Role of Pedagogy in the Development and Vicissitude of Buddhism

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Abstract

From the point of historical analysis, this study recognises the role of pedagogy in bringing vicissitude to Buddhism from its origin to now, and revisits Comte's three-stage theory in the Indian sub-continent. It also demystifies religious philosophy by illustrating its epistemological base of origin, expansion, and reinterpretation. Information was generated from the translated Nikaya texts and other secondary texts, and analysis was carried out using a hermeneutic approach. From its origin in Varanasi in 600 BC to the Tibetan Plateau in the 20th Century, Buddhism accomplished three major turning points and some minor vicissitudes. Buddhism, whose original form is *Dharma-Vinaya*, a combination of doctrine and practice, emerged from the practice of the middle path, and the doctrine was developed as a byproduct. Around 300 AD, a new school, Mahayana, emerged that ascended an arhat up to the *saviour* God. Similarly, around 1400 AD, the noble eightfold path was revised to *tantric sex* and the arhat into the *Tulku*. While expanding the doctrine, scholars, monks, and sages interpreted and taught it as per the learners' epistemological base by changing the content. Pedagogy is the primary cause of vicissitude in Buddhism, and new emergences are the product of fulfilling the 'gap' in the epistemological paradigm between the teachers and the learners.

Keywords: Buddhism; Mahayana; Pedagogy; Philosophy; Tibetan Buddhism; Vicissitude

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Introduction

The term 'Buddhism' was named in the 18th century by Western scholars, and it was originally known as Dharma-Vinaya. The truth and the way of living were developed around 600 BC by Sakyamuni Buddha (hereafter Buddha) near Varanasi. In the regime of emperor Ashoka, it expanded to Sri Lanka, Burma, Bactria, and China, and around 800 AD, it reached the Tibetan Plateau. Wherever it reached, it could not remain in its original form but instead assimilated with the indigenous culture of the particular geographical location since Buddhism transformed from its original character and gained a new identity in various geographical locations— for example— Indian Buddhism, Sinhalese Buddhism, Tibetan Buddhism, Chinese Buddhism, Japanese Buddhism, American Buddhism, etc. Scholars studying in Myanmar (erstwhile Burma), Sri Lanka, and Thailand found a cross-cultural similarity of Theravada Buddhism in its transformation from virtuoso to mass religion, which is collectively named Asian vicissitude' (Spiro, 1982). Radhakrishnan (1989) and Murti (2006) opined on the role of the Indian scholastic movement in disseminating the Mahayana doctrine. Similarly, Kapstein (2000) has detailed the process of Tibetan assimilation of Buddhism. King (2009) reports applying Buddhist ethical values through social engagement, and Ghimire (2021) argues that the teaching of Buddha is inherently pragmatic towards the cost of cultivating compassion and wisdom.

Vicissitude is a natural process if undergone into practice, transaction, and expansion. However, distinct from the others, this study probes pedagogy's role in it. It emphasises the role of an epistemological gap in bringing vicissitudes and found that Comte's (1842a, p. 28) three-stage theory in Western society is replicated in the Indian subcontinent. As Buddhism passes through three stages of consciousness—the theological mind, the metaphysical mind, and the positive mind, the same thing is perceived differently. The subject of perceiving, thinking, knowing, and validating knowledge comes under epistemology. Since these stages of consciousness are three 'epistemological paradigms', Russell (1946) arranged these paradigms as religion, philosophy, and science. The central concern of this study is that vicissitude emerged while transacting Buddhism between the epistemological paradigms— from theological to metaphysical and from metaphysical to scientific.

Before Russell's (1945) classification of three domains or paradigms - religion, philosophy, and science of human behaviours, Buddhism had integrated them into one. As a religion, Buddha is a God and deserves to be worshipped; as philosophy, it is the 'dependent co-arising', a matter of perspectival assumption or intuition; and as a science, it is the 'middle path'- a matter of experience and reflection (Ghimire, 2013). However, the prima facie of the terminology 'Buddhism' suggests that 'Buddha and his view ('ism')', is most nearest to philosophy, and so is mainly dealt with as philosophy. Though philosophy is the outgrowth of the rational mind, that is, an attempt to search patterns and relationships among human behaviours, social relationships, and the universe, it is broad, complex, and vague. Nevertheless, it is developed in human society, taught-learned, transmitted, and thus results in vicissitude; therefore, analysing the process of emergence, transmission, and resulting vicissitudes is a way of demystifying as well as simplifying understanding.

Philosophical thinking is reckoned to have begun around 1000 BC in Vedic society. Ancient seers speculated an orderly and systematic universe in the name of 'Order of Varuna' (*Varun ko rhit*) and watched the vice and virtue of humankind in different verses in Rig and Atharva Vedas (Radhakrishnan, 1989). After the Vedic synthesis, hundreds of thinkers from different civilisations put forward their worldviews reactively or independently. Around 500 BC, there were dozens of thinkers along with the most famous Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle in Athens; Buddha, Mahavira, and Brihaspati were from the Indian soil; Confucius and Lao-tzu were

the most prominent in Chinese societies. For Jaspers (1953), that time was the axial period, the breakthrough of the religious age and the beginning of philosophy; it was the protest of ethical saints against the human-created God figures (p. 3)" and relied on reasoning. The term 'philosophy' began in Greek societies around 300 BC, and two Sanskrit language terms, *Darshana and Anvikshiki*, were used for the same on Indian soil. However, the first synthesises a worldview, and the latter analyses the idea. Major civilisations- Greek, Chinese, Persian, and Indian were searching for moral standards to make an egalitarian society (Barua, 1921; Jaspers, 1962; Ranade, 1926). Buddha's synthesis of 'Karmic Theory' was an endeavour to fulfil this gap, though it was not an end but a means. Buddha's social norms, standards, and values were oriented to egalitarianism and created by critical reflection from experience.

