吐魯番出土的殘卷與敦煌高僧竺法護的譯經考略, (A Brief Examination of the *Buddhasaṅgati Sūtra* Found at Turfan and the *sūtra* Translated by the Eminent Monk of

of the *Buddhasaṅgati Sūtra* was probably a copy made by Zhu Fashou primarily for circulation purposes. The colophon of the *Buddhasaṅgati Sūtra* is the earliest record of the transcription of a Buddhist sūtra into Chinese. The fragment is still well preserved today, with 18 lines of characters written in ink, with five lines of colophons with the dates, names of the scribes, number of characters, and a wish for this sūtra to be spread widely. It was recorded that:

“On the twelfth day of the first month of the second year of the Yuan-kang (12<sup>th</sup> Jan. 292 CE), the Yuezhi bodhisattva Dharmarakṣa ( Fahu 法護), holding in his hand ...conferred it upon Nie Chengyuan 聶承遠 and the *upādhyāya*, disciple, *śramaṇa* 竺法首 who took it down in writing *bishou* 筆 [受]). May this sūtra be spread in ten directions [so that others] will carry out the magnanimous [work of] conversion ( 戴佩弘化 ) and quickly achieve.... this was copied on the eighteenth day of the third month of the sixth year of the Yuankang reign period ( 18<sup>th</sup> Mar., 296 CE). Altogether there are three scrolls and twelve chapters totaling 19,596 characters.”<sup>49</sup>

“□康二年正月十二日, 月支菩薩法護手執□

□授聶承遠 和上弟子沙門竺法首筆□

□□令此經布流十方, 戴佩弘化, 速成□□

元康六年三月十八日寫已

凡三萬 ( 卷 ) 十二章合一萬九千五百九十六字”<sup>50</sup>

The inscription records that “Nie Chengyuan took down in writing *bishou*;<sup>51</sup> and

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Dunhuang Dharmarakṣa), 敦煌學輯刊 (Collected Articles on Dunhuang Studies) Lanzhou, (1983-4: 6-13).

<sup>49</sup> English translation after Boucher, Daniel J. PhD thesis p.81. Buddhist translation procedures in third-century China: A study of Dharmarakṣa and his translation idiom, UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA (0175), 1996.

<sup>50</sup> Boucher, Daniel J. (1996: 81), The character “萬” was a writing error by Zhu Fashou. The correct character is “卷” (scroll).

<sup>51</sup> There is one character lost in this sentence, it could be “口授” or “筆授.” Nie Chengyuan helped both dictation and writing down the translation from Dharmarakṣa 竺法護 because he was also good

the *upādhyāya* disciple, *śramaṇa* Zhu Fashou 竺法首 bi [wrote, copy].” (筆授聶承遠和上弟子沙門竺法首筆). ( Figure 2 )

Zhu Fashou deliberately wrote down his dedicatory prayer (*fayuanwen* 發願文) as a postscript of the *Buddhasaṅgati Sūtra* which reads:

“May this sūtra be spread in the ten directions so that others will carry out the magnanimous work of conversion (戴佩弘化) and quickly achieve...”

Close examination of the manuscript of the *Buddhasaṅgati Sūtra* shows that it was copied in the very standard and reverent format of Buddhist sūtra calligraphy. Comparisons made with Zhu Fashou’s calligraphy of the *Buddhasaṅgati Sūtra* show it too was done in a very orderly and precise handwriting using the Standard Script. Each stroke was made in a very careful and deferential manner. Zhu Fashou’s calligraphy was described by Sengyou in Sengyou’s Catalogue as being, “very tidy calligraphy with a dense structure 書甚緊潔.”<sup>52</sup> This very short description of his calligraphy reflected the sublimely spiritual world of a Buddhist monk as well as a scribe. However, when examined more carefully, the calligraphy of Zhu Fashou’s manuscript reveals a static, hesitant, and over-cautious nature, one illustration being that the axis of the vertical lines lack fluent flow (*hangqi* 行氣) in the composition. This is because the manuscript was a copy from a model (*linxie* 臨寫) and not an original.

Meanwhile in 294 CE, Dharmarakṣa 竺法護 translated the *Acaladharmamudrā Sūtra* 聖法印經, at Jiuquan 酒泉, with Ju Fashou as his scribe. Ju Fashou’s written vow was “may the profound dharma be disseminated in ten directions, and the great vehicle established forever.”<sup>53</sup> In the same year, the other two sūtras *Tathāgatajñānamudrāsamādhi Sūtra* 佛說慧印三昧經, and *Sarvavaipulyavidyāsiddhi Sūtra* 佛說濟諸方等學經, were also written down by Zhu Fashou. The written vow of *Buddhasaṅgati Sūtra* and *Acaladharmamudrā Sūtra* is a decisive indicator

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in Sanskrit. 《出三藏記集》卷8：「持心經記第十出經後記。 大康七年三月十日。 燉煌開士竺法護在長安說出梵文授承遠。」 (CBETA, T55, no. 2145, p. 57, c19-21)

<sup>52</sup> “慧印三昧及濟方等學二經序讀第十六, “其軸題云, 燉煌菩薩沙門支法護所出, 竺法首筆受, 共為一卷, 寫以流通, 軸用淳漆, 書甚緊潔, 點製可觀, 究尋義趣, 或微或顯.” *Sengyou Catalogue*, T55. 50 c27- 51 a1.

<sup>53</sup> “元康四年十二月二十五日(294 CE), 月支菩薩沙門曇法護, 於酒泉演出此經, 弟子竺法首筆受, 令此深法普流十方大乘常住.” *Sengyou Catalogue*, T55. 51 b5-7.

that Zhu Fashou was a well-trained professional Buddhist scribe who adhered to a solemn *bodhicitta* (*bodhayecitta*□*pari*□*āmya*) vow.

This raises the question: who taught the foreign Indian monk Zhu Fashou to write Chinese calligraphy? Was his teacher the senior scribe Nie Chengyuan, who had been a member of Dharmarakśa's translation team for the longest time? He was in fact the oldest and probably most skilled scribe and calligrapher in the group, Nie Chengyuan certainly would be a chief candidate. ( Table 4 ) In order to clarify this point, we comprehensively surveyed the records from *Sengyou Catalogue* of the important Buddhist scribes who attended Dharmarakśa's translation team and had written down at least two Buddhist sūtras as listed in the Table 3.

From the Table 4, it clearly shows that the earliest record of Nie Chengyuan 聶承遠 in *Sengyou Catalogue* was his translation of the *Suvikrāntacintidevaputrapari*□*ccha Sūtra* 須真天子經 in 266 CE, and the last record was his translation of the *Daśabhūmika Sūtra* 漸備一切智經 in 297 CE. The time span of his membership of the translation team was at least 30 years. According to *Sengyou Catalogue*,<sup>54</sup> Nie Chengyuan 聶承遠 was intelligent and possessed a firm aspiration to help Dharmarakśa promote Buddhism. He and his son devoted most of their lives to transcribing Buddhist texts.<sup>55</sup> According to records in the *Changfang Catalogue*,<sup>56</sup> Dharmarakśa's translation project began in 265 CE, the first year of the Taishi era, Emperor Wudi of the Western Jin 晉武帝太始元年, and lasted until 308 CE, the 2<sup>nd</sup> year of Yongjia, Emperor Huaidi 晉懷帝永嘉二年. A total of 154 sūtras and 309 fascicles *juan* 卷 were translated by Dharmarakśa. Much of the responsibility pertaining to the assistance of the writing translation

<sup>54</sup>“初護於西域得超日明經胡本譯出，頗多繁重，時有信士聶承遠，乃更詳正文偈，刪為二卷，今之所傳經是也，承遠明練有才理篤志法務，護公出經多參正焉。” *Sengyou Catalogue*, T55. 98 a23-27.

<sup>55</sup>“清信士聶承遠，及子道真，竺法首，陳士倫，孫伯虎，虞世雅等共承護旨執筆詳校，而護孜孜所務唯以弘通為業，終身寫譯勞不告倦，經法所以廣流東夏者護之力也。” *Zhenyuan Catalogue*. T55. 794 a20-24.

<sup>56</sup>“月支國沙門曇摩羅察，晉言法護，本姓支，遊西域解三十六國語及書，從天竺國大齋梵本婆羅門經，來達玉門，因居燉煌，遂稱竺氏，後到洛陽及往江左，起武帝世太始元年，至懷帝世永嘉二年，其間在所遇，便譯，經信士聶承遠執筆助翻，卷軸最多，而高僧傳唯云護出一百六十五部，僧祐出三藏集記止，一百五十四部三百九卷，其中釋道安，又闕四部祐足。” *Changfang Catalogue*. T49. 64 c14-23.

team was given to Nie Chengyuan “[清]信士聶承遠執筆助翻卷軸最多 ( T49. 64 c19-20),”<sup>57</sup> who had been working as a scribe for nearly thirty years before Zhu Fashou (292 CE), Bo Yuanxin 帛元信, Zhi Fadu 支法度 ( 297 CE), Kang Shu 康殊, and Bo Faju 帛法炬 (307 CE), joined Dharmarakśa’s translation team. Thirty years was unquestionably a long enough period of time for a dedicated and talented individual such as Nie Chengyuan to cultivate and achieve a very high level of expertise and artistry. He was probably the teacher of the other scribes, both Chinese and foreign monks. Who else amongst this group was more qualified than he? Dharmarakśa translated these sūtras in Chang’an or Luoyang, two cities where Nie Chengyuan was also active. His calligraphic training may have been directly influenced by the Central China or Zhong You’s model calligraphy.

The aforementioned information indicates that Nie Chengyuan was the oldest and most skilled calligrapher in Dharmarakśa’s translation team and was active until the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century. There is a very distinct possibility that he may have taught his students to write the sacred teachings of the Buddha in the standard or the clerical script. We can reasonably assume that, after his death, Nie Chengyuan’s calligraphy of these Buddhist texts would in fact be copied and modeled by other scribes and Buddhists. It is also noteworthy that in the above discussion of the scribes and early Buddhist calligraphy, the written vow in the colophon of the *Buddhasaṅgati Sūtra* (296 CE), and the *Acaladharmamudrā Sūtra* 聖法印經 (294 CE), written by Zhu Fashou, 竺法首 without question proclaims that Zhu Fashou was a well-trained professional Buddhist scribe.

In short, one of the most distinguished calligraphers, who worked as a scribe in the translation team of Dharmarakśa 竺法護, was the Chinese Buddhist scribe Nie Chengyuan 聶承遠. He played an extremely important role in the translation team of Dharmarakśa because most of the translated texts were directly transcribed; or he played some other role, in providing assistance to Dharmarakśa’s translation team. His calligraphy was probably modeled and learned by many foreign scribes in the translation team, and it may be presumed that Nie Chengyuan’s own calligraphic style was similar to the manuscript, the *Buddhasaṅgati Sūtra*, which was copied by Zhu Fashou.

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<sup>57</sup> “其間在所遇 ▪ 便譯, 經信士聶承遠執筆助翻, 卷軸最多.” *Changfang Catalogue*. T49.64 c19-20.

### 2.3. The Sogdian Buddhist Scribes

According to the *Biography of Eminent Monks* 高僧傳, in the Three Kingdoms period, ( 220 - 280 CE), there were Buddhist monks from the Western Region of Kangju<sup>58</sup> with the family name of “Kang 康” or “An 安” who were skilled in Chinese calligraphy.<sup>59</sup> They participated in translation teams to become scribes, such as Kang Senghui, 康僧會 (? - 280 CE), a Sogdian,<sup>60</sup> whose ancestors came from Kangju 康居 in the Western Region.<sup>61</sup> ( Table 5 ) Kang Senghui 康僧會 was an accomplished calligrapher and Buddhist scribe.<sup>62</sup> The Sogdian Buddhist monks, Kang Shu 康殊, and Bo Faju 帛法炬 transcribed the *Lalitavistarasūtra* 普曜經 in 308 CE.<sup>63</sup> These surnames related to their geographical origins, Bo Yuanxin 帛元信 and Bo Faju 帛法炬, having the surname Bo帛, came from Kizil. Zhi Fadu’s 支法度 surname indicates he came from Yuezhi, and Kang Shu 康殊, with the surname of Kang, indicates he was a Sogdian from Kangju 康居. Both Bo Yuanxin 帛元信, and Zhi Fadu 支法度, collaborated with Nie Chengyuan 聶承遠 to transcribe the *Daśabhūmikasūtra* 漸備一切智經 in 297 CE.

The colophon of the *Lalitavistara Sūtra* from *Sengyou Catalogue* recorded:

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<sup>58</sup>“康僧會。其先康居人。世居天竺。其父因商賈移于交趾。會年十餘歲。二親並亡。以至性聞。既而出家。礪行甚峻。為人弘雅有識量。篤志好學。明練三藏。博覽六典。天文圖緯多所貫。辯於樞機。頗屬文翰。時孫權稱制江左。而未有佛教。會欲運流大法。乃振錫東遊。以赤烏十年 (247 CE) 至建業。營立茅茨。設像行道。” *Sengyou Catalogue*, T55. 96 b1-7; “釋曇諦。姓康。其先康居人。漢靈帝時移附中國。獻帝末亂。移止吳興。” *Biography of Eminent Monks*, T50.370, c24-25.

<sup>59</sup> Wang Naidong. 王乃棟1991. 絲綢之路與中國書法藝術: 西域書法史綱 (*Silk Road and Chinese Calligraphic Art: Outline History of Western Region Calligraphy*), 新疆人民出版社 Xinjiang People's Publishing House, Wulumuqi. p.88.

<sup>60</sup> *Sengyou Catalogue*, T55. 96 b1-7.

<sup>61</sup>“會於建初寺譯出經法, 阿難念彌經, 鏡面王察微王梵皇王經, 道品及六度集, 並妙得經體文義允正, 又注安般守意法鏡道樹三經, 並製經序, 辭趣雅贍。義旨微密, 並見重後世, 會以晉武帝太康元年卒 (280 CE)。” *Sengyou Catalogue*, T55. 97 a12-17.

<sup>62</sup>“康僧會, 其先康居人, 世居天竺, 其父因商賈, 移于交趾, 會年十餘歲。二親並終, 至孝服畢出家, 勵行甚峻, 為人弘雅有識量, 篤至好學, 明解三藏, 博覽六經, 天文圖緯多所綜, 辯於樞機。頗屬文翰。” *Biography of Eminent Monks*, T50. 325 a13-17.

<sup>63</sup> T55.0048b28.

“on the day *upo*□*adha* 本齋, in the fifth month of the year wuchen (戊辰), the 2<sup>nd</sup> year of the Yongjia reign (308 CE), the *bodhisattva śrama*□*a* Fahu 法護 was at the Tianshui Monastery, where he held the foreign (*hu*-version) text in his hand, and delivered it into Chinese orally. The *śrama*□*a* Kangshu and Bo Faju were scribes, and they wrote down the (*bishou* 筆受) texts.”<sup>64</sup>

普曜經 “永嘉二年 (308 CE) 太歲在戊辰五月本齋, 菩薩沙門法護在天水寺, 手執胡本, 口宣晉言, 時筆受者, 沙門康殊, 帛法巨。”

Since both Kang Shu 康殊, who was Sogdian, and Bo Faju 帛法炬, who came from the Western Region, joined the translation team as scribes to transcribe the Buddhist texts into Chinese, they may have learned and studied Chinese calligraphy previously for many years.

A point to consider concerning the identity of the Buddhist scribes from the list in Table 2, is that there was an increasing number of scribes from the Western Region who joined Dharmarakṣa's translation group after Zhu Fashou 竺法首. From the late Eastern Han onwards, the Sogdians immigrated to the Central Plain along the Hexi Corridor and inter-married with the Chinese.<sup>65</sup> They were astute merchants conducting business along the Silk Road, and were also accomplished horsemen, hunters, and craftsmen.<sup>66</sup> In the Northern and Southern Dynasties, the term “Hu” 胡 or “Zhaowu Jiuxing” 昭武九姓, referred to the nine family names of the Sogdians and represented families of the same origin, Kangju, such as Kang 康, He 何, Shi 史, Shi 石, Cao 曹, Mi 米, An 安... etc.<sup>67</sup> (Table 4)

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<sup>64</sup> “普曜經, 永嘉二年太歲在戊辰五月, 本齋菩薩沙門法護, 在天水寺, 手執胡本口宣晉言, 時筆受者, 沙門康殊帛法巨.” *Sengyou Catalogue*, T55. 48 b28-c1.

<sup>65</sup> Wu Yugui 吳玉貴 1997. 涼州粟特胡人安氏家族研究 (*Research on the Sogdian An Family of Liangzhou*), *Journal of Tang Studies*, 1997-3, 北京大學 Peiking University, Beijing. p. 303.

<sup>66</sup> It was said that Zhu Geliang 諸葛亮 cooperated with Sogdians to defeat Cao Cao 曹操 in the Three Kingdoms periods.

<sup>67</sup> Wu Yugui 吳玉貴 1997. p.303.

Table 5: Sogdiana (the region around Samarkand that straddles modern-day Tajikistan and Uzbekistan) as the Nine Jeweled Clans (*zhaowu jiuxing* 昭武九姓)

Clan	Chinese	Regions in Central Asia
An	安	Bukhara
Cao	曹	Kabudhan, Gubdan ( north of the Zerafshan River )
He	何	Kushaniyah ( between Samarkand and Bukhara )
Kan	康	Samarkand
Mi	米	Maimurgh ( either southeast of the Zerafshan River or Panjikent )
Shi	史	Kesh ( modern Shahrisabz )
Shi	石	Chach ( modern Tashkent

From Valerie Hansen, *The Impact of the Silk Road Trade on a Local Community: The Turfan Oasis, 500-800*

### 2.3.1. Kang Fashi 康法識

According to records from Buddhist literary resources, some types of script which were used for Buddhist calligraphy were standard script *Zhengshu* 正書, cursive 草書, and cursive-clerical *Caoli* 草隸.<sup>68</sup> As cursive script was in the early 4<sup>th</sup> century that the now famous and accomplished Wang Xizhi, 王羲之 (ca.303–361 CE), under the influence of cursive style by Wang Xizhi, a type of faster writing “cursive-clerical” was developed. According to the *Biography of Eminent Monks*, there were two Sogdianas from the Western Region, Kang Fashi 康法識 and Kang Xin 康昕, contemporaries of Wang Xizhi 王羲之 (ca.303–361 CE),<sup>69</sup> who were both famous for copying Buddhist sūtras and skilled at writing *Caoli* 草隸. The public was very impressed by their style of calligraphy. They had the ability to copy the Wang Xizhi style so precisely that it was impossible to distinguish theirs from the real thing.<sup>70</sup> There are no existing manuscripts or fragments of Kang Fashi 康法識 or Kang Xin 康昕 that have been

<sup>68</sup> See Appendix 4 in TSUI Chung-hui (2010) PhD thesis, p.423-425.

<sup>69</sup> “康法識 (c.374) 亦有義學之功，而以草隸知名，嘗遇康昕，昕自謂筆道過識，識共昕各作右軍草，傍人竊以為貨，莫之能別，又寫眾經甚見重之。” *Biography of Eminent Monks*, T50.348, b2-5)

<sup>70</sup> Ibid.

found to date, but given what is stated as historical record, it may logically be presumed that the Buddhist scribes from the Western Region were quite capable of writing high quality Chinese calligraphy in the 4th century which was at an equally high level as that of the calligraphic sage Wang Xizhi.

