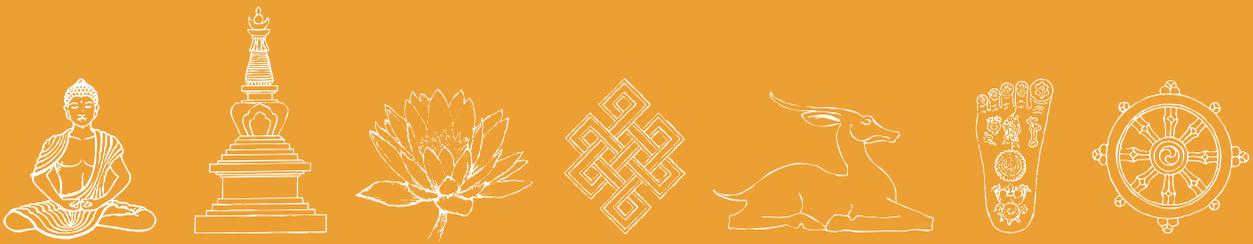


Brill's Encyclopedia of Buddhism

VOLUME I *Literature and Languages*

PREVIEW



EDITOR-IN-CHIEF: JONATHAN A. SILK

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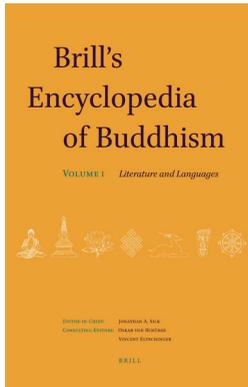
VINCENT ELTSCHINGER

BRILL

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It has been evident for many years that no authoritative, reliable, and up-to-date reference work on Buddhism yet exists in any language. *Brill's Encyclopedia of Buddhism* aims to fill that gap with a comprehensive work, presented in two phases: a series of six thematic volumes including an index volume, addressing issues of global and regional importance, to be followed by an ever-expanding online resource providing access both to synthetic and comprehensive treatments and to more individuated details on persons, places, texts, doctrinal matters, and so on.

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Volume I, which will appear in 2015, surveys Buddhist literatures, scriptural and nonscriptural, and offers discussions of the languages of Buddhist traditions and the physical bases (manuscripts, epigraphy, etc.) available for the study of Buddhist literatures. Subsequent volumes will address issues of personages, communities, history, life and practice, doctrine, space and time, and Buddhism in the modern world.

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* This booklet is a preview of the major reference work *Brill's Encyclopedia of Buddhism*. The texts and cover in this preview might differ from the final publication.

Brill's Encyclopedia of Buddhism

*Volume I:
Literature and Languages*

Edited by
Jonathan A. Silk

Preview



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INTRODUCTION

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It has been evident for many years that no authoritative, reliable, and up-to-date reference work on Buddhism across Asia yet exists in any language. *Brill's Encyclopedia of Buddhism* aims to fill that gap with a comprehensive work, presented in two phases: (1) a series of six thematically organized printed volumes including an index volume, and (2) an online edition.

The thematic encyclopedia, illustrated with maps and photographs, will present the latest research on the main aspects of the Buddhist traditions in original essays contributed by the world's foremost scholars.

The ever-expanding online edition will incorporate the contents of the printed volumes, in due course updated and corrected as necessary, and gradually but continually grow, moreover, into a treasure trove of individuated details on, for instance, persons, places, texts, and doctrinal matter. In addition, it will make full use of the multimedia possibilities of online presentation (with recordings of chanting, virtual 3-D visits to temples, and the like).

Scope and Character

The encyclopedia aims at a balanced and even-handed view of Buddhist traditions, both presenting the most reliable accounts of well-known issues and filling gaps in heretofore-neglected areas. In doing so, it emphasizes that Buddhism is simultaneously constituted by a plurality of regional traditions and a far-reaching phenomenon spanning almost all of Asia and, more recently, far beyond as well.

The vast scope of Buddhist traditions – geographically, historically, linguistically, and culturally – necessitates a huge international cooperation. As a natural outcome, the project not only serves as a spotlight illuminating areas of traditional and modern Buddhism that yet have to receive adequate treatment but also helps to build bridges among scholars, students, regional specializations, *and* disciplines.

One additional important function of the encyclopedia is that, while it aims to present the state of the art rather than to collect new and as yet untested hypotheses, it also represents a pioneering effort in seeking to present new knowledge and insights, or knowledge not yet broadly disseminated.

2015: The First Volume

Volume I, appearing in 2015, surveys Buddhist literatures, scriptural and nonscriptural, and offers discussions of the languages of Buddhist traditions and the physical bases (manuscripts, epigraphy, etc.) available for the study of Buddhist literatures. In its more than one hundred entries on tantric literature, Vinaya, narratives, dramatic works, Buddhist literature in Mongolian and Tamil, and so on and on, it offers detailed surveys presenting information never available before. Subsequent volumes will address issues of personages, communities, history, life and practice, doctrine, space and time, and Buddhism in the modern world.

Jonathan Silk
Editor in Chief

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Catuṣpīṭha

Catuṣpīṭha may be either an abbreviation of the scriptural title *Catuṣpīṭhatantra* or the name of the textual cycle and teachings directly or supposedly based on that scripture. The *Catuṣpīṭhatantra* is one of the earlier Yoginītantras, the penultimate wave of scriptural revelation in Indian esoteric Buddhism. It was composed most likely in the late 9th century in northeast India (Szántó, vol. I, 2012, 35ff.). Like other examples of the genre, the text for the most part teaches a pantheon, the initiation rite meant to create a qualified worshipper of the pantheon, the worship proper of these deities, and related yogic-ritual practices employing visualization and mantras.

Title and Structure

The title of the text is to be understood as The Scripture in Four Chapters, since it has nothing to do with *pīṭhas* in the sense of pilgrimage places. The chapters are given the names *Ātmapīṭha*, *Parapīṭha*, *Yogapīṭha*, and *Guhyapīṭha*; it is not at all clear how these chapter titles (meaning self, other, meditation, and secret, respectively) relate to their contents. The chapters are further divided into four subchapters each. Exegetical tradition maintains that the currently preserved text is the abbreviation of a 12,000-verse version, which itself was an abridgment of an 18,000-verse ur-revelation. The *Catuṣpīṭhatantra* as we have it today consists of what would amount to about 1,200 verses. Excepting a few prose passages, speaker markers, and mantras, the text is composed in more or less regular *anuṣṭubh* meter. The text is in the form of a dialogue between an unspecified Bhagavat (“Lord”), sometimes styled Jñānendra (“Sovereign of Gnosis”), and Vajrapāṇi, the standard petitioner of Vajrayāna scriptures (Szántó, vol. I, 2012, 25ff.).

Sources

The *Catuṣpīṭhatantra* has not yet been published in its entirety (about half of the text accompanied by the *Catuṣpīṭhanibandha* of Bhavabhaṭṭa is edited in Szántó, vol. II, 2012, 5–224). It survives in at least

three almost complete palm-leaf manuscripts, several paper manuscripts, and at least six palm-leaf fragments. All these codices were copied in Nepal. There is also a canonical Tibetan translation from the 11th century, the joint effort of Gayādhara and Khug pa lhas btsas of the 'Gos clan (Szántó, vol. I, 2012, 73–89).

A significant amount of the text is also transmitted in the lemmata of the most extensive commentary, the *Catuṣpīṭhanibandha* of Bhavabhaṭṭa (northeast India, first half of the 10th cent.). The *Catuṣpīṭhanibandha* survives in several paper copies and three almost complete palm-leaf codices: two of these are of Nepalese origin, whereas what is the best manuscript was probably copied at Vikramaśīla Monastery in the second half of the 12th century. An enlarged Tibetan translation of this commentary was produced by the same translators as those of the *Catuṣpīṭhatantra* (Szántó, vol. I, 2012, 97–115).

There are two further commentaries extant in Sanskrit. Both are unfinished, as they comment on the first three chapters only. This does not mean that the authors knew a shorter recension, since both allude to passages in the *Guhyapīṭha*, chapter 4. The earlier, by one Kalyāṇavarman (Nepal?, 10th cent.), is simply called the *Pañjikā*. It is extant in a single Nepalese palm-leaf manuscript dated 1012 CE. This work was translated into Tibetan and completed with a commentary on the fourth chapter by Smṛtijñānakīrti (Szántó, vol. I, 2012, 115–119). The latter of the commentaries, the *Mitapadāpañjikā* by Durjayacandra (northeast India, late 10th cent.), survives in a single Nepalese palm-leaf manuscript and a paper apograph thereof. This copy is incomplete: there are two leaves missing from the beginning and an undeterminable number of folios from the end. The work has not been translated into Tibetan (Szántó, vol. I, 2012, 119–123).

The two earlier commentators, Bhavabhaṭṭa and Kalyāṇavarman, already allude to variant interpretations, thus there has already been some kind of exegesis of the text before them (Szántó, vol. I, 2012, 95–96). Both exegetes betray knowledge of a very influential satellite text of the cycle, the *Maṅḍalopāyikā*. The transmission history of this text is quite complex, and its authorship is problematic

(see Szántó, 2008b; vol. I, 2012, 123–147). Besides laying down the initiation ritual in great detail, one recension of the text introduced a new pantheon – most significantly a male deity, Yogāmbara, as the central figure – and eventually took over the role of primary scripture from the *Catuṣpīṭhatantra* itself. For Bhavabhaṭṭa and Kalyāṇavarman, the pantheon is still exclusively female, but Durjayacandra already acknowledges Yogāmbara as the main deity of the cult.

The rest of Catuṣpīṭha literature consists of smaller commentaries, minor ritual manuals, and several scriptural texts, the longest of which, the **Vyākhyātantra*, is extant only in Tibetan translation. Two texts delineating the daily ritual-meditative practice of the initiate deserve special mention. The *Yogāmbarasādhanopāyikā* of Amitavajra (north-east India, 11th cent.) seems to have been the standard manual, until it was overshadowed by a work based on it, the *Yogāmbarasādhanavidhi* of Jagadānandajīvabhadrā (Nepal, 14th cent.). Judging by the number of extant manuscripts and the current manner of worshipping Yogāmbara in the Kathmandu Valley, this was certainly the most popular ritual manual in recent times. (For an account

of these unpublished texts, see Szántó, vol. I, 2012, 89–95, 147–194.)

The Pantheon

The original pantheon of the Catuṣpīṭha was exclusively female. The goddesses' iconographic features, seed syllables (*bījas*), mantras, corresponding hand gestures (*mudrās*), and worship are described in what may be called the flagship subchapter, 2.3 (that is, third subchapter of the *Parapīṭha*). The chief goddess, Jñānaḍākinī, occupies the central seat of the *maṇḍala*. She has three faces and six arms; she is clad in red garments and wears snake ornaments. Her faces are laughing, coquettish, and fierce. She holds a skull-staff, a battle-axe, a *vajra*-scepter, a bell, a skull-bowl, and a sword. She is surrounded by four goddesses in the cardinal directions, four in the intermediate directions, and four doorkeepers. The visualization starts with the central goddess. Each goddess is a transformation of her seed syllable (*bīja*), and they are later summoned by their specific mantras and corresponding gestures.

The main points can be tabulated as follows:

goddess	position	color	<i>bīja</i>	mantra
Jñānaḍākinī	middle	dark	<i>hūṃ</i>	<i>oṃ hūṃ svāhā</i>
Vajraḍākinī	east	white	<i>suṃ</i>	<i>oṃ a svāhā</i>
Ghoraḍākinī	north	yellow	<i>huṃ</i>	<i>oṃ ā svāhā</i>
Vettālī	west	red	<i>yuṃ</i>	<i>oṃ ā̄ svāhā</i>
Caṇḍālī	south	black	<i>kṣuṃ</i>	<i>oṃ āṃ svāhā</i>
Siṃhī	northeast	yellow-white	<i>smryuṃ</i>	<i>oṃ ṛ svāhā</i>
Vyāghrī	southeast	black-white	<i>hmryuṃ</i>	<i>oṃ ṝ svāhā</i>
Jambukī	southwest	black-red	<i>ymryuṃ</i>	<i>oṃ ḷ svāhā</i>
Ulūki	northwest	yellow-red	<i>kṣmryuṃ</i>	<i>oṃ ḹ svāhā</i>
Raudrī/Dākinī	east	white	–	<i>oṃ phuṃ svāhā</i>
Dīpinī	north	yellow	–	<i>oṃ pheṃ svāhā</i>
Cūṣiṇī	west	red	–	<i>oṃ phoṃ svāhā</i>
Kāambojī	south	black	–	<i>oṃ phriṃ svāhā</i>

Table 1: Where two colors are mentioned, it should be understood as half-half and not a mixture of the respective colors; *ā̄* denotes the protracted (*pluta*) vowel.

In the Yoginītantras, especially in scriptures related to the cult of Śaṃvara or Saṃvara, the general trend was to appropriate full-fledged antinomianism and Kāpālīka or charnel-ground imagery (see Sanderson, 2009, 145ff.). The Catuṣpīṭha imagery and the ritual procedures related to the deities are still at what may be termed a transitional phase (Szántó, vol. I, 2012, 55–57). The goddesses of the cardinal directions and the doorkeepers are visualized in the antinomian counterclockwise order, but those in the intermediate directions are not. Some of the goddesses do carry skull-bowls (h. *yogapātra*) and skull-staffs (*khaṭvāṅga*), but they are not wearing bone ornaments (their ornaments are snakes instead) and are not smeared with ash. Their hair is disheveled, but they are still fully clad. Instead of the dynamic dancing postures, they are visualized as seated. Only some of the goddesses are said to display ferocious laughter (*aṭṭahāsa*), and we find animal-headed goddesses only among the outer eight. Jñānaḍākinī herself does have a ferocious face, but it is not the one facing the worshipper. Since this original pantheon is female, there are no copulating deities. However, with the arrival of the new pantheon headed by Yogāmbara, the old chief goddess and the new god are portrayed in sexual embrace, as are some of the attendants.

The male deity Yogāmbara is in many ways similar to what with his superimposition became his consort: he is also dark, has three faces displaying the same emotions, and six arms, which also hold a *vajra*-scepter, a bell, and a skull-bowl, but a bow and an arrow in the remaining two, while one hand fondles the consort's breast. By being relegated to the role of female consort, Jñānaḍākinī sometimes adopts the name Yogāmbari.

