# A New Study of Ratnākaraśānti's *Prajñāpāramitopadeśa*

Katsura, Shoryu (Hiroshima University)
Luo, Hong (China Tibetology Research Center)

### Panel Abstract

Ratnākaraśānti, the eleventh century great Buddhist scholar, wrote three manuals on the late Yogācāra philosophy, which had been available only in Tibetan translation. Of them Dr. Luo Hong of China Tibetology Research Center identified two Sanskrit manuscripts of the Prajñāpāramitopadeśa; he transcribed and edited the text that is to be published soon. I once read the text in Tibetan translation with a team of scholars in Kyoto about 40 years ago and with a kind permission of Dr. Hong Luo I have been reading the same text in Sanskrit original with a new generation of Buddhist scholars in Kyoto. At the panel we would like to analyze the text from different backgrounds.

Katsura, Shoryu (Hiroshima University)
**The Four Yoga Stages of the *Prajñāpāramitopadeśa***

The *Prajñāpāramitopadeśa* of Ratnākaraśānti is a manual of Buddhist practice of meditation. According to him a practitioner who took a refuge in the three jewels, who is full of faith and compassionate, and who produced mind for enlightenment and took Bodhisattva precepts, having obtained the wisdom derived from both learning and contemplating (*śrutamayī & cintāmayī prajñā*), should cultivate the Perfection of Wisdom (*prajñāpāramitā*) in order to accumulate the provisions of merits and knowledge and to increase them. Furthermore, he should learn and contemplate upon two kinds of truth (*tattva*), viz., the truth related to all that exist (*yāvadbhāvikatā*) and the truth related to how they really are (*yathāvadbhāvikatā*).

Thus, the text consists of five sections: (1) Wisdom derived from learning the truth related to all that exist, (2) Wisdom derived from contemplating upon the truth related to all that exist, (3)

Wisdom derived from learning the truth related to how they really are, (4) Wisdom derived from contemplating upon the truth related to how they really are, and (5) Cultivation of the Perfection of Wisdom.

Ratnākaraśānti discusses the four yoga stages in the fifth section, which indicates that he regards the four yoga stages as representing the culmination of Buddhist practice. According to him, cultivation consists of three stages, viz. (1) concentration (*śamatha*), (2) observation (*vipaśyanā*) and (3) the simultaneous cultivation of both concentration and observation (*śamatha-vipaśyanā-yuganaddha*). After describing those three stages, he goes on to elaborate the four yoga stages, which are variously called in this text. Namely,

*(1) dharmāṇām iyattā, vastuparyantatā-/yāvadbhāvikatā-ālambanā yogabhūmiḥ*
*(2) dharmāṇāṃ cittamātratā, yathāvadbhāvika-cittamātratālambanā yogabhūmiḥ*
*(3) dharmāṇāṃ sanimittā śūnyatā, yathāvadbhāvikatāyāṃ sarvadharmatathatālambanā yogabhūmiḥ*
*(4) dharmāṇāṃ nirnimittā śūnyatā, nirālambanā/nirābhāsā yogabhūmiḥ*

The first yoga stage takes as its object the truth that all that exist are the 18 *dhātu*s. The second yoga stage takes as its object the truth that all that exist are mere names and that there being no external objects, there exists mind only (*cittamātra*). The third yoga stage takes as its object the truth of all *dharma*s, i.e., emptiness of the object and the subject (*grāhyagrāhakaśūnyatā*) or 'illumination-only' (*prakāśamātra*). And the fourth yoga stage takes no object at all, which is the stage of unconditioned emptiness (*nirnimittā śūnyatā*). In this connection it is to be noted that Ratnākaraśānti explaines the fourth stage by extensively quoting from and commenting upon the *Avikalpapraveśadhāraṇī* (sections 8-10). Before completing this treatise he justifies his interpretation of the four yoga stages by quoting three verses from the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra* (X.256-258) and one verse from the *Guhyasamāja-tantra* (XV.135). It is well known that Kamalaśīla quotes the same three verses of the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra* in his *Bhāvanākrama* I.

Towards the end of my presentation I shall briefly touch upon Ratnākaraśānti's view that at the fourth yoga stage Yogācāras and Mādhyamikas share the same view. I shall examine whether he becomes a Mādhyamika at the final stage or not.

Shiga, Kiyokuni (Kyoto Sangyo University)
**On some common scriptural sources cited by Ratnākaraśānti and Kamalaśīla**

Since ancient times, Buddhist philosophers had made it a rule to prove the validity of their own views mainly through two methods: formulating logical reasoning (*yukti*) and citing a passage from the scripture (*āgama*). Even after Dignāga (ca. 480–540) and Dharmakīrti (ca. 600–660) had established the so-called Buddhist logic and epistemology and accepted only two valid means of cognition, i.e., direct perception and inference, Buddhist philosophers continued the practice of quoting passages from the scripture as supportive evidence for their opinions. Ratnākaraśānti (ca. 970–1030), like others, cites or refers to various passages from the scripture in his *Prajñāpāramitopadeśa* (PPU). Kamalaśīla (ca. 740–795) also quotes a number of passages from various Buddhist scriptures or sūtras in his works such as the

*Tattvasaṃgrahapañjikā* (TSP), *Bhāvanākrama*, *Nyāyabindupūrvapakṣa-saṃkṣepa* (NBPS), etc. to offer proof of scriptural authority and link his views with tradition. We can find the same passages quoted both in Ratnākaraśānti's and Kamalaśīla's works. When comparing the texts quoted in their works, we see the difference in the contexts or intentions of the quotation as well as the textual disaccords.

The aims of this presentation are, mainly, by using Ratnākaraśānti's PPU and Kamalaśīla's TSP, to (1) compare the texts of the common quotations found in these two works, (2) observe how and in what contexts they are quoted and used, (3) examine how those texts have been transmitted and what the original text was, and (4) consider the basis of the philosophical positions of these two masters.

For example, Ratnākaraśānti quotes a verse that deals with momentariness of all conditioned things. It is introduced as a scriptural statement that supports the view that momentary things cannot have actions (*kriyā*). Although he recognizes the source of this quotation as the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra,* this verse is not found in that sūtra. Kamalaśīla, on the contrary, quotes the same verse in his TSP and NBPS to confirm his propositions that permanent things do not exist (TSP) and that the effect of *pramāṇa* characterized by an action (*kriyā*) is not different from *pramāṇa* itself (NBPS). Kamalaśīla views this source as the Buddha's words (*uktaṃ bhagavatā*, TSP) or as a sūtra (*mdo las*, NBPS). This verse is also quoted in the *Bodhicaryāvatārapañjikā*, *Dravyālaṃkāra*, and others. Since it has been reported by some scholars that it originates from the *Paramārthagāthā* ascribed to Asaṅga, I would also like to consider why Ratnākaraśānti attributed its source to the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*.

Nishiyama, Ryo (Ryukoku University)
**Mādhyamikas in the *Prajñāpāramitopadeśa***

The aims of this presentation are to identify Mādhyamika sub-schools that appear in the *Prajñāpāramitopadeśa* and to clarify their particular thoughts, based upon the Sanskrit text prepared by Dr. Luo Hong. Especially I shall focus upon a certain Mādhyamika sub-school that admits external reality on the level of the conventional truth. Possible candidates for scholars who might have held such a view are Bhāviveka and Candrakīrti, but their theories of the conventional truth are not particularly clear. I shall first clarify their theories of the conventional truth, and then compare them with the theory of external reality held by a certain Mādhyamika sub-school that is referred to and criticized by Ratnākaraśānti in the *Prajñāpāramitopadeśa*. In this connection, I shall take into consideration that the theory mentioned by Ratnākaraśānti could have been fabricated, not representing the actual theories of external reality held by Bhāviveka and Candrakīrti. Towards the end of my presentation I will discuss a passage of the *Prajñāpāramitopadeśa* that refers to the difference between Mādhyamika and Yogācāra, and offer a novel perspective on the late Indian Buddhist history of ideas.

Hayashima, Satoshi (Ryukoku University)
**The Theory of Three Natures in the *Prajñāpāramitopadeśa***

In the Prajñāpāramitopadeśa Ratnākaraśānti presents both the traditional and his own original interpretations of the theory of Three Natures (trisvabhāva). There are different interpretations of the theory of Three Natures in the treatises of the traditional Yogācāra school. Ratnākaraśānti refers to particular Yogācāra texts such as the Sandhinirmocanasūtra and the Madhyāntavibhāga and shows an influence of the other Yogācāra texts. Hence, I would like to clarify how Ratnākaraśānti understood the traditional Yogācāra theory of Three Natures.

Furthermore, I would like to elucidate the relation between the traditional theory of Three Natures and Ratnākaraśānti's original interpretation of it by his new concepts such as 'illumination' (prakāśa) and 'form/image' (ākāra). According to the traditional interpretation, Dependent Nature (paratantrasvabhāva) is identified with Imagination of the Unreal (abhūtaparikalpa) but Ratnākaraśānti reinterprets the latter on the basis of 'illumination' and 'form/image', which is his unique contribution.

In this presentation I would like to elucidate Ratnākaraśānti's interpretation of the theory of Three Natures from the view point of the traditional interpretation and that of his own original interpretation.

Kataoka, Kei (Kyushu University)
**Ratnākaraśānti on *Prakāśa***

In his *Prajñāpāramitopadeśa* Ratnākaraśānti claims that all dharmas are essentially cognition alone (*vijñānamātrasvabhāvāḥ*). This view is based on his theory of illumination (*prakāśa*). He regards illumination or appearance of all dharmas as possible only when illumination is accepted as their essential nature (*prakāśamānānāṃ dharmāṇām ... ātmabhūtaḥ prakāśaḥ*). Only something essentially luminary can illuminate itself. An object, if it did not have the nature of being luminary, could not illuminate itself (*sa ced atadrūpo na tarhi prakāśate*). Thus, for him, essentially luminary dharmas, which have the very nature of cognition, are precisely cognition in nature. Whereas Ratnākaraśānti regards illumination as cognitions' own nature (*jñānātmā*), Bhāṭṭa Mīmāṃsakas regard it as an additional property produced on top of an object (*grāhyasya dharmaḥ*) as a result of a cognizing action (*jñānakārya*). Naiyāyikas, etc., regard it nothing more than the occurrence of cognition (*jñānasyotpattiḥ*). They need no separate category called illumination. When cognition of blue arises, blue appears to mind. Another theorist, whom Ratnākaraśānti designates merely as *aparaḥ*, claims that an essentially non-luminary object is illuminated by essentially luminary cognition (*arthaḥ punar atadrūpo jñānavaśāt prakāśate*). In other words, illumination of objects are possible not because illumination is the nature of objects but because they are connected with an illumination of cognition. Ratnākaraśānti refutes these three heretic views one by one. The present paper aims at clarifying Ratnākaraśānti's arguments against these views.

Luo, Hong (China Tibetology Research Center)
**Ratnākaraśānti's sketch of self-awareness in the *Prajñāpāramitopadeśa***

Self-awareness (*svasaṃvedana / svasaṃvitti*) plays a central role in Ratnākaraśānti's doctrinal system, especially in his establishing of *vijñaptimātratā*. Focusing on the six summarizing

verses at the end of the Yathāvadbhāvikatāyāṃ cintāmayī prajñā section in the *Prajñāpāramitopadeśa*, this paper aims to present Ratnākaraśānti's understanding of self-awareness as sketched by himself in these verses and trace tentatively the possible sources of his sketch.

## Approaches to the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*
Gold, Jonathan C. (Princeton University)

**Panel Abstract**

The *Bodhicaryāvatāra* (BCA) by Śāntideva (8th c.) is one of the most widely studied works of Buddhist literature. Countless commentaries from classical India and Tibet share the shelf with a growing library of modern translations and interpretations. In recent decades a variety of new readings of the BCA have arisen from scholars working on its relation to the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* and other sources of Mahāyāna scripture; questions of authorship and genre; the body in Indian Buddhism; contemporary ethics, phenomenology and cognitive science; and Tibetan appropriations of the work in distinct stages from the premodern to the literal present. These analyses are reshaping our understanding of this ubiquitous text—ubiquitous across academic classrooms and dharma centers—and testify to its continuing importance as an object of study. The present panel will take the temperature of current research on the BCA and attempt to synthesize multiple scholarly perspectives.

Gyatso, Janet (Harvard University)
**Seeing Oneself from the Outside, and its Moral Work**

This paper will study the striking moments when the narrator of the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* assumes the perspective of other beings and sees their perceptions of himself.  It will ponder how this move develops the program of moral cultivation pursued throughout the rest of the book.  It will also probe the precise nature of the vision that the narrator has of others' perception of himself, and compare that to two other examples in world literature in which such a seeing of the self from the outside is integral to profound moral and artistic cultivation, one from European phenomenology and the other from Japanese aesthetic tradition.

Carpenter, Amber (Yale-NUS)
**Reason and Knowledge on the Path**

This paper considers the progress of the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* as a distinctive and detailed account of what 'using the conventional to attain the ultimate' actually looks like. Śāntideva begins the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* presuming an 'ordinary outlook', and offers reasons for thought, feeling or action which speak to that outlook. The thoughts, feelings or actions thus engendered, however, are sensitive to a new range of considerations, which are then offered for a subsequent modification of thought, feeling and action. Śāntideva's ambition is not to offer the definitive statement of Buddhist or Madhyamaka ethics or metaphysics. His aim, rather, is *protreptic* − appeals to reasons and concepts are designed to 'turn the soul' progressively from one outlook to another, until finally one inhabits the understanding that any outlook is, after all, just an

outlook. Close attention to the sorts of reasons appealed to over the course of the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, and in particular to the points at which distinctively Buddhist notions (dependent arising, no-self), or distinctively Madhyamaka understandings of these notions are brought into play, will reveal how constructive use can be made of the intellect in the trajectory towards enlightenment.

Ohnuma, Reiko (Dartmouth College)
**Embodiment in the *Bodhicaryāvatāra***

While the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* is rightly celebrated for its intense focus upon the mind and mental training and its careful attention to a complex moral pscyhology, this paper seeks to acknowledge the significant role that the *body* and *embodiment* also play within Śāntideva's text. Indeed, throughout Śāntideva's work, the language of the mind cannot stand alone, but is constantly intertwined with and expressed through the language of the body. Yet the "body" in question is multifarious and constantly shifting.

This paper will argue that the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*'s twofold classification of *bodhicitta,* as the mind resolved on awakening and the mind proceeding toward awakening, can be equally applied to the *body*—in other words, the body as *goal* and the body as *path*, the body one is aiming for and the body as a tool to get there. Neither of these two conceptions is singular in nature, however, but is presented in multiple ways to appeal to multiple practitioners and to speak to aspiring bodhisattvas at every level of the path.

For the body as *goal,* the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* affirms a complex hierarchy of different bodily goals, ranging from avoiding the suffering that afflicts the worst kinds of bodies, to attaining the most advantageous bodies available within samsara, to transcending bodily existence altogether in the state of liberation, and finally, to acquiring the glorious, golden bodies of buddhas and bodhisattvas. The body is not only the *goal,* however, but also the *path* that leads to the desired goal—or, as Śāntideva puts it, an "implement of action" or a "tool for the task" (*karmopakaraṇa, BCA* 5.66). Again, the tool is a multi-purpose one (a veritable Swiss army-knife)—for throughout the text, Śāntideva deploys the tool of the body in multifarious ways: The body is worthless and disgusting and should be repudiated and abandoned; the body is a necessary evil that should be cared for and maintained; the body either should or should not be given away to others; the body should not be identified with—unless we identify with the bodies of others; and the body is the ultimate metaphor that illustrates the truth of emptiness.

Ultimately, however, path and goal merge together—just as mind-and-body transform together—as the successful reader of Śāntideva's text uses the "magical elixir" of *bodhicitta* to change his filthy and "impure image" into the "jewel-like image of the Buddha" (*BCA* 1.10).

Harris, Stephen (Leiden University)
**Demandingness and Shaping the Self in the *Bodhicaryāvatāra***

At first glance, Śāntideva's articulation of the bodhisattva path in the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* appears to require enormous sacrifices from its adherents: (s)he renounces ordinary pleasurable pursuits

such as family life and material prosperity, willingly sacrifices his or her body for others and is even willing to take rebirth in the hell realms to minster to beings there.  In this paper, I argue that lessening moral demandingness is one of the deepest themes of Śāntideva's text.   In particular, I show how many of the meditations he employs, through which the bodhisattva nurtures positive qualities (*kuśala-dharma*) and disidentifies from vice (*kleśa*) can be understood as tools to craft a conventional self that is highly resistant to the kinds of suffering the bodhisattva will endure. This makes more intelligible Śāntideva's initially puzzling claim that following the bodhisattva path is in one's own interest, even when compared to early Buddhist practices focused on attaining liberation for oneself.  It also lets us draw a stronger connection between the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* and early Buddhist classics like the *Dhammapada*, for whom the development of a (conventional) self that is highly resistant to suffering is a frequent theme.  Likewise, it suggests a philosophical affinity between Śāntideva and contemporary philosophers, and in particular consequentialists, for whom lessening the demands of their moral system is a prime concern.

Goodman, Charles (Binghamton University-SUNY)
**Can We Know Whether Śāntideva was a Consequentialist?**

This essay considers the consequentialist interpretation of Śāntideva's ethics in light of the interesting critiques recently offered by several scholars.  While considering arguments due to Barbra Clayton and Gordon Davis, the essay focuses mainly on the sophisticated objections of Stephen Harris.  While agreeing that impartial benevolence plays a central role in Śāntideva's ethical thought, Harris is skeptical about whether we can know the theoretical structure of Śāntideva's overall ethical view, or even whether it has such a structure.  Some of Harris' concerns can be satisfactorily answered with textual evidence.  But his most important worry is inseparably intertwined with deep and difficult issues about the role of no-self in Śāntideva's Madhyamaka.

Chien, Gloria I-Ling (Gonzaga University)
**The Vision and Moral Formation of a Bodhisattva Practitioner**

The moral transformation of a Bodhisattva practitioner, as addressed in Śāntideva's *A Guide to the Bodhisattva's Way of Life* (*Bodhicaryāvatāra*, hereafter called *BCA*), has been attracting scholarly attention. Using the *BCA* as an essential reference, the Tibetan Buddhist contemplation method Lojong (*blo sbyong*), or 'mind training,' helps devotees remove destructive emotions and develop universal compassion towards all sentient beings. Despite associating the *BCA* with visualization practices described in the Lojong literature, how the Lojong tradition integrates the *BCA*'s principles into practices has yet to receive significant academic discussion. This paper hopes to address this gap by exploring the interplay between visionary experiences and ethical dimensions in Lojong texts and the *BCA*.

First, this paper analyzes how concepts such as "equalization of self and other," explained in the *BCA*, contribute visionary elements to "giving and taking" (*gtong len*) practices in the Lojong tradGlorition. Practitioners of "giving and taking" visualize the presence of their mothers and cultivate loving kindness and compassion for her. Then practitioners recall her deep

kindness and think of taking away all her suffering during her cyclic existence. The giving part of this practice is to imagine unconditionally offering one's wealth, life, and virtue to one's beloved mother. The second level of this giving and taking practice is to apply the same process toward all sentient beings. These texts have similar approaches to this "giving and taking": *Atisha's Seven-Point Mind Training*, *Eight Sessions Mind Training*, and Sé Chilbu's (1121-89) commentary on Chekhawa's (1102-1176) *Seven-Point Mind Training*. They are all included in *Mind Training: The Great Collection* (*Theg pa chen po blo sbyong brgya rtsa*). This work is the first Lojong anthology, which appeared in the fifteenth-century. This paper will discuss these texts and other related examples.

Second, this paper explains that visualization techniques described in the aforementioned texts do not have, to borrow Eric Greene's term, "verificatory visions." Verificatory visions are spontaneously arising visual phenomena and are used to verify whether meditators have succeeded in their trainings.

Third, this paper argues that, without referring to verificatory visions as criteria of success, the Lojong literature emphasizes that by actively generating visions, some practitioners will eventually lessen their self-centered concerns. They then extend the domain of the "self" in order to encompass those who were previously understood to be outside of its sphere. The goal of these visualization techniques is for Lojong meditators to build an essential foundation for cultivating the awakening mind, *bodhicitta*—the altruistic aspiration to attain perfect enlightenment for the benefit of all beings.

In conclusion, this research illuminates how contemplation concepts analyzed in the *BCA* become references for visualization techniques in the Tibetan Lojong meditation manual. These visualizations help practitioners change their former habitual patterns and learn to transform their ethical and spiritual dimensions. This transformation is a prerequisite for a devotee who embarks on a bodhisattva's journey.

## Bell Inscriptions across the Buddhist World
Bretfeld, Sven (Norges Teknisk-Naturvitenskapelige Universitet)
Doney, Lewis (British Museum)

**Panel Abstract**

From at least the time of the *Sarvāstivādavinaya* and the *Gaṇḍīstotra,* bells have formed a part of daily ritual practice and rites of passage in the Buddhist temples and monasteries in South Asia. Yet it is in the countries to which Buddhism spread that we find the most evidence of inscribed bells. China exported this technology to Central Asia, Korea, and Japan from about the seventh century, to Tibet from about the eighth, and to Southeast Asia from the tenth. Many bell inscriptions proclaim state sponsorship and the foundation of new Buddhist institutions, while others blend the genres of historiography and prayer. Later indigenous histories and prayers then creatively recast these bells to serve new narrative purposes.

This panel will bring together regional specialists from a number of fields to address the dates, influences, innovations, and history of bell production. The panel will also compare the

phraseology of Buddhist bell inscriptions across Asia to the scriptures that they quote and the religious and royal self-representations expressed in contemporaneous media. It is hoped that an interdisciplinary analysis, crossing epigraphy, art history, and technology, will lead to a better understanding not only of bells, but of Buddhist institutional, ritual, and material culture.

---

Willis, Michael (British Museum)
**Buddhist Bells in the British Museum**

Bells are a ubiquitous feature of Buddhism and Buddhist ritual practice in Asia. As a result, bells have come to form a significant element of the Asian collections at the British Museum. The Asian bells have not been studied as a group, although some of the most significant single items with inscriptions have been researched and published. By way of looking at bell typologies in a comparative and pan-Asian context, this paper will present a wide-ranging sample of the bells in the British Museum, looking at items of various dates from Japan, China, Tibet, Nepal, India, Sri Lanka and the countries of south-east Asia. While the scope is wide, and correspondingly superficial, a number of patterns emerge with regard to bells and their technologies that invite comparison to other aspects of Buddhist material culture and its transmission in Asia.

Burdorf, Suzanne (Universiteit Ghent)
**Read the Bell: Tracing the Cultural and Social History of Monastic Bells Through Inscriptions from Song (960–1276) China**

Despite the disappearance of the majority of bells from Song China, in the *Complete Collection of Song Prose* (*Quan Song wen* 全宋文; compiled in 2006) we find fifty-seven inscriptions that were composed on the occasion of the casting of a new Buddhist temple bell. Although the substrate of these inscriptions is not always obvious – they were carved onto stone steles as well as cast or carved on bells themselves –, these texts contain valuable information about the symbolic value of bells and at the same time offer us insights into the temple's social networks that facilitated the casting.

Using Song inscriptions as guides, this paper aims to shed light on the cultural history of bells during this period, and traces the reasons behind people's involvement in the casting of a new bell. Which (symbolic) functions did bells have according to the inscriptions? Who contributed to the casting of a new bell, and why? How was the casting organized and who was involved in the process? To what extent did the government engage in the project? Although the inscriptions do not tell us much about the technical side of the story, some of them do give us an almost mythologized report of the casting and its preparations, describing it as a major social event, which in itself is relevant for our understanding of the symbolism of bells. Moreover, the answers to the foregoing questions do not only concern bells and their casting, but also provide information on the status of Buddhist temples and their patrons.

Apart from using these inscriptions as sources for exploring Buddhist material culture and social networks, the paper will also pay attention to the characteristics and functions of the inscriptions

as literary compositions. Which features are shared among the inscriptions, and in what ways are they different? How do they relate to other texts found on monastery grounds? What was the background and motivation of the authors of these texts? And why were these inscriptions preserved, even long after the bells had disappeared?

Doney, Lewis (British Museum)
**Large Tibetan Imperial Bells and Their Epigraphy**

The study of inscriptional evidence for Buddhism's introduction to Tibet has recently once again come under the academic spotlight. While examples of epigraphy on bells have played a role in the analysis of inscriptions in general, this type of support has so far not been compared across the Buddhist world. China exported the technology for founding large bells to Tibet from about the eighth century, at the height of the latter's imperial period (c. 600–850 CE). A handful of Tibetan bell inscriptions exist from this period, mentioning Tibetan emperors and also mixing historiography and prayer genres in their texts. Recently published photographs of bells and their epigraphy, including hitherto unknown examples, allow us to reappraise the early Tibetan tradition of bell casting and epigraphy. The dates of some of these bell inscriptions remain uncertain, and more can be done to address the phrases contained in their epigraphy from a wider perspective as religious and often royal self-representations. The bells themselves are also in need of comparative art-historical description, in order to assess influence and innovation occurring across Central and East Asia.

This presentation will outline how the tradition of bells and gongs in monasteries along the Silk Road, focusing on Khotan, met Chinese bell-casting technology. The main part of the presentation will compare the bells discovered in bSam yas Monastery, Khra' 'brug Monastery and Yer pa cave complex in Central Tibet with those photographed in Bumthang in Bhutan and dPa' ris in Qinghai. The design of the imperial Tibetan bells and their epigraphy tell us about their form and function, their links with songs and praise, and their relation with Buddhism and power in Tibet. Finally, the epigraphical and art-historical analyses can come together in a better understanding of Buddhist ritual, institutional and material culture in imperial Tibet.

Martin, Dan (Institute of Tibetan Classics)
**The Tibetan Bell in Armenia and its Inscription: An Account of a Quest to Account for it**

For a little over a decade now I have been now and again trying to learn more about a peculiar Buddhist bell in a peculiar place. It is a Tibetan bell, in itself not all that peculiar, but a bell with an inscription in Tibetan letters that is not an expected one, since I do not know of if being found on other bells. It is supposed to be located in what is surely an unexpected place, in a famous church, and not just any church, but in the most important cathedral of the Armenian Church called Etchmiadzin. The obvious questions, and the ones we will entertain in this paper, are: Who made it? How did it get there, and when? What significance does it, or should it, bear? Beyond discussing some supportable probabilities — largely based on clues found here and there, including testimonies of some pre-eminent Armenianists — at this point I am unable to offer a definite solution to the historical problem. I do think the quest is worthwhile, and the so-far rather meagre results worthy of consideration or, rather, reconsideration.

Bretfeld, Sven (Norges Teknisk-Naturvitenskapelige Universitet)
**Buddhist Bells and the Study of Religious Materiality: Some Theoretical Reflections**

In recent years the study of religions underwent numerous so-called "turns." One of these is the focus on material aspects of religions. Frequently this approach is characterized by a decided programmatic neglect of textual sources of religions. Religion, so the basic idea, is less a "belief-system" constituted by propositional statements (doctrines) but rather a matter of "embodied" practices shaped by the handling of material objects, sensual perception and bodily activity.

In this paper I am going to fathom some aspects of this approach for Buddhist Studies, using the studies of Buddhist bells presented in the panel as starting points. In the paper I plead for an integrative approach combining textual studies with the pragmatic aspects of Material Religion.

# Buddhist Brahmins
Walser, Joseph (Tufts University)

### Panel Abstract

From Śāriputta, Mahākāśyapa and Maitrayāṇīputra to Aśvaghośa and Nāgārjuna to the Brahmin Saraha and Maitrigupta in the late medieval period, Buddhist history is populated with Buddhist Brahmins. Despite the common perception that Buddhism died out in India in the 14th century, it also appears that Buddhism persists among Brahmins in Tamil Nadu as late as the early 17th century and even later in Bengal. Today there are lineages of Buddhist Brahmins serving priestly roles in Sri Lanka, Thailand and in Myanmar, not to mention the Bauddha Brahmins of Indonesia and the Newar Vajracāryas. So how do we come to grips with what some might think to be a contradiction in terms? Is a Buddhist Brahmin merely a Buddhist head on a Brahmin body? Do Buddhist Brahmins define an ideological/ritual niche or interest group within the larger Buddhist community? What roles and services did/do Brahmin Buddhists provide for the rest of the Buddhist and non-Buddhist populations? Is there a special affinity between Brahmin Buddhists and Mahāyāna Buddhism? This panel seeks papers on the vicissitudes of Brahmin Buddhist identity and identity formation in the ancient, medieval or modern periods from any of the countries in which Buddhist Brahmins have played a distinctive role.

Bausch, Lauren (Dharma Realm Buddhist University)
**The Kāṇva Brāhmaṇas and Buddhists in Kosala**

The Buddha was no stranger to the region of Kosala, where thrived the Vedic school of the Kāṇvas. The Kāṇvas' philosophical influence on early Buddhism is evident in the Buddha's teachings to brāhmaṇa followers. The *Suttanipāta* in particular depicts the Buddha as familiar with many doctrines of the *Kāṇva Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*. Even the Buddha's critique on brāhmaṇa identity and ritual efficacy seems to presuppose Yājñavalkya's interpretation of the same. At one point in the *Suttanipāta*, the Bhagavan neither confirms nor denies that he is a brāhmaṇa. The *Suttanipāta* makes an interesting case study because, as Jayawickrama observed, a separate Buddhist identity is not expressed explicitly in the general Indian context of the earliest stratum of the text. Alexander Wynne convincingly argued that two brāhmaṇas,

one of which was from Kosala, taught the Buddha a form of brāhmaṇical meditation.  This paper further explores evidence for the close relationship between the Kāṇva brāhmaṇas and the early Buddhists.

Bronkhorst, Johannes (University of Lausanne)
**Were Buddhist Brahmins Buddhists or Brahmins?**

This paper emphasizes the asymmetrical relationship between being a Buddhist and being a Brahmins in classical India: one can become a Buddhist but one cannot become a Brahmin. It then points out that being a Brahmin during that period meant primarily that one occupied a certain position in society, whereas it was less clear what it was to be a Buddhist for those who had not become monks, bodhisattvas or the like. The paper finally raises the question, supported by some evidence, that the relative fluidity between the categories 'Buddhist' and 'Brahmin' may have disappeared over the years, so that one finds ever fewer Buddhist Brahmins toward the end of the first millennium.

Chudal, Alaka (University of Vienna)
**Brahmin Buddhists in Northern South Asia**

The intertwinedness of Hinduism and Buddhism in India and Nepal resulted in the Buddha being declared the ninth avatar of Vishnu. Hindus often place a statue of the Buddha in their worship room, while many monasteries or Buddhist temples feature similar statues of Hindu gods and goddesses. Buddhists have long felt the strong influence of Hinduism owing to their close contacts with the Hindu castes and because they themselves were integrated into the caste system. Many of them eventually adopted Hinduism. As the king was regarded as an incarnate form of Vishnu, the Nepalese monarchy had the strong support of Hindus, while the status attributed to the Buddha at least served to keep Buddhists loyal to it. Nepal's rulers, in short, treated Buddhists and Hindus, who shared many festivals and much iconography, largely on equal terms. But many Buddhists have strong reservations about this and reject the Hindu appropriation of the Buddha as the ninth avatar of Vishnu and accuse Hindus of annexing Buddhism to Hinduism.

Against this background, this paper will focus on the acknowledgement of converted Brahmin Buddhists (Indian & Nepalese Brahmins) among the Buddhists and Hindus in Nepal.  It will answer the questions such as: How are the converted Buddhist Brahmins received by the Nepalese Buddhists and Hindus? What roles and services did/do Brahmin Buddhists play in the society? What was the motivation factor for the conversion?

McGovern, Nathan (Franklin and Marshall College)
**Buddhist Brahmans: Taking Early Buddhist Claims to Brahmanhood Seriously**

Scholars have long been aware that the early Buddhists, as reflected in the early Buddhist texts, referred to the Buddha and his Awakened followers as Brahmans. This is found, for example, in the likely early *Aṭṭhaka Vagga* and *Pārāyaṇa Vagga* of the *Sutta Nipāta*, but also in other texts, such as the final chapter of the *Dhammapada*, in which each verse ends with the *pada*

"He's what I call a Brahman." Often, references to the ideal Buddhist person as a Brahman are made, either explicitly or else implicitly through context, as criticisms of the people we now usually think of as "the Brahmans"—namely, the Vedic Brahmans, those who claimed Brahmanhood on the basis of birth. For this reason, modern scholars have typically interpreted the Buddhist use of the category "Brahman" as a polemic against the "actual" Brahmans, who were their rivals. This theory is perhaps best captured by the term "marketing," which was adopted by Baily and Mabbett in their *Sociology of Early Buddhism*.

In this paper, I argue that it is methodologically fruitful to take the early Buddhist claims to Brahmanhood a bit more seriously than they have been hitherto. Implicit in the "marketing" theory is the assumption that the Vedic Brahmans were in fact the "real" Brahmans, and *ipso facto* the Buddhist claims to Brahmanhood cannot be taken at face value, but only as a marketing or polemical strategy. But this assumption amounts to an uncritical acceptance of the polemics of the Vedic Brahmans—namely, that they were the true Brahmans on the basis of birth. Recent scholarship by Patrick Olivelle, Tim Lubin, Johannes Bronkhorst, and others has increasingly shown that much of the Brahmanical orthodoxy that became standard within classical Hinduism was not of great antiquity, but was still in formation during the time "between the empires," to borrow a useful phrase from Olivelle's book of the same name. I argue that scholars' previous assumption of the metahistorical priority of Brahmanism in Indian history has blinded them to a real debate in the late first millennium BCE over who could be considered a Brahman, engaged in by Buddhists, Jains, and those who claimed Brahmanhood on the basis of birth, the outcome of which was by no means certain.

I argue that the early Buddhists had a real, substantive claim to being Brahmans, even if, in the end, they lost the debate. Their conception of Brahmanhood was rooted in *brahmacarya*, which they (in common with the Jains) understood as lifelong celibate studentship. There is indeed precedent for this vision of Brahmanhood in the Vedic literature, which refers in some places to *brahmacarya*, a state of celibate studentship, as making one a Brahman. If the early Buddhists considered themselves Brahmans, then, the total opposite of a Brahman would be a householder. It is for this reason that the early Buddhist texts are so critical of the Vedic Brahmans—because they made a set of claims, themselves in some ways novel, that enshrined the householder ideal as the basis of Brahmanhood.

Walser, Joseph (Tufts University)
**Buddhism and Brahmanism: Who made the distinction (and who refused)?**

It is a commonplace in introductory textbooks to treat Buddhism as a competitor religion to Brahmanism, with the borderline between the two marked by the doctrine of anatman. This paper examines whether these assumptions hold up for one of the earliest sources of our information about Buddhism, the Pali canon. Using statistical analysis of a sample of 5126 suttas, I argue that there is little evidence that the doctrine of soullessness was preached to representatives of the Brahmanical tradition in order to convert them to Buddhism. On the contrary, it would appear that early Brahmin Buddhists had their own canon-within-a-canon that simply avoided the topic of soulessness. As a result, for a Brahmin to become a Buddha-

enthusiast would not necessarily have entailed a change in status, but rather would have been seen as the fulfillment of a Brahmanical ideal – especially among the Yajurvedic lineages.

Freiberger, Oliver (University of Texas at Austin)
**Respondent**

# Buddhism and the Information Network in Medieval East Asia

Chen, Jinhua (University of British Columbia)

**Panel Abstract**

As a tradition that crossed communities, borders, and cultures, Buddhism and Buddhist monks in particular have been recognized as transmitters of religion and culture across territories. Exploring the ample evidence for monastic espionage in these contexts, this panel calls attention to the need to address the multiple roles Buddhist clerics in East Asia played in their interactions with local parties and international communities.

As spies, monastics had a number of advantages. These included their local and dynasty-wide networks and their reputation as "saintly" figures whose outsider status allowed them to serve as mediators among conflicting parties. Monastic espionage at the "international" level was a highly complicated affair. It has much to teach us about the unique nature and functions of monks as spies.

Bauer, Mikael (McGill University)
**The *Chronicle of Jōe*: The murder of a young Fujiwara monk in 7th century Japan**

Around 760 the enigmatic courtier Fujiwara no Nakamaro (706-764) was closely involved in the creation of a clan history called the *Tōshi Kaden* (藤原家傳) or the 'History of the Fujiwara House.' This text contained the biographies of several people, starting with the family's patriarch Nakatomi no Kamatari (614-669). This presentation focuses on the History's biography of the monk Jōe (貞慧;?-665), one of Japan's earliest Hossō monks and envoy to Tang China.

Born the son of Kamatari, and as brother of the highest official Fujiwara no Fuhito (659-720), Jōe was sent to Tang China at an early age. His biography describes his virtuous character and apparent aptitude for Chinese Learning in general and the Buddhist law in particular. It is clear he played an important role during the mission, but what happened afterwards suggests that his involvement might have transcended his monastic study. Shortly after his return to the Japanese court in 665, he suddenly fell ill and passed away. It was clear this did not concern a natural death, and that in fact he had been murdered.

This presentation looks at Jōe's case to determine the extent to which the early Japanese Buddhist community was involved in the 'international' political and institutional struggles that took place between the Tang, the Japanese court and the Korean kingdoms. Why was it necessary to eliminate Jōe and what was the consequence of his demise for the early Japanese

Buddhist community's role in the following decades? Was Jōe involved in political intrigue, or suspected of forms of monastic espionage, entangled in the conflict between the Tang Empire and the Korean kingdoms? Through a reading of the *Tōshi Kaden* in general and the Chronicle of Jōe in particular, we will look at this young monk's family background, the institutional and political significance of his function as a Fujiwara Hossō monk and the role of monks as political actors and ambassadors.

Carlton, Kelly (University of Oxford)
**Monastic Spies, Secret Envoys, and Cross-Border Rendezvous: Buddhist Monk Deokjang 德昌 and His Contemporaries in Three Kingdoms Korea**

A Buddhist monk-general, Sinseong 信誠 (dates unknown), bound to protect the Goguryean capital of Pyongyang from a joint Tang 唐 (618–690, 705–907)–Sillan 新羅 (57 BCE–935) siege in 668 CE, secretly colluded with Tang General Li Ji 李勣 (594–669) to open the city gates to the invading forces. The formidable martial kingdom subsequently fell, and with it concluded a curious line of Goguryean monks who acted as spies and secret envoys, flitting across Silla, Baekje 百濟 (18 BC–660 AD), and Sui 隋 (581–618)–Tang China borders to shape foreign diplomacy and martial conflicts. Although Sinseong contributed to the downfall of his patron state, the clandestine monks who came before him often worked at the behest of the king; for instance, the monk Dorim 道林, under orders from King Jangsu 長壽 (r. 413-491), goaded Baekje King Gaero 蓋鹵 (r. 455–475) into undertaking ambitious projects that sapped state coffers and diverted manpower. Of particular interest, however, is the understudied monk-spy, Deokjang (also Tŏkch'ang) 德昌, who warned Goguryeo of an impending Sillan attack in 642 after negotiations—spearheaded by Gim Chunchu 金春秋, the future King Muyeol 武烈 of Silla (r. 652–661)—deteriorated.

This paper will endeavor to ascertain Deokjang's role in Goguryeo-Silla relations, expanding upon his mention in the *Samguk sagi* biography of Gim Yusin 金庾信 (595–673) to contextualize his espionage within the larger Goguryean Buddhist framework. Close attention will be given to those factors influencing monks' employment in such roles: 1) the client-state relationship between the Buddhist institution and Goguryeo; 2) the fluidity with which monks were able to traverse religious, social, and political spheres; and 3) the advantages supplied by a pan-Asian Buddhist network, maintained through the cross-border exchange of scholarship, scripture translation projects, and pilgrimages. Thus, by considering Deokjang and his Three Kingdoms contemporaries in these terms, this paper seeks to contribute to current scholarship on the relationship between Buddhist monks and espionage in the wider East Asian sphere.

Chen, Jinhua (University of British Columbia)
**Monastic Espionage in Sui-Tang and Song dynasties**

Thus far scholars have primarily focused their attention on Buddhism's involvement in espionage during several periods of time in which China was politically and militarily divided into two or more fighting regimes. The example of monastic espionage par excellence is provided by two monk-spies who helped the Northern Song (960-1127) army to cross the

Yangzi river and annex the Southern Tang kingdom (937-976). In addition to this inter-state level of monastic espionage of this type, this article will carefully study three more types of the same practice (1) between two or more rival Buddhist groups; (2) between two political cliques within a single government; and (3) between Chinese and non-Chinese states. As for the first type of espionage, the *Platform Sutra*, arguably the Bible for Chan Buddhism, describes how a Northern Chan monk was asked to spy on the rival group. This deceitful act, somewhat ironically, occasioned his enlightenment. The decade between 704 and 713 supplies rare glimpses into a complex of sociopolitical machinations that led to the involvement of Buddhist monastics in power struggles among the elite. This was thanks, in part, to monks' adroitness in handling information transactions.

---

Doell, Steffen (Hamburg University)
**Undercover *dharma*: Chan Masters in the Kamakura period**

The time of the Mongol attacks on Japan in the years of 1274 and 1281 mark the escalation of a political conflict that had been going on (and continued to do so) for several decades. Records of open hostilities and military operations on the one hand are, however, counterbalanced by individual biographies set before this tumultuous background -- portraying religious leaders that refuse to take sides and stay aloof from the tribulations of policy-making -- on the other.

While previous scholarship has evaluated Chinese Chan masters coming over to Japan in the 13th century in terms of the respective individual's spiritual authenticity, sense of mission and destiny, as well as refugee status, recent analyses have provided evidence of a complex and hugely heterogeneous group of persons. From Lanxi Daolong (1213-1278) disembarking on the Japanese coast in 1247 until the arrival of Yishan Yining (1247-1317) as official envoy of the Yuan dynasty government in 1299, the Chan Buddhist emigré monks reveal a multitude of intentions, assignments, aims, and means to such ends. In China, they were minor figures in the religio-political realm at best; in Japan, they commanded the attention of the high and mighty as well as the low-born but ambitious. Such a rise to prominence and power came at a cost, however, and each and everyone of the emigrant masters was accused of espionage or sabotage and threatened with exile or execution at one point or another.

Apart from outlining representative biographies and highlighting their defining features, this paper will argue that an all-too bipolar concept of espionage -- separating hidden political intentions from authentic religious motivations -- hinders our ability to understand these biographies in the way they understood themselves: namely as drawing in their actions on a set of nuanced options in an attempt to realize the *dharma* and bring to fruition a religious community that was no longer delimited by the boundaries of nations, cultures, and geographies but succeeded in integrating the political and religious spheres.

# Buddhism from the Margins: Using Manuscript Sources to Re-examine the Rituals and Routines of Medieval and Early Modern Buddhist Communities in Japan, Korea, and China

Keyworth, George A. (University of Saskatchewan)

**Panel Abstract**

The papers presented on this panel investigate manuscript sources, rather than transmitted printed editions of Buddhist texts, to reexamine the rituals, routines and practical programs that operated beyond state, sectarian, clerical, and canonical frameworks during the medieval and early modern periods in Japan, Korea, and China. Each of the five papers seeks to redress the center-periphery model of East Asian Buddhist transmission, which has been subjected to criticism by Antonino Forte, CHEN Jinhua, and Evelyn Rawski. Papers by Goodman, Lowe, and McBride move the inquiry even closer to the ground and into the hands of individuals, where many of the boundaries we often consider sacrosanct were irrelevant. Papers by Lin and Keyworth give special attention to important sources from the Japanese Tendai tradition that have been otherwise inaccessible or obscured due to seemingly impregnable boundaries. Taken as a group, these papers tell us a great deal about why manuscript sources from the traditional periphery of East Asian culture—China's northwest, Korea, and Japan—can fill in substantial lacunae in our collective knowledge of the history of Buddhism that is anything but marginal.

Goodman, Amanda (University of Toronto)
**Recycled and Read: Reflections on the Personal Uses of Ritual Handbooks in Late Medieval Dunhuang**

This paper will explore the practice of everyday writing in late medieval Chinese Buddhist circles from the vantage point of several personal handbooks recovered from the Dunhuang cave site. The sample handbooks can be dated to the second half of the tenth century, are often autographed, and contain combinations of liturgical texts, diagrams, and miscellaneous notations. The paper will endeavor to answer basic questions about the production and consumption of these manuscripts, including who copied and made use of the handbooks, the types of textual and iconographical material contained in the handbooks, and the circulation histories of individual handbooks.

Keyworth, George A. (University of Saskatchewan)
**Recovering Medieval Shintō-Buddhist Rituals at Matsuo Shrine through Eighth-Century Manuscripts from Bonshakuji, Fushimi, and Mt. Hiei**

Colophons for many of the scriptures preserved in the Buddhist manuscript canons of Nanatsudera 七寺 and Matsuo Shintō 松尾社 shrine tell us they were copied during the twelfth-century on behalf of deities from scriptoriums at Bonshakuji 梵釈寺, Fushimi 伏見 and Kamo 賀茂 shrines, Mt. Hiei 比叡山, and temples in the old, southern capital, Nara. By focusing on seventeen specific scriptures with lengthy colophons that tell us who vowed these scriptures and for what ritual occasions between 1115.6.2 and 1117.7.15, and again once in 1558, this paper will explore both how we might be able to significantly expand our understanding of Shintō-Buddhist religion in medieval Japan and some of the ritual uses Buddhist scriptures were actually good for in practice. In the first part of the paper I address where we might place the Matsuo shrine scriptures within the context of other manuscript Buddhist canons in Japan and on the East Asian continent. Then, I address the comparative abundance of colophons to many

of the Matsuo scriptures, which tell us where these texts were copied from. The majority come from Tendai scriptoriums. Because Tendai patronage of indigenous Japanese deities—*kami*—and shrines where they are venerated remains a topic not particularly well documented in any western language, I address how the Matsuo scriptures ought to lead to several reassessments of premodern religious networks in Japan still referred to as "Shintō" by many scholars in Japan and beyond.

Lin, Pei-ying (Fu Jen Catholic University)
**The Tendai Undertaking of Travelogues to Ninth-Century China**

Through an investigation of travel records brought back to Japan by several Tendai monastic pilgrims to ninth-century China, this study explores the genre known as official documents (*gong wenshu* 公文書) of the Tang dynasty, and especially the fate and function of these Tang documents in Japan. Focusing on records of travels to China by Saichō 最澄 (767–822), Ennin 圓仁 (794-864), and Enchin 圓珍 (814-891), this paper discusses the use of the official documents in a Japanese Tendai context. I analyze their catalogues, poetry (at banquets), and passports as proof of legitimate pilgrimages in search of the Dharma, and shed light on how Tendai manuscripts were used during the ninth century in China and Japan.

Lowe, Bryan (Vanderbilt University)
**A Sermon on Verso, A Preacher in the Provinces: Re-centering the Study of Heian Buddhism**

Preachers in the provinces have played a peripheral role in most studies of ninth-century Japanese Buddhism. This is because scholars tend to tell sectarian stories. In the typical narrative, Kūkai and Saichō introduced new teachings and practices to the court and founded sects that would drastically alter the course of religious history in Japan. As such, scholars, particularly those in the Anglophone world, know little about the Buddhism of an entire century beyond the activities of two rather exceptional individuals. The goal of this paper is to use manuscripts to spin a different tale, one that treats marginalized provincial preachers as central protagonists. Such a project requires new sources and, in line with the goals of this panel, my paper will focus on a hitherto largely ignored manuscript to recover "Buddhism from the margins." The text, which modern scholars have titled "Draft of Tōdai-ji Homilies (*Tōdaiji fujumon kō* 東大寺諷誦文稿)," records the notes of an unnamed cleric who traveled from the capital to the provinces to perform sermons and conduct rituals. The original manuscript, which was written on the back of another text—a scholarly commentary on Buddhist scripture—was destroyed in the firebombing of Tokyo in 1945, but collotype editions are still available. These notes preserve the teachings and rituals that a provincial preacher participated in, as well as his annotations, glosses, and on-the-fly editing. Manuscripts such as these offer a unique window into the day-to- day acts of little-known priests who spread Buddhism across the Japanese archipelago via liturgical and homiletic activities but have been marginalized in traditional accounts of Japanese Buddhism.

My paper will first explore the broader context of provincial preaching in early Japan through evidence internal to the "Draft of Tōdai-ji Homilies" and from data gleaned from archaeological excavations, doctrinal treatises, narratives, legal codes, and official histories. It will show how preachers from the capital conducted rituals and delivered sermons at provincial temples and sometimes even in the homes of lay patrons. Textual clues reveal that audiences sometimes included villagers of few financial means. The second part of the paper will focus on the teachings delivered in sermons, as recorded in "Draft of Tōdaiji Homilies." It will assess how the preacher appealed to the impoverished members of his audience through discussions of the hardships of poverty and tax burdens and by advocating simple practices including meditation and charity. The paper will conclude with reflections on how manuscripts can highlight the people and places marginalized in published editions, sources often laden with canonical and sectarian agendas. It will argue that we sometimes need to turn to the verso of a manuscript and to activity in the provinces to re-center scholarly narratives on Buddhism in ancient Japan.

McBride II, Richard D. (Brigham Young University)
**How Did Buddhists Venerate the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* in Late Premodern Korea? Insights from Two Manuscript Rituals Texts**

This paper examines two manuscript ritual manuals titled *Hwaŏm yemun* 華嚴禮文 from the late Chosŏn period preserved in the Old Book Collection of the Dongguk University Library. The first is dated to 1767 with the name Pak Chinhae 朴震海 on the cover, and the second was assembled by an unknown hand in 1891. The differences between the texts suggest the evolution and amplification of Hwaŏm-oriented liturgy in the late premodern Korea. By examining the ritual procedures delineated in these two documents, we gain a clearer picture of how the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* was worshipped in Korean Buddhism as the capstone or culmination of the monastic curriculum for Sŏn monks—and also venerated by Confucian literati. In addition, these texts further our understanding of how ritual functioned as a means of articulating doctrinal and devotional classifications, as a procedure for reinforcing mainstream Mahāyāna doctrines and aspirations, and as a malleable framework for making of vows and invocations, performing penance, and chanting efficacious spells.

Zhai, Minhao (Princeton University)
**Faces of Power: A Reexamination of the *Foshuo qiqianfo shenfu jing* 佛說七千佛神符經**

This article focuses on a batch of manuscripts of *Foshuo qiqianfo shenfu jing* mainly found in Dunhuang. Previous scholars usually take the perspective of Buddho-Daoism and take them as a proof of interaction among Buddhism, Daoism, and popular religion. Instead, I take a codicological perspective in this article. I argued that the same text can display different faces by existing as different forms (exists on its own, coexists with other texts, partly exists), especially in an era of manuscripts. No matter what the initiate purpose the original author had, when a text gains popularity, it will soon transform into different versions of that same text. Different excerpts and combinations reveal how different copyists and editors adapt the text to fulfill their own concerns at present. Thus, the copying process is not a verbatim process, but with revision, edit, and even reinvention.

Robson, James (Harvard University)
**Discussant**

# Buddhism in the Sātavāhana Age

Ollett, Andrew (Harvard University)

**Panel Abstract**

The first two centuries of the Common Era might be described as a Golden Age of Indian Buddhism, if ever there was one. This was the time of the construction, or reconstruction, of massive *stūpa*s throughout the subcontinent, and literally hundreds of rock-cut caves for Buddhist monks to live and worship in. It was the time in which the *Mahāyāna* movement began and when the familiar "schools" of Buddhism were just starting to emerge from the linguistic, regional, doctrinal and disciplinary divisions in the ever-growing *saṃgha*. With Nāgārjuna, Buddhist philosophy took some of its most decisive steps in this period, and so did Buddhist literature. And throughout this period, Buddhism enjoyed a very close relationship with royal power: rather than flourishing *despite* Sātavāhana rule, it now appears that the Sātavāhanas patronized Buddhism in a number of ways. This panel will bring together specialists of a variety of aspects of the first and second century Deccan—inscriptions, literature, history, philosophy, art, and architecture—in order to better understand how Buddhism was practiced, what its cultural horizons were, how it interacted with the social and economic spheres, and in particular, what relationship it had to political power and the historical significance of that relationship.

Collett, Alice (Nalanda University)
**Women under Sātavāhana Rule**

When assessing the position of women under Sātavāhana rule, there are various possible avenues of investigation to explore – the Sātavāhana matriline, for instance, inscriptions of Sātavāhana queens, or the portrayals of, as compared to poems by, women in Hāla's *Sattasaī*. In this paper, I will focus upon one aspect of one part of the available evidence – assessing women's relative freedom of movement during Sātavāhana times. I will do this by examining distances travelled by women (as compared men) to make donations/inscriptions/have inscriptions engraved, at Buddhist sites. Thus, the investigation will be of women who were active at Buddhist sites, some of whom we can call 'Buddhist women', but in relation to others I want to question-mark this designation. I will assess women's freedom of movement in this regard both at sites that were under Sātavāhana rule and at sites in other regions such as, for instance, Amarāvatī, Kanaganahalli, the western cave complexes, Sāncī, Bhārhut and Mathurā. I will locate the inscriptions historically/ chronologically, as much as is possible and thus attempt - again, as much as is possible - an analysis of relevant data that stretches back to the Mauryans and forward to the Guptas.

Ollett, Andrew (Harvard University)
**Sātakarṇi and Nāgārjuna: Buddhism as a Public Religion under the Sātavāhanas**

For a brief moment under the Mauryas, Buddhism was something like a "state religion"—a religion which the state commits its own resources to actively promote, more or less exclusively. Under the Sātavāhanas and their successors, it had a very different role. It was a "public religion," meaning that its monuments and its communities were publicly visible and situated at nodes of trade and pilgrimage, and as such rulers used it to disseminate an ideology of power. All the while, the Sātavāhanas continued to represent themselves as staunch adherents of Brahmanism and defenders of the Brahmanical social order. The instrumental use of Buddhism as a "public religion" had feedback effects on the rulers and on Buddhism itself. The rulers developed patronage into a key political strategy, and they developed a secular "poetics of power" that appealed to broadly-accepted ideals, presented in an aesthetically compelling way. Under this arrangement, royal power cultivated close ties with religious communities, but was not beholden to communitarian visions of politics. The arrangement that the Sātavāhanas worked out with Buddhist communities would prove to outlast both parties. Buddhist communities, for their part, cultivated their publicity, since it proved to be such an asset in their relations with political power. They actively pursued the support of public figures, from local notables to emperors, and gave greater importance to lay worshippers, and specifically, the powerful elites who supported Buddhism in an occasional and non-exclusive way. These trends were not unique to the Deccan, but the Deccan provides some of the most important evidence for them. The most concrete example of them, even if it takes some imagination to put together from the available evidence, is the relationship between the Sātavāhana king Gautamīputra Śrīyajna Sātakaṛni and the Buddhist philosopher Nāgārjuna.

Efurd, David (Wofford College)
**The Satavahana-Ksaharata War and Early Buddhist Patronage**

Buddhist rock-cut architecture in the western Deccan provides material, artistic, and epigraphical evidence of monastic communities and donors during the historical period typically referred to as the Satavahana era. This paper seeks to define more precisely the political, economic, and social conditions surrounding the development of Buddhist cave sites in the first century CE, including the relationship of the conflict between the Satavahana and Ksaharata empires to the flourishing patronage and extant rock-cut remains at these sites. Most notably, the agency of the Satavahanas as patrons and maintainers of societal order for the development of Buddhist sites will be questioned, as well as their relationship to the appearance of a so-called "hiatus" in rock-cut architecture followed by rapid building/excavation during this era. Epigraphs from caves at Karli, Nasik, and sites at Manmodi and Sivneri in the vicinity of Junnar record donations from foreign ethnic groups, specifically *sakas* and *yavanas*, alongside novel iconographies and innovations in artistic style. These remains correlate with inscriptions by the Ksaharata family and the minister of Nahapana, the *mahaksatrapa*, found at Nasik and Manmodi, respectively. Shifts in patronage between the early Satavahana era, the period in which the Ksaharatas exert their presence in the region, and the succeeding Satavahana restoration demonstrate competing allegiances among donors at Buddhist cave sites as international mercantile networks emerge and the flow of trade through coastal ports negotiate contested geography. Rather than an oversimplification of the Satavahanas as providing societal and economic stability for Buddhist sites to flourish, a much more complex accounting for

Buddhist sites emerges, demonstrating distinct patterns of patronage and competition for control of lucrative trade routes leading to a Satavahana victory.

Shimada, Akira (SUNY New Paltz)
**Royal and Non-Royal Buddhist Patronage in the Early Deccan**

In studies of early Indian art, Buddhist painting, sculpture and architecture in the Deccan dated to between the 1st century BCE and the 3rd century CE are often referred to as "Sātavāhana" art and architecture. As indicated in this term, the Sātavāhana dynasty which controlled a large part of the Deccan around the same period has been assumed to be responsible in some way for the flowering of Buddhist art and architecture of the region. Despite this common assumption, however, it remains largely unclear how this imperial dynasty, and royal authority in general, contributed to Buddhist architectural and artistic programs As is well known, inscriptions of this period attest to a model of "collective patronage" that allowed a wide range of urban citizens to contribute to monastic projects, particularly the construction work. While these records include abundant donations by merchants, householders, artisans and monastic figures, donations by political authorities, particularly kings themselves, are limited. Although the recently-found Kanaganahalli inscriptions and sculpture do suggest that the Sātavāhanas actively supported stupa worship, they tell us little about how royal and non-royal patronage interacted over the long history of this site. How, precisely, did various levels of royal authority—namely the imperial Sātavāhanas and their feudatories—interact with non-royal donors in financing, and possibly directing, Buddhist construction activity in the Deccan? Were there any differences between the royal patronage and non-royal patronage in terms of the quantity and quality of support to the monasteries? If so, how did the distinctive character of royal patronage manifest in the Buddhist art and architecture to which they contributed? I address these questions mainly by examining early rock-cut caves (Junnar, Karla, Nasik, Mahad, Karad) in the west Deccan, where Sātavāhanas, Kṣaharātas, local political authorities—mahārathis and mahābhojas—and their subjects donated monastic buildings and other gifts to the sangha, together with non-royal donors.

Visvanathan, Meera (Shiv Nadar University)
**The Idea of the 'Perpetual Gift': The *akṣaya-nīvi* in the inscriptions of the Early Historic Deccan**

The Sanskrit term '*akṣaya*' is understood to mean 'undecaying' or 'exempt from decay'. It is also, in that sense, 'permanent'. In the Brāhmī inscriptions of early historic India, an *akṣaya-nīvī* was a 'permanent endowment', given on the condition that the principal of the endowment would be maintained in perpetuity and the donee could only make use of the income accruing from its interest. In the Buddhist context, rather than a gift of requisites for immediate needs, it represented a long-term investment of capital for the benefit of the *saṃgha*. It not only provided material resources to the *saṃgha* in perpetuity, but also served as a permanent source of merit for the donor. In contrast, the gifts of specific items (food, robes, bedding or medicine), would have had more limited lives.

In recent times, a number of scholarly contributions have sought to nuance our understanding of this term. Of particular importance is the work of Gregory Schopen, who has edited and translated a literary account of the origins of the *akṣaya-nīvī*, found in a passage from the *Vinayavibhaṅga* of the *Mūlasarvāstivāda vinaya*.[1] In addition to this, there are useful discussions of the practice in the work of Harry Falk[2] and Akira Shimada.[3] This paper will seek to review this scholarship, even as it seeks to contextualize the term in the Brāhmī inscriptions of the early historic Deccan.

The first inscriptional reference to an *akṣaya-nīvī* occurs in the second Nasik inscription of Uṣavadāta, which records the endowments he has placed with two different guilds. Subsequently, it occurs with considerable frequency in the donative records at Buddhist cave sites (although it is not limited only to them). What do these transactions tell us about the socio-economic context of early historic India? How do they help us better understand the networks of patronage that linked *saṃgha* and society? With regard to the transaction, what is it that was put down in writing and what was not? Such an analysis is necessary because although the broad outlines of this practice are well-known, many of its specific details have not been fully worked out. Through an analysis of the inscriptional record, I hope to locate the *akṣaya-nīvī* in its religious, economic and social contexts as well as understand the changing meanings of this term.

---

Zin, Monika (University of Leipzig)
**Kanaganahalli in the Satavahana Art and Buddhism**

The massive, magnificent, and mostly very well preserved slabs of the *stupa* at Kanaganahalli are already exceptional in terms of their uniformity and in terms of the reconstructible sequence of the reliefs, which allows us to perceive a sophisticated iconographic programme. A selection of the narrative representations of Kanaganahalli have direct counterparts in other examples of art from the same period the choice of topics, their positions in the pictorial programme, and the methods in which they were depicted. There are, however, also many singular features, such as representations of contemporary kings, or the lack of the established iconography of the Brahmins, which has been widely applied in Bharhut, Sanchi, and Amaravati. This pattern of shared and unique features is to be expected, given that Kanaganahalli seems to stand at the crossroads of several distinct traditions of Buddhist art (*vel sim.*)

These reliefs offer insights into Buddhism as it was practiced in southern India, enhancing the view already available from the abundant Buddhist art of Andhra. The literary basis of the life-story of the Buddha which is represented here, as is true for all of Andhra, is not known, but some episodes, like the presentation of the new-born Bodhisatva to the *yaksa* Sakyavardhana,

---

[1] Gregory Schopen, 2010 [1994], 'Doing Business for the Lord: Lending on Interest and Written Loan Contracts in the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya*', in *Indian Monastic Buddhism: Collected Papers on Textual, Inscriptional and Archaeological Evidence, Vol.II: Buddhist Monks and Business Matters,* Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, pp.45-90.
[2] Harry Falk, 2008, "Money can buy me heaven. Religious donations in late and post-Kushan India," *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran und Turan* (40), p.145.
[3] Akira Shimada, 2013, *Early Buddhist Architecture in Context: The Great Stūpā at Amarāvatī (ca. 300 BCE-300 CE)*, Leiden: Brill, pp.156-157.

are totally unfamiliar to Pali literature and appear only in the *vinaya* of the Mulasarvastivadins. A characteristic feature is the depiction of the four daughters of Mara, which has its only counterpart in an early version of the *Lalitavistara* that is preserved today only in Chinese.

In comparison with the Buddhist art of Andhra, the reliefs at Kanaganahalli use a rather limited repertoire of forms, and seem to rely on descriptive labels to make the scenes clearly legible. At the same time, however, the sculptors developed a sophisticated visual language composed of hand gestures, seating positions and furniture, headdresses, and so on. These features allow us to situate Kanaganahalli in an intersecting history of south Indian sculpture and the visual language of Buddhist art.

# Buddhist Conceptions of History

Thompson, Luke Noel (Columbia University)

**Panel Abstract**

This panel explores the ways in which Buddhists have understood Buddhist history and their own position therein. There are four particular themes that it highlights. The first is the way in which the Buddhist past have been linked to political regimes to legitimize the latter. Balkwill looks at the way in which the sixth-century scholar Wei Shou portrayed the non-Chinese rulers of the Northern Wei dynasty as instrumental in bringing Buddhism to China. By positioning these rulers as transmitters of Buddhism, Wei was able to depict them as bearers of high culture, a depiction that was central to their attempt to legitimize their governance of China.

Turning to Tibet, MacCormack draws our attention to the relationship between political thought and historical thinking by focusing on the case of the fifth Dalai Lama and his government. He argues that the fifth Dalai Lama linked his own rule to the preservation and flouring of Buddhism, an association that he expressed through both word and image. This paper speaks specifically to the question of how certain forms of historical thinking enable particular forms of political thought and action, and vice versa.

The second discernable theme is the way in which certain East Asian Buddhists linked themselves to the Buddhist (and often specifically Indian) past in order to demonstrate that their specific traditions were part of Buddhist history more broadly. Stortini's paper examines the way in which Japanese Buddhist historiographers of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries sought to position Japanese Buddhist traditions within a larger Buddhist history. Focusing on the monk Nanjō Bunyū, Stortini argues that central to this project was the linking of Japanese Buddhism to Indian sources, and he raises a question central to the meeting of Buddhist and modern historiography: does a scientific or modern view of history entail a denial of a Buddhist one?

Also looking at Japan, Thompson examines historical thinking as found in myths associated with the rebuilding of a set of temples after their destruction in 1180. Noting that in Buddhism one finds both a model of historical progress and a model that emphasizes decline, Thompson argues that in the Japanese case on which he focuses we find a model of progression and

optimism about the future, but that this model and attitude depended upon the creation of new myths that rendered the newly-repaired temples and their environs sacred by linking them to the Buddhist past.

A third theme is the way in which certain historical models inform Buddhist sotieriology. Focusing on thirteenth-century Japan, Stone shows that the Japanese monk Nichiren understood the Final Age of the Dharma to be one during which the *Lotus Sūtra* was the only teaching by which humans could achieve buddhahood. His linking of the final age to the *Lotus Sūtra* led him to view himself and his followers as the only ones who truly understood history and its implications for Buddhist soteriology.

Finally, there is the theme of prophecy and omens, and specifically the interest in such signs of the future that many East Asian Buddhist historiographers exhibited. Kieschnick draws our attention to this topic, looking specifically at Chinese Buddhist historians' recording of prophecies about events that had already occurred. These past predictions did not serve any obvious purpose, as they did not usually aid a particular character within the historiographical work, which leads to Kieschnick's guiding question: why where Chinese Buddhist historiographers interested in these prophecies?

---

Kieschnick, John (Stanford University)
**Dreams, Omens and Prophecy in Chinese Buddhist Historiography**

Whether Buddhist or not, historians are primarily concerned with the past, even in cases in which their ultimate goal is to use the past to understand or affect the present. Scholars of historiography naturally focus their attention on how historians construct the past, and even how they employ the "plupast" (the distant past as recounted by historical figures in the past). Buddhist notions of rebirth and karma render the plupast especially important since the historian can draw on the historical record to demonstrate the workings of karma, and can, conversely, employ karma to vault from one event to a much earlier event to explain historical causation.

But rather than focus on the past, in this paper I turn instead to the ways in which Buddhist historians in China played with the future, and in particular, foreknowledge or signs that could be read as indicators of the future. In fact, in Chinese Buddhist writings, prolepsis ("foreshadowing") is much more common that analepsis ("flashbacks"). In an attempt to outline the dynamics involved in referencing the future in Buddhist historical writings in China, I examine omens, dreams and prophecy. For the most part, the focus in Chinese Buddhist historiography is on predictions that have already run their course. In other words, whether in omens, dreams or prophecy, historians recount intimations of events that took place later, but before the historian's time. This is not to say that Buddhist historians were unconcerned with predicting the future beyond the present—all of them believed, for instance, in the inexorable decline of the Dharma stretching far into the future—but in their historical writings, they for the most part only discussed the decline of the Dharma as it was useful in explaining the past. In other words, the search for clues in the past to subsequent events—overlapping at times with causation—was the bread and butter (rice and turnip?) of the Chinese historian.

Buddhist historians in China were fascinated by ancient prophecies, fortune-tellers, prophetic dreams, and omens. Rare is the case (if any exist) in which a Buddhist historian records a prediction of the future that turned out to be wrong; as soon as the reader encounters an omen or a prophetic dream, its fulfillment is inevitably just a few lines away. But curiously, in the stories themselves, foreknowledge of the future seldom helps the subjects of the story. That being the case, what was the point? In short, why were signs of the future—whether omens, dreams or prophecies— *already realized in the past* of special interest to historians and their readers?

---

Stortini, Paride (University of Chicago)
**Promulgating the Law through History: What is Modern in Nanjō Bunyū's *A Short History of the Twelve Japanese Buddhist Sects*?**

Recent scholarship has shed light on the complex relation between the birth of Buddhist studies in Japan and issues of modernization, Orientalism and nationalist reactions to Western imperialism. Some of this research has focused on Japanese Buddhist historiography, the modern version of which appeared during the Meiji period (1868-1912) and placed Japanese Buddhism within a global trajectory of historical development. Nanjō Bunyū (1849-1927), a scholar-priest of the Higashi Honganji sect of Pure Land Buddhism, was among the pioneers of modern Buddhist studies in Japan, where he is considered the father of Indology and Sanskrit Studies.

Today he is mostly remembered for his philological work, developed after studying under the Oxford professor Friedrich Max Müller. While Nanjō's contribution as a philologist to the birth of modern Buddhist studies has been recognized, his work as a historian of Japanese Buddhism has received less attention. In this paper I focus on Nanjō Bunyū's ideas about the history of Buddhism, stressing his reception and reconception of European scholarship on Buddhism, but also on his redeployment of Japanese pre-Meiji Buddhist views of history. The paper will focus on the innovations found in Nanjō's narrative of Buddhist history. It will question the significance of Nanjō's presentation of his work modern, academic historiography and of the Buddhist views expressed therein, thereby presenting a question that brings this paper into conversations with the others on the panel: does a scientific or modern view of history entail a denial of a Buddhist one?

Nanjo's knowledge of European scholarship on religion and Buddhism influenced his views of the history of Buddhism in Japan, as can be seen in his historiographical work *A Short History of the Twelve Japanese Buddhist Sects* (1886). Of particular importance was the new role that Indian Buddhism played through the mediation of Western scholarship and through contemporanoues study of Sanskrit and Pāli sources. I will argue that, in line with the earliest developments of modern Buddhist historiography in Japan, Nanjō's work sought to include history of Japanese Buddhism within a trajectory of global civilization, and that the link between Japanese Buddhism and Buddhism's Indian origins was essential to achieving this purpose.

*Short History* constitutes the fruit of an inter-sectarian collaboration, woven together in Nanjō's English translation, which places Japanese Buddhist sects within the larger framework of Asian Buddhist history, stressing the link between Indian sources, Chinese mediation, and Japanese developments. The use of Western chronology and the addition of an index that links Sino-

Japanese Buddhist terms to their Sanskrit counterparts represent further elements of the global dimension of Nanjō's narrative of Japanese Buddhism. This history also responds to European views of East Asian Buddhism as a degenerate form of the original Indian tradition.

Balkwill, Stephanie (University of Southern California)
**Who Owns the Buddhist Past?: The Northern Wei as Bearers of High Buddhist Culture in Medieval China**

Having been tasked with the responsibility of authoring the dynastic history of the Northern Wei 北魏 (368-534 CE), Wei Shou 魏收 found himself in a difficult predicament: how to represent the non-Chinese rulers of the dynasty from the perspective of his current employers, the Northern Qi 北齊 (550-577 CE), who considered themselves the rightful successors to their non-Chinese but fully Sinified predecessors? His solution was masterful. Depicting the Tuoba 拓跋 people of the Northern Wei as heroic nomads who took on high Chinese culture and who thus became a hybrid people and government, Wei Shou also posits that it was these bi-cultural rulers who were the transmitters of Buddhism to China. The narrative of this Buddhist past of the Tuoba people is written in the final chapter of the *Book of the Wei*, a unique treatise on religion entitled, "The Annals of Buddhism and Daosim" (釋老志). That text tells us that although the teachings of the Chinese sages had already been written down, the teachings of the Buddha had not yet been clarified. He then undertakes this task with special attention to the role that the "barbarian" North played in the bringing of the "barbarian" religion to China. My paper will explore the historiographical intent of the text, arguing that ownership of the Buddhist past allowed the Tuoba to position themselves as bearers of high culture—an important strategy in their bid for power.

Stone, Jacqueline (Princeton University)
**Time, History, and the *Lotus Sūtra* in Nichiren's Thought**

The Japanese Buddhist teacher Nichiren (1222-1282), known for his message of exclusive devotion to the *Lotus Sūtra*, grounded his polemics against rival schools in a unique view of Buddhist history. Nichiren drew on standard Buddhist historical tropes of his day—such as the Dharma's eastward transmission through the three countries of India, China, and Japan, and the advent of the Final Dharma age (*mappō*) as marking the nadir in a presumed decline in human religious capacity—and assimilated them to the *Lotus*-centered doctrines of the Tendai school in which he had trained. Central to his argument was the Tendai division of the Buddhist teachings into the "provisional," which are incomplete, and the "true" or perfect, that is, the *Lotus Sūtra*, which alone instantiates the "seed" or initial cause for realizing Buddhahood. Nichiren claimed that people who lived during the roughly 2,000 years after the Buddha, when the Dharma had spread in India and China, had been able to achieve liberation through provisional teachings because they had already "received the Buddha seed" by hearing the *Lotus Sūtra* from Śākyamuni Buddha in prior lifetimes. But people living now in Japan in the Final Dharma age did not have this prior connection and thus could not realize buddhahood through provisional teachings, any more than one could reap a harvest from a field that had never been sown. At this time, Nichiren asserted, the *Lotus Sūtra* must be taught exclusively to plant the seed of Buddhahood in the minds of the majority, who had never before received it.

In Nichiren's narrative, the Japanese Tendai founder Saichō (767-822) had already established the *Lotus* in Japan as the teaching appropriate for all persons of the *mappō* era. But not long after, Buddhist teachers had begun perversely to neglect the *Lotus* in favor of the esoteric teachings, Pure Land, Zen, and other provisional teachings, whose soteriological efficacy had already expired. In promoting such teachings, Nichiren argued, they blocked the sole path of liberation viable in this age; the problem of *mappō*, in his eyes, was not moral decline but rejection of the *Lotus Sūtra*. To this fundamental error he attributed the violent events of the recent past, notably the Genpei and Jōkyū wars that had initiated the shift from courtier to warrior rule; similarly, he understood the Mongol attacks as Japan's collective karmic retribution for abandoning the *Lotus*. This conviction underlay the aggressive proselytizing for which Nichiren is well known. Once reestablished as the sole teaching for the present era, he maintained, the dharma of the *Lotus Sūtra* would spread west, back to China, India, and beyond, reversing the trajectory of Buddhism's earlier, eastward dissemination and establishing Japan as the center of the Buddhist world. As the leader of a marginal movement, Nichiren articulated his historical thinking against the religious and political center. His understanding of history both legitimized his *Lotus* exclusivism and in effect placed his followers in the vanguard of history, as those who alone discern its operative principles and can accordingly shoulder the task of saving humanity.

---

MacCormack, Ian James (Harvard University)
**Buddhist Rule and Historical Thinking in Seventeenth-Century Tibet**

After assuming power over central Tibet in 1642, the fifth Dalai Lama undertook a number of actions tied to the onset of a new reign. Among these were the authoring of an official history of Tibet and the construction of a palace in Lhasa. His history, styled as a song heralding the arrival of a new spring, is exemplary both for its poetic renderings of the past and its emphasis on prophecy for understanding political change. In the main assembly hall of the palace, he commissioned a set of narrative murals depicting major events of that history, to show what he called the "linked progression of causes" between Tibet's genesis and his own ascension. In both words and images, the advent of this authority was not merely a moment in history but a re-visioning of how past and future were understood and expressed.

It is sometimes claimed that the fifth Dalai Lama and his government took an instrumental approach to history, appropriating it as a passive object in service of what has been called his "dual temporal and spiritual legitimacy." Still deserving attention is the question of how authority and historical thinking shape one another. My paper takes up this question, focusing on the case of the fifth Dalai Lama and his government.

The fifth Dalai Lama (and his protégé and successor, the Desi Sangyé Gyatso) situated rule in terms of the preservation and flourishing of the Buddhist dispensation, encapsulated in the idea of ushering in a new "Perfected Age." As a political concept and an example of what Reinhart Koselleck calls a "vision of the future," the idea suggested a new orientation in time: a reset of the cosmic clock, an acceleration towards a once-distant horizon, with messianic and millenarian connotations.

Knowledge of how kingship is constituted was closely entwined with historical thinking, as in the temporality accompanying the cakravartin ideal, the periodization of the dispensation's decline, or the calculation of recurrent astronomical conjunctions. Building on Buddhist Studies scholarship by Jan Nattier and Jonathan Walters, I look at the fifth Dalai Lama's historiography and the palace murals as a local instance for thinking about the broader phenomenon of Buddhist history. I consider the possibilities opened up by thinking about Buddhist history as enabling particular forms of political thought and action, even as it was itself the outcome of the active process of creating, understanding, and expressing rule.

---

Thompson, Luke Noel (Columbia University)
**Japanese Buddhist Optimism about the Future, as seen in the Rebuilding of Nara and the Fabrication of New Myths**

In 1180 Buddhist temples in the Japanese city of Nara were burnt to the ground in retaliation for their partisan support of one faction within the then-raging civil war. Rebuilding began the following year, and attracted the support of retired emperors, aristocrats, charismatic monks, and military rulers. While this rebuilding entailed the reconstruction of physical structures, the re-imagining of the recently devastated Buddhist world of Nara was equally central to this project. Buddhist clerics achieved this re-imagining by transforming pre-existing myths and creating new ones. The final product was a new, optimistic vision of Japanese Buddhist history and an affirmation that Buddhism could continue and even thrive in Nara.

This paper focuses on this new vision of Buddhist history as it appears in the *Kenkyū gojunrei ki*, an account of a 1191 imperial pilgrimage to Nara written by the Kōfukuji monk Jitsuei. One might imagine that the destruction of Nara, along with the then current belief that Japan had entered Buddhism's final, degenerate period, would lead to pessimism about the future and Buddhism's prospects in Japan. However, I show that the *Kenkyū gojunrei ki* and related works exhibit instead a deeply optimistic view of the future. I suggest that this optimism can be explained in part by considering two factors or developments.

The first is the tension found in Buddhism between pessimistic and optimistic historical models. All Buddhist traditions share a theory of decline, whereby after the death of Śākyamuni conditions are thought to degenerate over time. However, the Mahāyāna belief in something akin to progressive revelation suggests that access to the higher Buddhist teachings increases with time. The fact that the Mahāyāna scriptures were only revealed well after the Buddha's *parinirvāṇa* reflects this understanding of history. While both models existed in medieval Japan, the texts that I examine were inclined to emphasize the optimistic model, even if they rarely ever dismissed the theory of degeneration.

The second factor I consider is the development in Japan of medieval mythology (chūsei shinwa), a genre that borrowed elements from older Japanese, Chinese, and Indian myths in order to create new stories about the origins of temples, of mountains, and even of Japan. Through this fabrication of myth new institutions were linked to ancient, authoritative figures, and local deities were identified as buddhas and bodhisattvas. This development provided the

logic of association that enabled Japanese Buddhists to imagine a future that was populated by protective deities and benevolent buddhas, and to link themselves to a pristine past that existed prior to Buddhism's initial decline.

# Buddhist Cosmology and Astral Science

Mak, Bill (Kyoto University)

**Panel Abstract**

Cosmological concepts, from the structure and evolution of the world to the notion of space and time, form an important backdrop to many Buddhist texts. However, within the pan-Indian cultural and religious milieu, similar but often subtly varied cosmological concepts are embedded within a vast body of literature belonging to the Brahmanical, Jaina, or other heterodox traditions. Even amongst the Buddhist sources, there is an array of differing cosmological concepts from Abhidharma to the Tantric tradition. In some cases, cosmological notions may bear features of a particular cultural group or substratum. In other cases, hybridized notions may result from the contact among different traditions and cultures. How do all these converging and diverging concepts relate to each other? To what degree, if any, have they influenced each other? In this panel, specialists from different regions, traditions and periods, examine and compare cosmological concepts in Buddhist literature with similar, and sometimes competing ideas from other contemporaneous traditions. By adopting a multifaceted, interdisciplinary approach, we hope to turn a new chapter in understanding the rich sources of Buddhist cosmological thinking and the multivocality within the Buddhist tradition which continues to impact our world and societies.

Huntington, Eric (Princeton University)
**Cosmology as a Framework for Expression in Text and Image**

Although texts are often cited as "authoritative sources" for cosmological models, they are actually individual instances of cosmological thought expressed for particular purposes. In this paper, I problematize the scholarly use of such sources to represent broader traditions on two fronts. First, I analyze certain key cosmological texts from Buddhism and Hinduism to show that each is adapted to the specific purposes of its context and authorship, resulting in notable modifications to the cosmic model for particular goals, along with restrictions in broader applicability. Second, I argue that "non-authoritative" expressions of cosmological thinking can provide a much broader view of the many ways that cosmological models actually function within religious thought. The end result is an alternative to viewing a particular cosmological model as a shared backdrop for varied aspects of a religious tradition, rather seeing it as an open framework around which central features of a religion can be constructed and expressed.

The loci classici for Buddhist cosmology are generally systematic textual accounts, such as Vasubandhu's scholastic *Abhidharmakośa* or the all-encompassing tantric system of the Kālacakra corpus. In other traditions, descriptions of the cosmos may form only small parts of divergent projects, such as Buddhaghosa's *Visuddhimagga* or, in Hindu literature, certain *purāṇas*. These "sources" do not straightforwardly express the cosmological models of their

traditions, but rather employ cosmological thinking oriented towards particular agendas. Vasubandhu's articulation of the geographic cosmos expresses key arguments about causality and *karma* for his philosophical project, while Buddhaghosa describes a subtly different cosmos understood within the meditative practices leading to enlightenment. The radically different models of the Kālacakra system and the *purāṇas*, in turn, articulate cosmoses that are explicitly shaped towards particular ritual and social agendas, respectively. These textual portrayals, viewed in context, present remarkably varied ways of thinking about the role of cosmology in religion, as well as ways in which cosmic models can be suited to particular purposes. Further comparison of even the most detailed "source" texts with other textual and visual representations of the cosmos also reveals that these texts simply cannot be the only foundations for even the cosmological traditions that claim them as such.

Beyond these commonly cited sources are vastly numerous other expressions of the Buddhist cosmos in text, artwork, and material culture. Relationships between the Buddhist cosmos and the architecture of the stūpa, for example, are well studied. Perhaps less thoroughly considered are unsystematic or incomplete examples, such as the use of cosmic elements in literary metaphor, their appearances in narrative illustrations of the Buddha's life story and certain *avadānas*, and many other cases in text, art, and ritual. Like the "authoritative" sources, all of these expressions of the cosmos emphasize particular ways of thinking about the structure and parts of the Buddhist world towards particular effects. Viewing them collectively provides new ways of thinking about the role of cosmology in religion more broadly as well as the particular relationships between individual cosmic models.

Satinsky, Ruth (University of Lausanne)
**Untangling the historical relationship between the concepts of Mount Meru in early Buddhist, Jaina, and Brahmanical literature**

There is a long-standing bias amongst scholars that early Brahmanical cosmology forms the basis of Buddhist and Jaina cosmology, including the important concept of Mount Meru, which all three traditions share. For example, Willibald Kirfel (1920/1990:2), in his major study of Indian cosmology, *Die Kosmographie der Inder nach den Quellen dargestellt*, states: "*Die ältere Epoche der brāhmaṇischen Kosmographie ist aber nicht nur für die jüngere Voraussetzung und Grundlage, sondern auch für die Systeme der Buddhisten und Jaina, die erst in späterer Zeit entstanden und auf den gegebenen Vorstellungen weiterbauen mussten.*" More recently, Suzuko Ohira (1994: 22, §69), in her study of the *Viyāhapannatti* (= *Bhagavatīsūtra*, the fifth *aṅga* ("limb") of the Jaina Śvetāmbara canon) concurs with Kirfel's hypothesis and states: "[...] both Jainas and Buddhists built their own cosmographical features after the models of the Hindus;" and Akira Sadakata (1997/2009: 28), in his comprehensive study, *Buddhist Cosmology. Philosophy and Origins*, claims: "Buddhism no doubt adopted the name [Meru] from that source [the *Mahābhārata*]."

Contrary to Kirfel and others, this paper will argue that there is strong evidence to suggest that the concept of Mount Meru (here defined as "the golden mountain at the center of the universe around which the heavenly bodies revolve") may have entered early Brahmanical literature under the influence of the culture out of which Buddhism, Jainism, and Ājīvikism arose, the

culture that Johannes Bronkhorst (2007) calls "Greater Magadha." This hypothesis is based on three main observations:

1) The cosmological concept of Mount Meru is prominent in the earliest Buddhist and Jaina literature, but not in Brahmanical literature prior to the *Mahābhārata.*
2) Its late introduction into Brahmanical literature marks the shift from Vedic to epic and Purāṇic cosmology at a time when Brahmanical contacts with Buddhism, Jainism, and their region of origin, Greater Magadha, were possible and presumably established.
3) "The number eighty-four and its multiples," a special group of numbers associated with cosmological phenomena and entities of importance, is prominent in the earliest Buddhist and Jaina literature, and in Ājīvikism, but absent from Brahmanical literature prior to the *Mahābhārata.* The first occurrence in Brahmanical literature of a number from this group with cosmological purport is found in *Mahābhārata* (Mbh 6.7.10), which states that Mount Meru rises 84,000 *yojana*s above the earth.

Thus, the introduction of the concept of Mount Meru into Brahmanical literature in the *Mahābhārata* may be the result of a different and more complex historical reality than that which Kirfel and others perceive, that is to say, one that illustrates the syncretic nature of early Brahmanical literature and cosmology.

---

Hiyama-Karino, Satomi (Ryukoku University)
**Iconography of Sumeru in the Buddhist Art in Central Asia**

A strong interest in visualizing the Buddhist cosmology can be observed in the mural paintings that decorated the inner space of the Buddhist monasteries in the oasis kingdoms alongside the Northern Silk Road. Especially remarkable are the Indo-Iranian style mural paintings of the Kucha Kingdom (ca. 5-7th centuries), which contain particularly detailed representations of Sumeru. They can be found in 1) the scene concerning the story of King Mandhātar (in Kizil Cave 118), 2) the scenes about the destruction and recreation of the world at the end and beginning of a kalpa (in Kizil Cave 161 and 207), and 3) the scene illustrating Ajātaśatru's resurrection after hearing the announcement about the Buddha's mahāparinirvāṇa (in Kizil Cave 4, 219, 224 etc.). While the former two representations serve for displaying the geographical and chronological axis of the Buddhist's worldview by using the three-dimensional inner space of the caves, the image of a collapsing Sumeru is employed to indicate the Buddha's physical death in the last instance.

All of these depictions contain illustrations of the X-shaped Sumeru, which became a popular iconography in Chinese Buddhist art of the medieval period. Remarkably, earlier representations of this type of Sumeru have not been known so far; the representations in Kucha are the earliest material witnessing the presence of this type of iconography. Then how did this intriguing image of the X-shaped Sumeru originate?

This paper casts light on the following questions about early Sumeru images in Central Asia, which had been less studied in the field: 1) which kind of textual and visual tradition (both Buddhist and non-Buddhist sources) may have influenced for shaping these early Sumeru

images? 2) for which kind of function did this icon of "the world" serve in the narrative sphere of the Buddhist iconographic world in Central Asia?

To seek for answers, the early Sumeru representations, recorded in documentations of several Central Asian expeditions at the beginning of the 20th century, are analyzed both from the philological and art-historical points of view.

---

Mak, Bill M. (Kyoto University)
**The Buddhist transmission of *Grahamātṛkādhāraṇī* and other planetary astral texts**

Early Indian Buddhists adopted and followed a cosmology characterized by Sumeru as the world axis, and a set of astral beliefs based on lunar/nakṣatra astrology. By the middle of the first millennium C.E., a different form of astral science of ultimately Greco-Babylonian origin, characterized by Zodiac, horoscopy and planetary worship emerged and became the salient feature in a variety of Buddhist texts, from Āgama to Abhidharma, and from Mahāyāna sūtras to later Tantric works. While the old and new astral materials continued to interact with each other, they remained largely discernible in terms of both how the cosmos was envisioned, as well as the techniques and jargons employed. Among the new Indic Buddhist texts which carried a conspicuous planetary theme is the *Grahamātṛkādhāraṇī*, a short magical ritual text which enjoyed great popularity in the oasis kingdoms on the Silk Road throughout the latter half of the first millennium, and is still extant in Nepal down to the present day.