### 2.3.2. An Huize 安慧則 (307-313)

As legend has it, a copy of the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā Sūtra* made in Standard Script was written by a Sogdian Buddhist monk, An Huize 安慧則 (active ca. 307–313 CE, a contemporary of Dharmarakṣa). The “*Biography of Eminent Monks*” states that<sup>71</sup> An Huize was not a scholarly and determined boy but, upon reaching adulthood, he went on to become famous for his eloquence and skill at writing Standard Script calligraphy 正書 during the Yongjia reign at the Dashi Monastery 大市寺 in Luoyang.<sup>72</sup> At one point he made a copy of the larger version of the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā Sūtra* 大品經 (摩訶般若波羅蜜經), totaling ten volumes of work,<sup>73</sup> on a particular variety of very fine silk for the purpose of making it as an offering. The characters of his writing were small, the size of beans, yet they could still be clearly read.<sup>74</sup> He sent his manuscript on silk as a gift to a military general, Zhou Min 周閔, who was a pious Buddhist in the Western Jin.<sup>75</sup> Every indication from historical records indicates that An Huize studied and learned Chinese calligraphy during the late 3<sup>rd</sup> century in Central China. It would seem so unlikely as to make it almost an impossibility that his

<sup>71</sup> “安慧則,未詳氏族, 少無恒性卓越異人而工正書善談吐, 晉永嘉中天下疫病, 則晝夜祈誠, 願天神降藥以愈萬民, 一日出寺門見兩石形如甕, 則疑是異物, 取看之, 果有神水在內, 病者飲服莫不皆愈, 後止洛陽大市寺, 手自細書・繡寫大品經一部, 合為一卷, 字如小豆,而分明可識, 凡十餘本, 以一本與汝南周仲智妻胡母氏供養, 胡母過江齋經自隨, 後為災火所延, 倉卒不暇取經,悲泣懊惱, 火息後乃於灰中得之, 首軸顏色一無虧損, 於時同見聞者莫不迴邪改信, 此經今在京師簡靖寺首尼處, 時洛陽又有康慧持者, 亦神異通靈云,” *Biography of Eminent Monks*, T50. 389 b9-22

<sup>72</sup> *Pearl Forest in Dharma Garden*, 法苑珠林 T53. 0417b05.

<sup>73</sup> The larger version *Mahāprajñāpāramitā Sūtra* 大品經 copied by An Huize was probably the version translated by Dharmarakṣa 竺法護 in 286 C.E., it was *Pañcaviṃśati-sāhasrikā-prajñāramita* 光讚經 (T 222.8.147a–216b.) in ten fascicles with a total of 25,000 lines.

<sup>74</sup> *Biography of Eminent Monks*, T50. 389 b9-22.

<sup>75</sup> “晉周閔, 汝南人也, 晉護軍將軍, 世奉法, 蘇峻之亂都邑人士皆東西滅遷, 閔家有品一部, 以半幅八丈素反覆書之, 又有餘經數囊, 品亦雜在其中, 既當避難單行不能得盡持去, 尤惜品不知在何囊中, 倉卒應去, 不展尋搜裘回嘆咤, 不覺品忽自出外, 閔驚喜持去, 周氏遂世寶之, 今云尚在, 一說云, 周高婦胡母氏有素書品, 素廣五寸, 而品一部盡在焉, 又並有舍利, 銀甕貯之, 並緘於深篋, 永嘉之亂胡母將避兵南奔, 經及舍利自出篋外, 因取懷之以渡江東, 又嘗遇火不暇取經, 及屋盡火滅得之於灰燼之下, 儼然如故, 會稽王道子就高曾雲, 求以供養, 後嘗暫在新渚寺, 劉敬叔雲, 曾親見此經, 字如麻大巧密分明, 新渚寺今天安是也, 此經蓋得道僧釋慧則所寫也, 或云, 嘗在簡靖寺, 靖首尼讀誦之” *Pearl Forest in Dharma Garden* 法苑珠林, T53. 417b.

Standard Script calligraphic style was not influenced by the Zhong You tradition.<sup>76</sup>

### 3. Conclusion

Before the invention of printing technology, the ancient books, or Buddhist texts, were all dependent on scribes for copying. Despite their immeasurable importance, these scribes remain unknown and were ignored by historians or art historians. In the process of spreading Buddhism into China, Buddhist monks, translators, scribes, and members of the laity joined translation teams to translate, write down, or copy Buddhist texts. Examining of the calligraphic styles of Buddhist manuscripts based on an analysis of early Buddhist scriptures before 500 CE and the calligraphic styles used by Central Asian Buddhist translators and scribes in copying Buddhist texts, it can be concluded that the Standard Script was the main writing script form used in copying sacred sūtras before the 5<sup>th</sup> century. In this paper, we also explored the identity of some important Central Asian Buddhist scribes during the period when Buddhism was initially transmitted into China.

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<sup>76</sup>Sun Chuanpo 孫傳波. 2007. 旅順博物館藏吐魯番出土北朝時期佛經殘片書體探源 (Origin of the Calligraphy of the Buddhist Manuscripts of the Northern Dynasty Unearthed from Turfan in Lüshun Museum Collection), 大連文物, 2007-11, [http://www.whj.dl.gov.cn/info/158883\\_179189.vm](http://www.whj.dl.gov.cn/info/158883_179189.vm). “對於寫經體的書法特色，來方家多有論述。有的認為‘是從隸到楷衍變過程中，形形色色的楷書體’，有的認為寫經體是隸書體向楷體的過渡，但多數論者是從書法特點的角度來分析，且多以敦煌寫經為範本來進行研究，很少及吐魯番北朝寫經體的具體特點與其書體之源。”

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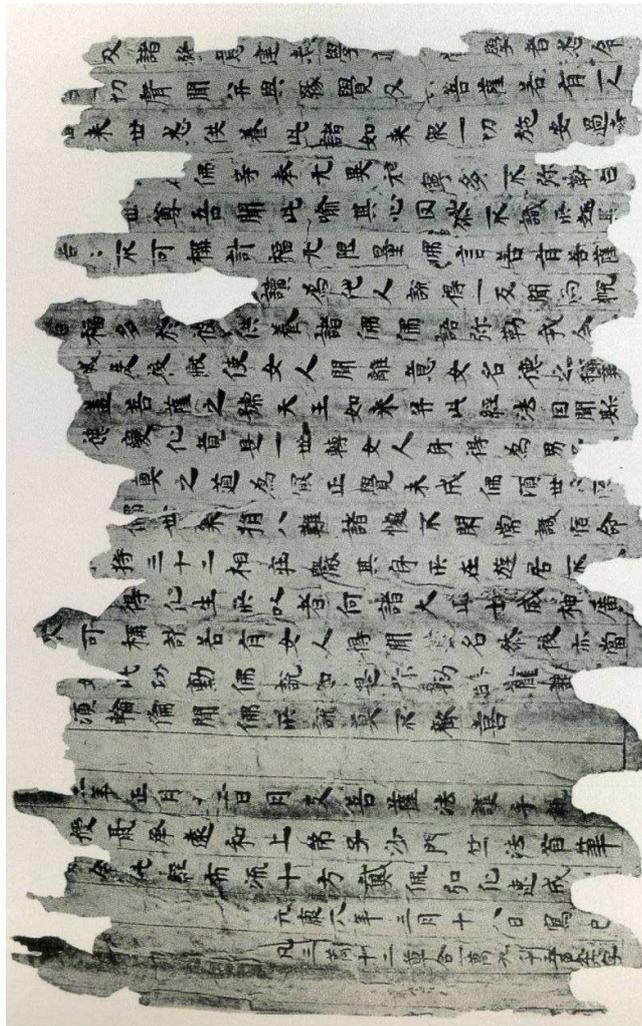


Figure 4. The earliest existing Buddhist manuscript, the *Buddhasaṅgīti Sūtra*, 諸佛興集經 dated 296 CE, was found at the Buddhist site, Toyuq, in Turfan in 1908.

From : Chinese Calligraphy, p.147.

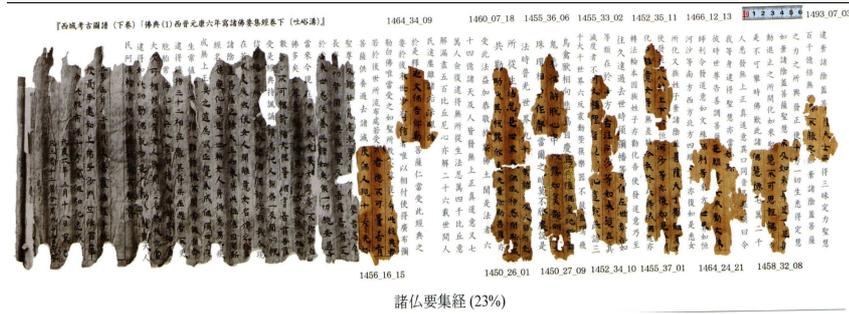


Figure 1a. Fragments of the *Buddhasaogxti S(tra)* 諸佛要集經, Ink on paper.

Dated 296 CE (the 6th year of Yuankang reign in the Western Jin西晉元康六年), excavated from Toyuq, Turfan.

(The picture was reconstructed from several fragments of the *Buddhasaogxti S(tra)*. The largest one on the left went missing after it was first published in 1915 in the *Seiki kōko zufu*. The 14 smaller fragments on the right were rediscovered during a research project conducted by the Lüshun Museum and the Ryukoku University Library from 2003 to 2006.)

From: 旅順博物館藏新疆出土漢文佛經選粹 (Selections of Chinese Buddhist Manuscripts from Lushun Museum Collection) p.2

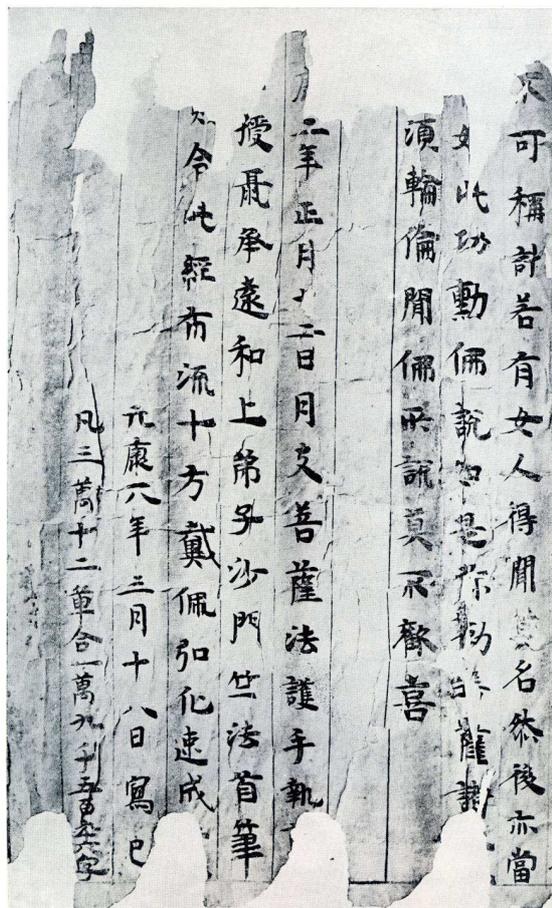


Figure 5. The colophon of *Buddhasaogxti S(tra*

It records that “Nie Chengyuan took down in writing bishou; and the upādhyāya disciple, śramaṇa Zhu Fashou 竺法首 bi [wrote, copy].”

「授聶承遠和上弟子沙門竺法首筆」.

From : Nigensha, 1967. Rikuchō shakei shū 六朝寫經集 (Collection of Buddhist Manuscripts of the Six Dynasties), p.1.

譬喻經第廿  
出廣演品  
昔佛在舍衛國說法教化天龍鬼神帝王人民三  
時聽經彼時國王名波斯匿為人憍慢放恣  
情欲日減於色目訖於聲鼻著臭香口恣  
味身受細滑食餽極美初无厭足人言遂多  
恒告飢渴憂懼而思處以食為常身體肥盛  
乘輦不暇臥起呼吸喧苦檀象聞息輒絕  
驚寤經時驚覺坐臥身呻吟患苦身重不能轉  
側以身為患便勅羣駕往到佛所侍者扶持問  
信却坐叉手白佛言世尊處侍覲省諮受无階

Figure 6. *The Sūtra on the Metaphor*, 譬喻經出廣演品

Dated the first year of Ganlu reign in the Former Qin (359 CE).

359.24 x 239.3 mm, ink on paper, (figure from *Chinese Calligraphy*, p.170)

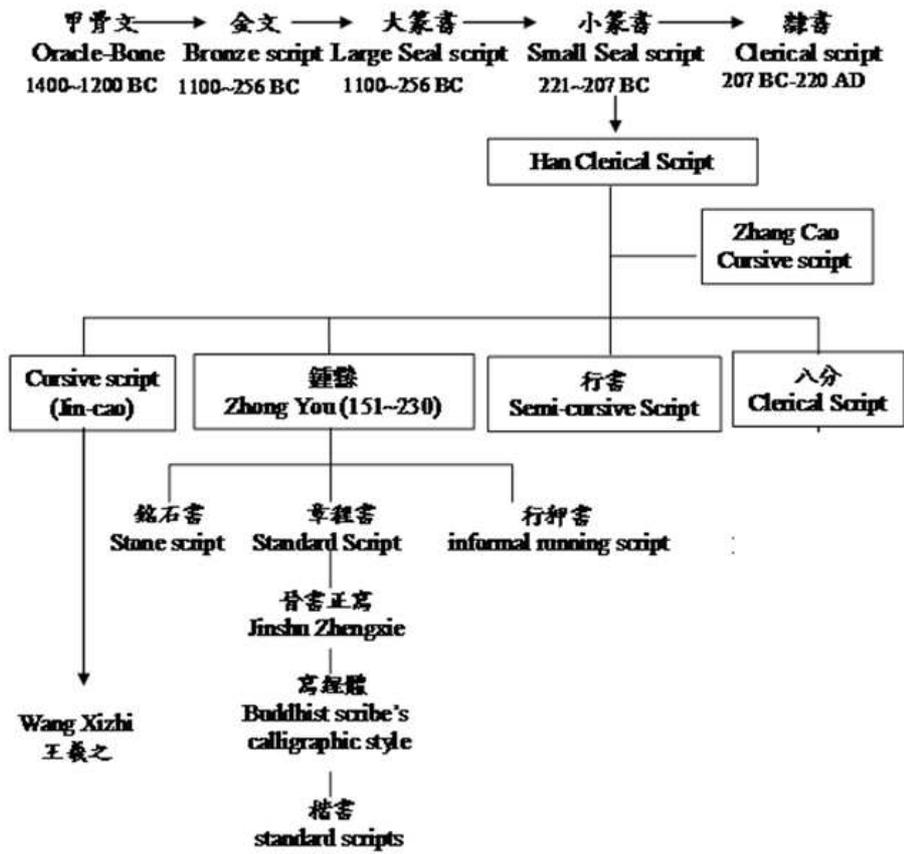


Figure 4. Evolution of styles of Chinese calligraphy

The transformation of various scripts from Clerical Script in the Han Dynasty



Figure 5. Dhammapada 法句經, attributed to Zhi Qian's 支謙 translation.

135 cm × 24.9 cm, scroll, ink on yellow hemp paper 黃麻紙,

Gansu Provincial Museum collection,

From : Xu Zufan 徐祖藩, 1985, 敦煌遺書書法選 (Selection of Dunhuang Manuscripts Calligraphy)



Figure 5a. Enlargement of calligraphy of *Dhammapada* 法句經



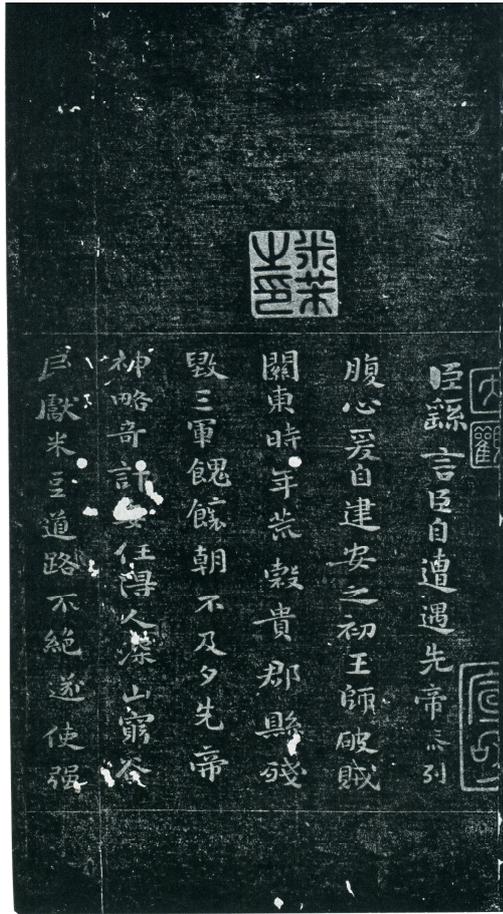
Figure 5b. Biography of Sun Quan (in *History of the Kingdom of Wu*) 三國志吳志孫權傳, retaining strong influence from the writing of bamboo slips.

像 常 元 鍾



Figure 6. Portrait of Zhong You

From: *Shodō zenshū*, V.3, p.24.



薦季直表(真賞齋帖)

**Figure 6a.** Rubbing of Zhong You Memorial Recommending Jhi zhi 薦季直表,

12.6 x 40.4 cm

Wei of Three Kingdoms, 221 CE, was a work of the later phase by Zhong You,

From Zhen Shang Zhai Tie 真賞齋帖, a model calligraphy book of the Ming dynasty, Palace Museum, Beijing.

From: *Shodō zenshū*, V.3, p.111.

## Images of Monks with the Uḥḥa from the Kucha and Turfan Regions

Tianshu Zhu

According to the scriptures, Śākyamuni is supposed to have been born with thirty-two *mah puruḥḥa lakḥḥas* (characteristics/body-marks of the Great Person) and eighty *anuḥḥa jana* (minor marks). The *uḥḥa*, “the protrusion on top of the head,” is one of the thirty-two *mah puruḥḥa lakḥḥas*. In standard Buddhist iconography, the *uḥḥa* is almost an exclusive attribute of the Buddha image. However, some monk images are clearly shown with the cranial protuberance. They are mainly found in Buddhist caves and temple sites in the Kucha and Turfan regions in Central Asia and a few in the Aśoka caves in India. These images have long been overlooked until recently when Monika Zin conducted research on this unusual iconography. Based on an extensive study of Aśoka paintings and a survey of the rest of the Buddhist world, she proposes that the *uḥḥa* on monk figures was meant to indicate either that they were members of the Śākya clan (Śānda and Nanda) or that they were future Buddhas.<sup>1</sup> However, in Kucha paintings, monk figures with the *uḥḥa* are not restricted to these two categories. They include Śākyamuni’s principle disciples who are out of Śākya clan. Yet, the question of why this iconography only appears in the limited areas and is absent in the Theravada/Pāli tradition in South India and Southeast Asia and in the Mahāyāna tradition in East Asia is still unanswered. This paper attempts to search for the possible connection among the regions where this iconography appears and how it may relate to the Sarvāstivāda, a Hīnayāna school which is believed to have dominated Kucha and also existed at the sites of Turfan and Aśoka. The purpose of the paper is to study the significance of endowing the *uḥḥa* on the non-Buddha figures in Buddhist theory and practice. Since the Kucha caves yield the most intensive depictions of such images and the images at Turfan bear inscriptions that are crucial for interpreting the meaning of the iconography, I will focus on the images from these two areas, which have not been previously examined at length.

