

EARLY BUDDHIST OPENNESS AND MAHĀYĀNA BUDDHISM

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Introductory Remarks

The origin and growth of Mahāyāna Buddhism are not very clear at present. In this paper I will take up two questions, i.e., (1) why, how and in what favourable circumstances were Mahāyāna Scriptures (*sūtras*) created, and (2) when and by whom these Scriptures were created and supported.

The first question concerns the essential characteristics of Early Buddhism or enlightened Buddhists' ideal attitude towards others as well as towards themselves. On this question, above all, I think it is necessary to introduce one principle that is very fundamental in Buddhism, and that is, so to speak, 'the open system of thought', or in other words, 'openness' [of mind] to all. This open system of thought or the openness to all is, as opposed to a closed system of thought, free and open, friendly, compassionate, and sympathetic to all; not in anger but in an atmosphere of openness and goodwill without rejecting others, and without being intolerant and antagonistic to others. This Buddhist 'openness' can be traced to the sermon of egolessness and selflessness, that is to say, all of our existence is reduced to mental and physical phenomenal elements, each of which is said to be none of ego and none of mine. As we will see below in more detail, the enlightened one (Buddha) had been unveiled from the coverings of evil mental tendencies (cravings, etc.), and then a reality of existence (reason of depending origination) became open to Him.

On this problem I have an opinion that Buddhism is an open religion, which contrasts to a closed religion. Though these terms might remind you of Henri Bergson's terminology of *l'âme close* (closed soul) and *l'âme ouverte* (open soul) (Cf. *Les deux sources de la morale et de la religion*, Paris, 1932, pp. 33-34), my opinion differs from his philosophy.

Roughly speaking, most of the theistic religions seem to be closed religions, because worshippers and believers of the theistic religions may have the belief that they should, so to speak, be chosen or selected by God or some of gods. Some of the theistic religions are restricted to the local, tribal, racial, native, or national groups. For instance, most of the varieties of Japanese Shinto (神道) belong to the closed religion, because their members are almost limited to small groups of Japanese people mainly in Japan.

Monotheism is also a closed religion, because in any monotheism other monotheistic religions as well as other pagan and heretic polytheistic religions have not easily been tolerated. We know many wars between Christian and Islamic countries have often been repeated from the first Crusade (1096-99) up to the Afgan and Iraqi wars (2001-, 2003-respectively) in dispute now. We have heard the Christian president encourage his citizens and soldiers in his speeches quoting some passages of the Old Testament on one side, the antagonistic Islamic paramilitary leaders appeal Islamic people to fight the holy war (*jihad*) even committing suicide-bombing on the other.

On the contrary, Buddhism belongs to an open religion, though there are, of course, some exceptional cases. One exclusive principle can be recognized in the case of the Buddhist Order (*samgha*) of ordained celibate monks or celibate nuns. The Early Buddhist Order was an exclusively independent group which should not be controlled by any un-ordained secular persons, and it had its own religious ceremonies (e.g., *uposatha*) which secular persons could not participate in nor even observe.

In religious communities (Order, church, party) where this openness of mind had been working, strong movements to exclude and persecute members who held an objectionable heretical view or different doctrines would hardly flourish. For instance, we can hardly discover painful incidents such as the Inquisitions or witch trials, [though we know a few religious wars,] in the long history of Buddhism anywhere in the world.

This openness of Buddhism may have been predominant in the course of the compiling, editing, and handing down of the Buddhist Canon, because several different Canons of several sects have been handed down orally and then literally as can be seen up until the present day.

These problems will be considered in detail, but will be limited mainly to Early Buddhism in Part I.

Near the time when in every sect the Early Buddhist Canon had almost finally been compiled and edited, new kinds of Scriptures and religious literature began to be created. Some of them appear to be Mahāyāna Scriptures (*sūtras*).

In this way if the openness had been working from the time of Early Buddhism, we may suppose that Mahāyāna Buddhism began to be cherished and became developed in the sectarian Buddhist circles (*Nikāya, Hīnayāna*) (See Yamada [1957] [1959]). But some scholars have another opinion that Mahāyāna grew among religionist circles that did not belong to sectarian Buddhism and worshipped the Buddha's monumental tombs (pagoda, *thūpa*) (See Hirkawa [1963] [1989-90]). I do not agree with the latter opinion as shall be discussed in detail in part II.

Concerning this issue, we should settle the following questions: why archaeological evidence of 'Mahāyāna' is so scant and late in coming, and also whether the authors of Mahāyāna Scriptures were monks who belonged to the sectarian Orders (*saṅgha*), or lay devotees and non-sectarian religionists who did not belong to any Order. These problems shall be considered in Part II.

Part I: Openness as a Motive for the Development of Buddhism

First I will consider this problem from one of the characteristics of Early Buddhism, i.e., openness [of mind], which allows for free and liberal thinking and creation of new ideas and expressions. This tendency to openness gave birth to the compilation and editing of Early Buddhist Canon that contains not only the Buddha's sermons and dialogues between His disciples but also many dialogues among disciples, and discussions between the Buddha or His disciples and other religionists (*samaṇa-brāhmaṇas*). The Canon is enormous and not limited to the Buddha's words only; it even recorded other religionists' opinions too, though accompanied with criticism or commentary. Here, I think I can see the openness of Early Buddhism, or I can suppose that one of the principles of editing the Canon must have been an open system and not a closed system; because we can see various versions of the Canon which were handed down in several sects. This tendency might lead to the creation of new religious narrations and Scriptures (i.e., Mahāyāna Sūtras).

However, this openness seems not to be yet widely known, since the original Pāli words and phrases which hint at the meaning of openness [of mind], while many in number, have not been so clear for scholars to grasp and elucidate their exact meanings until now. So, in

this paper I will demonstrate with main references to the Pāli Canon how openness is important in Early Buddhism.

