

The Rise of Mahāyāna Buddhism

And Its Relationship to the Worship of Stupas

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The beginnings of Mahāyāna Buddhism are shrouded in the nebulous past, hidden forever in lost literary and archaeological records. Many Buddhist scholars maintain the theory that the Mahāyāna originated from the Mahāsāṃghika School 大衆部. It is true that on doctrinal matters a number of strong similarities exist between the two, but on the other hand several important ideas of Mahāyāna Buddhism are based upon the doctrines of the Sarvāstivādin School 說一切有部. This is evident even from an examination of the basic teachings contained in Nāgārjuna's *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-śāstra* (*MPP-śāstra*) 大智度論, many of which are derived from this school. It is a well-known fact, also, that the Yogācāra School 瑜伽行派 borrowed many Sarvāstivādin concepts. Thus, the Mahāyāna and the Sarvāstivādin clearly have an intimate historical connection on doctrinal matters.

This relationship between Mahāyāna Buddhism and Nikāya Buddhism 部派佛教 is complicated, and it would be premature to conclude that the Mahāyāna is a development from the Mahāsāṃghika, simply because the latter advocated a number of progressive ideas. In this paper I propose to analyze the doctrinal relationship between Mahāyāna and Nikāya Buddhism and examine the institutional aspect of the early Mahāyāna Saṃgha as possible clues to the rise of Mahāyāna Buddhism. As a preliminary I wish to point out a number of significant ideas common to both the Mahāyāna and the Mahāsāṃghika.

The *Samayabhedoparacanacakra-śāstra*¹ 異部宗輪論 introduces several Mahāsāṃghika ideas which show a distinct similarity to the Mahāyāna doctrines. First, the Mahāsāṃghika held advanced ideas on the concept of Buddhahood. They advocated that the Buddhas are free of *sāsravadharma* 有漏法 and are eternal in body and life. This approaches the concept of *Sambhoga-kāya* 報身佛 in the Mahāyāna. Second, they believed that the Buddha preached a single message with one voice 一音, an idea inherited by such Mahāyāna texts as the

1. *Samayabhedoparacanacakra-śāstra*, T. 49, p. 15bc 異部宗輪論; p. 18bc 十八部論; p. 20bc 部執異論; The Tibetan Tripiṭaka, Peking Edition, ed. by D. T. Suzuki (Tokyo-Kyoto, 1960), no. 5639, vol. 127, p. 250-3 (170b. f).

*Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*² 維摩經, which became influential in later Chinese Buddhist thought. Third, they developed the ideal of Bodhisattva who, desiring to save humanity, is born of free will into the lower realm of durgati 惡趣. In early Buddhist and Sarvāstivādin literature the Bodhisattva referred to the previous lives of the Buddha, and, in its narrower usage, to the life of Śākyamuni prior to his enlightenment. The Sarvāstivādin also taught that the Bodhisattva was subject to the law of karma. If one attained arhathood, he was free of the karmic law; and once the arhat died, he entered nirvāṇa never to return to the world of saṃsāra. But living in the cycle of saṃsāra, the Bodhisattva was bound to the law of karma. In contrast to this school the Mahāsāṃghika held that the Bodhisattva has already sundered karmic bondage and, therefore, is born in durgati out of his own free will, his deep vow (praṇidhāna) of salvation. The Bodhisattva already possesses the merits to attain Buddhahood, but in order to save sentient beings he purposefully declines perfection and remains a Buddha-to-be. This is close to the Mahāyāna ideal of the Bodhisattva. The term is not limited in use to the previous lives of the Buddha, for all men who establish the vow to achieve enlightenment and practice austerities are called Bodhisattvas. This ideal culminates in the "Bodhisattvas with great powers", such as Mañjuśrī, Samantabhadra, and Maitreya, whose powers of salvation are identical with the Buddha. Fourth, the concept of daśabhūmi 十地 in the *Mahāvastu*³ of the Lokottaravādin 說出世部, a branch of the Mahāsāṃghika, foreshadows the parallel concept in the *Daśabhūmika-sūtra*⁴ 十地經, although the names of the ten stages differ. It must be noted that the *Mahāvastu* incorporated ideas from various traditions, and the daśabhūmi may also be a borrowing⁵. There is no textual evidence to show that the concept originated with the Lokottaravādin, but if it did, then the influence upon the *Daśabhūmika-sūtra* is very great, since the *Mahāvastu* is the oldest extant source which describes the stages of practice in this way.

I have briefly discussed the similarities between the Mahāsāṃghika and the Mahāyāna, but this alone is inadequate to conclude that the latter developed from the former. It is necessary to document the gradual shift in both ideas and institutions from the Mahāsāṃghika to the Mahāyāna. But this is almost impossible with the existing sources. If we speak of doctrinal similarities, we cannot merely stress the similarities existing between the two as historical evidence

2. 維摩詰所說經 T. 14, no. 475, p. 538a, and no. 476, p. 558c. The Sarvāstivādin opposed the idea of the single message of one voice. *Mahāvibhāṣā-śāstra* 大毘婆沙論 79, T. 27, no. 1545, p. 410a.

3. *Mahāvastu*, vol. I, p. 63f.

4. cf. footnote 68.

5. Jones states that the daśabhūmi theory was a borrowing interpolated in the *Mahāvastu*. Cf. J. J. Jones, *The Mahāvastu*, vol I, (London, 1949), p. xiii.

for the rise of Mahāyāna Buddhism, for the influence of such schools as the Sarvāstivādin has been in some cases undeniably great.

Sarvāstivādin Doctrines and Mahāyāna Buddhism

My purpose is not to compare the doctrines of the Sarvāstivādin and the Mahāyāna, but we must understand a few important relationships between the two.

TRIPITAKA 三藏. Nāgārjuna utilized a number of Sarvāstivādin doctrines; one of these, the concept of Tripiṭaka, is a transmission of the Sarvāstivādin. He lists under the sūtra-piṭaka⁶ 經藏: *Ekottara*, *Madhyama*, *Dirgha*, and *Samyukta-āgama*. The *Kṣudrakapiṭaka* (*Khuddaka-nikāya*) 雜藏 is not listed which is characteristic of the Sarvāstivādin and the Mūlasarvāstivādin⁷. In contrast to this the council record of the Mahāsāṃghika School's *Mahāsāṃghika-vinaya*⁸ 摩訶僧祇律 lists *Dirgha*, *Madhyama*, *Samyukta*, *Ekottara*, and *Kṣudrakapiṭaka*. Thus, the Tripiṭaka studied by Nāgārjuna was that of the Sarvāstivādin and not the Mahāsāṃghika.

The vinaya system⁹ included in the *MPP-śāstra*, also, coincides with the Sarvāstivādin *Dasabhāṣavāra-vinaya* 十誦律, but it differs completely from the *Mahāsāṃghika-v*. Nāgārjuna must have consulted the vinaya of the Sarvāstivādin rather than the Mahāsāṃghika. As for the abhidharma-piṭaka¹⁰ the *MPP-śāstra* lists the *Aṣṭagranthābhidharma* 八鍵度阿毘曇, *Ṣaṭpādābhidharma* 六分阿毘曇, *Śāriputrābhidharma* 舍利弗阿毘曇, and *Peṭaka*¹¹ (*Phelā*) 毘勒 (篋藏). The first two are Sarvāstivādin transmissions, and the third, according to Nāgārjuna, is a Vātsīputrīya transmission, but no traces of Vātsīputrīya doctrine can be found

6. *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-śāstra* (*MPP-śāstra*) 2, T. 25, no. 1509, p. 69c. E. Lamotte, *Le traité grande vertu de sagesse*, Tome I (Louvain, 1944), p. 103.

7. *Dasabhāṣavāra-vinaya* 十誦律 60, T. 23, no. 1435, p. 449a; *Mūlasarvāstivāda-kṣudrakavastu* 根本說一切有部毘奈耶雜事 39, T. 24, no. 1451, p. 407bc.

8. *Mahāsāṃghika-vinaya* 摩訶僧祇律 32, T. 22, no. 1425, p. 491c; J. Przyluski, *Le concile de Rājagṛha* (Paris, 1927), p. 211.

9. *MPP-śāstra* 2, T. 25, no. 1509, p. 69c.; Lamotte, *op. cit.*, p. 104f; Matsumoto Bunzaburo 松本文三郎, 佛典の研究 (Kyoto, 1941).

10. *MPP-śāstra* 2, T. 25, p. 70a. Lamotte, *ibid*, p. 106.

11. Wogihara Unrai 荻原雲來 showed that 毘勒 is an error for 毗勒 (*phelā*), and inferred its connection with *Peṭakopadesa*; 荻原雲來文集, p. 392. However, there is only a partial agreement between the organization of 毗勒 in the *MPP-śāstra* and that of the *Peṭakopadesa* and no real, intimate connection between the two can be found. Cf. Mizuno Kogen 水野弘元 "Peṭakopadesa について", *Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies* (*JIBS*, *Indogaku-Bukkyogaku Kenkyu* 印度學佛教學研究), vol. VII, no. 2, p. 56f.

in the present *Śāriputrābhidharma*. Some Japanese scholars¹² consider this to be a Sarvāstivādin abhidharma, because of the similarity in doctrine, while others point out the likeness to the Mahāsāṃghika. The consensus opinion¹³, however, is that its affiliation is impossible to determine. The only thing clear is that it has a system common with the Pali transmissions, *Vibhaṅga* and *Puggalapaññatti*, and is one of the older abhidharmas. The *Peṭaka* is thought to have some connections with the Theravadin *Peṭakopadesa*, but in terms of the contents this is unlikely. We may thus conclude that although Nāgārjuna was familiar with a variety of abhidharmas, the doctrines utilized in the *MPP-śāstra* are taken mainly from the Sarvāstivādin.

The main doctrinal principle in the *MPP-śāstra* is the 37 bodhipākṣika-dharmā 三十七道品, found in the āgama, but there are also many ideas of Sarvāstivādin origin: such as, the four āryasatya 16 anupaśyanā¹⁴ 四諦十六行觀; the stages¹⁵ of practice called uṣmagata 煖, mūrdhan 頂, kṣānti 忍, laukikāgradharma 世第一法; the stages of sundering kleśa, such as, the 8 kṣānti 八忍, 8 jñāna 八智, 9 ānantaryamārga 九無礙道, 9 vimuktimārga¹⁶ 九解脫道; the classification of kleśa into the 88 bandhana¹⁷ 八十八結, and 98 anuśaya¹⁸ 九十八使; the enumeration of the 6 hetu¹⁹ 六因 besides the 4 pratyaya 四緣; the listing of 10 jñāna²⁰; and the adding of avijñaptirūpa²¹ 無表色 to 5 indriya 五根 and 5 viśaya 五境 to count 11 rūpa. This proves beyond doubt that the author of the *MPP-śāstra* was conversant in Sarvāstivādin doctrine.

12. There are various theories concerning the *Śāriputrābhidharma* 舍利弗阿毘曇. Nāgārjuna considers it to be part of Vātsīputriya 犢子部; and 道標, author of the preface to its Chinese translation, states that it belongs to the Sarvāstivādin, T. 28, p. 525b.; 吉藏, according to the *MPP-śāstra*, states that it belongs to the Vātsīputriya in 三論玄義. T. 45, p. 9c.; 窺基 states that it is a transmission of the Sammatīya 正量部 in 妙法蓮華經玄贊 1, T. 34, no. 1723, p. 657a; 鳳漂, following 窺基, also ascribes it to the Sammatīya, *Bukkyo Taikei* 佛教大系, 頭書三論玄義, p. 252.; Kimura Taiken 木村泰賢 discussed the intimate connections of this work with the Pali *Vibhaṅga* and *Puggalapaññatti* and showed concepts common with the Vātsīputriya, Mahāsāṃghika, Sarvāstivādin, and Vaibhadyavādin, but did not reach any conclusion concerning its affiliation. Cf. 木村泰賢, 阿毘達磨論の研究 (Tokyo, 1920), p. 67f.
13. Modern Japanese scholars agree that the affiliation of this work cannot be readily determined. Shio Benkyo 椎尾辨匡, “六足論の發達” in 宗教界, vol. 10 (Tokyo, 1914), p. 628f.; Watanabe Baiyu 渡邊棣雄, “舍利弗阿毘曇論解題” in *Kokuyaku-issaikyo* 國譯一切經, 毘曇部 19 (Tokyo, 1934); Nishi Yoshio 西義雄, “舍利弗阿毘曇論の部派佛教における資料的地位” in 宮本正尊教授還暦紀念印度學佛教學論集 (Tokyo, 1954), p. 218f.
14. *MPP-śāstra* 11, T. 25, p. 138a. Lamotte, *op. cit.*, Tome II, p. 641.
15. *Ibid.*, 18, T. 25, p. 191a, 721a. Lamotte, *ibid.*, Tome II, p. 1067.
16. *Ibid.*, 18, T. 25, p. 191a. Lamotte, *ibid.*, Tome II, p. 1063.
17. *Ibid.*, 40, T. 25, p. 349c.
18. *Ibid.*, 21, T. 25, p. 218b.
19. *Ibid.*, 32, T. 25, p. 296bc.
20. *Ibid.*, 23, T. 25, p. 232cf.
21. *Ibid.*, 36, T. 25, p. 324b.

DVĀDAŚĀṄGA-DHARMAPRAVACANA²² 十二部經. The dvādaśāṅga in the *MPP-sāstra* follows that of the Sarvāstivādin. Whether the teachings, Buddha-vacana, should be organized into the Navāṅga-buddhavacana 九分教 or Dvādaśāṅga-buddhaśāsana differs with the Nikāya schools. The Theravādin²³ 上座部 and the Mahāsāṃghika (in the *Mahāsāṃghika-v*)²⁴ use the navāṅga with a slight variation in the sequence. In contrast to this the dvādaśāṅga is employed by the Sarvāstivādin, Mahīśāsaka 化地部 (in the *Pañcavargika-v*)²⁵ 五分律, Dharmaguptaka 法藏部 (in the *Caturvargika-v*)²⁶ 四分律, and the Mūlasarvāstivādin²⁸. The sequence in the dvādaśāṅga differs with the schools; therefore, the lineage of a particular text can be inferred by studying the type of navāṅga or dvādaśāṅga used.

The majority of the Mahāyāna texts utilize the dvādaśāṅga and very few the navāṅga. And many texts carry the Sarvāstivādin sequence of the dvādaśāṅga. In the *Mahāvibhāṣā-sāstra*²⁹ 大毘婆沙論, a representative work of the Sarvāstivādin, the dvādaśāṅga is listed, as follows: 1. sūtra, 2. geya, 3. vyākaraṇa, 4. gāthā, 5. udāna, 6. nidāna, 7. avadāna, 8. itivṛttaka, 9. jātaka, 10. vaipulya, 11. adbhūta-dharma, 12. upadeśa. The characteristic feature of this sequence is that the avadāna is seventh. The Chinese translation of the *Samyuktāgama*³⁰ 雜阿含 has the same order and is thought to be of identical transmission. The following Mahāyāna sūtras also have the same sequence: the Chinese translation³¹ of the *Pañcaviṃśati-sāhasrikā-prajñā-pāramitā-sūtra* (Chinese *PPP*) 大品般若,

22. Concerning the navāṅga and the dvādaśāṅga, see the excellent article by Professor Mizuno Kogen, "大乘經典の性格" in Miyamoto, ed., 大乘佛教の成立史的研究 (Tokyo, 1954), p. 284f. This paper is indebted to his ideas, but there are some points of disagreement also.
23. The Pāli Āgama lists the navāṅga in various places. 1. sutta, 2. geyya, 3. veyyākaraṇa, 4. gāthā, 5. udāna, 6. itivuttaka, 7. jātaka, 8. abbhūta-dhamma, 9. vedalla. E.g. *Majjhima-N.* vol. I, p. 133; *Aṅguttara-N.*, vol. II, pp. 103, 178; III, pp. 86, 87, 177, 361, 362.
24. 摩訶僧祇律 1, T. 22, no. 1425, p. 227b. Cf. footnote 51.
25. The Sarvāstivādin treatises, e.g., 集異門足論 14, T. 26, no. 1536, p. 427c; 大毘婆沙論 126, T. 27, no. 1545, p. 659c; 阿毘曇毘婆沙論 1, T. 28, no. 1546, p. 2b; 順正理論 44, T. 29, no. 1562, p. 595a.
26. 五分律 1, T. 22, no. 1421, p. 1c. 27. 四分律 1, T. 22, no. 1428, p. 569b.
28. 根本說一切有部毘奈耶雜事 38, T. 24, no. 1451, p. 398c. However, the Sanskrit and Tibetan translation, published by E. Waldschmidt, differs from the Chinese order, and lists the dvādaśāṅga in the same order as the Sarvāstivādin. Waldschmidt, *Das Mahā-parinirvāṇasūtra*, Teil III (Berlin, 1951), pp. 386, 387.; Tibetan, no. 1035, vol. 44, p. 231, 2, lines 1-2.
29. 大毘婆沙論 33, T. 25, no. 1509, p. 306cf.
30. 雜阿含 41, T. 2, no. 99, p. 300c.
31. 摩訶般若波羅蜜經 (大品般若) 5, T. 8, no. 223, p. 256a. However, the Sanskrit *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, Calcutta Oriental Series 28, (London, 1934), p. 31, gives the dvādaśāṅga order different from the Chinese translation.

*Samdhinirmocana-sūtra*³² 解深密經, *Mahāyāna-mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*³³ 大乘涅槃經, *Mahāsaṃnipāta-sūtra*³⁴ 大集經, *Mahākaruṇā-sūtra*³⁵ 大悲經, *Kuśalamūlasaṃgraha*³⁶ 華手經, *MPP-śāstra*³⁷, *Yogācārabhūmi-śāstra*³⁸ 瑜伽論, *Prakaraṇāryavācā-śāstra*³⁹ 顯揚聖教論, *Mahāyānābhīdharma-samuccaya-vyākhyā*⁴⁰ 大乘阿毘達磨集論, and *Mahāvūṭpatti*⁴¹. The *Satyasiddhi-śāstra*⁴² 成實論, while not a Sarvāstivādin text, is influenced by it and contains the same order of the dvādaśāṅga. In the *Pañcavargika-v.*⁴³ of the Mahīśāsaka the dvādaśāṅga is listed, as follows: 1. sūtra, 2. geya, 3. vyākaraṇa, 4. gāthā, 5. udāna, 6. nidāna, 7. itivṛttaka, 8. jātaḥ, 9. vaipulya, 10. adbhūta-dharma, 11. avadāna, 12. upadeśa. The *Mūlasarvāstivāda-kṣudrakavastu*⁴⁴ 根本說一切有部毘奈耶雜事 maintains the same order, showing that the Mūlasarvāstivādin and the Mahīśāsaka belong to the same tradition. It contains many ideas common to the Sarvāstivādin, but the dvādaśāṅga sequence is different. Among the Mahāyāna texts the *Mahā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*⁴⁵ (*MPP-sūtra*) 大般若波羅蜜多經 contains the same dvādaśāṅga in the first section 初品, volumes 3 and 127; second section, volume 402; and third section, volume 479. The fact that the Chinese *PPP* belongs to the Sarvāstivādin

32. 解深密經 3, T. 16, no. 676, p. 698a; no. 675, p. 674b.; Tibetan 影印北京版大藏經, vol. 29, p. 13 (28b, lines 2-4).

33. 大乘涅槃經 15, T. 12, no. 374, p. 451b, and T. 12, no. 375, p. 693b.

34. 大方等大集經 16, T. 13, no. 397, p. 109c.

35. 大悲經 5, T. 12, no. 380, p. 968b.

36. 華手經 2, T. 16, no. 657, p. 137a.

37. *MPP-śāstra* 33, T. 25, no. 1509, p. 306cf.

38. 瑜伽師地論 81, T. 30, no. 1579, p. 753af.

39. 顯揚聖教論 6, T. 31, no. 1602, p. 508cf.

40. 大乘阿毘達磨集論 6, T. 31, no. 1605, p. 686af.

41. *Mahāvūṭpatti*, (R. Sakaki, ed.), no. 62 p. 97.

42. 成實論 1, T. 32, no. 1646, p. 244c.