The concept of 'Independent Parallelism' (Ranade, 1926, p. 102) and the idea of the 'axial period' (Jaspers, 1962) suggest that genius individuals of societies put forward their thoughts, share with others, invite others for discussion, and persuade them. The congruency in the level of thinking between the idea developer and other people becomes the primary determiner for the recognition and expansion of the new idea. A whole society is crucial for a philosophic idea's germination, growth, and expansion. Brekke (2002) suggests that the developers' personality, followers, and style of presentation and persuasion influence an idea's expansion.

The philosophical idea is emerging, shared, interacted, debated and reinterpreted. Communication between a teacher and a learner becomes significant while transacting an idea. Their 'mindful' interaction techniques help reduce the gap between cognitive level and socio-cultural background. The term 'mindful' refers to 'aware of' or 'conscious of' something, and 'mindful communication' signifies that a communicator becomes aware of own and another's words, gestures, and reactions and, meanwhile, remembers the history of transactions concerning the cultural background

of other (Chang, 2013); therefore, both of them manage their expression to comfort the receiver.

Etymologically teacher-controlled communication to learners is termed as 'pedagogy'. It is about 'training a person for a specified end' linked to individual disciplines, compartments, and norms (Hinchliffe, 2000, p. 32). Pedagogues transfer knowledge and inculcate norms and values in the learners. Pedagogy is the mining of culturally embedded knowledge of students (Johnson, 2011). Therefore, the best pedagogy is aware of the background, previous knowledge, skills, and attitudes (Coffey, 2008). The pedagogical implication of socio-cultural background in transacting Buddhism and its impact on vicissitude has been keenly observed.

Translated *Nikayas* and other secondary texts were selected to cover the whole history of Buddhism from Varanasi to Tibet and modern Gumbas. These texts were closely observed and hermeneutically interpreted 'to see the past by text' (Gadamer, 1996, p. 306) to extract the information concerning the epistemological paradigm and its pedagogical implication. Analysis of the information suggested the three major turning points— the emergence of Buddhism as philosophy from the social interaction of Buddha, the development of the Mahayana School, and the evolution of Tibetan Buddhism, including its four sects. These three turning points in the series of philosophical evolution have been described in separate sections below as three major vicissitudes in Buddhism. There were gaps in epistemological paradigms between the teachers and learners, and therefore, the pedagogy applied there to fulfil the gaps were the circumstances of resulting fill the gaps were circumstances that resulted in these vicissitudes.

Pedagogical Instrumentality of Buddhist Doctrine

It is commonly heard that Siddhartha, the prince of the Kapilvastu Kingdom, spent a luxurious life of 29 years from birth to renunciation, and he realised that rather than quenching, it just increased the craving. He called this phenomenon of desires 'suffering'. Meanwhile,

he observed the wandering living on minimum consumption in search of mental bliss. He followed the latter path for six years. He reflectively arrived at the conclusion of the 'middle path' in livelihood of the right and thus named it a 'noble eight-fold path'— Right View, Right Resolve, Right Speech, Right Action, Right Livelihood, Right Effort, Right Mindfulness, and Right Concentration. And these were grouped into three categories—(a) discernment, (b) virtue, and (c) concentration (Thanissaro & DeGraff, 2010, p. 196). He claimed himself as enlightened or Buddha (Dhammacakkappavattana Sutta). He knows the real dharma of every substance is impermanence, and the nature of human beings is *Anatma* (soulless), and life is full of suffering due to misperception of the former two realities. Thus, for the correct perception of *dharma*, he recommended, interacted with, and persuaded the middle path for the wanderers, laypersons, and rulers.

There were numerous philosophical views in the River Ganga basin during his time, where the Mimamsa doctrine—that is, the assumption of energising the deities through worship and practice of rituals was the most dominant. But Buddha was dissatisfied with the sociocultural life full of rituals and animal sacrifices in the name of religious practice (DN: *Samananphala, Brahmajala, Tevijja sutta*). He stressed on self-purification- example- "never commit any evils; but practice all the goods. Simply purify your mind/heart (*Dhammapada* Verse 183). However, the principal Upanishads, which are regarded as contemporary to the Buddha, too had started to stress the transformation of desire into eternal bliss and replacing external rituals with knowledge and virtue" (Radhakrishnan, 1968, p. 620).

He was further upset by observing conflicting and opposing views on human nature, moral standards, and truth. He pondered over two extremes in (a) view of existence- Vedic knowledge that holds the belief in the permanent existence of the soul, and Lokayatik holds that nothing exists after death on the other; (b) views to 'good life' -Jain Nigranthas

prefer self-mortification austerities since they belief that anything whose contact arouses sensual pleasure hinders the permanent bliss of ascetics on the one hand and lustiness of rulers and merchants, and hedonism of Lokayata since they believe on the nonexistence of sin and pious on the other (Upadhyaya, 1999). Upanishads that stress inner-purifying suggests that the aim of life is the realisation of self or Atma as lord, and who is thoughtless and impure cannot reach immortal (Radhakrishnan, 1989I, p. 211). Buddha observed a big fault in the Upanishad School, clinging to people in search of permanence or ego. His advancement of the middle path holds the view that the cultivation of desirelessness and the realisation of truth are the preconditions for each other (MN 28.28 cited in Bhikkhu-Bodhi, 1995, p. 30)- the point of view of life (*Dharma*) and livelihood (*Vinaya*) are interdependent and inseparable. Therefore, Buddha's teachings are known as *Dharma-Vinaya*, which is 'Buddhism'.