1. The Enlightened Ones' Openness of Mind as Is Described in the *Sutta-nipāta* (Sn)

We can quote from the Pāli Canon (especially the *Sutta-nipāta* = Sn, etc.) several verses and prose-passages that contain the words: *vivaṭa* (open to enlightenment, unveiled from cravings), and *vivatta-cchada* (unveiled from covering, i.e., mental defilements of greed, hatred and delusion), etc. Most of these words are attributes and epithets of the Buddha or the enlightened ones, and we can ascertain these exact meanings in precise detail according to the Pāli Commentaries (*Paramattha-jotikā* = Pj., etc.).

There is darkness for those [fools] who are covered (*nivuta*) [with ignorance]. There is blindness for those who do not see [the Doctrine of peaceful calmness (*nibbāna-dhamma*)]. And for those good ones [the calm peacefulness is] uncovered (*vivaṭa*, open), just like a light for those who can see it. Those who are not versed in the Doctrine like animals do not know [the calm peacefulness] that is near in their presence (*nivutānaṃ tamo hoti, andhakāro apassataṃ, satañ ca vivaṭaṃ hoti āloko passatāṃ iva, santike na vijānanti magā dhammass' akovidā*. Sn. 763. The words in brackets are supplied from the Commentary, i.e., *bālānaṃ avijjāya nivutānaṃ ... tamo hoti, yena nibbāna-dhammaṃ daṭṭhūṃ na sakkoti; satañ ca ... passatāṃ āloko va vivaṭaṃ hoti nibbānaṃ*. Pj. II. 510¹⁻⁵).

He is free from what is seen, or heard, or cognized among all the phenomenal elements [of human existence]. Who in this world can judge him who fares seeing thus, being uncovered (*vivaṭa*, open) [because he has removed the covering of cravings, etc.] (*sa sabba-dhammesu viseni-bhūto yaṃ kiñci diṭṭhaṃ va sutāṃ mutaṃ vā, tam eva-dassim vivaṭaṃ carantaṃ kenīdha lokasmiṃ vikappayeyya*. Sn.793. *tañhā-cchadanādi-vigamena vivaṭaṃ*. Pj. II. 528⁵).

He who is purified and victorious, unveiled (uncovered) from the covering [of greed, hatred and delusion](*vivatta-cchadda*), mastering over the Laws [of four truths], gone to the other shore [i.e., calm peacefulness] and firm [without cravings], well versed in the knowledge of the cessation of physical and mental latent forces, would fare rightly in the world (*saṃsuddha-jino vivatta-cchaddo dhammesu vasi pāragū anejo saṃkhāra-nirodha-ñāṇa-kusalo sammā so loke parivajjeyya*. Sn.372. *vivatta-cchaddo ti vivaṭa-rāga-dosa-moha-cchadano; dhammesu vasi ti catu-sacca-dhammesu vasi-ppatto ... pāragū ti pāraṃ vuccati nibbānaṃ taṃ gato, ... anejo ti apagata-tañhā-calano* Pj. II.365²⁷-366⁵).

Having realizing [what is to know], sympathizing sentient beings, you reveal all the knowledge and Teaching (Doctrine). All-seeing eye, unveiled from the covering (*vivatta-cchadda*), without stain [of greed, etc.], you shine in all the world (*sabbaṃ tuvaṃ ñāṇaṃ avecca dhammaṃ pakāsasi satte anukampamāno, vivatta-cchaddāsi samanta-cakkhu, virocasi vimalo sabba-loke*. Sn.378. *rāgādi-malābhāvena vimalo virocasi* Pj. II.368²¹).

According to the above quotations, the covering (*chadda, chadana*) means ignorance and craving, or mental defilements, i.e., greed, hatred and delusion. And the goal of Buddhism, i.e., the calm peacefulness (*nibbāna*) is uncovered (*vivaṭa*, open), just like a light, for him whose covering has been unveiled, uncovered and removed. This adjective 'unveiled (uncovered) from the covering (*vivatta-cchadda*)' is one of the epithets of the fully enlightened one (*sambuddha*), as is seen in the following.

[You are] a fully enlightened one unveiled from the covering (*vivatta-cchadda*), without being obstinate, possessed of ready wit (*vivatta-cchaddo sambuddho akhilo paṭibhānavā*. Sn. 1147cd).

If he [who has the thirty-two characteristic marks of a great man] goes forth from home to homelessness, he becomes an incomparable worthy one, fully enlightened, unveiled from the covering (*sace ca so pabbajati agārā anagāriyaṃ, vivatta-cchaddo sambuddho arahā bhavati anuttaro*. Sn. 1003).

And, as you know, if he [who has the thirty-two characteristic marks of a great man] goes forth from home to homelessness, he becomes a worthy one, rightly and fully enlightened, unveiled from the covering in the world (*sace kho panāgārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajati, arahāṃ hoti sammā-sambuddho loke vivatta-cchaddo*. Sn. p. 106¹⁸⁻²⁰).

According to Pj. II there are two interpretations of *vivatta-cchadda* (or *-cchaddan*) of the last quoted text as follows:

In the world of the defilement's blindness that is veiled (covered) with the coverings (veils) of greed, hatred, delusion, [self-]conceit, [wrong] view, ignorance, and wrong deed; having unveiled the covering, he becomes a light in all sides. In this way he is unveiled (uncovered) from the covering (*rāga-dosa-moha-māna-dīṭṭhi-avijjā-duccarita-cchadanehi paṭicchanne kiles, andhakāre loke taṃ chadanaṃ vivattetvā samantato sañjātāloko hutvā ṭhito ti vivatta-cchaddā*. Pj. II.450²⁴⁻²⁶).

Or he is free from the cycle [of transmigrations] and free from the veil. Thus he is free from the cycle [of transmigrations] and the veil. It is said that he is without the cycle [of transmigrations] and without the veil. Therefore he is a worthy one because of the absence of transmigration, and he is rightly and

fully enlightened because of the absence of covering (*atha vā vivatto ca vicchaddā cā ti vivatta-cchaddā, vaṭṭa-rahito chadana-rahito cā ti vuttaṃ hoti, tena arahaṃ vaṭṭābhāvena sammā-sambuddho chadanābhāvena*. Pj. II. 451¹⁻³).