43. 五分律 1, T. 22, no. 1421, p. 1c. Although the original form of the dvādaśāṅga may have been formed by adding nidāna, avadāna, and upadeśa to the navāṅga (cf. footnote 51) found in 摩訶僧祇律, there is no text which indicates this order. In the 五分律 nidāna is placed between udāna and itivṛttaka. The reason is that probably the order of udāna-nidāna may have aided the memory of the dvādaśāṅga. We may consider the order in the 五分律 as being the oldest, extant form. The Sarvāstivādin shifted avadāna to seventh, as follows: ...udāna, nidāna, avadāna, itivṛttaka, etc. This was also done probably to facilitate memory. Thus the order of the Sarvāstivādin dvādaśāṅga may be considered to be later than the Mahīśāsaka order. However, Maeda Egaku 前田惠學 sees the order of the dvādaśāṅga in Chinese Dirgha-Āgama, as follows: udāna, itivuttaka, nidāna, jātaḥ, etc., and considers it to be the oldest form. Cf. Maeda, 前田惠學 “九分教の itivuttaka の原意” in 東方學論集 7, (1962), p. 321. But I cannot agree to his identification of the order of the dvādaśāṅga in the Dirgha-Āgama, cf. footnote 47.

44. 根本說一切有部毘奈耶雜事 38, T. 24, no. 1451, p. 398c. Cf. footnote 28.

45. 大般若波羅蜜多經, 初分 3, 127, T. 5, no. 220, pp. 15b, 699a: 第2分 402, T. 7, p. 9c; 第3分 479, T. 7, p. 431c. Tibetan, vol. 12, p. 16, 61b, lines 5ff.; vol. 14, p. 147, 264b, lines 5ff.

tradition, whereas the *MPP-sūtra* belongs to the Mahīśāsaka and the Mūlasarvāstivādin is worthy of notice. The *Buddhāvataṃsaka*⁴⁶ 華嚴經 also enumerates the same dvādaśāṅga; the only difference being that nidāna is fifth and udāna is sixth in order. Since all the dvādaśāṅga sources list udāna in fifth place, some confusion must have entered to invert the order of udāna and nidāna.

In the Dharmaguptaka *Caturvargika-v.*⁴⁷ and Chinese *Dirgha-āgama*⁴⁸ the sequence is, as follows: 1. sūtra, 2. geya, 3. vyākaraṇa, 4. gāthā, 5. udāna, 6. nidāna, 7. jātaḥ, 8. itivṛttaka, 9. vaipulya, 10. adbhūta-dharma, 11. avadāna, 12. upadeśa. This is similar to the Mahīśāsaka order, except for the seventh, jātaḥ, and eighth, itivṛttaka. The inverted order is characteristic of the Dharmaguptaka dvādaśāṅga. Another Mahāyāna sūtra in the same tradition is the Chinese 光讚般若⁴⁹, which is identical in contents with the Chinese *PPP* and the *MPP-sūtra*, 第二會・第三會, but the sequence differs. This reflects the varied backgrounds of Buddhist knowledge held by the peoples responsible in transmitting the prajñāpāramitā literature. The dvādaśāṅga in the Sanskrit *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā-PP*,⁵⁰ edited by N. Dutt, is identical with the Chinese *PPP* and belongs to the Mahīśāsaka tradition.

The preceding examination leads us to the conclusion that there are several different types of dvādaśāṅga sequence, but it is the Sarvāstivādin which is predominant in Mahāyāna sūtras and śāstras. It is proof that the authors of the Mahāyāna texts were versed in Sarvāstivādin doctrine.

NAVĀṅGA-BUDDHAVACANA 九分教. The *Mahāsāṃghika-v.*⁵¹ lists the navāṅga in the following order: 1. sūtra, 2. geya, 3. vyākaraṇa, 4. gāthā, 5. udāna, 6. ityuktaka (or itivṛttaka), 7. jātaḥ, 8. vaipulya, 9. adbhūta-dharma. It is well-known that the Theravādin⁵² describes the Buddha-vacana by the navāṅga, but the sequence differs slightly with numbers 8 and 9 being abbhūta-dhamma and vedalla, respectively. In contrast to the Mahāsāṃghika use of navāṅga the Mahāyāna uses the dvādaśāṅga generally; from this viewpoint the Mahāsāṃghika has little to do with the Mahāyāna. Some scholars consider the Chinese *Ekottara-āgama* 增一阿含 to be a Mahāsāṃghika transmission, but

46. 大方廣佛華嚴經 12, T. 9, no. 278, p. 478a; and 21, T. 10, no. 279, p. 114af.

47. 四分律 1, T. 22, no. 1428, p. 569b.

48. 長阿含 3, 12, T. 1, no. 1, pp. 16c, 74b.

49. 光讚經 1, T. 8, no. 222, p. 150cf. However, in the same work, 7, p. 197a an entirely different order of the dvādaśāṅga is given. This order cannot be found in any other sūtra.

50. Dutt, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

51. 摩訶僧祇律 1, T. 22, no. 1425, p. 1c. The order of the navāṅga in the *Mahāsāṃghika-v.* is identical with that of the *Mahāyāna-mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*, and even in the case of dvādaśāṅga many contain the vaipulya-adbhūta-dharma order; therefore, the *Mahāsāṃghika-v.* navāṅga may be thought to be older than the Pali. Cf. footnote, 43.

52. Cf. footnote 23.

this is doubtful, because it lists the dvādaśāṅga⁵³ rather than the navāṅga; in fact, the dvādaśāṅga occurs in five places, but the sequence is varied and none is identical with those in the Mahāyāna texts.

Among Mahāyāna works which contain the navāṅga, there are the *Saddharma-puṇḍarika-sūtra*⁵⁵ 法華經, *Mahāyāna-mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*⁵⁴ 大乘涅槃經, and *Daśabhūmika-vibhāṣā*⁵⁶ 十住毘婆沙論. The navāṅga in the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* is identical with the one in the *Mahāśāṅghika-v.*, but it is cited for the purpose of criticism. The navāṅga⁵⁴ represents Hinayāna Buddhism and is belittled as the incomplete teaching, ardha-vacana 半字; the dvādaśāṅga on the other hand fully expresses the complete teachings of the Buddha. The author was aware that the navāṅga belonged to a different tradition from that of his own Mahāyāna, and interestingly this navāṅga is the one found in the *Mahāśāṅghika-v.*

The navāṅga-śāsana 九部法 in the *Saddharma-puṇḍarika*⁵⁵ is famous, but it differs in both contents and order from the one in the Pali, *Mahāśāṅghika-v.*, etc. It is formed by eliminating vyākaraṇa, udāna, and vaipulya from the dvādaśāṅga, and by replacing avadāna by aupamyā. This also is given to describe the Hinayāna. The navāṅga in the *Daśabhūmika-vibhāṣā*⁵⁶ again differs from the Pali version; it eliminates jātaka and interpolates nidāna. The author probably explained the navāṅga, while fully acquainted with the dvādaśāṅga. This sequence is not found elsewhere and its lineage is difficult to determine. This work, however, teaches the Vātsīputriya theory of pañcadharmakoṣa 57 五法藏 in five places, so it must have had some connections with the Vātsīputriya. The *MPP-sūtra*⁵⁸ also teaches the pañcadharma-koṣa. It is interesting to note that while the *MPP-śāstra*, *Abhidharmakoṣa-bhāṣya*, *Satyasiddhi*, etc., treat the Vātsīputriya theory negatively, the *Daśabhūmika-vibhāṣā* and *MPP-sūtra* treat it positively. The *Daśabhūmika-vibhāṣā* divides kleśa into 10 and further teaches the 98 anuśaya⁵⁹ 九十八使. This coincides with Sarvāstivādin doctrine, but others do not; such as, the 14 types of paryavasthāna⁶⁰ 經, analyzed into tri-dhātu, darśanamārga, and bhāvanāmārga, and listing 198 par-yavasthāna 經垢. Another is the 298 kleśa 煩惱, combining 98 anuśaya and

53. 增一阿含 17, 21, 33, 46, 48, T. 2, no. 125, pp. 635a, 657a, 728c, 794b, 813a.

54. 大般涅槃經 3, T. 12, no. 374, p. 383c, and no. 375, p. 623b.

55. 法華經 1, T. 9, no. 262, p. 7c; and no. 264, p. 140c. However, the 正法華經 T. 9, no. 263, p. 70a, does not carry the navāṅga. It exists in the Sanskrit and the Tibetan translation. Kern and Nanjio, *Saddharma-puṇḍarika-sūtra*, p. 45, and Tibetan, no. 781, vol. 30, p. 11, 2, lines 3-4.

56. 十住毘婆沙論 9, T. 26, no. 1521, p. 69a.

57. *Ibid.*, 9, 10, 26, T. 26, no. 1521, pp. 69b, 73b, 73c, 75b, 107c. Cf. Hirakawa Akira 平川彰 “十住毘婆沙論の著者について” in *JIBS*, vol. V., no. 2, p. 176f.

58. 大般若波羅蜜多經 491, T. 7, no. 220, p. 494a.

59. 十住毘婆沙論 16, T. 26, no. 1521, p. 108c.

60. *Ibid.*, 16, T. 26, p. 108c.

198 paryavasthāna, which is similar to the 294 kleśa⁶¹ 惑 discussed in the Sāmmitiya 正量部 work 律二十二明了論⁶². The Sāmmitiya and Vātsīputriya are closely related schools. Still another is the 700 asamprayuktadharma⁶³ 不相應法 and 65 types⁶⁴ of dhyāna 禪. It is important to note* that while the author of *MPP-śāstra* utilizes the Sarvāstivādin doctrines only, the same author refers to doctrines of other schools in his *Daśabhūmika-vibhāṣā*.

DAŚABHŪMI⁶⁵ 十地. The daśabhūmi theory first appears in the *Mahāvastu*,⁶⁶ which leads us to believe that it is closely connected with the Mahāsāṃghika. But this does not mean that the theory was not taught in other schools, because it is found in such sūtras⁶⁷ as the following: 修行本起經, 過去現在因果經, 太子瑞應本起經, and 大方廣莊嚴經. These contain the biography of the Buddha, and although the names of the daśabhūmi are not given, proper emphasis is made upon the necessity of progressing through the ten stages in order to attain ekajātīpratibaddha 一生補處. The *Mahāvastu* shows an advanced stage in the daśabhūmi theory, since it is discussed not only in reference to Śākya-bodhisattva but also to Bodhisattvas in general. Therefore, we may interpret the *Mahāvastu* daśabhūmi as inheriting the theory developed in the biographical sūtras. There is a considerable difference in the names of the daśabhūmi between the *Daśabhūmika-sūtra* and *Mahāvastu*, and in the *Buddhāvataṃsaka* the daśa-vyavasthāna 十住, rather than daśabhūmi, correspond closely to the *Mahāvastu* daśabhūmi. The comparative table of the ten stages found in the three texts, are, as follows:

61. *Ibid.*, I, T. 26, p. 25a.

62. 律二十二明了論, T. 24, no. 1461, p. 665b.

63. 十住毘婆沙論 11, T. 26, p. 80b.

64. *Ibid.*, 12, T. 26, p. 85b.

* There is a difference between the *MPP-śāstra* and the *Daśabhūmika-vibhāṣā* which should be noted. I have pointed them out and advocated their importance in determining the author of the respective works. Cf. footnote 100. Prof. Hikata states that the *MPP-śāstra* is composed of three parts: the part that existed in the original text by Nāgārjuna, the part added by the translator Kumārajīva, and the part that Kumārajīva extracted from other works and interpolated in the translation. Cf. Hikata, 大智度論の作者について JIBS VII, 1, pp. 1f. Cf. also footnote 99.

65. The following articles are excellent studies on the daśabhūmi theory: Kuno Horyu 久野芳隆 “菩薩十地思想の起源開展及び内容” in 大正大學學報, nos. 6-7, (Tokyo, 1930), p. 63f; Miyamoto Shoson 宮本正尊, 大乘と小乘 (Tokyo, 1944), pp. 568-583; Mizuno Kogen 水野弘元 “十地説の展開” in Miyamoto, ed., 大乘佛教の成立史的研究 (Tokyo, 1954), pp. 276-284; Kajiyoshi Koun 梶芳光運 “菩薩十地思想について” 宮本正尊教授還暦紀念印度學佛敎學論集 (Tokyo, 1954), pp. 245-256; Yamada Ryujo 山田龍城, 大乘佛教成立論序説 (Tokyo, 1959) pp. 223-310. I am especially indebted to Professor Mizuno's studies, but I have gathered new materials and attempted a new interpretation.

66. *Mahāvastu*, vol. I, p. 63f. J. J. Jones, *The Mahāvastu*, vol. I, p. 53f.

67. 修行本起經 1, T. 3, no. 184, p. 463a; 過去現在因果經 1, T. 3, no. 189, p. 623a; 太子瑞應本起經 1, T. 3, no. 185, p. 473b. 大方廣莊嚴經 2, T. 3, no. 187, p. 550b.

Daśabhūmi ⁶⁸	Daśa-vyavasthāna ⁶⁹	Mahāvastu ⁷⁰
1. pramuditā	1. prathamacittotpādika	1. durāroha
2. vimalā	2. ādikarmika	2. baddhamānā
3. pravākari	3. yogācāra	3. puṣpamaṇḍitā
4. arciṣmati	4. janmaja	4. rucirā
5. sudurjayā	5. pūrvayogasampanna	5. cittavistarā
6. abhimukhī	6. śuddhādhyāśaya	6. rūpavati
7. dūraṅgamā	7. avivarta	7. durjayā
8. acalā	8. kumārabhūta	8. janmanideśa
9. sādhumati	9. yauvarājya	9. yauvarājyātā
10. dharmameghā	10. abhiṣikta	10. abhiṣekātā

Among the ten stages of the types listed, some are found in other sūtras. The *MPP-sūtra*⁷¹ establishes four progressive stages in the Bodhisattva's practice: namely, 初發意菩薩 prathamacittopadika-bodhisattva, 行六波羅蜜菩薩, 不退轉菩薩, aviivartaniya-bodhisattva, and 一生補處菩薩 ekajātīpratibaddha-bodhisattva or abhiṣikta. Some of these names match those in the daśa-vyavasthāna. The same can be said of the stages found in 自誓三昧經⁷² namely, 童真 kumārabhūta, 了生 yauvarājya?, and 阿惟顏 abhiṣikta. Scholars advocate that the daśa-vyavasthāna is older than the daśabhūmi. Even if the *Mahāvastu* daśabhūmi is the oldest,

68. J. Rahder, *Daśabhūmikāsūtra* (Paris, 1926), p. 5. 大方廣佛華嚴經 22, T. 9, no. 278, p. 542c; and 34, T. 10, no. 279, p. 179b; 漸備一切智德經 1, T. 10, no. 285, p. 458c; 十住經 1, T. 10, no. 286, p. 498bc; 十地經 1, T. 10, no. 287, p. 536b.

69. The Sanskrit of daśa-vyavasthāna is quoted in the *Gaṇḍavyūha*. Cf. D. T. Suzuki and H. Idzumi, ed., *The Gaṇḍavyūha Sūtra* (Kyoto, 1934), p. 94. The doctrinal explanation of the daśa-vyavasthāna, however, is found in the following texts: 大方廣佛華嚴經 8, T. 8, no. 278, pp. 444c-5a; and 16, T. 10, no. 279, p. 84a; 菩薩本業經, T. 10, no. 281, p. 449c; 菩薩十住行道品, T. 10, no. 283, p. 454c; 大方廣總持寶光明經 1, T. 10, no. 299, p. 886b; 最勝問菩薩十住除垢斷結經 1-3, T. 10, no. 309, pp. 967-988.

70. *Mahāvastu*, vol. I, p. 76.

71. 小品般若經 8, T. 8, no. 227, p. 575b; 道行般若經 8, T. 8, no. 224, p. 465ac; 大明度經 5, T. 8, no. 225, p. 501a; 大般若波羅蜜多經, 第5會 564, T. 7, no. 22, p. 914c; 放光般若經 15, T. 8, no. 221, p. 101c; 摩訶般若波羅蜜經 15, T. 8, no. 223, p. 358c; 大般若波羅蜜多經, 初會 34, T. 6, no. 220, pp. 752c-3a; 第2會 456, T. 7, p. 302a. The following are not prajñā-pāramitā texts, but they contain explanations on the four types of bodhisattva: 文殊師利問署經, T. 14, no. 458, p. 435b; 文殊師利問菩提經, T. 14, no. 464, p. 482b; 伽耶山頂經, T. 14, no. 465, p. 485a; 大乘伽耶山頂經, T. 14, no. 467, p. 490c; 象頭精舍經, T. 14, no. 466, p. 487c; 大方等大集經 10, T. 13, no. 397, p. 67a; Yamada Ryujo 山田龍成, *op. cit.* pp. 212, 215, 244; Mizuno Kogen, *op. cit.*, p. 283. Dr. Hikata Ryusho believes that these four types of bodhisattva were formulated by receiving the influence of the four stages of bodhisattva practice in the *Mahāvastu* (vol. I, p. 3); namely, praktiṛcaryā, praṇidhānacaryā, anulomacaryā, anivartanacaryā. Cf. Hikata, 干潟龍祥, 本生經類の思想史的研究 (*A Historical Study of the Thoughts in Jātakas and Similar Stories*), (Tokyo, 1954), p. 94.

72. 自誓三昧經, T. 15, no. 622, p. 345a; 如來獨證自誓三昧經, T. 15, no. 622, p. 347b.

the *Buddhāvataṃsaka* daśa-vyavasthāna, while influenced by the *Mahāvastu*, was developed by unifying the idea of the four types of bodhisattva in the *MPP-sūtra* and other theories. The daśa-vyavasthāna is not a simple copy of the *Mahāvastu*, and the daśabhūmi of the *Daśabhūmika-sūtra* must have developed from this at a later date. The daśa-vyavasthāna describes the stages of bodhisattva practice beginning with prathamacittotpāda and concluding with abhiṣikta; but the daśabhūmi begins with the gaining of faith in pramuditā 歡喜地, progresses to mastering the precepts in vimalā 離垢地, and so on through the ten stages. The organization of the ten stages differ radically from each other. Consequently, although the three above have the common characteristic of the ten stages, it alone would not warrant a mechanical transformation from the *Mahāvastu* to the *Daśabhūmika-sūtra*.

THE GENERAL DAŚABHŪMI 共の十地. The daśabhūmi and the daśa-vyavasthāna described above apply to the bodhisattva and have nothing to do with the śrāvaka, but there is another theory of the daśabhūmi which includes the stages of the śrāvaka. This appears in the *MPP-sūtra*. The two types of daśabhūmi are discussed in the Chinese *PPP* 大品般若, 發趣品. The first type⁷³ is expounded in terms of first stage, second stage, etc., without the descriptive names for each stage. The *MPP-śāstra*⁷⁴ interprets this daśabhūmi to be identical with the one in the *Daśabhūmika-s*, but actually it is closer to the daśa-vyavasthāna theory. It is probable that this was taught with the daśa-vyavasthāna in mind, but as the daśabhūmi theory gained a higher status this was interpreted by the daśabhūmi, rather than the daśa-vyavasthāna. The *MPP-sūtra*,⁷⁵ which is a compilation of a later date, also contains a daśabhūmi identical to the one in the *Daśabhūmika-s*.

In contrast to the first type, described traditionally as the special daśabhūmi 不共の十地, the second type is known as the general daśabhūmi 共の十地. This⁷⁶ contains the following stages: 1. śuklavidarśana-bh. 乾慧地, 2. gotra-bh. 性地, 3. aṣṭamaka-bh. 八人地, 4. darśana-bh. 見地, 5. tanū-bh. 薄地, 6. vītarāga-bh. 離欲地, 7. kṛtāvi-bh. 已作地, 8. pratyekabuddha-bh. 辟支佛地, 9. bodhisattva-bh. 菩薩地, 10. Buddha-bh. 佛地. This daśabhūmi type must have been formulated

73. 摩訶般若波羅蜜經 6, T. 8, no. 223, pp. 256c-257c; 放光般若經 4, T. 8, no. 221, p. 27a; 光讚經 7, T. 8, no. 222, pp. 196b-197a; 大般若波羅蜜多經 415-416, T. 7, no. 220, p. 82cf; and 490-491, T. 7, p. 490bf. *Śatasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā*, p. 1454f.

74. *MPP-śāstra* 49, T. 25, p. 411af.

75. 大般若波羅蜜多經 3, T. 5, no. 220, p. 14a; and 442 and 483, T. 7, pp. 230c, 454b.