Instead of living in seclusion like other saints, Buddha entered the social intervention. He engaged in (a) teaching *Dharma* and *Vinaya*; (b) challenged the wrong practices in the name of God, religious practices, or *Punya*; and (c) interfered with the misguided rulers. Buddha had to discourage rituals (*Karma-Kanda* performed by Brahmin priests) and animal sacrifice. For that, he had to challenge the existence of such sacrifice-loving goddesses/deities and avoided any goddesses, deities, priests, worships, etc. (Varma, 1971, p. 88). He chided animal sacrifice, palmistry, and oneirology practices in the then society since these practices cheat the ignorant people, diverting individuals from self-purification (DN: Brahmanjala Sutta). He challenged the social practice and its doctrinal base to discourage social, economic, racial, and gender discrimination by establishing his own social order (*Sangha*) (Bailey & Mabbett, 2003; Chakravarti, 2007; Joshi, 1970). Buddha practiced a parallel state by establishing an egalitarian and progressive society (*Sangha*), and norms of self-purification (noble eightfold path). His progressive practices were so enchanted and attracted the common people,

that the kings requested him not to admit taxpayers, farmers, soldiers, and slaves into his society; in return, Buddha demanded banning the trading of slaves (Chakravarti, 2007). The *Sangha* was a metaphor of gender balance- the *Sangha* for monks and nuns were running in parallel a welfare state, that is, protection for helpless, weak, sick, diseased, etc. (Sharma, 1977) and a camp for cultivating love and compassion- that is, love and help from individuals among the members who are outside the family.

History of Indian philosophy suggests that during the time of Buddha, there was an emergence of different metaphysical and ethical views and debates among them. Buddhist sources claim that there were 62 schools of thought speculating their perspectives of the world, and each of them had its cult of varied masses (DN: Brahmajaala Sutra). Jaspers's (1953) axial age debate and Comte's (1842a) three-stage theory suggest that the then society was in the transition of theological mind to metaphysical. Therefore, Buddha found that individuals demanded satisfying their metaphysical or theological mind before practicing the middle path. Here are some facts that corroborate the situation that compels Buddha to synthesing a doctrine- Sariputra had asked Assaji "what the philosophy of his master (Bomhard, 2010, p. 71)." ; and wanderer Vatsa gotra (MN: 72 &73) and Mahamalunkya (MN: 63 & 64) asked Buddha- "how does matter stand, is there the ego or not (Radhakrishnan, 1989, p. 386) ?" Buddha remained silent in these questions, and they quit his discipleship. Buddha realised that a distinct doctrine in essential to organise an order or weave a *Sangha*, and then declared a doctrine of '*Pudgala-Skanda' mutuality* as his original (Radhakrishnan, 1989, p. 387). As a compulsion, Buddha had developed a metaphysical theory explaining how the lives, including laypersons, arhat, and insects sustained. For him, all beings, except the arahants, are subject to "renewal of being in the future". It is the continuation of a process rather than the rebirth or transmigration of a self or soul as conceptualised in Upanishads. "One's desires and actions lead to a future form or life

(Bhikkhu-Bodhi, 1995, pp. 45-46) ". His theory explains that one's *Karma* not only determines the future life but also sustains the universe. Buddha while preaching and persuading his people to follow the middle path, provided not only metaphysical ideas but also allied theological techniques- he narrated the stories of Mara, demons, Yakka, etc., in his preachings (MN: Culatanhasankhaya Sutta) and a prominent supporter of the Jains who refuted initially Buddha's doctrine was converted by the Buddha with the 'converting magic' (MN: Upali Sutta). That was an application of a theological technique. It suggests that Buddha's primary aim was teaching the middle path using any techniques—the metaphysical doctrine or theological events were not an end but a means of persuading one to practice the middle path.

Transformation of desire from external achievement to internal purity was the hallmark of the Vedanta age. The sages of Upanishads recommended recognising one's self or eternal soul introspectively. Buddha stressed controlling the filtering mind or ephemeral stream of consciousness instead of searching for an eternal soul. He stressed mind training to shift greediness, craving, lust, molestation, etc., into love and compassion (MN: 118 Ānāpānasmṛti Sūtta). For him, the doctrine of 'eternal soul' is another danger of clinging like desire to material gains. Therefore, he proposed a cyclic chain of cause and effect of dependent co-arising *(pratitya-samutpada)*. The cycle of 12 factors is explained as - "a person who lives with ignorance (*avidya*) (1) of truth, creates his/her disposition (*sanskara*) (2) accordingly. That influences his/her next life and birth with the 'consciousness' of self (3) (*vijnana*). That consciousness causes the mind and body to evolve (*nama-rupa*) (4). The physical body contains sensations (*sadayaytana*) (5). Sensation causes contact or perception (*sparsa*) (6). Perception creates emotion (*vedana*) (7). Emotion results in craving (*trishna*) (8). Craving causes clinging (*upadana*) (9) that causes it to come again (10), resulting in re-birth (10), and re-birth sustains old age and death (*jaramaran*) (12). Thus, we can understand the cause of old age and death (SN 56.11:

Dhamamchakkapravartana sutra; PTS: S v 420; CDB ii 1843) ". This logical explanation discourages preserving and defending one's self, ego, pride, soul, and any other rigidity.