The superimposition of a male deity onto a female pantheon is against the general trend of late tantric Buddhism (and also tantric Śaivism), where the tendency was rather for goddesses to become autonomous from their male partners, such as in the case of Vajrayoginī (see Sanderson, 2009, 173ff.).

The Language of the *Catuṣpīṭhatantra*

Although the Sanskrit of most later Buddhist Tantras tends to deviate greatly from classical usage, the language of the *Catuṣpīṭhatantra* goes even further. The text is written in an almost *sui generis* register of Sanskrit, one that unsystematically violates practically every grammatical rule. In declension there is complete promiscuity in gender, case,

and number. Conjugation does not fare any better: singular and plural, active and medial, and simplex and causative are frequently confused. Pronouns, enclitic particles, the word *et cetera* (*ādi*), and the *-tas* suffix are sometimes meaningless verse fillers. Words are sometimes truncated only to fit the meter (Szántó, vol. I, 2012, 60–67).

For example, *Catuṣpīṭhatantra* 1.1.1ab reads as follows:

evaṃ bhāṣita sarvajña rigṇāṃ jñānam īśvaram

Aside from the doctrinal problem that this is not the standard etiological introduction (*nidāna*), every word except “thus” (*evaṃ*) and “gnosis” (*jñānam*) requires some explanation. The past participle with a zero-suffix *bhāṣita* acts as a finite verb, meaning “he spoke,” whereas the next word – “the omniscient one” (*sarvajña*), which looks like a vocative – is to be understood as the subject, with the zero-suffix standing for a nominative ending. The second verse quarter describes the subject: he is the gnosis (*jñānam*) of, or – as one commentator glosses it – that which is to be known for, *rigṇis* (sometimes spelled *rgi*), a word of unknown origin, usually understood by the exegetes as buddhas or elsewhere as goddesses. He is also the lord (*īśvaram*), but here, too, what is expected to be one case, the accusative, is to be taken as another, again the nominative. The example chosen here is a relatively straightforward one, and with such explanations, most of the teachings of the *Catuṣpīṭhatantra* can be more or less followed. However, some lines were so obscure that even scriptures that lift over entire passages from the *Catuṣpīṭhatantra* simply chose to ignore them, while retaining the immediately surrounding text (Szántó, vol. I, 2012, 48–54).

The exegetes were not blind to this highly idiosyncratic Sanskrit (Szántó, vol. I, 2012, 61–64). The author of the aforementioned *Maṅḍalopāyikā*, who nevertheless emulates this ungrammatical style, calls it barbaric language/usage (*mlecchabhāṣā*). He also alludes to the fact that this usage is meant to safeguard the esoteric teachings. The commentator Bhavabhaṭṭa advises the reader to pay attention to the meaning, since meter, gender, case endings, number, and the such are “beyond worldly usage” (*atilaukika*) in this scripture (Szántó, vol. I, 2012, 62). He also warns the reader not to criticize grammatical or ungrammatical expressions, since they are both constructs. It is not unlikely that the Catuṣpīṭha exegetes considered the barbaric language of the *Catuṣpīṭhatantra* something intentional, meant either to keep the uninitiated ignorant or to teach

on a metalevel the ultimately constructed and conventional nature of all things.

The *Catuṣpīṭhatantra* is perhaps the second earliest Yoginītantra to employ Apabhramsha verses (the first – as far as we know – is the so-called proto-Yoginītantra, the *Sarvabuddhasamāyogaḍākinījālaśamvara*). Some of these became very influential in later liturgy especially in the rite of collective worship (*gaṇacakra*). There are several features in these verses pointing to a strong affinity with eastern types of Apabhramsha.

Synopsis of Contents

The idiosyncratic usage of Sanskrit affected the transmission of the text and exegetical consensus greatly. It is therefore difficult to outline a precise synopsis of contents, since, depending on chosen readings and interpretation, the same passage could be describing different topics. Moreover, since the *Catuṣpīṭhatantra* is not organized well, the borders of subunits may vary according to each commentator. The contents of the subchapters are broadly as follows:

Subchapter 1.1 first describes the setting for the revelation of the scripture. The petitioner is Vajrapāṇi, who is found heading an unusual list of bodhisattvas: Dhutaḡaṇa, Bībhatsa, Lambaka, Trikaṇṭha, Meru, Meruśikhara, Padma, and Padmodara. Although the first questions refer to breath retention, in what follows, a unique system of reckoning time is revealed. The basis is a duodecimal group of so-called sovereigns of abodes (*bhuvaneśvaras*), a list unique to this scripture (and to those, such as the *Vajraḍākatantra*, that have borrowed from it): Rohitā, Mohitā, Bhadra, Vṛṣabha, Kūrma, Makara, Raṇḍā, Mikira, Bhidrika, Vyākuli, Svapna, and Kāma. On the basis of this system (studied by Sugiki, 2005a), the text teaches natal prognostication, practical astrology (e.g. when to undertake moneylending), auspicious times for beginning rituals, and so on. The subchapter also describes a computation of the northern and southern progression of the sun as well as another type of divination, this time based on a diagram. (The first eight verses are edited, translated, and discussed by Szántó, vol. II, 2012, 5–13; vol. I, 2012, 199–207.)

Subchapter 1.2 teaches the bodily signs of death, how to counteract them and thus cheat death (*mṛtyuvañcana*), matters related to curing snake-bite, and rainmaking. (See a full edition, translation,

and discussion by Szántó, vol. II, 2012, 14–54; vol. I, 2012, 208–242.)

Subchapter 1.3 teaches meditation on emptiness (*śūnyatā*) accompanied by a method to divine success in particular rituals depending on the color that emerges when the practitioner contemplates emptiness. (For an edition with all three commentaries, see Szántó, 2008a. For a reedition of the text of the *Catuṣpīṭhatantra* and the *Catuṣpīṭhanibandha*, translation, and discussion, see Szántó, vol. II, 2012, 55–65; vol. I, 2012, 243–251.)

Subchapter 1.4 first teaches the first part (followed up in 2.3) on how to meditate on the chief goddess, Jñānaḍākinī. The remaining part teaches a rite to paralyze and a method to stop excessive rain. (See a full edition, translation, and discussion by Szántó, vol. II, 2012, 66–83; vol. I, 2012, 252–270.)

Subchapter 2.1 for the most part deals with oblation into fire (*homa*). The rite can be undertaken for a variety of worldly aims: killing enemies, invigoration, subjugation, placating, obtaining a son, increasing fertility in cattle, averting danger from a city or a country, paralyzing, attracting, and restoring an ousted king. The size of the pit, the firewood, substances cast into the fire, measurements, and so forth are customized according to the aim. A short passage at the end describes the ideal initiate (*śiṣya*). (This last passage is edited, translated, and discussed by Szántó, vol. II, 2012, 84–85; vol. I, 2012, 274–277. A synopsis of the rest is given by Szántó, vol. I, 2012, 271–274.)

Subchapter 2.2 teaches oblation into water (*jalahoma*), a rare but not unparalleled ritual. The aims are similar to those of usual *homas*, the only major difference being that substances are not cast into fire but in a large receptacle of water. (See a detailed synopsis and discussion by Szántó, vol. I, 2012, 278–282.)

Subchapter 2.3 is by far the longest one. It describes in considerable detail the pantheon of the cult and related matters such as mantras and hand gestures used both to invoke the goddesses and to worship them. The food offering called *bali* is also described in detail. The subchapter contains praises in both Sanskrit and Apabhramsha. In the latter half, elements of transgressive worship are given: here the deities are offered liquor, the so-called nectars (*amṛta*, i.e. bodily substances such as semen, urine, and feces), and the so-called hooks (*anikuśas*), known in other systems as lamps (*pradīpa*, i.e. five kinds of flesh – that of elephants, cows, dogs, horses, and humans). The subchapter finishes with a dedication

of merits and the ritual dismissal of the deities. (The subchapter is edited, translated, and discussed by Szántó, vol. II, 2012, 86–161; vol. I, 2012, 283–356.)

Subchapter 2.4 deals with a variety of topics, including descriptions of the nectars and hooks, ways of purifying and empowering them, miscellaneous details concerning the *bali* offering, rituals of propitiating the doorkeeper goddesses, an Apabhramsha verse to be recited in order to gain entry to secret collective worship, and the secret signs and code words used in the same context (see Sugiki, 2005b). The most striking statement in this subchapter concerns the goddesses: should they fail to comply with the initiate's wishes, they can be killed. (See synopsis, including an edition and discussion of the Apabhramsha verse by Szántó, vol. I, 2012, 357–366.)

Subchapter 3.1 teaches the symbolism of the main ritual implements: the scepter (*vajra*), the bell (*ghaṇṭā*), and the string of beans for recitation (h. *akṣasūtra*). The last passage is a somewhat obscure presentation on the amount of knowledge (*jñāna*) that inhabitants of different levels of the universe possess. (A synopsis is given by Szántó, vol. I, 2012, 367–373.)

Subchapter 3.2 teaches a variety of minor rites, mostly the drawing of amulet-like diagrams but also rites to attract a king, a woman, or material wealth. (A synopsis is given by Szántó, vol. I, 2012, 374–379.)

Subchapter 3.3 reveals a variety of methods to induce possession (*āveśa*) and rites to drive off one's enemy, to attract a woman, to paralyze, to chastise what the text calls "wicked wives" by blocking their vulva, to produce an ointment for clairvoyance of female spirits, and to cause strife between two targets. (A full edition, translation, and discussion are given by Szántó, vol. II, 2012, 162–188; vol. I, 2012, 380–410.)

Subchapter 3.4 discusses the symbolism of the *maṇḍala*, a variety of yogic sexual practices undertaken with a consort, and further individual propitiations of goddesses. (See a synopsis by Szántó, vol. I, 2012, 411–416.)

Subchapter 4.1 deals mostly with matters related to initiation (*abhīṣeka*): characteristics of the ideal officiant (*ācārya*), the manner in which the initiate should behave toward him, the rite of initiation proper, and rules of postinitiatory observance. (See full edition, translation, and discussion by Szántó, vol. II, 2012, 189–214; vol. I, 2012, 417–449.)

Subchapter 4.2 is perhaps the most obscure one. The outset is quite antiritualistic in its tone, and there are several philosophical discussions on the

topics of bondage, impermanence, and the nature of consciousness. In spite of all this, the text continues with yet further meditational methods, including the visualization of Vajrasattva and the interiorized oblation into fire (*guhyaḥoma*). (See synopsis by Szántó, vol. I, 2012, 450–453.)

Subchapter 4.3 starts with a speculation on the presence of elements (earth, water, etc.) in the body and continues with a visualization meant to make consciousness firmly concentrated and the practice of conscious egress from the body at the time of death (*utkrānti*). In this practice, the initiate is supposed to block with mantras the apertures of his body and direct his consciousness toward the top of his head, whence it should exit. Although liberation is not promised explicitly, the text says that even great sinners become purified by this method. However, it warns, the initiate must wait until the time death has become inevitable (i.e. when he has perceived the signs of death described above and has no wish to prolong his worldly existence). The last procedure (or procedures?) described is too obscure to be identified with certainty: it may be a continuation to *utkrānti* or a separate method meant to read other people's thoughts. (The passage on *utkrānti* is edited, translated, and discussed by Szántó, vol. II, 2012, 215–224; vol. I, 2012, 455–468. An overview of the rest is given by Szántó, vol. I, 2012, 454–455, 469–470.)

Subchapter 4.4 first teaches a meditation method meant to secure perfect enlightenment. A few verses teach signs of accomplishment, mostly visions that the meditator experiences. Two further, similar methods are taught, along with practical advice for the meditator, such as finding a suitably isolated place, and a recipe to alleviate his hunger and thirst. The closing passages describe the joy of the retinue on hearing the *Catuṣpīṭhatantra* and the benefits accrued from merely listening to it or copying it. (See synopsis by Szántó, vol. I, 2012, 471–474.)

Presumed Environment, Innovation, and Influence

Judging from the divinatory passages and targets of rituals, the intended clientele of the specialist initiates was the urban or semi-urban Buddhist laity. Furthermore, the passages describing the *ācārya*'s fee and a passage praising the value of the *ācārya* in the *Maṇḍalopāyikā* seem to suggest that the *ācāryas* themselves were not monks but married householders.

The *Catuṣpīṭhatantra*, although several of its texts were translated into Classical Tibetan, seems to have enjoyed only a marginal role in Tibet. Quotations and references in Indic texts are also rather scarce when compared to other Yoginītantras, such as the *Hevajratantra*. However, the cycle was greatly successful in the Kathmandu Valley, where Yogāmbara and Jñānaḍākinī are worshipped to this day.

The *Catuṣpīṭhatantra* was nevertheless very influential on the subcontinent (here discounting Nepal), in an indirect way. Several important scriptures related to the cult of Śaṃvara or Saṃvara borrow passages from it. Almost two hundred verses are incorporated into the *Samputodbhavantra* and several dozens of verses into the *Vajraḍākatantra*, the *Ḍākārṇavantra*, and the *Samvarodayatantra*, and there are echoes even in the *Yoginīsaṃcāratantra* and the *Abhidhānottaratantra*. The aforementioned Apabhramsha verses were incorporated into the periodically observed collective worship (*gaṇacakra*). The *Catuṣpīṭhatantra* was very likely the first esoteric Buddhist scripture to teach *utkrānti*, although it was not the earliest text to do so (the earliest being the *Dvikramatattvabhavānā Mukhāgama* of Buddhaśrījñāna/Jñānapāda). The waning popularity of the text was perhaps due to its highly obscure language.

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PÉTER-DÁNIEL SZÁNTÓ

Korean Buddhist Literature in Korean

This is a survey of literature in Korean composed to propagate Buddhism and of other Korean vernacular literature that offers insights in the ways Buddhism functioned in Korean society over the ages, from the 7th to the 21st century.