In this paper, I examine the transmission of this text by first comparing the content of its extant Sanskrit redaction and the Chinese translations (T1302, 1303) with the *grahaśānti* materials found in other Indian traditions, such as those in the *Śivadharmaśāstra, Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa*, *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* and *Navagrahapūja.* Secondly, I attempt to position this text within the Buddhist corpus in connection with other planetary works such as the *Xiuyao jing* (T1299) and the *Tejaprabhā* texts (T963, 964, 966). Lastly, I discuss the transmission of this text within the context of the eastward transmission of Greco-Babylonian astral science.

Okada, Masahiko (Tenri University)
**The emergence of Buddhist astronomy and Buddhist science in nineteenth century Japan**

The Jesuit priests who visited Japan in the sixteenth century attacked the flat world system of the Buddhists, and insisted upon the supremacy of the theory of spherical earth. However, they never tried to compare the celestial systems and astronomical knowledge in the Christian tradition with those in the Buddhist tradition, for they did not possess sufficient knowledge of astronomy to employ the principles of physics in order to ascertain the nature of the heavenly bodies yet. Their debate was a religious debate based on the conflict between teleological interpretations of the world in each tradition. This debate between the Jesuit priests and the Japanese Buddhists scholar-monks on cosmology gradually due to the closed-door policy of Tokugawa government.

However, after the eighth Shogun, Tokugawa Yoshimune, relaxed the closed-door policy in 1720, new Western knowledge started to be introduced and became popular in Japan. The new scientific knowledge included astronomy after the Galileo trial in 1633. Within this historical context, a Buddhist monk, Fumon Entsu (1754~1834), tried to establish his Buddhist astronomy based on the flat-world universe, in order to compete with the new scientific cosmology (but not with Christian cosmology). Even within the Western intellectual traditions, cosmology and astronomical knowledge were already separated from the Christian theological and teleological worldview, and mechanistic explanations of the universe were sought after in this period.
Under such new intellectual conditions, Japanese intellectuals in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries started to reconfigure their traditional worldview within their respective intellectual traditions. Entsu's reconfiguration of the Buddhist worldview and his new style of Buddhist astronomy became one of the front-runners and leading cosmological and astronomical theories of the time.

Since the period of Abhidharma, the astronomical knowledge in the Buddhist scriptures had never been combined with the Buddhist worldview directly, just as the teleological interpretation of the world had nothing to do with a mechanistic explanation of universe in the Christian tradition. The existence of Mount Sumeru was not an objective fact that should be verified by a scientific research and observation. Only after the Copernican revolution, a mechanistic explanation of universe started to challenge a teleological interpretation of the world.

Fumon Entsu and his followers developed a unique intellectual movement called *Bonreki undo* ("Indian astronomy movement") within this context. They published books to propagate their theories, organized public lectures using miniature mechanical models of the flat world system, ran local science classes, and circulated Buddhist calendars and medicine widely. In essence, they established a Buddhist science following the intellectual framework of nineteenth century Japan.

In this paper, I would like to introduce the history of this unique intellectual movement and consider the meaning of their activities in the history of Japanese religion and science.

Yano, Michio (Kyoto Sangyo University)
**Discussant**

## Buddhist Studies and the Scientific Study of Meditation
Braun, Erik (University of Virginia)
McMahan, David (Franklin & Marshall College)

**Panel Abstract**

This panel will assess modern scientific approaches to Buddhist and Buddhist-derived meditation from the interdisciplinary perspective of Buddhist Studies. Meditation, particularly "mindfulness" meditation, has garnered enormous attention in recent years as the object of scientific study, to the point of redefining its very conception in the popular imagination and the academy. In contrast to the traditional focus on meditation to achieve a better rebirth, if not awakening, contemporary practice often focuses on practical matters, such as health, relationships, and work life, with little consideration of the beliefs, values, or cosmologies that underpin practice from the Buddhist point of view. Supporting this shift has been meditation's move to some of the most powerful secular institutions in the world, including universities, hospitals, multinational corporations, and the US Military. The plethora of scientific studies conducted in recent years have, in fact, not only undergirded these transformations, but helped to create them. The panel participants will seek to understand these changes within their broader historical, cultural, and institutional contexts and show the complex interrelations between Buddhism and the scientific study of meditative practices. The goal is to foster incisive critiques that remain open to mutual enrichment between scientific and humanistic modes of understanding.

Braun, Erik (University of Virginia)
**Mindful but not Religious:  Meditation and Enchantment in the Work of Jon Kabat-Zinn**

In this presentation I explore how John Kabat-Zinn's vision of meditation, above all in his writings about his Mindfulness-Based Stress Reduction program, conveys a profound sense of enchantment—in other words, a deep sense of life's "fullness" or value. A goal here is to draw attention to how fundamental conceptual categories, such as the secular and the scientific, are reworked in popular practice to change culture. In Kabat-Zinn's mindfulness practice, meaning and worth are formulated as flowing naturally from mindful observation of everyday life, especially of painful experiences. The therapeutic goals and scientific framing of MBSR and mindfulness place practice explicitly outside any religious setting. Seen as experientially and empirically validated, the practice is taken to reveal a given reality available to all. This naturalizing approach, drawing on science, metaphysical religious roots in American culture, and Buddhist teachings, makes mindfulness occupy many registers at once: Buddhist yet ecumenically inclusive, secular yet spiritual, scientific but revealing a larger sense of meaning and purpose. This multi-modal character of mindfulness, always available through simple awareness, explains its popularity, which is helping to reshape—to "Buddhify"—American culture.

---

Davis, Jake (Brown University)
**The Value of Mindfulness**

Mindfulness-Based Interventions (MBIs) have been remarkably successful in reaching non-Buddhist populations in clinical, educational, and military settings. And a substantial body of recent research appears to indicate physiological and psychological benefits of these practices. Yet Sharf (2015) rejects the notion that the psychological benefits of MBIs are "born out by centuries of Buddhist experience" (Sharf 2015). As he rightly notes, meditation practitioners in more traditional Asian settings may not "aspire to our model of mental health in the first place". Moreover, he suggests, the notion of "bare awareness" is itself a departure from much of Buddhist tradition. Here, Sharf can draw support from a number of the articles in a recent issue of *Contemporary Buddhism* (January, 2011) contrasting evaluative aspects of *sati* in various Buddhist textual characterizations of "right mindfulness" with contemporary presentations of mindfulness MBIs as "non-judgmental present-centered attention".

In this talk, I aim to explore what is at stake in such debates, which kinds of questions they turn on most fundamentally.

The controversy over the possibility of a 'mindful sniper' serves to highlight an ethical aspect of definitions of 'right-mindfulness' (see e.g. Ricard 2009). In the Buddhist context, to say that the mindfulness of a sniper does not amount to right mindfulness is to say that human beings ought to cultivate other qualities instead of or (more likely) in addition to the kinds of focused attention that are important for being an effective sniper. Likewise, if one thinks that the development of a non-judgmental present-centered attention is (one of) the most valuable way(s) human beings can develop themselves, then that will play a central role in one's presentation of mindfulness practice. On the other hand, some individuals and practice traditions

might hold instead that such a non-judgmental present-centered attention is not sufficient, or perhaps not even necessary, for a human being to cultivate what is most valuable. If so, their presentations of mindfulness practice are likely to stress other aspects, such as analytical and evaluative contemplative practices. Thus, meditation teachers may often be using the term 'mindfulness' to present aspects of the vision of human flourishing that they and their own tradition endorse. In this vein, Kabat-Zinn remarks that in certain contexts he has used 'mindfulness' not as the name of a particular kind of attention, but rather as a placeholder for a "universal dharma that is co-extensive, if not identical, with the teachings of the Buddha, the Buddhadharma" (Kabat-Zinn 2011, 290).

The debate around traditional and modern uses of the term mindfulness presents itself ostensibly as a debate within the domain of history and textual analysis. I suggest, however, that some of the driving questions behind these historical arguments may be more accurately understood as ethical questions, about what qualities are best for a human being to cultivate. I close with some reflections on what sorts of approaches might more directly address these philosophical debates – between competing ethical visions, competing values, and competing ideals of mental health – that have arisen around the modern presentations of mindfulness.

---

Wilson, Jeff (University of Waterloo)
**The New Science of Health and Happiness: Investigating Buddhist and Non-Buddhist Engagements with the Scientific Study of Mindfulness**

My paper aims to examine the uses of scientific studies of Buddhist-derived mindfulness meditation techniques by Buddhists and non-Buddhists in North America. Specifically, I am concerned with analyzing how rhetoric around "scientifically-proven benefits" of mindfulness meditation are consumed, deployed, and resisted by various groups involved in the mindfulness movement. By looking at several sources, the different strategies and agendas underlying their engagement with science and meditation come into focus.

The mindfulness movement is, as I argue in my book *Mindful America* (2014), the single largest influence of Buddhism on North American culture. It is multi-faceted, but the most important source is reformist Vipassana traditions originating in Southeast Asia (see Erik Braun, *The Birth of Insight*, 2013). However, mindfulness and its associated techniques have been partially wrested away from Buddhism, with the rhetoric of science and medicine utilized as the most effective tool for the secularization of meditation practices. This evolution is complex, as it involves not only non-Buddhists appropriating Buddhist elements for their own ends, but also active efforts by some Buddhists to market their traditional techniques as scientifically-verified and available to all.

In my book, I acknowledge the diversity of the mindfulness movement but primarily focus on large-scale phenomena and attitudes common throughout the whole of the movement. In this paper, I wish to complicate the vision of a relatively united mindfulness movement by displaying the range of subtle and significant differing approaches to the relationship of science, meditation, and Buddhism. As I will show, typologies can be produced that categorize

approaches based on how meditation studies are treated.  These in turn uncover contestations at work within the mindfulness movement.

My primary sources are publications (including audio and visual media) produced by players with a stake in the mindfulness movement.  First, I examine *Time* magazine, a secular mainstream magazine with no connection to Buddhism, but which frequently presents articles and even special issues on mindfulness.  Second, *Mindful* magazine, an advocate of secularized meditation for the LOHAS (Lifestyles Of Health And Spirituality) demographic, which takes care to hide the Buddhist associations of its authors, editors, and content.  Third, *Shambhala Sun/Lion's Roar* and *Buddhadharma*, pan-sectarian Buddhist magazines (from the same publisher) with strong connection to *Mindful*.  Fourth, *The Mindfulness Bell*, the journal of a Buddhist community best known for its mindfulness practices.  And finally, the Mindfulness Center of the Orange Country Buddhist Church, a Buddhist counseling program established at a temple in a non-meditation lineage.  Each of these engages with the rhetoric of scientific study of meditation, but each does so in ways that reflect their own positions and agendas.

In developing my study, I will consider Benjamin Zeller's useful analysis of how New Religious Movements use rhetoric around science to establish their identities and achieve their goals (*Prophets and Protons*, 2010).  I will consider how we may see similar patterns among this range of Buddhist and non-Buddhist responses to scientific studies of mindfulness meditation, as well as look to expand upon Zeller's typology to show additional possible relations to science.

---

Edelglass, William (Marlboro College)
**Buddhism, Happiness, and the Science of Meditation**

The science of meditation and happiness is now cited frequently in contemporary discussions of both happiness and meditation.  Meditation is introduced in positive psychology courses that teach people how to increase happiness and scientific studies on meditation and happiness are introduced in dharma talks to inspire Buddhist practice.  The widespread discourse of happiness and meditation is part of a "happiness turn" in contemporary Western Buddhism, in which meditation is presented as a path to happiness, in which happiness is the promise of Buddhist practice.  This turn is justified, in part, by empirical research on happiness, which appears to be a straightforward scientific inquiry into the causes and conditions of happiness.  But this empirical research presupposes a very different project, a philosophical account of the nature of happiness such that it can be measured.  For example, the two most widespread methods for measuring happiness, life satisfaction questionnaires and random experience sampling, are each committed to a particular theory of happiness: implicit in the random experience sampling method is a hedonic conception of happiness as positive affect or pleasure; implicit in the life satisfaction questionnaire is an account of happiness as being satisfied with one's life.  Scientists using both of these methods have demonstrated correlations between mindfulness and happiness.  While there is little reason to doubt the results of these studies, I argue that they do not merely provide us with objective facts about human beings.  The rhetoric of the science of meditation and happiness makes meditation meaningful as a path to personal happiness, a kind of exercise practice to maintain mental health and increase happiness that doctors tell us we ought to be doing—not unlike working out at the gym.  Drawing on Śāntideva and other

Buddhist thinkers I suggest that we may be in error regarding whether or not we are actually happy and only some kinds of positive affect or satisfaction are part of a happy life. In contrast to positive psychologists, Śāntideva and some other Buddhists defend a normative conception of happiness also made possible by meditation. But Śāntideva's rhetoric makes cultivating mindfulness and awareness meaningful as a relinquishing of self, wisdom, attending to others, and increased skill in addressing their needs. While the scientific study of meditation and happiness has justified making mindfulness practice, for example, accessible to many more people, I argue that it is not value neutral; the scientific discourse reframes the meaning of meditation in ways that are significant but often hidden.

McMahan, David (Franklin & Marshall College)
**Epistemic Presuppositions in the Scientific Study of Meditation**

Recent attempts to study Buddhist and Buddhist-derived meditation practices scientifically rest on a modern history of reconfiguring meditation as a means to ascertain a kind of internal objective reality leavened with Buddhist concepts. Such research presupposes two intertwining views of the human being, along with associated epistemologies. One view of the human being, derived from the European Enlightenment, is that of the free, autonomous subject who can be trained to neutralize his or her biases, presuppositions, and cultural conditioning to attain a kind of judgment-free access to the raw data of the mind. In this model one observes the contents of consciousness with clarity and distinction, then has the freedom as an autonomous subject to choose which ideas, desires, and impulses upon which to act. The second view is of the human being as what Ortega and Vidal have called the "cerebral subject." This view is a powerful contemporary picture of the human being as essentially identical with the brain and its functions. In this view, the brain can be trained and developed to produce various "mental states" that can, in turn, be modeled by fMRI and other technologies, such that we can determine these states by observing their neurological correlates. Both of these perspectives tend to neglect the crucial role of context and social existence and contain problematic Cartesian presuppositions. This paper attempts to elucidate some of the history of changing views of the human subject and its purposes and to show how the scientific study of meditation has tracked—and perhaps been trapped by—these views. It then offers preliminary steps towards a course-correction: rather than seeing meditation primarily in terms of interior mental states that can be mapped in neural imaging technologies, meditation might be better understood as an array of technologies of self involving the cultivation of attitudes, ethical orientations, values, judgments, strategies, and behaviors grounded in particular cultures' repertoires of possible ways of being in the world.

## Buddhist Tourism in Asia: Sacred Sites within Global Networks

Schedneck, Brooke (Chiangmai University)
Bruntz, Courteney (Doane University)

**Panel Abstract**

With Asia becoming one of the top tourism destinations and recent trends such as Myanmar opening to tourism and increased numbers of Chinese travelers, there is a need to analyze the contemporary realities of tourism in this region regarding sacred sites of Buddhism. Sacred

Buddhist sites are marketed as cultural heritage attractions, religious festivals transform into tourism promotion opportunities, and difficult pilgrim routes turn into physical, spiritual and cosmopolitan achievements. Across Asia, Buddhists, government organizations, business corporations, and individuals participate in re-imaginings of Buddhism by patronizing sacred mountains, temples, and Buddhist practices. Advertising for Buddhist tourism promotes markers of belonging, so that tourists are not traveling to a particular nation-state but to a Buddhist world. We will investigate the ways these Buddhist worlds are evoked for targeted audiences, both Buddhist and non-Buddhist. This panel will generate a comparative investigation of Buddhist spaces, identities, and practices as dynamic entities that shift significance along with networks of travelers and international relationships. This panel is not only concerned with mapping the networks and circuits of Buddhist travel but also in determining the relationship between Buddhism and tourism.

Geary, David (University of British Columbia)
**Performing Love: Tourism and Transnational Courting at the Place of Buddha's Enlightenment**

This paper explores stories of transnational courting that were told by Japanese women and Indian men at the place of Buddha's enlightenment in the north Indian state of Bihar. In the context of a burgeoning Buddhist revival movement and growing cross-border religious flows, I show how contact with Buddhist pilgrims and tourists can offer an array of economic, social and romantic opportunities that are not generally available to other Indians in other parts of the country. This is particularly the case in Bodh Gaya, where Buddhist tourism provides an important source of livelihood as well as a potential strategy for migration through the performance of love. As a transnational meeting ground between East and East, I examine how tourism and the service sector provide jobs with a high degree of interaction that can lead to marriage and new forms of geographical dowry. At the same time, I explore some of the emotional entanglements and cultural constraints that underlie these romantic ties and inter-Asian connections in the early twenty-first century.

Lau, Ngar-Sze (Lancaster University)
**Constructing Burmese meditation communities in mainland China through Buddhist Tourism**

This paper explores how Chinese travellers who learn meditation in Southeast Asian Buddhist countries have impacted the diversity of meditation practices available in mainland China. In the past two decades, there has been an increasing number of Chinese monastics and lay people from Taiwan and mainland China visiting Buddhist sacred sites and meditation centres in Burma, Thailand and Sri Lanka. With the influence of Buddhist modernization, they are attracted to various kinds of transnational meditation practices in the Theravāda tradition, such as *samādhi* and *vipassanā,* by staying in meditation centres for a few months and even a few years. Like many yogis from all over the world, some Chinese ordain as short-term monks or nuns in the Theravāda tradition. These are new experiences to many Chinese. A few active Chinese travellers make this possible through organizing retreats in China led by teachers from Burma and Thailand. For example, in the past few years, U Paṇḍita Sayādaw and Chanmyay

Sayādaw from Burma, disciples of the world-renowned insight meditation teacher Mahāsī Sayādaw, were invited to teach meditation in retreats at Chinese Buddhist monasteries in Beijing, Wenzhou, and Jiangxi Province. Secondly, Pa Auk Sayādaw, who is famous for teaching *samādhi* meditation following the *Visuddhimagga,* was invited by his Chinese monastic students to officiate a newly established meditation centre at Xishuangbanna in 2013. The new centre, which organizes annual pilgrimage to Burma and India, has explicitly established a transnational network with the Pa Auk headquarters and other centres in Southeast Asia.

Various Theravādin meditation communities of specific teachings or traditions have been rapidly developed by travellers through cyber technologies in mainland China. Information about teachers and teachings, photos audio clips of Dhamma talks, and electronic books, have been shared on websites. Popular mobile apps spread announcement of recently organized retreats and regular weekly practice groups in different provinces of China. Special events of meditation centres in Southeast Asian countries, updates of teachers in Burma or Thailand, especially their health conditions, are shared and exchanged within the digital communities. Fund-raising schemes are also launched within the virtual communities by activists for construction of new meditation centres in China and Southeast Asian countries. Discussions and debates about various practices in Theravāda and Mahāyāna traditions are commonly found in the communities. Yet strong identities of specific teachings or teachers in Theravāda tradition have formed among the virtual communities. Drawing from ethnographic study in mainland China of two meditation centres and participant/observation in virtual communities, this paper examines the significant role of Buddhist tourism in the recent lay meditation movement of Theravāda tradition in mainland China.

---

Marchman, Kendall (Young Harris College)
**Buddhism and the Bottom Line: The Nanshan Group and Buddhist Culture Parks**

Recognized as one of the most powerful and profitable corporations in China, the Nanshan Group (南山集团), is a global conglomerate based in Longkou, Shandong Province. Although Nanshan originally began as an aluminum company in the early 1980s, it has since diversified into a wide variety of different businesses, including fashion, real estate, aviation, and tourism. This presentation highlights the Nanshan Group's tourist "scenic spot" in Longkou, built by the company and opened in 2004. The tourist property features luxury hotels, waterslides, and amusement rides, along with a "Religious History and Culture Park." The park contains gift shops and temples designed to resemble a medieval Chinese village. Two especially important parts of this village are the active nunnery *(*Xiangshui Nunnery 响水庵) and museums exhibiting Buddhist relics. Towering over the entire tourist resort—including the golf course named Buddha's Light (佛光)—is the so-called Nanshan Buddha, which Nanshan claims as the tallest bronze statue of a seated Buddha in the world. The park is designed so that its visitors experience a sense of nostalgia that promotes a Chinese identity that is interwoven with Buddhism.

The presentation introduces the Nanshan Group and explores their involvement and motivations for the creation of their Religious History and Culture Park. Recent scholarship has

demonstrated the role of the Chinese Communist Party in the revival of religious tourism; this presentation will consider the corporatization of Buddhist tourism. Are corporations like the Nanshan Group simply emulating the success of state-led tourism efforts, or are there alternate explanations for their expansion into the tourism business? Given its background, how does the park—including its relics, temples, statues, and even monastics—seek authenticity? These questions shape this examination of the intermingling of Buddhism and Big Business in China.

Friedrich, Daniel (Hosei University)
**Recreational Buddhists: Travel and the construction of contemporary Japanese Buddhist identities**

This paper explores how temple sponsored travel functions within contemporary Japanese Buddhist communities to create bonds among temple members, instill an appreciation of sects' teachings and history, and provide opportunities for women and men to embody gendered roles with the intent of bettering themselves, the temple, the sect, and society. Ethnographic research at Buddhist temples makes clear how communal travel to sects' head temples, sites in India associated with the historical Buddha, and participation in regional, national, and international gatherings combines leisurely travel and religious activities. This combination appeals to temple members at specific stages of life and with varying levels of commitment to their local temple and Buddhist teachings. Utilizing data gathered from ethnographic fieldwork, interviews, and written reports from temple newsletters and other publications, I provide detailed accounts of Buddhist travel and travelers' moods and motivations. I then conclude by exploring and analyzing how travel provides insight into how sectarian leaders, priests, tour guides, and temple members engage with questions of what it means to identify as a Japanese Buddhist and the implications of claiming this identity. Beyond this, I also make explicit the fluidity of these identifications and how Buddhist identity is shaped through encounters with other individuals—Buddhist and non-Buddhist—in a variety of local, national, and global contexts.

Bruntz, Courtney (Doane University)
Schedneck, Brooke (Chiangmai University)
**Discussion: Buddhist Tourism in Asia**

# Buddhist Ways of Reading
Gummer, Natalie (Beloit College)
Heim, Maria (Amherst College)

**Panel Abstract**

In Buddhist studies, we read texts as sources for history more often than we look to history as a source for how to read texts. But the two are very directly connected: what we learn—whether about history or about textuality—depends on how we read, and how we read is itself historically conditioned. If that is the case for any body of literature we might study, how much more so for bodies of literature composed in times and places remote from our own, in which reading practices and even basic assumptions about the nature and function of language surely diverged significantly from present practices and assumptions. The presenters on this panel seek to

explore Buddhist ways of reading, as illuminated by commentarial literature, ritual practices involving texts, and aspects of the texts themselves. Our aim is not simply to chart a history of such practices, as important as that might be. We also seek to investigate how contemporary scholarly practices might be challenged and enriched through the cultivation of alternative modes of interpretation, modes that in turn have the potential to transform our interpretation of "Buddhism."

Hallisey, Charles (Harvard University)
**Reading Buddhist Texts for Texture and Density**

The teachings of the Buddha are frequently described in Pali canonical and commentarial literature as being a *dhammam savyañjanam sa attham*, a teaching with form and texture as well as with meaning and purpose. This paper takes up and develops the guidance and example of Buddhaghosa, the fifth-century Theravadin commentator, for how to read a text with focused attention on its form and texture. The paper also explores what emerges from reading texts with the sort of focused attention on form and texture that Buddhaghosa commends, to argue that the form and texture of a Buddhist text is an important part of the very expressivity of the text.

Buddhaghosa's attention to form and texture is manifold.  It includes attention to how words are formed; how the meanings of words change according to context and linguistic relevance; how the structure of a text generates significant secondary meanings; and how word-choice is often actually allusion and emerging connections, such the whole of the Buddha's teachings are found in every part.  Moreover, Buddhaghosa's example as a model reader makes it clear that focused attention to the form and texture of a text leads a reader to attend to new phenomena within a text and also to develop new capabilities as a reader; in other words, Buddhaghosa displays for us how engaging the form and texture of a text changes the capabilities of a reader and consequently enlarges what a reader is able to engage in a text.

Engaging the complex expressivity in Pali texts leads a reader to an awareness and appreciation of an ever-increasing depth and density within Pali texts.  With this in view, this paper concludes with a comparison of Buddhaghosa's exploration of the density and depth with the processes of "indensification" that Yigal Bronner and David Shulman have described for later Sanskrit literature, most notably the messenger poetry of late-medieval south India.

Derris, Karen (Redlands University)
**Sharing Time: The Importance of Community Across Cosmic and Historic Time in Pāli Commentaries**

This paper presents intertextual interpretations of the figure of the *paccekabuddha* in Pāli suttas and commentaries, particularly focusing upon the Khaggavisāṇa Sutta from the Sutta Nipāta, the Paccekabuddha Apadāna and the Dhammapada, as well as their commentaries.  Additionally, I draw upon a 19th-century visual program at Wat Suthat in Bangkok that engages these commentaries in mural paintings.  These commentaries reveal a method for reading the canonical suttas that prioritizes the communal and community dimensions of *paccekabuddhas*.  This is a significantly different imagination of

*paccekabuddhas* from the dominant arguments in scholarship that depict *paccekabuddhas* as disengaged and disinterested in communal life. The commentaries teach us a method of tracing the origin and meaning of these suttas beyond the confines of our own historic time—as structured in Theravada worldview around the presence and absence of our Buddha— into the broader framework of cosmological time. In this expansive temporal framework, *paccekabuddhas* are reimagined as forming and sustaining communities with one another.

*Paccekabuddhas* live in the world, Jambudīpa, when it is empty of a buddha, empty of his *sāsana*, and thus empty of a saṅgha. *Paccekabuddhas* are therefore always situated in a mythic time, as they cannot co-exist in the world with a *sammāsambuddha* whose *sāsana* defines the periods of historical time. However, unlike Buddhas, who cannot share time with one another, *paccekabuddhas* can and do. As this paper will explore, the Pāli commentaries assert that when time is left empty by the absence of a buddha and his *sāsana*, the world is full of *paccekabuddhas* living in community with one another. These commentaries explore the bridges between mythical and historical time built by *paccekabuddhas* whose patterns of communal life mirror those of the historic saṅgha. If the historical temporal patterns of the saṅgha's rituals are a means for envisioning the patterns of life of *paccekbuddhas* in mythical time, what can the relational life of *paccekabuddhas* help us learn about historical time broadly and the time in which we live in particular? In learning to read as a means of cultivating an imagination that moves between the mythic and the historic, the locatedness of historic time and the expansiveness of cosmic time, these commentaries encourage us to engage with the ethical dimension of temporality by attending to the ways in which the place of community is filled in cosmic time that is empty of a buddha

---

Shulman, Eviatar (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem)
**The Buddha's Death as a Literary Event**

Questions regarding the relation between Buddhist sutta-literature and historical fact have perplexed scholars since the beginning of the academic study of Buddhism. The Buddha's "philosophy" and "soteriology" have also received much ink. Perhaps it is time now to let the texts be what they are – good, powerful, emotionally potent stories. The *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta* is perhaps the prime example of a text that is not designed to relate facts, but rather to cultivate a meaningful, heart-gripping picture of the Buddha in the emotional days of his demise. One of the techniques this text employs is to couple two diametrically opposed conceptualizations of the Buddha – he is both the omnipresent, omnipotent, omniscient Lord and teacher, and a composite being who will naturally fall apart. Moving between these extremes may be philosophically puzzling, but is existentially satisfying, and helps the Buddha's followers deal with the loss of fully embodied dharma. This text was composed by drawing together many potent elements from Buddhist narrative – a sort of "Buddha's greatest hits" – in order to guide Buddhists in a visualization of the founder's death.

Enigma is also dominant in another important formulation of the Buddha's death. The *Aggi-vacchagotta-sutta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya*, as an prime discourse that deals with the theme of the "unanswered questions," asks what happens to the Buddha after he dies and insists that he neither exists, non-exists, both or neither. Scholars have tried to solve this riddle by adopting

one of these four extremes, understanding the answer as complete non-existence, as pure existence in utter beatitude, as some mix of the two, or by taking the question itself as a misguided linguistic formulation. All approaches appear to have some truth in them, so here we will propose that this is precisely the point – the aesthetic effect of the enigma tells more than the sorting out of the philosophical paradox. The Buddha's death, the acme of his career, is a figment of Buddhist imaginative storytelling, and in this sense is similar to the philosophical play of the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta*. When we read these texts without being open to their narrative faces and to the emotional spaces they generate, we miss a great deal of what they are about. The Buddha's death is one more narrative option for picturing the Buddha's unique being and profound state of mind.

Gummer, Natalie (Beloit College)
**Speech Acts of the Buddha**
Scholars of early Mahāyāna sūtras face a dilemma: precious little exists outside the words of the sūtras themselves to suggest how they may have been interpreted and used in the context of ancient South Asia. In this paper, I explore why and how we should (at least sometimes) read Mahāyāna sūtras as forms of performative utterance. I argue that the cosmologies, temporalities, and views of language that inform the sūtras, so different from those of the contemporary academy, encourage us to develop these alternative methods of interpretation. This is not to devalue contemporary historical and philological approaches to the sūtras, but rather to insist that we miss something crucial about the sūtras if we do not also try to imagine, with help from the sūtras themselves, other ways of reading. Of course we can glean (with considerable difficulty and uncertainty) historical insights from these texts; still, the sūtras were not written to be read as historical evidence. Inquiring (with considerable difficulty and uncertainty) into the modes of interpretation that the sūtras assume and encourage promises not only to deepen our understanding of what the sūtras are and do, but also to shed new light on questions of historical concern.

I read the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka and related sūtras in light of Buddhist and broader South Asian views of the relationship among language, imagination, and reality. If, as such views would suggest, the world of experience is an illusion generated in no small part through language, then language can transform the world of our experience, can create alternative imaginative realms, can make the eternal body of the Buddha present in and through his speech. The sūtras harness this potential. In the process, their self-referential speech acts offer a form of autocommentary on their own interpretation, and articulate thereby a distinctively Buddhist theory of performative utterance. Central to that theory is a conception of linguistic agency as radically conditional and diffused through a network of actors: sūtra, Buddha, dharmabhāṇaka, audience. As a consequence of this interdependence, the success of the speech acts of the Buddha that constitute the sūtras depend not only on the eloquence and memory of the preacher, but also on what might be called the active patiency of the listener. The sūtras anticipate, articulate, and manipulate this dependency as a crucial element in their theory and practice of performative utterance.

Based on this analysis of the sūtras, I trace the contours of a theory of performative utterance, and consider how reading with an awareness of these strategies might enhance our

understanding of the sūtras as historical documents as well as performed and performative texts. I also explore active patiency as a possible model for scholarly reading.

---

Nance, Richard (Indiana University)
**Reading as Yielding: Passages of Reception in Indian Buddhist Literature**

In thinking about Indian Buddhist reading practices, one quickly gets the sense that there is at once far too much, and far too little, to go on. Too much, in that there are so many different terms (not to mention different textual contexts and different languages) used to mark what we might count as forms of reading. Too little, in that it is hard to know what to rule in and what to rule out, as the English terms "read" and "reading" may be used to refer to actions or to outcomes; to silent interpretation, noisy declamation, and much else besides. When one considers that a similar polysemy is shared by terms in our source languages (e.g., terms derived from *anu +* √*vac* may be rendered not only as *reading*, but also as *speaking*, *reciting*, *repeating*, *imitating*, *learning*, *studying*, or *calling* (Apte 1965 [1890]: 73)), it's hard not to feel overwhelmed. Where to begin? One starting point may lie in an additional— and perhaps surprising—sense that Apte buries among his definitions for *anu +* √*vac*: the sense of *yielding* (Ibid.) Beginning with the notion of *reading* as *yielding*—a notion that, it is suggested, does not require assent to what is read—the paper develops an account of Buddhist reading as demanding exposure to the voice(s) of (an)other(s) (cf. MN i.294), as well as a commitment to finding ways of going on with, and potentially being changed by, their words. While opportunities for such reading extend well beyond encounters with written texts, written texts from Buddhist traditions may profitably be read as at times describing—or performing— the work of reading as yielding. The paper takes up a selection of such descriptions and performances, and considers their implications for traditional Buddhist readers and for scholars of Buddhism today.

---

Heim, Maria (Amherst College)
**Discussant**

## Concepts and Techniques of Prognostication

Guggenmos, Esther Maria (FAU Erlangen-Nuremberg)
Scheuermann, Rolf (IKGF, FAU Erlangen-Nuremberg)

**Panel Abstract**

The aim of this panel is to investigate Buddhist concepts regarding prognostication and related approaches for coping with the individual and collective futures that emerged from joint research trajectories at the Research Consortium in Erlangen (Germany) that deals with "Fate, Freedom, and Prognostication." Divinatory techniques play a role in the Buddhist canonical literature, and are also developed to varying degrees in different Buddhist traditions throughout Asia. Common practices include both inspired as well as uninspired techniques, ranging from divination, astrological calculations, medical prognosis, examinations of signs and dreams, geomancy and spirit-possession to prophecies. Papers to be included in this panel discuss (but are not limited to) issues such as case studies and taxonomies of divinatory practices, semantics,

underlying concepts such as fate and the future, the social dimension (e.g. the relationship between agents and their clients), ritual dynamics, material objects, and cultural exchange processes.

---

Scheuermann, Rolf (IKGF, FAU Erlangen-Nuremberg)
**What can we learn from Tibetan Buddhist divinatory manuals?**

Throughout the history of mankind, questions regarding the future have always moved people in the East and in the West, and still continue to do so even today. Different prognostic methods fulfill an important function by providing answers to inquiries regarding the uncertainties of life—in this way, they support people in the process of decision-making. In Tibet, mantic practices, inspired and uninspired, are used both in secular as well as religious contexts, thus playing an important role in the everyday lives of individuals. This is reflected in Tibetan Buddhist literature, which offers a great array of divinatory manuals and other texts dealing with prognostication. While the majority of literature authored by Buddhist scholars are intended for religious trainees and an educated elite, the target audience of divinatory manuals is a more general one, and they address the problems that individuals encounter in daily life. Hence, even though these texts intend to tell us something about the future, they also contain interesting information about the past and the society in which they appeared. With the help of a few examples from divinatory manuals, this paper therefore attempts to answer the question of what insights can be gained through a study of these materials.

---

Maurer, Petra (Ludwig-Maximilians-University)
**Diagrams on Astrology and Divination**

Chinese divination (*nag rtsis*) played a major role in Tibetan societies and was used for different forms of prediction and calculation. To calculate a person's future  in a more general sense or with regard to special events like marriage (*bag rtsis*), diseases (*nad rtsis*) or choosing the right place for construction (*sa dpyad*) certain entities or dimension were used, that are basically of Chinese origin. According to the historical sources, the Chinese princess Wencheng brought a diagram (*gab rtse*) to Tibet in the middle of the 7th century when she went there to marry King Songtsen Gampo. Her diagram is said to show the main elements of Chinese divination used to calculate the right places for the construction of buildings (*sa dpyad*).

These thangkas are quite rare and their shape and illustrations vary: some show divinatory dimensions others include astrological elements.

In my paper I would like to introduce a selection of these thangkas.

---

Smith, Alexander (École Pratique des Hautes Études)
**Prognostic Structure and the Question of Efficacy**

Relative to the prevalence and diversity of divination practices in Tibetan cultures, the study of divination remains grossly underrepresented in Tibetological literature. Though there are a number of excellent publications on the subject, the majority of these have tended towards

explorations of Imperial history and the origins of Tibetan divination traditions. There are, of course, several valuable ethnographic works in which divination has been discussed; however, a reflexive anthropology of divination has not taken root under the aegis of Tibetan Studies. This disciplinary lacuna remains pronounced and, in my opinion, has restricted the development of the broader interdisciplinary discourse on Tibetan ritual practices. With these issues in mind, this paper will discuss the structure of the prognostics offered in a form of lithomancy (pebble divination) common to the Bon religion of Tibet. The discussion will be drawn primarily from an eighteenth century treatise written by Kun grol grags pa, as well as two later commentaries published in the nineteenth century. It will be shown that this particular form of divination uses a system of 'trumps' that significantly complicates the distillation of prognoses. In this respect, it can be argued that certain lithomantic techniques stand apart from other forms of Tibetan cleromancy (e.g. divination by dice, bones, stones, lots, etc.), many of which use similar numeral systems, though lack a mediating structure of 'major' and 'minor' results. In exploring this concept, the paper will briefly examine the prognostics found in a number of common forms of divination, focusing in particular upon forms of dice and rosary divination. By way of conclusion, it will be argued that prophylactic rites —which feature in the majority of lithomantic prognoses— are integral to the perceived efficacy of pebble divination practices.

Guggenmos, Esther-Maria (FAU Erlangen-Nuremberg)
**The Availability of the Future – A Reflection on the Adaptability of Mantic Practices in Chinese Buddhism**

This paper explores Chinese Buddhist techniques of prognostication under the aspect of the variability of their sensual perception and material basis. In a first step, it overviews the modes in which mantic techniques are applied in the Chinese Buddhist context. It then traces a) alterations of mantic techniques once they are applied in the Chinese Buddhist tradition and b) alterations and variances of Buddhist mantic practices within the tradition itself. By doing so, special emphasis is laid on the changes that affect the sensual perception of the ritual. This includes alterations of the material basis of the techniques. In a third step, the paper reflects on these alterations and analyzes the possible modes of change in the sensual realm as well as the ritual and technical adaptations underlying it. By doing so, the background for the adaptability and flexibility of the Buddhist mantic traditions is elucidated.

Seymour, Kelsey (University of Pennsylvania)
**Child Idols: Possession, Purity, and Prognoses in Accounts of Child Mediums in Medieval Chinese Buddhism**

In Indian and Chinese sources, children have been known to take on a role in which they reveal hidden knowledge to adults in their communities. In early Chinese sources in particular, we see children used as vessels for the spirits of deceased ancestors in rites involving "personators" (*shi* 尸), as well as revealers of political prophecies through children's songs.

The Buddhist iteration of child mediums gained recognition in the Tang dynasty with the translations of three scriptures describing the ritual process. The practice grew in popularity throughout the Tang and into the Song, appearing in hagiography, accounts of the strange, and

other sources from these periods. This paper examines the creation and use of child mediums through the ritual process, the topical range and nature of their prognostications, as well as the reasons behind their efficacy. Scholars have previously emphasized the possession of the child by a spirit or deity akin to the early Chinese precedents and the role of the tantric master's association with a particular deity. I argue that there is an additional layer that lends Buddhist identity and efficacy to the ritual: the purification of the children mirrors the cleansing of images of the Buddha for the celebration of the Buddha's birthday, and both of the cleansing of the Buddha image and the creation of a child medium symbolically mimic the events of the Buddha's birth. For the case of child mediums in particular, just as the child Buddha was imbued with prescient knowledge of his life after taking his seven steps, so too are child mediums granted with knowledge of all past, present, and future experiences.

## Conventional Reality, Conventional Truth

McClintock, Sara (Emory University)

**Panel Abstract**

The aim of this panel is to continue and deepen the ongoing research into the nature of conventional reality or conventional truth (*saṃvṛti-satya*) in Mahāyāna Buddhist philosophical traditions. Responding to the call of the Cowherds in *Moonshadows: Conventional Truth in Buddhist Philosophy* (2010) to "take conventional truth seriously," this panel will seek to explore the nature of the conventional for a variety of Buddhist thinkers and traditions from India, Tibet, China and beyond. In undertaking this exploration, the panel will pose such questions as: What does it mean to say that something is conventionally *true*? Does this differ from saying that it is conventionally *real*? What are the processes whereby the conventional comes into and goes out of existence? Is the conventional primarily a property of the linguistic and conceptual domains or might there be material aspects of the conventional as well? If the conventional is not finally different from the ultimate, what are the implications of this for epistemology, science, ethics, and religion? Does taking the conventional seriously mean resolving all paradoxes or might it mean embracing paradox? Our panelists address such questions in relation to diverse Buddhist philosophers and texts.

Prueitt, Catherine (Emory University)
**Conventional Truth When There Is No Conventional Reality: Understanding Dharmakīrti on Conventional vs. Ultimate Means of Trustworthy Awareness**

This paper examines Dharmakīrti's brief but crucial statements on the distinction between conventional (*sāṃvyavahārika*) and ultimate (*pāramārthika*) *pramāṇa*s within the broader context of his complex presentation of truth and reality. In the *Autocommentary* on verses 1.98-1.99ab of his *Explanation of the Means of Trustworthy Awareness* (*Pramāṇavārttikasvavṛtti*) and at the very end of the first chapter of his *Ascertainment of Trustworthy Awareness* (*Pramāṇaviniścaya*), Dharmakīrti makes the startling claim that perception (*pratyakṣa*) and inference (*anumāṇa*), which he generally presents as being trustworthy forms of awareness, are in fact ultimately erroneous. Because both perception and inference are necessarily afflicted by the internal distortion (*antarupaplava*) of subject/object duality, they present a conventional

world within which subjects and objects appear to be real even though, ultimately, they are not. All practical activity within the conventional world proceeds on the basis of this mistaken apprehension: conventional truth depends fundamentally on a necessary global error that ascribes reality to what is ultimately unreal. This paper argues that Dharmakīrti's statements here are not as paradoxical as they may seem, and that drawing a distinction between *truth* and *reality* provides a useful heuristic for understanding his position. Using this distinction, Dharmakīrti may be understood to provide a complex picture of the relationship between truth and reality that allows him to hold together two statements: 1) within the conventional world, ultimate truth is constituted by causal efficacy (*arthakriyā*); and 2) even causally efficacious things are ultimately unreal because they cannot withstand a neither-one-nor-many analysis (*ekānekavicāra*). It is true that the conventional *pramāṇa*s are trustworthy in that they either reveal a causally efficacious object or lead to the obtainment of such an object. However, the seeming reality of these objects pertains only to deluded sentient beings; ultimately, they are no more real than the seemingly external hairs that a person with ocular floaters perceives drifting through his or her visual field. Heuristically, then, reading causal efficacy as the criterion for truth and noncontradiction as the criterion for reality may shed significant light on Dharmakīrti's position on the relationship between conventional and ultimate *pramāṇa*s. In short, conventional truth is neither founded in nor a reliable guide to ultimate reality, but even so, it does reveal what is real within its own domain.

Arnold, Dan (University of Chicago)
**How 'Conventional' is Conventional Truth?**
**Thoughts on the Divergent Intuitions of Candrakīrti and Śāntarakṣita**

Candrakīrti, whose philosophical predilections are akin to those of "ordinary language philosophers," puts great stock in his avowed deference to conventional truth, which is often epitomized for him by the conventional usage of Sanskrit terms; it seems that what is "conventionally true" for Candrakīrti, then, just is *conventions*. Śāntarakṣita, in contrast, held that central arguments of Yogācāra – arguments whose counter-intuitive upshot seems to be that external objects are not finally real – represent the best account of conventional truth that can be given. Given the counter-intuitive nature of the kind of view Śāntarakṣita thus endorses as "conventionally true," it's worth considering whether he and Candrakīrti understand conventional truth in anything at all like the same way. This paper explores the question of how or whether Candrakīrti and Śāntarakṣita have the same kind of thing in view when it comes to conventional truth, and suggests some ways to think about what the differences reveal with regard to possible understandings of Madhyamaka.

Sharf, Robert (University of California, Berkeley)
**Two Truths, Dialetheism, and Chan**

Some modern scholars have argued that certain Indian Buddhist philosophers, notably those in the Madhyamaka tradition, allowed for the possibility of paradox. Other scholars insist that the supposed paradoxes that show up in Madhyamaka and Prajñāpāramitā works can be parameterized through the application of the doctrine of two truths, which defuses the apparent contradictions. But what if the two truths are themselves paradoxical? In that case they could

not be used to parameterize other paradoxes. In this paper I will argue that the two truths are indeed paradoxical, and that while the Indian exegetical tradition may not have countenanced contradiction, many in the Chinese Chan tradition recognized, endorsed, and elaborated on the dialetheism implicit or explicit in Madhyamaka thought. Specifically, I will look at the way that paradox is used in the Wumen guan, an important Song Dynasty collection of Chan "public cases" (gong'an).

# Deeds of a Buddha

Tournier, Vincent (SOAS, University of London)
Luczanits, Christian (SOAS, University of London)
Sernesi, Marta (SOAS, University of London)

**Panel Abstract**

This panel aims at investigating the notion of *buddhakārya* (Tib. *sangs rgyas kyi mdzad pa*, Ch. *fóshì* 佛事) as it is expressed in a wide range of media, and how it reflects and shapes conceptions of Buddhahood throughout history.

The semantic field of the word is extremely rich, subsuming the notion of "duty", i.e. what must be accomplished by a Buddha before his *parinirvāṇa*, of "deed", i.e. his remarkable feats, as well as of "salvific agency". Therefore, its study is a gateway to explore the intimate relationship between the evolution of discourses about the/a Buddha's actions, and the transformation of conceptions regarding his status and qualities. Shifting paradigms in the description of the/a Buddha and his deeds may be traced through a comparative survey of narrative and devotional texts, artistic representations, and philosophical speculations.

The contributions and discussions of the panel will seek to uncover important aspects of the Buddhist *imaginaire*, and especially the understanding, conceptualization, and representation of Buddhahood. Therefore, we welcome contributions engaging with the category of thought of *buddhakārya* throughout pre-modern Buddhist Asia.

Tournier, Vincent (SOAS, University of London)
**What a Buddha Must Do: Spread and Scope of the Notion of *buddhakārya* in Indian Buddhist Narratives of the Middle Period**

Around the turn of the Common Era, an array of factors—probably including the doctrinal speculations about the *parinirvāṇa* as a *period* in the/a Buddha's *Vita*, the multiplication of the figure of the founder, and the growing analogies between Buddha and king—led to the identification of the "duties" that any (re-)discoverer of the Dharma has to accomplish before passing away. This paper explores how the complex of notions defining such duties of the/a Buddha (e.g. *kārya*, *kṛtya/kicca*, *avaśyakaraṇīya*) became pervasive in Indian scriptures and treatises in the ensuing centuries of the Middle Period.

These notions arguably played a critical role (1) in the design and revision of the "architecture" of (especially) Śākyamuni's life-story and (2) in the conceptualisation of the/a Buddha's salvific

activity on Earth beyond his (apparent) Extinction. To support the first suggestion, I will examine closed lists of Buddha-duties—generally recording between five and ten items—transmitted in Āgama and Vinaya literature. The purpose of this exercise in *Listenwissenschaft* is to explore the logic of composition and the Buddhological underpinning of such lists, and to highlight how they adjusted to and influenced their respective narrative contexts, functioning as "matrices" (*mātṛkā*) of sorts for (part of) the Buddha's life. In relation to the second suggestion, I will then examine passages less concerned with Śākyamuni's biography, to explore how the notion of *buddhakārya/°kṛtya* was applied to an array of substitutes of the Buddha, be they potent objects (e.g. *stūpa*s, *bodhi* trees, *sūtra*s) or persons (e.g. Arhants, Bodhisattvas, *dharmabhāṇaka*s).

---

Luczanits, Christian (SOAS, University of London)
**Variations on a Theme: The Buddha's Deeds in the *āyaka* Reliefs at Kanaganahalli**

Although excavated since the 1990ies, the site of Kanaganahalli, near Sannati in the Gulbarga district of northern Karnataka, is still a very fresh site for research. While I documented the site, rather than all its art, in the first days of the new millennium,[4] its excavation report was only published three years ago.[5] Not unexpectedly, the report has considerable shortcomings, some of which are made up by other works that appeared around the same time.[6]

In terms of art, mostly consisting of narrative relief panels, the bulk of the material is to be attributed to the 1st century CE. These are panels that covered the drum, including the vertical surfaces of the *āyaka* platforms, and the dome of the *stūpa*. But there are also later additions, among them four massive stones with reliefs of the Buddha's life apparently placed along the front side of the four *āyaka* platforms. Even though considerably later than the panels, the narrative depictions on these stones are still aniconic. They may thus precede the Buddha images that were placed around the *stūpa* on top of the *āyaka* and drum sometimes in the 3rd century.

There are four such stones, each of them representing the Buddha's life in a sequence to be read from right to left, the direction of circumambulation. If their presumed location is correct, they were confronting the visitor entering through one of the four gates approximately on eye level. Not surprisingly then, each of these reliefs represents a closed narrative, but the events depicted change from one example to the next. In my presentation I will reflect on these differences from a variety of perspectives, among them their relationship to the earlier reliefs, their location and

---

[4] This documentation is available online on http://www.luczanits.net.
[5] K.P. Poonacha, ed., *Excavations At Kanaganahalli (Sannati) Taluk Chitapur, Dist.gulbarga, Karnataka*, First ed., Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, vol. 106 (New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India, 2011). Actually, the book was only available in 2013.
[6] The most important among these are Noritoshi Aramaki, ed., *A New Approach to the Origin of the Mahāyānasūtra Movement on the Basis of Art Historical and Archaeological Evidence. A Preliminary Report on the Research*, (Kyoto: Kyoto University, 2011 March), presenting the reassembled early narrative panels, and Maiko Nakanishi and Oskar von Hinüber, *Kanaganahalli Inscriptions*, Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology At Soka University for the Academic Year 2013, vol. XVII, Supplement (Tokyo: The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology, Soka University, 2014), focusing of the available inscriptions of the site.

textual sources, the different notions of the Buddha's life they communicate, and what they tell about the Buddha.

---

Ciurtin, Eugen (Institute for the History of Religions, Romanian Academy)
**The Deed of an Earthquake: The Seismic Web of a Buddha and the Cāpāla Shrine Narrative Cycle**

A wealth of Buddhist texts associate *parts* of the classical and progressive list of 'deeds of a Buddha' with the robust manifestation of earthquakes (*bhūmicāla*). In order to placate, anchor and solve the inscrutable *saṃsāra*, a Buddha has to perpetually operate through a standardized and fully cosmographic *Vita* (or 'bio-blueprint'). Scriptures and treatises of the various *nikāya*s hence elaborate lists of deeds a Buddha must accomplish, which more often than not intersect with earthquakes.

In his *Magna Carta* of Buddhist Studies of 1844, Eugène Burnouf already discussed "the deeds that mark the mission of a true buddha". However, one century since a meticulous—and little-known—booklet by Alfred Foucher (*Une liste indienne des Actes du Bouddha*, Paris, 1908) and irrespective of the higher philological contributions by his fellow colleagues Jean Przyluski, Ernst Waldschmidt, Erich Frauwallner, and especially André Bareau, the progress in discerning the meaning and function of earthquake lists was at best scarce and inconsequential (cf. Ciurtin 2009). The very narrative link between the cycle from birth to *bodhi*, and the *nirvāṇa* cycle of a Buddha's *Vita* was by no means established *earlier* or *irrespective of* the means of earthquakes: both cycles are linked into a 'Catalogue of earthquakes' spoken by the Buddha.

The list of the 'twelve grand deeds' so influential in Tibet generally includes 5 of the 6 earthquakes traditionally catalogued by the Buddha himself in *e.g.* the systematic *Bhūmicālasutta* and its parallel in the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*. The one biographical episode (and quake) that is missing in most lists, is particularly difficult to interpret and received no proper attention from scholars of Buddhism. In fact, the two main narrative cycles of the *Vita*— birth to *bodhi* and *nirvāṇa*, i.e. traditionally the first 35 years and the remaining 45 years, the latter concentrated in the last three months and half a day—are unified first and foremost by the canonical trope located at the Cāpāla shrine, in Vaiśālī. There, the Buddha explains precisely why and how the earth quaked: "when the Tathāgata mindfully and with full awareness gives up the force of life (Pā. *āyusaṅkhāraṃ ossajj*[*at*]*i* vs. Skt. *jīvitasaṃskārān adhiṣṭhāya āyuḥsaṃskā*[*rān utsṛjati*]), then the earth is disturbed, it shakes, shudders, and quakes."

This presentation, focusing on this rare episode, will attempt to offer suggestions as to the massive doctrinal and narrative divergence in Buddhist sources: contrasting the Buddha's *Vita* as highlighted by schemes such as the *buddhakārya* with the Buddha's *Vita* as construed by earthquakes. It will also endeavour to situate the sixfold earthquakes outside any past or present scholarship on 'Buddhist miracles', precisely because their character as *a deed* was vastly misunderstood. As one passage from the *Saṅghabhedavastu* puts it, such deeds "are ready to cascade out like a flood" (*oghavat*).

The present research completes two previous instalments: "*On* Water: Earthquakes and Seaquakes in Buddhist Cosmology and Meditation, with an Appendix on Buddhist Art" (*Studia Asiatica* 10 (2009), pp. 59-123), and "'Thus Have I Quaked': The *Tempo* of the Buddha's *Vita* and the Earliest Buddhist Fabric of Timelessness" (in *Figurations of Time in Asia*, ed. by D. Boschung and C. Wessels-Mevissen, München-Paderbord, 2012, pp. 21-54) as preliminaries of a forthcoming book, *Earthquakes of the Buddha*.

Schmid, Neil (University of Vienna)
**The Corporeality of Buddha's Deeds: Visual Depictions from Mogao and Yulin**

The deeds of the Buddha *foshi* 佛事 are depicted across a wide variety of media found in the Mogao Caves and Yulin Caves near Dunhuang that range from popular narratives and canonical scriptures to images and liturgical programs. Primarily dating from the 10th and 11th centuries, these materials establish a remarkably coherent paradigm for understanding the historical Buddha whilst setting clear precedents for contemporaneous adherents' belief and praxis. Indeed, although supramundane, this is "our Buddha" and "our monk," presented as a prince in Chinese garb with family concerns, jealous relations, and at times strikingly mundane behavior. This paper examines this extensive corpus of Dunhuang resources in order to understand exactly what constituted the experiences and salvic powers of the Buddha thus portrayed. A thorough exploration of key canonical scriptures (*e.g.*, *Taizi Xudana jing* 太子須大拏經, T171; *Fo benxingji jing* 佛本行集經, T190; *Genben shuo yiqie youbu pinaiye zashi* 根本說一切有都因此奈耶雜事, T1451, etc.), popular narratives ("Story of Prince's [Siddhārtha] Practicing the Way" *Taizi chengdao jing* 太子成道經 and "Eight Aspects [of Buddha's Life]" *Baxiang chengdao* 八相成道, etc.), and liturgical texts (*e.g.*, *Lichan wen* 禮懺文) frame our analysis of the 63 painted panels in the form of folding screens (*pingfeng* 屏風) located in Mogao caves 61 & 454 and Yulin cave 36. This extensive set of visual depictions, at once episodic, interconnected, and – within the architectural space of the caves themselves – contextually programmatic, stand as invaluable non-verbal elaborations of the deeds of the Buddha unique among medieval Chinese art. This paper closes with a discussion of how such an assemblage foregrounds the distinctly corporeal aspects of Buddhahood at medieval Dunhuang while referencing analogous developments in South and Southeast Asia.

Almogi, Orna (University of Hamburg)
**Tibetan Scholars on the Mahāyāna Concept of *buddhakārya/buddhakriyā* against the Backdrop of Madhyamaka Philosophy in 12th–15th Century Tibet**

Theoretical reflections on the nature of Buddhahood generated various controversies in various phases of Buddhist history. One of the most heated debates in this regard concerned the question as to how the Buddha, or a *buddha*, is able to act in the world for the sake of sentient beings once he had attained his *parinirvāṇa*, an issue that is not only relevant but in fact crucial to the Mahāyāna doctrine. The immediate question that arose in this connection has been whether a mental element, which has been commonly considered a prerequisite for any activity, exists at the Stage of a *buddha*. Debates as to whether a *buddha* possesses a mental element, that is, in the form of gnosis (*jñāna*: *ye shes*), gained popularity particularly among later Indian Yogācāra-

Madhyamaka and Madhyamaka scholars, and Tibetan scholars have continued these debates with much enthusiasm for centuries to follow.

In my talk I shall present various positions by several Tibetan authors from various schools as to whether a *buddha* possesses gnosis and how he, according to these diverse positions, is able to carry out his salvific deeds, particularly in the context of the question as to whether a mental element is at all necessary. A particular emphasis will be made on some developments in Madhyamaka thought in Tibet and their influence on the various positions held by the Tibetan authors presented, from both synchronic and diachronic perspectives.

Sernesi, Marta (SOAS, University of London)
**The Buddha's Twelve Deeds and Eight Places in Early Tibetan Historiographical Sources**

It is well known that in the Tibetan tradition the Life of the Buddha Śākyamuni is usually referred to as the fulfilment of "Twelve Deeds" (*mdzad pa bcu gnyis*). However, the choice of episodes to be grouped together into this set remained variable over time, and it was influenced by the widespread tradition of the Eight Great Places (*gnas chen brgyad*), which in Tibet eventually gave rise to the formation of the group of the Eight Commemorative *stūpa*s (*mchod rten brgyad*).

The reception history of literary narratives relating the life story of the Buddha, and the cultural dynamics leading to the arrangement of the *Vita* in twelve deeds and eight *stūpa*s are still mostly unexplored. This paper will analyse learned discussions of the issue in Tibetan historiographical sources of the 12th–14th centuries, exploring their sources, concerns, and modes of classification. In particular, an acute awareness of the fluid composition of the set of twelve or eight deeds, and the recognition of the implications of this multiplicity of configurations, emerges from these accounts. Comparing this material with visual narratives, devotional compositions, and later sources, this talk aims at shedding some light on the formative process of the categories that by the 15th century became pervasive, determining the understanding of a Buddha's status and range of action.

# Dhāraṇī Literature and Textual Cultures
Davidson, Ronald M. (Fairfield University)

**Panel Abstract**

Ubiquitous in Buddhist Mahāyāna traditions at least since the third century, whether in philosophical literature or ritual performance, *dhāraṇīs* represent ritual, linguistic and canonical challenges to previous Buddhist categories. *Dhāraṇīs* were aggregated into collections (*dhāraṇī-saṃgraha*), inscribed on birch bark, paper, wood, stone or other media, and were employed as no other linguistic or graphic element of Buddhist literature. The panel proposes to look at these literary, epigraphic and ritual phenomena through a variety of media. The scriptural and commentarial literature associated with *dhāraṇīs* brought together ritual systems and vocalizations from both Vedic and non-Vedic sources, even while reaffirming their specifically Buddhist purposes and traditions. While recent work has rightly investigated the

material applications of *dhāraṇīs*, other dimensions were evident as well—intellectual, performative, apotropaic, medical and so on. At the same time, *dhāraṇīs* followed and stimulated Buddhist missionary activity, whether as a means to establish the authority of lineages or as a vocal component of medical treatment. Their reception in non-Indic language speaking areas appears culture and time specific, so that much variation in the translation and transmission of *dhāraṇī*-related practices may be seen.

Harrison, Paul (Stanford University)
**Remarks on the Sanskrit text of the *Viśeṣavatī Dhāraṇī* in the Schøyen Collection**

Hitherto unknown in Sanskrit, the *Viśeṣavatī Dhāraṇī* is one of the more unusual finds among the Sanskrit fragments from Afghanistan in the Schøyen Collection, which are thought to come from the Bamiyan area. This paper, drawing on an unpublished study of this text which I co-wrote with two graduate students (Rafal Felbur and Simon Wiles), will present a brief report on this singular work, which originally occupied folios 21–27(or 28) of a composite manuscript also containing the *Bhaiṣajyaguru Sūtra* and two other short texts of great interest. From the script (Gilgit-Bamiyan Type I) we can date the manuscript approximately to the 6th or 7th century CE. The *Viśeṣavatī Dhāraṇī* proper, a series of invocations of Buddhas and bodhisattvas with accompanying mantras, is housed in a narrative frame with a number of strange and puzzling features which merit discussion, but the placement of the text as a whole in this particular manuscript and the company it keeps also raise questions about the use of such texts by the communities which produced and preserved them.

Hidas, Gergely (The British Museum)
**Weather Control and Agriculture: The *Vajratuṇḍasamayakalparāja***

With recent identifications of Sanskrit sources there are three Nepalese exemplars of the *Vajratuṇḍasamayakalparāja* now available, one palm-leaf and two paper manuscripts, which enables us to prepare the first critical edition along with a translation. While no Chinese version seems to survive, this piece of *dhāraṇī* literature is included among those Buddhist texts translated into Tibetan around 800 CE and the narrative and ritualistic characteristics point towards the first half of the first millennium as a likely period of emergence. This scripture, as it comes down to us, contains six chapters with accounts how spells to control and overpower Nāgas, mythical serpent beings responsible for both the scarcity and excess of precipitation, were taught in the presence of the Buddha. Those with a principal role in these sections include Vajrapāṇi, Agastya Ṛṣi, the Four Great Kings, various Yakṣas and Nāgas, the Garuḍa King, Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśvara. Across this text there are detailed ritual instructions which should be followed by the *vidyādhara* or spell-master officiant. By successfully subjugating Nāgas favourable weather and good crops are guaranteed for the region, which subtly links this incantation tradition to economic power and state affairs parallel with the implicit potential of gaining worldly support for Buddhists from the highest places.

Holtz, Katherin (University of Lausanne)
**The *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra:* A Buddhist apotropaic text from Central Asia**

The Sanskrit *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra* of the Sarvāstivādins, found in two manuscripts from Central Asia, is one important example of the early Indian *rakṣā* literature. A special feature of the texts ascribed to this literary genre is the fact that they partly employ older canonical texts and build new compositions, including *mantra*s and apotropaic prescriptions, around that already existing core. Thus *mantra*s often appear only in the texts from Central Asia and cannot be found in the canonical Pāli or Chinese parallels. The *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra* concentrates on four verses common to all recensions included in the Pāli, and in the Chinese Canon, in the Tibetan Kangyur, and in the Sanskrit manuscripts. The Sanskrit text, however, shows a marked difference in the narrative frame, which differs largely from all other recensions and seems to stem from a different line of development. While *mantra*s were inserted right into the main textual body of the Sanskrit *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra,* the Chinese and Tibetan translations were endowed with an appendix containing *dhāraṇī*s.

This paper will present the Sanskrit manuscripts of this text, describe their content and structure, and discuss the value of this *sūtra* for the early evolution of the Buddhist *rakṣā* literature. A special focus will be given to the relationship between the Sanskrit text and the translations into Chinese and Tibetan.

Overbey, Ryan Richard (Wesleyan University)
**Envisioning the Buddhist abecedary in the *Amoghapāśakalparāja***

Throughout the vast corpus of *dhāraṇī* literature we find theoretical reflection on the meaning and function of individual syllables. By framing syllables as "gateways" or "doors" (Skt. *akṣaramukha*, Ch. *zìmén* 字門) to key doctrinal concepts, Buddhists established a one-to-many relationship between letters on a page and teachings in the heart. Other analyses would stress the interpenetration of all syllables, allowing the one-to-many abecedary to explode into a many-to-many network of universal emptiness.

Both Janet Gyatso (1992) and Ronald Davidson (2009) have fruitfully explored the complex semiotics of the Buddhist abecedary in dhāraṇī literature, demonstrating the productive interplay of the doctrines of emptiness and the technologies of literacy. But the history of the Buddhist abecedarydoes not end here. In the second half of the first millennium CE, Buddhist ritual manuals began to use the syllabic gates as tools of invocation, seeds for the visualization of deities.

In this paper I explore the uses of syllables in the *Amoghapāśakalparāja*, a vast ritual corpus translated into Chinese in the early eighth century CE. In the *Amoghapāśakalparāja* we find both lists of syllables correlated with doctrinal keywords and the use of syllables as seeds for constructing elaborate visualizations of deities in the *maṇḍala*. Careful exploration of this corpus will allow us to trace a line of development from the *Perfection of Wisdom* literature through the *dhāraṇīsūtras* and into the tantras, revealing profound continuities in the Buddhist ritual uses of the abecedary.

Davidson, Ronald M. (Fairfield University)
***Dhāraṇīs* and the Sanctification of Painting**

The use of painting in Buddhist archaeological sites has been noted for quite some time, part of a larger discussion of the origin of the Buddha's image in India, most recently explored by DeCaroli. Still there has been less attention to the distinction between painted and sculptural images, particularly in the area of *dhāraṇī* texts. It is *dhāraṇī* texts that affirm the sanctification of Buddhist painted surfaces in a manner not seen before.

Shinohara's examination of texts on painting in the Chinese canon has underlined the textual basis for *dhāraṇī*-associated paintings in Buddhist history. But the related issue of the Indian context of Buddhist painting has not been pursued. Yet within India, the painted surface was known to invoke simultaneously intimacy and sexuality, so much so that Buddhist scriptures prior to the Gupta period were ambivalent towards the use of painted images, as Soper's data demonstrates. In distinction, much later scholarship does not mention the different attitudes exhibited in Buddhist texts over painting as opposed to sculpture.

Seeking clarity, the paper will look at Buddhist *dhāraṇī* texts in light of literary works from the world of Indian drama and from Jainism formulated in the Gupta and pre-Gupta eras. These non-Buddhist texts describe paintings in a manner that illuminates the Indian world of visual representation on cloth or on walls. The paper will observe that the earliest Buddhist text articulating a ritual for the painting of images, the *\*Mūlamantra*, said to have been translated between 502-557 CE, has linguistic and thematic convergences with sections of the *Mañjuśriyamūlakalpa* that were not treated by Lalou or Kapstein. The *\*Mūlamantra* describes an elaborate painted surface, its preparation, the distinction between the painter—evidently a layman—and the patron, certainly a monk, as well as other factors like color, medium, and iconography. Since its language may be shown to be coincident with that of a pericope in the *Mañjuśriyamūlakalpa*, we can also understand something of the factors of formulation in this lengthy Buddhist tantra.

Most interesting, the *\*Mūlamantra* painting text appears to have been formulated in the area in which Buddhist and Atharvana brāhmaṇas were in proximity. Based on inscriptions of the period, this was most probably in the area of Ajanta, as the Vatsulgama Vākāṭaka kingdom occupied the area in which Atharvana brāhmaṇas were known and also included Ajanta, the premier surviving Buddhist site of painting. Consequently, the earliest Buddhist painting ritual text may have originated in the area of Ajanta at approximately the same time as Hariṣena was engaged in the dramatic revival of the site in the late fifth century CE.

## Discipline, Agency, Inquiry: Vinaya Reception in Women's Monastic Communities Past and Present

Langenberg, Amy Paris (Eckerd College)

**Panel Abstract**

Scholars, whether monastic, academic, or both, read classical Buddhist Vinaya texts variously as normative statements about monastic ideals, religious narrative, or descriptive accounts of the ancient monastic practice "on the ground." This is so in part because of the historically

layered, complex, and multivalent nature of the texts themselves. Reading – and practicing – Vinaya is inevitably an interpretive dynamic process involving choice-making, analysis, and ethical discernment. Moreover, scholarship on ancient women's monastic communities, some of which focuses on Vinaya accounts, indicates that the ethical and social environment of female monasticism was not the mirror image of its male counterpart, but responsive to social conditions of a gendered nature. In other words, ancient female monastics and their male superiors were involved in a dynamic and interpretive process of negotiation between the ideal and the real, a process that is reflected in Buddhist legal literature. Contemporary Buddhist women's monastic communities are involved in a similar process of negotiation, albeit within much altered and diverse social environments. Starting from the position that female monastic discipline is agentive and interpretive, this panel examines the reception of Vinaya texts and negotiation of Buddhist monastic disciplinary ideals in women's monastic communities past and present.

Langenberg, Amy Paris (Eckerd College)
**The Textual Community of the Mahāsāṅghika-lokottaravādin Bhikṣuṇī-vinaya**

The *Mahāsāṅghika-lokottaravādin Bhikṣuṇī-vinaya* is a unique nuns' disciplinary text containing vivid images of the nuns' community. Focusing on particular features that differentiate it from other nuns' vinayas as well as certain differences between nuns and monk's discipline generally, this paper approaches the *Mahāsāṅghika-lokottaravādin Bhikṣuṇī-vinaya* as an historically layered text reflecting a community of nuns (and monks) connected by lineage, and possibly by regional tradition, who creatively interacted with and performed a shared body of texts. This body of texts would have included vinaya and sūtra, but also texts or oral teachings not located in the Buddhist canon.

The reading of the *Mahāsāṅghika-lokottaravādin Bhikṣuṇī-vinaya* undertaken here is influenced by Anne Blackburn's idea of a "textual community," defined as "those who participate in shared practices of reading, writing, listening, interpretation, and performance, with reference to the same body of texts (perhaps, but not necessarily, a formal curriculum)." While we may not have much independent information about the ancient community of *Mahāsāṅghika-lokottaravādin* female ascetics, the text itself depicts a textual community in action, while presumably also acting as the focal point of one.

As has been noted previously by Roth and Hüsken the *Mahāsāṅghika-lokottaravādin Bhikṣuṇī-vinaya* has a number of unusual features, including the fact that the story of founding of nuns order and eight *gurudharmas* are placed before the *bhikṣuṇī-vibhaṅga* as an introduction and that Mahāprajāpatī interacts directly with the Buddha when reporting the nuns' concerns, circumventing the male *saṃgha* entirely. General features of nuns' vinayas that distinguish them from monks' vinayas are many. This paper will focus in particular on a few rules related to the regulation of women's sexuality and reproductive functions as examples of these differences. Considering differences (rather than similarities) between the *Mahāsāṅghika-lokottaravādin Bhikṣuṇī-vinaya* and other male and female vinaya traditions highlights the dynamic and innovative nature of the textual community whose imprint it received and which it helped to

reproduce. It's differences, I will argue, also raise the intriguing question of female agency and innovation in its formation.

Dhammadinnā, Bhikkhunī (Dharma Drum Institute of Liberal Arts)
**The legal status of the *sikkhamānā* & the contemporary re-establishment of the Theravāda *bhikkhunī* lineage**

The requirement of *sikkhamānā* / *śīkṣamāṇā* training for two years prior to the full acceptance of women candidates into the *saṅgha* (*upasampadā*) is one of several conspicuous differences that set apart the female vis-à-vis the male ordination protocols, rules, models of training and daily lives of the Indian Buddhist monastic communities.

The *sikkhamānā* / *śīkṣamāṇā* requirement features as one of the eight *garudhamma*s / *gurudharma*s whose acceptance most *Vinaya* traditions reckon as the legitimate ordination of the first Buddhist nun, Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī / Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī. This institution impinges on several aspects of the *Vinaya*: the legal protocol of the ordination procedure (set forth in the *Khandhaka* / *Skandhaka* section of the *Vinaya*s), the arising of offences for an uncompliant ordaining *saṅgha* and preceptor (sanctioned and discussed in the *pātimokkha* / *prātimokṣa* and *Vibhaṅga*), and the overall training and community structure, based on a distinctly coenobitic model.

In the context of the contemporary re-establishment of the Theravāda *bhikkhunī* lineage in Asia and the West, the prevalent choice has been not to implement the *sikkhamānā* period of training. Such a choice has legal and ideological implications that are in turn related to larger patterns of contrasting perceptions, frames of interpretations and, ultimately, sources of authority in the context of the re-establishment of the Theravāda *bhikkhunī-saṅgha* and of contemporary globalised Buddhist monasticism at large.

This paper will first survey the relevant jurisprudence and casuistry in the Pali *Vinaya* and in the commentarial literature of the Theravāda tradition, including a review of the position of earlier scholarship on the status and relative chronology of the institution of the *sikkhamānā* / *śīkṣamāṇā* and its inclusion among the *garudhamma*s / *gurudharma*s. It will then procced to the position of the *sikkhamānā* within the contemporary re-establishment of the Theravāda *bhikkhunī* lineage in Asia and the West, and highlight parallelisms as well as differences in the dynamics of prestige and legitimacy of ordination platforms including or excluding this requirement observed in the context of the *Vinaya* revival in contemporary China and Taiwan.

Heirman, Anne (Ghent University)
Chiu, Tzu-Lung (Ghent University)
**Body Movement and Sport Activities for Buddhist Nuns: A Normative Perspective from India to China**

Physical activities are part of daily life, and this has not remained unnoticed to the early Buddhist disciplinary masters in India. In an attempt to protect the good reputation of the monastic community, their normative texts (*vinaya*) encourage monastics to control their body

movements, and to strictly remain decent. Still, body movement is not totally banned. On the contrary, walking is warmly welcomed for health reasons. It strengthens the body and the mind. This utilitarian aspect is not unimportant. It is even essential. As soon as physical activities are linked to 'useless' leisure, they are no longer allowed. Even worse is when monastics expose themselves to all kinds of bodily games, entertaining the public. This is strongly rejected, all the more since the community risks to lose donors. Apart from this economic reasoning, it is also very clear that Buddhist disciplinary masters consider this behavior to be morally wrong. It ridicules monastic life and the teachings it symbolizes.

This paper investigates what this framework of social control and morally good behavior implies for Buddhist monastics in China, and particularly in nuns' communities, past and present. How were Indian normative texts interpreted, and what became emphasized in the new context of Chinese Buddhism? And secondly, how are Chinese normative guidelines of the past implemented today?

As we will see, in Medieval China, where Mahāyāna Buddhism became popular around the same time *vinaya* rules were fully introduced, the link between the body and the outward world became even more visible. Virtue takes bodily forms and bodily forms express virtue, at least in the ideal normative context. In addition, social control and, to a lesser extent, attention for health issues increase the pressure on body and bodily expressions. It does not mean that the body remains motionless or heavily restricted in its articulations. On the contrary, Mahāyāna guidelines prompt Buddhist monks and nuns to use the body for fruitful ends, showing correct behavior to inspire others, particularly the lay community. This is also the reasoning behind monastics' participation in games of chess or in martial arts. A beneficial use of the body committed to guiding both oneself and sentient beings towards the Buddhist Dharma is or should be at stake, not leisure, desire or greed to win. It allows monastics to both physically train their body, and engage in intellectual games. And it inspires modern masters, of whom Xingyun (°1927) is a prime example, to promote sport as an expedient means aiming at bringing people to Buddhism. Still, women, more than men and, sometimes even contrary to men, are expected to express virtue by hiding the body. This implies that body movement, sport activities and the benefits that could potentially derive from them, need to be carefully balanced, in an attempt to remain within the social standards of monastic life and lay society.

---

Hüsken, Ute (Oslo University)
Therī, Tathālokā (Bhikkhunī Vibhaṅga Project)
**Coming into Our Own: The Re-making of the Bhikkhunīsaṃgha in Transcultural Contexts**

*This two-part paper, as a dialogue, looks at "the re-making of the bhikkhunī sangha in transcultural contexts" from the external perspective of a scholar studying the bhikkhunī revival and the internal perspective of the bhikkhunīs' "coming into their own" from one of the first wave of active Theravāda bhikkhunī preceptors.*

Part I: The Re-making of the Bhikkhunīsaṃgha in Transcultural Contexts

In the USA the third generation of bhikkhunīs receives Upasampadā, whereas the first ordination in Germany - maybe even the first in Europe – took place in 2015. This part of the paper explores the ways individual women monastics and communities deal with complications and challenges of their everyday lives, for which more often than not the Theravada monastic discipline is resorted to. I shall show how solutions are always individual and specific to the situation at hand, determined by the historical and local contexts, and how at the same time the Vinaya proves to be an important tool connecting the individual bhikkhunīs and bhikkhunisamghas not only with each other, irrespective of their physical location, but also bridges historical distance.

Part II: "Coming into Our Own: Perspective of a Bhikkhunī Preceptor on Discipline, Agency & Inquiry Amidst the Renascent Theravāda Bhikkhuni Sangha/s"
This part of the paper offers internal perspective on how Dhamma and Vinaya studies are brought into and inform bhikkhunīs' monastic community life (with highlights on the role of the Bhikkhunī Vibhaṅga Project), together with offering a look at some of the puzzles or problems that bhikkhunīs are working with the tradition in working out. The author draws from her experience with ordinations and bhikkhunīs' individual and community life including but not limited to California, Australia and Thailand over a 30 year period, from approximately the last decade of the 20th century to the second decade of the 21st. Topics of active interest and work center on a dynamic and creative tension or fusion between ideals and vision, and striving and attainments or lived practices in the renascent bhikkhunīs' community. These include:
- *from past to present*—the dynamic interplay between envisioned past (or pasts) and present;
- *from "ordination" to "full acceptance"*—forms of dual ordination and one-sided ordination; *upasampadā* as "full acceptance" or "fully sharing in the training and way of life" and the actuality in the contemporary greater Sangha; questions of belonging, lineage and *saṃvāsa;*
- *from text to congruence in cultural context/s*—the *gārudhamma*s and *sikkhamāna*; the position of senior teaching bhikkhunīs with regards to *ovāda,* and bhikkhunī teachers' and community leaders' position in Buddhist monastic teaching and leadership structures; support, living with Vinaya, and religious alms mendicancy in the contemporary West;
- *from renascence to renaissance*—bhikkhunīs' discipline and developing bhikkhunī sangha/s as optimal container or *the most* optimal conditions for supporting and effecting the Buddhist intention and aim of women's liberation, *ceto-vimutti.*

Ng, Zhiru (Pomona College)
**Rethinking Vinaya Practice in Urban Buddhist Architecture and Space: A Female Buddhist Community in South Taiwan**

When we think of female observance and exegeses of the vinaya in contemporary Chinese communities, the Incense Light Buddhist Nuns Order in Taiwan and their abbess the *vinaya* teacher Wuyin 悟因 (b. 1940) often come to mind. The Incense Light Buddhist Nuns Order is also known for reshaping female monastic education and roles, including promoting nuns as preachers and teachers. Lesser known to the Western audience is their building of modern Buddhist architectures to accommodate Buddhist urbanization and the needs of urban laity. The most famous of their urban architectures is the Vihāra of the Purple Bamboo Grove 紫竹林精舍 in Gaoxiong (South Taiwan), the design of which intended as a metaphorical mapping of the

*Lotus Sūtra*.  Since this Mahāyāna scripture focuses substantially on the preacher-image and preaching activities, the *Lotus Sūtra* is an appropriate text for scriptural endorsement of new social and religious roles for female monastics.  However, my concern in this paper is not with the use of *Lotus Sūtra* in architecture; instead, I explore how urbanization of Buddhist architecture and the prescription of "new" social roles to female monastics complicate their daily observances of the monastic *vinaya*.  I will examine the need to inscribe on to the new urban Buddhist architecture clearly demarcated spiritual spaces for *vinaya* observance, and how these architectural and spatial imaginings can be understood as on-going commentarial interpretations of the *vinaya*.

Mrozik, Susanna (Mt. Holyoke College)
**Discussant**

## Does Candrakīrti offer any Epistemology (pramāṇa)?

Thakchoe, Sonam (University of Tasmania)
Westerhoff, Jan (Oxford University)

**Panel Abstract**

The debate whether Candrakīrti's Madhyamaka endorses any epistemology (pramāṇa) is far from over. Some have argued in the past that Candrakīrti is committed to rejecting all pramāṇas in virtue of the rejection of the epistemological system of Dignāga and Dharmakīrti.  Others have taken different perspective, arguing that Candrakīrti accepts Mādhyamika pramāṇas and develops a cogent account of their roles in our epistemic practices. This panel is dedicated to studying the findings of contemporary scholarship on this specific debate. To be sure, whichever direction the current research findings point us concerning this problem, the discussion will nevertheless also help us to shed some important light on another vexed but related epistemological question: Is the epistemological system of Dignāga and Dharmakīrti the only one Buddhism offers? There is a general assumption that this is the case, although some might question its validity and might point out arguments to the contrary.

Garfield, Jay L. (Smith College)
**Prāsaṅgika, Pramāṇa and the Problem of Foundations**

Candrakīrti rejects foundationalism, but appears to accept all four pramāṇas: perception, inference, testimony and analogy. He clearly argues that we can know, but rejects pramāṇavādin accounts of knowledge. Tsongkhapa, in his effort to synthesize Candrakīrti's Madhyamaka and Dharmakārti's pramāṇavāda, restricts the pramāṇas to perception and inference and adopts a foundationalist understanding of knowledge coupled with a Madhyamaka ontology. Takstang takes him to task for this, arguing that no Prāsaṅgika can adhere to a pramāṇavadin epistemology. I explore Takstang's understanding of how a Prāsaṅgika can talk about knowledge, showing that he follows Candrakriti more closely than does Tsongkhapa, and that he offers a more compelling approach to epistemology.

Powers, John (Deakin University)

**'Jam dbyangs bshad pa's Polemical Doxography**

sTag tshang's attack on Tsong kha pa's presentation of the two truths threatened the foundations of his philosophical project, and it prompted heated responses from some of the leading figures of the dGe lugs order. Paṇ chen bLo bzang chos kyi rgyal mtshan attempted to rebut sTag tshang with detailed philosophical arguments, but 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa dKon mchog 'jigs med dbang po mainly resorted to invective and ad hominem attacks, repeatedly accusing his opponent of self-contradiction and bad philosophy. My paper will examine 'Jam dbyang bzhad pa's methodology and the rhetorical devices he employs to denigrate sTag tshang.

Duckworth, Douglas (Temple University)
**Truth or Consequences: Implicit Commitments and the Logic of Prāsaṅgika**

In the first chapter of his *Prasannapadā,* Cāndrakīrti famously defended Buddhapālita against Bhāviveka's criticism that he had failed to formulate Nāgārjuna's critique of causality in terms of probative arguments, but rather left the arguments in the form of *reductios.* This debate is well known to be the starting point of the "Prāsaṅgika-Madhyamaka" interpretation in Tibet. Indeed, Tsongkhapa (1357-1419) has said that "an autonomous probative argument is not suitable to generate the view of thusness in an opponent" in the context of explaining Candrakīrti's Prāsaṅgika (*dgongs pa rab gsal,* 226). In his critique of Tsongkhapa's synthesis of Prāsaṅgika-Madhyamaka and epistemology (*pramāṇa*), the fifteenth-century Sakya scholar, Daktsang (*stag tsang*), accused Tsongkhapa of "eighteen great contradictions," including a contradiction that "the presence of inference contradicts the absence of probative arguments." That is, Daktsang argued that a robust notion of inference - that is, inference *qua pramāṇa* - is antithetical to the "logic" behind Candrakīrti's denial of probative arguments in this context. This paper discusses some of the issues driving this debate, and shows how this debate sheds light on the place of epistemology in an anti-realist interpretation of Madhyamaka.

Doctor, Thomas (Rangjung Yeshi Institute)
**Madhyamaka Dynamics: Early Tibetan Attitudes to Knowledge and the Problem of Emptiness**
.
Madhyamaka philosophy arguably emerges based on the tensions that inhere in a simultaneous affirmation and denial of "dependent origination" (*pratītyasamutpāda*). With such problematic foundations the Madhyamka can hardly be coherently explained as a circumscribed philosophical position. Because of its equal commitment to immanence and transcendence, traditionally associated with means (*upāya*) and insight (*prajñā*), the Madhyamaka is poorly suited to be a position of philosophical rest. Requiring both an exact acknowledgement of the way things appear as well as a universal relinquishment of all claims to ultimate truth, the Madhyamaka is perhaps instead better understood as a program–hermeneutical, cognitive, and transformative–that is effectuated based on assuming a stance. Yet while neither appearance nor emptiness can be understood in isolation, the two nevertheless remain mutually conflicting. Therefore, the stance that is formulated by combining the two must at best be a point of departure–a practical orientation that will carry concrete consequences.

The introduction of Candrakīrti's Nāgarjuna interpretation into Tibet spawned radical reformulations of the Madhyamaka stance. Some saw Candrakīrti's critique of foundationalist epistemology as nihilist deception and produced substantialist doctrines in response. Others understood themselves as faithful Candrakīrti followers and rejected any appeal to the notion of epistemic instruments (*pramāṇa*, *tshad ma*). Others again sought to integrate Candrakīrti's flat denial of mind and mental states at the level of awakening with a robust account of knowledge acquisition. Tsongkhapa's highly influential Candrakīrti interpretation appears organically within this continuously emerging, intellectual framework. In this paper I explore such early Tibetan work to restructure the basic elements in the Madhyamaka stance, thus providing a context for Tsongkhapa Losang Drakpa and Taktsang Sherab Rinchen.

Thakchoe, Sonam (University of Tasmania)
**The Problem of No-mind and Buddhahood: Taktsang and Tsongkhapa on Candrakīrti's Epistemology**

Does Candrakīrti offer any alternative non-foundationalist epistemology? One possible ways of addressing this question is to find out what Candrakīrti has to say about the nature of Buddha's epistemic processes. We know that Candrakīrti has made some very puzzling remarks about the epistemic characters of buddhahood. On the one hand he claims a buddha has an "omniscient insight" and that this insight is the "only epistemic authority" that there is and that this insight is exclusively perceptual (MABh VI.214a-b). On the other hand, somewhat inconsistently, Candrakīrti claims that a buddha does not have mind and mental processes for, according to his view, an attainment of true and complete awakening with respect to all things must be the culmination of a complete cessation of all the "motions of mind and mental processes" (MABh XI.1; 155a) from which, he says, attains an embodiment. (MABh XI.17d ) Now how are we to make sense of these two seemingly contradictory statements? Do these statements reflect any deeper conflicting epistemological issues within Candrakīrti's system or is there a coherent way to understand these statements? This paper is my attempt to answer these questions from two Tibetan interpretative approaches each of which employs very different epistemological arguments which they bring to bear upon its interpretative strategy of Candrakīrti's epistemology.

Yi, Jongbok (Stockton University)
**Discussant**

# Early Buddhist Manuscripts from Gandhāra: New Discoveries and Research
Baums, Stefan (University of Munich)
Strauch, Ingo (University of Lausanne)

**Panel Abstract**

The earliest Buddhist manuscripts, discovered in the 1990s and 2000s in Pakistan and Afghanistan, continue to enrich our knowledge of a formative phase in Buddhist history. From the time of Aśoka to the reign of the Kuṣāṇas, the northwestern region of Gandhāra occupied an

increasingly central place in the Buddhist world. It was here that a local Buddhist literature in Gāndhārī language began to take hold, written on birch-bark scrolls in Kharoṣṭhī script, that communicated Buddhism to Central Asia and ultimately formed the basis for the first Buddhist translations into Chinese. The study of these Gāndhārī Buddhist manuscripts, now numbering about a hundred and covering the full range of Buddhist literature, received new impetus in recent years with the establishment of new research projects and a new generation of Gāndhārī scholars entering the field. While translations of early Buddhist canonical texts occupied the attention of scholars from the beginning, the scope of research has now broadened to the flourishing Gāndhārī literature of Buddhist scholasticism and the emerging Mahāyāna as well as the formation of a comprehensive Gāndhārī Buddhist canon. This panel, the first dedicated to the topic since the 2011 IABS in Taiwan, presents the most recent developments in the field.

Baums, Stefan (University of Munich)
**Manuscripts from Gandhāra and Gāndhārī Texts: History and State of the Field**

This paper offers some reflections on the history and state of Gāndhārī studies, a comparatively new subfield of Buddhist studies and Indian philology, as an introduction to the panel. Research on Gāndhārī texts in the last two hundred years has had a peculiar trajectory: at first, only a slowly growing number of coin legends and Buddhist inscriptions in an obscure script of northwestern South Asia were available to scholars; then around the turn of the twentieth century, one single Buddhist manuscript and many hundreds of secular documents were found on the distant Silk Road; and finally in the closing years of the century, the discovery of about a hundred more Gāndhārī Buddhist manuscripts revolutionized the field again. Scholarly understanding and approaches to the study of Gāndhārī language and literature changed radically with each of these turning points, and the two greatest challenges of the field are now the edition and timely publication of the numerous but difficult manuscript texts, and the reunification of the three main corpora of Gāndhārī texts under a common approach. In this paper, I illustrate how the Gāndhārī inscriptions, secular documents and Buddhist manuscripts shed much valuable light on each other in terms of language, content and physical features. I then provide an update on the work of Andrew Glass and myself on the *Dictionary of Gāndhārī*, in which we analyze all published Gāndhārī texts on common terms and compiled a unified, critically re-edited corpus of the language. The paper concludes with a consideration of the changed and broadened landscape of Gāndhārī studies today, and a report on new arrangements for the ongoing publication of the early Buddhist manuscripts from Gandhāra.

