

References to Buddhist Sanskrit Writers in Sinhalese Literature

IT has to be admitted on historical grounds that the Buddhist culture of Ceylon was subjected to Mahāyāna influence during the course of several centuries beginning perhaps from the first centuries of the Christian era. The Buddhist literature in Sanskrit was held in honour and studied in the island. Fragments from the *Pañcaviṃśati-sāhasrikā-prajñā-pāramitā* and

I. Paranavitana: Mahāyānism in Ceylon; Ceylon Journal of Science, G. I. pp. 35-71.

REFERENCES TO BUDDHIST SANSKRIT WRITERS

śyapa-parivartta have been discovered in the Iṅḍikaṭu-sāya copper plate.² A *Trikāya-stava*, corresponding versions of which are found in India and China as well, has been discovered in an inscription at Mihintale.³ From such evidence we find numerous references to and quotations from Buddhist Sanskrit authors scattered here and there in the Sinhalese literature running right through the literary period. There are also allusions to them borrowing of subject matter from them. Further we find other traces of their influence in the use of proper names, sanskritization of technical terms—especially in relation to the Abhidhamma, allusions to doctrines peculiar to Mahāyānism, etc.

The identification of these references is often a very tedious task since the source is seldom mentioned. They are for the most part introduced by the mere statement: 'It has indeed been said' or some such phrase. Usually is the name of the author or the book mentioned. Nevertheless, with the aid of the few instances which we have been able to identify so far, we can arrive at a reliable estimate as to the extent of the Buddhist literature in Sanskrit known to Sinhalese scholars. We may refer here to the following sources arranged in their chronological order.

1. **Sanskrit Suttas.**—The third verse of the *Maṅgala-sutta* is quoted in Sanskrit in the *Abidharmārtha-saṅgraha-sanne*⁴ (12th c.) (*Abhdhss*) and the *Maṅgera-prāsna-sanne*⁵ (15th c?) (*Sps*). The Sanskrit names of the five *śāyas* are also enumerated in the *Junḥa-jātaka-padārtha-varṇanāva*. [13th c. (1912 ed. p. 8).

2. **Mātrceṭa.**—The following verse is quoted both in the *Mahārūpa-śāhi-sanne*⁶ (12th c.) (*Mrss*) and the *Kāraka-ṣuṣpamañjarī-vyākhyā*⁷ (17th c.) (*Kpmv*) the author's name being given as Mātrceṭaka.

... namas te buddha-ratnāya dharma-ratnāya te namaḥ,
... namas te saṅgha-ratnāya tri-ratna-samavāyine.

... *ceṭa* was a writer of Buddha-stotras and we should be correct in assuming that Mātrceṭaka was a variant form of the same name. This verse, however, has not been found in any of the preserved works of this writer.

3. **Aśvaghōṣa.**—A verse from the *Saundrananda* on the merits of *śīla* (*XXVI*, 38) is quoted in the *Viśuddhi-mārga-sanne*⁸ (13th c.) (*Visms*). Another verse from the *Saundrananda* (I, 28) is quoted in the *Kpmv* (p. 174) and here

2. Epigraphia Zeylanica, IV, pp. 238-242.
3. *Ib.*, pp. 238-242.
4. 1926 Ed., p. 21.
5. 1926 Ed., p. 20.
6. 1926 Ed., p. 3.
7. 1889 Ed., p. 4.
8. Ed. Dharmaratna, 2408, B.E. ff. Vols. I-V, ... I, p. 42.

the title of the poem is given as *Sundarānanda-caritaya*. *Sundarānanda* is obviously a corruption of *Saundarananda*. The title *Sundarānanda-caritaya* may be compared with the title of Asvaghosa's other poem *Buddha-carita*. A version from the *Buddha-carita* (I, 15) is cited in the *Mrss* (p. 3). Here the first *pāda* begins as *eko'bhi jātismi . . .*

4. **Ārya-sūtra**.—The *Vyāghrī-jātaka* and the *Hasti-jātaka* of the *Jātaka-mālā* (Jtm) are alluded to in the *Sasadāvata* (vv. 275-276) (12th c.). The same story is related in the *Nidāna-kathā* of the *Saddharmācārīkāvya*⁹ (14th c. (Sdha)). Six stanzas of the Jtm are also quoted in Gुरुḷugomin's *Dharmapradīpikā*¹⁰ (13th c.) (Dhpd).