When the three ancient Korean states of Koguryō (高句麗), Paekche (百濟), and Silla (新羅) adopted elements of Chinese culture, the Chinese writing system and sinified Buddhism were prominent among these. Traditionally the adoption of Buddhism is equated with acceptance by the state, which is supposed to have happened in 372 CE in Koguryō, in 384 in Paekche, and in 527 in Silla (for this and other general information on the development of Korean Buddhism, see Grayson, 1985, 2002; Buswell, 1983; Inoue Hideo, 1989; Best, 1995; Choi Joon-sik, 2007; Chung Byung-jo, 2007; Ch'oe Pyōnghōn *et al.*, 2013; Buswell & Lopez, 2013). While it did not take long before translations were made of the sacred writings of Buddhism into Chinese when Buddhism was introduced from India, a consequence of China's strong and long-established literary tradition, the smaller countries on the borders of China did not have their own writing systems yet and could not boast of a similar tradition. Therefore they tended to adopt written Chinese as a literary language, for a variety of purposes. At the time, a retranslation of the scriptures into the languages that were spoken in ancient Korea was difficult not only because no phonetic writing systems had been developed yet but also because of the nature of the Chinese characters, as the logograms were not suited to render languages that are highly inflected. Thus the states on the peninsula, like other countries on the periphery of China, all adopted Chinese as a written language, which in their cultures assumed a role similar to that of Latin in Europe. The desire to read the Chinese Buddhist scriptures acted as a strong stimulus in this regard. Eventually the educated classes in Korea learned to handle the new language with its writing system as if it were their own. The Korean term for this written language, *hanmun* (漢文; lit. Chinese writing), will be used here to distinguish the Chinese written by Koreans from writings in Chinese by the Chinese themselves. While *hanmun* became an integral part of Korean culture, vernacu-

lar literature in oral form continued to flourish, both among the elite and among the common people, and consequently Korean culture became characterized by diglossia (Kim Hunggyu, 1997; Peter H. Lee, 2003). This state of affairs lasted until the early 20th century. From the 6th century onward, efforts were made also to write the vernacular by using Chinese characters both for their meaning and for their pronunciation (as phonetic signs approximating Korean sounds), and in 1444 vernacular writing was greatly facilitated by the invention of a simple Korean phonetic alphabet (Ledyard, 1998). Yet, *hanmun* continued to be used thanks to its cultural prestige. Before the 20th century, the quantity of *hanmun* literature was always infinitely larger than that written in the vernacular, and this applies to Buddhist writings, too. For most purposes, and certainly for treatises on the meaning of sūtras and ritual handbooks, Korean Buddhist monks used *hanmun*. They also wrote copious amounts of poetry in Chinese. Consequently, studies of "Buddhist literature" tend to be studies of the literature produced in *hanmun* (Yi Chino, 1997). Buddhist writings in the vernacular, mainly poetry but also some prose, are significant, however, because they provide an insight into the actual meaning of Buddhism in the daily life of the people, who for the most part were incapable of understanding Chinese. The elite, too, occasionally produced important works of Buddhist literature in the vernacular.

Hyangga

No vernacular literature has been handed down from Koguryō or Paekche, but from Silla there are 25 songs called *hyangga* (鄉歌; also called *sano(ga)* [詞腦(歌)] or *saenaennorae* [새넛노래]), of four, eight, or ten lines (Peter H. Lee, 1959; 2003). They were recorded with the help of *hyangch'al* (鄉札), a system of writing in which some Chinese characters are used for their meaning and others for their pronunciation. From Korea this system was introduced to Japan, where it became known as *manyōgana* (萬葉がな), as it was used to record the oldest Japanese poetry collection, the *Manyōshū* (萬葉集;

Collection of Ten Thousand Leaves). Originally there was a much larger corpus of *hyangga*, in a collection entitled *Samdaemok* (三代目; Collection of the Three Ages), compiled by two Buddhist monks in 888, but this has not been preserved. Of the extant *hyangga*, 14 are included in the *Samguk yusa* (三國遺事; Memorabilia of the History of the Three Kingdoms), a history of the early states in Korea from a Buddhist point of view compiled in Chinese in 1285 by the monk Iryŏn (一然; 1206–1289). Eight of these are related to Buddhism. This high proportion may be because they were transmitted in a source with a Buddhist slant rather than because of the general nature of the *hyangga*. Dating from the 7th to the late 9th century, the *hyangga* in the *Samguk yusa* have in common the fact that they are part of a narrative that explains why and in what circumstances they were sung, which is useful for their interpretation and sometimes provides the only indication that the songs should be regarded as Buddhist. Several songs are directly or indirectly related to the cult of Maitreya (Mirŭk [彌勒]; Lancaster, 1989). In the narratives in which the songs are embedded, there are passages that suggest that this cult was grafted onto a native cult of dragons or snakes (*mirŭ* [미르]). The *Tosolga* (兜率歌; Song of Tuṣita) by the monk Wŏlmyŏng (月明) expresses devotion to Maitreya but is placed in a context that suggests that it had an apotropaic function, serving to chase away a second sun that had appeared in the sky. Another *hyangga*, *Mo-Chukchirangga* (慕竹旨郎歌; Ode to the *hwarang* Chukchi), is dedicated to Chukchi, a member of an association of young men called the *hwarang* (花郎; lit. flower boys), who not only assumed leadership roles in the battles of Silla with its competitors but also practiced a cult that was centered on Maitreya. The narrative that accompanies the song suggests that Chukchi was an *avatār* of Maitreya.

Another ode to a *hwarang* (Kip'arang [耆婆郎]) – the *Ch'an Kip'arangga* (讚耆婆郎歌; Song in Praise of [the *hwarang*] Kip'a), by an anonymous author – contains an allusion to Amitābha's Pure Land (Kor. Chŏngt'o [淨土]; Skt. Sukhāvati), which is more explicitly mentioned in two other *hyangga*: *Wŏnwangsaengga* (願往生歌; Wishing to Be Reborn in the Pure Land) and *Chemangmaega* (祭亡妹歌; Song for a Dead Sister). Pure Land practices gathered force from the 7th century onward and continued to influence vernacular literature until modern times. *Wŏnwangsaengga*, written by the monk Kwangdŏk (廣德), expresses a straight-

forward wish to be reborn in the Pure Land, which the poem says will be reached by following the moon on its course to the west. In *Chemangmaega* the monk Wŏlmyŏng, who also composed *Tosolga*, mourns the death of his sister, wishing eventually to be reunited with her in the Pure Land.

Belief in the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara (Kor. Kwanŭm [觀音]) as a savior from all kinds of dangers and afflictions was also an important part of Silla Buddhism. Among the many shapes in which this bodhisattva may appear, there is one with a thousand arms and a thousand eyes (千手天眼; Skt. Sahasrabhujasahasranetra), an esoteric form of Avalokiteśvara (Orzech *et al.*, 2011, 215), and it is in this form that the merciful bodhisattva appears in a *hyangga*. Entitled *To-ch'ŏnsu-Kwanŭmga* (禱千手觀音歌; Prayer to Kwanŭm with the Thousand Arms), the song is a prayer to Avalokiteśvara to lend some of his eyes to restore the eyesight of a blind child.

Ujŏkka (遇賊歌; An Encounter with Robbers) is described in the *Samguk yusa* as composed by the monk Yŏngjae (永才) when he met a band of robbers. When they heard his name, they recognized him as a well-known *hyangga* poet and asked him to make a poem for them. The contents stress the illusory nature of all phenomena, including the menacing behavior of the bandits. The robbers were so impressed by the *hyangga* and the behavior of Yŏngjae, the *Samguk yusa* narrates, that they decided to become Yŏngjae's disciples. *Ujŏkka* may also be read as allegorical, with the robbers as personifications of everything that tries to keep one from attaining enlightenment.

According to the *Samguk yusa*, the *hyangga* entitled *Hyesŏngga* (彗星歌; Song of the Comet) was composed by the monk Yungch'ŏn (融天) in order to chase away a comet as well as Japanese invaders. It is not the only example of a *hyangga* with an apotropaic function and might be seen as evidence of the influence of the exorcistic tendencies of esoteric Buddhism in Silla. However, the apotropaic power of poetry can also be seen in other poems in the *Samguk yusa*, both in non-Buddhist *hyangga* and in poems or songs rendered in *hanmun*, and perhaps should rather be explained as due to pre-Buddhist traditions.

Apart from the *hyangga* in the *Samguk yusa*, 11 Buddhist *hyangga* by the priest Kyunyŏ (均如; 923–973) have been transmitted in *Tae-hwaŏm Sujwa Wŏnt'ong Yangjung Taesa Kyunyŏjŏn* (大華嚴首座圓通兩重大師均如傳; Biography of Kyunyŏ), or

Kyunyŏjŏn for short, written by Hyŏngnyŏn Chŏng (赫連挺; dates unknown; see Buzo & Prince, 1993). This lengthy text was written in *hanmun*, in 1075, a century after the death of Kyunyŏ. Inspired by the *Buddhāvataṃsakasūtra* (Kor. *Hwaŏmgyŏng* [華嚴經]; Cleary, 1987), these songs are devoted to the ten vows (Kor. *sibwŏn* [十願]) of the bodhisattva Samantabhadra (Kor. Pohyŏn [普賢]), with a final eleventh song as a conclusion. The *hanmun* text in which the songs are embedded provides valuable information about the ways in which the *hyangga* were seen. It says that although the *sano*e (i.e. *hyangga*) were originally meant for entertainment, they could function as a means to introduce people to higher truths and salvation. Because they could be easily disseminated and understood even by the illiterate, they were very effective as such. The *Kyunyŏjŏn* asserts that when people accept the ten vows, read them, recite them, or copy them, they would be able to avoid the bad karma that would send them to the hell of unremitting pain (Kor. Muganjiok [無間地獄]; Skt. Avīci) and also be liberated from physical afflictions and mental torments in their present life. A concrete example is presented of how Kyunyŏ effected the healing of a persistent disease by letting the patient constantly recite the songs of the ten vows. The text also makes clear that although the songs were written down, they were widely circulated in oral form. The *Kyunyŏjŏn* also contains Chinese translations of the 11 *hyangga*, made by a 10th-century scholar-official, Ch'oe Haenggwi (崔行歸), because he felt that they deserved to be read also by people who could not understand the Korean text. This is but one instance of the two-way traffic that took place between Korean vernacular literature and *hanmun* writings, which constituted separate but not isolated realms.

A number of vernacular songs from the Koryŏ (高麗) period (918–1392) were recorded in writing in the early Chosŏn (朝鮮) period after the newly invented Korean alphabet was made public in 1444. These songs, usually referred to as *sogyo* (俗謠; popular songs), cannot be considered Buddhist literature, but there are references to Buddhist concepts and practices, such as the lantern festival celebrating the birthday of the Buddha on the eighth day of the fourth lunar month, suggesting the extent to which Buddhism dominated daily life in this period. It is also assumed that Buddhist *kasa* (discursive songs; see below) were first produced in Koryŏ.

Early Chosŏn Poetry and Prose

The Chosŏn dynasty, established in 1392, attempted to make Neo-Confucianism the official ideology and took measures to reduce the influence of Buddhism by curtailing the number of sects and temples, appropriating possessions of the monasteries, and looking for Confucian alternatives to Buddhist rituals. This was a gradual process with the eventual effect that Buddhism was removed from public life, although privately even the royal court and members of the elite continued to favor Buddhism in some form. Literature constitutes important evidence in this respect. King Sejong (世宗; r. 1418–1450), who together with a team of collaborators designed the Korean alphabet, not only took measures to curtail the influence of Buddhism but also promoted the writing of vernacular Buddhist poetry and prose with the new script. He first commissioned the compilation of a life of the Buddha, titled *Sŏkpo sangjŏl* (釋譜祥節; Detailed Episodes from the Genealogy of Śākyamuni; 1447), and then himself composed a poetic version of it, the *Wŏrinch'ŏn'gangjigok* (月印千江之曲; Song of the Moon Reflected on a Thousand Rivers; also 1447; see Sasse & Ahn, 2002; Olof, 2009). His son, who ascended the throne as King Sejo (世祖; r. 1455–1468) after he had forced his nephew to abdicate, having him killed two years later, combined in 1459 both works under the title *Wŏrin sŏkpo* (月印釋譜). Earlier, before he became king, Sejo himself had been part of the team that composed the *Sŏkpo sangjŏl*.

These sources also contain stories about previous lives of the historical Buddha (Kor. *ponsaengdam* [本生譚]; Skt. Jātaka). One example of this is the story of Prince Allakkuk (安樂國; “Prince Paradise”), *Allakkuk t'aejajŏn*, which relates how a king donates servants and ultimately himself to serve a holy man (Olof, 1983). At the end of the story, it is told how in a future existence, the holy man became Śākyamuni, the king Amitābha, while the queen became the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, and their son Allakkuk the bodhisattva Mahāsthāmaprāpta (Taeseji [大勢至]). The story has also survived in other forms, for instance as a 19th-century novel or a shamanic song from different regions (Walraven, 1994). There is also a painted version from 1576 (now in the possession of the Seizan Bunko Library [靑山文庫] in Japan) with copious amounts of texts to explain different scenes. It is possible that the painting was a visual aid for storytelling,

most likely by monks or nuns, which suggests the existence of practices similar to Buddhist storytelling in China or *etoki* (繪解き; lit. picture explanations, a method used by monks and nuns to propagate the faith) in Japan (Kim Chinyöng, 2012, 285–318; Kaminishiki, 2006; Mair, 1988). Another example of a tale of one of the previous incarnations of the Buddha in the *Wörin sökpo* is *Inyok t'aejajön* (忍辱太子傳; Life of the Patiently Suffering Prince). Together with *Allakkuk t'aejajön*, this tale is also found in *Sökka yörae sipchi suhaenggi* (釋迦如來十地修行記; Record of the Personal Cultivation of the *Tathāgata Śākyamuni*), a *hanmun* collection of *Jātakas* published in 1328 and reprinted in 1448 and 1660 (Olof, 1989).

In the 15th century, the newly invented alphabet was also used to publish so-called *önhae* (諺解; explanations in the vernacular) editions of Buddhist scriptures in *hanmun*. Ten titles were translated, among which not only the *Lotus Sūtra* (Kor. *Myoböbyönhwagjöng* [妙法蓮華經]; Skt. *Saddharmapuṇḍarikasūtra*) and *Diamond Sūtra* (Kor. *Kūmgangbanyabaramilgyöng* [金剛般若波羅密經]; Skt. *Vajracchedikāprajñāparāmītāsūtra*) but also collections of the teachings of Sön (禪; Chn. Chán; Jpn. Zen) masters and other texts from the meditation tradition (Ko Yöngsöp, 2012, 193).

