

Literary Sources of the *Guṇakāraṇḍavyūha*

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1. Introduction

The *Guṇakāraṇḍavyūha*, a Buddhist Sūtra composed in Sanskrit by Newars probably in the 15th century, shows a broad familiarity with the literature of later Indian Buddhism. Its title, which points toward its most important source, the *Kāraṇḍavyūha*, has led some scholars to assume it is only a verse expansion of that text, but this would be a mistake. Other important sources include the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti*, and late Indian manuals describing the Poṣadha ritual. There are also as yet unidentified poetic sections, and narrative episodes which are expansions of Avadāna material.

A study of the sources of the *Guṇakāraṇḍavyūha* (hereafter GKV) and the way in which they are adapted begins to show something of the sophistication of its 15th century composer (or composers). The process of writing new Buddhist texts in Sanskrit had ended everywhere else by this time. Right through the 12th century, we can say that the Buddhists living in the Valley of Nepal were part of a broader community of Indian Buddhists stretching from Kashmir to Indonesia. Newar Buddhist pandits taught in the great Indian monastic universities; other pandits came to Nepal to visit sacred sites or to study.¹ In the tumultuous decades when Buddhism lost most of its material foundation in India, the valley of Nepal became a safe heaven for the continued practice of Sanskrit Buddhism. There were a few other regions where Sanskrit Buddhism still hung on - Kashmir, Bali, eastern Bengal - but only in the valley of Nepal was the Buddhist culture strong enough to take root and flourish, as indeed it still does today. In the centuries after the collapse of mainstream Indian Buddhism, the Newar Buddhists had to adapt and localise the great tradition, now bereft of its pilgrimage sites, its great universities, its oceanic trade routes, and its political patronage. The GKV, along with a handful of other distinctively Newar Buddhist texts,² was written as a part of this process of localization. To the extent that it draws on Indian sources, and indeed claims to be a version of an old and respected Indian Buddhist text, it is asserting community with and demonstrating knowledge of that vanishing tradition.

In this paper, I will outline some of the identifiable sources of the GKV. These can be divided by the degree to which they literally form a part of the text; some are clear influences, while others actually contribute material to the body of the text.

I will begin by identifying some of the Indian sources which are definite influences on the GKV. then, I will break up the GKV schematically into three categories: entirely original material, material which is directly traceable to previous texts, and the majority of the text, in which the author(s) built on a dominant source, transforming it into poetry and weaving new material into the older sources.

In order to look at how the GKV handles its sources, we will then look at two examples of these different processes: chapter eighteen which consists largely of material lifted directly from the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*; and the episode of Avalokiteśvara rescuing the worms in

Vārāṇasi, where a story from the *Kāraṇḍavyūha* (hereafter KV) is rendered into poetry with the addition of new information on the advanced stages of the path. Finally I will return to the claim, implicit in the title that the GKV is just another version of the KV and consider what force this would have given the project of the GKV.³

2. Identifying the sources

The limitations of literary sources. We can divide the sources for the GKV into three: literary sources, iconographic sources, and ritual sources. These are not mutually exclusive categories; the GKV itself is an example of a *māhātmya*, which is not primarily a ritual manual, but it nonetheless contains some ritual information. It is only the literary sources which can be said to contribute textual material directly to the GKV. The two primary literary sources for the GKV are the KV and the Bodhicaryāvatāra.

Yet in neither of these texts will we find any mention of the Poṣadha Vrata, a ritual which is the centre of the GKV. The most important epithet of the Buddha, Śrī Ghano Buddha, is similarly absent from these classical sources; and Yama's marvellous outpouring of names and forms in his greeting to Avalokiteśvara in chapter two draws on a wide range of iconographic forms are largely late Indian in derivation. The importance of these non-literary elements indicates the influence of specific texts and traditions which could not otherwise be inferred. A full account of all the iconographic elements of the GKV would go far beyond the remit of this paper, however.

2.1 Avadāna materials

The KV and the GKV inherit some of their episodes from the Divyāvadāna and other avadāna collections. Best known is the episode of Siṃhalasārthavāha, the merchant who travels to Śrī Laṅka with 500 men and encounters there the rakṣiṇīs who charm his crew. This story took strong root in Nepal and, with the substitution of Tibet for Śrī Laṅka became the story of Śrī Saṅgha Bo. Siegfried Lienhard has traced the evolution of this story as well as that of the magical horse Balāha.⁴ Although the author(s) of the GKV were working in a cultural context which prized the avadāna stories and indeed created vast compilations of them as part of the same rituals that the GKV endorses, there is no new avadāna material in the GKV which is not supported by the pre-existing narrative of the KV.

2.2 The Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti

The MNS is apparently the source for the epithet of the Ādibuddha used in the GKV, Śrī Ghano Buddha. The term *ghanaḥ* first appears in the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti*. Although its appearance in the GKV does not necessarily reflect a direct influence from that text, it is an unusual epithet in the later Indian Sanskrit texts⁵ and does not occur in any other Avalokiteśvara texts that I know of. The term is, however shared with the *Svayambhū Purāṇa* in the longer recension and also appears in later Newari songs.⁶ The first verse of the GKV⁷ reads:

1. *yaḥ śrīghano buddhaḥ sarvalokādhipo jinaḥ |*
te nāthaṃ śaraṇaṃ gatvā vaksye lokaśasatkathā^a ||

^a T1 N1 N2 C1 H1; J1 has a totally reworked Nāth maṅgalam.