The latter interpretation seems to be related to an important implication of *nibbāna*, i.e., cessation of transmigration (*samsāra*). But the former interpretation must be more important, because it reveals the characteristic of the fully enlightened one (*sambuddha*, Buddha), that is to say the Buddha (fully enlightened one) is called one who is unveiled (uncovered) from the covering [or one who has unveiled (uncovered) the covering] (*vivatta-cchadda*). This covering (*chadda*, *chadana*) means, according to the Pj, mental defilements of 'greed, hatred, delusion, [self-]conceit, [wrong] view, ignorance, and wrong deed.' On the other hand, the calm peacefulness (*nibbāna*) is uncovered (open) for him who is unveiled from the covering of greed, hatred and delusion, etc.

This covering is compared to the roof that covers a hut or house against heavy rain, etc. The parable of the roof of a hut is shown in the second discourse *Dhaniya-sutta* of the Sn very impressively. This discourse consists of a dialogue between a herdsman and the Buddha and begins as follows:

'I have boiled rice, I have milked [cows],' so said the herdsman Dhaniya, 'I am living together with my family near the banks of the [river] Mahī, my hut is covered, the fire is burning. Therefore, if you like, rain, O god!' (*Pakkodano duddha-khīro 'ham asmi iti Dhaniyo gopo, anuttre Mahiyā samāna-vāso, channā kuṭṭi, āhito gini, atha ce patthayasī, pavassa deva*. Sn. 18)

'I am free from anger, without being obstinate, so said the Lord, 'I am abiding for one night near the banks of the [river] Mahī, my hut is uncovered, the fire is extinguished. Therefore, if you like, rain, O god!' (*akkodhano vigata-khīlo 'ham asmi iti Bhagavā, anuttre Mahiy' eka-ratti-vāso, vivaṭṭa kuṭṭi, nibbuto gini, atha ce patthayasī, pavassa deva*. Sn.19)

The Buddha's first words: 'I am free from anger, without being obstinate' are related to the next phrase 'my hut is uncovered, the fire is extinguished.' To be free from anger means to be uncovered and open just as a hut is uncovered. Anger or any of the other mental defilements is compared to a roof covering a hut which is another expression of one's own personal existence and body. This point is

commented in the Pj. II as follows:

‘[My hut is] uncovered’ i.e., the covering roof is removed. My hut is my own existence (body). For my own existence (body) is called, according to such and such connotations, as a body, as a cave, as a corpus, as a heap, as a ship, as a chariot, as a flag, as an anthill, as a hut, and as a small hut. But here just as dependent on timber and others a hut is named as a house, as dependent on bones and others [this body] is called [as a body], so it is said a hut. ... As this hut is covered with sentient beings’ covering of craving, [self-]conceit, and wrong views, so the rain of mental defilements of greed and others showers heavily again and again, as it runs:

‘It rains heavily on what is covered: it does not rain heavily on what is uncovered. Therefore uncover what is covered, and then it does not rain so heavily on this’ (*vivaṭṭā ti apanīta-cchadanā; kuṭṭi ti atta-bhāvo, atta-bhāvo hi taṃ taṃ attha-vaṣaṃ paṭicca kāyo ti pi guhā ti pi deho ti pi sandeho ti pi nāvā ti pi ratho ti pi dhajo ti pi vammīko ti pi kuṭṭi ti pi kuṭṭikā ti pi vuccati, idha pana kaṭṭhādāni paṭicca geha-nāmikā kuṭṭi viya aṭṭhi-ādāni paṭicca saṃkhaṃ gatattā kuṭṭi ti vutto. ... sā kuṭṭi yena taṇhā-māna-dīṭṭhi-cchadanena sattānaṃ channattā punappuna rāgādi-kilesa-vassaṃ ativassati, yathāha: channam ativassati, vivaṭṭaṃ nātivassati, tasmā channaṃ vivaretha, evaṃ taṃ nātivassati* [Vin. II.240²⁴⁻⁵, Th. 447] ti. Pj. II.31^{4-9,19-22})

The fire is another expression of mental defilements and sufferings, and the extinguishment of fire is compared to the final goal of Buddhism, i.e., *nibbāna* (calm peacefulness, cessation of transmigration). The Pj. II says as follows.

‘[The fire is] extinguished’ i.e., cooled down. Fire (*gini*) is *aggi*. All this [human existence] is burning with the eleven kinds of fire, as it is said that ‘[all this] is burning with the fire of greed’ and so on. That fire is, in the case of the Lord, extinguished by pouring water of the noble way [to enlightenment] on the very root of the Bodhi-tree (*nibbuto ti upasanto ginī ti aggi, yena hi ekādasa-vidhena aginā sabbam idaṃ ādittaṃ yathāha: ‘ādittaṃ rāgagginā’ ti viṭṭhāro* (Vin. I.34²¹), so *aggi Bhagavato Bodhi-mūle yeva ariya-magga-salila-sekena nibbuto*. Pj. II.32⁷⁻¹⁰)

The eleven kinds of fire, etc. mentioned above refer to ‘the sermon on the burning’ (*āditta-pariyāya*) of the *Mahā-vagga* of Vin. I. There it begins with the phrase: ‘All [this human existence] is burning (*sabbam ... ādittaṃ*)’ (Vin. I.34¹⁶). All [this human existence] is comprised of the eye (*cakkhum*), colours (visible elements, *rūpā*), cognition based on the eye (*cakkhu-viññānaṃ*), contact of the eye