Late Chosön Fiction

After 1600, there was a marked increase in the production of vernacular prose literature. There was considerable variation in the nature of the fiction of this period, but in part it was Buddhist in inspiration and origin. Several tales from the *Sökka yörae sipchi suhaenggi* collection were published as *sosöl* (小說; novels or novellas; Skillend, 1986) in vernacular form in the years that followed its reprinting in 1660. One example is the *Kūmu t'aejajön* (金牛太子傳; The Life of Prince Golden Calf), which also appeared under the title *Kūmsongajjön* (금송아지전; Story of the Golden Calf) and several other, similar appellations (Olof, 2008; Kim Chinyöng, 2012, 174–210). *Sönu t'aejajön* (善友太子傳; Life of Prince Good Friend) was turned into a *sosöl* called *Chök Söngüi jön* (赤聖儀傳; Story of Chök Söngüi). The same happened with *Allakkuk t'aejajön*. Edifying religious literature and works read for entertainment were part of a continuum and not strictly distinguished. The story of the life of the historical Buddha, found in *Sökka yörae sipchi suhaenggi* in the late Chosön period, was also read as

a *sosöl* under the title *P'alsangnok* (八相錄; Record of the Eight Phases [of the Life of Śākyamuni]). Following the emergence of popular literature, some *sosöl* of Buddhist origin were adapted by shamans to provide the plot of ritual songs that explained the origin of shamanic deities (Walraven, 1994). In other instances, shamans incorporated Buddhist concepts and figures in their narrative songs, even though in content, the songs are at odds with Buddhist teaching. Thus, in *Ch'angsega* (創世歌), a song about the creation of the world and civilization and the origin of suffering, Maitreya acts as the demiurge who presides over a paradisiacal world, while the eagerness of Śākyamuni to rule over this world is used to explain the origin of death and disease (Walraven, 1989; 2007a). The logic behind this is that in Buddhism, too, Maitreya is associated with an ideal age, even if it is in the future (Lancaster, 1989), while Śākyamuni is the Buddha of our world, which obviously is a world of suffering.

In the case of shamanic songs that were adaptations of *sosöl*, the shift of emphasis was from the secular to the religious. In a totally different way, this also happened when the 17th-century Confucian scholar Kim Manjung 金萬重 (1637–1692) wrote a *sosöl* entitled *Kuunmong* (九雲夢; The Cloud Dream of the Nine), allegedly to amuse his aged mother (Kim Manjung, 1922; Rutt & Kim 1974; Bantly, 1996; Chang Hyohyön, 2008). There has been academic debate whether this novel was first written in *hanmun* or in Korean, but D. Bouchez (1995) has presented strong arguments for the latter. Even if the original version was in Chinese, however, one should recognize that it is significant as vernacular literature because it was widely circulated in Korean. Its narrative was also frequently presented in visual form, on the panels of painted or embroidered folding screens. When carefully examined, *Kuunmong* betrays a deep interest in and sound knowledge of Buddhism. Its structure and main theme – emptiness (Skt. *śūnyatā*) – are based on the *Vajracchedikā-prajñāparāmītāsūtra* (Bouchez, 1985, 445) from which a famous verse delivers the final message of the novel:

All is dharma, illusion:
A dream, a phantasm, bubble, shadow,
Evanescent as dew, transient as lightning;
And must be seen as such.
(trans. Rutt & Kim, 1974, 176; Chang Hyohyön, 2008, 235)

The last line of the novel states that all nine protagonists became bodhisattvas and entered the Pure

Land. In a sense, this is Jātaka as romance (or vice versa).

Although the bulk of *Kuunmong* describes the romantic adventures of a young monk and eight female servants of Sōwangmo (西王母; Chn. Xiwangmu; “Queen Mother of the West”) who are reborn in the secular world as punishment for a moment of dalliance, in the end, the protagonists realize that all this has been an illusion. The whole story may be considered the skillful means (*upāya*; *pangp’yōn* [方便]) by which the reader is led to a conclusion that if introduced without preparation would not have been very attractive. With its circular structure, which reflects the teaching of the *Vajracchedikā-prajñāparāmītāsūtra* that in essence we are already enlightened but need a detour to bring us to the point from which we actually departed, the novel provides clear evidence that the oppression that Buddhism endured in this period did not preclude continued serious engagement of some members of the literate elite with its doctrines (comp. Bouchez, 1985; Eunsu Cho, 2003; Yu Hosōn, 2006; Younghee Lee, 2007b; Walraven, 2007b; Kim Daeyeol, 2012).

Ambiguities in the social status of Buddhism in the Chosōn period are illustrated by a 19th-century anonymous novella called *Ong Kojipchōn* (옹고집전; Story of Ong the Stubborn). This was an adaptation of a tale from the repertoire of *p’ansori* (판소리; narrative singing). The comic story describes the successful revenge of a monk against Ong Kojip, a well-to-do gentleman who had maltreated the monk when he presented himself begging at the gate of Ong’s mansion. The monk uses magic to manufacture a *doppelgänger* of Ong to replace the real Ong, even in his bed. The latter is ignominiously kicked out of his own home, but at the end, the real Ong shows remorse and is allowed to reassume his place. Although the tale is told in a jocular fashion, it unambiguously sympathizes with the monk and depicts Ong as a stupid brute. As a *p’ansori* tale and *sosōl*, the story addressed a wide swath of the population, including the elite.

Kasa and *Sijo*

The vernacular genres of poetry of the Chosōn period, *kasa* (歌辭) and *sijo* (時調), were originally intended to be sung and therefore often are referred to as songs, both in Korean and in other languages. When the *kasa* grew so long that they were no longer suitable to be sung, they were mostly read or recited. *Sijo* are basically a three-line form (which may be

extended somewhat) and mostly lyrical in nature, while *kasa* are more discursive, in all senses of the word, and may count many hundreds of lines. Buddhist *kasa* may be considered the most significant genre of traditional vernacular Buddhist literature. While the number of works in most genres of Buddhist vernacular literature is very small, a recent collection of Buddhist *kasa* contains 108 titles (Im Kijung, 2000), even though a number of titles that can be found in other collections have been excluded. Buddhist *kasa* were also an important medium for the transmission of the teachings of the clergy to laymen. Although manuscripts continued to be an important medium for their distribution as late as the first half of the 20th century, they were quite often circulated in printed form, unlike most non-Buddhist *kasa* of the Chosōn period.

Some Buddhist *kasa* are assumed to date from the Koryō period, which would make them the oldest examples of the *kasa* form. *Sōwangga* (西往歌; Going to the West) is ascribed to the famous Sōn monk Naong (懶翁; 1320–1376), whose teachings, however, do not match the contents of the song very well (Chōng Chaeho, 2003). It is unlikely that the extant Buddhist *kasa* are so old, although it is very plausible that in the Koryō period, too, there were vernacular Buddhist songs. An indication of the latter is the fact that there are some songs recorded in *hanmun* that do not follow any rules of Chinese prosody. Probably these are renderings of songs in the vernacular (Cho Tongil, vol. II, 2005, 195–201). What may be asserted with certainty is that, whatever the actual date of composition may be, the actual texts of the Buddhist *kasa* that we know all date from after 1600 (Younghee Lee, 2006). It should also be noted that, in spite of the fact that *kasa* may be considered a traditional genre, their production did not stop when Korea opened its borders to Western influences in the last quarter of the 19th century. A considerable number of Buddhist *kasa* were written in the first half of the 20th century.

Scholars have made different attempts to categorize the Buddhist *kasa*. A recent classification reduces them to four broad categories:

1. songs that urge conversion to Buddhism following the realization that all phenomena are evanescent and illusory, and encourage the practice of *yōmbul* (念佛; the practice of mental concentration on the buddha Amitābha) to effect rebirth in Amitābha’s Pure Land,
2. songs that teach the workings of karma and point the way to a true practice of Buddhism by doing good and making donations,

3. songs that in order to stimulate unflagging practice encourage meditation and praise the joys that follow on attaining the way by personal cultivation, and

4. songs that praise the Buddha (including descriptions of the life of the Buddha), which by describing the vows of buddhas and bodhisattvas to save all sentient beings convey the comforting message that with their help, the final goal of enlightenment is within reach of everyone (Cho P'yŏnghwan, 2011, 293).

Cho P'yŏnghwan assigns 36 songs to the first category, 15 to the second, 40 to the third, and 17 to the fourth. While giving an impression of the range of the *kasa*, classifications like this are problematic because many songs contain elements of more than one category. It is clear, however, that the songs generally have didactic purposes, and encourage both personal effort, for instance through meditation, and reliance on the salvific power of buddhas and bodhisattvas.

Another way to classify the songs is to look at the intended audience. There is a tendency to assume that the songs were all primarily addressed to the common people who would be unable to understand texts in *hanmun*. In fact, even the illiterate would be able to benefit from listening to the songs when they were sung by monks during their begging rounds or in accompaniment of rituals (Kim Chongjin, 2002). There is little doubt that the *kasa* actually functioned in this way. The fact that one of the most popular Buddhist *kasa* was adopted in the repertoire of the shamans (Kim Chongjin, 2002) and that elements from such *kasa* became part of pallbearers' songs (상여소리; *sangyŏ sori*), a kind of folk song, points in this direction. Yet, the monk Ch'imgoeng (枕肱; 1616–1684) directly addressed his fellow monks rather than laymen, criticizing all kinds of abuses, such as the excessive consumption of alcohol or just pretending to laymen to be fully enlightened (Younghee Lee, 2007b). He was scornful of the monks who studied under the guidance of “Master One-Eye,” “Dozing under the Black Mountain/Drooling in the Cave of Ghosts” (terminology traditionally applied to monks who meditate without the proper focus of the *hwadu* [話頭], the topic of meditation; Younghee Lee, 2007b, 75). Ch'imgoeng counseled a combination of textual studies (incl. texts of non-Buddhist, Confucian thinkers), meditation, and peregrination to famous mountains around the country as the right path to enlightenment. Among the most lyrical of the Buddhist *kasa* literature, his songs in many respects

are very similar to the *kasa* of the *yangban* elite of scholar-officials (from which he hailed himself). The 19th-century priest Namho Yŏnggi (南湖永奇; 1820–1872) also addressed the two *kasa* by his hand to the educated and, one might add, to the wealthy, as he used the *kasa* as a means to solicit donations for printing the *Buddhāvataṃsakasūtra*, a project that was supported by members of the royal family and some of the most powerful persons in the land (Kim Chongjin, 2004a; 2004b; 2009; Younghee Lee, 2011). *Kwŏnwangga* (勸往歌; Encouragement to Go [to the Pure Land]) by the 19th-century monk Tonghwa (東花) is so long – more than 1,200 lines – that it must have been intended for reading and thus for a public that possessed at least basic literacy rather than for vocal delivery. Growing urban populations in the 18th and 19th centuries may have been the intended audience of such *kasa*.

Buddhist *kasa* often were explicitly also addressed to women, who constituted a major part of the believers. “Listen to these words of mine, whether you are noble or despised/male or female, young or old” is a typical beginning for a Buddhist *kasa*. In some ways, they also defend women's interests, for instance by pointing out the dire karmic consequences of rape. Yet, there is no evidence that Buddhist *kasa* were written by women (although for other subgenres of the *kasa*, some female authors may be found). Women were also represented as a form of existence that was inferior to that of men. Rebirth as a woman was a form of punishment:

If during your life you commit sodomy with a monk, in a later life you will become the lowest of women/living as a prostitute for 500 existences, and then, even if you are reborn as a human being/ it will be with a shriveled penis. (trans. Younghee Lee, 2006)

Buddhist *kasa* were not exclusively composed by monks. Some laymen, too, composed Buddhist songs. One of them was the Confucian scholar Kim Ch'anghŭp (金昌翕; 1655–1722), who wrote a short *yŏmbulga* (念佛歌; *yŏmbul* song). A lay believer (*ch'ŏngsinsa* [淸信士] or *kōsa* [居士]) called Chihyŏng (智瑩), who was active in book publishing and quite likely a low-ranking military official (Walraven, 2007b), published two *kasa* in a woodblock edition in 1795. This suggests that some of the many anonymous *kasa*, too, were composed by laypeople, which would accord with the fact that in the late Chosŏn period, there was a rise in the interest in Buddhism among educated laypeople, including members of the elite.

Probably the best-known Buddhist *kasa* of all is *Hoesimgok* (回心曲/悔心曲; Conversion Song/Song of Repentance), which was also used in shamanic rituals (Son Chint'ae, 1930; Kim Chongjin, 2002), became a popular item on the repertoire of folk singers, and even now is widely available on recordings. It has been attributed to the most famous priest of the Chosŏn period, Hyujŏng (休靜), commonly known as Master Sŏsan (西山大師; 1520–1604), author of *hanmun* treatises and supreme commander of the monks' armies that fought the Japanese during the invasions of 1592–1598, but this is as unlikely as the attribution of *Sŏwangga* to Naong (see above).

With the exception of one verse by Ch'imgoeng urging faith in Amitābha, there are no *sijo* that propagate Buddhism in the way many *kasa* do, but numerous *sijo* betray the familiarity with Buddhism of the people of Chosŏn. *Sijo* frequently refer to the concept of reincarnation, anathema to staunch Confucians, and to Buddha images and monks as symbols of a world that is less fleeting and full of suffering than our vale of tears (Cho P'yŏnghwan, 2011, 231–264).

[This article has been shortened for the preview.]

BOUDEWIJN WALRAVEN & YOUNGHEE LEE

Manuscripts and Printing: South, Southeast, and Central Asia

The Buddhist text tradition begins at the end of the period of orality in India. Once script was introduced by the time of Aśoka, it seems that the Buddhists were keen to avail themselves of the new medium, quite in contrast to the followers of the equally oral vedic tradition, who remained reluctant to use script (von Hinüber, 1989, 71). The following chronological survey describes major collections of extant manuscripts beginning in the northern periphery of India including Central Asia with the exception of Tibetan and Chinese manuscripts and then proceeding to Sri Lanka, Burma, Thailand, and Cambodia. (A handbook on Indic Buddhist manuscripts is provided by Harrison & Hartmann, 2013; comp. Berkwitz, Schober & Brown, 2009.)