76. Dutt, *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, p. 225, line 16f. In this Sanskrit text, however, the first, śuklavidarśana, is eliminated and śrāvakbhūmi is inserted in the seventh place. 摩訶般若波羅蜜經 6, T. 8, no. 223, p. 259c; 放光般若經 4, T. 8, no. 221, p. 29b; 光讚經 7, T. 8, no. 222, p. 199a; 大般若波羅蜜多經, 第2會 T. 7, no. 220, p. 88c; Pratapa Candra Ghōṣa, *Śatasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā*, p. 1473; Yamada Ryujo, *op. cit.*, p. 271.

by Mahāyāna Buddhists, but the materials which form its basis are found in the treatises of Nikāya Buddhists, since they pursued the stages of practice in a similar way. For example, in the *Mahāvibhāṣā-śāstra*,⁷⁷ we find that Ghoṣaka 妙音 taught the four stages of tanū-bh., vitarāga-bh., āsaikṣa-bh. 無學地, and bhūmi-phala 地果. The first three correspond to stages 5, 6, and 7, respectively, of the above, and bhūmi-phala refers to nirvāṇa. The *Mahāvibhāṣā*⁷⁸ reports also that Kātyāyanīputra 迦多衍尼子 taught six stages, as follows: bhāvanā-bh. 修行地, darśana-bh. 見地, tanū-bh., vitarāga-bh., āsaikṣa-bh., and bhūmi-phala. The bhāvanā-bh. seems to be the stage prior to the division into stages 1, 2, and 3 above; darśana-bh. to āsaikṣa-bh. correspond to stages 4, 5, 6, and 7, respectively. These seven stages cover the steps in śrāvaka-yāna; and the addition of pratyekabuddha-bh., bodhisattva-bh., and Buddha-bh. leads to the formation of ten stages.

In the *Vinayamāṭṭikā-śāstra*⁷⁹ 毘尼母經 the following are found as gotra-bh. 種姓地: aṣṭamaka-bh. 四向四果第八地, darśana-bh. 諦地, tanū-bh., vitarāga-bh., and kṛtāvī-bh. Besides these the pratyekabuddha-bh. is also given. The same work⁸⁰ lists the following as a separate theory: aśubhasamjñā-bh. 白骨觀地, aṣṭamaka-bh. 八人地, tanū-bh., vitarāga-bh., and kṛtāvī-bh. This śāstra is considered by some scholars to be of Haimavata transmission, but this is not possible; since the contents of the *Vinayamāṭṭikā* matches that of the *Caturvargika-v.* on many points, many Japanese scholars see this as a Dharmaguptaka transmission.

The Sarvāstivādin *Daśabhānavāra-v.*⁸¹ enumerates the types of enlightenment, some of which are identical with the names of the daśabhūmi: uṣmagata 暖法者, mūrdhan 頂法者, kṣānti 順道忍法者, tanū 三毒薄者, vitarāga 離欲者, laukikāgradharma 世間第一法者, srotāpanna 須陀洹果, sakridāgāmin 斯陀含果, anāgāmin 阿那含果, śrāvakayāna 聲聞乘, pratyekabuddha-yāna 辟支佛乘, and Buddha-yāna 佛乘.

It is not possible to state definitively that the sources of Nikāya Buddhism discussed above are all older than the *MPP-sūtra*, but they may be so considered, because if the Nikāya Buddhists had known the daśabhūmi of the completed prajñā-pāramitā literature, they would probably have formulated a more well-organized daśa-bhūmi theory of their own. The authors of the prajñā-pāramitā texts most likely organized the general daśabhūmi theory, referring to these incomplete bhūmi ideas. In this case, also, both the *Mahāvibhāṣā* and the *Daśabhānavāra-v.* are Sarvāstivādin literature, and if the *Vinayamāṭṭikā* belongs

77. 大毘婆沙論 28, T. 27, no. 1545, p. 147bc.

78. Identical to footnote 77.

79. 毘尼母經 1, T. 24, no. 1463, p. 801b.

80. *Ibid.*, 8, T. 24, p. 850b.

81. 十誦律 36, T. 23, no. 1434, p. 263a.

to the Dharmaguptaka, we cannot imagine the Mahāsāṃghika influencing the formation of the Mahāyāna theory of the general daśabhūmi.

SIX PĀRAMITĀ 六波羅蜜. We will next consider the six pāramitā, which also appears in the *Mahāvibhāṣā*. In contrast to the orthodox Sarvāstivādin⁸² of Kāśmīr, which taught four pāramitā; namely, dāna 施, śīla 戒, vīrya 精進, and prajñā 般若, the Bahirdeśika⁸³ 外國師 added kṣānti 忍 and dhyāna 禪 to advocate the six pāramitā. Bahirdeśika refers to the progressive Gandhāra Sarvāstivādin, who taught the six pāramitā in conjunction with the practices leading to the enlightenment of Śākyabodhisattva himself. In the prajñā-pāramitā literature this was elevated into the universal practice of all bodhisattvas which is clearly a leap in the development of thought. Since the six pāramitā is also found in the *Mahāvastu*,⁸⁴ it is difficult to determine the chronological relationship between it and the *Mahāvibhāṣā*.

When we compare the *Vijñaptimātratā-siddhi* 唯識三十頌 and the *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya* 阿毘達磨俱舍論, we notice a close similarity between the classification of elements into citta 心, caitasika 心所, cittaviprayukta 心不相應行, rūpa 色, and asaṃskṛta 無爲, in the former and the classification of rūpa, citta, caitasika, citta-viprayukta, asaṃskṛta in the latter. It is to be noted that the general outline of the *Abhidharmakośa* was already formulated in the *Mahāvibhāṣā*.

In the preceding discussion I have shown that although the Mahāsāṃghika shares a number of ideas with the Mahāyāna, the Sarvāstivādin doctrines have been equally influential. Since other schools also have connections with the Mahāyāna, it would be premature to draw the conclusion, based only on similarity of doctrines, that it had its beginning in a particular school. Since such a treatment of the subject can only be inadequate, I propose to inquire into the institutional aspect of the early Mahāyāna Saṃgha and, coupled with an analysis of doctrinal history, shed light upon the origin of Mahāyāna Buddhism.

Kulaputra and Kuladuhitṛ as Supporters of Mahāyāna Buddhism

We now turn our attention to another type of Mahāyāna follower besides the Bodhisattva known as kulaputra 善男子 and kuladuhitṛ 善女人. When the authors of the Mahāyāna texts address the audience, they use these terms. For example, the *MPP-sūtra*⁸⁵ which discusses the four types of Bodhisattva states:

“O Bhagavan, if the kulaputra or the kuladuhitā rejoices at the virtues

82. 大毘婆沙論 178, T. 27, no. 1545, p. 892a.

83. *Ibid.*, 178, T. 27, p. 892b.

84. *Mahāvastu*, vol. III, p. 226, lines 2f.

85. Identical to footnote 71.

(puṇya) of the prathamacittotpada-bodhisattva 初發意菩薩, how great would be the blessings to be gained.”

In some cases those who uphold and read the *MPP-sūtra*⁸⁶ are regarded as kulaputra and kuladuhitṛ:

“If there is a kulaputrā or a kuladuhitā who worships and recites the prajñā-pāramitā and practices according to the teaching, then he will be protected from māra, māradeva 魔天, amanuṣya 非人, et. cl., and he will not meet a tragic death.”

In the *Sukhāvati-vyūha-sūtra*⁸⁷ 阿彌陀經 the object of the sermon is again the kulaputra and the kuladuhitṛ:

“O Śāriputra, if there is a kulaputra or a kuladuhitā who shall hear the name of the blessed Amitāyus, the Tathāgata, and having heard it, shall keep it in mind, and with thoughts undisturbed shall keep it in mind for one, two, three, four, five, six, or seven nights when that kulaputrā or kuladuhitā comes to die, then that Amitāyus, the Tathāgata, surrounded by śrāvakasamṅha and followed by bodhisattvagaṇa will stand before them at their hour of death.”

Again in the *Saddharma-puṇḍarikā*⁸⁸ the worshippers of the sūtra are known as kulaputra and kuladuhitṛ:

“O Bhaiṣajyarāja, if there be a kulaputra or a kuladuhitā who worships this teaching, even unto one verse, and rejoices O Bhaiṣajyarāja, I promise them all that they will attain anuttarā saṃyaksambodhi.”

86. 小品般若波羅蜜經 2, T. 8, no. 227, p. 541c; 道行般若經 2, T. 8, no. 224, p. 433c; 般若心經 (*Prajñāpāramitā-hṛdayasūtra*) states:

“yaḥ kaścic chāriputra kulaputro vā kuladuhitā vā gambhīrāyaṃ prajñā-pāramitāyaṃ caryāṃ cartukāmas tenaivaṃ vyavalokayitavyaṃ.”

Cf. Max Müller and B. Nanjio, *The Ancient Palm-leaves Containing the Prajñā-pāramitā-Hridaya-sūtra and the Uṣṇīṣa-Vijaya-Dhāraṇī*, (Oxford, 1884), p. 52. The opening sentences of the *Vajracchedikā* also states:

“tat katham Bhagavan bodhisattvayāna-samprasthitena kulaputrena vā kuladuhitrā vā sthātavyaṃ kathaṃ pratipattavyaṃ kathaṃ cittāṃ pragrahītavyaṃ.”

Cf. E. Conze, ed., (1957), p. 28; 般若波羅蜜多心經, T. 8, no. 253, p. 849c; no. 254, p. 850a; no. 255, p. 850c; 金剛般若波羅蜜經, T. 8, no. 235, p. 748c; no. 236, p. 757b; and no. 237, p. 762a.

87. 阿彌陀經, T. 12, no. 366, p. 347b; and no. 367, p. 350a. Max Müller and B. Nanjio, *Sukhāvati-vyūha, Description of Sukhāvati the Land of Bliss* (Oxford, 1883), p. 92.

88. Kern and Nanjio, *Saddharma-puṇḍarika-sūtra*, p. 225; 妙法蓮華經, T. 9, no. 262, p. 30c; no. 264, p. 165b. Many instances of kulaputra and kuladuhitṛ are found throughout this sūtra; for example, pp. 260, 338, 339, 345, 354, 366, etc. Kumaraśīva translates 善男子, 善女人 but Dharmarakṣa translates this as 族姓子, 族姓女. T. 9, nos. 262, 263, 264, pp. 30c, 31c, 35a, 45b, 45c, 46b, 46c, 47c, 48b, 49b, 49c, 50a; 100c, 105c, 117a, 118a, 119ab, 120a, 121b, 121c, 122a; 165b, 166b, 169b, 179c, 180ac, 181c, 182ab, 183a, 184a, etc.

Since the Mahāyāna sūtras are compiled as the sermons of Śākyamuni, the opening line states the composition of the audience, such as, the four classes of bhikṣu 比丘, bhikṣuṇī 比丘尼, upāsaka 優婆塞, upāsikā 優婆夷, the eight groups of deva and nāga 天龍八部, and various bodhisattvas. As a historical fact, the sermons of Śākyamuni were heard by the bhikṣu, bhikṣuṇī, upāsaka, and upāsikā; therefore, they could not be excluded in listing the congregation of the Mahāyāna sūtras. It would be wrong, however, to think that the authors of these sūtras wrote for the bhikṣu and bhikṣuṇī, because the actual audience was the bodhisattva, people who were called kulaputra and kuladuhitṛ. This has been illustrated by the quotations cited above, but a study of the scriptural contents would make this even clearer.

The kulaputra and kuladuhitṛ who have such important roles in the Mahāyāna works are not regarded highly in the Āgama and completely neglected in the abhidharma writings. In the early Saṃgha the lay followers were called upāsaka and upāsikā, and the priesthood included the bhikṣu and bhikṣuṇī, as well as śikṣamāṇā, śrāmaṇera, and śrāmaṇerikā. Upāsaka means "those who serve" and bhikṣu means "those who beg", especially, "those who beg for food." Thus, upāsaka and upāsikā are householders who not only follow the teachings of the Buddha, but who have as their duty the service to the bhikṣu and bhikṣuṇī. Service means to offer the four items necessary for existence: clothing, shelter, food, and medicine. In the double structure of the upāsaka and upāsikā, those who serve, and bhikṣu and bhikṣuṇī, those who beg, the early Buddhist Saṃgha was formed, and this structure remained without any significant change among the Nikāya Buddhists who inherited the traditions of the early Saṃgha. It was only natural that among these people the terms, kulaputra and kuladuhitṛ, which fail to distinguish between the priesthood and the lay followere, were not used.

Kulaputra and kuladuhitṛ simply mean the children of good families. Originally, it had no special Buddhist connotation; for example, as it was used in the Āgama⁸⁹:

"The Brāhmaṇa youth, Ambaṭṭha, is a kulaputta. The youth Ambaṭṭha is of good birth (sujāti)."

"In Bārāṇasī there is a kulaputta, son of a wealthy man, (setṭhiputta), called Yasa. His body is soft and supple."⁹⁰

In the former quotation the kulaputta refers to a non-Buddhist youth, and in the latter, it describes the youth Yasa before he was converted by the Buddha

89. DN 3, vol. I, pp. 93, 94; 長阿含經 13, T. 1, no. 1, p. 82c.

90. Vinayaṭīkā, vol. I, p. 15; 四分律 32, T. 22, no. 1428, p. 789b. Translated as 族姓子. This word is lacking in 五分律 15, T. 22, no. 1421, p. 105a.

at mṛgadāva. They have no Buddhist connotation, but a gradual transformation occurs in the following passage⁹¹:

“The reason that the kulaputra shaves the beard and hair, wears the kaṣāya robe, abandons the householder’s life based upon right faith, and practices austerities is to pursue the unsurpassed brahmacaryā and gain enlightenment.”

In this quotation nothing more is said than that young men of good families entered the Saṅgha, but as this pattern became stable due to repetition in the Āgama, the term kulaputra began to be used as a synonym for Buddhist. But it was still not clear whether it referred to a householder Buddhist (laymen) or a renunciant Buddhist (bhikṣu). For this reason the Āgama does not contain too many references to kulaputra and kuladuhitṛ. Compared to the Pali Nikāya, the Chinese Āgama contains more examples of kulaputra, and the use of kuladuhitṛ in the Pali⁹² is especially rare.

As shown above the terms kulaputra and kuladuhitṛ did not develop in the Āgama to mean explicitly a Buddhist. In the abhidharma texts it is not even considered. But these very terms were used by Mahāyāna writers to describe their followers. This means that the Mahāyāna adherents were composed of an entirely different group of people from the Nikāya Buddhists. If they were drawn from the same following, the Mahāyānists would have used the traditional terms, whether bhikṣu, bhikṣuṇī, upāsaka, upāsikā, etc. In fact this would have

91. This expression is found frequently in the Chinese Āgamas; for example, 雜阿含經, 2, 4, 6, 10, 15, 34, etc., T. 2, no. 99, pp. 12a, 25c, 40b, 72a, 73abc, 106a, 250a, etc. Parallel expression in Pali would be as follows:

“ye hi keci bhikkhave atītam addhānam kulaputtā sammā agārasmā anagāriyam pabbajjīṃsu, sabbe te catunnam ariyasaccānam yathābhūtam abhisamayāya.”

Cf. *SN*, vol. V, p. 415. Cf. *SN*, vol. III, pp. 93, 179, 180; *Vinayaṭṭhaka*, vol. I, p. 9. Examples of calling upāsaka and upāsikā as 善男子 and 善女人 are found in the following: 雜阿含經 32, 37, 38, T. 2, no. 99, pp. 233a, 271b, 278c; 增一阿含經 16, 21, 24, 34, 37, 38, T. 2, no. 125, pp. 625ac, 656b, 674b, 741c, 755b, 756c.

The translations, 族姓子, 族姓男, and 族姓女 are found frequently in 中阿含經, T. no. 26 and 增一阿含經 T. no. 125. E.g., T. 1, pp. 428a, 457b, 458a, 474c, etc.

The uses of kulaputra and kuladuhitṛ occur frequently in the Chinese Āgama compared to the Pali, but the number is insignificantly small when compared to the Mahāyāna texts.

When the upasampadā ordination was given, questions were directed to the renunciant who was addressed as kulaputra. Cf. 四分律 35, T. 22, no. 1248, pp. 814c, 815a; 摩訶僧祇律 23, 30, T. 22, no. 1245, pp. 413b, 472c; 十誦律 21, T. 23, no. 1435, p. 156a. But this term is not used in the upasampadā ceremony found in the Pali vinaya and the *Pañcavargika-vinaya*. Cf. *Vinayaṭṭhaka*, vol. I, p. 94f; 五分律 17, T. 22, no. 1421, p. 119cf. Even in cases of kulaputra usage in the Dharmaguptaka, Sarvāstivādin, and Mahāsāṅghika, this term is not used in the Theravāde and the Mahīśāsaka.

92. The usage of kuladhitā in Pali is very rare. *Vinayaṭṭhaka*, vol. II, p. 10, and vol. III, p. 180.

been more convenient. Yet the point is that the new Saṃgha utilized the terms, bodhisattva and kulaputra, which had never been fully developed in the Āgama, suggesting that a different historical development took place besides the orthodox Saṃgha. The characteristic of such terms as bodhisattva and kulaputra is that they make no distinction between the lay and priesthood which is also one of the significant features of Mahāyāna Buddhism.

Daśakuśalakarmapathāḥ as the Śīla of Early Mahāyāna Buddhists

According to I-ching's 南海寄歸內法傳⁹³ it states:

"The Buddhists of North India follow Hīnayāna Buddhism exclusively, but in other parts of India the distinction between Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna is not clear. Both the people of Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna observe the prātimokṣa according to the vinaya. And they also practice the Four Āryasatya 四聖諦. The only thing is that those who worship the bodhisattvas and recite the Mahāyāna sūtras are called Mahāyāna, and those who do not are called Hīnayāna."

This lack of distinction between Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna must have been the general situation of the Saṃgha when I-ching 義淨 (635–713) visited India in the latter part of the seventh century. However, this practice of Mahāyāna Buddhists receiving the upasaṃpadā according to the vinaya and observing the prātimokṣa is already mentioned in the *Yogācārabhūmi-śāstra*, *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, 菩薩地.

The *Bodhisattvabhūmi*⁹⁴ teaches the trividhāni śuddhasaṃvaraṇi (trividhāḥ śīlaskandhāḥ) 三聚淨戒, which must be upheld by the bodhisattva. The first of these is saṃvaraśīla 律儀戒, which is said to be identical with the śrāvaka śīla. When the *Yogācārabhūmi-śāstra* was compiled, therefore, even the bodhisattva was ordained by the rules of the vinaya, receiving upasaṃpadā and observing prātimokṣa (250 śikṣāpadāni⁹⁵) together with the śrāvakayāna bhikṣu. But the bodhisattva also upheld the kuśaladharmasaṃgrāhakaśīla 攝善法戒 and the sattvārthakriyā-śīla 饒益有情戒, distinguishing him from the bhikṣu.

At any rate if the bodhisattva observed the prātimokṣa of the vinaya-piṭaka,

93. 南海寄歸內法傳 1, T. 54, no. 2125, p. 205c.

94. Wogihara, *Bodhisattvabhūmi* (Tokyo, 1930), p. 138. 瑜伽師地論 40, T. 30, no. 1579, p. 511; 菩薩地持經 4, T. 30, no. 1581, p. 910b; 菩薩善戒經 4, T. 30, no. 1582, p. 982c.

95. Although the number of śikṣāpada in the *Vinayapiṭaka* is referred to as being 250 in China and Japan and also occurs in various śāstras, accurately speaking the exact number differs with the various schools. Cf. Hirakawa Akira, 律藏の研究 (Tokyo, 1960), pp. 434, 493.

his daily routine did not differ basically from that of the śrāvakayāna bhikṣu. This is verified in the *MPP-śāstra*, which is earlier than the *Yogācārabhūmi-śāstra* of the fourth century. The *MPP-śāstra*⁹⁶ states that even in the case of the bodhisattva the renunciant bodhisattva is superior to the householder bodhisattva, and it describes⁹⁷ the four types of saṃvara of the renunciant (pravrajita), as follows: 1. śrāmaṇera, śrāmaṇerikā (daśa-śikṣāpadāni), 2. śikṣamāṇā (ṣaḍ-dharma), 3. bhikṣu (approximately 250 śikṣāpadāni), 4. bhikṣuṇī (approximately 500 śikṣāpadāni), and then proceeds to explain initiation (pravrajyā) and ordination (upasaṃpadā). Although the passage does not explicitly say so, this may be interpreted as the process by which the bodhisattva renounces the worldly life. The passage occurs in "The section which praises the meaning of the śīla-pāramitā in the first chapter", but there is another, "The section commenting upon the Mahāyāna," which discusses thoroughly the six pāramitā of the Chinese *PPP*, and here śīla is explained⁹⁸ as the daśakuśalakarmapathāḥ 十善業道. Consequently, there is a contradiction between these two theories of śīla-pāramitā in this work, but since the śīla-pāramitā is explained as daśakuśala in the Chinese *PPP*, an interpretation along this line would be orthodox.

