



INDIRA GANDHI NATIONAL CENTRE FOR THE ARTS
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Atiśa Śrī Dipaṅkara-jñāna and
Cultural Renaissance



IGNCA

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Edited by
Shashibala



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Prof. Shashibala

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First Edition : November, 2018
Price:

Typeset by
Smt. Anupama Dhawan
Kalakosa Division
Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts

Published by
Director (Publication)
on behalf of
Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts
11 Mansingh Road, New Delhi
Website: ignca.nic.in

Printed in

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Foreword

IGNCA organised an international conference in January 2013 on “Atiśa Śrī Dīpaṅkara-jñāna and Cultural Renaissance”. Atiśa Śrī Dīpaṅkara-jñāna an eminent Indian scholar during the 10th-11th century was invited to Tibet to re-establish Buddhism when it was almost wiped out from there. It is due to his enormous efforts that we see today Tibetans spreading it in the world over. Atiśa Śrī Dīpaṅkara-jñāna is venerated over the past one thousand years as a shining star in the history of Buddhism because of the sacrifices he made for reviving the faith; his activities in Tibet and the great legacy that he has left behind. Unfortunately his life and legacy remained unsung by the Indian historians or scholars so far. Therefore IGNCA took the initiative of organising an international conference focussing on the life and teachings of this great scholar which are meant not only for Tibet or for India but for the humanity. I congratulate Dr. Shashibala for convening the conference and editing the proceedings under the overall supervision of Dr Advaitavadini Kaul, HoD, Kalakosa Division of IGNCA.

The readers will find for themselves in the presentations compiled in this proceeding, that the life and the work of Atiśa Śrī Dīpaṅkara-jñāna are inspiring and will remain so for generations to come. Let us celebrate his dedication for the wisdom path to establish peace and harmony in the world.

Dr Sachchidanand Joshi

Member Secretary

IGNCA

Preface

Atiśa Śrī Dīpaṅkara-jñāna and Cultural Renaissance

HH the Dalai Lama said about Atiśa: In coming to Tibet in the eleventh century, Atiśa eliminated all mistakes that had arisen due to misunderstandings concerning the oral teachings of Hīnayāna, Mahāyāna as well as Tantrayāna. By illuminating the path of how to practice all the teachings of the Buddha without any contradiction, he has been extremely kind, especially to the Tibetans of the Land of the Snow.

Atiśa Śrī Dīpaṅkara-jñāna, a great saint-philosopher of the 10th-11th century, almost forgotten in India over the past centuries, had been venerated as an outstanding personality in Asian countries and regions, especially north of the Himalayas for centuries. He is a shining symbol of peace, compassion, humanism, self sacrifice, harmony and amity who devoted his energies for preservation of Dhamma to Odantapurī, Vikramaśīla, Sompurī, Nālandā and other universities and monastic complexes. He played a singular role in infusing wisdom and in the resurgence of Buddhism, laying a foundation of pure Buddhism in Tibet. His preaching electrified the monks as well as the common people with a new concept of moral purity, self sacrifice, nobility of character, idealism, and revolutionized the social, religious and cultural lives of the people. The people and the Kings of Tibet made sacrifices to invite him to reform and reinvigorate the lax, corrupt and decaying conditions.

Indian historians have not documented Atiśa's life and legacy in India, Indonesia or Tibet. The major source to study him is Tibetan historical chronicles collected over the past 100 years - accounts of the spiritual teacher's life found in 44

Tibetan texts - biographies, doctrinal works, catalogues and hymns written in his praise.

This volume contains research papers presented by scholars at an international conference combined with an exhibition and demonstration of divine arts organised by the Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts. According to Prof. Lokesh Chandra, Atiśa represents the Indian vision of a Buddhist cosmopolis. He visited Suvarṇadvīpa as a pilgrim to study under Dharmakīrti. The invitation to Atiśa to Tibet for resurgence of Buddhism has historical dimensions. He talked about the variants of his names given in the colophons of his works in the Peking edition of Tanjur, its meaning and nuances.

Kaie Mochizuki in the keynote address discussed the problems encountered in studying Atiśa. There is a controversy even about his name. He talked about the titles of the root text Bodhi-mārga-pañjikā which are the same in Tibetan translations but different in Sanskrit. There are textual doubts in other works also like Garbhasaṅgraha, Hṛdayanikṣepa, Daśakuśalakarmapatha and Bodhisattva-mānyāvalī.

Christel Pilz who has travelled along the path of Atiśa in Tibet five times wrote that Atiśa was born with a mission and he was aware of it since his childhood. He had the super-knowledge that one needs to understand his philosophy. He went on to learn Bodhichitta from Dharmakīrti, one the most renowned scholars of his time who was an offspring of Sailendras. The philosophy of Bodhichitta was deeply rooted in the minds and the lives of the Javanese people and reflected in Borobudur. She raises a question in her paper whether Atiśa had an intention to support Dharmakīrti when many villages, monasteries and temples were buried because of a massive eruption of Merapi volcano.

Bhikshu Sumati Sasana advised laying emphasis on practicing Dharma rather than collecting or reading texts and writings, renouncing attraction for life. He quoted Atiśa saying- 'Having removed sleepiness, dullness and laziness, I shall always be joyful when engaging in such incredible practices'. He wrote that there are seven gems that adorn the minds of bodhisattvas- faith, instruction, contemplation, wisdom, ethics, modesty and generosity.

Atiśa followed the philosophy of Asaṅga and Vasubandhu. According to Prem Shankar Shrivastava, Atiśa was a reformer. His works and upadeśa encompass the ideals of universal peace. He laid guidelines for purification of the mind, detaching it from arrogance, violence, distractions, greediness, conflicts etc. He advised avoiding *akuśala-karmas* and to revere good qualities, abandon *kleśa* and avoid profit and fame; and to meditate on *prajñāpāramitā*, *maitrī* and *karuṇā* to strengthen *bodhichitta*.

Bandana Mukhopadhyay presented her paper on Tibetan study material kept at the Asiatic Society with special reference to Atiśa. Its construction was the realization of a magnificent dream of Sir William Jones. A comparative study of the two great stūpas- Gyantse and Borobudur was presented by Garrey Folkes giving details of their symbolism and meaning, style, external decorations, parts, ingredients placed inside a stūpa, and form and purpose of building as told by the Buddha himself. Both of them follow the same mandala plan. Borobudur has nine levels and Gyantse five.

Atiśa had a close connection with the Pala rulers who had invited him to Vikramaśīla. The focus of research by Kaie Mochizuki is on the role played by Śrī Dīpaṅkara-jñāna at Vikramaśīla monastery based on the biographical texts and historical literature written in Tibet, as nothing has been found from India. According to him some of his works were written and translated at Vikramaśīla. The location of Vikramaśīla monastery has been long debated but on the basis of the discription found in Tibetan literature and excavations and explorations done at village Antichak in Bhagalpur district in Bihar. it is accepted that King Dharmapāla, the founder of Vikramaśīla monastery also bore the title Vikramaśīladeva and the large dome at Antichak is its possible site.

Buddhist Art of Tibet depicts not only Buddhas, deities and Maṅḍalas, but also the great masters of the Buddhadharma, such as Śravakas and Arhats, Mahāsiddhas and Paṅḍitas as well as the founders and lineage holders of the four great schools in Tibet. They can be portrayed in the form of a sculpture or as the central image of a painting; in the latter case scenes of the master's life or his pure visions are often surrounding the main figure.

Great lineage masters usually appear on paintings representing specific deities of Tantrik cycles, thus identifying them as part of a particular transmission line. The inclusion of lineage masters may also help in dating certain paintings, particularly if the small icons appearing in the upper borders of the paintings are named, howsoever difficult it may be to decipher the often corrupted (gold) letters.

Andrea Loseries stated that Atiśa appears many times in Tibetan, Mongolian and even Chinese art. Conventionally, i.e. in later paintings of mainly the Gelugpa order, Atiśa is portrayed as a simple monk with the red pointed hat of an Indian Paṇḍit. Seated in Vajra posture, he holds his hands in the mudrā of Turning the Wheel of the Dharma (*dharmacakrapravartana*). At his side on a small table is placed a small stūpa which contains the ashes of Atiśa's master from Suvarṇadvīpa.

On the other side is an evaporation cooler made of calabash containing drinking water, which defines him as an Indian Ācārya (as Tibetan masters drink tea). The Master is often depicted in the company of Dromton and Ngog Lochung, his two foremost disciples. As a fervent practitioner and promoter of the Tārā cult in Tibet which became most popular in all regions of the Land of Snow and beyond, Tibetan artists included Atiśa in most Tārā paintings, mostly floating on a rainbow cloud in one upper corner.

Tradition also says that Atiśa introduced in Tibet the ritual veneration of Buddha Śākyamuni and 16 Arhats. He composed a ritual manual for practice, which was later transmitted; with meditation and prayer one may receive the blessings of the Buddha and his companions as did Atiśa who the Arhats visited miraculously many times.

Therefore we find him placed in a thanka representing Buddha Śākyamuni and 16 Arhats, in a group of three flanked by his two main disciples, and in the company of another triad portraying the Tsongkhapa with his disciples Gyaltsabje and Khedrubje. Both triads are centered by another group of three, the future Buddha Maitreya flanked by Mañjuśrīgarbha and Ākāśavimala. Choosing these groups of three was not haphazard. Atiśa was reborn in the Buddhafield of

Maitreya as Ākāśavimala; as was Tsongkhapa who became Mañjuśrīgarbha. Furthermore, in some paintings Atiśa is also portrayed as one of the Mahāsiddhas.

The entire sacred teachings of Lord Buddha are summarized by the great enlightened master, Atiśa Dīpaṅkara, as ways to transform every practitioner by conquering one's own ego and its manifestation- defilements such as greed, hatred, jealousy etc. At the same time, through the practice of Bodhichitta, which comprises of the practice of compassion, love, kindness and equanimity, the outer limitation is liberated by understanding and realisation of the law of interdependence, and the inner limitless primordial wisdom is realised through emptiness- the primordial wisdom. Therefore this is the Universal and Timeless Truth.

Atiśa : Voice of the Ashesē relates the voyages of Elizabeth D. Inandiak in the footsteps of Atiśa. She was guided by the head monk of Chandi Mendut in Java, Indonesia. Her search began from Zanskar followed by Java, France, Dharamshala in India, and back to Indonesia. She went to Dharmarajika monastery in Dhaka in Bangladesh where Atiśa's ashes are kept. A pinch of it was given to her which she presented to HH the Dalai Lama. Her paper is a narrative and poetical account of the quest. She writes:

*The time will soon come when even one's name
Will not be remembered in anyone's mind.
Even the smallest trace of the
Ashes of one's bones will not remain.*

According to Dan Martin, sometime in the 3rd or 4th decade of the 11th century, at Vikramaśīla monastic university at the heart of northern India, Atiśa composed his general manual on the ritual of consecration. He then translated it into Tibetan together with his disciple Gaya Lotsawa before departing for Tibet, where he arrived in 1042 CE. Although well documented consecrations took place in Tibet and at Dunhuang in the 8th and 9th centuries, there seems to be no record of general manuals existing in Tibetan language before his time, making Atiśa's of special significance in Tibetan tradition. He concentrates on Atiśa's

various methods of sanctifying images, books and stūpas, identifying them with Buddha's body, speech and mind. He considers the age and authenticity of the text based on some of the terminology it employs and its implications for discussions about rituals of consecration that emerged in Tibet in early 13th century. He demonstrates beyond doubt the high significance of Atiśa's work for the religious and cultural history of both Tibet and India.

Kuo-wei Liu's paper on 'Analysis on Various Tantric Lineages of Atiśa based on his Biographies discusses the source of the conceptual origin of Tārā and cross fertilization of ideas. He has searched verses and mantras mentioning Tārā and Tantric practices in the texts translated or transliterated into Chinese. He also gives a detailed account of Tārā worship in India. There is a prayer and a dharani in the Tibetan Buddhist texts that were translated into Tibetan in late eighth century. The second part of the paper points out Atiśa's works on Tārā, the works written by others but translated by Atiśa and newly discovered ritual texts written by Atiśa.

Zhangzong presented a comparative study of the Buddhist theory of Atiśa in Tibet and the Han nationality region in China. According to him 'The Stages of Bodhi Path is an integration of Buddhist theories and elucidates the sequence of Buddhist practices. This has a representative meaning in the theory of the Bkardgam-pa and Gelugpa sects. The theory' Three types of persons can be compared to many similar theories in Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism, such as the theory of capability of beings in Han Buddhism included in the Three Stages School and Ch'an Buddhism, but different theories lead to different results. Though Ch'an and Gelugpa seemingly represent Buddhist sectarianism, Han Buddhism moves towards differentiation, while Tibetan Buddhism towards integration in general.

Peng Jingzhang presents an analytical study of the two sets of Four Corner Bodhisattvas in Dunhuang caves. An Analysis of Tantric Lineages of Atiśa is a search by Yen Hui ju on the basis of his biographies. The paper is mainly an initial textual analysis on the lineages of various practices passed down to Atiśa. Atiśa had great impact on the development of Tibetan Buddhism, not only from

the famous system of the 'Stages and Path' (lam rim), which all major Tibetan Buddhist schools adopted, but also on the Tantric practice like the female deity Tārā, etc. Atiśa, together with his Tibetan disciples, had translated many Tantric texts into Tibetan, of which many were included in the Tibetan Buddhist canon. In her paper, he analyzes some of the important tantric lineages held by Atiśa, like Guhyasamāja, Cakrasamvara, Yamāntaka, etc., mainly based on the two early biographies of Atiśa-- *rnamtharrgyas pa* and *rnamtharyongsgrags*. From these sources, we can have a glimpse of the Buddhist Tantric practices from around tenth to eleventh centuries, and can see how Atiśa's teachings were transmitted to the later Tibetan Buddhist schools.

Karunesha Shukla in his paper Madhyamika Aspects of Atiśa's Philosophy summarizes the Mādhyamika influence on Atiśa's viewpoint and philosophy discernible in his writings, where he propounds the two truth doctrine of the Mahāyāna, its doctrine of niḥsvabhāvatā and śūnyatā. Mādhyamikas, headed by Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva as the chief of the lineage, employ the four-cornered dialectics (*Catuṣkoṭitarka*) to confute the view-point of their opponents as also doctrines of other systems.

The paper on Atiśa and Tholing Monastery: The Archaeological Discoveries by Zhang Jian Lin refers to the Blue and Red Annals and other historical chronicles tracing the history of construction of the monastery and Atiśa's arrival there in the year of the Water Horse (1042). Atiśa stayed at Tholing monastery for about three years, but there is nothing written about the year he left. The author gives details of the monastery and how it looked in 1930, and the archaeological findings and state of preservation after being destroyed in 1960s.

The present volume deals with the key issues and history of the life and legacy of Atiśa as an outstanding Buddhist Master, who wrote, translated and edited more than two hundred texts, spread medical science, built reservoirs and translated many Sanskrit scriptures into Tibetan. By now, it is almost 1000 years that Atiśa has physically departed, but what he has left is timeless. He fulfilled his mission to ensure Tibet's destiny to become the treasure house of true spiritual knowledge.

I convey my gratitude to all the scholars who participated in the conference and presented their researches and the Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts for giving me an opportunity to undertake this historically valuable project to remind and revive the teachings of our great masters when they are almost forgotten in their own land.

I must record my gratefulness to my guru Prof. Lokesh Chandra for all kinds of academic support for the project.



Shashibala

Jowo Je Paldhen Atiśa

Chamgon Kenting Tai Situpa

Atiśa Śrī Dīpaṅkarajñāna, known as Jowo Je Paldhen Atiśa in Tibetan, was one of the most outstanding masters who was invited to the Land of Snow and who played a very important role in the establishment of Vajrayāna Buddhism, or Tibetan Buddhism, as we know it today. According to most of the texts on history he was born in year AD 982 as the second son to King Gewipal and Queen Woser Chen (as known in the Tibetan language) in the royal family of Guada in Vikramapur, commonly identified as a place in today's Bangladesh.

From his childhood he showed outstanding compassion, diligence and extraordinary wisdom; attributes that made him master of all the basic knowledge and skills of both the physical body and mind, and he became known throughout the region. After this he attained deep and profound realization of Hevajra tantra under the guidance of his dharma guru Mahāsiddha Rāhula Gupta. Following this, he received teachings and transmissions from a large number of enlightened masters, starting from Kriyā tantra up to the highest-Anuttara Yoga tantra. After realizing the essence of all and through the sacred vision and prophecy received from Buddha Śākyamuni at the age of 29 he took full ordination from the great master Śīlarakṣita and received the name Śrī Dīpaṅkarajñāna. He contributed enormously to Buddhist followers throughout India and its subcontinent.

Finally, upon hearing of the greatness of Śrī Dīpaṅkarajñāna, the King of the Ngari (West Tibet) Lha Lama Yesheś-od sent the accomplished Lotsava Tsondroe Singe (translator) to invite him to Tibet. Lotsava met Śrī Dīpaṅkarajñāna at the great Indian Buddhist monastic seat Vikramśīla but did not manage to persuade him to visit Tibet then. After that Lha Lama Yesheś-od himself went to invite him, but lost his life on the way to India.

Thereafter, the King's nephew Lha Lama Jangchub-'od, sent the accomplished translator Nagtso Lotsava, to invite him. This time in the holy place Bodhagaya, Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara prophesied to Śrī Dīpaṅkarajñāna to accept the request and practice White Tārā. Following this, many of his dharma gurus instructed him similarly. Thereafter, Śrī Dīpaṅkarajñāna accompanied by translator Nagtso Lotsava journeyed for about two years to reach Tibet, where he was received with great honour by Lha Lama Jangchub-'od at Ngari at the Tholing Temple. Śrī Dīpaṅkarajñāna showed both Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna teachings and transmission upon all and many became his disciples. To express his appreciation and devotion, Lha Lama Jangchub-'od described the outstanding quality of Śrī Dīpaṅkarajñāna as Phuldue Jungwa which translates in Sanskrit as Atiśa¹. Out of many great masters that Lha Lama had the honor to encounter and serve, he described Śrī Dīpaṅkarajñāna as the most outstanding in all aspects. Because of his outer manifestation and inner extraordinary wisdom he was offered the name Atiśa Dīpaṅkara. Altogether he spent three years in Ngari region and four years in Utsang region, and specifically six years in Nyetang area, during which period the sacred teachings of the Buddha were established and its lineage flourished and spread to far reaching areas. He wrote many commentaries, compilations and sacred texts, which include texts such as the one on medicine, and during his stay in Tibet a large number of texts were translated from Sanskrit to Tibetan. During his lifetime he established a number of monastic centers in Tibet, Nepal and many other places, besides India, and had a large number of accomplished and enlightened disciples such as Dharmākara Mati, Lochen Rinchen tsangpo, Marpa Lotsava, Drom-ton-pa, etc., in these places.

Atiśa Dīpaṅkara's contribution towards Lord Buddha's lineage, and humanity at large, is like a great ocean and this short written description is just a drop in that ocean. The essence of his teachings can be summed up as upholding perfect morality as base, practicing perfect compassion as path, and remaining in absolute state of primordial wisdom as fruition. The teachings of Atiśa Dīpaṅkara is the complete summary of all the teachings of Lord Buddha and all the great commentaries by all the enlightened mahāsiddhas and mahāpaṇḍitas, and is a guiding light on the path that leads towards enlightenment, Buddhahood.

In the year 1054 AD at Nyetang, Central Tibet, he entrusted his enlightened disciple Drom Tonpa with the responsibility of his lineage and after passing away proceeded to Tushita heaven- the abode of Lord Maitreya.

References

1. The Sanskrit word Atiśa means supreme teacher or supreme guru.

Atiśa Śrī Dīpaṅkara-jñāna and the Buddhist Cosmopolis

Lokesh Chandra

1. The name of Atiśa

The name of Atiśa has been translated into Tibetan differently in the colophons of the Tanjur. The variants in the colophons of works in the Peking edition of the Tanjur are listed here, as catalogued by P. Cordier, who has meticulously reproduced the name with all prefixed and suffixed honorifics.

- 1.1. The appropriate form *Śradīpaṅkarajñāna* occurs in the following works:
Tantra 13.40, 41, 42, 44, 14.73, 40.21, 40.22, 47.46, 63.27, 68.11, 69.118, 122, 138, 71.386, 72.71, 72, 82.19
Sutra 10.2, 29.9, 30.23, 24, 25, 31.4, 8, 10 (pāda), 31.11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 19, 21, 22, 32.1, 7, 12, 16, 19, 33.4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 13, 15, 17, 19, 20, 26, 128.10, 11, 136.35
- 1.2. *Dīpaṅkarajñāna* in Tantra 69.121 and 83.55.
- 1.3. The short form *Dīpaṅkara* occurs in:
Tantra 13.11, 45, 14.35, 68, 26.80, 40.15 (Śrī --), 43.29, 31, 47.47, 48.120 (Śrī --), 121 (Śrī --), 154 (Śrī --), 63.28, 81.13, 82.9 (Śrī --), 29, 45 (bhadra), 69, 83.46
Sutra 27.6, 7, 94.16
- 1.4. In the form *Dīpaṅkarajñāna* (Tib. Mar.me.mdzad.dpal.ye. Śes, Cordier 3.290), Śrī after *Dīpaṅkara* represents the Tibetan sequence of the honorific (Śrī) coming after the name (*Dīpaṅkara*). Its restoration has to follow the Sanskrit sequence which will be *Śradīpaṅkarajñāna*. Hence the form

Dīpaṅkarajñāna has to be corrected to and replaced by *Śrīdīpaṅkarajñāna* which is actually found in Tibetan renderings enumerated in 1.1.

Dīpaṅkarajñāna occurs in the following titles. Bstod.tshogs 17

Tantra 13.38, 39, 43, 14.72, 74, 75, 26.14, 67, 68, 40.20, 43.10, 40, 48.34 (in the Sanskrit title), 145, 63.15, 26, 31, 66.6, 68.17, 40, 42, 159, 160, 174, 178, 200, 69.113, 120, 135, 76.346, 362, 370, 384, 387, 72.4, 20, 33, 34, 36, 64, 70, 74.5 (*Śrīdīpaṅkarajñāna*), 81.10, 21, 82.20, 27, 39, 40, 68, 84.16, 86.14, 56

Sutra 6, 7.3, 16.14, 18.5, 9, 19.1, 24.3, 30.22, 32, 31.10, 16, 23, 32.9, 11, 33.2, 11, 12, 14, 33.50, 101, 103, 37.10, 11, 54.5, 56.3, 90.5, 12, 21, 94.20, 33, 128.9, 133.1

Dīpaṅkara is the Buddha of the past, Śākyamuni is that of the present, and Maitreya of the Future. The images of Dīpaṅkara abound in Gandhara, he predicted the future Śākyamuni attainment of Buddhahood, and narrative details about him are found in the Mahāvastu 1.193f, a work of the Lokottaravādin school. The name Atiśa is a palimpsest of the painful memories of the destruction of the Bamiyan monastic complex which was the birthplace of Dīpaṅkara Buddha.

2. Meaning and nuances

Atiśa has been translated as Jo.bo.rje in Tibetan. The Sanskrit equivalents of jo.bo and rje are:

- Jo.bo = ārya (Nāgānanda 3.7, Mvy. 3757)
- = bhartṛ (Buddhacarita)
- = bhaṭṭaka (Nāgānanda 94, 101)
- = bhaṭṭāraka (ibid. 104)
- = vallabha (Kāvyaadarśa 2.124, 152)
- = vibhu (Bodhisattvāvadāna-kalpalatā 24.140)
- = svāmin (Nāgānanda 152)
- rje = svāmin (ibid. 2.7), Mvy. 18, 4581
- rje.po = ārya (Mvy. 3750)

The Tibetan translation seems to reflect atīśa = ati.(rje) īśa (jo.bo) with a long- ī-. Cordier (3.498) has reconstructed jo.bo.chen.po as mahārya. The word atīśa can

be *ati'* beyond, surpassing, extraordinary, super-' and the rare ending śa (Whitney 1889: 471 no. 1229). śa is not an abbreviation of śaya (in atīśaya). Whitney has clearly contradistinguished the suffix śa from formations containing the root śi. Though grammatically atīśa is a formation *sui generis*, it may reflect subtle nuances of atīśaya which is a technical term for the thirtyfour superhuman qualities or attributes of Jain Tīrthaṅkaras : (a) 10 atīśayas which are inherent in them since birth, (b) 11 atīśayas that arise when the Tīrthaṅkaras attain transcendental knowledge (*kevala jñāna*), (c) 13 atīśayas of miraculous divine origin. They are detailed in the Jambūdvīpa-pannatti-saṅgaho and Darśana-paḥḍa commentary (Varni 1970: 141).

3. Atīśa in Suvarṇadvīpa

Atīśa is a rare pilgrim who left the homeland of Buddhism for Suvavaṅdvīpa to study under Dharmakīrti whom he regarded as one of the four eminent minds who knew the subtleties of philosophical systems of both the Hindus and Buddhists: Dharmakīrti, Ratnākaraśānti *alias* Śāntipa, himself and his disciple Kṣitigarbha. There is none else than these four. On the way to Suvavaṅdvīpa when the ship was tossed about his disciple Kṣitigarbha invoked Tārā who guards against shipwreck, one of the eight terrors against which she specialises as Aṣṭabhaya-trāṇa Tārā. The Tibetan account of the journey of Atīśa to Suvavaṅdvīpa gives no specific details. Translated by Hubert Decler, Atīśa's journey to Sumatra, Donald S. Lopez Jr., *Buddhism in Practice*, Princeton NJ, Princeton University Press, 1995:532-540.

Atīśa went to Suvavaṅdvīpa to study under Dharmakīrti (Gser.gliṅ.pa) from whom he obtained numerous secret precepts and bodhicittotpāda (*Blue Annals* p. 244). Dharmakīrti composed a commentary on the Abhisamayālaṅkāra which was translated by Atīśa and, Rin.chen.bzaṅ.po (Cordier 3.278 no.3). Cordier translates its colophon as: Composed by Dharmakīrti of Suvavaṅdvīpa in the reign of Deva Śrī Varmarāja (Lha Dpal Go.chaḥi.rgyal.po), of Cūḍāmaṇi-maṅḍapa (Gtsug.gi.nor.bu, *alias* Lha.kha gtsug.nor / Cūḍāmaṇi-maṅḍapa), on Mount Malaya, at Vijayanagara (Rnam.par.rgyal.baḥi.groṅ), in Suvavaṅdvīpa (Gser.gliṅ). The translation has to be corrected to: Composed by Dharmakīrti of

Suvavaṇḍvīpa in the reign of King Cūḍāmaṇivarman in the Cūḍāmaṇi Monastery on Mount Malaya in Vijayanagara in Suvavaṇḍvīpa. The Tamil portion of the Larger Leiden Grant says that the Cola king Rājarāja granted the revenues of a village for the upkeep of the shrine of Buddha in the Cūḍāmaṇivarma-vihāra which was being constructed by Cūḍāmaṇivarman of Kaḍāra at Nāgapaṭṭana (see details in R.C. Majumdar, Suvavaṇḍvīpa 1.167-9).

The name of the guru of Atiśa, Mitrāpāda Dharmakīrti, is mentioned in the colophon of his work Sūtra-samuccaya-sañcay-ārtha (Cordier 3.324 no.32) which he explained to his disciple Tshul.khrims.rgyal.ba. Mitrāpāda is short for kalyāṇamitra-pāda.

King Dharmapāla (Tib. Chos.skyoṅ.ba, Gser.gliṅ rgyal.po Dpal.lidan.Chos.skyoṅ) is the author of five works translated into Tibetan by Atiśa.

- 3.1. Bodhisattvacary-āvatāra-ṣaṭṭriṃśat-piṇḍārtha- annotations on 36 topics in the Bodhisattvacaryāvatāra authored by Suvavaṇḍvīpa -guru Dharmapāla, the King of Suvavaṇḍvīpa at the request of his disciples Kamalarakṣita and Atiśa. The king is probably the Paiṇḍapātika Avadhūta of Yavadvīpa (Cordier 3.309 no.6).
- 3.2. Bodhisattvacary-āvatāra-piṇḍārtha elucidates 11 main topics in the Bodhicary-āvatāra, by the Suvavaṇḍvīpa-guru Dharmapāla on the demand of his two disciples named in the foregoing paragraph (Cordier 3.309 no.7).
- 3.3. Satya-dvay-āvatāra by Atiśa. The colophon mentions Bhavya, Candrakīrti, and Kuruphala i.e. Guru Dharmapāla the King of Suvavaṇḍvīpa and Bhikṣu Devamati (Cordier 3.314 no.9). Literal reproduction in Cordier 3.336 no.3.
- 3.4. Śikṣā-samuccay-ābhisamaya is a résumé in one folio, by the King of Suvavaṇḍvīpa Śrī Dharmapāla, explained to his disciples Kamala[rakṣita] and Atiśa (Cordier 3.325-6 no.4). Literal reproduction in Cordier 3.356 no.87.
- 3.5. Bodhisattvacary-āvatāra-bhāṣya of Atiśa, commentary divided into ten sections, following the views of the Suvavaṇḍvīpa-guru Dharmapāla.

Atiśa was the disciple of two gurus in Suvavaṇḍvīpa : Dharmakīrti and Dharmapāla the king of Suvavaṇḍvīpa.

The Tanjur specifies that four texts were translated by Atiśa, and Nag.tsho lotsava in the Vikramaśīla Monastery itself: Triratna-Tārā-stotra (26.14 p.115, 61b8-62a4). Samsāra-mano-niryāṇikāra-saṅgīti, authored by Atiśa (Cordier 47.46 p.227, 267b1-269a8).

Kāya-vāk-citta-supraṭiṣṭhā by Atiśa, translated by him and Rgya lotsava (Cordier 48.154 p. 257, 316a1-322a1). Ārya-Tārā-devī-stotra Mukṭikā-mālā nāma by Candrogomin *alias* Amaraśāstra (Cordier 82.40 p. 186, 178b6-181a8). *Mythology of Buddhism in Tibet and Mon*

These are short texts but it is interesting that Nag.tsho lotsava could prevail upon Atiśa to translate them during his stay at Vikramaśīla itself. Atiśa translated the Bodhisattva-bhūmi-vṛtti, along with Nag.tsho lotsava. This commentary was written by Guṇaprabha, the guru of Harṣavardhana Śīlāditya of Sthāṇvīśara (mod.Thanesar) who ruled from 606-648 AC (Cordier Mdo 54.5 p. 3.381).

4. Atiśa and the offering of gold

King Ye.śes.ḥod had to sacrifice his life to collect gold for being offered to Atiśa to come to Tibet to spread the Dharma. Though he had relinquished his royal duties, he continued to be the commander of the armies. When he heard of the fame of Atiśa as the leading scholar of Vikramaśīla, he sent a messenger to offer him a bar of gold and invite him to Tibet. The attempt was unsuccessful. The King organised expeditions in the neighbouring kingdoms to collect a large amount of gold to invite Atiśa. He ventured into the territory of Gar.log who were the Turkish Muslim Qarlu tribe. He was defeated, taken prisoner, and a ransom of gold was demanded. His grand-nephew Byaṅ.chub.ḥod organised the collection of gold throughout Tibet. When he went to the Gar.log court, the gold was not sufficient to cover the ransom. Ye.śes.ḥod said: do not give any grain of gold to this king. Convey to Atiśa that the King of Tibet has fallen into the hands of the Gar.log collecting gold for the diffusion of Dharma and for the pandita himself. The pandita should therefore vouchsafe his blessings. Byaṅ.chub.ḥod parted from his grand-uncle in tears and returned to invite Atiśa, and his efforts were successful. Ye.śes.ḥod was murdered in prison. For Indian scholars Tibet was a land of gold and gold bars were offered by the Tibetan lotsavas to invite

them to their land. In 373 during the reign of Samudragupta, Lha.tho.tho.ri Gñan.btsan the king of Tibet received a golden stūpa and two books on blue paper impregnated with lapis lazuli written with purest gold ink. One of the books was the Za.ma.tog or Kāraṇḍavyūha the source of the prayer *Oṃ maṇipadme hūṃ*. Nobody could decipher the books as there was no written language in Tibet, but they were regarded with the deepest respect. By virtue of faith and devotion Tibetan people enjoyed peace and prosperity. This prosperity was due to the export of gold from Tibet to India under the far-sighted international vision of the Gupta Emperor Samudragupta whose very name implies the control of transnational oceanic trade on the one hand, and opening up economic relations with the Land of Snows in the Himalayas. Kālidāsa's Meghadta speaks of Alakā, the city of Kubera the God of Riches in the Himalayas: a veiled reference to the golden land of Tibet. The global vision of the Gupta emperors had become engrained in the Indian psyche: from the Suvarṇabhūmi of SE Asia, Kubera also had a home in the snowy north.

5. Atiśa and the transGandhara North-West

The name of Atiśa Śrīdīpaṅkarajñāna is interesting as it reminds of *Dīpaṅkara* who is the Buddha of the Past, while Śākyamuni is the Buddha of the Present and Maitreya is the Buddha of the Future. He is completely absent in Pali suttas, and only late Pali works say that the future Śākyamuni first vowed to become a Buddha in the presence of *Dīpaṅkara*. Images of *Dīpaṅkara* abound in Gandhara but are absent from other sites. He was born in Rammavati or Ramyaka which is the modern Lamkan or Lamghan Valley. Bamiyan is situated in this valley. The colossi of Bamiyan were the wonder of the Buddhist cosmopolis. Bamiyan was desecrated and portable images were carried to Baghdad in 871. The colossi continued to be worshipped. In the early 11th century, Lāme'i Gorganī sings of the evocative power of the adorned Buddhas, dazzling in their pure beauty. These details of ornamentation are confirmed by fresco paintings of East Iranian Buddhist lands: dark blue veil over the red drapery of the robe, the circular golden earrings with pearl pendants, the crowned heads, and the silken robes. The panegyric of Gorganī runs:

*The rose-bushes are like the adorned Buddhas of the vihāra
 With blue upper breasts and red veils
 A hundred golden earrings in the ears of each one
 Having scattered gems over these earrings:
 Buddhas wrapped in silks and robes they are
 All these sweet basils and fruit-bearing trees.
 Having laid their crowns on their heads and taken their cups
 And filled their arms with agates and emeralds.*

The name of Atiśa recalls the splendours of the colossi in the birthplace of *Dīpaṅkara*. The word Atiśa also reminds of *Atideva* an earlier incarnation of Śākyamuni who belonged to Rammavatī (mod.Lamkan valley) in the commentary on the *Buddhavaṃsa* (Malalasekera 1937 :52). *Dīpaṅkara* is imagined to have been eighty cubits in height. Does Atiśa refer to such an extraordinary height?

6. Atiśa and the global vision

Atiśa represents the Indian vision of the Buddhist cosmopolis, initiated by Śrīgupta the founder of the Gupta dynasty in the fourth century. Śrīgupta constructed the Cīna-vihāra for Chinese monks to study Buddhism. The monks accompanied transnational merchants for safe voyage on the high seas. Śrīgupta realised the important role of the monastic community and ensured trade by enabling the monks to study in favourable conditions in a special monastery for them. I-tsing says that Nalanda was established by King Śrī Śākrāditya *alias* Kumāragupta I on the request of bhikṣu Rājavaṃśa from Uttarāpatha or Trans-Gandhara region, as the monasteries had been destroyed by the Hūṇas. Hsüan-tsang mentions that 1600 monasteries and stupas lay in ruins. The Gupta emperors also were in mortal combat with the Hūṇas. Founded in 415 AC Nalanda was enlarged by successive Gupta emperors. As narrated earlier, Samudragupta commenced bilateral relations with Lha.tho.tho.ri the King of Tibet. As the name implies Samudragupta had a clear policy of oceanic trade with SE Asia where Sanskrit inscriptions of 400 AC have been found. Kālidāsa speaks of the Hūṇas and Persians in the conquests of Raghu, of ships bringing

cardamom-laden cargo from Dvīpāntara (Indonesia), begins the Kumūrasambhava with an evocative reference to the Himalayas and refers to the Kailash Mountain in Tibet as the abode of Kubera. TransGandhara in the NW, Indonesia in the SE and Tibet in the North had become a grand vision of the Buddhist cosmopolis in the Indian mind. Atiśa's name, with *Dīpaṅkara*, his studies in Suvarṇadvīpa and finally his mission in Tibet represent the golden heights of this vision in the philosophical, literary and artistic evolution of Tibet in the second millenium.

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Some Problems in Studying Atiśa

Kaie Mochizuki

Introduction

I thank the previous scholars for publication of their outstanding studies on Atiśa, while referring to them briefly. Modern studies on him may have begun with Sarat Chandra Das in India. In Japan, important studies were published by Hakuyu Hatano and Shoju Inaba by the middle of the last century. The latter may not be so famous outside Japan but we need to see his paper on translations of the Mādhyamaka texts in Tibetan Tanjur. Then Alaka Chattopadhyaya published her great work on him, *Atiśa and Tibet*. Not only is her biographical study important, but she has also provided a complete study of his works in the appendix. In Europe, Helmut Eimer, a German Tibetologist, published his study on the biographies of Atiśa as *Berichte ueber das Leben des Atiśa* (Dīpaṅkaraśrījñāna). He also brought out a critical edition of *Bodhipathapradīpa* with its German translation and that of Atiśa's biography, *rNam thar rgyas pa*. He introduced a philological method into the study of Atiśa. Moreover, we also have very useful publications, namely the Tibetan texts of Atiśa with their Hindi translations edited by Richard Sherburne, S.J. Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies, Sarnath or the English translations of his complete Mahāyāna texts translated by scholars like Yasunori Ejima, Christian Lindtner and others. We must acknowledge here that our present day studies must be based on these earlier studies.

About his Name

Before talking about his works, I must refer to a question about his name, Atiśa, Atiśa or Śrī Dīpaṅkarajñāna. Though Alaka Chattopadhyaya or earlier Japanese

scholars except Shoken Yazaki called him Atiśa, Helmut Eimer referred to the problem of his name and suggested calling him Atiśa. Then, some scholars in modern Japan call him Atiśa. As I read my paper at some conferences, I was asked as to what is more suitable, Atiśa or Atiśa. I answered that I could not judge which is more suitable in Sanskrit and thought that it was another question for my study. In Tibetan Tanjur he is called Dīpaṅkaraśrījñāna with its Tibetan translation, in the colophons. That is to say, he is called Dīpaṅkaraśrījñāna in Tibetan translation. So I chose Dīpaṅkaraśrījñāna, not Atiśa or Atiśa. Of course, I acknowledge that David Seyfort Rugg calls him Dīpaṅkaraśrījñāna in his *the Literature of the Madhyamaka School of Philosophy in India*.

Then, where and why is he called Atiśa or Atiśa. As for this question, Helmut Eimer explains in detail. I summarize it here briefly. This name comes from two biographical sources of the bKa' gdams pa, which tell us that a king gave him an honorific title 'A ti sha' and it means 'eminent' (*phul du byung ba*) and is the same as 'superior' (*khyad par du'phags pa*). Its etymological explanation in the source says that he is called 'a dhya sha' because he had a higher intention (*adhyāśaya*). Some linguists say that 'a ti sha' means 'super tranquil (*atisānta*). From these sources these two interpretations seem to have been known by the fourteenth century.

Alaka Chattopadyaya interprets his name as 'atīśa' (the super lord or the great lord)' and cites a rule from the grammar by Pāṇini as a reliable source. Prof. Katsumi Mimaki supports this opinion, but Eimer criticizes it that it means 'Śiva,' a Hindu god.

Rahula Sankrityayana explains that Atiśa comes from 'atīśaya' and it must be a short vowel 'i.' But why is the last suffix '-ya' missing? We can see that 'ya' in Sanskrit is omitted in the middle of a word in Prakrit, but never at the end and the suffix 'ya' is often shortened in Pali. We may find an example that the suffix 'ya' is written as 'a' in Tibetan translations. On the basis of this discussion, Eimer proposes to call him Atiśa. But Izumi Miyazaki recently suggested calling him Atiśa again. I cannot judge which is better, whether in Sanskrit or in an Indian language. But we must acknowledge again that this Sanskrit title is given by the Tibetans and that the Tibetan language has no original symbol for a long vowel. Nobody knows about the level of knowledge of Sanskrit, of the king. 'A ti sha' can be pronounced Atiśa or 'Atiśa.' Therefore it may be meaningless to discuss it

here. So I call him Dīpaṅkaraśrījñāna when I read his works in Tanjur, especially reading the *Śatasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā* attributed to Atiśa.

Some Textual Doubts in his Works

We know the auto-commentary on the *Bodhipathapradīpa*, the *Bodhimārgadīpapañjikā*. Because the translators of these are different, they seem to be translated in different times and places. Though their titles of the root text in Tibetan translations are the same, namely the *Byang chub lam gyi sgron ma*, their Sanskrit titles are different, namely the *Bodhipathapradīpa* and the *Bodhimārgadīpa*. Tibetan 'lam' is equivalent to 'patha' or 'mārga' in Sanskrit and the Tibetan 'sgron ma' for 'pradīpa' or 'dīpa.' Because they are synonymous, there may be little problem in this difference. But I consider here the reason why these differences occur. The author whose mother tongue is an Indian language does not seem to have given each title different words. It is natural to think that each Sanskrit title was given in different places separately. However, it is not clear when they were given or who gave them. Probably they were given when these texts were put into the Tibetan canon and, if so, those who gave these Sanskrit titles may have known the Sanskrit titles of these texts or at least one of them.

We can see the same example in his small texts, the *Garbhasaṅgraha* and the *Hṛdayanikṣepa*. The first is a small version of the second and most of the verses of the first are included also in the second. That is to say, the first is a shortened version of the second or the second is an enlarged version of the first. As for the title of these texts in the Tibetan translations, the first is 'sNyīng po bsdu ba' and the second is 'sNyīng po nges par bsdu ba.' Their Tibetan titles are almost the same, but the Sanskrit titles are different from each other. At first, the Tibetan word 'snyīng po' is translated from 'garbha' in the former and 'hṛdaya' in the latter. We can find many examples of translating both Sanskrit terms into 'snyīng po'. The Tibetan words 'bsdu ba' and 'nges par bsdu ba' are translated from 'saṅgraha' in the first and 'nikṣepa' in the second. I have not been able to find the later example in another source yet. The two Sanskrit terms come from different roots, 'grah' and 'kṣip.' Because both texts have the same contents, it seems unusual that the Indian author gave them different Sanskrit titles although he gave the same titles in Tibetan translations. Of course, these Sanskrit titles may have been given later by the compilers of the Tibetan canon and this means that the Sanskrit titles of both texts may have been handed down in Tibet. Or Dīpaṅkaraśrījñāna may have

lectured on these texts orally at different places and they may have been translated into Tibetan in written form. So, their Sanskrit titles may have been once lost and were later given to these texts when they were compiled into the Tanjur.

We find two texts named *Daśakuśalakarmapatha* in the Mādhyamika section of the Tanjur. The first, *Daśakuśalakarmapathanirdeśa* is attributed to Aśvaghoṣa and the second, *Daśakuśalakarmapathadeśanā*, is attributed to Dīpaṅkaraśrījñāna. These two texts have completely the same contents. Because they are small texts, we cannot deny the possibility that they have the same contents by coincidence. We can find also the Sanskrit text of the first which was edited by Sylvain Lévi with other small texts of Aśvaghoṣa and its Chinese translation by Ri chéng (日称), who was an Indian master who went to China in 1046 and translated it in 1063. These Sanskrit and Chinese versions are exactly the same as the Tibetan text of Dīpaṅkaraśrījñāna, not that of Aśvaghoṣa. So I think there was some intention to attribute these texts to Dīpaṅkaraśrījñāna or Aśvaghoṣa. These two texts were translated into Tibetan by different translators, namely, the text of Aśvaghoṣa was translated by Ajitaśrībhadra and Sakya'od and that of Dīpaṅkaraśrījñāna was by the author himself and Tshul khriṃs rgyal ba, so there are some minor variant readings between them. The most distinguishable difference is that the Tibetan translation of Aśvaghoṣa's text was translated in verse style, but that of Dīpaṅkaraśrījñāna's text was in prose style. Because the Sanskrit and Chinese versions of the Aśvaghoṣa's text are also written in prose style, the original of this text seems to have been written in prose. And we can assume that this conversion from prose to verse happened at the time of the Tibetan translation or the Sanskrit text which the Tibetan translator had been already converted to the verse style. This conversion seems to have been done intentionally in order to emphasize its attribution to Aśvaghoṣa, a famous poet. Comparing the usage of words in both texts, we know six different points and most of them arise on the ground that the Tibetan translation of Aśvaghoṣa had been regulated by verse style, that is to say, it had to be written with seven syllables in one line (*pāda*).

The *Bodhisattvamānyāvalī* is also a small text written in 27 verses. It is a well known text also in the tradition of the bKa' gdams pa school because it is collected at the beginning of the *bKa' gdams glegs bam* (*Book of bKa' gdams pa*). But as Gehs Lobsang Dargyay or Helmut Eimer has already pointed out, it has great

textual problems. There is a difference in the verses in its Tanjur and the bKa'gdams-pa versions. This means that they have different traditions of the text and one of them is not the original version. In spite of being small, the text has several problems. Therefore, we can guess that a serious problem came up during its transmission. Further, there is another textual problem in this text. We can see almost eight percent of the lines of the text is in another text- the *Vimalaratnalekhā* (*The Letter to the Pāla king*). It is obvious that one of them borrows the verses from the other. Because their authors are said to be the same person, this coincidence has no problem. Or this similarity may prove the identity of the authors. But is that enough? Does the author give different titles to two texts with almost the same verses? The colophon of the former relates no textual information on it, but the colophon of the latter relates that it was written in Nepal for the King of the Pāla dynasty. Because the latter gives us more detailed information, the textual authenticity seems to be trustworthy. Therefore we must investigate the tradition of the *Bodhisattvamānyāvalī* in the sources of the bKa' gdams pa tradition again.

We find texts of Dīpaṅkaraśrījñāna not only in the Madhyamaka section of the Tanjur but also in the miscellaneous section. One of them is the *Bodhisattvacaryāvatārabhāṣya*, a commentary on the *Bodhi(sattva) caryāvatāra* of Śāntideva, which is compiled only in the Peking, Narthan and Ganden editions, not in the Derge and Cone editions. We cannot confirm from the biographical sources or old catalogues by Bu ston that he wrote a commentary on the *Bodhi(sattva)caryāvatāra*. The Tibetan text of this commentary has footnotes written in small letters. It is not identified by whom and when they were written. The references of these notes differ in the editions, so these notes had been acknowledged as heterogeneous from the main text. In its translation, we can see phonetic translations like 'lo ka,' not 'jig rten,' for 'loka' in Sanskrit, etc. These examples have not been found in other Tibetan translations of his texts. We can find a great problem in this text. It ends once in the first part of one third and begins again. If the first section and the second had other contents, it would have been possible to identify it as a continuing text as a whole. But the contents of the first section are repeated in the second section again. It seems better to assume that this text consists of two different texts which had different traditions. Because there are also many differences in the contents, we must be careful to judge them as a small version and an enlarged version. Further, though this text

is a commentary on the text of Śāntideva, we can find in its ending only six verses from its ninth chapter. Further, the author explains only the first verse of the ninth chapter, but does not comment on other verses. That is to say, he hardly explains the words of the root text. He explains the title of its chapters as steps of Buddhist practices based on the *Daśabhūmikasūtra*, which Candrakīrti refers to in his *Madhyamakāvatāra*, so Dīpaṅkaraśrījñāna would have acknowledged it.