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<sup>1</sup> Monika Zin, “The *Uḥḥa* as a Physical Characteristic of the Buddha’s Relatives and Successors,” *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 9 (2003: 107-130).

## Images

### Kucha region: Kizil caves

The ancient state of Kucha was located on the Northern part of the trade route in Central Asia, which is now part of present-day China. A number of Buddhist cave sites have been found in Kucha including the renowned Kizil. It is one of the earliest and also the largest Buddhist cave sites in Central Asia.<sup>1</sup> Images of monks with the *u•)x•a* can frequently be found in the central-pillar type of caves at Kucha and appear in virtually all the themes of the iconographic program of the caves (Fig. 1): the Buddha's assemblies on the side walls of the main hall, the depictions of *avadanas* on the vaulted ceiling, the *parinirvāṇa* and related episodes in the back chamber, the First Council in the left corridor, and among the devotee and monk figures on the side wall of the central pillar. A monk bearing an *u•)x•a* can either be the key figure of the narrative or just as a member of the audience. As the discussion below will show, they are either *śākyamuni* in his past incarnation or one of the Buddha's principle disciples, but they are not necessarily from the *śākya* clan. Only a limited number of these depictions at this cave site have been identified while most of them still remain undetermined. The following are examples of each theme.

#### Group I. Buddha's teaching assemblies

Monks with *u•)x•as* can frequently be found in paintings of the Buddha's preaching assemblies. Among these monks, Purna Maitrīyaṇiputra has been identified,<sup>2</sup> and can be seen in Kizil Cave 14 (Fig.2a) and 181 (Fig.2b).

According to the *Buddha P'rovacary Saṅgraha S'tra (Fo benxing ji jing)*,<sup>3</sup> Purna Maitrīyaṇiputra was born in a Brahman family of the imperial priesthood, the same day that *śākyamuni* was born. The night when *śākyamuni* renounces worldly life, Purna Maitrīyaṇiputra also secretly leaves his family to begin his

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<sup>1</sup> Since only Kizil caves are relatively well published, examples in this paper are mainly from Kizil.

<sup>2</sup> This subject in Cave 181 is identified in Duan Wenjie, *Zhongguo meishu fenlei quanji: Zhongguo Xinjiang bihua quangji III: Kizil* (Tianjing: Tianjing meishu sheying chubanshe & Tianjing renmin chubanshe, 1995: 30, 32,) fig.66.

<sup>3</sup> *Taisho* 3:190. 824a-825a. The *Buddha P'rovacary Saṅgraha S'tra* is the most developed form of the biography of the Buddha, and commonly attributed to the Dharmaguptaka school. Hajime Nakamura, *Indian Buddhism* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, first edition: Japan 1980, reprint 1999), p.132.

ascetic life in the Snow Mountains. Through his practice, he reaches the Four Dhy na Heavens<sup>4</sup> and obtains the Five Supernatural Powers. After | kyamuni has achieved enlightenment, Purna Maitr yaniputra comes to follow the Buddha. Just as depicted in the paintings, when the two meet, Purna Maitr yaniputra prostrates himself with his head at the feet of the Buddha. He holds the Buddha's feet with both hands and kisses the teacher's feet. Then, Purna Maitr yaniputra kneels down on one knee and praises the Buddha. In the paintings of Cave 14 and 181, Purna Maitr yaniputra is shown twice: first prostrating and then kneeling by the Buddha. Purna Maitr yaniputra is one of the ten chief disciples of Ś kyamuni. He appears as one of the interlocutors in the Ś(rangama-sūtra. According to the same s(tra, Purna Maitr yaniputra is said to be born with the mah puru•a marks, which explains why he is depicted with the u•)X•a in the Kizil paintings.<sup>5</sup>

Other unidentified monk figures possessing the u•)X•a also seem to be close disciples of the Buddha. For example, in Kizil Cave 227, one such figure attends the Buddha of the main niche (Fig.2c). In Cave 123 (Fig. 2d), a similar figure stands to the Buddha's immediate top left. The close position of these figures to the Buddha speaks to their importance. These figures clearly represent the monks, not the Buddhas. Unlike the Buddha images in Kizil paintings that are shown with a high, round protuberance, the u•)X•as on the monk figures are small and low. In addition, the Buddha figure's hairline is round and smooth; while the hairlines on the images on the monks with the u•)X•as recess in sharp zigzag angles. Further, in contrast to | kyamuni, these monk figures usually do not have halos around them.

## **Group II. The avad nas**

Among the avad nas on the ceiling, two scenes with images of monks possessing the u•)X•a have been identified: the "poor woman offering a lamp" and "Buddha

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<sup>4</sup> The eighteen Brahmlokas are divided into four levels and are reached through the four stages of dhy na (meditation) practice.

<sup>5</sup> *Taish* 3: 190.824a-825a.

Fu•ya painting a self-portrait.”<sup>6</sup> However, the *u•)x•a* on the attendants in these paintings has not been recognized and remains unexplained.

According to the *S(tra of the Wise and the Foolish (Xianyu jing)*, a poor woman, Nanda, gives all that she has collected in order to buy oil to offer an oil-lamp to the Buddha. Her lamp shines throughout the night when all the other lamps die out. Even Maudgaly yana, one of | kyamuni’s top disciples, who is on duty the next day, is not able to extinguish the light.<sup>7</sup> The depiction of this story in Kizil Cave 196 (Fig. 3a) shows an image of a monk with an *u•)x•a* besides Nanda. Scholars have been using the *S(tra of the Wise and the Foolish* to identify the story.<sup>8</sup> Based on this text, the monk figure in the painting could be Maudgaly yana. This story is also seen in the Sanskrit *Divy vad na*<sup>9</sup> and *M(lasarv stiv da Vinaya*<sup>10</sup>, in which the woman then makes a vow in front of the Buddha, “May I become a Buddha just like you in the future.” Afterwards, the Buddha predicts her enlightenment.

The scene of Buddha Fu•ya painting a self-portrait appears in Kizil Cave 34 (Fig. 3b) and 38 (Fig. 3c). This event is also explained in the *S(tra of the Wise and the Foolish*. At the time of Buddha Fu•ya in the remote past, the presiding ruler, King Boseqi (V suki?), wanted to make images of the Buddha for his people to venerate. All the court painters fail to capture the auspicious marks of the Buddha. Finally, Fu•ya picks up the brush and paints a self-portrait for the court painters. When | kyamuni at a future time relates the story of Fu•ya as an *avad na*, he explains that King Boseqi was himself in one of his previous lives. The merit accrued by Boseqi for making images of the Buddha, insured that he

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<sup>6</sup> Ma Shichang, “Kizil zhongxinzhū kù zhūshì quāndìng yú hóushì de bīhuà (The Paintings on the Vaulted Ceilings of the Main Halls and the Back Chambers of the Central-pillar Caves at Kizil),” *Zhongguo shiku – Kizil shiku II* (Beijing: Wenwu Chubanshe, 1996: 174-226).

<sup>7</sup> *S(tra of the Wise and the Foolish*, Taisho 4:202.370c-371c. Its Tibetan version also exists: *Mdsas buun shes bya ba l mdo*. Tohoku Cat. No.341. The Sanskrit original is lost. According to Hajime Nakamura, the Sanskrit title may be *Dama-m(ka-mid na-s(tra*. Nakamura, *Indian Buddhism*, p.140.

<sup>8</sup> Xinjiang Uighur zizhiqu wenwu guanli weiyuanhui et al., *Zhongguo shiku-- Kizil shiku III* (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1997: 221). fig.102. For identification of the theme in general, see Ma Shichang, “Kizil zhongxinzhū kù zhūshì quāndìng yú hóushì de bīhuà,” pp. 174-226, fig. 27; and Emmanuelle Lesbre, “An Attempt to Identify and Classify Scenes with a Central Buddha Depicted on Ceilings of the Kizil Caves,” *Artibus Asiae* vol.XLI, (2001: 305-354). This subject is also depicted in the Kizil Caves 38, 188, 193, and 244, in which, however, only the woman is shown.

<sup>9</sup> E. B. Cowell and R. A. Neil ed., *The Divy vad na – A Collection of Early Buddhist Legends* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1886: 80-90).

<sup>10</sup> N. Dutt, *Gilgit Manuscripts* (Srinagar, 1947), vol.3,i, 123.15-159.16.

would always be reborn as a king with the *mah puru•a lak•a* and eventually became a Buddha.<sup>11</sup> The Kizil paintings show the Buddha seated painting on a piece of cloth held by a monk with a low *u•)X•a*. This monk is presumably King Boseqi who commissioned the painting. Interestingly, even though he is a king here, he is shown as a Buddha-to-be, already possessing the body marks like the Buddha.

### Group III. The *parinirvā* and related scenes

In the *parinirvā* and related scenes located in the back corridors of the caves, every so often, images of monks with *u•)X•as* are portrayed among the mourning crowds. In Kizil Cave 38 (Fig. 4a), a monk with an *u•)X•a* kneels down holding the feet of the Buddha.<sup>12</sup> In Cave 224, a similar figure stands with K •yapa in the cremation scene (Fig.4b). In the *parinirvā* scene of Cave 161, three monks are endowed with the *u•)X•a* (Fig.4c). One stands near the Buddha's head, and the other two near the feet. In Cave 171 (Fig.4d), a monk with an *u•)X•a* stands under a tree, frowning, seemingly contemplating the Buddha's final passing. Similar images appear in Caves 7, 163, and 205 (cremation) as well. Since •nanda plays an important role in the various textual accounts of the Buddha's last days, it is possible that one of these figures is meant to represent him.

### Group IV. The First Council

In a number of caves at Kizil, the First Council is depicted in the left corridor. The First Council was held shortly after •kyamuni's *nirvā* in order to settle debates over doctrine. •nanda is said to have recited the *sūtras*,<sup>13</sup> and Up li, another disciple of the Buddha, recited the *vinayas*.<sup>14</sup> The central monk in the Council scene in Kizil Cave 178 and 224 (Fig. 5) bears the *u•)X•a*. Given the importance of •nanda to this event, the central monk is likely depicting him.

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<sup>11</sup> *Taishā* 4:202.368c-369a.

<sup>12</sup> The position at the feet of the Buddha in the *parinirvā* scene is usually reserved for K •yapa. However K •yapa is shown as an elder wearing patch-robe at Kizil. Therefore, this figure (in Cave 38) is unlikely to be K •yapa. For the iconography of K •yapa in *parinirvā* depictions, see Jorinde Ebert, *Parinirvā: untersuchungen zur ikonographischen Entwicklung von den indischen Anfängen bis nach China* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden GmbH, 1985: 77-87).

<sup>13</sup> *Lidai sanbao ji* (歷代三寶記), *Taishā* 49: 2034.95b.

<sup>14</sup> L. La Vallée Poussin, *Bouddhisme-opinions sur l'histoire de la dogmatique* (Paris: Gabriel Beauchesne, 1925: p.30).

### Group V. Monks and devotees

One of the motifs on the side wall of the central pillars in a number of caves shows rows of monks and lay devotees. At least two images of monks with  $u \bullet \rangle \times \bullet a s$  can be found in this subject. In Kizil Cave 175, a row of eight standing monks and a row of gods were depicted on the upper and lower part of the right side wall of the central pillar respectively (Fig. 6b). The second monk in the line possesses an  $u \bullet \rangle \times \bullet a$  (Fig. 6a). Since the monks are lined up with and are even higher than the gods, they are likely to have very high status, possibly the most important disciples of | kyamuni. The third monk, old and wearing a patch-robe, seems to be K ♣yapa. The second monk is then probably also a disciple of the Buddha of no less importance. The status of the row of monk figures which appears on the side wall of the central pillar can be supported by another example in Kizil 7 ("Cave of the Frescoed Floor"). In this case, the monk images were originally inscribed in Br hm× in the strip over their heads.<sup>15</sup> In Cave 205 (Fig. 6c), a cave patronized by the royal family, a monk with an  $u \bullet \rangle \times \bullet a$  is shown leading the prince's family. The prince and his wife are depicted with halos, which indicate that they are otherworldly figures. Hence, the guiding monk is probably also a figure in the celestial realm and not a local priest from Kizil.<sup>16</sup>

The image of a monk with a protuberance on his head is a quite common iconographic feature at Kizil. It seems germane to certain subjects and certain figures. Images of monks with  $u \bullet \rangle \times \bullet a s$  are clearly distinguishable from the Buddha figures and other ordinary monks in terms of the shape of the  $u \bullet \rangle \times \bullet a$  and the hairline. Regarding the date of the Kizil caves, German scholars dated them to the sixth to seventh centuries and their opinion has been largely followed in the field.<sup>17</sup> Based on a more comprehensive typological analysis of the structure

<sup>15</sup> Albert Gr nwedel, *Altbuddhistische Kultstätten in Chinesisch Turkestan* (Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1912), pp. 48ff; Albert von Le Coq and E. Waldschmidt, *Buddhistische Spätantike in Mittelasien*. 7 vols. (Berlin: Reimer, 1928-1933), VI, pl. 9; The Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Along the Ancient Silk Routes – Central Asian Art from the West Berlin State Museums* (An exhibition lent by the Museum f r Indische Kunst, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, Federal Republic of Germany) (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1982: 94), fig. 30.

<sup>16</sup> In the past, the subject of the monk figures on the side wall of the central pillar of Caves 175 and 205 has been identified as donors. For example, Jia Yingyi, *Xinjiang bihua xianmiao hingpin* (Urumuqi: Xinjiang meishu sheying chubanshe, 1993: 131), fig.183. It is doubtful that a Kizil monk would have a protrusion on top of his head or dare to endow himself with an  $u \bullet \rangle \times \bullet a$ .

<sup>17</sup> Von Le Coq and E. Waldschmidt, *Buddhistische Spätantike in Mittelasien*. 7 vols. (Berlin: Reimer, 1923-1933), III: pp.21-23, VII: pp.27-29. For the problems of this dating and a review of the study of the

of the caves and the decorations with reference to carbon fourteen testing, Su Bai establishes a new chronology and dates the caves to the fourth through the seventh centuries.<sup>18</sup> This early date has become very influential.

### *Turfan: Bezeklik and Sengin*

In Central Asia, the convention of depicting the u•)X•a on certain monk-like figures extends into the Turfan region, and is seen mainly at the Bezeklik cave site and Sengin temple site. The Bezeklik Cave was active from the ninth through the twelfth centuries during the Gaochang period (848-1283) and was under imperial patronage.<sup>19</sup> Sengin is located twenty miles north of the capital, Gaochang. A royal temple is built at the site.<sup>20</sup> As will be discussed below, in this area, images of monk figures bearing u•)X•as usually represent Buddhas-to-be. They appear primarily in two subjects, the *prañidhāna* ("vow") paintings, and the *parinirvāna* scenes.

The *prañidhāna* paintings record the kiyamuni's long journey of making offerings to the Buddhas of the past and receiving their prediction of enlightenment. Typical *prañidhāna* paintings appear on the side walls of more than fourteen caves at Bezeklik.<sup>21</sup>

Some of these *prañidhāna* paintings are inscribed with Br hmX, which quotes from a *vinaya* of the Mālasarvstivāda school, the *Mālasarvstivāda*

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chronology of Kizil caves, see A. Howard, "In support of a new chronology for the Kizil mural paintings," *Archives of Asian Art* XLVI (1991: 68-83).

<sup>18</sup> Su Bai, "Kizil bufen dongku jieduan huafen yu niandai deng wenti de chubu tansuo (A Study of the Chronology and Dating of Some of the Caves at Kizil)," in *Zhongguo shiku-- Kizil shiku I* (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1989: 10-23). For a review of the problems of this dating, see Emmanuelle Lesbire, "An Attempt to Identify and Classify Scenes with a Central Buddha Depicted on Ceilings of the Kizil Caves," pp.346-348.

<sup>19</sup> For the chronology of the site, see Jia Yingyi, "Bezeklik shiku chutan (A Study of Bezeklik Caves)," in *Xinjiang shiku---Turfan Bezeklik shiku*, (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe & Xinjiang Uighur zizhiqu bowuguan); For the C<sup>14</sup> testing of the Bezeklik caves, see Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiushuo shiyanshi, "Xinjiang Turfan he nanjiang diqu bufen shiku niandai ceding baogao (Test Report of the Dates of Some of the Caves at Turfan and Southern Region in Xinjiang)," *Kaogu* (1991.11: 1039-1045).

<sup>20</sup> In the early twentieth century, Albert von Le Coq found inscribed wooden pillars on which royal families were listed as donors. F. W. K. Müller, "Zwei pfahlinschriften aus den Trufanfunden," *Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Berlin, 1915:18); Meng Fanren, Zhao Yixiong and Di Yukun ed., *Gaochang bihua ji yi (Mural Paintings of Gaochang)* (Urumuqi: Xinjiang renmin chubanshe, 1995: 9).

<sup>21</sup> The typical *pranidhi* paintings are depicted in Bezeklik Caves 15, 18, 20, 22, 24, 31, 33, 37, 38, 42, 47, 48, 50 and 55 (or Cave 2, 4, 8, 9, 10, 12, 19, 20, 24, 25, 29, 36, 37, and 39 in Grünwedel's numbering).

*Bhaiṣajyavastu*, These inscriptions help identify the subject of the painting. Fifteen themes, each recording one particular previous life of | kyamuni, have been identified.<sup>22</sup> Images of a monk with the *u•)x•a* only appear in one scene of these stories.<sup>23</sup> It is the time when | kyamuni was born as a Brahmac rin named Uttara. Having heard the preaching by Buddha K •yapa, he renounces his worldly life to seek enlightenment.<sup>24</sup> Shown in Cave 20 (Fig. 7a) and Cave 31 (Fig. 7b), dressed in monastic robes, Uttara kneels beside the Buddha K •yapa on the right side. A protuberance appears on Uttara’s head and, in Cave 31, his hairline recedes in zigzag shape.