Strauch, Ingo (University of Lausanne)
**The Prātimokṣasūtra Fragments of the Bajaur Collection of Kharoṣṭhī Manuscripts**

Among the numerous Buddhist texts that could be identified among the growing corpus of early manuscripts from northwestern South Asia, only two belong to the genre of canonical Vinaya texts. Both are part of the so-called Bajaur Collection. One of these manuscripts contains two different versions of the first decade of the Naiḥsargika Pātayantika rules of the Bhikṣu-Prātimokṣasūtra. On the basis of paleographical analysis, both versions were written by the same scribe. At the 2008 IABS conference 2008 in Atlanta, I presented the first preliminary results of my study of this unique manuscript which seemed to indicate that both versions are related to

different Prātimokṣasūtra traditions. While the version on the recto appeared to be closely related to the text of the Theravāda Pāli tradition and the Prātimokṣasūtra of the Dharmaguptaka school preserved in Chinese translation, the version on the verso showed many features peculiar to the Sarvāstivāda recension of the Prātimokṣasūtra. My presentation will revisit my previous assumptions and discuss the complete evidence now available from a comprehensive study of the texts and their parallels in the Vinaya traditions preserved in Indic languages and Tibetan and Chinese translation. Special attention will be paid to the circumstances that determined the preservation, use and transmission of Prātimokṣasūtra texts in a Buddhist monastic environment on the basis of the evidence of the Bajaur manuscript.

Marino, Joe (Cornell University)
**Burning, Blazing, Glowing: "The Great Conflagration Hell" and Other Problems in a Gāndhārī Sūtra of the Senior Collection**

In this talk, I present the Gāndhārī *Mahaparaḍaha-sūtra*, or "Great Conflagration Sūtra" (Pali *Mahāpariḷāha-sutta*), the second sūtra on Scroll 20 of the Robert Senior collection of Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts. In the text, the Buddha tells of a hell (*ṇirea*) called Mahaparaḍaha – "Great Burning," or "Great Conflagration" – which, outside of this text and its semi-parallels in Pali, Sanskrit and Chinese *Saṃyutta-nikāya*/*Saṃyuktāgama* collections, is named nowhere else in early Buddhist literature. But the Gāndhārī version offers us clues as to whether and where the Great Conflagration Hell fits into the larger system of Buddhist hell cosmography. In particular, it contains a uniquely situated simile of the red-hot iron ball, which alludes to a wide network of hell imagery in texts concerned with sexual purity, gluttony, discipline, and both infernal and earthly punishment. By considering this text in the context of its semi-parallels and early Buddhist hell literature in general, I suggest that the Great Conflagration may be among the oldest conceptions of Buddhist hell. As a secondary consideration, I also address a problematic passage that seems to have infiltrated the text: half of a popular verse – and only half – from the *Dharmapada*/*Udānavarga* sits upside down in the middle of the sūtra. Was it written prior to copying the sūtra? Why is it (apparently) incomplete? And what does it have to do with the other texts on the manuscript?

Cox, Collett (University of Washington)
**Commentarial Entanglements: The Case of the University of Washington Scroll**

Extant early Indian Buddhist Gāndhārī manuscript collections include a variety of exegetical texts, and several employ familiar commentarial techniques that might support their straightforward identification as commentaries. However, their status as simple commentaries, equivalent to exemplars of the genre within the later collections, must be called into question especially in light of the range of interpretive techniques and stylistic features that the full spectrum of early exegetical texts display. This is particularly true of the University of Washington (UW) scroll, which was acquired by the UW in 2002 and is part of the UW Libraries special collections. Despite exhibiting characteristics typical of commentary, its original identity and function remain unclear. Thus, it presents a particularly interesting test case of problematic genre identification that challenges common notions of early Buddhist textual development and potentially undermines certain presuppositions of canonical categorization. After examining the

UW scroll and its contents, this paper will investigate possible connections with other sūtras and abhidharma texts. Rather than situating the UW scroll securely among more familiar commentarial or exegetical texts, this paper will support the conclusion that the relationships among early Buddhist texts and their genre classification were more fluid than the retrospective application of traditional categories would suggest.

Schlosser, Andrea (University of Munich)
**The Bajaur Mahāyāna Sūtra in Relation to Other Buddhist Texts**

"Bajaur Mahāyāna Sūtra" is the conventional name for a text written on a long birch-bark manuscript in Kharoṣṭhī script and Gāndhārī language. Based on its paleographic features, we can date it to the second century CE. The core of the text is a teaching given by the Buddha Śākyamuni to a group of 84,000 gods who aspire to become bodhisattvas. The gods are predicted to become buddhas with their own buddha field, which is said to resemble Akṣobhya's Abhirati. Within this frame story, the teaching of the Tathāgata, the explanation of the training of a bodhisattva, and the teaching of the future buddhas constitute the theoretical background of the sūtra, focussing on nonperception and nonconceptualization and emphasizing that one should not hold a notion of anything. The content of the Bajaur Mahāyāna Sūtra now being securely established, this presentation will more closely investigate its relationship to other Buddhist texts, especially the Aṣṭasāhasrikā and Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā, but also a number of other Mahāyāna texts, on the background of early Buddhist literature as represented by the Pali canon. Parallels exist both in regard to expression and doctrinal content. The comparison will show the modular composition of the Bajaur text, with borrowings from canonical sources as well as from later Buddhist literature associated with the Mahāyāna.

Ching, Chao-jung (Kyoto University)
**Gāndhārī Manuscripts and Documents from Kuchean Buddhist Monasteries**

Kucha was one of the main stations on the Silk Road transmission of Buddhism from Gandhāra to China. In Kumārajīva's childhood around the middle of the fourth century, Buddhism had been highly developed in this kingdom. Local Buddhist communities were led by five monasteries of monks and three monasteries of nuns, as described in the preface of a Chinese translation of bhikṣuṇī pratimokṣa written in 372–396 CE. However, most manuscripts unearthed in this region are written in the Brāhmī script, and an overwhelming majority of them are to be dated from the fifth century and on. In this paper, I will explore the rise of local Buddhist literature in Kucha from a historical perspective. Attention will be paid to various Kharoṣṭhī material collected in this region. In particular, several newly deciphered wooden fragments will be selected from the Paris, Berlin, St. Petersburg and Otani collections in order to compare different usages of Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī in Kuchean monasteries, in addition to a brief paleographical analysis of two types of "Kučā-Kharoṣṭhī" based on the definition of Dr. Klaus T. Schmidt in 2001.

# Images and Practices of Buddhist Kingship across Asia

Berkwitz, Stephen C. (Missouri State University)
Dotson, Brandon (Georgetown University)

**Panel Abstract**

Scholarship in Buddhist Studies has examined the institution of kingship largely in terms of specific historical figures and important actors in the development of Buddhism in particular places. As a result, we often know a great deal about certain Buddhist kings in specific historical contexts. We tend to be somewhat less aware, however, of the doctrinal and theoretical underpinnings of Buddhist kingship apart from the well-known paradigm of Aśoka, which itself has been thoroughly scrutinized in recent years. With the dual aim of documenting further case studies of Buddhist kingship throughout Asia and relating these to larger comparative and theoretical questions concerning Buddhism and kingship, this panel will bring together scholars who work in different parts of the Buddhist world in order to explore equally the continuities and the differences in various iterations of Buddhist kingship across Asia. This expansive approach to the subject of Buddhist kingship allows for different images of power and patronage to emerge and to be analyzed cross-culturally. Giving attention to representations of Buddhist kingship in various literary and material cultures from Asia, this panel will seek to move beyond the Aśokan paradigm and locate Buddhist kingship in the intersections of different mediations of religious, political, and cultural power.

Zimmermann, Michael (University of Hamburg)
**On Buddhas, Kings and Bodhisattvas: Spiritual and Worldly Rule in Indian Mahāyāna Buddhism**

The paper will deal with the question in which ways the parallelism between the worldly ruler on the one hand, and a buddha or a bodhisattva as the spiritual ruler on the other, has been developed and portrayed in the writings of Indian Mahāyāna Buddhism. As has been shown for the early tradition of Buddhism in India, one of Aśoka's roles is that of being an exemplary layman, to be emulated by all Buddhist followers. But he is also portrayed as the ideal ruler par excellence: the righteous monarch who establishes justice and peace on earth and promotes Buddhist virtues among his subjects. The parallelism between Aśoka as the universal temporal ruler and the Buddha as the paramount leader in the spiritual realm are clearly formulated in the Pāli sources of Indian Buddhism. How is this analogy continued in the scriptures of Indian Mahāyāna Buddhism? Do the Mahāyānist ideas of becoming and acting as a bodhisattva inspire further elaborations of this juxtaposition? And if so, what major strands of this development can be identified?

The paper will focus on Indian Mahāyāna sources and their translations that touch on these issues in both normative and narrative perspectives. While, depending on the source, different visions of the status and juxtaposition of buddhas, bodhisattvas and the monarch will be suggested, it will also become evident that innovative Buddhist concepts of kingship, whenever divorced from the Brahmanic mythological background of divine regality, had to negotiate new modes of legitimizing royalty..

Berkwitz, Stephen C. (Missouri State University)
**What is a Bodhisattva King? Sri Lankan Perspectives on Buddhist Kingship**

A famous eleventh-century statement from the Jētavanārāma Slab-Inscription of Mahinda IV states that only *bodhisattva*s can be kings of Sri Lanka. Based largely on this statement, both Sri Lankan and Western scholars have long held that that the medieval era in Sri Lanka was marked by the popular view wherein the kings of the island were perceived as "bodhisattva kings." However, little attention has been given to understanding what the concept of a "bodhisattva king" actually meant in premodern Sri Lanka, and how this idea functioned in these historical and cultural contexts. This paper will examine the epigraphical and literary evidence for the notion of the bodhisattva king in order to understand its significance and relevance to medieval Sri Lankan society. This paper will focus on several textual portrayals of the "bodhisattva king" in Pāli and Sinhala literature. Sources include written accounts of the renowned King Sirisanghabodhi in the *Mahāvaṃsa* and, more extensively, in the *Hatthavanagallavihāra-vaṃsa* and its Sinhala adaptation *Eḷu Atvanagalu-vaṃśaya.* The accounts of Sirisanghabodhi, widely regarded as a bodhisattva king for his remarkable act of self-sacrifice, offers one influential paradigm for Buddhist kingship in Sri Lankan society. The depiction of this virtuous king will then be compared with late medieval accounts in Sinhala praise poetry of King Parākramabāhu VI in works such as *Pärakumbā Sirita*. Poetic descriptions of this king from the fifteenth century yield a different vision of the bodhisattva king, one that departs from the extraordinary virtues modeled in the *Jātaka* stories by the future Buddha himself. In these works, the identity of a bodhisattva appears to be applied more liberally, and functions as eulogistic trope to exalt the reputations of later kings who competed for fame and power with their royal counterparts in South Indian kingdoms.

In sum, a comprehensive view of the idea of bodhisattva kings raises questions both over how prevalent this notion was in premodern Sri Lanka, and over what qualities were sufficient to earn this title. It will become clearer based on our survey of Sri Lankan materials that the bodhisattva king could mean different things to different authors, and may not have been the requisite criterion for Buddhist kingship that many scholars have long assumed. To revise the idea of the bodhisattva king, especially its characteristics and customariness, enables us to develop a better understanding of Buddhist kingship in Sri Lanka.

Pranke, Patrick (University of Louisville)
**The King who would be Buddha: King Bodawpaya's Critique of Burmese Buddhist Origins and His Quest for the True Teachings**

The most famous and influential origin myth in Burma today tells of how, in the 11th century, a Mon monk named Shin Arahan converted the Myamma king of Pagan, Anawrahta, to the Theravāda, thus establishing this form of Buddhism as the foundation of Burmese religious life and civilization from that time onwards. The legend itself, which in its present form dates to perhaps the 16th century, represents a hybrid of, among other things, elements taken from the *Mahāvaṃsa* account of the Indian emperor Dhammāsoka and an indigenous conquest narrative that tells of how Anawrahta captured the Mon kingdom of Thaton. As is well known, Pali textual tradition portrays Dhammāsoka as the premier paragon of Buddhist kingship—as the ideal royal patron, protector and propagator of the religion—and following this lead, Burmese chroniclers depict King Anawrahta as the perfect native instantiation of the Asokan model—a model that for centuries Burmese kings sought to emulate in their own display of good deeds

and royal acts of merit. But the legend of King Anawrahta and Shin Arahan is not without its contradictions or anachronisms, and it is not the only Burmese foundation myth that competed for attention. These facts were to play a significant role in the religious thinking and policies of one of Burma's most well-known and religiously active monarchs, King Bodawpaya (r.1782-1819), who, early on in his reign in 1783, sponsored a far-reaching reform and reorganization of the Burmese sangha, some of the effects of which are discernable even today. Contemporary monastic chronicles portrayed Bodawpaya's reform as a near complete re-enactment of the Asoka legend and as but the latest iteration of pious royal deeds carried out by good Burmese kings since the founding of the religion at Pagan. Yet, in the latter part of his reign Bodawpaya was to turn violently against these very reforms he once sponsored, and taking aim at the legendary founding fathers of Burmese Buddhism, blame Shin Arahan and King Anawrahta for destroying the Buddha's true teachings and foisting upon future Burmese generations a false religion. In this presentation I will examine the legend of Shin Arahan and Anawrahta, giving a brief account of its contents and evolution, and explore Bodawpaya's reasoning for rejecting it—reasoning which ultimately was to lead him to ponder whether he himself might be the future Buddha Metteyya, born into the world to undo the old religion and found a new dispensation.

Bryson, Megan (University of Tennessee)
**Humane Kings on the Border: The *Renwang jing* in Dali Buddhism**

The *Prajñāpāramitā Scripture for Humane Kings to Protect their Countries* (Chn. *Bore boluomiduo huguo renwang jing*) became an important part of Tang-dynasty (618-907) Buddhism thanks to the monk Amoghavajra's (Chn. Bukong; 704-775) new version of the text for Emperor Xuanzong's court. As Charles Orzech has shown, the *Scripture for Humane Kings* worked on different levels to advocate Buddhist governance by correlating king and bodhisattva, rulership and awakening, political and religious advisor. The scripture's promises of divine protection appealed to Tang emperors, but also to the rulers of Japan, Korea, the Tangut Xi Xia empire, and the Dali kingdom (937-1253). This paper explores how the rulers of the Dali kingdom (and their regional predecessors) used texts and art based on the *Scripture for Humane Kings* to establish themselves as a Buddhist regime. Among the surviving sources from the Dali kingdom are two manuscript copies of the scripture with Liang Bi's (717-777) commentary; the 1052 *Compass for Protecting the Nation Subcommentary* (*Huguo sinan chao*) that has not been found elsewhere; images of the scripture's "kings of sixteen great countries" and a "country-protecting pillar" in the 1170s long painting *Roll of Buddhist Images*; and a section on the "Country-Protecting Prajñā Buddha Mother" in an 1136 esoteric ritual text with a diagram of Siddham characters that perfectly matches part of a Humane Kings *dhāraṇī* ritual text attributed to Amoghavajra. By considering each of these materials in turn, I will construct a cohesive image of Buddhist rulership in the Dali kingdom centered around the *Scripture for Humane Kings*. On one level, the Dali court appealed to this scripture in presenting themselves as preeminent Buddhist rulers, which fit into their increasing independence from the Song dynasty (compared to the relations between the preceding Nanzhao kingdom, Tang, and Tibet). For example, Dali rulers called themselves emperors while demoting the Song ruler to the level of king or prince (*wang*). However, I argue that the *Scripture for Humane Kings* also played a special role for the Dali kingdom's Duan rulers who increasingly lost political authority to the

Gao prime ministers in the second half of the period. As Duan power faded, they turned to the *Scripture for Humane Kings* to boost their image as divinely supported Buddhist monarchs.

Dotson, Brandon (Georgetown University)
**Debasing the God: Buddhism and Kingship in the Tibetan Empire**

The ontological and positional status of the Tibetan king underwent various changes over the course of the Tibetan Empire (c.608–866), and in the centuries that followed its collapse, when Tibetan cultural and religious memory coalesced around a highly mythologized cast of characters including kings, queens, and adepts, and within which the kings were notably refigured as incarnate bodhisattvas. Looking at the earlier strata of changes in the depictions of Tibet's kings, dating to the imperial period itself or to shortly after, one can draw on pillar inscriptions and written records from Dunhuang and elsewhere dating from the 8th to the 10th centuries. Examining these sources, one of the most interesting changes in the Tibetan kingship is the attitude toward the king vis-à-vis his status as a god. In particular, there are two somewhat congruent movements that point to the king's dual nature but which simultaneously erode this duality.

In the first place, there is the more or less "official version" of the royal cosmogony, in which the king is a god who descends from the heavens to rule men and beasts. Referred to as "the god, the emperor" (lha btsan po), the king has one foot in both worlds, and travels between heaven and earth via a magical cord or ladder. Fundamentally, however, he is a god who has been enticed down to earth, where he is bound to his human subjects in a social contract that mandates his death should he fail. The king is in this sense a divine captive, and his position on earth makes him something less than a god in the heavens.

This ambivalence of referring to the king with a divine title, e.g. "god," while interacting with him via a contractual relationship that belies his mortality is also relevant to another, related royal title. This is "son of gods," (lha sras), corresponding to the Sanskrit title "devaputra," used of kings across the Buddhist world. In fact, "son of gods" co-occurs in many sources with the royal title or designator "god." This perhaps reflects a similar dual nature of the king to that expressed by his movement between heaven and earth. Additionally, the synchronic use of "god" and "son of gods" probably encodes a negotiation between Tibetan and Buddhist cosmologies. Although the challenge was variously deflected and moderated, Buddhism fundamentally contested the ontological status of gods and their place in Tibet's ritual economy. The prestige of the king's status as a god was probably thereby eroded, and it would seem that "son of gods" presented an alternative title with an attractive Buddhist legacy.

The coexistence of these ostensibly contradictory titles, and the positional and ontological statuses that they imply, attests to the polyvalence of kingship and its uncanny ability to not only embrace, but to effectively wield contradictions. Here, however, we also observe a slow erosion of some facets of Tibetan kingship, notably the notion of the king as a god against the backdrop of a coalescing of Tibetan and Buddhist cosmologies.

Sango, Asuka (Carleton College)

**The Emperor Dreamed of Golden Light Lectures in Heian Japan (794–1185)**

In the ninth month of 1025, the Japanese courtier Fujiwara Sanesuke (957–1046) recorded in his diary *Shōyūki* a strange dream that Emperor Goichijō (1008–1036) had had. Possessed by evil spirits, several thousand women invaded his palace. A mysterious man then warned that the only solution to this was to hold the Saishōkō, the lectures on the *Golden Light Sūtra* (Ch. *Jinguangming zuisheng wang jing*, J. *Konkōmyō saishō ō kyō*; *T* no. 665, 16). After having awakened, the emperor intended to do so, but Sanesuke disagreed and claimed that, as stated in this sūtra, if the emperor ruled righteously, such a calamity would be eliminated, and there would be no need to hold the lectures.

Thus while Sanesuke referred to the Buddhist ideal of kingship expressed in this sūtra to criticize Emperor Goichijō, the emperor expected the apotropaic power of the sūtra to protect his palace (i.e., the symbol of his body and government). This episode reveals that in the Heian period (794–1185), the members of court society appropriated the ideas of kingship expressed in the *Golden Light Sūtra* either to contest or to support the emperor.

Behind Sanesuke's and Goichijō's expectations and anxieties over the imperial authority was a crucial political shift in the mid-Heian period. The leaders of the early Heian state had adopted the discourse about kingship in the *Golden Light Sūtra* and the Chinese bureaucratic system of *ritsuryō* to invent the Japanese ideal of emperor-centered government with Buddhist court rituals as its embodiment. However, the emperor-centric structure was severely challenged around the tenth century when the Fujiwara regental family dramatically increased its influence by repeatedly marrying its daughters to the emperor (as reflected in Goichijō's fear for the possessed women's intrusion into his palace).

This paper will reveal that the ascendance of Fujiwaras did not cause the decline of the emperor's authority, as some scholars have assumed, but contributed to the development of new ritual expressions of the emperor's centrality such as the Saishōkō. To demonstrate this point, I will study the rite's history and format by examining diaries and ritual manuals written by courtiers such as Sanesuke, as well as the prayers, lectures and debates performed by monks, such as the Tōdaiji monk Sōshō's (1202–1278) record of the Saishōkō (*Saishōkō mondōki*).

Furthermore, in order to demonstrate how the Saishōkō reinvented and reasserted the figure of the emperor, this paper will analyze its ritual space while focusing on the placement of emperor's body—the issue that has tended to escape historians who primarily focused on textual evidence. For this purpose, the paper will utilize visual material such as the *Pictorial Scroll of Annual Court Rituals* and the *Illustrated Manual of Court Rituals* (*Nenjū gyōji emaki* and *Unzushō*; both dated the twelfth century). Being held in the emperor's residential quarter, the Saishōkō presented the physicality of his body that ate, slept and procreated thereby contributing to the reinvention of the imperial authority based more on the person of the emperor than his office.

## Insights into Gandhāran Buddhist Narratives through Art and Texts

Neelis, Jason (Wilfred Laurier University)

**Panel Abstract**

Participants in this panel seek to share insights into Buddhist narratives transmitted in Gandhāran visual and written sources. Building on interdisciplinary collaborative research by art historians and textualists on jātaka images in Gandhāran sculptures and avadānas and pūrvayogas in Gāndhārī manuscripts, presenters will address an extensive range of questions and issues about relationships between Gandhāran art and texts pertaining to previous-birth narratives as well as widely-depicted events connected with Śākyamuni's hagiography. The panel's purpose is to explore how new evidence of Gandhāran literary cultures and other discoveries of early Buddhist manuscripts from neighboring regions featured in IABS panels relate to regional visual cultures also belonging to the early centuries CE. The extent to which ongoing studies of Gāndhārī texts can contribute to understandings of Gandhāran art history will be investigated through comparisons and contrast of narrative corpora. In addition to elucidating selective appropriation and transformation of literary and visual elements in different media, the scope of the panel extends to localization of narrative episodes connected with various types of life-story genres in the ritual landscape of Gandhāra and the Northwest.

Neelis, Jason (Wilfrid Laurier University)
**Regional Diversity and Doctrinal Standardization in the Transmission of Gandhāran Narratives**

Among over fifty original compositions of narrative summaries labeled as avadānas and pūrvayogas in the British Library collection of Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts, several stories set in Śākyamuni's own times or in the period of Aśoka in northern India can generally be associated with recognizable Buddhist narratives. Other "homegrown" avadānas and pūrvayogas belonging to ca. first century CE Gandhāran contexts, however, are more difficult to link with previously known narratives. This paper will focus on Gandhāran narratives localized in the northwestern borderlands (Taxila, Puṣkalāvatī, Kashmir) which incorporate figures who are known from Indo-Scythian coins and inscriptions (such as Jihoniga and Aśpavarman), characters with Indo-Iranian ethnonyms and names (Śaka/Saga, Kardamaga, Zadamitra, Spadu, Yola), and titles (Kṣatrapa, Mahākṣatrapa). Through intratextual and intertextual analysis of selected examples, I will propose that local specificity and narrative complexity diminish as doctrinal motifs become more prominent and the stories are tied to stock figures and locations. The process of standardizing stories with locales restricted to the Buddhist heartland in northern India, casts of eminent characters, and a growing emphasis on doctrines may also be related to patterns of standardization in Gandhāran art in which a relatively limited corpus of jātaka images is eclipsed by hagiographical episodes of Śākyamuni's lifestory in the early centuries CE.

Allon, Mark (University of Sydney)
**Accounts of the Buddha's life in the Senior Kharoṣṭhī Manuscript collection and their counterparts in the art of Gandhāra and ancient India**

The Senior Kharoṣṭhī manuscript collection, which was apparently interred in a stūpa in the ancient Gandhāra in the 2nd century CE as a pious act, contains several texts that preserve accounts of episodes of the Buddha's life that were depicted in artwork in Gandhāra as well as at sites such as Bharhut and Amaravati, most commonly found in narrative reliefs associated with stūpas. This includes the account of the merchants Tripuṣa and Bhallika (to use Sanskrit forms) offering the Buddha his first meal after his awakening and the Buddha receiving four bowls from the gods of the four directions for receiving the food, which he reduces to a single bowl; the brahman youth Nāla and the nāga serpent Elāpattra visiting the Buddha; and King Ajātaśatru visiting the Buddha on a full-moon night, which forms the beginning of the Sāmaññaphala-sutta/Śrāmaṇyaphala-sūtra.

The narrative stone panels depicting episodes of the Buddha's life that appeared on the exterior of stūpas or their accompanying railings made manifest and gave a visual performance of the life of the Buddha whose relics were preserved in the interior of the stūpa, enlivening the presence of the Buddha to the faithful as they performed the pradakṣiṇā around the stūpa and facilitating their participation in his life. It is thus an intriguing possibility that the stūpa that housed the Senior manuscripts, these dharma relics, may have been adorned with the very episodes of the Buddha's life that were preserved in the manuscripts that had been interred at its heart, perhaps in conjunction with the Buddha's physical relics.

In this paper the texts in the Senior collection that have visual counterparts in the art of Gandhāra and other ancient Indian sites will be discussed and the relationships between the textual and visual accounts revealed. The implications of the stūpa that housed these manuscripts being the site of the convergence of textual and visual accounts of the same episodes of the Buddha's life, and these with the Buddha's physical relics, will also be explored.

---

Lenz, Timothy (University of Washington)
**What is the Buddha's Gandhāran Game?**

In 1900, a corroded mechanism, the likes of which had not previously been seen, was discovered by sponge divers in the waters off the coast of the Island Antikythera. The geared mechanism now known as the Antikythera Mechanism, could calculate and display celestial information, especially cycles such as the phases of the moon and a luni-solar calendar (Freeth, T. et al. Nature 444, 587-591 (30 November 2006) | doi:10.1038/nature05357). This unique and as yet not completely understood mechanism was apparently constructed sometime near the end of the second century BC, a time that roughly corresponds to the explosion of developments of Buddhism in Gandhāra that are only now coming to light with the many recent discoveries of Gandhāran manuscripts. The Antikythera Mechanism can be taken as symbol for or reminder of the long road to solving some of the interesting, beguiling, unsolved problems posed by our ever increasing knowledge of how the teachings of the Buddha flowered in ancient Gandhāra. One such problem has to do with the interdependence of text and art. Like the Antikythera Machine which stands uniquely as a representation of a technical marvel that is far more advanced than was considered possible for production in the

civilization of its time, analysis of our recently discovered Gandhāran texts and recently compiled catalogue of previous-birth representations in Gandhāra seems to suggest a unique, not-yet-fully understood, early developmental emphasis in the Gandhāran brand of Buddhaśāsana. What is the Buddha's game in Gandhāra?

---

Pons, Jessie (CERES, Ruhr University Bochum)
**Two Ascetics between Gandhāra and Dunhuang and back: Transformations in the Depiction of the Śyāma and the Dīpaṃkara Jātakas**

This paper will take the Śyāma-Jātaka and the Dīpaṃkara-Jātaka and more specifically illustrations of the two stories on Gandhāran narrative reliefs as starting point of a discussion on the concepts of domestication and creation, often put in opposition in the discourse around the diffusion of Buddhist narratives. While the Śyāma-Jātaka finds visual precedents in the art of Bharhut and Sanchi, illustrations of the Dīpaṃkara-Jātaka appear to be a Gandhāran innovation. In light of material from Bharhut, Sanchi, Gandhara and oases on the Silk Road, this paper will examine sources and developments in the depictions of the stories of Sumedha and Śyāma and will explore how the lives of the two ascetics have been invented and reinvented as they were disseminated across South and Central Asia.

---

Giuliano, Laura (National Museum of Oriental Art, Rome)
**The Archery Competition of Siddhārtha in Gandhāran art**

On the Gandhāran reliefs some scenes of the competitions organized for the *svayaṁvara* of Yaśodharā are represented. This particular kind of *svayaṁvara* characterized by public competitions to obtain the hand of the princess, where the warriors prove their skill and capability in the art of war, was confined mostly to the royal families, and it is well known from the Buddhist texts, from the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*. In the Buddha's legend the archery competition is, among the trials, the crucial test to marry the girl. The supremacy during this contest, possibly more than in other cases, refers to the royal and warlike values of the winner. It is in his capacity as a *kṣatriya* that the Bodhisattva can perform his feats of archery.

In this paper we will deal with the representations of this event of Buddha's life in Gandhāran art. Special attention will be given to the comparison between the textual and the figurative traditions to consider if and how they are interrelated, or if, at least
in some cases, we should hypothesize the influence of an oral tradition that reveals connections with the story narrated in the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

---

Zhu, Tianshu (University of Macau)
**Reassessing the Iconography of the Request of Brahmā and Indra from Gandhāra**

The representations of a Buddha flanked on either side by Brahmā and Indra displaying the *añjali mudrā* from Gandhāra have been for long known as a narrative depiction of an episode in the Buddha's life. After he obtained enlightenment, Śākyamuni planned to enter the

nirvana. Brahmā and Indra came to stop him, persuading the Buddha to teach the Dharma for the sake of sentient beings. Narratives of the Buddha's life have been a major subject matter in Gandhāra Buddhist art. However the iconography of the request of Brahmā and Indra is different from other narratives in many ways. For instance, it appears among a group of earliest anthropomorphic representations of the Buddha. If this identification is true, in a way it is virtually the first event singled out from the Buddha's life to be represented with the image of the Buddha; whereas this event does not glorify the Buddha, if not contaminates his imagery. And later in Gandhāran art, the pairing Brahmā and Indra also appeared in other iconographies, such as to attend the Buddha seated on the lotus flower. This type of images has been identified either as Amitābha Buddha or as Śākyamuni performing miracles at Sravāstī. Overall the iconography of the request of Brahā and Indra has fewer narrative elements than other depictions of the Buddha's life. This study reassesses this well-known iconography in both visual and textual traditions. Challenging the current identification in the field, the author suggests the possibility that this iconography represents an iconic image of the Buddha, to glorify the Buddha by subordinating the top two Brahman gods as his attendants.

# Literatures of Contemplation

Andrew Quintman (Yale University)
Kurtis Schaeffer (University of Virginia)

**Panel Abstract**

Contemplation is often articulated in literature. Meditations, visualizations, reflective inquiries, and various forms of personal, interpersonal, and philosophical exercises are described, defined, and taught in and through texts, even in cases where the contemplative practice is held to be distinct from the work of literature, either because the practice is claimed to be ineffable, gained only through a particular form of experience, or because the learning process is said to occur in human relationships outside of texts. This panel asks What are relationships between literature and contemplation in Buddhist traditions? How do literary forms, aesthetic qualities, and linguistic properties shape the instruction, practice, and even perhaps the construction of contemplative activity? Papers explore form and style as they relate, either implicitly or explicitly, to contemplative practices and claims regarding contemplative experience. Using "literature" and "contemplation" as a capacious yet focused pairing, the essays explore larger relationships between aesthetics and experience in Buddhist traditions.

Crosby, Kate (Kings College)
**Traces of Experience: the texts of traditional Theravada meditation (*borān kammaṭṭhāna/yogāvacara*)**

The system of meditation that dominated practice at court and within Sangha hierarchies throughout much of the Theravada region in the 18th century is almost extinct today. While the 19th century reforms of Theravada and the rise of Vipassana played their part in its disappearance, changes in technologies, worldview, politics and warfare were decisive.

Documents that attest to its disappearance at the start of the 20ᵗʰ century termed it the *borān kammaṭṭhān* 'old/ancient meditation method'. The practice was transmitted from teacher to pupil through the teacher's one-to-one guidance in response to the pupil's reports of their experience. Secrecy was important for several reasons, including false reporting of experience. Such means of transmission neither relied on nor generated manuals beyond brief lists of *nimitta* (eidetic experiences) to prompt the teacher's memory. There are no texts of the entire practice on the basis of which one might reconstruct the method. However, at points of crisis and feared disjuncture of various kinds, practitioners committed memory prompts and other aspects to writing. This paper will look at the variety of these texts. It will explore what they can and cannot tell us about the range of methods and experiences entailed in *boran kammatthan,* as well as the relationship between the meditation methods and other aspects of Theravada practice and culture.

---

Bentor, Yael (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem)
**Awakening in the Present Body**

As one of its unique characteristics the *tantric* tradition offers the possibility of awakening in this very life. Still the notion of reaching enlightenment in the present body—the product of previous karma, comprised of impure aggregates—has been problematic for most Buddhist thinking. Hence often a distinction has been made between two types of *nirvāṇa*, with and without 'remainder'. The notion of the impurity of the ordinary body is exemplified by the common Buddhist meditation on the 'foul' [Skt. *aśubha-bhāvanā*], intended to counter the afflictive emotion of desire. Meditators on the 'foul' develop mindfulness of thirty-some foul aspects of the body, such as the intestines, feces, urine, blood, fat and mucus.

Against such a background, it was not easy for the *tantrika*s to suggest that the yogi's ordinary human body produced by previous karma and afflictions can transform into a Buddha Body. So how can enlightenment be attained in the present life? If the present body were abandoned and a Buddha Body obtained by taking on a new birth, then the premise that one is awakened in this life would be vitiated. On the other hand, if the present body is abandoned and a Buddha Body is attained *without* taking on a new birth, then how does the Buddha Body arise?
In my paper I will examine possible answers to this question found in some tantric works of the early Dge lugs school.

---

Greene, Eric (Yale University)
**What exactly are "meditation texts" and what should we do with them?**

Scholars interested in the practice of Buddhist meditation have a wealth of surviving textual material with which to work. This is no surprise – the paradigmatic nature of meditation as the vehicle through the Buddha himself achieved awakening has ensured that discussions of this topic are well represented within many different kinds of Buddhist literature. Yet despite the diversity of literary forms and genres within which Buddhist meditation is discussed, there has been little systematic consideration of how, if at all, this diversity should be taken into account methodologically when we use such texts as sources. The documents that modern scholars have often labeled as "meditation texts" have thus generally been interpreted as primarily prescriptive

in nature, as serving, or at least as intending ideally to serve, as instructions for practice. In this presentation I will suggest that another possible way of reading at least some ancient Buddhist meditation texts. I will take as my key example the obscure fifth-century Chinese meditation text known as the *Essential Methods of the Five-gate Meditation Scriptures* (*Wu men chan jing yao yong fa* 五門禪經要用法; *Five Gates*). Framed as a dialog between a meditator and his or her master, the *Five Gates* presents an account of meditation in which the most significant "work" of meditation involves not the controlled manipulation of the mind, but rather the interpretation of meditative visions whose arising is simply assumed to take place. The *Five Gates*, I will suggest, should be understood not as a manual for meditation practice, but as a handbook for the interpretation of meditative experience. In this case, at least, the "meditation text" serves not so much as a set of instructions for the practitioner, but rather as the authority through which individual experience can be linked to sanctioned canonical categories. Building on this idea, I will then consider how this reading of pragmatic function of so-called meditation "manuals" might be applicable to a wider range of texts whose subject is meditation, and how this kind of approach to the "literature of contemplation" might offer a way of thinking about the role of personal experience within Buddhist meditation and Buddhist societies that neither dismisses its importance nor assigns it undue or anachronistic epistemic authority.

Kachru, Sonam (University of Virginia)
**Overhearing Śāntideva**

Philosophers find in Śāntideva's Introduction to the Practice of Awakening a concern almost unique in South Asia: ethics as a philosophical topic on which one can bring reasons and arguments to bear. Given a sufficiently capacious sense of ethics on which it is not alone the explication of moral principles but the evaluation and transformation of what one might call character that is at stake, such praise is not unwarranted. But this is surely not Śāntideva's only claim on our attention. In this generically novel work, "an anatomy" of a person's mind, Śāntideva has given us the chance to overhear, as it were, someone talk to their own mind, practice analysis and visualization (to name only two of a range of practices), and reason themselves into a normatively valued transformation of subjectivity. Along with an inventive array of arguments and range of practices, and the astonishing acknowledgment of the range of moods and psychological resistance therapy can invoke, we are given an inside view on what Steven Collins once called the "socioreligious theater of transformation" which Buddhist practices of the self have long promoted, but which are not always made discursively available to us from the inside, as philosopher's like to say. What does sustaining a discursive environment in which, to quote Steven Collins once more, the "'subjectivized' interiority inculcated by meditative practices can take place" involve? My remarks will be concerned to highlight the literary and philosophical achievements involved in Śāntideva's bringing into being for us an anonymous, first-personal, contemplative persona, whose practice we can overhear.

Quintman, Andrew (Yale University)
**Illuminating Carefree Awareness: Tibetan Poetry Collections and the Landscape of Self**

Tibetan commentators frequently describe the poetic form of *mgur / nyams mgur* as a medium for recording the process of contemplative practice while illuminating subsequent moments of

transcendent awakening. This echoes the normative view that *mgur* affords spontaneous opportunities to express profound meditation experiences that would otherwise remain ineffable if not altogether inaccessible. Since at least the twelfth century in Tibet, this poetic form became associated with masters of the Kagyu sect, including Marpa the Translator and his disciple Milarepa. Anthologies of their poetry, *collected songs* (*mgur 'bum*), would become a primary signifier of Tibet's great meditation traditions. By the seventeenth century, the Kagyu polymath Karma Chakmé (1613–1678) would refer to *collected songs* as the "central pillar of the Practice Lineage traditions." In recent years, scholars have paid increasing attention to the literary forms, functions, and aesthetic qualities of *mgur*. The processes through which *mgur* collections were compiled and edited, and the structures and functions of the resulting autonomous works, however, remain largely unaddressed.

This paper examines one such poetry anthology as a preliminary investigation of the more programmatic functions of *mgur*, that is, the ways in which song collections may serve as markers of an author's identity and his sense of belonging in a particular locale. The primary source used here is the *mgur 'bum* of the nineteenth-century author Chokyi Wangchuk (Chos kyi dbang phyug, 1775–1836), reincarnate master and abbot of Drakar Taso Monastery situated on Tibet's southern frontier. The collection, entitled *Songs Illuminating Carefree Awareness* (*gu yangs rig pa'i snang glu*), anthologizes forty poems composed between 1797–1825, most of which conclude with a descriptive colophon documenting the circumstances of composition, including time, occasion, underlying motivation, and location. Poetry collections may present an author's visionary and emotional experiences while simultaneously performing other kinds of work. Chokyi Wangchuk's *collected songs* record glimpses of the abbot in a largely autobiographical register. In doing so they self-consciously construct the author's public persona as a resident of Tibet's southern borderlands by mediating and emphasizing his relationship to place. In anthologized form, this poetry illustrates the reciprocal relationships between literature and landscape, personhood and place—relationships in which place shapes Chokyi Wangchuk's life while his poetic compositions valorize and thereby reshape certain locations in the Himalayan terrain. The songs recorded in the collection *Illuminating Carefree Awareness* may have been composed in a carefree register. But their execution and compilation indicate careful planning.

Schaeffer, Kurtis (University of Virginia)
**Nature Imagery in Tibetan Contemplative Poetry**

Tibetan poetry dedicated to contemplative practice often makes use of imagery drawn from the natural world. Landscape features become tropes for states of mind, animals figure for emotions, while atmospheric phenomena and celestial bodies evoke soteriological aspirations and ideals. Vocabulary drawn from the natural world is both rich and extensive, and plays a role in at least two ongoing projects in Tibetan contemplative literature, the expression of contemplative experience and the philosophical justification of such experience. This paper endeavors to identify, categorize, and analyze some of this language as part of a more general effort to understand the role of figurative language in contemplative literature, especially as it is used in poetic descriptions and prescriptions of contemplative practice. The paper will use Jikmé Lingpa's (1730-1798) large autobiography to explore these ideas. Containing some eighty

poems on meditation, visionary experience, philosophy, ethics, and emotional life, Jikmé Lingpa's sprawling memoir makes an excellent source from which to collect poetic imagery drawn from the natural world, and to see it in action within the context of a narrative self-presentation of an influential thinker's life and works that utilizes in about equal measure both prose and verse. Jikmé Lingpa was a prolific poet, though unlike other writers his verse was never collected into an anthology of poetry. Rather, it is threaded through his narrative, didactic, ritual and philosophical writings. Why this is the case is not clear. What is clear, however, is that he had a keen sense of nature imagery's capacity to convey both affect and idea, and a willingness, if not even eagerness, to use figurative language to render his own life an allegory for spiritual growth, albeit a punctuated and at times uneven and even uncertain process of growth. Some poems in the autobiography use stock phrases to epitomize mind and emotions (clear sky is an open, calm mind; cloudy sky is emotionally troubled mind); others use imagery from both the natural and social realms to hammer home the necessity for contemplatives to disengage from the business of the world; still other poems appear to be reaching for an effective language to convey experience in meditation, a satisfactory and stable vocabulary for which he seems to acknowledge remains elusive even for a writer whose identity, works, and reputation are based upon the presumption of just such experience. The paper will conclude with some thoughts on how poetic language might be constitutive of contemplative experience, or affectively laden ideas about what contemplation is..

## Monastic Espionage in East Asia in the Age of Isolationism, 14th to 19th Century

Bingenheimer, Marcus (Temple University)

**Panel Abstract**

After the fall of the Yuan dynasty the international relationship between China, Japan and Korea declined from a period of relative interconnectedness to one of relative isolationism. In the 15th century, China, which until then had maintained a large navy, withdraw from the sea-faring age and began to rebuild the Great Wall. Events during the 16th (the various "ocean-embargoes" (haijin 海禁), the pirate wars, the Japanese invasion of Korea) further prevented peaceful international contact. In the 17th century the military rulership of Japan decided to pursue a strategy of strict isolationism (sakoku 鎖国) while the Manchu invasions of Korea diminished Korean independence. After the stability of the long 18th century, when official diplomatic and cultural contacts were extremely limited, the arrival of Western colonial powers in the 19th century changed again the way nations in East Asia interacted. Compared to earlier centuries, and in spite of increasing population and trade, the period from the 14th to the 19th century saw fewer Buddhist exchanges between China, Korea and Japan, the late Ming introduction of the Huangbo/Obaku School to Japan being an obvious exception. In this climate where official contact beyond small scale border trade was exceptional, almost every form of international communication could be framed as spying.

Ming and Qing China, not threatened by its eastern neighbors, was worried less about spies from the outside than about "inner enemies" that might move freely and anonymously disguised as monks (Bingenheimer). When Yinyuan went to Japan in 1654 effecting the last major

transmission of Buddhism from China to Japan, he was promptly suspected to be a spy (Wu). This distrust might have been partly due to the fact that the Japanese themselves had used monks to gather information about China right up until the closing of their borders in 1639 (Olah).

Wu, Jiang (University of Arizona)
**Was Yinyuan a Chinese Spy? Buddhism during the Ming-Qing Transition in Early Modern East Asia**

This paper investigates the suspicion over the identity of the Chinese Zen monk Yinyuan Longqi after he landed in Japan in 1654. At first, Yinyuan was asked to stay in Fumonji 普門寺 in Osaka for six years. One explanation for this long detention was that he was suspicious of being a Chinese spy, either working for the Manchu, or for Zheng Chenggong 鄭成功, whose ships escorted him to Nagasaki. This spy theory may have been first insinuated by the Confucian scholar Mukai Genshō 向井元升 who criticized Yinyuan in his Chishihen 知恥篇. He knew that Yinyuan had sent his disciples to contact his teacher Feiyin Tongrong who was in the Hangzhou area around that time. He surmised that because the Hangzhou area was occupied by the Manchus, their frequent communications must have divulged information about Japan. Another Japanese scholar Kumazawa Banzan 熊沢蕃山 shared a similar view. My study shows that the Japanese in the early Edo period were alert about possible espionage attempts from China carried out by Chinese monks. Meanwhile, the Japanese bakufu kept an effective intelligence program to collect information on China during the Ming-Qing transition.

Olah, Csaba (International Christian University, Tokyo)
**Gozan monks and the gathering of domestic and international intelligence in the 15-17th century Japan**

Japanese Buddhist monks, who have spent several years in China during the Tang and Song period with the purpose of studying Buddhism and visiting religious places (such as the famous En'nin or Jōjin), gathered important information during their stay about religion, everyday life, local administrative system and various events in China and recorded them in their diaries. After they returned to Japan, they were required to submit a report – principally based on these diaries – about their stay to the court. We may say, with some exaggeration, that these monks were a kind of "source of intelligence" for the Japanese Heian court that stored these reports and eventually used them for diplomatic or political decision-making.

It is however less known, that few centuries later Zen monks of the Five Mountains (Gozan) had the similar role. As diplomatic advisers of the Ashikaga shogunate during the Muromachi period Gozan monks were responsible for diplomacy in Japan: they prepared the necessary diplomatic documents, organized the diplomatic missions and participated as diplomats in these missions. Few records on these missions are still extant in form of diaries or collection of documents prepared by Gozan monks during their stay in China.

What do we know about the activities of these monks in the 15-17th century China? What kind of information did they gather? How did they or the shogunate use the collected information? While focusing on these questions, I will demonstrate in my paper that monks played an

important role in the Japanese intelligence on East Asia in both the ancient and medieval period, but – because of the political and diplomatic circumstances – the purpose of information gathering and its focus, and the use of information was different in both periods. For comparison I will also refer to the Gozan diplomatic tradition in the first years of the Tokugawa shogunate that helps further understand the role of Buddhist monks as "sources of intelligence" and as indispensable part of the central government in Japan from the ancient to the beginning of the early modern period.

Bingenheimer, Marcus (Temple University)
**Disguised as Monks in Ming and Qing China: Glimpses and Anecdotal Evidence**

Late imperial China, the five centuries between the fall of the Yuan and the end of the imperial system, was a time when Buddhism was marginalized in the intellectual sphere. Its institutional development was constricted by the Ming and Qing legal codes, which asserted tight control of religious establishments and monastic ordination. Nevertheless Buddhism managed to maintain its presence both in the expanding cities and the countryside. It also managed to hold onto a characteristic practice that was disliked by the authoritarian rulers of the Ming and Qing, and fully ordained monks still traveled from temple to temple as part of their training. The guest halls that sheltered itinerant monks traveling between monasteries did not always keep a register and monks therefore enjoyed more anonymity and freedom of movement than most other social groups. With few outside enemies, the Ming and Qing court had little reason to use monks as spies, but there was a recurrent concern that dissidents and bandits were able to roam freely disguised as monks. At the beginning of the Ming stood the Hongwu emperor's ambivalent relationship with Buddhist monasticism, having himself been a Buddhist novice when young. One generation later the deposed Jianwen emperor was rumored to have escaped the burning of his temple in the guise of a Buddhist monk. This trope, that "enemies of the state" disguised themselves as monks, surfaced at various times during the Ming and Qing. The presentation will demonstrate how these worries were expressed in literature and strategic writings of the period.

## Monastic Espionage in East Asia (III): Modern Period
Brose, Benjamin (University of Michigan)

**Panel Abstract**

This panel considers examples of Buddhist espionage and intelligence work during the first half of the twentieth century. The five papers investigate the covert activities of foreign Buddhist monks within China and the intelligence gathering missions of Chinese monks in India and Tibet. The first paper, "Monk-spies? The Activities of Chinese Monks in South Asia in the Early Twentieth Century," examines British Indian intelligence reports housed at the West Bengal State Archives in Kolkata, India, in order to outline facets of Buddhist connections between India and China in the 1930s and 1940s related specifically to intelligence gathering. The second paper, "Ignatius Timothy Trebitsch-Lincoln (1879-1943): International Spy and First Westerner Ordained as a Buddhist monk in China," considers the multiple identities of the Hungarian secret agent who lived as an ordained cleric in China. "Japanese Buddhism and Military Intelligence in North China – The Case of the Sino-Japanese Society for the Study of Esoteric Buddhism,"

the third paper, traces the relationship between Japanese Buddhism and the Japanese military intelligence network on the Chinese mainland during the 1930s with a focus on the Sino-Japanese Society for the Study of Esoteric Buddhism. A fourth paper, "Missionary or Mole? Mizuno Baigyō's Forty Years in China, 1904–1944," considers allegations that an influential Japanese missionary in China was in fact a Japanese spy. Finally, "Ouyang Wuwei 歐陽無畏 (1913-1991): a Han monk working for the Chinese intelligence service in Tibet" is a study of the life and work of the Chinese cleric Ouyang Wuwei, with a particular focus on the influence of his Tibetan travelogues on the formation of KMT border policies.

Hamar, Imre (Eötvös Loránd University)
**Ignatius Timothy Trebitsch-Lincoln (1879-1943): International Spy and First Westerner Ordained as a Buddhist monk in China**

Ignatius Timothy Trebitsch-Lincoln, born to a rich Hungarian Jewish family, became one of the most famous and controversial adventurers of the twentieth century. His excellent early education and his talent for gaining the confidence of other people served him well as a Presbyterian missionary, an Anglican priest, and as an agent for the English, German, American, Chinese, and Japanese secret services. In China, Trebitsch-Lincoln was ordained as a Buddhist monk, and in that capacity went to France to recruit disciples. Yet he continued his work as a spy even within Buddhist monasteries. Several biographies have been written about him emphasizing his role as a multinational spy. However, the Buddhist monk Juzan 巨贊, who was ordained together with Trebitsch-Lincoln, also recorded his biography from a Buddhist perspective. In this paper, we discuss Trebitsch-Lincoln's double identity as a spy and as a Buddhist monk in China.

Schicketanz, Erik (University of Tokyo)
**Japanese Buddhism and Military Intelligence in North China –The Case of the Sino-Japanese Society for the Study of Esoteric Buddhism**

This paper examines the relationship between Japanese Buddhism and the Japanese military intelligence network on the Chinese mainland during the 1930s by focusing on one particular organization, the Sino-Japanese Society for the Study of Esoteric Buddhism (J. Chūnichi mikkyō kenkyūkai, Ch. ZhongRi mijiao yanjiuhui). The Society was a joint Chinese-Japanese organization dedicated to the study and practice of esoteric Buddhism that was founded in the early 1930s in Tianjin by the young Japanese Shingon priest Yoshii Hōjun. The Society had a varied membership consisting of members of the local Japanese business community, military personnel from the Japanese garrison in Tianjin, prominent retired Chinese political figures such as Duan Qirui and Wang Yitang, Chinese artists, as well as the Panchen Lama. The group was thus a complex meeting point of varying religious, political, and economic interests. This paper employs the case of the Society for the Study of Esoteric Buddhism to questions the applicability of such notions as espionage to Japanese Buddhist activities in China – a charge leveled by some scholars – while simultaneously paying due attention to Japanese Buddhism's relationship to Japan's political designs on the Asian mainland. As such, I argue that while the Society for the Study of Esoteric Buddhism was deeply embedded in the wider social and political context of North China in the 1930s, it cannot be merely seen as a tool to further Japanese strategic

interests. Furthermore, although there is no evidence that the Japanese Buddhists involved in the Study Society engaged in any outright espionage activities, the group was gradually drawn closer into the orbit of Japanese military intelligence operatives and co-opted for their purposes. Against the backdrop of escalating Sino-Japanese relations, it thus provides ample material to examine and define the relationship between Japanese Buddhist activities in China to military intelligence activities beyond such limiting monikers as "espionage."

---

Brose, Benjamin (University of Michigan)
**Missionary or Mole? Mizuno Baigyō's Forty Years in China, 1904–1944**

Mizuno Baigyō 水野梅曉 was one of the most prominent Japanese missionary monks in China during the first half of the twentieth century. A prolific author and organizer, Mizuno worked tirelessly to preserve and promote Chinese Buddhist culture and was on close terms with many influential Chinese Buddhist clerics and several leaders in the Guomindang government. He also may have been a spy. Because of Mizuno's close collaboration with Japanese political and military initiatives in China during the 1930s and 1940s, and because of his strong support for the Japanese puppet state of Manchukuo, some Chinese scholars have concluded his Buddhist activities on the mainland were merely a cover for his primary goal of gathering intelligence and generating propaganda. This paper examines the arch of Mizuno's career in China in order both to assess accusations of espionage and to arrive at a better, more nuanced understanding of the complex and constantly evolving motivations of Japanese missionary monks in China before and during the Second Sino-Japanese War.

---

Jagou, Fabienne (École française d'Extrême-Orient)
**Ouyang Wuwei 歐陽無畏 (1913-1991): a Han monk working for the Chinese intelligence service in Tibet**

Ouyang Wuwei 歐陽無畏 (1913-1991) was a Han Chinese who went to Tibet for almost ten years (from 1934 to 1941, then from 1949 to 1951) and stayed within Drépung monastery, one of the three famous Gélukpa monasteries located nearby Lhasa, the capital of Tibet. There he took the novice monk vows and received the Tibetan Dharma name Chöpel Jikmé. He was then supported by the National Central University which considered him as a resident researcher in Tibet. Besides studying Buddhism, he travelled to Nepal through Tibet from July 1937 to January 1938, and to Tawang in July 1938. He then authored two travel accounts for internal circulation within the Nationalist government -which remained unpublished until many years later- and many articles and poems about the Chinese border policies. In these reports, he featured elaborated maps and detailed geographical descriptions, traveling miles, temple settlements, as well as local culture and customs, and carried out investigation to understand the importance of Tawang for the British who overpowered it after the Simla Convention was written (but not ratified by the Chinese) in 1913. He also proposed policies for the future control of Tibet, as such these books were important references for KMT border policymaking. After he went to Taiwan in 1952, he recieved a few academic positions: he became one of the first members of the Department of China Border Area Studies, which was just founded within the National Cheng-chi University, teaching Tibetan language, culture, and history, and continued to write reports on China's borders. As a matter of fact, Ouyang Wuwei looks like an estimated

monk thanks to his studies in Lhasa and to the Buddhist teachings he gave later in Taipei, and also as a political agent working for the Nationalist government in Tibet from the 1930s to the 1970s. This state of affairs is even more obvious as he used to wear a monk robe while in Tibet and to take it off as soon as he arrived in Taiwan to wear it again while returning to Lhasa!

As far as I know this controversial role of Ouyang Wuwei has not yet been analyzed and really put into evidence. The aim of this paper is to clarify his position and opinion about Tibet and as a way of extension about the border policy he advised the KMT government to conduct. His books, articles, poems, and personal correspondence (and archival documents from the Academia Historica) allow an analysis of his personal experience and the official reports he wrote during his career as a monk and an official. On the another hand, it is interesting to understand how much Chinese KMT patriotism was at stake in the Ouyang Wuwei's adoption of these two positions because of the contemporary historical context which was mainly a state of wars and of foreign threats.

## New Approaches to Wŏnhyo and His Thought – A Panel in Commemoration of the 1400th Anniversary of His Birth

Buswell, Jr., Robert E. (UCLA)
Cho, Eun-su (Seoul National University)

**Panel Abstract**

The year 2017 marks the 1400th anniversary of the birth of Wŏnhyo (元曉, 617–686), one of the towering figures of the Korean Buddhist tradition. Although Wŏnhyo has received a great deal of scholarly attention, with scores of books and thousands of articles written about him in both Asian and European languages, recent advances in the field of Buddhist Studies have allowed us to view his works from enhanced perspectives. His frequent use of terminology drawn from Abhidharma texts, Vinaya and Chinese preceptive materials, Madhyamaka, Chinese Dilun/Yogacara materials, Huayan, and the *Nirvana Sutra* demands that we no longer approach him just within the narrow confines of Korean Buddhism. Instead, the breadth and depth of his scholarship requires us to approach his work from similarly broad regional and disciplinary perspectives, contextualizing the various threads of thought within the developments going on around him in East Asian Buddhism. The vast store of ideas found in his extant works needs to be viewed within the confluences of the disparate streams of thought in 7th-century East Asian Buddhism: a situation of which he was fully aware and made distinguished efforts to understand. We welcome papers pertaining to any aspects of Wŏnhyo's thought in order to understand the many facets of his thought. We expect this panel will bring out new and innovative approaches to interpreting Wŏnhyo.

Buswell, Jr., Robert E. (UCLA)
**Wŏnhyo (617-686) as Commentator**

Wŏnhyo (617-686) is best known within the Korean tradition as pilgrim, philosopher, mystic, thaumaturge, proselytist, and even touchstone of Korean unification ideology. But all these roles pale next to his importance as a commentator. In this proclivity, Wŏnhyo emulates intellectuals active within most traditional civilizations, where much of spiritual and religious understanding was conveyed through commentarial writing. Wŏnhyo's range of scholarly endeavor covered the whole gamut of East Asian Buddhist materials and the some one-hundred works attributed to this prolific writer, over twenty of which are extant, find no rivals among his fellow Korean exegetes. The vast majority of Wŏnhyo's works are explicitly commentaries, and even those writings which are not are still strongly exegetical in character. The East Asian tradition itself also treats Wŏnhyo principally as a commentator, as seen, for example, in the *Song Gaoseng zhuan*'s (Song Biography of Eminent Monks) listing of Wŏnhyo's biography in the section for "doctrinal exegetes" (*yijie*), together with a number of other Korean scholiasts who played important roles in the development of the learned schools of Sinitic Buddhism. In his virtuosity at manipulating the commentarial form, Wonhyo may be viewed not simply as a paragon of Korean scholarly achievement but as someone who was emblematic of the highest achievements of the Sinitic Buddhist tradition as a whole. This paper will explore some of the general features of Wŏnhyo's approach to Buddhist commentarial writing and examine the question of why Wŏnhyo used scriptural exegesis as the main vehicle for conveying his philosophical and spiritual insights.

Cho, Eun-su (Seoul National University)
**Approaching Buddha-Nature in a Mādhyamika Way - Wŏnhyo's Commentary on the *Nirvana Sutra***

Wŏnhyo's *Yŏlbangyŏng chongyo* 涅槃經宗要 (Thematic Exposition of the *Nirvana Sutra*) provides an interesting example of the insights that may be gleaned from further scholarship on Wŏnhyo. The *Yŏlbangyŏng chongyo* has received surprisingly little attention from the scholarly community, even though it contains bountiful implications on par with the *Awakening of Faith*. This is likely due to the huge challenge of making sense of the many different streams of thought embedded within this relatively short text. Because the *Nirvana Sutra* underwent several different iterations from the time of its composition in India to its introduction into the very complex intellectual environment in China, its tangled content often ends up contradicting itself. This complexity is compounded by its numerous and diverse commentaries by such renowned Chinese scholars as Jizang, Huiyuan, and Zhiyi, which have placed the text beyond the scope of a single scholar's research and make it difficult to grasp its full range. If one recalls the contributions the different commentators' interpretations on the AMF have had in shaping the development of Chinese Buddhism, it is not a stretch to imagine the impact of these various commentaries on the *Nirvana Sutra*. In this presentation, I will focus on debates on Buddha-nature found in the *Yŏlbangyŏng chongyo,* where Wŏnhyo equates Buddha-nature with the One-mind, Wŏnhyo's signature hermeneutical concept, and argues that existence and emptiness can be reconciled. In constructing the arguments, he utilizes Mādhyamika narratives and Two truth logic, demonstrating his well-known fluidity by approaching truth from both apophatic and kataphatic perspectives.

Guerra-Glarner, Monika (University of Geneva)

**Tankuang's Commentary on the Dasheng Qixin Lun: Evidence of Wonhyo's influence**

Tankuang is a Chinese monk born at the very beginning of the 8th century. After studying in Chang'an and travelling from one monastery to another, he finished his life in Dunhuang under Tibetan domination. His texts where found there at the beginning of the 20th century, and only then included in the *Taishō*.

Tankuang wrote several commentaries on numerous Mahayana *sutras*; two of these texts are commentaries on the *Dasheng qixin lun*. The first (who is the subject of my thesis) was written around 761 in five *fasciculi*, of which only the last three are extant. In this very detailed commentary, Tankuang is, among others, comparing the two "translations" of the *QXL*, the one ascribed to Paramārtha (on which his commentary is based) and the second one, ascribed to Śikṣānanda during the 7th century, and, possibly, still popular during the 8th century in Chang'an.

It is not clear who influenced him or under which master he studied during his stay at the Ximing monastery of Chang'an, approximately one century after Xuanzang. But it seems clear that there were two parallel lineages of the Faxiang school (or Chinese Yogācāra) in Northern China; the "orthodox" Ci'en lineage of Kuiji, and the "heretical" Ximing lineage that traces itself to the Korean teacher Woncheuk. The assumption I'm working on is the Tankuang's affiliation to the second lineage, whose teachings seems to have survived the An Lushan Rebellion and were brought to Dunhuang by Tankuang, together with Woncheuk's commentary on the *Saṃdinirmocana Sūtra*.

But the principal assumption I want to focus on in my paper is the influence of another Korean monk on Tankuang's commentary of the *QXL,* namely Wonhyo's writings. Beside the fact that both are frequently quoting --and often the same--Mahāyāna *sutras*, it seems that Tankuang is also taking over some of the concepts introduced by Wonhyo. There are some clear textual and doctrinal evidences of this influence that I will present in this paper.

Lee, Sumi (Dongguk University)
**Interpreting the *Awakening of Faith*: Wǒnhyo (617-686) and Fazang's (643-712) Distinct Readings of the *Tathāgatagarbha* in the *Awakening of Faith***

Wǒnhyo (617-686), a Silla Buddhist exegete, is one of the representative commentators on the *Awakening of Faith*, along with Jingying Huiyuan (523-592) and Fazang (643-712). A majority of the research on Wǒnhyo's commentaries on the *AMF* so far have included comparisons between Wǒnhyo's commentaries and Fazang's, since it is known that Fazang's commentary significantly relies on Wǒnhyo's. In fact, both exegetes' commentaries commonly attempt to reconcile such doctrinal tensions as that between Madhyamaka and Yogācāra. As scholars have consistently noted, however, Fazang excludes Wǒnhyo's explanations in some specific parts, thereby suggesting that the two exegetes' fundamental doctrinal positions are distinct from, or even opposed to, each other despite the seeming commonalities of their commentaries. As a study on this ongoing issue, this paper explores Wǒnhyo and Fazang's distinct positions in their interpretation of the *AMF* in resolving tentions between Madhyamaka and Yogācāra and also

discusses the text's doctrinal significance within the East Asian Buddhist tradition. To do this, this paper compares Wŏnhyo's doctrinal perspectives on the *AMF* to Fazang's by analyzing their explanations of such notions as "One Mind and Two Aspects" (一心二門) and "synthesis of *tathāgatagarbha* and *ālayavijñāna*," and then traces the distinction between Wŏnhyo and Fazang's scholastic positions to the previous Dilun 地論 Buddhist scholiasts.

Muller, Charles (University of Tokyo)
**The Role of Wonhyo's "System of the Two Hindrances" (*Ijang-ui*) in East Asian Buddhist Hindrances Discourse**

Buddhism, especially in its meditative forms, is unique among religious traditions for the attention that it pays to the psychological aspect of human problems, and for the extent to which it distinguishes these problems into the categories of emotional and cognitive. While the general patterns of this distinction between these two aspects of mental function are discernible in early Buddhism, and become clearer in Abhidharmic scholasticism, it is not until the maturation of Mahāyāna that afflictive and cognitive obstacles to liberation are formally organized under the rubric of the *two hindrances*—the afflictive hindrances (*kleśa-āvaraṇa* 煩惱障, 煩惱惑) and the cognitive hindrances (*jñeya-āvaraṇa*; 智障, 智惑, 所知障). While discussions that have occurred heretofore have tended to cast the pair as being a fundamentally Yogâcāra construction, in fact, a significant portion of their development—at least in the East Asian context—occurred in the works of scholars who are usually seen as being more closely identified with the Dilun or Tathāgatagarbha flow of thought. The scholar who probably brought the greatest single influence to bear on the understanding of the two hindrances was the Korean scholar Wonhyo (617–686) who made his impact in the form of a treatise titled *Ijang-ui* 二障義 ("System of the Two Hindrances"). This essay deeply informed the later work done on the hindrances by Faxiang, Tiantai, and Huayan scholars in China, Korea, and Japan. At the same time, Wonhyo's work took into consideration the positions on the hindrances established in Yogâcāra texts such as the *Fodijing lun*, Tathāgatagarbha texts such as the *Śrīmālā-sūtra*, and works of earlier scholars such as Jingying Huiyuan 淨影慧遠 (523–592). The present article will map out the history of hindrance theory in East Asia, placing Wonhyo's work at the center.

## New Research on Newar Buddhism
Bühnemann, Gudrun (University of Wisconsin-Madison)

**Panel Abstract**

This panel will bring together scholars working on different aspects of Newar Buddhism. They will present new research from different disciplinary angles (history, anthropology, religious studies, art history).

Emmrich, Christoph (University of Toronto)
**Lists of Things in Newar Buddhist Ritual**

Most rituals require things. Ritual manuals, apart from specifying who does, says, or visualizes what, when, where, with the participation of whom, and involving the use of which things, may include, - similar to food recipes, - a separate section listing which materials are required and in which quantities. It is hence no surprise that these lists (anukramaṇikā, nāmāvali, or parigaṇanā in Sanskrit, dhalaḥ in Newar and tapsil in Nepali) of ritual materials (sāmagrī or sāmagrya) are also found in the rich ritual literature authored by Buddhist Newars, particularly as part of manuals (vidhi, paddhati). While these lists may take various sizes and shapes, from the perfunctory to the micromanaging, from the scriptural to the shopping list, all are located somewhere between the aim for liturgical completeness, on the one hand, and the compelling nature of the handy, on the other, thus forming the basis for a compromise between the required and the available, between the two bodies of the ritual item as both substance and commodity. This paper will present a small selection of lists from manuals for domestic rituals and other related ritual literature from 17th century to contemporary Nepal, asking which forms these passages may take, which principles of selection and organization their compilation may follow, how to understand the modalities and purposes of their usage, what their place, time, and function in the composition and the intertextuality of the manual as a whole may be, and what role they may play in the preparation and the staging of the ritual event. Apart from trying to better understand lists as texts in Newar Buddhist ritual manuals, this paper is an attempt to better understand the role of things in ritual through a better understanding of words for things as lists.

---

Shakya, Miroj (University of the West)
**The Worship of Mañjusrī in Nepal**

In Nepal, the cult of Mañjuśrī has influenced Buddhist practices in many different ways. Mañjuśrī is portrayed as a founder of the Kathmandu Valley in the *Svayaṃbhū Purāṇa*, where he is shown playing a vital role in initiating the Nepalese Buddhist tradition. The *Svayaṃbhū Purāṇa,* which is believed to be one of the most important texts attributed to Śākyamuni Buddha, focuses on the origin of the Svayaṃbhū Stūpa and the formation of the Kathmandu Valley. The *Svayaṃbhū Purāṇa* is still widely popular and the Nepalese people read and recite it even today. Because of Mañjuśrī's heroic deeds in the *Svayaṃbhū Purāṇa*, Nepalese Mahāyāna Buddhists have strong faith and devotion for him and thereby worship him as a sacred personage**.** They recite devotional songs and hymns of Mañjuśrī in their multifaceted versions early in the morning. Among these hymns, the Nāmasaṅgīti is one of the best known in the Newar Buddhism of Nepal. People chant the name of Mañjuśrī in many Buddhist monasteries. There are also numerous Mañjuśrī shrines that people visit on special days, like the full moon day, the half-moon day and so on. As a result, a large number of related ritual texts and sacred shrines associated with Mañjusrī have come into existence in Nepal. There are festivals also, which are associated with Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī, like *Mañjuśrī Pañcamī* or *Śrī Pañcamī* and Sakimanā Punhī. These two festivals are among the most popular festivals in Nepal. *Śrī Pañcamī* is observed on the fifth day of the waxing half of the month of *Māgha* (of the lunar calendar). On this day, if anyone wants to start teaching or learning skills like playing musical instruments, they worship Mañjuśrī in any of his shrines. Similarly, Sakimanā Punhī is observed on the auspicious day of the full moon of the month of *Kārtika*. After the arrival of Bodhisattva

Mañjuśrī in the Kathmandu Valley, as the *Svayaṃbhū Purāṇa* narrates, he worshipped the Svayaṃbhū Jyotirūpa. On this day, there is a tradition of displaying cereals (*halimali*) and reciting hymns in front of the Svayaṃbhū Mahācaitya and the Mañjuśrī Shrine. In this paper, an attempt is made to analyze these ritual texts, festivals and sacred shrines in order to understand the extent to which the cult of Mañjuśrī has permeated Newar Buddhism. They have not been systematically compiled or studied so far.

Alexander, James O'Neill (University of Toronto)
**Intraparatexts: The Agency of Texts in Newar Buddhism**

This paper attempts to understand how the ritual recitation and other text-related practices of Buddhist texts by Newar Buddhists (e.g. the Navagrantha) in the Kathmandu Valley are related to prescriptions within those texts themselves. Buddhist discourses on ostensibly philosophical topics, such as the *Prajñāpāramitā* literature, contain within them self-referential injunctions for the practitioner to ritually recite, worship, and study the texts in question.

In the Buddhist context, this investigation explores the boundaries between Buddhist textual genres: *sūtra*, *mantra*, *vidyā*, *dhāraṇī*, and ritual manuals. In the anthropological context, this investigation explores the subject of materiality, wherein it is asked: to what extent can objects be said to have agency in the same way that humans have agency? In the context of literary theory, it explores the boundary between text and paratext (materials surrounding a text, but referring to a text, e.g. commentaries, ritual manuals, etc.), and suggests that Mahāyāna Buddhist texts utilize the strategies employed by paratexts, moving their location into the midst of the text.

Bangdel, Dina (Virginia Commonwealth University in Qatar)
***Durgatiparishodhana Tantra* in Newar Buddhism**

The important Yoga tantra text, *Sarva Durgatiparishodhana Tantra (*SDT*)*"Eliminating Bad Rebirths" contains the descriptions of twelve Vairocana-cycle mandalas, centering around the Sarvavid Vairocana surrounded by the four directional Buddhas.  In the Newar Buddhist tradition, the recitation of the *Durgatiparisodhana Dharani* and the creation of the Durgati Parishodhana Mandala, based on the SDT  are of paramount importance in the Newar Buddhist dead rituals and subsequent purifications for the elimination of lower rebirths.

This paper will highlight the ritual practice and imagery of the Durgatiparishodhana Mandala in the Newar Buddhist tradition, specifically the creation of the ephemeral powder (*raja*) mandala and the worship and distinctive iconography of Sukhavati Lokesvara, as characteristic of the Newar Buddhist tradition.  These rituals will be discussed in light of the recent passing of the Newar Buddhist Vajracarya master, Pandit Badiratna Bajracarya in October 2016 and the specific rituals performed based on the *Durgatiparishodhana Tantra.* These death and purificatory practices of this historic event will provide fresh insights into contemporary Newar Buddhist practice.

# New Trajectories in the Study of Buddhism and Law

Lammerts, D.C. (Rutgers University)
Schonthal, Ben (University of Otago)

**Panel Abstract**

The past decade has seen a significant rise in academic research and publications that examine the intersections between Buddhism and law from a variety of disciplinary and interdisciplinary perspectives, including (but not limited to) anthropology, history, philology, codicology, and literary, religious, and gender/sexuality studies. While not attempting to represent the full scope of these contributions, this panel brings together scholars concerned with differing aspects of Buddhist legal studies to reflect on the direction of their current projects and to discuss emergent empirical, methodological, and theoretical trajectories which ought to be considered further in future work. Each panelist is asked to address, in Rumsfeldian fashion, what they regard as the most pressing "known unknowns" in the study of Buddhism and law, based on their own site-specific projects. The overall goal of the panel is to collectively probe the "unknown unknowns" and, following Žižek, the "unknown knowns"—that is, the "unconscious beliefs and prejudices"—of the developing field. The panel will therefore offer an opportunity to situate our ongoing inquires within a broader context of the study of Buddhist legalisms and/or comparative legalisms more generally. It is hoped that this format will stimulate lively cross-disciplinary discussion among scholars immersed in different sites, archives, eras, and regions.

---

French, Rebecca (University of Buffalo)
**Why "Buddhism and Law" Now?**

This paper notes the growth of the field of Buddhism and Law and interrogates four different possible interrelated reasons. One of the primary causes has been a questioning of the basic hermeneutic of the Christian religion model that positions the Buddhist *Vinaya* as neither a form of valid religious law nor a religious influence on secular law. This will be explored with several historical examples. A second possible reason is the growth of Asian Studies and Buddhist Studies post World War II, that increasingly emphasized individual countries and individual language studies leading to a balkanized view of Buddhism as country specific. The waning of postmodernism and its emphasis on uniqueness, non-universalism and the local has allowed for a reconsideration of ideas about what might be the larger connections between Buddhist societies and legal systems. And last, the opening of several areas and countries that were not really available, Tibet over fifty years ago and Mongolia and Burma in just the last twenty years, along with the younger scholars who have begun doing long-term research on these areas and their texts, has revealed the profound historical influence of Buddhism on these societies and created questions about its influence in other societies. The conclusion will outline the excitement and some of the many possibilities of this growing area of research.

---

Lammerts, D.C. (Rutgers University)
**Ordeals in Buddhist Law**

"Certainly, the Buddhist religion did not formally condemn the ordeal. But Buddhism could not patronize the ordeal because it is, like the Christian religion, unfavorably disposed toward the

cult of spirits (*génies*) and magical practices (*pratiques magiques*). As we shall see, the Siamese ordeal exclusively called upon the power of the spirits."

<div align="center">Robert Lingat, "Les ordalies au Siam" (1949)</div>

In the seven decades since these words were written, scholarship has belied Lingat's conceit concerning the place of "spirits" and "magical practices" in Buddhism and Christianity. Yet, there has been little attention to the juridical ordeal as a central modality of Buddhist practice in history; rituals of law are still generally approached as distinct from those of Buddhism. This paper will consider the genealogy, operation, and jurisprudence of trials by ordeal in Burma during the 13–19th centuries CE on the basis of Pali and vernacular epigraphic and manuscript texts. The archive comprises several genres, including court case transcripts, *dhammasattha* treatises, judge's manuals, depositions, and written guides to the performance of ordeals themselves. It will focus on ordeals that circulated under the rubric of the "the four quarters of the world" (*kambhā. leḥ rap*)—the ordeal by fire, the water ordeal, the rice-chewing ordeal, and the ordeal by molten lead—attested in variant guises in other regional contexts, including South Asian, Tai, and Cambodian *dharmaśāstra*, and pre- as well as post-Islamic law in Nusantara (modern Malaysia and Indonesia). The paper will offer an analysis of the Burmese procedures and their associated oath-texts (*adhiṭṭhāna*, *sapatha*, *saccakiriyā*), discussing the dispute contexts in which they are employed (such as in cases of witchcraft and rape), while paying special attention to how the ordeal is materialized through speech, recitation, gesture, and other physical strategies. Moreover, it will situate the Buddhist ordeal within a networked juridical geography across the Bay of Bengal, asking how legal rituals circulated, and how they were variously translated, during the 2nd millennium CE.

---

Kieffer-Pülz, Petra (Academy of Sciences and Literature, Mainz)
**Local Disputes and Transnational Legal Decisions: The Globalization of Legal Decision-Making Regarding Local Disputes of Buddhist Communities**

For cases of disputes within a Buddhist monastic community (*saṅgha*), the various monastic law codes (*Vinaya*) present detailed rules. The first steps to proceed towards a resolution are generally to be taken within the local communities. Only if a dispute cannot be solved, external local communities are to be consulted, committees are to be formed, etc. At the time of the *Vinayas* even the external local communities and committees came from the closer or more distant neighbourhood of the community in dispute.

The present contribution focuses on attempts of local monastic communities in 19th c. Sri Lanka to receive neutral judgments for the resolution of local disputes from monastic legal experts of other Theravāda countries, especially Siam (Thailand) and Burma. This is possible, since, despite the diversity of their Buddhist monastic traditions, the monks of these countries follow the same monastic law code (*Vinaya*), namely that of the Theravāda tradition. But the involvement of foreigners in dispute settlements by one of the disputing parties resulted in a potential new conflict. The opposing group could reproach their opponents for siding with foreigners to split the community, an act considered to be one of the five grave sins with immediate retribution.

Jansen, Berthe (Universiteit Leiden)
**Between Buddhism and Law: Tibetan Monastic Authors (?) and their Legal Texts**

Monastic Buddhism influenced virtually every aspect of Tibetan society. Monks and the monastically trained were responsible for most of the vast Tibetan literature, primarily religious or philosophical in nature, but including 'secular' topics as well. Through the texts they authored, then, monastic Buddhism exerted its influence on society. If monastic Buddhism influenced all facets of society, what was its influence on the corpus of legal texts, and on issues of legal theory within these texts? Conversely, what was the influence of this legal thinking on Buddhist texts? Focusing on a range of – largely unstudied – Tibetan legal texts and monastic guidelines from the 17th century onwards, this paper will look at the presumed Buddhist monastic identity of texts that tend to be classed as legal works. Assessing the contents of these materials, identifying borrowings from Vinayic materials and other explicit and implicit references to monastic Buddhism I will argue that through considering the authorship of these – often anonymous texts – we can better understand the Buddhist ideology that tends to underlie these materials, which are otherwise often presented as being 'secular'.

---

Thomas, Jolyon (University of Pennsylvania)
**Public Good and Private Morality in Buddhist Contributions to the 2006 Revision of the Japanese Fundamental Law on Education**

This paper examines conceptions of the public good and private morality in contemporary Japan by investigating Buddhist lobbying efforts in support of the 2006 revision of the Japanese Fundamental Law on Education (Kyōiku Kihon Hō, FLE below). As tax-exempt religious juridical persons, Buddhist organizations' formal contributions to public life were largely channeled through private humanitarian and cultural activities in the postwar decades. Simultaneously, social changes such as urbanization diminished longstanding temple connections with parishioner families and refocused Buddhist attention on developing individuals as moral agents. Against this historical background, Buddhist groups turned to public school education as a site for cultivating a type of individual morality that could also address public concerns about problems such as compensated dating, violence, and other antisocial behavior. Trans-sectarian Buddhist organizations aligned themselves with a range of political pressure groups that shared specific objectives related to these perceived problems: fostering national pride, countering individualism and shallow materialism, and encouraging respect for traditional culture. The 2006 reform of the FLE resulted from these collaborations.

The FLE had been initially enacted in March 1947 during the Allied Occupation of Japan (1945–1952); it was the first major piece of legislation passed by Japanese lawmakers with minimal Occupation intervention. While there was some disagreement about how the new law fit with the constitution that had just been promulgated the previous year, in general the occupiers and Japanese lawmakers alike seem to have regarded the FLE as a model piece of legislation that fostered desirable democratic tendencies and preserved healthy separation of religion from the state. Despite such sanguine assessments, trans-sectarian groups like the Japanese Buddhist Federation (Zen Nihon Bukkyō Kai) called for reform of the FLE, emphasizing the important role that religion had historically played in Japanese public life and advocating the introduction

of "religious sentiment education" (*shūkyō jōsō kyōiku*) that would encourage Japan's youth to develop healthy relationships with the mainstream sects the Federation represented. The Japan Youth Edification Conference (Zen Nihon Seishōnen Kyōka Kyōgi Kai, or Zenseikyō) also stressed religious education, but expressed misgivings about reforms that overemphasized patriotism at the expense of critical thought. Despite these philosophical differences, these Buddhist trans-sectarian groups collectively pushed for the implementation of a type of education that could counteract the materialist and individualist trends that allegedly plagued postwar Japanese society.

This paper investigates the discourse of moral degeneracy in Buddhist legislative activism while showing how Buddhists strategically partnered with scholars of religious studies, revisionist historians, and anti-"cult" activists in pushing for educational reform. While the new version of the FLE that passed in November 2006 did not include a provision for the "religious sentiment education" Buddhist groups had sought, it did allow for the introduction of non-confessional "religious culture education" in the secondary curriculum, fulfilling longstanding dreams of the Japanese religious world, anti-"cult" activists, and scholars of religious studies in one stroke.

## Recent Approaches in Vinaya Studies
Borgland, Jens W. (McMaster University)
LaRose, Joseph (McMaster University)

**Panel Abstract**

This panel will examine a number of recent approaches in Vinaya Studies, focusing specifically on advances in the study of canonical Indian Vinaya texts preserved in the Pāli canon, Sanskrit manuscripts, and Tibetan and Chinese translations. Specialists will discuss a range of topics, such as the kappiya rules for purifying or making allowable otherwise impure objects, rules related to allowable food, the identification of various strata in canonical Vinaya texts, the role of avadānas and other narratives in the monastic law codes, and recently discovered (or identified) manuscripts and manuscript fragments of hitherto unstudied Vinaya texts such as the Uttaragrantha fragments in the Schøyen collection.

Panelists will examine Buddhist monastic legal literature through a number of lenses, including comparative studies (Pāli, Sanskrit, Chinese, Tibetan), palaeography and textual criticism, and with a view to reading the framestories to monastic rules in new ways with insights from the nascent field of politeness studies.

Papers will throw further light on a number of issues including the historical development of the canonical Vinaya texts, the relationship between the different recensions of the Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya, the intertextual relationship between various parts of the Vinayas, and the relationship between avadānas and Vinaya narratives.

---

Aono, Michihiko (University of Tokyo)
**The Relationship between the *Dantaponasikkhāpada* and Its Introductory Story**

Buddhist monks are forbidden to put into their mouths anything other than that which they have received from others. This proscription is laid down in the monastic rule of the *Pātimokkhasutta* called *Dantaponasikkhāpada*, which is translated by K. R. Norman from the *Pāli* language to English as follows: "if any *bhikkhu* should convey to the opening of his mouth food that has not been given, other than water and a tooth stick, there is an offence entailing expiation."

D. Schlingloff took note of this monastic rule in the study on the interpretation of the *Prātimokṣasūtra*. According to his study, the monastic rule was originally intended to forbid monks from stealing food (*Mundraub*), that is, themselves picking up foods such as wild fruits and eating them. However, the original intention and purpose of the monastic rule became ambiguous later when its introductory story in the *Suttavibhaṅga* was created. As a result, the introductory story explained that the monastic rule was prescribed by the Buddha when some monk ate the offerings to a grave and it was suspected that he ate the corpse.

This example was used by D. Schlingloff as one of the proofs that the introductory stories of the *Suttavibhaṅga* were created later than monastic rules of the *Pātimokkhasutta*. Although his conclusion is largely accepted today, it seems necessary to re-examine the relationship between *Dantaponasikkhāpada* and its introductory story. Furthermore, it may be useful to examine *vinaya* texts other than the *Vinayapiṭaka* of the Theravādins, since Schlingloff's argument was made mainly based on the Theravāda *Vinayapiṭaka*. In this presentation, I will examine how the intention and the purpose of *Dantaponasikkhāpada* and the corresponding rules in the *Shísòng lù* 十誦律, *Sìfēn lù* 四分律, *Wǔfēn lù* 五分律, *Móhē sēngqí lù* 摩訶僧祇律, and *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya* are described in their introductory stories in order to start to rethink the relationship between the *Pātimokkhasutta/Prātimokṣasūtra* and introductory stories of the *Suttavibhaṅga/Sūtravibhaṅga*.

---

Handy, Christopher (McMaster University)
**Politeness and Propriety in Buddhist Monastic Law: Applying Face Theory to Vinaya Texts**

Indian Buddhist monastic law texts are replete with examples of ethical transgressions, and injunctions to prevent their occurrence. These texts also describe many instances of improper behaviors that are not immediately recognizable as unethical. These mundane offenses include such actions as chewing food loudly, responding inappropriately to a sneeze, and urinating while standing. Many rules of this kind are found in the sekhiya / śaikṣa section of the pātimokkha / prātimokṣas, the "confessional liturgies" of Buddhist monks and nuns. Others appear scattered throughout other law texts, often within the context of larger narratives. These ideals of appropriate behavior correspond roughly to our contemporary notions of "politeness" and "etiquette." In general, they have been disregarded by scholars of Buddhist law as too trivial to be of any significance, or as too simple to require much investigation. Yet there is a great deal we can learn by examining these mundane offenses more carefully, as they often clearly originate in pre-Buddhist and pan-Indian conceptions about social convention. The ideals presumed within these narratives find parallels in Brahmanical texts, yet are not always universal to human culture at large. In other words, politeness is dependent on context, and we

see in Buddhist law a conscious appeal to the behavioral standards of Brahmins, Kṣatriyas, and other high-status groups of the early Indian Buddhist social sphere.

In the middle of the 20th century, sociologists and linguists began to describe social interactions in terms of face and face-threatening acts. This concept later evolved into a subfield of linguistics called linguistic politeness or face theory as a method for analyzing the types of speech considered to be "polite" in modern societies. More recently, scholars have begun to apply the vocabulary of face theory to the study of ancient texts in a broadly-conceived method called historical politeness, going beyond the analysis of linguistic utterances to include bodily actions and other aspects of social interaction. The basic idea is that human propriety, while heavily dependent on context, can also be generalized to a certain extent in the construction and maintenance of social face.

A common feature of social face rituals involves the avoidance of disgust. While the specific substances and actions that promote disgust reactions are also dependent on culture, there are also certain universal themes. For example, in many societies there are rules concerning proper lavatory protocol, which arguably originate in anxieties concerning the spread of disease. These rules are also frequently gender-specific, as for example with special injunctions for women to be observed during their menstrual cycles.

In Buddhist legal texts, we find examples of each of the above general ideas within the unique cultural atmosphere of the early Indian social world. Social face theory is likewise a suitable method for analyzing these texts, revealing aspects of human interaction that may not always be readily apparent using traditional philological methods alone. I aim to demonstrate the applicability of this method to early Indian Buddhism, as well as to ancient texts in general.

---

Sasaki, Shizuka (Hanazono University)
**Why Does the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya* Contain a Large Number of Tales?**

As is well known, the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya* is much more voluminous than the other versions of the *Vinaya Pitaka*. This is primarily due to the large number of stories and *Jātaka* tales contained in it. Then why does the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya* contain such a large number of stories and tales? Research to date does not provide a clear answer to this question. This study explores the reason why the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya* contains a large number of stories and tales by comparing its monastic rules to those found in other versions of the *Vinaya Pitaka*. In the conclusion, the study proposes the hypothesis that, in some cases, in order to legitimize the rule changes that were independently initiated in the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya*, there was a need to insert new stories that served the purpose of providing an account of how such rule changes came to be implemented.

---

LaRose, Joseph (McMaster University)
**Cows, Leather, Sandals and Monks: Materiality in the *Carmavastu* of the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya*.**

Although much work has been done on the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya*, or *Law Code of the Mūlasarvāstivādins* (hereafter MSV), many parts of it remain relatively unstudied. Among the less studied parts of the MSV, we find the *Carmavastu* (Section on Leather). It is perhaps the case that the *Carmavastu* is understudied because its opening *avadāna*, the *Śroṇakoṭīkarṇāvadāna*, takes up most of its contents (about seventy percent). This *avadāna* is closely paralleled in the *Divyāvadāna*. The result, I think, has been a tendency to see the *Carmavastu* as not much more than this *avadāna*. There is, however, a great more to this section of the MSV. Its opening *avadāna* is followed by a series of rules on varying topics, sometimes directly and sometimes only loosely related to the titular concern with leather. My paper will situate these monastic rules on the uses of leather within the larger social and legal contexts of Classical India, Buddhist and non-Buddhist. It seeks to understand the overarching orientation of the redactors of the MSV towards leather, as well as the ways in which the relationship between Buddhists and their leather objects was shaped by the larger framework of Brahmanic society. To this end my paper includes a discussion of Brahmanic attitudes towards the use of leather as they are found in their law codes. Some of my conclusions include the extent to which the *Carmavastu* can be located in time and place.