Buddha believed that his method of living- the 'middle path' was experimentally derived to be the best and most efficient. With this confidentiality, he encouraged Kalamas of Kesaputta to accept any doctrine by testing its benefits and harm for self rather than believing as expounded by others (AN 3.65: Kalama Sutta). Buddha encouraged other people to seek the truth by themselves, saying that – "the perfectly enlightened is the originator of the path unarisen before…., He is the knower of the path….skilled in the path, and his disciples now dwell following that path and become possessed of it afterwards (SN 22.58: Sammāsambuddhasutta)."

Moreover, he believed that when individuals become critically aware, they will arrive at his path; he began teaching them critical thinking; one example is that before accepting the Brahmin, Kshetriya, Vaisya, and Sudra classes, you think- is it possible to get birth from mouth, armpit and knee-pit (MN 93: Assalayana Sutta). This suggests that the content of Buddha's discussion was just pedagogical strategies to take one practising the middle path.

Emergence of Mahayana Sect and School

There were differences and debates among the monks inside the *Sangha,* even in the presence of the extraordinary person Buddha. His cousin Devadutta, the leader of a rival group "attempted to scratch Buddha with his poison-coated fingernails (Skorupski, 2005, p. 162)". Therefore, the intensification of the diversity, debates, and rivalry after Buddha was obvious. In the second council held in Vaisali in 390 BC, a group of monks demanded to amend the Vinaya to include carrying salt in a horn and taking food after midday; drinking milk, whey, fermented palm juice; accumulating gold or silver, etc. Moreover, there was a tradition of domination of arhat monks over their juniors from the time of Buddha, and some monks demanded to change the tradition. Their demands, however, were refused (Sadasivan, 2000; Rahula, 1996).

To save their face and employ their wish, these defeated monks established a separate *Sangha*. They included the people who like God's blessing rather than an independent effort for liberation as a Sangha's member who used to be merely devout before. Thus, the scope and number of *the Sangha* of the devout became larger than the *Sangha* of the ordained Bhikshu. Taking this argument, they claimed themselves as *Mahasanghika* and employed new practices. They not only admitted the lay followers and non-Arhat monks to their meetings but also made an open structure against the Sthaviras' "bureaucratic exclusionism, monastic life for personal enlightenment, and the authority of monks in the Buddhist community (Santina, 1997, p. 154)." With a larger coverage, they declared themselves as *Mahayanists* (in Sanskrit term- *Maha* means greater by interpreting the 'simile of raft' (MN 22.13)- "Dhamma is not a body of immutable dogmas but a means, a raft for crossing over from the 'near-shore' of ignorance, craving, and suffering to the 'far shore' of transcendental peace and freedom". Meanwhile, they imposed *'Hinayana'* (a smaller vehicle- which can accommodate a few arhat monks to cross the river of suffering) to the Sthaviravada/Theravada monks.

The Theravadins followed Buddha's last instructions that "Buddha had not assured of he will be a saviour God but his teaching will lead them to the right path (DN 16: Mahaparinirvana sutra)"; therefore, they strictly followed Buddha's idea; interpreted that adopting the eightfold path. However, the Theravada never wavered from the position that the Buddha is dead and no longer active in the world; however, in moments of great crisis, some individuals do pray to Buddha for help because it is the 'spontaneous outburst of emotion' (Gombrich, 2006**,** p, 121). It was a psychological relief to the Bhikshus, but for the majority of laypeople whose minds were still theological for them, Buddha had to be elevated as savior God. Therefore, around 100 BC (Conze, 1983), it is interpreted that the Sakyamuni was the last birth that had attained the six perfections (paramitas) or enlightenment by collecting the

merits of many previous births as mentioned in 'Jataka'.

In the beginning, the dissenting and minority monks had established 'Mahasangika', a new sect, by revising the strict and austere rules of the Sangha to make Bhikshu life easier and less dominated by the elder Bhikshus and to expand the Buddhist faith in society. Later, they justified their new sect with a philosophical explanation by advancing it from a sect into a philosophical school. Thus developed, the Mahayana School comprises two assumptions: (a) Bodhisttvayana (Samuels, 1997; Shaw, 2006); and (b) Tri-kaya Theory (Gadjin & Umeyo, 1973; Xing, 2005). The former assumes gradual perfection by an accumulation of merits over succeeding births, and the latter assumes that Buddha is a saviour God who is compassionate to sentient beings.

It should be noted that the Indian society from 300 BC to 300 AD went into the scholastic movement, and philosophical schools were developed to justify the religious sects. Buddhism encountered pressure from Vedic scholasticism and religious practices. The Theravada believed that attaining 'nirvana' (the extinguishing of all desires) is one's own effort; there is no saviour God to help the devout, and one cannot purify by rituals. However, society was dominated by the Purva-Mimamsa ideal and practices, where a God could liberate the devout and a Brahmin priest could purify a person through rituals (Karma-Kanda). It was very difficult to attract laypeople to the Buddhist eight-fold path. Therefore, the modified laity concept of Mahayana gained success over Theravada (Brekke, 2002). Thus, Mahayana addressed the people's need for religious affiliation and discovered that the devotee path is superior to the arhat path for expanding Buddhism. The Mahayanists followed the "mystical" section, leaving behind the "rationalist" section of the Theravadin or Sarvastivadin monks. The Theravada path demands that ascetics strove for emancipation in a quite rational and businesslike manner, whereas there was the comparative irrationality of popular religion and, above it,

the super-rationality of the higher stages of the path and the top levels of *samadhi* and *prajna* (Conze, 1967, p. 14). The cognitive schema theory (Axelrod, 1973) and 'Evo-Devo comparison theory' (Langer, 2004) suggest speculating that the majority of people in society were unable to 'accommodate' their 'cognitive schema' to the new knowledge, and their schema was unable to 'assimilate' the Karmic Theory by replacing 'saviour God' theory.