In the Svayaṃbhūpurāṇa of 12 chapters,⁸ the closing verse of the first chapter reads

ity ādiṣṭaṃ munīndreṇa śrīghanena niśamyate |
maitreyādisabhālokaḥ sarve ěpi saṃpramoditā^a ||

^a ed. *saṃpramodite*

In the MNS the term ghanaḥ is found at 6.20:⁹

6.20 *ghanaikasāro vajrātmā sadyojato jagatpatiḥ |*
gaganodbhavaḥ svayaṃbhūḥ prajñājnānalao mahān ||

The term *ghano* is glossed by Raviśrījñāna as *niviḍatvāt*, ìimpenetrableî or ìdenseî. It is unclear whether the term is first used in the Svayaṃbhū Purāṇa or the GKV, but it would appear that the epithet is a distinctive feature of Newar Buddhism, derived from the MNS, which is in place by the 15th century and preserved as an epithet of the Ādibuddha thereafter.

Further evidence for influence of at least the vocabulary of the MNS is the occurrence of the unusual term *rād*, meaning ìcrownî or ìkingî. In the MNS it occurs in the compound *dharmarād*; in the GKV we find it in chapter two in the name *Yamarād*.

2.3 Poṣadha ritual material

The central concern of the GKV is the promotion of the Poṣadha Vrata. I will not here go into details of this claim, or even begin to list the number of places in the text where it is recommended, or where its benefits are described. However, the form of the ritual understood and described in the text is clearly not simply the layfold coming to hear stories; it is an elaborate ritual of Amoghaprḍa as described in the modern case by John Locke,¹⁰ and as I have documented in the fourteenth century.¹¹ This is the well known ritual fast also called the *Aṣṭamī Vrata*. The oldest manuals describing this form of the Poṣadha Vrata exist in Tibetan translations of the thirteenth century, and are perhaps eleventh century in origin. There are a handful of texts describing the Poṣadha ritual in the bsTan ěgyur,¹² and there are Poṣadha ritual texts in Sanskrit in Nepalese collections which have not been dated or properly edited.¹³ The cult of Amoghapāśa with its Poṣadha Vrata seems to have been a late development in Indian Buddhism, perhaps with Kamīrian roots, which blossomed in Nepal and became the basis for the cult of Karuṇāmaya. Indeed, I believe the GKV was written as part of the expansion and promulgation of this cult, which was originally centred at Buṅgadyaḥ.

Given that the original purpose the Poṣadha, or *upavastha*, ritual was the edification and

instruction of lay Buddhists through oral teachings, it is not at all surprising that the two major works associated with the Poṣadha vow are collections of stories. The GKV, like the KV, is a collection of episodes celebrating the activities of Avalokiteśvara in saving all sentient beings without exception. Some of these episodes, as I mentioned above, are drawn from the vast pool of avadāna literature. The other major corpus of texts associated with the Poṣadha ritual, the *Aṣṭamīvrata Kathā* texts, are collections of avadāna and Jātaka material which were intended for narration during the performance of the fast.

It is thus interesting, as I noted above, that the GKV is surprisingly conservative in not taking over some of the same story material found in the *Aṣṭamīvrata Kathā*. The close association of those stories with performances of the ritual is demonstrated by the illustrations in the *paubha* or painted scrolls which were sometimes produced to commemorate the performance of the Poṣadha Vrata.¹⁴ Nonetheless, the GKV promotes the efficacy of the Poṣadha Vrata without drawing in any stories like the *Vīrakūśa Avadāna* that exemplify its power; instead, preserves the body of Avalokiteśvara miracle stories from the KV. The two collections of stories seem to complement each other, and indeed the GKV's essentially conservative nature is not matched either by the *Aṣṭamīvrata Kathā* manuscripts, which can contain a selection of different avadānas, or the *Svayambhū Purāṇa* which has developed several different recensions. Brinkhaus (1993)

3 Literary sources

Literary style Before commencing a discussion of the textual heritage of the GKV, it will help us to establish the style of the text, which determines the degree to which it can borrow directly, and explains why it is often easy to notice borrowings from older Sanskrit texts. The style of the GKV swings between a rather mechanical use of metric units and bursts of accomplished and beautiful poetry. In form it is almost entirely śloka, the most important exceptions being the triṣṭubh section of the first chapter and the more complex verses, largely borrowed from the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, in the 8th and 18th chapters.

The repetitive use of formulaic material dominates much of the work, and in this it is reminiscent of other late, non-Buddhist, purāṇas. Stylistically it is most similar to its sister text, the *Svayambhūpurāṇa*. As the entire text is a series of nested dialogues in praise of Avalokiteśvara, these standard padas often fall into one of four categories: dialogue framing narrative, epithets of a speaker, descriptions of corrective devotion to Avalokiteśvara, or formulaic descriptions of the path along with Avalokiteśvara propels the countless beings whom he is determined to rescue from saṃsāra.