In addition to the typical *pra□idhāna* paintings, my research shows that there is another simplified form of these paintings. They appear on the ceilings in Bezeklik Caves 16 and 17 and Sengin Temple I. A series of forty-eight similar representations are depicted on the vault in Bezeklik Cave 16 (Fig. 8a, 8b) and the main hall of Temple I at Sengin (Fig. 8c). The composition is centered on a seated Buddha, who is commonly accompanied by only four other figures: a monk with an *u•)x•a*, Vajrap ṅi, a celestial being, and a devotee. The monk bearing the *u•)x•a* generally sits next to the Buddha’s shoulder, holding a fan and a water jar in his hands. One section (Fig. 8b) survives in good condition and bears a clear inscription: during the *kalpa* (aeon) of Buddha | ikhin, those who donated jewels for the Buddha’s garden received the prophecy that they would attain Enlightenment.<sup>25</sup> Buddha | ikhin also appears on the ceiling in Bezeklik Cave 17 (Fig. 8d). A monk figure with an *u•)x•a* sits to the Buddha’s right. Unfortunately, this painting is too damaged to identify the attributes of the monk and read fully the Chinese inscription. Both Cave 16 and Cave 17 have been dated to the tenth-eleventh centuries, the third phase of the site.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>22</sup>Hirano Shinkan, “Bezeklik dai 9 go kutsuji yu meibun no seiganga no kosatus (In Investigation of the Inscriptions and Paintings of Bezeklik Cave 9),” *Bijutsu kenkyū* (no.218, (1961.9: 27-44); Meng Fanren, “Xinjiang Bezeklik kusi liushi yu wai bihua xu lue (A Survey of the Bezeklik Paintings in the Foreign Collection),” *Kaogu yu wenwu* (1981.4: 43-61).

<sup>23</sup> The painting with the monk with the *u•)x•a* was named Scene Ten in Cave 20 and Scene Four in Cave 15.

<sup>24</sup> “昔為梵志名最勝，於兩足尊迦葉佛；由聞喜護所說語，乃得出家修淨意。”*Taishū* 24:1448.75b.

<sup>25</sup> Rajeshwari Ghose, *In the Footsteps of the Buddha – An Iconic Journey from India to China* (Hong Kong: University Museum and art Gallery, 1998: 263).

<sup>26</sup> Jia Yingyi, “Bezeklik shiku chutan,” (no page number in the book.)

The *parinirvā* scenes are depicted on the back walls at Bezeklik, such as in Cave 33 (Fig. 9a) and 31 (Fig. 9b).<sup>27</sup> The figures with the *u•)X•as* in these two paintings are almost identical: They stand in the same position holding a long-necked water vase and a fan above their heads. In both the *prañidhāna* painting on the ceiling and in the *parinirvā* scene, the monk who possesses the *u•)X•as* carries a vase, the typical attribute of the future Buddha in Gandhara and Central Asia. It is likely that these images are intended to represent Buddhas-to-be.

The images of monks with *u•)X•as* discussed above represent only a small number of those depicted at the sites in Kucha and Turfan. These images indicate the popularity of the motif and call attention to the significance of the subject of showing monks with *u•)X•as*.<sup>28</sup> In summary, among those that can be identified, the figures at Kucha are mostly the Buddha's chief disciples and occasionally the Buddha-to-be. While at Turfan, they usually represent the Buddha-to-be. However the question remains, why do these individuals appear with the *u•)X•as*? In addition, why does only one episode of the fifteen *prañidhāna* paintings show this iconography? My research suggests that the reasons for this type of depiction can be found in the doctrinal meaning of the *mah puru•a lak•a*.

#### **U•)X•as: The meaning in doctrine and paintings**

There are two aspects of the notion of the *mah puru•a lak•a*. First, the *lak•a* are caused by good deeds, especially worshiping the Buddhas in one's previous incarnations. The second aspect is that they are a sign of the promise of future Buddhahood.

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<sup>27</sup> Cave 31 is Cave 19 in Grünwedel's numbering system.

<sup>28</sup> In addition, by recognizing the characteristics of the iconography of the monks with *u•)X•as*, we can identify more of such depiction, even in sculptures, such as a head of a monk excavated from a temple site at Yanqi (Fig. 10). See Huang Wenbi, *Xinjiang kaogu fajue baogao (1957-1958) (Report of the Archaeological Excavations at Xinjiang 1957-1958)* (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1983: 39). Same as in the paintings, the *u•)X•as* on this sculpture is raised smooth and low, and the hairline recedes in notable angles. Another almost identical example is found in the ruins of Temple N at Tumshuq, now in the Musée Guimet (Giès, Jacques and Monique Cohen, *Sérinde, Terre de Bouddha – Dix siècles d'art sur la Route de la Soie* (Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1995: 119, fig. 69). Tumshuq is at the west end and Yanqi is at the east end of the Northern Route. The Northern Route is known dominated by a H•naya school: Sarv•stiv•da. It seems that the iconography of non-Buddha figures bearing the *u•)X•as* present along the Northern Route.

In the Brahmanic tradition, whoever is born with the *mah puruṣa* marks will become either a *cakravartin* (wheel-turning king) or a Buddha. Over a hundred *sūtras* have listed the thirty-two *lakṣaṇas* and about half of them further explain the causes of the *mah puruṣa* marks.<sup>29</sup> These textual sources basically all agree that each of the thirty-two auspicious body marks are the result of a particular type of good deed performed in a previous life. Most of the good deeds are performed within the context of lay practice. For example the Pāli text the *Dṅgha Nikāya*, records that the *uṣṇa* is achieved by making donations, supporting parents, and friends and by making offerings to Buddhists and Brahmins.<sup>30</sup> In the *Lalitavistara*, a Sarvaśāstrin biography of the Buddha, the *uṣṇa* is caused by staying away from wrong speech; always praising *śrī vakas, pratyekas, Bodhisattvas, Tathāgatas* and all other Dharma masters; holding on to the Buddha's teachings, reciting and copying the *sūtras*, explaining them to other people; and practicing according to the Dharma.<sup>31</sup>

The identity of the figures with *uṣṇas* can be divided into two groups: | kyamuni's disciples and Buddhas-to-be, both of which can be analyzed according to the two aspects of the notion of the *mah puruṣa lakṣaṇa* discussed above.

#### | kyamuni's Disciples:

When non-Buddha figures with the *uṣṇa* are shown accompanying | kyamuni, they are most likely to be his chief disciples except in the *avadana* depictions on the ceiling.<sup>32</sup> Some of these figures have been identified, such as Purna Maitrayaniputra at Kizil.

<sup>29</sup> Okada Yukihiro, "Sanjō ni dainin sū no keitō (The Systems of the Thirty-two *mah puruṣa lakṣaṇas*)," Part I and II, *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* (no. 38, (1989.1: 303-307); no.40, (1991.1: 12-16).

<sup>30</sup> *Lakkhaṇasuttanta* in T. W. Rhys Davids trans., *Dṅghanikāya III* (London: Pali Text Society, 1967: 145-179). Similar passage is also seen in the *Youpoyi jingxing famen jing* (優婆夷淨行法門經), "身口意業布施持戒。月修六齋。供養父母沙門婆羅門親友眷屬耆舊宿德。復有善行不可稱計。以此行故。積聚無量常受天樂。乃至一生補處。下生人間得二大人相。一者頂有肉髻。二者頭髮紺青。" *Taishō* 14:579.958bc.

<sup>31</sup> "於長夜遠離一切語過。恒常讚歎聲聞辟支菩薩如來及諸法師。受持讀誦書寫經典。為人解說如法修行故。名肉髻無能見頂。" *Taishō* 3:187. 610b.

<sup>32</sup> Usually the figures that accompany | kyamuni teaching form his assembly. However, in the Kizil *avadana* depiction on the ceilings the figures are characters in stories. They are from the distant past and not the audience in the same time frame with the Buddha.

In the *Buddha p(rovacary saograha s(tra*, Purna Maitr yaniputra is said to have seen all the past Buddhas and established good karma by making offerings to them, which clarifies why he is born with the thirty-two marks.<sup>33</sup> Besides Maitr yaniputra, a variety of texts identify other Buddha's disciples that also possess the *mah puru•a lak•a*, including Nanda,<sup>34</sup> Aniruddha,<sup>35</sup> and K ty yana.<sup>36</sup> They all possess the *lak•a* by virtue of the good deeds they performed in their previous lives. The attendants of the Buddha in the Kizil paintings could therefore be depictions of Nanda, Aniruddha, and/or K ty yana. Regardless of their identity, the reasons for the monks acquiring the marks are related to their good deeds. The idea of merit-making leading to a future enlightenment is enhanced in the depictions of the next category, the Buddha-to-be.

### The Buddha-to-be:

At Kizil, a monk-like figure with the *u•)X•a* appears as the Buddha-to-be in the *avad na* stories depicted on the ceiling. In the story of Boseqi and the Buddha Fu•ya, the *S(tra of the Wise and the Foolish* in particular claimed that it is from the merit of making images of Buddha \*Fu•ya (Chinese: Fusha) that King Boseqi will be reborn with the thirty-two marks and eighty minor marks and will eventually become a Buddha.<sup>37</sup> In the story of the oil-lamp offering, the *Divy vad na* is more likely to have been circulated at Kucha, not the *S(tra of the Wise and the Foolish*.<sup>38</sup> According to the *Divy vad na*, the monk-like figure in the painting would then probably represent the poor woman as a future Buddha since that was the vow she had made and that was also what the Buddha had predicted her to become. This accomplishment would be made possible all by the virtue of her merit that was gained from the offer of the lamp oil.

Most of the identified monk images with the *u•)X•a* representing the Buddha-to-be are from the Turfan area. Making offerings to the Buddhas, gaining merit, and

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<sup>33</sup> “往昔已曾見諸佛來。彼諸佛邊。種諸善根。” *Taish* ↓ 3:190.824a

<sup>34</sup> For the literary review on the appearance of Nanda, see Zin, “The U•)X•a as a Physical Characteristic,” pp.113-114; and *Correspondence*, *Taish* ↓ 45:1856.127b.

<sup>35</sup> *Correspondence*, *Taish* ↓ 45:1856.127b.

<sup>36</sup> *Buddha P(rovacary Saograha S(tra*, *Taish* ↓ 3:190.825a.

<sup>37</sup> “是功德,.....所受生處,端正殊妙,三十二相,八十種好;是功德,自致成佛。” *Taish* ↓ 4:202.369a.

<sup>38</sup> The *Divy vad na* belongs to the Sarv stiv da, a school that dominated at Kucha and the Northern Route for most of its Buddhist history.

receiving the prediction of Buddhahood are all essential to the theme of the vow paintings. Such actions also constitute part of the Bodhisattva's path and are accepted in Mahāyāna beliefs. The inscription on the "vow" paintings at Bezeklik came out of the *Māśarv stiv da Bhaiṣajyavastu*. This *vinaya* and some other texts of the *Māśarv stiv da* school claim that it takes three-*asaṅkhyā*<sup>39</sup> to gain enough merit for acquiring the *mahā puruṣa lakṣaṇa*.<sup>40</sup> The direct relationship between making offerings to the past Buddhas for three *asaṅkhyā*s and the *lakṣaṇa* is also recorded in the *Mahā prajñāpāramitopadeśa* (*Da zhi du lun*) written by Nāgārjuna:<sup>41</sup>

...If (he can make offering to the past Buddhas) for three *asaṅkhyā*s, [then] at that time, the Bodhisattva [refers to |kyamuni] will gain the karmic causation of the thirty-two marks.

In the story of Uttara and the Buddha Kāśyapa at Bezeklik, the *Māśarv stiv da Bhaiṣajyavastu* text explains that Kāśyapa is the last Buddha of the third *asaṅkhyā* and that this episode marks the end of |kyamuni's three-*asaṅkhyā*-long effort.<sup>42</sup> The inscription of this scene on the painting bears an additional line clearly declaring, "The third *asaṅkhyā* is at an end." Therefore, only in the depiction of this episode, Uttara appears with the *lakṣaṇa*.

The inscriptions on the ceiling *prāṇidhāna* paintings from Bezeklik Cave 16 have the same theme: that making offerings to Buddha |ikḥin will gain one a promise of future Buddhahood. Presumably, the more than forty similar *prāṇidhāna* paintings on the ceiling vault are of the same theme but make offerings to different Buddhas of the past.

### *Mahā puruṣa lakṣaṇa*: The history and the association with Sarv stiv da

<sup>39</sup> An *asaṅkhyā/asaṅkheyya* (Pali *asaṅkeyya*), 'an incalculable,' is used both for one of the four periods making up a *kalpa*, and a large number of *kalpas*. The *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* (III.93d-94a) explains that it takes a bodhisattva three *asaṅkheyyā*s to become a perfect Buddha, and that each of these consists of one thousand million million *kalpas*.

<sup>40</sup> The *Abhidharma mahāvibhāṅga* [ṣaṣṭhā], *Taishū* 27:1545.891b-892c, the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, *Taishū* 29:1558.29a, the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, *Taishū* 29:1559.249bc, and the *Abhidharma Nyāyānusāra*, *Taishū* 29:1562.591a.

<sup>41</sup> "...若過三阿僧祇劫。是時菩薩種三十二相業因。" *Taishū* 25:1509.87a.

<sup>42</sup> *Taishū* 24:1448.74c-75a.

Although the images of non-Buddha figures bearing the *u•)×•as* find support in Buddhist doctrines, such depictions are absent or rare in East Asia, which predominately follows Mahāyāna, and South India and Southeast Asia, where, mostly, the Theravada tradition is followed.<sup>43</sup> So what could possibly be the common link in the Buddhist practice among these limited regions, especially between Kizil and Bezeklik, where this iconography frequently appears? And also, is there any additional significance of possessing the *mah puru•a lak•a* to the Buddhist followers of these areas that is missing in the Mahāyāna and Theravada traditions?

### **The relation between Buddhist sites in Kucha and Turfan and Sarv stiv da**

In terms of Buddhist practice, scholars have generally accepted that Buddhist sites along the northern route of the Silk Road, especially Kucha, belong to the Sarv stiv din sect.<sup>44</sup> The Chinese pilgrim Xuanzang observed that the Sarv stiv din school was the dominant school at Kucha in the seventh century.<sup>45</sup> Various Sarv stiv din texts excavated in Central Asia also prove that this particular Hīnayāna school was active in this region.<sup>46</sup> A major corpse of these manuscripts was, actually, yielded from a Kizil cave, the “Red Dome Cave” (Cave 66 and 67).<sup>47</sup> Although, the Dharmaguptaka school and Mahāyāna Buddhism were also present at Kucha (the former was more active in the early phase and the latter mainly in the late period after the eighth century), these different traditions in Buddhism used different scripts. Dharmaguptakas used Kharo•ḥ script with the Gandhārī language, Sarv stiv dins used various types of Brāhmī with the Sanskrit and Tocharian language, and Mahāyānists

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<sup>43</sup> Zin, “The U•)×•a as a Physical Characteristic,” pp. 107-130.

<sup>44</sup> The original non-Kharo•ḥ Sarv stiv dins renamed themselves as Mūlasarv stiv da and became popular after the seventh century. The two terms will not be distinguished in this paper.

<sup>45</sup> Xuanzang, *Datang xiyu ji*, translated by Samuel Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World* (London: Kegan Paul, et.al. 1875, Rpt NY, 1968: 18).

<sup>46</sup> Lore Sander, “The Earliest manuscripts from Central Asia and the Sarv stiv da Mission,” in Ronald E. Emmerick and Dieter Weber eds., *Corolla Iranica: Papers in Honour of Professor Dr. David Neil Mackenzie on the Occasion of His 65<sup>th</sup> Birthday on April 8<sup>th</sup>, 1991* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1991: 133-150); Charles Willemsen & Bart Dessein, *Sarv stiv da Buddhist Scholasticism* (New York: Brill, 1998: 126), ft. 464.

<sup>47</sup> Albert von Le Coq, *Buried Treasures of Chinese Turkestan: An Account of the Activities and Adventures of the Second and Third German Turfan Expeditions* trans. By Anna Barwell (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd.[1926]1928), 25, 126, Ernst Waldschmidt, *Gandhara/Kutscha/Turfan: Eine Einführung in die frühmittelalterliche Kunst Zentralasiens* (Leipzig: Klinkhardt & Biermann, 1925), 108-9; Dieter Schlingloff, *Ein Buddhistisches Yogalehrbuch* (Berlin: Akademie-verlage, 1964: 10-12).

used Chinese. Different types of scripts are all found at Buddhist sites and with different types of caves or different subjects of the paintings. The inscriptions inscribed in the central-pillar caves with the iconographic plan in which images of the monks with *u•)x•ns* occur are in the Br hm× script, the same to the Sarv stiv din manuscripts excavated from the Red Dome Cave at Kizil. Therefore, the central-pillar caves with the aforementioned iconographic program at Kucha are probably associated with the Sarv stiv din communities, even if some small communities of other Buddhist traditions, e.g. Dharmaguptaka and Mahāyāna, may have also been present at Kucha.<sup>48</sup>

Regarding the *prañidhāna* paintings in Turfan, as mentioned above, they are inscribed with a Mūlasarvāstivādin *vinaya* text. Mūlasarvāstivāda is a Hīnayāna school, and is generally considered to be a sub-sect of the Sarvāstivāda school or an old branch of the Sthaviravādin. The Sarvāstivāda and Mūlasarvāstivāda are closely intertwined on doctrinal matters. The relationship of the two and whether or not they are in fact the same school are hotly debated among scholars, which I shall not discuss further here. As observed by Bart Dessein, the name Mūlasarvāstivāda actually did not appear anywhere before the seventh century. Even in the first half of the seventh century, the Chinese pilgrim Xuanzang (600-664), in the record of his travels in India, only mentioned Sarvāstivāda, not Mūlasarvāstivāda. It was fifty years later when Yijing (635-713), who also traveled in India, mentioned Mūlasarvāstivāda for the first time.<sup>49</sup> It is remarkable that Mūlasarvāstivāda only appears to be a *vinaya* school.<sup>50</sup> The Mūlasarvāstivādin *vinayas* differ from those of the Sarvāstivāda mainly at the inclusion of the *jātaka* and *avadāna*.<sup>51</sup> Although the Mūlasarvāstivādin *vinayapīṭaka* is old, the legends in them are elaborate and might have been

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<sup>48</sup> Some scholars speculate that small Dharmaguptaka communities on the Northern Silk Route followed the general trend of Sanskritization and acceptance of Br hm× as the sacred script under the influence of the Sarv stiv dins. Oskar von Hin ber, "Sanskrit und G ndh ri in Zentralasien," *Sprachen des Buddhismus in Zentralasien*, Vorträge des Hamburger Symposiums vom 2. Juli bis 5. Juli 1981, ed. Klaus Röhrborn und Wolfgang Veenker, *Veröffentlichungen der Societas Uralo-Altaica*, ed. Annemarie von Gabain and Wolfgang Veenker, Vol. 16 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrossowitz, 1983: 27-34).

<sup>49</sup> Charles Willemen and Bart Dessein, *Sarvāstivāda Buddhist Scholasticism* (Leiden: Brill, 1998: 85).

<sup>50</sup> Charles Willemen et. al., *Buddhist Scholasticism*, 125.

<sup>51</sup> Erich Frauwallner, *The Earliest Vinaya and the Beginnings of Buddhist Literature*. Translated from the German by L. Petech (Rome: Is. M. E. O. 1956: 25-26); Charles Willemen et. al., *Sarvāstivāda Buddhist Scholasticism*, 88-89.

inserted later.<sup>52</sup> No extant manuscripts of the Mūlasarvāstivādin *vinayas* can be dated before the seventh century. Those in the Chinese and Tibetan canon were all translated in eighth and ninth centuries. Many manuscripts of the Mūlasarvāstivādin *vinayas* in Sanskrit were found at Gilgit and they cannot be dated earlier than the seventh century. It is possible that the section relating to *praṇidhāna* paintings was inserted into Mūlasarvāstivādin *vinayas* at a later time after the text was first compiled, something shared in common between the fifth-eighth centuries Sarvāstivāda school in Kucha and the Mūlasarvāstivādin *vinaya* texts in the versions can be dated to the seventh, eighth and ninth centuries.