It is impossible to know when the first Buddhist texts were written down. Only the Theravāda tradition – which preserves the oldest extant history of the Buddhist order in two chronicles, the *Dīpavaṃsa* (Chronicle of the Island [Ceylon (Sri Lanka)]) and the somewhat later *Mahāvāṃsa* (Great Chronicle) – mentions the 1st century BCE as the approximate date at which the Tipiṭaka was committed to writing. The reason was the fear of losing the texts during politically unstable times (Bechert, 1992). According to later traditions, however, which had forgotten all about the early orality, the bodhisattva learned how to read and to write in school, and the Buddha himself even writes using his own blood (von Hinüber, 1989, 72).



Fig. 1: Practicing the alphabet (Shunga, Ahicchatra, 1st cent. BCE).

The writing material traditionally used in India and consequently also by Buddhists is palm leaf (Skt. *tālapatra*), which is prepared in a complicated process from the leaves of the talipot palm tree (bot. *Corypha umbraculifera*). The form of the palm leaves determines the oblong shape and the measurement of the books (see fig. 2, fig. 3, and fig. 4). Only in the northwest are texts copied also on birchbark (Skt. *bhūrjapatra*; Janert, 1995, after Hoernle, 1901). Birchbark manuscripts (see fig. 5 and fig. 6) are either scrolls or imitate the shape of palm-leaf books, and even modern printed books can stick to this traditional format. Small formats like “pocket books” mentioned occasionally in Buddhist literature are rare but exist, for example, a *Prātimokṣasūtra* manuscript in about 166 folios measuring 4 × 9 cm (Kara-shima, 2007, 71).

The script is either scratched into palm leaf with the help of a sharp pointed metal stylus (Pal. *ārakaṇṭaka*) in South India and Southeast Asia or written by using ink made from lampblack and a pen made of bamboo, the latter method being preferred in North India and beyond. After being made with a stylus, the grooves in the palm leaves must be filled with lampblack in order to make the script visible. This process has to be repeated after a while, because the lampblack disappears in the course of time. Moreover, oil must be applied regularly to palm leaf to prevent it from becoming brittle. The structure of birchbark allows only the use of pen and ink. The ink, which is kept as a liquid or in dried form as pellets (earliest reference can be found in the *Mṛcchakaṭika* [1938, 63]), is usually made from lampblack (Gode, 1946). Occasionally, red ink is used to highlight certain parts of the text. Palm leaves can be and were reused as palimpsests after the script in ink was removed (Lüders, 1940, 192). A so far unique palimpsest with erased Kharoshthi script overwritten by a text in Brahmi is fragment MS 2376/99 in the Schøyen collection (personal communication by K. Matsuda).

Paper as a writing material was introduced in India only during the Muslim period (Gode, 1944). However, a unique “protopaper” was used already

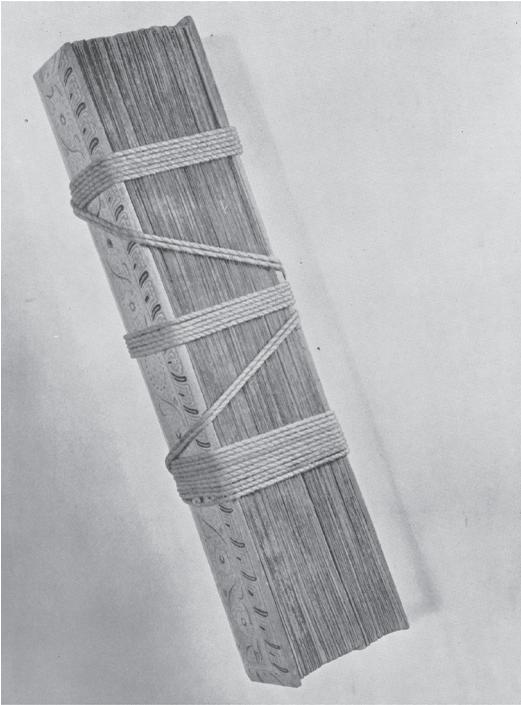


Fig. 2: Closed palm-leaf manuscript (de Silva, 1938, plate III).

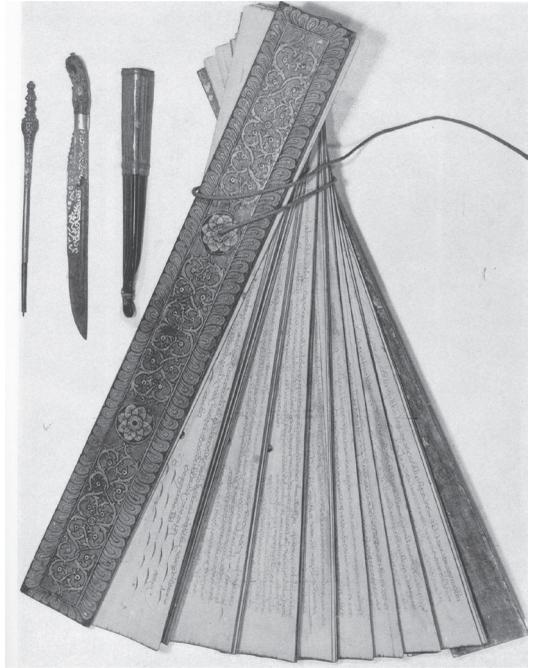


Fig. 3: Opened palm-leaf manuscript, with tools for copying (Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin, I C 42 205 a-c; Bechert & Bidoli, vol. I, 1969).

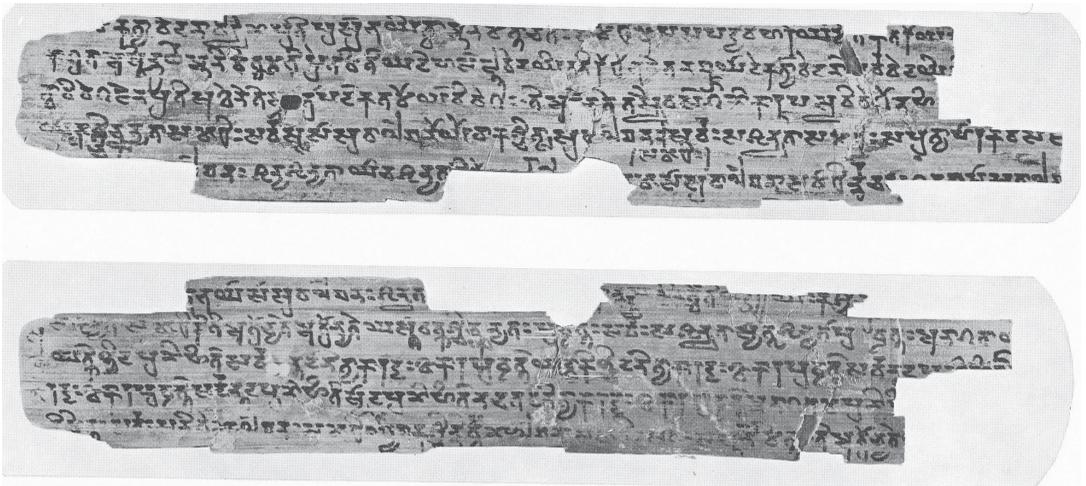


Fig. 4: Palm-leaf manuscript from Central Asia, circa 3rd century (Waldschmidt & Wille 10/1, 1965, Tafel 2).

during the 6th and 7th centuries when the Gilgit manuscripts (see below) were copied (Kishore, 1963–1964). Moreover, Nepalese Buddhist manuscripts are written on a local variety of paper (Trier, 1972), and so are the folding books, which are called *parabaik* (or *pura puik*) in Burma and *samut khoi* in Thailand, where also black paper may be used, with the texts copied in white chalk. In Central Asia, Buddhist texts were in rare cases written also on wood or leather (see below).

Occasionally, other materials such as precious metals or ivory are mentioned in Buddhist literature as a writing material besides cloth (Skt. *paṭa*; Diskalkar, 1979; Sarma, 1985; Konishi, 2005–2006). Rarely, texts on costly materials are preserved such as the gold folios containing the *Paṭiccasamuppāda* and other short texts, which were recovered from Prome (Pyay [Praññ]; see fig. 11) and Maunggun in Burma (Falk, 1997). Of a later date is a fragmentary manuscript of a large text, the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā* (seven folios extant), also written on gold leaves and found during excavations in the Jetavana Monastery in Anuradhapura (Sri Lanka) in 1982 (von Hinüber, 1983; see fig. 12). On the special occasion of the celebration of the beginning of the year 1000 of the Cūlasakkarāja era (i.e. Mar 31, 1638 CE), the king of Burma ordered the Tripiṭaka to be written on 1,008,000 folios of palm leaf and on 10,008 tablets each of ivory, gold, and silver (Tun, 1983, 92, 96, 98).

In Burma, moreover, it is usual to present to monks richly decorated lacquer manuscripts containing *kammavācā* formulas – formulas used in formal acts of the saṅgha – and written in special ornamental script.

The individual folios of palm leaf, birchbark, or paper are held together by a string, rarely wooden pegs, running through one or two holes pierced into each individual folio and through the wooden book covers that protect these piles of loose folios on the upper and lower sides. Very often, these loosely “bound” books fall apart, because the strings tend to break in the course of time. Losses affect mostly the first and last folios, and consequently particularly the colophons (see below).

Sometimes, individual folios are illuminated and book covers richly decorated. Consequently, both are an important source for book painting.

When the book is closed, the cotton strings are pulled and wrapped around the wooden book covers, thus forming a tightly closed package (see fig. 2). This again is wrapped in cloth and again secured by a second string from the outside. To identify the content, a wooden peg (Tha. *chalāk*) bearing the

title of the book can be fastened to the outside of such a bundle in Thailand. In Burma, a ribbon (Bur. *cā caññh kruih* [or *sazigyo*]) with the name of the owner and the aspiration for merit worked into it may be wrapped around the book (Peters, 2006).

There is no typically “Buddhist” script, with one possible exception, the *bhaikṣuki lipi* (“script of the *bhikṣus*”; also called “arrow-headed script”) found only in Buddhist texts of the Sāmmītiya school (Hanisch, 2008). Otherwise, the manuscripts are written in a large variety of scripts differing according to time and place, all of which, with the exception of Kharoshthi which is based on the Semitic

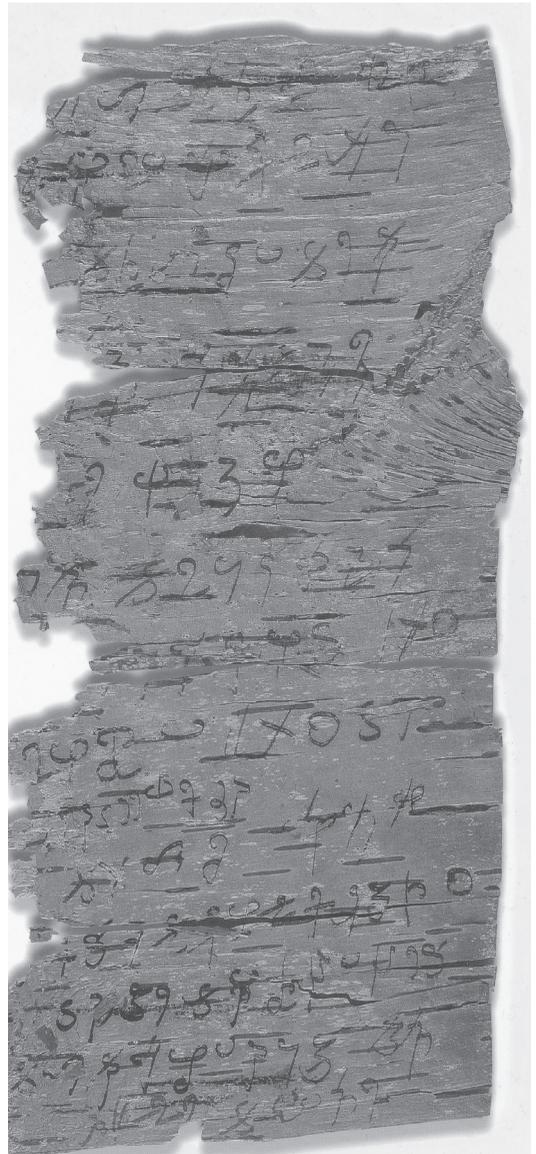


Fig. 5: Birchbark scroll, Kharoshthi script (Salomon, 1999, frontispiece).

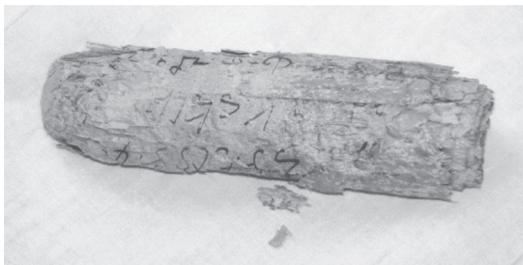


Fig. 6: Birchbark scroll unscrolled (Salomon, 1999, plate 6).

Aramaic alphabet and consequently written from right to left, are ultimately derived from the Brahmi script used in the inscriptions of Aśoka.

The texts are usually written without word division, but occasionally groups of words are united and this unit is separated in manuscripts (Renou, 1957, 16n45; comp. Scharfe, 1967). Sometimes, verses are numbered (von Hinüber, 2013, xviii). Mistakes are occasionally corrected, and words or sentences omitted are added in the margin or between the lines by using different markers in the text (Einecke, 2009; Laut, 1992 [for Uighur manuscripts, see below]). The titles can be found either on a cover leaf or more often only in the colophon, a brief text at the end, which may contain a date as well as the name of the author and the title of the text (Vogel, 1974); the name of a scribe, donor, patron, monastery; and the like. Occasionally, colophons were copied and consequently the date of the exemplar that the scribe used is thus preserved besides that of the copy itself (von Hinüber, 2014b, 110; comp. Buescher, 2011, nos. 6–7 in the catalogue). These colophons are at the same time important, but so far little-used sources for Buddhist and Indian cultural history (von Hinüber, forthcoming).

How books in manuscript form (Skt. *pustaka*) were produced in India can be learned from a mediæval legal Hindu text, the *Dānasāgara*, composed in Bengal by the Sena king Ballālasena (c. 1158–1179) with the help of his teacher Aniruddhabhaṭṭa (Ballālasena, 1956, ch. 43).