Conclusion

In conclusion I want to talk about future studies on Atiśa. Recently, the collection of the works of the bKa' gdams pa was published and we can read these works easily. Though we can see only a commentary on his *Madhyamakopadeśa* in it, we may get new sources on his life or philosophy from other works of the bKa' gdams pa.

The Ideals of Atiśa & Universal Peace

Prem Shankar Shrivastava

Introduction

Atiśa (Tib-Jo-bo-rje) also known as Chandra-garbha in childhood, is a unique face in Indo-Tibetan cultural history. He was born in AD 980-82 at village Vajrayoginī in Vikrampur region of Bengal and passed away from this transitory world at village Nyetang near Lhasa in Tibet.

Atiśa is popularly known as 'Lord' or 'Noble Lord'¹. Among all the Paṇḍitas who flocked to Tibet none exercised such a great influence as Atiśa did.² He was a superb human being getting birth in a royal family with all material facilities but renouncing the worldly life and becoming a monk, acquiring wisdom and employing it wholly to the cause of suffering beings. He can be regarded as a Bodhisattava.³ He was never ill, for he harmed none. After attaining nirvāṇa he went to Tuṣita near Maitreyaṅgātha and became a Bodhisattava called Vimala-ākāśa.⁴

Mind Training

In the course of his learning he travelled to many places. Sumatra is important among them as he studied there for 13 years under the able guidance of Dharmakīrti (Tib-Ser-ling-pa) and learned the technique of meditation which aims to recycle negative energy into loving and healing energy. Tibetans accepted it as one of the fundamental meditation techniques. He has been an important and glorious figure in Tibetan Buddhist tradition. He revived, refined, systematized, and compiled an innovative and thorough approach to Bodichitta

known as mind training (Tib-lojong) in esoteric Buddhism. In Tibetan Buddhism, the mind is not conceived to be merely a general reservoir of information or just the brain mechanism, but to be individual moments of knowing, the continuum of which makes up our sense of knowing. Consciousness (*jñāna*, *shes-pa*) awareness (*buddhi*, *blo*) and knower (*Samvedanā*, *rig-pa*) are synonymous; they are the broadest terms among those dealing with the mind. Any mind (*chitta*, *sems*) or mental factor (*chaitta*, *semsbyung*) in a consciousness is awareness, is a knower. These terms should be understood in an active sense because the mind is momentary consciousness which is an active agent of knowing.⁵

Mind and body, though associated, are not inseparably linked; they have different substantial causes. That this is so means that the increase and development of the mind is not limited to that of the body; although the continuum of the body ceases at death, but that of the mind does not. The difference stems from the fact that whereas the body is composed of matter and as such is automatically established, the mind is not. It is an impermanent phenomenon (*anity-dharama*, *mi-rtag-pa'I chos*), changing each moment and having a nature of clear light. Pure in its essential nature, the mind is stained by adventitious defilements (*ākasmika-mala*, *glo bur-gyi-dri-ma*), the result of having misapprehended from the time of beginningless the actual nature of phenomena. These defilements can be removed, the mind can be totally purified, and the stages in this process of purification constitute the levels of progress towards enlightenment. Thus the process of achieving enlightenment is one of systematically purifying and enhancing the mind.⁶

Mind training opens the eye of wisdom. Attaining wisdom we understand well, our awareness rises that correctly distinguishes good and bad. If one has good eyes, one can understand where it is and is not suitable to go; similarly, wisdom or awareness is able to distinguish right and wrong.⁷

Buddhist psychology reveals that unlimited possibilities are latent in our mind, and it must be man's endeavour to develop and unfold these possibilities.⁸

Atiśa's teaching, including the theory of 'mind training' and various other contributions for the welfare of all sentient beings, was to bring peace and

tranquility in turbulent Tibet when the bad King Lang dar-ma had destroyed the Doctrine and the Land of Snow remained under darkness for about seventy years. Some monks followed Tantra and turned away from Vinaya, some others followed Vinaya and turned away from Tantra. In this way the doctrine was divided. Most of them had allegiance to the *siddhānta* only in words and the full understanding of the doctrine was, of course, far away. Even the semblance of the Doctrine was very rare. They taught the false doctrine in the name of sByor and sGrol. They said sByor (yoga) meant the union with women and sGrol (*mokṣa*) meant the killing of living beings like enemies. In this way, many false doctrines were spread in the name of Tantra. Atiśa, the great saint came to Ngaris near Lhasa and reformed the religion.

Present Scenario of the World

In this twenty first century we require to follow the path shown by him as the whole world is in turmoil and in a chaotic stage. We suffer from many mental agonies and stress which lead to suicide and many other untoward happenings. Almost one million lives are lost every year due to suicide (World Health Organization Report of 2012).

Negative thoughts motivate us to misuse the nice scientific facilities of this era, which turns them into curses instead of boons. It instigates violence and depletion of the beautifully crammed world. Naturally it will threaten world peace, bringing forth torture, injustice, exploitation, deprivation and tyranny upon the weaker classes, disowning the equality of human rights. War as well as terrorism has become usual now-a-days.

Many of the world's problems and conflicts arise because we have lost sight of basic humanity¹⁰. Numerous diseases are cropping up due to pollution of air, water as well as the environment as a whole. Our stupid behaviour as well as thought processes of craving and greediness creates pollution and ecological disasters and ultimately may lead to annihilation of the world.

Scientists, elite persons and big guns of society have been trying to solve the by devising numerous ways and means such as the English Magna Carta of 1215, the Habeas Corpus Act of 1679, the Bill of Rights of 1689, the American

Declaration of Independence in 1776, the French Declaration of Human Rights of Man in 1789, and in America in 1862 and the German Constitution of 1919 and 1949 etc, based on the concept of natural rights of all human beings.¹¹ These and other similar statutes were undoubtedly milestones along the road in which individuals acquire protection against the capricious acts of kings, despots, imperialists, rulers and colonialists. The right of the individual to lead a life of liberty in a free society was recognized. The year 1945, after the atomic attack on Japan, marked a watershed in the recent history of human civilization when the United Nations Organisation came in to existence, incorporating the vision of a new world.

Of course these measures are achieving their goals to some extent, yet there is need for more socio-psychological awareness.

The ideals of Atiśa as a whole can be of great help in this regard. In the opinion of Charles Bell, Atiśa's teaching was largely based on the Kāla-cakra system, one of the most debased forms of Buddhist Tantrism. It evidently met the needs of the Forbidden Land and in him they had a man who studied hard and gained a wide outlook. All his works as well as his sayings are the need of the hour.

Decrees of 5th & 13th Dalai Lamas regarding Ecology

We are trying to protect flora and fauna, wild animals, birds etc. by constituting laws because forests, animals and other living beings have high ecological value. Realizing this reality, His Holiness the 5th Dalai Lama, Ngawang Lobsang Gyatso issued a decree for Protection of Animals and the Environment. Again, one of the decrees (or Tsatsigs) issued by His Holiness the great 13th Dalai Lama Thupten Gyatso states: 'From the first month of the Tibetan calendar to the 30th of the seventh month, with the exception of tigers, leopards, bears, hyenas, rats and rishu, nobody will be hurt, different birds, animals of the hills and forests, or fish and otter of the water etc. In fact no body, noble or humble, should carry out violence to or harm any animal of the land or water or air, no matter how big or small'.¹²

In the tradition of the great Atiśa Dīpaṅkara's philosophy, His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama writes in his book 'Human Approach to World Peace' that all beings

primarily seek peace, comfort and security. Life is as dear to the mute animal as it is to any human being; even the simple insect strives for protection from dangers that threaten its life. Just as each one of us wants to live and does not wish to die so it is with all other creatures in this universe¹³.

H.H. the 14th Dalai Lama's Appeal for World Peace

The efforts of His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama to establish peace in this world is the essence of the philosophy of the great saint Atiśa Śrī Dīpaṅkarajñāna. The Gelugs-pa sect to which the present Dalai Lama belongs, came into existence in the 14th century A.D. under the able guidance of Tsong-Kha-Pa (Sumatikīrti), whose root lies in the Ka-dam-pa school founded by Drom-ton-pa, a disciple of Atiśa. The Tibetans are most grateful to Atiśa because of the purity of the doctrine he preached. As the guru Tsong-Kha-Pa in his Bodhi-mārga-krama said, 'The teaching of Maitreya-nātha's Prajñāpāramitā was a gift of Dīpaṅkara to us; these teachings are explained in his Bodhi-path-pradīpa'¹⁴.

On account of his deep knowledge of philosophy, Dīpaṅkara had the rare honour of being the spiritual guide of at least two Kings of his time, Nayapāla of Bengal, India and Byan-chub-'od of Western Tibet. At the request of the latter, he wrote the Bodhi-path-pradīpa, his magnum opus.

Works and Updeśa of Atiśa Related to Peace

Atiśa has reformed esoteric Buddhism by including Vinay rules (Tib. DulBa) and saved it from degeneration. Charles Bell says that he devoted much time to the Tibetan translation of Indian works of his predecessors like Śāntarakṣita,¹⁵ Kāmalaśīla¹⁶ and Padmasambhava¹⁷.

His contribution to tranquility of all sentient beings of this universe is marvellous and excellent. He has produced a number of texts, about 108, centered round the same theme such as Mahāyānasūtralaṅkāra, Bodhisattavabhūmi, Śikṣāsmuccaya, Bodhisattavacaryālaṅkāra, Jātakamālā and Udānavarga, the basic texts of the Bka'dams-pa sect. These are well known works of classical Mahāyānists. Beside these, some other texts were produced by him. Bodhi-path-paradīpa is the most popular amongst them.

Atiśa's Upadeśa (sayings) to Bodhiprabha¹⁸ is very significant for us. Analyzing his sayings, we may say that Atiśa has always given emphasis on the real practice of Dharma; he says in his preaching that merely having knowledge of the Doctrine is not sufficient for attaining Buddhahood, but the practice of virtue matters much¹⁹.

If we memorize religious texts and understand them thoroughly, we may be able to deliver an excellent speech in a gathering. We may get high regard and position in society as a great scholar or as a high priest. Yet we will not attain the real goal of Dharma unless we practice it in our real life. He says that merely memorising texts by heart like a parrot as well as their deep knowledge and religious activities would be futile if we do not practice Dharma from the core of our heart in our day to day lives.

Regarding monks he says that merely living in a monastery and garbing a monk's dress does not mean that he is a monk so long as he harbours worldly wishes or any thought of injuring others. He should have the garment of Kuśala Karma²⁰.

Again, he suggests that the purpose of living in a monastery is to stop having intercourse with the householders, to renounce partiality for relatives and to avoid causes of distractions provoked by sexual and other desires. One should watch the great treasure of one's own Bodhichitta. One should not allow the mind to get troubled by worldly worries even for a moment²¹. He says that one who does not renounce *kāma* is not a Bhikṣu. One who is without *maitrī* and *karuṇā* is not Bodhisattava. One who has not renounced *kāma* is not a mahādhyānī.²² He suggests to not be burnt²³ by Kāma²⁴. Finally he suggests to monks to cultivate virtuous thought by mind training.

In course of giving emphasis on training of the mind, he says in his work Dharma-Gītika that we should always avoid delusion (*moha*) from a dark night (*Samsāra*), we should be alert mentally so that no bad deeds would be committed by us through body, speech or mind. Our wealth is Kuśala Karma (*śīla*). We should always guard it with our *chitta* (mind) otherwise the wealth of *śīla* would be stolen away by the thief (*akuśalchitta*). Later on, this conception has been

explained by a lbka'-gdams-pa scholar Cha-pa-chos-kyi-reng-ge (1109-1169) in the 12th century A.D. known as Awareness and Knowledge'²⁵.

The founder of the Ge-lug-pa order, the great Tsong-kha-pa, (1357-1419) did not write a separate presentation of 'Awareness and Knowledge' but he did write a brief introductory commentary to Dharmakīrti's Seven Treaties entitled 'Door of Entry to the Seven Treaties'²⁶. This has three parts, the second of which, 'Object Possessors', is a presentation of 'Awareness and Knowledge'. His disciple mKhas-grub, (1385-1438) wrote a more extensive commentary on Dharmakīrti's seven treaties. Clearing away the darkness of mind with respect to the seven treaties includes a presentation of objects and object possessors that extensively sets forth 'Awareness and Knowledge' Another main disciple of Tsong-kha-pa dge-dun-grub, the first Dalai Lama, 1391-1474 extensively set forth 'Awareness and Knowledge' with his ornament for valid reasoning²⁷.

Among the four systems of Buddhist tenets studied in Tibet, Vaibhāṣika, Sautrāntika, Chittamātratā, and Mādhyamika in ascending order, the specific view point of the study of 'Awareness and Knowledge is in Sautrāntika, and within the division of Sautrāntika into Followers of Scripture and Followers of Reasoning, in the latter. However, the general presentation in common at least to Sautrāntika, 'Awareness and Knowledge'' is used as a basis for all areas of study²⁸.

Understanding perfectly is called awareness. In awareness we learn to distinguish more and more subtly what will help or harm others and what has to be avoided. Thus it is necessary to understand well the presentation of awareness and knowledge; it is an explanation of what accords and does not accord with fact, what is and what is not valid.

By understanding it well we may not go on a wrong (path) way. The habit of doing 'kuśala karma' (good deeds) would be cultivated within our mind and we will enjoy peace.

Besides meditation and many mental techniques of mind training, his sayings are not less valuable in eradicating defilements of our mind and cultivation of pious thought.

Atiśa's Instructions Regarding Ecology

As we know, a sensitive relationship exists between all life and its environmental surroundings and nature²⁹.

He suggests to us to reside in a place where virtue echoes in our mind. Here we see that he emphasizes the importance of place and environment because pollution-free, calm and quiet surroundings improve our pious thinking. He suggests Dharma seekers to take shelter in the silence of forest life, as forest life is good for psychophysical health, realization of nature, and rightful thought. In modern times deforestation is going on steadily. As a result of this, our natural environment is going to be minimized as well as polluted. We have become victims of many mental and physical problems such as agony, stress, conflicts and numerous physical diseases. Thus, he preached for protecting the natural environment and ecology as a whole. He suggests avoiding those friends who add to our *kleśa* and stick to those that increase our *puṇya*³⁰. Here, environment means not only physical but psychic surroundings also.

Guidelines for Purification of Mind

We should keep a watch on our mind and keep it under control. He suggests crushing the mind inflated with arrogance and pride. We should be peaceful and disciplined. Gain and honour are like a devil's snare (lit. *pāśas* of Māra). Remove these as we remove boulders from the road. The words of praise and fame are but deceptions. So throw these out in the way we spit.

Happiness, prosperity and friendship of the present are but momentary. Discard these in the way we throw out spittle. The future lives are longer than the present ones. We should save that wealth (viz. *puṇya*), which alone will provide us when we make the journey to the next world. One will eventually have to abandon everything and depart. Therefore we should love the lower people instead of injuring or insulting them.

Regarding love and affection, he says we should love our enemies and friends equally; we should have no partiality. We should have no jealousy for those with good qualities but have respect for them and cultivate their qualities in ourselves. We should not examine the faults of others; examine those of our own and leave those in the way in which we shed off our poisonous blood. We should have the same feeling for living beings as parents have for their sons. Have a smiling face always. Avoid anger and speak softly with a loving heart. Be careful of our words and speak simply, for too many unnecessary words are found to contain errors. Too much of unnecessary action spoils the *puṇya*: let not our actions be tainted by *adharmā*.

Regarding anger, the 14th Dalai Lama has elaborated this in detail in his book 'Healing Anger', based on the ideas of Atiśa. In fact, nobody, noble or humble, should do violence to or harm any animal of land or water or air, no matter how big or small³¹. Tibetans have a great respect for all forms of life. This inherent feeling is enhanced by their faith in Buddhism which prohibits harming of all sentient beings, whether human or animal³².

Atiśa says that enjoyment and distraction have no substance. We should always uphold *Viśuddha śīla*'. He says anger is especially powerful in the present era. Therefore we should protect ourselves with the armour of forgiveness.

In the context of fulfilling our desire, he says it can never be satisfied as it is unlimited. It gives birth to craving and greediness. Ultimately injustice, tyranny, conflicts, terrorism etc. prevails in society. He says desire cannot be satisfied, as thirst cannot be quenched with salt water³³. It is useless to try to satisfy desires with worldly affairs.

Economic disparity prevails in our society because we try to fulfill our unlimited desires with the limited natural resources which Mother Earth has given to us as gifts according to our needs. Therefore we should try to satisfy only our needs, not greed, so that all of us including all sentient beings can enjoy our own share of natural gifts properly.

Regarding donations or alms-giving to the needy, he says that we should enrich ourselves with *dāna*, the only real wealth. We will then become charming in this

life and happy in the next. The practice of alms-giving would minimize conflicts in an economically disparate society to some extent. He says, for a noble person death is better than shameful acts. We should not accumulate sin in the name of wealth.

Dīpaṅkara wrote to Nayapāla, the King of Bengal, the precious words mentioned in Bodhi-patha-pradīpa as follows:

‘Behave like (one with) eyes with regard to your own faults but as a blind (person) with regard to the faults of others. Avoid arrogance and egoism and always meditate on the void. Give publicity to the virtues of others; keep your own virtues hidden’.

Do not accept gain and gifts. Always avoid profit and fame. Meditate on *maitrī* and *karuṇā*. Strengthen Bodhicitta. The ten *akuśala-karmas* are to be avoided. Reverence is to be always strengthened, remember to curb desires, to remain self content and to act in a virtuous way. He says that the first thing to do is to establish empathy (*maitrīchitta*) with all living beings, inclusive of the three kinds of beings with degraded births (*tri-durgati-jātāni*),³⁴ suffering from both birth and death, etc. We should look at all living beings as suffering from miseries and arrive at the firmest determination (*citta-utapādāna*) to work with the resolution of never turning back (*anivṛtta-pratijñā*) from liberating all living beings from the miseries that are born of miseries.

Here he gives emphasis on the ecological aspects, that we should try to alleviate sufferings of all in this universe even those who are harmful to us and unseen too, such as Pretas, worms, reptiles etc.

One who always wishes to remove all the sufferings of others by one’s own suffering is an *uttama puruṣa*³⁵. From then on until attainment of final enlightenment (*uttama-bodhi*), we should never allow our mind to be polluted by ill will, anger, miserliness and envy. We should purify all our actions physical, oral and mental, and never indulge in any sinful act (*akuśala-karma*)

Atiśa says that one without the power of *abhijñāna* (higher knowledge or super knowledge) cannot work for the sake of living beings, just as a bird with unfledged wings cannot fly in the sky.

The *puṇya* that can be acquired by one with *abhijñāna* in only one day-and-night cannot be acquired by one without *abhijñāna* even in one hundred lives. One who wants to quickly attain the full perfection of supreme enlightenment can succeed not by idleness, but by working hard with the help of *abhijñāna*. *Abhijñāna* cannot be attained without tranquility (*śamatha*)³⁶; therefore, one should work again and again to reach *śamatha*.

One who loses even a single component of the state of tranquility (*śamatha*) cannot, even by hard meditation for thousands of years, reach Samādhi. Therefore, he says, firmly adhere to the components (of *śamatha*). Whatever may be the object of our meditations, we should direct the mind always to *puṇya*.

Abhijñāna cannot be attained without the *yoga-śamatha* state of being accomplished. Without *prajñā-pāramitā*, *āvaraṇa*³⁷ cannot be dispelled.

Therefore, he says for fully abandoning the *kleśa-vṛtti* and *jñeya-vṛtti*, a *yogī* should constantly meditate on *prajñā-pāramitā* along with *upāyas*.

Prajñā without *upāya* and *upāya* without *prajñā* are said to be un-free (lit. tied i.e. one which by itself cannot act). Therefore, we should not ignore any of them.

For removing doubts as to what is *Prajñā* and what is *Upāya*, it is necessary to distinguish clearly between *Prajñā* and *Upāyas*³⁸.

Atiśa emphasized the view of Nāgārjuna & Asaṅga

Dīpaṅkara had the habit of bowing down in empty temples because there he realized śūnyatā. In his teachings he always laid the greatest emphasis on the views of Nāgārjuna and Asaṅga, the great Mahāyānists. Dīpaṅkara also explained the difference between the Buddhist and the non-Buddhist philosophies, and said that *siddhāntas* are numerous but the main is *karuṇā* which can be attained through Bodhicitta. So, one should aspire for *bodhicitta-utapādana*. This leads to the realization that everything, both internal and external, are

unreal, although appearing to be real³⁹. It means the whole world is nothing but only the mind⁴⁰.

In this way, the entire letter of Bothi-path-pradīpa, the theme of Caryā-gīti, the sayings and other teachings emphasize the moral precepts, purity of thought and mind training as a whole centered round Brahmavihāra⁴¹, so that the whole world enjoys freedom from arbitrary or unlawful deprivation, from torture, slavery and inhuman or degrading treatment. His vision of spiritual peace is excellent, wherein even a wolf will dwell with a lamb and leopard peacefully. This is the concept of human welfare, irrespective of caste, creed, regionalism and religion.

Oneness of the Universe and Love - the Greatest Power

Today globalization has set a stage for the play of positive and negative effects that influence various cultures across the world. We differ in so many ways externally such as colour, culture, language, lifestyle and ideology as if different kinds of flowers are in a vase. If one flower amongst them fades, the beauty of the flower vase reduces. Like this, 'all is one' is a great spiritual truth, in spite of diversity. In the words of His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama, we all are a global family. There are many types of powers - intellectual, military, financial, political and so on - to bring peace and happiness, yet we are lacking these. The greatest power in the universe is the power of love that can transport an individual or nation, and ultimately the whole world, to heavenly heights. Love is a universal language of humanity and all other beings. Universal love is a lingua-franca, and we should try to understand it, applying the methods of mind training guided by Atiśa. Lord Buddha has also said that 'We are what we think. All that we are, arises with our thought. With our thought, we make the world'.

Conclusion

Therefore, let us create a new world where love, tranquility and coexistence prevail so that we may see others as ourselves and experience divine love and enormous peace.

Tibetans, though non-vegetarians, are true Buddhists because of their non-harming attitude and belief in upholding the right to life in respect of all sentient beings based on the philosophy of Atiśa Śrī Dīpaṅkarajñāna. Such an attitude and behaviour enjoined them to desist from even destroying their habitat. Emergence of Tibet as a world peace sanctuary is likely to lead to world peace⁴².

His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama says that all the human beings are the same, mentally, physically and emotionally. He emphasizes that every individual leading a happy and successful life would be based on inner strength and inner peace. This, he has said, would transform into a happy individual, happy family, happy community, happy nation and finally a happy world⁴³.

He also suggests building a nation on the values of compassion, love and peace, and extending harmony across the world⁴⁴.

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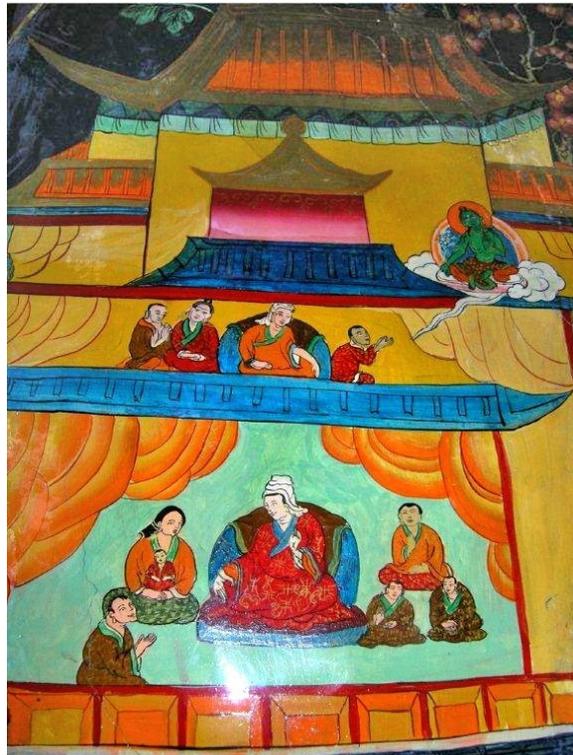
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15. Tattava-siddhi-nāma-prakaraṇa (rGlxxii4)
16. Krishna-yamari sadhana (rGxlii.10)
17. Bhikshu Varsagra-precha (mdxc21) Sex BAi. 30-1
18. Bodhiprabha- In Tibetan Byan-chub-od, he is also known as Devaguru Bodhiprabha. While Atiśa was about to take the way back to India from mNa-ris, in Tibet, at that time Bodhi-prabha requested him, saying, 'Please give me one more upadesha ' At his request he delivered some upadeshas. Saying of Atiśa: Atiśa and Tibet, life & works of Dīpaṅkara Sriñāna in relation to the History and Religion of Tibet with Tibetan Sources, Translated under Professor Lama Chimpa. Alaka Chattopadhyaya, P-536.
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31. His Holiness, the 14th Dalai Lama, speech, page-76-77.
32. Tenzin Phuntsok Atiśa, æThe Tibetan Approach to Ecology,Æ The Anguish of Tibet, 1991, p-222-23, edited by Peter K. Kelly, Gort Bastian and Pat Aliello.
33. The Dalai Lama, æFreedom in ExileÆ, 1990,page-269
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35. The three kinds of beings with degraded birth are:-
 a. Beasts, birds, insects, worms, reptiles, etc.
 b. Preta-s or those in the tantalus, the manes of the dead, and
 c. Those in Hell. Atiśa and Tibet, Alaka Chattopadhyaya-page-528.
36. The Uttama (or Parama) Puruṣa means an absolute believer of the Mahayana doctrines. 'He who becomes sincerely compassionate to all living beings that have been removing in the wide ocean of worldliness and who are being tormented in the intolerable fire of the world by sufferings, as if he himself had been afflicted like them with miseries of recurring existence, who earnestly concerned in the well being and miseries of others, works for their deliverance, eradicating the causes and consequences of their suffering in such a manner so that they may not take root again who acquires the precious mind of a Bodhisattava and thereby practices all kinds of duties which belong to Jinaputra in the parama puruṣa, Ibid- page-527.
37. Shi-gnas or samatha æimplies an absolute inexcitability of mind, and a deadening against any impression without, combined with an absorption in the idea of Buddha or which in the end amounts to the same thing, in idea of emptiness and nothingness. This is the aim to which the contemplating Buddhist aspires, when placing an image of Buddha as rten (a statue or figure of Buddha or of other divine beings which the pious may take hold of and to which their devotions are more immediately directed) before him, he looks at it immovably, until every other thought is lost, and no sensual impressions from the outer world any longer reach or affect his mind. By continued practice he acquires the ability of putting himself also without rten merely by his own effort, into this state of perfect apathy and of attaining afterwards even to 'the supernatural powers of a saint.' J-TED474 Atiśa & Tibet, Alka Chattopdhayaya page- 531-532.
38. Āvaraṇa - The two kinds of moral and mental obscurations are (A) defilement of misery that is caused by habits, etc (Kleśa-Vṛtti) and (B) the sin produced from the objects of cognitions (jeya-vṛtti) According to Mahayana doctrine, these two sins vanish as soon as one has attained to the eight stages of Bodhiasattava perfection. D- TED. 333, Atiśa & Tibit. page 532.
39. Six Pāramitās are generally enumerated. There are: a. Dāna-pāramitā (charity), b. śīla-pāramitā (morality), c. Kṣānti-pāramitā (forgiveness), d. Vīrya-pāramitā (assiduity), e. Dhayāna-pāramitā (meditation), f. Prajñā-pāramitā (wisdom). According to Atiśa therefore, the first five pāramitās constitute the upāyas. Atisa & Tibet, Alaka Chattopadhyaya. Page-533.
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Atiśa - Born with a Mission Atiśa

Christel Pilz



Birth of Atiśa from his life painted on the walls of Drepung monastery.
Atiśa is sitting in the lap below and on the top he is receiving blessings of Tara,
his tutelary deity.

What can someone, who is neither a scholar, nor a teacher nor a preacher - but just a simple traveller and writer tell this distinguished audience? Not more than to share experiences, observations, conversations and pictures while travelling in the footsteps of Atiśa in Tibet and exploring sacred places, events and life during innumerable trips to Indonesia. Surely, I also have read books and texts, but what

I like to share is not based on that. According to my experiences, observations and conversations, Atiśa was not just a prince turned monk. He was born with a mission. He was sent - sent from Above.

From the moment Atiśa entered this world, he knew what for he was born or reborn. He knew what he had to do and where he had to go, but he also knew he should not talk about this and that, he would have to be very patient as all would have its own time. Scientific proof? No, there is none - there is no scientific proof of what is in the realm of Metaphysics. There are, however, symbols and there is, as Lord Buddha explained, knowledge beyond words, insight into the life of humans for those who obey and realize the strict conditions which are attached to acquire and what Atiśa called 'The Superknowledge'.

As Atiśa himself had this Superknowledge, we indeed may say, he was born with a mission. To understand Atiśa, one must know what Superknowledge is: seeing without eyes beyond any border, seeing the unseen, hearing without ears, disappearing in front of others like dissolving into air and suddenly being back, physical appearance at different places at the same time, knowing the thoughts of others wherever they are, able to understand languages which one never learned in his present life, capable of healing, able to do whatever was needed to be done, remembering former lives and drawing from former lives, knowledge and abilities.

Some of you may have been to Drepung monastery near Lhasa and may have had the chance to enter Atiśa's room, which is separated by a short corridor behind the Dalai Lama Library. All the four walls of this room are painted with scenes of the Life of Atiśa. There we can see a picture of the palace, the Queen holding her newly born baby in her arms, the King sitting beside and on the roof we see Devī Tārā, greeting her friend, who had just reentered the world. Whoever painted this picture knew what cannot really be explained in words. He painted from his heart and showed what is said in all the biographies. Devī Tārā was Atiśa's lifelong spiritual companion, giving guidance and support whenever he needed it and he himself called her his 'angel-wife'.

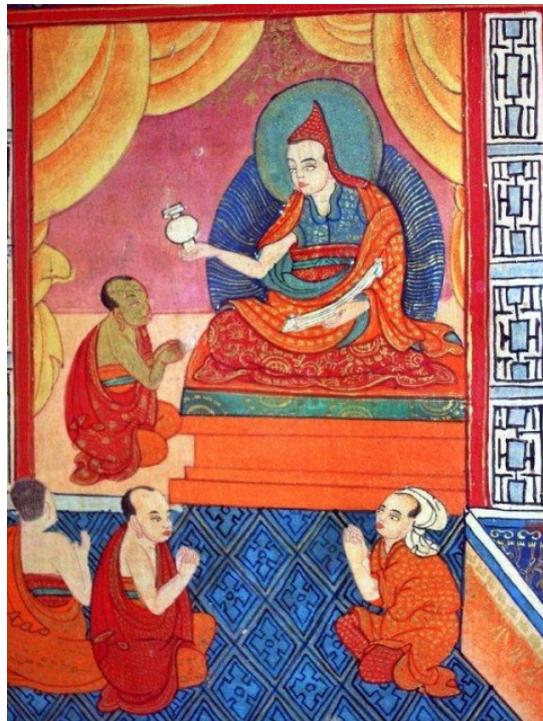
When Atiśa was born, so the biographies tell, there were many auspicious signs and auspicious was also the name he was given: Chandragarbha, which means 'Womb of the Moon'. The Moon is considered as the symbol of *upāya*, the means to achieve wisdom. The Moon is also considered as the symbol for Truth.

The biographies tell how Chandragarbha, while only a few years old already talked like a man of wisdom and compassion. Where did he have that from? Humans with the Superknowledge all seem to have the same basic motivation

and this is to keep reminding mankind of the Holiness and Interdependence of all there is and the rules of Life in Harmony.

Chandragarbha went through the process of learning to become a monk and he learned the various teachings of all Buddhist schools so fast and so well without showing prejudice to any of them, that he gained great respect of everyone. Being who he was-- one with the Superknowledge - one may ask: Did he learn as others had to learn or was it more to just remind himself of what he knew all along so that he could revive, unite and pass on the precious teachings of the past to those who wanted to listen and understand?

As there are no coincidences, it surely was no coincidence that at his ordination he was given the name “Śrī Dīpaṅkarajñāna”. This can be translated as “One, whose wisdom illuminates or ‘Lighter of the Lamp’”. As you know, Dīpaṅkara was the name of the Ādibuddha and that the Ādibuddha was like the spiritual guide for Siddhārtha Gautama on his path to Enlightenment. And you also know that Dīpaṅkara, due to his wisdom and compassion, was often called ‘the Second Buddha’ after Śākyamuni. When the right time had come, probably in 1011 or 1012, Dīpaṅkara knew he had to go to what today is called Indonesia.



Āchārya Dharmakīrti/Serlingpa in the sala in Indonesia with Atiśa sitting below, receiving (assumed to be) the treasure vase containing all the wisdom. A vase is one of the eight auspicious symbols. Dharmakīrti is holding a scripture in his left hand. The mural is from Drepung monastery, Tibet.

The biographies say Dīpaṅkara wanted to learn and understand what in Sanskrit is called 'Bodhichitta' and the best one from whom to learn, so he was told or knew already, was a Buddhist scholar from Suvarṇadvīpa, who earlier had spent several years at centers of Buddhist teachings in India. His name was Dharmakīrti, which means 'Fame of religion'. Some scholars (such as Helmut Eimer and H.B. Sarkar) do not exclude the possibility that Dīpaṅkara had met Dharmakīrti already while he was in India. Now Dharmakīrti was head of the Center for Mahāyāna Buddhism in the south of the island of Sumatra.

Dharmakīrti was an offspring of the Śailendras, the Royal family of Panangkaran. Who was Panangkaran? Panangkaran was the Great Wise man of Java who in the late 8th century built two temples in honor of Devī Tārā- Chandi Kalasan and Chandi Sari. Even more important, he was the conceptualizer of the unique Stupa of Borobudur. All these holy sites were built at the foot of the mighty Merapi Volcano in Central Java.

The biographies say it took Dīpaṅkara and his 125 companions one year of dangerous and testing sea-travel to arrive in the south of Sumatra. Here they were received by Dharmakīrti's people with great respect, brotherly love and honour. Dharmakīrti, so one can read in the biography of Atiśa by Drom-ton-pa, even called Dīpaṅkara 'the master of the Earth' who had arrived.

What was it that made Dīpaṅkara so eager to come to Suvārṇadvīpa, what more was there he could learn from Dharmakīrti? Would he spend 12 years just to study Bodhichitta - which usually is translated as 'Enlightened Mind' or better 'the Pure Mind'?. Is Bodhichitta just one aspect or step on the Path to Enlightenment, just a door to become a Bodhisattva? Or is it more?

As I have come to understand, Bodhichitta is the soul of the Javanese people and its path is from the world of desire and suffering to the realm of the true nature of all existences, where nothing obstructs anything, the realm of what Lord Buddha had described as Śūnyatā.

That means Bodhichitta is not just one aspect or one step of the Inner Path, but refers to the deeply rooted and all comprehensive philosophy of life of the Javanese people which goes back to days unknown. The essence of this philosophy is its link to the Almighty Creator, the One and only One, and so to know, obey and realize the eternal and universal rules for Life in Harmony. In order to do so, the Javanese people are trained from the day they are born to control their mind and herewith the power of desire and emotions. Actually, if I am not wrong, there is not even a word for emotion in the Javanese language.

Javanese people use their mind as the servant of the soul. So different than in the western world, where the self-created mind is the master of all!

The Javanese philosophy - as far as I know - has never been written down up to today. For the simple reason, how can you write the language of the heart? You can explain it but only when it comes from the heart, as it must be felt deep inside the soul which every human being is born with. But again, what was not to be expressed in written texts could be expressed in symbols, pictures, carvings, even structures and stories. And so Panangkaran, the Great Wise Man of Java, conceived the Stūpa of Borobudur as a guide for the various levels or stages to move from the world of Desire and Suffering to the realm of Śūnyatā.

During his time in Indonesia, Dīpaṅkara did not stay only in Sumatra; it was-- as the biographies say- his ardent wish to visit the holy sites in Java and elsewhere. The sites in Java, so I was made to understand, were for him like homecoming. When he got to the home of Panangkaran on Boko hill above the Prambanan temple complex, it felt so familiar as though old memories had come back - for humans with Superknowledge that is like ordinary people remembering their childhood. Had he been there before? And if so, could it be that actually he and Dhārmakīrti knew each other from times long ago, may be they were even members of the same family?

Was Dīpaṅkara actually an old Javanese soul who had come back not just to learn, but with a very specific mission? What did he feel, when his feet touched the sacred ground of such places as the Tārā temple in Kalasan, when he walked the terraces of Borobudur, all built by Panangkaran? Tārā had guided Panangkaran. Now Tārā was to be guiding Dīpaṅkara.



Borobudur in Java, Indonesia.

To the outside, Borobudur is this Universal Textbook, where everything about Life on earth and the relationship between the Creator and the Creation is explained in the architectural layout, structural concept of a stepped pyramid with nine terraces, topped by the stūpa of Śūnyatā, all resembling the ten stages to perfection of a Bodhisattva. And the themes of the reliefs, the expressions of the carvings and the selection of the statues, their positioning in shrines and stūpas and their mudrās are such that they speak the silent language which everyone can understand, which needs no translation. To study and understand this textbook takes time, needs patience and most of all, an open heart.

It seems only natural that Dīpaṅkara spent quite some time at Borobudur. Was it to absorb its holy energy and the eternal messages, some of which may still be stored like the Termas in Tibet? Was it to refresh what he knew already? Was it to restructure his vast and diverse knowledge of the various Buddhist schools into one clean, clear and consistent line of teaching? Probably all of this.

One must know that Borobudur is not-- as Javanese people will tell - a Buddhist stūpa. Borobudur is the reflection of the Javanese philosophy, but was built with Buddhist symbols and stories because, at that time, Buddhism was dominant in the realm of Suvarṇadvīpa, of which Central Java was part. As Lord Buddha had explained the path to Śūnyatā in lessons and stories, it was easy to show this in the reliefs and easy for the people to understand and follow. This means that the teachings of Lord Buddha and the Javanese philosophy are basically the same, both are based on purifying the mind and overcoming the ego. What Borobudur reflects can be called Buddhayāna - the original teachings before the splits or the Javanese version of Mahāyāna.

Another point may be of relevance. When Dīpaṅkara came to Indonesia, it was six years after a tremendous explosion of the Merapi volcano. This explosion tore off a big piece of Boko Hill and buried many villages, monasteries and temples up to may be 10 meters deep as excavations have shown. Actually, while walking around in Yogyakarta city and its surroundings, one may be stepping on many holy sites, which are sleeping underground for ever or waiting to be discovered in unknown time. There seem to be no records on that great disaster, although one can assume that the sites which had not been buried had also suffered damage and at the very least had been covered with thick layers of ashes. It is most unlikely that the Tārā temples, Sari and Kalasan, Boko with its palace and Abhayagiri monastery as well as Borobudur and its related Chandis had not been affected by the Merapi explosion. So one may ask, whether Dīpaṅkara came not

only to learn, but also to support Dharmakīrti in restoring and helping the survivors, humans as well as the holy sites. Almost nothing is known about this.

After 12 years, Dīpaṅkara's time in Indonesia came to an end. Why at that time? Was it because the Indian Chola Kings were attacking the Śrāvijaya Empire or was Dīpaṅkara needed in India? Was he called to mediate peace between the young King Nayapāla of Magadha and King Karṇa, the belligerent neighbour to the other side of the river on the West-- a story which reminds me how Prince Siddhārtha, just before he left the palace, tried to prevent war between his father's kingdom and the neighbour because they quarrelled about water. As far as is known, Dīpaṅkara helped to restore peace. Then there was the deteriorating situation of Buddhism and the advance of Islam. Was it Dīpaṅkara's task to collect and preserve the precious texts of former great scholar monks? Or had the time come to prepare what seems to have been the greatest of his missions: to transfer the Javanese version of Buddhism to Tibet? All these questions are open for research!

What is known is that when Dīpaṅkara got back to India in the year 1025, he had Java deep in his heart, and in his luggage he had several things which were very precious to him. Among them were six or may be even more scripts, composed by Dharmakīrti, a Tārā statue and a conch. The six scripts were so very important to Dīpaṅkara that he took them wherever he went. They contain the essence of the Path Lord Buddha had shown to mankind. They were not Dharmakīrti's own thoughts, but commentaries on selected texts from great Buddhist scholars of former times such as Śāntideva, Asaṅga, Nāgārjuna and others. One would not have to study all those thousands of sūtras and tantras, but use these texts to open the 'Door to the Realm of the Inner'.

In the annex of this little presentation I list the six scripts which Dīpaṅkara had taken to Tibet and which are in the Tanjur. They had been translated into Tibetan and are registered in various indexes, among them in the Derge, Beijing and Otani index. As I was made to understand, the originals of these scripts still exist in Tibet and these originals seem to contain more than was translated into Tibetan. As you all know, translators often do not pay attention to such parts of a script which have no relevance to the audience or country for which the translation is done.

For the next 10 or more years Dīpaṅkara stayed in India, teaching at various centers of Buddhist learning such as Somapuri and Vikramaśīla, doing his very best to keep alive the wisdom path of Lord Buddha and of many of the great

Buddhist scholars thereafter. In all of his many own texts, he always referred to Maitreya, Mañjuśrī, Bodhibhadra, Asaṅga, Nāgārjuna, Āryadeva, Śāntideva and especially Serlingpa, which is the more popular name for Dharmakṛīti.

Dīpaṅkara not only mentioned and quoted these scholars as his beloved teachers, but he always recommended reading their texts, and by doing so, he played an important role in preserving their names and lessons up to today. Another chore he had while he was back in India was to tutor some Tibetans and help them to translate various texts into Tibetan, among them the Mādhyamaka-ratna-pradīpa-nāma.

Those Tibetans had come on orders of King Yeshe-'od, to study Sanskrit and the texts, and to look for a teacher who could come to Tibet. The two most important students were Vīryasimha and Jayaśīla. Was this already part of the preparations for his Tibetan mission? As someone who is gifted with the Superknowledge, Dīpaṅkara could see ahead as everything that happens in this world has happened in the spiritual realm already. So Dīpaṅkara waited until all the doors were open for his trip to Tibet. All had to be ready for him to be able to achieve his difficult mission and cleanse what was left of Buddhism at that time in Tibet and to transfer what was in his heart.

Once Dīpaṅkara arrived in Tibet, probably at the age of 58, he was no longer Dīpaṅkara. He was given the name Atiśa, usually being called Dorje Paṅdit Atiśa or 'Precious Lord'. Tibet became his new home or was it not all that new? Could it be that he was just coming back to where he had been a long time before?

While travelling in Tibet, I was told, Atiśa may have been one of the kings of Yumbulakhang, whom the Tibetans consider reincarnations of Avelokiteśvara. I do not know what the basis for those remarks was. Was it spiritual insight or historical findings? May be scholars can find out more.

What is obvious is that Atiśa could communicate with these mountain people as easily as he did in India or Indonesia, and that he could stand the high altitude of 4000 meters and even more, as well as the icy times in winter. He travelled all over Tibet, visited holy mountains, prayed in caves, had shrines and stūpas built, blessed places, predicted where monasteries would be built and holy men would come. He found and collected many Buddhist texts, which he had never seen in India. One of those places was Samye. With his followers he translated and edited many texts and wrote more than 100 texts himself.



Samye monastery where Atiśa found many sacred scripts which he had not seen anywhere else including India.

Atiśa spared no effort to do what he had come for. That was to clear up the religious confusion, to unite the teachings of sūtra and tantra and to transfer the clean version of the Javanese school of Mahāyāna Buddhism to Tibet. Atiśa did not only teach, he lived what he taught, giving his love and respect to everyone, animals and plants included. He always stressed the importance of ethics and morals and warned about the traps of rituals and dogmas. By doing so, he managed to gain the support of the monks and laymen and with their help he put these teachings deep into the heart of the Tibetan people.

While Atiśa was in Suvarṇadvīpa, he had become aware that the basic lessons for everyone should be to train their mind and understand that there are various stages in order to reach the end of suffering, and that it is a condition to understand and realize the lessons of each stage before one can move to the next higher one. In Tibetan this is called 'Lo Jong' (Mind Training) and 'Lam Rim' (the stages of the path). Actually, all this was taught by Lord Buddha, Nāgārjuna and others long before, but the time had come to present the teachings in such a way that people could accept and follow. And so it was only in Tibet at the Tholing monastery that Atiśa wrote a text, in which he composed the essence of these teachings into just 68 verses. This text called 'The Lamp to the Path of

Enlightenment’ (Bodhipathapradīpa) became the mother text of Tibetan Buddhism.

This is quite surprising, because this text is not all that easy to comprehend and therefore, no surprise, Atiśa was asked to explain more and so he added an elaborate commentary.

After travelling for many years up and down the mountains, Atiśa settled at a small monastery in Nyetang, a village close to the holy city, Lhasa. When he got there, so it is said, he was received by Devī Tārā and so the monastery was named Drolma Lakhang. This monastery still exists as it was under the protection of Chou-en-Lai when the Red Guards were rampaging through Tibet. It is easy to visit, as it now lies on the road between Lhasa and the airport.



The study room or work place of Atiśa at Drolma-lhakhang, Central Tibet.

It was here in Nyetang, probably in the year 1054, where Atiśa chose to return to where he came from. A small stūpa, about 2 meters high on the porch of the monastery is one of the precious touchable reminders of his presence in Tibet. This stūpa, so the monks will tell, contains some of Atiśa’s personal belongings. The stūpa is set in a basin, where water flowed in from a spring on the mountain behind the monastery. Now the spring has dried up. And then, there are two

other stūpas in a small house, where Atiśa lived and worked, about 15 minutes walk from the monastery. One of those stūpas was built over the ashes of Atiśa, the other one is a reminder of Śākyamuni. Both reflect in their stepped architecture and the small stūpas around the terraces the spirit of Borobudur.

In addition, some other physical reminders are kept in Nyetang monastery and if one is lucky, one may still get to see them.