The hallmarks of the spiritual path in Indian society- asceticism, misery, and self-mortification—were very difficult to understand and practice, while the path of devotion to the saviour God was comparatively easier to understand and follow. One's cultural and social capital creates a 'comfort zone' for learning, affecting motivation and attitudes toward learning (Ecclestone, 2004). In the search for a 'comfort zone,' they adopted the interpretation of 'saviour God' and faded out the Arhat ideal, replacing it with the 'Bodhisattva ideal' (Conze, 1967, p. 50). At the same time, Mahayanaists also addressed the religious needs of ordinary people, advancing Buddhism to the higher stages of the path to counter the Upanishads' ideal of transcendental knowledge, or intuition, of the absolute and the unconditioned.

Tibetan Buddhism: Contest and Compromise

In the background of diverse religious practices such as Demonology, Shamanism, Animism, and Bon (Kapstein, 2000), Kings introduced Buddhism in the Tibetan royal palace and society around 650 AD by supposing it as a civilized religion despite local opposition (Ghimire, 2013). The opposition of local priests and ministers heightened around 750 AD with the invitation of an Indian monk and forced return. With the help of Tantric Padhamasambhava (henceforth Padma), a celibate monk Shantarakshita (henceforth Shanta) by practice and a philosopher and abbot of Nalanda University went there with a few disciples. "In 775 AD, King Tri Songdétsen, Padma and Shanta celebrated the successful establishment of Buddhism…by founding its first monastery- Samyé (Powers,

2007, p. 148)." Shanta ordained monks and transmitted the entire range of sutra teachings, Vinaya discipline, the Mahayana teachings on bodhicitta, and the doctrine of the Middle Way (Mipham, 2010, p. ix)". The ideals of the Bodhisattva and the six perfections that he tried to teach were incomprehensible to them, and the noble eightfold path he enforced to practice was incompatible with tradition and culture. The 'dasa kusalini' and 'eight abstains' he enforced there (Banerjee, 1982, p. 1) were not comfortable or acceptable to follow. Unfortunately, at the same time, floods, lightning, and epidemics simultaneously attacked Tibet. A camp of people, whose value was lessened by the entry of Shanta, was waiting for the chance to attack the Buddhist invasion. It was rumoured that the natural calamities and epidemics were the wraths of local deities against the imported religion, and as a result, Shanta fled to Nepal (Banerjee, 1982; Chattopadhyaya, 1967).

Shanta was a man of philosophy, the author of *Tattvasamgraha* and *Madhyamakalamkara*, and a monk or teacher rather than a missionary, diplomat, or tactician. This accident taught him that there is a gap in awareness level between him and the Tibetan people, and he was unable to distort and mould the *Dharma-Vinaya* as per the needs of Tibetans. Therefore, he suggested that the King invite *Padmasambhava* (henceforth the Padma) as an 'appropriate pedagogue' (Schmidt, 1999, p. 20). The famous Siddha Padma went to Tibet and successfully grappled with the problem (Pope, 2008, p. 531) with his yogic and mystic power (Pope, 2008, p. 531; Waddell, 1895, p. 20). As a result, tantric Padma laid the foundations of the Sutrayana and Vajrayana teachings (Kalsang, 1974, p. xi). The original form brought by Shanta was distorted by the Tantric sage Padma to make it acceptable for local priests, Bonpos, and royal courtiers (Davidson, 2005, p. 291; Kapstein, 2000, p. 6; Kverne, 1972, p. 23; Tsogyal, 2004). Thus, Hindu tantrism and Indian Mahayana assimilated into indigenous demonology and superstition (Kapstein, 2000, p. 4). Still, the local Bon-pos were conspiring: "[t]hey attempted to murder Padma, but he escaped successfully with his

tantric magic, "since Padma realised the Tibetan spirits and local deities were savage (Schmidt, 1999, p. 9)". The Bon deities or demons "are, in a sense, archetypes of the Tibetan collective unconscious (Pathak, 1996, p. 3)." The Mahayana doctrine and practice developed in Indian scholastic ecology were incompatible with the Tibetan people, who were still in the theological stage of consciousness. Thus, instead of implanting Buddhism in its original form in Tibet, it underwent a negotiation. A new form evolved for the compromise between two parties, the indigenous and the importer. Nevertheless, monk Shanta endeavoured to take dharma on the right track by establishing a monastery, involving local monks in translating Sanskrit texts into Sambhota, and practising an eight-fold path.