Manuscripts were and are highly estimated as objects of worship (Kim, 2013), while books containing “heretical” scriptures were occasionally burnt (Collins, 1990, 98). Special stands used for reading or worshipping books are known from Thailand and India (von Hinüber, 2013, xxivn34; Kim, 2013, 26). There is some faint evidence that, like in Tibetan prayer wheels, manuscripts were put into revolving cases to “mechanize” recitation also in India (Schopen, 2005). Old and worn manuscripts con-

taining Buddhist texts could be ritually interred in pots (Salomon, 2009). In Thailand, they were and are sometimes burnt and the ashes are incorporated into Buddha images.

Hardly anything is known about Buddhist libraries in ancient India. Only the holdings of the library of Gilgit (see below) survive. There is, however, some evidence from Southeast Asia (von Hinüber, 2013, xxivff.) and library buildings are common in present day Thai Buddhist monasteries (see fig. 7).

The oldest extant Buddhist (and Indian) manuscripts stem from the northwestern corner of the Indian cultural area, Gandhara. The very oldest manuscript was for many decades a version of the *Dhammapada* written on birchbark in Kharoshthi script and Gandhari language, which was bought by the French explorer Jules Léon Dutreuil du Rhins (1846–1894) in about 1892 near Khotan in Central Asia (Brough, 1962, 2). Since 1993, however, a still growing number of even older Buddhist manuscripts of the same type have become available. The exact provenance of these manuscripts is unknown, but Afghanistan or the northwestern provinces of Pakistan are a likely guess (Salomon, 1999, 68). According to carbon dating, the oldest among these manuscripts might date back to before the start of the Common Era. These dates are partly confirmed by paleography when the script of the manuscripts is compared to that of dated Kharoshthi inscriptions.

These Kharoshthi manuscripts are preserved today in the various collections: the British Library fragments (Salomon, 1999), the Schøyen collection



Fig. 7: Library Building in a Thai monastery (Vat Phra Singh, Chiang Mai).

(Kharoshthi texts written on palm leaf; Braarvig, 2000–2006), the Senior manuscripts (Salomon, 2003; Allon, 2009), the Bajaur collection (Falk & Strauch, 2013), the “split” collection (Falk & Strauch, 2013), and some few but important fragments in the Fond Pelliot of the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris (Salomon, 1998). Texts from the British Library and Senior collections have been and are published in Seattle in the series Gandharan Buddhist Texts (Jongeward *et al.*, 2012, 310).

Following the exploration of Buddhist Central Asia during the first quarter of the 20th century, numerous mostly fragmentary manuscripts on paper but rarely also on palm leaf imported from India, or on birchbark but rarely on wood (Nakatani, 1987), or even on leather (Sims-Williams, 2000, 275), were recovered by British, French, German, Japanese and Russian expeditions. The manuscripts thus collected are preserved in London, Paris, Berlin, Kyoto, and Saint Petersburg. Only the Sanskrit texts of the Turfan collection in Berlin are almost completely catalogued (Waldschmidt *et al.*, 1965–2008; with copious facsimiles in X/1–3), while there is a survey of the Hoernle collection in the holdings of the British Library (Hartmann & Wille, 1992; Sims-Williams, 2006). A substantial part

of the fragments from all collections is edited in a large number of various publications. Texts from the Turfan Collection began to appear in the series *Kleinere Sanskrittexte* (1–5; 1911–1939; Hoffmann & Sander, 1987) continued as *Sanskrittexte aus den Turfanfunden* (1–13; 1955–1990) with selected manuscripts also published as facsimiles (Waldschmidt, 1963). The palaeography of these Sanskrit manuscripts is described in great detail by L. Sander (1968). Fragments from the Hoernle Collection in the British Library are published together with facsimiles (Karashima & Wille, 2006–2009). The manuscripts brought back by the Ōtani Mission (1902–1913), led by Kozui Ōtani (1876–1948) and kept today in Kyoto, are briefly described by Y. Wakahara (2010).

Numerous Sanskrit manuscripts are kept in the Institut vostokovedeniâ (Oriental Institute) in Saint Petersburg. These were also acquired from Central Asia partly by the Russian consul Nikolaj Fedorovič Petrovski (1837–1908) in Kashgar (from 1882 onward). Others were found during excavations, among them the Bairam Ali manuscript discovered near Merv in Turkmenistan in 1966, which is the westernmost findspot of any Buddhist manuscript (Bongard-Levin, 1975–1976, 78). It contains among other texts part of the *Sarvāstivādinaya*,



Fig. 8: Sorting out the holdings of a monastic library (Vat Lai Hin, north Thailand).

which is confirmed by the colophon mentioning the scribe Mitraśreṣṭhī, a *vinaya* expert (Skt. *vinayadhara*) and Sarvāstivādin; such information on school affiliation is extremely rare in colophons. The holdings of the Institut vostokovedeniā are partly published in three volumes of the series *Pamātniki indijskoj pis'mennosti iz Central'noj Azii* (Monuments in Indian Script from Central Asia; Bongard-Levin & Vorob'ëva-Desātovskaā, 1985, 1990, 2004), which form at the same time part of the *Bibliotheca Buddhica* (see below).

At the turn of the millennium, numerous (about 5000) fragmentary Buddhist texts from Afghanistan were acquired by the Norwegian collector Martin Schøyen as part of his huge manuscript collection. These fragments, which are being edited since 2000 in the series *Manuscripts from the Schøyen Collection: Buddhist Manuscripts* (Braarvig, 2000, 2002, 2006; Braarvig & Liland, 2010), contain texts dating from Kushana times to approximately the 7th century. Some of them can be attributed to the Mahāsāṃghika school. The palaeography of this collection is investigated by L. Sander (2010).

Together with this Buddhist Sanskrit literature found in Central Asia, manuscripts containing texts in a variety of languages other than Sanskrit and in various scripts (Maue, 1997) were discovered since the early 20th century, among them the Iranian languages Khotanese (or Saka; Emmerick, 1992), Sogdian (Utz, 1978; Yoshida, 1991), and very rarely even Bactrian (Sims-Williams, 2000). Khotanese manuscripts, written in a variety of the Indian Brahmi script between the 7th and the 10th centuries (Sander, 1984; 1988; for facsimiles, see Leumann, 1934; Bailey, 1938; and Vorob'ëva-Desātovskij & Vorob'ëva-Desātovskaā, 1965), were found mostly in the Khotan area as well as in Tumshuq on the northern branch of the Silk Road (Emmerick, 1985; comp. Schmidt, 1988). Sogdian manuscripts, which are written in a script that was derived from Aramaic like Kharoshthi (see above) and can be written either vertically or horizontally (Yoshida, 2013), are to be dated to the 8th and 11th centuries (Henning, 1958, 54ff.). They were found at Turfan in Xinjiang and Dunhuang in Gansu (McKenzie, 1976). Collections of Khotanese manuscripts are listed by P.O. Skjærvø (2002, xxxiv) and those of Sogdian manuscripts by X. Tremblay (2001, 203–206).

An unusual paper manuscript discovered in Dunhuang contains a fragment of Kumārajīva's Chinese version of the *Vajracchedikāprajñāpāramitā* not in Chinese characters but transcribed into the variety of Indian Brahmi script otherwise used for late Khotanese texts (Emmerick & Pulleyblank, 1993).

Buddhist manuscripts, which were also written in a variety of the Brahmi script (Schmidt, 1997; Tamai, 2011, comp. Pinault, 2012; for facsimiles, see Sieg & Siegling, 1921) but in an unknown Indo-European language named Tocharian after its decipherment (Durkin-Meisterernst, 2013), and which were copied between the 5th(?) and 8th century, began to surface on the northern Silk Route in the Tarim Basin in the early 20th century. They are preserved today mostly in Berlin (for the catalogue, see Schaefer, 2013), London, Saint Petersburg, and Paris and in the Ōtani collection in Tokyo and Kyoto (Pinault, 1991, 234ff.; 1994).

Furthermore, there are Buddhist manuscripts found in Turfan in a non-Indo-European language, the old Turkic Uighur (Elverskog, 1997). Uighur manuscripts and block prints dating from the 9th to the 14th century are written either in a variety of the Indian Brahmi script, or mostly in a script derived from the Sogdian, or, very rarely, even in Tibetan script. The larger part of the holdings of Uighur manuscripts and block prints in Germany preserved mainly in the Turfan Collection at Berlin are catalogued by D. Maue, among others (Maue,

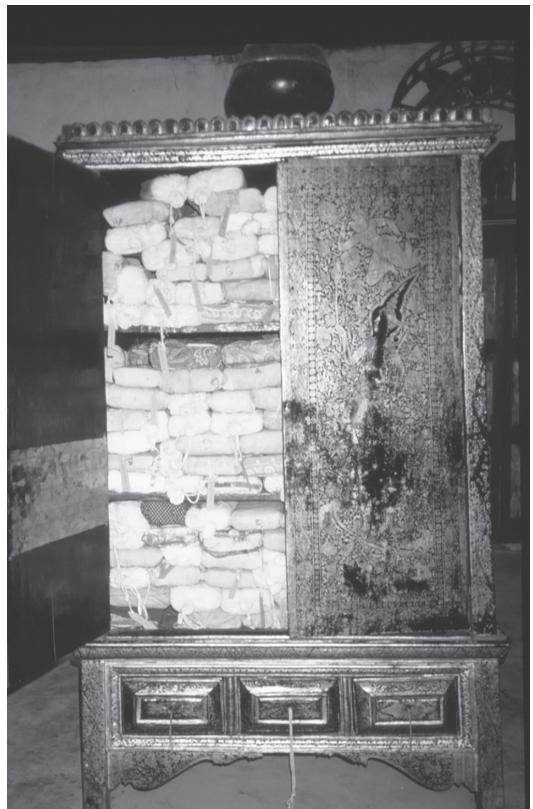


Fig. 9: Cupboard for manuscripts (Vat Sung Men, Phrae, north Thailand).

1996; Raschmann, 2012). The colophons of these manuscripts are investigated by P. Zieme (1992) and Y. Kasai (2008).

Occasionally, new finds are recorded from Xinjiang, such as the spectacular discovery in 1959 of 293 fragments of the Uighur *Maitrisimit* (The Encounter with Maitreya), followed by the discovery of about 450 fragments of this text in a cave near Hami in Xinjiang in 2012, as well as of 20 folios of the Uighur version of a lost Sanskrit original entitled *Daśakarmaphathāvadānamālā* (Collection of Great Deeds [Called] Ten Courses of Action; Laut, 1996) and 44 folios of the Tocharian *Maitreyasamitināṭaka* (The Drama [Called] the Encounter with Maitreya) at the Buddhist ruins at Šorčuq (Chn. Qigexing) near Yanqi (Karashahr; the ancient Tocharian city Agni) in 1974 (Geng, Laut & Pinault, 2004, 349).

The most spectacular single find of Indic Buddhist manuscripts occurred by chance in the small village Naupur near Gilgit (today northern Pakistan) in 1931. Subsequent excavations conducted at the site in 1938 brought to light a few more partly complete texts.

At present, it is impossible to exactly count the Buddhist and other manuscripts or texts once preserved in the Gilgit library, because after discovery many manuscripts were split up, the folios confused and never sorted out or rearranged. By way of an estimate, there were approximately 50 manuscripts containing about 57 titles, and in addition 17 Avadāna texts, which perhaps formed parts of one or more collections. The largest manuscript is a voluminous, though incomplete, *Mūlasarvāstivādinaya*. Exceptionally well-documented are the otherwise little-known *Samghāṭasūtra* (eight mss.), besides the *Bhaiṣajyagurusūtra* (five mss.) and the *Saddharmapuṇḍarikasūtra* (four mss.). Furthermore, there are various sūtra, Abhidharma, and other texts as well as texts on Indian logic (von Hinüber, 2012; 2014).

This material allows a rare glimpse into the structure of an ancient Buddhist library, because no comparable collection from ancient India has come down to us (see above). It is important to note that this library comprised not only Buddhist texts, but also a grammar, small fragments of various medical texts such as the *Carakasamhitā* and Ravigupta's *Siddhasāra*, and non-Buddhist narrative literature (the *Tantrākhyāyika*).

Most of the manuscripts discovered in 1931 are published as facsimiles. The first editions were prepared by Nalinaksha Dutt (1893–1973) and published in the series Gilgit Manuscripts in three volumes

comprising nine parts from Srinagar and later from Calcutta between 1939 and 1959. A comprehensive survey of the Gilgit manuscripts, of editions and facsimiles is given by O. von Hinüber (2013b).

The majority of complete Buddhist texts in different varieties of Sanskrit is preserved in Nepal, where, in contrast to India (with the exception of the deserts in Rajasthan), the climate allows for a longer life of books. Therefore the once extremely rich Buddhist manuscript tradition of India was lost almost completely after the decline and final disappearance of Buddhism during the Muslim period, when the necessary replacement of worn out manuscripts by recopying ceased. An exception are a few fairly old manuscripts, which are extant because they were either brought to Tibet and survived (Steinkellner, 2004; Krasser, 2013), or were taken from Bengal to Nepal later at the time of the Muslim conquest of eastern India during the 13th century. Moreover, there is one single Buddhist Sanskrit manuscript containing the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* found in Kerala and copied perhaps in the 16th or 17th century by a scribe coming from North India (Ganapati Sastri, 1920–1925; comp. also Vaidya, 1964), and manuscripts of three Buddhist texts in Tamil. The *Vasudhārādharaṇī* (also known as the *Sucandrāvadāna*), a Buddhist text also found among the Gilgit Manuscripts (see above), is preserved and used by the Śvetāmbara Jaina community (Jaini, 1968).

The first Buddhist Sanskrit manuscripts were sent from Nepal to Europe by Brian Houghton Hodgson (1800–1894), the second British resident in



Fig. 10: Discussing a text on a birchbark scroll (Baums, 2013, 23).