[with visible things] (*cakkhu-samphassa*), pleasant, painful, or non-painful and non-pleasant sensation which arises dependent on the contact of the eye [with visible elements] (*yad idaṃ cakkhu-samphassa-paccayā uppajjati vedayitaṃ sukhaṃ vā dukkhaṃ vā adukkham-asukkaṃ vā taṃ*); the ear (*sotaṃ*), sounds (*saddā*), ... ; the nose (*ghānaṃ*), odours (*gandhā*) ... ; the tongue (*jivhā*), tastes (*rasā*) ... ; the body (*kāyo*), tangible elements (*phoṭṭhabbā*) ... ; the mind (*mano*), thinkable elements (*dhammā*), cognition based on the mind (*mano-viññāṇaṃ*), contact of the mind [with thinkable elements] (*mano-samphassa*), pleasant, painful, or non-painful and non-pleasant sensation which arises dependent on the contact of the mind [with thinkable things] (*yad idaṃ mano-samphassa-paccayā uppajjati vedayitaṃ sukhaṃ vā dukkhaṃ vā adukkham-asukkaṃ vā taṃ*). Here we can see the doctrine of the 18 elements of perception and cognition (*dhātu*), which consists of 5 organs of sense (eye, ear, nose, tongue, and body) and the mind (*manas*), the 5 objects of sense (colour, sound, odour, taste, and the touchable) and the thinkable element (*dhamma*), and 6 kinds of perception and cognition (*viññāṇa*). All of these constitute our existence together with our experience and the experienced world. And it runs as follows:

With the fire of greed (*rāgagginā*), with the fire of hatred (*dosagginā*), with the fire of delusion (*mohagginā*), with [the fire of] birth (*jātiyā*), decrepitude (*jarāya*), death (*maraṇena*), griefs (*sokehi*), lamentations (*paridevehi*), sufferings (*dukkhehi*), low spirits (*domanassehi*), and troubles (*upāyāsehi*), [any of them] is burning (*ādittaṃ*)(Vin. I.34^{21-23, 29-31}).

2. More Instances That Impart the Enlightened Ones' Openness of Mind

The Pāli tradition mentions two kinds of the Buddha's first words, which hint at His openness of mind. One corresponds to two verses of the *Dhamma-pada* (= Dh. 153-154), the other denotes the first three verses of the *Mahā-vagga* of Vin. I. The former runs as follows:

I have run through the transmigration of many births looking for the maker of this house (craving who is the carpenter that makes my own existence, body) without attaining [the knowledge to see] him; painful is birth again and again (*aneka-jāti-saṃsāraṃ sandhāvissam anibbisam gaha-kāraṃ gavesanto dukkhā jāti punappunaṃ* Dh. 153. Cf. *ahaṃ imassa atta-bhāva-gehassa kāraṃ taṃhā-vaddhakiṃ gavesanto yena kāraṇena*

sakkā so daṭṭhum tassa bodhi-ñāṇass' atthāya ... imaṃ saṃsāra-vaṭṭaṃ anibbisaṃ taṃ ñāṇaṃ avindanto alabhanto yeva sandhāvissaṃ saṃsāriṃ aparâparam anuvicarin ti. DhA. III.128⁶⁻¹²).

O maker of the house (craving), you are seen; you will not make the house (my own existence, body) again. All your rafters (mental defilements) are broken, the roof of the house (ignorance) is destroyed; my mind, having attained to the state where mental and physical latent forces are exhausted (*nibbāna*, i.e., calm peacefulness and cessation of the transmigration), has attained to the extinction of the cravings (*gaha-kāraka diṭṭho 'si, puna gehaṃ na kāhisi, sabbā te phāsukā bhaggā, gaha-kūṭaṃ visamkhitam, visamkhāra-gataṃ cittaṃ taṇhānaṃ khayam ajjhagā. Dh. 154. Cf. puna imasmiṃ saṃsāra-vaṭṭe atta-bhāva-samkhātaṃ mama gehaṃ na kāhisi, sabbā te phāsukā ti tava sabbā avasesa-kilesa-phāsukā mayā bhaggā, gaha-kūṭaṃ visamkhitam ti imassa tayā katassa atta-bhāva-gehassa avijjā-samkhātaṃ kaṇṇika-maṇḍalaṃ pi mayā viddhamsitam, visamkhāra-gataṃ cittaṃ ti idāni mama cittaṃ visamkhāraṃ nibbānaṃ ārammaṇa-karaṇa-vasena gataṃ anupaviṭṭhaṃ. DhA. III.128¹⁹-129⁴).*

These two verses, according to the commentary, tell us that the Buddha, having discovered the craving which makes His own existence in transmigration, destroyed mental defilements together with ignorance, both of which His own existence is covered with just like the roof of a house. And when He is uncovered and unveiled from these coverings, the calm peacefulness and truths (*dhammā*, also phenomenal elements of our human existence) are open (manifest) to Him, as we see next.

The Buddha's other first words were uttered after dwelling upon dependent origination (*paṭicca-samuppāda*) throughout the night under the Bodhi-tree according to the beginning of the *Mahāvagga* of Vin. I. It runs as follows (the words in bracket are the author's opinion):

1 When the phenomenal elements [of human existence] become clear (open) to the ardent, meditating Brāhmaṇa, then all his doubts go away, since he realizes the Law (Doctrine, reality) which accompanies the causes [of human existence] (*yadā have pātubhavanti dhammā ātāpino jhāyato brāhmaṇassa, ath' assa kaṅkhā vapayanti sabbā yato pajānāti sahetu-dhammaṃ. Vin. I.2³⁻⁶, Ud. 1²⁰⁻²²).*

2 (abc = 1abc), since he has understood the cessation of conditions [of human existence] (... *yato khayam paccayānaṃ avedi Vin. I.2³⁻⁶, Ud. 2¹⁸⁻²⁰*) .

3 (ab = 1ab), he stands having defeated the Demon's army, just as the sun is illuminating the sky (... *vidhūpayam tiṭṭhati Māra-senaṃ suriyo 'va*

obhāsayam antalikkhan ti. Vin. I.2³⁻⁶, Ud. 3³⁻⁶).