Besides the Indians, Chinese monks were also influenced in the Tibetan palace (Kapstein, 2000). The Chinese advocated immediately liberating Chan against the Indian gradual Bodhisttvayana (Wong, 1998). King organised a debate in the Samye monastery to settle their differences (Kapstein, 2000, p. xvii). When the Tibetan audience saw that Indian scholars' logic was up for debate, they all became followers of Kamalasila. His gradualism was: "[w]isdom without means or means without wisdom is the thwarting of Bodhisattvas (Snellgrove, 2002, p. 282)". The defeated (embarrassed) Chinese monk "Ho-sang set four butchers and killed Kamalasila (Chattopadhyaya, 1967, p. 246)". This assassination banned the Chinese Buddhism, terrified the gradualist monks and supporters, and encouraged Bompos to restore its dominance. King Langdarma, who rose to the throne by executing a plan—"[t]wo ministers assassinated King Tri Ralpachen", went to suppress Buddhism—"temples and monasteries closed; monks and nuns….executed, … destruction of Buddhist texts and images…, (Powers, 2007, p. 154)". In revenge, Buddhist monks assassinated King Langdarma. Then monks banished after the persecution of the assassination around the year 842 AD spread in remote villages. The following 150 years of the so-called "dark era" of Tibet saw little Buddhist activities until a "second propagation" by Atisha

(Kapstein, 2000; Schlieter, 2006). The fled monks practiced Tantrayana rather than Mahayana to justify assassination, as well as ritual sex, drinking, and killing, which are the right practices of Tantrism. That movement comprises esoteric lore, rituals, meditations, and yogic practices. During the Dark Age, Tibetans were exploited by many false teachers "pretending to be spiritual guides and Yogis, introducing black magic, creating apparitions, sexual practices, and ritual murder, and demanding plentiful gold in return" (Gyatso, 2011, p. 29). Comprising all these features, a new form of school, Tibetan Buddhism, emerged.

Indian Buddhist missionaries had begun teaching them *Dharma-Vinaya* and plenty of books were translated. However, Tibetans could not utilise these properly during the Dark Age. They were not sufficiently prepared philosophically to transform, so as Krishnananda (1970) opined, philosophy is a rational aspect, and religion is a manifested aspect. Since they could not replace their superstitious rituals, such as demonology, malevolent spirits, and animal sacrifice, with self-purification by practising the eightfold path, the 'Dzogchen' (Klein & Wangyal, 2006, p. 3) became the monk's ideal instead of an eightfold middle path.

Sects in Tibetan Buddhism: Replication of Three-Stage Theory

Atisha (982–1054AD), on the invitation of King Yeshe, went to Tibet to teach them dharma (Behrendt, 2014; Chattopadhyaya, 1967; Davidson, 2005). He observed the practices in Tibet under the name of Buddhism and named it 'The Old School' *(rNying-ma-pa).* His doctrine was bodhipathpradipa (the lamp for the path to enlightenment), and his practice is 'seven steps of mind training' (*Lojong: Lo—* mind has a cognitive capacity; *Jong—* it requires to be trained). His was different from the 'old one', and rather than a continuation, he again introduced Buddhism (though in his own way) since it was named "again (*ka*) teaching (*dam*) - 'Kadam' (Kyabgon, 2007, pp. 3 & 4)". He introduced the 'again teaching' from one place in Tibet, but the 'old one' was being practised and persisted parallel to him in other places.

Milarepa (1052–1135AD) began learning black and red magic from a Siddha yogic Naropa, including Siddhi and Yogini Tantra, to take revenge on a witching neighbour (Martin, 1982). He taught his vidya (learning) to a monk named Gampopa (1079–1153AD), who had been renounced after a family tragedy (Rinpoche, 1996). Gampopa, like Moses and Muhammad, came out from inside the meditation cave and claimed he got direct teaching from a metaphysical Buddha. He established a monastery in 1150 AD of a distinct 'lineage of teachers' under the command of the Buddha, which etymologically became the Kagyu Lineage (*Ka-* Buddha's command, *gyu-* lineage). They believed that a Yogi could get enlightenment by realising the meaning of dharma and personally experiencing the meaning (Davidson, 2005, p. 276). Simplicity and austerity of life and "completely dedicated meditation" are touchstones for a school that emphasises meditation practice over scholarship (Dorje & Roberts, 2011, p. 1). The sect arose from a distinct feature of hermit practices, meditation in caves, and other retired places. It not only interpreted enlightenment through a fusion of the mind and the perceptible world but also organised community life, or monasticism (Davidson, 2005, p. 286).

Khon Konchog Gyalpo constructed a monastery in 1073 AD at Sakya (Kossak et al., 1998, p. 16) in the place of strange pale earth (Tibetan: *sa-* pale, *skya-* earth). The Khon family claimed themselves as deserving to rule and thus practised a new model of monastic succession by a family member, which was different from the Kagyu tradition of 'succeeding by the best disciple'. They conveyed explicit messages to their followers through their respective lineages (Lamo, 2019), and the Sakya sages developed a 'yogic system', magical rites, monastic decorum, clan connections, intellectual acumen, administrative ability, medicine, logic, language, and so forth (Davidson, 2005, p. 372). It became a stable aristocratic clan in a Buddhist institution. Kublai Khan, around 1270 AD, institutionalised the identity of Sakya Pandita as priest-king (Ghosh, 1981) as their ruling delegate for this

organised bureaucracy of the monastery (Davidson, 2005, p. 372).

Around 1400AD, a monk named Tson K'apa's, who became less ascetic and more ritualistic, claimed himself as 'The Virtuous Style' (Tib. Ge-lug-pa) and developed a new monastery (Waddell, 1895, p. 54). This sect excluded hereditary succession practices for school leadership or clan politics. Such monasteries could maintain institutional strengths. This innovative 'theology' attracted the trust of Mongol patrons and became "Tibet's state religion in the seventeenth century (McCleary & Kuijp, 2008, p. 1)."