5. **Avadāna-kalpalatā**.—Other Avadānas too have been known to Sinhalese writers. The story related in the *Sdha* (p. 41 ff) to illustrate the *manopraṇidhāna* is the first story of the *Avadāna-kalpalatā*, with variations as might be expected, in the proper names. One fact should, however, be noted about this source. Although the *Vyāghrī-jātaka* is the first story in the printed text of the Jtm, the Nepalese manuscript, bearing the title *Bodhisattva-avadāna*¹¹ contains as its first story the *Subhāsa-jātaka* which also gives the same account of the *manopraṇidhāna* and this is followed by the *Vyāghrī-jātaka*. The order of the two stories is the same in the *Sdha* and it is possible that its author has derived these two stories from a similar version of the Jtm. The editor of the Jtm (1914, H.O.S.) does not mention a Nepalese Ms.

6. **Vasubandhu**.—Quotations from the *Abhidharma-kośa* (Abhidh) are found in the *Vism*, *Pañcīkā-pradīpava* (15th c.) (Ppd) and *Kpmv*. We shall give below the versions of these as they are found in these texts, collating them with the Sanskrit restoration in print.

*dīyate yena tad-dānam
pūjā 'nugraha-kāmyāyā
kāya-vāk-karma-sarthānām
mahā-bhoga-phalañ ca tat.*
(*Kpmv*, p. 169)

*dīyate yena tad-dānam
pūjā 'nugraha-kāmyāyā
kāya-vāk-karma-sarthānām
(tan-mahā-bhoga-vat-phalam).*
(*IV*, 113)

The version of the same stanza found in the *Ppd* (p. 64) agrees with the restored text. It is possible that the restorer had the opportunity of making use of this version.

*vivāda-mula-samsāra-
hetuvāt karma-kāraṇāt
caitebhyo vedanā samjñā
pṛthak skhandhāñ nivesitāñ.*
(*Visms*, V, p. 51)

*vivāda-mula-samsāra-
(kāraṇāt) krama-kāraṇāt
caitebhyo vedanāsamjñe
pṛthak skhandhau vyavasthite).*
(*I*, 21)

9. Ed. *Saddhātissa*, 1934, pp. 44 ff.

10. 1915 Ed., pp. 114-115, Cf. Jtm, pp. 103-104 (with several variant readings)

11. R. Mitra, *Nepalese Buddhist Literature*, 1882, No. B. 15.

*śryaḥ tad vikalpa-
ti-samkleśa eva ca
abhāro vyavadānañ ca
patā tāvad indriyam.*
(*Visms*, V, p. 317)

*cittāśrayoḥ tad vikalpaḥ
(sthitih samkleśa eva ca)
sambhāro vyavadānam ca
yāvad eva tāvad indriyam.*

(*II*, 5)

Quoted in Sinhalese texts we also find a large number of passages which points in the *Abhidhamma*. One such is the simile of the mango (*Abhdhs*, p. 96; *Sps*, p. 74).

*aptas cātasya mūle phala-pātana-ravāt kascid unmīlya cakṣur
vā cādāya caital phalam aha paritā pīdayiteā karcṇa,
patāvā pakva-svabhāvam kila paribubhuje tad rasākṛṣṭa-cetāḥ
kascāt tālvādi-lagnaṃ rasam aṇi ca saha-śreṣṭhaṇā 'svādya sisye'.*

A passage dealing with the faculty of sight, probably a quotation from a Buddhist Sanskrit work, occurs unpunctuated in the *Visms* (I, p. 82).

*Yasya cakṣuḥ pasyatīti darśanam tasya na sarvam cakṣur pasyati kim tarhi
kānādhiṣṭhitam yasya hetu vijñānam pasyati darśanam tasyāpi na sarvam
kānam pasyati kim tarhi cakṣur āśritam tac ca vyavahitenotpādyate yatrālokasya
kādaū pratibandham yatraiva pratibandhandham sphaṭikābhra-patāḍāū
va vyavahito vyutpādyata eva tasmā tadanutpannād avyavahitan tena cakṣur
pasyati vivakṣītāntāḥ ? yad uktam cakṣurvijñānam pasyatīti darśanakṛtyam
cakṣurvijñānam iti.*

A similar passage is quoted in the same work from a book called the *ampatti-ṭīkā*. (*V*, p. 292, see also *V*, pp. 50-51).