In short, here this Brāhmaṇa is another expression of the Buddha, to whom the *dhammā*, i.e., phenomenal elements of sentient (human) existence become clear (open). Among these phenomenal elements (*dhammā*), He realizes the Law (*dhamma*, Doctrine, reality) which accompanies the causes [and conditions] of human existence and He knows the cessation of [the causes and] conditions of human existence as well. Thus He is said to have been enlightened. These phenomenal elements of human existence (*dhammā*) mean, in my opinion, the elements (*aṅga*) of the dependent origination as well as the 5 aggregates (colour *rūpa*, feeling *vedanā*, concept *saññā*, physical and mental latent forces *saṃkhārā*, cognition *viññāṇa*) and the 6 (or 12) spheres of perceptions and cognition. These phenomenal elements (*dhammā*) exist when the causes and conditions exist, which cease to exist when the causes and conditions cease to exist, and which are originated dependently (*paṭicca-samuppanna*), i.e., according to the Law of dependent origination (Murakami [2005]).

Next let me quote one stanza of four lines of the Dh which answers the question: What is the Buddhas' teaching? And it also hints at the removing of the covering of mental defilements. It runs thus:

'The non-commitment of all evil, the perfecting of goodness, the purifying of one's mind, this is the teaching of the Buddhas (the enlightened).' (*sabba-pāpassa akaraṇaṃ, kusalassa upasmpadā, sacitta-pariyodapanam, etaṃ buddhāna sāsanaṃ. Dh. 183*)

This stanza is very famous in the Buddhist sacred texts and transmitted variously (Murakami [1990: 294-299]). For instance, according to the Pāli Canon this is the second stanza of the past Buddha Vipassin's precepts (*pātimokkha*) (*Dīgha-nikāya* = D. II. p. 49²⁶⁻²⁷), while the Commentary on the Dh ascribes it to all the past six Buddhas (DhA. III. pp. 236-7). There are many versions of this stanza in Sanskrit, Chinese, and Tibetan. This stanza was translated into Chinese by Chih-ch'ien 支謙 and Wei-ch'i-nan 維祇難 in the *Fa-chü ching* 法句經 in the third century (222-253):

諸惡莫作 諸善奉行 自淨其意 是諸佛教。

And this stanza (in Chih-ch'ien's translation) is very famous in both Chinese and Japanese Buddhism and is called by Chih-i 智顛 (538-597) 'the precept stanza commonly preached by the past seven Buddhas' (七佛通誡偈 T. 33, No. 1716 妙法蓮華經玄義卷第二上, 695c²⁶). The first two lines express a very universal ethical norm, and as the several parallel passages are found in the Jaina Canons too (Kenji Watanabe [2004]), they are not solely particular to Buddhism. On the other hand, only the third line is very characteristic of Buddhism.

According to the DhA, 'the purifying of one's mind (*sacitta-pariyodapanam*)' is purification of one's own mind from the five coverings (hindrances) (*pañcahi nīvaraṇehi attano cittassa vodāpanam*. DhA. III. p. 237¹⁷⁻⁸). The five coverings mean five kinds of mental defilements (kilesa), which consist of desire for sensual enjoyment (*kāma-cchanda*), malevolence (*vyāpāda*, hatred, fury), sloth and torpor (*thīna-middha*, low-spiritedness and sleepiness), excitement and remorse (*uddhacca-kukkucca*, frivolity and regret), and doubt (*vicikicchā*).

Among them, sloth (low-spiritedness), torpor (sleepiness), and excitement (frivolity, high-spiritedness) are in many cases related to corporeal problems or sometimes mental disorder (illness) but not to be looked upon as merely spiritual problems, just as manic-depressive psychosis is regarded as a kind of disorder or illness of the mind. And even the desire for sensual enjoyment is related to corporeal conditions and age too. However in the context of Buddhist Canonical texts and their commentaries, they are all deemed as mental and spiritual evil which hinders monks in attaining liberation from mental defilements (*arahatta*, being a worthy one). Malevolence (hatred, fury, anger) is always deemed as evil in most Buddhist texts. Moreover, this explanation of the DhA indicates how to purify one's mind simply, but it hints at the very characteristic of Buddhism, i.e., the calmness or tranquillity of mind that should be free from hatred (malevolence, fury), mental excitement, etc., all of which are looked upon as the coverings or hindrances of mind (Murakami [2005a]).

I have shown a number of instances which imply the existence of openness in the Early Buddhist Canon. And I have considered the import of aforementioned openness. Moreover, there are several doctrines that tell the Buddha's and Buddhists' openness [of mind]. Especially the doctrines of the 5 aggregates (*khandha*) of the human

body and mind, and of the spheres (*āyatana*) and elements (*dhātu*) of perception and cognition, any of which is impermanent (*anicca*), painful, and selfless (ego-less, *anattan*) should reveal an openness of mind, that is to say, to have an open mind to every living being without having greed, hatred, and delusion, without self-consciousness. In this context, though it is difficult for everyone to have an open mind to others, especially toward one's opponents, no one can be allowed to have hatred, anger, nor even unpleasant feelings toward one's opponents or different opinions.

3. Possibilities to Create New Scriptures (Mahāyāna sūtras)

This openness of mind toward others could and should allow for different opinions. There could have been no Inquisition in Buddhism, according to my knowledge, though there have been many theoretical and philosophical controversies among Buddhist sects and schools. The Mahāyāna movement was, in my opinion, the creation of new religious literature which gradually became accepted as Scriptures (*sūtras*). The authors of this literature, who were possibly Buddhist monks (though not exclusively), could not be excluded from the monks' or nuns' communities (*saṃgha*, Order) of [Hīnayāna] Buddhism (Murakami [1998] [2000bc] [2004]). As concerns this problem, Prof. Shizuka Sasaki (佐々木閑) has discovered a new definition of the disruption (schism) in the Buddhist Order (*saṃgha-bheda*), which is very helpful to me.

According to Sasaki, under the new definition of the schism, as long as the rituals are performed together, those monks who disagree doctrinally may live together (Sasaki [1993: 167f.] [2000: 121f.]). He has shown that the definition of *saṃgha-bheda* (schism of Order) in the Vinaya-text changed about the time of king Aśoka in the 3rd century B.C. onwards, from *cakra-bheda* (schism according to doctrines) to *karma-bheda* (schism according to rituals) in most Buddhist sects (schools). Even the Sarvāstivādin school, which had not changed the definition in the Vinaya-text, later adopted the new definition in the arguments of the Abhidharma-texts. In this circumstance, I think, Buddhist monks who belonged to the traditional sects could create new (Mahāyāna) texts freely. Why could this change take place in Buddhism in India? In short, the Buddhists' openness must have been of basic import: this openness could hardly

dispel those who had different opinions.