Physically Atiśa departed, but what he left is timeless. He fulfilled his mission, to ensure Tibet's destiny to become the Treasure House of true spiritual knowledge. And by doing so, the Tibetan people become the guardians of the eternal and universal rules of Life, which are imbedded in stone in the Stūpa of Borobudur and which, 300 years after Atiśa was gone, were somehow copied in a Tibetan version of the Kumbum Stūpa in Gyantse.

When once again the time was right, the Tibetan people fulfilled their mission to take the teachings all around the world and revive the great heritage of the Ones, who had acquired the Superknowledge for the sake of all sentient Beings.



This stūpa sits on the front porch of the Drolma Lakhang (Nyethang) monastery.

According to the monks it contains personal belongings of Atiśa.

The stūpa sits in a basin, which in ancient days was filled with water coming from a spring on the mountains behind the monastery. But the spring dried up when the people lost their pure faith.

Annexure

The six scripts, which Dharmakīrti gave to Dīpaṅkara and which Dīpaṅkara took to Tibet are listed below :

1. Abisamaya-alaṅkāra-nāma-prajñāpāramitā-upadeśa-śāstra-vṛtti
duravabodha-āloka-nāma-ṭīkā - Commentary on the Illumination of
Difficult Points, Commentary on the P Ornament of Realizations, classical
Commentary of Advices upon the Perfect Wisdom (Derge Index TD 3704)
2. Bodhisattva-caryāvatāra-piṇḍārtha - Summary of the Guide to the
Bodhisattva's Way of Life (Derge Index 3879)
3. Bodhisattva-caryāvatāra- ṣaṭtrimśat-piṇḍārtha (Derge Index TD 3878)
4. Śikṣā-samuccaya-abhisamaya-namā - Realisation of the Compendium of
all the Trainings (Derge Index Nr. 3942)
5. Āryācala-sādhana-nāma (Otani Index 3883)
6. Krodha-gaṇapati-sadhāna (Otani Index 4994).

Wouldn't You Rather be Practicing the Dharma? Atiśa and the Heart Advice of the Kadampa Masters

Bhikkhu Sumati Sasana (Kabir Saxena)

*Maybe you collect a lot of important writings,
Major texts, personal instructions, private notes, whatever,
If you haven't practiced, books won't help you when you die.
Look at the mind-that's my sincere advice.¹
Friends, there is no happiness in this swamp of saṃsāra.
Depart for the dry land of liberation.²*

This paper is to be approached in the form of a flowing reflection/contemplation on the heart advice of the venerable Atiśa and is written in order to further the uphill task of subduing my own mind. If, incidentally others also benefit, that would be wonderful, but I have no undue expectations on the matter.

I'd like to start with a story very beloved in the Tibetan tradition which will properly introduce our subject today.

One day in the middle decades of the eleventh century Geshe Drom-ton-pa, Atiśa's heart-disciple, met an elderly gentleman circumambulating the Radreng monastery. Drom said, 'I'm very happy to see you circumambulating, but wouldn't you rather be practicing the dharma?'³ The gentleman pondered this and felt that yes, it might be better to be reading the Mahāyāna sūtras. That would definitely constitute a practice of the true religion. Later Drom found him reciting sūtras in the monastery debate-yard and repeated the same statement. 'I'm happy to see you reciting, but wouldn't you rather be practicing the dharma?' The old man was a bit flustered by now, but he thought a while and came to the conclusion that why, of course, meditation is considered the real *dharmā* practice, I must meditate! He found a cushion, sat cross-legged and half-

closed his eyes. Drom came upon him thus and said again, 'I am so happy to see you meditating, but wouldn't you rather be practicing the dharma?'

Our old gentleman, now thoroughly at a loss enquired: 'Geshe-la, please tell me what I should be doing to practice the holy dharma?' Drom replied, 'Give up this life in your mind, renounce attraction to this life right now! Because if you don't, all you do will be in the service of the eight worldly concerns.⁴ If you can let go off the repetitive thoughts clinging to the pleasures of this life and the distractions of these eight concerns, then whatever you do will further your progress on the path to liberation⁵.'

In this century, when appearances are ever so important, and when we strain with all our might to obtain pleasure, gain, praise and fame and avoid their opposites in our never-ending pursuit of a happiness that that we hope will never end, the message of this story has the power to upset our addiction to ephemeral happiness and make us reflect on what meaning our actions have and what the consequences will be.

Before briefly looking at Atiśa's text, '*The Jewel Rosary of the Practice of Bodhicitta*,' (skt. *Bodhisattva-mānyāvalī*; tib. *Jangchub sempe norbu trengwa*), inspired by some of the utterances of my kind Guru, Lama Thubten Zopa Rinpoche and other masters, I would like first to say a little about the qualities and accomplishments of this great being, Atiśa, so that we can develop some admiration for him and trust in his words.

Renouncing the princely life and its pleasures that were his birthright, Atiśa became noticed early in life for his precocious intelligence and purity and later became renowned for his scriptural knowledge as well as his experiential realizations based on his thorough mastery of the three higher trainings of ethics, concentration and wisdom. At Odantapurī he studied for twelve years the *Mahāvibhāṣā* commentary on the Abhidharma by the Arhat Sūryagupta. He was an expert on the four schools of *Sarvāstivāda*, *Mahāsāṅghika*, *Sthaviravāda* and the *Sammitiya*. Atiśa held all levels of vows-Vinaya, Bodhisattva as well as tantric vows. Of his compassion, his disciple Nagtso Lotsawa said that 'my teacher is one who has given up his own interests and spontaneously works for the benefit of others'. And he was known as an *Avadhūtipa*, a practitioner who performs his meditations within the central psychic channel of the subtle body, indicative of his mastery of the completion stage of the secret mantra. Of course, these higher practices were not conspicuous, but practiced in secret. As a result of his concentration he had many common and uncommon *siddhis*. As it is said, he was outwardly a pure monk, inwardly a great Mahāyāna practitioner of great compassion and secretly a Vajrayāna adept. In other words Atiśa was as complete a spiritual being as can be imagined⁶.

His spiritual biography, (Tibetan *nam.tar* or liberation story), is one that inspires and encourages us to emulate him.

What makes him great is not just what he was as a practitioner, but especially what he did for the teachings in India and Tibet. In Bodhgaya he engaged those of other views in debate and defeated them. 'All opponents holding wrong tenets were utterly subdued by the sound of your lion's roar'.

And yet, because of his expertise in all the different schools of Buddhist philosophy he was regarded as impartial and non-sectarian and a guiding light for all the monastic centres in the region of Magadh.

However his greatest work lay ahead of him in Tibet. His Holiness the Dalai Lama states that:

'In coming to Tibet in the eleventh century, Atiśa eliminated all mistakes that had arisen due to misunderstandings concerning the oral teachings of Hīnayāna, Mahāyāna as well as Tantrayāna. By illuminating the path of how to practice all the teachings of the Buddha without any contradiction, he has been extremely kind, especially to the Tibetans of the Land of the Snow⁷.'

Let us explore this a little further.

First he eliminated false notions concerning Buddhadharma and founded the Kadampa tradition.

Many degenerate practices had emerged in the period since Buddhism was transmitted to Tibet from the seventh century onwards. In particular Tantric teachings were misunderstood and there was also confusion regarding the profound teachings on emptiness. Atiśa cleared up all these misunderstandings.

Second, he eliminated the forces that damaged pure conduct and the practice of the higher trainings.

Third, by being a great author he flourished pure *dharmā*. How was he a great author? He had the three qualifications. He was well trained in the five branches of knowledge- grammar, dialectics, medicine, arts/crafts and religious philosophy. Then he had authentic instructions from a valid lineage holder. Third he had permission directly from his meditation deity or *iṣṭa-devatā*.

What a contrast with the norms prevalent today when due to academic pressures, boredom or for purposes of self-advancement, people compose books at the drop of a hat! Atiśa's *Bodhipathapradīpa*, which he composed especially for the Tibetans and was the root of the glorious *Lamrim* or Stages of the Path tradition of teachings, is therefore a totally valid text. Atiśa also had the ability to attract exceptional disciples from Kashmir, Oddiyana, Nepal and Tibet, including Bitopa, Dharmākaramati and Drom-ton-pa.

The Lam Rim teachings are greatly treasured because of their four greatneses. First is that the teachings will, despite their great variety and levels, not appear as contradictory. Second, the teachings will present themselves as special personal instructions to the practitioner for a lifetime of practice. Third, the intention of the Buddha will easily be found despite the complexity and vastness of the Buddhist canon and lastly by studying this tradition one is protected from the great misdeed of misinterpreting and criticizing the dharma⁸.

This tradition is based on Atiśa's concise and masterly combining of the teachings contained in Maitreya-Asaṅga's *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*, (or Ornament of Clear Realisations), together with Ārya Nāgārjuna's *Treatises on the Middle Way*, thus bringing within the Lam Rim genre a happy fusion of the method or vast path of love, compassion and the altruistic aspiration to enlightenment emphasized by Asaṅga as well as the profound, wisdom path emphasized by Nāgārjuna.

Let us now pick out and reflect upon some important points from the Jewel Rosary of the Practice of Bodhicitta. Let us just first remind ourselves what this precious word *Bodhicitta*, or enlightenment mind, means. It is the sublime and most extraordinary mind of aspiration that wishes to actualize the state of Buddhahood solely in order to be able to benefit all sentient beings by, in turn, leading them all to enlightenment. This presumes a lot of qualifications from the side of the aspirant! Since we can safely say that generating this mind and then benefitting beings entails a long-term commitment, we have to posit this practice as one that will endure for eons of time. In fact, for Atiśa and his followers anybody who is practicing even the most advanced teachings with the motivation for just this life-time's benefits is not even to be considered a spiritual practitioner! To be considered the latter, one has to have at the very least the motivation of creating the causes to be born human again in future lives in order to be able to enjoy human happiness and better still, be able to continue the path towards at least personal nirvana and, best of all, the full awakening of a Buddha.

Atiśa says:

'Having removed sleepiness, dullness and laziness, I shall always be joyful when engaging in such incredible practices'.

Commenting on this, Lama Zopa Rinpoche says that 'there is no time to be lazy. Reflect on the negative *karmas* you have collected and the sufferings of the lower realms, and remember that this is the only chance you have. If you love yourself, this is what you have to do- if you think about this there is no time for laziness, no time to be distracted by the appearances of this life or works for this life⁹.'

Pause for some commentary and reflection- one minute.

'By constantly being alert and mindful in my behaviour I shall examine my mind over and over again, day and night¹⁰.'

If we neglect this most essential and fundamental practice then our mind inevitably falls prey to the deluded attitudes of attachment and anger, wherein we mistakenly exaggerate the attractive or ugly aspects of an object or person, thereupon wishing and attempting to either enjoy or repulse the object. These delusions keep us revolving in *sāṃsāric* suffering endlessly. Atiśa is advising that alertness and mindfulness will help safeguard our mind until such time as we can eradicate the root of our pain, ignorance, through the deep practice of wisdom.

Pause one minute.

‘I proclaim my own faults, not seeking faults in others-’

So much could be said about these simple lines, which are so relevant in our times. The problem is that nobody ever wants to take the responsibility, take the blame. We are so self-cherishing we always blame others and it leads to big problems and conflicts. Of course, it also means we tend to overlook our own shortcomings and unskillful behavior and continue to engage in the negative actions that propel us into more and more suffering.

‘Not seeking material gain or veneration from others,
Being content with whatever I have.
I shall never fail to repay the kindness I have received from others,
And shall meditate on love and compassion,
Reminding myself always of bodhicitta.’

We should reflect upon what our own lives would be like if we abandoned excessive desire for material things, achieved a sense of contentment and regularly remembered others’ kindness and reciprocated with affectionate love and compassion. Such attitudes would not only help us to develop a healthy renunciation of the meaningless affairs of this life, but also to generate the foundation for the precious bodhicitta which are genuine love and compassion. What a contrast this is with the attitude of many of us who take others’ help for granted, express no gratitude and simply exploit others for our own ends! We should check our experience to see if this is true or not.

(Pause one minute).

‘Having given up all meaningless activity,
I remain in solitude, abandon senseless talk.. ..’

From Atiśa’s perspective, our frantic and speedy worldly activities are simply a form of laziness. It is called laziness because it prevents us from practicing the *dharma*. So much of our time is spent on trivia, with hardly more than a few hurried moments devoted to meditation or study. Such activity, mainly fuelled

by the self-cherishing thought, simply creates the cause for more *sāṃsāric* experience with its attendant anguish.

‘I abandon attachment to any desirable thing and remain desireless.. .. For attachment in any form takes away the life-force of liberation from suffering.’

Here we have one of the very essential points of the path delineated by Atiśa. Desire, attachment, financial gain and economic growth- all factors so encouraged and worshipped by modern culture- are here viewed as thieves, robbing us of our capacity to analyze clearly the roots of our malaise and ever pushing us into a dangerous spiral of greed, causing imbalance in our minds and bodies and the very planet itself. At the level of our spiritual practice, attachment is a tremendous hindrance to both proper mental stabilization as well as insight into the ways things exist, the ultimate truth. The unsatisfied mind of attachment, ever restless and craving, directly negates the quality of contentment so prized by all valid practitioners of all times, and greatly hinders a pure practice of ethics, foundation of the path.

‘Whenever I meet others I shall not be jealous, But be generous towards them’

This is so simple even a child could understand the words without much difficulty, but as we adults know it is extremely hard for us! This is because we have not yet trained our mind in the path and instead tend to largely harbour thoughts that are connected to our self-cherishing attitude and the mere happiness of this life. So many of our problems, such as the unpleasant feelings associated with jealousy, arise because we have such short-term egotistic goals that completely ignore the fact that our actions right now are creating the cause for misery in our future lives. One is struck when talking to mature Tibetan teachers how much their minds are oriented towards future lives. And in case you are wondering whether this affects their capacity to be spontaneous and joyful in the present, the answer is no, it does not. I have never met happier and more serenely balanced people than the Tibetan monks and teachers that I have been privileged to meet in this life. But to me it very much looks like they can be happy now only because that is a logical outcome of a life of ethical practice in which the causes of happiness- wholesome actions-are assiduously cultivated and great care is taken not to cause the slightest harm to others in thought word or deed. As the text says,

‘I give up any form of humiliating others and always respect them’.

Of course, without the power of the wisdom realizing how things exist, their lack of an intrinsic or inherent, independent nature, we will continue to gravitate towards actions motivated by strong grasping of ‘I’, ‘me’ and ‘mine’. This means

developing attachment towards what *I* want and aversion-anger towards what seems to be harming *Me*. In this way we are in a constant, tiring and suffering pull-push or desiring-hating relationship with objects and persons. This keeps the wheel of *samsāra*, cyclic existence, revolving without end, fuelled by delusion and *karma*. Hence Atiśa says one should practice to:

‘View myself and others as illusory-like, Like a magic form’

Because there is no real, solid, intrinsic and independent person, self or things existing autonomously through their own power, Atiśa likens us to illusions or magical forms. But this does *not* contradict the workings of *karma*, cause and effect, since dependent-arising is unfailing and actions infallibly produce their effects. We must not indiscriminately conflate relative and ultimate truth.

‘Whenever my body is harmed by others, I shall be able to view it
As being the result of my previous negative *karma*’

In this way, we understand causality to be central to what the teachings are stating and there are the following additional advantages: anger is avoided, suffering is accepted as a part of life in cyclic existence, arrogance is reduced, compassion arises for those fellow-sufferers who are also having to bear exactly the same hardships and anguish as ourselves and finally, since we do not want further suffering, we are motivated to shun its cause which is unwholesome actions and practice the path of virtue leading to liberation and enlightenment. Suffering or *dukkha* is therefore seen as very useful if viewed skillfully, like a broom that helps to sweep away suffering itself.

Atiśa says there are seven gems that adorn the minds of Bodhisattvas, those beings whose minds are imbued with non-fabricated bodhicitta. They are faith, instruction, contemplation, wisdom, ethics, modesty and generosity. He exhorts us to practice these, ‘abide in solitude and keep away from the temptation of meaningless activities.’ When we are with others we should be mindful of our speech and when alone be watchful of our thoughts. In this way the practice of the holy teachings has a good chance of becoming an integral part of our lives and not just a kind of side-activity performed in religious places and forgotten once we return to the ‘real world’ of our relations, shop-keepers, rickshaw-pullers and assorted objects of attachment and trouble-makers.

‘In this way I shall be able to attain enlightenment
For the sake of all sentient beings.
Thus I will be able to find great meaning
From finding this precious human rebirth.’

Let us hope that this brief glimpse into the words of this great teacher really does make us reflect and meditate sincerely on the liberating teachings of Lord

Buddha who so compassionately showed us the way to be free ourselves as well as to extricate others from the vicious wheel of cyclic existence.

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Gyantse and Borobodur

Garrey Foulkes

Some 35 years ago at a monastery in Nepal a German man asked me if I could help him build a thing called a stūpa on the top of a small hill. I knew nothing about stūpas but had time on my hands and some building skills so I agreed to do this. After we had finished the foundations we went down one morning to find that all of the bricks had been stolen so we got no further and I continued with my travels, albeit with some strange feeling that there was something a little uncomfortable about abandoning this task; that some connection had been made and it was not being fulfilled.

About ten years later I was living with my young family in a Buddhist centre in Queensland when our teacher, Lama Thubten Yeshe passed away and the request came through that we should build a stūpa in his memory. This was to become the first major Tibetan-style stūpa built in Australia and quite possibly the Southern hemisphere and it was to be the beginning of a long and wonderfully fortunate journey that has kept me busily involved with stūpas to this day.

Why I mention this lies in the interest I have relating to why did this all come about? What was it that made something so alien to a young Western traveller have such an effect on the whole of the rest of one's life? Of course, as time went by, and more and more research was done into the meaning of stūpa, it began to become clearer that these structures, that represent the fully enlightened mind of the Buddha, have immense power to influence our lives. It is said that every single sentient being that comes into contact with a stūpa will benefit: it is like a subtle seed being planted in the mind-stream of those beings and sometime in the future, when the circumstances are right for that seed to develop, our minds will meet with conditions that give us the opportunity to connect with and follow the

teachings of the Buddha in accordance with our pre-determined Karma. Maybe it was like this for me? Maybe I just got lucky, or maybe, as I'm sure at least some of my friends think, I'm just another nutty person wasting my life building strange objects.

Given that I have been kindly asked to be a part of this important event and to say something about stūpas, I feel it would be helpful to give a very brief account about the symbolism and general meaning of these amazing buildings. Of course the subject is vast, covering many centuries of development; from simple mounds of earth all the way up to the great and elaborate stūpa of Borobudur, Svayambhūnāth, Bodhnāth, Gyantse and those throughout S.E. Asia. Countless others, ancient and modern, ruined and still standing, stretch from Afghanistan to Japan and more recently, with the spread of Dharma teachings, into almost all Western countries. Even in my own country Australia there are at least twenty large stūpas including a same-size



Replica of the Great stūpa of Gyantse which is rapidly nearing completion.

Stūpa is a Sanskrit word meaning 'to heap' or 'to pile' and refers to the mound-like shape of the earliest stūpas. The *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra* tells us that it was he, Buddha himself, who outlined the basic design for a stūpa. The story begins at Buddha's deathbed where he gave instructions about the disposition of his body. He said that his body should be cremated and the relics divided up and enclosed in four different monuments.

These were to be erected at : Lumbinī, the place of Buddha's birth. Bodhgayā, where the Buddha attained enlightenment under the Bodhi tree. Sarnath, where he gave his first teachings. Kushīnagar where he passed into parinivāna.

His disciples asked what form this monument should take. The Buddha did not reply but instead gave a practical demonstration. He took his outer yellow robe and folded it in half and in half again until it formed a rough cubic square. Then he took his begging bowl, which was round, turned it upside down, and placed it on top of the robes. 'Make a stūpa like this' he said. So these original instructions, directly from the Buddha, have remained the basic form for all stūpas throughout the world.



Kālachakra and Kadampa Stūpas.

In addition to the eight great stūpas shown in the picture above, two other types of stūpas are commonly built in the Tibetan tradition. These are the Kālachakra stūpa built to help establish world peace and the Kadampa stūpa built to commemorate the teachings and practices of the Kadampa tradition founded by Atiśa, who kept a stūpa with him at all times to instantly purify even the slightest misdeed.

The ten traditional purposes of stūpas are:

1. To remind one of a teacher
2. To act as a reliquary
3. To magnetise enlightened energy

4. To speed a teacher's rebirth
5. To promote longevity
6. To create peace and harmony in society
7. To magnetise wealth
8. To turn back invading armies
9. To subdue physical and mental illness, pestilence, and disease
10. To actualise enlightenment

Probably it is the safest when giving a description of a stūpa that we take as an example what I feel has become established as the 'iconic' stūpa. These highly refined stūpas are found throughout Tibet, Nepal, Mongolia, India, Ladakh, Sikkim, Bhutan and many other countries. They are often seen in sets of eight representing 'the eight great deeds of the Buddha's life' symbolising: Birth, Enlightenment, First teachings, Miracles, Descent from Tushita heaven, Reconciliation, Long life and Parinirvāna (passing away).

The only significant difference between these eight stūpas is what is referred to as the 'stepped' section positioned above the throne and below the vase. The most frequently seen of these stūpas is the Stūpa of Enlightenment celebrating Buddha Śākyamuni's enlightenment under the Bodhi tree in Bodhgayā.

Before giving a brief description of these stūpas, it would be prudent to say several things.



Buddha's descent stūpa with Enlightenment stūpa on L.H.S.

We should always remember that stūpas are an architectural symbol representing the awakened mind of the Buddha and consequently symbolise achievements that most of us can only dream of.

Secondly there are so many variations of stūpas, often coming from the same basic plan, so it is important for us not to discriminate, saying 'Oh, that one is not right.' Or that one is not as good as ours', or 'what that teacher say's is not right' etc. All holy objects, grand or simple, beautiful or a bit rough, our views/their views should all be treated with the same degree of respect.

So, stūpas are an architectural symbol of the Buddha's enlightened mind but they also contain everything we need to know in order to follow that path from our own side whether we are complete beginners or advanced students of Buddhist philosophy.

Each level of a stūpa represents different stages of the path.

The sections that run from the base of the stūpa to the first of the steps represent the throne on which the Buddha sits. Above this and up to the top of the Harmikā, just below the first of the 13 rings, represents the body of the Buddha.

The different levels, starting from the base of the stūpa and going up to the top of the throne represent: the ten virtues of body, speech and mind, the three refuges of Buddha, Dharma (teachings) and Sangha (spiritual teachers). The lion throne symbolizes superiority over the entire universe and the eight fearlessnesses. The treasure vase symbolizes the eight noble riches. The lotuses represent unlimited love, compassion, joy and equanimity.

Inside the treasure vase of the stūpa we first place a double dorje or 4-pointed vajra to offer protection in all of the four directions. On top of this sits a wealth vase containing as many holy relics as one can obtain, the 5 jewels, 5 precious medicines, the 5 grains, 5 nectars, 5 perfumes and stones, water etc. from holy places and currency from around the world. These are then sealed in the vase by tying 5-coloured cloths over the opening at the top of the vase. There can be one, five, or nine wealth vases in the stūpa base.

The rest of the space inside the throne is filled with many objects that symbolize the worldly possessions we need to be able to have a comfortable life. Usually small models are used for this purpose in order to get as many different things in as is possible. These can be all and everything that represent food, warmth and shelter such as bags of grain and other foods, clothing, blankets, household utensils of all sorts, things representing transport such as model planes, cars,

boats etc. precious cloths and brocades, fragrant substances, medicinal herbs, different metals, fertile soil, weapons (symbolizing protection from harm), earth from the property of wealthy people, nuts and dried fruit, pure water, many mantra's rolled in yellow cloth, and selected small statues. Any remaining spaces are packed with powdered sandal wood or other types of incense before the throne is sealed.

These offerings placed inside the throne are not done so with the desire for us to become wealthy for wealth's sake but more as a request enabling us, in the future, to be sufficiently comfortable to be free to spend our whole lives studying the Dharma without having to worry about pursuing worldly activities

The next four stepped levels symbolize the four attentions, four perfect efforts, the miraculous feet....prayer, thought, enthusiastic perseverance and action and the five spiritual faculties.....Faith, energy, attention, concentration and knowledge. These four steps correspond with the Buddha's lower body from the waist down.

The Bumpa vase, or dome, which contains a niche where the Buddha statue sits, represents the celestial mansion of enlightened beings. This level represents the seven branches of awakening: memory of past lives, perfect knowledge of Dharma, diligence, ecstasy, mastery of all disciplines, perfect effort, perfect attention and perfect concentration. This section corresponds to the Buddha's torso and upper body. On the side of the stūpa that faces to the East there is a niche where a statue of Śākyamuni Buddha is placed. The outer face of the niche is surrounded by the Ghokamrame which is often richly decorated with symbolic animals, goddesses, and protectors.

The *harmikā* that sits directly above the vase corresponds to the position of the Buddha's head and represents the eight superior paths of perfect view, perfect understanding, perfect speech, perfect action, perfect living, perfect effort, perfect attention and perfect concentration. At this point many stūpas have the 'all-seeing' wisdom eyes of the Buddha painted on all four sides of the stūpa. This is not usually done on any of the eight great stūpas.

Above the *harmikā* is the life channel that has thirteen rings representing the ten powers of attainment and the three essential mindfulnesses of the Buddha.

Above these thirteen rings is the parasol or umbrella symbolizing the great compassion-mind of the victorious one, offering help and protection to all.

The Sun, that radiates a thousand lights of compassion, represents intention to bring all beings out of suffering and into the bliss of enlightenment. The Moon symbolizes conventional bodhichitta and the Sun ultimate bodhichitta. On top of the Sun and Moon is a jewel representing the final result of enlightenment and Buddhahood.

Many stūpas have two garlands of lotus flowers coming from below the umbrella to the top of the bumpa vase. These symbolize Great wisdom and Great compassion, perfectly balanced, like the wings of a bird.

So on the basis of such a foundation, free of the ten non-virtues, one trains in the path and finally attains enlightenment

These stūpas also represent the four elements as well as space. The throne part of the stūpa represents the Earth element (yellow), the chest or vase is water (white), the thirteen rings are fire (red), the pole of the umbrella is wind (green) and the umbrella itself corresponds to space (blue).

So, hopefully this helps give a little insight into what we are confronted with when we look at the external form of the stūpa and just why these extraordinary structures can have such a profound effect on our minds.

The internal sections of the stūpa above the throne or treasure vase, as mentioned, correspond to the body of the Buddha seated on the throne and contain a vast amount of material related to the Buddha's holy speech and holy body.

Running from the top of the throne to the inside of the thirteenth ring at the centre of the stūpa is the *sok shing* or life-tree representing the ten knowledges. This is made from a living tree which, after a ritual asking permission from the spirits to cut that tree, is marked on the side facing the East. The tree needs to be good smelling and not of poisonous wood. The timber needs to be dried and then shaped into a long tapering pole always keeping the East side marked. The pole is then painted red, has a double vajra carved at the bottom and a tiny Namgyalma (long-life) stūpa carved at the top. The five *chakra* points are then painted in gold with OM at the position of the crown, AH at the position of the throat, HUM at the heart, TRAM at the navel and HRIH at the lower *chakra* point. *Mantras* are then painted below the syllables before the sok shing is wrapped in yellow cloth. Once this is done, two different grasses are attached to the North and South sides of the tree and are held in position with five coloured threads twisted together.

The sok shing represents the central channel and the grasses the left and right channels that control our breathing and are a major source of visualisation and concentration for practitioners of meditation and advanced Yoga.

The remaining spaces are filled mainly with different texts that symbolize the Buddha's speech, rolls of *mantras* and many thousands of small clay or plaster images of different deities representing the Buddha's body.

Where the similarities between these iconic stūpas and other forms of stūpa designs tend to relate more closely is at the point when we start to look at what goes inside the stūpa from this level above the throne. We have seen, through looking at the external symbolism of the stūpa, that the different levels represent different stages of the path to enlightenment. All of these stages of our learning and development on what is called the 'graduated path' correspond to certain teachings we take, meditations we perform and the different deities and visualisations that relate to these practices. So, with the stūpa we have been discussing, these texts and deities are within the stūpa, whereas stūpas like Borobudur have these images carved in relief on the outer face of the stūpa and in the case of the Gyantse stūpa the deities are in a series of some 75 chapels within the stūpa.

Larger stūpas usually contain the Kanjur and Tanjur texts - two large and extensive volumes, the first containing the 84,000 teachings of the Buddha and the other a commentary on those teachings. So, whatever our practice, it will relate back to those teachings. *Mantras* and deity visualization help us to connect with certain energies relating to our body, speech and mind. Deities are there to help us develop our minds through visualisation, so we can understand more clearly our own nature. We try to develop good, positive energy and eliminate harmful or useless energy. There are both peaceful and wrathful deities to help us develop wisdom, a kind heart, compassion etc. and eliminate desire, indifference, aversion etc.

Deities placed inside stūpas usually come in the form of small statues called *tsa tsa's* made from pressing clay or pouring plaster into a mould. Many thousands of these are then placed in the appropriate position of the stūpa along with *mantra* rolls that also correspond with different levels of the stūpa. There are at least 27 important *mantras* that need to be included. Every possible tiny space is then filled with powdered incense before being sealed.

The final stages are the external decorations, these can be quite different from one stūpa to another, but generally we see eight Snow Lions supporting the four

corners of the throne, 3 or 4 rows of lotus petals, and extensive decorations on all the corners of the stūpa. The Gokham and 13 rings are often painted gold or are gold-plated.

Before any ingredients are placed within the stūpa, they need to go through an elaborate ritual overseen by qualified monastic practitioners in order to be blessed and purified. Once all of the filling has been done and the stūpa sealed, there is another ceremony performed to consecrate the stūpa and purify any mistakes or omissions that may have taken place during the construction and filling. This ceremony can last several hours, a whole day or up to three days depending on the importance of the particular stūpa.

The final result of building a holy object such as a stūpa is that, once consecrated, it is imbued with all of the qualities that have been described above. This means that all of the beings in that particular place will receive numerous benefits. They will have a peaceful atmosphere, much harmony and happiness, and good livelihood.

In the same way if we make offerings to a stūpa, contributions and donations towards its upkeep etc. we receive great benefit from our acts of both offering and opening the door to developing a generous heart. The benefits, in the form of merit, are what lead us closer and closer to nurturing and developing a positive mind and eventually reaching the ultimate goal of liberation for the benefit of others.

Prostrating and circumambulating stūpas is another very important way of increasing our merit.

A prayer compiled by Kybje Lama Zopa Rinpoche to recite when seeing a stūpa : 'From now until enlightenment may myself and all these sentient beings, those who are working very hard and all others, always be able to find and meet perfect *gurus* such as Mañjuśrī, Śākyamuni Buddha, Chenrezig, Atiśa and Maitreya Buddha. May all their holy wishes be fulfilled immediately and may we never rise heresy and disrespect.'

I felt it was important to choose to give this description of what we may call 'a modern day stūpa'. Of course most of the essential elements of stūpas remain the same but refinements can take place according to the changing times and the way living lineage-holders view the rapidly developing changes in our current world. We see this very clearly with some of the offerings placed inside the stūpas. Who would have thought, 50 or 100 years ago, that one of the world's biggest problems would be pure drinking water or that there would be everyday things

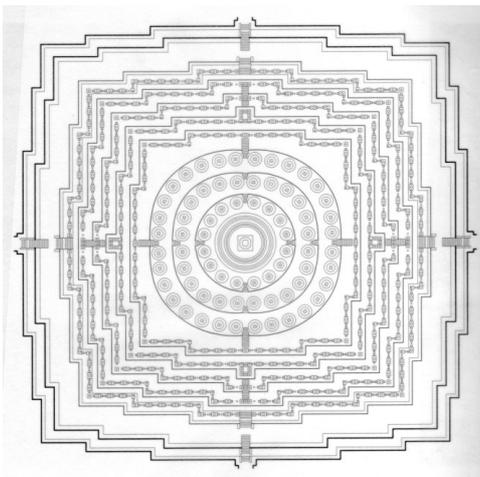
like electricity and all of the appliances it runs, aeroplanes and cars, modern medicine and countless other things that make our lives more comfortable? Many of these have become the 'new offerings' placed in the throne section of stūpas.



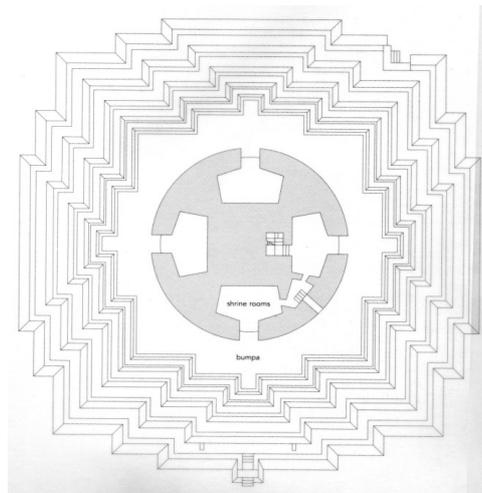
Borobudur and Gyantse

Borobudur from the air

Borobudur stūpa has a long and rich history but interestingly enough very little is actually known about what is the world's largest stūpa and certainly one of the oldest. Much of the early history of this amazing building was recorded on material made from palm leaves which has been lost to the elements over the years.



Borobudur Stūpa



Gyantse Stūpa Ground.

Thought to be constructed between the 8th and 9th centuries, it remained virtually unknown to much of the so-called civilized world until 'discovered' by Thomas Stamford Raffles and a crew of surveyors in 1814. Up to this point in time most people considered Java to be a remote cultural backwater, completely neglected by the great Indian and Chinese civilizations that found their way into many parts of Southeast Asia and had such a huge impact on their culture. Buddhism was practiced in India 1000 years before Borobodur, but how it travelled over 5000 kilometres to Java remains a speculative mystery, and what inspired them to build the stūpa perhaps an even greater mystery.

What Raffles and his team discovered completely changed their view of Java's past, unveiling not only what was to prove to be Asia's greatest artistic achievement, but completely changing the mistaken view that Java was an exclusively Islamic domain. Clearly this was a Buddhist monument and clearly it had been there for a very long period of time. It follows that there must have a thriving community of Buddhist scholars and devotees.

We now know, through Atiśa, and other great scholars who visited Śrīvijaya to take teachings from the great master Serlingpa in 1013, that this was the case. Many Buddhist pilgrims also took the long and hazardous journey to Java as its reputation as a great centre of learning grew. Atiśa himself remained for 20 years before being invited to Tibet where he was to have such a huge influence on Tibetan Buddhism.

Borobodur was built, under the instructions of King Samaratungga several centuries before Angkor Wat and almost 500 years before the great cathedrals of Europe. Constructed using over one million large stones, all weighing around 100 kilograms, all shaped by hand, with over 1,400 carved images on the walls illustrating the five Buddhist texts, 1200 decorative reliefs, 500 Buddha carvings and 24 elaborately decorated gateways. All of this carried from a river-bed below the stūpa site and placed into position, covering an area approximately 65 meters square and 34.5 meters high. This surely has to be seen as one of the truly great buildings in all of history.

Little wonder the first Westerners to view this building were stunned and, thanks to common sense, it was decided in 1974, (a time when I was fortunate enough to visit) that a major renovation should be undertaken, covering almost ten years and costing many millions of dollars. Borobodur was eventually returned to something like its former glory. This great monument now has UNESCO World Heritage status.

It is believed that the temple in the early days of its history was rendered with plaster and painted white. We can only imagine how spectacular this would have looked amid an emerald green jungle setting.

Like most stūpas, Borobudur's overall form represents a combination of mountain and maṇḍala. The mountain represents Mount Meru that sits at the centre of the Buddhist universe. The maṇḍala, of concentric squares and circles, surrounds this and represents the seven continents and oceans. The great stūpa of Gyantse follows along very similar lines.

Borobudur has nine ascending terraces; the six lower terraces are in square form and the three upper terraces in concentric circles.

Maṇḍalas are very elaborate works of traditional Buddhist art usually painted onto canvas but often intricately drawn with many coloured sand grains for important initiations and the like.

Each maṇḍala, drawn in plan form, represents a different deity and at the centre of the maṇḍala is the seed-syllable for that specific deity. They are seen as celestial palaces where the Buddha's abide. If we treat the maṇḍala drawing as a plan for a building and wish to turn it into a 3-dimensional form then the various levels of the maṇḍala drawing are stood on their sides (the same way as an elevation drawing for a house plan) creating an elaborate Maṇḍala house, richly decorated on the outside with artwork, lotus petals, protectors, offering goddesses, garlands of jewels, and the like. Stūpas, taking on the form of colossal maṇḍalas, retain all of these characteristics. This perhaps gives a good insight into the strong likelihood that at some stage the Borobudur stūpa was indeed beautifully painted and decorated.

It is generally believed that Borobudur stūpa was designed to invoke the most important maṇḍala in Tantric Buddhism, the Vajradhātu or diamond maṇḍala at the centre of which is seated, at the very top of both the maṇḍala and mountain, Mahāvairocana, the ælluminatorÆ, who generates enlightenment for all.

The Buddhist pilgrims and devotees consequently were able to ascend the stūpa while circumambulating all of the different levels of the stūpa. Moving from the world of desire and attachment on the lower levels, up through the various stages of the path; all beautifully carved with images symbolizing life in the different realms and finally, by following a series of specifically placed passageways, to the uppermost level eventually arriving at the world of formlessness. In other words, the long journey is from deep ignorance to full awakening.

On the upper level there are 72 bell-shaped stūpas housing life-sized images of Buddhas looking out from the monument through a series of grids carved into the bell. A further 108 carved images of Buddhas are placed in niches on the four sides along the lower terraces of the stūpa. It would have been a long journey for pilgrims ascending this mighty stūpa and taking in the deep significance of every image.

Unfortunately these days most visitors are not Buddhist pilgrims but tourists so let us hope that the power of this wonderful Buddhist monument will help sow the seeds for future good -fortune in the minds of all who visit and the stūpa continues in some small way to serve its purpose.



Gyantse Kumbum, Tibet.

If we look at the two ground-plan drawings above they clearly show the similarities between these two great stūpas, both closely following the same maṇḍala plan, with Borobodur having nine levels and Gyantse five.

Gyantse stūpa, built in the mid-15th century is constructed around a huge rock pinnacle with the various shrine rooms positioned between the outer face of the walls and the rock. Perhaps this design has enabled the stūpa to last for around 500 years without significant damage like we have seen with Borobodur. Even though constructed largely from earth and small stones, there is little doubt that a

climate far gentler than the tropics, along with constant care from generations of Buddhist practitioners, have helped with longevity.

Fortunately, this amazing stūpa managed to survive the Chinese occupation of Tibet; almost all of the surrounding buildings and many stūpas in other areas were razed and many statues of value were stolen or vandalised. Probably the stūpa survived because the Chinese government realised its tourist potential leading to some of the damaged statues being repaired and repainted; unfortunately, in such a crude manner that much of their former beauty has been lost.

Like Borobudur, the different levels of the stūpa lead us up a series of stairways and passages where similar images to Borobudur exist but, rather than being carved on the outer walls, are represented within the 75 different shrine rooms. The outer walls are finished more simply with the 8 auspicious symbols and other traditional decorations.

Gyantse Kumbum (100,000 Buddha images) is a Tashi Gomag stūpa which celebrates the Buddha's 'first turning of the wheel'; often referred to as 'the stūpa of many doors' or 'first teachings' this is the third in the series of the eight great stūpas and follows on from the Enlightenment stūpa. In brief, the many doors represent the many different ways that the Buddha instructed his disciples according to their own development and understanding. As with Borobudur stūpa, the higher we rise while circumambulating the stūpa the more profound the teaching becomes. Within the shrine rooms there are large numbers of sculptured statues and the walls are beautifully painted by the great artists of that time. These statues and artworks represent all of the different Tantras and their precise arrangement.

At the level of the Bumpa vase are four large doorways. The south-facing door leads into a room that houses a statue of the historical Buddha and celebrates the spread of the Dharma teachings. The Northern temple celebrates the teaching of the former Buddha who taught in previous aeons. The Eastern temple has a statue of Maitreya, the Buddha of the future. In the Western chapel is the Buddha Amitābha who teaches in the pure-land. Above these is the sok-shing that runs up through the 13 rings and supports the huge parasol.

The 13 rings on the spire along with the parasol are gold plated as final offering to this amazing building, elevated above the main street of one of Tibet's major spiritual centres.

Before finishing I should mention the Great Stūpa of Universal Compassion being constructed in Bendigo over the past 15 years.

Named by His Holiness the Dalai Lama and designed to last at least 1000 years, the idea for this stūpa was suggested some 20 years ago by Lama Thubten Yeshe and the plan was put into progress by his disciple Kybje Lama Zopa Rinpoche.

The 'Great stūpa' is to be an exact external replica of the Gyantse Kumbum. So this stands as a perfect example of how the long and rich lineage of the Buddhist teachings, statues and stūpas are still with us to this day; passed down from the great historical teachers over thousands of years. These great scholars and practitioners are still among us, spreading the Dharma teachings and continuing the lineage, constantly offering us the opportunity to attain the ultimate goal of Enlightenment.

The Great Stūpa at Bendigo is now well advanced and, interestingly, is located beside a Buddhist college named 'Atiśa Centre'.



The Great Stūpa of Universal Compassion. Bendigo, Australia. Nov. 2012.

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3. Dharma publications.
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Thanks to

Kybjé Lama Zopa Rinpoche. The Great Stūpa. Joe Cummings. John Miksic.

Pictures & diagrams

Ray Furminger. Dr. Nick Ribush. Bill Wassman and Marcello & Anita Tranchini



Garrey Foulkes

Tibetan Study Materials at the Asiatic Society with Special Reference to Atiśa

Bandana Mukhopadhyay

Tibetan Studies as a spectrum of human knowledge and understanding began in India in the first quarter of the 19th century, when Hungarian scholar Alexander Csoma de Koros (1784-1842) brought his *Analysis of Kanjur* (*Kah-'gyur*) and *Abstract of the Contents of Tanjur* (*bastan-'gyur*) in the *Asiatic Researches* (1836-1839) to the notice of the Western Orientalists in 1820. It is he who first brought Tibetan manuscripts from Ladakh, which were housed in the Fort William College Library during the British period. After that, many Tibetan scholars brought Tibetan manuscripts which were deposited with the Library of the Asiatic Society. Mention may be made here that the present building of the Asiatic Society was founded in 1808. Prior to that, all manuscripts, rare books, artifacts, coins etc and resource materials for research purposes were kept in the Fort William College Library.

Tibetan Study-material at the Asiatic Society

The Museum Section of the Asiatic Society possesses three sets of Kanjur (*bka-'gyur*) and Tanjur (*bstan-'gyur'*)¹, translation works from Sanskrit, Pali, Prakrit and Chinese materials and several Tibetan works composed by Tibetan authors like Atiśa Dīpaṅkara, [*also known as Guhyajñānavajra (Tantrika name) or Śrī Dīpaṅkarajñāna (after becoming a śamaṇera) or Mar-me-mdsad-pal-ye-ses (Tibetan name of Śrī Dīpaṅkarajñāna and Jobo-rje or Jobo-chen-po (Tibetan popular title)] meaning the Great God, Rinchen-bzan-po, Rgyal-tshab-chos-rge-Dar-ma-rin-chen, Tshonkha-pa-blo-bzan-grags-pa and others.*

Apart from these as a pioneer institute and one of Asia's ancient publication divisions (established in 1788 AD), the Journal of the Asiatic Society (JASB)

published many Tibetan texts along with their translation in its Bibliotheca Indica series (please see Appendix I). Of these publications, as per the theme of the present seminar, I would like to confine myself only to the writings on Atiśa published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society as stated below:

- a) Sarat Chandra Das - Life of Atiśa (Śrīdīpaṅkarajñāna). JASB 1891 Vol. LX(1) Pp 46-93.
- b) Helmut Eimer - Life and Activities of Atiśa Śrīdīpaṅkarajñāna: A survey of investigation. JASB-- 1985 vol. XXVII (4) pp 3-12.

The Works of Atiśa Dīpaṅkara (Mar-me-mdsad-pa-ye-ses)

The Museum Section of the Asiatic Society possesses the works of Atiśa which may be divided according to subject as (please see Appendix):

- Tantra group (Rgyud)
- Prajñāpāramitā group (Sesphyin)
- Mādhyamika group
- Commentaries
- Translations

The works of other scholars on Atiśa published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society.

Dīpaṅkara wrote, translated and also edited many texts which helped to spread Buddhism in Tibet (please see Appendix). The works attributed to Atiśa, otherwise known as Mar-me-mdsad-pa may broadly be divided into two major groups: a) philosophical, b) ritualistic.

These texts have been preserved under the sections Sūtra (mdo) and Tantra (rgyud) in Tibetan cannon. On the basis of availability of his works in the Asiatic Society, we would discuss about some important manuscripts of Atiśa, which were most important in the later spread of Buddhism (phyi-dar) in Tibet and which are important even in present society.

Vimalaratna-lekhā-nāma (Tib. Dri ma-med-pai-rin-po-che'i-phrin-yig)

The Asiatic Society has two manuscripts of Vimalaratna-lekhā-nāma (Tib. Dri ma-med-pa'i-rin-po-che'i-phrin-yig) written by Atiśa Dīpaṅkara. Both these manuscripts are in the sNar-than Edition (17th century) xylographed in the 18th century. Descriptions of these two manuscripts are given below:-

Both these manuscripts are included in dbu-ma vol gi and Ne. The size of both these manuscripts is 60 x 11 cm and they were revised by Atiśa

Śrīdīpaṅkarajñāna and Tshul-khrims-rgyal-pa. It is a Sanskrit letter to King Nayapāla of Magadha from Atiśa. According to the *Life of Atiśa* translated by Sarat Chandra Das, while Atiśa was on his way to Tibet through Nepal, a war broke out between the two kings- Nayapāla of Magadha and the Tirthika King Karnya (probably of Kanauj) of the west. Atiśa wanted to bring peace. Though Magadha was attacked by the King Karnya, Atiśa did not show any kind of anger at this but he remained quiet, meditating as Bodhicitta. Ultimately Nayapāla won and the troops of Karnya were slaughtered by the armies of Magadha. A treaty was signed between the two kingdoms. In this treaty Dīpaṅkara took an active part. He wrote a letter of spiritual teaching to his dear disciple Nayapāla entitled *Vimalaratna-lekhā-nāma* (Tib. Dri ma-med-pai-rin-po-che'i-phrin-yig). For the benefit and happiness of the King and his subjects and for attainment of peace, Atiśa says:

'Avoid attachment to gain and gift (i.e. respect), avoid hopes for achieving fame and profit. Meditate on *maitrī* (love) and *karuṇā* (compassion) and make firm the Bodhi mind (Bodhicitta), the altruistic aspiration for enlightenment' (line 7). Atiśa therefore laid emphasis on the practice of Vinaya rules strictly. Again in line 10 of the letter he wrote, 'Give up anger and egoism. Have a humble mind. Avoid the wrong way of living and live the life of *dhanuṃ*'. This is very important and pertinent in the present world. Furthermore, these ideals of Atiśa are valuable not only for the present society but also for future.