# Recent Research on the *Dīrghāgama*

Melzer, Gudrun (Ludwig-Maximilians Universität)
DiSimone, Charles (Ludwig-Maximilians Universität)
Choi, Jinkyoung (Ludwig-Maximilians Universität)

**Panel Abstract**

The panel focuses on different aspects of individual texts and the whole collection of the "Long Discourses" of the Buddha. Of a main interest is the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivāda Sanskrit version as preserved in a c. 8th century manuscript from possibly the greater Gilgit area. It was first noticed almost twenty years ago. Sanskrit texts of the *Dīrghāgama* were otherwise mainly preserved in fragments from Central Asia, and these usually covered only parts of a sūtra. With more and more editions and studies on individual texts being now available, wider questions can be discussed concerning the general structure of the collection, its arrangement, language, genre, formation, and transmission. Apart from the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivāda version of the "Long Discourses", the panel also includes studies on different aspects of the collection as a whole as transmitted in other Buddhist languages (Gāndhārī or Pali) in different schools.

Hartmann, Jens-Uwe (University of Munich)
**Which *Daśottarasūtra*? A Curious Fragment and its Manifold Problems**

The *Daśottarasūtra* forms part of the "Long Collection". Four versions of the sūtra are known: no. 34 in the Pali *Dīghanikāya*, no. 10 in the *Dīrghāgama* preserved in Chinese translation and no. 1 in the Sanskrit *Dīrghāgama* manuscript from Gilgit and its counterpart in Central Asia; the Chinese Canon also preserves a separate translation by An Shigao that is closely related to the Sanskrit text from Gilgit and Central Asia. The Schøyen Collection contains a final folio of a *Daśottarasūtra* in Sanskrit, and its colophon specifies that it is the tenth sūtra. This indication would make sense only if it referred to the version in the Chinese *Dīrghāgama* (T 1), but the

concluding sentences do not at all correspond to T 1. However, while their phraseology is reminiscent of that of (Mūla-)Sarvāstivāda sūtra texts, their content is quite different from the version of the sūtra in the Sanskrit *Dīrghāgama*.

Yao, Fumi (Waseda University)
**The *Mahāgovindasūtra* and Mahāgovinda's Stories: with the Focus on a Version in the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya***

Although it is the first sūtra identified and reported in the *Dīrghāgama* manuscript, the *Govindasūtra* has not yet been fully studied. The folios are in a fragmentary state, with most of them still inaccessible to scholars. However, the core of this sūtra is extant in another text: the *Bhaiṣajyavastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*. The story is about one of the Buddha's former lives in which he was a wise Brahmin minister named Mahāgovinda. This parallel story in the Vinaya has attracted little scholarly attention, but it provides us with much information about not only the *Govindasūtra* itself but also concerning a unique interpretation in the Mūlasarvāstivādin tradition. This paper points out the characteristics of the story of Mahāgovinda in the *Bhaiṣajyavastu* through comparison with parallel stories.

There are seven known parallel sūtras and stories to the *Govindasūtra*: The *Mahāgovindasuttanta* in the *Dīghanikāya*; the *Dadianzunjin* 大典尊經 in the Chinese *Dīrghāgama*; an independent sūtra (Taisho no. 8 *Foshuodajiangupoluomenyuanqijing* 佛説大堅固婆羅門緣起經); the *Mahāgovindīyasūtra* appearing in the *Mahāvastu*; the story of Mahāgovinda in the *Bhaiṣajyavastu*; and the eighth story in the tenth chapter of the *Karmaśataka*. Among these parallels, the first four share a narrative structure: the story of Mahāgovinda is narrated by a character in a report made by another character to the Buddha. The *Bhaiṣajyavastu* version and the *Karmaśataka* version lack this framework of storytelling and rather simply have the Buddha narrate the story of Mahāgovinda. In contrast to the narrative complexity of the other versions, the *Bhaiṣajyavastu* version has a particular context of its own: it includes the story of Mahāgovinda in a series of stories of teachers in the past, all of who are identified with the present Buddha. The names of these teachers were known in lists to *Āgama* and *Nikāya* traditions. But the lists are not related to the story in which Mahāgovinda is the protagonist, and there is no identification of any of these teachers with the Buddha, either. As far as the presenter has ascertained, the *Bhaiṣajyavastu* is the only text which combines the list of teachers and Mahāgovinda's story. Another peculiarity of the *Bhaiṣajyavastu* version lies in its characterization of Mahāgovinda's acts as the practice of the perfection of wisdom (*prajñāpāramitā*). This characterization is found also in literature of other genres, such as the *Mahāvibhāṣā* of the Sarvāstivādin abhidharma and a *Mahāyana* treatise, the *Mahāprajñāparamitāśāstra*.

This paper is also intended to show the correspondence between the reported text of the Govindasūtra in the *Dīrghāgama* and the story of Mahāgovinda in the Tibetan translation of the *Bhaiṣajyavastu* and how the story appears or does not appear in the extant versions of the *Bhaiṣajyavastu* (the newly found Sanskrit manuscript and the Tibetan and Chinese translations).

DiSimone, Charles (Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München)

***Anyatīrthikaparivrājaka*s and Their Doctrines as Portrayed in the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivāda *Dīrghāgama***

What does the death of Mahāvīra have to do with Śāriputra extolling Gautama? Upon first glance the beginnings of the *Prāsādika* and *Prasādanīya sūtra*s, now edited and translated for the first time, appear to introduce texts with disparate themes and concerns, sharing similarity only in their titles. However, these two paired *sūtra*s from the Yuga-nipāta of the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivāda *Dīrghāgama*, set near the end of the Buddha's career, are directly related in setting forth the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādin positions on what makes a teacher and his doctrines successful. In the course of laying out these positions, Jainas, referred to as the Nirgranthas, are employed as the chief example of a group of *anyatīrthika*s (adherents of another faith) whose positions are well-founded but ultimately do not meet the standards of perfection set forth by Gautama. This paper will examine the representations of the *anyatīrthika*s and their views as they were interpreted — or perhaps misinterpreted — by the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādins and demonstrate how they were used as narrative foils to further the ends of the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivāda tradition as it was preserved in Central Asia in the 7th and 8th centuries of the Common Era.

Matsuda, Kazunobu (Bukkyo University)
Choi, Jinkyoung (Ludwig-Maximilians Universität)
**The Source and Structure of the *Tridaṇḍisūtra***

The *Tridaṇḍisūtra* is the first sūtra in the *Śīlaskandha-nipāta*, the third section in the *Dīrghāgama* of the [Mūla-]Sarvāstivādin Buddhist order. It is considered as a unique and so-far unknown sūtra with no parallel texts in the Pāli, Chinese, or Tibetan Buddhist canons. Yaśomitra quotes, however, some *śīlaskandha* passages from this sūtra in his commentary to the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* as a representative text of the Śīlaskandha section. This paper will explore various kinds of interesting and mysterious features surrounding this text, such as the reason why, out of the two key texts in the *Śīlaskandha-nipāta* transmitting the same *śīlaskandha* passages, only the *Tridaṇḍi-sūtra* was quoted by Yaśomitra, the structure of the *Tridaṇḍisūtra* and its related sources, and so forth.

Melzer, Gudrun (Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität)
**The state of research on the *Dīrghāgama* manuscript and inquiries into the *Śīlaskandha-nipāta***

This presentation gives a summary on the current state of research on individual sūtras within the Sanskrit Dīrghāgama (the "Long Discourses" of the Buddha) of the (Mūla-) Sarvāstivāda tradition and on the manuscript in general, which dates to around the 8th century and possibly originated in the greater Gilgit area. The second part of the presentation focuses on a few observations on texts in the third and last section of the Dīrghāgama called the Śīlaskandha-nipāta.

# Reconstructing the History of Late Indian Buddhism (Part III) — Relationship between Tantric and Non-tantric Doctrines —

Kyuma, Taiken (Mie University)

**Panel Abstract**

The main aim of this panel is to investigate the relationship between tantric and non-tantric doctrines, focusing on the Vikramaśīla monastery, a center for late Indian Buddhism. These two doctrines, as vital elements in the history of late Indian Buddhism, came to be integrated into the whole system of thought and practice. Nevertheless, both of them seem to have been treated more or less independently of each other in the field of modern Buddhist studies. If we try to describe the history of late Indian Buddhism more precisely, it is necessary to clarify how these two doctrines are related to each other.

This third and final attempt under the same title is going to highlight the monastic tradition of late Indian Buddhism as a framework of our discussion, in which some important issues, such as the Vikramaśīla monastery's role of a scriptorium, the relationship between monks and siddhas, and the existence of programs for learning Buddhist doctrines, will need to be taken into consideration. From the viewpoint of the monastic tradition, the present panel tries to shed some useful light on doctrinal problems in late Indian Buddhism.

This panel proposal is based on our "Vikramaśīla project" funded by JSPS (the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science).

Yiannopoulos, Alexander (Emory University)
*Abhiṣeka* as *Saṃskāra*: **Initiation and Meditation in Ratnākaraśānti's Tantric Commentaries**

The necessity of ritual initiation (*dīkṣā*, *abhiṣeka*) for tantric practice is well-documented. However, most of the secondary literature to date has focused on Śaiva initiation. This paper will examine the late Indian Buddhist practice of initiation, specifically in relation to meditation on suchness (*tathatā*) or the ultimate nature of reality. While Buddhist authors of tantric commentaries maintain that initiation is required to engage in ritual and/or *sādhanā* practice, several—perhaps most notably Ratnākaraśānti (fl. ca. 1000)—also promulgated the view that one could engage in the highest forms of contemplative practice, without first having received tantric initiation. This is because for Ratnākaraśānti, in principle, there can be no difference between the realization of nondual luminosity (*prakāśa*) arrived at through the exoteric means of Yogācāra philosophy and practice, and the same realization arrived at through esoteric, tantric practices. Thus, *abhiṣeka* in the context of at least certain traditions of Buddhist tantrism may be considered a kind of *saṃskāra* or *samayadīkṣā*, that is, an initiation that authorizes the initiate to engage in specific types of ritual and contemplative practice, but does not in and of itself confer liberation.

Seton, Gregory (Dartmouth College)
**Integrating Non-tantric and Tantric Doctrines Through Prajñāpāramitā at Vikramaśīla during the mid-Eleventh Century**

Late Tibetan histories present the 11th century Vikramaśīla monastic university setting as one in which six famous scholar gatekeepers stood at the ready to debate philosophical viewpoints

with any adversarial passersby. However, the earlier, perhaps more reliable reports in the *rNam-thar-rgyas-pa Yong-grags* and *rNam-thar rgyas-pa Lam-yig*, which appear to contain traces of first hand accounts, portray Vikramaśīla's monastic hierarchy instead as structured around the orthopraxy, rather than the philosophical debate prowess, of four tantric siddha-scholar-monks, namely Ratnākaraśānti, Vidyākokila (the younger? a.k.a. Avadhūtipā?), *Hāsavajra, and Nāropā. Although among the four Nāropā is presented as the royal guru and most charismatic figure, Ratnākaraśānti is described as the head (*dbu mdzad pa*) of Vikramaśīla's monastic assembly, as the most senior student of the late *gSer-ling-pa*, and as Vikramaśīla's most lauded scholar of Prajñāpāramitā, whose realization and explanation of tantra influenced an entire generation of seminal figures.

Ratnākaraśānti's commentaries give us insight into the tantric and non-tantric atmosphere of Vikramaśīla during his mid-eleventh century tenure there. Other prior Mādhyamika-oriented Vikramaśīla scholars, such as Bhāvyakīrti, had held the *pāramitānaya* and *mantranaya* to differ from one another only in terms of the speed with which they reach the same ultimate goal. Ratnākaraśānti concurred with their notion of tantric and non-tantric Mahāyāna methods as equally effective, but he disagreed with them regarding the ultimate goal itself, which they had identified with Prajñāpāramitā. For Ratnākaraśānti, Prajñāpāramitā is not the ultimate goal toward which the *pāramitānaya* and *mantranaya* are aimed, but rather the quintessential Mahāyāna path that formed the core of these two methods and gave them their efficacy.

This paper will explore Ratnākaraśānti's reformulation of Prajñāpāramitā doctrine, its grounding in conservative Yogācāra "three vehicle" values, its relationship to his explanation of sexual practice, and its possible influence on later scholars, such as Abhayākaragupta, who held the *mantranaya* alone to be capable of leading practitioners to the ultimate goal.

Tanemura, Ryugen (Taisho University)
Kano, Kazuo (Koyasan University)
Kuranishi, Kenichi (Taisho University)
**Ratnarakṣita on the Practice of Meditation—Its Validity and Fruit in Tantric Buddhism—**

The meditation practice developed by tantric Buddhists is different from that of traditional, non-tantric Buddhism in many respects. This leads us into supposing that tantric Buddhists had to prove that their meditation practice was valid and effective means to attain the goal which is really "Buddhist".

We see examples of how tantric Buddhists justified their meditation practice in the *Padminī*, a commentary on the *Saṃvarodayatantra* by Ratnarakṣita (ca. 1150 – 1250). Answering to the objections of his opponents (most probably they are both tantric and non-tantric Buddhists), Ratnarakṣita argues about the *utpattikrama* practice as effective means to attain Buddhahood, and about *vajradharatva* as the fruit of Buddhist tantric meditation practice, mainly in chapters 1 and 13 of the *Padminī*.

On the basis of Ratnarakṣita's arguments, this paper deals with the above-mentioned two issues, the validity of the tantric Buddhist meditation practice and the fruit brought by them, shedding

light upon the relationship between tantric and non-tantric Buddhism, and between different groups of tantric Buddhists, from the viewpoint of tantric meditation.

---

Miyazaki, Izumi (Kyoto University)
**The *Abhijñā*s and Preaching Dharma in the *Bodhimārgadīpa-pañjikā***

In Mahāyāna Buddhism, preaching Dharma is the most important element for accumulating merit to benefit to others. Supernatural knowledges (*abhijñā* or *ṛddhi*) are sometimes mentioned as prerequisites for preaching Dharma or composing a commentary. As a matter of course, Atiśa regarded his direct teacher, Bodhibhadra, as having supernatural knowledges (*mṅon par śes pa brñes pa*), although it is unclear from his writings what he thought about himself regarding this point. In addition, he described his teacher as "one who made the intent of all the Tantra, all the Sūtra and the entire Vinaya manifested in his mind simultaneously." It apparently suggests that his teacher was also a Tantrist. However, of course, the tradition of assuming supernatural knowledges as prerequisites for preaching Dharma had already begun before Tantric Buddhism flourished.

This paper aims to examine the teaching concerning supernatural knowledges in late Indian Buddhism according to the *Bodhimārgadīpa-pañjikā* by Atiśa, and to clarify how the tradition was transmitted to Atiśa. In the *Bodhimārgadīpa-pañjikā*, Atiśa warns against preaching Dharma without supernatural knowledges (*abhijñā*) in a non-Tantric context and recommends tranquility (*śamatha*) in order to obtain them. He elaborates on this by quoting several texts including the *Adhyāśayasaṃcodana-sūtra*, the *Ratnāvalī* by Nāgārjuna, the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* by Śāntideva, and the *Samādhisaṃbhāra-parivarta* by Bodhibhadra. The citations from the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* and the *Adhyāśayasaṃcodana-sūtra* which is also quoted in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* suggest influence by Śāntideva, while the *Samādhisaṃbhāra-parivarta* might indicate a connection with the *Yogācārabhūmi*, since the author, Bodhibhadra, knows the *Yogācārabhūmi* well.

Such admonition against preaching Dharma without supernatural knowledges can be already found in Mahāyāna Sūtras like the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*. Some texts belonging to the Yogācāra school also mention the necessity of supernatural knowledges. We shall also examine the relationship between the teaching of Atiśa and their precursors.

---

Sferra, Francesco (University of Naples "L'Orientale")
**Adapting the Middle Path to the Vajra Vehicle: an Enquiry into the Doctrinal Settings of the Wheel of Time**

Probably in order to effectively meet the new socio-cultural challenges that had arisen around the eve of the second millennium (first of all the Islamic invasion in the Northern India and the revival of the Brahmanical traditions), the first authors of the Kālacakra sought to establish, within a consistent framework, a new Buddhist orthodoxy and to close the Buddhist ranks around the undisputed authority of the monastic community. With a particular emphasis on doctrines, the paper will examine the most important passages of the first works of the Kālacakra system (for instance, the *Vimalaprabhā* and the *Paramārthasevā* of Puṇḍarīka, the

*Hevajratantrapiṇḍārthaṭīkā* of Vajragarbha and the *Amṛtakaṇikā* of Raviśrījñāna) that seek to define and characterize Buddhist Tantrism as a whole and in particular the Kālacakra school in comparison with other Buddhist and non- Buddhist traditions. The use and adaptation ofb Mādhyamaka conceptions, sometimes in direct conflict with the Vijñānavāda, and quotations from the Prajñāpāramitā literature will be examined in particular.

Wangchuk, Dorji (Universität Hamburg)
**Is Tantric Meditation Like Imagining Oneself a Lion When Afraid of Dogs? The Issue of the Superiority Claim of Vajrayāna**

In the proposed panel "Reconstructing the History of Late Indian Buddhism (Part III): Relationship between Tantric and Non-tantric Doctrines," I wish to present a paper on the topic "Is Tantric Meditation Like Imagining Oneself a Lion When Afraid of Dogs? The Issue of the Superiority Claim of Vajrayāna." One of the greatest challenges in the history of the transmission and reception of Buddhism in Tibet seems to have been making sense of the theories and practices of Mantranaya, particularly in relation to Pāramitānaya theories and practices. While Mantranaya teachings came to be generally accepted as being superior to those of Pāramitānaya—despite some indications that some scholars in Tibet relegated Tantric teachings as having only a provisional sense or purport (*neyārtha: drang ba'i don*)—the issue of the identification and interpretation of the criteria of similarities and dissimilarities between the two has always been contentious.

Two issues related to the topic seem to be particularly significant, namely, whether Pāramitānaya and Mantranaya share the one and the same philosophical view (*dṛṣṭi/darśana: lta ba*) and whether Pāramitānaya teachings is self-sufficient for attaining the ultimate soteriological goal of Buddhahood or whether Mantranaya (which involves sexual yogic initiations and meditation) is indispensable for all those seeking to attain Buddhahood. The first question touches the crux of the issue regarding the Pāramitānaya–Mantranaya relationship. The second question is related to the doctrinal and practical difficulties faced by the Monastic traditions in India and Tibet when receiving and practicing Mantranaya teachings and the inherent tension between what one might perhaps call "Mantric ecstaticism or sexualism" and "Monastic asceticism and celebatism." The second question thus concerns the Monastic tradition. Issues of this kind in Tibetan Buddhism can be perhaps largely seen as a continuation of those issues that have been either latent or patent in Indian Buddhism. It is thus hoped that the modest paper will shed some light on the history of the reception of Indian Buddhism in Tibet, especially with regard to the Tibetan perception of the Pāramitānaya–Mantranaya relationship.

Kyuma, Taiken (Mie University)
**Discussant**

## Ritual, Doctrine, and Monasticism: Buddhist Practices in Dunhuang
Liu, Cuilan (Emmanuel College)
Chen, Huaiyu (Arizona State University)

**Panel Abstract**

The Dunhuang cave temples have witnessed the intense religious, cultural, and artistic exchanges between the western regions and central China from the fourth to the fourteenth century. The discovery of manuscripts and paintings there in the early twentieth century has forced scholars to reconsider the history of Buddhism's development in China. This panel brings together art historians and scholars working with manuscripts to shed light on the visual and textual representations of how Buddhism was practiced in Dunhuang. By analyzing textual and visual materials from the Dunhuang cave temples, presenters in this panel will discuss various aspects of Buddhist practices in Dunhuang ranging from dialogues between Buddhism and other religious traditions to issues and challenges within the Buddhist community in Dunhuang. Specific topics to be addressed include but not limited to devotional practices, image dedication, Tantric liturgies, monasticism, and legal disputes.

Coleman, Fletcher (Harvard University)
**The Buddha and the Brahman: Deciphering Ascetic Imagery in Early Medieval China**

Bearded, gnarled, half-naked, and contorted in anguish—the Brahman ascetic embodies a sense of pathos unlike anything else in Chinese art. Emerging in the final decades of the 4th century, these emaciated ascetic figures make an appearance in virtually every type of Buddhist art during the formative period for the rise of Chinese Buddhism. Despite their overwhelming ubiquity and striking visual qualities, these figures have never before been systematically studied. Yet, I propose that the Brahman ascetic is an integral part of the syntax of early Buddhist visual language.

The Brahman ascetic populates the earliest visual and literary accounts of the life of the historical Buddha. Encounters between the Buddha and these ascetics invariably highlight the shortcomings of ascetic practice and result in conversion to the teachings of Buddhism. These ascetic figures appear prominently in the Chinese Buddhist artwork of the 4th-6th centuries, but previous scholarship generally treats the figure as little more than a visual illustration of life-story texts.

My work argues that the Brahman ascetic is a critical tool for deciphering poorly understood aspects of Buddhist visual programs from the early medieval period in China. The ascetic is not a mere character reference to literary narrative. Rather, through understanding the consistent role of the Brahman ascetic within artwork of the period, it is possible to gain access to the underlying logic of Buddhist programs that have heretofore been treated as though they have no structure. Moreover, one is able to better recognize the relationship between these programs and broader developments in on-the- ground ritual practice during the time period.

My research suggests that the visual function of the Brahman ascetic is tied to the figure's need for religious transformation. Examining figures in cave chapels and on freestanding stone sculpture, the Brahman ascetic consistently occupies a position of prominence within early deity tableaus and representations of the Buddha's life story. Their need for religious transformation through the salvific powers of the Buddha provides an underlying structure and narrative drive

to the imagery. Considering this structured role for the Brahman ascetic provides exciting avenues for reinterpreting certain questions concerning early Chinese Buddhist imagery and its ritual function.

In my presentation, I explore the themes outlined above within the context of Northern Wei cave construction at Mogao, Dunhuang, and related sites. Particularly prevalent within the artistic output of the Northern Wei, the Brahman ascetic appears in a number of guises in the visual programs of the period. My talk will focus on the ascetic's role as a liminal figure and visual pivot within episodes from the life of the historical Buddha. It will also address the purpose and nature of certain unique iconographical configurations of the ascetic as depicted in these caves. In doing so, I seek to elucidate the broader function of the ascetic figure and the impact of this new understanding on larger questions related to early Buddhist imagery and praxis.

---

Lee, Kwi Jeong (Princeton University)
**Celebrating the Buddha: Dedication of Images in Medieval Dunhuang**

This paper closely examines a series of ritual formulas (*zhaiwen* 齋文) titled "Celebrating the Image" (*tanxiang* 嘆像 or *qingxiang* 慶像) or "Celebrating the Buddha" (*tanfo* 嘆佛). As the titles suggest, these formulas were invoked at the ceremony of dedicating statues and paintings of the Buddha. Having survived in four Dunhuang manuscripts (P. 2058, P. 2072, P. 2588, P. 3494), the formulas in question appear in a group with other prayers for the same purpose, that is, for making votive offerings such as shrines, scriptures, and banners. The grouping of these dedicatory prayers suggests that liturgists in Dunhuang performed the ritual of dedication in its own right without associating it with other ritual programs pertinent to the use of sacred objects, for instance, consecration.

Comprising seven sub-sections, the formulas for image dedication, albeit differing slightly in detail from one another, center around two concerns. One is the paradox between the ineffable nature of the Buddhist Law and the need for rendering the transcendent Buddha into the worldly form. The Dunhuang liturgists expressed this concern in the language of the Buddhist apologetic tradition that grew in the capital region in the seventh century. The other concern is the donor. Emphasizing meritorious rewards from image worship, the formulas praise the donor for not only his profound understanding of Buddhist teachings but also his fulfillment of secular virtues such as literary talent and military prowess. This implies that the protagonist of the ritual was not the sacred object to dedicate but the person who paid to have it made. The prayers indeed mention the physical beauty of the image and its likeness to the Buddha. However, the ontological equation between the image and the Buddha, the result of image consecration, is not stated.

Analyzing the formulas for image dedication in Dunhuang, this paper demonstrates that political and social factors played a critical role in the formation of ritual for Buddhist icons. Previous studies have thus far concentrated on the procedure of symbolically transforming the image into a living embodiment or a proxy of the divine being that it depicts (Bentor 1996; Swearer 2004; and Shinohara 2014). The series of formulas under consideration affords a glimpse into the ritual of concerns that lay beyond the realm of representation.

Ding, Yi (Stanford University)
**Consecrating with Myths, Images, and Rituals: The Case of the Mogao Site**

Although the etic term "consecration," i.e. the action of making something sacred, has no direct one-to-one equivalent in Buddhist vocabulary, the idea of making a thing or place sacred is not entirely missing in Chinese Buddhism. A place can be made sacred by becoming associated with prophecies (*shouji* 授記), hosting ceremonies and housing sacred objects on its ground. In the case of Dunhuang, we have a plethora of texts and images that testify to the mechanics of consecration. Mogao shan 莫高山 (lit. The Superb Mountain), a site of great religious importance (or efficacy") in Dunhuang, where a large amount of images and manuscripts were located, was seemingly made sacred by the locals with a combination of approaches, including myth-crafting, image-making and ritual-performing.

This paper starts with the story of Liu Sahe 刘萨訶 in both Dunhuang texts and images. This prophecy story became localized in Dunhuang and served as a model for the Le Zun 樂僔's discovery of Mogao. It became the founding myth, as a related mytho-history was created by the locals for the site. Second, the paper demonstrates that the completion ritual of grotto-building evokes the idea that murals help to maintain the sacredness of an existing sacred site, with a detailed analysis of the related ritual texts. Ritual happens in a specific locale, upon which meaning is attached to repeatedly in order to actualize the prophecy. Third, the paper discusses the control of sacred space and the access thereof in Dunhuang, regulated by priests, ritual procedures and local Buddhist institutions, as the perceived sacredness accrued. Last, the paper situates Mogao in the broader context of Chinese Buddhism and then discusses its larger implication for the practice of grotto making as a time-honored practice in Buddhism.

Chen, Huaiyu (Arizona State University)
**Liturgies for Creating Four Mandalas in Dunhuang Manuscripts**

This paper aims to examine liturgies in Dunhuang manuscripts for creating four mandalas, such as Zunsheng, Suiqiu, Guanyin, and foding. These liturgies often do not have clear titles, so only their contents can help define their nature in the Buddhist history. This paper attempts to reconstruct the procedure and content of many liturgical rituals by a detailed reading of these manuscripts, bringing both traditional canonical texts and stone inscriptions from non-Dunhuang sources. First, this paper will analyze the development of the pantheons in these liturgies and look into the textual tradition in which these pantheons were created. It will also analyze why gods and deities in these pantheons were honored. The occasions and their doctrinal basis of honoring these gods will be discussed. Second, this paper will approach to these liturgies from the perspective of social and cultural history for analyzing in what contexts four different mandalas were created for what specific purposes. What social groups in Dunhuang local community have sponsored the creations of different mandalas? What cultural meanings have been reflected from the creations of these mandalas? Third, this paper will compare the mandalas shown in Dunhuang manuscripts with those as we see from the canonical texts and stone inscriptions and try to analyze the centers and peripherals of Buddhist rituals in medieval China. Politically and culturally, Dunhuang was not the center of the Chinese empire in the medieval period. The rituals shown in the manuscripts from this area might reflect some local

characters. Fourth, this paper will also discuss the items appearing in the rituals from the perspective of material culture. These items illustrate the mixture of materials from both Central China and the Western Regions. The circulation of these materials will interest scholars who work on materials culture in medieval Asia.

Zhanru (Peking University)
**The Rituals and Rules for the Household Patrons in Medieval Dunhuang: With Special Reference to the Manuscript P. 2984v.**

This paper focuses on the Dunhuang manuscript P. 2984v by analyzing its content and its targeted audience. This study first examines the order of the precepts and attempts to sort out the targeted audience of the ordination ritual and precepts. Second, this paper reconstructs the Ritual for Five Precepts as it was revealed in this manuscript and compares it with the ordination rituals recorded in other similar manuscripts from Dunhuang for analyzing their differences. Third, this paper also discusses the schedule of receiving precepts, the contents of the precepts, and other issues. In sum, this paper will offer some new perspectives of our understanding of the religious life of the household patrons in Medieval Dunhuang.

Liu, Cuilan (Emmanuel College)
**Adoptive Mother or Slave Owner? Adoption and Slavery in Buddhist Monasteries and Nunneries in Dunhuang**

The Tibetan legal document P. T. 1080 records a Buddhist nun's petition for and success in obtaining a court order confirming her ownership of a girl she had adopted twenty years ago. The nun's testimony states that the girl's father gave her options to raise the girl either as a daughter (*bu mo*) or a slave girl (*bran mo*). Twenty years later, the nun' relationship with the girl deteriorated. One major disturbance was the girl's attempts to severe their relationship. In response, the nun filed a plaint in the court and requested a written confirmation of her ownership of the girl. A judicial decision was made in favour of the nun. It prohibited the girl from choosing a different owner and ordered her to serve the nun as before. What was unclear in the judicial decision was whether the girl was treated as the nun's adopted daughter or domestic slave. This article discusses the complications of this judicial decision. I argue that the Buddhist nun's victory in winning the desired written confirmation could have also led to her conviction as a criminal guilty of enslaving a commoner, a crime punishable by strangulation (*jiao*) in the Tang Code. Examining Tang regulations on adoption and slave, this article also discusses this legal case's significance for understanding the roles Buddhist monks and nuns had played in the practice of slavery and adoption in Dunhuang from the seventh to the early eleventh century.

## Stories Behind the Story: Revisiting the Buddha's Hagiography
Sasson, Vanessa R. (Marianopolis College)

**Panel Abstract**

There is no "right way" to read the Buddha's hagiography. His life story has as many authors as it has witnesses, with every reader, pilgrim, performer and audience member projecting their own perspective onto the narrative. In this panel, we will explore some of the many stories behind the Buddha's story in the hope of fleshing out more of what seems to be an everlasting wish-fulfilling jewel.

John Strong will continue his analysis of the Śrāvastī miracle narratives, focusing on the question of what the role of miracles might be in Buddhist hagiography; Vanessa R. Sasson will explore the Buddha's relationship with Yasodharā; Kristin Scheible will examine the role women play in the Buddha's life prior to his departure as they are described in the *Buddhacarita* and *Jātakanidāna*; and Xi He will examine the *Fo benxing jing* as well as its intricate relationship with the *Fo suoxing zan* and other Buddha biographies translated in the first few centuries.

---

Strong, John S. (Bates College)
**Buddhist Miracles and the Hagiography of the Buddha**

It is sometimes thought that miracles are relatively late additions to the sacred lifestory of the Buddha, the product of the pietistic imagination of Buddhist devotees. In fact, miracle tales are there in the very earliest layers of the biographical tradition, whether literary or art historical. Thus, in the "Discourses on Wonderful and Marvelous Things," ("Acchariyabbhutadhamma-sutta") in the *Majjhima nikāya*, Ānanda recounts some of the extraordinary, miraculous occurrences in the Buddha's life from the time of his conception and birth right up until his enlightenment. Similarly, in the bas-reliefs at Bharhut (2nd century B.C.E.), we find, for instance, depictions of the great miracle at Śrāvastī and the descent from Trāyastriṃśa Heaven.

Elsewhere in the canon, however, the Buddha is presented in a more down-to-earth ordinary guise: he walks, he eats, he attains enlightenment by dint of his own efforts, he gets tired and sick, he dies. From the very start, then, we find, in the lifestory of the Buddha, a coexistence of the miraculous and the mundane.

This paper addresses a set of related questions: What role do the miracle stories have in the construction of the overall lifestory of the Buddha? Or, put differently: What biographical function do miracles play in Buddhism? What aspects of the tradition do they emphasize?

There are doubtless many answers to these questions. In this presentation, I shall propose and focus on only one of them: the hagiographical purpose of miracles, it seems to me, is to prepare the way for the ongoing veneration of the Buddha after his parinirvāṇa. This ongoing veneration necessitates addressing a number of issues: how does the hagiographical tradition deal with potential human rivals (e.g., the so-called heretical teachers)? How does it deal with potential divine rivals (e.g. Brahmanical gods)? How does it deal with the perceived absence of the Buddha after his death? My contention is that all of these issues are dealt with, at least in part, by miracle stories.

This paper will illustrate this claim by looking at a number of accounts of miracles in Buddhist literature. Some brief attention will be paid to two tales from the *Avadānaśataka* : the story entitled "Dhūma" ("Smoke") (ch. 9) which recounts a brief miracle-contest of sorts between the Buddha and the non-Buddhist tīrthikas; and the story entitled "Prātihārya" ("Miracle")(ch. 15) in which the Buddha converts Brahmins by taking on the form of the god Indra. To some extent, these two stories may be seen as precursors to various Pali and Sanskrit narratives of the "Great Miracle[s] at Śrāvastī," and the related episode of the Buddha's descent from Trāyastriṃśa Heaven. To these I will turn next and devote the bulk of my presentation. Finally, I will end with a consideration of a little-known episode in the Sanskrit version of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa sūtra*: the story of the Buddha's removing an obstacle (a huge boulder) from the path on his journey to Kuśinagara.

He, Xi (Appalachian State University)
**Behind the Stories: A Study of the *Fo benxing jing***

From the beginning of the Common Era to the twelfth century, Chinese translations from Sanskrit and other middle Indic languages preserved a large number of hagiographical works on the life of the Buddha and his disciples. This body of literature provides important textual, philological, doctrinal, and artistic perspectives for understanding the Buddha hagiographical tradition, the translation and transmission of Buddhist texts between India and China, and Buddhist history and culture at the time. However, many of these texts, such as the *Fo benxing jing* (T193), have not received adequate scholarly attention.

Traditionally, the *Fo benxing jing* and the *Fo suoxing zan* (T192) are considered to have been translated from different versions of the *Buddhacarita*, the former by Baoyun (376-449?) and the latter by Dharmakṣema (385-433). The extant Sanskrit version of the *Buddhacarita* ends at chapter fourteen, and the *Fo suoxing zan* has 28 chapters that begin with the birth of the Buddha and end with the division of the relics. However, the *Fo benxing jing* begins with the *nidāna* that is followed by a chapter eulogizing the Tathāgata. It then describes the descent of the Bodhisattva from Tuṣita Heaven. The poem ends at chapter 31 describing the division of relics. Sengyou's (445-518) *Chu sanzang ji ji* (T2145) clearly states that *Fo suoxing zan* was translated by Baoyun, but the translator of the *Fo benxing jing* was unknown. It is unlikely that Baoyun or Dharmakṣema translated the text (Zhou 1948; Ensho 1957; Goto 2007).

By examining the transcribed words in the *Fo benxing jing*, I add philological evidence that this text was not translated by Baoyun or Dharmakṣema and argue that its original is not in Sanskrit. Furthermore, a close comparison of the structure and content of the *Fo benxing jing* and the *Fo suoxing zan* reveals that they both were translated from two different texts in spite of certain similarities. I assert that there exists intertextuality between these two texts and the *Puyao jing* (T186), the *Fang guangda zhuangyan jing* (T187), and the *Lalitavistara*. Lastly, by examining three episodes in the text, I argue that the *Fo benxing jing* indicates a close affiliation with the Mūlasarvāstivādin tradition.

In conclusion, this article not only sheds new light on the original text of the *Fo benxing ing* and its translator, but also shows that intertextual analysis can provide new directions for

understanding important issues, in this case, on the well-debated relationship between Sarvāstivāda and Mūlasarvāstivāda.

Scheible, Kritsin (Reed College)
**"Behind Every Great Man": Engendering the Mahāpuruṣa**

In my work I have been most interested in how narrative structures and rhetorical devices reveal stories of transformation within Buddhist narratives and serve to prime the reader outside them. This paper will employ narratological tools to examine what I see as the driving force of women in the Buddha's biography, focusing on Aśvaghoṣa's Sanskrit *Buddhacarita* and the Pāli *Jātakanidāna*. It is my contention that the inclusion of female characters in *Buddhacarita* does more work than to simply adhere to – or establish –aesthetic conventions of *mahākāvya*. In canto 3, women eagerly jostle for position to view the bodhisattva as he went out from the palace; might this episode enunciate more than his exceptional attractiveness? Similarly, female characters represented in the Avidūre Nidāna of the later Pāli *Jātakanidāna* can be read as providers of priming encounters for the bodhisattva just prior to his great departure and subsequent Enlightenment. The dancing girls in the harem, asleep and repulsive to the bodhisattva, are the penultimate encounter catalyzing his impulse to leave and even in their ostensibly passive state engender the Buddha-to-be. I come to a different conclusion about the inclusion of, indeed focus on, women at key moments in the biography than most interpreters (for example, Liz Wilson (1996) states, "It is always the man who sees and the woman who is seen, the man who speaks and the woman who is spoken about.").

The significant roles that particular, named women, such as Mahāmāyā, Mahāprajāpatī, Yaśodharā and Sujātā, play in the Buddha's life prior to his departure have been well studied by scholars (for example, C.A.F. Rhys Davids, Bode, Horner, Paul, Bareau, Strong, R. Obeyesekere, Walters, Blackstone, Ohnuma, Collett). Nuns, mothers, and seductresses have all received attention. My focus will be on the mainly anonymous clusters of women (in the harem or in the upper balconies) who strain to see, and be seen by, the bodhisattva. Rather than employ a feminist ethical hermeneutic or rehearse arguments for the valorization of women, symbolic or historical, in Buddhist texts, in this paper I consider the narrative role they play.

Shiri, Yael (SOAS)
**Revisiting the Śākya clan as a marker of Indian monastic self-representation in the Buddha's Hagiographies**

The life of the Buddha has played a central part in Buddhist tradition since a very early stage. Being the fountainhead of the tradition and an archetype of a perfect Buddhist, details of his hagiography have furnished Buddhist texts and monuments for monastics and laity to revere and engage with. As part of this corpus, much has been dedicated to the description of the Buddha's clan – the Śākyas – and their capital Kapilavastu.

Although much ink has been spilled on the topic of the Buddha's last life, not much of it has been dedicated to the Śākyas themselves. Treatments of the issue, such as in the admirable works of André Bareau, typically approached the topic through a "historicist" looking glass, trying to

uncover the historical truth beneath the narratives. As this paper suggests, perhaps a more fruitful approach would be to recognise such narratives as "historical traditions", rather than simply mining them for factual "truths" (Thapar 2013).

Such historical traditions, while depicting a historicised view of a past, may in fact reveal much more about the circumstances of their present. Particularly, one can identify in such narratives of origin, a clear discourse of self-representation, by which a given tradition establishes itself in its own eyes as well as in the eyes of other social and religious groups. In this paper, I will be examining narratives related to the Śākya clan as a mirror of a Buddhist identity discourse in the Middle Period of Indian Buddhism. This formative period in the history of Buddhism has been a time of composition, compilation and crystallisation of many Buddhist scriptures and narratives, and these are extremely rich with details on the Śākyas, their nature, their lives and their habitat. As can be deduced, for example, from the proliferation of the epithet *Śākyabhikṣu* in epigraphical records from the 5th century CE onwards, the perception of the Śākyas played an integral part in the representation of Indian Buddhist monastic identity.

By employing both narratological and philological tools, I revisit different episodes on the Śākyas in texts such as the *Saṅghabhedavastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, the *Mahāvastu* of the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravāda *Vinaya*, and the Pāli commentarial corpus, in order to shed new light on this so-far rather unattended side of the Buddha's hagiography.

Sasson, V.R. (Marianopolis College)
**Yasodhara's story**

Since Derrida's first book, *Of Grammatology* (1967), the various fields of the humanities have been shaken with the realization that readers interact with texts more than was previously appreciated. Although he was not as radical as some of his interpreters eventually became, Derrida's challenge has certainly changed the way we read.

The Buddha's hagiography has been read from many different perspectives. Many of these have focused on the renunciant aspect of his journey, but certainly other interpretations have emerged as well. One reading that has not received much attention, however, is one that highlights the relationship between the Bodhisattva and his wife (or wives). The question this paper addresses is whether it is possible to see in the Buddha's hagiography a romantic narrative. Romance is obviously not at the heart of the story, nor could it possibly function as the only legitimate reading of the tradition. Rather, the purpose of this paper is to ask whether a love story can also be found in the pages of this many-layered tale.

This paper will address this question by looking at Yasodharā and her representation in some of the early hagiographic sources. Although other women in the Buddha's life have been studied quite rigorously at this point (such as Māyā and Mahāpajāpatī), the wife of the Buddha has not garnered the same kind of attention (notable exceptions include Bareau (1982), Tatleman (1998), Obeyesekere (2009), and Strong (1997)). By looking at passages that describe Yasodharā and the role she played through their multiple lifetimes together, this paper will

suggest that a lovestory in which heartbreak and loss feature prominently may prove a valuable lens through which to read some of these early narratives.

---

Nattier, Jan (University of California, Berkeley):
**Discussant**

## The Avadānaśataka: The Uses of Narrative

Appleton, Naomi (University of Edinburgh)
Muldoon-Hules, Karen (UCLA/UCLA Extension)

**Panel Abstract**

After popular and successful panels on *Jātaka*s (Taipei 2011) and *Buddhist Narrative Genres* (Vienna 2014), we propose a panel focusing on the underutilized *Avadānaśataka*, a Sanskrit narrative collection dated c. 2$^{nd}$-4$^{th}$ century CE.  Fragmentary remains tie it to the northwest of India, and translations attest to its presence in China and Tibet.  The *Avadānaśataka* has documented connections to the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya* and *Divyāvadāna*, and Feer and Speyer both saw it as a possible parent for several *avadānamālā*s.  Representing thus a node of literary development and transnational influence, the text can contribute much to our understanding of early Indian Buddhist ideology and practice.  This panel aims to bring together scholars interested in the text and the stories within it, especially in its permutations as it moved across time and space.  The text's varied topics, from *preta*s to *pratyekabuddha*s, female arhats to Aśoka, promise a rich and wide-ranging panel, while the focus on a single text will allow for deep engagement and scholarly exchange.

---

Fifield, Justin (Harvard University)
**Bonds of Affection: Relationships and Group Solidarity in the Narratives of the *Avadānaśataka***

In 1924 Sukumar Dutt proposed the bold thesis that the Prātimokṣa was the "bond" that held together the nascent monastic fellowship and facilitated its development into a settled, domestic community (what Dutt calls an *Order*).[7]  Even if his etymological explanation of *prātimokṣa* is more *nirukti* than philological science, Dutt focused our attention on the important problem of group cohesion in the history of Buddhist monasticism.  As Mary Douglas explains in *How Institutions Think*, the transformation of a social group from the "latent" stage to the "community" stage, where "individuals can disinterestedly collaborate with one another and construct a collective good," is not obvious or assured.[8]  It must be explained.

What is it that binds the Saṅgha together into a collective with an ethos?  I will argue that bonds of affection and sentimentality play a prominent role in maintaining group solidarity.  My evidence for this, in the current paper, are narratives of the *Avadānaśataka* in which the generation of affect governs the structure of the plot.  Actions are caused by affective states.

---

[7] Sukumar Dutt, *Early Buddhist Monachism* (London: Trubner, 1924), 75-98.

[8] Mary Douglas, *How Institutions Think* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse Univ. Press, 1986), 24.

The plot "advances" and characters "progress" in response to affect. Characters engage in affective labor[9] towards others that results in new or strengthened relationships. Bonds of affection tie the community together.

The importance of affect in relationships is not unique to monastic communities. Daud Ali's work on early medieval urban cultures demonstrates that same. Ali states: "Indeed, it would seem that the people of the court viewed their entire lives primarily in terms of shifting affective relationships with their environments. Men and women were expected to indicate openly their inner dispositions towards one another at appropriate moments through the display of collectively recognised gestures and words."[10] Ali argues, in a separate study, that monastic cultures and urban cultures were cut from the same cloth. Their modes of discipline, while aiming at different ends, were predicated on a shared understanding of the world.[11] Gregory Schopen, drawing on Ali's work on the Indian garden, has come to a similar conclusion using the *Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya*.[12] Given the affiliation between the *Avadānaśataka* and the Mūlasarvāstivāda, I tentatively conclude that the narratives of the *Avadānaśataka* participate in the wider discursive practices characteristic of the early medieval period.

---

Muldoon-Hules, Karen (UCLA/UCLA Extension)
**_Darśan_ (seeing) and the role of faith (_prasāda_) in the _Avadānaśataka_**

The seventh *varga* ('chapter' or 'decade') of the *Avadānaśataka*, a highly structured set of one hundred Buddhist stories dated 2nd to 5th century CE, is unusual in that almost every story presents the seeing or *darśan* of the Buddha as the spark that gives rise to faith (*prasāda*). In each of these cases, the vision of the Buddha, bearing all the marks of a great man, "adorned with a radiance [that extended] a fathom surpassing the light of a thousand suns, wholly beautiful like a moving mountain of jewels" (*vyāmaprabhālaṃkṛtaṃ sūryasahasrātirekaprabhaṃ jaṅgamam iva ratnaparvataṃ samantato bhadrakam*) leads directly to a birth of faith (*prasādajātas*). However, in *avadāna* 61, *darśan* of the Buddha—expressed in the same stereotyped passage—breaks the youth's infatuation with his own good looks so completely that he decides to renounce. Each of the men in the 7th *varga* subsequently become monks and arhats. In a sense, the 7th *varga* is rather more formulaic than the 8th *varga*, which recounts the stories of a variety of women of very mixed backgrounds who become nuns and arhats. That chapter features only three stories with this particular stereotyped passage of *darśan* of the Buddha and its resulting *prasāda*. One more story in the 8th *varga* could also be said to incorporate *darśan*, albeit quite a different presentation of it, and there the very sight of the Buddha functions as a transformative agent both internally and externally. This description of the Buddha as an object of *darśan* occurs in at least one story in every *varga* of the

---

[9] Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, *Empire* (Cambridge, M.A.: Harvard University Press, 2000).

[10] Daud Ali, *Courtly Culture and Political Life in Early Medieval India* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ Press, 2004), 183.

[11] Daud Ali, "Technologies of the Self: Courtly Artifice and Monastic Discipline in Early India," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 41:2 (1998): 159-184.

[12] Gregory Schopen, "The Buddhist 'Monastery' and the Indian Garden: Aesthetics, Assimilations and the Siting of Monastic Establishments," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 126 (2006): 487-505.

*Avadānaśataka* and in fully half of the stories in the 9th and 10th chapters, suggesting the importance of this recurrent thematic motif in the collection.

According to Hiraoka, this stereotyped description of the Buddha is also known in the closely related *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya* and the *Divyāvadāna* (2002, 173) and in these two texts, it can also function as a catalyst for the arisal of faith. In *Thus Have I Seen*, Andrew Rotman analyzes the role of faith (*prasāda* or *srāddhā*) in the *Divyāvadāna*, noting in passing that *prasāda* works differently in that text than in the *Avadānaśataka*, which he felt showed "less systemization" in its use of the term (2009: 231, n. 6). The 7th *varga* provides a useful set of stories to examine how notions of *darśan* and *prasāda* are deployed in this middle-period Indian Buddhist collection.

Appleton, Naomi (University of Edinburgh)
**On the *Pratyekabuddha*s of the *Avadānaśataka***

The third decade of the *Avadānaśataka*, nestled between two chapters of *jātaka* stories, contains ten tales of *pratyekabuddha*s. Eight concern people predicted by the current Buddha to become *pratyekabuddha*s in the future, on the basis of an act of merit and – often – a vow or aspiration. Two others stories concern past *pratyekabuddha*s and their karmic backstories in the time of past *buddha*s.

Usually the term *pratyekabuddha* is translated as 'solitary *buddha*' or 'lone *buddha*'. Such figures are said to attain awakening without access to teachings, like a *samyaksambuddha*, but unlike a *samyaksambuddha* they do not go on to teach communities of followers. In narrative terms they are often found in times between *buddha*s, usually associated with the path of a solitary ascetic, and often depicted as affected by signs indicating the importance of renunciation. The place of *pratyekabuddha*s in the threefold typology of awakening, somehow sitting between *samyaksambuddha*s and *arhat*s, presumably affects their placement in the *Avadānaśataka*, alongside stories of other types of awakening.

This paper will explore how *pratyekabuddha*s are portrayed in this series of tales, examining them within two different types of context: Firstly, it will ask what role these stories of *pratyekabuddha*s play in relation to the other categories of story in the *Avadānaśataka*, and in particular what the *pratyekabuddha* decade shares – or does not share – with stories of other types of awakening. Secondly, it will ask how these tales relate to stories of *pratyekabuddha*s found in other early Buddhist texts, and thus what they add to our understanding of these figures as narrative characters.

Rotman, Andy (Smith College)
**Hungry Ghostbusters: Lessons on Ethics in the *Avadānaśataka***

My paper examines the fifth decade of stories in the *Avadānaśataka*, which chronicles the torments of hungry ghosts in great scatological detail—many of them, for example, are forced to feast on their own feces. These stories also explain the mental states and deeds that lead to these particular torments and what can be done to alleviate them. In particular, these stories offer

a nuanced account of *mātsarya*—"stinginess" or "miserliness"—explaining the logic of its development, the actions it engenders, the misery it induces, and the ways it can be eradicated. This discourse of *mātsarya* also helps us understand a perverse worldview and practice that generates terrible karmic consequences: seeing Buddhist monastics as freeloaders and punishing them. One interesting parallel that offers insight into this karmic pathology is the tradition of *karnī bharnī* ("reap as you sow") images; these images were imported from Jain soteriology into mainstream Hinduism in the late 19th century and are still a staple of Indian chromolithography. Lastly, my paper will discuss who can help hungry ghosts and how, and the steps and stages that can lead hungry ghosts out of their misery.

Fiordalis, David (Linfield College)
**How *Avadānas* Work, or the Work of the *Avadāna*: Reflections on Stories from the Last Two Decades of the *Avadānaśataka***

The *Avadānaśataka* has a well-deserved reputation for repetition. Not only does it contain numerous stereotyped passages, which often seem inserted into particular stories in a rather mechanical fashion. Many of its stories also seem to possess a common, overarching narrative structure, on the basis of which scholars have drawn general conclusions about the genre of the *avadāna*. This common structure has also led scholars to develop "structuralist" readings of the text and its narratives.

Yet even a cursory survey of the contents of the *Avadānaśataka* reveals a great deal of variation, too. Taken as a whole, the hundred narratives exhibit not one, but several different narrative structures. For instance, the narratives of the second chapter contain what Naomi Appleton has called "*jātaka-avadānas*," while the narratives of the fourth chapter feature *jātaka* tales more properly so called. Looking at individual stories, the hundredth tale of the collection differs from the other nine stories in its decade insofar as it presents a story about the fruition of good karma, rather than overcoming bad karma, like the others do, and in its extant Sanskrit and Tibetan iterations, it differs from all other stories of the collection by shifting the narrative context from the time of the Buddha to the time of Aśoka.

Given this play of sameness and difference, which is something all narratives possess to varying degrees, we may do well to ask: how do *avadānas* work, or what work do they accomplish? By addressing this question, we may find ourselves in a better position to identify distinguishing characteristics of the *avadānas* in general, and of particular *avadānas*, and to consider in what ways *avadānas* are simply stories. In the process, we may also discover new ways to think about the role of narrative in the development of Buddhism. Drawing upon a sample of stories from the last two decades of the collection, this essay will show how *avadānas* narrate karma doctrine – the doctrine that actions become meaningful in relation to other actions – and thereby create meaningful worlds for implied audiences.

**Discussion: The Uses of Narrative: Structure, Purpose(s), and Function(s) of the *Avadānaśataka*'**

# The Buddha's Footprint in Asian Cultures

Handlin, Lilian (Independent Scholar)

**Panel Abstract**

Two panels, representing diverse disciplines, specializations, time frames and geographical settings will examine the subject of the Buddha's Footprints in various Asian contexts. Their papers will also engage textual and visual aspects of the subject, all together echoing the enormous resonance this trace of the Buddha's presence sustained.  Several papers will deal with the Pali textual traditions, to show how in the Thai, Myanmar, and Sri Lankan settings, in vernacular, Pali and ritual contexts, the Footprints reflected local readings of the dhamma.  One paper will deal with the 12th and 13th century interest in pilgrimages to Sri Pada (Adam's Peak) drawing on Lankan inscriptions, vaṃsa and the Samantakūṭa Vaṇṇanā.  Another will compare descriptions of the maṅgala(s) as they appeared on the Buddha Footprints in Central Thailand and their description in various texts. A scholar of South Asian art, will examine how the Footprint was visualized in a Magadha setting during the 9th and 10th centuries, when compared to other Indic equivalents.  Another panelist will focalize docetic ideas, articulated in Sanskrit, Tibetan and Pali texts, regarding the Buddha's gait and footprints.  The convener's paper will analyze a late 18th century Burmese vernacular text, composed by the quirky monk Uttamasika who explicated several of the 108 Footprint signs – a list most likely compiled by his Arimadanna predecessors centuries earlier.

Skilling, Peter (École française d'Extrême-Orient)
**Symbols of Power and Fortune in Early India**

The Buddha was marked for greatness from birth. His body bore the thirty-two distinctive features of a Great Man, one of which was that the soles of his feet were marked with a thousand-spoked wheel.  The marks lived on in lists, in technical literature, in narratives, and in art: one of the most enduring was the wheels on the feet, which were represented both in early narrative art and as autonomous supports for veneration.  The early footprints soon attracted a retinue – parasols and victory banners, vases of plenty and sovereign thrones, conches and lucky marks. In time, the soles of a Buddha's feet became complex icons, repositories of all things of good auspice.

Tokens of majesty, the Buddha's footprints dot the map of ancient South Asia, amplified by recent discoveries like Phanigiri in Telangana and Kanaganagalli in Karnataka.  But the auspicious marks have a deep context, beyond the feet of Buddhas and beyond Buddhism. Drawn from a pool of signs of good fortune , they are pan India – neither quite religious nor quite secular, but integral motifs in the fabric of Indian thought and art. The mark of fortune were represented on ornaments and on coins, they were carved in stone and fashioned from precious metals and gemstones; they participated in the dynamics of ritual and symbolism.  The paper examines the signs during the period of about the second century BCE to the third century CE, as they appear from Gandhara to Suvarnabhumi, from Bharhut in Madhya Pradesh to Bhhon and Adam in Maharashtra.  It traces the footprints and signs as embles in a holistic culture of fortune and power.

Analayo, Bhikkhu (University of Hamburg)
**The Buddhapada and Early Buddhism**

In the first part of this presentation, I will examine the description of a Buddhapāda in a Gāndhārī fragment in the light of its Chinese and Pāli parallels; in the second part I will relate this case study to my other *Āgama* research and its bearing on our understanding of early Buddhism.

Blackburn, Anne M. (Cornell University)
**Buddha Footprints in Lankan and Indian Ocean Networks**

*Samantakūṭavaṇṇanā,* a 13th century Lankan Pāli text, offers the first extended treatment of the Buddha footprint in the southwestern mountains of Laṅkā. The work writes this location into the biography of Gotama Buddha, departing in striking ways from the early 6th century *Mahāvaṃsa's* account of Gotama Buddha's visit to the island. This paper reads outwards from *Samantakūṭavaṇṇanā* to the Buddhist and non-Buddhist literary, devotional and mercantile networks of the early second millennium Indian Ocean region. *Samantakūṭavaṇṇanā* help us see how literary forms and Buddhist devotional emphases circulated in the region, and in particular, the relationships between the Lankan southwest, upper Burma and north-central Tai ands.

Handlin, Lilian (Independent Scholar)
**Uttamasikkha and his Discontents**

Sometime in the late 17th century in Pagan, a Burmese monk compiled a treatise on the Buddha's Footprint. In it, Uttamasikkha displayed great learning, a sharp tongue and a combative nature, fit for guardians of the Pali Dhaw. If his Pagan predecessors were more concerned with what the dhamma did than what it was, Uttamasikkha thought otherwise. Shortly before he was born, hitherto lost, now a rediscovered Buddha Footprint, renewed interest in what this Burmese validator of the Tathagatha's authenticity was about. The Footprint's symbols were a concern – an able commentator in his own right, Uttamasikkha skillfully deconstructed images as well as words, awed by their "thousands of meanings." Unfortunately, as Uttamasikkha saw it, his world was full of cretins – obtuse commentators, misguided painters, misinformed poets and others. To correct a plethora of errors the rarely modest Uttamasikkha donned many hats – scholar, mathematician, physician, physiologist, poet and artist, in addition to master of the Pali Dhaw. Uttamasikkha has re entered historical consciousness recently through the pioneering scholarship of Ashin Sadhina, Christian Lammerts and Alexey Kirichenko. This paper investigates how a highly literate monk hoped to make the dhamma live in his ideationally conflicted late 17th century setting.

Kim, Jinah (Harvard University)
**Discussant**

# The Manuscript Tradition of the Pali Texts in South and Southeast Asia
Yamanaka, Yukio (Dhammachai Tipitaka Project)

**Panel Abstract**

The panel approaches the transmission of Pāli texts from various angles, providing a space for specialists of Pāli literature to share data and observations related to the editorial activity and practice of philology from medieval to modern South and Southeast Asia.

Two main issues will be discussed in the panel:

(1) The manuscript tradition of the Pāli canonical text in South and Southeast Asia.
(2) The Pāli literary heritage from South and Southeast Asia.

Despite the importance and richness of the Pāli manuscript tradition, its research remains still at the beginning. Furthermore these two issues provide details of philological practices and textual approaches displayed in premodern and early modern editions of Pāli texts, either in manuscripts or in printed books. Namely, they reflect on the dynamics of textual transmission and its relations to wider dynamics of cultural transmission, thematizing also the transition from manuscripts to printed books. Presenting individual philological practices in a wider framework, the panel will contribute to observing and understanding the impact of such practices on the texts, their variables and constants, and the textual representations that they reflect, in view of a reconstruction and appreciation of philological practices in South and Southeast Asian monastic traditions.

von Hinüber, Oskar (University of Freiburg)
**The Wonderful World of Artificial Words in Pāli: An Editor's Nightmare and a Linguist's Delight**

As almost all Theravāda Buddhist texts preserved in Pāli can be traced back to those of the Mahāvihāra in Anurādhapura, it seems to be the natural goal of any edition to attempt reconstructing this wording, which was largely fixed at the time when Buddhaghosa and others composed their commentaries.

However, before and after Buddhaghosa the wording of the Pāli texts was shaped and reshaped and thus "modernized" perhaps continuously and deliberately over a long period, beginning even before Aśoka and for now ending in the Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyana edition prepared to mark (the wrong) date of the 2500th return of the Nirvāṇa. The ultimate result is a to a certain extent floating wording.

These developments allow the historical linguist important insights into the history of Pāli, but poses serious obstacles to the editor who is forced to make a choice when he fixes the text. It will be demonstrated by the help of various examples of artificially created words and forms that it is much easier to solve the linguistic problems than to overcome the editorial difficulties.

Shimizu, Yohei (Otani University)
**Report on the Pāli Manuscript Tradition and Transmission in Central Thailand**

In Southeast Asian countries, a great number of Buddhist texts can be found in palm-leaf manuscript and folding book-form, many of which are kept in the storehouses of Buddhist temples. But except a few cases, the lack of proper attention is causing severe damage to them, gradually leading to complete destruction of vast numbers of these invaluable texts. Several individual scholars as well as research organizations are tackling this problem and putting efforts into investigation, collection, or cataloging of these manuscripts. I also have been working on the investigation and collection of the palm-leaf manuscripts kept in the royal temples of Central Thailand since 2008.

In this panel, first, I would like to give a brief presentation of my work done so far in this field with the help of some photographs. Next, I would like to discuss some general features of these manuscript collections. Finally, I would like to focus on a few points of doing research with a textual / philological approach using digital photos of some of the manuscripts.

This presentation is an attempt to inform scholars on how to treat the primary source materials of the Buddhist literature, particularly created in Southeast Asia.

---

Kodaññakitti, Venerable (Dhammachai Tipitaka Project): **Selection of Burmese Pāli Manuscripts at the Dhammakaya Tipiṭaka Project**

Despite the large number of Pāli texts critically edited by the Pali Text Society, most of these editions are based on a relatively small number of manuscripts. This reduced number of manuscripts does not necessarily represent the manuscript archive that is present in monastic or library collections in Sri Lanka, Myanmar, Thailand and other countries of the Theravāda tradition. The goal of the Dhammakaya Tipiṭaka Series is to make use of these archives and increase the representation of manuscript families in the critical edition of the Pāli texts. This entails a complex process of selection based on manuscript families.

Generally, the initial number of around fifty manuscripts is reduced to around five representatives in each manuscript tradition. The families are determined through several methods that will be described in this paper, using as an example the Burmese Pāli manuscript selection. Paratextual information which is hardly available in our present editions of the Pāli texts, such as colophons indicating editors, sponsors, commissioners, dates, and so on, will be included in the Dhammakaya Tipiṭaka Series.

---

Kasamatsu, Sunao (Sendai National College of Technology)
**On the *Jinālaṅkāra* and its *ṭīkā***

The *Jinālaṅkāra*, "Embellishments of Buddha", is a well-known Pāli poem attributed to Buddharakkhita. It delineates the story of the Buddha's life from the time of the Buddha Dīpaṅkara to his attainment of the *bodhi*.

Although J. Gray published an edition with English translation in 1894, little attention has been paid to the text. Unfortunately there are some errors and questionable readings in his edition. A Sinhalese version was published by Dīpaṅkara and Dhammapāla in 1900 and Dubey issued a

corrected edition in 2014. But there is some room to examine chaptering as he followed the Gray's table of contents.

We have no details concerning the manuscripts they used. Gray simply says that he did not find any important variants in the manuscripts he used. It suggests that all manuscripts he used are in same tradition.

The text had held in high esteem in the field of Pāli poetry. There are a large number of manuscripts inherited in the south-eastern Asian countries. The purpose of this presentation is to examine the newly-found Myanmar mss. to explore their usefulness for the new, critical edition of the text. A detailed study of the *Jinālaṅkāra* will contribute greatly to understanding the world of Southern Buddhism.

---

Scott, Tony (University of Toronto)
**Buddhist Commentary, Discourses of Modernity, and the Political in Post/Colonial Burma: The *Milindapañha-aṭṭhakathā* of Mingun Zetawun Sayadaw**
One of the primary factors underlying the political upheaval and social instability of post-war Burma is the ambivalence inherent in the double project facing it, that of "simultaneously adapting to and overcoming modernity" (Nak-Chung 68). This paper is an introductory investigation of whether Buddhist commentary performed this double move in mid-twentieth century Burma. My case study is the *Milindapañha-aṭṭhakathā* of monk Mingun Zetawun Sayadaw (Miṅ'" Kun'" Jetavan' Sayāto', or Ū" Nārada) (1868-1955), who composed the first known *aṭṭhakathā* on the *Milindapañha* (*Questions of King Milinda*) in 1948. The *aṭṭhakathā* genre is the most authoritative of all exegetical genres on the Pali canon, the last set of which was composed at the end of the first millennium in Sri Lanka. My talk will introduce this text by examining the first chapter of the Mingun's commentary on the *Pubbayogakaṇḍa* section of the *Milindapañha*, the "Chapter on the Previous Connections." This chapter deals with the previous lives of the two protagonists of the root text, King Milinda and Nāgasena. Referring to contemporary discussions on the remembrance of past lives (*pubbenivāsa*) and other psychic abilities (*iddhi*s), the Mingun states that such powers should not be discounted as an "impossibility" (*aṭṭhāne*); he goes on to lament the existence of those who are "ignorant" (*appassuto*), numerous in contemporary times when the "teaching of the Buddha is in the decline" (*sāsane parihīne*) (Mingun 7). The Mingun states that these ignorant ones "have no faith" (*na saddahati*), and do not even want to discuss the possibility of psychic powers.

In classic commentarial fashion, these antagonists are left anonymous, but such statements imply that the Mingun might be writing against western trained, Burmese intelligentsia who attempted to "demythologize" (McMahan 42) Theravāda doctrine and praxis. Such an observation could suggest that the Mingun was a traditionalist who eschewed modernity altogether, but simple dichotomies do not represent the contradictions inherent in the double project of modernity. Kate Crosby positions the Mingun as one of the founders of a "modernised reform method of meditation" that he formulated from the "normative account of meditation derived from and authorised by the 5<sup>th</sup> century CE commentator Buddhaghosa" (12). Elsewhere in the *Milindapañha-aṭṭhakathā*, the Mingun argues for the full ordination of women as nuns (*bhikkūnī*), though he bases his argument on the omniscience of the Buddha and the Buddha's

ability to foretell the future. In the introduction to his transliterated edition of the *Milindapañha-aṭṭhakathā*, Madhav Deshpande labels the Mingun as a "religious reformer" who "couched these reformist ideas as doctrines passed on [by the Buddha] to future monks (*anāgatabhikkūnaṃ esa nayo dinno…*)" (Deshpande 7). Are these tensions between "modernity" and "tradition" examples of the Mingun performing the double move of modernity, resisting the hegemony of rationality and science while adapting to liberal notions of equality? Or does the Mingun fit the mold of Ledi Sayadaw, who used traditional Buddhist genres of learning and praxis to frame a "vision of modernity in [uniquely] Buddhist terms" (Braun 146)? My talk will thus introduce the *Milindapañha-aṭṭhakathā* and explore whether this text contains its own discourses of modernity, examining what it means to be a modern Buddhist commentary in Burma.

Braun, Erik. *The Birth of Insight: Meditation, Modern Buddhism, and the Burmese Monk Ledi Sayadaw.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2013.
Crosby, Kate. *Traditional Theravada Meditation and its Modern-Era Suppression.* Hong Kong: Buddha Dharma Centre of Hong Kong, 2013.
Deshpande, Madhav. Introduction. *Milindapañha-Aṭṭhakathā*. 1948. Ed. Madhav Deshpande. Tokyo: International Institute for Buddhist Studies, 1999.
Nak-Chung, Paik. "The Double Project of Modernity." *New Left Review* 95 September/October (2015): 65-79.
McMahan, David. L. *The Making of Buddhist Modernity.* Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2008.
Mingun Zetawun Sayadaw. *Milindapañha Aṭṭhakathā*. Rangoon: Hamsavati, 1948.

von Hinüber, Oskar (University of Freiburg)
**Discussant**

Yamanaka, Yukio (Dhammachai Tipitaka Project)
**Discussant**

## The Roles of Iconic Imagery in South Asian Buddhist Architectural Contexts: Reconstructions and New Perspectives
Morrissey, Nicolas

**Panel Abstracts**

The extant material record from South Asia conveys with some clarity that the articulation of architectural space at Indian Buddhist monastic sites underwent a continuous process of change during the first millennium C.E. What is less clear, however, is the extent to which these transformations can be understood to correspond with coincident changes in ritual and devotional practices engaged in by different historical Buddhist communities. In many instances, non-architectonic features, such as sculptural – and to a lesser extent painted – embellishment can provide an efficacious evidential basis for accessing the religious orientation of the community that sponsored and utilized a given architectural form. A fundamental problem in this regard, though, is that a significant proportion of Buddhist monastic architecture has been quite poorly preserved or inadequately documented, thereby obscuring the variegated ways in

which sculptural forms were integrated within different Buddhist architectural spaces. This panel will include a series of case-studies of iconic sculptures with a focus on contextual analysis from a diverse range of South Asian Buddhist sites. By establishing and analyzing the *in situ* architectural contexts of this imagery, the papers in this panel aim to demonstrate the evidential value of art historical approaches in reconstructing the lived religious world of Buddhist sites that remain at present poorly understood.

DeCaroli, Robert (George Mason University)
**Snakes and Gutters: *Nāga* Imagery as an Aspect of Water Control at Buddhist sites in the Western Deccan**

Visitors to early (2nd c. BCE- 2nd c. CE) Buddhist monastic sites across South Asia quickly become aware of the prominent figural *nāga* images that adorn many such locations. This type of sculpture is among the earliest figural art associated with Buddhist Monasteries. Such images are commonly identified as guardians and, in some cases, have been correctly linked to nearby water systems, such as ponds, tanks, and rivers. Yet, these images have not been studied as an aspect of water regulation within the monasteries themselves. This paper will first consider the water-related challenges that faced both monks and architects involved with rock-cut monasteries in the Western Ghats. Then, methods of hydraulic engineering designed to regulate the flow of water at the sites will be considered in relation to the placement of *nāga* imagery. Their proximity to gutters and tanks reveals the Buddhist reliance on supernatural forces as an aspect of water control. Furthermore, the highly visible nature of this arrangement helps to explain the existence of ritual texts, primarily emerging after the 4th century CE, in which members of the *samgha* adopt the role of rainmakers. These texts describe elaborate rituals in which monks attempt to control the weather on behalf of themselves and the wider community. In each case, they call upon a special relationship with the *nāgas* whom they implore and command to intervene. This connection between image and text reveals a centuries-long process by which the monastic community developed a surprising association with weather regulation that was contingent on a cultivated and highly public relationship with Buddhist-friendly *nāgas.*

Rhi, Juhyung (Seoul National University)
**Images in the Showcase: The Architectural Placement of Images and its Bearings on their Significance in Gandharan Monasteries**

Gandharan Buddhist monasteries, especially those in the Peshawar valley, had a distinctive mode of installing images. Images were frequently placed inside multiple small shrines constructed in horizontal alignment surrounding a stupa court. This seems to indicate the idiosyncratic nature and function of Buddhist icons dedicated at Gandharan monasteries. This paper will explore this issue in comparison with the modes of Buddhist image installation in other parts of South Asia.

Huntington, Susan (Ohio State University)
**The Origin of the Buddha Image and the Buddha Image Hall: Some Thoughts on the Aniconic Theory**

The artistic record of Buddhism over time and across the various philosophical schools demonstrates that representations of Śākyamuni Buddha are a hallmark of the religious tradition. Yet, scholars of Indian Buddhist art have long hypothesized a lengthy "aniconic" period after the Buddha's lifetime during which no figurative representations of him were created. The lack of surviving examples in the early archaeological record would seem to support this claim. However, the earliest known Buddha images are made of stone, a technologically challenging and expensive material, and now-lost examples made of wood and other perishable materials must surely have preceded the emergence of the stone imagery in the archaeological record. Assuming that we might never find the earliest Buddha images, we must look elsewhere for possible clarification of the date of such representations. An examination of the architectural evidence suggests that there might have been early structures created to house Buddha images. If this is the case, the date of the origin of the Buddha image can be placed earlier than is commonly believed, and the theory of aniconism, which is predicated on the absence of figurative depictions of the Buddha, is undermined.

This paper proposes that the image house was not only an early feature at Buddhist monasteries but that it was modeled after the *gandhakuti*, that is, the designation used for the Buddha's residences, particularly that at the Jetavana monastery near Śrāvastī. Understanding the Buddha image hall as the Buddha's residence, and not what we have come to call a temple, further suggests that the inhabitant who dwelled within, that is, the vivified, consecrated image of the Buddha, was not a mere work of art but the Buddha's living presence as chief resident of the monastery even after his *parinirvāṇa*. Indeed, when devotees visit the image hall and see the consecrated figure of Śākyamuni Buddha, they do not conceive themselves as encountering a work of art. Rather, they stand, bow, and sit in veneration of the Buddha himself, who welcomes them into his residence as he did during his lifetime.

---

Behrendt, Kurt (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York)
**The Rise of Esoteric Buddhism and the 7th c. rock-cut sites of Dhamnar, Binnayaga and Kolvi**

The innovative temples and chaitya halls preserved at the little known Buddhist sites of Dhamnar, Binnayaga and Kolvi in northern Madhya Pradesh are historically important as they clearly reflect significant changes in Buddhist practice and quite possibly provide material evidence for the emergence of esoteric Buddhist practices. These major Buddhist complexes were located along a vital trade route connecting the Deccan plateau with the urban centers and Buddhist monastic institutions of the Ganges basin. In one sense, therefore, Dhamnar, Binnayaga and Kolvi can be recognized as having a foundation in the architectural traditions of the Deccan plateau yet chronologically anticipate temple formats that later developed at important Buddhist sites such as Nalanda, Antichak and Paharpur. Focusing on the 7th and 8th c. expansion of these sites, my paper will address the new configurations of their respective sacred areas and consider how imagery was specifically distributed within these rock cut monuments. I contend that the juxtaposition of relic structures, new types of chaitya halls, and image temples sheds light on the relationship between relics and images of Shakyamuni during the medieval period. I believe these sites offer insight into how later temples housing depictions

of the celestial Tathagata Buddhas relate to longstanding relic practices that emphasized the importance of the historic Buddha Shakyamuni.

Morrissey, Nicolas (University of Georgia)
**Observations on the Terracotta Plaques from *Nandhadīrghika-vihāra*, Jagjivanpur, West Bengal**

In 1987, a chance discovery near Jagjivanpur village located in the northern area of Malda District, West Bengal revealed a sizeable copper-plate inscription in pristine condition. Once the inscription was translated, its historical significance was immediately recognized. Dating to the ninth century CE, the inscription recorded a grant of agricultural land as a permanent endowment to a Buddhist monastery by a previously unknown ruler named Dharmapaladeva. Ascertaining the identity of this royal benefactor in turn resulted in the significant emendation of the dynastic history of the Pala Dynasty. Additionally, however, the importance of this copper-plate grant has also come to reside in its reference to a Buddhist monastic institution as the recipient of a royally decreed gift. This reference resulted in the organization of several campaigns of archaeological exploration in the area of the copper-plate find, which have uncovered a sizeable Buddhist monastic complex now identified as *Nandadīrghika vihāra*, Significantly, amongst the excavated remains is a large cache of singularly well-preserved sculpted terracotta plaques. These plaques exhibit an eclectic myriad of motifs, including representations of Buddhas and bodhisattvas, astral deities, zodiac symbols, auspicious emblems, as well as, intriguingly, instantiations of Vedic and Hindu deities such as Surya, Agni and Shiva. This paper seeks to argue that, far from being anomalous, the eclectic imagery on these terracotta plaques from Jagjivanpur conforms to a consistent pattern of representation discernible at a range of Indian Buddhist monastic institutions during the medieval period, which may, in turn, reflect a remarkably porous ritual and artistic environment.

Dhingra, Sonali (Harvard University)
**Beyond the *vihāra* and the *stūpa:* locating Bodhisattva steles from Odisha, eighth to tenth centuries CE.**

During the last quarter of the first millennium CE, Buddhist establishments were continuously evolving amalgams of *stūpa*-structures, monastic compounds, temples, votive objects, and non-architectonic sculpture. This paper analyzes the role of iconic images of bodhisattvas such as Avalokiteśvara, Amoghapāśa, and Tārā that were often created in colossal proportions in Odisha between the eighth and tenth centuries. The appearance and increased popularity of bodhisattva images signals a new locus of ritual activity at Buddhist establishments, previously thought to be centered almost solely on *mahāstūpas* or contained within monastic walls. Using archaeological plans and reports, the present study situates this body of imagery within the physical expansion and renovations of Buddhist sites during the period. Investigating the nature of these new modes of devotional activity, this paper suggests that iconic images were closely tied to the performance of cultic rituals at Buddhist sites. Furthermore, it considers the function of these sculptures within the context of interactions between monks and laity at medieval Indian Buddhist sites.

# Transmission and Transformation of Buddhist Logic and Epistemology in East Asia (I): Dignāga and Pre-Dignāga Logic

Ono, Motoi (Tsukuba University)
Inami, Masahiro (Tokyo Gakugei University)

**Panel Abstract**

The aim of this panel is to reevaluate the *yinming*/*inmyo* (*hetuvidyā*) tradition of East Asia in comparison with its original thoughts in Indian Buddhist *pramāṇa* tradition. As is well known, one of the most significant achievements of this decade of *pramāṇa* studies was the publication of the Sanskrit text of Jinendrabuddhi's commentary on Dignāga's *Pramāṇasamuccaya*. Thanks to this excellent editions by E. Steinkellner, H. Krasser, and H. Lasic, we are now in a better position not only for clarifying the details of Dignāga's innovative theories of logic and epistemology but also for having a fresh look at his *Nyāyamukha* and several important works on Buddhist logic before Dignāga, including the *Tarkaśāstra* and the *Upāyahṛdaya*, which exist only in Chinese translations. In this panel, we will discuss on the most recent results of studies of those works from both philological and philosophical perspectives.

Ono, Motoi (Tsukuba University)
**A Reconsideration of Pre-Dignāga Buddhist Texts on Logic (the \*Upāyahṛdaya, the dialectical portion of the Spitzer Manuscript, the \*Tarkaśāstra and the Vādavidhi)**

The \*Upāyahṛdaya and the \*Tarkaśāstra, both of which are extant only in Chinese, are regarded important texts for understanding the history of Buddhist logic before Dignāga. Together with these two texts, the dialectical portion of the Spitzer manuscript, of which content have been recently examined by Prof. Franco. is also important for the same purpose. These three texts show several remarkable similarities. This paper aims to examine the relationship among these three texts.

Despite the fragmentary condition of the material, Prof. Franco has succeeded in clarifying that the last chapter of this portion of the manuscript explains several *jāti*s. Connected to this, he states that the \*Tarkaśāstra "displays the strongest similarity to the Spitzer fragments". This view is, of course, true for the first chapter of the dialectic portion of the manuscript. Indeed, the similarity between this chapter and the first chapter of the \*Tarkaśāstra is remarkable, as Franco successfully shows. For the last chapter on *jāti*s, however, I believe the \*Upāyahṛdaya is quite relevant. Although Franco mentions that there are parallels between the Spitzer manuscript and the \*Upāyahṛdaya, this observation might be expanded upon. The following points should also be taken into consideration: 1) In the Spitzer Manuscript, *jāti*s that are clearly similar to *ahetusama* and *vikalpasama* of the later period are explained. Both of these, however, also correspond to correct rejoinders as described in the \*Upāyahṛdaya, i.e., 時同/時因 and 因同, respectively; 2) As Franco points out, the reason (*hetu*) of the initial proof criticized by the *jātivādin*s in the Spitzer manuscript is not same as the reason commonly used in *jāti* theories of the later period, i.e. not "*prayatnānantarīyakatva*" (or "*kṛtakatva*"), but "*aindriyakatva*". As a matter of fact, the latter is the opposite of the reason of the non-Buddhists' proof criticized in the twenty correct rejoinders of the \*Upāyahṛdaya; 3) Clearly attested in the Spitzer Manuscript

is a false rejoinder that corresponds to the *Upāyahṛdaya*'s third correct rejoinder "同異". Moreover, this false rejoinder is not found in lists of *jāti*s in other texts. These facts suggest the possibility that the *jāti* theory in Spitzer manuscript was influenced by the theory of correct rejoinders in the *Upāyahṛdaya*.

Gillon, Brendan S. (McGill University)
**The emergence of the canonical Indian syllogism as revealed by early Chinese Buddhist texts**

The aim of the paper is to trace out the history of the emergence of the canonical syllogism in classical India as revealed by early Chinese Buddhist texts. The paper is based on a forthcoming translation of *Fāng biàn xīn lùn* (*Upāya-hṛdaya*) by S. Katsura and me and on a draft translation of *Rú shí lùn* (*Tarka-śāstra*) done by Chen-Kuo Lin and me.

Lasic, Horst (Institute for the Cultural and Intellectual History of Asia (IKGA), OEAW)
**How Dignāga treats his opponents - observations from the *Pramāṇasamuccaya*, chapter two**

Dignāga's *Pramāṇasamuccaya*, the foundational text of the Buddhist epistemological tradition, exerted considerable influence on Buddhist and non-Buddhist philosophical schools in India and was held in high esteem by Tibetan Buddhist scholars as well. Unfortunately, this important text has not yet been found in its Sanskrit original. The most important sources of information that we have at our disposal are two Tibetan translations of the *Pramāṇasamuccaya,* one Tibetan translation of Jinendrabuddhi's commentary thereon, a few Tibetan commentaries as well as quotations and other references in a few Sanskrit texts. Only recently another source joined this group, a Sanskrit manuscript of Jinendrabuddhi's commentary that has been preserved in the TAR for centuries. An international team of scholars, among them the present author, is working on both a diplomatic and critical edition of this material. The first two chapters have already been published in 2005 and 2012.

Jindendrabuddhi's text not only helps the student of Indian philosophy contextualise many of Dignāga's statements, but provides the philologist with a fair number of literal quotations from the *Pramāṇasamuccaya*.

Taking advantage of these new circumstances, the present author, who is working on a reconstruction of *Pramāṇasamuccaya*, chapter two, will try to gain a more precise picture of the competing positions Dignāga was dealing with and thereby improve our understanding of his contribution to the field of inference.

Muroya, Yasutaka (Austrian Academy of Sciences)
**On a fragment of Dignāga's Nyāyamukha**

The *Nyāyamukha* (NMu) of Dignāga (ca. 480–540), the founder of the Buddhist epistemological tradition, was composed prior to his magnum opus, the *Pramāṇasamuccaya* (PS), which contains a full-fledged system of logic and epistemology elaborately developing on the NMu.

The text of the NMu, today available only through its Chinese translations by Xuanzang 玄奘 and Yijing 義浄, was studied and commented upon by East Asian Buddhist scholars, but most of their important works, written especially during the Tang era, are now lost. The famous studies on the NMu (1977–1987) of Prof. Shōryū Katsura, including a Japanese translation, a detailed and insightful comparison with the PS and an overview of earlier research results, have offered the most reliable philological investigation into this text undertaken until now. But since the monumental discovery and the various publications of parts of Jinendrabuddhi's (ca. 8th century) *Pramāṇasamuccayaṭīkā* (PSṬ), a fresh evaluation of certain passages seemingly parallel to the PS in text and context is now possible. Jinendrabuddhi's commentary is not only crucial for interpreting the PS; his text is also highly relevant in interpreting the NMu, and clarifies a great deal about the context of both. Jinendrabuddhi's glosses in Sanskrit directly or indirectly enable readers to approach the NMu from a perspective that is different than presupposed until now. The PSṬ's section on "sophisticated or false rejoinders" (*jāti*), found in the second half of the NMu and the sixth chapter of the PS, has revealed their close relationship and many parallels. Indeed, the Sanskrit re-translation of the PS currently in preparation will enable a still more detailed analysis of their relationship by means of the Sanskrit terms and passages shared by both. This comparative approach will be demonstrated in the present paper. Also presented will be Sanskrit fragments of the NMu that have been newly identified in Uddyotakara's *Nyāyavārttika*, whereby selected dialectical topics marking this earlier phase of Buddhist logic will be taken into consideration.

Watanabe, Toshikazu (Austrian Academy of Sciences)
**On the concept of *nyūna* in Dignāga's theory of fallacy**

The paper will present Dignāga's views on the concept of *nyūna* in the theory of fallacy and discuss its development in Indian and East Asian Buddhist literature.

Dignāga (ca. 480-540) defines a fallacy of a proof as being *nyūna*. As for the meaning of the *nyūna*, however, in his two works on logic he gives different interpretations. While in his earlier work, the *Nyāyamukha*, *nyūna* is explained as (1) the lack of any of the three members of proof, i.e., the thesis (*pakṣa*), reason (*hetu*) or example (*dṛṣṭānta*), in the third chapter of the *Pramāṇasamuccaya* Dignāga offers new interpretation. It says that *nyūna* means (2) the lack of any of the three characteristics of a logical reason, i.e., being a property of the subject of the thesis (*pakṣadharmatva*), or the positive (*anvaya*) or negative concomitance (*vyatireka*). Although the difference in the interpretations of *nyūna* between Dignāga's two works has already been pointed out in earlier studies, it should be noted that Dignāga does not discard his earlier interpretation but still uses it in some parts of the *Pramāṇasamuccaya*.

A similar interpretation of *nyūna* can be found in the *Shun zhonglun* (順中論), which is extant only in Chinese translation and is attributed to the Yogācāra teacher Asaṅga (4th century) or his younger brother Vasubandhu (ca. 350-430). There, a Sāṅkhya opponent offers, like Dignāga, two interpretations of *nyūna*: the lack of any of the three members of proof and the lack of any of the three characteristics of a logical reason. This shows that early Sāṅkhya theories on proof had some influence on Dignāga's introducing the *trairūpya* theory and applying it to his theory of fallacy.

The discrepancy in Dignāga's interpretations of *nyūna* caused a difference in views among later Indian and East Asian Buddhists. Among Indian Buddhists, probably after Śāntarakṣita (ca. 725-788), the view that the meaning of *nyūna* should be understood consistently as the lack of any of the three characteristics of a logical reason becomes more dominant. Although the *Pramāṇasamuccaya* was not translated by Xuanzang (玄奘, 600/602-664) into Chinese, his disciples, such as Shentai (神泰, ca. 650) and Kuiji (窺基, 632-682), introduced some of the theories found in the *Pramāṇasamuccaya* into their interpretation of the passages of the *Nyāyamukha* whereby transmitting Dignāga's new theory to East Asian Buddhists. Shentai understood *nyūna* as the lack of either of the two members of proof, i.e., reason or example. Here he follows Dignāga's theory that the statement of the thesis is not a means of proof, a statement that can only be found in the *Pramāṇasamuccaya*. Kuiji also introduce this theory, but he understands *nyūna*, like Śāntarakṣita, as the lack of any of the three members of proof.

Inami, Masahiro (Tokyo Gakugei University)
**Pre-Dharmakīrti Interpretations of Dignāga's Theory of *pakṣābhāsa***

As is well known, Dignāga is the first Indian logician who clearly set up the theory of *pakṣābhāsa* (fallacious thesis) in relation to the definition of *pakṣa* (thesis). According to him, a thesis should not be refuted by what is well established by perception and other means of cognition. A thesis that is refuted as such is regarded as a *pakṣābhāsa*, and is rejected as a clearly wrong proposition. Dignāga enumerated five types of *pakṣābhāsa*s in *Nyāyamukha* or four types in *Pramāṇasamuccaya*. Dharmakīrti explains Dignāga's theory of *pakṣābhāsa* in detail in his early logical works, such as *Pramāṇavārttika IV*.

When explaining Dignāga's theory of *pakṣābhāsa*, Dharmakīrti sometimes mentions and criticizes earlier interpretations of the theory. Presumably, Dignāga's theory was interpreted by others before Dharmakīrti. Some interpretations received severe criticism from Dharmakīrti and were thus not accepted by his followers. This paper explores pre-Dharmakīrti interpretations of the *pakṣābhāsa* theory in the following two cases: first, Nyāyamukhaṭīkākāra's understanding of *śābdaprasiddhanirākṛta* and, second, a different enumeration of *pakṣābhāsa* from Dignāga's. In the first case, Dignāga regarded a thesis refuted by *śābdaprasiddha* (What is well established by verbal convention) as a form of *pakṣābhāsa* and gave the following example: "the moon (*śaśin*) is not [called] *candra*." According to Dignāga, this thesis is refuted by verbal convention, not by inference, because inference never occurs in this case. Dharmakīrti explains that *śābdaprasiddha* means the fitness (*yogyatā*) of objects to be designated by any words. According to Dharmakīrti, anything can be designated by any words at the speaker's will. Therefore, the thesis stating that "the moon is not called *candra*" would conflicts with such a verbal convention. In his explanation, Dharmakīrti mentions an earlier understanding of this *pakṣābhāsa*. That is, some commentator understands that the moon cannot be inferred to be *candra* because *candra* is one and only, and, thus, the commentator concludes that this thesis is refuted by the use of the word "*candra*" for the moon. This understanding is attributed to Nyāyamukhaṭīkākāra by Dharmakirti's followers.