Here I would like to point out the import of dialogues in Buddhism not only in the Early Canon but also in Mahāyāna sūtras. Most of the dialogues should reveal the Buddhist openness. In the Early Canon dialogues are very important, for many texts (*suttas*) consist of dialogues in which the Buddha talked with His disciples, other religionists (*samaṇa*, *brāhmaṇa*, *paribbājaka*), or even deities (*deva*, *devatā*, *yakkha*, *māra*). The importance of dialogues in the Early Canon has already been noticed by the translators. For instance, the *Dīgha-Nikāya* (D) was translated under the title: ‘*Dialogues of the Buddha*’ (by T.W. and C.A.F. Rhys David, 3 vols. [1899] [1910] [1921]) and the *Majjhima-Nikāya* was called ‘*Further Dialogues of the Buddha*’ (by Lord Charmers, 2 vols. [1926] [1927]). I will show here a table of the main dialogues and their topics found in each discourse (*sutta*) of the D. I

1. *Brahmajālasutta*: Dialogue between the Buddha and monks (*bhikkhus*) (= Buddha’s sermon) on moral disciplines (*sīla*) and 62 kinds of doctrines held by other religionists.
2. *Sāmaññaphalasutta*: Dialogue between Ajātasatthu, a king of Magadha, and the Buddha on six other teachers’ doctrines and Buddhist monks’ religious practices and their fruit.
3. *Ambaṭṭhasutta*: Dialogue between a proud young brāhmaṇa Ambaṭṭha, disciple of Pokkharasādi and the Buddha on men’s high and low ranks.
4. *Soṇadaṇḍasutta*: Dialogue between a rich, learned, old brāhmaṇa Soṇadaṇḍa and Gotama (Buddha) in the presence of other many brāhmaṇas on brāhmaṇas’ qualifications and men’s right conducts.
5. *Kūṭadantasutta*: Dialogue between a rich, learned and old brāhmaṇa Kūṭadanta and Gotama (Buddha) in the presence of other many brāhmaṇas on sacrificial rites.
6. *Mahālisutta*: Dialogue between Mahāli of Licchavi-clan and the Buddha on celestial voices.
7. *Jāliyasutta*: Dialogue between two homeless ascetics (Maṇḍissa, Jāliya) and the Buddha on a question whether the soul is body or not.
8. *Mahāsthānādasutta*: Dialogue between a naked ascetic Kassapa and the Buddha on asceticism.

9. *Poṭṭhapādasutta*: Dialogue between a homeless mendicant Poṭṭhapāda and the Buddha on the cessation of concept.
10. *Subhasutta*: Dialogue between a brāhmaṇa Subha and venerable Ānanda on Gotama's good teachings.
11. *Kevaddhasutta*: Dialogue between a lay devotee Kevaddha, son of rich householder and the Buddha on supernatural powers.
12. *Lohiccasutta*: Dialogue between a brāhmaṇa Lohicca and the Buddha on religionists' silence and three blameworthy teachers.
13. *Tevijjasutta*: Dialogue between a brāhmaṇa-student Vāseṭṭha and the Buddha on the way to a state of union with a god Brahmā.

From this table we can observe a variety of interlocutors and topics which were discussed in the dialogues. The Buddha was said to be open to any visitor and interlocutor and ready to talk about any topic in the dialogues, and then finally He talked of Buddhist monks' religious practices and their fruit in these aforementioned texts.

Many of Mahāyāna sūtras also mainly consist of dialogues, where we can see openness of mind. The *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* (= A, 道行般若經, 小品般若波羅蜜經), one of the oldest Mahāyāna sūtras, consists of many dialogues between the Lord (*bhagavat*) and His disciples (*Subhūti*, *Śāriputra*, *Ānanda*), between the Lord and a Bodhisattva Maitreya, between the Lord and Śakra: the king of gods, and between Subhūti and Śāriputra and so on. These dialogues tell us of the Buddhist openness of mind, because each of them is talking freely without prohibitions, refusals, or punishments. They are asking and answering, talking and discussing with each other in order to find and reveal truth. This sūtra also emphasizes how to cultivate the voidness (*śūnyatā*, emptiness) of the aggregates of the human body and mind (*skandha*) as well as of spheres of perception and cognition (*āyatana*), etc. Voidness is a development of the old doctrine of selflessness which taught the openness of mind as mentioned above. This trend of dialogues and the emphasis on voidness which are dominant in the A became repeated and developed diversely not only in the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* (P, 摩訶般若波羅蜜經, 大般若經第二會), *Aṣṭādaśasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* (Ad, 大般若經第三會), *Śata-sāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* (Ś, 大般若經初會), etc., but also in the *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa* (VKN, 維摩經), *Śūramgama-samādhi-sūtra* (Śg, 首楞嚴三昧經), and other Mahāyana sūtras.