Through his letter to King Nayapāla, Dīpaṅkara advised the practice of some disciplinary rules which are necessary for successful administration and also for attaining the ultimate goal of one's life (*mokkha*). These are as follows:-

'Always guard the door of the senses with resemblance, continuous knowledge and care. Examine repeatedly the movement of mind day and night' (line 5).

Do not be garrulous, keep the tongue under control (line 12) while looking up at the living beings suffering from miseries, raise the bodhicitta in you. Assume towards them the same attitude that parents have to a child. It reminds us of the most popular *gāthā* of the Metta Sutta of the Sutta Nipāta:

*Mātā Yathāniyam puttam āyuśa eka puttam anurakkhe
evam pi sabbabhutese manasā bhāvaye aparimānam.*

In lines 17 & 18 of *Vimalaratnalekhā* he wrote to the King, 'Do not spend more than three days with unholy companions, those that are ungrateful, those that think

only of this life and those that are wanting in reverence; complete first the work begun first and after completing the work retire into solitude and remain there like the corpse of an animal that's not found by any. Be always alert and go on counting your own defects. Give publicity to your own fault, do not find fault in others'. So the above mentioned sermons of Atiśa to King Nayapāla may be transformed into the modern concept of MMA i.e. Momentary Mindful Awareness. By a practice of this awareness and by contemplating on the work of oneself, one may change one's habit and work in the right direction which is very essential in the present situation of society.

Caryāgīti

Caryāgīti by Atiśa and its commentary Caryāgītivṛtti teach us as how to follow the path of purity. In the *Mahāyāna-patha-sādhana-varṇa-saṅgraha*, Atiśa refers to steadfastness and constant vigilance that one should achieve by dint of observing *daśa-śīla* and the *prātimokṣa* training in accordance with one's own capacity.

Bodhi-patha-pradīpa

Another work by Atiśa is Bodhi-patha-pradīpa (Tib. Byan-chub-lam-gyi-sgron-ma). The text begins with the salutation to Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī Kumārabhūta. Here he clearly states: 'On the request of my good disciple Bodhiprabha (Byanchub-'od) I am writing this work after worshiping with profound respect all the Jinās². In this text also, the same thought has been expressed by his writings. According to the annals of 'Gos lo tsa ba's Deb-ther-snon-po (otherwise known as Blue Annals 1392-1481 AD), since there was a severe disagreement on the points of doctrine between various scholars in Tibet, they requested the Master (Atiśa) to compose a treatise which would serve as an antidote for this. The Master composed the '*Bodhipathapradīpa* (Byan-chub-lam-gyi-sgron-ma). It expounded the stages of the paths of the three classes of men, in which he first mentioned about the conduct of the lower, middle and higher classes. In his opinion, a student (skyes-bu) or a person belongs to any of the three types-inferior (*adhama*) mediocre (*madhyama*) and superior (*uttama*). The distinguishing features of each are as follows:

By *adhamapuruṣa*, is to be known one who in one's own interests acts in every way for worldly pleasures only (*saṃsāra-sukha-mātra*). One who is indifferent to the pleasure of birth (*bhava-sukha*) and by nature opposed to sinful acts, works for oneself alone, is to be known as *madhyamapuruṣa*. One who always wishes to remove all the sufferings of others by one's own sufferings is the *uttamapuruṣa*. In this text, he tried to explain the way for attaining enlightenment. He said that if

one did not turn one's mind away from this life, one will not be able to enter into the midst of religiousness. 'If one does not possess a Creative Mental Effort towards enlightenment then one would be unable to enter Mahāyānistic path. If this Mahāyānic path does not combine the method (*upāya* in Tib. *thabs*) and *prajñā* (*ses-rab*), even though one may constantly meditate on the principal of relativity (*ston-pa-nid*), one would not attain enlightenment.' By saying this, Atiśa removed the pride of those who considered themselves to possess the method of meditation. He said it was not suitable to practice the real method (*upāya*) of the second and third initiation, except in the case of those who had knowledge of Ultimate Reality (*De-kho-na-nid*)³.

Therefore, the first thing to do is to establish empathy (*maitra-citta*) with all living beings, inclusive of the three kinds of beings with degraded births (*tri durgati jātāni*) namely *tiryak* i.e. birds and beasts etc, *preta* and *niraya* in hell, suffering from miseries and arrive at the firmest determination (*citta-upādāna*) to work with the resolution of never turning back (*anivṛtta pratijñā*) from liberating all living beings from the miseries that are born in miseries⁴. Thus Atiśa's teachings were directed to achieve peace, progress and international understanding.

However, the general trend of writing of Sri Dīpaṅkarajñāna, the contents of his works available in the Museum of the Asiatic Society may broadly be stated as:

- a. Understanding of the tenets of Bodhicaryā faithfully.
- b. Practice of meditation to obtain purity of mind.
- c. Application of inner potentiality (for the welfare of beings who have been suffering here) with love and compassion.

Actually, the above points are almost the same as the fundamental teachings of Gautama Buddha. Atiśa made a new attempt to review the values with reference to the changing times, conditions and circumstances.

Apart from these books, there are some texts included in Kanjur, Tanjur and their commentary of the Narthang edition of Tibetan literature. Some of these texts are either translated by Atiśa Dīpaṅkara or revised by him for the first or the second time. The list of the works translated and revised by Dīpaṅkara is included in Appendix II. Finally, Helmut Eimer in his writings also has ascribed 12 works to Atiśa, which are necessary to be mentioned here.

Conclusion

Therefore, from the above discussion it may be concluded that Atiśa through all his teachings tried to point out the basic potentiality that a man possesses and he

teaches how to develop the intrinsic worth of a man to make one's life fruitful and also to make the global atmosphere beautiful and peaceful. Moreover, the list of these works of Atiśa (both original and translations and also the revision work) and his philosophy may be utilized by the younger generation for further research and also for compiling the history of Tibetan literature which is a long felt desideratum in Tibetan Studies. Therefore, it may be concluded that Atiśa Dīpaṅkara brought forth 'Renaissance' in the cultural history of Tibet.

Notes and References

1. a. Nar-Than (sNar-than xylograph) edition, (17th century AD) in big leaves of the Tibetan Indigenous Paper (xylograph 18th century AD)
- b. Lha-sa (zhöl) edition donated by H. H. Dalai Lama (only Kanjur portion) to the Asiatic Society.
- c. Peking printed edition by Tibetan Tripitaka Research Institute.
2. Here the title is applicable to all the Buddha, Bodhisattvas and Arahats. Journal of the Buddhist Text Society (JBTS), 1893 part 1, P-39 by S. C. Das.
3. Roerich, N George *Blue Annals*, (Reprint edition, Delhi, MLBD-1976) p-248, Bodhi Patha Pradipa translated by Sarat Chandra Das (line 1-4), JBTS, 1893, part-I, p-39f.
4. Alaka Chattopadhyaya, Atiśa and Tibet, p-528

Appendix - I Part - I (Atiśa's Works)

Original Work in Tibetan

A. The Tantra Group:

1. Mnon-par stogs-pa rnam-par hbyed-pa
2. Chos-kyi dbyins lta-bahi glu
3. Hjiḡ-rten-las hdas-pahi yan-lag bdun-pahi cho-ga
4. Tin-ne-hdzin tshogs-kyi lehu
5. Dam-tshig thams-cad bsdu-s-pa
6. De-bshin-gsegs-pa thams-cad-kyi dam-tshig bsrün-bahisgrub-thabs
7. Rdo-rje-gdan-gyi rdo-rjehi glu
8. Dpah-bo gcig-pahi sgrub-thabs
9. Dpal gsan-ba hdus-pahi hjiḡ-sten dban-phyug-gi sgrub-pahi thabs
10. Hphags-pa spyān-ras-gzigs hjiḡ-sten dban-phyug sgrub-pahi thabs
11. Mi-hkhrugs-pahi sgrub-thabs
12. Gsin-rje-gsed rnam-par snan-mdzed-kyi mnon-par rtogs-pa

B. The Prajñāpāramitā Group:

13. Ses-rab-kyi pha-rol-tu phyin-pahi don-bsdus sgron-ma
14. Ses-rab snin-pohi rnam-par bsad-pa

C. The Mādhyamika Group:

15. Skyas-su hgro-ba bstan-pa
16. Snin-po bsdus-pa
17. Theg-pa chen-pohi lam-gyi sgrub-thabs yi-ger bsdus-pa
18. Dran-pa gcig-pahi man-nag
19. Bden-pa gnis-la hjug-pa
20. Mdo kun-las bdus-pahi don bsdus-pa
21. Mdohi-sdehi don kun-las btus-pahi man-nag
22. Byan-chub-lam-gyi sgron-ma
23. Byan-chub-sems-dpahi nor-buhi phren-ba
24. Dbus-mahi man-nag
25. Las rnam-par hbyed-pa

D. Commentary:

26. Las-kyi sgrib-pa rnam-par sbyon-bahi cho-ga bsad-pa

Works Translated by Atiśa

27. Āryadeva's Dbu-ma hkhrul-pa hjom-pa
28. Guṇaprabha's Byan-chub-sems-dpahi sahi hgrel-pa
29. Dharmakīrti's Mnon-par rtogs-pahi rgyan shes-bya-bahi hgrel-pa rtogs-par
dkah-bahi snan-ba shes-bya-bahi hgrel-bsad
30. Dombi-pa's De-kho-na-nid bcu-pa
31. Bhavya's Dbu-mahi sin-pohi hgrel-pa rtog-ge hbar-ba
32. Bhavya's Dbu-mahi snin-pohi tshig-lehur byas-pa
33. Bhavya's Dbu-mahi don bsdus-pa
34. Bhavya's Sde-pa tha ded-par byed-pa dan rnam-par bsad-pa
35. Vadubandhu's Theg-pa chen-po bsdus-pahi hgrel-pa
36. Suvāgiśvara-kīrti's Phyag-na rdo-rje sgrub-pahi thabs
37. Gsin-rje-gsed-po sgrub-pohi thabs

Appendix - I**Part - II (Atiśa as a Translator and Reviser)****A. 'Bka-'gyur= sūtra**

- Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā sūtra Toh.12 Pkg : 734
(Ses-rab-kyiphatoltu-phyin-pa-brgyad-ston-paj)
Revised twice by-a. Śrī Dīpaṅkarajñāna &

- Rinchen bzanpo and 'Ebran-rgyal byul' - 'gnas
- Bodhisattva Prātimokṣa- catuṣkanirhāra-
nāmamahāyāna- sūtra
(sgrub-pa-zhes-bya-ba-theg-pa-chen-po'i-mdo)
Translated by- Śrī Dīpaṅkarajñāna, Sakya-blo-gros,
Dge-ba'i-blo-gros.
- | | | | |
|----|--|---------|-----------|
| B. | Bka-gyur, kanjur=Tantra | Toh:248 | Pkg : 914 |
| 1 | Abhidhāna-uttaratantra-nāma. (Mnon-par-brjod-
pa'i-rgyud-bla-ma-shes-bya-ba) Translated by Śrī
Dīpaṅkarajñāna, Rin-chen-bzan po | Toh:3 | Pkg :17 |
| 2 | Sarvatathāgatakāya-vāka-citta-kṛṣṇa-yamārī nāma
tan As. Vol-kha-tantra Translated by Śrī
Dīpaṅkarajñāna, Tshul-khrims-Rgyal-pa | Toh:467 | Pkg :103 |
| 3 | Chucchundara-kalpa-nāma Translated by Śrī
Dīpaṅkarajñāna, Rdo-rje-grags, not-in pkg. ed. | Toh:472 | |
| 4 | Ārya-vajrapāṇi-nīlāmbara-
dharatrilokavinayanāmatantra, Translated by Śrī
Dīpaṅkarajñāna | Toh:501 | Pkg:133 |
| 5 | Ārya-Tathāgata-vaidūrya-prabhanāma-balādhāna
Samādhidhāraṇī, Revised by Śrī Dīpaṅkarajñāna | Toh:505 | Pkg:137 |
| 6 | Siddhaikavīra-mahātantrarājanāma, Revised by Śrī
Dīpaṅkara jñāna, Dge-bahi-blo-gros. | Toh:544 | Pkg :163 |
| 7 | Mahāgaṇapati-tantra-nāma
Translated by Śrī Dīpaṅkarajñāna,
Rgyal,ba'I hbyun-gnas | Toh:666 | Pkg :337 |
| 8 | Ārya-nīlāmbaradhara-vajrapāṇi-kalpa-
nāmadhāraṇī, Translated by Śrī Dīpaṅkarajñāna | | |
| 9 | Ārya-raśmi-vimalaviśuddhi-prabhānāma-dhāraṇī ;
Translated by Śrī Dīpaṅkarajñāna | Toh:982 | Pkg:218 |
| 10 | Ārya-vajrapāṇi-nīlāmbaradhara-vajrapaṭala-nāma-
tantra ('phag-pa lag-na rdo-rje-gos-snon-po-com
rdo-rje-sa-'og-shes bya ba'I rgyud) Translated By
Śrī Dīpaṅkarajñāna, Byahi-glan-pa-can | Toh:499 | Pkg :129 |

APPENDIX II

Original Works of Atiśa

1	Text: Vimāla-ratna-lekhā-nāma (Dri-ma-med-pa'i-rin-po-che'i-phrin-yig) A- Śrī Dīpaṅkara jñāna T- Śrī Dīpaṅkarajñāna, Tshul-khrims-rgyal-ba Tshad-Ma = Nyāya	Toh. 4188,4566	Pkg -5688
2	Vādanyāya-nāma-prakaraṇa (Rtsod-Pa-i-rigs-pa zhes- bya-ba'c- rab-tu-byed-pa) A-Dharmakīrti T. Jñānaśrībhadrā, Dge-ba'i-blo-gros Rev. Dīpaṅkara, Dar-ma-grags-pa Jo-bohi-chos-chun	Toh.4218	Pkg-5715
3	Bodhipathapradīpa (byan-chub-lam-gyi-sgron-ma) A. Mar-me-mdsad-ye-ses T. Mar-ma-mdsad-ye-ses, Dge-bahi-blo-gros	Toh:4465	Pkg:5378
4	Caryāsaṅgrahapradīpa A. Mar-me-mdsad-ye-ses T. Mar-me-mdsad-ye-ses, tshul-khrims-rgyal-ba	Toh:4466,	Pkg:5379
5	Satyadvayāvātāra (Bden-pa-gnis-la'jug-pa) A. Mar-me-mdsad-ye-śes T. Mar-me-mdsad-ye-śes, Rgya-Brtson-ægrus-senge	Toh:3902	Pkg:5298
6	Garbhasaṅgraha-nāma A. Mar-me-mdsad-ye-śes T. Mar-me- mdsad-ye-śes, Tshul-khrims-'byun-gnas	Toh:4469	Pkg:5362
7	Hṛdayanikṣepa-nāma A. Mar-me-mdsad-ye-śes T. Mar-me-mdsad-ye-śes, Tshul-khrims-urgyal-pa	Toh:4470	Pkg:5383
8	Bodhisattvamānyāvalī A. Mar-me-mdsad-ye-śes	Toh:4471	Pkg:5384
9	Bodhisattva-caryā-sūtrī-kṛtavā-vāda A. Mar-me-mdsad-ye-śes	Toh:4472	Pkg:5385
10	Samsāra-mano-niraya-nikara-nāma-saṅgīti	Toh:4473	Pkg:5386

- A. Mar-me-mdsad-ye-śes
T. Mar-me-mdsad-yeses,Rgya-Brtsen-sen-ge
- 11 Caryāgīti (spyod-pa'i-glu) Toh:4474 Pkg:5387
A. Mar-me-mdsad-ye-śes
T. Vajrapāṇi-chos-kyi-ses-rab
- 12 Dharmadhātusaṅgraha (chos-kyi-dbyins-su-lta-
ba'i-glu) Toh:4475 Pkg:5388
A. Śrī Dīpaṅkarajñāna
T. Śrī Dīpaṅkara jñāna, Tshul-khrims-rgyal-ba
- 13 Ekasamṛtyupadeśa Toh:4476 Pkg:5389
A. Śrī Dīpaṅkarajñāna
T. Śrī Dīpaṅkarajñāna, Tshul-khrims-rgyal-ba
- 14 Bodhisattvādikārmika-mārgāvatāra-deśanā Toh:4477 Pkg:5390
A. Mar-me-mdsad-ma-yes-śes
T. Mar-me-mdsad-ma-yes-śes, Tshul khrims-
rgyal-ba
- 15 Sarānagamanadeśanā Toh:4478 Pkg:5391
A. Śrī Dīpaṅkarajñāna
T. Śrī Dīpaṅkara jñāna - Tshul khrims-rgyal-ba
- 16 Mahāyānapathasādhana-varṇa-saṅgraha Toh:4479 Pkg:5392
A. Mar-me-mdsad-ma-yes-śes
T. Mar-me-mdsad-ma-yes-śes Dge-ba'i-ble-gras
- 17 Mahāyānapathasādhana-saṅgraha Toh:4480 Pkg:5393
A. Mar-me-mdsad-ma-yes-śes, Dge-ba'i-bla-gras
- 18 Sancodana-sahita-svākṛtya-krama-varṇa-
saṅgraha Toh:4481 Pkg:5394
A. Śrī Dīpaṅkara jñāna
T. Śrī Dīpaṅkara jñāna - Tshul khrims-rgyal-ba
- 19 Sūtrārtha-samuccayopadeśa(Mdo-sde'i don-
kun-las btus-pa'i man-nag) Toh:4482 Pkg:5395
A. Mar-me-mdsad-ma-yes-śes
T. Mar-me-mdsad-ma-yes-śes,--Tshul-khrima-
rgyal-ba
- 20 Daśakuśalakarmapatha-deśanā(mi-dge-ba-
bcnhi-las-kyi-lambstanpa) Toh:4483 Pkg:5396
A. Mar-me-mdsad-ma-yes-śes

	T. Mar-me-mdsad-ma-yes-śes, Tshul-khrima-rgyal-ba		
21	Karma-vibhaṅga-nāma A. Mar-me-mdsad-ma-yes-śes T. Mar-me-mdsad-ma-yes-śes, Tshul-khrima-rgyal-ba	Toh:4484	Pkg:5397
22	Samādhi-sambhāra-parivarta A. Mar-me-mdsad-ma-yes-śes	Toh:4485	Pkg:5398
23	Lokātitasaptāṅgavidhi A. Mar-me-mdsad-ma-yes-śes	Toh:4486	Pkg:5399
24	Adhyayanapustaka-pāṭhana-prakriyāvidhi A. Mar-me-mdsad-ma-yes-śes	Toh:4487	Pkg:5400
25	Pāramitā-yāna-saṅca(ka)nirvāpanavidhi A. Mar-me-mdsad-ma-yes-śes	Toh:4488	Pkg:5401
26	Gurukiyā-karma A. Mar-me-mdsad-ma-yes-śes	Toh:4489	Pkg:5402
27	Cittotpāda-samvara-vidhikarma A. Mar-me-mdsad-ma-yes-śes T.Dge ba'i-blo-gras Revisor : Mar-me-mdsad-ma-yes-śes, Tshul-khrima-rgyal-ba	Toh:4490	Pkg:5403

Appendix - III

1	Bodhisattvādikārmika-margavatāra desanā A.Mar-me-mdsad-yes-śes T. Mar-me-mdsad-yes-śes, Tshul krims-rgyal-ba	Toh:4477	Pkg:5390
2	Saranagamanadeśanā A. Śrī Dīpaṅkara jñāna T. Śrī Dīpaṅkara jñāna-Tshul krims-rgyal-ba	Toh:4478	PKg 5391
3	Mahāyānapathasādhana varṇa saṅgraha A. Mar-me-mdsad-yes-śes T. Mar-me-mdsad-yes-śes Dge-ba'i-ble-gras	Toh:4479	Pkg:5392
4	Mahāyānapathasādhana-saṅgraha A. Mar-me-mdsad-yes-śes, Dge-ba'i-bla-grzs	Toh 4480	Pkg:5393
5	Sancodana-sahita-svakraṭya-krama- varṇa saṅgraha	Toh4481	Pkg:5394

- A. Śrī Dīpaṅkara jñāna
T. Śrī Dīpaṅkara jñāna - Tshul krims-rgyal-ba
- 6 Sutrartha-samuccayopadeśa (Mdo-sde'i don-kun-
las btus-pa'i man-nag) Toh:4482 Pkg:5395
A.Mar-me-mdsad-yes-śes
T. Mar-me-mdsad-yes-śes,Tshul-khrima-rgyal-ba
- 7 Daśakuśalakarmapatha-deśanā (mi-dge-ba-bcni-
las-kyi-lam-bstan-pa) Toh:4483 Pkg:5396
A. Mar-me-mdsad-yes-śes
T. Mar-me-mdsad-yes-śes,Tshul-khrima-rgyal-ba
- 8 Karma-vibhaṅga-nāma Toh:4484 Pkg:5397
A. Mar-me-mdsad-yes-śes
T. Mar-me-mdsad-yes-śes,Tshul-khrima-rgyal-ba
- 9 Samādhi-sambhāra-parivarta Toh:4485 Pkg:5398
A. Mar-me-mdsad-yes-śes
- 10 Lokātītasaptāṅgavidhi Toh:4486 Pkg:5399
A. Mar-me-mdsad-yes-śes
- 11 Adhyayanapustaka-paṭhana-prakriyāvidhi Toh:4487 Pkg:5400
A. Mar-me-mdsad-yes-śes
- 12 Pāramitā-yāna-sāṅca(ka)nirvapanavidhi Toh:4488 Pkg:5401
A. Mar-me-mdsad-yes-śes
- 13 Gurukriyā-karma Toh:4489 Pkg:5402
A Mar-me-mdsad-yes-śes
- 14 Cittotpāda-samvara-vidhikarma Toh:4490 Pkg:5403
A. Mar-me-mdsad-yes-śes
T.Dge ba'i-blo-gras
Revisor : Mar-me-mdsad-yes-śes,
Tshul-khrima-rgyal-ba

Śrī Dīpaṅkarajñāna at Vikramaśīla Monastery

Kaie Mochizuki

Introduction

Śrī Dīpaṅkarajñāna (Atiśa: 982-1054) who played an important role in the transmission of Buddhism from India to Tibet is said to have also played an active part at the Vikramaśīla monastery in India. However, we have little information on his actual activities during his stay there. Most of his biographical dates or information on his works are based on Tibetan sources, which are written in Tibet, because it is difficult to find them in Indian sources written by others. If we could find any references to him by his contemporaries, we would have known more exactly what he had done in India. But we can get no Indic sources on his presence at Vikramaśīla¹. We can guess it only through the biographical texts or historical literature written in Tibet. In this paper, I consider how his activities in Vikramaśīla monastery were transmitted to Tibet².

1. Tibetan Sources in his Biography

In Tibetan Buddhism there is a tradition to make a biography of a great teacher (*bla ma*) and we can find collections of many biographical literatures there. Of course we know some biographies of his. There is a tradition to write a biography of a great teacher (*bla ma*) in Tibet. As many biographical texts of great saints sometimes tend to embellish everything they say, they do not always tell us historically true events. Because we find that biographical sources overlap each other in some biographies, we must consider a lineage of biographies when we treat biographical literature. I do not intend to clarify the biographical sources of Śrī Dīpaṅkarajñāna in this paper and I can show you some of descriptions that tell us records of his staying at Vikramaśīla.

In regard to biographical sources of Śrī Dīpaṅkarajñāna, Helmut Eimer has already reported his detailed research in his book, 'A Report on the Life of Atiśa',

and he further published one of his biographies, '*Jo bo rje dpal ldan mar me mdzad ye shes kyi rnam thar rgyas pa* (= *rNam thar rgyas pa*)', and translated it into German³. We can see many references to his stay at Vikramaśīla

in this biography. The first reference is in the section of his lineage as follows:

Because Dharmakīrti as gSer gling pa has benevolent love, he is called Maitrīpa. Then there are three Maitrīpas. The prince Maitrīpa is Maitreya, the lord (*nunga' bdag*) Maitrīpa is who took Jo bo out from Vikramaśīla and gSer gling pa is also called Maitrīpa⁴. [055]

gSer gling pa who taught the Mādhyamika teaching to Śrī Dīpaṅkarajñāna is introduced here and called by another name. In the explanation of the second Maitrīpa we can confirm his stay at Vikramaśīla. Though the text does not tell us who he is, he seems to be a Tibetan king, Byang chub'od, who invited Śrī Dīpaṅkarajñāna to Tibet.

Then the explanation of his academic career comes next and we can see some references to his activities at Vikramaśīla :

To add to the story how this great teacher concentrating on the benefits of others, was invited to Tibet, the history how Vikramaśīla monastery was built is written a little⁵. [170]

In this section [170-196] the text tells us about his activities at the monastery. Beginning with the story that he saw the image of Kambala, the great teacher at Nālandā monastery, the text explains the relationship between the monastery and kings of the Pāla dynasty. Citing the praising verse of a translator that there were 153 monks at Otantapurī and 100 at Vikramaśīla [182], Śrī Dīpaṅkarajñāna is introduced as it follows:

Among these paṇḍitas is Śrī Dīpaṅkarajñāna like a jewel of heaven. King Mahāpāla who had succeeded King Devapāla invited him with glorious kindness from Vajrāsāna to Vikramaśīla. Then those who stayed there respected him like a crest jewel⁶. [183]

We know that he was invited to a monastery during the reign of King Mahāpāla. Further the text tells us that a picture of Nāgārjuna was hung on the right side of the gate of the monastery and that of Śrī Dīpaṅkarajñāna on the left side. Then it explains how he was invited to Tibet at the monastery.

After clarifying doubts and knowing what was to be known, he thought that he should invite an Indian paṇḍita. He promised Indian beggars to give rewards and asked them if there was a helpful paṇḍita for Tibet or not, but he could not find any. Arriving at Vikramaśīla monastery, he asked whether there was a

helpful paṅḍita for Tibet or not, then he was given the name of Śrī Dīpaṅkarajñāna (Jo bo). He was told-- there is one who took monastic vows from a royal family, became a crest jewel of Buddhism and became the second most outstanding scholar among five hundred. If you do not invite him, there will be no benefit for Tibet⁷. [206]

We can see how Tshul khirms rgyal ba met him at the monastery and Śrī Dīpaṅkarajñāna was acknowledged as the second omniscience at the monastery⁸. Then the text tells us also about the relationship between rGya Brtson 'grus seng ge and Tshul khirms rgyal ba and we can also get information on his works at the monastery.

The virtuous teacher from Gung thang (Tshul khirms rgyal ba) stayed for two years in India, was taught the teaching of Abhidharma by rGya brTson seng and learned how to translate into Tibetan. Knowing what was to be brought especially, he translated teachings of Śrī Dīpaṅkarajñāna during his stay in India. These two great and small translators (rGya and Nag tsho) translated the *Satyadvayāvātāra* with its commentary, the *Garbhasaṅgraha*⁹ written by the teacher himself with its commentary by Sa'i snying po, the **Madhyamaṅkaratnāvalī* and the *Yogācāra* with its summary (*piṅḍartha*) at Vikramaśīla¹⁰. [213]

Some works referred here cannot be identified and we need further research. But we can know that brTson grus seng ge and Tshul khirms rgyal ba had already translated his texts during their stay at the monastery.

Of course we can assume his other activities at Vikramaśīla without their references, but it needs further research. So I conclude it here on the basis of the *rNam thar rgyas pa*, Tshul khirms rgyal ba who looked for a useful paṅḍita for Tibet arrived at the monastery, acknowledged his reputation, he chose Śrī Dīpaṅkarajñāna among some candidates and decided to invite him to Tibet. Some of his works were translated by Śrī Dīpaṅkarajñāna himself with the help of Tshul khirms rgyal ba or rGya Brtson grus seng ge during their stay at the monastery. But this does not always mean these texts were written first in Indic script and were then translated into Tibetan. We can also assume that they were taught to them orally and they were immediately translated into Tibetan.

2. Tibetan sources in History of Buddhism in India

Though no history of Indian Buddhism has been written in India, but some Tibetan scholars have written the history of Indian Buddhism in Tibet. We can see some references to Śrī Dīpaṅkarajñāna at Vikramaśīla in these texts. These

sources may not be Indian sources, but to we can see how his position in the history of Indian Buddhism has been transmitted in Tibet.

At first we see '*History of Buddhism (bDe bar gshegs pa'i bstan pa'i gsal byed chos kyi' byung gnas gsung rab rin po che'i mdzod)* of Bu ston rin chen grub (1290-1364). He explains how Śrī Dīpaṅkarajñāna was invited to Tibet.

Of these three, the latter gave gold to five men, Nag tsho, Tshul khriṃs rgyal ba etc., and ordered them to select the translator rGya brTson'grus seng ge as their chief, and to invite a good Paṇḍita. Accordingly, they invited Śrī Dīpaṅkarajñāna who was the son of Kalyāṇaśrī the King of Bengal, and who had received a brilliant education at the monastery of Vikramaśīla. (Śrī Dīpaṅkarajñāna) accordingly accepted their invitation and came, since he had obtained a corresponding prophecy from Tārā. On the way rGya brTson seng died and they arrived, having appointed Nag tsho to be interpreter¹¹.

Here two Tibetans, rGya brTson'grus seng ge and Nag tsho Tshul khriṃs rgyal ba, came to India in order to search a good scholar for introducing Indian Buddhism to Tibet. Then they chose Śrī Dīpaṅkarajñāna who was well known as an excellent scholar there. But his position at the monastery is not referred to here.

Secondly, in the *Deb ther sngon po* of gZhun nu dpal¹² (1392-1481) we can see a detailed explanation of the biography of Śrī Dīpaṅkarajñāna in the section on bKa' gdams pa. We can see the first reference to his activities at the Vikramaśīla while the explanation of his academic career is as follows:

Later, Śrī Dīpaṅkarajñāna visited the Teacher gSer gling pa (Dharmakīrti, Chos kyi grags pa). From him he obtained numerous secret precepts, placing foremost the Mantal Creative Effort towards Enlightenment. He spent most of his time as Elder (*mahāsthavira, gnas brtan chen po*) of the monastic college of Vikramaśīla, and his great fame encompassed all quarters (of the world). On numerous occasions lHa btsun pa Byang chub'od sent him invitations (to visit Tibet), accompanied by large presents of gold¹³.

Here the author enumerates his sixteen teachers from Jñānaśrīmitra to Dharmakīrti (gSer gling pa) and it is said that he had become the elder of the monastery and the reason for his invitation came from his fame in India. Then the text describes the scene of his invitation, that Tshul khriṃs rgyal ba who had studied there returned to India to invite him. His arrival at the monastery is as follows:

Nag tsho after receiving the King's command, took with him the largest part of a piece of unwrought gold to the value of 16 srangs. When he was on his way to India accompanied by a large retinue, he cleverly diverted an attack by brigands, and safely reached Vikramaśīla during the night. While they were reciting prayers in Tibetan, rGya brTson 'grugs seng ge, who was sitting on the roof of the entrance hill, overheard them, and shouted: 'Are you Tibetans? Tomorrow we shall meet surely'¹⁴.

From these passages we can be certain that Tshul khrim rgyal ba returned to Vikramaśīla monastery in order to invite Śrī Dīpaṅkarajñāna who was well known as the Elder of the monastery and rGya brTson 'grugs seng ge who understood Tibetan stayed there. Both of these two Tibetans are known as co-translators of Śrī Dīpaṅkarajñāna's works. The next day they met with him and rGya brTson 'grugs seng ge told him about the intentions of Tshul khrim rgyal. Then Śrī Dīpaṅkarajñāna answered as follows:

'You are right! The King has spent much gold for my sake! Several people, who had come with the invitation, had been smitten by fever. I feel ashamed before the Tibetan King, and having considered the matter, I have decided to proceed in any case to Tibet, if I can be of help. But it is difficult for the Elder (*sthavira*) of Vikramaśīla to let us go, and one must find a way out of difficulty'¹⁵.

His answer does not exactly tell us his position at the monastery, but we assume that he had to get permission to leave the monastery from the Elder. And he seems to have acknowledged himself as an important teacher at the monastery. Based on this information from the *Deb ther sgon po*, we can conclude that Śrī Dīpaṅkarajñāna was known as the supreme teacher at the monastery and Tshul khrim rgyal ba met to invite him to Tibet, but he had a restriction not to leave the monastery without permission.

Next we see 'History of Buddhism in India' (*dPal gyi'byung gnas dam pa'i chos rin po che'phags p'i yul du ji ltar dar ba'i tshul gsal bar ston pa dgos'dod kun'byung*) by Tāranātha Kun dga' snying po (1575-1634). He is known also as a great teacher of the Jo nang pa school in Tibet. He gives an account of the period of Kings

Bheyapāla and Nayapāla and refers to Śrī Dīpaṅkarajñāna who stayed in Vikramaśīla monastery in the same period.

Then King *Bheyapāla ruled for about thirty-two years. He maintained the older tradition, but excepting this did nothing significantly new for the Low. He conferred **patra*-s on only seventy paṇḍitas of Vikramaśīla. So he is also not counted among the seven pālas.

After the Six Door-keeper Scholars had passed away, during the period of this King, Śrī Dīpaṅkarajñāna, famed as Jo bo rje dPal ldan Atiśa was invited to be *upādhyāya* (of Vikramaśīla). He also looked after Odantapurī. Soon after this, the activity of the powerful Maitrīpa became widespread.

When Maitrīpa returned from the Śrī Parvata, the Six Door-keeper Scholars like Śāntipa was already over by a few years¹⁶. Tāranātha tells us that Śrī Dīpaṅkarajñāna was appointed to the first seat of Vikramaśīla during the reign of King Bheyapāla. The same story is repeated later in the section of the vajrayāna teaching at Vikramaśīla and it is said as follows:

After the Six Gate-keeper Scholars, there was no continuity in the succession of upādhyāyas for some years. Then came upādhyāya Śrī Dīpaṅkarajñāna. After him, there was no upādhyāya for seven years¹⁷.

Regarding his departure to Tibet, it is said as follows:

King Bheyapāla's son was Neyapāla. In the authentic biographies, it is stated that he became the king shortly before Jo-bo-rje left for Tibet. There also exists a letter¹⁸ sent (by Atiśa)¹⁹.

From these references we can conclude that Tāranātha refers to Śrī Dīpaṅkarajñāna in connection with the Pāla kings who built Vikramaśīla monastery.

That is to say, he was upādhyāya at the monastery in the reign of King Bheyapāla and he left for Tibet during the reign of his son, King Nayapāla.

3. Works by Śrī Dīpaṅkarajñāna

When we see the colophons of the works by Śrī Dīpaṅkarajñāna, we know that he translated most of them with the help of Tibetan translators. Though we cannot get sufficient information as to where were they written, they seem to be translated after his arrival in Tibet as translations of his lectures on Buddhist

teaching. Helmut Eimer tries to find where his works were written or translated²⁰ and refers to the *Sanṣāraṃaniryaṇīkārānāmasaṅgīti* and the *Kāyavācittasupratīṣṭhā* as the works written at Vikramaśīla monastery and the *Triratnātārāstotra* of unknown authorship and the *Āryatārādevīstotra-muktikāmālā* of Candragomin as those translated there.

In the colophon of the *Sanṣāraṃaniryaṇīkārānāmasaṅgīti* it is said as follows:

Indian upādhyāya himself and the great translator rGya Brtson 'grugs seng ge²¹ translated at Vikramaśīla monastery²².

And in the colophon of the *Kāyavācittasupratīṣṭhā* it is said as follows:

Indian upādhyāya Dīpaṅkara himself and translator rGya Brtson 'grugs seng ge translated, revised and established it at Vikramaśīla²³.

These two texts seem to have been translated during his stay at Vikramaśīla monastery at almost the same time. We can reconfirm that there were some Tibetan students at the monastery and some Buddhist texts had been already translated into Tibetan at Vikramaśīla.

Therefore Śrī Dīpaṅkarajñāna may have mastered Tibetan to some extent before his departure for Tibet²⁴. Because these texts are collected in the tantric section of the Tanjur,²⁵ he seems to have written tantric works in India. And in the colophon of the *Triratnātārāstotra* of unknown authorship it is said as follows:

Indian upādhyāya Śrī Dīpaṅkarajñāna and Tibetan translator Tshul khriṃs rgyal ba translated, revised and established it at Vikramaśīla²⁶.

Further in the colophon of the *Āryatārādevīstotramuktikāmālā* of Candragomin it is said as follows:

Indian upādhyāya Śrī Dīpaṅkarajñāna and Tibetan Buddhist translator from Nag tsho Tshul khriṃs rgyal ba translated, revised and established it at Vikramaśīla²⁷.

We can conclude that Śrī Dīpaṅkarajñāna and Tshul khriṃs rgyal ba translated these two tantric texts written by others into Tibetan at Vikramaśīla. Therefore, co-translator Tshul khriṃs rgyal ba must have mastered the Indian language because he had already translated them during his stay at the monastery²⁸.

Of course, there may not have been only Tibetan students, but also international students from other countries at the monastery, so multi-lingual languages may

have been spoken there. It would be very interesting to research the possibility of another language at Vikramaśīla.

In the colophon of the *Sūtrasamuccayaśāñcayārtha* it is said as follows:

Tibetan bhikṣu Tshul khriṃs rgyal ba, offering 14 palas of gold with flowers to Ācārya Śrī Dīpaṅkarajñāna, requested him to come to Tibet. For completing his meditational practice he could enter his way (to Tibet) after 16 months. At the time of his departure for Tibet, the beloved students requested him for the final upadeśa. He delivered this, which was the essence of the scriptures, as his upadeśa to them. At that time rGya Brtson'grus seng ge asked for his permission to translate it and it is established²⁹.

Though it is not obvious where it was written, it seems to have been written before his leaving India for Tibet. Tshul khriṃs rgyal ba and rGya Brtson'grus seng ge, who are referred to here, are important persons to link Śrī Dīpaṅkarajñāna with Vikramaśīla. Therefore we can assume that this text was written almost at the same time and the same place as the above-mentioned tantric texts.

Ratnakaraṇḍoghāṭa tells us about his relationship with the Kings of the Pāla dynasty. In the last verses of the text it is said as follows:

Requested by a good student named Tshul khriṃs rgyal ba who is a śākya bhikṣu with sharp mind, wisdom, compassion and disciple, he wrote [this text].

Śrī Dīpaṅkarajñāna wrote it just like authentic teachers taught at the great monastery named Vikramaśīla with the commitment of Devapāla³⁰.

If we read the last passage as the adverb phrase 'at the great monastery named Vikramaśīla' which modifies the verb wrote' we must understand that it was written at the monastery. But the *Deb ther srong po* tells us that he wrote the two large and small *Madhyamakopadeśa* at Lhasa³¹. Accordingly it seems to be proper to understand that he wrote it at the request of Tshul khriṃs rgyal ba just like authentic teachers had taught their teachings at Vikramaśīla with the commitment of Devapāla. At least we can assume his relationship with the monastery from this verse.

Further in the first verse of the *Vimalaratnalekhā* it is said as follows:

To Nayapāla victory, who has spread the teaching of the Buddha since his birth at Mahāgati and has protected his kingdom with this teaching! [1]

And in its colophon it is also said:

The letter named *Vimalaratnalekhā* which the sthavira and great paṇḍita Śrī Dīpaṅkarajñāna sent to King Pāla is completed³².

According to above-mentioned explanation of Tāranātha, this text seems to be the letter written in Nepal to King Nayapāla³³. But we always have some doubt about its authorship because the content of this text is almost the same as that of the *Bodhisattvamānyāvalī* attributed to the same author³⁴. We cannot deny a possibility that this letter was edited in order to emphasize his relationship with the Pāla dynasty.

Conclusion

I conclude here the research on Atiśa's stay at Vikramaśīla. So, as far as Atiśa's relationship with the Pāla dynasty is concerned, he was invited to the monastery during the time of Mahāpāla, became the Elder of the monastery at during the time of Bheyapāla and left for Tibet during the time of Nayapāla. He had already begun to translate his works there with Tshul khriṃs rgyal ba or rGya Brtson'grus seng ge. However there are different stories in detail how Śrī Dīpaṅkarajñāna was invited to Tibet. Because most of his works are small, we must further consider how they were taught and translated.

References

1. cf. Chattopadhyaya 1981, pp. 127-142.
2. This paper is part of my presentation, On the Guhyasamāja Literature attributed to Śrī Dīpaṅkarajñāna, at the 16th IABS held at Dharma Drum Buddhist College on June 25, 2011. Though I introduce his works on the *Guhyasamājantra*, the panel in which I read it, 'Reconstructing the History of Late Indian Buddhism - Relationship between Tantric and Non-tantric Doctrines' is organized by Prof. Taiken Kyuma (University of Mie) who is the leader of the Vikramaśīla Project and I, a member of this project, refer to information on his activity at the Vikramaśīla monastery.
3. Eimer 1979.
4. Eimer 1979, 1 Teil, p. 168, 2 Teil, p. 39.
5. Eimer 1979, 1 Teil, p. 205, 2 Teil, p. 124.
6. Eimer 1979, 1 Teil, 9. 209, 2 Teil, pp. 132-133. The same contents are referred in [207] again.

7. Eimer 1979, 1 Teil, 9. 217, 2 Teil, p. 148.
8. This process to invite him to Tibet was reported to the Tibetan king in [222]. Eimer 1979 1 Teil, 9. 222, 2 Teil, pp. 163-164.
9. We know two versions of the *Garbhasaṅgraha* in the Tibetan Tangyur, namely the *Garbhasaṅgraha* and the *Hṛdayanikṣepa*. But the former was translated by Tshul khrimis' byung gnas and the latter was translated in Tibet. See Mochizuki 2005, pp. 47-48.
10. Eimer 1979, 1 Teil, 9. 219, 2 Teil, pp. 154-155.
11. Obermiller 1932 p. 213. See also Szerb 1990, p. 86.
12. Hatano 1987, pp. 55-65.
13. Roerich 1979, p. 244. Cf. *Deb ther sgon po*, Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun kang, 1984, p. 299 and Hatano 1987, p. 72.
14. Roerich 1979, pp. 245-246. Cf. *Deb ther sgon po*, p. 301; Hatano, *op.cit.*, p. 74.
15. Roerich 1979, p. 246. Cf. *Deb ther sgon po*, p. 302.
16. Chattopadhyaya 1980, p. 304; Schiefner 1868, p. 185; Teramoto 1928, p. 327.
17. Chattopadhyaya 1980, p. 329; Schiefner 1868, p. 198; Teramoto 1928, p. 351.
18. On this letter see the reference to the *Vimalaratnalekha*.
19. Chattopadhyaya 1980, p. 305; Schiefner 1868, p. 184; Teramoto 1928, p. 326.
20. Eimer 1977, p. 114. Though he says that the *Ratnakaraṅdoghāṭa* was also written at Vikramaśīla, it is not obvious from its colophon. I will discuss it later. He refers to other works translated during his stay in India, namely, the *Āryanīlāmabaradhara-vajrapāṇi-kalpa-nāma-dhāraṇīṭikā* of Nūgūrjuna (P. No. 3500) at the Nālanda monastery and the *Madhyamakaratnapradīpa* of Bhavya (P. No. 5254) at Somapuri.
21. Hatano 1987, p. 99, note 20, identifies him as a Tibetan layman from Stag-tshal, but Alaka Chattopadhyaya identifies him as the Indian Vīryasiṃha.
22. See Mochizuki 2007, Mochizuki 2011. But one of his biographies says that it was taught during his staying at dBu in Tibet. May this mean that this small text was sung in verse in Tibet after having been written in verse and translated in India? But I think it unnatural to record the publication of the older text once written in India in the biography. One of them seems to give us wrong information.
23. P. Tshi 322a1.
24. Of course his ability in Tibetan language is open to further discussion. That is to say, did he learn Tibetan language from his co-translator in India or what about the ability of Indian language of his co-translators? If they were really translated in India, this means that there were fluent Indian speakers of Tibetan or of Indian at Vikramaśīla and it was requested to translated Indian texts into Tibetan though privately. It seems to be interesting to consider about Tibetan students at the monastery.
25. The former is collected also in the volume of the Madhyamaka.
26. Tib. D. Sha 52a7-b1.
27. Tib. N. Zu 180b1.

28. *Deb ther sgong po* says that he came from Gung than, studied Buddhism in India and was taught by Dīpaṅkarajñāna. See Hatano 1987, p. 74.
29. cf. Eimer, 1977, p. 117, Chattopadhyaya 1981, p. 463.
30. Miyazaki 2007, p. 118.
31. Chattopadhyaya 1981, p. 457 and Eimer 1977, p. 114 read that it is written at Vikramaśīla.
32. Dietz 1984, pp. 302-3, 318-319. Dietz calls the king Niryaṇa.
33. Teramoto 1928, p. 327.
34. Eimer 1981, p. 327; Mochizuki 2005, p.21. However the *Bodhisattvamāṇyūvali* has two versions, namely the Tangyur version and the bKa gdams pa version, and the order of verses in each version is remarkably different, so this text may have more textual troubles.

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Some Aspects of Atiśa and Archaeology of Vikramaśīla

A. P. Sinha

The most distinguished among the leading luminaries of the Vikramaśīla Mahāvihāra was Atiśa Śrī Dīpaṅkarajñāna, a widely travelled man possessing encyclopedic knowledge. He made the University internationally famous. He held a very prominent place in the academic life of the University. His association with the University enhanced its academic prestige in the eyes of the contemporary intellectual world.

Atiśa was born at Sahor in A.D. 982¹ and his father's name was Kalyāṇa Śrī. His parents were closely connected with the Vikramaśīla Mahāvihāra. His original name was Chandragarbhā. In the entire gamut of the Tibetan accounts pertaining to Vikramaśīla Mahāvihāra, there is one text which appears to be of greater relevance. This is the text called *Guru Guna Dharmakar*, which contains a biographical account of Śrī Dīpaṅkarajñāna. According to it Śrī Dīpaṅkarajñāna, the high priest of Vikramaśīla Mahāvihāra was born in the family of Kalyāṇa Śrī, the King of the city of Bhagala or Bhangla in the country of Sahor. The Rājā along with his wife Prabhāvatī visited the temple of Vikramaśīla which lay to the north of the *Rāja Prāsāda*. Rahul Sankriyana identifies Sahor with modern Sabour near Bhagalpur in Bihar and Bhagala or Bhangala with Bhagalpur. But Alaka Chattopadhyaya² who has studied afresh all the relevant Tibetan sources with regard to Atiśa, suggested Vikramapur of Bengal as his birth place. But the above identification of Alaka Chattopadhyaya and others require a fresh look. We have carefully gone through the arguments put forward by her regarding the birth place of Atiśa. She has accepted that the Tibetan Za-hor is called Sa-hor by Indians³. As far as I know there is no place in Bengal like Sa-hor. But here in Bihar as suggested by Rahul Sankriyana, Sa-hor is modern Sabour in Bhagalpur

district which is not far from the site of Vikramaśīla Mahāvihāra. Bhangala or Bhagala is nearer to Bhagalpur than Bangala. Bhagalpur and Sabour are at present located in Bhagalpur district of Bihar.