Tibetan Buddhism comprises these four lineages, sects, and schools. The Nyingma is the oldest, which was developed on the basis of conflict, politics, Tantra, animism, demonology, etc., and the Kagyu was developed with the practice of yoga, meditation, siddhi, hermitage, solitary, etc. Thus, Kagyu seems more socio-ethical than Nyingma. Sakya is considered a little ahead of Kagyu in terms of social engagement. However, it mystified the 'path of secret spells' or 'Vajrayana enlightenment' for the supremacy of the ruler. Gelugpa monks claimed that Buddhahood is obtained by perfections rather than the path of spells and follows the conception-perception combination instead of Sakya's 'mind only' (Davidson, 1991, p. 217; Ronkin, 2005, p. 7). The Gelug School adopted a more open, ethical, and egalitarian approach and attracted Mongol patronage, overcoming the Sakya.

Despite the aforementioned sectarianism and terminological variations such as Tantrayana, Mantrayana, and Vajrayana, two core notions make Tibetan Buddhism distinct. These are the Tulku tradition and Tantric sex. The notion of Tulkus tradition goes back to the tragedy of Ba Selnang around 770AD. He was King Tri Songdetsen's minister, whose children died, and Buddhist monks performed a ritual that made their son born in a divine place and their daughter in the same lap. After completing the first year, the child could "recognize places and persons she has seen before without having been instructed about them" (Kapstein, 2000, p.

39). This doctrine of birth later became dominant "as a mark of faith," and a tradition of *tulku* emerged after the death of the first Karmapa around 1193AD (Hirshberg, 2017). Tulku tradition accepts that certain "Bodhisattvas and Buddhas would send into certain places a certain number of phantom bodies to act as the priestly rulers of that area (Conze, 1967, p. 72)."

While assimilating imported Buddhism with Indigenous Bon, an esoteric practice of tantric sex was attached that believed in *daka* and *dakini* to get liberation through sexual union (Gray, 2005). Over time, it became sometimes dominant and sometimes dormant. Buddha's suggestion of realisation of voidness from the path other than the senses has been interpreted by scholars. One needs to be educated, learned, and subtly minded to understand these interpretations. This conceptual toughness can be overcome by alternative paths of conceptual toughness- such as "power methods, energy transformation methods, and intrinsic awareness methods (Rinpoché, 2005, p. 13)". Wisdom can arise only when "sufficient energy of merit has made one's mind receptive to such wisdom and capable of sustaining it" (Rinpoché, 2005, p. 23). Tantric sex utilises excessive energy, excessive compassion, and excessive gaining of the inner world (blockage of external information or thinking). The Buddhist enlightenment macrocosm is reflected in the sexual microcosm, "(e)go's desire can never be satisfied but creative power comes through surrender of the ego, and the ego's desires can be transformed to love. Tantric sex can accomplish these all (Avinasha, 2003, p. 5)". In Tantra, a shared experience of sexual bliss is used as the basis of a special technique where "a practitioner causes the melted vital essence to flow throughout all channels of the body, producing physical and mental bliss" (Rinpoché, 2005, p. 29).

Tantric sex is a pedagogical technique where analogical reasoning is applied to accept the possibility of attaining a state of loving compassion, desirelessness, and freedom from external evils such as envy, greed, and jealousy.

Philosophical Vicissitudes: Pedagogical Implication

Social consciousness in the Indian subcontinent from Sakyamuni Buddha to the 20th Century oscillated among theological, metaphysical, and scientific paradigms. Religious leaders interpreted the content of the *Dharma-Vinaya* according to the followers' absorbent and accepting capacity. There is a teacher-learner relationship between the leaders and the followers, and this type of relationship is pedagogy.

Buddha discovered a way of living—an eightfold path—as a means of mind training to reduce greed, malice, craving, lust, etc., and cultivate love, compassion, and wisdom. He suggested others test this path to see if it was beneficial to them. It was in the paradigm of practising and realising, or 'self-testing' and 'scientific' in the modern term, but the society was dominated by either a theological or metaphysical mind. The first category of people used to believe that God's supernatural forces or God brought about changes in individuals or society. The way is to please them by worshipping, praying, donating to priests, spelling out mantras, etc. The second category of people used to believe that a mystic first cause brought about changes in individuals or society. They were searching for 'the first cause' with different methods- ascetic, hedonistic, mediation, self-mortification, etc.

Buddha advised the disciple that teaching 'dharma' is for understanding, practising, and changing life, not for holding a mystic idea of the ivory tower. Still, people demanded a philosophical doctrine rather than a living path. Abhidhamma treatises were written to present a clear doctrinal concept and define it in clear-cut theoretical terms to overcome the cloud of debates with Brahmanical rivals and other Buddhist circles (Ronkin, 2005). Abhidhamma is a Sanskrit compound; 'Abhi' is the highest or Uttama teaching or doctrine that is beyond compare, and the term 'dharma' refers to the truths revealed by those teachings of Buddha (Willemen et al., 1998).