Kathmandu in accordance with the Sagauli Treaty (1816). Brian Houghton Hodgson, who stayed in the country from 1820 to 1843, provided manuscripts for Eugène Burnouf (1801–1852), professor at the Collège de France in Paris and one of the pioneers of Buddhism in Europe. On the basis of these manuscripts, Eugène Burnouf prepared his famous *Introduction à l'histoire du Bouddhisme indien* in 1844 and his still invaluable translation of the *Saddharmapūṇḍarikasūtra* in 1852 (Yuyama, 2000; Kotsuki, 2008). Other manuscripts were procured for Cambridge University by Daniel Wright, surgeon to the Kathmandu Residency between 1866 and 1876. C. Bendall (1856–1906) described them in a catalogue with a groundbreaking historical introduction (Bendall, 1883). Later, in 1884–1885 and in 1898–1899, C. Bendall himself traveled to Kathmandu and discovered among others the oldest manuscript preserved in Nepal, a copy of the *Daśabhūmikasūtra* dating back perhaps to about 500 CE (Matsuda, 1996), and, strangely enough, a fragment of the Theravāda *Vinayaṭīkā* written in Pali and in a local northern script, which is approximately two or three centuries younger (von Hinüber, 1991). A second important early catalogue of Nepalese Buddhist manuscripts in the Durbar Library in Kathmandu was prepared by H.P. Shastri (1905; 1915; 1989).

The heritage of Buddhist manuscripts preserved in Kathmandu, which is still very rich, suffered much from negligence particularly during the 19th century, when centuries-old manuscripts as well as coins and copperplates, some dating back to late Gupta times, were carelessly discarded, once a Buddhist monastery fell into disuse (Bendall, 1883, xxxix). Buddhist manuscripts from public and private collections in the Kathmandu valley were preserved in the form of microfilms by the Nepal German Manuscript Preservation Project from 1970 to 1999 (Grünendahl, 1989). One copy each of this microfilm collection – which also contains a large number of Buddhist manuscripts, for instance old manuscripts of the *Mahāvastu* (Yuyama, 2001) – is preserved in the National Library of Nepal in Kathmandu, and in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin-Preußischer Kulturbesitz. At present, the texts on microfilms are being catalogued in Hamburg. A similar project, restricted to Buddhist manuscripts in Nepal, was carried out in Japan (Takaoka, 1981). Holdings of Buddhist manuscripts from Nepal are also catalogued by S. Lienhard (1988) and H. Buescher (2011).

It was only during the 1930s that Buddhist Sanskrit manuscripts from Tibet became available (Steinkellner, 2004). During three journeys (in 1934, 1936,

and 1938), the Indian scholar Rahula Sankrityayana (1893–1963) was able to trace and to photograph Buddhist Sanskrit manuscripts in different monasteries. These photographs are preserved in the Kashi Prasad Jayaswal Research Institute in Patna and at the Seminar für Indologie und Tibetologie in Göttingen (Bandurski, 1994; Bretfeld, 1997). They are edited in the Tibetan Sanskrit Works Series published in Patna since 1953, including the *Bhikṣuṇīvinaya*, the Patna *Dhammapada*, the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, and the *Śrāvakabhūmi*.

Almost simultaneously the Italian scholar Giuseppe Tucci (1894–1984) traveled widely in Tibet and Nepal and photographed or collected Buddhist Sanskrit manuscripts, which are held in the library of the Istituto Italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente in Rome (Sferra, 2008).

In the late 20th century, more Buddhist Sanskrit manuscripts from Tibet became accessible. The varied fate of these Sanskrit manuscripts during the difficult period between 1960 and 1995 is traced in H. Hu-von Hinüber (2006; contains a survey of publications). In spite of a handlist of 259 titles prepared by Wang Sen (Hu-von Hinüber, 2006, 297–334), the content of the Tibetan collection is far from being known in detail. A small number of texts such as the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, the *Abhisamācarikādharma*, and the *Śrāvakabhūmi* are available as facsimile editions, usually prepared in cooperation with Japanese scholars (Hu-von Hinüber, 2006, 294f.). Text editions are being published systematically from Vienna since E. Steinkellner signed a memorandum for a joint venture of the Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften (Austrian Academy of Sciences) and the Chinese Center for Tibetan Studies in Beijing in 1996 (Steinkellner, 2004, 35f.). So far, volumes 1–8, 11 and 14 have appeared in the series Sanskrit Texts from the Tibetan Autonomous Region between 2005 and 2013. Current Chinese activities to edit Buddhist texts within various projects are described by H. Luo (2013) and Saerji (2013).

[This article has been shortened for the preview.]

OSKAR VON HINÜBER

Monastic Organizational Guidelines

Monastic rulebooks, regulations, or codes exist wherever there are Buddhist monasteries. Rather than being commentaries to or explanations of the *vinaya* or the *pratimokṣa* vows, these works mostly pertain to the physical space of the monastic compound and its inhabitants. Their rules are often perceived to be more provisional, more flexible, and more temporary than the rules or vows found in formal Vinaya literature. This makes these works valuable for a study of the historical development of Buddhist monasteries and their organization. Just as there are large differences among Buddhist monastic communities throughout Asia in terms of organization, layout, population, and so on, their regulations and rules also vary significantly. The commonality among these diverse monastic regulations is that they deal either with the conduct, organization, and management of the population of monks at a monastery or with a combination of the above. The authors of these texts are more often than not individuals with a certain level of authority, be it religious, political, or both. Therefore, such texts are frequently witness to the existing power relations at a given monastery at a certain time.

The intended audience of the texts can differ: certain monastic regulations meticulously prescribe the daily activities of monks (e.g. the *Chanyuan qinggui* [禪苑清規]; Yifa, 2002), whereas others appear to concern themselves only with the day-to-day management of the monastery. Yet other monastic regulations are combinations of both and appear to address the monastic community as a whole, while occasionally singling out a certain segment of the monk population.

Possibly the earliest references to the organization and management of monks and monasteries can be found in Buddhist canonical works (e.g. Silk, 2008). These often consist of mere allusions to monastic organization contained within narratives. Extant works that explicitly target monastic organization or the behavior of monks within the context of a monastic compound are of a later date, but there are indications that formal codes for local vihāras (taking this term in a broad sense) were in place at an early stage in the development of Buddhist monasticism. The Sanskrit term *kriyākāra* (Tib. *khrims su bca' ba*), translated as “local monastic ordinance” (Schopen, 2002), can be found in the *Varṣāvastu* section of the *Mūlasarvāstivādinaya*

(D 239a. 1) and in the *Śīlapaṭala* chapter of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* (Schopen, 2002, 360–362). In both texts, the word *kriyākāra* clearly refers to the local practices of specific monastic communities. In other instances, it may also refer to secular rules (Schopen, 2002, 381n4). The word that refers to local monastic rules in the Pali *Vinayaṭīkā*, *katikā* (Vin i. 153, 6), can also be found in some of the Pali Jātakas (e.g. Jāt 540: VI. 71, 31), where it appears to denote a type of oral contract between two individuals. The same word was also more generally used to refer to an agreement made by an assembly of people, which could consist of either laity or monastics (Ratnapala, 1971, 6).

Monastic Guidelines in South and Southeast Asia

In Sri Lanka, a number of monastic ordinances called *katikāvatas* or *katikāvattas* survive. Several of these were preserved as inscriptions and others in manuscripts. The *katikāvatas* are agreements on the rules of conduct for the monastic community, often laid down by the monastic leader with the most authority. The rules were decided on at an assembly of the saṅgha held specifically in order to reorganize the monastic community as a whole or a particular individual monastery. These reorganizations mostly happened with the support of the king; some *katikāvatas* thus bear the name of the king in question. The texts were written to establish stability within the community and to respond to contemporary practical issues faced by the saṅgha (Blackburn, 1999, 286–287).

Some make a distinction between *katikāvatas* for a specific monastery (vihāra *katikāvatas*) and those composed for the entire community of monks (*sāsana katikāvatas*; e.g. Rammandala, 1880). The former consist of rules mostly to do with the administration of a particular monastery, whereas the latter, which were promulgated by kings or local chieftains, contain a long historical introduction and focus more on the behavior of monks. An example of the *sāsana katikāvatas* is one written by Mahākaśyapa at the occasion of the *sāsana* reform by the Sinhalese king Parākramabāhu I (1123–1186), which came about by royal order and not by a monastic council. That it was accepted by the monastic community

shows the authority of the king over monastic matters. The first *katikāvata* promulgated by the monastic community without *any* royal interference can be dated as late as 1853 (Wijetunga, 1970, 4–7).

The organizational structure of the Parākramabāhu I *katikāvata* has formed the basis for the organization of the saṅgha in Sri Lanka and other Southeast Asian Buddhist countries. Its contents deviate in some instances from the *Vinayapiṭaka*, and it even adds some new rules that directly contradicted the *Vinayapiṭaka* (Bechert, 1970, 765; for the text, see Wickremasinghe, 1928, 256–283). N. Ratnapala has provided translations and analyses for a number of the *sāsana katikāvatas*, the earliest of which dates back to the 12th century (Ratnapala, 1971, 6–13). No extensive study on the vihāra *katikāvatas* has yet been conducted.

In Sri Lanka, inscriptions on granite slabs estimated to date to the 9th century have been found near ruins of monasteries. These are not explicitly called *katikāvatas* or named otherwise but clearly contain regulations intended to guide monks and laypeople that lived within the monastic compound or areas belonging to it. The Abhayagiri Inscription – written in Sanskrit – is one such example. This reveals that from the early 9th century, rules were laid down both for monks and for lay staff of the monastery (Wickremasinghe, 1912, 1–9). Another such source is the Mihintale Slab Inscription written in Sinhalese in the early 11th century. This states that it bases itself on the rules of the Abhayagiri as well as on those of the Cetiyagiri Monastery. It furthermore details the ideal daily routine of monks and offers very particular information on how servants and monastic property should be managed (Wickremasinghe, 1912, 98–113). R.A.L.H. Gunawardana utilized the above-mentioned and other similar inscriptions for his superb book on the monasticism and economy in Sri Lanka, exactly because they contain a wealth of information on the economic and social role of Sinhalese monasteries from the 9th to the 13th century (Gunawardana, 1979). The Sinhalese monastic guidelines also contain information on the monastery's scholastic schedule and the education of monks more generally (e.g. Kitsudō, 1981, 309–325).

While there is no lack of locally produced Vinaya commentaries, handbooks, and manuals in other South and Southeast Asian countries where monastic Buddhism had a presence. (see e.g. von Hinüber, 1996, 154–159; Kieffer-Pülz & Peters, 2009, 275–292; Lammerts, 2014), organizational guidelines for indi-

vidual monasteries or monastic communities as can be found in Sri Lanka, China, Japan, and Tibet do not appear to exist. The extant Pāli, vernacular, and bilingual material from countries such as Burma, Thailand, and Cambodia that pertain to features of monastic organization such as ordination, property, administration, and judicial matters requires further attention from scholarship.

Tibet

In Tibet, texts that contain rules on life in the monastery are generally called *bca'yig*, although a plethora of names exists for texts that in some way deal with monastic organization of the monastery. One also finds works that are labeled *bca' khrims*, *rtsa khrims*, *bka' khrims*, *bca' sgrig*, *sgrig yig*, *sgrig gzhi*, *khrims yig*, *tshogs gtam*, and *sgrig lam*: all may contain rather similar information.

The earliest extant work containing instructions for a monastic organization stems from the late 12th century. This first *bca'yig*-like text contains prescriptions for aspects of monastic governance and consists of instructions given by Lama Zhang (i.e. Zhang Brtson 'grus Grags pa [1123–1193]), written down and preserved in his collected works (Tib. *Gsung 'bum*; Ellingson, 1989, 208). According to tradition, it was recorded as an oral testament directed to his successors at the monastery of 'Tshal gung thang. It is said to have been spoken when Lama Zhang was close to dying, thus either in or before 1193. Even though it contains some valuable information on monastic organization in the late 12th century, the monastic guidelines developed into a more established genre only by the 14th century.

Just like the terms *kriyākāra* and *katikāvata*, the word *bca'yig*, which previous scholars have connected only to *monastic* regulations, may also apply to non-monastic groups, such as lay people in retreat or tantric practitioners. Some rulebooks that bear this name even serve to guide lay communities and are more or less secular in nature.

Whereas the lion's share of texts containing monastic rules in Sri Lanka were issued for the entire monastic community and while East Asian texts consisted of rules mostly intended for one single school, the rulebooks in Tibet more often than not were written for one single monastery. Monasteries with thousands of monks, which were almost cities in their own right, as well as small hermitages deep in the mountains, had such written rules. The tradi-

tional claim is that each monastery of some renown needed to possess at least one set of guidelines (personal communication, July 2012). Interestingly, the surviving *bca'yig* written for nunneries are far and few between: I have counted three so far (Jansen, forthcoming).

Monastic guidelines written for Tibetan monasteries can abound with local flavor and interesting details, a sign that they were written by someone invested in the monastery, often an abbot or an important incarnation stationed there. This literature can also be very generic, particularly when written by one less involved in the monastery. Just as in the Sinhalese context, in Tibet monastic rules were sometimes tools of the state. These particular *bca'yig* have the aim to restructure the monastery's religio-political alliances and often contain rules for monasteries that are both physically and "religiously" far removed from the author's effective power. Examples can be seen in the works of the fifth Dalai Lama (1617–1682), who wrote a *bca'yig* for a Bon monastery, and in those of the thirteenth Dalai Lama (1876–1933). The latter composed at least 38 monastic guidelines, almost all of which were intended for monasteries outside of central Tibet – that is to say, beyond the direct rule of the Tibetan government (Thub bstan Rgya mtsho, vol. IV, 1981–1982). These monasteries presumably already had monastic constitutions of their own, but issuing these constitutions was to a great extent a political act, a way to draw monasteries – mainly located in Kham and Amdo, regions that were not well-known for their allegiance to the central Tibetan government – into the political and religious sphere of the Dalai Lama.

The texts themselves often explicitly state their local and contemporary purpose. An example is the *bca'yig* written for all Sikkimese monasteries in 1909, in which it is said that it is a work "in accordance with all the monasteries' own rules, the local customs, [people's] dispositions, capacities and intentions" (Jansen, 2014; Schuh & Dagyab, 1978, 269–270). We can see that when structural changes took place in a particular monastery – for example, when it changed affiliation or had been rebuilt after destruction, or even when the education program was expanded – the *bca'yig* of that monastery was seen to be in need of revision or replacement. This is not unlike the notion prevalent among the authors of the *katikāvata*: some of these Sinhalese monastic codes state that they were renewed in accordance with the changing times (Ratnapala, 1971, 164).