In the Life of Atiśa by mkhan-po-mchims-thams-cad mkhyen-pa- translated by S.C. Das we read-- 'Dīpaṅkara was born in A.D. 980 in the royal family of Gaur at Vikramapur in Bangal, a country lying to the east of Vajrāsana⁴. Vajrāsana monastery was in Bodh Gaya, Bihar. Distance from Vajrāsana to Vikramapur, Dacca now in Bangladesh is more than seven hundred kms. Why would a person mention a geographical location of such a distant place? Therefore, it is reasonable to think that above mentioned author had mentioned Vikramaśīla Mahāvihāra near Bhagalpur which is north east of Vajrāsana.

Apart from this the following points may also be considered.

1. His activities all centred around Magadha.
2. He was associated with almost all important Mahāvihāras of Magadha like Nālandā, Odantapurī, Vajrāsana and Vikramaśīla.
3. Atiśa had received his early initiation at the hand of a Tantric Yogi at Kālaśīlā, an ancient site of Rajgir, Bihar.
4. After return from Suvarṇadvīpa, Atiśa came to Magadha via Ceylon.
5. Before going to Tibet he visited Vajrāsana, Bodh Gaya.
6. At no point of time during these periods did he visit his so-called native place in Bengal.

Therefore, Vikramapur in Bengal (Dacca) as the birth place of Atiśa, identified by Alaka Chattopadhyaya and others can be re-checked, alternated and substantiated after in-depth study and without any regional loyalties.

Atiśa was placed under Jetāri for education and training. Under this great teacher he studied the five kinds of sciences and thereby paved his way for the study of philosophy and religion⁵. He acquired proficiency in the three Pitakas of the Mahāyāna doctrine, the high metaphysics of the Mādhyamika and Yogācāra schools and the four classes of Tantras. At the age of nineteen he took the sacred vow from Śīlārakṣita, the Mahāsāṅghika Āchārya of the Odantapuri monastery, who gave him the name of Śrī Dīpaṅkarajñāna⁶. But Havaladar Tripathi⁷ thinks that the title of Śrī Dīpaṅkarajñāna was conferred upon Atiśa by Bodhibhadra of Nālandā as he also studied at Nālandā.

When he began the study of the Buddhist sciences in a *vihāra*, he was given the name of Guhyajñānavajra and was then initiated into the mysteries of esoteric Buddhism. When he was only fifteen, he had defeated a non Buddhist logician in

an intellectual disputation. He had finished the whole of *Nyāya-bindu*⁸ at the age of fifteen and had acquired complete mastery over all the Buddhist and non-Buddhist sciences at the age of twenty one and by the time he was twenty nine, he had acquired full mastery of all the branches of general science, like grammar, logic and fine arts etc.

For twelve years, he practiced both Mahāyāna and Hinayāna. He read at the feet of Rahulgupta and Śīlārakṣita who ordained him as a *bhikṣu*. After his initiation into Buddhism, he studied the Mahāyāna texts in detail. He was very careful in observing all the rules of daily life including minor details of conduct.

After completing his education there he went to Suvarṇadvīpa. After residing there for twelve years he returned to Magadha⁹ via Ceylon. He made a great name at Suvarṇadvīpa.

Atiśa maintained the superiority of Magadha in religious discussions. He accepted the post of Principal Āchārya of the University of Vikramaśīla in the reign of Nayapāla or Mahīpāla. As a matter of fact, Vikramaśīla Mahāvihāra was the main centre of his activities after he returned from Suvarṇadvīpa. Under Atiśa's care the Mahāvihāra significantly prospered. New subjects of study were introduced and he also started new methods of teaching. He spent most of his time as Elder of the monastic college of the University¹⁰.

During Atiśa's stay at Vikramaśīla, it was the custom with the Buddhist monks to keep the keys of *vihāras* and temples. Atiśa had in his charge eighteen keys. He took active part in the contemporary political life of north eastern India and mediated between the Palas and Kalachuris who were struggling for supremacy in Bihar. It was at the initiative of Atiśa that a treaty between the two¹¹ was arranged and signed. He was honoured by the Kalachuris.

Atiśa was, in one way or the other, connected with almost all the *vihāras* of his time. He had contacts with the monasteries of Somapurī (Bangladesh), Vajrāsan (Bodhgaya) Odantpurī, Nālandā and Vikramaśīla¹².

His fame as a Buddhist scholar spread far and wide and he was invited by the Tibetan King for purifying Buddhism. He was taken to Tibet in 1040 A.D. after two unsuccessful missions by the envoy of the Tibetan King. But before going to Tibet, he made a pilgrimage to Bodhgaya and other holy places. From Bodhgaya Atiśa proceeded to Swayambhunātha Chaitya in Nepal and travelled by the old route connecting Nepal via Pataliputra (Patna) and Champaran, Bihar.

He was brought to Tibet to bring about a renaissance in Buddhism. All the thirty five scholars accompanying him to Tibet belonged to the Vikramaśīla Mahāvihāra. He established Buddhism in its original purity. He revived the practice of the Mahāyāna doctrine. He cleared Buddhism in Tibet of foreign and heretic elements and started a movement which may be called Lamaist reformation. He set in motion the Wheel of Law in Tibet and his arrival forms a landmark in the history of Tibetan Buddhism¹³. He has been rightly described as the greatest reformer of Lamaism. In Tibet, he is held to be an incarnation of Mañjuśrī. As a matter of fact, it was as a result of his efforts that Buddhism was established as a religion in Tibet. After staying for thirteen years which were distributed over his stay in different provinces of Tibet, Atiśa died there at the age of seventy three in 1054 A.D. He is credited with having written, compiled, translated over two hundred books on Buddhist religion, philosophy and tantras.

His message may be summed up in the following words.

1. Love the enemy and friends equally.
2. Do not examine the faults of other. Examine those of your own.
3. Respect others and serve them.
4. Be straight and steady.
5. Control your self first.

Archaeology of Vikramaśīla Mahāvihāra

As Atiśa was the High Priest of Vikramaśīla Mahāvihāra and it was the main centre of his activities, it is necessary to know the location and present position of the Mahāvihāra .

Vikramaśīla Mahāvihāra is said to have been founded by King Dharampāla¹⁴ as per the writings of the Tibetan historian Taranath. This is further confirmed by the fact that King Dharampāla also bore the epithet of Vikramaśīla Deva¹⁵. The location of the Vikramaśīla Mahāvihāra has been long debated. As a matter of fact, there are several places in the district of Patna and Bhagalpur which have laid their claims for being recognized as the legitimate site of the Vikramaśīla Mahāvihāra. The mound in the village Antichak in Bhagalpur district located by Buchanan was believed to be the site of Vikramaśīla Mahāvihāra by Oldham. He was quite close to the truth but his suggestion was ignored by scholars. After having properly weighed all the relevant facts gleaned from literature and strengthened by the materials obtained by way of explorations and excavations, the village Antichak in the district of Bhagalpur situated at a distance of 13 kms

north east of Kahalgaon Railway Station on the Eastern Railway is considered as representing the site of the once renowned Buddhist monastic establishment famous by the name of Vikramaśīla Mahāvihāra. B.P. Sinha in 1959-60 after examining the relevant literature and visiting the suggested sites finally concluded that the large mound at Antichak is the possible site of Vikramaśīla Mahāvihāra¹⁶.

A team from the Patna University excavated the monastic site at Antichak from the year 1960 to 1969 and thereafter the site was excavated from 1972 to 1981 by the Archaeological Survey of India. Nine successive seasons of excavation work by the Patna University exposed a large brick built *chaitya* or stūpa decorated with terracotta plaques on the walls of the two tier roofed circumambulatory path.¹⁷ On the four corners of the *chaitya* were installed large terracotta images of the Buddha unknown for their size so far in Indian Archaeology.

The architecture of the stūpa very much resembles in plan the Somapura Mahāvihāra now in Bangladesh, founded also by King Dharmapāla. Further excavations by the Archaeological Survey of India have completely exposed the Mahāvihāra. It brought to light the largest excavated monastery complex in India¹⁸. The entire monastic complex is 330 meters square and consists of a series of monastic cells numbering approximately 208. The monastic cells open into a common veranda supported against the inner wall. There are also large circular rectangular projections of the cells with bed platforms. Probably they were meant for visitors coming to the Mahāvihāra at night when the monastery was closed. An interesting feature is the basement cells under some monastic cells. They could be for meditation or they could have been meant for punishment for breach of discipline.

On the basis of the descriptions given by pilgrims and the information received from archaeological discoveries, it appears that Vikramaśīla Mahāvihāra was a vast and elaborate complex consisting of magnificent buildings. It provided space for a large number of people at the height of its prosperity.

The area where remains of the monastery have been found is actually a single cultural site and the archaeological material discovered from there belong to the period generally ascribed to the Vikramaśīla Mahāvihāra. But in spite of the results of excavation we have not come across any seal or sealing bearing the word Vikramaśīla Mahāvihāra. A more convincing piece of evidence which proves the village Antichak as being the site of the flourishing Buddhist monastery of Vikramaśīla is the very lengthy inscription inscribed on all the four

sides of a stone stūpa base at Antichak. The inscription bears the word 'Vikrama' but since the inscription is damaged beyond this portion, it is not known if it is 'śīla' or there was any other comparable ending.

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The Depiction of a Atiśa in Tibetan Art

Andrea Loseries

The Buddhist Art of Tibet depicts not only Buddhas, deities and andalas, but also the great masters of the Buddhadharma, such as Śrāvakas and Arhats, Mahāsiddhas and Paṇḍitas as well as the founders and lineage holders of the four great schools in Tibet. They can be portrayed in form of a sculpture or as the central image of a painting; in the latter case often scenes of the master's life or his pure visions are surrounding the main figure. Great lineage masters are usually appearing on paintings representing specific deities of Tantric cycles, thus identifying them as part of a particular transmission line. The inclusion of lineage masters may also help in dating certain paintings, particularly if the small icons appearing in the upper borders of the paintings are named, however difficult it may be to decipher the often corrupted (gold) letters.

There is no wonder that Atiśa also appears many times in Tibetan, Mongolian and even Chinese arts. Conventionally, i.e. in later paintings of mainly the Gelugpa Order, Atiśa is portrayed as a simple monk with the red pointed hat of an Indian Paṇḍita (Plate 1)

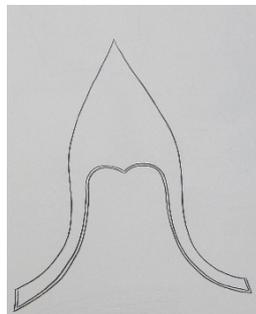


Plate 1 : A Paṇḍita Hat

Seated in the Vajra posture, he holds the hands in the mudrā of Turning the Wheel of the Dharma (*dharmacakrapravartana*). At his side on a small table is placed a small stūpa which contains the ashes of Atiśa's master in Suvarṇadvīpa. On the other side is an evaporation cooler made of calabash containing drinking water which defines him as an Indian Ācārya, as Tibetan masters drink tea. (Plate 2 and 3). The Master is often depicted in the company of Dromton and Ngog Lochung, his two foremost disciples.



Plate 2

This thanka (Tibet, 1800-1899) shows Atiśa in the centre. At the top centre is Śākyamuni Buddha. On the left side is the Bodhisattva Maitreya, orange in colour. On the right side is the great Yogācāra scholar Asaṅga. At the middle left is Drom-ton-pa wearing a white upper garment. On the right side is Putoba Rinchen Sal. At the lower left is Chen nga Tsultrim Bar. On the right side is Puchungba Shonnu Gyaltzen¹.



Plate 3

Probably one of the earliest depictions of Atiśa is this 12th century thanka (Plate 4) representing the Master as a solitary Lama in the centre of the painting, his head slightly turned, revealing his mild and gentle character.

This early portrait differs from the usual later ones in which the Master has an Indian style red abbot's hat, and has a stūpa and the calabash behind him. That it may be Atiśa is indicated by the fact that the donor is an ordained lay person (long hair and in robes) who is holding up an offering lamp (Plate 5). The principle disciple of Atiśa, Drom-ton-pa, was an ordained layman (*upāsaka*), who it is said, lit an offering lamp when he first met Atiśa in 1042 and kept burning it continuously for the next twelve years, until Atiśa's death in 1054. Atiśa is wearing the stiff orange Tibetan sitting cloak (*da gam*) in which the Master sits in meditative pose. Below we find Avalokiteśvara, the two Tārās and Acala.

Most brilliant in this painting is the white halo silhouetting the head and the white moon disc which makes the figure appear to float. The delicate flowers floating in the sky, the golden ducks and the usual single lotus seat, the border, the jewel, all add light. On top there is Śākyamuni, the Medicine Buddha, the Five Transcendent Buddhas (from the left Ratnasambhava) and the four-armed Prajñāpāramitā. (collection of Mr. & Mrs. John Gilmore Ford)².

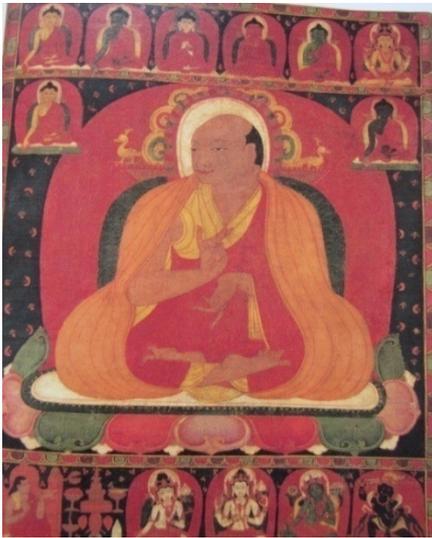


Plate 4



Plate 5

As a fervent practitioner and promoter of the Tārā cult in Tibet which became most popular in all regions of the snow land and beyond, it does not surprise that Tibetan artists included Atiśa, more of which will be given during the presentation of this paper.

Tradition says that Atiśa introduced in Tibet the ritual veneration of Buddha Śākyamuni and the 16 Arhats. He composed a ritual permission for practice, which he later transmitted, and with a special meditation and prayer one may receive the blessings of the Buddha and his companions as did Atiśa, whom the Arhats visited miraculously many times.

In the famous Drolma Lhakhang built by Atiśa in Central Tibet near Lhasa, the small temple hall still preserves life size sculptures of the 16 Arhats, the art of which is held in the West Tibetan style similar to Alchi.

At the top of this Mongolian scroll painting (19th century) depicting Śākyamuni and the Six Arhats (Plate 6), resting on a lotus seat with a moon disc, in the gesture of proclaiming the Buddhist teachings are three groups of three figures, each an important deity or personality of the Gelugpa.

On the left side is Atiśa in the company of Dromton (left) and Ngog Lochung, his two foremost disciples. To the right we find Tsongkhapa with Gyaltsabje (left) and Khedrubje. Both triads are centered by another group of three, the future Buddha Maitreya flanked by Mañjuśrīgarbha and Ākāśavimala. Choosing these groups of three was not haphazard. Atiśa was reborn in the Buddhafield of Maitreya as Ākāśavimala; as was Tsongkhapa who became Mañjuśrīgarbha. (Plates 7-9)³.



Plate 6



Plate 7

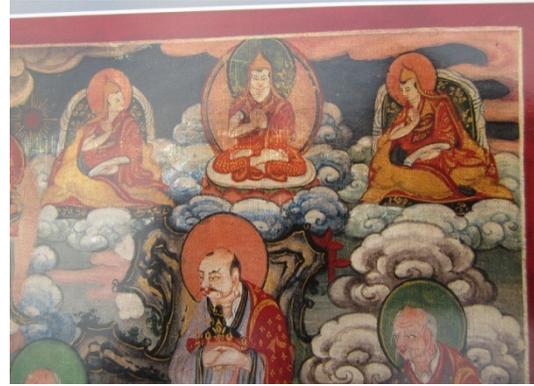


Plate 8

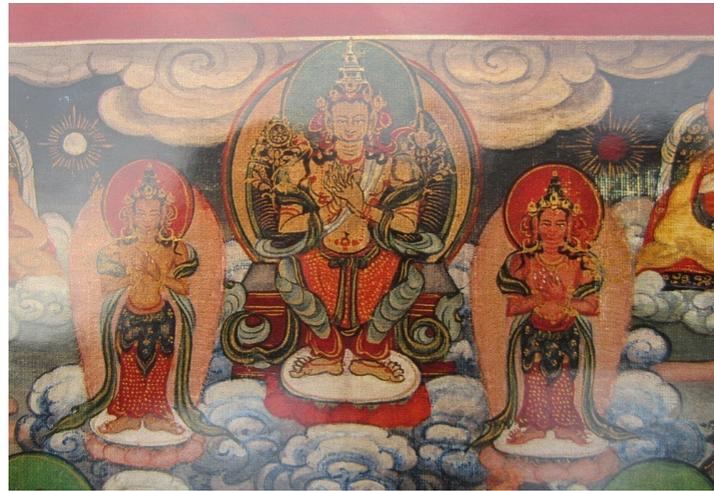


Plate 9

Furthermore, in some paintings Atiśa is also portrayed as one of the Mahāsiddhas. In a painting out of a set of three representing twenty nine of the eighty four Mahāsiddhas (Tibet, 1700 û 1799, 28 x 18 in, Collection of Rubin Museum of Art) Atiśa is depicted as the large central figure dressed as a monk with an orange hat (Plate 10). The others are⁴.

Vagīśvara: riding on a rainbow in the sky; sGra mkhan zhabs: in Siddha appearance with the right hand raised and with consort; Ravigupta: a praying monk with an orange hat and White Tārā above, Sengepa: a dark yogi holding up a skull bowl; Śāntipa: a monk seated in meditation, Siyali: naked, dark skinned and eating a human forearm and others; Caryāpa: seated, light skinned and embracing a consort; Candrakīrti: a seated monk with a hat and an orange Mañjuśrī above; Candrabhadra: seated in meditation above a mat of green leaves; Avadhūtipa: wearing a green cloak and gazing on a goddess with White Tārā above; Kāmala: a seated monk with an orange hat, holding a vase, and feeding

birds; Khantali: a light skinned man carrying an old dark woman on his back; Ananta: a seated Brahmin with white hair and beard and with a consort; Sarakapa: seated, wearing a white garment with the right hand raised; Śāntipa: a monk with a yellow hat and black begging bowl with Vajrayoginī in front; Sengapa (?): holding a water vase and peacock feather with Avalokiteśvara above; Kumāra: the boot maker, holding a white boot; Tagapa: seated, working a loom with an attendant; Jalandhara: in a dancing posture with the left arm raised with Vajravārāhī above; Ānandagarbha: a seated monk holding a pen and book flanked by White Tārā; sMad dkris pa: dark, dancing with a human skin with white Acala above; Śākya Shenyen: a seated monk with an orange hat holding a pen and book; Karṇapa: seated in sexual embrace and squeezing the breast of the consort; Caṇḍali: dark skinned, naked, in sexual embrace with a consort; Kontali: light skinned, semi-naked, holding a skull cup with attendant; Bhinnāsā: standing and playing a stringed-instrument with Cakrasamvara above; Hilapa: a seated monk; Dasiripa: flying in the sky, arms outstretched, with a consort⁵.



Plate 10

In this rare painting of Chinese origin, Ming Dynasty, ca. 16th/17th century, we find a red aspect of Mañjuḥoṣa, the Lion of Debaters, riding on a dark green lion in his heavenly fields, the five peaked Wutai Shan. Floating on clouds in the upper part of the thanka are depicted on the left Tsongkhapa, considered to be an emanation of Mañjuśrī, and Atiśa. (Plate 11)⁶

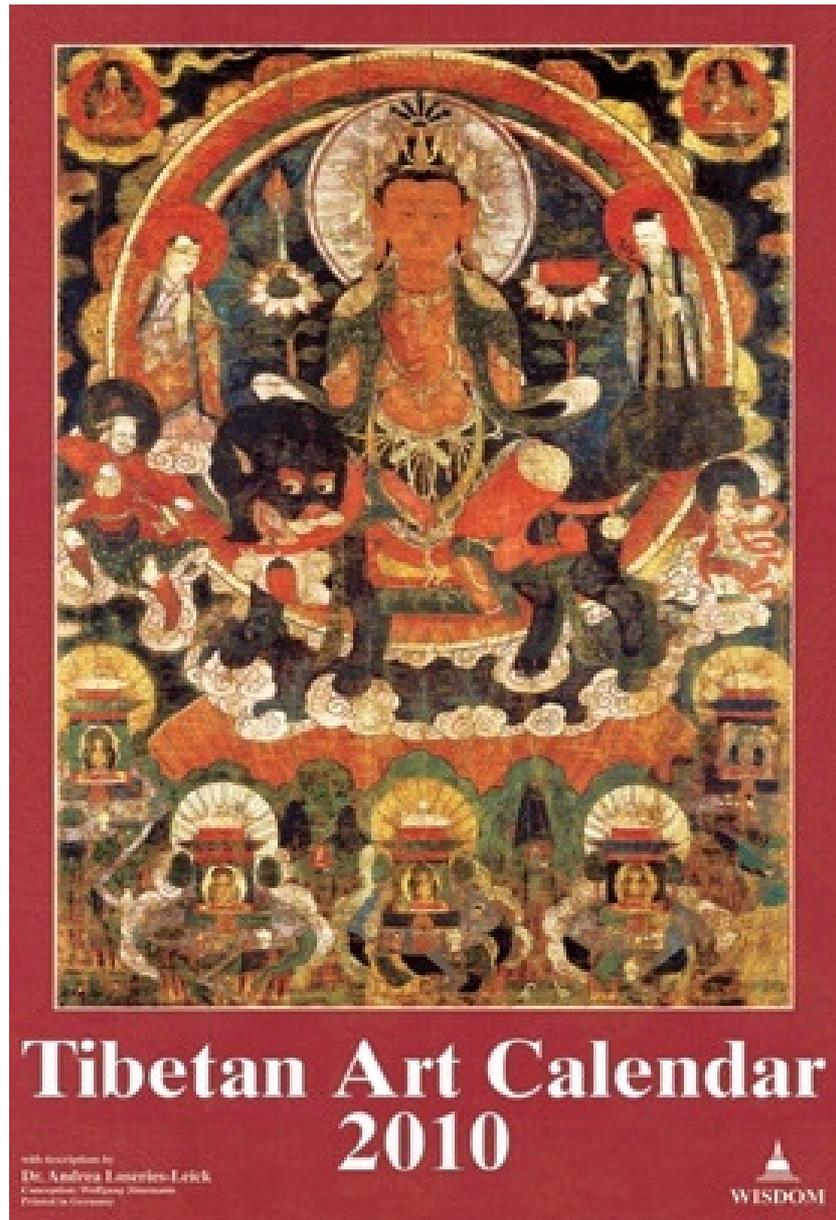


Plate 11

In this exquisite *gSer than* painting, gold on black background, depicting a wrathful manifestation of Kubera , the god of wealth and protector of the northern direction, we find Atiśa in the upper left corner (Plates 12 and 13)⁷



Plate 12



Plate 13

Without taking into consideration the numerous temple murals, this is just an overview on thanka depictions of Atiśa from Tibet, Mongolia and China, starting with probably one of his earliest portraits (12th century) from Central Tibet (Mr. & Mrs. John Gilmore Ford Collection), thus highlighting the depth and multiplicity of the Indian Ācārya's assimilation in Tibet and neighbouring cultures as a master, role model, Arhat, Bodhisattva and Mahāsiddha. This multifaceted cultural memory of a historical personage, so essential for moulding the 'old' (*nying ma*) Tantric tradition inherited from Padmasambhava with a 'new' (*gsar rgyud*) transmission more focused on the veneration of Buddha Śākyamuni and the Arhats, and - most of all - highlighting the benedict powers of Tārā, the Mother of all Buddhas, made Śrī Dīpaṅkarajñāna Atiśa align with Buddha Śākyamuni and the Second Buddha Padmasambhava as an Arhat and Mahāsiddha, as these depictions have shown, and thus living on in the mind stream of countless people with faith in the Sacred Dharma since a thousand years.

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Atiśa : Voice of the Ashes

Elizabeth D. Inandiak

*The time will soon come when even one's name
Will not be remembered in anyone's mind.
Even the smallest trace of the
Ashes of one's bones will not remain.*

(Atiśa Śrī Dīpaṅkarajñāna: *Summary of the Means for Accomplishing
the Mahāyāna Path*, Skt. *Mahāyāna-patha-sādhana-varṇa-saṅgraha*)

I'm not an academician in the field of Buddhism or history. I'm just a poet who happens to have a fortunate connection with Atiśa. I have conducted my research not in a systematic but in an intuitive way, following the many 'gifts' that have been offered to me on the path. My talk is a narrative and poetical account of the quest I have been on for many years, guided by the *voice of the ashes*.

All experts agree today that Atiśa went to Suvārṇadvīpa- the Golden Island, acknowledged to be Sumatra in Indonesia to receive the transmission of Bodhicitta from his beloved master Dharmakīrti/Serlingpa, but very little is known about the exact location. The stones on the numerous archeological sites in Sumatra remain silent. One thousand years later, may Atiśa's relics shed light on the most opaque period of his life: the twelve bright years with Serlingpa in Suvarṇadvīpa.

In 1994, I went to Zanskar, a mountainous region in the Indian Himalayas. Perched at an altitude between 4000 and 6500 meters, Zanskar is a rocky desert. The inhabitants are very few, because no land can be cultivated. In 1994, Padum, the administrative capital of Zanskar, had only nine hundred inhabitants. There is no road. The only way to travel is on foot. Despite the large rivers and the abundance of water, there is no grass, no trees. The air is full of rocky dust.

After ten days of an exhausting walk, I rested at a nunnery in the village of Karsha, at an altitude of 4200 meters. I spent the night in the cell of the nun Lobsang Dolma. It felt like sleeping in the womb of the earth. I was wrapped in the white light of the eternal snow, in an inner peace, an extraordinary bliss. And then I heard a voice: *All is here. Nothing is missing. It's like in Java.*

Back in Yogyakarta, an ancient Javanese city where I live since the year 1990, the voice kept haunting me. Java is an overpopulated island, all green, luxuriant and very fertile, the exact opposite of Zanskar, with its small population and its barren mountains. Yet, a friend, Paul Stange, an expert in Javanese mysticism, told me that there was indeed a link between Indonesia and Zanskar: Atiśa. I had never heard of this name before. According to my friend, Atiśa was a great Buddhist master from India who went to Sumatra during the 11th century to perfect his knowledge. Later on, he was invited to Tibet where he spread his 'Indonesian' master's teachings.

Back to France, in the Tibetan Library located at the College of France I found a biography of Atiśa translated from Tibetan into German: *Rnam thar rgyas pa* which might have been written in 1355 based on more ancient written and oral (songs) accounts. This biography tells how Atiśa was born in the Land of Sahor (today near Dhaka, Bangladesh) in 980 as the son of King Kalyāṇa, and was named Prince Chandragarbha. In his teenage years, Atiśa left his kingdom and wandered through forests and mountains seeking knowledge from masters living in the wild or in the monastic universities of Nālandā and Odantapurī. At the age of twenty-nine, he received the Buddhist ordination and was given the name Dīpaṅkarajñāna, 'He Whose Deep Awareness Acts as a Lamp'.

Song 132 of Atiśa's Tibetan biography says that Atiśa's most important master was Serlingpa, also known as Dharmakīrti, whose fame was widespread. Atiśa had already heard about Serlingpa's teachings on compassion and Bodhicitta and he was sure that Serlingpa had been his most precious teacher for infinite lives. With a group of merchants, Atiśa put to sea: *The boat crossed the Ocean of Shells and the Milk Sea. The waves were as high as some mountains in the Himalayas.*

One year later, I went to Dharamshala, India. At the Library of the Tibetan Works and Archives, upon my request, Lobsang Shastri translated the manuscript titled *Jo bo rjes nnyam med gser gling pa chos kyi grags pa dang njal ba'i rnam thar, An account of a meeting with Master Serlingpa Chokyi Dakpa:*

Then I (Atiśa) saw the bhikṣus coming from a far off distance in procession following their master. They were well dressed in their three robes. Each

one was holding a water container and a staff. There were five hundred and thirty-five in number and looked as gracious as arhats. The master was attended by sixty-two śramaṇeras. In all there were a total of five hundred and seventy-two monks. As soon as I saw this, I felt as if I was seeing Buddha surrounded by arhats. What a pleasant scene it was!

Was this the center of Buddhist knowledge where Atiśa studied for twelve years, the same place as the one described by the Chinese Pilgrim Yi-tsing in the 7th Century? In 1918, the French epigraphist George Coedes identified *Fo-Che* or *San-fo-ts'i* (as Yi-tsing named it) as the Kingdom of Śrīvijaya centered in Palembang, Sumatra. In the 1980s, archeological excavations confirmed that the river port of Palembang was indeed the political and military capital of this powerful kingdom facing the Malacca Strait, on the confluence of maritime trade between India, China, and the Middle East. Despite the discovery of a colossal statue of Buddha on a hill in Palembang, there was however no evidence probative of a great center of Buddhist learning which Yi-tsing compared to Nālanda.

In 1025, entrusted with the precious teachings of Serlingpa, Atiśa sailed back to India, just before the Chola Kingdom from South India attacked Śrīvijaya. He settled at Vikramaśīla Monastery. In 1041, the King of West Tibet, Yeshe-'od, invited him to reinstate all aspects of Buddha's teachings- Theravāda, Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna - as complementary. Yeshe-'od's kingdom extended until Karsha, the site of today's nunnery where I heard 'the voice'. Atiśa stayed for thirteen years in Tibet and died in Tibet in 1054. His ashes were kept in a stūpa by his Tibetan disciples.

Bhante Pannyavaro, head of the Mendut Monastery, near Borobudur (Central Java) has been guiding me for many years to follow in Atiśa's footsteps. He once offered me a book: *Atiśa and Buddhism in Tibet* published by the Tibet House in New Delhi in 1983, just at the time the restoration of Borobudur in Java was completed by UNESCO and the Indonesian government. One teaching in this book, *A Guide to the Two Truths*, written by Atiśa at the request of Guru-Phala, a small Buddhist King in Central Java, says the book, probably at the town Pal-yon-chen, described by Tibetan geographers as *down-stream from the Great Java Stūpa, where two rivers form an island before dropping to the ocean* was King Guru Phala's residence at Elo-Progo confluence, just across Mendut Monastery.



Bhante Pannyavaro from Chandi Mendut, Java.

Bhante Pannyavaro also told me that in 1981 he received a pinch of Atiśa's ashes from Venerable Visuddhananda, Head, Buddha Dhammarajika monastery in Dhaka, Bangladesh. In October 1997, with a letter from Bhante Pannyavaro, I set off for Bangladesh. When I arrived in Dhaka, Venerable Visuddhananda had passed away. He had been replaced by Venerable Buddhanda Suddhananda who welcomed me with the following account:

Atiśa's ashes were kept for centuries in a stupa in Tibet until 1959 or so, when China invaded Tibet. Thanks to Prime Minister Chou-en-lai, one of the few monasteries that were spared was Atiśa's Nyetang monastery. Atiśa's ashes were brought to Beijing and displayed at the National Museum. In 1963, during the Vietnam War, Chou-en-lai invited a few Buddhist monks from several Asian countries for a peace round table. Venerable Visuddhananda saw Atiśa's relics at

the museum and requested the Prime Minister to return the precious ashes to Atiśa's birth place: Bangladesh. Chou-en-lai gave his approval. In 1978, the government of China officially returned half of Atiśa's relics to the government of Bangladesh.

Atiśa's ashes are now kept at Buddha Dhammarajika monastery in Dhaka. The next morning, before my visit to Atiśa's birthplace at Vajra yogini, about one hour's drive from Dhaka, Venerable Suddhananda invited me for breakfast at the monastery and, out of the blue, offered me a black film box containing Atiśa's ashes. On a monastery writing paper he wrote: *Holy ashes of great Buddhist scholar Atisa Dipankara is gifted to Ms. Elisabeth D., writer from Indonesia, for worship and adoration*, which he dated and signed.

April 30, 2000. At the request of the Tibetan government in Dharamshala, I presented Atiśa's ashes to His Holiness the Dalai Lama on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of his arrival in exile, in McLeodganj, India. I kept just a pinch of Atiśa's ashes as a memento.

The day before setting off to Palembang, in Sumatra, to continue my journey in Atiśa's footsteps, I found by chance an auspicious article at the library of the French Embassy in Jakarta: *The Paradoxical and Nostalgic History of Gending Sriwijaya in South Sumatra* by Margaret J. Kartomi. It recalled how that song was created in Palembang during the Japanese occupation in 1945, and set to music inspired by the *kromongan* orchestra from the ancient Hindu-Buddhist palaces of South Sumatra but based on the Javanese Demak style from the 17th century. The song was created by a group of writers led by a journalist, Nung Cik A.R., member of the Partai Nasional Indonesia, and by M. J Suud, member of the Muslim Party Serikat Islam. After the war, Gending Sriwijaya became a very popular song in Indonesia. In 1962, Nung Cik A. R. joined the Indonesian Communist Party. This is why, after General Suharto took power in 1965, it was forbidden to perform *Gending Sriwijaya* on official occasions. Here are the lyrics:

When I long for the glory of the past/ I sing a tune again, the song of Sriwijaya/ I long for the glory of the past/ I sing a tune again, the song of Sriwijaya/ In art I enjoy again that happy era/ I recreate from the womb of that great time/ Sriwijaya with the great hermitages of the glorious masters/ Dharmapala, Shakyakirti, Dharmakirti...

From where did the writers of this song hear the name of Dharmakirti? Until now, archaeologists working in Palembang have not found any epigraphs mentioning the name of Atiśa's dearest teacher.

In July 2000, I went to Tibet via Nepal. In Kathmandu, the Tibetologist Hubert Decler guided me to Tham Bahil, the monastery built by Atiśa on his way to Tibet to train monks in the skill of translation.

As a Dharma friend, Hubert entrusted me with many of his published and non-published researches about Atiśa in Nepal. I express here my deepest gratitude to him. In Tibet, I stayed five days in Drak Yerpa, a stiff mountain full of meditation caves where Atiśa spent three years and built a chapel and a library. South of Lhasa, I was fortunate to be led by the Lama of Nyetang monastery into the house where Atiśa used to study in his later years, and where he passed away in 1054. When I stood before Atiśa's white empty stūpa in this house, I dissolved into an ocean of tears.

The years passed. In July 2009, Venerable Tashi la, a Tibetan monk in charge of Tantric ceremonies for His Holiness the Dalai Lama, visited me in Yogyakarta. He wanted to see Atiśa's ashes. He was on his way to Sumatra to try to find the site where Atiśa met Serlingpa, one thousand years ago. Venerable Tashi la visited Muara Takus in Sumatra, but he didn't make it to Muara Jambi. When I met him again in India a few months later, he advised me to go to Muara Jambi.



Venerable Tashi la, a Tibetan monk in charge of Tantric ceremonies for His Holiness the Dalai Lama, looking at the ashes of Atiśa.



Ruins of a monastery at Muara Jambi, Sumatra, Indonesia.

Muara Jambi is located 200 km north of Palembang, about 30 miles from the mouth of Batanghari, the longest river in Sumatra. Reported since the 18th century by Dutch officials of the East India Company (VOC), this extraordinary site, which spreads over more than two thousand hectares with eighty-four red bricks 'temple complexes' locally called *menapo* - connected by an ingenious network of canals in the heart of a lush forest, had remained dormant in the hot haze of the Equator for more than half a millennium.

I never thought of Muara Jambi as a possible location for Atiśa's meeting with Serlingpa, because Muara Jambi is located in Malayu or *Mo-lo-yeu*, the ancient Chinese name already mentioned by I-tsing as another Buddhist kingdom in Sumatra. Besides, I had a 'romantic' view of Serlingpa/Dharmakīrti living as a Buddhist recluse in a cave or in the jungle like the holy Jetari from whom Atiśa took the bodhisattva vows, or his tantric master Rahulagupta, on the Black Mountain. I never thought of Serlingpa/Dharmakīrti as an abbot of a big monastery or as a master whose vast and sharp knowledge was supported by a powerful institution.

In November 2010, a few days after the big eruption of Merapi volcano, with Bhante Pannyavaro's blessing who fled the rain of ashes with all the monks from Mendut and took refuge in a Buddhist monastery on the north coast of Java. I was invited by the Jambi Province in Sumatra to talk about Atiśa's relics in a

seminar about Muara Jambi as a tentative candidate for UNESCO World Heritage.

During the two days seminar, several scholars exposed how excavations undertaken since the 1970s by the Indonesian government had already exhumed eight of the eighty-four *menapo* and several statues, many Chinese pottery and ceramics from the 9th century, but very few epigraphs, so that archaeologists still do not dare to speak openly of a university.

Yet they admit that these complexes were not temples but study centers with two to six podiums each, once sheltered from sun and rain by a tiled roof supported by wooden pillars. The student monks would be sitting cross-legged around the podium on the brick pavement. There are still many questions left unanswered: what was the function of the building in the center of each complex: stūpa, chapel, library, crematory? What science and knowledge were provided? And why had Muara Jambi sunk into oblivion after the 13th century?



A broken statue of Prajñāpāramitā from Muara Jambi, Indonesia.

Some scholars mention the attack by the Hindu kingdom of the Cholas in southern India who wanted to take control of the lucrative and strategic Straits of Malacca. But this assault, which would put an end to the power of Śrīvijaya, occurred in 1025. However, one of the most beautiful statues discovered in Muara Jambi is a Prajñāpāramitā dated from the 13th or 14th century. Other scholars suggest that the *Mo-lo-yeu* Kingdom recorded by I-tsing and where Muara Jambi is located was a vassal, a competitor or 'a matrix' of Śrīvijaya, and as such was saved from the Cholas attack and boomed after the fall of Śrīvijaya. Unlike the large Indian monasteries of Bihar which have been ruined by Turkish and Afghan raids, Sumatra and the entire Indonesian archipelago have not experienced Muslim invasions. The sack of Muara Jambi- if it ever happened- cannot be attributed to Islam which is the dominant religion in the region today.

One of the most brilliant speeches of the seminar was by Prof. Dr. Mundardjito, a senior archeologist from Universitas Indonesia, Jakarta. He stressed that the construction of Muara Jambi, which lasted over several centuries, must have required multidisciplinary knowledge to adapt to the complex geography of the site: rain forest, swamps, river with monsoon floods.

Therefore, today, to unfold what Dr. Mundardjito regards as the 'identity card of Indonesia' (Muara Jambi), a multidisciplinary approach is required: archeologists, historians, epigraphists, environmentalists, architects, spiritual masters and also village communities living on the site with their local wisdom.

Today, on the site of Muara Jambi stands a village (Muara Jambi) whose inhabitants are all Muslims. Their homes are made of wood and built on stilts along the Batanghari river, and their orchards planted with cacao and durian trees extend to the ruins of the temples. Several young villagers occasionally work on excavations under the supervision of archaeologists. Two of them, Ahok and Borjoe, have become devoted community leaders.

They know how to give voice to each stone, each mound of red earth, each tree in the forest where their parents have small huts, to watch the fall of the durians at night. They can point out several endemic tree species from the Indian subcontinent that grow nowhere else in Sumatra, except in the forest of Muara Jambi; for instance, the *kapung* tree or *Kenbang Parang* (*Meto Zambaka* in Tibetan?) whose white film inside the bark is used in India and Tibet for tantric initiations. Ahok and Borjoe have no doubt: this is where Atiśa came to study with his master Serlingpa.



The Silver Hill.

One of their favorite sites is the man-made hill which stands at the west end of the temple complex whose main entrance was on the very east end. This red-earth hill is registered by archeologists as *Bukit Sengalo* (the 'Hill of Ants' in local language) but the villagers call it by its ancient name: *Bukit Perak*, 'the Silver Hill'. In the 1960s, before the oil palm plantations took over the rain forest, herds of elephants would come at nightfall to the foot of the hill and march around like a dance.

On the eve of a wedding, villagers would climb to the top which is carved in a form of a crater and would make offerings to ask for plates and silverware. The next day at dawn, plates and silverware would be at their disposition in the crater. The villagers would use them and return them to the hill after the wedding. But soon, some people, out of greed, kept the plates and silverware for themselves. The hill then stopped its magnanimity. But from where does this legendary silver come from?

In his *Account of a meeting with Master Serlingpa Atiśa* writes: *Then we went to Lama's residence, the Silver Parasol Palace, and took our seats.*

... After we had settled there, the Lama in order to introduce to me the characteristics of 'dependent origination' began his teachings from the Abhisamayālaṅkāra in five sessions. Staying in the Silver Parasol Palace, I continued with my practices of listening, concentration and meditation. Lama Serlingpa guided me throughout this process of practice.

The 20 meters high Silver Hill has indeed the shape of a parasol or a 'reversed stūpa' and dominates the vast alluvial plain where the ancient Buddhist sanctuary unfolds its numerous *menapo*. No brick structure has been found on the hill. But Serlingpa's residence might have been built in wood like all the residential quarters of the monks and the houses of the villagers. The Silver Hill has not yet delivered its secret.

Never mind. Ahok and Borjoe feel imbued by the high knowledge which prevailed here one thousand years ago. They collect history books, share their questions and discoveries with Agus Widatmoko, the head of the local archeology office, and with generous visitors, like a group of young Indonesian engineers from Jakarta who share their research about Muara Jambi and Atiśa on their blog: www.sudmuja.com.

Ahok and Borjoe organize every Sunday a green and free school in the ruins of the *menapo* for the children of their village. They are convinced that the 84 temple complexes were in fact faculties and that Muara Jambi was the first green university for Mahāyāna Buddhism in Indonesia. At the crossroads of India and China, its campus encompassed by the rain forest which was used as an orchard, a library, a living pharmacy and a haven for meditation. 'We understand that the essence of Buddhism is to put others before one-self', says Ahok.

They are also struggling to preserve Muara Jambi as a center of universal knowledge against coal mines, plywood companies, palm oil and rubber plantations which have begun to encircle Muara Jambi, threatening especially the temples located on the south shore of the Batanghari. Their struggle has been supported by a petition launched by prominent Indonesian intellectuals, archaeologists, artists and activists in March 2012 and addressed to the President of Indonesia.

In May 2012, I returned to Muara Jambi with Venerable Tashi la. One afternoon, we went by car to see the mouth of the Batanghari river, Muara Sabak, which is actually just a pier.

The ocean is still far away, at least two hours by boat, but the land stops here, where the river divides into two branches. The two arms encircle an island which looks towards the Malacca Straits, guarding the river's entrance. Today, this fluvial island hosts a national park with lots of crocodiles and mangroves. Just as in Atiśa's account:

Homage to Maitreya and Avalokiteśvara! As soon as we crossed the ocean, I (Atiśa) went straightaway to the golden stūpa the Tibetan emperor had built once upon a time. It was there that the six disciples of Lama Serlingpa were engaged in samādhi. This stūpa was located to the east of the forest of Svarṇadvīpa, to the south of the joyful lotuses, to the north of the dangerous mires, and to the east of the Crocodile Kekeru. I stayed there for fourteen days, making inquiries about the life of Lama Serlingpa.

Venerable Tashi la walked down the wooden pontoon plunging into the river. He stood there, still, at the water edge, as if he would have just landed, contemplating the memory of an ancient fearless journey on sea:

I bhikṣu Śrīdīpaṅkarajñāna travelled by ship for thirteen months and went to where Lama Serlingpa was. After five months had passed, the Son of God Indra sent great storms to stop me from continuing my mission of Bodhicitta. Also, he appeared in the form of giant crocodiles to stop me and sent lightnings. At that time I did an intensive meditation on Love and Compassion. As a result the storm calmed down and six huge lightnings were seen stuck up in the sky unable to fall down.

The next day at lunch, sitting on the wooden floor of one of the village stilt houses, Hahok and Borjoe asked the Tibetan monk why he came to Muara Jambi. Venerable Tashi la replied: 'Since my childhood, I studied Atiśa's life and teachings. I dreamed of Svarṇadvīpa, the golden island, which I thought was an imaginary island. And here I am. It was not a dream'.



Ruins at Muara Jambi, Sumatra, Indonesia.

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Atiśa's Ritual Methods for Making Buddhist Art Holy

Dan Martin

Some may be surprised to find the subject of consecration featured in a volume honouring Śrī Dīpaṅkarajñāna or Atiśa as we will go on to call him¹. This reaction would depend on how we imagine him spending his days. One may think he was constantly absorbed in solitary contemplation, pondering deep philosophical questions, or dispensing words of wisdom to his followers. Of course he did do all those things and more. Yet I think I can say with confidence that one of the things he did was performing consecration rituals, both long and short, and on a regular basis. During his stay in Tibet in particular, it was precisely on account of his high stature as an Indian Buddhist leader that consecrations were requested of him.

Let me give just two recorded examples. The first is in a fascinating book that I came to know about only recently. It may be the earliest significant example of an 'explanatory text' about consecration. It is by a Tibetan author of the Kagyu School, well-known but not among the *most* famous. He signs his name as Sgom-rin. This Sgom-rin, born in 1202, included a curious collection of stories about consecration events. Here is one that involves Atiśa, called by his Tibetan epithet Jowo Je:

'On one of his journeys Jowo Je was asked to consecrate a metal-cast image of Tārā. He placed it upon the palm of his hand and said, 'Ma-ta-ra-ma, I request that you come into this.' Repeating the words three times he then said to the owner of the image, 'Now,

offer good offerings to it.' Of all the icons in the northern parts of U-ru, this one is the greater in its blessings².'

I will give one more example in the hope this will suffice to convince skeptical readers that consecration was one of his occupations. It is from Alaka Chattopadhyaya's classic 1967 book on Atiśa, where it simply states, 'He was invited there to perform the *pratiṣṭhāna* ceremony in the newly built temple of Gra-phyi in the market place³.' Notice, too, on the pages that follow in the same book, instances of Atiśa making a number of places holy after they were blessed by his mere presence. So, in these examples we get a feeling that consecrations can be effected by anything from the mere physical presence of a ritual master, or a few moments of saying a couple of words or *mantras*, or what is likely in the case of the temple, a much more elaborate full-length ritual lasting from one to seven days. In Atiśa's consecration text itself, he describes rituals of three different lengths- long, short, and extremely short, and this accords very nicely with the examples just given.