In the second case, Dignāga enumerated five types of *pakṣābhāsa* in his *Nyāyamukha*. However, it seems that some Buddhist logician added three other types of *pakṣābhāsa*, namely *aprasiddhaviśeṣaṇa*, *aprasiddhaviśeṣya* and, *aprasiddhobhaya*. In *Pramāṇavārttika IV*, Dharmakīrti insists that although any fault of proof, such as *hetvābhasa* (fallacious reason), can obstruct the thesis from being proved, the fault in connection with *pakṣa* alone should be regarded as *pakṣadoṣa* (fault of the thesis); Dharmakīrti then concludes that *hetudoṣa*s (faults of reason), such as *aśrayāsiddha*, are not faults of the thesis. Dharmakīrti's followers interpret that here, Dharmakīrti criticizes the pre-Dharmakīrti Buddhist logician who added the three other types of *pakṣābhasas*. Interestingly, we can find these three other types in Śaṅkarasvāmin's *Nyāyapraveśaka*, which is a post-Dignāga manual of logic that is essentially based on Dignāga's logic.

Dharmakīrti's interpretation of Dignāga's logic exerted a strong influence on later Buddhist logicians. However, some other interpretations were not supported by Dharmakīrti and therefore do not belong to the main current of Buddhist logic continued from Dignāga to Dharmakīrti's followers. In distinguishing Dignāga's own intention and Dharmakīrti's advanced theory and in clarifying the historical development of Buddhist logic in India, considering pre-Dharmakīrti understandings of Dignāga's logic is important.

In addition, interestingly, some of pre-Dharmakīrti understandings survive in Buddhist logical works written in East Asia. Only two Indian works on Buddhist logic, namely *Nyāyamukha* and *Nyāyapraveśaka*, were translated into Chinese. In East Asia, Buddhist monks have intensively studied Buddhist logic based on these two works without any information of Dharmakīrti's theory. Therefore, investigating pre-Dharmakīrti understandings of Dignāga's logic is important even in considering the development of Buddhist logic in East Asia.

## Transmission and Transformation of Buddhist Logic and Epistemology in East Asia (II): Dharmapāla, Bhāviveka, Xuanzang, and their impact on East Asian Buddhism

Moriyama, Shinya (Shinshu University)
Moro, Shigeki (Hanazono University)

### Panel Abstract

The aim of this panel is to reevaluate the *yinming*/*inmyo* (*hetuvidyā*) tradition of East Asia in comparison with its original thoughts in Indian Buddhist *pramāṇa* tradition. For considering the development of Buddhist logic after Dignāga, the significance of Dharmapāla and Bhāviveka should not be underestimated. The two representative Buddhist scholars of sixth century applied Dignāga's system of logic and epistemology for establishing the Yogācāra and the Mādhyamaka doctrines, respectively, and for criticizing their opponents' claims in debates. The use of Dignāga's logic in Buddhist apologetics is also found in the *yinming*/*inmyo* tradition found by Xuangzang, who studied Buddhist logic in India at the same time of sixth century. While examining details of Xuanzang's translations of Dignāga's *Nyāyamukha* and Śaṅkarasvāmin's *Nyāyapraveśaka*, together with East Asian commentaries and sub-commentaries on these texts,

we will discover some traces of intermediate stage of Buddhist logic between Dignāga and Dharmakīrti.

Lin, Chen-kuo (National Chengchi University)
**Allegory and Logic in Dharmapāla's Commentary on the *Viṃśikā***

Scholars have been increasingly attracted by the strategy of argumentation in Vasubandhu's *Viṃśikā* (Kellner & Taber 2014, Kellner 2015). In this paper, I will pursue the similar line of research by focusing on Dharmapāla's Commentary on *Viṃśikā* (*Cheng weishi baosheng lun*, CWSBSL), a difficult text that allows us to see how logic is applied in the Yogācāra exegesis. Unlike the Indian logical texts that is always insulated from the concrete philosophical debate, in CWSBSL Dharmapāla deliberately employs *hetu-vidyā* as an exegetical tool to refute the criticism from the alleged opponents while aiming to disclose the intended meaning (*abhiprāya*) of the text. In this text the various kinds of logical fallacy, such as contradiction (*viruddha*), inconclusive (*anaikāntika*), and non-established (*asiddha*), are ascribed to the opponents in order to clear the way for establishing the proponent's thesis of consciousness-only. For Dharmapāla, *hetu-vidyā* is mainly employed as an efficient tool to refute the wrong views held by those opponents who are also skillful in logical argumentation. Conversely, Dharmapāla spends a considerable space to develop a theory of allegory (*abhiprāya*), a typical Yogācāra hermeneutics found in the *Saṃdhinirmocana Sūtra*, by which the thesis of consciousness-only can be defended. The main goal of this paper is examine the hermeneutical relationship between allegory and the art of reasoning in Dharmapāla's CWSBSL.

He, Huanhuan (Zhejiang University)
**Can the Emptiness and the Existence be Proved by the *Trairūpya*?**

The 6th century Indian Buddhist philosopher Bhāviveka is probably the first Mādhyamika consistently to have used an inference in the format of *trairūpya* to prove emptiness in a positive way. In his *Jewel in the Hand* (*Dasheng zhangzhen lun*, 大乘掌珍論), Bhāviveka used the so-called \**hastaratna* inference that consists of two *trairūpya* arguments to prove emptiness, albeit by making use of a qualifying restriction, i.e. the "restriction of the thesis" (\**pratijñāviśeṣaṇa*). Xuanzang 玄奘, in turn, most probably borrowed Bhāviveka's idea – as a Yogācāra scholar, the *Jewel in the Hand* is the only Mādhyamika text that he translated even though it severely criticizes Yogācāra thought. He did so by employing a similar qualifying restriction to set up a *trairūpya* argument, in this case a \**vijñaptimātratā* inference, to prove the consciousness-only theory of the Yogācāra. As a matter of fact, the success of Dignāga's logic enabled both Bhāviveka to prove the "emptiness" of Mādhyamika, and Xuanzang to prove the "existence" of Yogācāra. These two inferences were very influential in the development of Buddhist philosophy and led to methodological innovations in Buddhist philosophy.

In this paper, I begin my discussion with an analysis of Bhāviveka's \**hastaratna* inference and his refutation of other philosophical schools within the framework of *trairūpya*. I discuss whether the argument Bhāviveka has validity for what he intends with it and I do the same with Xuanzang's \**vijñaptimātratā* inference. I then briefly consider their influence in China, Japan

and Korea. That is to say, I will discuss the influence of Dignāga's logic via Xuanzang's translation of Bhāviveka's *Jewel in the Hand* in East Asia.

Moro, Shigeki (Hanazono University, Kyoto)
**Was there a dispute between Dharmapāla and Bhāviveka? East Asian Discussions on their Proofs of *Śūnyatā***

Xuanzang's proof of *vijñaptimātratā*, which was introduced by Ji's great commentary of *Niyāyapraveśa*, caused some disputes on the interpretation of the proof of *śūnyatā* in the beginning of *Dasheng zhangzhen lun* 大乘掌珍論 written by Bhāviveka. Some scholars discussed whether or not the restriction *zhengu* 眞故 (\*tattvatas or \*paramārthatas) of Xuanzang's proof was identical with *zhenxing* 眞性 used by Bhāviveka. In order to criticize Bhāviveka's proof and the Sanron sect which supported him in Japan, some scholar monks of the Japanese Hossō sect claimed that *Lengyan jing* 楞嚴經 was apocryphal, since it had the almost same formula of Bhāviveka's proof.

One of the topics was the comparison between Bhāviveka's proof and the similar proof found in Dharmapāla's *Dasheng guangbailun shilun* 大乘廣百論釋論. According to *Seongyusingnon hakgi* 成唯識論學記 edited by Daehyeon 大賢, Sungyeong 順憬 regarded these two proofs as consistent. Zenju 善珠 states in his *Yuishiki bunryō ketsu* 唯識分量決 that Wonhyo 元曉 and Sinbang 神昉 regarded these two proofs as same, while Dojeung 道證 and Gyeongheung 憬興 thought them different. These discussions were also related to whether or not the dispute between Dharmapāla and Bhāviveka really happened.

Kobayashi, Hisayasu (Chikushi Jogakuen University)
**Xuanzang's Argument for *vijñaptimātratā* and Its Indian Sources**

Mahāyāna Buddhists, either Madhyamakas or Yogācāras, have traditionally adduced various types of illusions as examples to illustrate their thesis that everything in the world is unreal. In my previous paper "On the Development of the Argument to Prove *vijñaptimātratā*" (Kobayashi 2011), taking into consideration Indian Buddhist and non-Buddhist philosophers, I have traced a historical development of the formal argument (*prayoga*) in which an illusory cognition serves as an illustration (*dṛṣṭānta*) from the point of view: who was the first to formulate this kind of argument? The conclusion I arrived at was that it is likely Vasubandhu who first introduced the formulation in question.

It is interesting to note, however, that Xuanzang, who studied in India under the guidance of Indian traditional monks, put forward somewhat different type of argument from that of Indian philosophers. Why did Xuanzang venture to give such an argument? In the present paper, I shall review the historical development of the argument to prove *vijñaptimātratā* in Indian tradition once again, in order to trace its sources to India.

Tang, Mingjun (Fudan University)
**Dignāga's Words on *acandraḥ śaśī*, A Survey of Its Interpretation in the *hetuvidyā*-Tradition**

In his *Nyāyamukha* and *Pramāṇasamuccayavṛtti,* Dignāga (ca. 480–540) explained the thesis *candraḥ śaśī* (*śaśin* is the moon) as well as an inference against it, i.e., *acandraḥ śaśī sattvāt* (*śaśin* is not the moon because it exists), with the words that *yatrāpy asādhāraṇatvād anumānābhāve śābdaprasiddhena viruddhenārthenāpodyate, yathācandraḥ śaśī sattvād iti*. Dharmakīrti (ca. 600–660), in his *Pramāṇavārttika* and *Pramāṇaviniścaya*, mentioned three interpretations of Dignāga's words. Of them, Dharmakīrti advocated the first two while criticized the third one, which was ascribed to a Nyāyamukhaṭīkākāra by followers of Dharmakīrti.

Around the middle 7th century, *Nyāyamukha* was translated into Chinese by Xuanzang 玄奘 (600–664) and commented on by his disciples. In *hetuvidyā* literature extant today, we find three commentaries on *Nyāyamukha* which were written by early disciples of Xuanzang, i.e. Shentai 神泰 (–645–), Wǒnch'ǔk 圓測 (613–696) and Wenbei 文備, and which had an interpretation of Dignāga's words. The interpretations given by them agree with each other, and also basically with the Nyāyamukhaṭīkākāra's interpretation. Later scholars like Kuiji 窺基 (632–682) and his followers in China and Japan advocated a different interpretation. Although the new interpretation is free with regard to Dignāga's own words, evidence shows that the interpretation mentioned by their predecessors like Shentai is also known to them. Furthermore, Dharmapāla (ca. 530–561), in his *Da cheng guang bai lun shi lun* 大乘廣百論釋論, once discussed a thesis similar to *candraḥ śaśī* (*śaśin* is the moon) in logical structure. His interpretation of the thesis also agrees with the interpretation of *candraḥ śaśī* ascribed to the Nyāyamukhaṭīkākāra. Therefore we know the historical existence of the Nyāyamukhaṭīkākāra's interpretation. It can be traced even to Dharmapāla. Such a kind of interpretation must be widely known and accepted at some historical stage between Dignāga and Dharmakīrti.

By proving the antiquity of this interpretation, we call into question the actual intention of Dharmakīrti's rejection to the so-called Nyāyamukhaṭīkākāra in this connection. The issue behind is significant because it concerns questions like whether and how far propositions in the form *X is X* can be rationally justified. The paper is the outcome of cooperating with Prof. Masahiro Inami. He works on the same topic on the basis of Sanskrit and Tibetan materials, and me on the basis of materials preserved in China and Japan.

Moriyama, Shinya (Shinshu University)
**Kuiji on the four kinds of contradictory reasons (*viruddhahetu*)**

The so-called "four kinds of contradictory reasons" (四相違) has been counted as one of the most difficult notions of the *Nyāyapraveśaka* / *Yin ming ru zheng li lun*《因明入正理論》 that is translated by Xuanzang 玄奘, and a number of commentaries and independent treatises were

written in the *yinming*/*inmyō* (*hetuvidyā*) tradition of East Asia. Among them, the most authoritative commentary is the *Yin ming ru zheng li lun shu*《因明入正理論疏》by Kuiji 窺基, where he analyzed and glossed each text passage and added his own understanding to Śaṅkarasvāmin's original explanation. To this, some modern scholars who read the *Nyāyapraveśaka* within the context of Indian Buddhist epistemology and logic, such as Hakuju Ui and Hajime Nakamura, criticized Kuiji's interpretations to be incorrect because of his lack of knowledge of Sanskirt and the essence of Dignāga's logic. In *Ronri to rekishi* (2005), the most recent, significant study on Xuanzang's inference of consciousness-only, Shigeki Moro pointed out that the modern Japanese tendency to consider Western tradition more important than East Asian tradition was reflected in such modern Japanese Buddhist studies. Now, if we overcome the tendency and evaluate not only the direct transmission from India but also its transformation in East Asian Buddhism, there will be a possibility to find out the value of Kuiji's (mis)understanding of the text as an interesting enterprise to read the text not for the rational analysis of inference but for the practical knowledge of debate and its application. The section of the four kinds of contradictory reasons is a good example, where we find his unique idea to use the "contradiction" as a practical debate technic to defeat his opponents. In this presentation, I will examine the section by focusing on some portions where the difference of Kuiji's interpretation from other interpretations by his predecessors such as Wengui 文軌 and Jingyan 浄眼 becomes clear. In addition, I will also argue on some methodological problems to connect the results of studies of Indian Buddhist logic to the East Asian *yinming*/*inmyō* studies.

## Transparent, Translucent, or Opaque: Chinese Translations of Indic Texts as Windows onto Indian Buddhism

Witkowski, Nicholas (University of Tokyo)

**Panel Abstract**

The collections of Chinese translations of Buddhist texts originally produced in Indic languages have tremendous potential as a resource for scholars working on Indian Buddhism. As the provenance of many of the texts within these traditional Chinese Buddhist canons has not been firmly established, it is essential to consider the possibility that individual texts from these collections were composed in China, edited in China, or that the translations are inaccurate. However, having considered these possibilities, if we are able to verify that a given text, or set of texts are, indeed, translations of Indic language originals, there can be no doubt that these Chinese translations become absolutely essential for our understanding of Indian Buddhism. This panel will include both methodological and case studies, which utilize Chinese translations of Indian Buddhist texts produced during the first millennium of the Common Era. The methodological studies will offer new approaches to the traditional Chinese Buddhist canons for assessing the authenticity of translations, and will include the use of translations into Tibetan of texts previously translated into Chinese. The case studies will utilize Chinese translations of Buddhist texts for the study of the so-called "Mahāyāna" traditions, "Theravāda" traditions, and *vinaya* traditions.

Zacchetti, Stefano (University of Oxford)
**The Many Shades of Retranslation**

We usually assume that translations are made directly from their putative originals. However, in the history of Chinese Buddhist translations we often find translators referring extensively to earlier versions of the "same" texts. The best known case is probably that of straight retranslations, a category officially sanctioned by traditional Buddhist bibliography to record different versions of nominally identical Indic originals. This paper will try to look at other instances of translations involving a pre-existing Chinese version, such as cases when the same original passage happened to be translated more than once by the same translator (or, rather, translation team). For example, the *Larger Prajñāpāramitā* commentary known as *Da zhidu lun* 大智度論 (*Mahāprajñāpāramitopadeśa*, translated by Kumārajīva in the early 5th century) contains some quotations from scriptures which were later translated in their entirety by Kumārajīva and his team, such as the *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā*s (see Saito 2003) and the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*. These quotations are of particular interest, as they can provide us with a unique insight into the development of translation technique within a specific team. A different typology of retranslation (which we could provisionally call "internal retranslation") is constituted by passages or formulas which, while they appear repeated *verbatim* in the available Indic parallels, are rendered in different ways within the same translated text. Notable examples of internal retranslation are provided by Dharmarakṣa's corpus (3rd century CE). I will argue that a correct understanding of the complex dynamics of retranslation, in all its various forms, is crucial for our understanding of Chinese Buddhist translations as a whole, and hence, ultimately, also for their use as sources for the study of Indian Buddhism.

Shimoda, Masahiro (University of Tokyo)
**Chinese Translations and a Pali Commentary to Bridge a Gap between the "Northern" and the "Southern" Traditions**

Thanks to a couple of works (S. Zacchetti, M. Shimoda, etc.), it has become acknowledged that Pali commentaries on suttas in the four Nikāyas and Chinese translations of sūtras in the four Āgamas, which has long been regarded as mutually irrelevant by reason of their affiliation with disparate traditions, may work in some cases highly effective in combination for the purpose of restoring the textual history of Indian Buddhism. Here in this presentation will be given as a cogent example the Aṅglimālasutta and its commentary by Buddhaghosa in association with the corresponding Chinese translations of the sutta (Taisho no. 118 佛説鴦掘摩經, Taisho no. 119 佛説鴦崛髻經). Collating the texts of these two sources, being in comparison with the Mahāyāna version of this scripture, will clarify the continuity and discontinuity in environment for the production of scriptures.

Radich, Michael (Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand)
**New Computer-Assisted Techniques for Assessing Internal Evidence of Questions of Ascription in Chinese Buddhist Canonical Texts**

This paper will address a fundamental methodological question preliminary to many of the other questions addressed by this panel. The use of Chinese Buddhist texts as windows in Indian Buddhism can only proceed on the basis of accurate understandings of the nature, ascriptions and dates of texts presented to us by the tradition as translations of Indic source texts. However, that tradition is fraught with many problems and errors. Generally speaking, critical studies of such problems can avail themselves of two main sets of evidence: external (in catalogues, biographies, other historiographic sources, the manuscript record, etc.) and internal (translation terminology and phraseology, or intertextual relationships such as citation, allusion, influence, etc.). It is true that a handful of scholars have produced some excellent studies of such questions on the basis of internal evidence, which have significantly altered our understanding of key parts of the tradition. However, speaking very generally, external evidence has to date been more systematically and effectively exploited than internal. Meanwhile, the digitisation of the entire canonical corpus has also opened up powerful new possibilities for types of computer-assisted analysis, which would simply be impossible for scholars working with their human faculties alone; but with a few striking exceptions (once more), this potential has thus far been scarcely realised. My programmer colleague Jamie Norrish and I have developed a new suite of conceptually simple free software tools which enable new methods in the analysis of certain types of internal evidence. In this paper, I will present a subset of these methods, focused in particular on the discovery and exploitation of internal evidential markers for attribution (authorship/translatorship). I will demonstrate that they enable the discovery of sets of strong stylistic markers in quantities tens or hundreds of times more numerous than those deployed in prior comparable studies, which enable the construction of arguments for re-attribution of an unprecedented order of rigour. I will contend that methods based upon these tools, if carefully and broadly adopted by the field, promise to enable a new phase in the critical reassessment of traditional attributions, with the potential to radically alter our understanding of the shape of the canon, and thereby set the use of Chinese evidence for Indian Buddhism (and other questions) on a much sounder footing. These points will be illustrated with reference to findings for several case studies in the (traditionally defined) corpora of translators such as Dharmarakṣa, Zhi Qian, Zhu Fonian, Dharmakṣema, and Baoyun.

Silk, Jonathan (Leiden University)
**Chinese Sutras in Tibetan: Tapping the Guidance of Contemporary Readers of Buddhist Chinese**

Both canonical collections (Kanjurs) and the manuscript finds at Dunhuang preserve Tibetan translations made not, as is most usual, from Sanskrit, but from Chinese. Among the many virtues of these materials, this presentation focuses on one, namely their utility for learning about the ways that contemporary educated readers understood medieval Chinese Buddhist texts. Every translation is a commentary. While traditional and conventional Chinese Buddhist commentaries on such texts may be plentiful, almost without exception these address themselves centrally to doctrinal issues; they rarely, if ever, clarify in detail issues of grammar, syntax, vocabulary or the like. In contrast, translations cannot avoid implicitly offering a commentary on the grammar and vocabulary of their Vorlagen. While scholars have a good idea of the language of medieval Buddhist Chinese, and further progress is being made rapidly thanks to computer-aided research, contemporary translations by educated scholar-monks would provide

an unparalleled and unprecedented window into the way these scriptures were understood, not only doctrinally but also linguistically. If we wish to make the best use of Chinese translations as sources for the study of Indian Buddhism, it is of course essential that we learn to read them as accurately as possible. By studying contemporary Tibetan translations, executed by educated readers, we gain a unique tool to improve our understanding of these sources.

Baba, Norihisa (University of Tokyo)
**Language Ideology of Pāli by the Mahāvihāra**

Through comparative research of Chinese materials and Pāli texts, this paper discusses the development of the language ideology of Pāli within the Mahāvihāra school of Ancient South Asian Buddhism. In 5th century Sri Lanka, Mahāvihāra commentators such as Buddhaghosa insisted firstly that Pāli is the natural language innate to all living beings and secondly that the Tipiṭaka, or Buddhist canon, should thus be transmitted only in this primal language. This article serves as a corrective to Peter Skilling's suggestion that the language ideology of "innate language" "appears to be unique in Buddhist tradition to the Mahāvihāra, or more accurately to Buddhaghosa." The fact that treatises such as the *Mahāvibhāṣā* of the Sarvāstivāda school express views on "innate language" which echo Pāli commentaries suggests that this concept was not conceived of by Buddhaghosa, but had circulated in continental India before it arrived in Sri Lanka. Rather, the Mahāvihāra adopted the idea of "innate language" from continental Buddhism and developed the language ideology of Pāli by adding to it the idea that the language of the Buddhist canon should be Pāli. Moreover, the paper elucidates that the establishment of language ideology of Pāli encouraged the Mahāvihāra monks to translate commentaries on the Tipiṭaka from Sinhalese to Pāli in the 5th century.

Witkowski, Nicholas (University of Tokyo)
**The Practice of *Aśubha-bhāvanā* in the Indian Buddhist Monastery: A Presentation of New Evidence from *Vinaya* Traditions Preserved in Chinese**

Throughout the history of Buddhist Studies, the *Vinaya* traditions preserved in Indic languages (and the Pāli *Vinaya* tradition in particular) have received the bulk of scholarly attention. This panel was organized with the intention of showcasing the value of texts translated into Chinese (which were originally produced in an Indic language) for the study of Indian Buddhism. The value of Chinese language materials to the study of Indian Buddhist textual traditions is particularly apparent in the case of Buddhist legal codes, as the Chinese preserves versions of *Vinaya* material no longer extant in an Indic language. In this paper, I will illustrate the value of *Vinaya* traditions preserved in Chinese for the study of Indian Buddhism focusing on the ascetic practice of taking the decomposing corpse as an object of meditation, or *aśubha-bhāvanā*. Often translated as "meditation on impurity," *aśubha-bhāvanā* is, generally speaking, regarded as a purely interior contemplation, in which the practitioner simply imagines the stages of decomposition of the corpse. I will argue, on the basis of a number of *Vinaya* texts preserved in Chinese, that the term *aśubha-bhāvanā* (Chin. *bujing guan* 不淨觀) was also utilized to refer to the practice of direct observation of a corpse. These Chinese translations of Indic *Vinaya* originals testify to the presence of monks practicing *aśubha-bhāvanā* in the cemetery, or *śmaśāna*, where these practitioners treat the physical corpse as an object of contemplation.

Based on this new evidence, I propose a corrective to scholarly conceptions of this ascetic practice in Indian Buddhism.

## Travel, Transmission, and Affiliation: Lineage in the Buddhist Crossroads of Inner Asia

King, Matthew (University of California, Riverside)

**Panel Abstract**

As part of the Qing imperial formation (1644-1911), Mongols gradually adopted the Géluk Buddhist tradition in lineal relations with "mother monasteries" in Central and Eastern Tibet. Eventually, immense networks of Géluk monastic colleges extended across the Himalayan plateau, north China, and Mongol cultural regions into Siberia and even St. Petersburg. Teachers and students, knowledge practices, ritual technologies, commodities, artistic and medical techniques, among other things, moved through these channels, connecting and reshaping (and erasing, in many cases) myriad Eurasian ethnic and political localities. In addition, Buddhist scholastics supplemented this Qing-era topography with earlier memories of affiliation and movement: those associated with the Sakya patriarchs at the Yuan court, for example, but also those connected to Uyghurs, the Khotanese, and Chinese pilgrims like Faxian and Xuanzang. This panel includes papers that explore lineage, place making and affiliation in Inner Asian zones of contact as continually formed through shifting politics and practices, as well as mobile models and logics. Our emphasis is on new research that compares spatializing and temporalizing work in such fields of affiliation that were not just representational (for example, lineage charts, historical narratives, or astrological reckoning) but also material (for example, statues, medicine, sacred sites, ruins, and relics) and institutional (for example, college networks).

Wallace, Vesna (University of California, Santa Barbara)
**A Formation of the Lineage of the Lordly Incarnations (Noyan Khutukthus) of the Gobi and Its Affiliation with the Kagyu Tradition of Tibet**

Taking as an example the formation and development of the lineage of the Khalkha's Lordly Incarnaitons (Noën Khutagts Classical Mong. Noyan Khutukhtus) of the Gobi, this presentation aims to show the continuity and divergences of the Tibetan Kagyu tradition that took place in the Mongolian cultural and religious environment. The presentation consists of two main parts. The first part includes the following: a brief introduction to the formation of the lineage of Lordly Incarnations of the Gobi, which asserts its origin in India and in the Tibetan Kagyu tradition, and the unique features of the lineage that became perceived as characteristic of the Mongolian "Red Religion" (Ulaan Shashyn) that encompasses more than a mere Kagyu tradition. It will also point to its relation with the predominant Geluk tradition in Mongolia and how that relation is echoed in the present time. The second part of the presentation concerns itself with efforts taken to preserve the lineage during the Socialist period and with the revitalization of the lineage, which once again tends toward inclusivity through its affiliation with different Tibetan Kagyu and Nyingma centers and teachers in India and in the West and through the Geluk training of the new lineage holder.

Tsultem, Uranchimeg (University of California, Berkeley)
**The Mighty dGe lugs: their Emergence and Domination in Khalkha Mongolia**

After the Sakya (Sa skya) alliance with Mongols in the 13th-14th c., the Tibetan-Mongol relations have been seen primarily from the perspective of a successful Gelug (dge lugs) conversion. A commonly held belief is that the First Jebtsundampa Khutuhtu Zanabazar (sprul sku 1635-1723) brought Gelug Order to Mongolia, where it was established through his religious activities and direct connection with the Tibetan Gelug teachers. Some modern scholars support this claim by reading Zanabazar's hagiographies written by his disciple Zaya Pandita Luvsanprenlei (Zaya paṇḍita blo bzang 'phreng las 1642-1715) and by later writers. While this corpus of literature is certainly useful in providing many important details into Zanabazar's work and his relations with Dalai and Panchen lamas allegedly from his young age, many questions still remain open and controversial. The entire issue of Zanabazar's reincarnation of a Tibetan historian Tāranātha (1575-1634) is a rich and provocative tale which has been often cited and reiterated in Zanabazar hagiographies and the secondary scholarly literature. This paper initiates an examination of another body of materials that include Zanabazar's own writings compiled in one-volume gsung gtor, his splendid art works that include sculptures and paintings and which have been substantially augmented by on-going archaeological excavations of Zanabazar's Dharma seat Ribogejai Gandan Shadublin (ri bo dge rgyas dga' ldan bshad sgrub gling) in Mongolia. This paper will show and argue that among several Tibetan orders that vied for power and beneficial alliance with the later Mongols it was Zanabazar whose life and deeds were artfully constructed in Gelug terms to secure a successful Gelug stride for their stable domination in Khalkha Mongolia.

King, Matthew (University of California, Riverside)
**Making and Unmaking Monastic, Scholastic, and Tantric Subjects in Late and Post-Imperial Inner Asia**

This paper compares a variety of narratives written by Buddhist scholastics that sought to map continuity and difference along the Sino-Mongolian-Tibetan frontier during the late-and post-Qing and Tsarist periods. In the cosmopolitanism of the high Qing and its aftermath especially, certain prominent Tibetan and Mongolian scholars reckoned not only with discerning and recording routes of "Buddhist" lineage transmission across the ethno-linguistic-territorial mosaic of Eurasia's heartland, but also with an almost ethnographic attention to continuities and differences in inhabiting monastic, scholastic, and tantric bodies, institutions, and communities. Topics of reoccurring concern included food practices, the spatial organization of monasteries, clothing styles, wealth retention, and the curricular and ritual foundations of scholastic colleges across various Chinese, Buryat, Mongol, and Tibetan groups. In addition to summarizing some of the differences that mattered in such texts, my interest in this paper is to highlight the ways their authors distinguished between the agents, techniques, and associated models of sovereignty—all of them connected to tiered, masculine discourses of reproduction and proximity—necessary to continually generate monastic, scholastic, and tantric persons and networks across time and space. It was precisely such imperial-era models of reproduction and affiliation that were thrown into crisis after the collapse of the Qing and Tsarist empires. I

conclude by offering samples of the ways revolutionary-era leaders struggled to repair, extend, re-imagine, or simply abandon monastic, scholastic, and tantric formations in a post-Qing world.

---

Van Vleet, Stacey (University of California, Berkeley)
**How Medical Technologies Travelled across Qing Imperial Cultures**

The expansion of the Qing Empire (1644-1911) over Inner Asia fostered both a proliferation of Gelukpa Buddhist monasteries across the region and a significant shift in these monasteries' curricular emphasis. While the great Gelukpa monasteries of Central Tibet maintained their sole focus on sutra and tantra studies, newer monastic hubs in eastern Tibet, Mongolia, Manchuria and Beijing added colleges (*grwa tshang*) for medical and astral learning. By the end of the dynasty, a Gelukpa network of medical colleges covered roughly fifty percent of Qing territory, yet its impact has never been seriously considered within Qing history. What role did these colleges play in the circulation of medical technologies within the Empire? In what ways did monastic colleges structure medical exchanges between Buddhist and non-Buddhist experts? And what part might these institutions have played in legitimizing governance within an imperial formation that was not exclusively or even primarily Buddhist?

Recent historiography has begun to emphasize the plurality of "Chinese" medicine under the Qing Dynasty, recognizing the significance of different ethnicities and languages within court medical institutions. But while the Manchu sources of the imperial center portray an idealized medical syncretism, medicine was taught in very different and competing institutional contexts in other parts of the empire. In particular, the Qing rulers encouraged two major networks of medical training: Confucian medical temple-schools (*miaoxue*), and the medical colleges of Gelukpa Buddhist monasteries (*sman pa grwa tshang*). While Chinese medical literature formed the basis for training in the former, Tibetan served as the *lingua franca* and literary basis of the latter. In both of these institutional contexts, moreover, the defining factor shaping transmission of medical technologies was not ethnicity, but lineage.

Within early Chinese and Tibetan contexts, medical teachings passed down through teacher-to-student (and often family-based) lineages, with students requiring ritual authorization from their teachers in order to engage in medical practice. Scholars of Chinese medicine have examined the institutionalization of Confucian rituals within medical temple-schools. In this paper, I will look at similar processes of ritual institutionalization reflected within the "monastic guidelines" (*bca' yig*) of Gelukpa medical colleges. Comparing ritual debates within medical institutions during the Qing period, a major issue at stake in both Confucian and Gelukpa Buddhist contexts is the claiming of an authoritative medical lineage. Historical narratives of the cultural progenitors of medical knowledge, such as the Yellow Emperor and the Medicine Buddha, served as templates for ritual practice and frameworks of legitimacy. I argue that institutional debates about the correct medical progenitor to venerate reflected the selective incorporation of medical lineages and technologies, and constituted a negotiation of the boundaries of medicine as a discipline. Within the Qing imperial context of competing scholarly networks, the creation of distinct ritual systems served to formulate boundaries between medical cultures. As an example of how medical technologies travelled across these boundaries, we can point to scholars

like the Mongolian Buddhist Jambaldorj, who separated his medical writing into exoteric and esoteric genres, the former travelling more easily between imperial cultures.

---

Ujeed, Sangseraima (Oxford University)
**The Biography of Lineages: the "thob yig gsal ba'i me long" of Khalkha Dza-ya Paṇḍita (1642-1715)**

Dza-ya Paṇḍita Blo-bzang 'phrin-las (1642-1715) was and is still today one of the most important Dge-lugs-pa monk scholars from Khalkha Mongolia. Having studied and lived in Tibet, Northern Mongolia, Southern Mongolia and parts of the then Qing Dynasty, he was a very "cosmopolitan" individual of the 17th century Central Asian world. Despite his ideal positioning to enter into matters of state owing to royal patronage and his reincarnation lineage, he dedicated his life to religion – in his case the Dge-lugs-pa school of Tibetan Buddhism. His masterpiece the "*Thob yig gsal ba'i me long*" (the clear mirror of records of teachings received) is the second largest of its genre to date and is a huge encyclopedic treasury of transmission lineages of teachings and practices which he received throughout his life. As well as clearly documenting vast numbers of transmission lineages, this work is rather unusual for its genre given that is it structured around a backbone of hundreds of *rnam thar*s (biographies) of Indian, Tibetan and Mongolian Buddhist masters as well as Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. The subjects of the biographies range of 6/7th century Mahasiddhas, Bodhisattvas such as Avalokiteśvara, Buddhas such as Amitayūs to his own masters from the 17th century such as the Khalkha Jebtsundamba Blo-bzang bstan-pa'i rgyal-mtshan (1635-1723), the Fifth Dalai Lama Ngag-dbang blo-bzang rgya-mtsho (1617-1682) and the Sde-srid Sangs-rgyas rgyamtsho (1653-1705). Through a skillful weaving together of these biographies with other information such as historical accounts, his own first hand experiences, transmission lineages and exposition on practice etc., Dza-ya Paṇḍita succeeded in compiling a unique work that reflects the Dge-lugs-pa Tibetan Buddhist world as it was understood by the tradition in the 17th century. Although consciously aimed to be purely religious, reading between the lines of this work reveals the complex and delicate situation faced by the Tibetan Buddhist traditions competing for recognition and power in the Qing dominated 17th century Central Asian world with which the author was personally very familiar with. This paper will take some of the biographies Dza-ya Paṇḍita wrote of his own masters both Tibetan and Mongolian as examples to demonstrate how these biographies function as part of a larger narrative – the "lineage biography" of the Dge-lugs-pa tradition during a controversial and chaotic period of Tibetan Buddhist history.

---

Sullivan, Brenton (Colgate University)
**Instituting Right Religious Practice from Afar: The Celestial Sands of Alashaa, Inner Mongolia and the Monastery of Pendé Gyatso Ling**

This paper examines the place of Alashaa (Alashan) in the history of Tibeto-Mongol and Mongol-Chinese relations. By examining the history of the most important monastery in this Inner Mongolian banner—Pendé Gyatso Ling ("Monastery of an Ocean of Benefit and Happiness"), known colloquially at Baruun Kheid ("South Monastery")—this paper reveals the political and religious ties that it shared with Buddhist hierarchs and leaders as far away as Lhasa and Beijing. Close attention is given to an eighteenth-century monastic charter composed for

the monastery by the Dynastic Preceptor Changkya Rölpé Dorjé and a later nineteenth-century charter composed for the monastery by the head of Drepung Gomang College in Lhasa and the implications of these charters written from afar for the daily life within and operation of the monastery.

# Vinaya Commentaries

Clarke, Shayne (McMaster University)

**Panel Abstract**

Although significant progress has been made in the field of Vinaya studies with regard to our knowledge and understanding of canonical Vinaya texts, to date very little attention has been paid to the study of Vinaya commentaries. Despite the fact that most of the Pāli canon has been translated into English (and other languages), only a handful of Vinaya commentaries are available in translation in any modern language (and none from Pāli). This panel aims to provide an introduction and overview of the corpus of extant Indian Buddhist Vinaya commentaries, including those preserved in Sanskrit, Pāli, Tibetan, and Chinese. Particular attention will be paid also to previously unidentified or misidentified commentaries extant in the corpus of Tibetan Dunhuang manuscripts and the commentarial traditions of Guṇaprabha, Śākyaprabha, and Bu sTon, with special reference to the quotations of canonical material in their respective autocommentaries for what they might tell us about the canonical Mūlasarvāstivādin traditions in India.

Yonezawa, Yoshiyasu (Taisho University)
**A Survey of the *Vinayasūtra*: With Reference to the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya***

The *Vinayasūtra* (VS) attributed to Guṇaprabha has been known as the basic textbook for Vinaya studies in the Tibetan monastic education system. The *Vinayasūtra* consists of sometimes rewritten rules and other materials from the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya* (MSV). In this sense, the *Vinayasūtra* can be considered to be a commentary on the MSV and, as such, may be utilized to great profit in Vinaya studies.

In order to emphasize the significance of the *Vinayasūtra*, although limited to a part of the first chapter called *Pravrajyāvastu*, the present paper briefly surveys the contents based on descriptions in the *Vinayasūtravṛtty-abhidhāna-svavyākhyāna* (VSS) with reference to the embedded MSV. Concerning the Sanskrit text of the *Pravrajyāvastu* section of the VSS, two manuscripts are available:

1) an incomplete 38-folio manuscript discovered at Sa skya monastery, which is the basis of Bapat & Gokhale's edition of the *Pravrajyāvastu* and a series of editions by Nakagawa of the initial part of the *Vibhaṅga*;
2) an incomplete 36-folio manuscript discovered at Zha lu ri phug monastery, included in the "Facsimile Edition of a Collection of Sanskrit Palm-leaf Manuscripts in Tibetan *dBu-med* Script."

The present paper is intended to introduce Sanskrit text of the latter, which is missing in the former.

Furthermore, the present paper points out a stylistic feature of the *Vinayasūtra*, according to which the title "Vinayasūtra" is deemed to be a peculiar usage for the title of a Buddhist scripture.

Nietupski, Paul (John Carroll University)
**Studying Buddhist Beliefs and Practices through Vinaya Commentaries**

This paper begins with the hypothesis that the Vinaya must be understood in the context of the Tripiṭaka, with the Sūtras and the Abhidharma, and that all three associated precepts, ethics, wisdom, and concentration must also be understood together. The foundations of Vinaya ethical principles are in epistemology and concentration, exercised in both individual and community behavior. Vinaya principles and practices are not isolated. This is made evident in passages in Guṇaprabha's (ca. 550–630) *Vinayasūtra* and *Autocommentary*, in Dharmamitra's *Ṭīkā*, and in related works by Śākyaprabha (ca. seventh century), Vinītadeva (c. 630–700), and Prajñākara. The focus in this paper is the topic of how and the extent to which, according to the texts under study, Buddhists distinguished themselves from non-Buddhist *tīrthika*s and other groups. The many references to relevant Buddhist self-definitions in the texts under study help us understand the Buddhist and brahmanical societies and worldviews of the day, and how these groups co-existed in the same space, often in competition for royal and local community sponsorship.

Emms, Christopher (McMaster University)
**Canonical Vinaya Quotations in the Work of Śākyaprabha**

According to tradition, the Buddhist monastic law code, or Vinaya, of the Mūlasarvāstivādin school is divided into four sections: *Vinayavibhaṅga*, *Vinayavastu*, *Vinayakṣudraka*, and *Vinaya-uttaragrantha*. Despite its position in this fourfold categorization of the canonical Vinaya, the importance of the *Vinaya-uttaragrantha* (hereafter *Uttaragrantha*) has been largely neglected. Although the *Uttaragrantha* has often been incorrectly considered only an appendix, recent scholarship has shown that the contents of the *Uttaragrantha* were considered canonical by the authors/redactors of the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya*. In the proposed paper, I will focus upon the use of canonical Vinaya quotations from the *Uttaragrantha* in the work of Śākyaprabha.

Śākyaprabha (ca. 7th–8th c. CE), an Indian specialist in monastic law, composed two Sanskrit Vinaya commentaries that both survive in Tibetan translation. In his *Āryamūlasarvāstivādiśrāmaṇerakārikā*, or Verses for Novices of the Noble Mūlasarvāstivādins, Śākyaprabha outlines his views on proper behaviour for new male recruits (*śrāmaṇera*s) to the monastic order in roughly 230 verses. Śākyaprabha also produced his own commentary upon his verse root-text, the *Āryamūlasarvāstivādiśrāmaṇerakārikā-vṛttiprabhāvatī*, or Illuminating Commentary of the Verses for Novices of the Noble Mūlasarvāstivādins. In this auto-commentary, Śākyaprabha provides over 250 quotations from the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya in order to clarify and give authority to his verses. Not only do the majority of Śākyaprabha's

Vinaya quotations come from the *Uttaragrantha*, but the content of these quotations often differs significantly in comparison to the *Uttaragrantha* preserved in the Tibetan canon.

In the proposed paper, I will provide evidence for a distinct Mūlasarvāstivādin *Uttaragrantha* textual tradition on the basis of the *Uttaragrantha* quotations contained within Śākyaprabha's Illuminating Commentary of the Verses for Novices of the Noble Mūlasarvāstivādins. I will do so by means of a comparative analysis of Śākyaprabha's quotations with extant *Uttaragrantha* passages in a variety of sources. These comparative sources include the canonical Tibetan translation of the *Uttaragrantha*, as well as two Indic Vinaya texts with parallels to the *Uttaragrantha* that are preserved in Chinese translation, the *Sapoduobu pini modeleqie* (T. 1441) and the *Shisonglü* (T. 1435). In addition to these texts, which are attributed to the Buddha, I will also consult Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya commentaries such as Guṇaprabha's *Vinayasūtravṛtty-abhidhāna-svavyākhyāna* and Dharmamitra's *Vinayasūtraṭīkā*, both of which contain quotations from the *Uttaragrantha*.

Kishino, Ryoji (Otani University)
**The Implications of Bu ston's Doubts about the Authenticity of the *Vinaya-saṃgraha***

Bu ston Rin chen grub (1290–1364), a Tibetan Buddhist monk and well-known polymath and prolific writer, wrote at least eight works concerning the monastic law code (Tib. *'dul ba*; Skt. *vinaya*) that was brought from India to Tibet, the so-called *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya* (MSV). Recently, modern Buddhist scholars, especially those who study the MSV, have focused on these works in an effort to better their understanding of the extensive Mūlasarvāstivādin monastic code. The *'Dul ba spyi'i rnam par gzhag pa 'dul ba rin po che'i mdzes rgyan* (*'Dul spyi*) is one of the eight works. As the title suggests, it includes brief overviews of the MSV and related Indian texts with which Bu ston was familiar. In his overview of *Viśeṣamitra's (Chin. 勝友; Tib. Khyad par bshes gnyen) handbook of the MSV, the *Vinaya-saṃgraha* (Chin. 根本薩婆多部律攝; Tib. *'Dul ba bsdus pa*) (no later than 7th century CE), Bu ston asserts that five Vinaya issues mentioned in the handbook conflict with those that appear in the MSV and Guṇaprabha's handbook, the *Vinaya-sūtra* (ca. 5–7th century CE). He concludes that *Viśeṣamitra might have been confused or unfamiliar with the MSV, and thereby dismisses the *Vinaya-saṃgraha* as unreliable. A close examination of these five Vinaya issues based on the texts of the MSV, the *Vinaya-sūtra*, and the *Vinaya-saṃgraha* as it has come down to us, however, does not completely support Bu ston's assertion. There does not appear to be as strong a disagreement as Bu ston notes between the MSV, the *Vinaya-sūtra*, and the *Vinaya-saṃgraha*. In my presentation, I investigate Bu ston's controversial assertion about the five Vinaya issues in the *'Dul spyi* and note that his analysis seems to us to be problematic. Furthermore, I discuss the implications of the discrepancy in understanding of these issues between Bu ston and us.

Newhall, Thomas (University of Tokyo)
**Daoxuan's Vinaya Commentaries: An Overview of Materials Available, the Current State of Research, and Some Important Topics**

Although Vinaya texts have been fruitfully used to understand the social history of Buddhism and Buddhist monastic traditions of India, works that depict how these texts in translation were received and understood by their Medieval Chinese audience have received relatively less attention, though they may reveal similar insights on Buddhist culture there.

In this presentation, I will give an overview of the Tang-dynasty monk Daoxuan's 道宣 (596–668) commentaries on the Vinaya in order to get a foothold on one important aspect of this tradition. A contemporary and collaborator of Xuanzang 玄奘 (602–664), and the author of the *Continued Biographies of Eminent Monks*, Daoxuan is certainly one of the most prolific and influential commentators on the Vinaya, having written at least twenty works on the subject, many of which are still extant.

I will begin by giving a brief overview of his corpus, how it fits into Daoxuan's life and work as a whole, and discuss what research is available on these works.

I will then focus on some important themes that can be found in his most comprehensive commentary, the *Xingshi Chao* 行事鈔 ("Commentary on Conduct and Procedure"), and his *Jiemo Shu* 羯磨疏 ("Exegesis on *Karman*"), a text that deals with monastic rituals, which, together with his *Jieben Shu* 戒本疏 ("Exegesis on the *Prātimokṣa*") make up the so-called "three great works of the Nanshan Vinaya Tradition" (*Nanshan lüzong sandabu* 南山律宗三大部). These works became the basis for several later sub-commentaries, such as those by the Song monk Yuanzhao 元照 (1048–1116). I will point to a few themes that can be found throughout these Vinaya commentaries, and discuss how these themes relate to important points of debate in the Vinaya commentarial tradition in general.

On the whole, I hope to show what kind of insights into Chinese Buddhism and the development of the *saṅgha* in China can be gained by looking at Daoxuan's Vinaya commentaries, and more generally, the Chinese Vinaya commentarial tradition as a whole.

---

Clarke, Shayne (McMaster University)
**On the Nun-Friendly Vinaya Manuscript Traditions of Bhutan and their Relationship to Indian Vinaya Commentaries**

It is well known that Bu ston rin chen grub (1290–1364) concluded that the Tibetan translation of the *Bhikṣuṇī-vibhaṅga* preserved in the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya* is in fact not Mūlasarvāstivādin at all. The basis for this conclusion seems to be solid when, for instance, the Tibetan *Bhikṣuṇī-vibhaṅga* is compared to Guṇaprabha's comments concerning which rules are common to both *bhikṣu*s and *bhikṣuṇī*s. Indeed, most extant editions of the Tibetan *Bhikṣuṇī-vibhaṅga*—Basgo, Derge, "Dragon Sūtras," Hemis, Kawaguchi (Tokyo), Lhasa, Lithang, London, Narthang, Peking, Phug brag, and Ulanbatar, for instance—include a number of rules for nuns that Guṇaprabha specifically excludes as unshared rules; they also lack rules that Guṇaprabha tells us are held in common between *bhikṣu*s and *bhikṣuṇī*s. Curiously, in a number

of places the sTog Palace and Shey Palace manuscripts—and four manuscripts Kanjurs from Bhutan—follow Guṇaprabha's instructions relatively closely, much more closely than any other edition regularly used for Vinaya Studies in general or Bhikṣuṇī Vinaya Studies in particular. In this paper, I will investigate the connection between the Bhutanese manuscript traditions and Guṇaprabha's commentarial tradition, and the implications of this connection for those interested in matters related to the *Bhikṣuṇī saṅgha*.

## What makes a monastery a Great Monastery? Textual, art historical, and archaeological evidence from India to [the borders of] China

Forte, Erika (Ruhr-Universität Bochum, CERES/KHK)

**Panel Abstract**

In the accounts of the Chinese pilgrims we find descriptions of the monasteries they came across during their journey from China to India and back. Many of them have been referred to as *dasi* 大寺 ("great monastery") or *dasengqielang* 大僧伽藍, possibly the Chinese rendering of the Sanskrit terms *mahāvihāra*, *mahallaka/mahallika vihāra* and *mahāsangharama*. These monasteries were regarded as special and outstanding and their characteristics are, among others, a great number of monks, their large size, a certain wealth due to the support of the political authorities. Stories of miraculous statues hosted within them or of epiphanic events explaining their origin often complement their description. While previous research has contributed to elucidate the role and history of the Great Monasteries (大寺 *daiji* or *dasi*) in East Asia, the same can not be said about ancient India and Central Asia where the function and characteristics of those special monasteries yet remain largely unclear.

The panel is to function as a receptacle of evidence originating from different fields of research and aims at providing a platform toward the definition of factors related to the concept of monasteries that are identified as "great" from various points of view (size, fame, state funding, or simply denominated thus in the sources…) and the inquiry into possible relations to the East Asian developments of similar institutions.

Scherrer-Schaub, Cristina (École Pratique des Hautes Études (EPHE), Paris and Université de Lausanne)
**Indian Monastic Residences in Historical Perspective**

The terminology related to the monastic residences varies and differs according to historical and geographic contexts, and this is amply evidenced in epigraphical records, as well as in normative texts.

The identification of two particular periods of Indian history will serve here as a pretext to investigate the role of *mahāvihāra*s that were considered predominant centers of their time, in contrast with minor or far-distant monastic residences.

Brancaccio, Pia (Drexel University)

**A Mahāvihāra in the Living Rock: The Later Horizon of the Kanheri Caves**

Inscriptions from caves 11 and 12 at Kanheri (ancient Krishnagiri) refer to the Buddhist rock-cut complex as being a Mahāvihāra. These donative epigraphs dating to the Rashtrakuta times allude to the far reaching connections of the caves beyond the region of Konkan. The present paper intends to explore the context in which the term Mahāvihāra was used at Kanheri, the architectural and artistic evidence associated with this particular horizon of life of the site, and its possible connections with a long distance network of monastic establishments.

Amar, Abhishek S. (Hamilton College)
**Telhara: What does it mean to be a 'Mahavihara' in the Early Medieval Magadha**

This paper will study the nature of a smaller but important monastic center of Telhara in the early medieval South Bihar (Magadha). Previous studies have focused exclusively on the study of major Buddhist monastic centers such as Nalanda and Bodhgaya, ignoring the importance and role of smaller monastic centers in penetrating rural landscapes and forging links with communities. The importance of Telhara is reflected in the Chinese pilgrim Xuanzang's account of his visit as well as recently discovered monastic structure, artifacts, sculptures and royal and donative inscriptions in recent excavations by the Directorate of Archaeology, Bihar (2012-14). The seals discovered from the site use the title '*mahāvihāra*' to refer to the monastic establishment of the place, a title that was also used for Nalanda and Bodhgaya establishments. Study of epigraphic materials from other smaller monastic centers such as Ghosrawan and Kurkihar also attest this pattern. This raises an interesting question: why these centers claimed to be '*mahāvihāras*' despite their smaller size and lesser number of inhabitants. Are our parameters based on size and number of inhabitants modern presumptions that have been applied anachronistically to these centers? What parameters qualified a monastic center to be a '*mahāvihāra*'? Was it based on links with royalty or royal patronage? Did these centers draw their position/claims on the basis of socio-religious standing of senior monks and teachers or their long history? If it was based on a long cherished history of a center, what role did the existing material assemblages (sculptures, images, seals) and social networks play in making and validating those claims? Through a study of archaeological, epigraphic and textual materials, this paper will investigate the above raised questions to define the meaning of a '*mahāvihāra*' in the early medieval Magadha region.

Filigenzi, Anna (University of Naples "L'Orientale")
**Early Buddhist monasteries in South Asia: Archaeological Mapping as cultural-historical inquiry**

Although archaeology has only partially succeeded in mapping the Buddhist sacred landscape of ancient South Asia, the picture that has emerged so far is astonishing. The present contribution will deal in particular with a distinct cultural region stretching from North-West Pakistan to Eastern Afghanistan, where the pre-Muslim archaeological panorama is dominated by Buddhist remains.

Apart from very few exceptions, written sources do not account for the magnitude, topographic distribution, economic dimension and social and political engagement of the Buddhist monasteries of this area, nor they inform us about their possibly being – at least partially – dependent on hierarchically organised networks. As for archaeology, we need to think of archaeological sites in their wider environmental and cultural context if we want to understand whether and how ancient Buddhist settlements were connected to each other, and how such links relate to the intersection of local and trans-regional routes, to the active role in developmental economy, and to the construction of new landscapes which partly expropriated and transformed pre-Buddhist holy places as well as economically strategic centres. Moreover, such a global view of the ancient Buddhist topography may help us identify possible core sites (*Mahāvihāra*s?) and their distinguishing features and functions, although we must avoid easy cultural biases and acknowledge that a special holiness, and even remoteness, may have earned a special status also to apparently modest sacred areas.

Based on archaeological evidence from both modern-day Swat (ancient Uḍḍiyāna) and Afghanistan, some case studies will be analysed in order to start outlining some possible interpretive approaches.

---

Forte, Erika (Ruhr-University Bochum)
**Defining Greatness: Monasteries of the Tarim Area Oases**

Thanks to documents found during archaeological investigations in the Tarim and to Buddhist literary sources concerning the "Western Regions" (Xiyu 西域) (mainly biographies and travelogues in Chinese) a series of important or famous monasteries from the time of the spread of Buddhism in the area are known today. Among them some are defined as Great Monasteries (*dasi* 大寺), some as *mahāsangharama* (*dasengqielan* 大僧伽藍), or as *mahāvihāra*, depending on the sources. Their particular role seems to have been explained through and justified by a variety of individual factors: the number of residing monks, and consequently the size of the structures; their economic wealth due to private, state or royal benefactors; their excellence in learning and translation; their association to specific miraculous stories and events and the resulting importance as pilgrimage places, and so on.

Today, some of these institution could be identified again based on available archaeological evidence, for some others possible identifications are being discussed.

This paper seeks to shed light on the different typologies and possible common characteristics of Great Monasteries in the Tarim area by examining the available material. Here the archaeological and artistic data is of great importance and has to be analysed together with and compared against the literary sources.

In particular, the paper will examine if and how such institutions were connected to each other as the patterns of naming, common references to foundation legends and their iconographic programs hint at.

# Yogācāra Across Asia: India, Tibet, and East Asia

Yao, Zhihua (The Chinese University of Hong Kong)
Bayer, Achim (Kanazawa Seiryo University)

**Panel Abstract**

This panel is intended to present the periodical research results of an international research project on "Traces of Reason: The Korean Approach to Logic and Rationality and Its Relation to Buddhist Traditions from India and China" funded by the Korean Research Foundation. Earlier research results were presented at the IABS 2014 in Vienna in a series of consecutive panels on "Pramāṇa across Asia" convened by Eli Franco and Jeson Woo. Seventeen highly qualified papers were presented, and they attracted a large audience. Subsequently, a selection of these papers has been edited and will be published in the WZKS in 2016.

For the current panel, we plan to work in the same spirit with a focus on "Yogācāra across Asia." Yogācāra was one of the most influential Buddhist schools in East Asia and has fundamentally shaped people's ways of thinking in China, Japan and Korea. It was also influential in Tibet, although to a lesser degree, through the translated writings of Indian Yogācāra masters and of the great Korean monk Wonchuk. We are inviting experts from different sub-fields of Buddhist studies to join the members of research project to examine the rich and complex Yogācāra doctrines and their historical development across India, Tibet and East Asia.

---

Franco, Eli (Leipzig University)
**On the Arising of Philosophical Theories From Spiritual Practice**

In his *The Genesis of Yogācāra-Vijñānavāda, Responses and Reflections* (Tokyo 2014), Lambert Schmithausen has substantially modified his thesis about the origin of whole-defining philosophical theories in Buddhism, such as the *anātman* theory, Mahāyāna illusionism and Yogācāra idealism. In my lecture I will try to show how the newly revised thesis differs from the old one and raise a few questions about its applicability.

---

Woo, Jeson (Dongguk University)
**On Dharmaphāla's *Caturbhāga* Theory**

In Xuanzang's *Proof of Vijñaptimātratā* (成唯識論), Dharmapāla (ca. 530-561) is credited with a theory of the fourfold division of consciousness (*vijñāna*), viz., the "seeing part" (見分), the "seen part" (相分), the "self-awareness part" (自證分), and the "awareness of self-awareness part" (證自證分). Nonetheless, as Masaaki Hattori indicates in his *Dignāga on Perception*, later Sanskrit sources do not refer to this theory. Even the Sanskrit term is not ascertained in the case of the fourth part, the "awareness of self-awareness". In this paper, I shall attempt to uncover traces of Dharmapāla's fourfold division theory in the treatises of the Indian Pramāṇa tradition. In addition to explicating this theory and how it developed in Xuanzang's Faxiang school (法相宗), the following issues in particular will be explored: 1) Is the fourfold model based on the idea of the non-distinction of *pramāṇa*, *prameya*, and *pramāṇaphala*, which Dignāga (ca. 480-540) presented in order to establish his analytical structure of cognition? 2) Is there any

possibility that the "awareness of self-awareness" is related to the concept of "ascertained cognition" (*niścayapratyaya*), which Dharmottara (ca. 750-810) introduced when he analyzed the cognition of "blue" (*nīla*) in his *Nyāyabinduṭīkā*?

Yao, Zhihua (The Chinese University of Hong Kong)
**Self-emptiness versus Other-emptiness: A Madhyamaka-Yogācāra Debate**

In Tibetan Buddhism, the concept of emptiness is interpreted in two different ways: empty-of-self (*rang stong*) and empty-of-other (*gzhan stong*). There is a long history of conflict between advocates of these two types of emptiness in Tibet, and the mainstream of Tibetan Buddhists today treat the idea of other-emptiness as heterodox. My study attempts to show that the two senses of emptiness can be traced back to early Yogācāra sources in India, and that these doctrines form an important background for the Madhyamaka-Yogācāra debates. I will examine in particular Bhāviveka's response to the Yogācāra critique of emptiness, and discuss the two types of emptiness as understood by Indian authors and their Chinese and Tibetan commentators.

Park, Jin Y. (American University)
**Yogācāra, Chan, and the Paradox of the Mind**

Zen Buddhism has long been identified by a definition attributed to the alleged founder Bodhidharma (達磨大師, active 520). According to that definition, Zen/Chan/Sŏn (禪) is, "A special transmission outside of scriptures,/ Without relying on words and letters,/ Directly pointing at the human mind,/ Sees the nature and attains Buddhahood." (教外別傳不立文字 直指人心見性成佛.)

Scholars generally agree that Bodhidharma is not the author of this passage, and that these verses underwent a process of augmentation and revision before reaching the format in which we recite them today. Still, the passage seems to reflect the core of Zen Buddhism with regard to (1) its relation to earlier Buddhist traditions, (2) its use of language, (3) the Zen mode of training, and (4) the importance of the mind (心) in Zen discourse and practice. This paper reexamines these issues, with special attention to the mind, in the context of Zen's relation to Yogācāra Buddhism. The mind plays a significant role in the Korean Zen Buddhist tradition. Pojo Chinul (普照知訥 1158-1210), the founder of Korean Zen Buddhism, declared that the mind is the Buddha (心卽佛). But *what* is this mind? How is it different from consciousness or cognition (識)? And why is it that the mind in Zen Buddhism and consciousness in Yogācāra are not essentialist approaches to Buddhism? Or are they? What does the Zen Buddhist modification of Yogācāra Buddhism tell us about the Zen Buddhist understanding human experience, Buddhist practice, and the Zen proposal for self-transformation? These are some of major issues I discuss in this paper.

Bayer, Achim (Kanazawa Seiryo University)

***Cittamātra* and Dependent Origination: As Treated in the *Abhidharmasamuccaya*, Candrakīriti's *Madhyamaka-avatāra* and the Venerable Seongcheol's *Sermon of a Hundred Days***

While the classical Yogācāra treatises of Asaṅga and Vasubandhu teach that the material world is a mere mental projection, the respective technical term, *cittamātra*, has not always been used in this way. In some cases, it appears to designate specific events or factors that are merely mental, without implying that the phenomenal world as a whole is a mental (mis-)conception. A possible borderline case can be found in the *Abhidharmasamuccaya*, some sections of which lack the teachings on *cittamātra* and the *ālayavijñāna* that would be expected in a classical Yogācāra treatise. The *Abhidharmasamuccaya*'s position will be explained and compared with Vasubandhu's commentary on the *Daśabhūmika-sūtra,* the *Madhyamaka-avatāra*, and a modern interpretation presented by the Venerable Seongcheol (性徹, 1912–1993) in his *Sermon of a Hundred Days* (百日法門).

Keng, Ching (National Chengchi University, Taiwan)
**Wŏnch'ŭk as a Traditionalist Yogâcāra Thinker**

This paper aims at exploring where Wŏnch'ŭk (613-696 CE) stands in the development of Yogācāra thought. Together with Kuiji (632-682), Wŏnch'ŭk is regarded as one of the foremost disciples of Xuanzang (602-664). But tradition has it that, unlike Kuiji, who is regarded as the true heir of Xuanzang, Wŏnch'ŭk did not truly understand Xuanzang's teaching. For this reason, there arose heated disputes between the disciples of Kuiji and Wŏnch'ŭk. This traditional account was prevalent at least since the *Song gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳 ("The Hagiography of Eminent Monks edited in the Song dynasty," edited around 982 CE). Recently, the Japanese scholar Tomoaki Kitsukawa 橘川智昭 has challenged this view by suggesting that there was no significant doctrinal disagreement between Kuiji and Wŏnch'ŭk. Rather, conflict between their disciples led to later superimpositions on the relation between these two masters.

This paper seeks to evaluate whether the traditional account or Kitsukawa's view represents the more accurate historical understanding. I provide two case studies: (1) the issue of whether the dependent nature (*paratantra-svabhāva*) can serve as a pure cognitive object (*\*viśuddhy-ālambana*; *qingjing suoyuan* 清淨所緣); (2) how many moments of mind does it take to reach a complete understanding of a sentence consisting of four words such as "*Zhu xing wu chang* 諸行無常" ("All compounded things are impermanent")? In the former case, Wŏnch'ŭk answers no but Kuiji answers yes; in the latter case, Wŏnch'ŭk thinks it takes sixteen moments of mind but Kuiji thinks twelve moments of mind are enough. I further show that the reason why Wŏnch'ŭk held different views from those of Kuiji is that Kuiji represented the newly developed Yogācāra teaching by Dignāga and Dharmapāla but Wŏnch'ŭk still partly stuck to the old Yogācāra doctrines of the *Yogācārabhūmi-śāstra* and of the *Madhyāntavibhāga*, even though he did receive remarkable influence of the new teachings via Xuanzang.

With these two case studies, I argue that Wŏnch'ŭk stands halfway between the old and the new phases of Yogācāra. Hence I consider Wŏnch'ŭk a more traditionalist Yogācāra thinker than

Kuiji. In so far as there are significant doctrinal differences between Wŏnch'ŭk and Kuiji, I agree more with the traditional account than with Kitsukawa's recent proposal.

## Zones of Contact: Facets of Buddhist Interactions in Eastern Central Asia during the 9th-14th Centuries

Meinert, Carmen (CERES, ERC project "Dynamics in Buddhist Networks in Eastern Central Asia (6th-14th c.)," *BuddhistRoad*, Ruhr-Universität Bochum)

**Panel Abstract**

Eastern Central Asia (the area from the westernmost limits of the Taklamakan desert in the West to Mount Wutai in the East) was the pivotal zone where the eastward vector of Tibetan Buddhism met the westward vector of Sinitic Buddhism during the 9th-14th centuries. This culminated in the simultaneous transfer of Sinitic and Tibetan versions of Buddhism in the region, which was then occupied by the Uyghur Khanates, the Tangut Empire, and the Liao and the Jin Empires, and gave rise to local forms of Buddhism. Current research indicates to a correspondence in the repertoire of the Buddhist texts and various practices among the peoples of Eastern Central Asia: such as Tibetan Tantric practices, Chinese Abhidharma, Huayan/Chan Buddhism are attested among Tanguts, Uyghurs, Khitan and other people. The panel intends to explore the models and particular forms of this complex relationship, which was crucial for the formation of such entities as Tangut and Uyghur Buddhism as well as of the Sinitic Buddhism during the Yuan Dynasty. Our topics will include Chinese and Tibetan Buddhism among the Tanguts, Uyghurs and Khitan, transfer of the traditional and emergence of the new forms of artistic representation.

Meinert, Carmen (Ruhr-Universität Bochum)
**Buddhist Localisations in Pre-modern Eastern Central Asia within a Transcultural Buddhist Network**

My presentation will present as an introduction to the panel "Zones of Contact" aspects of a research programme I aim to persue over the next few years: namely to create a new framework to enable understanding (i) of the dynamics of cultural encounter and (ii) Buddhist networks of transfer in pre-modern Eastern Central Asia—the vast area extending from the Taklamakan desert to Northeast China. This region was the crossroads of ancient civilisations. Buddhism was one major factor in this exchange; its transfer predetermined the transfer of adjacent aspects of culture. The religious exchange involved a variety of cultures and civilisations, which were modified and shaped by their adoption of Buddhism. The spread of Buddhism overrode the ethnic and linguistic boundaries in Eastern Central Asia creating a civilisational whole, which despite its diversity, shared a set of common ideas originating from Buddhism. One specific aspect of this process in Eastern Central Asia was the rise of the local forms of Buddhism. The research programme intends to investigate such Buddhist localisations between the 9th–14th centuries. For the first time the multi-layered relationships between the trans-regional Buddhist traditions (Chinese, Indian, Tibetan) and those based on local Buddhist cultures (Uyghur, Tangut) will be explored in a systematic way.

Kasai, Yukiyo (Ruhr-Universität Bochum)
**The Old Uyghur Abhidharma Texts Containing Brāhmī Elements**

Amongst the Old Uyghur fragments preserved in the Berlin Turfan Collection there are some which are mainly written in Uyghur script, but in which only for some chosen terminologies or sentences Brāhmī script is used. The contents of those fragments are various, although all of them have a Buddhist characteristics. Through the editiong work of those fragments, a certain number of the Abdhidharma texts could be identified. The Old Uyghur Abhidharma texts were already known, but many of them rather contain Chinese characters. In the lecture the new-identified Abhidharma texts containing Brāhmī elements are presented and the different characteristics between those two types Abhidharma texts are discussed.

Sørensen, Henrik H. (Ruhr-Universität Bochum)
**A Padmapāni *Dhāraṇī*-Amulet from Dunhuang**

This presentation will seek to throw light on a somewhat unusual example of a *dhāraṇī*-amulet, which features the imprint and creative design reflecting both Tibetan and Chinese cultures. While not unique among the Dunhuang material, it is a fascinating example of how Buddhism served as a common denominator for Buddhist practitioners of both cultures during the period of the Tibetan Occupation of Shazhou 沙州, i.e. roughly between 782–848 CE. The amulet, which has been drawn on cloth, represents developments in Esoteric Buddhism during the late Tang characteristic of local Buddhism in Dunhuang during this period.

Turek, Maria (Universität Bonn)
**Formation of the Tibetan Kingdom of Nangchen as Zone of Contact**

The area of Eastern Tibet (in today's Southern Qinghai Province) that was to become the Kingdom of Nangchen (1300-1951) was located in a strategic point where various supralocal and foreign forces and actors met and contributed to the emergence of Nangchen as an organized polity. According to local sources, its history starts with the Tantric master Tishi Repa (1164-1236) who acted as imperial chaplain at the Tangut court and passed away on Nangchen soil. His death was commemorated by disciple Repa Karpo (1198-1262), himself of Tangut origin, by founding of a monastic complex of Kumbum. Its construction in grand style was supported by artisans from the Tangut realm. Kumbum became Nangchen's first power center when Mongol armies of Genghis Khan's grandson Godan Khan halted there in 1240 on their way to Central Tibet and appointed Repa Karpo the religious ruler of Nangchen. In 14th century, when Kumbum had lost much its importance, a new influential monastery of Kyodrak was constructed. It was financed by the Yuan dynasty and erected in a hybrid architectonic style which reflected Nangchen's contacts with Mongol China, Lijiang and Central Tibet. Although with time, Kyodrak's political significance waned, its vital role in the preservation of the Barom Kagyu school cannot be overestimated.

SECTION PAPERS

*Compiled by:*
*Anthony Scott*
*Academic Coordinator*

# Abhidharma Studies
**Thurs., Aug. 24th, 9:00-12:30**

Toleno, Robban (Columbia University)
**Theories of Nourishment in Premodern Chinese Buddhist Encyclopedias and the Limits of Consilience**

Four Foods doctrine in Abhidharma thought constitutes a set of theories regarding nourishment, including forms of nourishment feeding the body and the mind. Using modern terminology, these can be understood as nourishment from materials, from sensory engagement, from thoughts, and from consciousness. Taken at face value, these Buddhist theories of nourishment show points of resonance with work in cognitive science that highlights the importance of understanding the mind and emotions as embodied phenomena (e.g.Varela et al. *Embodied Mind*; Damasio, *Feeling of What Happens*). They furthermore seem to anticipate work in aesthetic theory that returns the appreciation of beauty from an ineffably spiritual space to embodied faculties shaped through social and biological processes (Bourdieu, *Distinction*; Mandoki, *Everyday Aesthetics*; Stafford, *Echo Objects*; Mandoki, *Indispensable Excess of the Aesthetic*). Do these Buddhist theories of nourishment, then, demonstrate a point of "consilience" (cf. Slingerland and Collard, *Creating Consilience*) between religion and cognitive science, demonstrating that Buddhism has long anticipated the scientific thought of our present era? Using evidence on Four Foods doctrine from premodern Chinese Buddhist encyclopedias and Abhidharma literature, I argue that Buddhist theories of nourishment offer only limited consilience with modern perspectives. Confounding the proto-science view of these theories are such doctrinal elements as karma, a negative valence for being, notions of ritual purity, and a cosmological framework associated with rebirth in multiple realms. Despite these disjunctions, Buddhist theories of nourishment provide compelling points of reference for comparison with modern theory, though they are best understood within the context of their elaborate cultural framework.

Hanner, Oren (Hamburg University)
**An Abhidharmic View on the Relation between Agents and Actions Based on the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* of Vasubandhu**

From the point of view of action theory, the Buddhist critique of the self raises various philosophical difficulties. Perhaps the most basic of them concern the nature of the relation between agents (*kartṛ*, *kāraka*) and their actions (*karman*, *kāra*): Given that living beings lack an enduring self, who or what carries out actions? How is *karman*, as a force that leads to future results, practically generated? Do actions occur independently of agents, and if the two are linked, in what way are they connected? While a substantial amount of scholarly work has studied the ways in which actions constitute the person and its experience through the ripening of *karman*, in the present paper my aim is to illuminate the relations between the two by focusing on the process through which actions come into being. In an attempt to address this question, the paper will examine Vasubandhu's exegesis of the theory of *karman* in the fourth chapter of the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* with close reference to Yaśomitra's commentary on this chapter in the *Abhidharmakośavyākhyā*.

The paper will open with an analysis of Vasubandhu's notion of action, particularly temporally continuous action, when reduced under the conceptual framework of the Abhidharma. One important aspect of this analysis is that reduced temporally continuous actions involve three essential elements: "Conceptual volition" (*saṃkalpa-cetanā*), "volition of doing" (*kriyā cetanā*) and the action itself. These elements serve as necessary conditions for the action to take place and participate in the constitution of the agent. Following this examination, I turn to investigate the causal process which leads to the occurrence of action. This process, similarly, involves two causes – "causal origination" (*hetu-samutthāna*) and "origination in the moment" (*tatkṣaṇa-samutthāna*) – which correspond to the two volitions and determine the moral quality of the action. The volitional and causal schemas of action explain how an action may occur without an enduring self, and at the same time, I argue, clarify the place of the agent in the formation of action. I conclude my talk by demonstrating how exactly Vasubandhu's overall account of action sheds light on the relation between agents and actions, and in fact, clarifies the nature of the agent who carries out the action.

Yi, Kyoowan (Seoul National University)
**The Theories of Buddhist Atomism- the Ultimate or the Conventional?**

I will discuss in this paper that the atomic theories of each school elucidate the differences in the interpretation of the notions of the five aggregates, 12 sense bases, 18 basic elements, and also other concepts in their philosophical systems, loosely corresponding to realism, representationalism, and phenomenalism. Sarvāstivādin was one of the leading schools that left us a tremendous amount of literatures, such as the encyclopedic treatise, Mahāvibhāsā, where the objects of their investigation are described as 'all thing (sarvam)' including the five aggregates (5 skandhas), 12 sense bases(āyatana), and 18 basic elements (dhātu), which had been developed in the different theoretical contexts. The theories of atom(paramāṇu) came into the Buddhist scholastic system in order to provide a common ground to combine those three concepts of 'all inclusive things.' It is the concept of atom, however, that becomes the touchstone to distinguish the unique characteristics of major players in the development of the Buddhist philosophies from Sarvāstivādin the realists, Sautrānstika the representationalists, and to Yogācārin the phenomenalists. Here comes the question about the reality: Atoms are real?

The Sarvāstivādin accused the other two schools of building their philosophies on the vanity that does not exist, while the Yogācārin criticized the Sarvāstivādin and the Sautrāntika as the realists who deviate from the fundamental teachings of impermanence and non-existence of the self. The Sautrāntika, the radical innovators, argue that the basic elements, that is, the atoms, are the only real, but transcending our perceptive ability, and the world that emerged through the six sense organs and sense objects is the only world we can experience by our perception, which is, however, not real. Vasubandhu, the author of Abhidharmakośa, took an eclectic approach to suggest that the 12 sense bases, which are composed of a certain amount of atoms, and their basic elements (18 dhātu) are both real, but the aggregates (skandha) that can be divided into smaller pieces are not real and therefore impermanent. It is interesting, though, that Vaiśeṣika the Indian adamant realists judged that all of those Buddhist schools are phenomenalists or representationalists because the objects of cognition in the Buddhism were considered

momentary and mereologically reductive, and no Buddhist school acknowledged the reality of an ordinary object.

In order to illustrate the points they contended, I will survey here on various issues related to the atomic theories: metaphysical atom and basic unit of matter, combination or accumulation of <u>atoms</u>, the object of cognition and the emergent image as an object, etc. that were heavily discussed by the Buddhist schools in the following centuries, but not so much appreciated by the modern scholars.

---

Lin, Qian (University of California Berkeley)
**What Is a Buddhist School? A Case Study of Harivarman and His *Chengshi Lun***

In Buddhist scholarship it is a common practice to label Buddhist teachers, texts, and doctrines as belonging to or affiliated with certain historical groups or schools, such as Sarvāstivāda, Sautrāntika, or Mahāsāṅghika, in a way that more or less follows the traditional accounts of the history of these groups as represented in doxographical works such as the *Samayabhedoparacanacakra* (異部宗輪論) or the *Śāriputraparipṛcchāsūtra* (舍利弗問經), as well as other Buddhist treatises and commentaries. However, the nature and history of Buddhist groups are still not fully understood and are subject to disagreements and controversies. This study takes Harivarman (訶梨跋摩) and his *Chengshi Lun* (成實論) as an example to demonstrate the complicated historical situation in the period of sectarian Buddhism. Harivarman's school affiliation has been disputed since the translation of *Chengshi Lun* by Kumārajīva in the early fifth century CE. A number of schools have been proposed by both ancient Chinese commentators and modern scholars, including Sarvāstivāda, Dārṣṭāntika, Sautrāntika, Dharmaguptaka, and Bahuśrutīya, among others. Some suggest that he may have had no specific school affiliation. The present study investigates Harivarman's biography, relevant Chinese Buddhist historical records, and doctrinal points mentioned in the *Chengshi Lun* and other Abhidharma texts such as the *Mahāvibhāṣā* and the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, as well as sūtra passages quoted in the Abhidharma texts. By comparing the corresponding materials from different sources with one another and with the extant sūtras in the Chinese Āgama and Pāli Nikāya collections, it suggests that we should distinguish Buddhist groups in terms of ordination lineage, textual lineage, and doctrinal lineage. The study also challenges the traditional idea that takes a Buddhist "school" as a substantial historical entity; it suggests that we should take terms used as designations of Buddhist groups such as Sarvāstivāda and Sautrāntika as fluid concepts whose meanings change in different historical periods and different circumstances, and which may or may not designate specific groups in different periods of history.

## Abhidharma Studies
**Fri., Aug. 25th, 16:00-17:30**

Kaji, Tetsuya (Otani University)
**On the Groupings of Kleśa in the Sarvāstivāda School**

There are a variety of groupings of *kleśa* (afflictions) in the *Āgama*s, for example, three *āśrava*, three *akuśaramūla*, four *yoga*, four *ogha*, five *nīvaraṇa*, seven *anuśaya*, three, five, or nine *saṃyojana*, etc. The Sarvāstivāda School, choosing from among these different groupings, systematized *kleśa* in a theory of the ninety-eight *anuśaya*, extrapolated from the seven *anuśaya*. In spite of the fact that the Sarvāstivāda were well aware that there is no discussion of a system of ninety-eight *anuśaya* in the *Āgama*s, they chose the seven *anuśaya* as the conceptual foundation for their theory of *kleśa*. Since they do not explain the reason for this choice anywhere, we cannot know it for certain, but considering that reason is critical for understanding their intention in creating the theory and the stance that the Sarvāstivāda took in interpreting the *Āgama*s.

Dr. Hajime Sakurabe's explanation of the reason for this selection has long been the established theory. He argues that the seven *anuśaya* were chosen because this grouping is not biased toward any particular factor and well-balanced as compared with the other groups. But he does not explain how the other affliction groups are biased or poorly balanced, nor does he discuss what is well-balanced about this particular grouping. Recently, several scholars, from different points of view, have shown that there is room for reconsideration about his theory. For example, Dr. Kyunghee Kim suggests one reason for the selection is that the seven *anuśaya* include *dṛṣṭi-anuśaya* and *vicikitsā-anuśaya* and further holds that by expanding *dṛṣṭi-anuśaya* into five *dṛṣṭi-anuśaya*, the Sarvāstivāda intended to connect their theory of *kleśa* with the three *saṃyojana* and incorporate it into their theory of praxis.

If her explanation is correct, how should we understand the position of other groupings of *kleśa* (*āśrava*, *ogha*, *nīvaraṇa*, etc.) in Sarvāstivāda doctrine? To date, there is no research on the connection between *anuśaya* and the other groupings that are subsumed within the ninety-eight *anuśaya* theory. In this paper, I will clarify these connections based primarily on the description in *Abhidharma-Mahāvibhāṣā-śāstra.* In the second chapter of this treatise, the authors explain the significance, essence, attribution, and so on, of various groupings of *kleśa* by relating them with the ninety-eight *anuśaya* and interpret the names for these groupings based on the *Āgama*s. By examining this chapter, I will show the place of these other groupings vis-à-vis the seven *anuśaya* and thereby elucidate the characteristic features of the role of the seven *anuśaya* in Sarvāstivāda doctrine. This research will provide additional information that will help resolve the question of the reason for the Sarvāstivāda's selection of this specific grouping and provide a basis for considering the intention behind their theory of *kleśa*, as well as the nature of its systematization.

Smith, Sean (University of Toronto)
**The Dynamics of the Subliminal Mind in Theravāda Buddhism:** *Two Readings of the Bhavaṅga Citta*

In the Theravāda abhidhammic model of the mind the *bhavaṅga citta* is a subliminal and primitive form of consciousness. It is responsible for ensuring the *kammic* continuity of the mental process in the absence of more ordinary forms of sensory and cognitive consciousness. This paper focuses on two accounts of the *bhavaṅga citta*. Specifically, I argue that the Burmese scholar monk Ledi Sayadaw has an alternative interpretation of *bhavaṅga citta* that is

philosophically superior to the canonical approach of Buddhaghosa. I argue that my reading of Ledi's view represents a plausible solution to philosophical difficulties faced by the standard account of the *bhavaṅga citta*.

To begin, I analyse the nature and functional role of the *bhavaṅga citta* as it is developed by Buddhaghosa. Utilizing some mental categories from contemporary philosophy of mind and cognitive science, I then argue that we should understand the *bhavaṅga citta* as a phenomenally conscious rather than un-conscious mental event (Block 1995). That is, there is *something it is like* to live through the arising and passing away of *bhavaṅga cittas* (Nagel 1974). I then argue that we should make a distinction between two types of mental continuity in Buddhist conceptions of how the mind fills time. I call these diachronic and motivational continuity. Diachronic continuity refers to the immediate causal connectedness of mental events. E1 and E2 are diachronically continuous just in case that the passing away of E1 is the cause of the arising of E2. Motivational continuity is something more robust. It refers to the fact that the causal connectedness between mental events is driven by craving (*tanhā*) that permeates the connections between many mental events, not just between two individual events that are temporally continuous. Our deepest habits, needs, and wants drive the dynamics of our mental lives in myriad ways.

My claim is that Buddhaghosa's abhidhammic model of the *bhavaṅga citta* cannot fully explain the complexity of motivational continuity. In particular, for Buddhaghosa, defilements occur only at the *kammically* active stage of the arising and passing away of *javana cittas*. This is the stage in the perceptual process that comes after *bhavaṅgas* have subsided due to advertence to an object impinging the relevant sensory receptor and where the arising of *cittas* becomes explicitly morally valenced. This is problematic as clearly the potential for defilement must be carried on in *bhavaṅga cittas* so that potential defilements may or may be actualized by presently occurring causes. This means that the *bhavaṅga cittas* must in some way be defiled, they must bear the weight of our previous habits. Further, the mental continuity that their arising guarantees is motivational in nature and not just diachronic. To concluded, I explore the views of Ledi Sayadaw, whose account of *bhavaṅga citta* lines up closely with my own.

## Buddhism and Its Relation to Other Religions
**Mon., Aug. 21st, 9:00-15:30**

Jenkins, Stephen (Humboldt State University)
**Debate, Magic, and Massacre: The High Stakes and Ethical Dynamics of Battling Slanderers of the *Dharma* in Indian Narrative and Ethical Theory**

This paper examines Indian Buddhist debate narratives, royal historiographies, accounts of Chinese pilgrims, and hagiographies in conjunction with Buddhist systematic thought on wrong-view, wrong-speech, slander and the sins of immediate retribution. It considers the crucial role of kings as arbiters, and integrates consideration of the ethics of speech that shaped Buddhist perceptions and responses to their opponents. Fierce interreligious contestation is a core feature of how Buddhists imagined themselves. Many, if not most, iconic figures remembered in hagiographies, from the Buddha to Dharmakīrti, are remembered for either being killed or

attacked by religious competitors. This may have bearing on why contemporary Buddhists, even when they are a dominant minority, tend to view themselves as threatened. Debate was integral to the politics of money and power and affected regional identities. It informed the function, style and composition of texts. The demands of interreligious debate influenced monastic culture, education, and the dynamics of social status and mobility. Hindu and Buddhist sources concur that debates served kings as mechanisms for transferring wealth and power between and within religious groups, a mechanism that had the sanction of truth. Buddhist narratives are rich with examples of debates in which the wealth and estates of both monastic institutions and their donors were at stake. Losers and their followers might be forced to convert or fund new monasteries. Not only their personal property, but also the landed estates of their institution, and their monasteries, temples, and sacred sites could be forfeit. Whole monastic lineages shifted regions after kings decided against them. Winners were awarded landed estates and powerful government posts. "Harsh speech" is the first example in Buddhist discussions of violence and debates with "*tīrthika*s" were specifically exempted from the usual restraints. Slandering the *Dharma* had a direct relationship to sins considered forms of harm to the Buddha, such as confiscation of monastic property or desecration of sacred objects, and defined as the worst sins leading directly to hell. Contentious *Brāhmaṇas*, *nirgrantha*s and *tīrthika*s held a perilous place in Buddhist ethical theory. Although their responses to being reviled preclude anger, use of force against enemies of Buddhism is validated in scripture and theory and modeled by the Buddha, ideal kings, deities, and wizards. In narrative accounts Kings Caṇḍapradyota, Udayana, Aśoka, Ajātaśatru, Harṣa, Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, Indra [the idealized king], and Buddha in past lives as a king are all remembered for mass violence against those who oppose the *Dharma* or harm its saints.

---

Jones, Chris (University of Oxford)
**The *Tīrthika* in Mahāyāna Buddhism**

This paper will present early findings in my current project, concerned with representations of non-Buddhist teachers and traditions across Mahāyānist, predominantly *sūtra*, sources originating from the first half of the first millennium CE. Specifically, I will attend to use of the Indic *tīrthika*, commonly translated in English – somewhat confusedly – as 'heretic', and cognate terms. I will begin by discussing the background of this category in pre-Mahāyāna Buddhist sources, for example reflected by the Pali *titthiya*, and its usage in the context of early Buddhist literature.

I will go on to discuss attitudes towards the *tīrthika* that are found in Mahāyānist works as they survive in Sanskrit or in Chinese or Tibetan translations. This will include a review of attitudes found in a number of texts, some of which are little studied, including apparent reference to particular ascetical traditions – for example the Jains and Pāśupatas – in the narratives of *sūtra* sources.

Some Mahāyānist works surprise us by stopping short of condemning the so-called *tīrthika* as being simply wrong minded. My research thus far has shown that some Mahāyāna sources, particularly within the milieu of the *Lotus Sūtra* and its doctrine of the one vehicle, were very concerned with how to make sense of the presence in the world of non-Buddhist systems of thought, given the great emphasis that they otherwise give to the power and influence of the

Buddha. Some *sūtra*s – for example (what is sometimes called) the Mahāyāna \**Satyaka Sūtra* – attempt to diminish the perceived challenge of confronting non-Buddhist systems by offering accounts of their indebtedness to the Buddha, on occasion arguing that *tīrthika*s are products of the Buddha who themselves operate, despite appearances, in accord with the *saddharma*.

I argue that this strategy for confronting the threat of the religious other is carried into the work of later Buddhist authors responsible for the composition of tantric texts, but I believe can be shown to have roots in a much earlier stage in the development of Mahāyāna thought in India. Attention to whom the authors of Mahāyāna works considered the term *tīrthika* to designate, together with the manner in which these apparent competitors were perceived, informs our understanding both of the Indian religious landscape of this period and Mahāyānist authors' opinion of their place in it.

---

Neri, Chiara (University La Sapienza of Rome)
Pontillo, Tiziana (University of Cagliari)
**A philological approach to comparative religious studies:**
**the case of *yogakkhema/yogakṣema* in Theravāda Buddhism and Brahmanism**

Many Scholars have written about the relationship between Buddhism and Brahmanism. Our study merely aims to study the connections between these two religious traditions using historical and philological comparative methodology. We resorted to a linguistic and hermeneutic analysis of primary textual sources to gradually focus on several comparable phrases, compounds and formulas occurring in the relevant sources. In particular, since 2012, we have dedicated our research to rebuilding some linguistic patterns regarding the old meanings and the evolution of some "key words" found in Vedic texts and in the Theravāda Pali Canon - cf. e.g. Neri and Pontillo (2016).

We should now like to present our work about the compound "*yogakṣema/yogakkhema*". We selected the specific subject of this paper from a famous list of "Brahmanical terms" used "in a Buddhist guise", which Norman collected in 1991 (1993: 279), where he emphasized the linguistic change occurring between the Vedic *yogakṣema* interpreted as a *dvandva* ("exertion and rest") and the widely distributed Buddhist Theravāda compound *yogakkhema*-, analysed as a "rest from exertion" (see also Norman 1969: 128). By both focusing on peculiar features of some Pali formulas (which do not exclusively denote "the attainment of perfect peace" - Kumoi 1997: 409) and by expanding the repertory of Vedic occurrences to several Yajurveda passages that have gone almost unnoticed until now, we have reconsidered the whole historical background and usage of this combination of stems. We have tried to postulate a common archetypal *tatpuruṣa* which might have denoted a quite material target of welfare from which the two series of occurrences (Brāhmaṇic and Buddhist) sometimes developed independently from each other in a definitely wisdom-oriented direction.