Sāntideva.—Two stanzas from the *Bodhicariyāvātāra* (VI, 41; dealing with the evils of envy are cited in the *Dhpd* (p. 157).¹²

Candragomin.—The following stanza is quoted in the *Mahābodhi-
gāthāpadaya*¹³ (12th c.) (*Mbvg*) and also in the *Siṃhala-bodhivamsaya*¹⁴
(*Sbv*).

*pūrvāvadāna-cariteṣu sudustareṣu (Sbv = suduṣkareṣu)
gīteṣu yasya suvakinnara-sundaribhiḥ,
adyāpi candrakiraṇair iva saṅkucanti
mārāṅganā-vadana-pankaja-kānanāni.*

In the *Dhpd* (p. 247) we meet with the following:—

*parahita-karaṇāya badḍha-kakṣās---
sukhuma 'si-patra-vane vasanti santah,
na punar amara-sundari-sahāyāḥ
kṣaṇam aṇi nandana kānane remante.*

These stanzas are ascribed to Candragomin by Dharmārāma, the editor of *Av* and the *Dhpd*. They appear to have been taken from Candragomin's *ekha-dharma-kāvya*.

Paranavitana: *Mahāyānism in Ceylon*.

1910 Ed., p. 63.

1933 Ed., p. 60.

10. **Buddhist logicians.**—There is also evidence that the Buddhist system of logic, the Buddhist logicians and their works were known to Sinhalese writers. The author of the *Jātaka-aṭṭvā-gāṭhapadaya*¹⁵ (12th c.), in his discussion on the logical method of interpretation of certain words refers to the two *pramāṇas* accepted by the Buddhist logicians. The name of Diñnāga the Buddhist logician, is mentioned in the *Pārākumbā-sīrīta* (v. 77) where it is claimed that King Parākramabāhu VI was versed in the three *piṭaka* the six systems of philosophy and logic, like Diñnāga-pāda. In the *Visms* (V, p. 59) we find the following stanza cited as being drawn from Dighanāga-pāda :—

*sarvārtha-samprayoge ca yad iṣṭam rūpa-śabdāy ch.
vicchinna-pṛthivī-jñānam tan-nairantarādhyabādhakam.*

Perhaps we are right in identifying Dighanāga mentioned here with Diñnāga

11. **Dharmakīrti.**—Further proof as to the popularity of Diñnāga is given by the fact that Dharmakīrti's *Pramāṇa-vārttikā* (Pv) on Diñnāga's *Pramāṇa-samuccaya* is cited by Sinhalese writers. A quotation of four śloka from the Pv (IV, 190-193) is found in the Dhpd (p. 3) and the same śloka are again cited in the Kpmv (p. 101).^{*} Another stanza from the Pv (III, 204) is cited in the Ppd (p. 15) and twice again in the Kpmv¹⁶ (p. 4 and p. 39). The high esteem in which Dharmakīrti himself was held among the Sinhalese is seen from the manner in which he is referred to by Sinhalese writers :—
'*sakala-tārīkika-cakra-cūḍāmaṇi-Dharmakīrti-ṣṭāda* (Ppd, p. 15; Kpmv, p. 39)

12. **Śaḍḍarsana-saṅgraha.**—In citing the stanza :

*rāsivat sārthavac ceva cakravan mustivat tathā
skhandesu pañcasu prājñair ātmaśabdaḥ pragiyate.*

The *Śaḍḍarsana-saṅgraha* is called a Buddhist work on logic in the *Vimuktisangraha*¹⁷ (14th c.).

13. **Āryasatyāvatāra.**—Other works have been cited by Sinhalese writers ; but no mention of them or their authors has been found elsewhere. In some respects these citations appear to be from Buddhist works on logic. Of these I may refer here to a work called the *Āryasatyāvatāra*, from which the following quotation is found in the *Visms* (V, p. 50).