How are we to define consecration, especially if, as is often the case in such matters, the words used in the definition are themselves very difficult, perhaps even impossible, to define? It may seem presumptuous to go on to write about something I do not know Well, that I do not know in the sense of being able to make a clear definition, one likely to satisfy a critical audience. In my defense, I would say that I am not alone in this, that in fact, nobody can really capture holiness in a definition any more than they can capture beauty, harmony or goodness, although we all know what those things are; we have experience of them, and have clear ideas about where they may be found. Their absence can be especially glaring in places we expect to find them. But as soon as we try to define them, we just foist the problem on other words with definability issues of their own.

Since I do not have a definition of my own, I hope you will allow me to quote someone else's. This one comes from the Chicago school, and in its opening phrase reflects the view of Mircea Eliade, inspired by Rudolph Otto before him. According to this, the sacred is a particular structure of human consciousness that

corresponds to a palpable presence, energy or power encountered in the environment⁴.

For now, I will not argue with the Lévi-Straussian structuralist guise that Eliade used to gain Religious Studies entry into the secular academy. In some ways this definition has to be dissatisfying, given its use of the weasel words structure and presence that are somehow joined through a mysterious and unclarified idea of correspondence. The experiential or responsive aspect of it is concealed in the words 'palpable' and 'encountered'. We may just as well say that the sacred is something we experience when we come in contact with persons or objects we have traditionally regarded with veneration; that, when this happens we know it.

Our definition like the one from Chicago might seem to deemphasize the objective existence of holiness 'out there.' I leave that part of the question up to you, the reader, to decide. However, there can be no doubt that Atiśa does see the consecration (particularly its *mantras*) as having objective effectiveness even without the presence of a subjective witness. He says:

'The merit of a ritual correctly performed will arise
both in those who saw and those who did not see it done.
As for an image, it is by the perfect characteristics of the *mantra*
that blessings enter into the receptacle⁵.'

We have two common words in English pointing to the same phenomenon, the words 'holy' and 'sacred'. They have differences in terms of the contexts in which we use them. For example, we never speak of the 'holy and the profane,' but of the 'sacred and the profane.' We say 'holy man,' never 'sacred man.' Although the viability of the sacred-profane dichotomy has often been questioned, in a general way I believe we do need to think of the sacred as applying to those things made use of for religious cult (which is to say religious worship), while those things that are not so used are profane. Even this may not be all that clear in Atiśa's text, as we will see a little later. So really, I am not sure if this distinction - a distinction that probably owes more to Durkheim than to Eliade - is one we ought to be insisting upon from the very start.

Such oppositional categories like [1] sacred and profane, or [2] popular and official religion, or [3] natural and historical religions, while they might seem to

assist us in understanding temporarily, inevitably run into problems or even contradictions. More germane to our topic, I believe that the so-called 'Mosaic distinction' between religions that make much use of divine representations and those that do not, has been over-determined⁶. Even if we were to admit that it *is* significant, yet it does not have an over-riding significance. What I mean is, every religious culture has come to its own long-term or enduring conclusions about the manner or degree of divine representation. We have to see, to begin with, that the so-called Abrahamic faiths all look back to the temple cult of Jerusalem. The temple, particularly the Holy-of-Holies, was regarded as a dwelling for the divine presence with the divine footstool in the form of the Ark of the Covenant. The invisible throne was uplifted by two visible winged beings that may be described quite accurately with a Sanskrit word as the *vāhana* of the divinity. We have to see, too, that practically every aspect of ancient Middle Eastern temple cult, the offerings and rituals, were carried out in Jerusalem in (almost every respect) identical ways, as if they were done in the presence of a sculptural divine representation⁷. And, although I may not have time to go much into my ideas along those lines in this essay, I believe that the non-representation of divinity is analogous to the non-performance of consecration. What I mean is, degrees of representation and styles of consecration may be co-variables within the life of a given religious culture. Now a few words on consecration are in order.

When I use the word 'consecration' as my translation for the Sanskrit *pratiṣṭhā* (or the Tibetan words, particularly *rab-gnas*, used to translate that Sanskrit), I am conscious of following American English conventions, not the English of the English. In England they always speak of church and altar dedications. In English church usage, the word consecration is reserved for the rite of making a person into a bishop. If you are accustomed to the English-English uses of these terms, I would just ask you to forget them temporarily to avoid unnecessary confusion.

In the Tibetan contexts that are our main concern here, but in Indian Buddhist contexts as well, we must include temples among objects that require consecration. Yet, when in some parts and in some ways quite similar rituals are done on people rather than things, I will call it empowerment or initiation ù in

the Sanskrit *abhiṣeka*. The explanatory text by Sgom-rin we mentioned before states this distinction quite simply:

'What is done for divinities is consecration,
and what is done for persons is empowerment⁸.

Atiśa's text does include an empowerment sequence, toward the end, immediately before the enthronement offerings.

The same ritual of consecration is performed, with slight adjustments only, for three categories of Buddhist icons representing the Buddha's Body, Speech and Mind, as well as temples housing those same three categories of icons. The three icons are primarily images, written scriptures and the *chorten* or *stūpa* (but sometimes ritual implements are also included in the Mind category).

We must also distinguish the consecration proper, the *pratiṣṭhā*, from two rituals that I will call pre-consecration rituals. The first is the Earth Rite (*sa-chog*) that is itself made up of several sub-rituals. It includes checking the surrounding area for signs and doing a soil and water test. The second pre-consecration ritual I will call the Relic Deposition, although the Tibetan term means Dhāraṇī Insertion (*gzungs-gzhug*)⁹. These two pre-consecration rituals may lend themselves even more easily to cross-cultural comparisons than the consecration itself. The Earth Rite includes elements that resemble not only Indian Vāstu traditions, but also the practices of the Roman Auguri, for example. And Relic Deposition is a practice with close analogues in the ancient Middle East, among Hittites, Assyrians and Egyptians, and in Catholic altar consecration rites¹⁰.

No special apologies are needed for finding consecration a subject of interest in religious studies nowadays. It could be seen as part of a general trend to turn attention away from learned distinctions that mean little to the followers of the religion and instead look at things that do make a difference for the practices of believers. Ritual is one of those things, like prayer, that are likely to occupy the religious person's time. For although the consecrating of icons may be an activity involving mainly the religious elites, the ordinary believers will then go on to make those icons objects for offerings and other lay people's practices, like circumambulation, prostration and so on. Consecration in clear ways bridges the academic categories of official and popular religion. Or, another way to put it, it

serves various purposes for both sides, some of those purposes at least being held in common.

By far the most famous 'House of God' that was ever consecrated in the city I have made my home is the temple of King Solomon, built a little less than 3,000 years ago¹¹. It is not my intention to go into a huge study of Eurasian traditions of consecration, or even to do a serious comparison. I just want to point to one rather striking idea they have in common. When the temple was consecrated, King Solomon knelt on top of a specially built platform in the courtyard, lifted his hands to the sky, and made a very long speech that contained these especially memorable words (II Chronicles 6:18):

'But will God in very deed dwell with men on the earth?
Behold, heaven and the heaven of heavens cannot contain thee ;
How much less this house which I have built?'

Atiśa's text reads, in what is traditionally its most-quoted passage:

The consecration is both necessary and unnecessary. When examined ultimately [i.e. in ultimate truth], who blesses what how? From the beginning [it was there] without birth and cessation; how could it be established/consecrated? For those who possess the realization of all *dharmas* as clear light, consecrations of objects for worship are unnecessary. Neither is it for those who may not have realized emptiness, yet have realized that *stūpas*, scriptures, images and so forth arise from blessed emanations of the Buddhas, and do not arise otherwise. If they have strong faith, a consecration is not necessary. For the beginners, the untrained, in relative truth, in worldly labels, for beings who do not know the real essence, the Buddha taught consecration¹².

These kinds of statements on consecration's impossibility or non-necessity are hardly unique. In fact Atiśa's passage echoes a classic one from the *Pratiṣṭhā Tantra* quoted in practically every Tibetan work about consecration. What is especially interesting about Atiśa's formulation is the way he brings together the perspectives of the ritual master and the ritual consumer. For the master the

ritual elaboration is unnecessary if emptiness has been realized. For the faithful it is unnecessary if they are fully cognizant of the icon as divine manifestation.

Atiśa's text is not an explanatory treatise¹³. There is not very much there that could be described as doctrinal or theoretical. Like the great majority of texts on this subject, it is a ritual handbook, intended for the practical guidance of ritual officiants. Still, it has some interesting pointers for understanding the most general structures and purposes of the ritual. It is naturally possible to get confused about what is going on at a particular point in the ritual. So Atiśa's most general outline of the ritual is both simple and revealing and worthwhile to remember. He reduces all the complications down to three phases: expelling, igniting and spreading. He says:

'In the preparation rites, expelling the obstructions is key.
In the main part of the ritual igniting the blessings is key.
In the concluding rites the spreading of the Teaching is key¹⁴.'

Before looking into the more specific subject matter, it would be good to say a few words about Atiśa's work in general and its place in the history of Buddhist consecration ritual. I believe we have to trust the colophon information when it plainly states it was first composed by Śrī Dīpaṅkarajñāna, and subsequently translated by him with the cooperation of Gya Lotsawa at Vikramaśilā Vihāra. So we know that it was composed and translated before 1040 CE when the two of them departed from Vikramaśilā. Although there is nothing explicit to that effect, it would have been composed in Sanskrit even if no Sanskrit version survives to the best of my knowledge. We basically are forced to be satisfied with this much information. Scarcely any historical information may be gleaned from the rest of the text, except to say that it does make use of some earlier works.

He rarely refers to any of those earlier writings by title, but he surely knew the 'Consecration Tantra', a few consecration chapters contained in tantras, and may be two or three texts on the subject written by Indian authors. There were not very many of these and, except for the Tantra, each one was only a few pages long. If we look for Tibetan authors of consecration treatises, there were none at all prior to the time Atiśa lived. One of the two texts from the early 11th century is but a bare outline of the ritual proceedings, done by the Great Translator

Rinchen-tsang-po. It was widely used in the later Tibetan literature, but as a separate text it was made available in reprint only a few years ago. The other early text is an equally small one-page text by Rong-zom-pa, with a few brief appended texts¹⁵.

So, starting from Atiśa's time we see a great development of consecration literature both in India and in Tibet. In Tibet, there are numerous works by early Kadam and Kagyu teachers. Most prominent among the 12th-century ritual treatises are those of the Kagyu master Phag-mo-gru-pa, and in the following century the already-mentioned explanatory treatise by Sgom-rin. In general, my point would be that Atiśa's work, at a length of twelve pages in the Derge version, gave a much fuller and lengthier treatment of the subject than had been available before him.

Yet there is one huge exception to this pattern of gradual evolution in size. The Tibetan Bon religion's most celebrated treasure-text revealer, ShenchenLuga (Gshen-chenKlu-dga'), found his texts in 1017 and died in 1035 CE, so his time on earth overlapped with Atiśa's life, but he lived out his entire life before Atiśa entered Tibet. I will not say more about him because he was the subject of my doctoral dissertation over twenty years ago, but just to say that among the texts he excavated was a set of three about consecrations of Body, Speech and Mind receptacles¹⁶. In total length it amounts to 116 folios - 19 times longer than Atiśa's. I find this puzzling, although I have no explanation for it. I had hoped one day to do a thorough study of the Bon consecration texts. Many other matters have gotten in the way meanwhile. We will spare a few more words on the Bon text in a minute.

I should have liked to discuss and find an explanation for the fact that the earliest Tibetan epigraphic evidence for consecration, the word *rab-gnas* is not used, but rather *zhal-[b]sro*, with the literal meaning 'face-warming'. I have not arrived at any clearly defensible explanation for this. At the least we can say that the word *rab-gnas* is a direct calque translation of the Sanskrit, while *zhal-sro* is not, so it is possible *zhal-sro* in this work of translation represents a æconceptual matching with a pre-existing local Tibetan ritual term¹⁷.

For the moment I will just make a few brief philological comments about two Tibetan words found in Atiśa's work, one associated with the biography of Shenchen, the other found in Shenchen's consecration works. They are the 'expanded chest' (*'brang-rgyas*) and the 'bird horns' (*bya-ru*). The 'expanded chest' is one of the ritual items used by Shenchen to propitiate the treasure protectors before removing the hidden texts.

I've written a long paper on this very word, so for now I will just say that it is a ritual offering item, a packed dome of flour dotted with dabs of butter that was rejected by Sakya Paṇḍita as having no Indian background, and as such should not be used in Buddhist rituals¹⁸. Atiśa's text does very plainly make use of it without the least hint of an apology.

On the 'bird horns', Roberto Vitali has written a long paper¹⁹. The most famous usage of the term is in the names of the 18 Bya-ru-can kings (*bya-ru-can* means 'having bird horns') said to have ruled ancient kingdom of Zhangzhung in western Tibet. Other usages of the term have been found, but in general it points to a headgear topped by a disk framed on either side by rather ox-like horns. It is found on the heads of Zhang-zhung kings and Bon divine figures. By the early 13th century we may know of it as a name for a kind of fool's hat worn by wandering actors, acrobats and bards. But also more particularly relevant, until this day it is used as a finial at the top of Bon chortens. The parallel between the consecration texts of Shenchen and Atiśa is quite striking, since both view the pair of 'bird horns' at the top of the *chorten* as symbolic of wisdom and means.

I think some are imagining my thinking may be headed toward the conclusion that Atiśa did not really write his consecration text, that it might have been composed by a Tibetan and only then attributed to his hand. If so, I would ask you please not to be so fast, as I have no such conclusion to offer. In my view this would be just another example of what I like to call 'the standard yak test'. According to the standard yak test, if a text contains the word *yak* in it, it must have been a Tibetan composition. I have seen this type of argument used many times, by both Tibetan and non-Tibetan writers, particularly in arguments about the authenticity of the Tibetan medical scriptures and of the tantras of the Nyingma school. Even people with my rather low-level knowledge of Indian

literature could know that Kālidāsa makes reference to yaks, and yaks occur in an undoubted translation from Sanskrit, the *Rosary of Jātaka Stories* by Āryaśūra²⁰. Another reason why the standard yak test does not work is the fact that some translators believed in making culturally appropriate translations. This should not be surprising. All translators into Chinese believed in this method. I think particularly when the Indian author is cooperating with a Tibetan translator, the two of them are conscious of creating a new text, not just a translation but a new or renewed text that will be useful and accessible to a Tibetan audience. Therefore less easily transferred cultural idioms are not so likely to be preserved. They may favor meaningful equivalents of metaphors over slavishly literal versions of the same. So my answer is no, I do not think the Tibetanness of these two words is any proof or indication of Tibetan authorship.

What I do think they prove is just that both the Shenchen and Atiśa texts are from the same pre-Mongol period of Tibetan history, reflecting cultural conditions of that time before the use of the 'expanded chest' was placed in doubt by Sakya Paṅḍita and before the 'bird horns' were reduced to traveling minstrels' caps. In effect, and at the very least, these things help us to argue in a general way for the age of the texts, if not for their actual authorship.

I would like to end by considering one final issue, which is this: How influential has Atiśa's text been on the later consecration traditions of Tibetan Buddhism? To judge from frequent citations in the later literature alone, it would seem that it had a wide impact. We would need to cover a great deal of the literature to be able to gauge the types and degrees of influence. Yet there are two areas I can think of, in which the content of the text came to clash somewhat with later Tibetan ideas about consecration²¹. One of these areas is the so-called '*Sūtra* consecration,' an issue that was made into an issue by Sakya Paṅḍita at the beginning of the 13th century. Yael Bentor has written the major study on this topic²². Atiśa and his Kadam followers (including some early Kagyu writers) held that *Sūtra* consecration was a possibility but after Sakya Paṅḍita cast doubts on it, the idea fell into disrepute in some circles.

Another area of problem: Atiśa followed the time-hallowed Indian tradition of using Buddhist divinities in rites of consecration for such things as wells and

groves. Later Tibetan authors, although here we do find some sectarian differences, tend to dismiss the possibility that secular objects could have consecration rituals performed for them, limiting these to the icons of Body, Speech and Mind: images, scriptures and *chortens*. Yael Bentor has devoted some pages to this issue²³. In both cases the problem would seem to be that over time Tibetan scholars tended to develop complex systems of their own, accepting certain principles as being basic ones and defining other things accordingly. For Sakya Paṇḍita, there is no such thing as a ritual of any kind in Buddhist *sūtras*. All rituals are in the *tantra* category. In consequence of his definition, even to speak of a consecration ritual done according to a *sūtra* method is rendered unacceptable.

So, with the few samples we have looked at, I think we can see how Atiśa's consecration text is interesting for a number of reasons, from perspectives of religious studies, cultural history and philological or 'word history' studies. Still more to the point, it is interesting for what it can tell us about the world Atiśa inhabited. It informs us about the uses Buddhists in his day had for images, consecrations and blessings, and their ideas about the same, and these are words students of religions most especially need to find ways to hear.

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1. The correct form of the name Atiśa, spelled without the length-mark over the 'i', has been explained in detail by Lokesh Chandra in his closing address at the conference, with reference to the earlier arguments by Helmut Eimer. To make the case overly simple, the name as such is not found in Indian sources, and the rare Tibetan sources that do explain its meaning gloss it with *phul-byung*, or *phul-du byung-ba*, corresponding to Sanskrit *atiśaya*, with the meaning of *preeminence*. The etymology that sees in it a combination of *ati* and *īśa* (apparently meaning something like *excessive master*) has no good basis. The most frequent Tibetan name for him is Jowo Je (Jo-boRje), an epithet that could be translated as *Reverend Lord*. Preparation of the manuscript for publication was done during my(?) tenure as a fellow at the Institute for Advanced Studies, The Hebrew University, Jerusalem.
2. Sgom-rin: 2004, p. 452: *joborje la bshul lam gcig du | sgrolma'i lugs skuzhig la rabgnaszhus pas | phyagmthil du bzhuagnas | ma ta ra maÆdi la byon par mdzad du gsol || langsumsungsnas | da'di la mchod pa bzang du phulzhiggsungnas | u rubyangphyogskyirtenzhig la byinrlabschebazhigbyonskad*. By the way, Sgom-rin is

- the usual pen-name of the figure otherwise known as Spyān-sngaRin-chen-Idan. He was a prominent disciple and biographer of the more famous Yang-dgon-pa Rgyal-mtshan-dpal (1213-1258 CE). I think the *ma-ta-ra-ma* in the quotation may simply represent *mataram*, or *my mother*, although I am not entirely sure of it.
3. Chattopadhyaya: 1967, p. 424. There are other mentions of consecration in the same book, at pp. 244, 245, 266, 305 and 375. The literal translation "in the marketplace" for *tshong-'dus* is misleading, since Grwa-phyiTshong-'dus is the complete proper name of a monastery founded in Grwa-phyi Valley by Klu-mes, one of the first monks to re-enter central Tibet near the end of the 10th century. The name of the monastery was taken from the name of the nearby town, Tshong-'dus, and the entire river valley was called Grwa-phyi. Furthermore, what the original passage, although not presently available to me, surely intended to say here is that a new shrine had been built there ù that shrine being the one that Atiśa consecrated ù given that the temple itself had been founded long before his arrival in Tibet. Compare Eimer's German translation of a passage from Atiśa's biography (1979, vol. 1, p. 251): "In GrvaphyiTsho dusweihte Atiśaeine-Kapelle von der GrN"eeinesBre." I think the expression *bretsam-pa* used in the Tibetan passage Eimer translated (1979, vol. 2, p. 249) just indicates that it was a small temple. There still exist monastic buildings on what may be the same site today. I notice another mention of a consecration in the same work, at vol. 1, p. 255. For even more consecrations performed by Atiśa, see Martin: 2001a, p. 148.
 4. See Urban: 2012, p. 193.
 5. *choga'itshul legs bsodnamsni || nthong dang ni nthongnamissuskye || skugzugssngagskyintshanniyidkyis || rten la byinrlabsÆjug parÆgyur.* Atiśa, *Kāyavākittasupraṭiṣṭhā*, folio 256.
 6. See Assmann: 1996.
 7. Haran: 1985, chapter 13 in particular. About Middle Eastern cult images in general, see the articles collected in Walls: 2005. For the most recommended book specifically devoted to Middle Eastern consecration rituals, see the articles collected in Dick: 1991.
 8. At p. 429 of the previously mentioned text by Sgom-rin. The passage continues: "Both share their ideas with the generation stage / so the purifying agent is in correspondence with the basis of purification, / purifying a Goal that is in correspondence with its Path." In Wylie transcription: *de yang lha la rabgnas mi la dbangbskur | gnyiskaskyed rims dang dgongs pa mthun pas | sbyanggzhi dang mthunpa'isbyongbyed || lan dang mthunba'iÆbras busbyongba yin no.*
 9. Recently several studies of these two rituals have appeared. Just to give two examples, on Earth Rites see Dyke: 1997, pp. 178-227, and on Dhāraṇī Insertion perhaps the simplest introduction is Bentor: 1994, but then see also Bentor: 1995.
 10. On the Auguri, see Rykwert: 1989 For Mesopotamian practices, see Ellis: 1968.

- The Egyptian practices are most clearly documented in the case of the relatively late temple of Horus at Edfu; see especially Finnestad: 1985. For treatment of the Vāstuvidyā traditions as known in Tibet, see the interesting paper Mori: 2004.
11. Rowton: 1950, along with most other sources that give an exact year for its completion and consecration, places this somewhere between 958 or 957, with construction beginning in 959 BCE. Other dates can be found in the literature.
 12. See Bendor: 1996, p. 16, where we may find a footnote supplying the Tibetan text, part of a general discussion of the necessity and non-necessity of consecration. One ought to consult the same work, at pp. 13-18, for a number of quotations with similar ideas.
 13. For a general survey of the Tibetan genre of explanatory texts about consecration, see Bendor's previously mentioned book, pp. 64-66. Of course the work by Sgomrin that I use in this paper was not at all available at the time her book was written, so it is naturally absent from her list.
 14. As the original passage reads at folio 257: *stagonbgegsnibskra- dpa'ignad || dngosgzhibyinyrlabssbarba'ignad || rjesnibstan pa darrgyasgsun.*
 15. A short work with the name of its author given as Rinchen-tsang-po in its colophon has appeared in published form with the title *Rab-tuGnas-par Byed-pa Don-gsal* (see Rinchen-tsang-po: 2006). This is evidently the very same work referred to by authors as early as the twelfth century as his *sdoml-gyi]-tshig*, or *summary* (even sometimes simply as *sdom*). See Bendor: 1996, p. 61, which says it is "no longer extant," quite true at the time her book was written. The work by Rong-zom-pa may be found in Rong-zom-pa: 1999a, as well as the work that follows it in the same volume 1999b, plus the following work in the same volume 1999c.
 16. For bibliographic information on these consecration texts, see Martin: 2001b, p. 244.
 17. For the use of *zhal-bsro[s]* in Old Tibetan texts, it is an easy matter to search for it in the OTDO database (<http://otdo.aa.tufs.ac.jp>), where we find two separate occurrences, both datable to the early decades of the ninth century. One has a date corresponding to 834 CE. At the same time, a search in the OTDO for *rab-gnas* or *rab-tugnas-pa* fails to find even one single occurrence. Not only is the expression *zhal-bsro* not Indic, it also appears not to reflect any Chinese expression, as Imaeda: 2007, p. 94, has remarked.
 18. Martin: 2013.
 19. Vitali: 2008. I also wrote some in my dissertation, although this part remains unpublished. For fresh new ideas on what the *bya-ru* might be, coming from ethnographic sources, see Huber: 2013, pp. 278-279.
 20. I've discussed the standard yak test in a forthcoming work, "Padampa's Animal Metaphors and the Question of Indianness, His and Theirs." A working draft has been made available over the internet.

21. Perhaps a third instance is to be found in his final instructions for the full-scale consecration of images, in which they are taken on a chariot trip around the town with offerings and music. The procession does not seem to play a very evident role in Tibetan consecrations, although it is well known that various sorts of processions did commonly take place in Tibet on other occasions. In fact, an actual example of a procession that took place in 1988 during the three-day annual re-consecration of Bodhanath Stūpa in Nepal, has been described in Bendor: 1996, p. 319.
22. Bendor: 1992. An English-language translation of the most relevant passage may be found in Sakya Pandita: 2002, pp. 125-129.
23. On consecrations of secular objects, see Bendor: 1996, pp. 57-58, where she also discusses which objects Indian Buddhist authors placed within the categories of Body, Speech and Mind receptacles. See also Mori: 2005, especially pp. 224-228.

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The Tārā Rituals Written or Translated by Atiśa

Kuo-wei Liu

The Goddess Tārā is featured among Buddhism's earliest female role models for enlightenment. She is a Buddhist saviour-goddess especially popular now in Tibetan Buddhism, including areas such as Nepal and Mongolia. These qualities of feminine principle were found in an expression in Indian Mahāyāna Buddhism and the emerging Vajrayāna of Tibet, as the many forms of Tārā, and as many other local and specialized feminine divinities. As the worship of Tārā developed, various rituals, prayers, and mantras became associated with her.

The word Tārā is ordinarily used as a feminine noun meaning 'star' in Sanskrit. In Purāṇic myths, Tārā is depicted as a star who is personified as the wife of the planet Jupiter (Bṛhaspati) and the victim of the Moon's (Candra) abduction. Little is known about the origin of the Buddhist goddess Tārā, or about the probable time of the origin of her cult or about possible influences on this practice by Hindu and non-Aryan or tribal elements¹.



Goddess Tārā from Kumbum Gyantse, Tibet.

Regarding past research on the religious source of Tārā, scholars are generally divided into two groups: that is, either a Hindu or a Buddhist one. Many claim that Tārā's 'conceptual origins' derive from the Hindu goddess Durgā based upon the latter's depiction in the *Devī Māhātmya* section of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, usually dated between the fourth and sixth centuries. However, there are reasons to question this notion. It is true that both Tārā and Durgā share numerous appellations. Ghosh has pointed out that they share 'no less than thirty-eight of the classical one hundred and eight names².' It is also true that both fulfill the role of protector from great dangers. However, one gains insight into the fundamental differences of their basic natures by comparing the myths of their births and various deeds.

One popular Buddhist myth envisions Tārā's birth from a lotus growing in the lake of Avalokiteśvara's tears of compassion for all suffering sentient beings. Other accounts stress Tārā's intimate association with Avalokiteśvara plus the role of compassion as the primary motivating force that creates the goddess. For these reasons, Tārā is referred to as the embodiment of Avalokiteśvara's compassion.

In comparison, the Hindu goddess Durgā was born from the destructive energy (*tejas*) of the gods. When the gods were defeated in battle by the buffalo demon named Mahiṣa, their anger collectively engendered a mountain of flames which blackened the sky and formed a creature æmore dangerous than all the gods and demons, in order to defeat Mahiṣa. Thus, Durgā's conception was based upon the need to slay demons.

The above comparison illustrates the different motivating forces which produced these two goddesses. Durgā is typically portrayed as being born from destructive energy (*tejas*) in order to fulfill the role of a ferocious demon-slayer. In comparison, Tārā is born from compassion and primarily serves to liberate living beings from various sufferings.

There was probably more cross-fertilization of ideas over the centuries than most scholarly studies recognize, on which I will not go into detailed discussion. Any claim for a strictly linear flow of ideas from one single religious tradition to another fails to consider the complexities of the dissemination of ideas within the Indian context³.

Recent scholars used more Indian textual sources and iconography to discuss the origin of Tārā in Buddhism. Here I would like to point out that actually she was

mentioned also quite early in Chinese Buddhist texts. The earliest is still from the famous work, *Records of Western Countries in the T'ang Dynasty* (Da-tang-xi-yu-ji, 大唐西域記) written by Xuan-zang (602-664). In the seventh century, when Xuan-zang was in India (629-645), he stated two cases of a Tārā statue being enshrined in a certain *Vihāra*. Both cases were mentioned when he visited the Magdha area.

In *Xi-yu-ji*, Chapter 8:

'To the south-west of the old *saṅghārāma* about one hundred li is the *saṅghārāma* of Tiladaka. This building has four halls, belvederes of three stages, high towers, connected at intervals with double gates that open inwards (deeply). It was built by the last descendant of Bimbisāra-rāja. He made much of high talent and exalted the virtuous. Learned men from different cities and scholars from distant countries flock together in crowds, and reaching so far, abide in this *saṅghārāma*. There are one thousand priests in it who study the Mahāyāna. On the road facing the middle gate there are three *vihāras*, above which are placed the connecting succession of metal rings (circles) with bells suspended in the air; below them are constructed storey above storey, from the bottom to the top. They are surrounded by railings, and the doors, windows, the pillars, beams and staircases are all carved with gilt copper in relief, and in the intervals it is highly decorated. The middle *vihāra* contains an image of Buddha which is about thirty feet high. On the left is an image of Tārā Bodhisattva and on the right of Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva. Each of these images is made of metallic stone; their spiritually composed appearance inspires a mysterious awe, and their influence is felt from far. In each *vihāra* there is a measure of relics which emit a supernatural brilliance, and from time to time shed forth miraculous indications⁴.

And in Chapter nine:

'Next to the eastward two hundred paces or so, outside the walls, is a figure of Buddha standing upright and made of copper. Its height is about 80 feet. A pavilion of six stages is required to cover it. It was formerly made by Pūrṇavarma-rāja. To the north of this statue in two or three li, in a *vihāra* constructed of bricks, is a figure of Tārā Bodhisattva. This figure is of a great height, and its spiritual appearance is very striking. Every first-day of the year large offerings are made to it. The kings and ministers and great people of the neighbouring countries offer exquisite perfumes and flowers, holding gem-covered flags and canopies, whilst instruments of metal and stone resound in

turns, mingled with the harmony of flutes and harps. These religious assemblies last for seven days⁵.'

Śubhakarasiṃha (AD 637-735) came to China in AD 716. He and his Chinese disciple Yi-xing (683-727) translated the *Vairocanaḥisambodhi-tantra* into Chinese. There are verses mentioning Tārā, which was also under the transliterated term Duo-luo (多羅)⁶.

Vajrabodhi (AD 669-741) came to China later in AD 719. In a Chinese Buddhist text translated by him, containing various tantric practices, we see the first Chinese transliterated version of Tārā's *mantra*, same as the present popular one: *Oṃtare tuttāreture svāhā*⁷.

The South Indian Buddhist monk Bodhiruci, who came to China around AD 690 to 705, translated a tantric text about the Amoghapaśa-avalokiteśvara into Chinese. There is also a passage that mentions Tārā⁸. There are several other related tantric texts with references to Tārā, translated in the same period. Therefore, we can see that there was indeed a trend of Tārā's practice which grew gradually at that time, roughly since the seventh century.

After the eighth century, it is known of the Pāla rulers that they especially venerated the goddess Tārā. This was possibly connected with its vital importance to their state of maritime trade - Tārā was to merchants and sailors first of all a goddess of navigation⁹. The importance of the goddess for Dharmapāla is evident from the fact that he carried her effigy on his banner¹⁰. According to Sircar, the 'Tārā of Dharmapāla's standard or banner [was] very probably the dynastic emblem of the Pālas for their standard or banner just as the Dharmacakra was for their seals'¹¹. The prevalence of Tārā is further evident from the temples built in her honour in India, especially in Northeast Indian sites like Candradvīpa, Nālandā, and Somapura, which were ruled by the Pāla kings¹².

The conception of the goddess Tārā as the female companion of Avalokiteśvara spans the early phase of her cult in India (c.6th - 8th centuries). This is noted in some of her earliest occurrences in Buddhist tantric literature, particularly in the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, of which the initial layers may have been composed as early as the sixth century,¹³ and the *Vairocanaḥisambodhi-tantra*, composed around mid-sixth century. Between the eighth and tenth centuries, Tārā was completely differentiated from Avalokiteśvara: she could thus be evoked on an independent

basis as one's tutelary deity, a role which she fulfilled for Master Atiśa in the eleventh century.

In the late eighth century, when Indian Buddhism and Chinese Buddhism were formally introduced into Tibet during the time of King Trisong Detsen (*KhrisronglDebTsan*), lots of Buddhist texts were translated into Tibetan from either Sanskrit or Chinese. According to the catalogue of Tibetan Buddhist texts being compiled around that time, such as the *Phangthang Catalogue* (*dkarchag phangthang ma*) compiled in AD 824, we see only two works related to Tārā: one is a prayer written by Candragomin-- *Phags ma sgrol ma lajigs pa thams cad lasskyob par bstod pa*, while the other is an anonymous work of *One Hundred and Eight Names of Tārā* (*'Phags ma sgrolma' intshanbrgyartsabrgyad*). Another possible work in that catalogue is a Dhāraṇī text about liberation from the eight fears¹⁴. Hence, in the period of Earlier Spread (sngadar) we can see that Tārā was not a major deity for tantric practice like Avalokiteśvara.

The worship and practice of Tārā in Tibet was indeed introduced by Atiśa (AD 982-1054), whose works are our main topic here. After him, lots of Sanskrit works about Tārā, mainly rituals (*sādhanas*) and prayers, were translated into Tibetan, such as the numerous *sādhanas* on Tārā practice among the one hundred and sixty-one *sādhanas* translated by Abhayākara Gupta and his Tibetan disciple Pa tshab Tshulkhriṃs rgyal mtshan,¹⁵ several *sādhanas* and stotras on Tārā brought to Tibet by Śākyaśrībhadrā (?-1225), and various similar *sādhanas* translated by Yar lung Lo tsāba Grags pa rgyal mtshan (1242-1346). There are other famed works on Tārā written by Indian Buddhist masters preserved in the Tibetan Buddhist canon, such as works by Candragomin (eight works), Mātṛceta (two works), Sūryaguhya (six works), Sarvajñamitra (four works), Rtagpa Eirdorje (Nityavajra?, nine works), and Bhavabhadrā (four works). They became the foundation for Tārā worship in the Later Spread Period (phyidar).

Atiśa's Works on Tārā in the Tibetan Buddhist Canon

I don't have to again mention here about Atiśa's contribution to Tibetan Buddhism. Through his stay in Tibet for about thirteen years, he not only gave teachings to his Tibetan followers, but also translated and wrote many texts. In the Tanjur part of the Tibetan Buddhist canon, there are fifty-four tantric texts written by him. Most of them are short texts, such as *sādhanas* and prayers. The Tibetan disciples who cooperated with him were mostly from the Guge kingdom, where he stayed initially from 1042-1045, such as Rgyabrtsun grussengge (seven

works), Nag tsho tshulkhriṃs rgyal ba (thirty works), Dgeba'iblogros (eight works), and also the great translator Rinchenbzangpo (seven works)¹⁶.

From many Tibetan biographical sources about Atiśa, we know that his personal special tutelary deity was Tārā. For example, it is mentioned in *The Blue Annals* (*deb ther sngonpo*):¹⁷ 'In his childhood he had a vision of ĀryaTārā, the tutelary deity of all his lives. Under her influence, he did not get attached to royal power, but proceeded to another country in search of a teacher¹⁸.

According to his biographies, Tārā also encouraged and gave prophecies to him when he was considering going to Tibet. Since Atiśa was from Zahor area in Bengal, where Tārā worship was already popular, it is normal that Atiśa was influenced by this tantric deity.

Works Written by other Indian Buddhist Masters but Translated by Atiśa

In the *Tanjur*, there are three such works translated by him:

1. Written by Sūryaguhya (Nyi ma sbas pa)
No.1689: This a commentary in the Praise of Twenty-one Tārās. (Devī tārāikaviṃśatistotraviśuddhacūḍāmaṇi-nāma, Lhamosgrol ma nyishurt-sagcig la bstod pa rnam dag gtsuggi nor bushesbyaba)
Tibetan Translator: Rgyabrtsongrussengge
Indian Translator: Dīpaṅkaraśrījñāna

Rgyabrtsongrus sengge, a lay person, was the first messenger sent by the Guge King to India to invite Atiśa. Because Atiśa did not promise to go to Tibet, he decided not to go back to Tibet, but to stay with Atiśa to study. When Nag tsho Tshulkhriṃs rgyal ba, the second messenger sent again by the Guge King, arrived at Vikramaśīla, he also helped him by arranging their meeting. Finally, when Atiśa promised to go to Tibet, Rgyab rtsongrus sengge also accompanied him. Unfortunately, he passed away accidentally while they were in Nepal. In the *Tanjur*, there are seventeen texts translated by him. In the newly published *Collected Works of Lord Atiśa* (*Jo borje dpalldan atisha'igsung'bum*), which I will discuss later, there are six new works found under his name.

This commentary became the authoritative text in Tibetan Buddhism while explaining the *Praise to Twenty-one Tārās* (*tārānamaskāraikaviṃśatistotram*). As for Sūryaguhya, he was a contemporary of Candragomin, Candrakīrti, Śāntideva, and Dharmapāla, according to Tāranātha's *History of Indian Buddhism*. There is not much information about him except that he built twelve monasteries around

Kashmir and Magadha. However, his works on Tārā, especially on these twenty-one Tārās, seem to be quite influential. There are five other texts under his name, two of them translated by Śākyaśrībhadrā (?-1225).

In later Tibetan Buddhist tradition, there is an explanation of two different practice lineages of Twenty-one Tārās based on the works of Sūryaguhya and Atiśa: In Sūryaguhya's lineage, the forms, colors and hand gestures of the Twenty-one Tārās are all different, but in Atiśa's lineage the forms and hand gestures are the same, only the colours being different. Whether this kind of classification existed since Atiśa's time or was later developed during Śākyaśrībhadrā's time is not clear. It needs to be investigated for further details.

2. Sadhana written by Candragomin:

No.3665 *One hundred and eight sādhanas* (Aṣṭaśatasādhana, Sgrubthabsbrgya dang brgyad pa)¹⁹

Tibetan Translator: Nag tshoTshulkhriṃsrgyalba

Indian Translator: Dīpaṅkaraśrījñāna (Atiśa)

Later Revised Editor: Dānaśīla, Mar gyoblogrosgrags pa²⁰

When the Chinese monk Yi-jing visited India (he was in India 675-684), Candragomin's name was already well-known. Yi-jing mentioned: 'There was a great man in eastern India with the name of Candragomin, who was a heroic Bodhisattva with great talent. He was still active when I was there²¹.' Therefore, most of the scholars think Candragomin was of around the late seventh century. In Tāranātha's (1575-1634) *History of Indian Buddhism (rgyadkarchos byung*, written in 1608), there were several stories concerning Candragomin's relationship with Tārā²².

In the *Bstan'gyur*, there are six other prayers to Tārā under the name of Candragomin, not translated by Atiśa: no.3667, 3668, 3669, 3670, 3671 in the Sdege edition; no.4873 in the Peking edition. There is also another Tārā ritual text written by Candragomin not translated by Atiśa: no.1738 in the Sdege edition.

Regarding the Translator (lo tsāba) Nag tshoTshulkhriṃsrgyalba, as a monk he was sent by the Guge King as the second messenger to invite Atiśa. He accompanied Atiśa for nineteen years, the longest among Atiśa's Tibetan disciples. In the *Bstan'gyur*, there are lots of texts translated by him and Atiśa: Twenty works on Mahāyāna Buddhist texts, such as Bhavyaviveka's *Madhyamakahrdayakārikā*, its auto-commentary *Tarkajvālā*, Candrakīrti's

Pañcaskandhaprakaraṇa, Vasubhandu's *Mahāyānasamgrahabhāṣya*, etc. and thirty works on tantric practice. In the newly published *Collected Works of Lord Atiśa* (*Jo borjedpaldan a tisha igsungbum*), there are additional seventeen newly found texts translated by him.

3. Unknown author

No.3672 *Sādhana about the Tārā who liberates the eight Fears* (*Ārya-tārāṣṭabhayatrāta-nāma-sādhana, phags ma sgrol ma jigs pa brgyadlasskyob pa shesbyaba isgrubthabs*)

Tibetan Translator: Nag tshoTshulkhriṃsrgyalba

Indian Translator: Dīpaṅkaraśrījñāna (Atiśa)

Later Revised Editor: Dānaśīla, Mar gyoblogrosgrags pa

Works Written by Atiśa

In the *Bstangyur*, there are six works on Tārā written by Atiśa: two prayers and four sādhanas.

1. No.1695 *Praise to Triple-gem Tārā* (*Sgrol ma dkonmchoggsun la bstod pa*)
Tibetan Translator: Nag tshotshulkhriṃsrgyalba
2. No.3685 *Tārāsādhana* (*Sgrolma'isgrubthabs*)²³
Tibetan Translator: (Dgeba'i) Blogros
3. No.3686 *Extensive Ritual on the practice of Goddess Tārā* (*'phags ma lhamosgrol ma bsgompa'ichogargyas pa*)
Tibetan Translator: Choskyishesrab
Indian Translator: Dulba'ilha
4. No.3687 *Sādhana of the Tārā who Liberates Eight Fears* (*'jigs pa brgyadskyobkyisgrubthabs*)
No translator's name
5. No.3688 *Praise to Ārya-tārā* (*Ārya-tārāstotra, 'phags ma sgrol ma la bstod pa*)
Tibetan Translator: Nag tshoTshulkhriṃsrgyalba
6. No.3689 *Ārya-tārāsādhana* (*'phags ma sgrolma'isgrubthabs*)
Tibetan Translator: Choskyishesrab
Indian Translator: Buddhākaravarma

New Discovered Ritual Texts Written by Atiśa

A few years ago, the Pal-tse Research Office of Old Tibetan Texts (Dpalbrtsegs bod yigdpemnyingzhib'jug khang) was established in Lhasa by Alak Zenkar Rinpoche. A group of young Tibetan scholars, including monks and lay persons, went to many libraries in old Tibetan monasteries to search and to collect old

Tibetan Buddhist texts, such as from the libraries of Bras spungs, Se ra, Shalu, Rgyalrtsedpal'khor, etc. Since 2005, three sets of texts written by early Bka' gdams pa scholars were published in Si-chuan, which are called *Bka' gdamsgsung'bum gcesbtus*. In 2006, a book called *Collected Works of Lord Atiśa (Jo borjedpaldan a tisha'igsung'bum)* was published by them, which was also part of their project of discovering works by early Bka' gdams pa masters²⁴.

In the past history of Tibetan Buddhism, although there were some editorial efforts made on collecting and organizing Atiśa's teachings, such as *Bka' gdamslegs bam* and *Jo bochoschungrgyartsa*, there is no full survey about all the available writings of Atiśa. In this newly published book, although not really a complete collection of his works, there are indeed many important works which have never been found before that are included in this big volume (1113 pages). Among the tantric writings, there are also several ritual texts about Tārā. Four of them have never been seen before.

1. *Tārāsādhana* (Sgrolma 'isgrubthabs) (pp. 954-955)

Tibetan Translator: Gyijo ban de zlabā'i'od zer

It is very interesting to see Gyijozlaba od zer's name here. In Atiśa's Tibetan biographies, there is no reference of Gyijo's studying or cooperating with him. Our general understanding about Gyijo is that he was the first Tibetan translator who translated the *Kālacakra-tantra*. Afterwards, when the Indian tantric master Gayadhara came to Tibet for the third time, Gyijo cooperated with him to translate several tantric works, still available in the Tibetan Buddhist canon.

In the *Collected Works of Lord Atiśa*, there are twenty-five of Atiśa's works translated by Gyijo, mostly rituals. I guess these were being done when Atiśa was in Guge (1042-1045), but I just wonder why none of these works were included in any edition of the Tibetan Buddhist canon.

2. *Sādhana on White Tārā* (sgrol ma dkarpo'isgrubthabs) (pp. 974-976)²⁵

Tibetan Translator: Dgeba'iblogros

3. *Sādhana on Ārya-tārā* ('phags ma sgrolma'isgrubthabs) (pp. 977-979)²⁶

Indian Translator: Dīpamkarajñāna

Tibetan Translator: Nag tshoTshulkhriimsrgyalba

Later Revised Editor: Buddhakāravarma and Choskyishesrab.

4. *Sādhana of the Tārā who Liberates Eight Fears* ('jigs pa brgyadskyobkyisgrubthabs) (p. 979)²⁷

No translator's name

5. *Brief Abhisamaya on Tārā Practice* (sgrolma'imngonrtogsbsduspa) (pp. 980-981)

Indian Translator: Buddhakāravarma

Tibetan Translator: Choskyishesrab

Same translators with no.3689, but with different content.

6. *Sādhana on Tārā* (Sgrolma'isgrubthabsbyinbrelabmyur'jug ma) (p. 981)
No translator's name
7. *Prophesy related to Tārā* (sgrolbstodnyergcig ma/ [sgrolma'i lung stanpa'iskor)(pp. 982-987)
No translator's name
8. *Sādhana on Twenty-one Tārās According to Atiśa's lineage* (sgrol ma nyishurtsagciggisgrubthabsjoborje'i lugs) (pp. 1003-1009)
No translator's name
9. *Praise to Ārya-tārā* ('phags ma sgrol ma la bstod pa) (pp. 1095-1096)²⁸
Indian Translator: Dīpaṅkarajñāna
Tibetan Translator: Nag tshoTshulkrimsrgyalba

Textual Analysis

From the above mentioned various texts on Tārā written by Atiśa, there are some points that can be concluded here:

1. There are six sādhanas on Tārā, four of them are related to Green Tārā: no.3686 and no.3689 from *Bstan'gyur*, both translated by Choskyishesrab. No.3686 is the extensive version, and no.3689 is the short one. In the newly published *Collected Works of Lord Atiśa*, there is one brief ritual, *Brief Abhisamaya on Tārā Practice* (sgrolma'imngonrtogsbsduspa), also translated by Choskyishesrab, but totally different.
Another sādhana on Green Tārā was translated by Gyijo ban de zlaba'i'od zer, but its content is different from no.3686. From biographical sources, we know that Gyijo stayed in the Guge kingdom most of his lifetime, so I guess this ritual was translated earlier when Atiśa was there in Guge (1042-1045). The rituals translated by Choskyishesrab were probably done later.
2. No.3685 is a sādhana on White Tārā, translated by Dgeba'iblogros. Since he was also Atiśa's disciple in Guge, this text was also done during that time.
3. No.3687 was on the form of 'Liberating Eight Fears' ('Jigs pa brgyadskyob ma), with only two pages. It seems to be based on Candragomin's similar text, no.3672, longer by four pages.
4. There are two prayers to Tārā by Atiśa: no.1695 and no.3688, both translated by Nag tsho Tshulkrimsrgyalba. No.1695 is a short prayer with only three verses in twelve sentences. According to its colophon, it was translated in

Vikramaśīla, so it must be before 1042 when Atiśa was still residing in Vikramaśīla.