It is believed that additions⁹⁹ have been made to the *MPP-śāstra* by the translator Kumārajīva, and the first interpretation may be his. Although the *Daśabhūmika-vibhāṣā* and the *MPP-śāstra* are considered to be by the same author, contradictions in ideas exist between the two, for this reason it is doubtful¹⁰⁰ whether the translation was faithful to the original. A certain scholar believes that the *MPP-śāstra* was compiled in China by Kumārajīva, but this is an extreme view, since it is difficult to imagine that such a voluminous text, rich with citations from various sūtras and doctrines, could have been written in fourth century China with the rather poor selection of Buddhist literature available at the time.

If we accept the *MPP-śāstra* as an authentic work of Nāgārjuna (150–250), then we know that the Mahāyāna Buddhists of his time had already utilized the vinaya-piṭaka and upheld the śrāvaka śīla, since it teaches the upasaṃpadā ordination. This, however, is doubtful as discussed above as far as available sources are concerned, and, as I shall demonstrate below, it is wrong to assume they followed the vinaya-piṭaka from the earliest beginnings of the Mahāyāna Saṃgha.

96. *MPP-śāstra*, 13, T. 25, no. 1509, pp. 160c–161a; Lamotte, *op. cit.*, Tome II, p. 839f.

97. *Ibid.*, T. 25, p. 161bc; Lamotte, *ibid.*, p. 846f.

98. *Ibid.*, 46, T. 25, pp. 393b, 395b.

99. Hikata, *Suvikrāntavikrāmi-paripṛcchā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra, An Introductory Essay on Prajñāpāramitā Literature* (Fukuoka, Japan, 1958), p. LII, f.

100. I have demonstrated that the two works are by different authors; cf. Hirakawa, "十住毘婆沙論の著者について" in *JIBS*, vol. V, no. 2 (1957), p. 176f.

In order to determine the nature of discipline 戒律 of the early Mahāyānists, it is important to clarify the contents of śīla-pāramitā, the second of six pāramitā, and vimalā-bhūmi, the second of daśabhūmi. In the daśabhūmi the first stage is called pramuditā 歡喜地, which describes its essential nature, because the practitioner gains joy in acquiring true faith (śraddhā) in Mahāyāna teachings. After this unshakable faith is established, he then proceeds to vimalā-bhūmi in which he practices the austerities based upon resolute faith. Vimalā means to depart from the impurities within self, and the central concern is śīla, since the austerities are based upon the commitment to śīla. In explaining śīla in both vimalā-bhūmi and śīla-pāramitā the daśakuśala is used.

The discussion of six pāramitā in the prajñā-pāramitā literature is the most important, and in the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-PP*¹⁰¹ 小品般若 is taught in the *Avinivartaniya-varga* 不退轉品 (阿惟越致品). Its first Chinese translation 道行般若, being an old rendition, is inadequately translated and daśakuśala is rendered 十戒. Errors also seem to have entered the translation of the explanation of this term, but it is clear that the original is daśakuśala in comparing this work with other translations of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*. In the Chinese texts belonging to the same lineage the six pāramitā is always explained in the *Avinivartaniya-varga* where śīla is interpreted by means of daśakuśala. In the *PPP* lineage the chapter treating the six pāramitā is not uniform; for example, 僧那僧涅品 in the 放光般若¹⁰², 無縛品 in the 光讚般若¹⁰³, 問乘品 in the 大品般若¹⁰⁴, 三摩地品 in the 大般若波羅蜜多經第二會¹⁰⁵, but in every case śīla-pāramitā is explained by daśakuśala and all versions agree in the contents.

The daśakuśala is taught in the Āgama¹⁰⁶ in a generally fixed order, as follows: pāṇātipātā vermaṇi 不殺生, adinnādānā vermaṇi 不偷盜, kāmesu micchācārā vermaṇi 不邪淫, piṣuṇāya vācāya vermaṇi 不兩舌, pharusāya vācāya vermaṇi 不惡口, musāvādā vermaṇi 不妄語, samphappalāpā vermaṇi 不綺語, anabhiññhā 不貪欲, avyāpāda 不瞋恚, and sammādhittā 不邪見. In the *MPP-sūtras* the daśakuśala is discussed in the following manner:

“The bodhisattvas teach sentient beings and gives them daśakuśalakar-

101. 道行般若經 6, T. 8, no. 224, p. 454bc; 大明度經 4, T. 8, no. 225, p. 494c; 摩訶般若鈔經 4, T. 8, no. 226, p. 526c; 小品般若波羅蜜經 6, T. 8, no. 227, p. 564a; 佛母出生三法藏般若波羅蜜多經 16, T. 8, no. 228, p. 641b; 大般若波羅蜜多經, 第4會 549, T. 7, no. 220, p. 826a.; R. Mitra, *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*, p. 324, Calcutta, 1888.

102. 放光般若經 3, T. 8, no. 221, p. 21b.

103. 光讚經 6, T. 8, no. 222, p. 186a.

104. 摩訶般若波羅蜜經 5, T. 8, no. 223, pp. 248a, 250a.

105. 大般若波羅蜜多經, 第2會 413, T. 7, no. 220, p. 72c.

106. For example, *DN*, vol. III, pp. 269, 290, 291; *SN*, XIV, 27, vol. II, p. 168; *AN*, X, 176, vol. V, pp. 263-268; 長阿含經 9, T. 1, no. 1, p. 57a; 中阿含經 3, T. 1, no. 26, p. 440a; 雜阿含經 37, T. 2, no. 99, p. 272a-273a; 增一阿含經 43, 44, T. 2, no. 125, pp. 781a, 785c.

mapathān; they themselves practice the daśakuśalakarmapathān and make others practice them. They themselves practice pāṇātinātā vermaṇī and make others practice it, etc.”

Each of the ten items are repeated in the same way, and the characteristic feature of Mahāyāna Buddhism is expressed in encouraging others, as well as self, to practice the daśakuśala.

The *MPP-sūtras* from the oldest to the newest translations agree in explaining śīla-pāramitā by the daśakuśala; we can therefore conclude that this was a constant practice since the earliest prajñā-pāramitā sūtra.

Next, the *Daśabhūmika-s.* states that the śīla to be upheld by the bodhisattva of vimalā-bhūmi is the daśakuśala, a point on which all sources¹⁰⁷ of the text are in agreement. In the vimalā-bhūmi, also, daśakuśala is the only śīla taught. It begins with presenting saṃvaraśīla 律儀戒, and then goes on to explain the virtuous functions of daśakuśala in the kuśaladharmasaṃgrāhaka-śīla 攝善法戒, and finally it states that those who do not observe the daśakuśala will fall into the durgati of naraka 地獄, preta 餓鬼, and tiryagyonī 畜生, and thence even if reborn into human life will undergo sufferings. Therefore, if one wishes to be freed from saṃsāra and gain nirvāṇa, one must observe the daśakuśala. This is sattvārthakriyā-śīla 攝衆生戒. Although these three explanations of daśakuśala exist in the vimalā-bhūmi of the *Daśabhūmika-s.*, they are not described under the preceding names. It was the *Daśabhūmi-vyākhyāna*¹⁰⁸ 十地經論, the commentary to the sūtra, that first clarified these three forms as the trividhāni śuddhasaṃvarāṇi. The *Daśabhūmika-vibhāṣā*¹⁰⁹ also explains the vimalā-bhūmi which contains a detailed explanation of the daśakuśala. And in the *Buddhāvataṃsaka Daśa-pārināmanā*¹¹⁰ 十迴向品 the term, trividhāni śuddhasaṃvarāṇi, is used, reflecting the acquaintance with this word in the *Avataṃsaka*.

The daśakuśala is an important doctrine found in various parts of the Āgama, but it is also seen in the *Mānava Dharmaśāstra*¹¹¹ and the *Mahābhārata*.¹¹² The daśakuśala which was so highly regarded by the early Mahāyānists was never held to be important by the Nikāya followers. The latter gave the pañca śīlāni

107. Rahder, *Daśabhūmikasūtra*, pp. 23–25; 漸備一切智德經 1, T. 10, no. 285, p. 465c; 十住經 1, T. 10, no. 286, p. 504bc; 大方廣佛華嚴經 24, T. 9, no. 278, p. 548c; and 35, T. 10, no. 279, p. 185ab; 十地經 2, T. 10, no. 287, p. 543a. In the *Buddhāvataṃsaka* the daśakuśala is taught in various places: 41, 12, T. 9, no. 278, pp. 660a, 475ab; and 21, 58, T. 10, no. 279, pp. 111c, 305a. 度世品經 5, T. 10, no. 292, p. 645a.

108. 十地經論 4, T. 26, no. 1522, p. 145c.

109. 十住毘婆沙論 14–16, T. 26, no. 1521, pp. 95–108.

110. 大方廣佛華嚴經 18, T. 9, no. 278, p. 513ab; and 27, T. 9, no. 279, p. 149bc. Tibetan vol. 25, p. 197, “sdom pa gsum rnam par dag pa.”

111. *Manusmṛti*, XII, 3–7. Cf. G. Bühler, *The Law of Manu*, S.B.E., vol. XXV, p. 483.

112. *Mahābhārata*, XIII, *Anuśāsanaparvan*, 13.

五戒 and the arthaṅgika uposatha 八齋戒 to the upāsaka and upāsikā; the daśa-śikṣāpadāni to the śrāmaṇera and śrāmaṇerikā; the ṣaḍ-dharma to the śikṣamāṇā; and the upasamṣadā to the bhikṣu and bhikṣuṇī; therefore, there was no room for the daśakuśala to enter the śrāvakayāna śīla. It is not clear why the Nikāya Buddhists neglected the daśakuśala, but the reason probably is that it was a śīla common to both the laity and priesthood. The characteristic of Nikāya Buddhism is the sharp distinction between the two; therefore, such a śīla would not have been welcomed.

The daśakuśala was originally a śīla for the laymen. The third daśakuśala is kāmesu micchācārā veramaṇī 不邪淫, prohibiting unethical sexual relationships, and is identical in contents with the third of the pañca śīlāni. The renunciant bodhisattva, however, changed this to brahmacaryā 梵行, transforming the daśakuśala into a śīla for the priesthood. It includes every ethical conduct important for human existence; consequently, it is an ideal śīla to be observed by the priesthood and laity alike. The fact that the early Mahāyānists utilized this leads us to conclude that a distinction was not made between the two. If a distinction had existed, a separate śīla would have been established for each group. This lack of distinction is evident in the sculptures of the bodhisattvas who are invariably clothed in lay garb. Mahāyāna Buddhism arose from the laity without doubt, but this is not to exclude the existence of renunciant bodhisattvas among them. Bodhisattvas who were called bhikṣus were known, such as, Dharmākara-bhikṣu 法藏比丘 of the *Sukhāvativyūha-s.* and many such bodhisattvas who had renounced the worldly life are mentioned in various Mahāyāna sūtras. They must have devoted their life to the mastering of the śīla, but it is believed that there did not exist a distinction between the householder and renunciant bodhisattva. If the renunciant bodhisattva were considered superior to the lay bodhisattva, sūtras such as the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* 維摩經, which advocates the excellence of a lay Buddhist, gr̥hapati, over Mañjuśrī bodhisattva, would not have been compiled.

In later ages, however, the gap between the renunciant bodhisattva and lay bodhisattva increased with the former showing distinct signs of superiority to the latter, and finally reaching the point of the renunciant bodhisattva receiving upasamṣadā identically with the śrāvakayāna bhikṣu. But it was not that an opposing tendency did not exist. In Śāntideva's *Śikṣāsamuccaya* there are ten quotations from the *Bodhisattvaprātimokṣa*¹¹³ and also quotations from the *Bodhisattvavinaya*¹¹⁴ which lead us to believe that in Mahāyāna Buddhism a prātimokṣa distinctly of bodhisattva origin had been made. Since the quotations

113. Śāntideva, *Śikṣāsamuccaya*. ed. by C. Bendall, (St. Petersburg, 1902), pp. 11, 17, 18, 20, 34, 36, 55, 125, 144, 188.

114. Bendall, *ibid.*, p. 190.

in the *Sikṣāsamuccaya* are brief, it is difficult to assess the contents of the *Bodhisattvaprātimokṣa*. Another work, the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*,¹¹⁵ frequently makes comment upon the bodhisattva śikṣā. In examining the *Bodhisattvaprātimokṣa-sūtra*,¹¹⁶ edited by N. Dutt, the words, “iti bodhisattvaprātimokṣaḥ”¹¹⁷, are found; therefore, a *Bodhisattvaprātimokṣa* must have existed, but only the title, nothing of the contents, is found in Dutt’s publication. As Dutt¹¹⁸ himself points out, corresponding passages of the work can be found in the Chinese *Vinaya-viniścaya*¹¹⁹ 決定毘尼經 and *Mahāratnakūṭadharmaṣāstra*, 大寶積經 *Upāli-pariṣecchā-parivarta* 優波離會. In these sūtras the difference between the vinaya of the bodhisattva and the śrāvaka is emphasized. The object (prayoga) and the direction (adhyāśaya) of the prātimokṣa of the śrāvakayāna and the bodhisattvayāna differ; therefore, what is considered the observance for the śrāvakayāna of śīla and pariśuddha-śīlatā 清淨戒 is for the bodhisattvayāna a breaking of śīla and an aparīśuddha-śīlatā. The opposite also holds true. Not to have attachment for existence is pariśuddha-śīlatā for the śrāvaka, but this is a violation of the śīla (dauḥśīlya) for the bodhisattva, because the bodhisattva saves humanity by his attachment to the cycle of existence. The bodhisattva upholds the sānurakṣāṃ śikṣāṃ 盡護戒, but the śrāvaka upholds the niranurakṣāṃ śikṣāṃ 不盡護戒; the former upholds saparihārāṃ śikṣāṃ 開通戒, but the latter upholds niḥparihārāṃ śikṣāṃ 不開通戒; the former upholds duranupraviṣṭāṃ śikṣāṃ 深入戒, but the latter upholds sāvadānāṃ śikṣāṃ 次第戒.

The *Daśabhūmika-vibhāṣā*¹²⁰ teaches emphatically the difference between the two śīlas:

“If one falls into śrāvaka-bhūmi and pratyekabuddha-bhūmi, this is called the death of the bodhisattva. That is, all benefits will be lost. Even if one falls into hell, one will not have such great fears.”

The idea of this difference in śīla was transmitted for a long time in the Mahāyāna Saṃgha, and this school of thought must have compiled the *Bodhisattvaprātimokṣa-sūtra*. The *Yogācārabhūmi-śāstra*¹²¹ teaches the prātimokṣa of the bodhisattva as the 47 śīlas: namely, the 4 pārājayikasthāniya 重 and the 43 āpatti 違犯. This is a compilation of śikṣā found in various Mahāyāna works,

115. *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, II. 64; III. 22, etc.; IV. 1, 25, 48; V. 1, 42, 46, 99ff, etc.

116. Dutt, *Bodhisattvaprātimokṣasūtra* (1931).

117. Dutt, *ibid.*, p. 27, line 8.

118. Dutt, *ibid.*, p. 20.

119. 決定毘尼經, T. 12, no. 325, pp. 39c-40c. 大寶積經優波離會 90, T. 11, no. 310, pp. 516c-517c.

120. 十住毘婆沙論 5, T. 26, no. 1521, p. 41a.

121. Wogihara, *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, pp. 158-180; 瑜伽師地論 40, 41, T. 10, no. 1579, pp. 515b-521a; 菩薩地持經 5, T. 30, no. 1581, pp. 913a-917a; 菩薩善戒經, T. 30, no. 1583, pp. 1015a-1017c.

organized by the author of the *Bodhisattva-bhūmi*. Another work, the *Bodhicary-āvatāra*, also encourages the reader to study the śikṣās in the various texts. There are Chinese translations also which stress the bodhisattva śikṣā: such as, 菩薩內戒經¹²², 優婆塞戒經¹²³, and 梵網經¹²⁴. The first belongs to the *Buddhāvataṃsaka* lineage and teaches 47 śikṣā; the second explains the 6 pārājayikasthānīya and the 28 āpatti 失意罪; and the third explains the 10 pārājika 重 and 48 āpatti 輕垢罪. This last work was most influential in the development of Mahāyāna śīla in Chinese Buddhism, but according to the research of modern scholarship,¹²⁵ it is considered to be of Chinese origin.

The first half of the *Bodhisattva-prātimokṣa*, published by Dutt, contains information on the granting of the bodhisattva śikṣā, and many passages coincide with the *Bodhisattva-bhūmi*.¹²⁶ There are two Chinese translations of *Bodhisattva-prātimokṣa*¹²⁷ 菩薩戒本 and a *Bodhisattva-karmavācānā*¹²⁸ 菩薩羯磨文, which reveal the method of ordination into the bodhisattva śīla. They are believed to be compilations of selected passages from the *Bodhisattva-bhūmi*. We will forgo a lengthy discussion, but the ordination discussed in these works differ vastly from the upasampadā method of the Vinayapiṭaka.

In conclusion we may say that in the period of the *Yogācārabhūmi-śāstra* the renunciant bodhisattva received the upasampadā and became a bhikṣu like the śrāvaka by the vinayapiṭaka, but there also existed a bodhisattva śikṣā with its own method of ordination and there were people who undertook it. But we must not conclude that a similar situation existed in the early Mahāyāna Saṃgha based upon this fact. The bodhisattvas in the early period observed the daśakuśala which was held in common by the renunciant and the householder. It is from this viewpoint that we must examine the beginnings of Mahāyāna Buddhism.

Śrāvaka-saṃgha and Bodhisattva-gaṇa

The formal structure of the Mahāyāna texts like the Āgama begins with “evaṃ mayā śrutam” and assumes the contents to be the sermons of Śākyamuni. Invariably the members of the congregation, such as the bhikṣu and bhikṣuṇī, are enumerated, but the Mahāyāna texts almost always add a group of bodhisat-

122. 菩薩內戒經, T. 24, no. 1487, pp. 1029bc.

123. 優婆塞戒經 3, T. 24, no. 1488, pp. 1049a-1050b.

124. 梵網經盧舍那佛說菩薩心地戒品, T. 24, no. 1484, pp. 1004c-1009b.

125. A detailed discussion of this problem is found in Mochizuki Shinko 望月信亨, 佛教經典成立史論 p. 441f. (Kyoto, 1947).

126. Wogihara, *Bodhisattva-bhūmi*, p. 152f; 瑜伽師地論 40, T. 30, no. 1579, p. 514bf; 菩薩地持經 5, T. 30, no. 1581, p. 912bf; 菩薩善戒經, T. 30, no. 1583, p. 1014af.

127. 菩薩戒本, T. 24, no. 1500, p. 1107f, and no. 1501, p. 1110f.

tvās, setting itself off from the Āgama. However, the bhikṣus and bodhisattvas are never mixed; the former is always listed first and then the latter is mentioned. There are various types of enumeration in Mahāyāna works; such as, a bhikṣusaṃgha numbering 1,250, another counting 12,000 bhikṣus, still another speaking of an infinite number. It is the same with the bodhisattvas; there is no set number. Besides these those listed include bhikṣuṇī, upāsaka, upāsikā, and various devas, but the distinguishing feature of the Mahāyāna is the inclusion of the bodhisattva.

There are exceptions and some works mention only the bhikṣus and not the bodhisattvas. The Sanskrit *Vajracchedikā*¹²⁹ lists 1,250 bhikṣus and many bodhisattvas, but the various Chinese translations do not mention the latter. The Chinese *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* 小品般若¹³⁰ mentions only the 1,250 bhikṣus in its Kumārajīva, Dharmarakṣa 竺法護, and Hsuan-tsang translations and the Sanskrit text. The other Chinese translations,¹³¹ however, give both the bhikṣusaṃgha and the bodhisattvas. Although there are such Mahāyāna texts which do not mention the bodhisattva, the contents presuppose them and the teachings are directed to their group. There are also texts which list only the bodhisattva and not the bhikṣu. An example is the *Buddhāvataṃsaka*,¹³² which is considered to be Śākyamuni's sermon immediately after his enlightenment. A possible reason for this is that at this earliest period the bhikṣu had not yet become the disciple of the Buddha. The *Daśabhūmika-s*.¹³³ states:

“Once the Bhagavat resided in the devabhuvana 天界 of Paraṇirmita-vaśavartin. It was about two weeks following his attainment of enlightenment, and he resided with a huge bodhisattvagāṇa in the palace of the deva king where the maṇi-treasures of Vaśavartin shone brilliantly.”