The composition and format of these Turfan *praṇidhāna* paintings resemble the Buddha's assemblies depicted at Kizil. Scholars have therefore suggested that Kizil might have influenced Bezeklik.<sup>53</sup> Both the ceiling *praṇidhāna* paintings and the *parinirvāṇa* scenes at Bezeklik are new themes that appeared during the third phase (middle tenth–middle eleventh centuries). This was the period when the Gaochang Kingdom was most prosperous and occupied the Kucha region. In addition, the layout of the forty-eight *praṇidhāna* paintings on the ceiling visually resembles the *avadānas* at Kucha. Depicting the *parinirvāṇa* at the back of the cave is also a convention in Kucha. Therefore, the appearance of the two themes at Bezeklik has also been speculated as an influence from Kucha.<sup>54</sup> The forms of Buddhism practiced at Bezeklik display influences that come from both east and west. It is possible that ideas and texts associated with the Sarvāstivādin school, as well as iconographies related to the Kucha cave paintings reached here as well.

### **Sarvāstivāda and the *mahāpuruṣalakṣaṇa***

The Sarvāstivādins played an important role in the development of the *mahāpuruṣalakṣaṇa* concept. They further created new theories on the Buddha's auspicious body marks. As I will discuss below, their keen interest in the *mahāpuruṣalakṣaṇa* is also evident in their meditation practice and literature.

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<sup>52</sup> Erich Frauwallner, *The Earliest Vinaya and the Beginnings of Buddhist Literature*, 25-26; Satoshi Hiraoka, "The Relation between the *Divyānadāna* and the Mūlasarvāstivāda vinaya," *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 26 (1998: 419-434).

<sup>53</sup> Meng Fanren, "Xinjiang Bezeklik kusi liushi yuwai bihua xulue," pp. 59-60; Denise P. Leidy, "Bezeklik Temple 20 and Early Esoteric Buddhism," *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 7 (2001: 201-223).

<sup>54</sup> Jia Yingyi, "Bezeklik shiku chutan," *Xinjiang shiku--Turfan Bezeklik shiku*.

The concept of the *mah puruṃ lakṃ* was rooted in the Brahmanical tradition and later adopted into Buddhism.<sup>55</sup> The *mah puruṃ lakṃ* are listed in early P li scriptures and most works of Northern Buddhism. These appear most prominently in the narrative of the life of the Buddha. In the *Dṃghanik ya*,<sup>56</sup> *Majjhimanik ya*,<sup>57</sup> and *Mah vastu*,<sup>58</sup> the word “*uṃ*” originally refers to the “turban like head” and was not understood as a protuberance of the skull or flesh as in the later Buddhist texts.<sup>59</sup> In Buddhist art, the protrusion on the top of the head on early Buddha images merely resembles a natural bump of hair.<sup>60</sup>

In his study of the evolution of the theory on the Buddha’s bodies, Guang Xing points out that the Sarv stiv dīns synthesized the attributes and qualities of the Buddha as described in the early s(*tra*.<sup>61</sup> The Sarv stiv dīns brought about a tri-fold system to define the *mah puruṃ lakṃ*, and further developed new schemes explaining how the thirty-two marks take shape.

Even though all Buddhist schools accept the idea of the Buddha possessing the thirty-two marks, it is in the *Abhidharma* texts of the Sarv stiv dīn school that we find the most sophisticated analysis of the *mah puruṃ lakṃ*. Each *lakṃ* is said to have three aspects: *lakṃ*-body (*xiangti*), *lakṃ*-karma (*xiangye*), and *lakṃ*-fruit (*xiangguo*). For example, the *uṃ*, as recorded in the *Daṃ bh(mikavibh • s(*tra*, is the bodily protuberance on top of the head that represents the *lakṃ*-body of the *uṃ*. Donating a garden, fruits, bridge, trees, ponds, wells, food, flowers, incense jewels or houses denote the *lakṃ*-karma. In addition, building a *st(*pa*, and being able to offer more in collected donation also fall under this**

<sup>55</sup>A. K. Coomaraswamy, “The Buddha’s Hair and Uṃ and Crown,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain (and Ireland)* (1928: 815-840).

<sup>56</sup> Davids, *Dṃghanik ya*, *Mah pad na Suttanta II*, p.19; III, pp.1, 145; IV, pp.137-139.

<sup>57</sup> Lord Chalmers trans., *Majjhimanik ya Braham ya Sutta II*, 137 (London: Oxford University Press, 1927: 72-73).

<sup>58</sup> J. Jones trans., *The Mah vastu II* 30 (London: Luzac, 1952: 26).

<sup>59</sup> A. K. Coomaraswamy, “The Buddha’s Hair and Uṃ and Crown,” pp.815-840; J. E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, *The Scythian Period* (Leiden: Brill, 1949), pp.163, 165; Y. Krishan, “The Hair on the Buddha’s Head and Uṃ,” *East and West* 16 (1966. 3-4: 275-289).

<sup>60</sup> E.g. Krishna pointed out the Gandh ran Buddha image’s *uṃ* looks just a hair bun, “The Hair on the Buddha’s Head and Uṃ,” pp.275-289.

<sup>61</sup> Guang Xing, *The Evolution of the Concept of the Buddha from Early Buddhism to the Formulation of the Trik ya Theory*, University of London, Ph.D. dissertation, 2002: 30-50).

category. Finally, being honorable and free signifies the *lak•a* )a-fruit. The *lak•a* )a-*karma* is the cause of the *lak•a* )a-body while the *lak•a* )a-fruit is the result.<sup>62</sup>

According to the Sarv stiv din text, the *Abhidharmamah vibh • astra*,<sup>63</sup> the group also was very concerned over how to obtain the thirty-two body marks. They developed complicated theories that added to earlier beliefs in which the *mah puru•a lak•a* )a were only obtainable through accumulating merits in past lives. For the Sarv stiv dins, the *mah puru•a lak•a* )a became acquirable by one's will or thought. The body marks are initiated either by "one thought" or "thirty-two thoughts" in accordance with the different opinions among the Sarv stiv dins. According to one opinion, "the *mah puru•a lak•a* )a is initiated by one thought and is later consummated by multi-thoughts." According to a different opinion, "the thirty-two thoughts lead to the thirty-two marks [respectively]; while each mark has to be completed by various *karmas*."<sup>64</sup> The full discussion of these theories was not available in Chinese until the seventh century when Xuanzang translated the *s(tra Abhidharmamah vibh •* for the third time in much greater length. However, N g rjuna mentioned these ideas in the *Mah -praj p ramitode•a*, which was brought to China in the early fifth century. "The thirty-two thoughts generate the thirty-two *lak•a* )as; each thought generates each *lak•a* )a."<sup>65</sup> It must have been confusing to the Chinese Buddhist community at that time. In Huiyuan's letters to Kum raj×va, one of the questions is asking about the "thirty-two thoughts." Kum raj×va, thereupon, elucidated that this theory was created by K ty yana and his followers, not the Buddha.<sup>66</sup> K ty yana was a Sarv stiv din theorist.<sup>67</sup>

In addition to the metaphysical approach, the concept of the Buddha's body marks also became significant in the meditation practice of Sarv stiv dins. In addition to the biographies of the Buddha, the meditation manuals on how to visualize the Buddha are another place that provide rich descriptions of the *mah puru•a lak•a* )a. According to Yamata Meiji's study, the idea of the Buddha's

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<sup>62</sup> *Taish* √ 26:1521. 64c-65c.

<sup>63</sup> *Taish* √ 27:1545.887c-888a.

<sup>64</sup> "以一思牽引， 後以多思圓滿" "三十二思引三十二大丈夫相， 一一復以多業圓滿。" *Taish* √ 27:1545.887c.

<sup>65</sup> "三十二思種三十二相， 一一思種一一相。" *Taish* √ 25:1509.87b.

<sup>66</sup> *Taish* √ 45:1856.127b.

<sup>67</sup> Lai Penjeu, *Silu fojiao de tuxiang yu chanfa* (*The Buddhist Images and Meditation Methods on the Silk Road*) (Xinzhu: Yuanguang foxue yanjiusuo, 2002: 17-18).

thirty-two body marks did not become important until the early Mahāyāna movement and image-making first began, which are shown in the development of the Buddhist meditation practice of *buddh nūsmāti*.<sup>68</sup> *Buddh nūsmāti*, which means “calling the Buddha to mind,” has been a form of Buddhist practice since the earliest times. However, in Pāli texts the practice of *buddh nūsmāti* only refers to reciting the formula of the “ten epithets” (*adhivācana*) of the Buddha. Moreover, it is only one of a sequence of *anusmātis* (“calling to mind”), including the *anusmāti* of the Dharma (Law), the *saṅgha* (community), and the *devatā* (divinities).<sup>69</sup> A new form of *buddh nūsmāti* practice involving visualization of the physical body of the Buddha through the thirty-two *mahāpuruṣalakṣaṇas* came to be popular at least by the second century CE.<sup>70</sup> By this time, *buddh nūsmāti* had become an independent and essential form of Buddhist meditation. Seeing the Buddha with one’s very eyes is equivalent to hearing the Dharma preached by the Buddhas and understanding the nature of Buddha. It can eliminate one’s bad karma, and eventually lead one to awakening.<sup>71</sup> Practitioners were encouraged to use images as aids for visualization and even as objects for contemplation.

This new form of *buddh nūsmāti* involving envisioning the Buddha’s body is strongly associated with Mahāyāna practice.<sup>72</sup> The best-known example of *buddh nūsmāti* is the visualization of Amitayus. However, as demonstrated in Hīnayāna texts such as the *Ekottar gāma* and the *Mahāvastu*, *buddh nūsmāti* in some of the late Hīnayāna schools also involved envisioning the Buddha’s body.<sup>73</sup> Most importantly, it is one part of a series of meditation exercises preserved in a meditation manual found at Kizil in the third German “Turfan”

<sup>68</sup> Yamada Meiji. “Kanbutsu sanmai to sanjōni sō: Daijō jissendō seiritsu no shōhen,” *Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* (no.24, (1967: 27-48).

<sup>69</sup> Paul M. Harrison, “Commemoration and Identification in *Buddh nūsmāti*,” in *Mirror of Memory – Reflections on Mindfulness and Remembrance in Indian and Tibetan Buddhism*, ed. Janet Gyatso, (New York: State University of New York Press, 1992: 215-238).

<sup>70</sup> The existence of this type of *buddh nūsmāti* is attested in *sūtras* such as the *Pratyutpanna Samādhi Sūtra* (T417, Vol. 15), which was translated into Chinese by Lokakṣema in 179 CE.

<sup>71</sup> Paul M. Harrison, “Commemoration and Identification in *Buddh nūsmāti*,” 220-225.

<sup>72</sup> Paul M. Harrison, “*Buddh nūsmāti* in the *pratyutpanna-Buddha-saṅgā mukh vasthita-samādhi-sūtra*,” *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 6 (1978: 35-57).

<sup>73</sup> *Ekottar gāma* III, (*Taishō* 2:125.557ab); J. J. Jones trans. *The Mahāvastu* (London: Pali Text Society, 1949: 426).

expedition.<sup>74</sup> The manuscript was written in Central Asian Br hm× on birch barks. The *buddh nusm ♦ti* is listed on top of a group of five *anusm ♦ti* contemplations. Both the “ten epithets” and the Buddha’s body are included in the practice. In the extant fragments of the text, the *mah puru•a lak•a )a* occurs a number of times. To envision the Buddha, the practitioner visualizes the *lak•a )a* come forth from the pores of the Buddhas in three places.<sup>75</sup> In three separate instances in this manuscript, the practitioner is even instructed to envision the Buddha’s *lak•a )as* appearing on his own body.<sup>76</sup>

In addition to Sarv stiv din’s theoretical study and their meditations, their literature also provides more details regarding to the *mah puru•a lak•a )a*, such as who obtained these body marks. The following are two examples comparing different texts when they describe the same episode associated with the *mah puru•a lak•a )a*.

From the *M(lasaru stiv da Vinayak•udradavastu*, a *vinaya* text of the *M(lasaru stiv din* school, and the *Mah pariniro )as(tra* in the Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Chinese versions, there is an interesting vignette. It states that on his deathbed, right before he entered his *nirv )a*, | kyamuni took off his garment, revealing his body marks to his disciples and asked them to look carefully.<sup>77</sup> However this version does not appear in the P li edition of the *D×ghanik ya*.<sup>78</sup> Apparently, the *mah puru•a lak•a )a* was not significant enough to the Buddhists of the P li canon and they did not see it as the Buddha’s last teaching.

According to Zin’s study, it is also the Sarv stiv din texts that say more about the *mah puru•a lak•a )a* on Nanda and Devadatta than the P li texts.<sup>79</sup> For example, in one episode, the P li text the *Suttavibha≡ga* (V.92.1) says that Nanda

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<sup>74</sup> D. Schlingloff, “Die Birkenrinderhandschriften der Berliner Turfansammlung,” *MIO*, 4 (1956: 127); D. Schlingloff, “Yogavidhi,” *Indo-Iranian Journal* 7(1964: 146-155); D. Schlingloff, *Ein Buddhistisches Yogalehrbuch*, Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1964.

<sup>75</sup> Schlingloff, *Ein Buddhistisches Yogalehrbuch*, pp.101 (133R2), 109 (136R1), and 120 (140V6).

<sup>76</sup> Schlingloff, *Ein Buddhistisches Yogalehrbuch*, pp.92 (130 R6), 142 (150R3), and 172 (163V2).

<sup>77</sup> “遂去上衣現其身相。告諸苾芻汝等今者可觀佛身。汝等今者可觀佛身。何以故。如來應正等覺。難可逢遇如鳥雲跋羅華。” *Taish* 24: 1451.399a.

<sup>78</sup> E. Waldschmidt, ed. *Das Mah pariniro )as(tra*, (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag 1951: 358-359, 360-361, 410-411). For the literary review of the description of this detail in the *Mah pariniro )as(tra*, see G. Roth, “The Physical Presence of the Buddha and its Representation in Buddhist Literature,” in *Investigating Indian Art*, edited by Marianne Yaldiz, Wibke Lobo (Berlin: Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, 1987: 291-312).

<sup>79</sup> Zin, “The U•)×•a as a Physical Characteristic,” pp. 113, 114.

resembled | kyamuni so much that other monks often mistook him for the Buddha. A fragment of the *Vinayabibhāṅga*, a *vinaya* of the Sarv stiv din school, found in the Kizil region and written in the local language, further adds that Nanda had no less than thirty body marks on his body.<sup>80</sup>

### The *mah puruṣa lakṣaṇa* in Mah y na

The above demonstrates how the notion of *mah puruṣa lakṣaṇa* became more significant in the Sarv stiv din school than in the P li tradition. Later on in the Mah y na context, new philosophies were developed regarding the Buddha's bodies and Buddhist meditation practices changed, therefore the significance of the *mah puruṣa lakṣaṇa* appears to have faded away.

### I. *Mah puruṣa lakṣaṇa* in Mah y na Theory

Guang Xing proposes that it is the Sarv stiv dins who first stabilized a twofold body theory of the Buddha.<sup>81</sup> In any case, both the Sarv stiv din texts and the early Mah y na *sūtras*<sup>82</sup> advocate that the Buddha has two bodies, the *dharmakāya* (Dharma-body) and the *rūpakāya* (Physical-body). The *rūpakāya* is the Buddha as a human being with physical form. The *dharmakāya* is the Buddha as seen through the Buddha's Dharma nature. The Dharma refers to the Buddhist teachings. It is the absolute "essence" and the eternal "law" of everything. The *dharmakāya* cannot be seen by the naked eye. Most of the *sūtras* mentioned in this paper use the two-body system. In this system, the Buddha's *lakṣaṇas* are on his form body.

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<sup>80</sup>Rudolf Hoernle, *Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature Found in Eastern Turkestan* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1916), pp.367-369; Zin, "The Uṣṇas as a Physical Characteristic," ft. 14.

<sup>81</sup>Guang Xing, *The Evolution of the Concept of the Buddha from Early Buddhism to the Formulation of the Trikāya Theory*, p.30.

<sup>82</sup>Nagao Gadjin, "On the Theory of Buddha-Body (Buddha-kāya)," *The Eastern Buddhist* vol. VI, 1 (May 1973: 25-53).

However, in general, Mah y na holds to the *trik ya* (three-body) system. In short, *dharmak ya* becomes the essential core, | kyamuni who once lived in this world is merely a manifestation of the *dharmak ya* called the *nirm lak ya*. The additional body is the *s bhogak ya* (reward-body) and it is not in the *sa-s ra* (transmigration) world. It is only visible in certain stages of meditation or dreams, such as the Buddha Amit bha who appears in the *s bhogak ya* form. In the *trik ya* system, the *mah puru•a lak•a* is attributed to the *s bhogak ya*.<sup>83</sup> Therefore, under this categorization, the Buddha's body marks become totally invisible to humans.

In addition, the concept of the *wujiandingxiang*, or the "invisible-u•)X•a" (*anavalokitam*(rdhat ) makes the issue of the u•)X•a even more intricate. The doctrine of the invisible-u•)X•a holds that regardless of the conventions of Buddha image-making, living beings are unable to see the u•)X•a of the Buddha.<sup>84</sup> In the legend of the Mah bodi image (one of the first Buddha images), there was an old lady who was the only one who had seen the Buddha in person and was still alive at the time. She came to examine the resemblance of the sculpture and one of her criticisms was addressed to the u•)X•a. "The u•)X•a (of the Buddha) was not visible, (but) it is visible (on the image)."<sup>85</sup> In this story, a lay devotee recognized something that did not belong to the living Buddha which humans are able to see. If the *mah puru•a lak•a* is supposed to be on the *s bhogak ya* and the u•)X•a becomes invisible, then an ordinary human would not be seen bearing an u•)X•a on top of the head.

I further suggest that the lack of interest in the u•)X•a among Mah y nists is also associated with their belief in •(nyat , which emphasizes voidness as the

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<sup>83</sup> Nagao Gadjin, "On the Theory of Buddha-Body (Buddha-k ya)," p. 34.

<sup>84</sup> There is no consensus in the Buddhist texts in expounding the relationship between the u•)X•a and the invisible-u•)X•a. The two are identical in the *Yogac rabh(mi-•stra*, Taish↓ 30:1582.568a. See also the *Pusa di chi jing* (菩薩地持經) "此肉髻相, 無見頂相, 即是一相." Taish↓ 30:1581.955b-956a. The invisible-u•)X•a is included within the eighty minor marks in some texts such as the *Mah praj p mit s(tra*, Taish↓ 6:220.968c18-19. And, in the *Mah y nasa•graha*, it is treated as independent of either the major or minor marks; see Nagao Gadjin, *Sh↓ daij↓ ron: wayaku to ch(kai ge* (Tokyo: K↓dansha, 1987: 336). For a study on the invisible-u•)X•a, see Hubert Durt, "Note sur l'origine de l'Anavalokitam\rdhat ," *Indogaku Bukky↓gaku Kenky*( 16 (1.1929: 443-450); For a brief discussion, see T. Griffith Foulk and Robert H. Sharf, "On the Ritual Use of Ch'an Portraiture in Medieval China," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 7 (1993-1994: 149-219).