Nowadays, among Tibetan Buddhist schools, there is a popular short prayer to Tārā by Atiśa with only six sentences. That prayer is actually from Atiśa's biography, not from his works in the canon.²⁹ When he was on his way to Sumatra (gsergling), he met a great storm on the ship. He composed this prayer and prayed to Tārā, whereby Atiśa was saved from that danger and arrived safely. Its Tibetan version is as follows:

'jigs pa brgyadskyob ma la phyag'tshal lo/
 bkrashisdpal'bar ma la phyag'tshal lo/
 ngan song sgo'gegs ma la phyag'tshal lo/
 mthoris lam'dren ma la phyag'tshal lo/
 rtagtukhyedkyisstongs par mdzad/
 da dung thugs rjesbskyabtugsol/
 'I prostrate to the one who protects [us] from the eight fears.
 I prostrate to the one who is auspicious and radiant.
 I prostrate to the one who will block the door to the lower realms.
 I prostrate to the one who will lead [us] to the highest path.
 You are always acting for the most.
 I still pray (to) you to protect me with compassion.'

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2. Ghosh, Mallar. 1980. p.20.
3. For example, Gudrun Būhmann pointed out a case that the form and practice of Mahācīnakrama-Tārā, a unique fierce form of Tārā, was actually influenced from Buddhism to Hinduism. See Gudrun Būhmann, The Goddess Mahācīnakrama-Tārā (Ugra-Tārā) in Buddhist and Hindu Tantrism. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*, Vol. 59, No. 3 (1996), pp.

472-493.

4. 《大唐西域記》卷八：「城西南隅二百餘里有伽藍餘跡。其傍有窣堵波。神光時燭靈瑞間發。近遠眾庶莫不祈請。是過去四佛坐及經行遺迹之所。故伽藍西南行百餘里。至鞞羅釋迦伽藍。庭宇四院觀閣三層。崇臺累仞重門洞啟。頻毘娑羅王末孫之所建也。旌召高才廣延俊德。異域學人遠方髦彥。同類相趨肩隨戾止。僧徒千數並學大乘。中門當塗有三精舍。上置輪相鈴鐸虛懸。下建層基軒檻周列。戶牖棟梁墻垣階陛。金銅隱起廁間莊嚴。中精舍佛立像。高三丈。左**多羅菩薩**像。右觀自在菩薩像。凡斯三像。鑄石鑄成。威神肅然冥鑒遠矣。精舍中各有舍利一升。」
5. 《大唐西域記》卷九：「次東二百餘步。垣外有銅立佛像。高八十餘尺。重閣六層乃得彌覆。昔滿胄王之所作也。滿胄王銅佛像北二三里。脂精舍中有**多羅菩薩**像。其量既高其靈甚察。每歲元日盛興供養。隣境國王大臣豪族。齎妙香花持寶旛蓋。金石遞奏絲竹相和。七日之中建斯法會。」
6. 《大毘盧遮那成佛神變加持經》：「彼右大名稱，聖者多羅尊，青白色相雜，中年女人狀，合掌持青蓮，圓光靡不遍…」
7. 《念誦結護法普通諸部》：「若**多羅菩薩**念誦於蓮花中觀覩弄字。變成青蓮花。成**多羅菩薩**。身肉紅色種種莊嚴。冠上有觀自在王如來。左執青蓮當心上。右施無畏滿諸願聖者於中乘寶蓮花放白色光。能滿諸願。名曰隨心。真言曰：唵多利咄多利咄利娑婆訶」
8. 《不空羼索神變真言經》：「爾時觀世音菩薩摩訶薩。誥執金剛祕密主菩薩摩訶薩言。若欲受持悉地王真言三昧耶者。以好白氈毛不截斷者。方量四肘圖畫悉地王像。畫匠畫時常淨沐浴著淨衣服。勿用皮膠調和彩色。中畫海水補陀洛山七寶宮殿。圖畫不空悉地王觀世音。三面四臂身真金色結加趺坐。正面熙怡。右面微怒合口噤眉努目。左面可畏奮目張口狗牙上出。首戴月冠冠有化佛。一手執蓮花一手把三叉戟。一手把不空梵夾一手施無畏。佩身光焰。右**多羅菩薩**。毘俱胝觀世音菩薩。濕廢多菩薩。…」
9. Sircar, 1965.p.108, p.113.
10. Dasgupta, K. K. The Iconography of Tārā in *The Śakti Cult and Tārā*. Sircar, D.C. ed. University of Calcutta. Calcutta, 1967, p. 123. Also, Ghosh, 1980.p.14.
11. Sircar, 1965. p. 131-32.
12. Sircar, 1965.p.113, 128. Ghosh, 1980.p.9, 30.
13. From *Maṭṭhūśrīmūlakalpa*, ch. 4: tatrāpāsritāṃdevīmāryāvālokiteśvara -karuṇāṃ

āryatārāmsarvālaṅkāravibhūṣitāṃ ratnapaṭṭāṃśukotta- rīyāṃ
 vicitrapaṭṭanivasanāṃstryalaṅkārasarvāṅgavibhūṣitāṃ vāma-
 hastanīlotpalavinyastāṃ kanakavarṇāṃ kṛṣṣodarīṃ nātikṛśāṃ nātibālāṃ
 nātivṛddhāṃ dhyānagatacetanāṃ ājṭāṃ praticchayantī dakṣiṇahastena
 varadādiśidavanatakāyāṃ paryaṅkopaniṣaṇāṃ
 āryāvalokiteśvaraīṣṭṛdapagataśṣṭh samantajvālāmālaparyeṣitāṃ
 tattraivavaidūryaratnaśṣṣge punnāgavṛkṛapariveṣṭitāṃ sarvataṃ śākhāsu
 samantapuṣpoparacitavikasitasupuṣpitaṃ bhagavatīṃ
 tārāmabhicchādayamānāṃ *tenaiva cāpagataśākhāsu citraṇṇpravālāṅku rāvanaddhaṇi*
vicitrarūparaṇṇgojvalaṇi tārādevīmukhāvalokanama- bhilekhyā | |
 sarvaviḡhnaḡhātakīdevīuttamābhayanāśinī |
 sādhakasyaturakṣārthaṃ likhedvaradāṃ śubhāṃ | |
 strīrūpadhāriṇī devīkaruṇādaśabalātmajā |
 śreyasaḡ sarvabhūtānāṃ likheta varadāyikāṃ | |
 kumārasyehamātādevīmaṭṭjuḡhoṣasyamahādyuteḡ |
 sarvaviḡhnavināśārthaṃ sādhakasya tu samantād | |

In the Chinese version, the same transliterated term was used: 《文殊師利根本儀軌經》：

「聖觀自在菩薩化一聖**多羅菩薩**。居此山峯身真金色。不肥不瘦不老不少。著種種衣最上著紅仙衣。作女人相種種莊嚴。左手執優鉢羅花右手作施願相。面戴喜怒色結跏趺坐。遍身光明瞻仰聖觀自在。於前瑠璃峯上復畫龍華樹。其花殊妙滿樹開敷枝葉四垂。在菩薩頂上如彼傘蓋。於菩薩前種種珍寶光明嚴飾。此菩薩能破一切障難斷諸怖畏。若持誦之者與作擁護。作天女像亦是佛所變化。能施一切眾生所求之願皆得滿足。復為妙吉祥童子之母。利益一切有情。」

14. *dKarchag phangthang ma / sGrasbyor bam pognyis pa*. (2003). Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2003. p. 29, 32, 47.
15. Tohoku no.3144-3304.
16. This analysis is mainly based on the Sdege edition of the Tibetan Buddhist canon.
17. Written by Gos Lo tsaba Gzhon nu dpal (1392-1481) from 1476 to 1478.
18. Chungngu idusnastsherabskyiyi dam bcomldan das phags ma sgrol ma mngon sum du gzigs/ de imthusrgyalsrid la ma chags par yulgzhan du bla ma tshol du mthis pa.
19. The *sādhana* about Tārā is one of these.
20. He was at the same time with the first patriarch of the Sa skya School- Sachen Kun dga snyingpo (1092-1158).
21. 《南海寄歸內法傳》：「於東印度有一大士名日月官。是大才雄菩薩人也。淨到之日其人尚存。」

22. Tatz, Mark. The Life of Candragomin in Tibetan Historical Tradition. *Tibet Journal* (1986.): 3-21.
23. This is actually on the White Tārā.
24. *Atiwa.Jo borjedpalldan a tisha igsung bum*. Bka gdamsdbedkonbcesbtus, deb dang po.Dpalbrtsegs bod yigdpernyingzhib jug khanggisbsgrigs. Beijing: krunggo i bod rig pa dpeskrunkhang, 2006.
25. Same as no.3685, but with different title.
26. Same as no.3689.
27. Same as no.3687.
28. Same as no.3688.
29. This story is from *Jo bogsergling du byonpa'irnamthar* in the *plachos* section of *Bka' gdamsglegs bam*.

A Comparative Study of the Buddhist Theory of Atiśa in Tibet and the Han Nationality Region

Zhangzong

Atiśa's arrival in Tibet to preach *dharmā* is important in the history of Buddhism. He has contributed to establishing Buddhism by writing several texts, especially 'The Stages of Bodhi Path', which is an integration of Buddhist theories, and elucidates the sequence of Buddhist practices. This has a representative meaning in the theory of Bkar-dgam-pa and Gelugpa sects or even in Tibetan Buddhism as a whole. This theory is divided into two levels: Three types of persons and stages of the path. The theory 'Three types of persons' can be compared to many similar theories in Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism, such as the theory of capability of beings in Han Buddhism included in the 'Three Stages School' and Chan Buddhism, but different theories lead to different results. The order of 'studying esoteric teachings after exoteric and studying both at the same time' leads to contrary results in comparison with Han Buddhist schools, specially the popular schools such as Chan and Pure Land. Though Chan and Gelugpa seemingly represent Buddhist sectarianism, Han Buddhism moves towards differentiation, while Tibetan Buddhism towards integration in general. This paper tries to discuss the above issues and Atiśa statue decoration and Tara, in order to pay homage to the Master for his outstanding contributions.

1. Three types of person 三士论

Atiśa wrote *Lamp for the Path to Enlightenment* (hereafter LPE) that has 69 verses with a half of a verse. This book is concise, but summarized essence of exoteric and esoteric teachings in both Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna. The Venerable also wrote *Lamp for the Path to Enlightenment to Explain Difficult Points* that gives explanations of this treatise. In LPE Atiśa brought forward three types of person: inferior,

mediocre and lower, the sequence on which Buddhist practice is based. This theory shows that practitioners are divided into three types according to different purports of their intentions.

Inferior person 下士 He practices for his own benefits, being afraid of suffering in the three evil realms and seeking happiness among human beings and *Devas*.

Mediocre person 中士 His practice on the three trainings (*śīla, samādhi* and *prajñā*) is meant for his own benefits, being afraid of suffering in the three spheres and wishing to obtain *nirvāṇa*.

Superior person 上士 His practice is meant for the benefit of all sentient beings. He can feel others sufferings in his own suffering. A superior person must have great compassion in thought in order to eliminate suffering of all sentient beings.

With regard to the three types of person there are many records, which formed some technical terms in the Buddhist scriptures. For example in the Dictionary of Buddhism (Ding Fubao ed.) there is a term three-person-path 三士道 and its interpretation. Among them the Inferior person is explained as Śrāvakas and Pratyekabuddhas who are selfish and do not work for others benefit, while Superior persons are explained as those who work for benefitting themselves and also others.

According to Shi-shi Yāo-lan 释氏要览 which cites from the Yogācārya-bhūmi-śāstra, saying thus: ‘One who does not benefit himself and others is called Inferior person -

- one who benefits himself but does not benefit others is called mediocre person.
- one who benefits himself as well as others is called superior person.

From this explanation of three types of persons in the Yogācārya-bhūmi-śāstra, we can see that this explanation of inferior persons is broader than that in LPE. The connotation of the three types of persons is also discussed more widely, such as more explanations in the Yogācārya-bhūmi-śāstra (T30.642), Wang-fǎ Zheng-lǐ-lun 王法正理论 (Xuan Zāng tr.), Dao Shi 道世’s Fǎyuan Zhūlin 法苑珠林, and Jiūjīng Dā-bēi-jīng 究竟大悲经.

According to the theory of the three types of persons in Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism in traditional Chinese culture, people are generally graded into several classes such as three, six or nine groups according to their social positions. The three religions (Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism) and the nine schools of thought are a general classification in Chinese society, but the discussion about inferior, mediocre and superior persons in my paper is not a

general class construction, such as in The Analects Confucius stated: 'He who uses his brain will govern; he who uses his strength will be governed.' In the Southern and Northern Dynasties (AD 420-589), the Government officials were elected according to the 'Nine Grades Official Selection System'. It particularly means that officials should possess innate basic conditions i.e. nature of realization and capabilities in leaning religious practice and so on.

A. In the Confucius ideology there is an education theory called 'Provide education for all people without discrimination 有教无类 and Teach according to the student's ability 因材施教'. But the Analects says, 'To those whose talents are above mediocrity, the highest subjects may be announced. To those who are below mediocrity, the highest subjects may not be announced.' The meaning is that high knowledge can be only talked to those who are higher than mediocre people, and inferior people cannot understand the high-level theory.

B. Laozi's the Daode Jing (chap.41) says, 'The superior person hearing the way, diligently travels it. The mediocre person hearing the way, seem to live it, seems to lose it. The inferior person hearing the way really ridicules it. Without this ridicule, it could not be the way.'

Religions in the world and their philosophies have a high number of golden sayings, such as the Hindus who say: 'Atman and Brahman are one'; the Buddhists speak of Buddha Nature, and Hegel talked about the absolute truth. Laozi also explained it in this way, the Superior person seeks it and practices it, the mediocre person doubts it and is hesitant to it, the inferior person ridicules it. There are similar statements in many religions and ethnic groups. In Buddhist texts there are many references, particularly in their commentaries.

Seng Zhao 僧肇 (384-414 A.D.)'s Commentary on Vimalakirti (T49, p556); Seng You 僧佑 (445-518 A.D.)'s Hong Mingji. 唐道宣《广弘明集》T52P144. P158; 唐道宣《净名经集解关中疏》T85P484; 唐宗密《圆学经大疏释义钞》X9p608; 宋祖琇《隆兴佛教编年》X75p114; 宋张商英《护法论》T52P641; 元念常《佛祖历代通载》T49p513、p556; 明德青述《肇论略注》X54p333; 明何道全《般若心经注》X26p962, 清升说元玉等记《天岸升禅师语录》J26P662。

C. Huatou of Chan School 禅宗话头

In the Quotations of the Chan School there are comments on Huatou (literally refers to the source of word before it is uttered), such as Dahui Pujue Chan Master Quotations edited in the Song dynasty which says: The superior person hears the path (*mārga*), just as a seal is put on space [without any trace], the

middle person hears the path, just as a seal is put on water, the inferior person hears the path, like a seal is put on mud [there are attachments].

There is a shift from Laozi's theory to that of the Chan School with regard to the three types of persons. The discussion on the three types of persons in my paper differs from Laozi and the Chan School to some extent and 《虚舟普渡禅师语录》¹

D. Three Stages 三阶教说²

The Three Stages School (Sanjie Jiao) is one of the Chinese Buddhist schools. Based on the Buddhist theory Mappō, this school described the tendency of Buddhist development and gave solutions to the cultivation of problems with regard to time, place and human capacities.

Solution of Mofa periods

After the passing away of the Buddha during the first stage of Buddhism (the first five hundred years), the Buddha's teachings were called the Right Dharma. During the second stage (five hundred or 1000 years), the Buddha's teaching were called the Semblance Dharma. The Later Day of the dharma is to last for 10,000 years, during which the Dharma declines. This division of the three stages is according to the dharma duration of time.

When the Buddha was living, our world was a pure land (Jingtu 净土). After the Buddha's passing away our world became the dirty land. This division was made with regard to our land. The school believes that Sanjie teaching dharma depends primarily on the period in which it is located.

The three stages are made according to the capacity of human beings.

1. When the Buddha was living, his disciples, who had sharp capacity in the Right Dharma period, held *śīla* and the right view without doing wrong and having wrong views.
2. After the Buddha's passing away, his disciples, who had mediocre capacity in the Semblance Dharma period, held *śīla* and the right view or had the right view without *śīla*.
3. During the later (mofa) period, his disciples, who had inferior capacity, did not hold *śīla* and the right view.

Therefore, in the case of the later period, the solution to the inferior people was made and Buddha's teaching was established, namely the General way (pufa 普法). Pufa means special cultivation method for the inferior people, from whom the 'three stages teachings were founded.

E. Other sūtras and śāstras 余诸经论

The other sūtras, such as Zheng fa hua jing (T 9, p 1 2 8), Sheng jing (T 3. p 7 3) Ruhuan san mei jing (T 1 2 p 1 5 3), yu jia luo yue wen pu sa xing jing (T 1 2, p 2 4), and A cha mo pu sa jing have also some parallel statements on the three types of persons. The former sūtras simply talk about inferior, mediocre and superior-three types of persons, while the latter says that the inferior person is Hīnayāna. The other sūtras talk about inferior persons in general, without induction of the three types of persons.

In *The Continued Biographies of Eminent Monks*, Dao An of the Beizhou dynasty thought thus: Those who meditate are the superior person. Those who recite sūtras are the mediocre persons. Those who manage monasteries and pagodas are inferior persons.

Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra (tr. By Xuan Zang) says: The Avaivartika Bodhisattvas are always called the superior persons but not inferior. Ityuktaka-sūtra (tr. by Xuan Zang) states thus: Those who are close to the inferior persons are of inferior morality. Those who are close to the mediocre persons are of mediocre morality. Those who are close to superior person are of superior morality.

There are many records of three types of persons in Yogācāra-bhūmi-śāstra (tr. by Xuan Zang) and Wangfa zhengli lun.

The theory of three types of persons is established based on the practitioner's cultivation. Those who cultivate neither for benefiting themselves nor for others are the inferior persons. Those who cultivate only for benefiting others but not for themselves or only for benefiting themselves but not for benefiting others are mediocre persons. Those who cultivate for others but not for themselves are the superior person.

Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya (Xuan Zang's Chinese translation) says thus:

The inferior people seek their personal happiness (*sukha*) by all means; the mediocre people seek destruction of suffering (*duḥkha*), not happiness, because happiness is the cause of suffering; the superior people through their personal suffering seek happiness and definitive destruction of the suffering of others, for they suffer from the suffering of others. It may be briefly stated that from the practice point of view, the pursuit of the goal of covenant vows are different, leading to different types of behaviour.

To conclude, the three types of persons: inferior, mediocre and superior are a very popular division of people in many cultural arrays. Atiśa's concept of three

types of persons is found in several Buddhist concepts, or we may say that the theory of three types of persons is found in the whole of the Buddhist system.

A. Exoteric and Esoteric 密与显

Studying and practicing exoteric Buddhism comes earlier and Tantras are later 先显后密 emphasizing both exoteric Buddhism and Tantra 显密并重. The philosophy of Atiśa is very important. Lamrim makes certain the relationship between exoteric Buddhism and Tantra.

In India, the development of Buddhism can be divided into four stages i.e. early Buddhism, sectarian Buddhism, Mahayana and Tantra. In the Han Dynasty of China, the Buddhist philosophy of Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna was propagated in the areas where Han people lived. In the Sui and T'ang dynasties, nine Buddhist sects were formed. Eight of them belonged to exoteric Buddhism. Only one of them was Tantra. After the T'ang Dynasty, the inheritance of Tantra by teacher and disciple disappeared. Comparatively, in the Liao and Xixia Dynasties, Tantra developed. Tantra in the Liao Dynasty was embodied in the integration with exoteric Buddhism. However, the degree was less apparent than that in Tibetan Buddhism.

In Tibetan Buddhism, the development of Tantra is quite different. In bstan-pa-snga-dar 前弘期, Tantra was propagated in Tibet. In bstan-pa-phyi-dar 后弘期, there were more Tantra contents in Tibetan Buddhism. Major sects, such as Snying-ma-pa 宁玛派, Bkav-rgyud-pa 噶举派, Sa-skya-pa 萨迦派 and Dge-lugs-pa 格鲁派, placed emphasis on Tantra. Bkav-gdams-pa 噶当派 attached importance to exoteric Buddhism. Dge-lugs-pa integrated more Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna contents. Bkav-gdams-pa was based on Atiśa's thoughts. Dge-lugs-pa was based on Bkav-gdams-pa. That is to say, the most important features of Tibetan Buddhism can be traced to Atiśa.

B. Snying-mavi-theg-pa-rim-pa-dgu 宁玛九乘 and Lamrim in Dge-lugs-pa Snying-mavi-theg-pa-rim-pa-dgu includes:

Śrāvaka 声闻乘, Pratyekabuddha 缘觉乘, Bodhisattva 菩萨乘, Bya-rgyud 事续乘, Spyod-rgyud 行续乘, Rnal-vbyor-rgyud 瑜伽续乘, Mahāyoga 大瑜伽密乘, Anuyoga 无比瑜伽密乘 and Bla-med-rnal-vbyor-sde 无上瑜伽密乘. In these nine yānas, the former three belong to exoteric Buddhism while the other six belong to Tantra.

In Byang-chub-lam-rim-chen-mo 《菩提道次第广论》, Tsong-kha-pa 宗喀巴 expounds the relationship between renunciation of mind 出离心 and Bodhichitta 菩提心 as well as the relationship between the correct views of *svabhāvatā* 性空 and the three

scopes 三士道 Gsang ūsngags-lam-rim-chen-mo 《密宗道次第广论》 elaborates the stages, rituals, methods and implements of Bya-rgyud 事续, Spyod-rgyud 行续 Rnal-vbyor-rgyud 瑜伽续, and Bla-med-rnal-vbyor-sde 无上瑜伽续 in Tantra.

C. 'One flower and five leaves' of Chan Sect 一花五叶

Zanning's view : Zanning 赞宁 was a famous monk during the Song Dynasty. He classified Buddhism into three types: Tripitaka 三藏 during Shemoteng 摄摩腾 as exoteric Buddhism, five mandala 曼荼罗 of Yogāchāra from Vajrabodhi 金刚智 as Tantra and Chan Sect from Bodhidharma 菩提达摩 as mind Buddhism 心教. Zanning's view is quite peculiar. The Southern Chan Sect 'One flower and five leaves': Huineng- the sixth patriarch founded the Southern Chan Sect. This sect lays stress on directly pointing to one's own nature 直指人心, immediate attainment of enlightenment and becoming Buddha 顿悟成佛. In the late Tang and Wudai Dynasties, five branches appeared in the Southern Chan Sect i.e. Linji Sect, Caodong Sect, Weiyang Sect, Yunmen Sect and Fayan Sect. In the Song Dynasty, Huanglong Sect and Yangqi Sect came into being.

The Chan sect was also propagated in Japan and Korea. From the Song Dynasty, the Linji Sect and Caodong sect became the most energetic. There is a long history before the Chan sect comes into the mainstream of Buddhism in the Han areas. In Hīnayāna, Tri-śikṣā 三学 i.e. precepts 戒, meditation 定 and wisdom 慧 is emphasized. In Mahāyāna, dhyāna 禅定 is one of the six Pāramitās 六度. Sitting meditation is included in Bodhidharma's Chan practicing methods. Gradual attainment of enlightenment 渐修 is found in the Northern Chan Sect. However, the Southern Chan Sect thinks much of immediate attainment of enlightenment. From the Yuan Dynasty, only the Linji and Caodong sects survived. The Linji Sect is much more prosperous than the Caodong Sect.

D. Essence of Chan School

Chan School is the essence of Han Buddhism. Hui Neng's Chan teachings emphasise on non-relying on words and letters and pointing directly at man's mind and seeing the self-nature. Later Chan Buddhism was developed into many schools with different cultivation methods. Though being many, its purpose is to point directly at man's mind. No matter what the method is, it emphasizes on man's intuition of the mind, but not rationality. They frame questions and responses without following logic reasoning, a syllogism of Hetuvidyā, so that a response is generally irrelevant to the question. But some eminent monks can be finally confirmed by a Chan master with their irregular answers.

In general, when a monk is enlightened, he will be empowered to manage a monastery and will be able to transmit dharma to the next generation.

Behind this simple way of sudden enlightenment, there is a nuclear influence on the Ch'an School from Daoism of Lao Tzu. The traditional Chinese wisdom is in fact to realize illegibility and entirety of the world which is blurred.

At the beginning of the introduction of Buddhism into China, many people were impressed by the detailed analysis from a different traditional thinking. Since hundreds of years of translation and cultivation, Chinese people had understood Buddhism in a wholesome manner during the T'ang Dynasty. This period was concerned with the entirety of Buddhist cultivation, i.e. the most important theory was- 'Buddha-nature is the mind', which is not a step by step cultivation. The theory of emptiness in nature directly points at man's mind, understanding it and seeing self-nature from the Diamond Sūtra.

The development of the Ch'an School in the Han region and Tibetan Buddhism presented polar opposites, but it is not the case that these two schools did not have any contacts. The Ch'an School was introduced into Tibet during the earlier period of Tibetan Buddhist history. The evidence comes from the debate by a famous Tibetan. There are many different options and research findings on it. Many scholars have agreed that Nyingmapa absorbed the essence of the Ch'an School that played a great role for its development. Chan itself was provided with gradualness and suddenness, while Nyingmapa finally was developed into nine *yānas* which include the sudden enlightenment of the Chan School.

E. Tibetan Gradual Cultivation and Enlightenment in Chan School

After Tibetan Buddhism had been developed for many years, Gelugpa established a stick system of gradual cultivation, such as the Geshe system which is very normative and rigorous. In primary school, students have to learn language and grammar. At the age of 13 years students start learning Buddhist texts for 6 or 7 years, such as Zheng Liqimen Jike, Yin Lilun , Zhi li lun , Zongyi , Qishi yi.

Lamas in the Tashilhunpo Monastery have to learn Hetuvidyā, Prajñā, Madhyamaka, Abhidharmakośa and Vinaya in the college of exoteric school. Later they learn the five great doctrines according the sequence of cultivation grades. The five doctrines are Abhisamayālaṅkāra, Madhyamaka, Abhidharmakośa, Pramāṇavārttika and Vinaya. At the same time, they also have to meditate and perform ceremony of cultivation. After passing through sūtra debates, they get a Geshe degree and become leaders of the monasteries of

Gelugpa. Tibetan Buddhists take hearing, thinking and cultivation in sequence. They have to be acquainted with tripiṭaka, understand *śīla*, *samāhi* and *prajñā*, learn four great doctrines: Vaibhaṣika, Sautrāntika, Yogācārin and Madhyamaka. After studying all this, they enter the Jumaiba Zhacang, the Lower Tantric College and Judoba Zhacang is the Upper Tantric College for learning tantric doctrines. Their foundation of studies is established by debating sūtras. The truth of arguments is based on the syllogism of Hetuvidyā which is common to the rational logical reasoning in modern education.

Atiśa's Statue and Tārā belief 阿底峽及度母像

Atiśa was living in India before his arrival in Tibet, where he won the highest respect and praise. Therefore there are many glorifications and descriptions of him. In a set of modern Tibetan art images there are Atiśa's images i.e. modern painted Thangkas and golden and bronze statues and so on. Tārā belief in Tibetan arts is very popular and especially Green and White Tārās are highly respected and loved. This belief is close to that of Avalokiteśvara. Tārā in different manifestations can often be seen in books on Tibetan art. There are sūtras written in their praise such as Twenty-one Tārā. Atiśa's elder disciple namely Brom-ton-pa worshiped four Budhisattvas.

Conclusion 结语

Christianity is divided into Catholic, Orthodox and Protestant. Islam also has Sunni, Shia, and a later branch which is known as Sufi Mission. The division of their sects is similar to that of Han Buddhism and Tibetan Buddhism of Northern Tradition as well as Theravāda Buddhism of the Southern Tradition. Relatively speaking, there is not much difference in their theological systems, but there is a giant and complex system in the division of Buddhism in regard to the personnel and institutional differences. In the development of Buddhism in India, it had passed through four stages or four periods, in each of which there was a mainstream thought that formed a system. After spreading out of India, Buddhism assimilated itself into different cultural systems. Buddhist differentiations in Han region and Buddhist integration in Tibet can be complementary to each other and became integrated, forming the Buddhist schools of Chan and Gelugpa which are major representatives of Buddhism in the Northern Tradition.

Tibetan Buddhism, based on the theory of meditation on the middle path and Prajñā's emptiness by nature, is included in the essence of spiritual practice of Indian Buddhist Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna, exoteric and secret teachings that

becomes a well organized cultivation system with distinct gradations. As a result, the two great Tibetan Buddhist systems were established, that is Nyingma's nine-yāna system and Tsongkhapa's Lamrim Chenmo (the Great Treatise on The Stages of the Path to Enlightenment) together with the Great Treatise on the Stages of the Esoteric Path.

Han Buddhism is based on the theory of self-enlightenment in svabhāva that includes all forms of traditional Buddhist cultivation, reformed complex methods of sūtra reading, meditation, *pravṛājita* and vinaya practice in the guide of the non-duality of the middle path. The Platform Sūtra was created with special concepts and language.

Tibetan Buddhism	Prominence of Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna	Tantric school (Kriyā, Upayoga, Yoga, Atiyoga)
	Gradual enlightenment, debate with Hetuvidyā, gradual learning and cultivation	
Han Buddhism	Chan school is predominant in Mahāyāna	
	Sudden enlightenment Directly pointing to the human mind	Understanding the Mind and Seeing the Self- Nature

In short: Tibetan Buddhism lays stress on Buddha's teaching (*dharmā*), from which one's thought can be awakened, while Han Buddhism emphasizes on thought, by which Buddha *dharmā* is established, turning to different directions. Tibetan Buddhism leads to an ensemble of the Buddha's teachings while Han Buddhism is included in the essence of Buddha's teachings. To compare their own cultural traditions, the traditional cornerstone of Han Buddhism looks like being more influenced by Confucianism and Taoism, while that of Tibetan culture, Bon etc. seems to be largely different (of course there are a lot of interactions. Tibetan ceremony apparently blends more with Bon). I believe that the most important turning point of this transformation is Atiśa's arrival in Tibet to preach the Dharma.

References

- 1 上堂。上士聞道。勤而行之。朝打三千。暮打八百。中士聞道。如存若亡。蠱毒之家水莫嘗。下士聞道。大笑之。甜瓜徹蒂甜。苦瓠連根若。àX71P81、p85。
宋代法云寺大通禪師曾示說：上士聽法以神，中士聽法以心，下士聽法以耳。
- 2 〈續傳燈錄〉，〈聯燈會要〉則歸此于杭州淨慈善本禪師、石田法薰禪師語錄歸為石田和尚，〈傳法正宗論〉歸于慧林圓照。

Mādhyamika Aspects of Atiśa's Philosophy

Karunesh Shukla

Buddha's appearance on the spiritual horizon of the world aimed at the elimination of the Universal evil (*duḥkha*) prevailing among the living creatures¹. The three turning points or the swinging of the law (*dharmā cakrapravarttana*) in the history of Buddha's teachings relate to the original sermon at Sarnath, sermon of Mahāyāna at Gṛdhrakūṭa, and that of the Tantrayāna at Dhānyakataka.² While the Indian Buddhist tradition relies on the Sūtra, Vinaya and Abhidharma and aims at the realisation of enlightenment (*bodhi*) and attainment of nirvāṇa as the *summum bonum* of all spiritual quest, The Tibetan spiritual tradition lays emphasis on Sūtra and Mantra, and systematises by combining the two streams³.

Atiśa alias Srī Dīpankarajñāna (982-1054 A.D.), the doyen of the Buddhist teachers and scholars of his times, who hailed from Bengal (Gaudadeśa) and taught at Vikramaśīla University in Magadha⁴ or the Madhyadeśa, had a combination or a synthesis of the two traditions in his thought and philosophical elucidations .

On the one hand he accepted the Buddhist doctrine of *karuṇā* (compassion) removal of evil (*duḥkhanivṛtti*) and realisation of the two truths elucidated in the Mahāyāna and the Mādhyamika texts and also followed the Indian and the Tibetan views on the secret esoteric doctrines and practices.

He thus accepted the law (*dharmā*) and its exposition as expounded in the Mahāyāna texts. He had, in his vision and background the sūtras supposed to have been taught by the Enlightened One (Buddha). Accepting the triad of conduct, (*śīla*), meditation (*samādhi*) and insight (*prajñā*) as delineated in the teachings of the Buddha and presented in the Nikāyas⁵. Atiśa prescribes

following the daily routine as elucidated in the Pali, Sanskrit and Buddhist Sanskrit texts to practise restraint in one's conduct and that of the senses (*śīlasamvara, indriyasamvara*), having the knowledge of taking meals in a balanced quantity (*bhojane mātrañātā*), walking and sitting (*caṅkrama, niṣadyā*), walking while knowing it (*samprajānādvihāritā*), eating, taking meals (*bhojana*), waking (*jāgaryā*) and so on⁶.

Atiśa further relates the insight preceded by the threefold instructions as elucidated in the Mahāyāna texts, namely, the *adhiśīla*, the *adhicitta* and the *adhiprajñā śikṣās*⁷. He also refers to the six⁸ *pāramitās*, the perfections of virtues which are essential to be followed by a bodhisattva vowed to attain *nirvāṇa*. These are: *dāna śīla, ksānti, vīrya, dhyāna* and *prajñāpāramitā*. The bodhisattvas strive for several lives to practise and master these virtues as a preliminary to the attainment of the last stage or goal of their spiritual career, i.e. Buddhata and *nirvāṇa*⁹.

For this purpose he prescribes leading a virtuous life full of meritorious deeds. Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā, Avadānaśataka, Divyāvadāna and other Avadāna texts are to be followed in their ideals.

Mahāyāna arose out of the altruistic teachings of the Venerable Master who laid emphasis on the analysis of the non-intrinsic (*nīḥsvabhāva*) and mutable (*anitya*) character of the phenomenal objects which were characterized as *śūnya*.¹⁰

Here the ideal of helping the suffering human beings and other creatures achieve salvation was evolved and every human being was regarded as a potential Buddha. The idea of Bodhisattva was conceived with a view to help the suffering humanity. One of the bodhisattvas, namely, Amitābha, who was also conceived of as a Dhyānī Buddha, is said to have taken the vow that he would not enter the *nirvāṇabhūmi* till even a single being remains to achieve salvation. Shantideva, on the basis of the tradition of the various Mahāyāna texts, speaks of arousing the mind of enlightenment (*bodhicitta*), with a vow to remove the manifold evils of humanity. While Theravāda idealized Arhathood as the last goal of spiritual *sādhanā*, Mahāyāna symbolized the ideal of bodhisattva and claimed that every human being was a potential Buddha.

Practice of the six fold virtues of Perfection (*pāramitās*) of *dāna*, *śīla*, *kṣānti*, *vīrya*, *dhyāna* and *prajñā* were regarded as the way leading to purification of the conduct (*śīla*) and mind (*citta/manas*). Realization of gnosis- the *prajñāpāramitā*, or perfection of wisdom was a pre-requisite of realization of the non-intrinsic character of the phenomena (*dharmas*).¹²

He also follows, besides, the Mahāyāna ethics, following Nāgārjuna's *Ratnāvalī*, the Tantric path which has been paved by the Mahāyāna philosophical and spiritual lore and practice, especially the Mādhyamika and the Yogācāra spiritual practices of the doctrines of voidity (*śūnyatā*), non-intrinsic character of the phenomena (*niḥsvabhāvatā*) and the Yogācāra *Vijñaptimatratā* doctrine.

The *tattva*, it is said, is devoid of the notions of being [of the nature of] the eternal (*śāśvata*) and the annihilation (*uccheda*). Hence, the *madhyama mārga* is adopted and no permanent or annihilated character of *tattva* is advocated, rather it is said to be devoid of all imagination (*Kalpanājālanirmuktam*) and speech behaviour (*vāg-udāhāravavajitam*), Nāgārjuna explicitly observes¹¹.

*Aparapratyayam sāntam prapañcairaprapañcitam/
Nirvikalpamānānartham etattattva¹⁴ lakṣṇanam//*

[Tattva is not to be known or experienced through Others' teachings, is quiescent, not expounded by speech behaviour, it is free from mental constructions, and not differentiated].

The philosophical standpoint of the Mahāyāna , thus, developed into the perfection of the Advaya doctrine on the interpretation of the metaphysical delineations of the Mahāyāna texts.

Atiśa has the basic assumption of the triad of *duḥkha*, *anitya* and *anātma* and *pratītya samutpāda* leading in its final analysis to the doctrine of *niḥsvabhāvatā* and *śūnyatā*.

In fact, the central theme of the entire Buddhist tradition has been the suppression of the notion of me and mine, which is at the root of all evil. This may be gleaned from the texts of the Theravāda and Abhidharma, the Prajñāpāramitā texts, the Mādhyamika and the Yogācāra as also the vast Tantric and Siddha literature. Purification of mind and its states has been regarded as a pre-requisite to the removal of afflictions and thereby attainment of *nirvāṇa*.¹²

The transcendental truth (*paramārtha*) is devoid of all predictions and explicable alternatives. It is non-dual, devoid of dogmatic views whatsoever, a matter of self-realization and to be known neither only (*anekārtha*) nor severally (*anānārtha*)¹³. Salvation is achieved by elimination (*kśaya*) of actions and afflictions which arise from conceptual ideations (*vikalpa*). Ideations, in their turn, come forth from the manifold worldly texture (*prapañca*), which ceases by contemplation of voidity.¹⁴ Voidity (*śūnyatā*) is nothing but the true nature of *dharmas* realised through contemplation. It is not a concept based on logical reasoning⁵² but a way of life derived from practical meditational experience through spiritual potency. The Mādhyamika does not present a pursuit of knowledge on an intellectual plane, but it is a way of life; with *śamatha* or concentration of mind, it is also *vipaśyanā* or a vision of the true nature of *dharmatā* which is neither produced nor vanished. When the object of the mind vanishes, objects of the word also wither away, as the true nature of the *dharmas* is neither produced nor vanished.¹⁵

The Mādhyamika presents the *paramārtha* on the basis of a philosophical and dialectical reasoning which explains the ontology of *paramārtha* as free from all contradictions.

The Mādhyamika, says Nāgārjuna,¹⁶ has no view-point to project. He, therefore, presents the view-points of other systems, such as the Ābhīdhārmikas, the Śammitīyas, the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika as well as the Jainas and other sects and systems and confutes them on the basis that they present aspects of truth in a partial and lopsided manner and keeps them in the category of *asti* and *nāsti*. His view-point is above all predictions and descriptions in terms of *asti* and *nāsti* (*astināstivyatikramam*).¹⁷

For this purpose, a four- cornered and precise dialectical reasoning is put forth to project the logical impotency and contradiction in the view-point of the opponent. The Mādhyamika, as pointed out by Āryadeva, regards the absolute as devoid of the four categories (*kotis*) and, in like manner, all objects of the world are examined in terms of four-cornered dialectical reasoning which ultimately concludes that all *pramāṇas* are untenable, so are all predictions about the *prameyas*. In the *Vigrahavyāvarttanī* and *Pramāṇavivahāna* alias *Vaidalyprakarāṇa*, Nāgārjuna argues the non-intrinsic character of means of valid knowledge

(*pramāṇas*) and argues that they are valid neither intrinsically (*svataḥ*), nor extrinsically (*parataḥ*), both or neither. They are like fire and hence to be discarded for the purpose of the delineation of the philosophical postulates of the Mādhyamika. He says: Mādhyamika had no dictum to prove (*pakṣa*), so no contradictions in the Mādhyamika view-point can be pointed out.¹⁸

All logical and ontological predications are subject to contradiction in terms of is (*bhāva*), is not (*abhāva*), both (*bhāvābhāva*) and neither (*anubhaya*) which at the end leads to *reductio ad absurdum*. So, *nirvāṇa*, the body of Tathāgata and all categories in the philosophical reasoning and ontological presentations are subject to this contradiction. Thus, this four-cornered dialectics is employed by Nāgārjuna to point out contradiction in and untenability of various ontological categories, such as motion and rest (*gathgata*), existence and non-existence (*astitva-nāstitva*), inherent nature (*svabhāva*), time (*kāla*), action (*karma*), *ātmiā* and the *skandhas*, *Buddha*, *ārya-satyas*, *nirvāṇa*, *pratīyasamutpāda* and *dṛṣṭi*, the dogmatic views with the conclusion that the Buddha aimed at discarding all views which aim to present the truth partially and dogmatically.⁶³ Hence, these views (*dṛṣṭis*) are to be discarded.¹⁹

In the Mādhyamika view, 'Wise intuition is the fruit of long philosophic cultivation of critical insight, developed in sustained contemplation of the profound nature of things, until reason transforms instinct and habit and what one knows rationally to be the case is intuitively to be the case. This is a position that balances complexity and integration both realization without collapsing them to one side or another, to the habitual simplicity of just this or just that.'²⁰

Nāgārjuna declares in clear terms that Nirvāṇa too cannot be delineated in terms of ens, non-ens, both or neither. Thesis (*pakṣa*) gives rise to anti-thesis (*pratīpakṣa*). Ontologically both are not consistent and tenable. Therefore, *nirvāṇa* may be described as a state wherein the state of *bhāva* and *abhāva* decline.²¹

For Nāgārjuna, in the state of *nirvāṇa* a sublimation of *saiisāra* occurs. There is no distinction at all between *nirvāṇa* and *saiisāra* or *vice-versa*.²² *Nirvāṇa* is not an intrinsically real intrinsic reality that mysteriously violates its nature and projects unilaterally absolute meaningfulness into the world. *Nirvāṇa* cannot be distinguished from *saiisāra*. It is just here, now, and the full experiential acceptance of that is liberation, which is not going elsewhere! It is virtually the state of

untying the knot of the mind and hence, nirvāṇa has been equated to anirvāṇa, a realisation of one's true nature, where the notion of egoity lastingly disappears and the feeling of attachment and afflictions vanishes.²³ Nothing new is achieved, but the true nature of *saiisāra* as non-intrinsic, is realised. This is what the Buddha taught by his being silent. Nirvāṇa, thus, is the state of non-prediction (*nirabhilāpya*) of the true state of *dharmatā* as the silence is the true word of this absolute.²⁴

This centrist viewpoint of Nāgārjuna found further elucidation in the works of his disciple Āryadeva, commentators Bhāvaviveka. Buddhapālita and Candrakīrti and followers Śāntaraksita and Kamalāsīla and others whose principal works have either come down to us in their original form or are preserved in their Sino-Tibetan versions or have since been reconstructed in Sanskrit.

The view-point of *Buddhapālita* and *Chandrakīrti* is known as the Prāsṅgika viewpoint as its aim is only to point out contradictions in the opponents' logical arguments.

On the other hand the viewpoint of Bhāvaviveka is termed as *Swātāntrika* as it puts forth independent arguments to prove one's dictum.²⁵

As a devout follower of Mahāyāna, Atiśa following its view of altruism stresses on the liberation of the aspirant as well as other beings. He variously elucidates this theme.

Sidelining the Theravāda ideal of Arhathood, he relies on the Mahāyāna view of release of all beings.

He begins with the *bodhicitta* or the mental disposition for attaining enlightenment (*bodhi*) with a view to attain nirvāṇa and enable others to attain *bodhi* and thereby obtain release from mortality. This view-point has been clearly expounded in the *Lamp of the Way to Enlightenment (Bodhipathapradīpa)* which is available in its Tibetan version²⁶. This view, says Ācārya, can be achieved by practicing good deeds such as, charity (*dāna*), *ksānti*, enthusiasm (*vīrya*, *utsāha*). One should:²⁷

- Abandon all hesitation
- Earnestly abide on practice with interest.
- Avoid sleep, mental sloth and laziness,

And always make effort with enthusiasm.
 Always guard the doors of the sensual organs.
 With conscientiousness, mindfulness and introspection
 Examine the mental continuum.
 Often three times of the day and night.

One should enumerate one's own bad deeds, defects and defilements (*dośa*), not find fault with the defects and defilements in others' conduct, rather one (the aspirant) should enumerate the good conduct and character of others and conceal (*gopayet*) one's own qualities and characteristics of conduct, avoid gain (*lābha*), arrogance (*māna*) and fame (*kīrti*), thus with good deeds leading to the cleanliness of the mind (*citta*), one should reflect on *kīrti* (fame), and *maitrī* (friendship). Thus, he should contemplate love and compassion and make firm the Bodhicitta²⁸. The aspirant is advised to:

Totally abandon all material goods
 And adorn (one self) with Ārya's properties,
 Reverence (*śraddhā*), moral ethics
 Dread of blame sense of shame²⁹,

He further elaborates the duties of the aspirant towards the teacher and acquiring merits through ideal, good and moral deeds³⁰. These lead to acquisition of two collections of merits and wisdom (*puṇyasambhāra and jñānasambhāra*)³¹, extinction of the two obstructions of afflictions and the cognizables (*kleśāvaraṇa and jñeyāvaraṇa*) and arising and attainment of the supreme enlightenment (*anuttarābodhi*) which is the pre-requisite of *nirvāṇa*

While the Lokāṭītasaptāṅgavidhi is primarily a treatise with a tantric theme, the *Dharmadhātudarśanaḡīti* contains the general Mahāyānic theme with a Mādhyamika tenor and spirit. The background of the Mahāyāna altruism and the Mādhyamika spirituo-metaphysical theme is reflected all along.

In a nutshell, in this treatise of Śrī Dīpaṅkarajñāna, the *Dharmadhātu* has been described as (Rabbling, 1999, Recons. P. 68, VI-2)³².

Gūḍham śāntam niśprapañcam yattathyakṛtabhāsvaram/
 Anuṭpannaniruddhādi-śuddham prakṛtinirvṛtam//
 Rabbling's translation of this verse runs as under³:
 That which is profound, pacified, unelaborated

Thatness clear light and uncompounded
 That unoriginated, unobstructed and primordially pure,
 Its nature is liberated (*nirvāṇa*).

This view of *dharmadhātu* is akin to that of *tathatā* or *Śūnyatā* (*Voidity*) as projected in the *Mādhyamika Kārikās* by Nāgārjuna³⁴. Atiśa too, following Nāgārjuna describes *dharmadhātu* as free from all afflictions and blemishes, whose real nature is not accessible to the spiritual aspirants due to the afflictions surrounding or web covering it. When the mind becomes pure, elegant and shining by the extinction of the afflicting factors, its pure and elegant nature shines which is non-different from the body of the merits (*dharmakāya*).³⁵

The *Mādhyamika* spiritual and philosophical input is discernible in this treatise, which refers to the *catuṣkoṭivīnirmukta tattva*, which is devoid of the four *koṭis* (extremes) of ens (*sadbhāva*), non-ens (*asad abhāva*), both or neither, the *niḥsvabhāvatā* and other doctrines of the *Mādhyamikas* along with those of the *Cittamatratāvādins* (i.e., the *Vijñānavādins*), the various *Nikāyas* and the theistic systems. It delves upon the theory of creation as accepted in and propounded by these systems of the *Mādhyamika* view of the non-intrinsic character of the phenomenal *dharmas*, and the two *satya* doctrine propounded by the *Mādhyamikas* has been referred.