So for example the pada *tam ālokyaiḥ abravīt*, occurs frequently introducing dialogue; the variation *samālokyaiḥ adīśat* occurs three times in the first chapter. In the flow of śloka metre, this fits the even padas. Similarly, the epithet *jinātmajaḥ* occurs at the end of even padas describing Buddhas, Avalokiteśvara, or other great Bodhisattvas, where odd padas will often have *bodhisattvo mahāsattvaḥ*. At this level, the similarity of the GKV to the *Svayambhū Purāṇa* is most apparent; they share many of these repeated padas and the limited vocabulary used to build them. We can see this clearly by comparing the closing verse from the *Svayambhū Purāṇa* cited above at 2.2, with the closing verses from chapter XII of the GKV.

23cd. ity ādiṣṭaṃ munīndreṇa viśvabhuvā niśamya te |
24. sarve sabhāśritā lokāḥ prābhyanandan prabodhitāḥ||

On a larger scale, lists of the various creatures such as yakṣas, rakṣas, kumbhāṇḍas, and so on recur, as do descriptions of the progress of beings toward enlightenment. Half verses such as krameṇa bodhisambhāraṃ pūrayitvā samāhitaḥ in chapter 19 or pariśuddhatrimaṇḍalaḥ¹⁵ are repeated with variations in similarity constructed lists of varying lengths which describe, in greater or lesser detail, the progress of beings from devotion to Avalokiteśvara expressed in meditation, remembrance, and uttering his name, through re-birth in Sukhāvātī and their eventual attainment of enlightenment.

For the historian, one of the most interesting repeated units is the standard description of the social order. This is repeated in chapters I, XVII, and XVIII at least. First the professional religious are listed: bhikṣuṇyāś caikalakāś caivam upāsakā upāsikāḥ vratino ěpi mahāsattvāḥ; then the social order is traversed: brāhmaṇāḥ kṣatriyāś cāpi rājāno mantriṇo janāḥ amātyāḥ śreṣṭhinaḥ paurāḥ sārthavāhā mahājanāḥ; the urban-rural order is outlined: janapadā grāmyāḥ pārvatikāś ca naigamāḥ ; and finally the question of origins: tathānyadeśikā likāḥ.¹⁶

This sort of repetition is often said to be characteristic of oral poetry; the metric units aid in composition and recitation, and the lists with their fixed elements and variable length allow for a degree of embellishment appropriate to the situation. Yet in the GKV, these devices, which in a written work are not usually regarded as a sign of high art, are mixed with more carefully crafted verses. Rather than an artifact of oral tradition, this repetition is more the mark of hack versification and a need for an efficient means to churn out a long narrative poem. The quality of the verse varies directly with the interest of the passage, and when describing meraculous wishing trees appearing in the Jetavana garden, the author turns out much more artful verses.

3.1 Analysis of the GKV

In overview, the completely original matter in the GKV can be summerised as follows:

The narrative frame

It has an original narrative framework which is considerably more complex than that of the KV. With other Newar Sanskrit Buddhist texts, it has a double framing narrative which is a dialogue between Jinaśrī and jayaśrī enclosing and mirroring a dialogue between Aśoka and Upagupta. This in turn encloses a set of narrative frames, the most important of which is Śākyamuni talking to Sarvanivaraṇaṣkambhī, and this in turn sometimes encloses or shifts to similar dialogues between previous Buddhas (Viśvabhū, Vipāśvī, and so on) and their respective interlocutors. The structure is quite a puzzle box, and allows, for instance, for one assembly to experience a direct visitation from Padmapāṇi Lokeśvara (in ch. VI) while preserving the unbearable longing of Sarvanivaraṇaṣkambhī, in the enclosing narrative, to himself encounter Avalokiteśvara.

Beginning and end

Its opening and closing chapters, chapters I and XIX, are entirely new material, the first a long description the merits of worshipping the triple jewel and the last a rather political

exhortation to the Jayśrī/Aśoka characters to run their kingdoms in confirmity with the Buddha Dharma. The internal chapters are to varying degrees adaptations of episodes from the KV, occuring in the same order. Chapters VIII and XVIII, however, are largely selected extracts from the Bodhicaryāvatāra, along with a set of as yet unidentified verses in longer metres which repeat between the two chapters. The most important block of original material is probably contained in the first chapter, which contains an internal poem of some 56 verses (I.102-158) in triṣṭubh, addressed to Aśoka by his preceptor Upagupta, recommending performance of the Poṣadha ritual.

GKV XVIII	BCA citation
53-111	V.1-59
112-144	V.70-102
145	V.108
146	V.107
148-152	VI.1-6
153-6	VI.8-12
157-8	VI.112-3
159-60	VI.126-7
161-5	VI.130-4
166-8	VII.1-3
176-7	VII.74-5
178-93	VII.1-16
200-204	IX.1-5

Table 1: Citations of the Bodhicaryvattra in chapter XVIII of the Guṇakāraṇḍavyūha

3.2 Direct borrowings

The clearest examples of direct borrowing in the GKV are the eighth chapter, the Balisaṃbodhanabodhimārgāvatāraṇa or Introduction to the Path and Enlightenment of Bali, and the eighteenth chapter, the Śikṣāsaṃvarasamuddeśa or Instruction concerning the student's vows. Tucci in his rather dismissive study of the GKV has given a preliminary list of these citations; he notes that nearly half of the Bodhicaryāvatāra is inserted into these two chapters of the GKV. For the purposes of this paper, I will look only at the eighteenth chapter, as it contains further material which may have been borrowed, but which cannot be traced to the Bodhicaryāvatāra.