<sup>85</sup> Patna George Roerich tr., *Biography of Dharmasv min* (K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute Historical Researches Series, vol. II, 1959: 69-70).

ultimate truth. The Buddha's form body or the *lakṣaṇa* on the form body is not what Mahāyānist pursue. According to Mahāyānist doctrine, if all phenomena are essentially empty, possessing a protrusion would not be very meaningful. Consequently, it is not surprising that the iconography of monks with the *uṣṇas* did not gain much popularity in areas dominated by Mahāyānist thought and therefore becomes almost absent in East Asia.

## II. *Mahāpuruṣa lakṣaṇa* in Mahāyāna *buddh nūsmṛti* meditation

Visualization practices, as represented in the visualization on Amitāyabuddha, underwent fundamental changes in fully developed Mahāyāna meditation. The differences between how to meditate on Amitāyabuddha, as taught in *The Sūtra on Contemplation of Amitāyus*, and how to meditate on Śākyamuni, as revealed in the Sarvāstivādin text, may shed light on the *mahāpuruṣa lakṣaṇa* issue under discussion.

In the aforementioned Kizil manuscript, the practitioner envisions his own body radiating with the *mahāpuruṣa lakṣaṇa* just like a Buddha (" *ārayo lakṣaṇa* - *nuvya jan vir jita utpadyate*").<sup>86</sup> Among the three perfections of the Buddha (the Body, Speech and Mind), the *mahāpuruṣa lakṣaṇas* signify the perfection of the Buddha's body. These body marks go beyond anthropomorphic limits. They mark the special quality of the Buddha. The meditation of visualizing the Buddha's body and evoking one's own body to possess the same qualities symbolizes a path of achieving salvation by self-effort just like what Śākyamuni did, a method generally attributed to Hīnayāna path--one aims at attaining a perfect body like that of the Buddha, and ultimately the Buddhahood by making one's own effort.

In Buddhist art, the *mahāpuruṣa lakṣaṇas* and in particular the *uṣṇas*, became a symbol that emphasized the Buddhahood of Śākyamuni, which is considered the highest attainment of all beings.<sup>87</sup> By possessing *uṣṇas*, these figures of monks in the paintings under discussion exemplify a certain ideal for the Hīnayānist. As the Buddha's disciples, they are shown following the Buddha, listening to his preaching, performing miracles (e.g. flying in the sky), and leading the Buddhist

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<sup>86</sup> D. Schlingloff, *Ein Buddhistisches Yogalehrbuch*, pp.92, 123, 172 (lines:130R6, 144R1 and 163V2).

<sup>87</sup> S. Kramrisch, "Note on Uṣṇas," *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, (1936: 79-83).

community after the Buddha's *nirvāṇa*. As the Buddha-to-be, they are shown as already having reached a certain stage of attainment with the promise of enlightenment.

On the contrary, the most important difference in the typical Mahāyāna *buddh nūsmṛti* practice is to place oneself in the Buddha's Pure Land. Salvation in Mahāyāna Buddhism can be achieved through rebirth in one of the Buddha lands. Consequently, the focus of meditation in Mahāyāna practice was shifted from envisioning the Buddha's intricate body to the rich details of the Buddha's land. In his commentary when comparing the difference between the visualization of Śākyamuni and Maitreya, the Korean monk Wōnhyo pointed out that the key point of the Maitreya visualization *sūtra* was not Maitreya, but the visualization of the practitioner amidst all the splendors of Tusita Heaven. The goal of this meditation was to place oneself in the Heaven.<sup>88</sup> This is even more true in the visualization of Amitayus in the *Sūtra on Visualizing Amitayus*. Among the Sixteen-Visions in the meditation exercises on Amitayus only Vision Nine is about visualizing Amitayus's body. However, it provides no actual details of his body. In Mahāyāna Buddhist art, the interest was consequently switched to depicting the grand paradises of various Buddhas/Bodhisattvas and Bodhisattvas occupying the place immediately besides the Buddha. However, the importance of possessing the *mahāpuruṣa lakṣaṇa* was not completely forgotten. The essential relationship between the *mahāpuruṣa lakṣaṇa* and Buddhahood left a subtle trace in Mahāyāna practice. One of Amitayus' vows is that he will not obtain his own enlightenment until all human beings and gods in his future land have attained the thirty-two marks of a *mahāpuruṣa*.<sup>89</sup> The first of the twelve vows of Bhaisajyaguru, the medicine Buddha, aims at possessing the thirty-two *mahāpuruṣa lakṣaṇa* and the eighty *anuvyaṅga* and in addition he wishes that all sentient beings are able to possess the same marks.<sup>90</sup> However, the details discussed above are very minor and they are not the main content of the Mahāyāna *buddh nūsmṛti* practice.

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<sup>88</sup> Alan Sponberg, "Wōnhyo on Maitreya Visualization," *Maitreya, the Future Buddha*, edited by Alan Sponberg and Helen Hardacre (Cambridge: University of Hawaii Press, 1988: 94-109).

<sup>89</sup> "設我得佛，國中入天，不悉成滿三十二大人相者，不取正覺" *Sukhāvataṣṭihā sūtra* (*Fo shuo Wuliangshou jing* 佛說無量壽經) *Taisho* 12:360.268b.

<sup>90</sup> *The Consecration Sūtra* (*Fo shuo guanding jing* 佛說灌頂經) *Taisho* 21:1331.532c; "第一大願，願我來世得阿耨多羅三藐三菩提時，自身光明熾然，照曜無量無數無邊世界，以三十二大丈夫相八十

Even though the *mah puruṣa lakṣaṇa* is a very old notion accepted by all Buddhist sectarian groups, it did not come to be important until the phase of the late Hīnayāna and early Mahāyāna. Above all, the Sarvāstivādins of the Hīnayāna showed the most interest in the Buddha's body. They systemized the quality of the Buddha's body, formulized the two-fold *kṛyā* theory and included envisioning the Buddha's body into their *buddh nūsmṛti* meditation. The issue of the Buddha's body is associated with the questions of what makes the Buddha a Buddha and how one should practice. Both the Buddha's *kṛyā* theory and the *buddh nūsmṛti* practice were further developed in Mahāyāna. The focus of Mahāyāna was shifted to realize the empty nature of all phenomena. The interest of possessing the *mah puruṣa lakṣaṇa* on one's own body was replaced by the desire to be reborn in the Buddha's Pure Land. The art of the Sarvāstivādins and the Mahāyāna also show a visible difference regarding the depiction of *uṣṇas* on non-Buddha figures. In the Sarvāstivādin related sites, images of monks bearing *uṣṇas* are abundantly present. In contrast, such an iconographic convention is conspicuously missing from the sites of the Pāli and Mahāyāna traditions.

### III. In Tantrayāna

If the *mah puruṣa lakṣaṇa* is subject to karmic retribution, then it is simply not obtainable through meditation in this lifetime.<sup>91</sup> Nevertheless, this did not stop later Tantric masters from raising new theories and methods to accomplish the *mah puruṣa lakṣaṇa*. To complete the history of the notion of the Buddha's body mark, I will end with the Tantric method shown in Dīpaṅkarabhadra's *Guhyasam jamaḍalavidhi*. Quoted by Tsong-kha-pa in his *Sṅags rim chen mo*, "the [sixteen] vowels are the source of the *Lakṣaṇas*; the [thirty-four] consonants radiate the *anuvya janas*."<sup>92</sup> Each of the sixteen vowels are divided into two parts: *prajā* (wisdom) and *upāya* (means). This makes thirty-two, which is the number of the Buddha's *Lakṣaṇa*. In a typical Tantric manner, the concept of the Buddha's

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隨好莊嚴其身，令一切有情如我無異” *Bhaiṣajyaguruvaiḍṛyaprabh saṅgavaśīṣa - vistara* (Yaoshi liuliguang tulai benyuan gongde jing 藥師琉璃光如來本願功德經) *Taisho* 14: 450.405a.

<sup>91</sup> Huiyuan, once, raised this puzzle in his letter to Kumārajīva. *Taisho* 42:1856.127a.

<sup>92</sup> Dīpaṅkarabhadra, *Guhyasam jamaḍalavidhi* (Tib. 1865), Derge Tanjur, Rgyud, Di, f. 70a-4,5; Translation from Alex Wayman, "Contributions Regarding the Thirty-two Characteristics of the Great Person." *Sino-Indian Studies* 5 (1957: 259).

body marks becomes more complex. The vowels and consonants, *praj a* and *up ya*, and more symbolisms are involved.

### **Other Regions with Similar Iconography**

Within India and nearby regions, the cave site at Aja)€ , Maharastra, in particular, has yielded copious images of monks with the *u•)X•a*. In addition, the Gandh ra region, in present day Pakistan, is an area where examples of this iconography are occasionally found. Figures possessing the *u•)X•a* at these sites bear the same iconographic features as | kyamuni, but are usually represented smaller in size. This contrasts with the monk images found in the Kucha and Turfan areas, where they appear with a zigzag hairline. Zin, in her study on Aja)€ paintings identifies the monks |nanda and Nanda based on the narratives of the “taming the wild elephant,” and the “conversion of Nanda.” These narratives are found mainly in the wall paintings in Aja)€ Cave 16 and 17. Since |nanda is | kyamuni’s cousin and Nanda is his half-brother, Zin deduces that the *u•)X•a* is to be understood as indicating membership of the | kya clan.<sup>93</sup>

The paintings at Aja)€ are considered to be a product of the Vakataka dynasty and a group of later so-called “intrusive” donors. They are generally dated to the late fifth century.<sup>94</sup> In the inscriptions, the intrusive donors identified themselves as | kyabhik•us or | kya-up sakas.<sup>95</sup> “| kya” stands for the clan of | kyamuni; the term “Bhik•us” means monks; while “up sakas” refers to lay devotees. Therefore, the term “| kyabhik•us” and “| kya-up sakas” indicate that the monks and laity that belonged to the | kya clan. The adoption of the epithet “| kya” and the emergence of | kyabhik•us as a distinct group seemed to come out of a trend aimed at emphasizing the importance of the | kya family.<sup>96</sup> From this perspective, Zin’s conclusion might be true at Aja)€ . However, as discussed in this paper, people outside the | kya clan also possess the *lak•a)a*. Moreover, even for members from the | kya family, there is a karmic reason for why they can possess the *mah puru•a lak•a)a*.

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<sup>93</sup> Zin, “The *U•)X•a* as a Physical Characteristic,” p.115.

<sup>94</sup> Walter Spink, “The Archaeology of Aja)€ ,” *Ars Orientalis*. 21 (1992: 67-94).

<sup>95</sup> Richard Scott Cohen, *Setting the Three Jewels: the Complex Culture of Buddhism at the Aja)€ Caves* (PhD. Dissertation, The University of Michigan, 1995: 192).

<sup>96</sup> Cohen, *Setting the Three Jewels*, pp.221-245; H. Sarkar, *Studies in Early Buddhist Architecture*, (Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1966: 107).

Actually, Ajaśś shows a strong relationship with Sarv stiv da school. In his dissertation, Richard Cohen discussed the donor-ship and the *y nic* nature at the Ajaśś site. He points out that there was a close association of the | kyabhik•us with the M(lasarv stiv din school, and the M(lasarv stiv da vinaya played an important role in reconstruction of Buddhism at the site. The narrative paintings of Ajaśś Cave 16 and 17, where the iconography of the monks with the u•)×•as is depicted, in particular, indicates a direct connection with the M(lasarv stiv da nik ya.<sup>97</sup>

The title | kyabhik•us is rare in Buddhist literary sources. Yet, four out of five dedications dated to the intrusive period at Ajaśś employ this term.<sup>98</sup> A sudden explosion of monks calling themselves | kyabhik•us in central and southern India can be tied to the movement of Buddhist monks of | kya origin from the subcontinent's western and northern borders—in the regions of Sarv stiv da stronghold.<sup>99</sup>

The Sarv stiv da school developed and gained popularity in Ka•m×r and went to Gandh ra during the Ku• na period.<sup>100</sup> However, in Gandh ra, it was one among a number of Buddhist schools. For instance, just two of the potshards Kharo•Ē× inscriptions found in Gandh ra (first century) were dedicated to Sarv stiv din teachers, in contrast to nine dedicated to Dharmaguptakin and one to Mah×• sakin.<sup>101</sup> According to Xuanzang, Sarv stiv da was still only one of the five sects in Gandh ra in the early seventh century.<sup>102</sup> This might explain, at least partially, why images of monk with the u•)i•a do occasionally occur in Gandh ra. Sites or regions where the iconography of monks bearing the u•)i•as is found seem to be related to the practice of the Sarv stiv dins.

### Concluding Remarks

The question of how to conceive the *mah puru•a lak•a)a* touches upon the idea of how to perceive the concept of “Buddha” and the Buddha-body. This concept has

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<sup>97</sup> Cohen, *Setting the Three Jewels*, pp.192, 202, 316.

<sup>98</sup> Cohen, *Setting the Three Jewels*, p.192.

<sup>99</sup> Cohen, *Setting the Three Jewels*, pp.221-245.

<sup>100</sup> For the history and doctrine of the school, see Willemen, *Sarv stiv da Buddhist Scholasticism*, (1998).

<sup>101</sup> Richard Salomon, *Ancient Buddhist Scrolls from Gandh ra – The British Library Kharo•Ē× Fragments* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1999: 176).

<sup>102</sup> The other four schools are the Dharmaguptaka, Mah×• saka, K •yap×ya, and Mah s ∞ghika.

been a fundamental discourse among Buddhist followers and has undergone various developments from school to school. For a time, the *mah puruḥa lakḥa* seemed to have been especially important to the Sarv stiv dins. Among the thirty-two *lakḥas*, the understanding of the *uḥḥa* in particular, went through a long history of twists and turns among various schools. It transformed from a turbaned head, to a cranial or fleshy bump, and subsequently to the idea of “invisible” protuberance. As discussed in this paper, the *uḥḥa* appeared on many images of monks and became a unique iconography at some Buddhist sites, such as Kizil, Bezeklik and Ajaḥ. These locations arose as more or less Sarv stiv din or Mularsarvāstivādin related sites. And Sarv stiv din texts show more interests in Buddha's body marks.

The understanding of the depictions of monks with a cranial protuberance supplement our knowledge of the Buddhist practice at these sites, the development of the *mah puruḥa lakḥa* concept, and the history of the *buddh nusmḥti* meditation. In the past, the study of Buddhist art at Kizil, Bezeklik or Ajaḥ focused primarily on the Buddha images or the narratives and therefore failed to notice this iconography until recently. The study of this iconography reveals a picture of how the Hḥnay nists were arduously striving on a self-powered path (instead of the other-powered liberation in Mah y na) to obtain the qualities like that of the Buddha. In the study of the *mah puruḥa lakḥa*, some scholars have tended to attribute the full development of the notion of the Buddha's body marks to the early Mah y na movement.<sup>103</sup> This study shows that the Sarv stiv din school played an important role in the conceptualization of the *mah puruḥa lakḥa*. Scholarship on the *buddh nusmḥti* meditation has hitherto focused mainly on the Mah y na phase. By searching and revealing the potential relationship between the *lakḥa* and the Sarv stiv din's meditation practice, this study highlights the significance of an alternative facet of the *buddh nusmḥti* practice within the Hḥnay na tradition.

Sarv stiv da was one of the major schools in Buddhism and was influential in large areas of northwest India and parts of Central Asia. There are probably more images of this iconography than what has been identified to date. As a convention of Buddhist image making, it is possible that this iconography also

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<sup>103</sup> For example, Okada Yukihiro, “Sanjḥ ni dainin sḥ no keitḥ,” p.15; Yamada Meiji, “Kanbutsu sanmai to sanjḥni sḥ: Daijḥ jissendḥ seiritsu no shḥhen,” pp.27-48.

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reached East Asia as rare instances in Mahāyāna territory. Further investigation will perhaps allow recognition of more images showing this iconography.

**Chinese Characters in the Text:**

Boseqi 波塞奇

*Da zhi du lun* 大智度論

*Fo benxing ji jing* 佛本行集經

Fusha 弗沙

Gaochang 高昌

Huiyuan 慧遠

*Nianfo* 念佛

*Wujiandingxiang* 無見頂相

*Xian yu jing* 賢愚經

*Xiangguo* 相果

*Xiangti* 相體

*Xiangye* 相業

Xuanzang 玄奘

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By John C. Huntington

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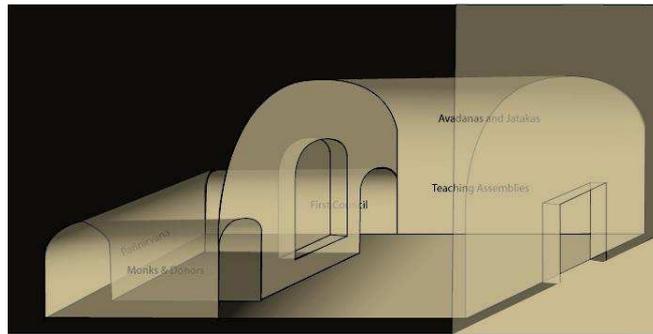


Figure: 1



Figure: 2a



Figure: 2b



Figure: 2c



Figure: 2d



Figure: 3a



Figure: 3b



Figure: 3c

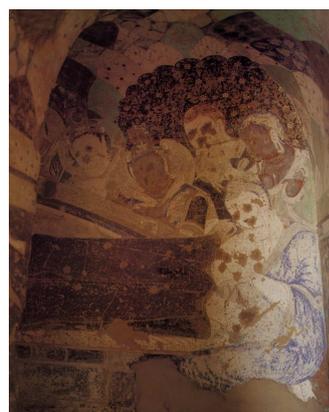


Figure: 4a



Figure: 4b



Figure: 4c



Figure: 4d

Figure: 5

Figure: 6a



Figure: 6b



Figure: 6c



Figure: 7a



Figure: 7b



Figure: 8a



Figure: 8b

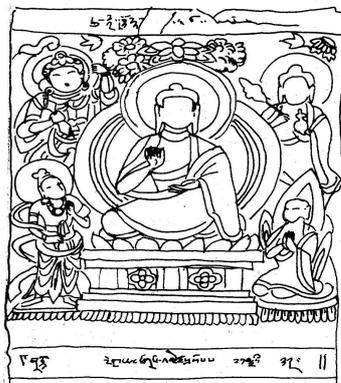


Figure: 8c

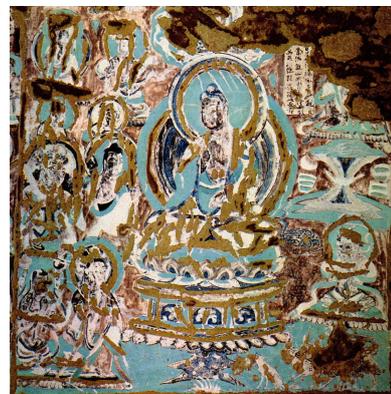


Figure: 8d

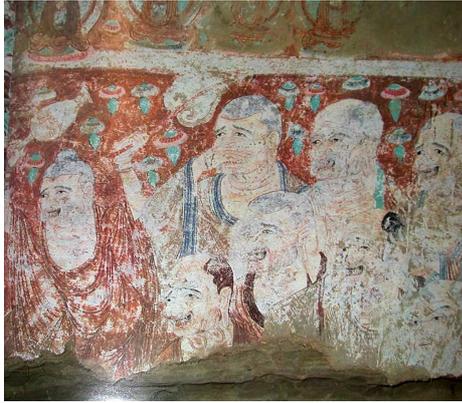


Figure: 9a

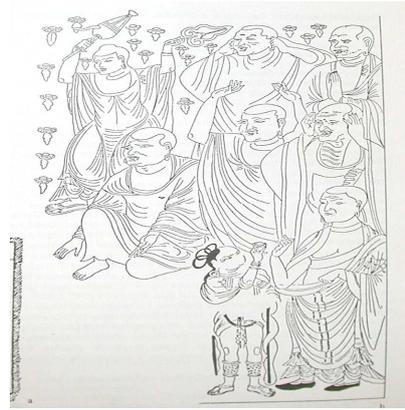


Figure: 9b



Figure: 10

## 23

### Buddhist Texts on Love

Karen C. Lang

Love draws us out into the world, not away from it. But the seeds of love implanted in each of us must be cultivated to become effective in the world. This paper will explore what certain Buddhist texts have to say about the cultivation of love (*metta/maitri/byams-pa*). Its intent will be to point out the harmonious message coming from texts of different Buddhist traditions.