Quoting in detail the views of Āryadeva from the *Catuhśatakakārikā* and the *Jñānasārasamuccaya*, Atiśa categorically accepts, at least in spirit, the *Mādhyamika* viewpoint and quotes from *Mādhyamika Kārikā* to explain the *Śūnyatā* doctrine.³⁶

It is in the true spirit of the famous *Mādhyamika* works, *Ratnāvalī* and *Suhṛtlekhā*, in the *Lekhā* (i.e. letter) form and style addressed to the *Sātavāhana* King by Nāgārjuna and the *Vimalaratnalekhā* addressed to his royal friend *Nayapāla*, that Atiśa tells how, following Buddhist *Mahāyāna* and *Mādhyamika* altruistic principles, the King should rule his kingdom on principles of religious ethics, morality and compassion. Here also the influence in spirit of the *Mādhyamika* view is reflected throughout.

But the Mādhyamika influence on Atiśa's viewpoint and philosophy is discernible in his writings where he propounds the two truth doctrine of the Mahāyāna, its doctrine of niḥsvabhāvatā and śūnyatā.³⁷

Mādhyamikas, headed by Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva as the chief of the lineage, employ the four-cornered dialectics (*Catuṣkoṭitarka*) to confute the view-point of their opponents as also doctrines of other systems.

Nāgārjuna was followed by Āryadeva who elaborately propounded the doctrines on the lines of the Mādhyamika Kārikās or the Madhyamakaśāstra in the same style and on the same pattern. They were further commented upon by Bhāvaviveka alias Bhavya, Buddhapālita, Chandrakīrti and others. Of these Bhāvaviveka preferred to adduce independent arguments in expounding the Mādhyamika view and criticizing the tenets of other systems. Hence, as he shifted from the viewpoint of Nāgārjuna (Vigrahavyāvarttanī Vs.29-31) he earned the title *Svātāntrika*. This viewpoint of Bhāvaviveka became explicit in the *Madhyamārthasaṅgraha* and other works

Buddhapālita, Chandrakīrti and their followers were designated as *Prāsaṅgikas* as they were experts in finding out contradictions in the arguments of others, and are called Mādhyamikas using what is renowned in the world (*Lokaprasiddhavarṅachāri Mādhyamikas*). Prāsaṅgikas are also called *Non-Abiding Mādhyamikas*, because through refuting inherent existence, they avoid the extreme of permanence and through asserting conventional existence, they avoid the extreme of annihilation. They do not abide in any way, coarse or subtle, in either, but in the middle or centre which denotes neither a mixture of existence and non-existence nor a grey area of agnostic doubt. The middle way is philosophically the way things are, not mistaking what exists for what does not exist and not mistaking what does not exist for what exists.³⁸

Even in the time of the great translator Rinchen-ṅang-po (954 - 1055) the Prāsaṅgika Mādhyamikas were dominant in Tibet and were followed by the adherents of the various sects. He was a contemporary of Atiśa (d.1054 A.D.). Atiśa also relied on the Prāsaṅgikas. He quotes Nāgārjuna, Āryadeva and other authors. Chandrakīrti's Tibetan commentator also followed the Prāsaṅgika view.

Atiśa's entire Mādhyamika exposition is on the Prāsaṅgika lives. He follows Chandrakīrti and Buddhapālita.³⁹

Though Atiśa also had a say in the tantric esotericism of his day, he had a definite Mādhyamika leaning which helped develop his philosophy on a firm footing. This was repeated somewhat in an identical manner after three centuries in the works and person of Tsoṅ-kha-pa.

References

1. G. Angatra Nikāya, I. 22 (Jgatpuri ed.) and elsewhere
2. See, Shukla, 1999, p. 100.
3. See Tulka, 2010, pp. V.Sq.
4. See Banerji, 1984, pp. 47-51, Tripathi, 1997, pp. 337-39
5. Cf. Manima Nikāya, I. 1-2
Antojatā bhūjatā jatāya jatitā pajā |
Tan tam gotama pucchami Koimanmvijateyejatam | |
Sīle patitthāya narō sapoñño Citampaññāneabhavayam |
Ā tāpī nipako bhikkhu so inam vijataye jatam | |
6. Shukla, 1973, Sec, Ch. I, Shukla, 1991, Index. See Wayman, 1984 û 96
7. These are elucidated in the Bodhicaryāvātra, by Shantideva.
8. See. Forfs details. Daśabhūmakasūtra.
9. Cf. Śūnyāh sarvadharmāh, niḥsvabhāvayogena, Sārdhadvisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā in Mahāyāna sūtrasangraha, Vol. I.
10. Mādhyamika Karikā, XVIII.
11. Cf. Madhyamakāvātāra, VI.120, Madhyamakavṛtti, Prasannapadā, XVIII. Also see, Akutobhayā.
12. do- XVIII, 7-9.
13. Ibid XVIII.5
14. Ibid XVIII.7
15. See, Vighrahavyāvarttanī, Vs. 29-30, Prasannapadā I.1., p.34, Na vayam svatamtram anumānam prayuñjmahe, parapatijñā-pratishedhapatvādasmadanumānānām (Poussins's ed. 1978)
16. Cf. Ratnāvalī quoted in the Prasannapadā (Poussin's ed. 1978), p.275.
17. Cf. *Na sannāsanna sadsanna cāpyanubhayātmakan |*
Catuṣkoṭinirmuktan tattoam Mādhyamikā viduḥ | |
Āryadeva Jñānasārasanuccaya, Vs. 28.
 See, Bhattacharya, V., 1928, p 96.
18. Cf. Ratnāvalī quoted in Prasannapadā Poussin, 1978. p.534.
19. Thurman, 1984, p.159, Cf. also, Madhikā, XXV.10, 19-21.
20. Mādhyamika Kalikā, XXV. 10-15.
 Prasannapadā, P 524 (quotation from Ratnāvalī).
21. Madh. Ka., XXV. 19-20
22. See, Prasannapadā, p.540
23. See, ibid, p.57.

24. On Mādhyamika Logic one is referred to S. Mookherji, 1956, pp. 1-162
25. For details and Hindi translation of the tract, vide Lama, Rigzin Lundub, 1960.
26. See, Bodhisattvamanyāvali in Rabling, 1999, Vs. 1-2: pp-2-3;
Prahāyasarvasandehan sayatnam sādhanā-rataḥ |
Ālasyastyānamiddhāni tyaktvāvīryodyataḥ sadā ||
smṛtijñānapramadaiścarakṣed dvāram sadendriyam |
Trikālam muhūrīkṣeta cittadhārāmaharniśam ||
See, reconstructed text, pp.2-3.
27. See, ibid, p.221.
28. Ibid, Vs. 27.
29. Ibid, Vs. 8 sq.
30. Cf. ibid, Vs. 27 sq.
31. See, Rabling, 1999, p.68, (Vs.)
32. Dharmadhātudarśangīti, Vs.2.
33. Cf. Mādhamika Kārikā, XVIII.9.
34. See, Dharmadhātudarsanagīti, Vs.9-21
35. Atiśa also refers to the Abhisamayālaṅkāra, Madhyāntavibhāga, Laṅkāvatāra Sandhinirmocana-sūtra and other texts to establish the niḥsvabhāvatā doctrine, the two truth doctrine and the three-tier reality expounded in the Yogācāra system. He quotes Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva several times to establish śūnyatā. He quotes Madh. Kā. XIII.8, XXIV. 11, Ratnāvalī and Yuktiṣaṣṭikā, (Vs.46) and other texts.
36. Time and again he refers to and quotes from the Catuḥśataka and jñānasārasamuccaya. He establishes his Mādhyamika Affiliation.
37. See, Hopkins, 1983,p.435-6
38. Ibid, p.534.
39. Cf. also ibid, pp.591-94.

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An Analysis of Various Tantric Lineages of Atiśa Based on his Biographies

Yen Hui ju

This research paper is based on several biographical accounts of the life of Śrī Dipaṅkarajñāna (982-1054), better known as Atiśa and Jo bo rje in Tibet¹. The famous Indian Master and scholar was influential in the Buddhist renaissance in the eleventh century. In 1042 he came to Tibet on an invitation of the King Lha Lama Ye she'od and Byang chub'od to bring the right Buddhist teachings from India to Tibet. He stayed in Tibet for twelve years until he passed away in 1054. His coming to Tibet initiated the revival of Tibetan Buddhism.

One of Atiśa's most influential works was *Bodhipathapradīpa* (Byang chub lam gyi sgron ma), written on request by Guge's King Byang chub'od's, translated into English as *The Lamp for the Path to Enlightenment*. The text concentrates on 'Mind Training' and sets forth the entire Buddhist path within the framework of three levels of motivation on the part of a practitioner,

During Atiśa's stay in Tibet, he had many disciples, both monks and lay people. Among them, 'Brom ston Rgyal ba'byung gnas (1005-1064) was his main successor. He pleaded with Atiśa to visit central Tibet, where Atiśa taught for nine years until his passing away. Brom-ton-pa devoted the rest of his life to spreading Atiśa's teachings and establishing the Rva sgreng monastery in 1056,² which became the foundation for the Bka'gdams pa school. Though the Bka'gdams pa school declined gradually in later times, its core teachings were absorbed into other sects.

All available sources agree that Atiśa was invited from Vikramaśilā monastery to Tibet, mainly through his Tibetan disciple Nag'tsho Tshul khrim rgyal ba (1011-1064). Atiśa and Nag'tsho cooperated and completed many important translations including commentaries on the Tantras, Tara's practicing stanzas and

so forth. Nag tsho accompanied his master for nineteen years until he was sent by Atiśa to Nepal around 1053.

The investigation on what kinds of lineages were received by Atiśa provides us another aspect for the understanding of late Indian Mahāyāna Buddhism. This paper is mainly an initial textual analysis on the lineages of various practices passed down to Atiśa. The textual materials I use here are two of the earlier biographies of Atiśa.

1. ***Jo bo rje dpal ldan mar me mdzad ye shes kyi rnam thar rgyas pa* (usually called *Rnam thar rgyas pa*)-** This is a biography of Atiśa compiled on the basis of the statement of Nag tsho³. According to the colophon of this text, one of Atiśa's lineages was passed down from Nag tsho to his disciple Rong pa phyag sor pa⁴. Rong pa studied with Nag tsho in Gung thang for three years, then left for a place called Lag sor, as Nag tsho predicted to him. Later, he passed Atiśa's teachings to his four main disciples—the so-called Rong pa'i bu bzhi⁵. Together they compiled the earliest biography of Atiśa, called *Extensive Chronology* (lo rgyus chen mo). However, this work has never been found. According to the colophon, written by some anonymous author, the present work *Rnam thar yongs grags* is based on this unfound biography, having been compiled by Rong pa and his disciples.
2. ***Jo bo rin po che rje dpal ldan a ti sha'i rnam thar rgyas pa yongs grags* (usually called *Rnam thar yongs grags*)** - This more well-known biography of Atiśa is part of the *Book of Kadam* (*Bka'gdams glegs bam*) collection, compiled by Mchims thams cad mkhyen pa (Mchims Nam mkha grags, 1210~1285), the ninth abbot of Snar thang monastery. It is in some way based on the *Rnam thar yongsgrags*, but with some other references. It is one of the two most important sources for understanding Atiśa's lineages, containing many more details than other later biographical accounts about Atiśa. The list of his masters names found in the *Rnam thar yongsgrags* is much more organized, which will be used as our primary foundation for discussing the various lineages transmitted to Atiśa.

In general, the list of the lineages of Atiśa found in these two early biographies, *Rnam thar rgyas pa* and *Rnam thar yongs grags*, are mainly based on the original source from Nag tsho⁶. When the Ven. Fa-zun (1902-1980) compiled his *Biography of Atiśa* in Chinese, he also used these two biographies for references⁷.

In Vajrayāna teachings, it is often stated that there are four classes of Tantra: Action tantra (kriyā), Performance tantra (caryā), Yoga tantra and the Highest Yoga tantra (anuttara-yoga). However, it is very unique that Atiśa asserted that there are seven types of Tantras⁸:

1. Bya ba'i rgyud. (kriyā tantra)
2. Spyod pa'i rgyud. (caryā tantra)
3. Rtog pa'i rgyud. (kalpa-tantra)
4. Gnyis ka'i rgyud. (tantra of both)
5. Rnal'byor gyi rgyud. (Yoga tantra)
6. Rnal'byor chen po'i rgyud. (Mahāyoga tantra)
7. Rnal'byor bla na med pa'i rgyud. (anuttara-yoga tantra)

There must be some textual basis for Atiśa's explanation, but the analysis of tantric transmission involves complex references to various sects. In the *Rnam thar rgyas pa*, there was no such statement about the seven types of Tantras. Here I mainly follow his way of classification, while his view of Tantra, which is of great interest, is not being discussed here.

Following is the list of his lineages and names of those lineage-holders cited from *Rnam thar yongs grags*⁹.

1. Two general lineages (Spyir brgyud pa la gnyis) :
2. Lineage of the Common Vehicle (Theg pa thun mong ba'i brgyud pa) :
'Phags pa'jam dpal, Sangs rgyas ye shes, Mar me mdzad bzang po, Yi ge pa, Karnpa, Mkhan po Jtānaśrīmitra chen po, Atiśa.
3. Five lineages in the Mahāyāna lineage (Theg pa chen pa'i brgyud pa lnga) :
 - (1) The lineage of Secret Mantra in the Mahāyāna (Theg pa chen po gsang sngags kyi brgyud pa) :
 - A. Lineage of all Secret Mantra (Gsang sngags mtha' dag gi brgyud pa) :
 - a. Nāgārjuna (Slob dpon Klu sgrub), Āryadeva('Phags pa lha), Maticala, Telayogi (Tilopa?), Catipāla, Mañjuśrībhadra ('Jam dpal bzang po) Bhodhidhadra (Bhodhibhadra?), Śāntipa, Atiśa.
In *Rnam thar Rgyas pa*: Nāgārjuna→Āryadeva→ Maticala →Mañjuśrībhadra→ Bodhibhadra →Śāntipā→ Atiśa.
 - b. Slob dpon Sangs rgyas ye shes, Sangs rgyas gsang ba, Sangs

rgyas zhi ba, Kusulu (Avadhūtipā) chen po, Kusulu (Avadhūtipā) chung ba, Atiśa.

- B. Lineage of Guhyasamāja (Gsang ba'dus pa'i brgyud pa) :
- a. Rgyal po Indrabodhi (Indrabhūti), Klu mo Rnal'byor ma, Bram ze chen po Saraha, Slob dpon Klu sgrub, Candrakīrti (TsanKīrti) Vīryamaitrī Dombhīpā (Tso pi pa la ta), Rol pa'i rdo rje, Sa'gebs pa'i zgabs, Śāntipā, Atiśa. In *Rnam thar Rgyas pa*: Rgyal po Indrabhodhi (che ba) → Klu mo rnal'byor ma → Bram ze chen po Saraha → Slob dpon Klu sgrub → Candrakīrti → Vīryamaitrī → Jo'i pata(Dombhīpā?) → Rol pa'i rdo rje → Sa'gegs pa'i zgabs → Śāntipā → Atiśa.
 - b. 'Phags pa Klu sgrub, Zla bag rags pa, Rig pa'i khu byug, Kusulu chung ba, Atiśa.
According to the text, Atiśa received the Guhyasamāja lineage of Nāgārjuna ('Phags pa Klu sgrub). At that time, there were no remaining upholders of this tradition of Nāgārjuna, so Atiśa's tradition was the only lineage of Guhyasamāja in Tibet.
 - c. Sangs rgyas ye shes, Padmaba, Rgyal po Indrabodhi, Lcam legs smin, Rgyal po spyi bo skyes, 'Jam dpal bshes gnyen, Sangs rgyas ye shes, Kam pa la'i zhabs, Rol pa'i rdo rje, Sa'gebs pa'i zhabs, Śāntipā, Atiśa.
- C. Lineage of the Mother Tantra (Ma rgyud kyi brgyud pa)¹⁰:
Slob dpon Lūhipā (Klu'i sa), 'Dang gi ba, Dharikapā, Bram ze dze ta ri (Byang chub bzang po), Atiśa.
- D. Lineage of Krīya-yoga (Krī yogi brgyud pa) :
Sangs rgyas ye shes, Sangs rgyas zhi ba, Sangs rgyas gsang ba, Kusulu che ba, Kusulu chung ba, Atiśa.
- E. Lineage of Yamāntaka (Gshin rje gshed kyi brgyud pa) :
Karmalarakrita, Kṛṣṇa (Nag po pa), Atiśa.

It should be noted that in the rnam thar Rgyas pa the lineage-masters of Krī yogi brgyud pa and of Gshin rje gshed kyi brgyud pa were not recorded; however, in Rnam thar yongs grags both appear.

(2) The lineage of Prajñāpāramitā (Pha rol tu phyin pa'i brgyud pa) :

Two Traditions in Mahāyāna (Shing rta chen po'i srol gnyis) :

- A. Lineage of the Pure-view (Lta ba rnam par dag pa'i rgyud) :
Slob dpon Klu sgrub, Zla ba grags pa, Rig pa'i khu byug, Avadhūtipā (Kusulu) che ba, Avadhūtipā (Kusulu) chung ba, Atiśa.
- B. The Lineage of the Extensive Activity (Spyod pa rnam par dag pa'i rgyud) :
- a. Lineage from Maitreya (Rgyal ba Byams pa nas brgyud pa) :
Rgyal ba Byams pa, Slob dpon Thogs med, Slob dpon Dbyig gnyen, 'Phags pa Rnam grol sde, Btsun pa Rnam grol sde, Mchog gi sde, Dul ba'i sde, Rnam par snang mdzad bzang po, Seng ge bzang po, Rin chen sde, Gser gling pa, Atiśa.
- b. Lineage from Mañjuśrī ('Phags pa'Jam dpal nas brgyud pa) :
'Phags pa'Jam dpal, Slob dpon Blo gros mi zad pa, Dge slong Eladhari (Eladhari), Slob dpon Dpa' bo rdo rje, Mahawi, Ratnabodhisattva, Gser gling pa, Atiśa.

In general, Lta ba rnam par dag pa'i rgyud is related to Maitreya's (byams pa) lineage but it is never mentioned in Mañjuśrī's tradition (æjam dpal nas brgyud pa).

(3) Lineage of both Mantra and Prajñāparamitā (Sngags dang pha rol tu phyin pa gnyis ka'i brgyud pa)

- a. Slob dpon Klu sgrub, Āryadeva, Zla ba grags pa, Tilopā (Te lo yo gi), Rig pa'i khu byug, Jñānabodhi (Ye shes byang chub), Mañjuśrībhadra, Ratnakara Wanti, Atiśa.
In *Rnam thar Rgyas pa*: Slob dpon Klu sgrub → 'Phags pa lha → Zla ba grags pa → Te la yo gi → Rig pa'i khu byug → Jñānabodhi → Mañjuśrībhadra → Ratnākara (Rin chen'byung gnas) → Wantipā → Atiśa.

There were nine masters in this lineage in Rgyas pa's record; it shows Ratnakara to be Rin chen 'byung gnas in Tibetan, then the next one was Wantipā¹¹. Ratnākara Wanti is known as Wantipā. Therefore, the Rgyas pa seems to have one extra name which would be Ratnākara Wanti (Tib. rin chen'byung gnas zhi ba)

- b. Slob dpon Klu sgrub, Āryadeva, Matijita (Ma ti tsi ta), Tilopā (Te lo yo gi), Jatipāla (Tsa ti pa la), Mañjuśrībhadra, Bodhibhadra, Wantipā, Atiśa.

(4) Lineage of Siddhas (Grub pa thob pa'i brgyud pa) :

- A. 'Jam dpal bzang po, Wantipā, Atiśa.
- B. Slob dpon chen po Phyag na rdo rje, Padmaba, Rgyal po Indrabodhi, Lcam legs smin, Jñānabodhi, Tso'i pa la (Dombhīpā?), Vajrabodhi (Bdzrabodhi), Mañjuśrībhadrā, Wantipā, Atiśa.

(5) Lineage of Blessings (Byin rlabs kyi brgyud pa) :

- A. Tilopā (Shes rab bzang po), Rje btsung Nāropā, Dombhīpā (Dombhība), Atiśa.
- B. Slob dpon Buddhapālita, Sangs rgyas ye shes, Sangs rgyas zhi ba, Sangs rgyas gsang ba, Kusulu chen po, Kusulu chung ba, Atiśa.

There appears to be no reason for the Rgyas pa, the Theg pa chen po gsang sngags kyi brgyud pa to miss two important names- the masters' names of both Krī yogi brgyud pa and Gshin rje gshed kyi brgyud pa. Comparing Rgyas pa and Yongs grags in detail, we find that Rgyas pa has lost at least two paragraphs. We are not sure if the original version missed them or if they are just copying omissions, but in the Yongs grags, not only have main title of Krī yogi brgyud pa and Gshin rje gshed kyi brgyud pa been missed, but also some content. Although until now I do not have another edition of the Rgyas pa, however, I believe it to be a copying omission. At the beginning of his explanation of the transmission of Atiśa's lineage, the Yongs grags mentions five or four lineages. The following is the second part.

2 Four Mahāyāna Lineages (Theg pa chen pa'i brgyud pa bzhi) :**(1) Lineage of characteristics (Mtshan nyid kyi brgyud pa) :**

- A. Slob dpon Dharmakīrti nas brgyud pa : Dharmakīrti.
- B. Seng ge bzang po nas brgyud pa : Wantipa.
- C. Slob dpon Klu sgrub nas brgyud pa : ?

In *Rnam thar Rgyas pa* : Slob dpon Klu sgrub nas brgyud pa : Rig pa'i khu byug.

In Mtshan nyid kyi brgyud pa, there are three lineage tradition holders. There is a problem in this paragraph Yongs grags, and we are not sure if the author Mchims missed it or it is just a copying omission.

- D. 'Phags pa byams pa, Thogs med, Dbyig gnyen, Blo gros brtan

pa, Kusulu chen po, Kusulu chung ba, Gser gling pa, Atiśa.

(2) Lineage of Affecting the Enlightenment Attitude (Sems bskyed kyi brgyud pa) :

- A. Lung → Dri ma med par grags pa'i mdo.
 Rig pa → Byang chub sems dpa'i sa
 Lta ba → Sems tsam la brten nas spyod pa

Three in one : 'Phags pa byams pa, Thogs med, Dbyig gnyen, Blo gros brtan pa, Kusulu che ba, Kusulu chung ba, Gser gling pa, Atiśa.

This section addressing his Sems bskyed kyi brgyud pa teachers names includes 'oracle transmission', 'wisdom' and 'view'. Comparing it with the Yongs grags, it has the same number of paragraphs and records those names, but shows in Mtshan nyid kyi brgyud pa. But later paragraphs use the same writing style and structure. Another, those teacher's names are not appropriated to put in Mtshan nyid kyi brgyud pa. It appears that Yongs grags in this section have been so obviously different from Rgyas pa because of some purpose of his own or it was just a misunderstanding. In my opinion, I consider the Rgyas pa should be correct.

- B. Lung → Nam mkha'i snying bo'i mdo.
 Rigs pa → Bslab btus, Spyod'jug.
 Lta ba → Mdo sde ba'i lta ba la brten nas spyod pa.
 Three in one which accepted from : Byams pa'i Rnal'byor pa.
- C. Lung → Dbyug pa gsum gyi phreng ba.
 Rigs pa → Rta dbyangs kyi Mdo sde rgyan.
 Lta ba → Bye brag tu smra ba'i lta ba la brten nas spyod pa.
 Three in one which accepted from : Dharmarakṣita.

(3) Lineage of Siddhānta (Grub mtha'i brgyud pa) :

'Jam dpal dbyang, Avadhudhipa, Mar me mdzad bzang po, Shakya bshes gnyen, Ri bo bzang po, Dge slong bsod snyoms pa, Khu byug, Sa'gebs pa, Rtanakara Wantipa, Atiśa.

(4) Lineage of Various Instructions (Gdams pa sna tshogs pa'i brgyud pa) :

- A. Slob dpon Klu sgru, Nāgabhodhi, Spyod pa ba, Sa ge pa, Rtanākarawanti (Ratnākarasāntipa), Atiśa.
- B. Nāgārjuna, Zla ba grags pa, Rig pa'i khu byug, Avadhudhipa, Gser gling pa, Atiśa.

- C. Nāgārjuna, Āryadeva, Zla ba grags pa, Tilopa (Te lo yogi), Matisthira, Jñanabodhi, Atiśa.

(5) Received from]Many Guru (Bla ma du ma yod) :

- A. Guru of teaching the view (Lta ba lung ston pa'i bla ma) : Naropa
 B. Guru of Blessing through Practice (Brtul shugs kyis byin gyis rlob pa'i bla ma) : Dombhipa.
 C. Guru of Blessing through Various Activities (Las tshogs gyi byin rlabs ster ba'i bla ma) : Acārya chen po.
 D. Guru of Giving Blessings through Practice (Rdzu'phrul gyi byin rlabs ster ba'i bla ma) : Paṇḍita Mitra chen po.
 E. Guru of Giving Blessing through Vajravarahī (Phag mo'i byin rlabs ster ba'i bla ma) : Bhutakodiva (Bhu ta ko di wa).
 F. Guru of Giving Nāgārjuna's Instructions (Klu sgrub kyis gdams pa ster ba'i bla ma) : Mkhas pa chen po Rtamchog.
 G. Guru of Showing Bodhicitta (Byang chub kyis sems brtan par byed pa'i bla ma) : Shes rab bzang po.
 H. Guru of Extending the Meaning of Words (Tshig don rgyas par byed pa'i bla ma) : Wantipa.
 I. Guru Particularly Giving the Door-Opening of the Stages of Mind-Training (Khyad par du bstan pa'i sgo'byed blo sbyong ba'i rim pa ster ba'i bla ma) : Gser gling pa.

Atiśa received all kinds of teachings from those masters mentioned above.

The stanzas of Bstod pa Brgyad cu pa were written by Sa'i snying po and Nag'tsho lo tsā ba after Atiśa passed away. According to the Bstod pa Brgyad cu pa, they are as follows:¹²

/ rtag tu bsten pa'i bla ma ni / / shanti pa dang gser gling pa /
 / bha tra bo dhi dznya na shri / / dngos grub thob pa mang po dang /
 / khyad par du yang klu sgrub nas / / gcig nas gig tu brgyud pa yi /
 / zab pad dang ni rgya che ba'i / / gdams pa khyod la mnga' ba yin /

The teachers [you] always followed

[were] Śāntipa and Gser gling pa,

Bhadrabodhi [and] Jbanwri.

Out of traditions handed down in lines from one to one,

[stemming] from many who have reached siddhi

and especially from Nāgārjuna,

you were provided with deep and ample religious instruction¹³.

Atiśa was viewed as the lineage holder of all the above mentioned teachers. It is said that by merely hearing those masters names, one can obtain unimaginable merit, eliminate obstacles and be filled with faith¹⁴. Even though Atiśa had many special teachers from many varieties of lineages, he always stressed Gser gling pa as the incomparable one and he was always grateful for his teachings¹⁵. There is a well known story that Atiśa traveled overseas to find Gser gling pa to learn from him. Because he had obtained the 'Mind Training' teaching from Gser gling pa, he appeared to Atiśa in visions at crucial points in his life.

Most of those masters were lay Indian tantric practitioners, not monks. Atiśa did not want to give up his tantric discipline vows and he was finally ordained by Sangs rgyas ye shes. In other words, he abided by the vows of Mahāsāṃghika¹⁶. However, when Atiśa spread Buddhist teachings in Tibet, he also transmitted the views of the Sarvāstivādin School¹⁷. Therefore, studying his lineages is helpful in understanding Atiśa's activities in India. At the same time, through his writings one could further understand the late Indian Mahāyāna Buddhism.

Among Mchims Nam mkha grags's writings, his account of Atiśa's earlier Indian masters offers a more complete historical list of his lineages. Since rnam thar rgyas pa, Mchims was the first to combine materials from those lineages. Despite its style, there are still many details in his work that cannot found in other texts about Atiśa, especially his view of the different doctrinal systems.

The Rnam thar yongs grags can be regarded as an extensive and systematic biography that accounts for the background of Atiśa's lineages. Although it is mostly referenced from Rnam thar rgyas pa, it is still enriched with details that Rnam thar rgyas pa didn't have.

Five lineages in the Rnam thar rgyas pa and Rnam thar yongs grags are consistent. After comparing the two texts we find that there are some differences in detail. One part that is different is the lineage masters names, which may be through copying errors and omissions. In this article, I only refer to a few examples that exist in it.

Most previous researches on Atiśa focused merely on the monk and the scholarly aspect of his life and legacy. In fact, Atiśa was also a supreme master of tantric practice. The biographies of Atiśa evoke for Tibetan readers a sense of the Indian origins of his background. In other words, perhaps we can think from another perspective to explore his being a tantric master. For example, Ba ri Rin chen Grags (1040-1111)¹⁸ met Atiśa at Snyethang monastery while on his way to India shortly before the latter's death. During this meeting, Bari was advised to study

in India with Dorje Denpa (Rdo rje gdan), a great master of Vajrayāna and disciple of such siddhas as Jetari. Jetari was one of the twelve Root gurus of Atiśa when he was in India. Therefore, it is helpful to investigate Atiśa's Indian background in some detail. And it will be thought provoking to provide an in-depth account of all his tantric lineages and to extract some meaning out of such a list.

As a concluding remark I must say that this introduction to the lineages of Atiśa is based on the textual preliminary analyses of Atiśa's lineages and the names of his teachers. We could better understand his Buddhist philosophical views later. Through this we could have further breakdown of Atiśa's writings and translated works.

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4. Ibid.pp. 247-248. Yen Hui-ru. *Philological Studies on the Tibetan Biographies of Atisha*. (Fo Guang University, 2008)pp. 43-45.
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10. The Ma rgyud kyi brgyud paö in Bka' gdams chos'byung was written as Bde mchog mtha' dag gsan pa'i brgyud paö. See Ngag dbang Kun dga' Bsod nams grags pa rgyal mtshan. Bka' gdams chos'byung. Mtsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1995, p. 47.

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Atiśa and Tholing Monastery : The Archaeological Discoveries

Zhang Jian Lin



Tholing Monastery, Tibet.

Atiśa in the history of Tibetan Buddhism has an extraordinary place, as almost all Tibetan Buddhist historical documents and archives have special write-ups on him. Among them, *The Quotations of Bka'ghams pa Master* and *The Blue Annals* were considered the clearest and best in their detailing. *The Blue Annals* even have a chapter dedicated to 'Atiśa and his lineage'.

When Atiśa went to Tibet he arrived first in the Guge Kingdom of West Tibet and then he moved on; altogether he stayed in Tibet for seventeen years. About Atiśa's first arrival there are many versions, but they more or less coincide, with not too much contradiction. For instance the *Ruyi Baoshu Shi* says :

Atiśa arrived at Tholing Monastery of Ngari at the Year of the Water Horse (1042, and Byang-chub-'od led all the kinsmen and people of Ngari to give him a grand welcome.

Atiśa stayed at Tholing Monastery about three years, but there is nothing written about the year he left. Most likely he left before 1045, if not even earlier. According to the *Blue Annals*:

After three days, the Supreme One and his followers started their journey to 'MangYul', in the Year of the Rooster (1045), and he stayed at ManYul about a year.

In the three years Atiśa stayed at Tholing, he did many things but two of them are the most important:

1. The sessions that he had with Byang-chub-'od and Rinchen-tsang-po. With Rinchen-tsang-po, the discussions were thought-provoking; they had many good exchanges and cross-examinations of Buddhist Doctrines etc.
2. His discussion with Byang-chub-'od resulted in the writing of *Bodhipathapradīpa* or *Lamp for the Path to Enlightenment*.

When Atiśa arrived at Ngari, Byang-chub-'od gave him a fabulous welcome. Thereafter, at Tholing Monastery, Byang-chub-'od disclosed his worries concerning several issues, such as the immoral, unethical and devilish practices in Buddhism at that time. He then asked Atiśa to write something to reverse those undesirable phenomena. Atiśa produced *Tantric Teachings on the Emancipation from Illusions*; he also taught the secret methods of Abhiṣeka to those who attended the sessions.



An excavated fragment of a Buddhist sutra and a Buddha head from the Sakya Court, Tholing Monastery, Western Tibet.

So far as Rinchen-tsang-po is concerned, he was in his eighties and felt obliged to entertain Atiśa, and invited him to his living quarters in Tholing temple. In the temple there were deities of the higher and lower Tantras represented according to their respective degrees - and for each of them Atiśa composed laudatory verses. When Rinchen-tsang-po found Atiśa could instantly compose those verses, he began to respect Atiśa earnestly.

In addition to clarifying the Buddhist Doctrines, shaping the rules and regulations, bringing order out of chaos, Atiśa even constructed necessary rituals for the stūpas and statues at Tholing monastery.

When Brom-ton-pa had his ordination, Atiśa requested all the monks to obey the laws of Buddhist doctrines, and told them they must keep Samaya. Even the ordinary/lay people must obey some rules and regulations. He also performed the blessing ceremony and taught return blessings to all beings - the proper way of giving offerings, performing burial ceremonies, as well as helping the sick, offering prayers, etc.

Construction of Tholing Monastery began around the end of the 10th and the beginning of the 11th century as has been recorded in many Tibetan historical works.

According to the *Red Annals*:

The King of Guge Kingdom Zanskar bKra shis mgon, had two sons: Yeshes-'Od and Khor re. During the time when the father and the sons were building Tholing Monastery they had sent twenty seven young men to India to study Buddhism.

In most of the historical records the exact time of building the monastery has not been stated. In *The Great Treasure, the History of Buddhism*, there is a paragraph:

'Yeshses-'od succeeded his father to become the King and build Tholing Monastery at Zhang Zhung; at the time many translators and scholars also contributed to the building of the monastery.'

Only Dongga Luosangci had written the year of building the monastery. In the *Red Annals*:

The Golden Temple, the famous Tholing Monastery of Nagri was built by King Yeshses-'od of the Guge Kingdom in the Year of the Fire Monkey (996), the 2nd year of Zhi-Dao, Dai Zong Zhao Guang Yi of Song Dynasty.



Paintings from the ruins of Tholing Monastery.

Dongga Luosangci did not mention the source of his information; we believe it most likely came from *The Kings of Ngari* from the 15th century.

There were around 300 stūpas scattered all around the Tholing Monastery. Some of them were made of bronze and some were painted beautifully. The bigger stūpas are often bigger than 10 meters in height while the smaller ones measure around two meters. They contained miniature clay stūpas, figurines and decorations. The historical records say that there were 108 stūpas with a bead rosary used by Rin-chen-tsang-po. A large number of scenes are excavated like: eight misfortunes, Avalokiteśvara as rescuer (as mentioned in the Lotus Sutra), clergymen, attendants, goddesses, especially Tārā and several other divine beings.

The earliest halls in the compound should be Sakyasa (Yeshses-'od) and Sekhang. The Tibetan Samye Temple was used as model for the buildings. It is also mentioned in the *Ruyi Baoshu Shi* that Sekhang Hall was built exactly like Samye Temple.

The Italian scholar Giuseppe Tucci visited Tholing Monastery twice in 1933 and 1935. He took a great number of photographs, and published some of them in

Cronace della Missione Scientifica Tucci Occidentale [1933] and *Santi e Briganti nel Tibet Ignoto [1937]* Rome. About 50 years later, in 1981, the Institute of Industry Survey Measurement and Design of Tibet did some work, and in 1985 the Committee of Culture and Relics of Tibet has also made some investigations and topographic drawings. The report was published in *The Historic Site of Guge Kingdom* and *Ancient City Guge*. 1997-1999. The Department of Culture and Relics of Tibet Autonomous Region organized the Rescue Mission for Ngari and a thorough investigation was conducted.

Since Sakyasa Hall and the Sekhang Hall were severely damaged during the 60s of the last century, an archeological digging was subsequently arranged. A large number of artefacts and broken statues were uncovered; nearly 100² meters of mural walls were also excavated. All these provided us valuable information on the architecture, as well as Buddhist arts and styles of the time.

Tholing Monastery is located north-west of Zhanda County on the Xiangquan plateau on the south bank of Xiangquan River. The centre of the monastery was the Sakyasa Hall; it is north-east facing and the central axis was from the south-east to the north-east and the whole area was surrounded by walls.

To the west of Sakyasa Hall are Sekhang Hall, Lhakang Garpo Hall, Dukang Hall, Nengyu Ihakang Hall and Lhanrang and Monks' dormitory. Around the four corners of the Sakyasa Hall, there are four stūpas called the four inner-corner stūpas. At the four corners outside the monastery walls, there are also four stūpas and they are called the four outer stūpas.

The damage to the Sakyasa Hall was mainly to its roof and statues, while the structures are still intact. From the structures, archaeologists were able to study the complicated layout, the architectural plan and even the unique ideas behind the construction of the building. The layout of Sakyasa Hall was as follows:

‘**卍**’ consisted of five inner halls, nineteen outer halls and four small stūpas. The inner halls were surrounded by the outer halls, and in between the inner and outer halls, there was an open-air cloister. The main gate was to the east.

The square hall at the centre was the heart. The excavation in 1997 revealed carved lotus, crossed karma vajras, vajras, and maṇi beads as symbols which are placed on the four sides of Mahāvairocana . Of these, we believe the original statue must be of Mahāvairocana, and so it was called lang-ba-lang-ze-la-kang, the Mahāvairocana Hall.



A mural depicting shipwreck, one of the eight misfortunes as described in the Buddhist sutras, Tholing monastery, Western Tibet.

There are 5 halls in the centre, the second round has 4 large halls, and the outer round has 15 small halls. According to the Lamas of Tholing Monastery the names of halls were the following:

中心五殿 5 halls in the centre

- 大日如来殿 (Rnam-par-s nang-mdzad) 编号F24, 中心殿
- 宝生佛殿 (Rin-chen-vbyung-gas) 编号F20, 中心殿南
- 无量光佛殿 (Snang-ba-mthav) 编号F21, 中心殿西
- 不空成就佛殿 (Don-yod-grub-pa) 编号F22, 中心殿北
- 金刚不动佛殿 (Mi-bskyod-pa) 编号F23, 中心殿东

外围四大殿 4 large halls in the second round

- 释迦牟尼殿 (Bdud-vdul-lha-khang) 编号F2, 外围东面
- 弥勒佛殿 (Byms-pa-ker-bzhengs-lha-khang) 编号F11, 外围西面
- 药师佛殿 (Sman-lha-lha-khang) 编号F6, 外围南面
- 无量寿佛殿 (Tshe-bpag-med-lha-khang) 编号F16, 外围北面

外围十五小殿 15 small halls in the outer round

- 天王殿 (Rgyl-chen-rigs-bzhi) 编号F1, 东面门厅

- 大威德殿 (Vjigs-byed- lha-khang) 编号F3, 外围东南
- 阿扎惹殿 (a-rtsa-ra- lha-khang) 编号F4, 外围东南
- 吉祥光殿 (Bkra-shis-vod-kyi- lha-khang) 编号F5, 外围东南
- 观音殿 (Thub-dbang- lha-khang) 编号F7, 外围西南
- 度母殿 (Sgrol-ma- lha-khang) 编号F8, 外围西南
- 五部佛殿 (Rgyl-ba-rigs-Ing- lha-khang) 编号F9, 外围西南
- 吉祥天女殿 (Srung-ma- lha-khang) 编号F10, 外围西南
- 金刚持殿 (Phyg-rdor- lha-khang) 编号F12, 外围西北
- 佛母殿 (Yum- lha-khang) 编号F13, 外围西北
- 修习弥勒殿 (Byms-pa-ngal-gso- lha-khang) 编号F14, 外围西北
- 宗喀巴殿 (Rje- lha-khang) 编号F15, 外围西北
- 甘珠尔殿 (Bkavcgyur- lha-khang) 编号F17, 外围东北
- 丹珠尔殿 (Bstanvgyur- lha-khang) 编号F18, 外围东北
- 文殊殿 (Vjam-dbyngs- lha-khang) 编号F19, 外围东北

The structure of Stupa No 50 is quite similar to Stupa No 55. The upper part was destroyed but the lower part of the wall was still there. A small hall with an area of 7m² could be found; it seemed the door toward to the east was blocked right after the stupas were built. Inside, all the statues were destroyed but some part of the mural can still be recognized. There are 4-armed and 8-armed, and 11-faced Avalokiteśvaras. The story was of Avalokitesvara and the eight disasters. The art works were different from those of Stupa No 55; the disciples and the way of using colours were similar to the art work of the Ajanta caves.

In addition to the broken statues, murals and many Buddhist objects, there were various types of Tsha-tsha, mainly of three categories: Buddha, stupas, and sutras. Of the three categories, each category has almost 100 different varieties, and they are all products of the 11-12th century. At that time, moulds were used to make Tsha-tsha. The process of making Tshe-tshe was :

1. Using a type of grey and white clay and the shapes and sizes would be according to the moulds.
2. Try to use the clay press into the modes.
3. To colour.

If we group the Tsha-tsha according to their details, they could be grouped into a good 200 types.

Tshe-tshe were taken to Tibet in the 11th century, and its popularity is directly linked to Atiśa. *The Biography of Master Atiśa* mentioned that Atiśa was the person who brought Tshe-tshe wood prints to Tibet, and he had made Tshe-tshe himself. A large numbers of Tshe-tshe were found in the three monasteries Atiśa stayed in, Htho-lin, Xiaper and Cha-yerba. In the 80s of the last century, in the meditation cave of Cha-yerba were found two types of Tshe-tshe. According to an expert from New Zealand those Tshe-tshe were from two different areas. Type A was similar to those excavated from the valley of the Ganges River with Sakya and Avalokiteśvara in a sitting or standing position with clear Northern Indian alphabets. Type B, mainly lotus seats and stupas, are with unclear Northern Indian alphabets. Without any doubt the two types of Tshe-tshe were products of the 11th century.



A mural depicting attendant figures on the southern wall of stūpa 55, Tholing monastery, Western Tibet.

At present, in the compound of Tholing Monastery there are two Buddhist Halls which are very well preserved. One is the main hall, Vdu-khang ; the other is the White Hall, Lha-Kang-Bkar-po. The main hall was painted in red and was also called the Red Hall. It was built in the 15th century, the floor layout is in the shape of '凸' and consists of corridors, the front hall and the back hall; the total area is about 600m². The 36 pillars, beams, ceiling and all the wooden structures are in

good condition. The original statues were destroyed, but the mural, the colourful paintings on the doors and windows frames are still beautiful. Sixteen Vajra-nṛtyās are drawn with beautiful flowing lines and in pastel colours. In the front hall there were Sakya, other Buddhas, and the painting of Guge priests and Royals worshipping.

On the upper parts of the back hall there are Buddhas, Tārās, and Bodhisattvas, and on the lower part are the Jātaka stories. The paintings on the ceiling are very beautiful and large in size; there are Apsarās, singing birds, two lions and two phoenixes.

The White Hall is also of '□' shape, the area is 550m² with 42 pillars. In its main hall was Bhaiṣajyaguru or Medicine Buddha, plus Atiśa, Rinchen-tsang-po, Ye She'Od, and several Esoteric Masters. The ceiling paintings are mainly of flowers and vegetation with some rare animals.

Tholing was the most important monastery during the Tibetan renaissance period, and it also has historical importance as the first monastery to receive Atiśa. In 1670, the Year of Fire Dragon, it held a grand ceremony in memory of Atiśa, and these gatherings made a great impact in Buddhist history. Because of its history and architecture, it still holds its importance as being the model for Tibetan monasteries.

Atiśa Śrī Dīpaṅkara-jñāna and Cultural Renaissance

16th - 23rd January 2013

Atiśa Śrī Dīpaṅkara-jñāna, a great saint-philosopher of the 10th-11th century, almost forgotten in India over the past centuries, had been venerated as an outstanding personality in Asian countries and regions, especially north of the Himalayas for centuries. He is a shining symbol of peace, compassion, humanism, self sacrifice, harmony and amity who devoted his energies for preservation of Dhamma to Odantapurī, Vikramaśīla, Sompurī, Nālandā and other universities and monastic complexes. He played a singular role in infusing wisdom and in the resurgence of Buddhism, laying a foundation of pure Buddhism in Tibet.

Indian historians have not documented Atiśa's life and legacy in India, Indonesia or Tibet. The major source to study him is Tibetan historical chronicles collected over the past 100 years - accounts of the spiritual teacher's life found in 44 Tibetan texts - biographies, doctrinal works, catalogues and hymns written in his praise.

This volume contains research papers presented by scholars at an international conference combined with an exhibition and demonstration of divine arts organised by the Kalakosa Division of the Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts. According to Prof. Lokesh Chandra, Atiśa represents the Indian vision of a Buddhist cosmopolis.

Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts (IGNCA)

IGNCA is visualised as an autonomous body encompassing study of the arts -- each form with its own integrity, yet within a dimension of mutual inter-dependence and inter-relatedness.

The IGNCA's view of the arts encompasses a wide area of studies, such as creative and critical literature, written and oral; the visual arts, ranging from architecture, sculpture, painting and graphics to general material culture; photography and film; the performing arts of music, dance and theatre in their broadest connotation; and all else in festivals, fairs and in lifestyles that has an artistic dimension. It is in the Centre's agenda to explore, study and revive the dialogue between India and her neighbours, especially in the South and South East Asia, in areas pertaining to the arts.

The uniqueness of the IGNCA's approach to the arts lies in the fact that it does not segregate the folk and the classic, the oral and the aural, the written and the spoken and the old and the modern. Here the emphasis is on the connectivity and the continuity between the various fields that ultimately relate human-to-human and human-to-nature.

The IGNCA manifests its academic, research work in its publications, international and national seminars, conferences, exhibitions and lecture series. The schools and other education institutions are within the focus of the outreach programme of the IGNCA.

To fulfill the objectives outlined in the Conceptual Plan of the Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts and its principal aims, its functions are organized through five divisions viz. Kalanidhi: Library, Kalakosa: Research & Publication Division, Janapada Sampada: Division for the Study of the Diverse Living Traditions, Kala Darsana: Division for Exhibition and Presentation and Sutradhara: Division of Administration and Co-ordination that are autonomous in structure but interlocked in programming.

The Kalakosa Division undertakes fundamental research and investigates the intellectual traditions in their dimensions of multi-layers and multi-disciplines. As a research and publication division, it endeavours to place the arts within the integral framework of a cultural system, combining the textual with the oral, the visual with the aural, and theory with practice.