The bodhisattvagāṇa refers to an organization different from the śrāvakaṣaṃgha.

In this way most Mahāyāna texts enumerate the śrāvakas and the bodhisat-

128. 菩薩羯磨文, T. 24, no. 1499, no. 1104.

129. Conze, *Vajracchedikā Prajñāpāramitā*, p. 27; 金剛般若波羅蜜經, T. 8, no. 235, p. 748c; no. 236, pp. 752c, 757a; no. 237, p. 762a; 金剛能斷般若波羅蜜經, T. 8, no. 238, p. 766c; 能斷金剛般若波羅蜜多經, T. 8, no. 239, p. 771c; 大般若波羅蜜多經, 第9能斷金剛分 577, T. 7, no. 220, p. 980a.

130. 小品般若波羅蜜經 1, T. 8, no. 227, p. 537a; 摩訶般若鈔經 1, T. 8, no. 226, p. 508b; 大般若波羅蜜多經, 第4會 538, T. 7, no. 220, p. 763b. R. Mitra, *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* (Calcutta, 1888), p. 3; Conze, tr. (Calcutta, 1958), p. 1.

131. 道行般若經 1, T. 8, no. 224, p. 425c; 大明度經 1, T. 8, no. 225, p. 478b; 大般若波羅蜜多經, 第5會 556, T. 7, no. 220, p. 865c.

132. Suzuki and Idzumi, *Gaṇḍavyūha-sūtra*, p. 2. Cf. footnote 133.

133. Rahder, *Daśabhūmikasūtra*, p. 1; 大方廣佛華嚴經 23, T. 9, no. 278, p. 542a; and 34, T. 10, no. 279, p. 178c; 漸備一切智德經 1, T. 10, no. 285, p. 458a; 十住經 1, T. 10, no. 286, p. 497c; 十地經 1, T. 10, no. 287, p. 535b.

tivas separately as parts of the congregation, and this is thought to reflect the actual situation of the early Mahāyāna Saṅgha. The bhikṣu and bodhisattva must have lived independent of each other, because if the two had led a communal life in the same vihāra, they probably would not be mentioned separately. This fact is strengthened by other examples of separate enumeration. For example, in the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, *Puṇyaparyāya-p.*¹³⁴ it states:

“yad uta Gṛdhra-kūtaparvatagataṁ maṁ dharmāṁ nirdeśayantaṁ
drakṣayati bodhisattvagaṇaparivṛtaṁ bodhisattvagaṇapuraskṛtaṁ śrāvaka-
saṅghamadyagataṁ.”

Here Śākyamuni preaches the teachings in the midst of the śrāvaka-saṅgha which is surrounded by the bodhisattvagaṇa. The author of the text must have actually seen two such groups and expressed this seating arrangement in writing. A similar example is found in the *Vyākaraṇa-p.*¹³⁵ 授記品. There are many other instances¹³⁶ which reveal the two orders existing separately.

In the *Sukhāvihāra p.*¹³⁷ 安樂行品 of the same sūtra the daily reminder of the bodhisattva states that he must not reside with the bhikṣu, bhikṣuṇī, upāsaka, and upāsikā who seek the Śrāvakayāna; the bodhisattva must not associate with them or accompany them; the bodhisattva must not become intimate with them in any way; and the bodhisattva must not be within reaching distance of them in the caṅkrama 經行處 and vihāra 精舍. If, however, they come to visit on their own initiative, the bodhisattva must meet them and teach them the Mahāyāna ideal.

The *Smaller Sukhāvativyūha-s.*¹³⁸ 阿彌陀經 states that those who believe in Amitāyus Tathāgata at the hour of death will be welcomed by Amitāyus, who is surrounded by a host of śrāvakas and accompanied by bodhisattvas (śrāvaka-saṅghaparivṛto bodhisattvagaṇapuraskṛtaḥ). The author of this sūtra must have envisioned the two groups in sukhāvati based upon the situation in the actual world of two separate orders. The *Sukhāvativyūha-s.*¹³⁹ 阿彌陀經 also states that when Ānanda was about to worship Amitāyus, Amitāyus appeared before him,

134. Kern and Nanjio, *Saddharmapuṇḍarikasūtra*, p. 337; 正法華經 8, T. 9, no. 263, p. 117a. But not found in 妙法蓮華經 5, T. 9, no. 262, p. 45b.

135. *Ibid.*, p. 221; 妙法蓮華經 4, T. 9, no. 262, p. 30b; 正法華經 5, T. 9, no. 263, pp. 98c-99a; 添品妙法蓮華經 4, T. 9, no. 264, p. 164c.

136. *Ibid.*, examples of bodhisattvagaṇa usage: pp. 298, 311, 315, 316, 387, 457, and 487; examples of bodhisattvarāśi usage: pp. 311, 316.

137. *Ibid.*, p. 226; 妙法蓮華經 5, T. 9, no. 262, p. 37ab; 正法華經 7, T. 9, no. 263, p. 107bc; 添品妙法蓮華經 5, T. 9, no. 264, p. 171c.

138. Müller and Nanjio, *The Smaller Sukhāvativyūha*, p. 96; 稱讚淨土佛國受經, T. 12, no. 367, p. 350a; 阿彌陀經 T. 12, no. 366, p. 347b.

139. Müller and Nanjio, *The Sukhāvativyūha-sūtra*, pp. 63-4. This is not translated directly into the Chinese; T. 12, nos. 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, pp. 278a, 298c, 316c, 325a, 338a; and 18, T. 11, no. 310, p. 99c.

surrounded by the bodhisattvagaṇa and the śrāvakasaṃgha. The two types of saṃgha in sukhāvatī are referred to in the *MPP-śāstra*¹⁴⁰ and the *Daśabhūmika-vibhāṣā*.

The *Daśabhūmika-v.* explains the method of the bodhisattva discipline and shows that it is unlike that of the śrāvaka. For example, in expanding upon the ti-saṃgha it states that the bodhisattva pays homage to the Buddha, Dharma, and Saṃgha, because he desires to achieve enlightenment and not because he vows to practice the śrāvakayāna. It goes on to show the methods of homage and when it comes to the saṃgha it states:¹⁴¹

“If you should meet people, seeking the śrāvakayāna, who have not yet attained enlightenment, you must awaken in him the determination to become a Buddha and encourage him to acquire the daśabala 十力 of the Buddha. In order to do so one must first make material offerings and catch his heart, and then teach Mahāyāna Buddhism to him. One must respect the saints who have reached the understanding of the srotāpanna, sakṛdāgāmin, anāgāmin, and arhat, but one must not seek the phala 功德 of the śrāvakayāna himself and think of acquiring the enlightenment of the śrāvakayāna.”

According to this passage, the bodhisattva's homage to the saṃgha is for the purpose of converting the followers of the śrāvakayāna to the Mahāyāna, and though the bodhisattva pays respect to the śrāvaka saint, he himself must not adhere to its teachings. The bodhisattva pays homage to the bodhisattvagaṇa. The same idea is found in the *Ugradattapariṣcchā-s.*¹⁴² 郁伽長者經. In another section of the *Daśabhūmi-v.*¹⁴³ it states:

“When one sees the śrāvakasaṃgha, one must awaken bodhicitta and think of the bodhisattvagaṇa. This is the bodhisattva's homage to the saṃgha.”

The bodhisattvagaṇa in this case, however, is not the saṃgha of ordinary bodhisattvas, but the “bodhisattvagaṇa¹⁴⁴ of the daśabhūmi,” that is, the saintly bodhisattvas. Again, at the beginning of the work¹⁴⁵ the author writes that as he composes, he meditates upon many things and thinks of the tri-ratna and the bodhisattvagaṇa. Here the order of bodhisattva is considered completely

140. 大智度論 34, T. 25, no. 1509, p. 311c; 十住毘婆沙論 8, T. 26, no. 1521, p. 64c.

141. 十住毘婆沙論 7, T. 26, no. 1521, p. 55a.

142. 法鏡經, T. 12, no. 322, p. 16a; 郁伽羅越問菩薩行經, T. 12, no. 323, p. 23c; 大寶積經郁伽長者會 82, T. 11, no. 310, p. 473a.

143. 十住毘婆沙論 7, T. 26, no. 1521, pp. 55b.

144. *Ibid.*, 1, T. 26, no. 1521, p. 20a.

145. *Ibid.*, 1, T. 26, no. 1521, p. 22b.

apart from the tri-ratna.

The fact of the two saṅgha is further clarified in the *MPP-sāstra* in the section which comments upon the following paragraph in the Chinese *MPP*:¹⁴⁶

“When I gained anuttaraṃ saṃyaksambodhiṃ, the countless śrāvakas became my saṅgha, and with one sermon I made them all arhats.... I will also have the countless bodhisattvas become my saṅgha, and I wish to make the countless bodhisattvas attain avaivartikatva with one sermon and make them possess infinite life and light.”

This quotation tells us that the Buddha had a śrāvaka-saṅgha after he had attained enlightenment and that he will have a bodhisattva-saṅgha in the future. Commenting upon this passage, the *MPP-sāstra*¹⁴⁷ states that the various Buddhas have three types of saṅgha: first, there is only the śrāvaka-saṅgha and no bodhisattva saṅgha. For example, since the Śākya-buddha did not have a separate bodhisattva-saṅgha, Maitreya, Mañjuśrī, and other bodhisattvas sat within the śrāvaka-saṅgha. Second, some Buddhas preach only the Ekayāna teachings and therefore have only a bodhisattva-saṅgha. And third, some Buddhas have both types of saṅgha; such as, Buddha Amitāyus in whose land are many bodhisattvas but only a few śrāvakas. As for as the *MPP-sūtra* is concerned, there is a desire to form a bodhisattva-saṅgha for this reason.

The statement that the Śākya-Buddha did not have an independent bodhisattva-saṅgha reflects the actual situation at the time of Śākyamuni's enlightenment. The bodhisattva-yāna appeared much later together with the circulation of the Mahāyāna sūtras; therefore, the formation of the bodhisattva-saṅgha is predicted in terms of the future. Other sections¹⁴⁸ in the work also distinguish the two saṅghas.

In the oldest translation of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* 道行般若¹⁴⁹ the opening sentences describes the gathering of bodhisattvas:

“The Buddha resided at Gṛdhrakūṭa of Rājagṛha. He was together with his disciples, the innumerable Mahābhikṣusaṅgha, such as Śāriputra, Subhūti, and others, as well as the innumerable bodhisattva mahāsattvas, such as Maitreya, Mañjuśrī, and others. The day was the 15th, the day of uposatha. The Buddha said to Subhūti: ‘Today is the great assembly of the bodhisattvas, so I shall teach the prajñā-pāramitā to the various

146. 摩訶般若波羅蜜經 1, T. 8, no. 223, p. 221a.

147. 大智度論 34, T. 25, no. 1509, p. 311bc.

148. For example, 大智度論 3, T. 25, no. 1509, p. 80a: “Within this the real śrāvaka-saṅgha numbers 6,500 members and the bodhisattva saṅgha consists of two types, hrīmat saṅgha (有差僧) and bhūta-saṅgha (實僧)” Lamotte's translation lacks this sentence, *op. cit.*, Tome 1, p. 203.

149. 道行般若經 1, T. 8, no. 224, p. 425c.

bodhisattvas'."

This shows that the *prajñā-pāramitā* was taught at the bodhisattva gatherings. Among the *PP* literature this work translated by Lokakṣema 支婁迦讖 (A.D. 179) is the oldest, and the next is the 大明度經, translated by 支謙 (222-228). The other translations in the same *PP* lineage include 摩訶般若波羅蜜鈔經, tr. by Dharmarakṣa 竺法護¹⁵⁰ (265), 小品般若, tr. by Kumārajīva 鳩摩羅什 (408), 大般若波羅蜜多經第四會, tr. by Hsuan-tsang, (660-663) 第五會, tr. by Hsuan-tsang (660-663), and 佛母出生三法藏般若波羅蜜經, tr. by Dānapāla 施護 (982). In this series of *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* translations only the two oldest record that a great assembly of bodhisattvas was held. In the succeeding versions this fact is eliminated, probably in order to interpret *prajñā-pāramitā* from a broader perspective. In such a case we must value the oldest translations as revealing the original circumstance in which the *prajñā-pāramitā* was taught. In the newer translations the primitive forms are sometimes lost.

Thus far I have shown through the examination of the relatively older Mahāyāna texts that the bodhisattva formed an organization separate from the śrāvaka-saṅgha. The "gaṇa" of bodhisattvagaṇa is synonymous with saṅgha and means an organized body. In the Āgama¹⁵¹ it is used in the sense of saṅgha and in Jainism it refers to its religious order. The bodhisattvagaṇa, therefore, is not merely a random gathering of followers, but an organized order parallel to the śrāvaka-saṅgha. They did not completely disconnect themselves from the śrāvaka-yāna followers, because relationships were maintained in order to convert them to the Mahāyāna. This is clear from the preceding discussions of the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka* and *Daśabhūmi-v.* Consequently, it would not be wrong to imagine that in the bodhisattvagaṇa there were many śrāvakas or Nikāya Buddhists who had been converted. For this reason, although the doctrines held by the two groups differed, they were not necessarily antagonistic to each other. Since the Abhidharma texts do not contain criticism of the Mahāyāna, it is impossible to tell how the bodhisattvagaṇa was regarded by the śrāvaka-yāna bhikṣu, although probably with disdain. On the other hand the bodhisattva paid respect to the saints of the śrāvaka-yāna, but they dared not leave their religious problems to be solved by them.

150. Taisho Tripiṭaka ascribes the translation of this sūtra to 曇摩婢 and 竺佛念, but this is erroneous. The translation is by 竺法護. Cf. Kajiyoshi Koun, 原始般若經の研究, p. 77f.

151. *DN.*, vol. 1, pp. 47f, 132f. Jaina also uses saṅghin, gaṇin. Cf. *Uttarādhyāyana* 26. *SBE.*, vol. XLV, p. 149, gaṇadhara; Ācārāṅga, *SBE.* vol. XXII, p. 113, etc.

The Stūpa as the Origin of Bodhisattva Buddhism

In the preceding sections I have attempted to shed light upon the differences in character of Mahāyāna Buddhism and Nikāya Buddhism. The origin of the Mahāyāna was shown to be radically different from the historical origin of the Nikāya saṅgha. What, then, constituted the institutional basis from which Mahāyāna Buddhism arose?

As I have stated, there were both renunciants and householders among the bodhisattvas, and the former lived by the offerings made by the faithful worshippers. The question arises as to the place and method by which the renunciant bodhisattva received the offerings of the faithful. From my studies of this problem I have reached the conclusion that it was the stūpa which was the religious center for the renunciant bodhisattvas. Apart from the stūpa, there also existed the āraṇyāyatana¹⁵² as centers of meditation and austerities. The stūpa was mainly a place to care for illness and to study the sūtras. Since the limitation in space precludes a detailed analysis of all pertinent sūtras, only two or three important ones will be taken up to demonstrate my conclusion. The older Chinese translations, completed in the second and third centuries with almost no emendations since, will be used as sources, since they maintain the old form of the sūtras and when used with care reveal much not found in the newer versions.

First, I wish to discuss the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka* as a work based upon the institution of the stūpa. This sūtra has several extant editions: 1. 正法華經 tr. by Dharmarakṣa 竺法護 (A.D. 286); 2. 妙法蓮華經 tr. by Kumārajīva (406); 3. 添品妙法蓮華經 tr. by Jñānagupta 闍那崛多 and Dharmagupta 達摩笈多 (601); 4. a Tibetan translation; and 5. a Sanskrit text.

The *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka* begins with the *Nidāna-parivarta* 序品. The Buddha reveals¹⁵³ to the congregation the 18,000 Eastern worlds, illuminating by the light from the ūṇakośa of his brow. His rays clearly reveal everything in these worlds, but most conspicuously the seven-jewelled stūpas which enshrine the relics, dhātu, of the Buddhas in these worlds. This is the prelude, and the narrative unfolds as Maitreya Bodhisattva questions these supernatural phenomena. He carries the doubt to Mañjuśrī and asks him for clarification. In gāthā¹⁵⁴

152. In the second-century Chinese Translation of the *Ugradattaparipṛcchā-sūtra* stūpa and āraṇyāyatana are listed and explained as the places of the bodhisattva's daily activities. 法鏡經 (tr. 167-189), T. 12, no. 322, p. 20a; 郁伽羅越問菩薩行經 (tr. 265-308), T. 12, no. 323, p. 28a; 大寶積經郁伽長者會 82 (tr. 5th cent.), T. 11, no. 310, p. 477c.

153. Kern and Nanjio, *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra*, p. 6f; 妙法蓮華經 1, T. 9, no. 262, p. 2bf; 正法華經 1, T. 9, no. 263, p. 63cf; 添品妙法蓮華經, T. 9, no. 264, p. 135bf.

154. *Ibid.*, p. 15, verse 45f; 妙法蓮華經 1, T. 9, no. 262, p. 3b; 正法華經 1, T. 9, no. 263, p. 61b; 添品妙法蓮華經 1, T. 9, no. 264, p. 135b.

form the question includes the facts that after the death of the Buddha the bodhisattva worshipped the śarīra and made 100 billion stūpas, and that the stūpas were made of seven jewels, decorated with flags and bells, presented with flowers and incense and saluted with music. Mañjuśrī answers that the supernatural events were manifested to preach a great teaching; and that to his memory when the Buddhas of the same name, such as Candrasūryapradīpa 日月燈明佛, appeared one after another and then passed away, he saw that¹⁵⁵ their śarīras were divided and 100 billion stūpas were built. Now Śākyamuni reveals the Eastern Buddhist countries to preach the *Saddharmaṣaṣṭaṅga*. In this way the stūpa is an important theme from the opening *Nidāna-p*.

The *Upāyakaṣāya-p*. 方便品 introduces the merits of stūpa worship. The wisdom of the Buddhas is profound and difficult to fathom, but the Buddhas preach by means of upāya and parables; and by thus teaching the Ekayāna dharma they guide the sentient beings to enter the path of truth. And¹⁵⁶ when the Buddhas pass away, the sentient beings worship the remains of the Buddhas, erect 800 billion stūpas, decorate them with seven jewels, or erect stone stūpas, or erect stūpas of candana wood, and worship them. The immeasurable merit of erecting and worshipping stūpas is emphasized. Even¹⁵⁷ a youth, aimlessly building a stūpa by gathering sand, attained enlightenment by the merit gained; and a deranged man,¹⁵⁸ entering a stūpa unknowingly, could attain enlightenment, if he would repeat *Namo Buddhāya* 南無佛 just once.

In the *Vyākaraṇa-p*.¹⁵⁹ 授記品 there appears the same thought. Mahākātyāyana and Mahāmaudgalyāyana have already attained arhatship in the śrāvakayāna, but they awaken to Mahāyāna and undertake its disciplines. The Buddha prophesized that they would worship 800 billion Buddha, build stūpas towering 1,000 yojanas, adorn them with seven jewels, make offerings and worship them, and by this merit (puṇya) attain enlightenment.

The *Puṇyaparyāya-p*.¹⁶⁰ 分別功德品 states that caityas of the Tathāgata should be built wherever the kulaputra and kuladhitr who worship the *Saddharmaṣaṣṭaṅga* stand, sit, or walk; and the peoples of the world should revere them as

155. *Ibid.*, p. 26, verse 84f; 妙法蓮華經 1, T. 9, no. 262, p. 5a; 正法華經 1, T. 9, no. 263, p. 67b; 添品妙法蓮華經 1, T. 9, no. 264, p. 138a.

156. *Ibid.*, p. 50, verse 78f; 妙法蓮華經 1, T. 9, no. 262, p. 8c; 正法華經 1, T. 9, no. 263, p. 71a; 添品妙法蓮華經, T. 9, no. 264, p. 141c.

157. *Ibid.*, p. 50, verse 82; 妙法蓮華經 1, T. 9, no. 262, p. 8c; 正法華經 1, T. 9, no. 263, p. 71b; 添品妙法蓮華經 1, T. 9, no. 264, p. 141c.