#### I. The Buddha's Discourse on Love (*Metta Sutta*, SN 1. 8)

The Buddha teaches that love is the foundation for all spiritual practice. This love, he says, should radiate out and embrace all living beings. He advocates an unconditional love that knows no boundaries: "May all beings be safe and well, May all beings be happy."

1. Those who are adept at doing good  
And seek to understand the peaceful state should do this:  
Let them be capable, honest, and straightforward,  
Easy to speak to, gentle, and not proud.

2. Contented and easy to support,  
With few obligations and a simple way of life,  
With serene sense faculties, intelligent and modest,  
Let them be unconcerned with society's material wealth.

3. They should never do the slightest thing  
That other wise people would criticize.  
[Let them make this wish]:  
May all beings be safe and well,  
May all beings be happy.

4. Whatever sentient beings there are,  
Without exception, whether they are weak or strong,

Big, tall, or middle-sized,

Short, thin, or fat,

5. Whether visible or invisible,  
Living nearby or far away,  
Already born or not yet born--  
May all beings be happy.

6. Let no one deceive anyone else  
Or despise anyone anywhere at all.  
Let none through anger or animosity  
Wish each other harm.

7. Just as a mother would protect  
With her own life her child, her only child,  
In the same way, for all sentient beings,  
Cultivate a heart that knows no boundaries

8. And with love for all the world  
Reaching above, below, and all around, without any barriers,  
Freed from hatred and hostility,  
Cultivate a heart that knows no boundaries.

9. Whether standing or walking, seated, or lying down,  
As long as wakefulness persists,  
Develop this mindfulness.  
This is the sublime state here and now.

10. And after letting go of wrong views,  
The virtuous, endowed with clear vision,  
Conquer desire for sensual pleasures,  
And never again enter any womb.

The *Metta Sutta* indicates that love must be cultivated. Abundant love for all sentient beings grows with patient cultivation and takes root in a heart that cherishes all with the same self-sacrificing love that a mother feels for her child. The warm and compassionate heart that develops through the practice of cultivating love extends first to our circle of friends and finally reaches outwards

to those who would do us harm.

## II. The *Jātaka* tale of the virtuous dog and the unjust king

The stories of the Buddha's past lives (*jātaka*) -- both as humans and as animals-- illustrate Buddhist virtues. Many of these stories are part of the common heritage of Indian folklore. Their Buddhist affiliation comes from the *Jātaka*'s commentary, which clarifies the moral message of the tale and identifies the hero as the Buddha in a past life. The *Jātaka* stories in which animals are the main characters tell us little about animal behavior. Stories that seem to be about animals are in fact stories about situations that face human beings. Charles Hallisey suggests that using animals as "ethical exemplars" provides a skillful way of discussing moral virtues without specific references to class and gender.<sup>563</sup> Paramount among these virtues are love and compassion.

In the Pāli *Kukkura Jātaka*, (Ja I 175-78, Fausbøll no. 22) the bodhisattva's past actions resulted in his rebirth as the head of a large pack of dogs living in the cremation grounds outside the city's gates. One night, after the king had returned from a day pleurably spent in the royal gardens, his chariot was left out in the rain. The king's own hunting dogs sunk their teeth into its soft leather reins. The next morning, his servants told him: "Your majesty, stray dogs came in through the sewer's drains and have gnawed the leather reins of your chariot." The angry king ordered the death of all stray dogs. Some dogs escaped the slaughter and fled to the cremation grounds where they told the bodhisattva of the death sentence that all the dogs faced. The bodhisattva knew these dogs were innocent since the palace was impenetrable. It had to have been an inside job. Motivated by his cultivation of love (*mettābhāvana*) and his resolution to save the dogs' lives, he made his way into the city, saying as he went, "Let no hand be raised to throw a stone at me." He entered the king's chamber and challenged his order: "Your majesty this is unjust. You don't know for certain which dogs chewed the leather yet you have ordered that all dogs be killed on sight." When further questioning reveals that the king's own dogs were spared, he accused the king of favoritism and of slaughtering only the weak and unprotected dogs. He then proved king's dogs guilty by feeding them buttermilk and grass that made them vomit the leather they had chewed. The king then honored the bodhisattva

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<sup>563</sup> Hallisey and Hansen (1996: 312-13).

who taught him the five precepts. From that time on the king ruled justly and protected the lives of all creatures within his kingdom.

The Madhyamaka scholar, Candrakīrti (c.570-650 C.E.), in his commentary on the fifth chapter of Āryadeva's *Four Hundred Verses* (*Catūśataka*, *bZhi rgya pa*, D ff.100b-101b), cites an abbreviated version of this *jātaka* story, which begins: "The bodhisattva knew that in the future harm would come to dogs, so he took birth as a dog." Candrakīrti comments that great compassion inspires bodhisattvas to choose an inferior birth rather than remain in meditation enjoying "the inconceivably sweet tasting food of the Tathāgata's teaching." Their exceptional love (*vatsala*) for sentient beings motivates them to set aside their own vast merit and voluntarily return to the world as lowly animals. In both versions, the dog enters the king's assembly hall and convinces the king to spare the dogs' lives and become a just ruler. But Candrakīrti's dialog has a distinctly adversarial tone.

"You have devoured the leather on my horse chariot. You've come," the king said, "but you'll not be released."

"If am unsuccessful [in convincing you]," the dog responded, "I certainly deserve to be punished."

"Since you ate the leather, how," the king asked, "can you be successful?"

"You and the palace attendants should listen to me. Animals don't know what should and shouldn't be eaten," the bodhisattva explained. "First of all, even if I did eat the leather, the guards were inattentive, so I'm not to blame. How can all the dogs in the country, cities and villages be at fault? If one dog alone ate the leather, then all the others did not. The king's order-- 'Kill all of them'-- is unjust."

In this version, no dogs—not even the king's guilty hounds—are blamed since they all lack the intellectual capacity to judge what is fit to eat. The blame instead falls on the human guards who were not paying proper attention. The story concludes: "This wondrous human speech captivated his heart and appeased the king's anger. He reversed his order to harm the dogs and became devoted to righteous conduct." The wonder of a talking dog seems as influential in convincing the king as the bodhisattva's rational arguments. The canine bodhisattva's skilful use of his wonder-working powers enabled him to convert

the king to nonviolence and rescue both the king and his intended victims from the harmful consequences of his anger. Love is shown here as the remedy for anger. The virtues of love and compassion exemplified by the bodhisattva extend not only to his canine companions but also to the irate king who had intended to kill them all.

#### *A jāataka story of a mother's love*

The great compassion (*mahākaruṇā*) that characterizes Mahāyāna bodhisattvas has its beginnings in the more modest cultivation of love (*maitrī*). Mahāyāna scriptures compare the Bodhisattvas' love for all sentient beings with the love that a mother has for her only child. Unlike a mother's love, sometimes criticized as being tarnished by her attachment,<sup>564</sup> bodhisattvas love all beings with irrefragable impartiality. The *jāataka* stories and examples Candrakīrti cites, however, emphasize the positive effects of a mother's love.

In the Pāli *Kaṅkahāri Jātaka* (Fausbøll Ja I 133-35 no. 7) the bodhisattva is a young boy taunted by other children because he has no father. The story begins with the circumstances surrounding his conception. One day the king saw a young girl gathering flowers in the meadow. His passion aroused by her beauty, he seduced her and she conceived a child. He gave her a ring from his finger and told her: "If the child is a girl, use the money from selling this ring to bring her up but if it is a boy, bring the ring and child to me." After the bodhisattva's mother answered her son's question about his father's identity, he insisted that she take him to the king. But the king refused to acknowledge the child was his until an act of truth (*saccakiriyam*) convinced him. The mother hurled her child in the air and said, "If you are the father of my child, may he remain in mid-air; but if not, let him fall to the ground and die." The child remained seated cross-legged in the air until his royal father's arms reached out and embraced him. He was made the king's heir and his mother, a queen.

In Candrakīrti's telling of this story, there is no promise that a ring will bring recognition. The bodhisattva's mother knew the king would deny his responsibility and would have her punished for even suggesting it. Nevertheless, motivated by her love for her son and his insistent tears, she acted to ease his suffering (D ff.101a-b):

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<sup>564</sup> See Ohuma (2007).

Then, because her son's pain struck at her heart, she approached the king, who was seated and surrounded by his attendants. She pointed out the boy with a gesture of her hand. But the king remained with his face turned away. Urged by the boy, she went over in his direction and points to her son.

Again the king remained just as before. The boy pleaded with his mother: "What's the use of hand gestures? Speak up!"

Because of her son's anguish, she said to the king in words that spread through [the chamber]: "Your Majesty, please acknowledge your son. I've cared for him until now."

The embarrassed king ordered his men: "Beat this woman who is telling lies!"

Bearing whips in hand, they advanced. The bodhisattva, like the goose king spreading his wings, flew up from his mother's lap and seated in sky, asked the king: "Aren't you pleased that I'm your son?" The king, the hair on his body standing on end, shed a few tears, rose from his golden throne, extended both his arms and in a voice choked with emotion, said: "Precious child, please come down."

This story differs significantly from its Pāli parallel. The bodhisattva directs the action. He orders his mother to speak up when her gestures are ignored. He leaps out of her lap and challenges his father. The bodhisattva's skilful use of supernatural power (□*ddhi*) leads to the emotional embrace at the story's end. His mother plays a supporting but important role; her love enables her son to claim his royal lineage.

Candrakīrti concedes that a mother's love is not impartial but, instead of criticizing maternal love as selfish, he recognizes the benefits of directing love and compassion toward those most in need. The minds of compassionate bodhisattvas are impartial toward all sentient beings but their compassion is directed particularly toward people who suffer now because of their afflictions (*kleśa*) and who will suffer in the future because of painful rebirths. Like the advice expressed in the Buddha's *Metta Sutta*, the Mahāyāna bodhisattva cultivates a heart that knows no boundaries. But in contrast to the final words of the *Metta Sutta* "never again enter any womb," the Mahāyāna bodhisattva vows to enter wombs again and again. As Candrakīrti explains (D f. 100b) that since

bodhisattvas have powerful minds incapable of regressing, no afflictions trouble them as they move through the cycle of death and rebirth. “Because the suffering of birth, death, old age, and so on, doesn’t exist for them, there’s no difference for bodhisattvas between the cycle of death and rebirth and nirvana.”

### III. Śāntideva on the bodhisattva’s cultivation of love and compassion

Śāntideva’s works, written circa eighth century CE, the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (*Collection of Instructions*), and the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* (*Introduction to Bodhisattva’s Practice*) emphasize the importance of cultivating love and compassion. In the *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, he explains that bodhisattvas direct their love towards sentient beings by first directing their minds towards happiness and wellbeing of those dear to them, then to friends and strangers, continuing to expand their love to people who live close by and far away, and finally to everyone in all ten directions.

Love is wanting others to be happy while compassion is wanting others to be free of suffering. Śāntideva, in the first verse of the *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, says: “When neither I nor anyone else wants fear or suffering, then what’s so special about me that I protect myself and not others?” He repeats his belief that we have no reason for privileging our own happiness or our suffering over that of others in the eighth chapter of the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*. There’s nothing special about my happiness or my suffering, so why he asks, (BCA VIII.95- 96) do we focus so intently on our own?

Since I and others are the same in wanting to be happy, what is so special about me that I seek happiness only for myself?

Since I and others are the same in wanting to avoid pain, what is so special about me that I protect myself and not anyone else?

He concludes (BCA VIII. 129) that:

All who suffer in this world do so because of their desire  
For their own happiness.

All who are happy in this world are so because of their desire  
For the happiness of others.

Śāntideva emphasizes here that both our suffering and our happiness are deeply connected with the way we engage others.

Śāntideva's compassion, Jay Garfield observes, is founded upon the insight that suffering is bad, regardless of whose it is:

This is a deep insight, and one over which we should not pass too quickly: the bodhisattva path is motivated in part by the realization that not to experience the suffering of others as one's own and not to take the welfare of others as one's own is to suffer even more deeply from a profound existential alienation born of a failure to appreciate one's own situation as a member of an interdependent community.<sup>565</sup>

The bodhisattva's compassion and active engagement in ending others' suffering is rooted in the profound insight that all beings in this world are intimately bound together.

Śāntideva in the final verses of the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* stresses the importance of cultivating love, developing the aspiration for enlightenment (*bodhicitta*), and giving others the spiritual gift of the Buddha's teachings. In the last chapter of the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, (BCA X.55-56) he emphasizes the power of the bodhisattva's compassionate vow:

As long as space endures, as long as the world endures,  
May I remain, dispelling the sufferings of the world.  
Whatever suffering the world has, may it all ripen on me.  
May the world find happiness through the bodhisattvas' virtues.

## Conclusion

All these texts share a similar message. The warm and compassionate heart that develops through the practice of cultivating love must extend beyond our friends and family to encompass people living even in remote regions of the globe. According to the *Metta Sutta* the Buddha instructed his followers to radiate love and compassion out to all beings in all directions. The *jātaka* stories illustrate how the bodhisattva's cultivation of love culminates in great compassion for sentient

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<sup>565</sup> Garfield (2010-2011: 341).

beings. The great compassion that bodhisattvas have empowers them to return voluntarily to this world in a variety of rebirths, including despised dogs and bastard children. In their works, Candrakīrti and Śāntideva repeatedly stress the importance of cultivating love, compassion, and the lasting power of the bodhisattva's vow.

Even better than giving a jeweled *stūpa* for a Buddha's remains, Candrakīrti argues, is giving the gift of the teaching and educating others to develop the aspiration for enlightenment. He tells the story of a dead man's two friends to reinforce his argument. One friend washes the corpse and prepares the body for cremation. The other friend takes care of the dead man's widow and their children. The second man's actions are better. Similarly, he says, better than honoring the relics of dead Buddhas is the work of living teachers who sustain the Buddha's lineage by encouraging others to become bodhisattvas and thus enabling the Buddha's teaching to last for a long time.

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## Abbreviations and References

BCA = *Bodhicaryāvatāra*

Ja = *Jātakāṅkathā*.

SN = *Suttanipāta*.

D = Derge edition of the bsTan' gyur

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## 24

# Present-Day Social Problem and its Solution by Buddhism

Kenyo Mitomo

### Introduction

Every one incessantly wishes to become richer and happier. However, in reality, we find permanent situations of wars and miseries caused by poverty of all sorts.

Moreover, considering today's vital theme of the environmental problems, the contamination, which used to be a mere small-scale problem that only a small section of populace had to endure, has become an issue that the world cannot ignore any longer. The contamination of an area has rapidly exploded into global scale, and the issue, which used to be a problem of an area, has become a grave one that the entire World has to bear.

Though we have a problem of deforestation, cutting of trees once was the true necessity for constructing houses, for making instruments, and for getting warmth at the time of cold climate. It used to be considered not necessary to take responsibility for destruction of forest by such cutting of trees. The destruction of ecosystem as a result of such cutting of trees was considered to be negligible.

Further, air pollution produced by the increase of nitrogen oxide and other chemicals in the air by burning has not only raised the temperature of the earth but it has also increased other problems, such as large droughts, acid rains, groundwater contamination, etc. Can we say with certainty that they could have been avoided in the process of the progress of human civilization?

Could human beings throw away the comfortable life for fear of the evil of wastes, forbearing inconveniences? Though scientific civilization brought about environmental pollution, development in chemical industry has also contributed to human society in the domain of eradication of disease and curing of the sick.

It is easy to criticize chemical pollution. However, can we think of forgoing this highly developed society of ours, as bad as it is, and revert back to the ways of the olden days? When considering these things, we notice the importance of our 'Will Power' and the necessity to convert our 'Sense of Values'.

Furthermore, it is pointed out that the instability of politics is caused by social evils like corruption and injustice. Instability in turn is one of the important causes of poverty in the developing countries of Asia, which cannot be solved by a mere development of industries.

In this paper, an attempt has been made to see how Buddhism can solve these problems in this day of environmental crisis. I wish to discuss it in the following.

### 1. Ideal World observed in Indian Philosophy

In Ṛg Veda, it was considered that physical body of a man was to perish with his death. However, his soul (*anu, manas, purāṇa, ātman*) was considered to be immortal. It was considered that it traveled to the realm of Yama, the ideal world of the moon that made people forget about the heat of the daytime, and that would provide the souls eternal pleasure by being together with their ancestral souls. It was depicted that water, vegetation, food, and drinks were abundant in this ideal world of Yama, thus reflecting a very optimistic world view of the Aryans. In this world view, we can hardly find the idea for positive reformation of actual society. However, in the course of time, there emerged a doubt that there would be no difference between a good person, who strictly followed the Vedic way of life, and an evil person, who did not perform Vedic rites at all, if the evil person could also reach the realm of Yama after his death. Thus, the idea of *rta* (universal law) came to be introduced. The Yama in the heaven was no longer considered to be the god guaranteeing pleasures after death. He came to bear the role as a judge to examine sinners.