Part II: The Origin of Mahāyāna Buddhism

1. Preliminary Remarks: Evidence of Mahāyāna Buddhism

It is supposed that in about the first century several new scriptures (*sūtras*) were gradually created and compiled into large volumes of Mahāyāna Scriptures (*sūtras*). For as early as at the latter half of the second century a number of Mahāyāna *sūtras* (*Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* 道行般若經, *Pratyutpanna-samādhi-sūtra* 般舟三昧經, *Akṣobhya-vyūha-sūtra* 阿閼佛國經, *Sukhāvati-vyūha* 阿彌陀三耶三佛薩樓佛檀過度人道經 = 大阿彌陀經, etc.) were for the first time translated into Chinese by Lokakṣema (支婁迦讖), in the capital city Loyang (洛陽) of the Han (漢) dynasty. And then almost half of Mahāyāna *sūtras* (except *Śatasāharikā Prajāpāramitā* and most of the esoteric Buddhist *sūtras*) were translated up to the beginning of the 6th century, when the first extant Buddhist bibliographical book (*Ch'u san-tsang chi-chi* 出三藏記集 T. 55, No. 2145) was written by Seng-yu (僧祐 445-518). Most of the Mahāyāna *sūtras* were translated by the early translators such as Lokakṣema (178-189), Chih-ch'ien (支謙 222-253), Dharma-rakṣa (竺法護 266-308), and Kumāra-jīva (鳩摩羅什 401-409), etc. These *sūtras* intended to extol and advocate the religion of the Mahāyāna (great vehicle), as contrasted and opposed to the inferior vehicle (*hīna-yāna*). In the great commentary on the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, i.e., *Ta-chih-tu lun* (大智度論 T. 25, No. 1509), which was traditionally ascribed to Nāgārjuna and translated by Kumārajīva (in 405), the Mahāyāna doctrines were strongly promoted and advocated as well as defended against opponents' criticism. From this we can suppose that the creative powers of the Mahāyāna movement had been very great before the fifth century at the latest.

On the other hand, the earliest inscriptions that record the existence of Mahāyāna Buddhists (*mahāyānika*, or *mahāyāna-yāyin*, etc.) can hardly be discovered up until the beginning of the 6th century in the Indian subcontinent. Some of the examples which Prof. Gregory Schopen [1987: 99] [2000: 20] refers to are as follows:

Guṇāighar Copperplate, Tripura (samvat 188 = 506 CE., *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. VI, 1930, pp. 45-60; Tsukamoto I: Guṇaighar 1):
mahāyānika-Śākya-bhikṣv-ācāryya-Śāntidevam ...

Jayarampur Plate of Gopachandra, Orissa (beginning of 6th century,

Epigraphia Indica, Vol. 39, pp. 141-148): *mahāyānikebhyo bhikṣu-saṃghāya ...*

Chapatol (Ilananhi) Inscription at the pedestal of an image of the Buddha Sakyamuni, Patan, Nepal (D.R. Regmi, *Inscription of Ancient Nepal*, New Delhi 1983, p. 88): *mahāyāna-pratipannārya-bhikṣuṇī-saṃgha-pratibhogāya ...*

Ajañtā (Tsukamoto I: Ajañtā 67c: inscriptions under the 7 past buddhas and future Buddha on Murals of Cave 22, 5th century onward): *Śakya-bhikṣor mahāyāna[-yāyinaḥ] ...*

We must admit that there is a great discrepancy between the Chinese record (translated Mahāyāna texts) and the Indian archaeological record concerning Mahāyāna Buddhism. And it is difficult to solve this puzzle. Prof. Gregory Schopen [2000: 20] holds the opinion that the Mahāyāna-movement was very weak and isolated in the distant outskirts regions of the Indian culture, and very few influences of the Mahāyāna-thought were discernible among Buddhist monks and lay-devotees until at the end of the fifth century.

My opinion is at the contrary, the Mahāyāna [thought] was prevailing even in the distant outskirts of the Indian culture and foreign countries including China up until the end of the 5th century. At the very beginning of the 5th century a Chinese pilgrim Fa-hsien (法顯) found Mahāyāna temples in Khotan (于闐) and Karghalik (子合) along the southern route of Chinese Turkestan, and in Pātaliputra (巴連弗邑, Patna), the capital city of Magadha. Also he reported that there were monks who studied both Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna in Kurram (羅夷), Bhida (*or* Dand khel 毘荼), and Sāṅkāśya (僧迦施). In the chapter of Mathurā (摩頭羅) he reported that the devotees of the Mahāyāna worshipped the Prajñāpāramitā, Mañjuśrī[-Bodhisattva], and Avalokiteśvara[-Bodhisattva].

The earliest archaeological evidence of the Mahāyāna is, to my knowledge, a wooden tablet discovered by Aurel Stein at Niya Site in Chinese Turkestan which tells us that a local governor (*cojhbosamasena*) bears the title 'advanced to the Mahāyāna (religion)' (*mahāyāna saṃprastita*) at the end of the 3rd century.¹

This evidence suggests that the countries along the southern route

¹ See A.M. Boyer, E.J. Rapson, and E. Senart: *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions Discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in Chinese Turkestan*, Part I-III, Oxford 1920-29, No. 390 (p. 140); John Brough, "Comments on third-century Shan-shan and the history of Buddhism," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies University of London*, Vol. XXVIII, 1965, pp. 582-612.

of Chinese Turkestan were centres of Mahāyāna Buddhism. About one hundred years later Fa-hsien (法顯) who traveled from China to India from 399 to 412 recorded that there were Mahāyāna temples in Khotan (于闐) and Karghalik (子合). Two and half centuries later Hūan-tsang (玄奘) who travelled to India from 629 to 645 also reported similarly, and that there were many more voluminous Mahāyāna sūtras in Karghalik (斫句迦國) than in any other Buddhist country. Karghalik (遮拘迦國) had been famous for plenty of Mahāyāna sūtras before Hūan-tsang, as was reported by Jñānagupta (闍那崛多 559-600 in China) and recorded by Fei Ch'ang-fang (費長房 597; T. 49, No. 2034, 103a) and Tao-hsüan (道宣 -669; T. 50, 2060, 434b). Seng-yu recorded that the original manuscripts of the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* and *Avatamsaka-sūtra* (or *Gaṇḍavyūha*) had been brought from Khotan (T. 55, No. 2145, 7b, 11c, 48a, 61a, 62bc).