There is an identically titled chapter in the KV, the last chapter of the second section, but in the GKV this chapter consists largely of extracts from the Bodhicaryāvatāra. The introductory verses describe the awful fate awaiting monks whose behaviour is less than exemplary, following a similar section of the KV¹⁷ but after XVIII.52 the citations begin. I have detailed which verses of the GKV cite which of the Bodhicaryāvatāra in table 1.

Differences between the GKV and its source.

The text in these citations shows a few variations against the edited modern Sanskrit text¹⁸. In some cases, this is the result of scribal error somewhere in the transmission. For

example, BCA VIII.11ab is omitted, and XVIII.66a has vākyā where BCA 5.13a reads bāhya. In other cases, an alternate reading is preserved. XVIII.58 reads

58. yasmād bhayāni sarvāṇi duḥkhāny apramitāny api |
cittād eva samudyānti sarveṣāṃ bhavacāriṇām^a ||

^a kathitaṃ tattvāvinā: C1 adds

While the printed edition, which unfortunately has no critical apparatus, has

V.6 yasmād bhayāni sarvāṇi duḥkhāny apramitāny api |
cittād eva bhavanūti kathitaṃ tattvāvinā ||

The scribe of C1 apparently had the Bodhicaryāvatāra in front of him. Two verses previously, where the GKV tradition reads vyāgrāḥ sihā gajā ṛkṣāḥ sarvaṃ ca duṣṭaśatravaḥ,¹⁹ he alone writes vyāgrāḥ siṃhā gajā ṛkṣāḥ sarpā sarve ca śatravaḥ with the Bodhicaryāvatāra. It is not surprising, then, that confronted with the variant reading in verse 58 he decides to keep both readings.

As an example, this variant reading is actually somewhat perplexing; the meaning is distinct between the two, yet there is nothing crucially different; there does not appear to be a doctrinal point being defended for instance. The version of the Bodhicaryāvatāra might be translated, 'Because all fears and limitless suffering arise from the mind alone, says the speaker of truth.' The GKV version reads, 'Because all fears and limitless suffering spring up only from the mind of all those passing through existence.' I have not consulted older manuscripts of the Bodhicaryāvatāra from the National Archives to see if this variation is limited to the GKV or if, in fact, it is traceable to a particular recension of the Bodhicaryāvatāra. If so, it would give us valuable information about the date of composition of the GKV.

3.2.1 Citations

Occasionally one encounters sections of the text which must be citations, although I have not yet been able to identify most of them. As an example, there is a short stotra at the end of the fifth chapter on the Asuras. Avalikīteśvara has been teaching them in the form of an āchārya, and when he is satisfied that they are established on the Buddha's path (bodhimārga pratiṣṭhāpya V.48, 62, 98, etc.) he leaves; just before he disappears he reveals himself.

tataḥ so ěntarhitaḥ khe sthaḥ prabhasayan samantataḥ |
dhṛtvā lokaśvaro murtiṃ sarvāns tān samadarśayan ||
tam akāṣe prabhāsantaṃ lokaśvaramjīnātmajam |
dṛṣṭvā te dānavāḥ sarve babhū vismayānvitāḥ ||

They respon by worshipping him as he disappears with the following verses:²⁰

namaste bhagavān nātha sadā te śaraṇe sthitāḥ |
bodhicaryāvrataṃ dhṛtvā carāma tat prasīdatu ||
yad asmad aparādham tat kṣantavyaṃ bhavatā sadā |

evam asmān samālokya saṃpālayitum arhati ॥

I cannot be sure that this is not the work of the composer of the GKV, but I suspect that it is either a prayer common at the time of the composition of this text, or a citation from a popular source.

The verse material of chapters 8 & 18 Tucci²¹ asserts that the other ornate verse material contained in chapters 8 and 18 must also be a borrowing from some as yet unidentified source. In this opinion, the compilers of the GKV, an "interminable litany" which monotonously repeats the basic core of the work,²² were incapable of producing such verses. His alternative hypothesis is that they must come from some as yet unknown work of Śāntideva on the subject of the six perfections.

I am not as convinced as Tucci was that the compiler or the GKV were completely incapable of producing such verse. The quality of the verse in the GKV ranges from the merely mechanical upwards. The closing verse of the first chapter, much of which is in anuṣṭubh, is śragdharā. Furthermore, the continuous aspiration of Newar Sanskrit composition is expressed in a steady production of Sanskrit plays and poems in the medieval period. In the 15th century we know that the Indian Buddhist paṇḍit Vanaratna, who had trained with a Sanskrit poet in the south of India, came to settle in the Kathmandu valley. Thus both of the cultural milieu and the presence of expertise argues against Tucci's flat denial.