### 2. Ideal Land observed in Early Buddhism

Buddhism, from the beginning, placed an importance on removing poisonous arrows struck in the minds of people, rather than discussing metaphysical problems.<sup>1</sup> This is to say that the environment surrounding us is important as it has some relation to our self recognition. It cannot have any value without having relationship with our self recognition. Moreover, the theory of *pra tītyasamutpāda*, which is expressed by the formula "as this exists, that also exists," shows that an individual cannot exist without having any relationship with its surroundings.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> 『中阿含』 (Majjhima Agama, Taisho Tripitaka 1. 840c) 、 『毒箭經』 (Sūtra of Poisoned Arrow, Taisho Tripitaka 1. 917c)

<sup>2</sup> Such way of thinking was inherited to Sarvāstivādins also. The school said that the external world can be recognized with the unity of *indriya* (根), the object of *indriya* (境) and *vijñāna* (識) . Even

As we know, Gotama Buddha was born as a royal prince of the Sākya. Though it was told that he was living a comfortable life as a royal prince, he dared to abandon the life as a prince. It is said that he led the most fortunate life while having modest food, simple clothing and poor shelter. For Gotama Buddha, it was clear that attaining economic prosperity was not his ideal objective. If he wished to realize an Ideal State or an Ideal Land, it must have been better for him to remain as a royal prince so that he could materialize it through his good rule and governance. However, we can say that the origin of Buddhist view of Ideal Land rests in his abandoning this method.

In Early Buddhism, the congregation of Bhikkhus, i.e., the Saṅgha was the peaceful place for them to unite their minds. For those religious mendicants, their dwellings were the very ideal places where they can remain free from anxiety. In *Suttanipāta*, it is mentioned that the ascetic practitioners should live in the place where 'people do not reside', either 'under a tree', 'in a cemetery' or 'caves in the mountains'.<sup>3</sup> Certainly, such places may be suitable for ascetic practices, free from worldly noise. For ordinary men, they are nothing but shelters isolated from social life. According to *Vinaya-piṭaka* like *Ssu-fen-lu* (四分律) & others, as religious practices on the outdoors had obstacles of coldness, heat, wind, direct rays of sun, mosquitoes, house flies, etc., austere religious training in *āvāsas* and *vihāras* was permitted. It is proved that the monks could strive further for religious austerities due to such arrangements.<sup>4</sup>

"Sensuous objects are indeed varied, sweet and delightful, and upset the mind by their illusions. Seeing the unhealthy results of sensuous objects, let one live alone like a unicorn's horn."

"Sensuous objects are the cause of calamity, danger, disease, a dart and a fear to me.' Observing this danger resulting from sensuous objects, let one live alone like a unicorn's horn."<sup>5</sup>

It was considered to be ideal that one is free from desires, heat or coldness, hunger and thirst, wind, solar heat, house flies and snakes, and etc.<sup>6</sup> However, this is the idea occurring from the standpoint of carrying out religious practices. The ultimate ideal is Nirvana, which is free from restrictions like a 'state' or 'land,' or a place, etc. The comfortable place does not necessarily mean the place where we can fulfill sensuous desires.

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Mahāyana Buddhism like the Vijñāna-vādins inherited the idea that the external world do not exist without the mind.

<sup>3</sup> Suttanipāta, No. 966.

<sup>4</sup> Taisho Tripiṭaka, 22. 786b, 937a. Vinayapiṭaka, vol. 1. p.3.

<sup>5</sup> H. Saddhatissa trans., The Suttan-Nipāta. Curzon Press, (1985: 6).

<sup>6</sup> Suttanipāta, No. 50, 51, 79. Taisho Tripiṭaka, 22. 937a.

Although there was a sad incident of the massacre of the Sākya in the last years of the Buddha, the incident only goes to show that a nation, a political entity, is essentially destined to doom. Even the Buddha could not deny this very fact. In Early Buddhism, the ideal social form was a democratic Saṅgha. However, it is an important fact that there never was a move to maintain the Saṅgha with the help of political power or military might.

### 3. The View of Ideal Land observed in Abhidharma Buddhism

In *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, the idea of Common Karman (Gūgo, 共業) is explained. In Karma, there is a personal karman that one has to experience in accordance to the law of retribution, and there is a Common Karman that many living beings have to share the results, such as the mountains, rivers, and the earth.

Common Karman does not base on the relation of individual retribution. Actions of many living beings result in causing the living beings to have mountains, rivers and the earth as common factors. For example, in the world view of the Abhidharma Buddhism, the formation process of the universe is explained in four stages, ignoring the existence of the mighty creator God. It is said that our will based on karmic increasing power creates this universe.

Moreover, the cause called Non-hindering Cause (kāraṇa-hetu, 能作因), which is not a direct cause, but which indirectly provides minute influences, while not becoming hindrances to the arising of certain things, is also mentioned. For example, we have the Himalaya. It seems to be nothing to do with those who live in Japan. However, in reality it provides influences on changes in air currents, and it influences the climate of Japan. In view of this Kāraṇa-hetu (能作因), the environment which surrounds us is related to us in every respect.

The World View of the Abhidharma bears a strong resemblance to that of the Purānas. In Purānas, the Jambudvīpa, where we live, is divided into seven countries by mountain ranges running from the East to the West. There are orders according to the nature of the countries, from the country of mixture of good and evil, to the country free from old age, illness, anxiety; enjoying prosperity and long-life. The Seventh, Uttarakuru, is the most excellent country. Honey and *Amṛta* are said to flow in rivers. Balmy breeze is said to blow in the air. The ground is said to be made of jewels. Even dusts are said to be pure gold. It is said that husband and wife are born simultaneously, and that they have the same figure and the same character. It is said that they die simultaneously also. A life span is said to be 14,500 years, and people remain happy through out,

without dirt, disease and any sin etc.<sup>7</sup> Even Abhidharma, the Kulu Country is said to be placed to the north of the Sumeru. It is said to be the most supreme country among the four. The life span there is depicted to be 1000 years.<sup>8</sup> Such descriptions may reflect the idea of ancient Indian people who imagined the existence of a cool comfortable place, free from burning heat, beyond the Himalaya. However, a place more ideal than that is the heavens of the gods. Thirty three Heavens are said to be located over the Sumeru, and in the air, many heavens including the heaven of Yama, are considered to exist. Although the Vedas and Upaniṣads, etc. considered the heaven of Yama as the Ideal Land, Buddhism did not consider it as the ideal world. It was considered ideal when our spirit are gradually developed and awakened, and when the *traya-lokas* are to be abandoned at the last. In Abhidharma Buddhism, the external factors, even if they are favorable ones, are nothing but impermanent (*anicca*). One may become satisfied with favorable external factors, but one should not make them the object of attachment.

#### 4. Mahāyāna Buddhism and Pure Land (Ideal Land)

The idea of "buddha-kṣetra-pariśuddhi" (淨仏国土), which appears in Mahayana Buddhism, tends to be received as a view which has been consistent since the days of Early Buddhism. However, it appears neither in the Early Buddhism, nor in the Abhidharma Buddhism. "Buddha-kṣetra-pariśuddhi" (淨仏国土) means Pure Land. It means 'to make pure the Land of the Buddha,' or it means 'Pure Land of the Buddha.' Although we find the usage of the word 'Buddha-kṣetra' in Early Buddhism, it denotes only the Śākyamuni's Buddha-land. And there is no idea of 'purifying' it. However, when Mahāyāna Buddhism comes to accept the idea of Buddhas in Ten Directions of the present, the idea of purifying the Buddha-land emerged. Why the Buddha-kṣetras has to be purified? According to Larger Prajñāpāramita Sūtra (大品般若經), it is mentioned that Bodhisattva way of life is to purify all beings in the Buddha-kṣetra and to purify the dirt of desires of all creatures there.<sup>9</sup> Same idea can also be seen in Akṣobya Buddha Kṣetra Sūtra (Ashuku Bukkoku Kyō 阿閼佉国經) and Daśa Bhūmi Sūtra (十地經). In Mahāyāna Buddhism, concrete depiction of Pure Land came to be described clearly. In the famous Sukhāvati-vyūha (無量壽經), the Pure Land Sukhāvati is depicted as a vast land that never changes and perishes. It is delicately beautiful and it is said that the ground there is composed of natural seven precious metals. The land is totally flat. We can find neither mountains nor seas there. There are no worlds of hells, of *pretas*, and of beats. There are no seasons like spring, summer, fall and winter. It is neither hot nor cold. The temperature is always

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<sup>7</sup> Taiken Kimura, Selected Works of Kimura Taiken (『木村泰賢全集』) Vol. 5, pp. 299ff.

<sup>8</sup> Taisho Tripiṭaka, 1. 135b.

<sup>9</sup> 『摩訶般若經』 Taisho Tripiṭaka, 8. 259c.

stable, and cheerful breeze blows. Lotus Flowers of Jewel bloom all over. Although there are wonderful meals there, no one eats them, as people get satisfaction in their mind, on wishing to eat. Moreover, it is said that a wonderful music is played, and that women do not exist there.<sup>10</sup> The idea that there is no woman in the Pure Land is not denying womanhood as such. The Mahāyānists elaborated the same idea as is observed in the Early Buddhism when it says, "When the mind is stabilized and the wisdom has arisen, to be women does not cause any hindrance at all for those who observe the right truth."<sup>11</sup>

Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Sūtra recommends the positive conversion of this Sahā-world into the Pure Land, while desiring less and knowing contentment just like a "flower of Lotus in the water, not being tainted by mundane thoughts." The Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Sūtra also suggests that 'while people of the world consider this world is burning or when they are in illusions, we should consider our Pure Land is peaceful and filled with heavenly people and men. There are mountains of treasures and beautiful trees which bear flowers and fruits in the gardens, and the temple buildings, and there are many ways of enjoying them. High up in the sky, gods play musical instruments. Rain of flowers of Mandara is being sprinkled over those who wish to attain the Bodhi.'<sup>12</sup> Thus, ideal Buddha Kṣetra is depicted. The teaching of the Lotus Sūtra encourages putting our efforts to convert our Sahā-world filled with pains into the ideal Buddha-Kṣetra, not escaping from it. That is to say that the Pure Land does not exist in the place where we escape ourselves from our reality. It is this very Sahā-world that we have to convert into the Pure Land through our efforts.

## Conclusion

Now, if we observe modern society, religion is often regarded as a suspicious thing by which people earn money, while talking about other worldly things that do not exist. Especially, in Japan, when some religious organization cause problem and when it is criticized as anti-social organization, like the case of Aum Shinri Kyō which attempted massacre in order to achieve his purpose in Japan, people tends to consider religion as a dangerous thing. The world 'religion' itself provokes suspicion.

Moreover, in the racial war involving religion as observed in Serbia in the former Yugoslavia, religions, which ought to provide rescue and relief to human beings regardless of race, have become the targets of hatred, distinguishing the difference of religions and races. The Buddha or Jesus Christ never considered

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<sup>10</sup> 『無量壽經』 Taisho Tripiṭaka, 12. 270a.

<sup>11</sup> Hajime Nakamura, Confessions of Nuns (『尼僧の告白』). Theri-gathā, No. 61.

<sup>12</sup> Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Sūtra, Taisho Tripiṭaka, 9. 43a.

the past or the dead as the target of relief and rescue. It is needless to say that religions try to provide shelters for those who live in the present. As religions aspire for the construction of their Ideal Lands or the Ideal Nations, the Ideal Lands have to be built while making the most of the each of the religious thought. However, it may lead to the denial of other religions. An idea of State Religion certainly rests on the very view. However, history also shows that it also brought about dormancy and degeneration in religious persons.

Moreover, if the Ideal Land or the Ideal State is considered to be the place where people's desires are to be fulfilled, for the people of Somalia in Africa, hygienic and sufficient food, house, and peace may be the ideal. However, these are the wishes of the people of an Ideal Land, and such economic sufficiency only forms one of the conditions of the Ideal Land. When we question whether the people of those economically developed countries in Europe and the States, including Japan, are spiritually satisfied or not, we may have to answer 'No'. Of course, we do not disregard such economic factors. As the economic factor is not the sole element of composition for the Ideal Land, people ask for spiritual rescue.

The wisdom of knowing fulfillment and desiring less, as mentioned in Buddhism, is the very basic principle for maintaining health of oneself and for making others happy. And we have to teach and practice the Five *Sīlas* of "not to kill" (the very important *Sīla* in Buddhism which voluntarily admits not to attack others or not to torment others), "not to steal", "not to commit adultery", "not to tell lies", and "not taking psycho-destructing stimulants like drugs." It can be said that the corruptions and injustices in developing countries are caused due to the realistic pursuit of profits by the people. Buddhism explains the retribution covering the three periods of the past, the present and the future. The idea of retribution that teaches us that we have to take responsibilities of our deeds eventually, though they may not appear immediately after the action. It is an important law that should be taught in the society where corruptions and injustices prevail. Against the Buddhist Causal Theory, those other theories, such as the Fatal Theory, which explains everything as the results of previous lives, the Accidental theory, which says good action may not bear favorable results, and the One Cause Theory, which regards all are the decision of God's Will regardless of the efforts and progresses of human beings, are considered to be wrong.

Ethics and morality are worldly things. If no one finds the action, or if immoral deeds are not discovered, you may not be punished. However, the Buddhist view of Retribution for three generations of the past, the present and the future, teaches that we cannot avoid our responsibilities even if our bad deeds are not discovered.

It is to develop the finer characters of human beings. Without spreading this idea, corruptions and injustices will not be eradicated.

The developments in advanced countries are not merely economical one. We have to re-appreciate the fact that there were advancements in the soft-ware level, such as Education and Ethics, which supported such economic developments of advanced countries.

Buddhism has answers to this fundamental problem. Without spreading such Buddhist way of thinking, the real peace in the society will not be realized.

Without a nation, security is not guaranteed, both economically or mentally. There are many deprived people who wish to establish secure nations and societies, such as the Tibetan refugees persecuted by the Communist China, the Palestinian people who are trying to recover their deprived land, and those people who are still fighting for racial independence such as the Azerbaijanis and Croatians. A Nation is a secure social composition. Buddhism asks for other worldly benefits. However, the society and the other world are not separated things. They are closely related each other. It is the way of thinking of Hokke Buddhism.

Without peace in the society, there is no other worldly peace. It is the very theory of *Pratītyasamutpāda* that our self and others are closely related each other.

Probably, there will be no war, and also no police and army that oppress people in the Buddha-kṣetras and the Pure Land. However, if we try to realize the Pure Land in this modern world, it cannot be the Pure Land of a race or a nation. Nation without police and defense cannot exist in reality. Thus, the Buddhist view of *Pratītyasamutpāda*, which says everything inter-relates each other in unlimited manner, is needed there.

Economic developments brought about pollution, and we are obliged to live under the dangers of chemicals and agricultural fertilizers. Trees in forests were cut down, and rivers and seas were polluted. Many victims of drug induced disasters have been reported.

What kind of Buddha-kṣetra or Pure Land should we build right now? Although we surveyed the ideal world views since the days of the Vedas, they do not necessarily correspond to what we pursue as ideal. They were, so to speak, the ideal worlds conceived by those people who lived in each of the disastrous days. Thus, we cannot say that they hold eternal values. Once war breaks out, killing of each other, plundering, and use of violence take place. And with the influences of

false information, the world falls into an endless strife and confusion. Without development of ourselves, which is the most fundamental and eternal subject, we cannot realize the Pure Land. We should suggest the maintenance of the Five Precepts, and we should refrain from killing each other, from plundering, from adultery, from telling lies. We should seek to live together harmoniously, with prudence and a stable mind.

We have already seen that the quest for the ideal worlds were the reflections and depictions of the desires of the people living in different ages. Apart from the underdeveloped countries and agricultural sections of the world, people's desires are fulfilled economically and environmentally in the urban area, though they have to bear serious air pollution problems. However, if we try to realize such desires at global level, we have to face serious environmental destruction and acute economic inequality in some areas of the world. We should not take the physical aspects of Pure Land as a mere physical depiction. The plain land signifies the stability of mind. The blowing of peaceful breeze signifies internal contentment as the result of gentle actions in body, in speech and in the mind of people.

A Buddhist proverb says, "If mind becomes pure and clean, environment also becomes pure and clean; if mind becomes tainted, environment also becomes tainted." It is a problem that we have to carefully face. What is further important is the fact that matters are related to our mind. Finding values in matters is the working of our mind. It is the problem of mind development that enables the efficient usage of limited matters, without monopolizing them, sharing them with each other for mutual prosperity.

However economically and environmentally blessed, we cannot call it the Pure Land. Just by realizing suitable sound spirit, the construction of the Pure Land becomes possible. Knowing contentment, wishing small, and living together according to the teaching of *Pratītyasamutpāda*, are the very values that we have to learn.

At the end, I wish to dispatch a message for creation of a peaceful society.

### **The Message towards a Peaceful Society**

All living beings are searching for freedom and happiness. Identifying one with others, we should not harm others. We should not take away other peoples' freedom.

There is nothing more wonderful than to realize a society that guarantees freedom and happiness to all.

Many races exist on this earth, and the ways of life, religions, and colour of skins also differs. Although thoughts and civilizations progress, when some customs are forced onto others, antipathy and strife arise.

If one insists that only one's principle and religion is right, and if one criticizes and rejects others as wrong, the disputes and distrusts will continue to prevail. It will become impossible to live together. Only days of anxiety and dark future will remain.

Recognizing others' position, and accepting each other, without harming each other, and through helping each other, mutual trust arises and a peaceful society comes into being.

The rich should be sympathetic to the poor and the needy; he should share his fortune with them by returning it to the society. Such society where people can live together brings smiles and richness of mind. Extreme imbalance of wealth and unfairness bring jealousy and hatred, and they make the society to fall into the mode of 'the survival of the fittest,' thus creating more sadness and pains. Once the society falls into the state of the plunder and strife, it is difficult to revive it to its original state of trust, security and ease. The unusual flow of money based on speculative fund manipulations, being absorbed in the pursuit of profits, obstructs normal economic activities, bringing about disparity in society, thus ruining the world economy and causing confusion in the world. Happiness of the entire world is disrupted, and happiness of an individual is not guaranteed also.

Human beings are not the sole living beings in this global society. Many creatures live in 'a net of inter-relationship.' If we pursue only the profits and conveniences, the relationship of coexistence will collapse and natural environment will also be destroyed soon. It is a duty for us human beings to judge from a global viewpoint so that we may be able to make our future offsprings live happily. For the future of our children who have unlimited possibilities, we should preserve our earth environment that enables all to live harmoniously, brightly and happily.

Seas, mountains, forests and rivers provide us with fresh air, clear water and peace of mind. Preserving natural environment is one of the conditions for the happiness of all living beings.

There are no limits to desires and greed. Anger induces a chain of endless disputes. A narrow way of viewing makes us commit mistakes in judging our prospects.

If we know satisfaction, we can protect unnecessary destruction and waste of resources. It will give us a richness of mind.

If we can hold compassion instead of anger, feeling of gratitude, reliance and peacefulness emerge.

The compassionate way of viewing, which enables us to see widely and afar, brings about the wisdom to living peacefully.

Now, the earth and all the living beings on it are suffering, struggling and being exhausted. Even if the flame of desire burns, without recognizing what are the flames, and what the flames are burning, people will continue to suffer endlessly, without a moment of respite.

We should not remain indifferent to the pains or sadness of others. We should feel the sufferings and pains of others as our own sufferings and pains. We should have the mind of compassion. It is a privilege of human beings to be able to share our feelings and sympathize with each other, identifying ourselves with others.

Transcending our opinions, religions and principles; respecting each other and considering the well-being of others, just like we feel dear to our body and family; we should refrain from harming and making sad the families of other races and creatures. With our neighbors, we should actively attempt to embody a society that can guarantee freedom and happiness to all.

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