Our comparative methodology has been tentatively tuned to the line of reasoning explained for example by Ruegg (2001: 738). Thus, on the one hand we rely on the so-called "substratum model" (see e.g. Sanderson 1994: 93). On the other hand, we are persuaded that cultural

borrowing often takes place against a shared background and the protagonists of these shared beliefs are often aware that they belong to the same cultural milieu (cf. Sferra 2003: 59-61).
Just like the study of inscriptions or iconographic elements or material art, the research and the rediscovery of some linguistic patterns and their evolution, namely the attempt to reconstruct some cases of loanword or of lexical reuse, has to be considered a crucial key of access to an overall reconstruction of the dynamics that occurred between these two traditions.
We actually believe in the importance of studies aimed at reconstructing a "real and unitary world" around an object studied, as already theorized by Skilling (Carbine, Cicuzza, Pakdeekham, and Skilling 2012: XXI) as regards the Theravāda Buddhism tradition.

Osto, Douglas (Massey University)
**No-Self in Sāṃkhya: A Comparative Look at Classical Sāṃkhya and Theravāda Buddhism**

In a number of standard introductory textbooks on Indian philosophy, classical Sāṃkhya is described as a Hindu philosophical school based on a fundamental dualism between a plurality of selves, or spirits (*puruṣa*s) and the material, or phenomenal world (*prakṛti*); whereas Buddhism, on the other hand, is most often described as a system based on the radically different position of "no-self" or selflessness (Sanskrit: *anātman*; Pali: *anattā*). However, such depictions often obscure strong structural homologies between the two systems, which highlight the fundamental duality at the heart of both systems' ontologies and their inherent pessimism toward conventional reality. Building on some recent innovative studies, this paper begins with an analysis and reinterpretation of some of the main ideas found in the *Sāṃkhyakārikā*, the foundational text of classical Sāṃkhya composed by Īśvarakṛṣṇa. Next it demonstrates how these new interpretations illuminate new points of contact between classical Sāṃkhya and Theravāda Buddhism as primarily represented by Buddhaghosa in his classic *Visuddhimagga*.

This paper then argues that the conceptual and soteriological universes of classical Sāṃkhya and Theravāda Buddhism may be much closer together than previously realized. Both systems tell a story about an eternal cycle of repeated birth and death which is characterized by suffering. While not denying the phenomenal world's reality, both maintain another reality beyond time, space, causality and change, an unconditioned state. Thus, both systems possess dualistic ontologies. Moreover, through a radical process of disassociating from every phenomenon as "I," "me" or "mine," both systems deny the ultimate value of the world, and seek complete detachment from all things worldly. Thus by comparing classical Sāṃkhya and Theravāda Buddhism in this manner we highlight the ontological and methodological homologies between the two systems and transcend the simplistic "self" versus "no-self" oppositional model often employed in standard introductions. This comparison also demonstrates the centrality of Buddhaghosa's ontological dualism for Theravādin orthodoxy; a fact that tends to be overlooked by some modernist practitioners and apologists, who wish to emphasize the "this worldly" benefits of Buddhism.

From a philosophical point of view, one might question the rationality of asserting the existence of a reality beyond all experience. However, as this paper demonstrates, the validity of these renouncer traditions hinges on the belief that a trans-empirical reality lies beyond the saṃsāric

realm. The pessimism toward worldly life at the heart of both Sāṃkhya and Theravāda Buddhism requires the unconditioned in order to avoid complete despair in the face of worldly suffering. It is this unconditioned realm that allows for the possibility of escape; without it, the systems are, as Friedrich Nietzsche claimed (*Genealogy of Morals*, 1956, p. 299), nihilistic. Empirically-minded moderns might find such ontological dualism disagreeable. However, to ignore, overlook or downplay these systems' pessimistic assessment of conditioned existence and their assertion of the soteriological necessity of the unconditioned is to do violence to the fundamental tenets of both religious philosophies.

Son, Jewongwan (Dongguk University)
**Dual Structure of Funeral Rites in the Southern Song Period**

Many intellectuals of the Southern Song criticized the practice of Buddhist funeral. Such a frequent criticism, however, implies that Buddhist funeral rites were rather widely accepted across all social strata.

This paper will firstly consider the historical background and reasons for the proliferation of Buddhist funeral rites during the Southern Song. After that, it will analyze the cases of the Buddhist rite for the beings of water and land(水陸齋), which was performed to appease the grudges of the dead. Those stories are introduced in *Yijian zhi* (or *Record of the Listener*, 夷堅志) by Hong Mai(洪邁, 1123-1202). This analysis will focus on the notion of Hell and the relationship between the living and the dead.

The meaning of the spread of Buddhist funeral rites is not limited simply to the rules of Li(禮) and formality. We should not miss the point that the idea of caring the dead could not be formed without Buddhist funeral rites.

If funeral rites for the dead can be understood as a religious soteriological system, it should be noted that two kinds of movements, that is, collectivity and individuality or salvation of the deceased who are intimate and that of the deceased who are suffering, make a complex and dynamic relation between them.

In Chinese tradition, soothing grudges of the dead who have dissatisfaction, especially caring malicious spirits(厲鬼) and lonely ghosts(孤魂) who are easily discontented, had long been considered important. The concept of Hell itself and the notion of pain of the departed soul in the underworld also need to be examined. Perhaps the Buddhist funeral rites for the dead in the Southern Song provided a form to an important concern among the folk, namely, liberation of the departed souls from suffering and discontent.

Welter, Albert (University of Arizona)
**Literati Monks as Buddhist *Junzi* ("Confucian" Gentleman): Buddhist Administrators in the Chinese Context**

Throughout its history in China, Buddhism endured the vicissitudes of imperial politics, courting the favors of the emperor and well-placed members of the cultural elite, on the one

hand, while inviting the wrath of its detractors, on the other. While policies toward Buddhism often followed a consistent pattern as determined by the emperor and imperial bureaucracy's disposition, inconsistencies can also be detected during the course of a single imperial reign owing to changing personal and public circumstances. As a result, motivations for Buddhist policies were complex, vascillating between pro- and anti-Buddhist. The imperial relationship with Buddhism in China, given ideological-theological differences between the emperor as Son of Heaven, on the one hand, and as incarnate Buddha or high-level Bodhisattva, on the other, was always potentially fraught with conflict. This paper explores a Buddhist response to these challenges through an examination of the Buddhist literati-monk Zanning's (919-1001) *Topical Compendium of the Buddhist Clergy* (sometimes translated as *Brief History of the Sangha*) *compiled in the Great Song dynasty* (*Da Song Seng shilue* 大宋僧史略), written at the request of Song emperor Taizong (r. 976-997). The study details Zanning's argument for accepting Buddhism as a Chinese (rather than foreign) religion, as reflecting and enhancing native Chinese values rather than conflicting with them (as its detractors claimed). A number of subjects addressed in the *Topical Compendium* are addressed— the performance of Buddhist rituals at state ceremonies, the inclusion of Buddhist writings in Chinese *wen* 文 (letters or literature), proper Buddhist customs and practices and their contributions to the aims of the Chinese state, and the epitome of integration of Buddhist elite into the Confucian ideal of gentlemanly civility, the Buddhist *junzi* 君子.

## Buddhism and Medicine
**Mon., Aug. 21st, 14:00-15:30**

Bright, Jennifer (University of Toronto)
**A Tibetan Buddhist Scientist: Gendun Chöphel in Contemporary Tibetan Medical Literature**

Gendun Chöphel (Dge 'dun chos 'phel, 1903 – 1951), a figure of considerable study among modern Western and Tibetan scholars, is known as the iconoclastic and eccentric twentieth-century itinerant scholar who famously refuted the key Buddhist philosophical doctrines of his elite Gelukpa teachers. Having left the order of Buddhist monks as a young man to pursue 'modern' knowledge and languages, Gendun Chöphel authored a 'modern' work on sex, the *Treatise on Passion*, which he based on his own 'experience' with women, and crucially, his 'knowledge' of the human body. Curiously, although he was neither a medical doctor, nor did he write extensively on medicine, Gendun Chöphel has been established as an authoritative source of medical knowledge about the body by contemporary Tibetan medical researchers, textualists, and writers. For example, his *Treatise on Passion* is especially prominent in contemporary medical literature on women's bodies and reproduction. This paper will examine instances and arguments in contemporary Tibetan medical works that position Gendun Chöphel as a figure of medical and scientific authority. Through looking at these, I suggest that the contemporary portrayal of Gendun Chöphel as a 'Tibetan Buddhist scientist' speaks to what it means to be both 'scientific' and 'Buddhist' in the modern Tibetan medical tradition.

Sik, Hin-Tak (University of Hong Kong)
**Diseases and Treatments in the *Chapter on Medicine* in the *Vinaya Piṭaka*s.**

Buddhist literature comprises not only information on Buddhist doctrines and practices, but also other knowledges of ancient cultures. One such knowledge is medicine. Abundant data of medicine – such as medical sciences, medicinal substances, diseases, therapies, and therapeutic tools – are found in the Buddhist scriptures. This paper explores the diseases and their remedies as recorded in the *Vinaya Piṭaka*s, particularly those in the *Chapter on Medicine*. It illuminates ancient Indian medical lore preserved in the *Vinaya*s, and reveals diverse medical interventions for illnesses in ancient India.

Six versions of the *Chapter on Medicine* of the extant *Vinaya Piṭaka*s are utilised as the main sources for this study. They are the Theravāda *Bhesajjakkhandhaka*, the Dharmaguptaka *Bhaiṣajyaskandhaka*, the Mahīśāsaka *Bhaiṣajyadharmaka*, the Sarvāstivāda *Bhaiṣajyadharmaka*, the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Bhaiṣajyavastu*, and the relevant parts in the Mahāsāṃghika *Vinaya*. The data on various diseases and their treatments are collected and categorised under the medical specialties where they are treated. The findings in different versions of the *Chapter on Medicine* are then reported and compared in this paper. They are also interpreted through Āyurvedic and modern medical knowledge. Numerous diseases and treatments are noted in the *Chapter on Medicine* (and some in other parts of the *Vinaya Piṭaka*). Illnesses are categorised into specialties of internal medicine, toxicology, ophthalmology, dermatology, surgery, and psychiatry. In the area of internal medicine, there are autumnal disease, wind diseases, disorders of humours/elements, fever, gastrointestinal disturbances, headache, jaundice, and malaria. For toxicology, cases of ingestion of toxic substances and snakebites are found. For ophthalmology, non-specific eye disease and painful eye are mentioned. There are itching lesions, carbuncles, wounds, and so on for dermatology. For surgery, perineal diseases and foot ailments are recorded. There is also a case of possession or insanity pertaining to psychiatry. Different remedies for these maladies are documented in the sources and are delineated in the paper.

Much information regarding sicknesses and therapies can be found in the *Vinaya Piṭaka*s. These details represent ancient Indian medical knowledge. By making the less organised facts in the versions of the *Chapter on Medicine* more systematic, this paper furnishes sorted material on ancient Indian medicine preserved in the extant *Vinaya Piṭaka*s of six Buddhist schools. Furthermore, those data in the Chinese versions of the *Vinaya Piṭaka* are translated and presented to Western Buddhist scholars. The findings in this paper also contribute to the knowledge of ancient healing belonging to the *śramaṇ*ic phase (about ninth century BCE to the beginning of the Common Era) of the history of Indian medicine.

## Buddhism and Society
**Tue, Aug. 22nd, 9:00-15:30**

Lai, Rongdao (University of Southern California)
**Becoming Bodhisattva Citizens: Buddhist Citizenship Discourse in Republican China**

Chinese Buddhists in the twentieth century actively sought to construct a "modern Buddhism" that would contribute to the nationalist agenda. Although they did not produce a nationalism

equivalent to that in Japan, where Buddhist groups were explicitly supporting an expansionist military agenda, reformers and young monks in China nonetheless defined Buddhism as an integral element of Chinese culture, reformulated a Buddhist identity to justify Buddhist participation in nation-building and national defense, and produced their own notion of rights and obligations as members of the political community. Focusing on the student-monks in the new-style Buddhist academies, this paper shows how Chinese Buddhists in Republican China crafted a distinctive form of citizenship by combining various dimensions of existing citizenship discourse with this-worldly interpretations of Buddhist soteriology to warrant the expression of an identity firmly grounded in the language of Buddhism. I argue that they actively performed citizenship through constant negotiation and compromise with discourses on the right to the protection of property, participation in political activities such as voting and running for office, and by assuming the obligation to defend the nation, especially during the Sino-Japanese War. Each of these three aspects of Buddhist citizenship loosely corresponds to a different phase of interaction between Buddhism and the Chinese state. Although one aspect of this Buddhist conception of citizenship might be more dominant than others in specific socio-political contexts, they were intertwined with and reinforced one another. Ultimately, I hope to expand the scope of current scholarship on the discourse and practice of citizenship by adding to the discussion the Chinese Buddhists and Buddhism as both the actors and arena in which confrontation between the "old" and the "new" was most apparent in the pursuit of modernity.

Keywords: Buddhism and society, Engaged Buddhism, Buddhist modernism, Buddhism and politics, Modern China

---

Lu, Lianghao (University of Pittsburgh)
**Creating a Dharma Market: Advertisements in Buddhist Periodicals in Early 20th-Century Shanghai**

The modern print industry served as the nexus for the modernization and transformation of Chinese Buddhism, and Buddhist periodicals became a publishing phenomenon, a new medium exploited by Chinese Buddhists in the modern age to assert their stands. Within those journals, advertisements served as a particularly interesting indicator to understand the interaction and mutual support between those new Buddhist medium and propagating tunnels, and respectively they revealed the image of Buddhism conceptualized in early twentieth century China. The majority of journals focused in this study was published in Shanghai as well as its vicinity because Shanghai was the center of modern Chinese print capitalism and most of those Buddhist journals were published in and around the area. Advertisements printed in the Buddhist periodicals can generally be sorted into four types: (1) Buddhist texts, pamphlets, sutras, and commentary works that editors recognized and recommended, (2) works published by the printing house, mainly Buddhist-related, as well as announcements of Buddhist services including sutra lecture and training programs for Buddhist studies, (3) art works such as calligraphy and painting, welcomed by Buddhist community, and (4) the commonly seen commercial ads promoting other social products such as secular journals, seasonings, medicines, and so on. These advertisements reveal the scale of circulation, the intended readership, and issues discussed by the Buddhist community. By studying advertisements contained in Buddhist periodicals published in Shanghai in the early Republican period, it suggests that (1) the

Buddhist community tried to cultivate a wide readership so as to revive Buddhism and send an orthodox message by promoting their approved works; (2) some advertisements were designed to promote certain Buddhist monks' or societies' publications in order to either cultivate authority and reinforce their roles as leaders in the Buddhist community, or indicate the position and attitude of the particular periodicals that they concurred with; and (3) the competing images and ideas about the modern form of Chinese Buddhism.

Xing, Guang (University of Hong Kong)
**A Study of Qisong's *Xiaolun* (Treatise on Filial Piety)**

Qisong (1007-1072) is an eminent scholar monk lived in the early Song dynasty when Confucian scholars attempted to restore the Confucian teaching which was started with Han Yu in Tang dynasty. These Confucian scholars such as Ouyang Xiu and Li Gou, imitating Han Yu, criticized Buddhism from economical, cultural and ethical aspects. Under such circumstances, Qisong wrote the *Xiaolun* (Treatise on Filial Piety) in order to refute the Confucian scholars' criticism from ethical point of view. The *Xiaolun* is an important work that synthesized the teaching of filial piety in Chinese Buddhism and further developed it. Qisong not only summarized the ideas of filial piety discussed in the previous scholarly works, but also developed his own theory with reference to both Buddhist and Confucian scriptures. Qisong asserted that the greatest filial piety is found in Buddhism. Qisong's *Xiaolun* discusses the concept and practice of filial piety from the following five points. (1) Filial piety is the root source of human life and human nature. The greatest filial piety is in serving one's parents with sincerity as parents give one's life. (2) Filial piety is the beginning of Buddhist precepts and the five precepts are the components in the practice of filial piety. (3) The Buddhist concept of filial piety is greater than that of Confucianism because Buddhism advocates compassion to all sentient beings including animals with the first of the five precepts of non-killing as they could be our past parents. (4) Buddhism advocates the repaying the debts to parents by leading a virtuous life and teaching the same virtue to all people because supporting and serving parents alone as advocated by Confucianism cannot repay their debts. (5) Buddhist monks should also participate in parents' funeral ceremonies and perform mourning rituals with an expression of deep remorse of loss in their hearts and minds. After its publication, Qisong's *Xiaolun* won the admiration from and influenced not only Buddhists but also Confucian scholars.

Kobbun, Pisit (Ubon Ratchathani University)
**Buddhist Art and Politics: A Case Study of Paintings along the Mekong**

This research article is intended to examine mural paintings as Buddhist art as regards relationship with religion and politics by examining mural paintings in the area along the Mekong in the Northeast of Thailand. From the study, it is found that besides presenting Buddhist stories, these paintings also have messages pertaining to the history and politics during the time when they were created, that is, the paintings in the area of the temples along the Mekong display soldiers battalion and senior government officials of the central section. This conveys the declaration of the territory of Thailand and signifies Thailand's political power over France during the time when France had seized the land on the left of the Mekong (a part of Laos). Thus, the paintings are significantly related to historical events during the Franco-

Siamese dispute (1893-1906). This study shows that besides religious and didactic functions, Buddhist art has social and political functions as well.

Kawanami, Hiroko (Lancaster University)
**Mòpyar Gaing: a case study of a heterodox sect in modern Myanmar**

The notion of orthodoxy is a theme that is not commonly discussed in reference to Buddhism in the manner that it would be in a monotheistic tradition of Christianity or Islam. In Myanmar, which is a majority Buddhist country, Theravāda Buddhism is a nominal part of her national identity and the notion of Buddha *sāsana* has been actively disseminated by the state as a vehicle for legitimation. Most discussions on 'what is proper Buddhism or not' have focused on the 'correct' conduct of monks in accordance with the Vinaya rather than on its doctrinal interpretation. This paper focuses on Mòpyar Gaing, an unorthodox Buddhist sect that gained notoriety in the 1980s and attempts to understand its unique interpretation of the Buddhist doctrine in the context of Myanmar Buddhism. Its founder monk U Nyarna is seen as a 'heretic,' not in the Judaeo-Christian sense of the word, but a *titthika* who has spent more than three decades in prison due to preaching 'false views.' Its members, both monastic and lay wear sky-blue colored robes, which is the origin of the sect name, and adhere to the concept of 'this-worldly' karma, which claims that everyone will be reborn as a human being regardless of whether one has engaged in merit-making activities or not.

U Nyarna was critical about the monks for practicing 'meaningless' ritual and soliciting donations, and he preached about the futility of believing in the existence of future lives. In his view, Buddhism had to be 'scientific' and practiced in a rational way so that it would be useful to society in modern times. As many of its supporters were ex-socialists or socialist sympathizers, perhaps his teachings appealed to their anti-spiritualist (not recognizing an afterlife) or materialist sentiments. On the other hand, U Nyarna boasted about having reached a high level of spiritual development and perceived himself to be a Buddha-to-be, seen as one of the four worst offences in the Pārājika.

Based on personal interviews with the monk recently released from prison and an examination of sangha reports submitted to the tribunal, the paper examines key issues that are relevant to the notion of Theravāda Buddhist orthodoxy in the modern history of Myanmar Buddhism. The persecution of Mòpyar Gaing provides a unique case study in a traditional Buddhist country where monastic members perceive themselves to be the 'true' custodians of Buddha *sāsana*, and understand why it has posed such a threat to sangha and the state in modern Myanmar.

Chakravarti, Ranabir (Jawaharlal Nehru University)
**Negation of the Varna-Jati System: Gleanings from the Sardulakarnavadanam**

Buddhism emerged and gained immense popularity and acceptance, along with other Sramanic groups like Jainism and Ajivikism, from c. 6th-5th centuries BCE in the South Asian subcontinent, by exposing the infallibility of the Vedas (*Veda-apramanyavadi*), the uselessness of elaborate sacrificial rituals and the inefficacy of the *varna-jati* system of social organization. By opening the door of the Samgha to any person irrespective of his/her birth and by allowing

anyone to renounce the world at any stage of life, Buddhism lay bare the hollowness of the two planks of the Brahmanical social ideology, namely the four-fold institutions of *varna* and *asrama*. Among many canonical and non-canonical Buddhist texts sharply denouncing the institutionalized inequality inherent in the *varna-jati* system is one particular *Avadana* text, the *Sardulakarnavadanam* (belonging to the *Divyavadanam*) of c. 200 BCE—200 CE, that not only negates the very basis of social discrimination on the basis of the *varna* ideology, but also upholds the marriage between a matanga (equivalent to a chandala— assigned the lowest position in the *varna-jati* system) male and the daughter of a learned brahmana named Pushkarasarin. In terms of brahamanical social norms such a marriage is worse than the worst *pratiloma* marriage, i.e. the marriage between a sudra male and a brahmana female, yielding a chandala offspring.

The *Avadana* story in question demonstrates how the false vanity of the learned but impious brahmana Pushkarasarin was exposed by the erudite matanga (chandala) chief (*matangaraja*) Trisanku. The intense debate between the brahmana and the matanga, leading to the eventual victory of the matanga, brings out in sharp focus the best traits of what Amartya Sen labels as the 'argumentative Indians'. What is striking here is that the Buddha, while narrating the tale during his sojourning at Sravasti, identified Ananda, his favourite disciple as the son of the matanga chief in his previous birth and the daughter of the learned brahmana as Prakriti, a matanga maiden (*matangadarika*) in this birth. Prakriti offered water to the thirsty Ananda who gleefully accepted the water to quench his thirst, thereby negating the very notion of purity and pollution as a principal plank of the varna-jati hierarchy. Prakriti was keen on marrying Ananda, but on hearing the Buddha, renounced the world and was admitted to the Samgha as a bhikshuni. When the elites in the city of Sravasti expressed their discomfort in the admission of a matanga woman to the Samgha, the Buddha revealed to them the uselessness of the *varna-jati* classification the eradication of which was one of the pillars of Buddhist ideology. The *Avadana* text further throws immense light on the question of gender, intricately linked with the rigours of the *varna-jati* society, and spoke in favour of the admission of a matanga/chandala unmarried woman to the Samgha. The paper will also discuss the remarkable appeal of this *Avadana* story in areas outside India, demonstrated by three Chinese translations of the story before 5th century CE and another Tibetan translation of the text by 9th century CE.

---

Lele, Amod (Boston University)
**Disengaged Buddhism: The rejection of activism in classical South Asia**

In recent years the term *engaged Buddhism* has gained widespread currency to describe a form of Buddhism that involves itself actively in social and political causes. The term's popularity suggests the question: is there a form of Buddhism that is not engaged? Engaged Buddhists show a striking reticence to answer this question. Some beg it by claiming "all Buddhism is engaged", even while using the term "engaged Buddhism" to describe only activist strains of Buddhism (Hunt-Perry and Fine 2000); some say it would be impolite even to admit that other Buddhists are "disengaged" (see Bell 2000: 401). The proposed presentation aims to get past this reticence, and ask and answer the question: what is disengaged Buddhism?

With Main and Lai (2013), the presentation explicitly rejects normative definitions of engaged Buddhism that treat engagement as necessarily good (and therefore disengagement as bad). Unlike Main and Lai, it aims at a definition that does not assume political engagement is necessarily a modern phenomenon. To this end the presentation identifies disengaged Buddhism as that form of Buddhism which rejects social activism, which is to say it rejects attempts to create systemic social or political change.

The presentation examines characteristic classical South Asian Buddhist texts (both mainstream and Mahāyāna) that explicitly reject attempts to bring political change, including the Śikṣāsamuccaya of Śāntideva, the Catuḥśatakaṭikā of Candrakīrti, the Buddhacarita of Aśvaghoṣa and the Mūgapakkha Jātaka. It argues that the rejection of activism in these texts is not merely a matter of silence or neglect, but a reasoned and considered stance that follows from key Buddhist principles. In so doing it suggests that Weber's oft-maligned characterization of Buddhism as an anti-political religion rings true for at least one major strain of South Asian Buddhism, and that Buddhists of this strain consider this to be not a flaw but a virtue. In their eyes a refusal to engage in social activism is not a "vacuum" to be filled (Tanabe 2005), but a principled dharmic ideal.

Among them, the texts express several reasons for political disengagement. From the frequently expressed Buddhist point that the causes of suffering are primarily mental, they argue for an altruism that addresses those mental causes rather than not political or economic institutions. They claim that social obligations are insubstantial given that one faces death. And they argue that the power to change a social system, such as that possessed by a king, is dangerous because it carries with it greater exposure to craving, anger and egotistical delusion. Together, these arguments constitute an implicit retort to contemporary engaged Buddhists, and give pause to the identification of engaged Buddhism as an obvious or natural outgrowth of traditional Buddhist principles.

Works Cited:

Bell, Sandra. 2000. "A survey of engagd Buddhism in Britain." In Christopher S. Queen (ed.) *Engaged Buddhism in the West*. Somerville, MA: Wisdom. 397–422.
Hunt-Perry, Patricia and Fine, Lyn. 2000. "All Buddhism is engaged: Thich Nhat Hanh and the Order of Interbeing." In Christopher S. Queen (ed.) *Engaged Buddhism in the West*. Somerville, MA: Wisdom. 35–66.
Main, Jessica L., and Lai, Rongdao. 2013. "Introduction: reformulating 'socially engaged Buddhism' as an analytical category". *The Eastern Buddhist* 44(2): 1–34.
Tanabe, George J., Jr. 2005. "Series editor's preface" to Sallie King, *Being Benevolence: The Social Ethics of Engaged Buddhism*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. ix.

Richard, Frédéric (Université de Lausanne)
**Buddhism and the 'secularized' Tibetan government in exile**

In Tibet, Buddhism, or more precisely Vajrayana Buddhism, deeply permeated the society at different levels, including politics and the State. The Tibetan political regime founded by the fifth Dalai Lama in 1642 was generally characterised by the principle of 'union of politics and

religion', or *chos srid zung 'brel*, where religion, or *chos*, refer mainly to Buddhism. This regime remained in Tibet until 1959, having undergone some modifications under the Manchu protectorate from the beginning of XVIIIth century to the beginning of XXth century.

Since its establishment in exile in Dharamsala, the Tibetan government has undertaken a secularisation process which is considered to have been finalized in March 2011, with the Dalai Lama's retirement from political duties, and the election of a president (*srid skyong*) of what is now called the Central Tibetan Administration (CTA).

However, the principle of 'union of politics and religion' is still written in the Charter of the Tibetans in Exile, which is the supreme law governing the function of the CTA. On the institutional level, Buddhist institutions are not completely separated from the CTA, since two members of the Tibetan Assembly are elected by each of the five religious traditions recognized by the CTA. Even if Buddhism is almost unanimously considered as an essential element of Tibetan cultural, or even national identity, the CTA is subject to criticism by different groups and individuals among exile society, who consider Buddhist institutions or Buddhist ethical principles as having too much influence within the politics of the CTA.

After having sketched the series of secularisation reforms undertaken by the CTA since 1960, I will show how the Dalai Lama, through some of his speeches, has redefined the principle of the 'union of politics and religion' in a modern perspective, legitimizing the role of Buddhism in modern Tibetan society and politics. I will then present the main criticisms emanating from the Tibetan exile society in relation to the lack of secularisation of the CTA. I shall argue that these lines of criticism are correlated with specific issues of Tibetan politics that go beyond mere theoretical debate on secularisation. This will lead me to show that there is different underlying conceptions of secularisation among the Tibetan exile society, and to open some reflections about how to theorize secularisation in Buddhist-permeated societies.

## Buddhist Art and Architecture
**Wed., Aug. 23rd, 9:00-17:30**

Bruneau, Laurianne (Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes)
**Archaeology of Ladakh: new data for the history of Buddhism in the Western Himalayas**

The introduction of Buddhism into Ladakh is traditionally associated with Rinchen Zangpo (958-1055). This famous translator is one of the main characters of the Second Diffusion of Buddhism into Tibet that initiated in the kingdom of Purang-Guge.

In Ladakh the ruins of Nyarma are traditionally held to be the oldest Buddhist remains because the temple is mentioned in Rinchen Zangpo's biography as one of his foundations as well as in the royal Chronicles (*La-dvags rgyal-rabs*). However, archaeologists and art historians assume that numerous *stūpa* engravings and Buddhist stone sculptures seen throughout Ladakh predate these written sources and therefore the Second Diffusion.

This hypothesis is now confirmed by the archaeological analysis of a large ruined *stūpa* at Tirisa (Nubra valley) done within the frame of the Franco-Indian Archaeological Mission in Ladakh (Mission Archéologique Franco-Indienne au Ladakh, hence MAFIL) in 2013. Morphologically, the *stūpa* of Tirisa is reminiscent of monuments of Kashmir and Central Asia attributed to the last quarter of the 1st millennium AD. Two wooden samples submitted for C14 analysis confirm that the site of Tirisa was in use as early as the 6th century AD, making it so far the earliest known Buddhist site in Ladakh and the Western Himalayas.

In 2015 and 2016 the MAFIL focused on the ruined Buddhist site of Khardong Choskor, north of Leh. After a brief geographical and topographical presentation of the archaeological site, where about 140 ruined structures and various earthworks were documented and mapped (*chortens*, temples and residential buildings mostly), we will present the results of excavations carried out at one the temples whose layout recall one of the ruined temples of Nyarma.

Excavations of roofing and pillar elements at Choskor enable us to better understand the original architecture of early Western Himalayan temples. Fragments of painted clay sculptures and mural paintings help us draw a picture of the iconographic programme and type of Buddhist art once displayed, some elements echoing the still extant temple of Tabo (Himachal Pradesh). Besides, objects (metal and stone objects, coins, pottery and *tsa tsa*) unearthened at the centre of the temple of Khardhong Choskor, alongside brick and stone structures, provide clues about worship practices. Finally, wooden, charcoal and bone samples submitted for dating shall help us to pin down the foundation of the temple (presumably 10th-11th centuries) and the period during which it was in use.

As we will see the archaeological discoveries made at Choskor contribute to a better understanding of early Buddhism in Ladakh since dozens of such ruined temples are scattered throughout the region. Moreover, Buddhist remains documented in the frame of the MAFIL testify not only to the importance of the Western Himalayas for the diffusion of Buddhism from its Indian homeland to Central Asia and Tibet but also to the undeniable contribution of archaeology to the religious history of an area where written sources are scarce.

---

Seegers, Eva (University of Hamburg)
**The Decoration and Iconographic Program of selected Stūpas in Eastern Tibet after 1959**

When traveling through Eastern Tibet (Khams), a striking number of *stūpa*s catch one's eye. The *stūpa* is a visual representation of Buddhism said to express the *dharmakāya* (*chos sku*), the ultimate state of enlightenment. The 'Eight Great Location *Caityas*' (Bagchi 1941), commemorating central events in the life of Buddha śākyamuni, became very popular in Tibet. The fact is, that most of these ancient *stūpa*s have deteriorated over the centuries and that the Cultural Revolution led to massive depredation and loss of religious architecture. After 1959 only a fractional amount of *stūpa*s remained.

Today, Eastern Tibet is again very rich in *stūpa*s in various sizes and forms. They stand alone or in groups alongside of streets, on mountain passes, within or close to monasteries. The

majority had most likely not been erected before the 1980s, when the Chinese government started its efforts to support the rebuilding and expanding of religious venues.

The paper provides a stylistic analysis of these newly built Buddhist monuments and aims to answer the questions if they create merely a fantasy of the past or whether is it likely that they still follow the required key-principles of *stūpa* construction? These are measurement, filling and consecration rituals, which make a *stūpa* into a proper object of worship. To what extent might contemporary building materials and construction techniques modify the traditional methods?

The paper includes a general survey of Tibetan *stūpa*s built after 1959 in the Tibetan cultural area and the countries where the Tibetans took up residence after their diaspora. Unpublished new data collected by field-work and textual sources will blend together in this presentation.

Anderl, Christoph (Ghent University)
**The Development of Māra Iconography in China: Continuities and Transformations**

The defeat of Māra's 魔 army of demons by the meditating Buddha has been one of the most popular topics for iconographic representation in the context of Chinese Buddhist art, sometimes subsumed under the label "Submission/Destruction of Māra Depictions" (破魔相, 破魔變相, 降魔（變）相, etc.). In this paper I will trace the evolution of the topic to its antecedents in Central Asia and the Tarim Basin (for an overview, see Anderl & Pons *forthcoming*: 256-313, with further references). The main focus of the presentation will be on the development of Māra depictions in China, and specifically in the Dunhuang area. Although the iconography became codified to a great degree in the course of its evolution, new forms of representation appeared in the 9th and 10th century in the Dunhuang area, triggered by various factors, such as the appearance of new iconographic programs, as well as historical (the rise of esoteric/tantric Buddhism) and political reasons (e.g., the strengthening of relations to influential cities in the Tarim Basin such as Turfan and Khotan). Whereas the famous "Silk painting of Māra" (Musée Guimet MG 17655) discovered in the Mogao Library Cave has received ample scholarly attention (e.g., Giès & Cohen 1995; Russell-Smith 2005; Whitfield 1982-1985, vol.1; Li Jingxie 2002; etc.), a large tableau in Yulin 榆林 Cave no.33 has not yet been studied thoroughly. I will introduce this painting as part of a complex iconographic program of this cave temple, with a focus on new iconographic and structural/compositional elements that characterize this tableau. Of special interest is the function of the "side panels" (an iconographic feature appearing during the late Tang) and the narratives depicted on them. They seem to have an "annotating" function in relation to the main topic in the center of the tableau. I will argue that this development is probably due to a variety of reasons that eventually led to an increased complexity of narrative visual programs. Among them, the phenomenon of "re-textualization" plays an important role, i.e., narratives were adapted to conform to popular scriptural sources (many of them being "non-canonical") which circulated during that time (Lu Jingxie 2002: 55; Anderl & Pons forthcoming: 297f.), as part of an overall development which brought textual and visual media into an increasingly close relationship, at times nearly merging the two media with each other.

Lin, Nancy (Vanderbilt University)

Chou, Weng-shing (Hunter College)
**Recalling the Past Lives of a Qing Ruler: An Album of the Qianlong Emperor's Previous Incarnations**

This paper examines a previously unstudied album produced in the eighteenth-century Qing court, which depicts the preincarnation lineage of the Qianlong emperor (1711–1799). The album features portraits along with quadrilingual verse inscriptions in Tibetan, Chinese, Manchu, and Mongolian. It is closely related to two other unstudied albums of the preincarnation lineages of the state imperial preceptor Lcang skya Rol pa'i rdo rje (1717–1786) and the high-ranking Geluk lama Panchen Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes (1738–1780), also produced in the Qing court. The albums represent a unique Qing Gelukpa reformulation of the Tibetan practice of producing preincarnation lineages for high-ranking individuals through image, text, and ritual, which became especially prevalent in the courts of the Dalai Lamas and the Panchen Lamas beginning in the seventeenth century. Through the pictorialization and multilingual textualization of genealogies, they articulate in novel ways the layered and interconnected identities between generations of lamas and rulers.

In this joint paper, we will perform complementary analyses of the visual and literary culture of kingship in Chinese and Tibetan traditions. Wen-shing Chou, an art historian specializing in Sino-Tibetan Buddhist art, will examine the ways in which the Qing courtly practice of imperial portraiture and the veneration of the rulers of previous dynasties both inform and are challenged by the Qianlong album, contributing to a new formulation of dynastic lineage in the imperial court. Nancy Lin, a historian of religion specializing in Tibetan Buddhist literature and art, will focus on the Tibetan context of constructing preincarnation lineages, comparing the Qianlong album with images and textual sources regarding the preincarnations of Tibetan ruling figures such as the Fifth Dalai Lama (1617–1682), Sde srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho (1653–1705), and Mi dbang Pho lha Bsod nams stobs rgyas (1689–1747). Together, they argue that the album presents a skillful merging of the concepts of dynastic succession, reincarnation lineage, and dharmic transmission that were both generative of and deeply resonant with fundamental ideas of Buddhist kingship in China and Inner Asia.

---

Lin, Fan (Leiden University)
**Dimensions of Non-duality and Liminality: Visual Images of Vimalakīrti in Medieval China (500-1200)**

In comparison to its scant traces in India, the *Vimalakīrti Sūtra* (*Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*) gained much popularity in medieval China. Without any prototypes from India, commentaries and visual representations proliferated after the third century. Popular as it was among the lay and monastic Buddhists, it was seldom used as a devotional text or exclusively associated with a doctrinal school. In various doctrinal classification (*panjiao* 判教) systems, the *Vimalakīrti* was frequently considered an "entry sutra" into the Mahāyāna. As a transition to an advanced level, it transcends the limits of duality adhered to by the "Hīnayāna" practitioners, and opens the path leading to the final stage of nirvana.

This research explores the parallel between the liminal stage of the sutra in the *panjiao* system, the pictorial logic of its transformation tableaux, and its spatial arrangement in the cave complex. Just as the sutra was never received as a devotional text, Vimalakīrti was never portrayed as an iconic figure in visual imagery. In paintings as well as sculptures, he is usually represented as a wealthy elite in profile without a halo, and never takes a central or frontal position. Vimalakīrti as a medium connecting the lay and the monastic, and the *Vimalakīrti Sūtra* as an intermediate phase in the *panjiao* system is also metaphorically reflected in its spatial arrangement. During the Northern Dynasties (386-581), carvings depicting the debate between Vimalakīrti and Mañjuśrī are commonly found on the lintels of caves at Yungang and Longmen. After the early-Tang (618-906), placement of the Vimalakīrti transformation tableaux on the cave entrances became the predominant format of the spatial arrangement at the Mogao caves in Dunhuang. The entrance linking the outer and inner space of a cave, seen from the viewers' perspective, can also function as a doctrinal and social threshold. I argue that Vimalakīrti was transformed into a figure that local patrons could identify with, and the transitional stage of the sutra was materialized on the cave entrance to a deeper and sacred space embodying ultimate reality.

---

Nakamura, Yuuka (Mukogawa Women's University)
**The Spatial Composition of Buddhist Temples in Central Asia, Part 2: The Transformation of Shrines**

The aim of this study is to propose visually the transformation and the characteristic form of Buddhist temples in terms of architectural spatial components based on bibliographic surveys concerning 59 documented Buddhist temple remains (excluding cave temples) in Central Asia. After we prepared a database of Buddhist temples and analyzed each temple, 38 components were extracted such as a square base, mound, drum, freestanding columns, and corridor et al. The database includes a construction years (centuries), dynasties, cultures, drawings, and photographs of the Buddhist temple remains situated above the ground.

Then we analyzed the spatial composition of each temple by focusing on the extracted spatial components. On the basis of their features, the spatial compositions are classified into four function types: stupas, shrines, monasteries, and other inferior complexes. We created the three-dimensional schemas of each type. As a result, the spatial compositions have been visually presented. The significance of schematizing spatial composition is to provide us with a common understanding of the visual transformation of temples.

We considered comprehensively the transformation of main stupas for the wide areas between Pakistan and Xinjiang Uighur autonomous region before. This article attempts to elucidate the features type and the transformation of shrine spaces with showing concretely what kind of architectural spatial component is followed, removed and added, in order to clarify the overall transformation of our study areas.

Furthermore, on the basis of bibliographic surveys, we expressed the transformation and the spatial components of shrines in a flow chart with the constructed schemas. We used the drawings and sketches of Buddhist temples to prove our considerations.

We defined the country included in Central Asia as the east-west Turkistan, Afghanistan and northern part of Pakistan, in this study.

---

Tuzzeo, Daniel (Stanford University)
**To Steal the Sun and Moon: Notes on Cosmological Representation and Relationships Between Word and Image at Mogao**

For the entirety of the period of artistic activity at the Mogao Grottoes, from the fourth to the fourteenth century, there proliferated throughout the caves a cosmological motif depicting an asura grasping the sun and moon while standing before a nāga-encircled Mt. Sumeru. Consistent with canonical descriptions of the cosmos, Sumeru in these images is surrounded by concentric mountain ranges beyond which sit island continents amid the Cakravāḍa-bounded sea. While the first occurrence of this motif from the Western Wei (534-557) monopolizes the western ceiling slope at the heart of Cave 249, later depictions are much smaller in size and are often located within a wider scene featuring several representations from the *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa*, particularly from the seventh to tenth century. Despite no extant version of the *Vimalakīrti* depicting an asura-centric cosmological scene, artists and perhaps donors appear to have appropriated this motif, reduplicating it in their representations of a single chapter of the text in which Vimalakīrti manifests Akṣobhya's Abhirati world from his hand.

Prior attempts to propose textual referents for this cosmological asura motif have not resulted in agreement and fail to convincingly account for the root source of the imagery. He Shizhe's 賀世哲 study (1983) of Vimalakīrti murals at Mogao notes in passing that the asura narrative is found in the Chinese Dīrghāgama (*Chang ahan jing* 長阿含經), but falls short of definitively ascribing the image to this text. Angela Howard's study (1986) of the sixth-century "Cosmological Buddha" argues that the source of the same cosmological asura motif is located in the *Sutra on the Contemplation of the True Dharma* (*Zhengfa nianchu jing* 正法念處經). Judy Ho's study (1987) of Cave 249 as a totalistic representation of the *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa* points to several "external justifications" for the same motif, including "Hindu" creation myths, the *Sutra on the Contemplation of the True Dharma*, the *Sutra on the Ocean-Like Samādhi of the Visualization of the Buddha* (*Guanfo sanmei hai jing* 觀佛三昧海經), *Peculiarities of the Sūtras and Vinayas* (*Jinglü yixiang* 經律異相), and Chinese Buddhist commentaries.

In this paper, I provide preliminary notes on the multiple occurrences of the cosmological asura motif at Mogao, from the earliest in Cave 249 to its later appropriation and conflation with *Vimalakīrti* tableaux through the tenth century; I identify the four most likely canonical sources for the narrative in the Taishō; and I conclude that the popular asura motif at Mogao is rooted in a narrative originating in a body of early cosmological texts exemplified by the *Sutra on the Record of the Cosmos* (世記經 *Shiji jing*), the final section of the *Dīrghāgama*, which came to be referenced in later encyclopedic compendia such as the *Peculiarities of the Sūtras and Vinayas*. Finally, I offer an exploratory explanation for why this motif depicting a foreign, ignoble protagonist's defeat by local, morally superior forces may have endured at the cave complex, a site of persistent geo-political struggles.

Hirama, Naoko (Taisho University)
**How to Make a Saint: Biographical Picture Scrolls in the Construction of Hōnen's Identity**

Medieval Japanese picture-scroll biographies of Buddhist monks (絵伝 *eden*) combine painting and text in narrative form in often strikingly original forms. Having caused a paradigm shift in Japanese religious consciousness, the life of Hōnen's (1133-1212) inspired about 30 such works commissioned by his disciples. In addition to the role they played in the public construction of Hōnen's sainthood, they had a major impact on the picture-scroll (*emaki*) biography genre as a whole. The most famous is an early 14th century work that has been designated a national treasure, the "*Hōnen Shōnin gyōjō ezu* (Illustrated Biography of Master Honen), which is unprecedented in its size (237 panels) and detail depicting the major events of Hōnen's life. In terms of content, however, the oldest extant picture-scroll biography of Hōnen, the *Hōnen Shōnin denbō'e*, dated 1237, appears to have been the prototype for all later forms. There are many differences in symbolism and semiotics in both picture and text emerge from a comparison of these two forms of the genre. This paper presents what I have learned from a study of the two that suggests significant developments during the intervening 80 years in the conceptions of what and how things should be depicted. In that researchers in Buddhist Studies (and classical Japanese literature) have not paid sufficient attention to this material, my paper will argue for the historical value of this material in terms of doctrine, literature, and aesthetics.

The title, *Hōnen Shōnin denbō'e* suggests, "A picture scroll whose purpose is to convey the teachings of Honen to the people". It was created only the 25 years after the passed away Honen by Tankū (1176-1253). Tankū was one of the leaders among the disciples of Honen in the rapidly expanding religious movement that he founded. But Tankū was also highly skilled as a poet and one of unusual the features of this particular pictoral biography is the use of *waka* poetry at critical moments in the narrative. Although the original of this work has been lost, many copies were made, and revised versions of it appear at the heart of the many pictoral biographies created afterward. In other words, the historical influence of the *Denbō'e* was profound, arguably unparalleled, as an archetype in the construction of Hōnen's historical identity.

This paper will also present interpretations of the variety of symbolic and semiotic information presented in the pictoral portion, some of it with analogs in the textual portion of the work. For example, the scene where Honen is born depicts a samurai about to shoot an arrow into the air, as well as flags of five colors dancing on top of the roof, both of which had symbolic meaning at that time, the Kamakura period. The former is a ritual of exorcism when boys are born in the house of samurai, the latter a statement that baby and mother are safe.

---

Matsunami, Fuki (The Jodo Shu Research Institute)
**Arts of Japanese pure land Buddhism: The value of Hōnen Shōnin Gyōjōezu**

Hōnen Shōnin Gyōjōezu is one of the pictorial biographies of Hōnen who is the founder of Jōdo Shū, Japanese Pure Land Buddhist school. This biography is composed of forty-eight fascicles, which is the largest in number among Japanese pictorial biographies. Each fascicle is made up of several sentence parts and picture parts. The original pictorial biography owned by Chion-in

is a national treasure. It is regarded to have highly artistic values. Harper H. Coates and Ryūgaku Ishizuka translated all the sentence parts in this biography into English. Their translation was published as "Hōnen, The Buddhist Saint: His Life and Teaching" in 1925. The picture parts, however, were not published at that time.

Firstly, we present in this paper some of the pictures in this biography in order to understand the character of Japanese pure land Buddhism. In addition, we confirm the value of Hōnen Shōnin Gyōjōezu as a biographical text to study for not only Japanese culture and arts in the medieval era, but also Japanese interpretation of Pure Land Buddhism.

Secondly, this paper criticizes part of the translation by Coates and Ishizuka based on the recently published pictorial record of Hōnen Shōnin Gyōjōezu. Moreover, this paper shows some pictures that indicate the birth into the pure land (Ōjō 往生). According to those pictures, some sentences that were difficult to understand now clearly make sense. In this paper, we can comprehend the actuality of Japanese pure land Buddhism that is not elucidated merely based on the biographical text. The artistic side of Hōnen Shōnin Gyōjōezu provides the important perspective to understand Japanese pure land Buddhism.

Saradum, Natpiya (Dhammachai International Research Institute)
**The Earliest Style of Buddhist *Stūpas* in Thailand: A Study of the Evolution of the *Buddhist Stūpas* of the Dvāravatī Period**

The region of Thailand has been a fertile soil for Buddhism since before the country was established by the Tai people. The earliest Buddhist evidence that has been discovered in the country can be dated not later than 4th century CE.

More specifially, the earliest architectural evidence of Buddhist *stūpas* seems to suggest that it began in the Dvāravatī period, between the 6th -12th centuries CE. Before creating a *stūpa* in their own style, the Dvāravatī Buddhists received a Buddhist tradition from India. The *stūpas* were a replica of the early Buddhist *stūpa* style from central and southern India, which is distinguished by a hemispherical dome.

After that, the *stūpas* of the Dvāravatī period were innovated in a particular style. They are subject to localized differences, completely consistent with the indigenous style, but having the Indian Buddhist *stūpa* style as the prototype. These unique Dvāravatī *stūpas* are called "*kumbha stūpa*" (a pot *stūpa*). Their characteristics are derived from the hemispherical shape but tending towards a pot shape. The *stūpa* generally consists of a base, a pot or circular body and a conical spire. The innovation is assumed by some scholars to conform with the shape of an auspicious pot, the *pūrṇaghaṭa* of Indian tradition.

However, this supposition seems doubtful when the *pūrṇaghaṭa* monument has been discovered in only a few pieces from the Dvāravatī period. In contrast, the replicas of Indian *stūpas* in the form of a bas relief, especially in the Pāla style, have been found on many Buddhist votive tablets. These *stūpas*, usually composed of a base, a circular body and a conical spire, often correspond to the characteristics of the Dvāravatī *kumbha stūpas* rather than the *pūrṇaghaṭa*.

For a better understanding of the motivation of Dvāravatī Buddhists in creating the unique style of their *stūpas*, this paper proposes to analyze the evolution of the Buddhist *stūpas* of the Dvāravatī period and to delineate the earliest shape of the *stūpas* of Thailand. The research is based on the Buddhist monuments of the Dvāravatī period and on relative topics discussed by other scholars.

## Buddhist Art and Architecture
**Fri., Aug. 25th, 9:00-10:30**

Karetzky, Patricia (Bard College)
**The Bronze Buddhist Sculptures of Nagapattinam**

Buddhist bronzes produced in Nagapattinam district of Tamil Nadu, an active trading seaport on the eastern coast in southern India, are evidence of the survival of the religion in the south. Buddhism, which had been in practice in this region since the time of Asoka (c. 268 to 232 BCE), was still flourishing in the twelfth century. Chola dynasty artists produced the icons, though they more frequently created Hindus ones, which are renowned for their great spirituality, beauty and craftsmanship. The bronze Buddhist sculptures share stylistic similarities with their Hindu counterparts, but many of the Buddhist bronzes are markedly different in quality. There are single icons and complex figural groups, both large size and small. Perhaps the Chola kings commissioned some of them for foreign traders who were followers of Buddhism like the merchants of Srivijaya (Indonesia). There is evidence attesting to the Chola kings building a temple for them in Tanjore. During the period of the mid 19th century to the first quarter of the 20th over three hundred bronzes dating for the 10th-16th centuries were unearthed in areas around Nagapattinam which are now housed in the museum in Chennai; others, may be found in museums in Mumbai, Patna, and Chandigarh. Under more mysterious conditions some were acquired by western museums in -—Paris, London, New York. Chicago and Boston. This paper will assemble the examples of late Buddhist bronze sculptures produced in Nagapattinam, consider their style and iconography and place them within the context of late Buddhist worship in Eastern India.

---

Li, Charles (University of Cambridge)
**The Mystery of the Monkey's Head: Architecture, Grief, and the Lexicographer's Imaginary**

Then, the venerable Ānanda entered the vihāra and stood leaning on the *kapisīsa*, crying, "Oh, I am still a student, with work still to do, and yet my teacher, who cares for me, is going to die." *Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta*

The Pāli word *kapisīsa*, along with its Sanskrit cognate *kapiśīrṣa*, has an unusually wide and eclectic semantic range for a compound that seems so straightforward. It is sometimes used to denote a monkey's head – as seems natural from the analysis of the compound: *kapi*, "monkey", and *sīsa*, "head"–, but, most commonly, it refers to an architectural element. The Sanskrit term has been mis-translated as a "coping" in the Monier-Williams dictionary, but Dieter Schlingloff has convincingly argued from a passage in the *Arthaśāstra* that it refers to merlons spaced

regularly on top of a rampart wall, resembling monkeys sitting on a wall. This is consistent with how the term is used in other Sanskrit texts; however, it is completely at odds with the Pāli evidence.

In Pāli, the word *kapisīsa* appears solely in the *Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta*, in a passage describing Ānanda's reaction when the Buddha announces that he is about to die. It is clearly not a feature of a rampart wall, but rather an architectural element of the vihāra. Three successive Pāli-English dictionaries have sought to define this word, and all three disagree; in each case, the definition reveals how each lexicographer imagines the site of Ānanda's grief. Thomas Rhys-Davids saw Ānanda leaning on the lintel of the doorframe; the Critical Pāli-English dictionary has Ānanda entering the vihāra and leaning on a bed-post; and Margaret Cone's recent dictionary understands *kapisīsa* to be the same as *kapisīsaka* from the *Cullavagga*, defining it as a socket that receives a door-bolt. Ananda Coomaraswamy takes a different approach by drawing on his experience with Sinhalese art and architecture rather than relying on the text alone, and he understands it as the door-bolt itself.

In this paper, I will explore these different interpretations by examining the extant textual and architectural evidence. But the evidence, fragmentary and mutually-contradictory as it is, can only take us so far. Ultimately, since the word appears exclusively in a single context, the question of the identity of the *kapisīsa* is inextricably tied to a question of empathy: how would Ānanda react upon receiving the news of the Buddha's imminent death?

Schmidt, Carolyn (The Ohio State University)
**The *Triśūla* or *Nandyāvarta* Motif in South Asian Buddhist Art and Culture: New Insights into the History of its Origins, Transmission, Values and Names**

One of the most captivating and artistically significant motifs created in the expansive and eloquent symbolic language of ancient South Asian art and culture is a three-pronged symbol, which has, over the decades, been referred to most frequently as a *triśūla, triratna*, or *nandyāvarta* and, more recently, among a number of other names, as the w-motif. While almost all of the early Buddhist art and architecture in ephemeral materials has been lost, there remains a wealth of monumental works in stone, dating from circa the second century BCE. By this time, the evidence displays an already, well-developed set of symbols, which were not defined as separate from the primary currents of Indian religions and culture, and in which this three-pronged symbol, in combination with a *padma* or *cakra,* played a notable role. In addition to both material and spiritual wealth and good fortune, the interpretations most commonly ascribed to this motif and its amalgamated forms are of power, authority and protection, and, for the *cakravartin* and the Buddha by this time, cosmic order.

The *triśūla (triratna, nandyåvarta,* w-motif, etc.) with a *padma* having been transmitted along the routes for trade, communication, and movements of peoples, was extremely important iconographically to a number of Buddhist centers across the South Asian landscape from at least circa 200 BCE to circa CE 300. In addition to chance findings of dazzling gold ornaments for personal adornment, replicas of necklaces with *triśūla* pendants were incorporated into the beneficent *kalpalatā* or creeper of the world-period, narrative-relief panels, and used to adorn a

standing image of a *yakṣī,* an auspicious spirit of nature, at the Śuṅga period *stūpa* at Bhårhut in north-central India. By the first century CE, this symbol had become important at Sanci, Amaravati, and in greater Gandhåra, where it maintained its significance through the third century in Buddhist narrative-reliefs as supports for the wheels of the Law, as a headdress emblem on independently sculpted images of Maitreya, and on culturally related functional objects and jewelry of precious metals and pearls.

In an age when most individuals could not read or write, this extraordinary motif served very notable didactic purposes. Symbols, such as this, were exceptional when it came to representing or embodying the invisible or intangible, serving as an outward sign of things immaterial, spiritual or not present, with perhaps a wide range of meanings, particularly in the religious contexts of Buddhism. Although there appears to be a lapse of usage in the South Asian Buddhist artistic repertoire following the downfall of the Kushans, it was transmitted across Asia and retains its viability to the present in the Buddhist esoteric traditions of Japan. Careful indexing in relationship to time and context, as a corporal part of this research project, has provided new insights into the history of its origins, transmissions, values and names.

## Buddhist Hermeneutics, Scholasticism, and Commentarial Techniques
**Thurs., Aug. 24th, 9:00-12:30**

Mathes, Klaus-Dieter (University of Vienna)
**Karma bKa' brgyud *gZhan stong* ("Empti[ness] of Other") in the Works of the Third, Seventh and Eighth Karma pa**

The third Karma pa Rang byung rdo rje (1284-1339), the seventh Karma pa Chos grags rgya mtsho (1454-1506), and the eighth Karma pa Mi bskyod rdo rje (1507-1554) maintain—with slight variations—a *gzhan stong* view,[1] according to which both the basis of emptiness (*stong gzhi*) and the object of negation (*dgag bya*) are empty of an own nature (*rang stong*), like anything else including ultimate truth. It is only the absence of adventitious stains from natural luminosity or buddha nature, that is referred to as *gzhan stong*. The first Karma Phrin las pa (1456-1539) must have had such a moderate *gzhan stong* view in mind when he described the third and the seventh Karma pa as *gzhan stong pa*s. Such a view is in stark contrast to the well-known *gzhan stong* position of the Jo nang pa, who advocate an ultimate permanent entity (*rtag dngos*) beyond space and time. This is made clear in a text with questions and answers (*dris len*) in which Karma Phrin las pa criticizes an eternalist *gzhan stong* perspective. In the same text, the disciple of Chos grags rgya mtsho also takes issue with a *gzhan stong* position, according to which buddha nature wanders in the six realms of *saṃsāra*. Karma Phrin las pa thus distinguishes the third and seventh Karma pa's *gzhan stong* from the views of the Jo nang pa and 'Gos Lo tsā ba gZhon nu dpal (1392-1481). Mi bskyod rdo rje, too, takes issue with the Jo nang pa's substantialist view of buddha nature as an ultimate permanent entity as well as with gZhon nu dpal's full equation of buddha nature with the nature of an individual mind stream.
It will be shown that Rang byung rdo rje's, Chos grags rgya mtsho's and Mi bskyod rdo rje's *gzhan stong* views have in common to be more aligned with Asaṅga's and Vasubandhu's description of the ultimate in terms of the Yogācāra theory of three natures, and thus the mode of emptiness resulting from this theory.

With the restriction that Rang byung rdo rje does not explicitly calls his view *gzhan stong*.

Brambilla, Filippo (University of Vienna)
**The path of preparation in the Jo nang tradition. Tshogs gnyis rgya mtsho on the views of Nya dbon kun dga' dpal and Tā ra nā tha.**

The five paths (*pañcamārga*; *lam lnga*) model is one of the main frameworks adopted by Tibetan scholars to present the Mahāyāna path to buddhahood in a gradual manner. Prior to the final awakening in the path of no more learning (*aśaikṣamārga*, *mi slob lam*), the most fundamental development is commonly maintained to take place with the transition from the path of preparation (*prayogamārga*, *sbyor lam*), the second one, to the path of seeing (*darśanamārga, thong lam*), the third one. At that point, a nonconceptual direct realization of emptiness is said to occur for the first time, and the practitioner is said to attain the first *bhūmi*, becoming an *ārya*. This crucial passage constitutes one of the main issues covered by a late Jo nang scholar, Tshogs gnyis rgya mtsho (1880-1940), in his Spyod pa'i spyi don rab gsal snang ba. Although making it clear that the first *bhūmi* is only attained on the path of seeing, when all the confused appearances of grasped and grasper are completely pacified, he points out that the wisdom of the meditative equipoise of the path of preparation is associated with a clear appearance of emptiness. In the present contribution, it will be shown how Tshogs gnyis rgya mtsho explains that such experience is presented in different ways by different scholars within his own tradition. In fact, he lays out two distinct stances. Nya dbon kun dga' dpal (1285-1364), of whom he was considered the *nirmāṇakāya*, is said to maintain that the emptiness' clear appearance must be nonconceptual, and thus on the path of preparation there is a direct perception of emptiness. Tā ra nā tha (1575-1634) and other renown Jo nang exponents, such as Sa bzang ma ti pan chen (1294-1376), are said to disagree with this position, downgrading the mind of the equipoise of the path of preparation to a mere conceptual cognition, which grasps emptiness only on the basis of object-generalities (*don spyi*).

Draszczyk, Martina (University of Vienna)
**A Glimpse into Mi bskyod rdo rje's "Commentary on the Direct Introduction to the Three Kāyas"**

The *Sku gsum ngo sprod rnam bshad* or the *Commentary on the Direct Introduction to the Three Kāyas* is a good example for the elaborate writing style of the polymath Karma pa Mi bskyod rdo rje (1507-1554). He wrote this treatise toward the end of his life and considered it to be a comprehensive presentation of the Buddha dharma encompassing the entire meaning of the sūtras and tantras. While *The Direct Introduction to the Three Kāyas*, i.e. the original text by Karma Pakshi (1204-1283), contains succinct meditation-oriented instructions, Mi bskyod rdo rje provides the context. In his lengthy commentary he goes into the theory and practice of the Buddhist path, starting with a brief presentation of the Theravada and continuing with a detailed discussion of the causal Pāramitāyāna and the resultant Tantrayāna. Mi bskyod rdo rje emphasizes that accomplishing bodhicitta is the way to realize the buddha *kāya*s. Therefore he lays out the ways to train in bodhicitta, presenting ultimate bodhicitta mainly according to the teaching systems of Atiśa (982-1054) and Śavaripa (10th c.).

The main theme for Mi bskyod rdo rje is to establish the view of the inseparability of the two truths. In the course of these explanations—and even though he considers himself to be a propounder of Candrakīrti's Madhyamaka view—he rejects the position of Tsong kha pa (1357–1419). By the same token—and even though he wrote a number of *gzhan stong* associated texts—he criticizes the position of Dol po pa (1292–1361). By targeting these two authors Mi bskyod rdo rje aims at putting two positions under discussion which—within the scope of Tibetan Buddhism—represent two extreme ends regarding views on buddha nature and conventional and ultimate reality. Having set forth the view, he gives a detailed account on the methods of calm abiding (*śamatha*) and deep insight (*vipaśyanā*) to actualize the view in the context of the Pāramitāyāna.

Then he proceeds with explanations on the Tantrayāna which makes the fruition the path. He does so by ascertaining the three continua, i.e. the causal continuum, the path continuum and the resultant continuum. Mi bskyod rdo rje's focus lies on systems of the *yoganiruttaratantra*s *(rnal 'byor bla na med pa'i rgyud)*, emphasizing the Guhyasamāja-, the Hevajra-, and the Kalacakra-tantra. While discussing the three continua he again rejects various views that do not find his approval. The causal continuum concerns the topic of buddha nature. The path continuum is presented starting with the gate of accessing tantric practice, i.e. empowerments, through explanations on the generation and completion stages and the associated samayas and ways of conduct, and the fruition continuum deals with the accomplishment of the buddha *kāya*s. These continua make up one continuum where there is nothing to be attained and nothing to be relinquished, the 'causeless primordial buddha' realized through "Mahāmudrā the practice of coemergence" (*phyag chen lhan cig skyes sbyor*).

Higgins, David (University of Vienna)
**Rong zom pa and Mi bskyod rdo rje on the Unity of the Two Truths from a Nonfoundationalist (Apratiṣṭhāna) Madhyamaka Standpoint**

Toward the end of his life, the Eighth Karma pa Mi bskyod rdo rje became an avid proponent of the Rnying ma master Rong zom Chos kyi bzang po's Apratiṣṭhāna (Nonfoundationalist) Madhyamaka views, in particular those maintaining the "inseparability of the two aspects of reality" (*bden pa rnam pa gnyis dbyer med par*). In Mi bskyod rdo rje's last major commentary, an explication of Karma Pakshi's *Direct Introduction to the Three Kāyas* entitled *Sku gsum ngo sprod rnam bshad*, he articulates and defends the view that the two realities are nondual inasmuch as all phenomena, conventional and ultimate, have always been beyond discursive elaboration (*spros bral*). In this regard, he argues that the unity (*zung 'jug*) of the two realities is a shared doctrinal cornerstone of Mahāmudrā and Madhyamaka philosophies, having been advocated by a long line of Indian Mahāmudrā and Madhyamaka masters including Saraha, Śavaripa, Nāgārjuna, Buddhapālita, Candrakīrti, Maitrīpa, Atiśa, and as well as by the 11th century Tibetan Rnying ma master Rong zom Chos kyi bzang po. Notably, he cites Rong zom pa six times in this late commentary but not in any previous works. In this presentation, I will examine these two authors' views concerning the meaning and significance of this unity of the two truths doctrine in light of their shared Nonfoundationalist Madhyamaka philosophical standpoint.

Gentry, James (Kathmandu University)
**Historiographical Skepticism in Seventeenth-Century Tibet: Sog bzlog pa Blo gros rgyal mtshan's Text-critical Biography of Master Padmasambhava**

Biographies of the eighth-century Indian tantric master Padmasambhava that highlight his role in Tibet's conversion to Buddhism are a foundational component of traditional Tibetan cultural identity. Yet the precise nature of Padmasambhava's involvement in king Khri srong lde'u btsan's establishment of Buddhism as the state religion of Tibet has not been uncontroversial. Despite the many depictions in Tibet's Treasure (*gter ma*) literature of this master's extended ritual care during the founding moments of Tibet's first monastery bSam yas, critical Tibetan scholars have sometimes pointed out the surprising dearth of information regarding this master in the *Testament of Ba/Wa* (*sBa/dBa bzhed*) and other texts that also claim to be from the imperial period. Moreover, some have drawn attention to the fact that the early sources that do give narrative space to Padmasambhava tell the story of a Tibetan king and court that are deeply ambivalent about the master's involvement in Tibet's internal affairs. Such accounts stand in sharp contrast to Treasure narratives of the master's life, which notwithstanding a few uncooperative ministers, depict an enduring and faithful friendship between Padmasambhava, king Khri srong lde'u btsan, the royal family, and the court.

In his biography of Padmasambhava entitled *Dispelling Mental Darkness: A Life Story of the Master, the Second Buddha, Padmasambhava* (*sLob dpon sangs rgyas gnyis pa padma 'byung gnas kyi rnam thar yid kyi mun sel*), Sog bzlog pa Blo gros rgyal mtshan (1552-1624) devotes several pages, interspersed throughout the text, to the critical assessment of the earliest strata of literary sources for the master's life alongside the Treasure narratives. His hermeneutical reflections revolve around widely divergent accounts of the duration of Padmasambhava's stay in Tibet found in the *Testament of Ba/Wa's* several versions*, bKa' ma* histories, Treasure biographies, and other miscellaneous sources such as inscriptions, testaments, and other early documents. Sog bzlog pa's professed purpose is to mediate between two extreme interpretations of the historical record—the views of those who relied strictly on the *Testament of Ba/Wa* and other early sources as the only authoritative eyewitness accounts of the period; and the views of those who rejected the validity of the *Testament* and dealt with narrative discrepancies of Padmasambhava's life by appealing to his mastery over time and space.

This paper is a presentation of the interpretative strategies and text-critical principles that Sog bzlog pa enlists throughout these passages. It argues that these passages reflect his attempt to forge a compromise between the two orientations of text-based historical criticism and devout traditionalism to present a vision of Padmasambhava that can be accepted by critics and acolytes alike. The paper concludes with a comparative analysis of other, slightly later seventeenth-century Tibetan attempts to address the discrepancies in Tibet's historiographical record concerning Master Padma's role in Tibet. In so doing, this paper seeks to explore why such concerns might have surfaced when they did and what these reflections might tell us about the historical consciousness of Tibetan Buddhists from this and others periods.

---

Kantor, Hans (Huafan University)

**"Root and Traces" (*benji* 本迹) in the exegetical traditions of Chinese Madhyamaka Thought**

Credited with the first Chinese translation of the most important of Nāgārjuna's (c.150-c.250) and Āryadeva's (c. 3rd century) works, the Central Asian Kumārajīva (343-413) is considered the historical figure that gave the initial impetus for the development of Madhyamaka thought in China. Following his lead, three later Chinese thinkers and authors are especially noteworthy: (1) Kumārajīva's influential disciple Seng Zhao (僧肇 374-414), (2) the famous Sanlun master Jizang (吉藏 549-623), further developing Seng Zhao's thought, and (3) Jizang's contemporary Zhiyi (智顗 538–597), the principal founder of the Tiantai-school.

One of their common as well as major concerns is to demonstrate that the linguistic strategies in the textual transmission of the Buddha's teaching give us access to a sense of "liberation" (*vimokṣa*, *jietuo* 解脫) which reaches beyond language. Based on the notion of "inconceivable liberation" (*acintya vimokṣa*, *busiyi jietuo* 不思議解脫) from the *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa-sūtra*, the three Chinese Madhyamaka masters develop the understanding that it is this inexpressible accomplishment of the Buddha what grounds all linguistic expression of the teachings (*jiao* 教) transmitted by the sūtras and śāstras. Hence, liberation is the "root" (*ben* 本) constituting the teaching, which embraces all the various "traces" (*ji* 迹) that in turn refer back to and reveal this inconceivable root. The binary, "root and traces," first mentioned in Seng Zhao's commentary on the *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa-sūtra*, accounts for the circular mutuality and inseparability between silence and speech, and has become an important hermeneutical device in Jizang's and Zhiyi's sūtra exegesis.

In my presentation, I shall clarify the textual background, development, and use of this binary, and also try to outline its crucial philosophical significance in the works of these three masters, which includes two major aspects: (1) "root and traces" as the code for their semantics and pragmatics exploring the various signifying functions in our use of language, and (2) "root and traces" as what might be referred to as the hermeneutical approach that they develop in their Chinese exegetical works to unravel the sense of "liberation" in accordance with and reference to the textual transmission of Indian Mahāyāna thought in China.

Keywords: root and traces, Madhyamaka, Seng Zhao, Jizang, Sanlun, Zhiyi, Tiantai

# Buddhist Hermeneutics, Scholasticism, and Commentarial Techniques
**Fri., Aug. 25th, 9:00-15:30**

Keerthi Goigoda Gamage, Aruna (University of London)
**Is *Nibbāna* Different from Arahantship? A Study of the Doctrinal Controversy between Mahāvihārins and Vitaṇḍavādins Reflected in the Pāli Commentaries**

This study is related to a part of chapter 5 in my envisioned PhD dissertation, and it critically examines the heated debate on the issue of *Nibbāna* between the Mahāvihāra Buddhist School and a non-Mahāvihāra Buddhist milieu, which is polemically labeled as Vitaṇḍavādin in the *Saṃyutta-Nikāya* commentary (*S-a* III 88) and the *Vibhaṅga* commentary (*Vibh-a* 51-54).

As these commentaries demonstrate, such Vitaṇḍavādins insisted that there is no separate entity called *Nibbāna*; it simply means the cessation of defilements, and they further insisted that *Nibbāna* and Arahantship stand for the same phenomenon. Mahāvihārins, disagreeing profoundly with these assertions, objected that *Nibbāna* is not only mere cessation of defilements. They further insisted that there is a remarkable difference between *Nibbāna* and Arahantship. However, this rigid dichotomy resulted in a bitter doctrinal controversy between these two Buddhist groups.

This debate is complex and multifaceted. It is worth noting in particular that the Vitaṇḍavādins drew scriptural evidence from the canon in order to strengthen their standpoint while the Mahāvihārins tended to offer curious arguments to support their interpretations. In this context, a brief quotation adduced by the Mahāvihārins to support their view, as a canonical statement, appears to be an improvisation.

Buddhaghosa allots a significant amount of space to record Vitaṇḍavāda views along with his vigorous refutations. Evidently, the majority of the Vitaṇḍavāda views often concern subtle doctrinal matters of Buddhist thought. The noteworthy feature of their arguments is that they consistently go against the Mahāvihāra perspective on some Pāli canonical teachings. Reciprocally, Mahāvihāra responses to these views are typically replete with opprobrium. Nevertheless, the Vitaṇḍavādins, as the commentarial exegeses demonstrate, had an impressive command of the Buddhist teachings. As a result, the views that are attributed to them are greatly backed by canonical quotations and informed arguments.

Although a few scholars have examined the role of Vitaṇḍavādins depicted in the Pāli commentaries, no research has been done so far on this particular doctrinal debate, which is worth exploring. The purpose of this paper is to fill that lacuna, and to contribute to the broader understanding of the identity and doctrinal orientation, and argumentative practices of the Vitaṇḍavādins.

Kramer, Jowita (University of Munich)
**Sthiramati as a Commentator of Mahāyāna Sūtras: A Comparative Investigation of the *Akṣayamatinirdeśaṭīkā* and the *Kāśyapaparivartaṭīkā***

This paper will shed fresh light on the oeuvre of Sthiramati, a pivotal scholar in the development of Indian Yogācāra thought of the 6th century. The two works in focus of the presentation, the *Akṣayamatinirdeśaṭīkā* and the *Kāśyapaparivartaṭīkā*, are rare examples of Yogācāra commentaries on non-Yogācāra Mahāyāna sūtras. The *\*Kāśyapaparivartaṭīkā*, which is available only in its Tibetan and Chinese translations, is attributed to the author Sthiramati in its Tibetan colophon. The commentary's obvious Yogācāra perspective and its structural similarity with the *Viniścayasaṃgrahaṇī* may be counted in favour of Sthiramati's authorship. However, the fact that comments on the *Kaśyapaparivartasūtra* which are found in Sthiramati's

*Madhyāntavibhāgaṭīkā* differ substantially from parallel explanations in the *Kāśyapaparivartaṭīkā* as well as the *Kāśyapaparivartaṭīkā*'s rather early translation into Chinese make the scenario of a single Sthiramati as the common author of both texts appear doubtful. The authorship of the *Akṣayamatinirdeśaṭīkā*, an extensive work explaining the sūtra from the Yogācāra viewpoint (and extant only in its Tibetan translation), has been ascribed to Sthiramati by Jens Braarvig in connection with his study of the *Akṣayamatinirdeśasūtra*. Braarvig's attribution is based on some passages in the *Akṣayamatinirdeśaṭīkā* which appear similar to passages found in other works supposedly authored by Sthiramati. However, according to the Tibetan tradition the *Akṣayamatinirdeśaṭīkā* has been composed by the Indian scholar Vasubandhu (4th/5th c.) and Braarvig's suggestion has to date not been scrutinized by other scholars. As Braarvig's supposition is based on notable parallels between the texts under discussion, a thorough analysis of the similarities and divergences appears very promising.

---

Ueno, Makio (Otani University)
**Word by Word: Commentarial Techniques in Vasubandhu's *Vyākhyāyukti***

The *Vyākhyāyukti* (VyY) is Vasubandhu's work which deals with the method of Sarvāstivāda's āgama exegesis for future Dharma-preachers (dharmakathika), and which is not found  the original Sanskrit, not translated into Chinese but preserved in Tibetan translation.
VyY has five chapters, Chapters 1 to 4 are consisted of the method by five aspects, i.e., *prayojana*, *piṇḍārtha*, *padārtha*, *anusandhi*, and *codyaparihāra*.

In dealing with *padārtha*, i.e. meaning of the [Buddha's] word, Vasubandhu categorizes it into two categories: (1) a single word with multiple meanings, and (2) multiple words with a single meaning. As for (1), he gives fourteen examples, each of which is illustrated by a brief citation from scripture. For example, the treatment of the term *dharma* is as follows:

The term *dharma* pertains to (1) that which is knowable, (2) path, (3) nirvāṇa, (4) an object of mind, (5) merit, (6) [present] life, (7) scriptural teaching, (8) occuring, (9) restraint, (10) custom.

In this discussion, Vasubandhu focuses on collectively collating all-inclusive examples and indicating the proper meaning of the canonical word that conforms to each context (It seems that this method is used in the *Amarakoṣa*), so that future Dharma-preachers might determine the meaning of important canonical usages of words like *dharma*. From a different point of view, this method shows that canonical words are polysemic and the descision about the correct meaning is left to the individual interpreter. We should also note that the scope of the brief citations from scriptures are limited to the Sarvāstivāda's āgamas and Vinayas. That is, Vasubandhu is working on the assumption that one should interpret the Buddha's words by the Buddha's words. For him, the proper meaning of the canonical words is determined by the canonical sentences and their contexts.

As for (2), Vasubandhu deals with three types of multiple words with a single meaning:
1. Meaning to be expressed in each individual [term] (*so so re re la brjod par bya ba'i don*);
2. Summarized meaning (*bsdus pa'i don*);
3. meaning of Purpose (*dgos pa'i don*).

Regarding the third type, Vasubandhu divides "the purpose" that are contained in the Buddha's words into two groups: purpose of "the meaning of synonyms" and "meaning of numerical discourses."

When we consider that the range of collation of examples are intensionally limited in Sarvāstivāda-āgama and Vinaya, it is clear that Vasubandhu has intended that the meaning of Buddha's word should be extracted from within these scriptures.
The Buddha's words do not only contain one single meaning but multiple meanings. The answers to questions of how one should extract the single, correct meaning from the Buddha's words possessing multiple meanings, or how should one interpret the Buddha's words that are intended to maintain polysemy, are left up to each Dharma-preacher or Buddhist.
From Vasubandhu's perspective, the reason that Buddha's words possess multiple meanings is because to Buddha was preaching to a variety of the listeners ( *vineya*) with a variety of capacities.

---

Blum, Mark (University of California, Berkeley)
**The Formation of Nianfo in Chinese Buddhism**

The Chinese Buddhist term *niànfó* (*nenbutsu*, *yombul*) is understood today to designate a ritual recitation of a phrase expressing homage to a buddha, most commonly Amitābha/Amitāyus. As such *nianfo* is identified with Pure Land Buddhism. But insofar as this form of Buddhism is an East Asian invention, it is so precisely because there is no Indian analog to the systems of belief and practice included in the conceptions of *niànfó* that circulated throughout East Asia from medieval times to the present day.

But if true, then how was *nianfo/nenbutsu* formed within the evolution of Buddhism in China and Japan? This paper will outline six major streams of thought that contributed to this concept in China and show that it's unique development was a product of the interaction between the ambiguities and vagaries in the translations of Indic and Central Asian texts into Chinese combined with religious rhetoric and meditative practices native to China.

The "six streams" refer six layers of meaning that flowed into the core component of *nianfo*, namely the character *niàn* 念. In other words, because *niàn* was used to translate a range of Indic Buddhist terms, as a Chinese Buddhist term it became a highly compacted semiotic vehicle for meditative and ritual usage. The five core Indic meanings relevant here are *smṛti/anusmṛti/smarana, manasikāra/manaskāra, citta, namas,* and *śaraṇa.*

The sixth component comes from Daoist meditation techniques that predate the introduction of Buddhism to China and pre-Buddhist usage of *niàn*. The meditations generally involve the intuition of the life force *qi*. Some of these are similar to *prāṇāyāma* breathing techniques in Yoga, but others are quite different, such as "sitting in oblivion" (*zuo wang*) and "mental fasting" (*xin zhai*). The pre-Buddhist meaning of *nian* in China is generally understood as either directed thought, akin to *manaskāra,* recollection as in *anusmṛti/smarana,* or memory itself. Although various forms of √*smṛ* allude to memory, the clear use of *nian* to represent this mental function helped clarify how memory could be used in ritual practice as a resevoir of meaning.

What is missing from these six streams is what remains most enigmatic about *nianfo:* its use of the human voice. Given that *nianfo* begins as a Buddhist term to translate *buddhânusmṛti* practice, it is striking how the use of voicing came to dominate how it was practiced from the early Tang period because this does not reflect an imperative in any of these six areas of semiotic input. We can trace when the reading of *nian* as recitation began, at least in the context of *nianfo* practice, but it is harder to know why. Whatever the origin of reading voicing into the use of *nian* in Chinese translations of Buddhist texts, the key to understanding the appeal of recitation *nianfo* is that these other 6 streams of meaning were retained rather than replaced, resulting in a form of practice so ripe with meaning that it became an object of faith itself.

Lee, Sangyop (Stanford University)
**Lushan Huiyuan and the Soteriology of the Soul in Early Chinese Buddhism**

This study starts from the suspicion that the accepted reading of Lushan Huiyuan (334-416) and other proponents of the imperishability of the soul (*shen bumie*) was negatively informed by our anachronistic and anatopistic projection of modern conceptions of Buddhism onto their writings. Pointing out that in early medieval China the "heretical" doctrine of the imperishability of the soul could only have functioned as a perfectly orthodox teaching of the Buddha owing to the prevalence of translated sūtras that taught the doctrine, the study proposes to read the Chinese Buddhist discourse on the doctrine as an legitimate, irreducible, and integral element of early Chinese Buddhists' inquiry into the Buddhist truth and without imposing modern Buddhological expectations that have simplified and trivialized the discourse's content. In particular, the study attempts to reconstruct the soteriology of Huiyuan and his disciples only with reference to the claims of their own and of their contemporary Buddhist scriptural literature. This experimental approach to their writings will help us see that Huiyuan and his disciples developed an original yet self-sufficient and comprehensive system of religious philosophy based on the understanding that the imperishable soul the translated sūtras spoke of was the transcendental, incorporeal, and unchanging essence of the human being from whose incarceration in the bodily senses and the resulting obscuration of its luminous reflection the phenomenal aspects of the mind—sentience (*qing*) and consciousness (*shi*)—emerged. Based on this reading, the study further argues that the early Chinese Buddhist theory of the imperishable soul as Huiyuan articulated and propagated it, although its historical significance was discounted due to modern preconceptions, profoundly influenced the subsequent generation's exegesis of the universal buddha-nature (*foxing*) doctrine and thus the shaping of the distinctively Chinese Buddhist understanding of human nature.

Apple, James (University of Calgary)
**Atiśa and Ratnākaraśānti as Philosophical Opponents with attention to *Yuktiṣaṣṭikā*, verse 34.**

This paper examines philosophical differences between Atiśa Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna (982-1054 CE) and Ratnākaraśānti (ca. 1000 CE) based on evidence from newly published Tibetan manuscripts of *The Collected Works of the Kadampas* (*bka' gdams gsung 'bum*). Atiśa is famous for his journey to Tibet and his teaching there for thirteen years. His teachings on Mahāyāna

and Vajrayāna Buddhist thought and practice came to influence all subsequent traditions of Buddhism in Tibet. Ratnākaraśānti (ca. 1000 CE), also known as Śāntipa in Tibetan sources, was a formidable figure at Vikramaśīla monastery, renowned for his enormous breadth of learning and prolific scholarship. Traditional Tibetan historians describe Atiśa as Ratnākaraśānti's student in the study of Mahāyāna works at Vikramaśīla. Ratnākaraśānti is also recorded in these sources as being a tantric master in a number of lineages upheld by Atiśa. Yet, as this paper demonstrates based on newly published manuscripts, these two important Indian Buddhist scholars had significant differences in their philosophical views.

Based on these newly available materials, the paper initially outlines how the Madhyamaka teachings that Atiśa received in his youth were in conflict with the views of Ratnākaraśānti that Atiśa learned while studying under him at Vikramaśīla. The paper briefly compares doctrines found in the works of Ratnākaraśānti and Atiśa to clearly demonstrate how they differed on a number of points of thought and exegesis. Although both Atiśa and Ratnākaraśānti claimed to follow the Middle Way (*madhyamā pratipat*) of Nāgārjuna, Atiśa's thought was influenced by Candrakīrti, while Ratnākaraśānti expounded his system based on Yogācāra sources. The paper outlines their differences in the application of the tetralemma, the use of negation in realizing the ultimate, their understanding of conventional reality, the role of the means of valid cognition (*pramāṇa*) in the path, and their understanding of Buddhahood.

As a specific example to illustrate the differences between these two scholars, the paper focuses on the interpretation of Nāgārjuna's *Yuktiṣaṣṭikā* (verse 34), where Atiśa posited mental qualities as a mere appearance that dependently arise while Ratnākaraśānti framed the ultimate nature of mental qualities as their "mere shining forth of non-duality" (*advayaprakāśamātra*). Ratnākaraśānti criticized positions that advocated "mere appearance" (*snang ba tsam≈ *pratibhāsamātra*) and Atiśa clearly articulated an interpretation of Madhyamaka emphasizing mere appearances based on the interpretation of this verse.

The paper concludes that the philosophical differences between these two scholars provides evidence that Atiśa's Madhyamaka was a minority viewpoint at Vikramaśīla monastery, that these philosophical differences effected their master/disciple relationship in esoteric Buddhist practice, and that these differences were influential, in part, upon Atiśa's decision to leave Vikramaśīla for Tibet.

Kawamura, Yūto (Kyoto University)
**A Fresh Approach to Aṣṭādhyāyī 2.4.4: *adhvaryukratur anapuṁsakam* Presented by the Buddhist Grammarian Śaraṇadeva.**

In the domain of the non-Vedic language (*bhāṣā*), especially in poetic compositions (*kāvya*), a great number of Vedic forms (*chāndasa*) can be observed. How do grammarians address this issue? In discussing the word *stryākhyau* of A 1.4.3: *yū stryākhyau nadī* (MBh on A 1.4.3 [I.313.10–22]), Patañjali (ca. 2nd c. BCE) explicitly says that it is undesirable that poets (*kavi*) employ Vedic items in the realm of the non-Vedic language (*chandovat kavayaḥ kurvanti / na hy eṣeṣṭiḥ*), and that such employment is a flaw (*doṣa*). This view is echoed by the Kāśikāvṛtti (ca. 7th c. CE), which attributes poets' use of Vedic expressions to their carelessness (KV on A

4.1.151 [I.346.1–2]: *venāc chandasīti paṭhyate | kathaṃ bhāṣāyāṃ vainyo rājeti | chāndasa evāyaṃ pramādāt kavibhiḥ prayuktaḥ*). Kaiyaṭa (ca. 11th c. CE) puts forth the opinion that Vedic items given in the realm of the non-Vedic language are to be regarded as incorrect (Pradīpa on MBh to vt. 4 ad A 3.2.15 [III.233.19]: *chandasīti vacanād bhāṣāyāṃ giriśabdasyāsādhutvam āhuḥ*).

It is the Buddhist grammarian Śaraṇadeva (ca. 12th c. CE) who first carried out a resolute attempt to justify Vedic usage in non-Vedic works. From Pāṇini's diction in A 2.4.4: *adhvaryukratur anapuṃsakam* he deduces a unique principle:

*chāndasā api kva cid bhāṣāyāṃ prayujyante ||*
''Even those forms which are Vedic are occasionally used in the domain of the non-Vedic language.''

In his Durghaṭavṛtti Śaraṇadeva invokes this principle seven times so as to account for problematic expressions. It is evident that he holds the principle to be absolutely valid in Pāṇinian grammar. This stimulating and thought-provoking principle merits close attention and is worthy of serious consideration.

In this paper I wish to clarify the logic underlying the deduction of the above-mentioned principle, which to the best of my knowledge has never been examined. The fresh approach to A 2.4.4 shown by Śaraṇadeva will provide us a fascinating new perspective on Pāṇini's wording in his Aṣṭādhyāyī.

---

Beckwith, Christopher I. (Indiana University)
**How did the Chinese actually first hear and transcribe Buddhist terms? The two kinds of Late Old Chinese transcriptions and their significance**

The traditional understanding of how the Chinese first heard and transcribed Buddhist terms is based more or less completely on the imposition of the doctrines of Historic Sinological Reconstruction (HSR) on the data. HSR is founded on projection of the acknowledged largely monosyllabic morpheme structure of Middle Chinese and Modern Chinese languages back to the Classical period of Old Chinese, to Proto-Chinese, and beyond. However, the recent discovery of two types of data relevant to this issue, one in Late Chinese itself (Beckwith 2014) and one in Old Japanese (Osterkamp 2011), has demonstrated that many disyllabic Chinese morphemes still existed even in Late Old Chinese times (Beckwith forthcoming). This calls for the old theory of the primordial monosyllable to be abandoned. But it also means we must reexamine and redo our transcriptions and reconstructions of early Buddhist linguistic material to accord with the data that we actually have for them.

## Buddhist Literature
**Mon., Aug. 21st, 9:00-15:30**

Wu, Hongyu (Ohio Northern University)

**Sword and Lotus: The Buddhist Life of a Woman Warrior in the Late Ming Dynasty (1368-1644)**

This paper examines the case of Liu Shu, a woman warrior turned Buddhist laywoman, to consider how Buddhism helped women create meaningful religious and social lives. Liu Shu was born to the family of a late Ming official. She was conversant in Confucian classics and Buddhist scriptures and martial arts as well. She recruited soldiers to reclaim the Ming capital city when it fell into the hands of the rebels. After her plan was unfortunately aborted, Liu Shu withdrew from the battlefield and spent the rest of her life as a dedicated lay Buddhist. Her life story was collected in the *Shan nuren zhuan* (Biographies of Good Women), the biographical collection of exemplary Buddhist laywomen, compiled by Peng Shaosheng (1740-1796), a literatus Buddhist layman of the Qing (1644-1911). This paper explores the life of Liu Shu as a Buddhist drawing on her self-expressive poems and her religious biography complied by Peng. By focusing on her poems, this paper analyzes how she interpreted Buddhist doctrines to make sense of her traumatic personal life and cope with the pain of witnessing the loss of loved ones and homeland, and how she obtained solace and peace of mind from the unsecure and violent world by leading a Buddhist life. This paper reveals the voice and life experience of Liu Shu as a Buddhist that was totally dismissed by the male biographer—who presented Liu Shu as a woman warrior and loyal subject to fit his own agend—to defend Buddhist against the accusation of being socially irresponsible and undermining morality by the Confucian critics of his time.