However, demonstrating the possibility that these verses might have been composed in Nepal is not at all the same as proving that they were composed by the author(s) of the GKV. Two facts make it rather difficult to argue the case. First, these verses are aesthetically the best material in the work (outside the extracts from the Bodhicaryāvatāra, which they certainly rival); and second, they occur only within the two blocks of borrowed material and in fact are repeated between the two chapters 8 and 18. Compared with the śragdharā verse in the first chapter, they show a richness of vocabulary and technique; and I am forced to agree with Tucci that they probably are borrowed material.

Tucci's proposal, that they belong to an unknown composition of Śāntideva, seems to me wishful thinking. Collections of ornate Buddhist devotional verse are a staple of the Newar Buddhist literary field. The Lokeśvaraśatakam, a poem consisting of one hundred śragdharā verses in praise of Avalokiteśvara, has remained popular in the valley although it is dense and filled with puns which appear to have defied the Tibetan translator; its manuscripts usually include a commentary or Newari gloss. Although I agree with Tucci that these verses are taken from a single source, I do not think there is good evidence to argue that they must be necessarily from Śāntideva's pen. If they are, in fact, the only remaining verse from an otherwise lost work then the skillful use by the author of the GKV of his Indian Buddhist textual heritage will have an additional value for us as scholars.²³

3.3 Adaptations

The GKV tends to follow the narrative line of the KV, converting the high Sanskrit of the older text into verse form, often simplifying the language and adding embellishments. When the GKV has new material to add, such as a recommendation to perform the Poṣadha vow or a description of the benefits of Avalokiteśvara's name, it usually inserts this this

material into natural breaks in the flow of the KV narrative. This process can be seen at its simplest in a comparison of a rather short episode in which Avalokiteśvara manifests as a bee to rescue the worms living in Vārāṇasi. In the KV this is the fifteenth chapter of the first section; it is the twelfth chapter of the GKV. An uncritical edition and English translation of chapter 12 can be found as an appendix to this article.

The story is simple. Avalokiteśvara decides to rescue the worms living in the sewage of Vārāṇasi. He takes the form of a bee, and hums *ī*namo Buddhāya, namo Dharmāya, namo Saṅghāya. The worms, hearing him, begin to repeat and remember this phrase, and by the merit accruing from that are reborn in Sukhāvati.

Here is the moment of the worms hearing him and taking up the sound from the KV:

tad eṣāṃ śabdaṃ niścārayati namo buddhāya namo dharmāya namo saṅghāya iti | tac
chrutvāte ca sarve prāṇakāḥ namo buddhāya namo dharmāya namo saṅghāyeti nāmam
anusmarayanti |

And here it is in the GKV:

8. namo buddhāya dharmāya saṅghāyeti praṇoditaṃ |
madhuraśabdā uccārya bhramate sa viyaccaran ||
9. taṃ khebhramantaṃ ālokyā sarve te prāṇakāś cāpi^a |
tat kalāravam ākarṇa cintayen hy evam utsukāḥ ||
10. aho yaṃ sujhavān pakṣī bhramate khet epi^b yathecayā |
kim anena kṛtaṃ puṇyaṃ yenaivaṃ carate sukhaṃ ||
11. kim asmābhiḥ kṛtaṃ pāpaṃ yenāmedhyāśritā vayaṃ |
iti vicintya te sarve kṛmayas tatsukhucchitāḥ ||
12. tad virācam anīśrutvā samtiṣṭhante tad unmukhāḥ |
tathā te kṛmayāḥ sarve tannāmasmṛtibhavitāḥ ||

^a prāṇakā api: T

^b ti: T

The author of the GKV has embellished and enlivened the story in the process of setting it to verse. This is counterbalanced by a tendency to simplify the language of the KV, sometimes quite drastically. The KV goes on to tell us that the reason for their rebirth as worms, at the same time as it expresses the power of their liberation:

te ca sarve buddhanāmasmaraṇamātreṇa viṃśatīśikharasamudgataṃ stkāyadrṣṭīśailaṃ
jñānavajreṇa bhittvā, sarve te sukhāvatyāṃ lokadhatāv upapannāḥ

The GKV leaves this out entirely, however; and in general it does omit much that is complex or even witty in the KV. It does, however, insert new doctrinal material where it can, and in this case the career of the ex-worms is expanded not only by the addition of an intermediate incarnation as flying insects, but once in Sukhāvati, their progress in attaining various stages is explored in more detail: in particular their attainment of the *ī*triple Awakening (trividhāṃ bodhiṃ) is noted. In other contexts the progress through accumulating the requisites of enlightenment (bodhisambhāraṃ) and the six perfections is detailed. This reflects a concern with path-doctrine typical of later Indian Buddhism that has little place in the KV.

4 Borrowing authority

I mentioned above the essentially conservative nature of the GKV. This is, I think, tied to the claim implicit in its title to be a version of the KV. Indeed, scholars working in this material have frequently been badly confused by relation between the two texts, and it is only Tucci and Regamy among Western scholars of the last generations who have correctly understood it to be a later, Newar production. This confusion is an unintentional side effect of a deliberate attempt to identify the Newar text with the older.