158. *Ibid.*, p. 53, verse 94f; 妙法蓮華經 1, T. 9, no. 262, p. 9a; 正法華經 1, T. 9, no. 263, p. 71c; 添品妙法蓮華經 1, T. 9, no. 264, p. 142a.

159. *Ibid.*, pp. 150–155; 妙法蓮華經 3, T. 9, no. 262, pp. 21b–22a; 正法華經 3, T. 9, no. 263, pp. 87b–88a; 添品妙法蓮華經 3, T. 9, no. 264, p. 156ac.

160. *Ibid.*, p. 340; 妙法蓮華經 5, T. 9, no. 262, p. 46a; 正法華經 8, T. 9, no. 263, p. 117a, lacks this section; 添品妙法蓮華經 5, T. 9, no. 264, p. 180a.

the stūpas of the Tathāgata. Here the believer of the sūtra and homage to the stūpa become intimately connected. Due to overemphasizing the merit of worshipping and reciting the sūtra, some passages¹⁶¹ state that it is unnecessary to erect stūpas or vihāras, or make offerings to the Saṃgha; but this is in the prose section and in the geṇya¹⁶² which restates this idea in verse it clearly says that although the faith in *Saddharmaṣaṣṭaṅga* is of infinite merit, the faithful must also erect a stūpa, enshrine the śarīra, adorn it with seven jewels, perform profound music, and worship it. The simultaneous worship of both the sūtra is most important. The ensuing verse¹⁶³ states that whenever the bodhisattva preaches the sūtra, even if it is one verse, whether walking, standing, sitting, or sleeping, a stūpa dedicated to the Buddha should be erected. This verse section is probably older than the prose passage. The worshippers of the *Saddharmaṣaṣṭaṅga* arose from among the worshippers of the stūpa, but¹⁶⁴ their extreme emphasis on the faith in the sūtra led to their expulsion from the vihāra.

In the *Bhaiṣajyārājapūrvaṃyoga-p.* 藥王菩薩本事品 it relates how Candrasūrya-vimalaprabhāśrīya-buddha 日月淨明德佛 appeared long ago and taught the dharma, and how he handed the transmission of the dharma to his disciple, Sarvasattvapriyadarśana-bodhisattva 一切衆生喜見菩薩 and then entered nirvāṇa. At the time¹⁶⁵ this Buddha also entrusted his disciples, the world, and especially the relic (dhātu) after his decease to the bodhisattva. And when this Buddha passed away during the night, Sarvasattvapriyadarśana worshipped and cremated the Buddha's body, placed the relic into 84,000 reliquaries which he made and erected 84,000 stūpas. Such is the way in which the sūtra frequently repeats the division of relics and erection of stūpas, and this is modelled after the events¹⁶⁶ following Śākyamuni's decease when his body was cremated, the remains divided and deposited in stūpas.

This emphasis upon relics and stūpas reaches its climax in the *Stūpadarśana-p.*

161. *Ibid.*, p. 339; 妙法蓮華經 5, T. 9, no. 262, p. 45b; 正法華經 8, T. 9, no. 263, p. 117a; 添品妙法蓮華經 5, T. 9, no. 264, p. 179c.
162. pp. 340-344; 妙法蓮華經 5, T. 9, no. 262, p. 46ab; 正法華經 8, T. 9, no. 263, p. 117bc; 添品妙法蓮華經 5, T. 9, no. 264, p. 180ab.
163. *Ibid.*, p. 344, verse 60; 妙法蓮華經 5, T. 9, no. 262, p. 45b; 正法華經 8, T. 9, no. 263, p. 117c; 添品妙法蓮華經 5, T. 9, no. 264, p. 180b.
164. *Ibid.*, p. 274, verse, 17; 妙法蓮華經 4, T. 9, no. 262, p. 36c; 正法華經 6, T. 9, no. 263, p. 107a; 添品妙法蓮華經 4, T. 9, no. 264, p. 171b.
165. *Ibid.*, p. 410f; 妙法蓮華經 6, T. 9, no. 262, p. 53c; 正法華經 9, T. 9, no. 263, pp. 125c-126a; 添品妙法蓮華經 6, T. 9, no. 264, p. 188bc.
166. Concerning the funeral of Śākyamuni, cf. *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*, DN., vol. 1, p. 159f; E. Waldschmidt, *Das Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*, Teill III (Berlin, 1951), p. 404f; 長阿含 3, T. 1, no. 1, p. 20bf; 佛般泥洹經, T. 1, no. 5, p. 172cf; 般泥洹經, T. 1, no. 6, p. 189af; 大般涅槃經, T. 1, no. 7, p. 205cf.

見寶塔品. According to this section,¹⁶⁷ when Śākyamuni preaches the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka* a seven-jewelled tower, 500 yojanas in height, rises from the earth and appears in the sky before the Buddha. When he opens the door to the stūpa with his right hand, inside there appears the Buddha Prabhūtaratna 多宝如來. Prabhūtaratna attained enlightenment in the timeless past, and he made a vow, praṇidhāna, that his stūpa would appear wherever this sūtra was taught, and he would verify the truth of this dharmaparyāya. Then Prabhūtaratna inside the seven-jewelled stūpa gives up half of his seat and invites Śākyamuni into the stūpa. He enters and thus in the seven-jewelled stūpa sit two Buddhas in the lotus position. Here the Buddha of the past and the Buddha of the present become one as testimonials to the timeless truth of the dharma.

This truth is symbolized in the stūpa, for it enshrines the relics of the Buddha and manifests his personality. The *Tathāgatāyuspramāṇa-p.*¹⁶⁸ 壽量品 states that the Buddha's life is timeless and that his dharmakāya is eternally present. The Buddha's eternal presence is contained in the stūpa, and although enshrining relics, the worshipper sees it as the eternal Buddha. If one does not believe in the existence of the Buddha, since his human form disappeared at the age of 80, the worship of the stūpa is meaningless¹⁶⁹; those who believe that the Buddha entered anupadhiṣṇanirvāṇa at the moment of parinirvāṇa do not worship the stūpa. Even if such a worship were performed,¹⁷⁰ it would be merely in memory of the Buddha now gone.

In contrast the faithfuls who believe that the Buddha is eternal and exists in the ever-present now worship the stūpas as a means of worshipping the Buddha. They construct huge stūpas, adorn them with seven-jewels, present canopies, keyūras, flags, banners, bells, burn incense, adorn with flowers, perform musical instruments, light oil lamps, beautify the stūpas and worship them. The

167. Kern and Nanjio, *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra*, p. 239f; 妙法蓮華經 4, T. 9, no. 262, p. 32b; 正法華經 6, T. 9, no. 263, p. 102b; 添品妙法蓮華經 4, T. 9, no. 264, p. 166cf.

168. *Ibid.*, pp. 316, 323f; 妙法蓮華經 5, T. 9, no. 262, pp. 42c, 43bf; 正法華經 7, T. 9, no. 263, pp. 113b, 114cf; 添品妙法蓮華經 5, T. 9, no. 264, pp. 176c, 177cf.

169. The Abhidharma teaches that merits of stūpa-worship are small: "caitye tyāgānyayaṁ puṇyaṁ maitryādivad agrhṇati." Cf. V. V. Gokhale, "The Text of the Abhidharma-kośakārikā of Vasubandhu," IV, v. 120a, *The Journal of the Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society*, N.S. vol. 22, (1946), p. 89; 阿毘達磨俱舍論 18, T. 29, no. 1558, p. 97a; 阿毘達磨俱舍釋論 13, T. 29, no. 1559, p. 251b.

170. According to the *Samayabhedoparacanacakra*, the Mahīśāsaka taught that there is no great merit in offerings made to the Buddha stūpa. The schools of the Mahāsāṅghika lineage, such as the Caitika, Aparasāila, and Uttarasāila, also taught that the offerings to stūpa were of little value. Cf. 異部宗輪論, T. 49, no. 2031, pp. 16a, 17a; 十八部論, T. 49, no. 2032, pp. 18c, 19b; 部執異論, T. 49, no. 2033, pp. 21a, 22b; André Bareau, *Les sectes Bouddhiques du petit véhicule* (Saigon, 1955), p. 270. In the Sarvāstivādin *Mahāvibhāṣā-sūtra* it teaches that there is greater merit in offerings made to the Saṅgha than to the Buddha. Cf. 大毘婆沙論 130, T. 27, no. 1545, p. 678b.

concept of the eternal Buddha is based upon the eternal truth of the dharma. For this reason, throughout the sūtra the truth of the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka* is reiterated. And the union of the eternal nature of the dharma (Prabhūtaratna Buddha) and the eternal nature of the Buddha (Śākyamuni Buddha) is symbolized in the two Buddhas seated together inside the stūpa. Therefore, this sūtra, containing the *Tathāgatāyus-pramāṇa-p.* and *Stūpasamdarśana-p.*, is deeply connected with stūpa worship from inherent necessity.

Thus far we have seen that stūpa worship formed the basis for the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka*, and now we turn our attention to the study of stūpa and its Chinese translations. Words which are used with stūpa include dhātu and śarīra, both referring to the relics of the Buddha, and caitya, which is a synonym for this term. All these words are found in the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka*, but we will forgo a detailed discussion on their meanings and examine only stūpa, the most frequently used term. Stūpa (Tibetan, mchod rten) is transliterated into the Chinese variously: 塔, 塔婆, 偷婆, 兜婆, 窣覩婆, 窣堵婆, 蘇斗婆, 蘇倫婆, and sometimes it is rendered 佛圖 and 浮屠. Being transliterations, they fail to express the original connotation. In comparing the Sanskrit and Chinese versions of the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka* the following translations, other than the common 塔, are found: 塔廟, 塔寺, 佛廟, 廟, 寺. The study of these terms will aid our research on stūpa in the Chinese texts lacking the Sanskrit original.

Since there are numerous examples of stūpa being rendered as 塔, there is no special significance dwelling on this word. As for 塔廟, there are more than ten instances in Kumārajīva's translation,¹⁷¹ and it can also be found in the Dharmarakṣa translation, 正法華經¹⁷². This term expresses the original sound of stūpa by 塔 and its meaning by 廟. The Chinese 廟 is a shrine which holds the ancestral spirits. It is not a mere cemetery, but a sacred hall which one is able to enter. Similar translations are 佛廟¹⁷³ and 石廟. Thus both Dharmarakṣa and Kumārajīva must have known that a sacred hall was part of the stūpa.

The next translation 塔寺 is found three times in the Kumārajīva's translation.¹⁷⁴ In the Sanskrit the original is stūpa at one place,¹⁷⁵ vihāra at

171. 妙法蓮華經, T. 9, no. 262, p. 3b, lines 21, 23, 26, (SKT, Kern and Nanjio, *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra*, p. 14, verse 44); p. 9a, lines 10, 24 (SKT, p. 51, verse 89; p. 52, verse 95); p. 19a, line 1; p. 21b, lines 19, 22 (SKT, p. 150, line 10; p. 151, line 2); p. 21c, line 17 (SKT, p. 153, line 3); p. 22a, line 6 (SKT, p. 154, verse 33); p. 32c, line 12 (SKT, p. 241, line 8), p. 46a, line 29 (SKT, p. 343, verse 54 caitya).

172. 正法華經, T. 9, no. 263, p. 87c, line 4, and p. 88a, lines 4, 6, 26, etc.

173. 妙法蓮華經 1, T. 9, no. 262, p. 8c, line 23 廟 (SKT, p. 50, verse 82), and p. 8c, line 21 石廟 (SKT, p. 50, verse 80).

174. 妙法蓮華經 4, 15, T. 9, no. 262, p. 36c, line 23; p. 45b, line 26; p. 45c, line 13.

175. 妙法蓮華經 5, T. 9, no. 262, p. 45b, line 26. (SKT, p. 338, line 5); 正法華經 8, T. 9, no. 263, p. 117a, line 11; Tibetan, vol. 30, p. 60, 2, 2-3.

another,¹⁷⁶ and the third lacks the corresponding term. Dharmarakṣa translates it 塔廟 in the first instance, but the second and third are lacking. In certain cases it is a dangerous practice to determine by the extant Sanskrit text the original terms for Kumārajīva's translations, because the original used by him and the text we have today need not necessarily coincide. However, in the first instance the Sanskrit is stūpa, 正法華經 has 塔廟, the Tibetan version has mchod rten; therefore, we may conclude that Kumārajīva translated stūpa as 塔寺. In the third instance we cannot determine whether or not Kumārajīva translated vihāra 塔寺, because although the Sanskrit text is vihāra, the Tibetan is gtsug lag khan and the corresponding word is lacking in 正法華經. Kumārajīva translates¹⁷⁷ vihāra as 僧坊, so it is believed that the Sanskrit text used by him and the one available today are different, because it is unthinkable that he would have translated vihāra as 僧坊 at one time and 塔寺 at another.

Nevertheless, we know from the first instance above that Kumārajīva translated stūpa as 塔寺. Dharmarakṣa made the same translation for stūpa, and it can be found more frequently in the 正法華經¹⁷⁸. When we compare the original term for these instances, in very case it is stūpa. Dharmarakṣa also translated stūpa as simply 寺¹⁷⁹.

That the translators interpreted stūpa as 塔 or 寺 has a great significance. The original meaning of the Chinese 寺 is not clear, but according to Professor Kojun Fukui¹⁸⁰ it is a transformation of 時, based upon 資蔭集卷三 by 俞越. The term 時 is said to have been a libation ceremony for the Heaven. In the 後漢書卷六三 and 吳志卷四 are found the terms 浮圖祠, and in 後漢書卷四三 it states:

“King Chu 楚王 reads the subtle words of Huang-lao 黃老, and respects the benevolent offerings to the Buddha 浮圖之仁祠.”

Professor Fukui thinks that the temple 寺 was called 祠 in ancient times. This is the reason that there is a common element in the meanings of 祠 and 時, and forms the basis for inferring that 祠 changed to 寺. Thus, the original

176. 妙法蓮華經 4, T. 9, no. 262, p. 36c, line 23; (SKT, p. 274, verse 17). Tibetan, vol. 30, p. 49-3-7.

177. 妙法蓮華經, T. 9, no. 262, p. 45b, line 26; p. 45c, line 6; p. 46c, line 1; p. 47b, line 23, etc. (SKT, p. 338, line 6; p. 339, line 1; p. 352, verse 14); 正法華經, T. 9, no. 263, p. 117a, lines 11 and 23; p. 118a, line 9; p. 119, line 6.

178. 正法華經, T. 9, no. 263, p. 71a, lines 24, 28; p. 102b, line 25; p. 102c, lines 10, 11, 13, 22; p. 104a, line 26; p. 117a, line 15; p. 126a, line 6; p. 128a lines 2, 3, etc. (SKT, p. 48, verses 78, 79; p. 240, lines 2, 5, 11; p. 241, lines 6, 7; p. 250, line 4; p. 338, line 8; p. 412, line 9; p. 430, line 2.)

179. 正法華經, T. 9, no. 263, p. 103c, line 28; p. 104a, line 11, etc. (SKT, p. 248, line 14; p. 250, line 2)

180. Fukui Kojun 福井康順, “佛寺の字義” in 「東洋思想史研究」 (Tokyo, 1960), p. 194.

meaning of 寺 is 祠, a hall to enshrine the Buddha, and in this sense it is correct to translate stūpa as 塔寺 or 寺. In later periods, however, 寺 is the translation for vihāra or āvāsa and refers of the sanctuary of the Buddhist monks. Such a change must have occurred, because the monks lived on the compounds of a hall enshrining the Buddha. It is not clear when this happened, but already in the *Caturvargika-v.*¹⁸¹ (tr. 410–412) āvāsa is translated as 寺, and the same term is found in Kumārajīva's translation of *Daśabhānavāra-v.*,¹⁸² which may be interpreted as referring to the monks' residence. Thus in Kumārajīva's time we can regard 寺 as possessing the meaning of the residence of monks, and therefore 塔寺 included both the hall enshrining the Buddha and a building within the compound housing people. In Fa-hsien's translation of the *Mahāsāṃghika-v.*¹⁸³ (tr. 416–418) the following passage is found:

“Animals should not enter and dirty the 塔寺.”

“Be careful that animals do not enter the 塔寺 and break statues and destroy the flowers and plants.”

The term 塔寺 refers not only to a stūpa of the mound-type alone, but also to a compound with the stūpa at the center. Within the compound there must have existed a hall enshrining the Buddha, rows of plants and trees, and a building housing people. In the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions one passage¹⁸⁴ states that a well was dug in the Vajrastūpa and donated. This must mean that a well was dug in the stūpa compound which was called Vajrastūpa. We may conclude and say that there are two meanings to stūpa: in the narrow sense it refers to the mound-type in which the śarīra was deposited, and in the broad sense to a compound, centered around the mound stūpa, including caitya, lakes, bodhi-trees, wells and lodgings.

Th. Stūpa as a Model of Sukhāvati

There is no doubt that the sukhāvati in the *Smaller Sukhāvativyūha-sūtra* 阿彌陀經 is modelled after the stūpa of the Buddha. When the method of erecting a stūpa as found¹⁸⁵ in the *Caturvargika-v.*, *Pañcavargika-v.*, *Mahāsāṃghika-v.*, and

181. 四分律 54, T. 22, no. 1428, p. 968c, line 21. 得寺內 (āvāsakappa, *Vinaya-piṭaka*, vol. 2, p. 294).

182. 十誦律 41, T. 23, no. 1435, 不聽入寺, 比丘尼入寺, p. 296b, lines 26, 28.

183. 摩訶僧祇律 14, 18, T. 22, no. 1425, p. 343b, line 16; p. 376a, line 22; p. 376b, line 21.

184. S. Konow, *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions* (Calcutta, 1929), pp. 55–57, XIX Mount Banj Inscription of the year 102 (A.D. 18–19, cf. p. xci.)

185. 四分律 52, T. 22, no. 1428, p. 956c; 五分律 26, T. 22, no. 1421, p. 173a; 摩訶僧祇律 33, T. 22, no. 1425, p. 497c–499a; 根本說一切有部毘奈耶雜事 18, T. 24, no. 1451, p. 291c. *Divyāvadāna*, p. 350.

Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya-kṣudrakavastu is compared with the description of sukhāvātī in this sūtra, there is a striking resemblance.

First, according to the sūtra,¹⁸⁶ the sukhāvātī is adorned with seven terraces, vedikā 欄楯. The various vinayas¹⁸⁷ tell us that the vedikā was built on the stūpa, and this is verified by the vedikā found on the stūpas at Barhut, Sāñchī, and Buddhagayā. In the main stūpa at Sāñchī the vedikā is twofold, found on the inner and outer side of the pradakṣiṇapatha 繞道. If the pradakṣiṇapatha is increased, so would the number of vedikā. The sukhāvātī must have been imagined from a huge stūpa with a sevenfold vedikā. Next, in the sukhāvātī there are seven rows of tāla-tree.¹⁸⁸ The *Pañcavargika-v.*¹⁸⁹ mentions the planting of trees on both sides of a stūpa, and the *Mahāsāṃghika-v.*¹⁹⁰ instructs the planting of trees, such as the āmra tree, jambu tree, etc. The worshippers passed these rows of tree and proceeded to the stūpa. In the sukhāvātī the sevenfold rows of tree have nets of bells kiṅkinijāla hanging, and when the breeze blows they play sweet music.

The sukhāvātī also has a lotus pond¹⁹¹ made of seven kinds of jewels and strewn with golden sand. The *Mahāsāṃghika-v.*¹⁹² speaks of ponds found with the stūpa: ponds are to be built on four sides of the stūpa and in them are to be planted the flowers of utpala, padma, kumuda, puṇḍarika, etc. The sukhāvātī ponds have padmas with circumference as large as chariot wheels.

Heavenly musical instruments,¹⁹³ divyāni tūryāni, are always being played in the sukhāvātī. The vinayas¹⁹⁴ speak of the offering, pūjā, of music made before the Buddha stūpa: songs, dances, and music. Various types of clothing, banners, canopies, flowers, incense, and foods are also offerings made to the stūpa. This is idealized in the sukhāvātī: heavenly music is played and the chorus of birds, such as haṃsa, kurauṇca, mayūla, etc. rings throughout the land. And from the heaven rains the celestial mandara flowers, divyamāṇḍārava-puṣpa.

The preceding comparisons suggest that the sukhāvātī is the idealized image

186. *The Smaller Sukhāvativyūha* 3; 阿彌陀經, T. 12, no. 366, p. 346c; 稱讚淨土佛攝受經, T. 12, no. 367, p. 348.