*asti bhedo hi rūpāder atitādi-vaśena sah.
rāsyarthenaiva samkṣīpya skandhenaiva 'bhidh'yate.*

14. **Other Writers : Rāhula-pāda.**—Of the other writers cited without specific mention of the titles of their works we mention a few below

15. 1911 Ed., p. 2.

16. In the first citation (p. 4) the 4th pāda varies from the other versions.

17. 1914 Ed., pp. 51-52.

*Cited also in *Sambandha-cintā Sanne* (13th c.), 1891 ed., p. 7.

Visms (II, p. 721) we come across the name of Rāhula-pāda to whom is attributed the following :—

*buḍha ityavagamane yam dhātuḥ pariṣathyate yatas tajñāih,
gatyartha ityato 'smāt kartaryāpi yujyate yamkṭah.*

Rāhula-pāda may be compared with Bhadanta Rāhula-bhadra, a Mahāyāna writer referred to by Vasubandhu in his *Pratītya-samutpāda Vyākhyā*.¹⁸

15. **Jotiṭpāla.**—Another writer cited in the *Visms* more than once is Jotiṭpāla-māhimi (-mahāsvāmin).

*vastvāśrayo dvayor dhātvo rūpānubandha-vṛttataḥ
dṛugdhivantām upādāya rūpāśrayo bhavadvaye.
taḍvastu-bhāvād karmottham dṛgvat pratīyanakrayam,
hṛd-khedāc ca cintāyām tatra-stham iti gamyate. (V, pp. 64-65).*

*dānāpyabhijñā dhyānasya dānāder artha-lābhavat
ihānusamjñā bhūtatvāt phaladā sambhavād api
nānābhū-phaladam karma rūpa-pākasya gocarah
karmālambda-paritādi na caitye sa sambhavah. (V, p. 147).*

One may perhaps identify the author of these with the thera named Jotiṭpāla who is referred to in the *Nikāya-saṅgraha*¹⁹ and the *Cūlavamsa*²⁰ as the champion of the orthodox Buddhists in a dispute with the Vaitulyas in the reign of Aggabodhi, II (658-667 A.D.).

16. **Nāga-bodhi.**—In the *Visms* (V, p. 76) the following stanzas are given under the name of Nāgabodhi-sthavira, of whose identity nothing is known at present.

*dravatā saha-vṛttīni trīṇi bhūtāni samsprśan
dravatvam samsprśāmiti loko 'yam abhimanyate.
sprśtvā bhūtāni samsthānam yathā gaṣṭena grmhataḥ
bhrāntis sākṣāt sprśāmiti vijñeyādravatā tathā.*

A writer by the name of Nāga-buddhi, however, is mentioned as the author of a work called the *Samājā-maṇḍalopayika*, the Ms. of which has not been found in Tibet.²¹

17. **Unidentified passages.**—It is unnecessary to scour the whole of Sinhalese literature ; in the Dhpd, *Visms*, Ppd and Kpmv alone we find numerous quotations from Sanskrit authors, a good many of whom, though not mentioned by name, appear to have been Buddhist. Of these we refer here to the description of the Asipatra hell given in the Dhpd (pp. 79-81).

18. J.R.A.S., July, 1930, p. 613.

19. Ed. Wickremasinghe, 1890, p. 17.

20. Ch. XIII, vv. 40-50.

21. J.B.O.R.S., XXIII, pt. 1., p. 45.

*dhāvañ javena nisita-kṣura-samstareṣu
vicchinna-mūrtir asipatra-latāvanegū
kūpe patalyaśaraṇaś śita-śūla-śakti—
prāsāsihāsa-vijitāntaka-vaktra-randhre.—1.*

*eke punas simi-simāyita-sukṣma-jantu—
saṅghāta-jarjarita-śuna-viṣṭi-kāyāḥ
sañcāla-mātram api kartum aśaknuvanto
jīvanti karmamaya-pāśa-nibaddha-jivāḥ.—10.*

Dharmārāma, the editor of the Dhpd, compares the text of these ten stanzas with another version in a Nepalese manuscript the name of which he does not mention.

18. **Stotras.**—As in the inscriptions, so in the Sinhalese literary works we come across Buddha-stotras composed in Sanskrit. We have already referred to Mātṛceṭa. There are other stotras which we have not been able to identify. In the Dhpd (p. 159), while commenting on the advantages of *maitrī*, Guruḷugomin quotes the following stanza in the Sragdharā metre.