In the classical Indian scholastic milieu, plagiarism within a textual tradition was not an act of intellectual theft but the assertion of membership within a valid tradition. the paradigm of learning was repetition and commentary. The old texts accumulated new explanations and paraphrases which depended for their position and authority on the original text, still repeated. This claim to authority, which simultaneously denies the originality of the present work while deriving effective authority for its truth claims from the status of the parent work (often at the expense of that work's original position) is well known in scholastic literature as the production of commentaries.

The problem is more difficult for the would-be authors of sūtras. Discussions of buddhavaśanam occupied the scholars of classical Indian Buddhism, but the canon was never truly closed. Rob Mayer writes "It is certainly true that fresh revelation of new scripture continued unbroken in Buddhist India right up until the end."²⁴ Indeed, as we see from this material, the process of generating Buddhist Sanskrit scriptures continued on well after the end of Indian Buddhism as part of the process whereby Newar Buddhists localised and grounded their own form of Buddhism after its historical support in Indian Buddhism had withered away.

Some sūtras did accumulate commentaries,²⁵ and those which were understood as tantras often developed great trees of commentary comparable to the śāstras. This process kept the schools founded on those root tantras alive and relevant.

The earliest manuscripts of the KV are from Gilgit, written no later than 630 CE. Adelhard Mette has argued on this basis of textual divergence in the two oldest manuscripts that the original text is from perhaps the fourth century.²⁶ By the time of the composition of the GKV some thousand years later, the mantra and sādhanā of Avalokiteśvara contained in the second nirvyūha of the KV would have marked it as a Vajrayāna text, comparable to those classified as Kriyā Tantras. The KV is thus a late Mahāyāna text and an early Tantra, probably the earliest tantra of Avalokiteśvara.²⁷ It appears, however, not to have attracted any Indian commentaries in the millennium between its emergence and the composition of the GKV. This makes it less likely that the author of the GKV could have positioned his own work as a commentary on the earlier text.

Their strategy, instead was to claim that the GKV was in some sense identical to the KV, or a simple enhancement of it. Both are usually known in their colophons as Āryāvalokiteśvara-guṇa-kāraṇavyūha-mahāyāna-sūtrarāja. The difference in style and size of the two texts means that scribes and priests working with the two texts would see them as unambiguously distinct. The claim to the name of the older text was, however, accompanied by a close adherence to its subject matter and narrative sequence.

The claim by the GKV to be an extension of the earlier text has the double effect of

relying on the older textual tradition and revitalising it. Thematically, the GKV imports a great deal of new material into the narrative structure inherited from the KV. Its description of the path, understanding of the social order, iconography, and emphasis on the Poṣadha Vrata are all new. Utilising the existing structure of the KV was a way of authorising validating this new material, and especially of lending weight to its prescription of the Poṣadha Vrata and its particular cult of Amoghapāśa. At the same time, rooting this new text in the Indian Buddhist tradition has the effect of asserting the continuity and vitality of the lost Indian tradition in this new medieval Newar scripture. In fact, through the breadth of its sources, the GKV demonstrates the continuity and range of the Indo-Newar Buddhist heritage from the fourth century to the fifteenth.

A VĀRĀṆAŚĪKRMĪKĪTODDHĀRAṆA

1. atha gagaṇagaṇjo ḥsau bodhisattvaḥ kṛtānjaliḥ
viśvabhuvam munīndram ca praṇatvāivam avocat
2. bhagavan sa mahāsattvo lokeśvaro jinātmajaḥ
nādyāpīha samāyāti kadāgacchet tad ādiśa
3. iti tenoditam śrutvā viśvabhuḥ sa munīśvaraḥ
gagaṇagaṇjam ālokya taṃ pūnar evam abravīt
4. tataḥ samprathitaś cāsau lokeśvaro vilokayan
vārāṇasyām samuddhartum sattvān samabhogacchati
5. dṛṣtvā sa prāṇino ḥnekān asaṃkhyeyān sudūḥkhitān
saviḍmutramṛdāgnān tiṣṭhaty evaṃ vicintayan
6. hā pāpaṃ katham etāni saviḍmutrāsṛitān ahaṃ
kṛmyasaṃkhyasahasrāṇi proddhareyaṃ prabodhayan
7. tatra sa cintayan matvā kṛpayā samvilokayan
bhramararūpam Ādhāya bhramate tad upācaran
8. namo buddhāya dharmāya saṃghāyeti praṇoditam
madhuraśabdān uccārya bhramate sa viyyacaran
9. taṃ khebhramantaṃ ālokya sarve te prāṇakāś cāpi
tatkalāravam ākarṇa cintayan hy evam utsukāḥ
10. aho yaṃ sukhavān pakṣī bhramate khe ḥpi yathecayā
kim anena kṛtaṃ puṇyaṃ yenaivaṃ carate sukhaṃ
11. kim asmābhiḥ kṛtaṃ pāpaṃ yenāmedhyāsṛitā vayaṃ
iti vicintya te sarve kṛmayas tatsukhecchitāḥ
12. tad virācam anuśrutvā samtiṣṭhante tad unmukhyāḥ
tathā te kṛmayāḥ sarve tannāmasmṛbhāvitāḥ
13. tat triratnam namaskāraṃ dhṛtvā tiṣṭhanti cetasā
tathā caivaḥ samuccārya triratnamāmacetasā
14. smṛtvā kṛtvā namaskāraṃ tiṣṭhanti trimaṇer mudā
etatpuṇyā viliptās te sarve samjātapakṣakāḥ
15. tata uddīya gaṅgāyāṃ nipatantas tyajanty asūn
tatas te vimalātmānaḥ samprayātāḥ sukhāvātīm
16. sarve sugandhamukhā nāma bodhisattvā ḥbhavanty api
te tatrāmitābhasasya pītvā dharmāmṛtaṃ sadā