Stepien, Rafal (University of Oxford)
**Chinese Buddhist Literature, Literary Theory, and Philosophy of Language: A Study of Liu Xie & Chan**

*The Literary Mind and the Carving of Dragons* (文心雕龍) is China's earliest surviving systematic treatise of literary theory. In it, the Buddhist scholar Liu Xie (劉勰 c. 465-522) draws on the full semantic range of the Chinese character *wen* (文) as 'pattern, cultivation, word, literature', to propose that 'literary patterns' (言之文) are the very 'mind of heaven and earth' (天地之心), the very manifestation of natural 'suchness' (自然). This last term is of prime importance in Chinese Buddhist thought, where it is understood to embody the functioning of the 'Buddha nature' (佛性) or 'original mind' (本心) inherent in all human beings, by means of which they are able to realize 'emptiness' (空) and thereby just be 'truly thus' (真如). Such thusness is in turn understood by the Chan Buddhist tradition to necessitate 'not depending on words and letters' (不立文字). Despite their avowed insistence on the transcendence of *wen*, however, Chan philosophers and literati not only composed a great deal of literature, but invoked what I argue is a distinctly logocentric approach to enlightenment fully in accord with Liu Xie's dictum that "When mind arises, language abides; when language abides, literature enlightens" (心生而言立，言立而文明).

In this paper, I thus read Chan philosophy of language through Liu Xie's Buddhist literary theory to demonstrate that both are committed to literature, in the fullest sense, as itself the 'original embodiment' (本身) of Buddhist emptiness, and thus as an indispensable means toward enlightenment. I focus especially on Liu Xie's opening chapter, 'The Source of the Way' (原道), which includes the treatise's richest theoretical elaboration of *wen*. My reading has two immediate consequences for the study of Buddhist literature, literary theory, and philosophy: Firstly, it goes some way toward substantiating the claim that *The Literary Mind* was a direct historical source of certain Chan notions of language and literature. Secondly, it posits a philosophical claim as to the pre-eminent importance of language and literature, 言 and 文, in the Chan program of enlightenment. In this regard, I argue that the Chan disavowal of 'words and letters' is itself a literary device aimed at the ultimate identification of literature with suchness (文 with 如), form with emptiness (色 with 空). Ultimately, then, the Buddhist adept cannot dispense with language and literature, and by extension remain 'without thought and without concept' (無思無念) as the Chan dictum goes, for these are precisely what convey *wen*, the very pattern of reality.

Ponampon, Phra Kiattisak (SOAS, University of London)
*Yi xin guan qi*: **Visualization Meditation in Early Chinese Buddhist Texts during the 5th Century**

Meditation was an important activity for Central Asian Buddhists as well as for Chinese Buddhist during the first - sixth centuries CE. After Buddhist meditation texts were translated into Chinese from the second century CE to the fourth century, Central Asian monks such as An Shigao, Lokakṣema, Kumārajīva, Dharmamitra and others translated Buddhist meditation texts into Chinese. The Buddhist meditative technique that requires the practitioner to single-mindedly observe one's own navel 一心觀齊 at around the centre of the body was once circulated in Central Asia and China but now it seems to have been abandoned. This technique, however, can be found in the Book of Zambasta (Martini 2011, Yamabe 1999, 2002, 2012), the Yogalehrbuch (Yamabe 2002), the Visualization Manual 觀經 T85 (Yamabe 2010), Mongolian Meditation Manual (Yamabe 2010), the Essence of the Meditation Manual Consisting of Five Gates 五門禪經要用法 T619 (Yamabe 2010), including the Abridged Essentials of Meditation" 思惟畧要法 T617 (Yamabe 2010). In this paper I will survey the Buddhist meditative technique in the fifth century that are present in these texts, particularly how the practitioner single-mindedly observes one's own navel (一心觀齊) at the centre of the body and what its consequences are. In addition this paper considers some of the visual evidence for this meditation technique in Chinese Buddhist iconography.

Yagi, Toru (Osaka Gakuin University)
**A note on the Saundarananda 3.32d**

According to Johnston's edition, where the Paper Manuscript's reading parama is emended to paramam. by him, the present stanza runs as follows:

*vibhavānvito ’pi tarun. o’pi, vis.ayacalendriyo ’pi san/*

*naiva ca parayuvatīr agamat, paramam. hi tā dahanato ’py amanyata//*

His translation is:
And however rich a man might be, however young, however stirred in his
senses by passion, he never touched the wives of others; for he deemed them
more dangerous than fire.

Covill's translation 'for he considered them more dangerous than fire' according to Johnston's edition is substantially the same as that of Johnston. Adopting the emendation parama by Hultzsch, Matsunami translates pada d into "nazenareba karera-o (mi-o yakukoto) hi-yorimo suguretari to omoitareba [,i.e. 'for he considered them superior to fire (in consuming, in the form of the fire of lust, him)']". On the other hand, basing himself on the edition of Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Shastri, where both the Paper and the Palm-leaf Manuscripts' reading paramahita is emended to paramahila by the editor, Sen

translates the present pada into 'he thought of other's women as (fiercer) than fire itself', 'he regarded [all] women other [than his wife] worse than fire' or '(he) thought of other's women as (fiercer) than fire'. In this essay, I would like to examine the present pada from the syntactical viewpoint, mainly basing myself on the preceding studies of, among others, Hultzsch, de la Vall´ee Poussin, Sen and Matsunami, especially on those painstaking studies of Shastri and Johnston.

---

Daribazaron, Darima (Buryat State University)
**Buryat annotations on Lamrim**

*Lamrim* texts are well known to those who are interested in Tibetan Buddhism, both religious adepts and academics. The impact made by the most popular work of the genre - "Lamrim Chenmo" composed by Je Tsongkhapa in the early 15th century – on the development of Buddhism in Tibet was profound. For not only it provided individual practitioners with the map of the Buddhist path in accordance with Mahayana canonic literature, it also played an important role in the institutionalization of Tibetan Buddhism. The text was to become "the basis of the "Yellow Sect"… a kind of Bible for them, to which they constantly refer in the form of excerpts, explanations and commentaries"[13]. In the centuries to follow all prominent *Geluk* teachers seem to have regarded it as a mandate to comment on *Lamrim Chenmo*. Overall there must be hundreds of *lamrim* texts, among which «eight great commentaries» (*lam rim khrid chen brgyad*) are distinguished. It must be noted that the authors of the latter enjoyed great religious and political authority in the tradition.

The Center of Oriental Manuscripts & Xylographs in Ulan-Ude, Buryatia, Russia, houses at least 35 titles of various *lamrim* texts by Tibetan Mongolian and Buryat authors. A rough analysis shows that the collection is dominated by commentaries on "The Easy Path" by the

---

[13] Guiseppe Tucci. The Religions of Tibet / Translated from German & Italian by Geoffrey Samuel. – Allied Publishers Pvt. Ltd., Routledge & Kegan Paul, Bombay/London, 1980 - p. 37

First Panchen Lama, while the number of copies of the original text (13) is comparable to the number *Lamrim Chenmo* copies (~18). We are yet to find out why this text was considered to be of such importance to the local Buddhists – perhaps it has to do with the particular emphasis the text puts on tantric methods or historic connections between Panchen Lama and Mongolian rulers.

One commentary on "The Easy Path" drew our special attention. "Nectar of the incomparable teacher's speech, notes made on the commentary revealing the essence of the easy path leading to omniscience" (*byang chub lam gyi rim pa'i dmar khrid thams cad mkhyen par bgrod pa'i bde lam gyi zin bris yab rje bla ma'i zhal gyi bdud rtsi*) presents notes made by a Mongolian lama, who introduces himself as Sherab Gyatso, of the oral commentary on the Panchen Lama's text received from his teacher, another Mongolian lama, in the beginning of the 20th century. Its peculiarity is that while adhering to the traditional structure of *lamrim* works the text explains the Buddhist doctrine through Jataka tales and oral folktales. The study of the text allows us to see how the *lamrim* genre evolved over time and space – from monumental scholastic *Lamrim Chenmo* to meditation manual of "The Easy Path" and to almost secular narrative of "Nectar of the incomparable teacher's speech".

Mochizuki, Kaie (Minobusan University)
**A Commentary on the Lotus sutra translated from Chinese into Tibetan**

In the Tibetan tangyur we can find a commentary on the *Lotus sutra* translated from Chinese, the *Dam pa'i chos puṇḍa rī ka'i 'grel pa* (D. 4017, P. 5517). The author Kuei-Chi (632-682) is a disciple of Xuangzang. I have already considered the reason why it had been translated in shortened version and pointed out that Tibetan translator had acknowledged Vasubandhu's commentary on the Lotus sutra.

I will consider the background of its Tibetan translation in this presentation. We can find several manuscripts of Chi's commentary in Dunhuang and it was also translated into Uigyur. This means that this commentary was widely used to study the *Lotus sutra* in western regions of China. In this area a commentary of the *Saṃdhinirmocanasūtra* by Woncheuk (613-696) who also belongs to the Fa-hsiang school in China was also translated into Tibetan. Though his views on the teaching of mind-only are little bit different from those of Chi, it is very interesting to consider a reason why these two commentaries were translated into Tibetan.

I will also consider the way how the *Lotus sutra* was accepted in this area. We can find a Khotanese summary of it. It was reported that this summary was affected by Vasubandhu's commentary. Though a Tibetan translation of the latter is put in one Tibetan catalogue of scripture and one Chinese, it was lost in Tibet. Then it is needed to consider a possibility that the former knew the latter from the Tibetan translation of Chi's commentary. Therefore, Chi's commentary must be an important commentary to elucidate an acceptance of the *Lotus sutra* in inner Asia.

Sirisawad, Natchapol (Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität)

**Comparative Studies of the Quotations in Śamathadeva's *Abhidharmakośopāyikā-ṭīkā* Parallel to the *Mahāprātihāryasūtra* in the Tibetan translation of the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya* and the *Prātihāryasūtra in* the *Divyāvadāna***

The *Mahāprātihāryasūtra* or the story of the great miracles at Śrāvastī is one of the Buddha's principal miracles and effectively the prototypical Buddhist miracle story. This narrative is preserved in in a variety of languages. A version which has not yet been translated into any modern language and has not yet been used in research is quotations from the *Mahāprātihāryasūtra* preserved in the *Abhidharmakośopāyikā-ṭīkā*, a compendium of canonical sources cited in Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* compiled at an uncertain date by the Nepalese monk Śamathadeva. The Sanskrit original is lost, but the complete text is preserved in Tibetan translation. The objectives of this study are to provide annotated translations of the parallels in Śamathadeva's *Abhidharmakośopāyikā-ṭīkā,* and to study the relationships between the contents of the *Abhidharmakośopāyikā-ṭīkā*, the Tibetan translation of the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya* and the *Prātihāryasūtra* preserved in the *Divyāvadāna*. The study reveals that the quotations in Śamathadeva's *Abhidharmakośopāyikā-ṭīkā*, the Tibetan translation of the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya* and the *Prātihāryasūtra* from the *Divyāvadāna* are related, although there are some slight differences in detail. In Śamathadeva's *Abhidharmakośopāyikā-ṭīkā* quote the verse and abbreviated the story from the *Mahāprātihāryasūtra* which mostly parallels to the Tibetan translation of the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya*.

# Buddhist Places
**Mon., Aug. 21st, 9:00-12:30**

Coura, Gabriele (TU Dresden and University of Vienna)
**A Buddhist Place of Education: dPal spungs Monastery from the 18th to the Early 20th Century**

Ever since its founding in 1729 by the Eighth Si tu Chos kyi 'byung gnas, dPal spungs monastery in Khams was a place where monks could train in fields as diverse as meditation and ritual, scriptural studies, medicine and painting. It was one of the largest bKa' brgyud monasteries in Eastern Tibet, with a population of 500 to 700 monks.

In my paper, I will look at dPal spungs as a structure that enabled education, with its various necessary substructures, such as buildings, hierarchies and time schedules. Additional factors that contributed to monastic learning were for instance the charisma of Buddhist teachers, the authority of their writings, the pedagogical strategies used and the systems of punishment applied. From a diachronic perspective, the main focus will be on the two outstanding figures of the period in question, the Eighth Si tu (1700-1774) and the First Kong sprul Blo gros mtha' yas (1813-1899), both of whom were polymaths and prolific writers. However, their diverging emphases on certain subjects shaped the learning culture within the community: Si tu laid the focus on scriptural studies, painting and medicine, whereas the importance Kong sprul attached to meditation training becomes evident from his founding and running a three-year retreat center above dPal spungs. Still, scriptural studies took place during his time, too, and became

intensified and more formalized through the establishment of a scriptural college (*bshad grwa*) at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

It will be shown that monastic education took place in diverse contexts with a varying degree of formality, ranging from the rigid temporal, spatial and organizational structures of a teaching institution to mutual influence within the community, e.g. imitation of the good examples of one's fellow monks and rejection of the bad ones; and that a multitude of topics was taught, ranging from the transmission of knowledge about scholarly subjects via training in meditation and practical skills up to enforcing behavior that is considered appropriate for members of a monastic community.

Sources used include religious histories (*chos 'byung*), several monastic guidelines (*bca 'yig*), the autobiographies (*rang rnam*) of Si tu and Kong sprul, and the inventory (*dkar chag*) of the retreat center Tsā 'dra rin chen brag.

---

Namgyal, Tsetan (Jawaharlal Nehru University)
**Lineage and linkages of Buddhism in Indian Trans-Himalaya region- A case study of affiliation between Stag na Lho Druk Monastery of Ladakh and Bhutan's Drup pa tradition**

It says that the origin and development of all established lineages of traditional Tibetan Buddhism in Ladakh have its origin from Tibet brought in at the different historical period. However in the case of Stagna Monastery which is the historic symbol of Druk-pa Ka gyud pa (brug pa bka'rgyud) lineage in Ladakh as far as from the historical implication and paradigm is concerned that has a direct connection with the land of thunder (Bhutan) than the land of snow (Tibet). Hence, this is the only monastery in Ladakh where the lamas and regents used to come from Bhutan as in the same way where Tibetan lamas used to come in other major monasteries in Ladakh for pilgrimage and as a religious convey, etc. The Stagna monastery was founded by the religious king of Bhutan Zabs Drung Nawang Namgyal in 16<sup>th</sup> century AD under the auspicious and commitment of Ladakh's powerful King Jamayang Namgyal and later patronage by his successor Singay Namgyal established the monastery at a hilltop that more look like a Tiger nose hence it called Stag snga near Leh lies towards the bank of Indus river.

The proposed focal point of this paper is to represent the actual lineages and linkages that took place through the homage of emperors and the concerned monk's sermon based on their active different religious tradition and tenets. Thus, in the case of Drup pa Ka gyud they worked hard in spreading and transmitting the traditional 'Lho Druk' tradition of Tibetan Buddhism in Ladakh and other adjacent areas through the long and hard steep corridor that connected all through the mighty Himalayan mountain of Bhutan and Ladakh. The central part of the paper is to bring out the critical study primarily focusing with on the cultural hub of this ancient monastery of Ladakh (La dvags) while contrasting on the line of Ladakhi and the Bhutanese primary and secondary Buddhist sources. Particularly the study will be based on the rare manuscripts which I found from the Stagna monastery during my field work which written in Tibetan u med letters with red seal of Bhutan's head Lama Zabs Drung Nawang Namgyal and

stag snga's head Lama Nawang Dhonyod Dorje counterpart jointly and also separately during their different historical correspondence period.

Wiles, Royce (Nan Tien Institute)
Ditrich, Tamara (University of Sydney)
Clark, Chris (University of Sydney)
**Research on the Kuthodaw Pagoda marble-stelae recension of the Pāli canon in Mandalay, Myanmar**

Between 1860-1868 King Mindon (1853-1878) had the complete Theravāda Buddhist canon in Pāli carved onto 729 marble stelae which were then housed at the specially constructed Kuthodaw Pagoda in Mandalay, Myanmar. By transferring the Pāli texts from manuscript to stone King Mindon fulfilled one of the religious duties of Myanmar kings, namely to preserve the Buddha's teachings. In all likelihood he was also to some extent prompted by the annexation of lower Myanmar by the British in 1852. These inscriptions still preserve a complete and unified recension of the Pāli canon which is a unique textual witness of the Theravāda manuscript tradition of Myanmar well outside the reach of Western textual methods and practices. This paper reports on a project to conserve, photograph and study these previously underutilised inscriptions, in an attempt to clarify how the texts as inscribed relate to earlier manuscript traditions and to subsequent printed versions of the canon from Myanmar.

Despite the importance of these inscriptions and the monument in general (the Kuthodaw Pagoda received UNESCO "Memory of the World" status only in 2013) there had not previously been any comprehensive study of this site or its texts, nor were there explicit plans for the systematic conservation and protection of the inscriptions. From 2014-2016 a research team from the University of Sydney and Nan Tien Institute, Australia (collaborating with the Myanmar Department of Archaeology) completed the first stage of a research project by undertaking the conservation and photographic documentation of all the Kuthodaw Pagoda inscriptions as well as beginning systematic transcriptions. With the first stage completed in 2016 a comprehensive database of the images was then set up to make these inscriptions available to interested scholars.

The second stage of the project is underway, namely a comparison of selected Pāli texts as preserved on the stelae with both earlier local manuscript versions and later printings of the canon, aiming to make clear how these versions preserved in stone relate to the broader printed and manuscript transmission of Pāli texts both within Myanmar and the larger Buddhist world of Southeast Asia and Sri Lanka.

In this paper we present a brief overview of the achievements of the project to date, including some initial findings of research comparing the Kuthodaw recension of a range of Pāli texts from the Tipiṭaka and earlier manuscript versions from Myanmar, as well as with the important "Sixth Council" and other editions of the Pāli Tipiṭaka used today in Pāli scholarship. The clarification of the differences between these versions deepens scholarly appreciation of the

alterations (major and minor) introduced over the past centuries into Pāli texts by documenting editorial practices and conventions, which are as yet poorly known or understood.

Ouyang, Nan (The University of Arizona)
**To Localize a Bodhisattva in Late Imperial China: Kṣitigarbha, Moutain Jiuhua and Their Associations in Precious Scrolls (*baojuan* 寶卷)**

In late imperial China, the identification of Mt. Jiuhua with the manifestation abode of Kṣitigarbha Bodhisattva, was referenced, utilized and promulgated by the so-called "precious scroll," a popular genre of vernacular religious literature. Among precious scrolls featuring a wide range of topics, the Kṣitigarbha-related ones and the Maudgalyāyana-related ones were particularly instrumental in retailing and re-affirming the associations between Kṣitigarbha and Mountain Jiuhua to a large audience of limited literacy.

Within these texts, the story revolving around Kim Gyo-gak (Jin Qiaojue 金喬覺), a legendary Korean prince-turned-monk who resided on Mt. Jiuhua in the Tang as an emanation of Kṣitigarbha, was skillfully adapted and adopted into the narratives. By looking into the manuscript collections of precious scrolls composed in the Ming-Qing period, this paper covers three related questions in terms of textual analysis. First, it traces when and how Mountain Jiuhua, as a geographical factor of importance, first began to show up in Kṣitigarbha- and Maudgalyāyana-themed precious scrolls. Second, it analyzes the ways in which Mountain Jiuhua became woven into the traditional narrative elements. Last, it examines the process in which forms of localized narratives developed and expanded.

With regard to the religious functions of precious scrolls, the paper also discusses the ritualized reading of the texts (*xuanjiang* 宣講) in two specific scenarios, the mortuary liturgy that involved the worship of Kṣitigarbha and the ceremony that constituted a ritual component of making a pilgrimage to Mountain Jiuhua. In the dual process of textual production and ritual iteration, the genre became a vibrant venue for the locals to construct the associations between Mountain Jiuhua and Kṣitigarbha Bodhisattva, which contributed to the rising fame of Mountain Jiuhua among the masses and helped to reshape the religious landscape of late imperial China.

Wenzel, Claudia (Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften)
**Buddhist Places Evoking Prajñāpāramitā: Chinese Stone Sutra Inscriptions of the Northern Qi in Shandong**

A particular type of Buddhist places are polished cliff inscriptions 摩崖刻經, which flourished in the second half of the sixth century in Shandong Province. Often located at remote mountain sites at some distance from monasteries, these sites present large Buddha names cut artfully into the living rock, and a selection of sutra passages that focus on Mahayana topics like the realization of the six perfections of a bodhisattva and instructions on emptiness. The pervading teaching found at all of the 21 known sites of various sizes—ranging from a single Buddha name to large clusters of inscriptions—is prajñāpāramitā. The five Chinese characters for

prajñāpāramitā, *bore boluomi* 般若波羅蜜, were carved at some sites as independent inscriptions, like evocations; or they were grouped together with Buddha names, or monumentalized on a steep cliff in a phrase reading "The Great Perfection of Wisdom Spoken by the Buddha" 佛說摩訶般若波羅蜜. In addition, the nature of prajñāpāramitā is also the topic the most frequently carved sutra passage in Shandong, a passage in 98 characters taken from the *Sutra on the Great Perfection of Wisdom Spoken by Mañjuśrī* (文殊師利所說摩訶般若波羅蜜經, T#232, 8: 731a15-21), which was carved eight times on mountains and three times on complete stelae. It seems as if the patrons of the carving projects were almost obsessed with this passage, as they presented it in various layouts of 7 times 13 characters, or 10 times 10 characters, with only 8 characters in the last column of the inscription. The wording of the 98 character passage is identical in all carvings, without any variant readings, thus providing strong evidence for the cohesiveness of all sites and a common mind frame of their donors.

This passage also throws some light on how these particular "Buddhist places" with stone carvings were understood at their times: Prajñāpāramitā is also a "Site of Bodhisattva-Mahāsattva Practice" 菩薩摩訶薩行處. However, "since it is neither a site of practice nor of non-practice—all [Sites of Bodhisattva-Mahāsattva Practice] belonging to the One Vehicle—it is named the Site of Non-Practice". In addition to discussing the sites evoking prajñāpāramitā in their topographical contexts, I will also present two recent discoveries which help with tying the polished cliff inscriptions to the general history of Buddhism as known from literary sources. The first is Yanzhou 兗州 as the potential center of the carving activities, and the second is a newly discovered colophon from former Mount Ziyang 嶧陽山 (also close to Yanzhou), which names, for the first time, a monk whose biography has come down to us: Sengfang 僧鳳 (554?–630?), a disciple of the *Shidilun* master Sengcan 僧粲 (529–613).

Winfield, Pamela (Elon University)
**Building Materials and Bodhi Mind at Eiheiji Temple, Japan**

In 1243, Zen Master Dōgen (1200-1253) established the first halls of Eiheiji monastery in present-day Fukui prefecture, Japan. Here in this eponymous "Temple of Eternal Peace," Dōgen sought to transmit the full mind of Zen awakening to his lay congregants as well as to his monastic disciples. The manner in which he did so, however, differed radically depending on his audience.

This presentation will examine two fascicles, which scholars believe Dōgen successively delivered to his lay and clerical audiences on the same day in early 1244 (e.g. Nishijima-Cross, Masutani). It will take a distinctly materialist approach, and analyze Dōgen's rhetorical strategies for either valorizing or renouncing the material world to fulfill his competing yet complementary objectives. Specifically, Dōgen's first fascicle for laity on *Awakening the Unsupassed Mind* (*Hotsu mujōshin* 発無上心) functions as an encouraging pep talk to his construction workers engaged in his project of "building stupas and images," while it also serves

as a fundraising appeal to obtain more resources from his lay patrons. By contrast, the second fascicle on *Awakening the Bodhi Mind* (*Hotsu mujōshin* 発菩提心) delivered to his fellow monks, initially explains the nonduality of matter and mind, but also subtly indicates that their renunciation of material goods can also be a vehicle for awakening bodhicitta, for the bodhisattva-like benefit of all.

The ongoing feedback loop of karmic exchange, in which laity and clergy give and get material and immaterial boons for the mutual benefit of all, is well documented in studies of Mahāyāna Buddhist economies. However, this investigation offers new insight into Dōgen's rhetorical strategies for persuading each side of their importance to this exchange. Interestingly, Dōgen fundamentally structures both of his targeted arguments according to the ancient Chinese material theory of the five phases (*wuxing* 五行 of Earth, Water, Fire, Wood, and Metal). That is, as I have argued for his first monastic project at Kōshōji in 1233 (forthcoming), Dōgen again itemizes a series of two-character compounds that roughly match up with these categories [e.g. "soil and earth" (Earth), "grasses and trees" (Wood), "fences and walls" (Metal), "tiles and pebbles" (Fire) and "wind and water" (Water)]. As a result, he concretely invokes the most advanced material theory of his day to mobilize the entire world and engage each audience individually in his project to literally build up his vision of a new Song-style Sōtō Zen monastery in Japan. This paper thus reclassifies Dōgen as a savvy institution-builder (not just Zen philosopher), who masterfully deploys Chinese material theory in the service of his fundraising and recruitment efforts to establish his new monastic enterprise at Eiheiji.

## Contemporary Buddhism
**Fri., Aug. 25th, 9:00-12:30**

Meister, Kelly (University of Chicago)
**Righteous and Nefarious Uses of Buddhist Power within a Material Nodal Network at Wat Phra Mahāthātworamahāwihān (Nakhon Si Thammarat, Thailand)**

According to the chronicles of Nakhon Si Thammarat, stormy seas and Buddhist fate auspiciously marooned the bearers of the Buddha's left eyetooth on the shores of Siam. Eventually, the relic—the same tooth that the Dalidāmaligawa in Kandy, Sri Lanka lays claim to—would become the treasure of Wat Phra Mahāthātworamahāwihān (hereafter: Wat Phra Thāt), a Buddhist monastery beloved by locals of the bustling city in Thailand's upper south, and renown throughout country and beyond. In this paper, I argue that the Buddha relic functions as a nexus of power, infusing nearby objects and people with its potency. Importantly, while the relic is enclosed in the principle *chedi*, and is indeed the epicenter of this power, for practitioners, the relic is but one component in a complex space, and does not necessarily function as the center of their devotion. Therefore, we must also look to supplemental, material nodes of this potency and potentiality. To do so, we move outward from the relic in all directions—to the on-site museums, large market, diverse structures, statues of local historical and legendary figures, and countless objects and images, which make Wat Phra Thāt an ideal site for the study of how material culture shapes and is shaped by the practices of its visitors. I further argue that as the nexus and nodes mutually reinforce each other, an expansive network

is created, sustained, and then utilized; not all components of this network contribute equally, but they all actively participate in and reinforce the nodal complex. While the relic has innate power because it was at one point physically connected to the Buddha, people who practice the *dhamma* within space sustain the network itself. Based on my ethnographic findings, I explore how practitioners variously conceive of this Buddhist power—manifest via the nodal material complex—as multifaceted (e.g., understood through the dynamic concepts of *amnāt, itiphon nai jai*, *saksit*, and *sirimongkhon*), and accessible for personal use. For example, one's proximity to the relic or a node, and the more effortful a relationship one has with a material object, the greater the potential for them to reap personal benefits. As such, devotees may enter into what I call pacts (*ko bon gae bon*), or form long-lasting, personal relationships with various images. Moreover, everyday acts of veneration and requests for blessings are common, and generally considered righteous, or at least acceptable, Buddhist practice. Additionally, this power, conceived of in ways different from Buddhist devotees, can also be petitioned for use by non-Buddhists (e.g., Muslims and Hindus). More nefarious uses include supplicating an object with the explicit intention of inflicting harm on another, and subverting (or hastening) the law of cause and effect (*sābān*). Thus, through exploring the various conceptions of power, analyzing lived practices, and situating both with the nodal network of materiality, we can see how contemporary practitioners conceive of and utilize monastic spaces.

---

Kawamoto, Kanae (Japan Society for the Promotion of Science)
**Love Incessantly Flows: Mae Naak, A New Asian Opera Heroine Born out of a Thai Buddhist Narrative**

The folklore of Nak (Naak) or "Mae Nak Phrakhanong" (Mother Nak of Phrakhanong District) permeates Thailand as the most popular story of a ghostly haunting as well as of the ideal woman loyal to her love. The story, originating in the nineteenth century, has been made into a plethora of versions including a novelette, a radio drama, and more than twenty film adaptations. The reasons for Nak's popularity are worth researching because she embodies an inconsistency that exists between "Thai" Theravada Buddhism and animistic beliefs, and such a universal inconsistency cannot be explained by typical interpretations such as dichotomy or accommodation between religious traditions. My research focuses on the 2003 opera *Mae Naak* composed by Somtow Sucharitkul. This contains two idiosyncratic traits different from other versions. First, Sucharitkul's libretto downplays the judgmental superiority of the Buddhist monk who cures the ghost. Second, it emphasizes the feminine emotions, appealing to "true love" with the dramatic advantage of opera. The fundamental Buddhist truths of impermanence and detachment are undoubtedly valued by Thai Buddhists. Simultaneously, they hold ambivalent feelings toward ghosts, characterized by both fear and intimacy. *Mae Naak* draws on these multiple Thai feelings of horror, veneration, and finally emotional satisfaction. Consequently, it creates a new modern Asian heroine in opera. The Thai woman Nak, unlike *Madama Butterfly*, bears these powerful emotions of love and desire to live. The conclusion, however, does not define the emotional aspect of the story as merely the unfortunate result of ignorance of impermanence and attachment. Instead, the narrative helps each individual to concretize and personalize the more abstract concepts of Buddhism. The story of the opera depicts true love that never dies and continues through rebirths with her beloved in a karmic

journey. This apparently inconsistency contributes to an ongoing "Buddhist" culture in harmony with local beliefs.

---

Zoric, Snjezana (Hankuk University of Foreign Studies)
**Transformation of Ritual into the Theatrical Heritage Performance – a Korean Case**

Since the times of its emergence from oblivion, the Yeongsanjae ritual has undergone various transformations regarding its meaning and function. In this paper I want to show the process of said transformations of this ritual whose original purpose was to lead the ancestor's souls to Heaven. Starting with its performance in 1988 for successful Olympic Games that were held in Seoul that year, we will see how it was conducted to bring about the Korean unification throughout the 1990's, then changing into a ritual for World Peace, and finally turning into a national heritage item performed for tourists as a means of representation of Korean Buddhist culture. Eventually, the ritual even traveled beyond Korea's borders, ending up at the Ford Theatre stage in Hollywood, where it was utilized as a pragmatic tool to make Korean Buddhism more known to the world.

The inspiration for the ritual stems from the text of the Lotus sutra. My objective is to elaborate its relation to Yeongsanjae on two levels, the one being structural (related to textual sources and field research data) and the other interpretive (speculative, related to the "cultural memory" which I read as inscribed in the *jakbeop* dances and *daenghwa* painting). On the textual level, I observe the Lotus sutra as an art of description, conveying the experience of Buddha's enlightenment. Yet Yeongsanjae is not only a ritualization of text, it also depicts its own aesthetic world, signified by all ritual preparations, i.e. from arranging altars, making offerings, singing, playing music, and dancing. Textuality is transfigured in the ritual in a kind of overwhelming sensuality, leading to the final experiences of *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa* being equal, as it is understood by the performing monks. Yeongsanjae monks belong to the *daego* school of married monks, which is a remnant from the era of Japanese colonization, and developed as an opposition to the traditional Seon (Zen) school. On the interpretive level, I intend to show how the ritual includes elements of Confucianism and shamanism, such as the emphasis on the virtue of filial piety (*hyoshim*) or the idea of feeding the hungry ghosts.

Ritualization of the text and textualization of the ritual will be examined within a theoretical frame which includes differentiation of the concepts of ritual, performance and theatre.

---

Thévoz, Samuel (The Robert H. N. Ho Family Foundation Program in Buddhist Studies)
**The Making of a Modern Buddha: Global Buddhism and Theater**

The rise of Buddhism on a global scale in the nineteenth century triggered responses not only from scholars, thinkers, religious communities and spiritual seekers but also from artists ranging from playwrights to poets, musicians and painters worldwide. Among the considerable amount of modern Buddha-art works which still need to be documented and studied, my paper analyzes the underresearched case study of dramas staging the life story of the Buddha. The number of Buddha-dramas—theatrical plays, operas, published, performed or only sketched—literally exploded between 1890 and 1920 throughout Asia, Continental Europe, Great Britain and the

United States. As they weaved together spiritual and artistic issues to make sense of an unsettling and changing world, the Buddha-dramas highlight the aesthetic dimension of 'modern Buddhism' (Lopez 2005): although this has rarely been shown by the critics, this aspect has been a major factor of the spread of Buddhism worldwide up to this day.

In the scope of this general framework, my paper examines the construction of the image of the Buddha on stage, as the Buddha-dramas actively gave shape to a modern Buddha and helped forge a new spiritual icon. Indeed, the Buddha-dramas participated in creating a standardized image of the Buddha in the public sphere, while responding to specific local cultural and artistic issues. Nevertheless, when choosing the Buddha as a dramatic topic, the authors, stage-directors and actors—as well as the audience—struggled with the difficulty of staging a very unconventional and profoundly anti-dramatic character. Indeed, the Buddha's main feature deliberately was to be sitting on stage, motionless, expressionless, absorbed in meditation throughout the performance. Other important concerns were the staging of the Buddha's *siddha*, expressing his psychic power acquired while meditating, as well as the representation of Nirvana. Based on a selection of plays from various countries and multiple horizons in the performing arts of the time, and on the press or audience responses when available, I show how these theatre-related challenges ideologically-charged and in some cases led to significant polemics in the public sphere. As they pertained to a more global shift in the cultural landscape of the time, they offer a new insight into the complex and multi-faceted advent of global Buddhism.

## Early Buddhism
**Mon., Aug. 21st, 14:00-17:30**

Maes, Claire (University of Texas at Austin)
**Early Buddhists and their Jain Ascetic other, an Examination**

Early Buddhist monks knew their Jain ascetic other, and they knew them well. They displayed a knowledge that went beyond the clichéd features of Jain doctrine and practice; a type of knowledge suggestive of an intense contact between early Buddhist and Jain ascetics. This is not surprising when considering the facts that both ascetic communities originated and developed in much the same region of north-eastern India, known as Greater Magadha, and that within this region Buddhist and Jain ascetics wandered and resided in very close socio-geographical proximity. In fact, any daily activity of the Buddhist monk could give rise to contact with Jain ascetics, and other śramaṇas too for this matter. When examining the various contact opportunities, we observe how the basic and fundamental activities of alms begging, eating, wandering, bathing, and even resting and sleeping could bring Buddhist monks into direct contact with their Jain ascetic other. A critical text-historical reading of both early Buddhist and Jain ascetic texts show us how public festal events and many ascetic facilities, such as rest houses, travel lodges, debating halls and, at times even vihāras, were not organized or erected exclusively for the benefit of Buddhist ascetics, but for 'everyone' (Pāli: *sabbe, savvajaṇa*). As such, these places and events inevitably functioned as platforms for direct contact opportunities. By means of (1) a critical discussion of these direct contact opportunities and (2) an analysis of references to Jains and their ascetic practices in a selection of early Pāli

Buddhist texts, this paper examines what the contact and interaction with ascetic others, and Jains in particular, meant for the early Buddhist community's processes of othering and boundary negotiation. Throwing further light on the early Buddhist-Jain interaction, my discussion will problematize the notion of *the* 'Buddhist' ascetic and *the* 'Jain' ascetic. Problematizing the idea that difference (in however many different ways this could be negotiated) between *the* 'Buddhist' and *the* 'Jain' ascetic was being negotiated in such a manner that *the* 'Buddhist' could indeed at all times be distinguished from *the* 'Jain', and vice versa, I will conclude with some critical methodological reflections on how the interaction between early Buddhist and other ascetic communities can be meaningfully analysed.

Kong, Man-Shik (King's College, London)
**The way which flavour of and quantity of food are dealt with in Early Buddhism**

Buddhism has a theoretical and practical system on flavour of and quantity of food, but it has not been explored in Buddhist Studies. The issue of the flavor of and quantity of food has significant importance mainly in two aspects: for Buddhist monks, food functions as the biggest object of craving in everyday life; on the other hand, the attachment to the flavor of and quantity of food causes psychological and physical problems for lay people.

Pāli cosmological text, the *Aggañña Sutta* in the *Dīgha Nikāya*, explains the way which the universe evolved from the craving for the flavor of and quantity of the first food in the universe. The Pāli commentarial text, the *Visuddhimagga*, defines the nature of food as avarice. These two texts provide us with fundamental viewpoint of food in Buddhism.

The *Vinaya* texts deal with practical regulations to cope with the problems caused by the flavor of and quantity of food from the recommendation on food practice to compulsory regulations to control the dangers caused by food.

The meditation practices in Early Buddhism suggest two meditation remedy to remove the craving for the flavour of and quantity of food: the *āhārepaṭikūla saññā* in the lower stage; the *satipaṭṭhāna* in the higher level.

In this study, the issue of the flavor of and quantity of food in Early Buddhism will be explored through theoretical and practical angles provided by Early Buddhist texts and contemporary psychological findings will also be used to obtain more explicit and vivid explanations of flavor of and quantity of food.

Li, Channa (Leiden University)
**The Sixth Arhat and Multiple Buddhas: The Ambiguity of Arhatship and Buddhahood Found in the Early Buddhist Texts**

As recorded in the Pāli Vinaya, persuaded by Brahmā to preach the Dharma in the world, the Buddha chose the five bhikṣus (Skt. pañcavargika) as his first group of disciples. After these five bhikṣus attained arhatship, the Pāli Vinaya concludes, "At that time, there were six arhats in the world." Who, then, was the sixth arhat after the five bhikṣus? If we understand the context,

it is crystal clear that the sixth arhat refers to the Buddha himself. However, the equal status between the five recently converted monks and the Buddha is somehow surprising, especially for those who take for granted an unbridgeable gulf between the Buddha and arhats (that is, his enlightened disciples). While admitting that the early Buddhist texts generally place the Buddha and his enlightened disciples under two rubrics, viz. buddha and arhat, I believe that through an investigation starting from the idea of the "sixth arhat," we can see, albeit perhaps still vaguely, a very early understanding of the figure of Śākyamuni himself and his relation with his disciples. The expression of the Buddha being one of the six arhats occurs in many texts stemming from the Sthavira lineage, including the Mahīśāsaka Vinaya, the Dharmaguptaka Vinaya, the Fo benxing ji jing 佛本行集經 [Sutra of the Collection of the Past Actions of the Buddha, a hagiographical account of the Buddha possibly stemming from the Dharmaguptaka School], the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya, and the Guoqu xianzai yinguo jing 過去現在因果經 [Sutra on the Past and Present Causes and Effects, another hagiographical text of the Buddha]. The Fo benxing ji jing even claims that the Buddha was the only arhat, instead of the only buddha, in the world at the moment he attained enlightenment.

As we investigate further, we encounter more cases in which the states of buddhahood and arhatship are not distinguished. I list possible cases—by no means exhaustively—in the early Buddhist texts in which the Buddha is called an arhat, and is placed on an equal footing with his disciples. Most cases appear in the Dīghanikāya, the Saṃyuttanikāya and in their corresponding Chinese translations. Based on these cases, I attempt to clarify how texts, especially in the Pāli tradition, understand the distinction between the Buddha and his disciples. I argue that the Pāli tradition still somehow preserves a vestige of an ancient idea that Śākyamuni and his disciples all attain arhatship as the ultimate goal and and Śākyamuni's distinction is based on his position as the founder and first teacher of Buddhism, rather than on his higher state of liberation.

At the same time, I look in an alternative direction to explore whether arhats, that is, the Buddha's enlightened disciples, can be called buddhas. Based on previous scholarship, we can locate several such cases in the Suttanipāta, the Udāna, and the Saṃyuttanikāya. If the enlightened disciples as a collective group could be called buddhas in the plural, can an individual monk be called a buddha after enlightenment? In rare instances, we do find such a usage. This occurs in a late Pāli text, Dasabodhisatta-uddesa, and a Jain text, Isibhāsiyāim, in which Śāriputra is described in a way identical to the Buddha. Nakamura Hajime's argument (1996: 18-19) that the epithet "buddha" as an exclusive reference to Siddhārtha Gautama was a later Buddhist development accompanied and stimulated by the growing cult of Śākyamuni seems, in this respect, reasonable.

The ambiguity between the terms "arhat" and "buddha" is not purely a Sthavira issue but also appears in the Mahāvastu. However, compared to the Sthavira lineage offshoots, the Mahāsāṃghika tradition does not contain as many cases, a fact that may be explained in several ways.

The discussions of the Buddha being the sixth arhat and the disciples being buddhas in the plural are de facto two sides of the same coin: they possibly together reflect an ancient fusion of the states of arhatship and buddhahood, which is sporadically preserved in texts of various

affiliations. The terms arhat and buddha do not always possess their technical meaning respectively associated with the enlightened śrāvakas and Śākyamuni in early Buddhist texts, and therefore there is no solid ground to read the dichotomy of arhatship and buddhahood in an absolute sense, especially in the case of early texts such as those preserved in Pāli.

---

Levman, Bryan (University of Toronto)
**Language Theory, Phonology, and Etymology in Buddhism**

The Buddha considered names to be an arbitrary designation, with their meaning created by agreement. It was not until well after his death that the distinction between conventional and ultimate naming developed, in the hands of his disciples. The early *sutta*s show clearly that *inter alia,* names, perceptions, feelings, thinking, conceptions and mental proliferations were all conditioned dhamma which led to the creation of an "I", craving, clinging and afflictions. Although names were potentially afflictive and "had everything under their power" (*Nāmasuttaṃ*), this did not mean that they were to be ignored or even neglected; words were to be penetrated and thoroughly understood, and the Buddha's words were an essential instrument for liberation, even though eventually they too had to be discarded, along with anything else that one depended upon.

One of the problems of transmitting the Buddha's teachings were the large number of disciples who did not speak an Indo-Aryan language as their first language – i. e. Tamils, Munda, Tibetan, Greek and Persian speakers – or spoke a dialect different from that of the Teacher. Constrained by misunderstanding of phonemes that did not exist in their own language (like aspirated stops, or the distinction between voiced and unvoiced intervocalic stops), this also led to altered transmission of the *Vinaya* and *Sutta*s. Hundreds of these anomalies are preserved in the different editions of the canon, testifying to these transmission ambiguities.  The passages dealing with this problem provide a valuable insight into the phonological issues that the early *saṅgha* had to deal with to try and preserve the integrity of the *sāsana,* "with its meaning and its letters" (*sātthaṃ savyañjanaṃ*)

At the same time the etymological practices of Brahmanism – deliberate elision, augmentation and mutation of letters in an attempt to derive the meaning of a word from multiple roots (*dhātu*)– were imported into Buddhism very early on, probably from the time of the Buddha himself, to demonstrate the intellectual superiority of the Buddha and his teachings. And, despite the Buddha's teachings on the arbitrary nature of language, the commentarial and grammatical traditions developed a sophisticated theoretical framework to analyze, explicate and reinforce some of the key Buddhist doctrinal terms. *Bhagavā* is one such example, and there are hundreds more in the commentaries. Also, an elaborate classification system of different types of names (*nāman*) was developed, again to show that the language of the Buddha, his epithets and teachings were firmly grounded in *saccikattha*, the highest truth, even though such a concept – that words by themselves can represent truth – was quite foreign to their Founder. *Saddanīti* introduced several classification schemes imported from Brahmanism including the notion of the *opapātika-nāma* or the naturally given, spontaneously originating name borrowed from Mīmāṃsā theory, which asserts that a word has a natural, eternal connection with its meaning, a view which is quite un-Buddhist, but a core belief in Brahmanism.

Gruszewska, Joanna (Jagiellonian University)
**Puṇṇā's Verses (Therīgāthā 236-251) in the light of Buddhist criticism of Brahmins in Early Buddhist Literature**

The literature of the Pali Canon contains several examples of Buddha discussing matters of social hierarchy with Brahmins. In many of them he presents his own definition of a Brahmin, stating that being a true Brahmin is not a matter of birth, but rather of proper conduct. This occurs within the suttas with narrative framework (the *Vāsettha Sutta*, the *Aggaññha sutta* or the *Tevijja sutta*, to name the most important ones) and is the topic of the verses collected in the 26th chapter of the *Dhammapada – Brāhmaṇa vaggo*.

Criticism of Brahmins is also present in the verses ascribed to *therī* Puṇṇā, included in *The Collection of Verses of the Elder Nuns (Therīgāthā)*. The poem, in the form of a dialogue, describes the encounter between a Brahmin and Puṇṇā – a female servant, who challenges the Brahmanical notion of ritual purity. The aim of the paper is to present the means applied to depict Puṇṇā's dialogue with Brahmin by analyzing the rhetoric and argumentation used in the verses and to compare them with other examples present in the Pali Canon.

---

Polak, Grzegorz (Maria Curie-Sklodowska University)
**Can the 'end of the world' be reached by means of *jhāna*? A reexamination of the role and place of *saññā* in early Buddhist *jhāna* meditation**

Certain discourses contained in the Suttapiṭaka (e.g. SN 2.26) speak of 'the end of the world' (*lokassa anto),* which needs to be reached inorder to put an end to suffering. In his recent important paper, Alexander Wynne has shown that reaching the 'end of the world' can be connected with cognitive deconstruction of the 'world' of normal experience. In this paper I would like to put forward a hypothesis that such a deconstruction is possible in the meditative state of *jhāna* (especially its higher stages) and attempt to explain the mechanism of such deconstruction on a cognitive level. Recent research by several scholars has shown that the traditional orthodox vision of Buddhist *jhāna* (as presented in the Visuddhimagga) may not be representative of the original doctrine, but rather be a result of later development. This opens up the possibility of rethinking the nature and role of *jhāna* and reexamining its connection to other important elements of early Buddhist soteriological doctrine. In this paper I would like to focus in particular on the interrelation of *jhāna* and *saññā* – an important cognitive factor belonging to the set of the five *khandha-s*. As it is the case with many other elements of early Buddhist doctrine, the interrelation of *jhāna* and *saññā* is not explicitly explained in the suttas. However, it appears to function in an implicit way and thus can be inferred and reconstructed by means of analysis and comparisons of certain suttas. Proper analysis of the interrelation of *jhāna* and *saññā*, will not however be possible without prior taking into account the role of *saññā* in normal cognition and in the arising of cognitive errors. Just to what extent is our perception of reality intermediated by cognitive and linguistic factors? I will draw parallels between some elements of early Buddhist thought and that of Kant and late Wittgenstein. This will allow to better understand the impressive (though not systematically presented) early Buddhist views on the interrelation of cognition, language and reality.

I would like to point out the evidence contained in certain suttas, such as the Mūlapariyāya Sutta (MN 1), the Sandha Sutta (AN 11.9), and the Vihāra Sutta (SN 45.11), which has perhaps still not received the attention it deserves. I would like to put forward a hypothesis, that in the higher stages of *jhāna*, the functioning of *saññā* undergoes a radical change. This will shed light on several important issues, including the problem of ineffability in early Buddhism. Why should the range of *jhāna* not be thought about (*acinteyyo* – AN 4.77)? Does the account of *jhāna-s* actually describe the contents of the mind of a meditator? This hypothesis will also help to harmonize the passages describing liberation in terms of cessation of several factors constituting an individual and those criticizing shutting down of senses and advocating liberation here and now.

## Epistemology and Logic in Buddhism
**Mon., Aug. 21st, 9:00-17:30**

Hayashi, Itsuki (Columbia University)
**Rebirth versus Epiphenomenalism: Buddhist Theory of Ontological Dependence and Persistence**

Dharmakīrti defends the Buddhist doctrine of rebirth by rejecting the Indian physicalists' claim that consciousness comes from body or that it requires body as ontological support. The strategy of the Buddhist is to adduce a special causal relation (*upādāna-upādeya*) that connects moments of consciousness into a series (*santāna*) or an *ens successivum*, where the special causal relation is such that the effect cannot change unless the cause is changed, and whenever the cause changes the effect must also change. Since for any moment of consciousness only a prior consciousness can count as such a special cause, the very first moment of consciousness in this life must be specially caused by, and forms a series with, consciousness prior to that, i.e. the final moment of consciousness in the past life.

Contemporary physicalists would demand that we revise the Buddhist conclusion in light of what we now known about our bodies, particularly the brain. Since mental changes cannot occur without neurological changes, it should be said that consciousness comes not from prior consciousness but from the body. John Taber (2003) addresses precisely this problem and suggests on behalf of the Buddhist (in agreement to Eli Franco (1997)) that the Buddhist view of homogeneous series is theoretically more economical than the physicalist view that non-physical things can come from physical things (i.e. as emergents or structural resultants), so Dharmakīrti at least succeeds in showing that the notion of consciousness as independent of body is not inconceivable.

This paper does three things. First, it argues that the appeal to theoretical economy is *not* available to the Buddhist, due to Dharmakīrti's own criteria of special causal relation being too definitive to allow for such an appeal. Second, it extracts relevant arguments from Śāntarakṣita's *Tattvasaṃgraha* and advances stronger responses to the contemporary physicalist's problem. Third, it exposes an extreme implication of the Buddhist reasoning, that if consciousness turns out to be specially caused by body, then it should be regarded as an epiphenomenon without any direct causal connection with other moments of consciousness, be it across lives or within a

single life. Thus, if we follow the Buddhist criteria of series-constitution, it is either the Buddhist argument succeeds and we should believe in rebirth, or it fails and we should believe in epiphenomenalism. The arguments advanced in this paper will not only urge philosophers to rethink the relationship between mind and body, but also to take rebirth seriously.

References:
Eli Franco, *Dharmakīrti on Compassion and Rebirth*, Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde, vol. 38. Arbeitskreis fur tibetische und buddhistische Studien Universit¨at Wien: Vienna, 1997.
John Taber, "Dharmakīrti against Physicalism", *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 31, 479-502, 2003.

Nowakowski, David (Union College)
**The Isomorphism of Time and Space in Buddhist Arguments for Momentariness**

Arguments for universal momentariness in the Buddhist epistemological tradition (among Dharmakīrti and his successors) often display strong parallelisms in their accounts of space and of time, in ways that are strikingly similar to modern scientific conceptions. This paper examines the lessons provided by these arguments for understanding theories of time and temporal moments (*kṣaṇa*) in the Buddhist epistemological tradition.

The paper begins with a survey of the ways in which the Buddhist epistemologists take space and time to be isomorphic. Such considerations relate both to (1) the similarities between the physical atom as the smallest, indivisible unit of space and the moment (*kṣaṇa*) as the smallest, indivisible unit of time, as well as to (2) the parallelisms between arguments by which the Buddhist epistemologists deny the reality of ordinary entities which are commonly believed to be extended through space, and those by which they deny the reality of entities commonly believed to persist through time. The arguments of greatest interest here are those given by Jñānaśrimitra in his *prasaṅga* and *prasaṅgaviparyaya*, in defense of Dharmakīrti's inference from existence (*sattvānumāna*), and which are followed by Ratnakīrti and Mokṣākaragupta. Here, it is argued that the conflict between opposed properties at different times necessitates the division of what appears to be a single persisting entity into multiple separate moments, just as a conflict between opposed properties necessitates the reduction of an entity which is seemingly extended in space, into multiple separate physical atoms.

The second portion of the paper considers one attempt by Jñānaśrimitra's opponent, Udayana, to exploit this isomorphism between space and time in order to undermine the theory of momentariness. After accepting the Buddhists' tight parallelism between space and time, Udayana attempts to draw a connection between the arising of effects in certain places, but not others, and the arising of effects at certain times, but not others, to show that the possession of seemingly opposed properties can be compatible with persistence through time. The paper then considers Udayana's unexamined assumptions about the nature of space and time which

underlie his argument, along with the ways in which Jñānaśrimitra and his tradition, both explicitly and implicitly, avoid those assumptions.

The paper concludes by showing how this debate sheds light on Buddhist theories of time more generally, including (1) the ways in philosophers of the Buddhist epistemological tradition are committed to accounts of both space and time which are discontinuous, or "gappy," rather than smoothly contiguous, and (2) the fact that for the Buddhist epistemologists, neither space nor time is available as a background framework into which entities may be placed in relation.

Sakai, Masamichi (Kansai University)
**On the Time-Gap Problem in the Buddhist Theory of Momentariness**

Various scholarly attempts have been made to understand how Buddhist philosophers following Dharmakīrti solved the 'time gap problem' regarding perception (*pratyakṣa*) as a valid cognition (*pramāṇa*). That is, the problem that the thing we perceive and the thing we obtain are not identical.

The Buddhist philosophers, on the one hand, hold that everything is momentary; on the other hand, they characterize valid cognition as non-disappointing (*avisaṃvādin*), which means that it is a cognition that dependably leads us to obtain the object we desire. Perception shows us an object and motivates us to act toward it, thus allowing us to obtain it. However, since the very thing perception shows us is momentary, it will already have perished when we actually reach it. If so, how can perception be a valid cognition, since it fails to let us obtain the same object we saw?

Previous studies have reported that the Buddhist epistemologists offered two kinds of solution. 1) One is to assume that perception itself has the power (*bala*) to evoke or cause the grasping of the time-continuum (*santāna*) of an object. Indeed, what perception grasps is a unique momentary particular (*svalakṣaṇa*), but following perception there occurs a cognition of its time-continuum. In this view, perception can be said to be valid, since the time-continuum consists of unique momentary particulars, and thus the identity of the thing to be perceived and the thing to be obtained is somehow secured. This is the view of Dharmottara. 2) The other belongs to Prajñākaragupta, who does not take recourse to the concept of a time-continuum. He claims that the object of perception *must be* a future object (*bhāvivastu*) that will be obtained at a later point in time; otherwise, perception can never be a valid cognition, since it is nothing but a future object that we obtain. Of course, it is impossible for perception to grasp an object yet to occur. Therefore, Prajñākaragupta admits that perception itself is erroneous (but non-disappointing).

However, it is still not entirely clear whether these solutions really make sense in the Buddhist epistemological framework constructed by Dharmakīrti. In this paper, I concentrate on this issue. It seems of vital importance to review their respective positions from a psycho-epistemological point of view. Specifically, in the first case, we need to clarify how Dharmottara understands the cognitive process from our first perception of an object to our grasping of its time-continuum. As for the second case, Prajñākaragupta's theory at the first glance seems to

be sophistry. So, it must be made clear what, in the context of Buddhist epistemology, it means to say that perception has a future thing as its object. By doing so, I would like to clarify what the fundamental problems are in both solutions.

---

Shida, Taisei (University of Tsukuba)
**The Non-Comparative Type of *pratyabhijñā[na]* Referred to by Śālikanātha**

As a technical term in Indian epistemology, *pratyabhijñā[na]* generally refers to a kind of synthetic cognitive event, which identifies two [or possibly more] objects in the typical form: 'this is [precisely] that (*sa evāyam iti / so 'yam iti / sa iti*).' This identification is conducted through the comparison of two experiences/aspects of a temporally extended object – regardless of whether it is a substance or a property –, i.e. through comparing one which is currently perceived, with the other which is recollected as previously observed by the same cognitive agent.

In the Mīmāṃsā philosophical corpus, especially in the context of proving the eternality of sound (*śabdanityatā*), this concept of *pratyabhijñā[na]* is applied as the grounds for proof of the continued existence of a temporally extended object, and furthermore in order to refute the Buddhist theory of momentariness.

In the treatises of the Bhāṭṭa school the concept of *pratyabhijñā[na]* is treated as outlined above: that is, as a synthetic cognitive event which identifies object(s) through the process of comparing what is being perceived with what is recollected. Thus, for the Bhāṭṭa school, it seems that the previous experience of the object is a prerequisite for *pratyabhijñā[na]*.

On the other hand, the Prābhākara polemicist Śālikanātha seems to refer to another kind of *pratyabhijñā[na]*, which does not presuppose the previous experience of the object, because he states that 'there occurs *pratyabhijñā[na]* with respect to sound, precisely at the occasion of the first encounter.'

In this presentation, I will investigate this type of *pratyabhijñā[na]* referred to by Śālikanātha, which can be apparently sorted into a non-comparative type, characterized by a kind of unity rather than identity, with concern for Hume's principle of individuation. I will then speculate the reason why Śālikanātha employs this concept of *pratyabhijñā[na]* in the larger context of proving the eternality of sound.

---

Siderits, Mark (Seoul National University)
**Buddhism Naturalized?**

As philosophers use the term, to 'naturalize' a theory or view is to make it compatible with the methods and findings of the natural sciences. At one time Buddhism was widely thought to be eminently naturalizable, but the pendulum has recently swung the other way. I look briefly at the objections of a representative critic of naturalizing, Donald Lopez, as well as the views of a representative defender of the endeavor, Sasaki Shizuka. I then go on to discuss the specifically metaphysical side of the debate: Is a recognizably Buddhist project compatible with

physicalism? Not surprisingly, the answer turns in part on what we take a (or the) Buddhist project to be. I claim that at least one defensible answer to this question makes a naturalized Buddhism seem more plausible. A key obstacle would seem to be the theory of karma and rebirth. While physicalism seems to render the theory more likely to be false, it can be argued that the karma-rebirth ideology is less central to Buddhism than is commonly assumed. One key issue then remaining is whether Buddhist accounts of consciousness and mind are compatible with a physicalist metaphysics. I examine several arguments for the conclusion that they are not, and try to show that they all fail.

Forman, Jed (University of California, Santa Barbara)
**Pus, Blood, and Falling Hairs: Polemical Debates on Valid Perception**

This paper explores a polemical debate instigated by Taktsang Lotsawa (*tag tshang lo tsA ba shes rab rin chen*, b. 1405) in his *Grub mtha' kun shes* specifically concerning his "eighteen contradictions" (*'gal ba'i khur chen bco brgyad*). These eighteen points attempt to undermine Tsongkhapa's interpretation of valid perception (*tshad ma*, *pramāṇa*) within Madhyamaka theory. The paper focuses on one of these eighteen, the seventh, comparing several Tibetan theorists' arguments on this single point, including—in addition to Taktsang himself— Phurchok Ngawang Jampa (*phur lcog ngag dbang byams pa*, 1682-1762), Panchen Lama Lobzang Chokyi Gyeltsen (*blo bzang chos kyi rgyal mtshan*, 1570-1662), and Khedrubje Gelek Pelzang (*mkhas grub rje dge legs dpal bzang,* 1385-1438), all of whom directly or indirectly rebuttal Taktsang's contradictions. While debate around this seventh contradiction appears at first to be inconsequential in its scope, we find that there are wide ramifications around its seemingly small issue—including consequences for epistemology, ontology, and the often unexplored mystery of how karma supposedly functions to affect one's experiential reality.

The seventh contradiction reads, "To say that there is no falling hair, but that there is a river of pus is a contradiction." The "falling hairs" refer to what are nowadays called "floaters"—strands of collagen that float on the eye lens, creating the appearance of a falling hair in the visual field. The "river of pus" refers to the Buddhist theory that hungry ghosts (*yid wags*, *preta*) see pus and blood in place of water when they approach a river. Taktsang argues here that Tsongkhapa is arbitrarily deeming one illusion (the pus and blood) valid and the other (the falling hair) false. He thus concludes that Tsongkhapa's realism prevents him from identifying the illusions leading to *saṃsāra*, since Tsongkhapa's assertion that the pus and blood are real makes his denial of other illusions incoherent.

Latent in Taktsang's analysis of this point reveals a myriad of other ontological and epistemological presuppositions. Ontologically, Taktsang argues that because matter is non-obstructive—i.e. that one bit of matter cannot co-occupy the space of another bit of matter, and thereby conceal it—it is impossible for one object to be made of two things at once. This presupposition has strong epistemological consequences. Per the example of the river, if a hungry ghost sees the river as pus and a human sees it as water, both perceptions cannot simultaneously be correct: the river cannot be made of two things at once. Taktsang's Gelug opponents reject both these premises, arguing that one object can be composed of two substances and thus both perceptions are correct relative to the individual substance it perceives.

This position introduces a nuanced discussion of how karma affects physical objects, physically transforming part of the perceived object into the basis for that valid perception. Exploring this debate thus reveals intriguing differences in the ontological and epistemological presuppositions operating for each of these theorists, and even offers modern epistemology some guidance on how to discern validity in the face of conflicting perceptions.

Hugon, Pascale (Austrian Academy of Sciences)
**Are there any real universals in the epistemological works of Phya pa Chos kyi seng ge (1109–1169)? On the source of the moderate realist perspective on universals in the Tibetan tradition**

Dharmakīrti (7th c. or 6th c.), the forefather of the Indian Buddhist epistemological school, took a clear stand on the question of universals, refuting their reality and reducing them to mere fictions that are conceptually created via a process of exclusion. His Tibetan interpreters, however, stand divided on this issue. Thinkers in the dGe lugs pa tradition as well as some Sa skya pa scholars instead adopt a moderate realist position, arguing that not all universals are non-existent. Some universals are held to exist, although not independently of or separately from their instances. In contrast, Sa skya Paṇḍita Kun dgaʼ rgyal mtshan (1182–1251) and his followers adopt a strict antirealist position. Sa skya Paṇḍita, in particular, strongly criticizes the moderate realist position adopted by his Tibetan predecessors and contemporaries as not being faithful to Dharmakīrti's system.

Moderate realism is traditionally ascribed to the Tibetan logician Phya pa Chos kyi seng ge (1109–1169) and the interpretative lineage associated with gSang phu monastery in general. However, explicit arguments in favour of real universals do not seem to be present in epistemological works prior to the thirteenth century; the earliest examples of such arguments I could trace so far are in the works of Chu mig pa Seng ge dpal (ca. 1200–1270).

The present paper investigates Phya pa Chos kyi seng ge's position on this issue as found in his two works on epistemology. In addition to considering the various types of universals that he mentions and the associated terminology, I will pay a special attention to Phya pa's discussion on the scope of inferential cognition, in which he makes a claim that appears to match the position criticized by Sa skya Paṇḍita for involving a reification of universals. Keeping in mind that Phya pa was well aware of Dharmakīrti's arguments against the real universals advocated by the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika, and that Phya pa does not thematise the antirealist/moderate realist issue, I will evaluate the extent to which the statements he makes in the above-mentioned context can be viewed as conclusive evidence for his explicit adoption of a moderate realist perspective on universals.

Kellner, Birgit (Austrian Academy of Sciences)
**How to read Dharmakīrti's *saṃvedana*-inference**

Scattered throughout the two main epistemological works of Dharmakīrti, the *Pramāṇavārttika* and the *Pramāṇaviniścaya,* we find a considerable variety of arguments on the nature of cognition and awareness. Some of these, most notably the *sahopalambhaniyama*-inference,

become codified as "great inferences" in subsequent tradition, inspiring variegated interpretation and generating heated controversy. Others of these arguments remain obscure, and perhaps precisely for this reason have been historically subject to divergent readings. In this paper I am going to revisit one of Dharmakīrti's more obscure arguments about cognition, dubbed *saṃvedana*-inference by Takashi Iwata. In one of its possible construals, the inference proclaims that cognition is not of another object because it is by nature an "appearing-in-a-certain-way" (*tathāprathana*), just like cognition's awareness of itself (*ātmasaṃvedana*). While sketching various readings of this inference, I also want to draw on analyses of awareness developed in the contemporary philosophy of mind in order to suggest possible avenues for reconstructing its philosophical import and appreciating its significance.

Nishizawa, Fumihito (Otani University)
**On the Origin of Non-valid Cognitions (*apramāṇa/ tshad min gyi blo*)**

Non-valid cognition (*apramāṇa/ tshad min gyi blo*) is the opposite concept of valid cognition (*pramāṇa/ tshad ma*). In India, this concept did not receive great attention, although *pratyakṣābhāsa*, the opposite of *pratyakṣa*, and *hetvābhāsa*, the opposite of *hetu*, were frequently discussed by Indian scholars. This concept was, however, taken as one of the most important subjects closely related with the *pramāṇa*-theory by later Tibetan scholars. dGe lugs pa scholars, for example, generally divided the non-valid cognition into five as follows: (1) *bcad shes*, (2) *yid dpyod*, (3) *snang la ma nges pa'i blo*, (4) *the tshom* and (5) *log shes*. According to available documents, it is rNgog lo tsā ba Blo ldan shes rab (1059-1109) of gSang phu ne'u thog that propounded this set of five non-valid cognitions for the first time in the Buddhist tradition. This was widely accepted as the standard division of the non-valid cognition by Tibetan scholars of later periods except Sa skya paṇ∂ita and his followers of Sa skya pa. However, the matter of which non-valid cognition can be traced back to Indian original text and which was newly created by Tibetan scholars remains unresolved. My presenation aims to shed light on the origin of these five concepts, and would be drawn the following provisional conclusions:

1.    Among these five non-valid cognitions, *the tshom (saṃśaya/ saṃdeha)*, *log shes (viparyāsajñāna/ mithyājñāna)* and *bcad shes (i.e., bcad pa'i yul can, adhigataviṣaya)* can be traced back to Indian original texts. On the other hand, *yid dpyod* and *snang la ma nges pa'i blo* are not of Indian origin. According to my assumption, these two concepts are newly created by the great Tibetan logician rNgog lo tsā ba based on Dharmottara's *pramāṇa*-texts, especially *Pramāṇaviniścayaṭīkā*.

2.  As for *yid dpyod* or its equivalent, Dharmottara regards it as a kind of *the tshom (saṃśaya/ saṃdeha)*, and does not set up it as the independent concept from *the tshom* in his *Pramāṇaviniścayaṭīkā* (cf. PVinṬ 5b3-6).

3.  *snang la ma nges pa'i blo* means a cognition in which an object clearly appears ("*snang la*"), but is not ascertained ("*ma nges pa*"). In the epistemological system of Dharmakīrti, *pratyakṣa* must be *snang la ma nges pa'i blo*, because *pratyakṣa* is not regarded as an object-ascertaining cognition (cf. PVSV p. 31.21-22: na pratyakṣaṃ kasyacin niścāyakam/ tad yam api gṛhṇāti tan na niścayena/ kiṃ tarhi/ tatpratibhāsena/). Nevertheless, rNgog lo tsā ba set up this concept as

one of the non-valid cognitions. This is probably because rNgog lo tsā ba especially depends on Dharmottara's *pramāṇa*-texts in which *pratyakṣa* is apparently described as the object-ascertaining cognition (cf. PPar II. p. 1.14f.; NBṬ p. 84.5ff.; PVinṬ* p. 15.2ff., etc.).

---

Saccone, Margherita Serena (IKGA, Austrian Academy of Sciences)
**Of Authoritativeness and Perception, the *Sarvajñasiddhikārikā* by Śubhagupta**

Śubhagupta (8th century) is a Buddhist philosopher connected with the logico-epistemological school. Different from his *Bāhyārthasiddhikārikā* (Verses on the Establishment of an External Object), which is highly critical regarding some of the main ontological and epistemological theories of Dharmakīrti (as well as Diṅnāga and Vasubandhu), in the *Sarvajñasiddhikārikā* (Verses on the Establishment of the Omniscient) Śubhagupta puts forward views which are in line with the logico-epistemological tradition (utilizing, for example, Dharmakīrti's theories of language) and addresses the Mīmāṃsakas as his opponents. The context is, therefore, that of an interreligious debate rather than an intra-religious controversy. Moreover, the *Sarvajñasiddhikārikā* represents a pivotal work for the development of the demonstration of omniscience within Buddhism. In brief, this short treatise concerns: (i) the denial of the authoritativeness of the Veda, unless an omniscient being is admitted as its author (kk. 1-12); and (ii) the proof of the Buddha's omniscience (kk. 13-25).

In this paper, I shall examine kk. 1-12, particularly the theme of the relationship between the authoritativeness (*prāmāṇya*) of Scriptures and the perception of extrasensory objects (*atīndriyārthadarśana*) by their author. Additionally, I will explore the underlying theme of the logical possibility of an omniscient being, which is intended as a being able to perceive supersensible objects, i.e., soteriologically relevant truths. I shall investigate these themes by highlighting the previous authors and works Śubhagupta refers to as well as delineating the way he utilizes those views to demonstrate the equivalence between authoritativeness and extrasensory perception.

## Epistemology and Logic in Buddhism
**Tue, Aug. 22nd, 9:00-12:30**

Stoltz, Jonathan (University of St. Thomas)
**The Scope and Unity of "Mistaken Cognition" in the Epistemology of Phya pa Chos kyi seng ge**

The twelfth century Tibetan Buddhist epistemologist Phya pa Chos kyi seng ge (1109-1169; henceforth, Chaba) argues (in his text *Tshad ma yid kyi mun sel*) that there are seven basic types of cognitive episodes, two of which—perceptual knowledge and inference—are to be classified as instances of knowledge (*pramāṇa*). While three of the other five types of cognition are said to be "in accord with their objects," the type called "mistaken cognition" (*log shes*) is not. Yet, while the category of mistaken cognition is treated as one of the seven basic types of cognitive episodes, Chaba contends that there are actually two sub-types of mistaken cognition—those that are mistaken with respect to their apprehended objects (*gzung yul*), and those that are mistaken with respect to their intentional objects (*zhen yul*). He applies the term "mistaken

cognition" in several additional contexts as well, not all of which are easy to make sense of in a unified way.

In this paper I will clarify the various ways in which Chaba applied the term "mistaken cognition," and will discuss the different ways in which several of Chaba's successors defined and classified this type of cognition. It will be argued that there are very fundamental differences between the sub-types of mistaken cognition that Chaba identifies, and that these differences suggest that we should not speak of one overarching type of cognitive awareness called "mistaken cognition." In order to support my claims on these matters, I will make reference to the views expressed by a handful of Chaba's Tibetan predecessors and successors, where some of these thinkers (a) articulated different and/or additional sub-classes of mistaken cognition, (b) claimed that these various types of mistaken cognition should be seen as fundamentally different in kind, or even (c) argued that there cannot even be a single definition of "mistaken cognition" that applies to all the various cases and "sub-types."

Clarifying Chaba's use of the category "mistaken cognition" is important, as it makes it possible to gain a richer understanding of early Tibetan views of both the nature of *cognition* and the nature of *knowledge,* and also provides a snapshot of some of the historical disagreements that can arise when trying to standardize philosophical terminologies that were likely imprecise when first employed by epistemologists.

---

Zamorski, Jakub (Jagiellonian University)
**What Remained of Pramāṇa Theory in China? "Direct perception" and "Inference" in the Works of Early Modern Chinese Buddhists**

Chinese reception of Buddhist epistemology has so far been discussed in two major contexts. The first of these is transmission of early Buddhist theories about *pramāṇas* –"means" or "sources" of valid cognition –from India to China, a process which came to a halt soon after brief flourishing of indigenous commentarial tradition in the early Tang period. The second context is modern reconstruction of this tradition under the aegis of "*hetu-vidyā* studies" (*yinmingxue* 因明学) or "Buddhist logic" in the early twentieth century. The common underlying assumption shared by these two perspectives is that Chinese Buddhists investigated theory of *pramāṇas* as a consequence of some external impulse (be it from India, Japan or the West) rather than internal dynamics of their own tradition. For this reason, contemporary studies have rarely investigated references to "sources of valid cognition" in Chinese works written in medieval and early modern periods –the time when Sinitic Buddhism remained relatively isolated from such influences.

In my paper I would like to address this particular gap. Specifically, I will be looking at how prominent scholiasts active in the late Ming period, such as Hanshan Deqing (憨山德清, 1546 –1623), Zibo Zhenke (紫柏真可, 1543 –1603) or Mingyu (明昱, 1527–1616), understood the concepts of "direct perception" (*xianliang* 现量) and "inference" (*biliang* 比量), as well as their mutual relations. I will argue that the aforementioned authors used these categories in ways specific to their own tradition and to large extent independent of the Indian system from which they originated. Firstly, they often construed the concepts in question according to literal

meanings of Chinese compounds rather than original Sanskrit terms. Secondly, they interpreted them in the light of their own concerns, which revolved around soteriology and hermeneutics rather than epistemology and logic. Thirdly, they approached epistemological issues through the lens of distinctly Sinitic Buddhist thought (inspired, for example, by the *Dasheng qixin lun* 大乘起信論) and practice. As I will try to show, such tendencies dominated Chinese approaches to Buddhist epistemology until the emergence of its modernized form.

Understanding these developments can help us to bring together the two aforementioned scholarly perspectives. Early modern sources provide a much needed insight into the indigenous transformations of *pramāṇa* theory which had begun already in the Tang period. At the same time, they enhance our understanding of the subsequent modern Chinese revival of Buddhist epistemology which involved a critical reassessment of this very legacy. Consequently, they can be used to make a case for viewing the history of Buddhist epistemology in China as a continuous process rather than disjointed episodes divided by a hiatus of hundreds of years. According to this new perspective, theory of *pramāṇas* was neither completely abandoned nor reintroduced from scratch–it was only reinterpreted according to shifting priorities of contemporaneous Chinese Buddhists.

Lo, King Chung (University of Leipzig)
**Prāsaṅgika Mādhyamika's Refutation of Self-awareness**

The theory of self-awareness (*svasaṃvedana*) forms the cornerstone on which all theories in Dignāga's and Dharmakīrti's epistemology and philosophy are based.  Without the presupposition of self-awareness, they are unable to explain how the cognition perceives the object in their epistemology and how to establish the existence of the object in their philosophy. Shortly after it was found in Dignāga's epitemology, the theory of self-awareness was widely rejected by many Indian religious scholars, including Buddhist scholars. Among those Buddhist opponents, Prāsaṅgika Mādhyamikas (represented by Candrakīrti and Śāntideva) can be considered to reject self-awareness in both ultimate reality and conventional reality, namely, they suggest completely refuting the existence of self-awareness in our world.  Nevertheless, there is controversy over whether Prāsaṅgika Mādhyamika rejects the self-awareness at the conventional level.

According to Paul Williams (2000), Tibetan Nyingmapa and Sakyapa scholars suggest limiting the interpretation of Prāsaṅgika Mādhyamikas' refutations of self-awareness to the ultimate reality while Gelugpa scholars consider their refutations to be applicable to both the ultimate reality and the conventional reality.  Based on a Nyingmapa scholar Mi Pham's commentary on Śāntideva's *Bodhicaryāvatāra* (hereafter BA), Williams draws his conclusion that Śāntideva must accept the conventional self-awareness. And according to his study of the commentaries on BA, Williams criticizes the view of a Gelugpa scholar Gyaltsab and his followers for having only "one short and controversial quotation" from Candrakīrti as their support.  He even claims that not a single commentary on BA prior to Gyaltsab's commentary, Indian or Tibetan (including the commentary of Tsong Kha Pa who is the teacher of Gyaltsab and the founder of the Gelugpa), explicitly states that Śāntideva's refutation of *svasaṃvedana* is to reject it at the conventional level.

In this paper, I will introduce two pieces of evidence stated in two commentaries on BA by Vibhūticandra and Tsong Kha Pa, which disprove Williams's conclusion. Such evidence would also show that it seems more convincing to consider that Śāntideva rejects self-awareness in worldly convention. Further, I will look into every step of the arguments over self-awareness and depict the whole frame of the refutations of self-awareness in view of the Gelugpa, using Candrakīrti's *Madhyamakāvatārabhāṣya* 6.72-76 as the example. I will also examine whether the "one short and controversial quotation" from Candrakirit's MABh 6.73 is the only proof in supporting the argument that Candrakīrti refutes the self-awareness in conventional reality. Finally, I will introduce how Gelugpa interprets Śāntideva's and Candrakīrti's theories of memory and the theories of the *cognition of cognition* without the notion of self-awareness.

Vose, Kevin (College of William and Mary)
**When Did *Svatantra* Gain its Autonomy? An Investigation into the Indian Sources of a Tibetan Claim**

For Tibetan Mādhyamikas, use or disuse of *svatantra* inference became the central dividing line that distinguished two interpretations of Nāgārjuna's philosophy. While eleventh- and twelfth-century Tibetans disagreed over a range of Madhyamaka issues, these disputes were tied to just how one understands "*svatantra* inference." Tibetan authors over the centuries came to read *svatantra* as "autonomous": a form of logic that has its "own power," the ability to command the assent of any reasonable person. This interpretation has in turn influenced a great deal of modern scholarship, particularly philosophically minded interpreters who attempt to characterize Candrakīrti's version of Madhyamaka—with its rejection of *svatantra*—as the preferred reading on any number of contemporary concerns.

When we turn to Indian Mādhyamikas, we find the term *svatantra* seldom used. This paper briefly explores Candrakīrti's characterization of it and then examines Kamalaśīla's understanding of "*svatantra* proof" (*rang kyi rgyud kyis sgrub pa*). I will show that Jayānanda's twelfth-century rendering of Candrakīrti offers the strongest case for understanding *svatantra* as "autonomous" and discuss his Tibetan interlocutors' rejection of his views in favor of a Madhyamaka that embraces *svatantra* inference. This paper aims to show that the "autonomous" characterization of *svatantra* and, by extension, the "realist" characterization of "Svātantrika Madhyamaka," work only when skewing the historical data, a fuller consideration of which provides a more vibrant, nuanced, and perfectly reasonable view.

Westerhoff, Jan (University of Oxford)
**Madhyamaka and philosophy of language**

In the contemporary secondary literature we sometimes find the claim that Madhyamaka adopts a pan-fictionalist understanding of language, that is, roughly speaking, a view according to which there is no substantial difference between the linguistic description of facts and the description of fictional entities as we find, for example, in a novel. In this paper I try to provide a precise account of what pan-fictionalism involves, discuss whether it is a defensible position, and whether conceiving of Madhyamaka thought about language along pan-fictionalist lines is

historically plausible and systematically fruitful. In the course of the paper I will also address some of the background of the Madhyamaka philosophy of language in its dispute with Nyāya, and the Madhyamaka conception of language as a tool for the coordination of behaviour, rather than as a representation of reality.

## Epistemology and Logic in Buddhism
**Fri., Aug. 25th, 14:00-15:30**

Matsuoka, Hiroko (Universität Leipzig)
**Vinītadeva, Dharmottara, Kamalaśīla and Yamāri on the Initial Statement (*ādivākya*) of a *śāstra***

Dharmakīrti (600–660) begins his *Nyāyabindu* by saying "Fulfillment of all human aims is preceded by right cognition. Therefore that [right cognition] is explained [in this treatise]" (NB I.1: *samyagjñānapūrvikā sarvapuruṣārthasiddhir iti tad vyutpādyate//*). When commentators introduce the *Nyāyabindu,* they cannot shun away from explaining this initial statement (*ādivākya*). Vinītadeva (710–770) explicates in his *Nyāyabinduṭīkā* that 'right cognition' (*samyagjñāna=pramāṇa*), `the explanation of that [right cognition]' (*tadvyutpatti*) and 'fulfillment of all human aims' (*sarvapuruṣārthasiddhi*) are regarded as the topic (*brjod par bya ba, \*abhidheya*), the purpose (*dgos pa, \*prayojana*) and the purpose of the purpose (*dgos pa'i yang dgos pa, \*prayojanaprayojana*), respectively. Dharmottara (740–800), who refutes the view that is attributed to Vinītadeva and Śāntabhadra (710–770), also argues that 'right cognition' is the topic of the *Nyāyabindu* and that the whole sentence shows the purpose of the topic (*abhidheyaprayojana*). Dharmottara's view became the most influential and was accepted also by the Śvetāmbara Jaina logicians. However, Kamalaśīla (740–795) refutes Dharmottara in the beginning of the *Tattvasaṅgrahapañjikā*. According to Kamalaśīla, the word 'right cognition' means the explanation of right cognition (*samyagjñānavyutpatti*) and the initial statement indicates the purpose of the purpose (*prayojanaprayojana*). Furthermore, Yamāri (1000–1060) cites the relevant lines from Dharmottara's *Nyāyabinduṭīkā* and Kamlaśīla's *Tattvasaṅgrahapañjikā* in his *Pramāṇavārttikālaṅkāranibandha* in order to criticize both of them. Yamāri argues that the initial passage indicates only the topic and merely implies the purpose because there is a signifier-signified relationship (*abhidhānābhidheyabhāva*) between the purpose and topic. The present paper attempts to explore this series of controversies on the initial statement of a treatise (*śāstra*) and considers how the various views have been developed and argued for.

MacKenzie, Matthew (Colorado State University)
**Dual-Aspect Reflexivism in Śāntarakṣita's Philosophy of Mind**

The paper will pursue a contemporary philosophical reconstruction of the connections, both conceptual and phenomenological, between reflexive awareness (svasaṃvedana) and the subjective and objective aspects (svābhāsa, viṣayābhāsa) of experience in Buddhist epistemology. Focusing on Śāntarakṣita, I argue that there is a deep connection between (1) the rejection of the transparency of experience (viz. sākāravāda); (2) the dual-aspect structure of experience (viz. grāhakākāra-grāhyākāra); and (3) reflexive awareness as the distinguishing and

ineliminable core of conscious experience. Exploring these connections will demonstrate, I argue, both the internal coherence of Śāntarakṣita's view and its fruitfulness and viability in contemporary philosophy of mind.

---

Prets, Ernst (Austrian Acedemy of Sciences)
**Śāntarakṣita and the Naiyāyikas. On the references to "fragments" of the so-called "lost Naiyāyikas" in the *Vādanyāyaṭīkā* and the *Tattvasaṅgraha*.**

Śāntarakṣita, in his *Vādanyāyaṭīkā* on Dharmakīrti's *Vādanyāya*, quotes textual evidence from various philosophical schools, including Vaiśeṣika, Sāṅkhya, etc. In addition to transmitted texts of the Nyāya such as the *Nyāyasūtra*, Pakṣilasvāmin's *Nyāyabhāṣya* and Uddyotakara's *Vārttika*, he also refers to the so-called "lost Naiyāyikas," of whom today only names, names of works, and fragments have survived. In the *Vādanyāyaṭīkā*, Śāntarakṣita frequently quotes passages from works by Aviddhakarṇa and Bhāvivikta. Both are not only said to have written a *Nyāyabhāṣyaṭīkā*, but also commentaries on the *Bārhaspatyasūtra*. Aviddhakarṇa and Bhāvivikta are never mentioned in connection with the same topic in the *Vādanyāyaṭīkā*. The same is the case in Śāntarakṣita's *Tattvasaṅgraha* and in Kamalaśīla's commentary, the *Tattvasaṅgrahapañjikā*. Nor are they ever mentioned together. This raises the question of whether Aviddhakarṇa, seemingly some sort of nickname, and Bhāvivikta might have been the same person. The paper includes an examination of Śāntarakṣita's general style of citation in comparison with texts that have been transmitted through early Naiyāyika editions as well as early manuscripts to evaluate the trustworthiness of his quotes of works that have not been transmitted. In some cases it seems that the manuscript materials Śāntarakṣita used were better than those of today's critical editions, which have not made use of the material in Śāntarakṣita's work. Another purpose of the paper is to compare the "quotations" of the two Nyāya authors in the *Vādanyāyaṭīkā* with passages in Kamalaśīla's commentary. Additionally, the chronological relationship of the "fragments" of the "two" lost Nyāya authors' works on Uddyotakara's *Nyāyavārttika* will be examined, since they hint at the possibility that Uddyotakara quotes a passage of Aviddhakarṇa's commentary on the *Nyāyabhāṣya*.

# Information Technologies in Buddhist Studies
**Mon., Aug. 21st, 14:00-17:30)**

Hackett, Paul (Columbia University)
**Experiments with E-text: On the Oral Commentary Embedded in the Tibetan Canon**

With the advent of the complete e-text of the Tibetan canon, it has become possible to extract various subsets of data and examine specific patterns and themes. This paper presents a case study in the analysis of the contents of the Tibetan Buddhist canon through selective data extraction of subsets of data characterized by unique phrases. Using the syntax-tagged full-text search-and-retrieval system developed by the author, all instances of identified oral commentary have been extracted, categorized, and analyzed. This paper will discuss the resulting dataset, including the major figures listed as sources of oral commentary (such as Nāgārjuna, and others), the number and types of statements attributed to these figures as sources of oral tradition, the works they are embedded in, and their relationship to the overall corpus of formal

works attributed to those figures. The research is framed within a discussion of the methodology and difficulties with selective extraction of data from (relatively) small data sets, and the limits to the types of conclusions that can be drawn.

Lugli, Ligeia (Mangalam Research Center/King's College London/UC Berkeley)
**Corpus methods for Buddhist Sanskrit lexicography**

Over the last couple of decades a number of powerful corpus query tools have emerged to assist lexicographers in the investigation of lexical meanings and patterns. Most of these tools are designed for contemporary languages and work best with lemmatized, tokenized, PoS tagged and syntactically parsed corpora. This raises some problems when we try to apply ready-made corpus query tools to Buddhist Sanskrit corpora. Current language processing technology is inadequate to lemmatize, tag and parse Sanskrit texts (especially those written in the so called "Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit") automatically. Thus, the pre-processing of corpora for Buddhist Sanskrit lexicography is prohibitively time-consuming and expensive.

During my lexicographic work at the Buddhist Translators Workbench, I have devised a set of strategies for applying existent corpus query tools to Sanskrit corpora and making the most of their powerful features without lemmatizing, PoS tagging and parsing the texts.

This paper presents some of these strategies. It focuses especially on aspects of semantic tagging for Sanskrit lexicography and the exploitation of Sanskrit morphology and regular expressions to model Sanskrit grammatical relations. A brief comparison between the results obtained using these methods versus those derived from applying corpus tool to fully lemmatized, tagged and parsed corpora will follow. The paper will conclude by identifying some major desiderata in Sanskrit language processing for corpus-based Sanskrit Buddhist lexicography.

McCrabb, Ian (University of Sydney)
**READ Workbench – A collaborative corpus development framework**

The Research Environment for Ancient Documents (READ) project commenced in 2013 with development support from a consortium of institutions involved in the study and publication of ancient Buddhist documents preserved in Gāndhārī. The project brief was to develop a comprehensive research environment and publishing platform for ancient Sanskrit and Prakrit texts. At IABS 2014 the underlying design and entity model was presented. READ has been released and is currently in production on a range of corpus development projects.

Whilst this presentation will briefly precis the range of research outputs currently supported by the platform, the focus will be on a related platform, READ Workbench (Workbench), developed at University of Sydney to 'harness' the deployment of READ.

Workbench is a comprehensive management framework that supports configuration management, user access and database management and automation of corpus development processes. Workbench manages an unlimited number of projects each with their own branding, subdomain and language configuration; Gāndhārī, Pali or Sanskrit.

The design approach with READ was to build a comprehensive set of entities, mapped to real world objects, in order to seamlessly model both physical and textual domains. The underlying design principle was atomization of data to its smallest indivisible components and the linking and sequencing of these entities up through scale. The same design approach has been taken with Workbench when modelling the integration of resources and processes in the collaborative development, maintenance and publishing of textual corpora.

The architecture adopted rests on the fundamental object being a single text/single database; a departure from the conventional corpus model of a monolithic database. This approach allows individual researchers to build, maintain and manage their own text database(s) independently, in private and without the requirement for a database administrator or technical support. Workbench acts as a self-service portal.

The adoption of a single text database model facilitates a range of automated import processes and provides significant flexibility in terms of corpus development and publishing methodologies. Rather than requiring researchers to command exacting mark-up schemas, databases can be automatically generated from separate text, image and metadata inputs based on familiar tools like Word and Excel. Workbench enables each of the specialist roles (paleographic, philological, lexical, analytical etc.) to work independently and their contributions be separately managed and integrated. This approach ameliorates project risk by minimizing dependencies and bottlenecks.