*vyāghrī drṣtvā hariṇyās svasutam iva kṣsam pāyayatyāsu śābam,
barhic-chāyām bhujanṅgaḥ pravīśati śikhinām ātapaiḥ khinna-dēhaḥ,
kriḍantyāśīviṣānām viṣa-dahanavatām muṣikā bhoga-garbhe,
kurvan-n-evam hi maitryā vasati giri-vane yas tu tasmai namo 'stu.*

It will be noticed that this stanza is in the same metre as the *Trikāya-stava* at Mihintale (*vide supra*), and the language of the two stotras are also somewhat similar. The subject matter too of this verse may be compared with the accounts of *maitrī* in the *Muvadevādāvata* (12th c.) (vv. 155, 160-161) and the *Sasadāvata* (vv. 234-236).

19. **Pādapañkaja-stava.**—In his *Amāvatura*,²² Guruḷugomin quotes the following from a work called the *Pādapañkaja-stava*, of which we have not been able to find any trace elsewhere.

*gaṇḍasthalī-luṭita-dāna-maṣī-niṣeka—
bhvāntonnadaḍ-bhramara-maṇḍala-ḍiṇḍimena
krodhoḥmasābhidayatā dhanaḥpālakena
pāda-dvaye prañatam ārya dhrtāñkuṣe te.*

20. **Another stotra.**—We give below an additional Sanskrit stotra cited in another Sinhalese text of about the same period as the above. In the *Dahamsaraṇa*²³ (13th c.) we come across the following lines put into the mouth of the Bodhisattva when he is addressing the Buddha Nārada.

*jaya jaya śramaṇa-padma —simha.-māṇikyā,-candra.-bhāskara.-valaṃsa.
—rājahamsa,-śūra.-dhīra.-pīyūṣa-pūra.-pradīpa.
prativādī viśva-garva-viśoṅga-pralaya-mārtanḍa.
prativādī hariṇa-śāba-vidāraṇaika-pañcānana.
prativādī tāla-paṇṇa-sucūrṇānaika-nirghāta-pāta.
prativādī mṛṅgāla-nāla-vikṣobha-keḷi-dantāvāla.
prativādī matsara-makra-durga-grāha-sāgara.*

22. Ed. Richard de Silva, 1922, p. 212.

23. 1929 Ed., p. 62.

Jātaka-stava.—The allusions to the Vyāghrī-jātaka and the Hasti-
the Sasadāvata, which we have already referred to above, are in the
stavas, and it is quite evident from the context that the poet has
some eulogy on the lives of the Bodhisattva. We have been able to
the *Jātaka-stava* of Jñānayaśas (vv. 5-6) the two stories alluded to in
the sequence as we find them in the Sasadāvata (vv. 275-276), and the
ending stanzas of the two works bear a marked resemblance to each
other in spirit and in subject matter. It may be inferred that the *Jātaka-*
as known to the Sinhalese poet.

Proper Names, etc.—Some of the proper names used in Sinhalese
are not found in Pali; but they are met with in Buddhist Sanskrit
works. The wife of Siddhārtha is known to Sinhalese writers as Yasodarā
(Yaśodharā). This name does not occur anywhere in early Pali literature,
but appears in Buddhist Sanskrit works, such as Aśvaghōṣa's *Buddhacarita*
&c.). Many proper names used in connection with Buddhist narra-
tives in Sinhalese prose works agree, in the majority of cases, with the Sanskrit
names used in the 'northern books.' Even if these be considered parallel
translations, a form like Śāradvatīputra (=P. Sāriputta) found in Dhpd
(3) deserves our attention.

Other traces.—The author of the *Saddharma-ratnākara*²⁴ (15th c.)
shows some acquaintance, however perfunctory, with two of the main doctrines
of the Mahāyānists, namely, *Trikāya* and *Śūnyatā*. It has not been possible
in the space of this paper to deal exhaustively with every phase of the influence
of Buddhist Sanskrit books on Sinhalese writers; but the few examples adduced
above to show the reader the vogue which that literature enjoyed among
Sinhalese writers.

C. E. GODAKUMBURA.

1930 Ed., p. 15 ff.

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