17. trividhaṃ bodhim āsādyā nivṛtipadam āpnuyuḥ
 evaṃ asau mahāsattvaḥ lokeśvaraḥ kṛmīn api
 18. prayatnena samuddhṛtya preṣayati sukhāvātīm
 tathā tasya jagacchastuḥ puṇyaskandhaṃ mahattaram
 19. aparameyam asaṃkhyeyam ity ākhyātaṃ munīśvaraiḥ
 ye cāsya lokanāthasya śraddhya śaraṇe sthitāḥ
 20. dhyātvā smṛtvā sammuccārya nāma bhajanti sarvadā
 sadā te sadgatau jātā durgatau na kadā cana
 21. saddharmaśṛisukhāpannāḥ saṃprayāyuḥ sukhāvātīm
 tatrāmitābhanāthasya pītvā dharmāmṛtaṃ sadā
 22. trividhāṃ bodhim āsādyā saṃprāpsyanti jinālayam
 iti matvā sadā bhadrā saukhyam icchanti ye bhava
 23. te ēsya trailokanāthasya bhajantu śaraṇe sthitā
 ity ādiṣṭaṃ munīndreṇa viśvabhuvā niśamya te
 24. sarve sabhāśritā lokāḥ prābhyandan prabodhitāḥ
 iti vārāṇaśīkṛmikīṭoddhāraṇaprakaraṇaṃ samāptam

2b : ādiśa] ādiśaḥ T1

4b : samabhigacchati] samābhigacchati T1

5b : tiṣṭhaty] samā hy J1

9a : prāṇakāś cāpi] prāṇakā api T1

10a : khe ěpi] kheti T1

13a : namaskāraṃ] askāraṃ T1

B Transcription of KV chapter 15

This is only a transcription for the purposes of comparison from Vaidyaś text. It must be regarded as provisional until A. Metteś edition comes out.²⁸

atha āryavalokiteśvaro bodhisattvo mahāsattvas tasmāt siṃhaladvīpād avatīrya
 vārāṇasyāṃ mahānagaryāṃ uccāraprasrāvasthāne gato yatrānekāny anekāni
 kṛmikulaśatasakasrāṇi prativasanti | tato ěvalokiteśvaro bodhisattvo mahāsattva
 upasaṃkramya tatrāsa tāni prāṇīśatasahasrāṇi dṛṣṭvāātmānaṃ bhramararuḥpam abhinirmāya
 ghuṇaghuṇāyamāṇam | tad eṣāṃ śabdaṃ niścārayati ṅ namo buddhāya namo dharmāya
 namaḥ saṃghāya iti | tac chrutvā te ca sarve buddhanāmasmaraṇamātreṇa
 viṃśatīśīkharasamudgataṃ satkāyadrṣṭśailaṃ jñānavajreṇa bhittvā sarve te sukhāvatyāṃ
 lokadhatāv upapannāḥ sugandhamukhā nāma bodhisattvā babhūvuḥ | sarve te bhaga vato
 ěmitābhasya tathāgatasyantikād idam kārṇḍavyūhaṃ nāma mahāyānaṃ śtutvā anumodya
 ca nānādigbhyo vyākaraṇāni pratilabdhāni || atha āryavalokiteśvaro bodhisattvo mahāsattvo
 sattvapariḥpākaṃ kṛtvā tasyā vārāṇasyā mahānagaryāḥ prakrāntaḥ ||

C English translation

1. Now this bodhisattva Gagaṇagaṅjo, respectfully folding his hands, bowed and addressed the great sage Viśvabhu as follows:
2. Lord, great Lokeśvara, born from the Victor himself, is not now coming here. Please tell us this, when might he come ?