Once image and text have been aligned, additional strata of analysis can be integrated. Grammatical analysis and glossary development, translation, syntax and structural analysis can all be independently developed and automatically imported. Researchers from diverse disciplines (archaeological, historical etc.) can also contribute analysis strata to this substrate. Critically, each of these strata are separately owned and attributed and their visibility to others is controlled by the individual researcher.
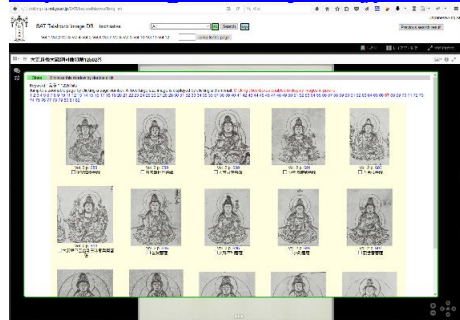
Individual text databases may at any point be merged with other text databases to form flexible collections. This approach allows individual researchers to work and innovate in private to the point where there text is ready for publishing and at that point merge their text with a canonical corpus.

Nagasaki, Kiyonori (International Institute for Digital Humanities)
**Possibilities of SAT Taishōzō Image DB through IIIF**

The SAT Database Committee (henceforth, SAT) released a new database "SAT Taishōzō Image DB" (henceforce, SATiDB) (http://dzkimgs.l.u-tokyo.ac.jp/SATi/images.php) compliant with IIIF (International Image Interoperability Framework) including Buddhist images such as bodhisattvas, mandalas, rituals in June 2016. SATiDB is a digital surrogate of the Image Section of Taisho Tripitaka which consists of 12 volumes originally published in 1933. It provides hi-resolution images under CC BY-SA license, where are embedded around 5,200 annotations explaining their name, hair style, sitting style, type of chair, belongings, and so on. It also

provides search function of the images by use of the annotations. Its interface allows to search the contents by inputting a keyword in the search window in English as well as Japanese. The English search is powered by the Digital Dictionary of Buddhism, by selecting a feature of objects of the images defined by a researcher of Japanese art history, Tetsuei Tsuda, and by including keyword in URL below (fig.1):

http://dzkimgs.l.u-tokyo.ac.jp/SATi/key:bodhisattva



(fig.1)

The search results are cropped by the IIIF Image API. From a result window, users can see large images not only in a single window but also in parallel windows. By clicking a checkbox of cropped images, the small thumbnail of the image is listed on a small cart. Users can add more thumbnails onto the cart in the same way. After that, when a user clicks the "reveal all in parallel" button, the listed images are shown in parallel in an IIIF compatible Web Viewer, Mirador (http://projectmirador.org). The annotations are shown on each tagged region on a page image. (fig.2)
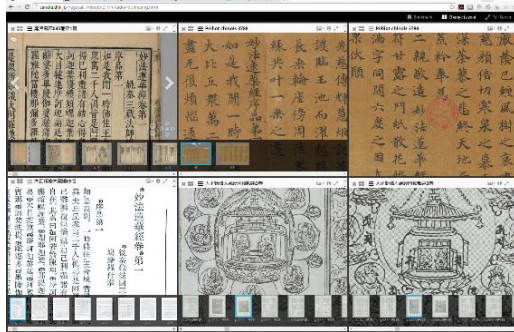

(fig.2)

The annotations are yet not completed, the proportion is about 20 percent of all images so far. They were inputted by 42 researchers of art history to promote research of Buddhist images from viewpoint of the field through a Web collaborative tagging system to generate IIIF-compliant annotations, which SAT developed for this workflow. Moreover, an example of transcription of commentary of images is embedded according to the format of annotation of IIIF as well as the images.

SATiDB enables wider collaboration with other projects and institutions due to its compliance with IIIF, which provides a new research environment to connect and to easily manipulate hi-resolution images and annotations stored in silos on Web by use of several standards of Web technology. Not only SATiDB, but also various institutions in the world have been addressing to implement IIIF on their own digital repositories, especially, gallica, the digital repository of National Library of France releases most of their hi-resolution images including Dunhuang

manuscripts in the Pelliot collection according to IIIF. (fig.3) Most of other institutions covering Western and Eastern areas are listed on the IIIF Web site (http://iiif.io/community/). Researchers will be able to easily treat hi-resolution images of research materials on Web when IIIF will be spread among digital repositories in the world. SATiDB as an implementation of IIIF will also contribute the global scale project.

(fig.3)



## Mahāyāna Buddhism
**Tue, Aug. 22nd, 14:00-17:30)**

Ahn, Sungdoo (Seoul National University)
**Paramārtha's Concept of \*Amalavijñāna and Tathāgatagarbha**

It is well known that the concept of *tathāgatagarbha* is introduced in some Yogācāra texts, such as the *Mahāyānasûtrālaṃkāra.* According to J. Takasaki (1982: 153-4), the reason for this introduction is due to the tendency of the Yogācāras to subsume all the Buddhist teachings into their system.

But, interestingly, in some early Yogācāra texts, such as the *Bodhisattvabhũmi, Madhyāntavibhāga-bhāṣya* and *-ṭīkā*, one can find some parallel citations and similes with the *Ratnagotravibhbāga.* By comparing and investigating these passages, one can expect to elucidate the point why and on what point the *tathāgatagarbha* idea – at least in the systematic account of the *Ratnagotravibhāga -* has been deviated from the Yogācāra idea of the ultimate reality, namely: *tathatā*. I have examined so far these points in the Indian Yogācāra texts, and dealt with the problems in my Korean articles.

But, when we turn our sight to the Chinese source, we can find some interesting materials, which represent the early development of Indian Yogācāra ideas. It is the works of Paramārtha (499-569) that shows clearly how to integrate these problematic into the system of thought: the relation of the suchness with the concept of absolute consciousness on the one hand, and with the *tathāgatagarbha* idea on the other hand.

In my paper, I like to investigate the status of the *tathāgatagarbha* idea, and thereby contribute to the understanding of role of this idea in Paramārtha's system.

---

Saito, Akira (International College for Postgraduate Buddhist Studies)

**Buddha-Nature or Buddha Within?: Revisiting the Meaning of *tathāgata-garbha***

The topic on what the compound *tathāgata-garbha* means has indeed a long history of research in the field of Mahāyāna Buddhism. However, despite a number of studies executed to date with regard to this topic, it is most unfortunate for us to recognize that the above question still remains unsolved. Therefore, for the purpose of reaching a convincing solution, the present paper tries to hopefully settle the question through an analytical inquiry into the *Tathāgatagarbha-sūtra* together with the *Ratnagotra- vibhāga* in rather a wide perspective.

Nelson, Barbara (Australian National University)
***Kṣāntipāramitā* in the works of Śāntideva**

Śāntideva's two works, the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* and the *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, each have a chapter entitled Perfection of Patience (*kṣāntipāramitā*). The *Bodhicaryāvatāra* does not mention any specific types of *kṣānti*; the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* states that there are three types, but explains only two of them. Prajñākaramati uses extracts from the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* in his commentary, *Bodhicaryāvatārapañjikā*, where he introduces sections of the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* with each of the three types of *kṣānti* named in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya*. Establishing whether Śāntideva intended to explain all three types of ksanti, as Prajñākaramati suggests, is complicated by the difficulty in determining what constitutes patience as profound reflection on dharmas (*dharmanidhyānakṣānti*). One obstacle to ascertaining the precise meaning of *dharmanidhyānakṣānti* is the varied treatment of *kṣānti* in Mahāyāna literature. A complex of concepts surrounds the term *kṣānti* in Mahāyāna texts of Indian origin that describe the bodhisattva path. The word *kṣānti* appears in several contexts associated with the practices of bodhisattvas: perfections (*pāramitā*), stages (*bhūmi*) and paths (*mārga*). *Kṣānti* as a *pāramitā* is usually associated with the third *bhūmi*, and *anutpattikadharmakṣānti* (patient acceptance of the non-arising of dharmas) with the eighth *bhūmi*. Yet, some texts state that *anutpattikadharmakṣānti* is part of *kṣāntipāramitā*. Further, some texts divide *kṣāntipāramitā* into three types of *kṣānti* and other texts divide *kṣāntipāramitā* into two types of *kṣānti*. Some scholars, including La Vallée Poussin and Lamotte, have suggested that *anutpattikadharmakṣānti* is one of three types of patience of the third division of *kṣāntipāramitā*—profound reflection on dharmas (*dharmanidhyānakṣānti*). Evidence to corroborate this claim is extremely hard to find. In Indian Mahāyāna texts, the scope of *kṣānti* changes depending on text and context, yet we observe a tendency to artificially fit later structures to earlier content (as shown by Prajñākaramati).

In this paper, I argue that Śāntideva's *Bodhicaryāvatāra* does not describe the practice of three types of *kṣānti* in the way suggested by Prajñākaramati's commentary. The treatment of *kṣānti* in the two texts is different and there is no evidence in Śāntideva's verses in the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* that he intended to follow a structure based on three types of *kṣānti*. The paper is based on Sanskrit editions of Śāntideva's and Prajñākaramati's texts.

Kosaka, Arihiro (University of Tsukuba)
**The Reading of *śubhāśubhaviparyāsāḥ* in the twenty-third Chapter of the *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* with a Special Focus on Candrakīrti's Interpretation**

The compound *śubhāśubhaviparyāsāḥ* consists of the three words, *śubha* (pure), *aśubha* (impure), and *viparyāsa* (reverse / false conception). In the twenty-third chapter of Nāgārjuna's *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* (MMK) entitled "Analysis of *viparyāsa*" (*Viparyāsaparīkṣā / Phyin ci log brtag pa /* 観顛倒品), this compound appears in three verses including the first verse. Because it is not the term of frequent occurrence, one can hardly decide what it means. The earlier commentaries on the MMK, i.e., the *Akutobhayā*, Buddhapālita's *Madhyamakavṛtti*, and Bhāviveka's *Prajñāpradīpa*, read it as meaning "*viparyāsa* of *śubha* and *aśubha*" (*sdug dang mi sdug pa'i phyin ci log*). In his *Prasannapadā,* Candrakīrti, in turn, interprets it as *dvandva* compound, namely, as meaning "*śubha* and *aśubha* and *viparyāsāḥ* (in the sense of the four false conceptions of permanence, enjoyment, self, and purity)". Thus, Candrakīrti's solution differs from that of the earlier commentators. In this presentation, I would like to examine Candrakīrti's interpretation of the compound and his understanding of the entire chapter that is, in my view, formulated on the basis of the compound interpretation.

Candrakīrti considers the main subject of the twenty-third chapter to be *kleśa* (defilement). According to him, the chapter aims to negate the existence of *kleśa* through five arguments: 1. "*niḥsvabhāvatā* or self-naturelessness of *kleśa,* which arises in dependence on causes" (vv.1-2); 2. "the negation of the basis on which *kleśa* relies" (vv.3-4); 3. "the negation of simultaneous occurrence of *kleśa* and *citta*" (v.5); 4. "the negation of the causes of *kleśa*" (vv.6-22); and 5. "the negation of the measure to destroy *kleśa*" (vv.23-24). The fourth argument is based on his interpretation of *śubhāśubhaviparyāsāḥ*. He identifies *śubha, aśubha*, and *viparyāsa* respectively with the cause of three defilements, *rāga* (desire), *dveṣa* (hatred)*,* and *moha* (delusion)*,* which appear in first verse of the MMK.

Although Candrakīrti's interpretation of the compound does not agree with the earlier commentaries, the same interpretation is attested in the writings attributed to Nāgārjuna. In the *Śūnyatāsaptati-vṛtti*, one can see the same solution of the compound as *dvandva*. Moreover, one may read the idea in the twelfth and thirteen verses of the MMK that *śubha*, *aśubha,* and *viparyāsa* are respectively the cause of *rāga, dveṣa*, and *avidyā*. Candrakīrti identifies *avidyā* (ignorance) with *moha*.

Candrakīrti's view that the main subject of the entire chapter is *kleśa* as well deviates from the chapter title, "Analysis of *viparyāsa*". However, this seems to be consistent with his interpretation of the compound *śubhāśubhaviparyāsāḥ* which, according to him, refers to the causes of the three kinds of *kleśa*, viz, *rāga, dveṣa* and *moha*, for he understands that the chapter aims to negate the existence of *kleśa* on the basis of the non-existence of these causes. By examining his discussion in detail, I would like to clarify Candrakīrti's intention underlying his unique interpretation of the compound and the entire chapter.

Kanno, Hiroshi (Soka University)
**Jizang's View of the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*: Focusing on the *Niepan jing youyi***

This paper takes up Jizang's view of the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*. To investigate this issue, Jizang's *Niepan jing youyi* 涅槃經遊意 and *Da banniepan jing shu* 大般涅槃經疏 (which is not extant,

but whose fragments were assembled from some writings of Japanese Sanlun 三論 monks), are very important. Further, the numerous references to the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* in Jizang's works are also important. After introducing Hirai Shun'ei's research and my own research, this paper takes into consideration the structure and the thought of the *Niepan jing youyi*, which has, to date, not been sufficiently investigated. Jizang regarded "non-acquisition" 無所得 as the thematic thrust of not only the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra,* but also all Mahāyāna sūtras. This shows Jizang's fundamental Buddhist stance. Concerning various problems of the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*, the *Niepan jing youyi* introduces some theories of the preceding era, takes them up for critique, and shows Jizang's own ideas, which are also mainly based on the notion of "non-acquisition." The manuscript of the *Niepan jing youyi* is not of good quality and in terms of its content, it is not well organized, which leads to difficulties in its interpretation. This paper clarifies only its outline. In the future, I will aim for a more detailed level of research, including a comparative study with Guanding's 灌頂 *Da banniepan jing xuanyi* 大般涅槃經玄義.

## Mahāyāna Buddhism
**Wed., Aug. 23rd, 9:00-12:30**

Buckelew, Kevin (Columbia University)
**How Chan Masters Became "Great Men": Masculinity and the Aesthetics of Heroism in Middle-Period Chinese Buddhism**

The Chan Buddhist tradition is famous for investing its masters with the status of living buddhas and "great men" (C. *da zhangfu*; Sk. *mahāpuruṣa*), ushering in a major turning point in Chinese Buddhist history when textual authority began to shift away from the translated word of the Buddha and toward the recorded words and deeds of native Chinese buddhas. This paper builds on Miriam Levering's analysis of the gendered "rhetoric of heroism" in Chan discourse records, seeking to better understand the pivotal role of gender and tropes of masculinity in the textual practices through which Chan Buddhists carried off this remarkable feat. In particular, it explores the ways tenth- and eleventh-century Chan Buddhists appropriated and reinterpreted the classical Indian concept of the "great man," allowing them to co-opt the entire canonical mythos of the Buddha Śākyamuni's irreducibly gendered heroic personality. At the same time, I argue that Chan Buddhists' success depended on their ability to transform this canonical body of gendered imagery and refashion it for a new era, draping a novel aesthetic of everyday rusticity over the traditional logical armature of heroism.

Jones, Charles (The Catholic University of America)
**What is the Chinese Pure Land Tradition?**

The study of Chinese Pure Land Buddhism has been hampered for many years by a lack of clarity about the subject. The question, "What is Chinese Pure Land Buddhism?" has been answered largely in the negative as scholars have set out to demonstrate what it is *not* (Sharf and Getz) or have asserted that it is a vague entity pervading all of Chinese Buddhism (Nattier). I will suggest that arguments such as the lack of a continuous set of "patriarchs" with direct master-disciple relations and the lack of an institutional presence to not mean that there is no

phenomenon to study. The paper will then propose a more positive characterization of Chinese Pure Land Buddhism and give an account of its features.

In this presentation, I will propose that Chinese Pure Land is a tradition of practice. By "tradition of practice" I mean both the practices themselves and the explanations that legitimate them. I will further propose that one main ingredient—the prospect of non-elite attainment—is the defining feature of this tradition, and that this idea was formulated most powerfully by Shandao during the Tang dynasty, justifying to some extent Mochizuki Shinkō's assertion that he is the founder of the tradition. I will show that Shandao's achievement was to chart a new direction in the understanding of how such as seemingly inconsequential practice as oral *nianfo* could produce the great results of rebirth in the Pure Land and the attainment of the stage of non-retrogression. He accomplished this by shifting the focus from the unexpected power of the religious practice itself to the power of Amitābha's vows working on the devotee's behalf.

By focusing on this defining feature, I hope thereby to be able to say why the study of Chinese Pure Land Buddhism will attend to some figures (such as Shandao, Huaigan, Zhuhong, and the "patriarchs"), but not to every figure (e.g., Jingying Huiyuan or Kuiji) who wrote about the Buddha Amitābha or his land of Sukhāvatī. I hope also to show that the word "tradition" is the most apt description of the sociological reality of Chinese Pure Land, as a tradition may be passed on and kept by members of a religious community without setting up formal boundaries or lineages.

---

Yasui, Mitsuhiro (Taisho University, Research Institute of Chisan Shingon)
**Some remarks on the *Akutobhayā* and the *Zhong lun***

In this presentation, I shall focus on the *Akutobhayā* and *Piṅgala's *Chung-lun* which are regarded as the oldest commentaries of the *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā*. These two commentaries are known to have remarkable similarities in spite of the difference of the language. Thus, some preceding studies assume that both commentaries are originally identical, but it is still unclear. Therefore, the aim of this presentation is to re-examine the difference, and elucidate the background of them. The presentation mainly consists of the comparison of both texts, and also refers to other commentaries when necessary.

The *Akutobhayā* is preserved only in the Tibetan translation. It is considerably simple compared with other commentaries because of its minimum annotations to the verses of the *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā*.

The *Chung-lun* is preserved only in Kumārajīva's Chinese translation. It also involves some problems, especially its controversial origin. The only clue to know about it is written in the preface of the commentary by Kumārajīva's pupil Seng-Jui. According to the preface, Kumārajīva revised the text of the *Chung-lun* when he translates it, since the annotations of the original text of the *Chung-lun* were somewhat imperfect. Accordingly, it should be also considered that there is an influece of Kumārajīva's idea upon the descriptions in the *Chung-lun*.

The *Akutobhayā* is quoted in other commentaries such as Buddhapālita's *Vṛtti*, Bhāviveka's *Prajñāpradīpa*, and Candrakīrti's *Prasannapadā*. Nevertheless, all of the commentaries do not mention the name "*Akutobhayā*", and the quotations from the *Akutobhayā* are not even stated to be the quotations.

Moreover, there are some cases that these three commentaries all quote the same passages from the *Akutobhayā*. Accordingly, it is concidered that the *Akutobhayā*'s interpretation was accepted as tradional in Indian Madhyamaka.

Meanwhile, the *Chung-lun* tends to show different interpretations from the *Akutobhayā* in such cases. It reflects the unique understanding of the *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* established in China, which may be an influence of Kumārajīva.

This issue requires a cautious examination, because it is fairly difficult to distinguish the original description and Kumārajīva's revision. As is commonly known, Kumārajīva changes expression intentionally, rather than translating literally. Some verses of the *Chung-lun* are also translated intentionally, and partly different from Sanskrit text of the *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā*. Consequently, the annotations of those verses are likely expected to be revised by Kumārajīva as well.

Therefore, the present paper intends to examine the origin of the unique interpretaions of the *Chung-lun*, and cast a new light on the status of the *Akutobhayā* in Indian Madhyamaka.

Denis, Diane (Laval University)
**Looking for the notion of *trilakṣana* in the *Dharmadharmatāvibhāga* and *kārikā***

This presentation examines the notion of *trilakṣana* as it pertains to the *Dharmadharmatāvibhāga and kārikā* (DhDhVK). The fact that two usually reliable dictionaries (Cornu [2001] 2006; and Buswell and Lopez 2014) associate the DhDhV with the three dimensions of experience even though the technical terms *kun brtags* (sk. *parikalpita), gzan dbang* (sk. *paratantra), yong grub* (sk. *pariniṣpanna*) do not occur anywhere in the text nor in Vasubandhu's *vṛtti* (DhDhVV) is a problem that our community of thinkers needs to address. Although many Tibetan commentators and specialists have used this notion of *trilak├ana* to discuss the provisional or definitive meaning of this text, there are still a lot of presumptions about the way it is used or not within the text itself. So much so that the question should clearly be asked. In the absence of the technical terms, is this notion present in the DhDhV or not? If it is, where is it precisely? What are the definitions given? And can we identify the source? Brunnolzl (2013) and Robertson (2006-08) are already debating with Mathes on the subject of sources for this text, my study may bring yet another take on this.

These questions lead me to look at the fact that this text is often automatically associated with a certain understanding of Yogācāra and argue that this classification is helpful in some cases, but is misleading in others. Although the notion of *trilakṣana* plays a role in this misperception, the fact that the term *ālayavijñāna* is not found in the DhDhV nor in its *vṛtti* should be taken very seriously.

Moreover, since the composition of this text may very well precede the formulation of the Yogācāra school of thought and its subsequent debates with the Madhyamaka school, it is important to look at the way in which the DhDhV does not quite fit the classic Yogācāra scheme. As Anacker (in Potter 1999: 753, note 508) postulates, the position of Sthiramati (V[e]) is contradicted by the fact that what exists (*dharmatā* as non-duality) and what does not exist (*dharma* as the appearance of duality) are indifferentiable - they are neither one thing nor different things. On the other hand, the positions of Dharmapāla and Hsüan-tsang are contradicted by the fact that the real existence of *vijñāna* is refuted (also in Potter 1999: 753, note 508).

Finally, when looking at research done to date, including the work of Mathes and Cha (both avalaible since 1996), it is clear that most specialists follow the lead of Davidson (1985) who postulates that the notion of transformation (sk. *āśrayaparivṛtti* ; tib. *gnas gyur*) is the central theme of the DhDhV. My analysis of this text brings me to revisit this presentation and to argue that putting an emphasis on this key notion without considering the structure of the text itself can be misleading. In short, it is my hope that this presentation will help to correct past misconception in and around this text.

---

Nemoto, Hiroshi (Hiroshima University)
**Tsong kha pa on Dependent Origination and Emptiness**

The idea of the inseparability of dependent origination (*pratītyasamutpāda*) and emptiness (*śūnyatā*) is the most characteristic feature of Madhyamaka philosophy. Nāgārjuna (ca. 150–250), in his *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* XXIV.18, declares that dependent origination is none other than emptiness. Furthermore, in the *Vigrahavyāvartanī*, he praises the Buddha as the teacher who taught that dependent origination, emptiness, and the middle way are one and the same thing (*ekārtha*). This idea was further developed by later Tibetan Mādhyamika thinkers, especially by Tsong kha pa blo bzang grags pa (1357–1419) and his successors of the Dge lugs pa school.

According to Tsong kha pa, the unity of dependent origination and emptiness is realized only by the Mādhyamika thinkers, who have attained Madhyamaka insight (*dbu ma'i lta ba*). That dependent origination and emptiness are one and the same thing (*don gcig*) does not mean that they are semantically equal. Instead, it means that, when the truth of dependent origination is ascertained by one with Madhyamaka insight, that of emptiness is simultaneously realized by him by observing the fact that things arise dependently on others and not by themselves. Tsong kha pa thus interprets the unity of emptiness and dependent origination from an epistemological viewpoint. He places emphasis on the radical transformation of cognition that takes place when a practitioner attains the insight. What is important for Tsong kha pa is not merely to discuss the truth of emptiness and dependent origination *per se*, but to clarify the process in which a practitioner realizes that truth. We may say that Tsong kha pa's Madhyamaka exegesis is governed by such epistemological concerns.

Tsong kha pa's view of the inseparability of dependent origination and emptiness is presented in his commentary on the *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* entitled *Rigs pa'i rgya mtsho*, as well as in his small treatise on the stages of the path (*lam rim*) to enlightenment entitled *Lam gtso rnam gsum*. This paper carefully examines Tsong kha pa's texts, as well as commentaries by later Dge lugs pa scholars, and offers a clear elucidation of Tsong kha pa's account of dependent origination and emptiness.

---

Shi (Lee), Fazhao (Hsu-Feng) (Sydney University)
**The Tibetan *uddāna* in the *Śarīrārthagāthā***

The *Śarīrārthagāthā* (Chinese, *Tǐyìqiétā* 體義伽他; Tibetan, *'duspa'i don gyitshigssubcad pa*) is a collection of canonical verses with an accompanying commentary in the *Yogācārabhūmi* (*Yúqiéshīdìlùn* 瑜伽師地論; *rnal 'byorspyodpa'isa*). A curious difference between the various versions of the *Śarīrārthagāthā* is found in its concluding *uddāna*. A major function of this *uddāna* is to classify the verses. Surprisingly, the *uddāna* in the Tibetan version is considerably different from the Sanskrit and Chinese versions. In the Sanskrit and Chinese *uddāna*, the verses are classified into fourteen divisions. The Tibetan version, however, does not include the fourteenth division called "specification" (*lùnyì* 論議, *upadeśa*) but instead provides a list of twenty six divisions in its place. This is not the only difference between Tibetan and Chinese/Sanskrit *Yogacārabhūmi*, e.g. their structuring of the *Yogacārabhūmi*, and the ordering of the four *saṃgrahaṇī*s are different. Thus far, the reasons for these differences have not been adequately acquired.

At the beginning of this presentation, the *Śarīrārthagāthā* verses will be briefly introduced as belonging to two groups (A and B). Then I will present evidence that the Tibetan *uddāna* was modified in response to the Tibetan translation, suggesting that these changes were not made by the translator(s) themselves. The Tibetan complier(s) copied the pattern of the ninth and tenth sets of the Group A verses—which share the same title "two floods"—by naming the sixteenth and seventeenth sets of the Group B verses "two dwellings" (*gnas gnyis*). Thus, the Tibetan *uddāna* appears to represent a modification after the translation was completed. This conclusion narrows down the time period in which these changes occurred and also possibly hints that the differences mentioned above in the Tibetan version might be made by the same complier(s).

Keywords: *Śarīrārthagāthā*, Tibetan *uddāna*.

## Mahāyāna Sūtras
**Wed., Aug. 23rd, 16:00-17:30**

Jin, Tao (Illinois Wesleyan University)
**The Role of the *Fa-yi* Structure in the Organization of *Qixinlun***

This paper examines the textual organization of an influential sixth-century Buddhist treatise, entitled the *Awakening of Faith in Mahāyāna* (or *Qixinlun* in its popular Chinese abbreviation).

Of the five chapters of the *Qixinlun*, the second, i.e, the *Liyi* chapter, is designed to synopsize – or, in its own words, to "define" (*li*) the "purport" (*yi*) of – the treatise. This synopsis consists in a structure that implicitly outlines the major themes of the work, a structure summarized as the "dharma and its significance" (*fa-yi*). In other words, the *Liyi* synopsis, in the form of the *fa-yi* structure, outlines and in that sense organizes the text of *Qixinlun*.

There are, however, two problems in justifying this role of the *fa-yi* structure. For one, scattered all across the treatise, the words "*fa*" and "*yi*" are ambiguous in meaning, not always forming the conceptual pair of *fa-yi* as used in the *Liyi* chapter – we are thus faced with the problem of exactly what organizes *Qixinlun*; for the other, in the sense that the "*yi*" purport summarized in the *Li-yi* is fully elaborated in the *Xian-yi*, the theoretical section of the treatise, the *fa-yi* structure seems to organize only a part of the treatise, rather than its entirety – we are thus faced with the problem of the scope with which the *fa-yi* structure organizes the text.

While explanation of the *fa-yi* concept is a common task to most commentators of *Qixinlun*, the role of the *fa-yi* structure in the organization of the treatise, associated particularly with the clarification and thus identification of the two concepts, as well as the scope of their synoptic and thus organizational application, remains largely unexplored. This article thus proposes to address this neglected issue in these two areas, aiming to clarify the meanings of "*fa-yi*" and, on that basis, outlines the role of the *fa-yi* structure in the organization of *Qixinlun*.

---

Xiao, Yue (The Research Institute of Bukkyo University)
**The vows of Amitābha in the Larger *Sukhāvatīvyūha* and the *Karuṇāpuṇḍarīka***

The aim of this paper is to discuss the relationship of the vows of Amitābha in the Larger *Sukhāvatīvyūha* and the *Karuṇāpuṇḍarīka*. It is commonly believed that the vows of Amitābha quoted in the *Karuṇāpuṇḍrīka-sūtra* are derived from those of the Larger *Sukhāvatīvyūha-sūtra*, structured in a forty-eight vows system5F, nevertheless, some difficulties, which are quite against this hypothesis, still remain (even though they had been discussed by scholars in previous studies, they were ignored).

In fact, even though the formational period of the *Karuṇāpuṇḍarīka-sūtra* was later than that of the Larger *Sukhāvatīvyūha*, it does not mean the vows quoted in the *Karuṇāpuṇḍarīka* must be later than those of the Larger *Sukhāvatīvvyūha*. Meanwhile, this generally recognized hypothesis is based on the prerequisite that the formation of the vows of the Larger *Sukhāvatīvyūha-sūtra* evolved from the first twenty-four vows in the *Dà āmítuó jīng* 大阿彌陀經 (T.12, No. 362), to the second twenty-four vows in the *Pingdengjue jing* 平等覺經 (T.12, No. 361), and then to the forty-eight vows system in the Later Recension of the Larger *Sukhāvatīvyūha-sūtra.* However, according to my recent research, it is unlikely that these two hypotheses are correct. The earliest version of the Larger *Sukhāvatīvyūha*, the *Da amituo jing* which is generally recognized as presenting the earliest form of the original Indian Pure Land Buddhism, is exactly the one which was largely compiled by the Chinese translator based on cultivation of good merit and confessing evils. It is necessary to reconsider the relationship of the vows of Amitābha between the Larger *Sukhāvatīvyūha* and the *Karuṇāpuṇḍarīka.* In my recent paper, I indicated that the vows quoted in the *Karuṇāpuṇḍarīka* were probably earlier than those of the *Da amituo jing*,

based on the 2<sup>nd</sup> vow (women's rebirth in the Pure Land). In this paper, I wish to present a further discussion with new evidence based on the texts, indicating that a system of forty-eight vows had already been in existence before the period when the *Da amituo jing* was translated.

Yamabe, Nobuyoshi (Waseda University)
**The Nine Similes of *Tathāgatagarbha* in *Tathāgatagarbha-sūtra* and the Six Similes of *Buddhānusmṛti* in *Guanfo sanmei hai jing***

As is well known, *Tathāgatagarbha-sūtra* is one of the classical texts of the Tathāgatagarbha doctrine. This text, discussed in detail by Michael Zimmermann (*A Buddha Within*: *The Tathāgatagarbhasūtra, The Earliest Eposition of the Buddha-Nature Teaching in India*, 2002), is again attracting scholarly attention with the publication of Michael Radich's recent book, entitled, *The "Mahāparinirvāṇa-mahāsūtra" and the Emergence of Tathāgatagarbha Doctrine* (2015).

The core element of *Tathāgatagarbha-sūtra* is the nine similes for *tathāgatagarbha*, namely: (1) a *tathāgata* in a lotus; (2) honey shielded by bees; (3) kernels enclosed in husks; (4) a gold nugget in excrement; (5) a treasure hidden beneath the house of a poor person; (6) a sprout in the seed; (7) a *tathāgata* image wrapped in rotten rags; (8) a future universal emperor in the womb of a poor woman; (9) golden figures within burned clay molds. These similes all seem involve the image of a precious object concealed in a less auspicious element.

On the other hand, *Guanfo sanmei hai jing* (Sūtra on the Ocean-Like Samādhi of the Visualization of the Buddha) compares the mind of a person visualizing the Buddha to the following six items: (1) the fetus of a lion king; (2) a sandal tree surrounded by stinking trees; (3) a gem-like heart in the decaying carcass of a *garuḍa* king; (4) a medicinal tree in excrement; (5) fruit of a tree in the earth; (6) the *Prajñāpāramitā* mantra recited by Indra.

Although there is no exact correspondence between these two sets of similes, they have a very similar tenor and seem to share a common background. However, to the best of my knowledge, *Guanfo sanmei hai jing* has rarely been discussed in the context of *tathāgatagarbha*. This is what I intend to do in this paper.

Since the earliest extant Chinese translation of *Tathagatagarbha-sūtra* (early fifth century) is attributed to Buddhabhadra, who allegedly translated *Guanfo sanmei hai jing* as well, the similarities between these two texts might seem natural at first glance. However, as I have discussed in my doctoral dissertation (*The Sūtra on the Ocean-Like Samādhi of the Visualization of the Buddha*: The Interfusion of the Chinese and Indian Cultures in Central Asia as Reflected in a Fifth Century Apocryphal Sūtra, 1999), *Guanfo sanmei hai jing* does not seem to be a text translated from an Indic original. Thus, the relationship between these texts is far more complicated.

In this paper, I shall examine in detail the relationship between these two sets of similes and discuss the significance of *Guanfo sanmei hai jing* in the context of the Tatāgatagarbha doctrine.

## Mahāyāna Sūtras
**Thurs., Aug. 24th, 9:00-12:30**

Boucher, Daniel (Cornell University)
**Are Mahāyāna Sūtras Forgeries?**

In a seminal 1982 article on "inspired speech," Graeme MacQueen asked a poignant rhetorical question: "Is it simply a case of this religious community certifying its own productions by putting concocted words into the mouth of the Buddha? Is it, after all, nothing but a case of forgery?" As if to answer this question more than two decades later, Alan Cole opened his controversial *Text as Father* by declaring: "… I take these Mahāyāna sūtras to be knowingly fabricated by wily authors intent on creating images of authority that come to fruition in the reading experience." My presentation will consider what we might mean by fabrication, deception, or forgery for Mahāyāna authors who composed new texts as *buddhavacana* so as to attract new forms of Buddhist identity. Did these authors engage knowingly in conscious acts of misdirection, as Cole suggests, or is it possible that they composed novel texts, perhaps stemming from visionary experiences, that they took to be the words of a/the Buddha in a non-delusional, non-deceptive mannner? To ask this question is to reflect on what scholars might or should mean by authorship with regard to revelatory claims. It also requires us to consider anew under what conditions the materialization of these visionary revelations will be perceived as convincing for an emerging textual community. In this regard a comparison with other New Religious Movements, such as Mormonism, with its new revelations which completed rather than replaced the existing canon, will help us think about the mechanisms by which new forms of authority are generated and made plausible to insiders, especially in the case of scriptures purportedly long hidden but newly discovered (as in the case of the Book of Mormon).

Drewes, David (University of Manitoba)
**How Mahayanists Became Bodhisattvas**

Though it is often said that a bodhisattva is one who decides to pursue Buddhahood, for ancient Buddhists it was not so simple. Going back to the Dīpaṃkara story, which formed the basis for all later understandings of the bodhisattva path, it was generally understood that one becomes a bodhisattva by making a vow and receiving a prediction of one's future attainment of Buddhahood from a living Buddha. Before reaching this point, aspirants to Buddhahood were considered most likely to abandon the path, or simply forget about it, in a future life. Sectarian texts, including the *Mahāvibāṣā*, *Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya*, *Buddhavaṃsa*, and *Theravāda* commentaries, explicitly state that one cannot be considered a bodhisattva until after one has received a prediction and that it is impossible for anyone to become a bodhisattva in this life. Although they use the term more broadly, early Mahayana texts share this understanding. Several of what seem likely to be among the earliest surviving Mahayana sutras, such as the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* and *Ugraparipṛcchā*, refer to bodhisattvas as "beginners" or as "recently set out in the vehicle" almost solely as an insult, or as a way of criticizing those who reject their authenticity. The *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* explicitly states in two passages that new bodhisattvas can be expected to become *śrāvaka*s or *pratyekabuddha*s. According to an important *Prajñāpāramitā* commentary, until one has received a prediction one is a bodhisattva in name only. Accepting the pan-Buddhist tradition that it is either absolutely or effectively

impossible to become a bodhisattva in this life, early Mahayana authors do not encourage their listeners to adopt the bodhisattva path. Instead, they present a variety of methods to enable them to determine that they have already become bodhisattvas, or even already received a prediction to Buddhahood, in past lives. The presentation of such methods forms one of the most common stock elements in what seem likely to be early Mahayana sutras, including such texts such as the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*, *Pratyutpanna*, *Drumakinnararāja*, *Akṣobhyavyūha*, *Sukhāvativyūha* and *Sūraṃgamasamādhi* sutras. This paper explores this material and argues against the common view that the bodhisattva path was seen as a "vocational option." It suggests that Mahayana sutras made it possible for Buddhists to identify as bodhisattvas in a plausible manner for the first time.

Zhao, Wen (LMU)

**The composition of the Sadāprarudita story in the Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā based on the *Pratyutpanna Saṃmukhāvasthita Samādhi Sūtra*: the basic structure and the metaphors**

A series of similar elements between the two versions of Sadāprarudita story in the Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā (henceforth AP) and their counterpart in the *Pratyutpanna Saṃmukhāvasthita Samādhi Sūtra* (henceforth PSSS) are concerned in this study: most of the episodes contained in the two versions can be compared with the Chapter 2 'Practice' of T418, the Chinese translation of PSSS by Lokakṣema (referring to Chapter 2 of Tibetan translation), and only part of the episodes is reminiscent of a brief story of the Buddha Satyanāma in Chapter 15 of T418 (corresponding to Tib. Chapter 23), which has a setting quite similar to that of the Sadāprarudita story. In this manner, the course of the search for the Prajñāpāramitā in the Sadāprarudita story evidentially follows the model of the practice of visualizing Buddha represented by PSSS, although the formation of both texts is a highly complex procedure.

My interpretation of the intertextuality starts with the fact that the Prajñāpāramitā and the Dharma-proclaimer (*dharmabhāṇaka*) of it are identified as the very existence of the Buddha in the earlier layer of AP. This is supported by a wide range of textual evidence applying rhetoric strategies and word play to build the authority of the Prajñāpāramitā literatures and Dharma-proclaimer. However, in tandem with the boom of statues and images of Buddha in northwestern India, visualization practice becomes more and more popular. Thus, search for the Prajñāpāramitā and the Dharma-proclaimer in Sadāprarudita story also follows the model of visualizing the 'actual' Buddha figure.

Although paying respect to the Dharma-proclaimer can be found in the earlier layer of AP, but the unique description in the Sadāprarudita story is noteworthy: one apologetic paragraph for the Dharma-proclaimer receiving donation occurs at the beginning of the second version, and in the later episode, when Sadāprarudita sought for the Dharma-proclaimer named Dharmodgata, he even donated his own body. Furthermore, the course of the search for the Prajñāpāramitā seems to be an involuntary practice of the *Pratyutpanna Samādhi*, but the ultimate goal is to meet the Dharma-proclaimer in a miracle city which imitates the Buddha-field. In this way, the extraordinary emphasis on the importance of the Dharma-proclaimer and the necessity of the donation is perfectly integrated into the story.

Nishi, Yasutomo (Chuo Academic Research Institute)
**Research on krīḍāpanaka- / krīḍanaka in the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka**

The Sanskrit *Lotus Sutra* (*Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, Saddhp) is considered to be the source texts of *Miaofa-lianhua-jing* (『妙法蓮華経』, *Myohōrenge-kyō*); however, there is not yet unanimous agreement with regard to an original text. The biggest reason for this is because individual research on each manuscript has not almost seen any progress.

In order to distinguish the Saddhp source texts for the Chinese translations and to verify similarities and differences in transcribed words, vocabulary, word forms, and grammar between manuscripts, it is necessary to have strict and literal translations for each edition in the Romanized transcription of the Saddhp's manuscripts against the Kern-Nanjio Edition (KN), Saddhp's revised text for the first time, which voluntarily had picked out different wordings that appeared in different source manuscripts written in different eras. However, this has not yet been done. Regarding vocabulary, word forms, and grammar, it would be expected that there are similarities and differences in Saddhp manuscripts belonging to different groups; however, there are also similarities and differences in manuscripts within the same group. This fact suggests that there may have been various chances for change in the formative process and the transmission of Saddhp. The language used in Saddhp is a mixture of Middle Indo-Aryan (MIA) and Classical Sanskrit.

In the Central Asian recension of the Saddhp, MIA, word formations and syntax are very prevalent. Many scholars, including Hendrik Kern and Franklin Edgerton, advocate the hypothesis that, in its original form of the Saddhp manuscripts was in MIA, and that it was changed to Classical Sanskrit during the process of compilation and editing. The Central Asian manuscripts have not been subject to a strict word-by-word analysis. There was no concrete basis for Kern and Edgerton's hypothesis, but I found out an example in support of this thesis. Kern, Naoshiro Tsuji and Kobun Toda point out how two synonyms meaning "toy" or "plaything" change between the MIA form, *krīḍāpanaka-*, in the Central Asian recension and the Classical Sanskrit form, *krīḍanaka-*, in the Gilgit-Nepal recension. I have looked at all the examples of the usage of these words, using a variety of indexes, and I have checked for particularly high concentrations of these usages anywhere in the texts. It looks as if MIA form words appear frequently in verse, based on the restrictions of poetic meter. However, in the Central Asia recension, MIA language forms are common even in prose. It may be possible to explain this as follows: the Saddhp was originally compiled using the form, MIA *krīḍāpanaka-*, in both verse and prose. This format of the word was then retained, even though the Kashgar manuscript, one of the Central Asian manuscripts is in prose.

I will present one example which supports Kern and Edgerton's hypothesis in all Saddhp manuscripts, especially O and KN.

---

Bogacz, Szymon (Jagiellonian University)
**The Relation Between the Conventional and the Ultimate in Early Mahāyāna Sutras and in Nāgārjuna's Madhyamaka**

In the first half of 20th century, prominent Madhyamaka's scholars S. Schayer, F. Th. Stcherbatsky and L. de La Vallée-Poussin identified *paramārtha-sātya* with the Absolute which is "beyond all predicates and communication" (de Jong, 1972, p. 8). To make a long story short, this interpretation was successfully challenged by F.J. Streng, T.R.V. Murti and others who argued for the dialectic interpretation of the relation between the two truths/realities. The dialectic way of reading Madhyamaka sets up a single perspective for the two realities because the "the ultimate truth is not taught independently of a common practice" (*vyavahāram anāśritya paramārtho na deśyate*) (*Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* 24.10). This trend appears to be strong in the contemporary Nāgārjuna's studies (cf. Siderits 2003; Garfield & Priest 2003, Westerhoff 2009; Garfield 2015).

In my paper I will argue against this dominant trend and discuss the problem from the perspective of early Māhāyana understood primarily as a religious practice. I will provide a textual and conceptual background for the thesis that in the context of early Mahayana the two planes, conventional and ultimate, are associated with two different sets of facts, linguistic rules, karmic history, and states of practitioner's mind. But, against the "old school" interpretation, I will argue that the ultimate (the ultimate truth as a semantic parameter of sentences and the ultimate reality as a collection of facts that render sentences true) is not beyond all predicates, but beyond predicates associated with the conventional, i.e. *pratītyasamutpanna* dharmas. I will also identify the conventional (truths and facts) with mental proliferations that are first and foremost consequences of clinging and ignorance and not common practices and habits *simpliciter*.

I will analyse the relevant passages of *Daśabhūmikasūtra* (Kazunobu 1996, in consultation with Śikṣānanda's Chinese translation T10 No. 279), *Akṣayamatinirdeśa* (Braarving 1993a, b) and *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* (Vaidya 1960, Sander 2000, Falk & Karashima 2012, 2013) – texts composed presumably around or before Nāgārjuna's dates. I will reconstruct the meaning of *saṃvṛtisatya* and *paramārthasatya* and their relation in the selected sutras, describe the transition between stages (*bhūmi*) corresponding to the conventional and the ultimate, the practice behind the transition, and relate it to Nāgārjuna's philosophy.

## Manuscripts, Codicology, and Epigraphy
**Tue, Aug. 22nd, 14:00-17:30**

Long, Darui (University of the West)
**A Study on the Colophons of Donors of Rock-Cut Buddhist Scriptures in Fangshan in the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644)**

The Rock-Cut Canon of Fangshan 房山, Beijing, was initiated by Monk Jingwan 靜琬 in the early part of the Sui Dynasty (605-617). The major period of carving was done in the Tang (618 – 907), Jin (1115-1234) and Liao (907 – 1225) dynasties. The Liaos were particularly devoted to Buddhism. The Liao rulers sponsored the project of the construction of the *Khitan Canon* and also endorsed the rock-carving of Buddhist scriptures in Fangshan. The Yuan (1206-1368) saw only two Buddhist texts carved on the stones. The Ming (1368-1644) witnessed the carving of more than 12 scriptures, including one Daoist scripture.

The first scripture engraved in the Ming is *The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch* 六祖壇經. This scripture was not included in other earlier editions of the Chinese Buddhist Canon. It was the *Yongle Southern Canon* 永樂南藏 that collected this scripture for the first time. Zhao Qimei 趙琦美 (1563-1624), a native of Changshu 常熟, Jiangsu Province, donated money to engrave this scripture with a unique colophon. Zhao and his father were well-known book collectors.
The author compares the Fangshan stone-cut rubbings of *The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch* with the *Rokuso dangyō shohon shūsei* 六祖壇經諸本集成 (*Collection of Different Editions of the Six Patriarch Platform Sutra*) compiled by Professor Yangida Seizan 柳田聖山. Two editions that Yangida claimed to be chosen from the *Yongle Southern Canon* and the *Yonge Northern Canon* are found to be problematic.

All donors left their names on the stones. Twenty-one of them were *jinshi* degree holders (successful candidates of the Imperial Examinations). They were scholar-officials in the court. More than forty of them were natives of Zhejiang Province. Bao Shijie 包世傑, a scholar-official involved in the construction of the *Jiaxing Sewn Canon* 嘉興方冊大藏經 in Zhejiang, was active in the Fangshan rock-cut Buddhist scriptures. More than 248 people donated to the project. Some donated money more than once.

Four eunuchs donated money to cut Buddhist scriptures onto stones. Some were sent by Emperor Shenzong or his mother Empress Dowager Li to ship the *Yongle Northern Canon* to various temples in Beijing and other parts of China. Their participation in the construction of Fangshan stone carving shows other factors of religious beliefs and merit-making activities.
This paper deals with the social and cultural background of these donors. As they were rich and influential, their lives and works are recorded both in local gazetteers and in the *History of the Ming Dynasty*. The author tries to examine sources about these people in the hope of contributing to a better understanding of the rock-cut Buddhist canon.

---

Miyazaki, Tensho (Otani University)
**Relations among Old Japanese Manuscripts of Buddhist Scriptures and Woodblock-Printed Buddhist Canons: With Reference to the Puchao Sanmei Jing 普超三昧経**

In recent years, it has become gradually possible for researchers directly or indirectly to access valuable old manuscripts of Buddhist scriptures, preserved in Japan, and various woodblock-printed Buddhist canons. This access makes it possible and necessary to carry out detailed analysis on the relations among the available materials of Chinese Buddhist canons through examination of particular texts. This paper mainly investigates variant readings of the *Pucha Sanmei Jing* 普超三昧経 (*PSJ*) translated by Dharmarakṣa (竺法護), one of the extant Chinese versions of the *\*Ajātaśatrukaukṛtyavinodana*, to shed light on the relations among the Japanese manuscripts and woodblock-printed canons. First, I examine how the scrolls of the Shogozo Repository (聖語蔵経巻) are related to the other old Japanese manuscripts. Then I survey how those manuscripts are related to the woodblock-printed canons. These include the first edition of the Korean canon (高麗蔵初雕本); the Fangshan stone sutras (房山石経), which are thought to be based on the Qidan canon (契丹蔵); and some of the Jingnan (江南) canons.be

Nam, Dongsin (Seoul National University)
**The Sound of Great Enlightenment: the Divine Bell of King Seongdeok of Silla and its Inscription**

The casting of the so-called "Divine Bell of King Seongdeok" was initiated by King Gyeongdeok of the Silla Dynasty in memory of his father, King Seongdeok, in the mid-eighth century and was completed by King Hyegong in 771. It was installed in his personal prayer temple, Bongdeoksa in Gyeongju, and thus came to be called the "Bell of Bongdeoksa." The bell, currently in the Gyeongju National Museum, measures 3.33 meters in hight, 2.27 meters in diameter, and 19 tons in weight. It is the biggest bronze bell in Korea and considered as a masterpiece in form and sound among Buddhist bells in East Asia. Further notable in this bell is a long inscription of 830 characters carved on its surface possibly by the order of King Gyeongdeok. Written in a beautiful prose, its preface states the circumstances of the origin of the bell and the list of participants in the great feat. It provides valuable information for understanding Buddhism and history of the period. This paper will examine the preface of the bell and explore the Silla royalty's attitude toward Buddhism.

Kirichenko, Alexey (Moscow State University)
**The Role of Medium in History-Writing and the Construction of Identity of the Hnget-pit-taung Monastery, Burma**

The Hnget-pit-taung monastery near Nyaung U, Bagan, is the only monastery in Burma possessing historiographic literature that has been worked on and updated for at least last three hundred years. The monastery has long claimed an exalted origin, tracing its establishment back to arrival of monk Arahan and the inception of Buddhist monastic tradition at Bagan. However, Hnget-pit-taung's prominence finds limited support in archaeological and art historical evidence on the site as well as in epigraphic and textual sources originating outside of the monastery. Putting inscriptions, manuscripts, and printed histories produced at Hnget-pit-taung in broader historical context suggests that major instances when monastery laid or renewed its claims to a notable pedigree coincided with periods of political transition when new rulers or administrators sought for candidates for patronage in Bagan or looked for sources of information that could help in recasting the country's past. At the same time, of particular importance was the emergence in Burma of academic study of Buddhism, when defining the nature and history of that religion ceased being a task shouldered exclusively by the exponents of Buddhist tradition, and the transition from manuscript to printed circulation. Tracing the manuscript corpus of Hnget-pit-taung and its circulation, the paper will explore the timeline of production of historiographic manuscripts versus other kinds of texts recopied at Hnget-pit-taung and the demand for these manuscripts among colonial and post-independence scholars of Burmese history. Narrating how the shift to print technology has disproportionally enhanced historical visibility of the monastery, the presentation finds that factors that influenced major changes and trends in modern Buddhist cultures worked similarly at the micro-level of a relatively obscure Burmese monastery.

Acri, Andrea (EPHE)
**The cult of Hevajra in Southeast Asia, 10th-13th century**

A significant amount of epigraphic and art historical evidence suggests that Sumatra and the Khmer domains were important seats of the cult of Hevajra from the 10th to the 13th century. Besides the quotations from the Hevajratantra documented in Sanskrit inscriptions from Padang Lawas in Sumatra, we also have the testimony of the Netravibhanga, an early commentary to the Hevajra by Dharmakīrti from Suvarnadvipa. (This Dharmakirti taught Atīśa in Sumatra in the early 11th century). The Hevajratantra itself mentions Suvarnadvipa.

A large quantity of Khmer bronze images of Hevajra has been recovered from archaeological sites in Cambodia and Thailand, especially during the reign of Jayavarman VII, who patronized Tantric Buddhism. The 11th-century sanctuary of Phimai in modern Thailand was devoted to a 'local' form of Hevajra (i.e. Vimāya).

On the basis of this multifarious evidence, I suggest to reposition Southeast Asia on the map of the Buddhist world as both a crossroads and terminus of Tantric Buddhist cults. I also propose that the Sumatran and Khmer developments might have contributed to give new impetus to the cult of Hevajra in South Asia.


## Manuscripts, Codicology, and Epigraphy
**Wed., Aug. 23rd, 14:00-17:30**

Delhey, Martin (University of Hamburg)
**The 'Vanaratna Codex': A Unique Witness of Indian, Nepalese and Tibetan Buddhism**

For a long time, the manuscript Hodgson MS 35, kept since the 19th century at the Royal Asiatic Society in London, hardly received any attention. This disregard can, among others, be explained by the fact that in their catalogue, the 19th century Sanskritists Cowell and Eggeling classified this codex erroneously as paper manuscript and as having been written in the end of the 18th century. In the mean-time, Harunaga Isaacson has pointed out that the writing support of this manuscript is palm leaf and that its paleographical features point to a significantly earlier origin. Moreover, its colophon and other text passages leave no doubt that it is a multiple-text manuscript closely linked to the Tantric master Vanaratna (1384-1468 CE), the 'last Buddhist pundit of Bengal' (Pratapaditya Pal), who later in his life acquired much fame in both Nepal and Tibet.

In the present paper, a full overview of the texts contained in this manuscript will be presented, and the exact way in which the palm leaves are linked to Vanaratna and to certain of his activities will be discussed. In particular, arguments will be put forward in favor of the hypothesis that the codex is—as regards the original compositions contained therein— an autograph of this pundit hailing from Chittagong. Moreover, the peculiar nature of the second half of the manuscript, which seemingly contains Vanaratna's Sanskrit translations of oral instructions he received in Tibet, will be highlighted. In order to trace the origin of these teachings, the transmission lineages from teacher to pupil (*gurupāraṃparya*) that are attached to several of the texts will be analyzed. Finally, some later manipulations of the original text by a Nepalese hand and their probable reasons will be briefly discussed.

Hori, Shin'ichiro (International College for Postgraduate Buddhist Studies)
**Buddhism in 15th-Century Eastern India: Sanskrit Manuscript Evidence and Tibetan Sources**

The life of the scholar-monk coming from Eastern Bengal, Vanaratna (1384-1468), is described in the Tibetan documents, the *Deb gter sṅon po* (*The Blue Annals*) and the *Mkhas pa chen po dpal nags kyi rin chen gyi rnam par thar pa*, written by Gźon nu dpal, one of his Tibetan disciples. According to both the Tibetan sources, Vanaratna learned Sanskrit grammar of the Kātantra school during his stay in Magadha. I have recently identified a series of manuscripts of Sanskrit grammatical texts belonging to the Kātantra school now in the possession of the British Library, in whose colophons Vanaratna is mentioned as the owner of the manuscripts. In addition to Vanaratna's ownership, these colophons fortunately record the date, a village name, a scribe name with his title and the purpose of copying. It is possible to establish and verify the date as in the 15th century CE on the basis of calendrical elements found in the colophons as well as to identify the village as one in the Gaya District, Bihar State, using a database of toponyms of contemporary India. The scribe name and the salutations at the beginning of each text suggest that the scribe is a Buddhist concerned with the faith in Mañjuśrī. In addition to the Sanskrit manuscripts owned by Vanaratna, there are some Buddhist Sanskrit manuscripts dated in the 15th century and copied at villages in Eastern India: a *Kālacakratantra* manuscript dated 1447 CE from the village of Kerki, Gaya District, a manuscript of Śāntideva's *Bodhicaryāvatāra* dated 1436 CE from the Nalanda District and so on. The colophons of these manuscripts clearly show that Buddhism was still alive especially in some rural areas in Bihar until the middle of the 15th century.

Lee, Youngjin (Geumgang Center for Buddhist Studies)
**The Oldest Nepalese Manuscript of the *Daśabhūmikasūtram* -focusing on its interpolations**

I have edited the sixth Bhūmi of *Daśabhūmikasūtram*, *Abhimukhī nāma Bodhisattva-bhūmiḥ*, based on 6 sanskrit manuscripts with other materials such as two kinds of Tibetan translations and 5 Chinese translations. Of the 6 sanskrit manuscripts, there are two oldest Sanskrit manuscripts referred to as MS A (the oldest) and MS B (the second oldest) by Matsuda (1996), which were not, at least not fully, consulted by the former editors such as Poussin (1913), Rahder (1926), and Kondō (1936).

Thanks to Matsuda (1996, ⅹⅸ — ⅹⅹ), we came to know that the most unique characteristic of MS A and MS B is that the two manuscripts consist of prose sections without verse sections, more accurately without any summarizing verses of the prose sections. In the *Daśabhūmivyākhyānam*, Vasubandhu neither cites the verses nor comments on the verses. According to Matsuda (1996, ⅹⅹ), we cannot simply conclude that Vasubandhu was using the prose version of the Sūtra such as MS A and B, since there would be a possibility that he sought to avoid the repetitive content of the summarizing verses.

While consulting the Tibetan translation in *Mdo sde* section which has not been throughly studied by scholars though the Tibetan translation of the text in the *Phal Chen* section has been examined, I found the former lacks the verses as is in MS A and MS B and this translation

literally matches the content of the *Daśabhūmikasūtram* quoted in the Tibetan translation of the *Daśabhūmivyākhyānam*. This fact indicates a high possibility that Vasubandhu, while he was commenting on the *Sūtra*, used the prose version such as MS A and MS B, and the Sanskrit manuscript[s] that the Tibetan translator[s] of *Mdo Sde* section consulted, all of which exclude the summarizing verses.

Another feature that attracts the attention of scholars is that in MS A there are a few wordings, which seem to be interpolated into the main text from their glosses based on commentaries such as the *Daśabhūmikavyākhyānam*. Among these words, *avaivarttika* (irreversible), *sahāya* (companion), and *vipula* (vast) in the sixth *bhūmi*, which modify or qualify *saṅga*, *bodhisattva*, *bodhisattvacaryā* that are repeated in *all bhūmis*, are unique in that all of them do not always qualify the *saṅga*, etc in other *bhūmis* of MS A. This irregularity would indicate the probability that these terms with other unique wordings of MS A had originally been marginal or interlinear notes and then were inserted into the main text. In this presentation, I will examine the unique wordings presented in other *bhūmis* of MS A and try to support my hypothesis on the interpolation of the wordings.

Milligan, Matthew (Georgia College & State University)
**Text and Epigraph, King and Monk: Comparing and Contrasting Patronage in Early Indian Buddhism**

Even though the nuance of how early Indian Buddhism spread from Magadha and rooted itself as a multiregional institutional power may never be completely known due to a lack of securely dateable and reliable historical records, much of the surviving information offers detailed insight into several types of patronage patterns. The first available resource, literature in Pāli and Sanskrit, depicted contemporary kings of the Buddha such as the famous Bimbisāra or Ajātasattu as inspired devotees who gifted land and buildings to the burgeoning *saṁgha*. Despite their generosity, these patrons were generally kept at a distance from the *saṁgha* by the Buddha due to the inherent dangers of politics and governance. The royal patrons of Buddhist literature were portrayed as possessing very limited influence over the *saṁgha* as members of the laity. On the other hand, some royal patrons known from epigraphic records, such as Aśoka Maurya, took on active roles in the *saṁgha*'s activities with their patronage. Further, other, non-royal patrons of the *saṁgha* formed donative "collectives" to sponsor the construction of monuments such as *stūpa*-s and *vihāra*-s. By surveying and analyzing data from literary and epigraphic texts, this paper reconsiders the impact of a multiplicity of donor types and donor patterns on the early history of the *saṁgha*. What were the goals of the different patrons? What were the outcomes, if known, of the various patronage types? What can be determined from the hundreds of epigraphic records revealing monks and nuns as patrons to their own institution? What were the various relationships between patrons, especially between royal donors and monastic donors? In addressing these questions, I begin to effectuate the sorely needed interdisciplinary perspective on early Indian Buddhist patronage, kingship, and territorial expansion. Moreover, I hypothesize that tracing patronage over time and literary genre may help to re-conceptualize the historical trajectory of the Indian Buddhist *saṁgha* during its formative years Before the Common Era.

Walter, Mariko (ACANSRS)
**Greek Buddhists revisited: Early religious contacts in Greco-Bactria and Indo-Greek Kingdoms according to donor inscriptions**

Alexander the Great conquered the regions of present-day Afghanistan and India, and ruled there for just a couple of years before his death in 323 BCE. After his death, some Greeks settled in Central Asia and India, and Hellenistic influences spread in the region for over half a millennium. Greek colonizers brought their own religion centered with Greek pantheon to Central Asia and India, where many different long-established indigenous religions such as Zoroastrianism, Gnostic religions, Hinduism, Jainism, and Buddhism existed. According to the academic consensus, converted Greek Buddhists existed at that time but they were just a few exceptional cases and not a part of significant historical cultural movement, and considered a Buddhist text like Milindapanha as a Buddhist propaganda. Is that really the case? As I dig into the questions of Greek Buddhists, I am not at all sure if it was just few exceptional individual cases of religious conversion. There seems to be enough epigraphical evidence for the fact that Greek Buddhists contributed significantly to early Buddhism other than Hellenistic artistic influence.

I look at mainly the donor inscriptions in Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī scripts found in cave temples and others in Nāsik, Kārlī, Junnar, Taxīla, Swat, and other Buddhist sites. According to them there were many evidence for Greek Buddhists in Hellenistic Central Asia from the second century BCE to the fourth century CE. These inscriptions were found in present-day India, Pakistan, and Afghanistan, where Greek kings ruled or merchant traders visited for pilgrimage. Many Greek Buddhist donors resided in the Greek colonies, most of which existed in or near the coastal cities of Arabian Sea in southwest India, close to the ancient trade centers near present-day Mumbai. Some of these Greek merchants and colonists were earnest Buddhists and donated funds to build vihāras, water basins, slate roof pieces, reliquaries, food hall, entrance hall of a stūpa, pillars, caitya, etc. to the Buddhist sanghas. These Greek donors were kings, local governors, merchants, and their family members as mentioned in the inscriptions, which convey their sincere faith in Buddhism. These inscriptions were to be examined in my paper. Here is one example in Nasīk Cave 12.

"Success! (The gift) of Indrāgnidatta, son of Dhammadeve, the Yavana (Greek), a northerner from Dattāmitrī. By him, inspired by true religion, this cave has been caused to be excavated in mount Tiraṇhu, and inside the cave a Chaityagrīha and cistern. This cave made for the sake of his father and mother has been, in order to honour all Buddhas, bestowed on the universal Saṁgha of monks, together with his son Dhammarakhita." (Senart 1905, 90)

Most of the sources I use are published materials by Lüders, Būhler, Senart, Konow et al about a century ago but I try to revisit them with fresh insights as they provide vital sources for studying Greek Buddhists during the Hellenistic time as a whole in the region.

## Tantric Buddhism
**Wed., Aug. 23rd, 9:00-15:30**

Wenta, Aleksandra (Oxford University)
**The Making of Tantric Orthodoxy in the Eleventh Century Indo-Tibetan World: Jñānākara's *Mantrāvatāra***

The history of tantrism in Tibet functions as a narrative of conflict depicting areas of struggle and obstructions set up against the proliferation of the *tantra*s. Whenever tantrism crisscrossed the axis of the hierarchical authority of the privileged groups, its practices became a highly contentious issue that triggered a divisive debate over its suitability for the Tibetans and set up a mechanism for its suppression by limiting its practices or by subjecting tantric scriptures to censorship. The first attempt at suppression of tantrism took place during the First Diffusion of Buddhism in Tibet (*snga dar*) when Khri lde'u srong btsan (776-815) issued the Imperial Translation Decree that ordered to withdraw certain *tantra*s, already translated and practiced, from circulation among the general public, and, furthermore, forbid the translation of certain tantric scriptures, in particular, the ones belonging to the class of the mother *tantra*s (Karmay 2006:5). This tendency lingered on, though the mediaeval constructions and assaults on tantrism had assumed different forms and emphasis (i.e. Atiśa's *Bodhipathapradīpa* (*The Lamp on the Path of Enlightenment*) written in response to Byang chub 'od's confusion regarding certain tantric practices; 'Brom ston's critique of tantric practice; Ye she 'od decree attacking the so-called 'village tantrikas'; Zhi ba 'od's edict condemning *rdzogs chen* as influenced by heretic Śaiva masters, etc.

Among others, particularly the scholars of *phyi dar* period, supported by royal patronage, worked diligently towards the construction of, what I call, 'the orthodoxy of tantric practice'. Motivated by polemical ends, the *phyi dar* scholars aimed at establishing their self-authenticity and preeminence by contrasting their 'correct tantric practice' with the so-called 'perverse tantric practice' promoted by 'frauds' and attributing to them, often pejoratively, erroneous or willful misappropriation of tantric scriptures. The official ideology of *phyi dar* promoted by the leading intellectuals who had risen to the position of influence in that period, such as Rin chen bzang po and his collaborator Śradhākaravarman, Kashmiri Jñānākara, and 'Brom ston aimed at establishing the normative contours of what they often called 'the proper tantric conduct' that entailed deliberative attempts to restrict and modify certain controversial tantric practices.

In my paper, I focus on one of the most influential, but hardly explored, scholar of the *phyi dar* period Jñānākara (11th century). Jñānākara's *Mantrāvatāra* (An Introduction to the [Path of] Mantra) and his auto-commentary, *Mantrāvatāra-vṛtti*, which have been lost in the original Sanskrit, but can be accessed in Tibetan translation as *Gsang sngags la 'jug pa* and *Gsang sngags la 'jug pa'i 'grel pa* respectively, tries to establish legitimacy of certain tantric practices in order to delimit "the orthodoxy of tantric practice". This itself hinges upon establishing the patterns of heretical refutation, conceived as the defense of orthodoxy, 'the correct belief'. Jñānākara takes pains to construct tantric heresy by identifying, describing and refuting "the other" through schematizing its harmfulness to the orthodox ways.

Nagasawa, Jake (University of California, Santa Barbara)

**A Kadampa's Defense of the *Guhyagarbha Tantra*: On Chomden Rigpé Reldri's (*Bcom ldan rig pa'i ral gri*) *An Ornamental Flower for the Proof of the Guhyagarbha* (*Gsang snying sgrub pa rgyan gyi me tog*)**

The validity of the *Guhyagarbha Tantra* (*Gsang ba'i snying po*), a text central to the Nyingma (*Rnying ma*) school of Tibetan, has been contested in Tibet since the time of Lha Lama Yeshe Ö (*Lha bla ma ye shes 'od*), the tenth to eleventh-century king of Western Tibet. Since then, Tibetan scholars of the Later Diffusion (*phyi dar*) of Buddhism in Tibet have been skeptical of the practices of what would later become Nyingma school, particularly those associated with the *Guhyagarbha Tantra*. Some, such as the eleventh-century translator Gö Khukpa Lhetsé (*'Gos khug pa lhas btsas*), suggested that the tantra was not of Indian provenance but was rather forged in Tibet. Most often, it has been Nyingma apologists, such as Sokdokpa Lodrö Gyeltsen (*Sog bzlog pa blo gros rgyal mtshan* 1552-1624), who flew to the *Guhyagarbha Tantra's* defense. However, in one unusual case, which I propose to study in this paper, we find a scholar of the conservative Kadam (*Bka'gdams*) school accepting the *Guhyagarbha Tantra's* validity— the thirteenth-century intellectual Chomden Rigpé Reldri (*Bcom ldan rig pa'i ral gri*, 1227-1305, hereafter Chomden Rikrel). Among Chomden Rikrel's collected works (*gsung 'bum*) is a text entitled *An Ornamental Flower for the Proof of the Guhyagarbha* (*Gsang snying sgrub pa rgyan gyi me tog*). This version of the text is in an amalgam of passages from other texts that the editor of the collection put together into a single work. It includes, *inter alia*, a short defense of the *Guhyagarbha Tantra* and a correspondence between Chomden Rikrel and a certain Shagé Lotsāwa (*Sha gad lo tsā ba*) regarding a Sanskrit copy of the *Guhyagarbha Tantra*. This text has received little scholarly attention. Previous studies of Chomden Rikrel's work have focused on his early text catalog *cum* history of Buddhism in Tibet entitled *An Ornamental Sunbeam for the Spread of the Teachings* (*Bstan pa rgyas pa rgyan gyi nyi 'od*), and his commentaries on Dignāga's *A Summary of the Means of Correct Knowledge* (*Pramāṇasamuccaya*) and the *Treasury of Dohā Verses* (*Dohākoṣa*) attributed to Saraha. Other studies of *Guhyagarbha* apologetics have dealt with the work Nyingmapa scholars such as the eleventh-century master Rongzom Chökyi Zangpo (*Rong zom chos kyi bzang po*). Therefore, in this paper I will analyze the structure and content of *An Ornamental Flower for the Proof of the Guhyagarbha* with particular attention to the rhetoric that the author employs to establish the *Guhyagarbha Tantra's* authenticity. I will also attempt to verify whether the text is attributable to Chomden Rikrel at all. In sum, this paper will, through closely examining this hitherto neglected apology for a controversial scripture by an otherwise conservative scholar, call attention to a relatively rare circumstance of a cleric writing in defense of a religious system with which he is nominally unaffiliated.

Hammar, Urban (Stockholm university)
**Chag lo tsa ba III Rin chen rnam rgyal (15th century) on the History of Kalacakra in Tibet.**

Since some years I have been working with texts on the doctrinal history of the Kalacakra Tantra. The first was the history by Bu ston which I translated in my dissertation 2005. The second was the Dus 'khor chos 'byung by Phyogs las rnam rgyal, a disciple of Dol po pa. It was published in the Proceedings of the International Association of Tibetan Studies (IATS) in Bonn

2006. Then I worked with the history of Kalacakra by Taranatha presented in the IATS of Vancouver 2010. The latest was a text by the 16th century rNying ma master gZhan phan dbang po presented at the IATS 2016 in Bergen. This text gave interesting information on the bKa' brgyud pa and rNying ma traditions of Kalacakra.

Now I am working with a text from the 15th century by Chag lo tsa ba III Rin chen rnam rgyal (b.1447). It is entitled title Dus 'khor chos 'byung dpag bsam snye ma. Chag lo was part of the rNying ma school and the third in the lineage of the Chag lo tsa ba's. Chag lo tsa ba Chos rje dpal (1197-1264) wrote a famous text on a pilgrimage to India translated by George Roerich (1959).

The Chag lo tsa ba's formed a proper school of Kalacakra.
There is consequently much information on the schools of Kalacakra in this text, especially on the rNying ma school.

The main schools treated in the text are the school of Gyi jo Zla ba 'od zer (p.102-107), the 'Bro school (p.107-263), the Rva school (p.263-347), the Tsa mi school (p.347-404), the Shakya shri school (p.404-427) and the Sha wa ra dbang phyug school (p.427-458). The former part of Chag lo's text (p.1-101) treats the tradition of Kalacakra in India, before its arrival to Tibet.
From p.212 the text is written in cursive which makes it more time-consuming to read. I will mainly concentrate on the lesser known schools of Tsa mi, Shakya shri, Sha ba ra and Gyi jo. The more well known traditions of Rva and especially the 'Bro school I have treated in the texts by Bu ston, Phyogs las rnam rgyal and Taranatha. They are also treated more in detail in the Blue Annals (Deb ther mngon po) by 'Gos lo tsa ba in the 15th century.

I am comparing what I find in this text with the other texts. In this text there is also information on the rNying ma tradition of Kalacakra. It is of importance for the research on the different traditions of Kalacakra in Tibet to study what Chag lo tsa ba writes on the subject. I am planning to write a more comprehensive text on the history of the Kalacakra schools in Tibet based on this research.

Payne, Richard (Institute of Buddhist Studies, Berkeley)
**Tendai Homa: Ritual Change and Ritual Invariance**

The religious traditions of Japan contain many strains of Esoteric Buddhist praxis. The two lineages with the most explicit focus on Esoteric praxis are the Shingon (眞言) and the Tendai (天台). Proponents of the Shingon tradition present its Esoteric (mikkyō, 密教) praxis as the ultimate development of the *buddhadharma*. In contrast, Tendai presents a twofold system, balancing its Esoteric dimension with an exoteric focus on the *Lotus sūtra*. These two schools were initiated in Japan at the beginning of the ninth century—Saichō (最澄; 767–822) established the Tendai school in 805 CE, and Kūkai (空海; 774–835) the Shingon school in 809. This proposal continues to develop a project studying the transformation and adaptation of Buddhist rituals over time. One of the critical situations leading to the transformation and adaptation of rituals is when one tradition adopts a ritual from another tradition. Such an instance took place in early medieval Japan when Saichō was directed by the Emperor to integrate

Esoteric Buddhist practices into the newly formed Tendai lineage, alongside the focus on Lotus Sutra teachings inherited from Tiantai.

While the praxis of Shingon has been largely informed by two texts, the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi sūtra* and the *Vajraśekhara sūtra*, the Tendai tradition added a third, the *Susiddhikara sūtra*, adding to the textual distinctions between the two traditions. The latter text was introduced to China after visits there by Saichō and Kūkai, and brought later developments in Indian Buddhist Esoteric praxis than what was previously found in the earlier texts. The Tendai tradition integrated this later work into its own system of Esoteric praxis, which contributed to diverging interpretations of practice between the Tendai and Shingon traditions. One of the rituals adopted at that time was the homa (goma, 護摩), which therefore provides an important example by which these historical divergences can be examined.

The study of ritual praxes requires the study of a different kind of textual material from the doctrinal texts that are often the first point of reference for the modern academic study of Buddhism. This study will, therefore, start from a translation of a contemporary Tendai homa manual, continue with a comparison of the Tendai homa with Shingon homas, examine the structure of the two rituals, and conclude with a summary of differences and an evaluation of their significance.

In addition to comparing the Tendai and Shingon homas, this study will seek to determine specific differences that can be linked either to the Tendai tradition's use of the *Susiddhikara*, or more broadly, its focus on the *Lotus sūtra*.

---

Kotyk, Jeffrey (Leiden University)
**Sources of Japanese Buddhist Astrology**

The proposed paper will trace the origins and development of Buddhist astrology in Japan from the ninth through to the fourteenth centuries. Japanese Buddhist astrology was of two types. Firstly, Shingon 真言 and Tendai 天台 used the *Xiuyao jing* 宿曜經 (T 1299) as a means of ascertaining auspicious days for the execution of rituals from the beginning of Mikkyō 密教 in Japan. Secondly, there emerged a separate lineage of Buddhist astrologer monks called *sukuyō-shi* 宿曜師, known collectively as the Sukuyō-dō 宿曜道, who were specialists in horoscopy and astral magic throughout the Heian and Kamakura periods (tenth to fourteenth centuries), and often competing with the Onmyōdō 陰陽道.

To date there have only been a few studies on both developments.[1] In present scholarship the Japanese developments are insufficiently linked to earlier developments in Tang China when the bulk of foreign astrological literature and the associated materials related to astral magic were produced.

The proposed study will identify the sources, texts, individuals and major developments related to the introduction of Buddhist astrology in Japan, arguing that it played a significant role throughout the Heian and Kamakura periods, both in Buddhist and aristocratic circles. It will furthermore demonstrate that the origins of some elements of Sukuyō-dō horoscopy and Mikkyō

astral magic can be traced back to Near Eastern sources that had been transmitted through Iranians in the Tang dynasty, thereby showing that some elements of Buddhism in Japan have their original origins in hitherto largely unrecognized places outside India and China.

The proposed paper will draw on earlier discoveries documented in my PhD dissertation entitled "Buddhist Astrology and Astral Magic in the Tang Dynasty" while referring to a variety of primary and secondary scholarship from Japan, with a special interest in an extant horoscope chart from 1113.[2]

[1] Major studies include: Yamashita Katsuaki 山下克明, "Heian jidai ni okeru mikkyō seishinku no seiritsu to dōkyō" 平安時代における密教星辰供の成立と道教, *Nihonshi kenkyū* 日本史研究 312 (1988): 37–61. Yano Michio 矢野道雄, *Mikkyō senseijutsu* 密教占星術 (Tōkyō: Tōyōshoin, 2013). Momo Hiroyuki 桃裕行, "Sukuyō-dō to sukuyō kanmon" 宿曜道と宿曜勘文, *Risshō shigaku* 立正史學 39 (1975): 1–20.

[2] The *Sukuyō unmei kanroku* 宿曜運命勘録 is a horoscope for an individual born on lunar 12/25 in year 3 of Ten'ei 天永 (1113). In *Zoku gunsho ruijū* 續群書類從, fasc. 908, ed. Hanawa Hokiichi 塙保己一 (Tokyo: Zoku Gunshoruijū Kanseikai, 1958), 429–438.

# Theravāda Buddhism
**Wed., Aug. 23rd, 14:00-15:30**

Stewart, James (University of Tasmania)
**Revenge Literature in Contemporary Sinhala Buddhism**

In Theravāda Buddhism karma is usually described as an apersonal law and is not driven by some prior intentional force such as a deity. Therefore, while justice may be occasioned by the law of karma, it is non-intentional justice and the possibility of redirecting karma to serve particular ends is usually considered heretical. Some ethnographic studies, however, have noted that folk theories about karma are not always reconciled to this idea. This is most evident in the notion of karmic transfer where the Buddhist can redirect their own karma to a loved one with the hope they will have a better rebirth (Spiro 120; Holt 1). However, in the example of merit transfer, the karmic principle is driven by motives of kindness.

In this paper I will discuss the case of Sinhala revenge literature as an example where karma is seen as a force of punishment, and, unlike with merit transfer, the motive is malicious and intemperate. This revenge literature is a popular kind of material which appears in newspapers or other similar periodicals. The authors are typically Buddhists.

This idiosyncratic body of revenge literature is built around the general thematic structure that a person violates a basic Buddhist moral principle and then is subject to various graphic punishments, both on earth as well as in hell, as a result. The literature is typically concerned with stereotypical subjects such as animal cruelty, infidelity, or the mistreatment of vulnerable people. The violations are very often concerned with the five precepts.

The revenge literature is therefore a reversal of the merit transfer case study since the reader is invited to delight in the harm caused to the perpetrator of the crime rather than engage the virtues of sympathy and compassion that we normally come to expect in such cases.

In this paper I will provide a number of examples of this literature, discuss why they are composed as they are, consider how this vengeful vision of karma relates to basic Buddhist ethical principles, and examine how this literature is supported by other Sinhala cultural practices including black magic and the use of curses by invoking violent deities such as Devol Deviyo.

Holt, John. Assisting the Dead by Venerating the Living: Merit Transfer in the Early Buddhist Tradition. Numen, vol 28 (1), 1981, pp.1-28.
Spiro, Melford. Buddhism and Society: A Great Tradition and its Burmese Vicissitudes. University of California Press, Berkeley, 1982.

Revire, Nicolas (Thammasat University)
**"In Times Yet to Come": The Cult of the Five Buddhas and Ten Bodhisattas in mainland Southeast Asia**

In mainland Southeast Asia, the grouping of the five Buddhas of the present age or "good eon" (*bhaddakappa*) is more important than any other. These five consist of four past (*atīta*) Buddhas, i.e., Kakusandha, Koṇāgamana, Kassapa, and Gotama, to which the next future (*anāgata*) Buddha, Metteyya, is added.

This fivefold series is well evidenced in local Pāli and vernacular literature. Many ancient painted or plastic examples, as well as architectural forms, also exist from approximately the sixth century up to this day. The separate cult of Metteyya is also ubiquitous in pre-modern Thailand and neighboring countries. At a point that is difficult to date with precision, but which must post-date the emergence of the preceding fivefold Buddha scheme (*pañcabuddha*), a rare list of ten future Buddhas (*dasabodhisatta*), beginning with Metteyya, was further elaborated and extolled in the same religious context.

This paper aims to survey the artistic, epigraphic, and textual evidence for the cult of the five Buddhas of the present age, and study the predictions of the ten Bodhisattas in Thailand proper and other Theravāda countries of mainland Southeast Asia. It also briefly compares these lists with material from India and Sri Lanka, and examines their importance in understanding the advent and uniqueness of Theravāda across the region.

Carbine, Jason (Whittier College)
**King Rāmādhipati, Prime Minister U Nu, and the Kalyāṇī Sīmā**

This paper compares two sets of Buddhist statements, a concluding set of poetic verses in King Rāmādhipati's famed 15th-century Kalyāṇī inscriptions, which provide the foundation charter for the Kalyāṇī Sīmā, and an address by Prime Minister U Nu, which was delivered during the staking ceremony for the rebuilding of the Kalyāṇī Sīmā during 1952–1954.

(Intrinsic to Theravāda traditions, a *sīmā* is a boundary within legal acts of the monastic community must take place in order to be valid.) Though separated by centuries, by differences in style, by authorship and leadership, and by political organization, both sets of statements traffic in common patterns of thought and action concerning the Kalyāṇī Sīmā and its associated *Sāsana* (Teaching). In comparing these two statements, then, I suggest what each seems to express as a form of Buddhist devotion, and about possible patterns in the histories of *sīmā*s.

## Vinaya Studies
**Fri., Aug. 25th, 14:00-17:30**

Dewey, William (University of California, Santa Barbara)
**The Tibetan Ganden Tripas and the Vinaya**

Buddhist monks and nuns all follow the vinaya, but how is this monastic code actually put into practice? It simply not a matter of following the *prāṭimokṣa* rules which were, so to speak, tacked up on the wall. In Tibet, although monks are bound to the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya, and study its commentaries intensively in their scholastic curriculum, local customs and institutions define monastic law on the ground. Geluk monasteries, from the small feeder branches to the Big Three monastic universities, run their own affairs under their own constitutions (*bca' yig*), which draw some inspiration from the vinaya, while overarching leadership is provided by the Ganden Tripas (or Ganden Throne Holders), the symbolic successors to Tsongkhapa, the founder of the Geluk school. This position is sometimes said to be the true head of the Geluk school (although no one can match the prestige and spiritual prowess of the Dalai Lama). It is the highest position to which one can advance as an ordinary monk, on one's merits as a scholar: "The Ganden Throne has no owner." Although the tantric basis of Tibetan religious (and political) leadership is more commonly recognized, Tsongkhapa himself emphasized monastic discipline as the necessary basis for tantric practice. In my paper I will explore how the Ganden Tripa position manifests the Geluk tradition's ultimate reliance on vinaya and monastic discipline.

I will examine the Ganden Tripa role through the career of Ngawang Tsültrim (the first Tsemönling *tülku*, 1721-1791), whose life is covered in a long biography (*namthar*) and in an anthology of the lives of the Ganden Tripas. In an unprecedented concentration of political and religious power in the hands of one person, Ngawang Tsültrim's advanced to be Ganden Tripa soon after he was appointed as regent. In my paper I will consider how, even as a tantric master, his supreme position in the Geluk hierarchy depended on his mastery of the vinaya and monastic discipline. I will first consider how Ngawang Tsültrim's early career exemplified devotion to the vinaya, with regard to his high degree of observance and his mastery of the curriculum. The path to Ganden Tripa involved studies at the tantric colleges, but also leadership positions at the tantric colleges which gave him experience in monastic administration. I consider how the Ganden Tripa position itself entailed supervision of monastic discipline, first of all in his presiding over the prescribed vinaya rituals, such as the confession and the rains retreat. Perhaps more importantly he would give sermons on monastic discipline on occasions such as the Great

Prayer Festival, criticizing practices that were against the vinaya, and exhorting monks to be diligent in their studies. I will consider how these sermons drew from vinaya sources and local tradition. I will examine in particular his polemic against the Nyingma tantric practice of Guhyajñāna, which he described as lacking a foundation of discipline and monastic celibacy (thus contradicting Tsongkhapa's ideals)... Finally I will consider how devotion to vinaya was present in other aspects of Ngawang Tsültrim's career, including his publication projects of scholastic vinaya commentaries.

Johnson, Anna (University of Michigan)
**Highland, Lowland, and Kashmiri: Historical Narrative and Identity Formation of Tibet's Three Vinaya Lineages**

This paper explores the formation of three Tibetan *pratimokṣa* vow lineages and the resultant identity-formation that both predates and continues alongside the formation of the traditional four sects of Tibetan Buddhism. While the term *pratimokṣa* is often glossed as "monastic vows," this Christian term obscures their importance (albeit in abridged forms,) as a foundational set of vows for tantric yogins and as a guiding principal for householders. I argue that the *pratimokṣa* vows should instead be seen simply as those that restrain body and speech, and as such, are central to Buddhist identity within diverse Tibetan communities. The history of *pratimokṣa* lineage identity is therefore much more than a history of monasticism. Like all vows, their unbroken succession, passing across Tibet's southern border and back in time to a sanctified Indian past, both establishes a community's Buddhist pedigree, and determines the legitimacy and efficacy of those vows for a single practitioner. Although one Indian vinaya (the Mūlasarvāstivāda) was translated and transmitted to Tibet, three distinct Tibetan vinaya groups were formed, due, I argue, to consistent pressure to assert and maintain authenticity, defined in this case as proof of a connection to an Indian preceptor (*upadhyāya*).

The three vow lineage groups are known as the Lowland, Highland and Kashmiri (or Middle) Vinayas; the former and latter are said to persist as unbroken vow lineages, and are certainly evoked as identities to the present day. This paper particularly explores the narratives that initially construct a distinction between the Highland and Lowland. I argue that this narrative essentially represents two ways to historically resolve Tibetan anxiety around authenticating connections back to India using a three-fold periodization that must somehow accommodate the fact that contact with India disappeared during the middle phase. Unbroken streams of both an explanatory lineage (*bshad brgyud*) and an ordination lineage (*sdom rgyud*) had to be accounted for and defended against critics.

The source materials for this research are the narratives found in religious histories (*chos 'byung*) written beginning in the 12th century, and the lists of names of preceptors and preceptees that form ordination reception records, or succession documents (*sdom rgyun)*. These documents cross several textual genres, being at once historical records, liturgies for recitation, and authenticating certificates proving that one's lineage can be traced back to an Indian, and ultimately back to Śākyamuni. One such handwritten document (published in an anthology of rare Tibetan manuscripts in 2011) is a short reception record of an explanatory lineage of the Lowland Vinaya tradition, possibly a fragment of a larger work, supplying no author or date.

Setting this document alongside recent work by Dan Martin on a Highland Vinaya polemic against the Lowland opens new questions and comparisons about the nature and chronology of the Highland-Lowland divide, and the significance of the incorporation or exclusion of key characters in the narratives of vow lineage preservation in Tibet.

Hu-von Hinüber, Haiyan (University of Freiburg)
**What to do if the Vihārasvāmin is put in jail? A story from the Kṣudrakavastu of the Mūlasarvāstivāda-Vinaya**

The paper aims to investigate an interesting text passage handed down in the Kṣudrakavastu of the Mūlasarvāstivāda-Vinaya (根本説一切有部毘奈耶雜事,Taishō No. 1451, vol. 24, p. 207-414), which was translated by Yijing (義淨) in the year 710.

This Vinaya text concerns the relationship between 住處 (*āvāsa*), 供濟 (*dāna*), 同利養 (*saṃbhoga*) and 長淨 (*poṣadha*). The passage primarily contains guidelines for an exceptional situation, namely when a cloister man (寺主/造寺施主 *vihārasvāmin*), who as merchant (大長者 *śreṣṭhin*) has established a residence of monks and hitherto provided for the Saṃgha with everyday alms et cetera, is unexpectedly arrested by the administrative body (被官拘執、爲王所執).

In this case, the Vinaya text of the Mūlasarvāstivāda school prescribes that the concerned monks should preferably try to keep their Saṃbhoga-district around the Vihāra alive (隨緣乞食，守護而住) in order to preserve the cloister for a long time of five (五年之中) until ten years (乃至十年) so as to protect the monastery and the precious subjects of the Saṃgha (三寶物 *triratnadravya*).

Furthermore, it will be pointed out that the monks belonging to this Saṃbhoga-district are allowed to hold the fortnightly Poṣadha-ceremony by themselves (同利養別長淨), what for the proceeding *jñaptidvitīya karma* （白二羯磨）must be carried out at first.

Wu, Juan (Tsinghua University)
**Parallel Stories in the Jaina *Āvaśyakacūrṇi* and the Buddhist Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*: A Preliminary Investigation**

While it has been known for several decades that the *Āvaśyakacūrṇi* of the Śvetāmbara Jaina tradition and the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* of the Buddhist tradition share some common narrative plots or motifs, so far no detailed study has been made to understand the different ways in which parallel narrative material is handled in the two texts. Through a comparative study of stories of three characters (Prince Abhaya, the physician Jīvaka, and King Udrāyaṇa) in the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* and their counterparts in the *Āvaśyakacūrṇi*, this paper demonstrates that the Buddhists and the Jainas, who composed or redacted the two texts, exploited parallel narrative plots or motifs along different lines and for different purposes.

In particular with regard to Jīvaka, who is widely known among Buddhists as a model of medical skillfulness and religious faith, this paper argues that the fact that Jīvaka is prominently featured in Buddhist literature but has no parallel in Jaina literature may be explained by the different attitudes of the two religions to medical healing and to the role of secular physicians in general. As for the stories of Uddāyaṇa/Udrāyaṇa in the Jaina and Buddhist versions, they serve different didactic purposes. In the Buddhist tradition, the story is partly an illustration of a particular working of karma, something totally absent from the parallel Jaina version.