187. Identical to footnote 185.

188. Identical to footnote 186.

189. 五分律, T. 22, no. 1421, p. 173a, line 11.

190. 摩訶僧祇律 33, T. 22, no. 1425, p. 498b, lines 1-3.

191. *The Smaller Sukhāvativyūha* 4; The Chinese translation is identical to footnote 186.

192. 摩訶僧祇律 33, T. 22, no. 1425, p. 498b, line 10f.

193. *The Smaller Sukhāvativyūha* 5; 阿彌陀經, T. 12, no. 366, p. 347a, line 7f; 稱讚淨土佛攝受經, T. 12, no. 367, p. 349a, line 11f.

194. 四分律 52, T. 22, no. 1428, p. 957a, line 6f; 五分律 26, T. 22, no. 1421, p. 173a, line 14ff; 摩訶僧祇律 33, T. 22, no. 1425, p. 498c, line 3f; 十誦律 56, T. 23, no. 1435, p. 415c, line 12f; 丁根本說一切有部毘奈耶雜事 18, T. 24, no. 1451, p. 292a, line 1f.

of a huge Buddha stūpa.¹⁹⁵ According to the vinaya, a shrine 塔龕¹⁹⁶ was made on the four sides, garbha, of the stūpa, and also an image 龕像¹⁹⁷ was carved. This means that a shrine was made in the garbha of the stūpa and an image of Buddha placed within it. This probably arose as a religious necessity to meet the demands of the faithful who believed in an eternal Buddha through the medium of the stūpa. The process by which the Buddha statue developed is not clear, but when the Buddhist artist first learned of the sculpturing technique and carved statues, he must have first thought of enshrining it in the garbha of the stūpa. The Buddha image so conceived would symbolize the fact that the stūpa was regarded as the Buddha. Such a statue would require that a front view be carved in detail but the back would not have to be made in such detail.

The sukhāvati and the stūpa thus have striking resemblances, but the *Smaller Sukhāvativyūha* does not mention the worship of stūpas. The reason is that the center of worship is Amitāyus, who must have replaced the stūpa as the object of devotion. This transformation of worship from stūpa to Amitāyus eliminated the need for stūpa worship. Amitāyus, also, is the possessor of eternal life and does not become extinct in parinirvāṇa; therefore, a śarīra would not exist and there would be no reason for a stūpa in sukhāvati.

The 無量壽經, a Chinese translation of the *Sukhāvativyūha-sūtra*, also makes no reference to the stūpa. This work,¹⁹⁸ however, has 48 vows of Amitāyus and is a relatively new compilation. Five translations into Chinese exist, and in the older translations¹⁹⁹ the vows number 24, one of which comments upon stūpa worship. In the translation by 支謙 made between A.D. 222 and 253, 阿彌陀三耶佛薩樓佛檀過度人道經²⁰⁰, the sixth of the 24 vows states that the kulaputra and kuladuhitṛ, wishing to be born in paradise, perform various meritorious acts; they practice dāna, worship the stūpa, circumambulate the stūpa, burn incense, sprinkle flowers, illuminate the lights, erect stūpas, build vihāras, and sunder blind desires. Amitāyus vows that unless these people are able to

195. Prof. Nakamura Hajime has also discussed the similarities between the sukhāvati and the stūpa, but he denied the connection between the two, because of the lack of stūpa in the *Sukhāvativyūha-sūtra* and the *Smaller Sukhāvativyūha-sūtra*. And for the reason that the bodhi tree is discussed in the *Sukhāvativyūha* he inferred that the transmitters of this sūtra were either worshippers of the bodhi tree or of huge Buddha images. Nakamura, “極樂淨土の觀念のインド學的解明とチベットの變容” in *JIBS*, vol. 11, no. 2, p. 134.

196. 摩訶僧祇律 33, T. 22, no. 1425, p. 498a, line 18f; 十誦律 56, T. 23, no. 1435, p. 415c, line 5f.

197. 五分律 26, T. 22, no. 1421, p. 173a, line 9.

198. 無量壽經, T. 12, no. 360, SKT. *Sukhāvativyūha*.

199. 阿彌陀三耶三佛薩樓佛檀過度人道經, T. 12, no. 362, pp. 301a-302b; 無量清淨平等覺經, T. 12, no. 361, pp. 281a-c.

200. 阿彌陀三耶三佛薩樓佛檀過度人道經, T. 12, no. 362, p. 301b, line 22f.

realize their wish by performing these meritorious deeds, he will not attain Buddhahood. Here, the erecting and worshipping of stūpas are considered to be causes for birth in sukhāvati. This vow, however, is lost in the later translations.²⁰¹

The erecting and worshipping of stūpas are mentioned in other sections of the sūtra. In the 阿彌陀三耶三佛薩樓過度人道經,²⁰² there are listed the three types of people who will be born in sukhāvati: the first type includes those who, wishing to be born in sukhāvati, renounce the worldly life, become śramaṇas, and practice the six pāramitās. At the moment of death Amitāyus himself will come to welcome this type of worshipper to sukhāvati. The second type refers to those who, while desiring to be born in Amitāyus' land, are unable to renounce the worldly attachments to wife and children. Therefore, while leading the householder's life, they believe in the Buddhist teachings, make offerings to the śramaṇa, construct temples, erect stūpas, adorn them with banners and canopies, sprinkle flowers, offer incense, illuminate lights, and worship them. Such people will be welcomed by the Nirmāṇa-Kāya 化佛 of Amitāyus at the hour of death. The third type embraces those who lack the resources to build temples or erect stūpas. We can see from this that the erection of stūpas and faith in stūpas are considered to be important causes for birth in the sukhāvati.

These three types of Pure Land followers are also listed in the 無量清淨平等覺經²⁰³, translated by 白延 in 256–259. The second type is described exactly in the same way: those who build temples, erect stūpas, and worship them are born in sukhāvati. These three types of people are not found in the later translations, and the *Sukhāvatīvyūha* departs from the practice of worshipping stūpas. In the older versions, however, we have shown how closely this sūtra was connected with stūpa worship.

Ugradattapariṣcchā-Sūtra and the Buddhāvataṁsaka Gocarapariśuddha-Parivarta

There are many other Mahāyāna texts which contain reference to the worship of stūpas. I will limit myself to discussing two interesting works. The first is

201. 無量清淨平等覺經, T. 12, no. 361, also contains 24 vows, but a vow identical to this cannot be found; 無量壽經, T. no. 360, has 48 vows; *Sukhāvatīvyūha* has 48 vows; 大寶積經無量壽如來會 17, T. no. 310, has 48 vows; 大乘無量壽莊嚴經, T. no. 363, has 36 vows. In all of these sūtras the section on the stūpa is eliminated.
202. 阿彌陀三耶三佛薩樓佛檀過度人道經, T. 12, no. 362, p. 310a, line 15f.
203. 無量清淨平等覺經 3, T. 12, no. 361, p. 292a, line 5f. The Taisho Tripiṭaka ascribes the translation of this sūtra to 支婁迦讖, based upon the 開元釋教錄 1, T. 55, no. 2154, p. 478c, line 4. This is incorrect.

the *Ugradattaparipṛcchā-s.*, which has three Chinese and one Tibetan translations. The Chinese translations are 法鏡經²⁰⁴, translated between A.D. 167–189; 郁伽羅越問菩薩行經²⁰⁵ tr. by Dharmarakṣa between 265–308; and *Mahāratnakūṭa-dharmaṣāyā Ugradattaparipṛcchā-parivarta* 大寶積經郁伽長者會²⁰⁶, around 424. This work is quoted almost fully in Kumārajīva's translation of the *Daśabhūmika-vibhāṣā*.²⁰⁷

This sūtra explains in detail the disciplines of the renunciant bodhisattva and the householder bodhisattva. In the section discussing the practices of the householder bodhisattva the 法鏡經²⁰⁸ states:

“If one thinks of entering the 廟, first one must worship by prostrating his body before the front of the gate of 廟, and then enter the 廟.”

From the preceding study we know that the original term for 廟 is stūpa. In Kumārajīva's translation of the *Daśabhūmika-vibhāṣā*²⁰⁹ this passage occurs, as follows:

“If the householder bodhisattva wishes to enter this 佛寺, he must worship by prostrating his body in front of the gate of 寺 and think in the following manner.”

The original Sanskrit term for 佛寺 was probably also stūpa. In this work 塔寺 is the translation for stūpa, as in the passage²¹⁰ which reads:

“When this householder bodhisattva, desiring to renounce the world, enters the 塔寺 and worships the Buddha, he thinks of the following three things.”

We have already shown that Kumārajīva translated stūpa as 塔寺, and in these quotations we can see that the place of worship of the householder bodhisattva was a stūpa in the broad sense of the term.

In Dharmarakṣa's translation, 郁伽羅越問菩薩行經, this passage²¹¹ is rendered:

“If the householder bodhisattva thinks of entering the 佛寺精舍, then

204. 法鏡經, T. 12, no. 322, p. 15bf.

205. 郁伽羅越問菩薩行經, T. 12, no. 323, p. 23af.

206. 大寶積經郁伽長者會 82, T. 11, no. 310, p. 472bf. The Taisho Tripiṭaka ascribes the translation of this sūtra to 康僧鎧 (entered China between 249–253), but this is incorrect. The translator was 曇摩蜜多; cf. Hirakawa, “初期大乘教團における塔寺の意味” in *Shukyo Kenkyū* no. 153, (1957), p. 26.

207. 十住毘婆沙論, T. no. 1521. This is quoted in the following sections: 歸命相品, 五戒品, 知過患品, 入寺品, and 解頭陀品.

208. 法鏡經, T. 12, no. 322, p. 19a, lines 15, 16.

209. 十住毘婆沙論 8, T. 26, no. 1521, p. 61c, lines 3–4.

210. *Ibid.*, 8, T. 26, no. 1521, p. 62c, lines 21–23.

211. 郁伽羅越問菩薩行經, T. 12, no. 323, p. 27a, lines 5–6.

he must worship before the gate with singleness of heart, and after that enter the 精舍.”

As judged from the examples found in 正法華經, the term 佛寺 is a translation from stūpa. The only difference is that here 精舍, the translation for vihāra, is added. The two terms, however, again tell us that the householder bodhisattva worshipped in the stūpa in the broad sense. This is evident from the title of this section, “Chapter Six on Worshipping the Stūpa,”²¹² 禮塔品第六.

The preceding translations clearly reveal that the stūpa was the place of worship for the householder bodhisattva, but the situation is changed in the *Mahāratnakūṭa-dharmaṣāyā Ugradattapariṣchā-p.*²¹³ In this work the same passage is translated, as follows:

“If the householder bodhisattva wishes to enter the 僧坊, he must enter after he has worshipped in prostration before the gate.”

The term 僧坊 cannot be considered to have been stūpa, so it must have been vihāra. This is true in the Tibetan translation,²¹⁴ also.

“khyim bdag byañ cub sems dpañ khyim de gtsug lag khañ du hjug par hdod na....”

Gtsug lag khañ is a translation for vihāra.

The *Ugradattapariṣchā-p.* in Ratnakūṭa is a fifth century translation, and the Tibetan is a 9th century translation. In the old second century Chinese version the place of worship of the householder bodhisattva is called the stūpa, but in the newer texts of the 5th and 9th centuries, this is changed into vihāra. The same transformation occurs in the living quarters of the renunciant bodhisattva. In the 法鏡經²¹⁵ the living quarters are referred to as āraṇyāyatana 山澤 and stūpa 廟. The renunciant bodhisattva practices austerities in the āraṇyāyatana, but when he becomes ill or when he studies the sūtra, he goes to the stūpa. In the *Daśabhūmika-vibhāṣā*²¹⁶ the two are rendered 阿蘭若處 (āraṇyāyatana) and 塔寺, respectively; and in the 郁伽羅越問菩薩行經²¹⁷ they are rendered 樹下草褥坐 araṇña and 精舍房處, vihāra or kuṭi. The original Sanskrit in this case is already vihāra. In the 郁伽長者會²¹⁸ they are translated as 阿練兒 araṇña and 房舍, kuṭi.

This study shows that the quarters of the renunciant bodhisattva were originally called stūpa, but it was changed into vihāra. Mahāyāna Buddhism

212. *Ibid.*, T. 12, no. 323, p. 27a, line 4.

213. 大寶積經 82, T. 11, no. 310, p. 476a, lines 18–19.

214. Tibetan Tripiṭaka, vol. 23, p. 265–3–2.

215. 法鏡經, T. 12, no. 322, p. 20a, lines 22–23.

216. 十住毘婆沙論 16, T. 26, no. 1521, p. 112a, lines 5–10.

217. 郁伽羅越問菩薩行經, T. 12, no. 323, p. 28a, lines 25–26.

arose, centered on the stūpa, but as the compounds expanded to include lodgings and quarters, it came to be called vihāra, even though the stūpa remained within the compounds. At the same time the doctrines of Mahāyāna Buddhism developed in many directions and there may have been followers who gradually drifted away from stūpa worship. The change from stūpa to vihāra is also evident in the second work to be considered, the *Buddhāvataṃsaka Gocarapariśuddha-p.*

The oldest Chinese translation of *Gocarapariśuddha-p.* is 菩薩本業經,²¹⁹ tr. by 支謙 between 222–253. The next is 諸菩薩求佛本業經²²⁰ tr. by 聶道真 between 280–313. The third is Buddhābhaddra's tr. 大方廣佛華嚴經第七淨行品,²²¹ between 418–421. The fourth is Śikṣānanda's translation of the same sūtra 大方廣佛華嚴經第十一淨行品²²², between 695–699. The fifth is the Tibetan translation,²²³ *Spyod yul yon su dag baḥi leḥu bcu drug pa.*

The *Gocarapariśuddha-p.* discusses the practices of both the householder and renunciant bodhisattva. It strongly encourages the householder bodhisattva to renounce the worldly life and concentrate on the disciplines. The lodging for the householder bodhisattva who renounces the worldly life is called the stūpa. In the oldest translation by 支謙 it states that²²⁴ “when you enter the 宗廟 of the Buddha, awaken the following vow.” The living quarter of the renunciant bodhisattva is rendered 佛宗廟 which is a translation of stūpa. In the 聶道真 translation²²⁵ it is rendered as 佛寺. He was contemporaneous with Dharmarakṣa and aided the latter's translation of 正法華經; therefore, there are many translated terms common to the two. The original for 佛寺 is undoubtedly stūpa. Buddhābhaddra translates this sentence²²⁶ as, “when one enters the 僧坊,” indicating the original to be vihāra. In Śikṣānanda's translation²²⁷ it is 僧伽藍, whose original is clearly saṃghārāma. This is true for the Tibetan rendition:²²⁸

“khyim nas khyim med par ḥbyun baḥi tshe....dge ḥdun gyi ra baḥi mtshams ḥdaḥ baḥi tshe....”

The translation for saṃghārāma here is dge ḥdun gyi ra ba. The Tibetan is identical with Śikṣānanda's version of the latter 7th century.

218. 大寶積經 82, T. 11, no. 310, p. 477c, lines 19–22.

219. 菩薩本業經, T. 10, no. 281, p. 446bf.

220. 諸菩薩求佛本業經, T. 10, no. 282, p. 451af.

221. 大方廣佛華嚴經淨行品第七 6, T. 9, no. 278, p. 430af.

222. 大方廣佛華嚴經淨行品第十一 14, T. 10, no. 279, p. 69bf.

223. Tibetan Tripiṭaka, vol. 25, p. 93f.

224. 菩薩本業經, T. 10, no. 281, p. 447c, line 11.

225. 諸菩薩求佛本業經, T. 10, no. 282, p. 451c, line 13.

226. 大方廣佛華嚴經 6, T. 9, no. 278, p. 430c, line 18.

227. 大方廣佛華嚴經 14, T. 10, no. 279, p. 70a, line 20.

228. Tibetan Tripiṭaka, vol. 25, p. 94–3–3, 5.

In conclusion the comparative study of the various versions reveals the transformations in the name of the renunciant bodhisattva's living quarters: from stūpa of the 3rd century translation to vihāra of the 5th and saṅghārāma of the 7th and 9th century translations. The denotation, however, remained the same; they referred to the living quarters in the compound centered around the stūpa. The renunciant bodhisattva read the sūtra in his own living quarters, and worshipped the Buddha and the stūpa. The worshipping of the Buddha referred to paying homage to the Buddha image in the garbha of the stūpa; and the worshipping of the stūpa meant walking around the stūpa three times, reciting the sūtra and praising the virtues of the Buddha. This is taught in all five translations.²²⁹

The Nikāya Saṅgha and the Buddha Stūpa

The worship of the Buddha stūpa is taught not only in Mahāyāna Buddhist texts but also in the vinaya of Nikāya Buddhism. Although stūpa worship is not mentioned in the Pali vinaya, it is found²³⁰ in the *Caturvargika-v.* of the Dharmaguptika, *Pañcavargika-v.* of the Mahīśāsaka, *Daśabhāṇavāra-v.* of the Sarvastivādin, the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-v.*, and the *Mahāsāṃghika-v.* This leads us to consider the possibility of stūpa worship developing from Nikāya Buddhism. But this is unlikely for reasons which I shall now discuss. Since the only sources we have for the study of pre-Mahāyāna conditions, the Mahāyāna texts themselves, give only an inadequate picture, the following arguments will remain within the bounds of inference.

First, the fact that stūpa worship did not exist in Nikāya Buddhism originally is logical from the doctrinal standpoint of the three treasures, tri-ratna, which distinguishes sharply the Buddha, Dharma, and Saṅgha. If the Buddha should be included in the Saṅgha, the basic doctrine of Buddhism falls apart. Since the stūpa represents the Buddha, it would be included in the first of the tri-ratna. From this standpoint it is unthinkable that stūpa worship was part of Saṅgha Buddhism. For this reason even in cases of the existence of stūpa worship, the properties of the stūpa and that of the saṅgha were considered separately. The *Mahāsāṃghika-v.*,²³¹ for example, states that the land of the saṅgha and the land of the stūpa must not encroach upon each other, and the *Sarvāstivāda-vinaya-*

229. 菩薩本業經, T. 10, no. 281, p. 449b, lines 7-15; 諸菩薩求佛本業經, T. 10, no. 282, p. 453c, lines 16-27; 大方廣佛華嚴經 6, T. 9, no. 278, p. 432b, line 26~p. 432c, line 10; 大方廣佛華嚴經 14, T. 9, no. 279, p. 71c, line 29~p. 72a, line 12; Tibetan, vol. 25, p. 97-2-1.

230. Identical to footnote 185.

231. 摩訶僧祇律 33, T. 22, no. 1425, p. 498a, line 12f.

*vibhāṣā*²³² 薩婆多毘尼毘婆沙 states that a stūpa must not be erected on the land of the caturdiśa-saṃgha, with the exception that it be permitted upon the approval of the whole membership of saṃgha.

In the *Caturvargika-v.* and the *Pañcavargika-v.* the distinction between the real estates of the saṃgha and the stūpa is not made, probably because the Dharmaguptaka and the Mahīśāsaka expounded the view²³³ that the Buddha exists in the saṃgha. The material properties, however, are differentiated in every case. The *Mahāsāṃghika-v.*²³⁴ warns that if the karmadāna 知事, because of hardships in the saṃgha, sells goods belonging to the stūpa and offers it to the saṃgha, he has committed the offense of stealing and is guilty of pārājika. The saṃgha was not permitted to consume or use the property owned by the stūpa, and at the same time the stūpas could not be renovated or fixed by using materials owned by the saṃgha. The *Daśabhāṇavāra-v.*²³⁵ makes it clear that the properties belonging to the saṃgha and that belonging to the stūpa should not be mixed or diverted for each others use. The stūpa property must not be given to or divided among the caturdiśa-saṃgha. The *Sarvāstivāda-vinaya-vibhāṣā*²³⁶ points out that the offerings made to the tri-ratna should be equally divided among the three. The *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya-kṣudrakavastu*²³⁷ states that the offerings to the Śāriputra stūpa (stūpa of the śrāvaka) must be divided among the saṃgha, but the offerings to the Buddha stūpa may be used only for the needs of that stūpa. The *Pañcavargika-v.*²³⁸ also makes the point that offerings made to stūpas other than that of the Buddha or the pratyekabuddha may be consumed by the caturdiśa-saṃgha, but the goods offered to the two types of stūpa may not be used by the saṃgha. The same rule is found in the *Caturvargika-v.*²³⁹ the offerings made to the śrāvaka stūpa may be used by the bhikṣu and bhikṣuṇī, but this is prohibited in the case of the Buddha stūpa.