3. Hearing what he had said, Viśvabhu the great sage looked at Gaṅaṅaṅaṅja and spoke him again in this way:
4. Next (after the event of the last chapter) Lokeśvara set out looking about to rescue beings in Vārāṅasi, and went there.
5. He saw countless miserable beings covered in feces, urine, and mud; and he paused, thinking.
6. Oh, evil! How should I rescue these countless thousands of worms, dwelling in the sewage, and enlighten them?
7. Thinking there, he considered, and gazed on with pity; then taking the form of a bee he wandered along towards them.
8. He advances singing ñNamo Buddhāya Dharmāya Saṅghāyañ in a sweet voice and wandered irregularly along.
9. When all those beings saw him wandering in the air, and heard his rhythmic sound, they longingly thought:
10. Oh! Such a happy bee wanders in the air as it pleases. What merit did he do that he can travel so happily?
11. What evil have we done we dwell in sewage?ñ Thinking this all the worms wanted his joy.
12. Listening to his song, they stayed staring up at him. Then all the worms began to recollect his name.
13. Doing homage to the triple gem, they carried it in their minds, and then also sang it, with their minds on the triple gem.
14. Remembering it, revering it, they dwelt in the triple gem with joy; and anointed by this merit they were all reborn as flies.
15. Then flying over Gaṅgā they fell, abandoning their lives. With stainless personalities, they progressed to Sukhāvātī.
16. They all became bodhisattvas with the name of ñGood-scented face.ñ There, they drank the Dharma-nectar of Amitābha constantly.
17. They achieved the threefold Awakening, and attained the stage of Nirvāṅa. Thus did Lokeśvara rescue even the worms by (his) exertions,
18. And conveyed them to Sukhāvātī. That is the greatness of this World-teacher's mass of merit.
19. Unmeasurable and uncountable, so say the best sages. And those who take faithful refuge with the Lokanātha
20. Contemplating, saying, recollecting his name and worshipping him always, they always have good rebirths and never bad.
21. Attaining the joy of the lustre of the Dharma, they come to Sukhāvātī. There they drink the Dharma-nectar of Amitābha-nāth.
22. They attain the tripple Awakening and arrive at the realm of the Victors. Considering this constantly, those who want goodness and pleasure in life
23. Take refuge with the Lord of the Triple World and worshipping him. Saying this, the best of sages fell silent
24. And all the people in this assembly were delighted and enlightened.

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Notes

- 1 This material has helpfully been summarized in LoBue (1997).
- 2 These include the *Svayaṃbhū Purāṇa* in its various versions, the *Bhadrakalpāvadāna* (recently discussed in a 1998 Oxford dissertation by Joel Tatelman), and the *Śṛṅgabheri Avadāna*.
- 3 For the purposes of this paper, I am constrained by the available editions of the *Kāraṇḍavyūha*. Adelhard Mette is preparing an edition using the old Gilgit sources which will appear soon, I hope. However, KV (1961) in the *Buddhist Sanskrit Text Series*, for all its faults, is based in the Nepalese textual tradition and is thus useful here as it reflects the text as the author(s) of the GKV would have found it. See Mette (1993)
- 4 Lienhard (1993)
- 5 In an email from Harunaga Isaacson, he writes ì The term/epithet Śṛṅghanah hardly occurs in the late Indian tantric texts.î
- 6 See song 7 in Lienhard (1974)
- 7 GKV manuscript sigils for the remainder of this paper: T1, Tokyo 33 (1705). N1 NGMPP G14/23 (1632). N2 NGMPP 49/4 (1771). C1 Bendall 1270 (1770?)/ L1 Cowell & Eggeling 19. J1 Jodhpur 1190 (1805?).
- 8 Śāstrī (1896-1900, p 44). See Brinkhaus (1993) for a discussion of the redaction of this text.
- 9 Davidson (1981, 54), Wayman (1985, p. 80), and with Raviśrījñāna's commentary Lal (1994, p. 45)

- 10 Locke (1987)
- 11 Douglas (in press)
- 12 The pośadhakaraṇīyā or gso sbyong blang ba and the Āryāmoghapāśapośadhavidhyāmnāya or ĕphags pa don yod zhangs paī gso sbyong gi chog man dag, both by Śākyaśrī Bhadra.
- 13 The Aṣṭamīvrata Vidhi as well as the somewhat indeterminate texts all called Aṣṭamīvrata Kathā. Whether the ritual section of these texts can successfully be correlated to the Tibetan translations of Sanskrit originals remains to be seen.
- 14 See, for example, the scroll discussed in Meisezahl (1967), which has scenes from the Vīrakuśa Avadāna around the central maṇḍala.
- 15 1.175. 179, etc.
- 16 This particular version list can be found at I.9-11, but see XVII for a longer version.
- 17 KV (1961, 307-8)
- 18 Śāstrī (1988)
- 19 XVIII.56ab: T33 J1 N1
- 20 T33 51v-52r
- 21 Tucci (1923)
- 22 Tucci (1923, p. 615)
- 23 As part of editing the entire text I am preparing an edition of just these verses, which I hope will aid in their identification.
- 24 Mayer (1996, p. 9)
- 25 The Prajñāpāramitā texts gave rise to several different commentarial traditions, including the Abhisamayālaṅkāra corpus. The Laṅkāvatāra also attracted commentaries, although not to the same degree.
- 26 Mette (1993, pp. 514-5)
- 27 In Tibetan doxography, the root tantra of Avalokiteśvara, or rather of the Lotus family, is the Padmajalatantra or pad ma dra ba. The Karaṇḍavyūha is not mentioned in mKhas drub rjeīs discussion of the categories of tantra, and Bu sTon filed it under mDo, the sūtras; yet on purely formal grounds it is similar to other texts which are known to the tradition as tantras.
- 28 KV (1961, pp. 281-2)