However, the initial doctrine and practice, named either Arhatship or Theravada or later imposed with the name Hinayana, became incompatible with the people whose minds were cultivated with a saviour God, worship, and prayers. Since Buddhist expansionists or missionaries interpreted Buddha as the saviour God, the Mahayana school emerged. Thus, the developed Mahayana school followed the 'Bodhisattvas' (Powers, 2007, p. 110) ideal, resulting from a philosophical shift in popular social demand (social consciousness) and an influence of the Hindu ideal in society. The saviour God and Bodhisattva ideal emerged to counter the Purva-Mimamsa school, and the ideal of paramita, or the six perfections-generosity, ethics, patience, effort, meditation, and wisdom- to attain nirvana, and it was developed against the moksha ideal of the Uttar-Mimamsa (Upanishads) school. Madhyamikas and Yogacara emerged between around 150 BC to 300 CE as a result of the 'scholastic mind' and practice of Indian soil (Conze, 1967, p. 16). The scholastic age nurtured different sub-schools in Mahayana and a tradition of interpretational freedom, intellectual creativity, and debate.

As society gradually shifted to scholasticism (convincing one to follow religious activities by speculative justification for them), Buddhism served as "cathartic in clearing the mind of the cramping effects of ancient obstructions that created great movement in philosophy and hence produced the six orthodox schools" (Radhakrishnan, 1989II, p. 3), and as reciprocal, different schools in Buddhism evolved. Buddhism as a religion (not as philosophy) was expanded in the circle of less conscious people or laymen. They felt safe under the subjection of supernatural force. In this process, the doctrine of savior god or patron deities allied with Hinduism contaminated Buddhism- "the incarnation system of Hindu influences to …the cult of the bodhisattva of Mahayan where saviour gods enjoyed great and understandable popularity (Blurton, 1993, p. 112)", and like feudal king in Hindusm, Buddhist started consecration to give the flavor of 'divine' (Davidson, 2005, p. 31) . Buddhism added Tantra around the 8th Century due to antagonistic competition against Hindu Tantra. Hence, the dominant Mahayana Buddhist schools,

Madhyamika and Yogacara, became practical in Tantra and patron deities.

Buddhism went to Tibet, where most people were of theological mind and believed in demonology, black magic, animism, and witchcraft. Understanding the rationale behind practising the noble eightfold path for them was impossible. Therefore, the teaching content was adjusted or modified to the learners' level or paradigm of thinking or epistemological base. Thus, the Nyingma School was developed, which was dominated by witchcraft and demonology. Kagyu abridged the Nyingma and the latter two schools by its belief in mystic solitary meditative emancipation. As the Tibetan people's consciousness level changed, gradually shifting from theological to philosophical, they developed the Shakya and Geluk schools.

At the inception stage, despite the intention of the King and Mahayanist Sages, Buddhism in Tibet became less philosophical and more theological. The Tibetan people of around the 700s AD could not understand the content of the *Dharma-Vinaya* through the methods of philosophy since they were taught with theological pedagogy. Even in later days, around the 12th Century, Kagyu and Kadam schools applied poems and folk stories for expansion among illiterate and quasi-shamanistic people. "Kadam preacher and Kagyu poet subverted the imperial narrative and clan origin by making religion directly accessible to ordinary Tibetan nomads, land-bound peasants, and wealthy town traders (Davidson, 2005, p. 257)", moreover, they added egalitarianism in religion by all establishing loving-compassion deities- Avalokitesvara and Tara with saints and divinities of emerging Tibetan religion.

The emergence of four sects up to the 1600s AD shows a trend of philosophical purification of the dharma. From the 16thCentury on, philosophical proliferation declined, and in the second half of the 20thCentury, Tibetan Buddhism came to be associated with science. As Buddha used to ask individuals to test themselves whether his Dharma (middle path) is more beneficial than other doctrines, the Dalai Lama, the formal of Buddhism, asks Western scientists to test Buddhism against the touchstone of science through mind-and-life dialogues (Mind and Life Institute, 2024). Thus, Buddhism has been understood as religion, philosophy, or science by different people based on their epistemological base and learning ease, and the teachers have presented it based on the needs, interests, motives, and abilities of the learners. Therefore, pedagogy is regarded as the root of vicissitude in Buddhism.

Russell (1946) categorised and arranged three epistemological paradigms—religion, philosophy, and science—horizontally and claimed that all human activities fall under any of them. Buddhism encompasses these three paradigms since individuals can simultaneously practice religion, philosophy, and science in Buddhism: worshipping Buddha as God, contemplating with Pratyuttasamutpada, and experimenting with the middle path. Comte (1942a), through the historical analysis of the development of European societies, synthesised the three-stage theory: "[t]he theological mind seeks the first and final causes of all effects by the immediate action of supernatural beings; the metaphysical mind supposes abstract forces capable of producing all phenomena; and for the scientific mind, the origin and destination of the universe are subjects to reasoning and observation" (p. 28). A historical overview of Buddhism suggests that the societies in the Indian subcontinent, especially northern India, Nepal, and Tibet, the places understudy, replicate the theory.

Buddha's invention of the middle path reflected his living in extreme comfort as a prince and extreme misery as a home renouncer. He answered metaphysical questions and developed a doctrine to implement his knowledge in society. After him, the Mahayana school emerged to address the theological minds of the masses. Buddhism, while taken to Tibet around 750AD, it was modified to adapt to the theological mind. However, it gradually transferred to a philosophical form. It transitioned from a 'secret practice' to social ethics for statecraft. The Geluk School further advanced its philosophical aspects of morality,

compassion, and wisdom. These days, the compatibility of Buddhist principles and theories has been tested with natural and social science findings, especially in the Western world.

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Ethical Approval

It is a literature review-based study; there is no direct contact with individuals to collect information.

Conflict of Interest

I confirm that I have no conflict of interest.

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No individuals were visited to collect information.
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