If the saṃgha was not permitted access to the offerings made to the Buddha stūpa, it was only natural that they oppose the worship and offering to the stūpa. In Nikāya Buddhism there was a theory that offerings made to the saṃgha would bring great merit, puṇya, but that made to the stūpa would have little merit. This idea could be advocated from the standpoint of the concept of Buddhahood, but also from the economic viewpoint. The Dharma-

232. 薩婆多毘尼毘婆沙 3, T. 23, no. 1440, p. 521b, lines 10 and 12.

233. 異部宗輪論, T. 49, no. 2032, p. 17a, lines 12, 23; 十八部論, T. 49 no. 2033, p. 19b, lines 24, and 19c, line 3; 部執異論, T. 49, no. 2034, p. 22b, lines 1, 13; Tibetan Tripiṭaka, no. 5639, vol. 127, pp. 252-4-3, 252-5-1.

234. 摩訶僧祇律 3, T. 22, no. 1425, p. 251c, lines 22-27.

235. 十誦律 48, T. 23, no. 1435, p. 352b, lines 21-25.

236. 薩婆多毘尼毘婆沙 5, T. 23, no. 1440, p. 534b, line 29-p. 534c, line 3.

237. 根本說一切有部毘奈耶雜事 18, T. 24, no. 1451, p. 292a, lines 7, 8.

238. 五分律 26, T. 22, no. 1421, p. 176a, lines 9-11.

239. 四分律 52, T. 22, no. 1426, p. 957a, line 3; p. 957c, lines 17, 18.

guptaka²⁴⁰ alone takes the opposite standpoint that there is a greater merit in offering to the stūpa. In the *Śaikṣadharmā* of the Dharmaguptaka *Prātimokṣa*,²⁴¹ there are 26 articles concerned with the Buddha stūpa; in fact, the *Caturvargika-v.* of this school is the only one that contains reference to the stūpa in the *prātimokṣa*. Although we can infer a strong connection between the Dharmaguptaka and stūpa worship, there is no special reason to believe that this school had intimate relationship with the rise of Mahāyāna Buddhism.

The *vinayas*²⁴² further explain that dance and music were parts of the offerings made to the stūpa. It is a well known fact the *bhikṣus* are forbidden to perform or watch dances or musical entertainment, and they are not permitted to touch silver, gold, or other treasures. These commandments are found in the *daśa-śikṣāpada*²⁴³ 十戒 of the *śramaṇera*. Consequently, the dance and musical entertainments and the handling of silver, gold and jewelled ornaments were duties of the householder. It is clear that the *bhikṣu* could not have had a leading role in such a stūpa worship, and it is difficult to conceive of stūpa worship arising from such a situation.

At the beginning of the Christian era, it is thought that stūpas which did not belong to Nikāya Buddhism existed. This can be shown by the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions. The Kharoṣṭhī letters were prevalent in North India primarily, and were used in a definite period and area. Therefore, although the discovered inscription is incomplete, we can reach some kind of scientific conclusion. There are 96 varieties of Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions collected and published by Sten Konow.²⁴⁴ According to his chronology,²⁴⁵ the oldest inscription among these is said to be older than the first half of the first century B.C. and the latest to be 300 or 315 A.D. However, those belonging to the 3rd or 4th century are very few, and the great majority is prior to these dates.

There are a total of 17 inscriptions among them which are connected with the erection of stūpas. The number is very small compared to the total, but from point of the amount the percentage is fairly great, because there are many long prose inscriptions. The 17 are numbers 1, 2, 13, 15, 16, 17, 27, 31, 32, 61, 62, 72, 76, 79, 80, 82, 86. Of these 4 are connected to the Nikāya saṅgha:

240. 異部宗輪論, T. 49, no. 2032, p. 17a, line 24; 十八部論, T. 49, no. 2033, p. 19c, lines 3, 4; 部執異論, T. 49, no. 2034, p. 22b, lines 14, 15. Tibetan, no. 5639, vol. 127, p. 252-3-1.

241. 四分僧戒本, T. 22, no. 1430, p. 1029b, line 4-1029c, line 1; and no. 1429, p. 1021b, line 27-1021c, line 29.

242. 四分律 52, T. 22, no. 1428, p. 957a, line 6; 五分律 26, T. 22, no. 1421, p. 173a, line 14; 摩訶僧祇律 33, T. 22, no. 1425, p. 498c, line 3f; 根本說一切有部昆奈耶雜事 18, T. 24, no. 1451, p. 292a, line 2.

243. For example, *Vinaya-piṭaka*, vol. 1, pp. 83, 84.

244. S. Konow, *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions with the Exception of those of Aśoka* (Calcutta, 1929).

245. S. Konow, *ibid.*, p. 2, line 1f, pp. xci, xciv.

numbers 15, 72, and 80 are dedicated to the Sarvāstivādin, and number 86 is dedicated to the Mahāsāṃghika. The remaining 13 mention no particular affiliation. The following are also obviously related to the Nikāya: number 92, indicating the construction of a water hall, *prapā*, and donated to the Sarvāstivādin; numbers 33, 34, 55B, and 56, indicating the dedication of copper ladles, vases, etc. to the Kāśyapiya and Bahuśrutiya; and two fragments, numbers, 22 and 55A, which mention the *caturdiśa-saṃgha* but no particular Nikāya affiliation. Thus, altogether 11 inscriptions mention the name of a Nikāya school.

When we compare the four inscriptions related to Nikāya Buddhism with the 13 which are not, there is a formal difference between the two sets. But there are also a number of common elements and the most important is the constant mention of the erection of *stūpa* and the enshrining of the relic. The term, *pratiṭhāvita*, is always used; for example, no. 1, "...*pratiṭhavid(r)a ime śarira*..."; no. 2, "...*thubo pra(tī)stavito*..."; no. 13, "...*śariraṃ (pra)titha-veti*...", etc. The inscriptions addressed to the Nikāya, however, add another word, *parigraha*, signifying the receipt; for example, no. 15 "...*sarvastivat(r)ana parigrahe*."; no. 72, "...*sarvastivatina(ṇa) pratigrahe*."; no. 80, "...*sarvastivadana pari(graham)mi thubammi*..."; and no. 86, "...*mahasāṃghigaṇa parigraha*." In each case the ownership of the *stūpa* is clearly indicated. The same holds true also for ladles, vases, etc. Number 34 is the only one that does not mention *parigraha* among the offerings made to the Nikāya *saṃgha*.

In contrast to the preceding inscriptions containing *parigraha*, the 13 that do not mention the Nikāya *saṃgha* lack this word. This cannot be said with certainty for no. 14, which is very short, "*sastakhadhātu*," and for numbers 61 and 62, which are partially damaged, although they mention the establishment of *stūpa* or *śarira*. The other 10 inscriptions have little damage, so it is clear that *parigraha* did not exist; this shows that these *stūpas* were not donated to the Nikāya *saṃgha*. But we also know by another word, *danamukha* (donated thing), in no. 17 that the *stūpa* was a donation, that it left the hands of the erector. The question arises: who then accepted and administered the *stūpas* which were not offered to the Nikāya *saṃgha*? We know that there was a group of people besides the Nikāya Buddhists who received and took care of the *stūpas*.

One problem is that the term, Mahāyāna, does not appear in any of these inscriptions, although *bodhisattvagṛha* is mentioned in no. 27, l. 3 and *bodhisattvaśarira* in no. 82, l. 2. This term, however, does not seem to be very old in usage, and prior to it *bodhisattvayāna* was used. It is not clear whether or not the followers of *bodhisattvayāna* formed a definite organization at the beginning of the Christian era, but since Mahāyāna Buddhism did not distinguish between

the renunciant and the housholder, such an organization was unlikely. Therefore, even though the term, Mahāyāna, does not appear in the inscriptions, this does not mean that Mahāyāna Buddhists were non-existent at the time. At any rate the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions tell us that the stūpas ascribed to the Nikāya saṅgha were less in number than those not ascribed to them, and this fact is not entirely irrelevant to the institutional background of the rise of Mahāyāna Buddhism.

The Tradition of Stūpas and its Relation to the Mahāyāna Saṅgha

In the *Mahāparinibbānasuttanta*²⁴⁶ of the *Dīghanikāya* Ānanda asks the Buddha, "How should we handle the Tathāgata's sarīra?". to which the Buddha replies, "O Ānanda, be not concerned with the worship of the Tathāgata's sarīra. You must strive for the highest good (sadattha)." And the Buddha continues, "There are wise men (paṇḍita) among the khattiya, brāhmaṇa, and gahapati who have faith in the Tathāgata, and they will take care of the Tathāgata's sarīra." This passage expresses the idea that the śarīrapūjā, the worship of relics, is the concern of the laity and not the bhikṣusaṅgha. We have no evidence that the Buddha actually made this statement, but it would not be wrong to say that the bhikṣus of the early saṅgha who transmitted this suttanta approved of this idea. *Mahāparinibbānasuttanta* was compiled, based upon the traditions of the early saṅgha, and transmitted by the Nikāya Buddhists.

It is difficult to believe that the bhikṣus who revered this suttanta would actively participate in the worship of the stūpas. According to the *Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta*²⁴⁷, those who actually worshipped the relics and performed the funeral were the people of the Mallā. At the funeral of the Buddha his relics were worshipped, and perfume and flowers, music and dance were offered. This form of religious service was inherited by the stūpa worshippers of the later ages. After the Buddha's death his remains were cremated, and the relics were divided into eight parts which were distributed to the eight kingdoms of middle India. They built a total of eight sarīra-thūpa,²⁴⁸ and two more were erected by those who received the remaining ashes and the vase containing the remains, making 10 stūpas in middle India. It is believed that the śarīra vase excavated in Piprahwā is the relic of the śarīra stūpa worshipped by the Śākya peoples of this period.

246. DN., *Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta*, vol. II, p. 141; Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Part II, (London, 1910), p. 154.

247. DN., *ibid.*, p. 159f; Rhys Davids, *ibid.*, p. 179f.

248. DN., *ibid.*, pp. 166, 167; Rhys Davids, *ibid.*, pp. 190, 191.

The contents of the Pali *Mahāparinibbānasuttanta* generally agree with that²⁴⁹ of the Sanskrit and the five Chinese translations. Therefore, it would not be wrong to conclude that those who cremated the Buddha's body and erected stūpas were followers among the laity. If this is accepted, then we must also accept the fact that those who administered and maintained the traditions of stūpa worship were also lay followers.

The development of stūpa worship is unclear from the erection of the original ten to the time of King Aśoka. In Aśoka's rock edict of Nigārisāgar²⁵⁰ it states that repairs were made upon the stūpa of Buddha Koṇāgamana (Konākamana, Kanakamuni). Hsuan-tsang reports²⁵¹ of seeing this rock edict in the southeast of Kapilavastu and notes that the stūpa of Kanakamuni Buddha existed nearby. He also saw the stūpa of the Buddha Krakucchanda²⁵² (Kakusandha) in the southwest of the stūpa of Kanakamuni Buddha and reports the existence of another rock edict erected by Aśoka. These have not been discovered as yet, but in studying Hsuan-tsang's record we may say that Aśoka's rock edict existed here also. Kanakamuni is the fifth, and Krakucchanda is the fourth of the seven past Buddhas. From this we know that already at the time of Aśoka stūpas for the past Buddhas had been erected and worshipped. The past Buddhas are mythical figures, so their stūpas could not have contained relics; they probably used replacements of some sort. This is a change in the faith of the stūpa.

A stūpa built upon relics is a type of cemetery and signifies a memorial. This type of stūpa is also built at the deaths of high priests and great rulers, and cemeteries are built for ordinary people. Stūpas of such type hold no special religious significance, but in the case of the Buddha many stūpas were erected from the very beginning, and gradually the stūpa came to be worshipped, apart from the relics. At this stage the stūpa was no longer a cemetery or a memorial for the dead, but carried a definite religious connotation; thus, there arose the faith in the Buddha through the medium of the stūpa. Such a

249. 長阿含經(遊行經,) T. 1, no. 1, p. 20a, line 22f; p. 20b, lines 13f; p. 27c, lines 17f; p. 30a, lines 13f. 長阿含經 adds 瓶塔, 炭塔, 髮塔 and enumerates a total of 11 stūpas; 佛般泥洹經, T. 1, no. 5, p. 169a, lines 29f; p. 173a, line 5f; p. 175c, lines 15, 瓶塔, 炭塔, 灰塔, are added to the 8 stūpas to make a total of 11 stūpas; 般泥洹經, T. 1, no. 6, p. 186c, lines 16f; p. 189a, lines 9f; p. 190c, lines 3f. The same as above, 11 stūpas; 大般涅槃經, T. 1, no. 7, p. 199c, lines 21f; p. 206a, lines 7f; p. 207c, lines 4f. 瓶塔, and 灰炭塔, are added to the 8 stūpas to make 10 stūpas, matching the number in the Pali. E. Waldschmidt, *Das Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*, Teil III, ss. 358, 406f, 446f. Kumbhastūpa and Aṅgārastūpa are discussed besides the 8 stūpas; 根本說一切有部毘奈耶雜事 37-39, T. 24, no. 1451, p. 394c, lines 19f; p. 400b, lines 10f; p. 402b, lines 24. Ten stūpas are mentioned, identical with the Sanskrit text.

250. E. Hultzsch, *Inscriptions of Aśoka* (Oxford, 1925), p. 165.

251. 大唐西域記 6, T. 51, no. 2087, p. 901b, lines 17-22.

252. *Ibid.*, 6, T. 51, p. 901b, lines 11-16.

faith ultimately developed into a religion that taught the eternal existence of the Buddha.

Mahāyāna Buddhism is a religion centered around the Buddha, regardless of whether he is Śākyamuni, Amitāyus, or Mahāvairocana Buddha. Nikāya Buddhism in contrast is centered around the saṅgha. This obvious fact is evident from the examination of the respective doctrines. Although present-day Southern Buddhism practices pagoda-worship, the doctrines and organization of the Theravāda are still saṅgha-centered. When we consider this fact, also, it is difficult to see how Mahāyāna Buddhism could have developed from Nikāya Buddhism; it is more natural to see the beginnings of the Mahāyāna in the faith and worship of the stūpas.

According to the legends²⁵³ of King Aśoka, he opened the eight stūpas erected at the time of Buddha's decease and, dividing the relics, erected 84,000 stūpas. Although this may be an exaggeration and therefore unreliable, it cannot be denied that Aśoka did erect many stūpas. Hsuan-tsang reports that he saw many stūpas built by Aśoka. The faith in stūpas must have made a huge advance with the conversion of Aśoka as the pivot point. Along with the popularity of stūpa worship among the laity, the Nikāya saṅgha probably was forced to adopt the practice in order to keep the followers tied to the saṅgha. At the same time the bhikṣu²⁵⁴ who felt the need to express adoration of the Buddha must have participated in the worship of stūpas. At any rate it is thought that stūpa worship was adopted by the saṅgha in the Nikāya period. The reason is that stūpa worship is not mentioned in the Pali vinaya, and in the other vinayas the account relating the reason for adopting this practice is varied. In the *Pacñavargika-v.*²⁵⁵ and the *Mahāsāṅghika-v.* it relates how when the Buddha passed the Toyikā 都夷婆羅門村 of Kosala, he said that the complete relics (ātmabhāva vighraha-stūpa) of the Buddha Kāśyapa were buried here and that he himself erected the stūpa in Kāśyapa's honor. With this incident as the turning point the Buddha permitted the bhikṣus to erect stūpas. Hsuan-tsang²⁵⁶ had heard of the stūpa erected in honor of Buddha Kāśyapa and speaks of it as having been built by Aśoka. The same story occurs in the *Caturvargika-v.*,²⁵⁷

253. 阿育王傳 1, T. 50, no. 2042, p. 102a, lines 8f; 阿育王經 1, T. 50, no. 2043, p. 135a, lines 3f; 雜阿含經 23, T. 2, no. 99, p. 165a, lines 13f.

254. Bühler, *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. II, pp. 91-92. Cunningham and Bühler collected and published the inscriptions at Sāñchī of the Maurya dynasty, and among the donors there are many bhikṣus and bhikṣuṇīs included. Prof. Nakamura examined their number and analyzed its significance. Nakamura, "マウリヤ王朝時代における佛教の社會的基盤", 宮本正尊教授還曆記念論文集, (Tokyo, 1954), p. 200.

255. 五分律 26, T. 22, no. 1421, p. 172a, lines 3f; 摩訶僧祇律 33, T. 22, no. 1425, p. 497b, lines 18f.

256. 大唐西域記 6, T. 51, no. 2087, p. 900c, lines 16, 21.

257. 四分律 52, T. 22, no. 1428, p. 958a, lines 25f; p. 956c, lines 1f.

but here it states that the Buddha permitted the erection of the stūpa when Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana had entered parinirvāṇa. This incident is also found in the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya-kṣudrakavastu*.²⁵⁸ The *Daśabhāṇavāra-v*.²⁵⁹ states that at Sudatta's request the Buddha permitted the worship of stūpas for his hair and nails.

As it is clear from the preceding, the vinayas disagree as to the reason for the origin of stūpa worship; therefore, it must have been after the Nikāya period that the saṅgha undertook stūpa worship. However, since the stūpa worship existed prior to this, we are forced to believe that the saṅgha had adopted this practice.

With the development of stūpa worship as an institution there gradually arose a distinction in rank and duties between the worshipper and the administrator of the stūpa. This meant that as the worshipper made his offerings, the duty of the caretaker or the administrator increased and soon turned him into a professional who devoted his whole time to his task. They must have taken care of the worshippers and in some cases acted as their guides. As means of increasing the number of worshippers, they must have also stressed the merits of stūpa worship and the greatness of the Buddha as a saviour. There is a deep appeal in preaching the saving powers of the Buddha to people who are unable to undertake the orthodox disciplines. When such a development occurred over a number of centuries, it was only natural that a new doctrine of salvation be developed. There is a great possibility that the original form of such Mahāyāna sūtras as the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka*, *Sukhāvatīvyūha*, and *Buddhāvataṃsaka* took shape in such a religious atmosphere. Stūpa worship itself cannot be called Mahāyāna Buddhism, but the first step in this direction was taken in the transformation from stūpa worship to bodhisattvayāna. The renunciant bodhisattvas who based their religious activities on the institution of the stūpa could concentrate on the disciplines and the creation of a new doctrine, supported by the offerings made to the stūpa and without worry for the material needs of life.

It is important to note that the stūpas developed a doctrine different from that of the Āgama. The Buddha spent a missionary life of over 45 years (or 50 years) throughout central India, and the great majority of the followers belonged to the laity. Thus, he left a teaching for the laity, as well as for the bhikṣus. In the extant Āgama there is very little teaching for the laity, because the transmitters of the Āgama were the renunciants who were concerned with the proper preservation of the teachings at the time when they were passed on

258. 根本説一切有部毘奈耶雜事 18, T. 24, no. 1451, p. 291a, line 17f.

259. 十誦律 56, T. 23, no. 1435, p. 415b, line 27f; 四分律 52, T. 22, no. 1428, p. 957b, line 10f; 摩訶僧祇律 29, T. 22, no. 1425, p. 461b, line 29f.

by memory and oral repetition. It was only natural that the teachings given to the laity should become gradually lost, for the householders' life did not permit them the time and the organization of the saṅgha to concentrate on the preservation of the teaching. But from the earliest beginnings the stūpa, administered by the lay followers, existed continuously, and they must have also kept the Buddha's teachings addressed to them. It is possible to conceive of such a teaching transmitted among the administrators of the stūpa and having an entirely different historical development from the doctrines of the Āgama. When we remember that the Mahāyāna texts begin with "evaṃ mayā śrutaṃ" and claim to be the direct words of the Buddha, we cannot neglect this possibility. The Mahāyāna sūtras as we have them today are not the words of the Buddha, but there must have been a reason for them to uniformly begin, "evaṃ mayā śrutaṃ." I believe that the institution of the stūpa provides an tentative answer to this question.

We must pursue a many-angled approach to the study of the rise of Mahāyāna Buddhism, and this paper which attempts to show the importance of stūpa worship is merely a preliminary chapter. This, however, I believe will help to place Mahāyāna Buddhism in a better perspective in the historical evolution of Buddhism.

(Translated from the Japanese by Taitetsu Unno)

Note: References to the texts in the Taisho Tripiṭaka will be made in the following manner (1) name of text, (2) 卷 number when necessary, (3) abbreviation T. for Taisho, followed by the volume number, (4) text number, and (5) page number.