East Asia

The translation of Vinayas into Chinese took place long after the introduction of monastic Buddhism to China. It is suggested that the earliest rules for monks in China were orally transmitted and were intended for the foreign monk population (Heirman, 2007, 168). In a letter, Dao'an (道安; 312–385) – translator of Buddhist scriptures and someone who is seen as the author of the earliest monastic rules – laments the fact that there was no complete text of the five hundred monastic rules at Xiangyang (襄陽), which he mentioned was most needed (Zürcher, 2007, 197). Dao'an's biography notes that the rules that he eventually developed, which pertained to daily life in the monastery, were followed by monks throughout the empire (Link, 1958, 35, 6). There is no suggestion that Dao'an directly concerned himself with the administration or management of a monastery as such. Later on, the regulations that were formulated for Chan monasteries in China were said to be based on Dao'an's and Daoxuan's (道宣; 596–667) works (Yifa, 2005, 125). Traditionally, Baizhang's (白丈; 749–814) *qinggui* (情規; pure rules) are thought to form the foundation for later Chan monastic communities. Like those of Dao'an, Baizhang's rules were said to be written for general practice and not for particular circumstances; they concerned themselves with ritual while remaining largely silent on issues of administration. However, many scholars doubt that Baizhang's *qinggui* ever existed. The title is in any case apocryphal, for the term *qinggui* does not appear in a monastic context before the 12th century (Yifa, 2002, 28–35). The earliest extant text on monastic rules written by a Chan master is *Shi guizhi* (師規制; The Teacher's Regulations), written in 901 by Xuefeng (雪峰; 822–908). The work is short and is not directed to one single monastery. It not only appears to be in line with rules as laid out in the *Vinayapīṭaka* but also contains references to more Chinese local practices (Poceski, 2003, 33–56). The Tiantai monk Zunshi (遵式; 964–1032) revived the abandoned temple Tianzhusi (天竺寺) and wrote guidelines for his successors called the *Tianzhusi shifang zhuchi yi* (天竺寺十方住持義; Principles for the Ten Directions Abbacy of Tianzhu Monastery) in 1030 (Yifa, 2002, 35–37). Other non-Chan monastic guidelines are so far unknown.

Another very influential set of extant monastic guidelines for a Chan monastery is the *Chanyuan qinggui* (禪苑情規; Pure Rules for Chan Monasteries).

Written in 1103, it later became the standard for the rulebooks of all bigger Chan monasteries in China and represents an important milestone for Chinese Buddhist history because it was the first indigenous set of monastic rules that more or less equaled the status of the *Vinayapīṭaka* (Foulk, 2004, 275). These rules may be divided into five sections:

1. standards of behavior addressed to individual monks;
2. procedures for communal calendrical rites;
3. guidelines for the organization and operation of public monastery bureaucracies;
4. procedures for rituals of social interaction; and
5. rules pertaining to the relationship between public monasteries and the outside world, particularly civil authorities and lay benefactors (Foulk, 2004, 289).

The *Chanyuan qinggui* describes in detail the duties of monk officials responsible for economic matters, such as tax and rent collecting. These new roles were not seen in the administrative structure of the earlier Tang dynasty monasteries (Collcutt, 1983, 182). Initially this genre of monastic guidelines called *qinggui* were restricted to Chan monasteries, but by the Yuan dynasty, the practice of compiling codes with *qinggui* in the title had spread to other branches of Chinese Buddhism (Collcutt, 1983, 169).

Whereas the *qinggui* were intended for all public monasteries, there were also monastic guidelines written for individual monasteries, which appear quite similar to the Tibetan *bca' yig*. H. Welch found texts called *Guiyue* (規約) to contain the fullest information on the monastic system as actually followed. In the early to mid-20th century, his monk informants thought them to be more relevant on issues of monastic organization than the contents of the *prātimokṣa* vows (Welch, 1967, vi). Such guidelines were usually divided into sections, of which each was dedicated to a certain department in the monastery. Although these texts claim to be based on Baizhang's works, they were flexible, for when the need arose, the abbot could add new rules (Welch, 1967, 105–107).

Not surprisingly, the genre of *qinggui* also spread to Japan. Dōgen (道元; 1200–1253) wrote regulations for Eihei Monastery later collected in the *Eihei shingi* (永平情規; Pure Rules for Ehei Monastery), which includes regulations and procedural instructions for a variety of monastic activities. This work consists of six parts written on separate occasions (Leighton & Okumura, 1996, 21–23). Dōgen is sometimes viewed as an innovator of Zen monastic Bud-

dism, but almost all the texts on monastic rules attributed to him are in fact commentaries on the *Chanyuan qinggui* and other works deriving from the Vinaya tradition. This makes Dōgen a transmitter rather than an innovator of monastic rules (Foulk, 2006, 140).

Generally speaking, the codes compiled in Japan are often shorter than their Chinese counterparts, and they do not entirely reproduce the issues addressed in the *qinggui*: local and specifically Japanese concerns were also voiced in the *shingi* (Collcutt, 1983, 170). As in the case with China, aside from the *shingi* that were directed to all Zen monasteries, there were also regulations called *kakun* (家訓) for individual Zen monasteries or schools. The latter term suggests a connection to aristocratic and warrior house codes, which bore the same name (Collcutt, 1981, 152). The *Rinsen kakun* (臨川家訓), compiled in 1317, is an example of an individual monastery's code (Collcutt, 1981, 149–165). The articles in this text appear to be responses to particular problems. Although similar guidelines for Japanese monastic institutions affiliated to other traditions exist, Western-language scholarship so far has been limited to those of the Zen tradition.

Another way in which rules for monastic conduct and life in Japan were created was through external authorities, perhaps comparable to the way the Sinhalese *sāsana katikāvata* were promulgated. The Nara court issued regulations for monks and nuns in 701, called the *Sōniryō* (僧尼令), which consists of 27 articles (translated by Piggott, 1987, 267–273). Even though these regulations contain rather stringent measures, they appear not to have been strictly enforced (Augustine, 2005, 60–62). The Hōjō and the Ashikaga rulers issued many codes for individual Zen monasteries (Collcutt, 1981, 165–166). This practice was already current in China from the 5th century onward: the *sengzhi* (僧制; saṅgha regulations) were attempts by the secular authorities to regulate the monk community, in particular with the aim to control monk ordinations, thereby countering tax evasion (Foulk, 2004, 276, 290).

In Korea, monastic regulations written specifically for local monasteries appear to be rare. In the Sōn (禪) monasteries, monks studied a basic handbook called the *Ch'obalsim chagyōng mun* (初發心自警文; Admonitions to Beginners), a collection of three works. This book serves to inform monks on basic monastic rules and the right way of behaving in a monastic environment (Buswell, 1992, 80). One work included in the collection, by Chinul (知訥; 1158–1210), is called *Kye ch'osim hagin mun*

(誠初心學人文; Admonitions to Neophytes; trans. Buswell, 2012, 195–205). The *Ch'obalsim chagyöng mun* does not seem to serve as a manual for monastic organization but functions more as a manual for individual monks. It is one of the most commonly read and studied works among Korean Sōn monks (Buswell, 1992, 101).

The absence of guidelines for monastic governance may be explained by the intimate relationship between the monastic community and the state. In the Koryō dynasty (高麗; 918–1392), a saṅgha registry was instated that functioned as mediator between temples and state officials, modeled after that in China, albeit without the anti-Buddhist undertone. This system may have caused the Korean monkhood to lose its autonomy (Vermeersch, 2008, 183–237), which then accounts for the lack of monastic guidelines, which are often an expression of autonomy – be it political, religious, or both. However, similar information to that which we find in the monastic codes of other Buddhist countries is contained in prohibition orders (禁令; *kūmnyōng*) and chapters on law in the *Koryōsa* (高麗史; History of Koryō), which were promulgated by the secular authorities. In these works, one can find rules on monastic behavior that occasionally correspond to the contents of the *Vinayapīṭaka* (Vermeersch, 2008, 161).

Relationship between the Monastic Rules and the *Vinayapīṭaka*

The question arises how the rules as laid down in the *Vinayapīṭaka* and those contained in the monastic codes relate to each other. Some see the monastic guidelines as additions to the existing *vinaya* code (Seneviratna, 2000, 187) or clarifications and abridged versions thereof (Ellingson, 1989, 209). For some, the *bca'yigs* summarize

the details of the Vinaya into basic principles of communal life and government, and articulate soteriological concepts into specific guidelines for the conduct of religious communities. (Ellingson, 1989, 210)

For others, such works present the practical message of the *Vinayapīṭaka* in a more accessible way (Blackburn, 1999, 286), as the Vinaya texts themselves were often – not only conceptually but also often even physically – inaccessible. In China, the *Vinayapīṭaka* remained untranslated for centu-

ries after the introduction of Buddhism, while in Sri Lanka, Vinaya texts were often not kept in the monasteries (Blackburn, 1999, 286); in Tibet those who wished to study the monastic discipline as an “academic subject” were required to be *bhikṣus* (Cabezón, 2004, 6), while the majority of the monk population never took *bhikṣu* ordination. Furthermore, in the monastic educational curriculum of the Dge lugs school, the *Vinayapīṭaka* was a topic only studied for the last four years of the academic training that could take up to two decades (Dreyfus, 2003, 114). And even then, the canonical Vinaya texts themselves were not treated: the main focus lay on Guṇaprabha's *Vinayasūtra* (Tib. 'dul ba'i mdo rtsa ba [D 4117; P 5619]) and a commentary to this text by the 13th-century Bka' 'dams master Kun mkhyen Mtsho sna ba Shes rab Bzang po, used in all Tibetan Buddhist traditions. Despite the *Vinayapīṭaka* being an integral part of the monastic curriculum, extensive knowledge of the contents was not a requirement for one's scholastic progress (Dreyfus, 2003, 117). The number of studying monks in traditional Tibet was small; thus the vast majority of monks *never* studied the *Vinayapīṭaka* in any detail: all their awareness of monastic regulations and their vows came through *bca'yig* literature and oral instructions (see above).

It is thus plausible that, at least in Tibet, exactly because they usually addressed *all* monks that inhabited a monastery, the monastic guidelines were not mere appendices to Vinaya texts. Although such texts overtly address only the saṅgha, these types of works are witness to the fact that lay people – both monastery employees and lay devotees – were often part of the “jurisdiction” of the monastic institution. In Tibet, for example, hunting on monastic property was forbidden, and a *bca'yig* by the 13th Dalai Lama states that hunters who were caught were to be made to leave their weapons in the protectors' chapel and promise not to reoffend (Huber, 2004, 135).

In the case of Tibetan monastic Buddhism, a need was felt to supplement the general discipline with more specific documents that focused on “the practical aspects of daily life” (Cabezón, 1997, 337). Such documents have on the whole little to do with clarifying the *vinaya* or the *praṭimokṣa* vows but contain practical instructions that seek to regulate monastic life. Monastic codes thus are neither necessarily clarifications or new standards, nor merely supplements to the *Vinayapīṭaka*, but rather handbooks or guidelines. In this way, many aspects of monastic life were regulated more by local monastic institutions than by the *Vinayapīṭaka* (Dreyfus, 2003, 40).

According to the *Vinayapīṭaka*, the First Buddhist Council decreed that the saṅgha was not to alter Buddha's laws (Bechert, 1970, 772). The notion that the *vinaya*, and in particular the monks' vows, cannot and should not be modified, appears to be very much alive. Many contemporary senior Tibetan monks insist that rules for the monastery have no bearing on the rules contained in the *Vinayapīṭaka*, because the monastic rules are flexible whereas the *Vinayapīṭaka* ones – that is to say, the *praṭimokṣa* vows – are not (personal communication, July 2012). It is perhaps for that reason that one can see the *Vinayapīṭaka* rules and the monastic rules as existing – at least in theory – alongside each other.

The literature containing monastic rules is, strictly speaking, never presented as commentary to *Vinayapīṭaka* material. Nonetheless, the authors of these works do tend to state that they write in accordance with the contents of the *Vinayapīṭaka*, and they sometimes add that certain *Vinayapīṭaka*-like works have been consulted. While the Chan *Qinggui* (Pure Rules), for example, incorporated contemporary Chinese cultural values, they were also strongly influenced by the *Vinayapīṭaka* and other *Vinaya* literature (Yifa, 2005, 134). It is also not uncommon for these types of works to cite the *Vinayapīṭaka* in order to lend authority to their rules or to incorporate well-known *Vinayapīṭaka* strands into the text.

This is not to say that these monastic rulebooks were never in contradiction with rules found in the *Vinayapīṭaka*. As mentioned above, the contents of the *katikāvata* sometimes did deviate from the canonical law and even directly contradicted it (Bechert, 1970, 765). It is, however, rare for this type of literature to display an awareness of the possibility of a contradiction between *Vinayapīṭaka* and monastic rules. The author of the *Chanyuan qinggui*, Canglu Zongze (長蘆宗蹟; d. 1107?), appears to have been aware that he was writing a set of rules different from or competing with the *Vinayapīṭaka*. He solved this by pointing to precedence and by claiming that the rules that he promulgated were aimed at furthering the good of the monastic community (Foullk, 2004, 285). Another notable exception is a monastic code for Drepung ('Bras spungs) Monastery from 1682, in which the fifth Dalai Lama Ngawang Lobzang Gyatso (Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho; 1617–1682) wrote the following:

Because going on an alms-round in Tibet proper, during for example the autumn, is in accordance with the intent of the *Vinaya*, it does not need to be stopped. Except for people who collect offer-

ings for the general good (*spyi don*) in China, Mongolia, and Khams, etc. one is not to go to ask for donations, on one's own accord, without it being an exception [on behalf of] the officials and the general good. (Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho, 1682, 313; Jansen, 2013, 130)

To what extent did monastic regulations silently "overrule" *Vinayapīṭaka* rules, rather than merely existing alongside them? Further, if this overruling were a regular occurrence, then which set of rules would hold final authority? Even though it is impossible to determine the way in which all Buddhist monasteries in all traditions amended the rules for purely practical reasons, it is important to keep in mind that the Buddhist monastery is an institution that *was* (and still is) ultimately pragmatic. The monastic guidelines are witness to this pragmatism. They show the efforts made by the authors to regulate the monastic community and to negotiate its position within society.

[This article has been shortened for the preview.]

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