Who created Mahāyāna sūtras? What kind of religious movement and what kind of mentality created these Scriptures? (1) Some scholars maintain that Mahāyāna Buddhism came from the Hīna-yāna Buddhist sects. They pursue the possibility of the development of a new (Mahāyāna) Buddhism among the monks of the traditional Orders (*bhikṣu-saṃgha*). For instance, Prof. Ryūjō Yamada (山田龍城 [1957]) questioned why the Mahāyāna did not develop in the Pāli Buddhism and inferred that the reason for this was because there was no development of the Abhidharma-philosophy there. He also (1959) tried to trace the Mahāyāna trend in the development of Buddhism from the Early Buddhist Canon to the Abhidharma-philosophy and Avadāna-literature. (2) On the other hand, others hold that it was independent of the Hīnayāna Buddhist sects. Prof. Akira Hirakawa (平川彰 [1963] [1989-90]) thought that Mahāyāna Buddhism arose among communities of lay-devotees (lay-bodhisattvas) who worshipped the stūpas and dwelt there without being satisfied with the traditional sectarian Buddhism. I myself do not agree with Hirakawa's opinion, because he could show no positive evidence that the communities of lay-bodhisattvas created Mahāyāna sūtras.

The stūpas that would be worshipped and managed by the lay-devotees could not be dwelling places, because they were only mounds or towers with no roof. Though in several Mahāyāna sūtras the Buddha's disciples (*śrāvakas*) are criticized, being not competent to hear them, or going away from the audience, Mahāyāna sūtras

never denied their becoming monks, but rather repeatedly recommended them to leave home and become monks or nuns. I can point out the monks' advantage to create new religious ideas and new scriptures (Mahāyāna sūtras), because they could have easy access to the traditional doctrines, disciplines and practices, which would be the basis or background for Mahāyāna (Murakami [1971a] [2004]).

Shizuka Sasaki (佐々木閑 [2000: 307ff.]) criticized Hirakawa's opinion and he pointed out the possibility that the Bodhisattvas who had become monks could belong to the Order of the traditional sect (*bhikṣu-saṃgha*), and both devotees of the Hīnayāna (*Śrāvaka-yāna*) and Mahāyāna could dwell together.

In this paper, I intend to trace the Mahāyāna thought in the Indian subcontinent from the beginning to about the end of the 5th century.

2. The early evidences of the Mahāyāna: Amitābha-Buddha and Mahāyāna sūtras

The earliest archaeological evidence of the existence of Mahāyāna Buddhism must be the inscription on the pedestal of the Kuṣān image of the Amitābha Buddha discovered at Govindnagar near Mathurā, Uttar Pradesh, India. It tells us that this image of Amithābha was set up for the worship of all the Buddhas by a merchant in the 28th year of the Huveṣka (= Huviṣka) and that through this root of merit all the living beings may obtain the supreme knowledge of the Buddha. Sugimoto (1999) pointed out that this is the earliest Buddha's image found in Mathurā district. Schopen [1987] transcribed this inscription as in the following, but I followed Nakamura (中村元 [1980]) except for the last word.

L.1 *mah(ā)rajasya huveṣkas[y]a (saṃ) 20 6* va 2 di 20 6

L.2 **etaye pu[r]vaye) sax-cakasya satthavahasya p[i]t[-x](n)[-x] balakattasya śreṣṭhasya**nāttikena

L.3 buddha(pi)la(na) putra(ṇa)+ nāgarakṣitena bhagavato buddhasya amitābhasya pratimā pratiṣṭh(ā)pi[tā] (...)

L.4 [Sa](rva)buddhapujāye** im(e)na k(u)śalam(ū)lena sar(va)(sat)[v]ā anut(t)ara(m) bud(dh)ajñānaṃ prā(pnva)ṃ(tu)#(...)

... mahārājasya huviṣkasya saṃ 20 [8] (Nakamura).

...etasya pūrvaya Satvakasya sārthavāhasya pautrasya Buddhakīrtasya śreṣṭhisya (Nakamura).

*Buddhabalena putreṇa (Nakamura).

**sarvabuddha-pūjāye (Nakamura).

[śrāvitaṃ] (Nakamura).

Translation: At the 26th day of the second month in the 28th year of the great king Huviṣka (or Huveṣka), at this occasion (*etasyāṃ pūrvāyāṃ*), by grandson of the Caravan-leader Satvaka, grandson of the merchant (*śreṣṭhin*) Balakīrta (or Balakatta), son of Buddhabala (or Buddhapīla): Nāgarakṣita, the Lord Buddha Amitābha's image was set up for the worship of all the Buddhas. Through this root of merit may all the living beings obtain the supreme knowledge of the Buddha.

The year 28 is that of the Kaṇiṣka era which must be 171 CE. according to R. Ghirshman's theory that Kaṇiṣka Era begins in 144 CE.²

This year is about the same as the period of Lokakṣema's translation of Mahāyāna sūtras. In the following centuries, we find images of Mahāyāna Buddhas and Bodhisattvas in the Indian subcontinent. Especially the images of Avalokiteśvara and the triad of a Buddha and two Bodhisattvas prove the existence of Mahāyāna thought (see Takada [1979]; Miyaji [1992] [1996] [2004a] [2004b]).

3. The Kuṣān Image of Amitābha Accompanied with Avalokiteśvara

There is one controversial Gandhāran relief sculpture of a sitting preaching Buddha with a Bodhisattva on His left (but His right is broken and missing), the pedestal of which a Kharoṣṭhī inscription is inscribed, now in the collection of the John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art in Sarasota, Florida. At first, John Brough [1982] read the inscription as:

budhamitrāsa olo'īṣpare danamukhe budhamitrāsa amridaha

and translated it:

The Avalokiteśvara of Buddhamitra, a sacred gift, the Amṛtābha of Buddhamitra ...

² Ghirshman [1945] [1946]. If Charoensriset [2007] is to be accepted, the Kaṇiṣka Era began from 134 CE., therefore this year 28 must be 161 CE. But this latest theory does not answer Takada's argument (Takada [1967: 167]). But Schopen reads the 26th year, and he thinks this year to be 104 CE. assuming that 78 CE. marked the beginning of the Kaṇiṣka Era. Nevertheless, I do not agree with him, because his calculation contradicts Chinese sources which reported on Kuṣān kings: Kujūla Kadphises and Wema Kadphises up to the year of 127 CE. without mentioning Kaṇiṣka (See Ghirshman [1945] and Takada [1967: 134-172]).

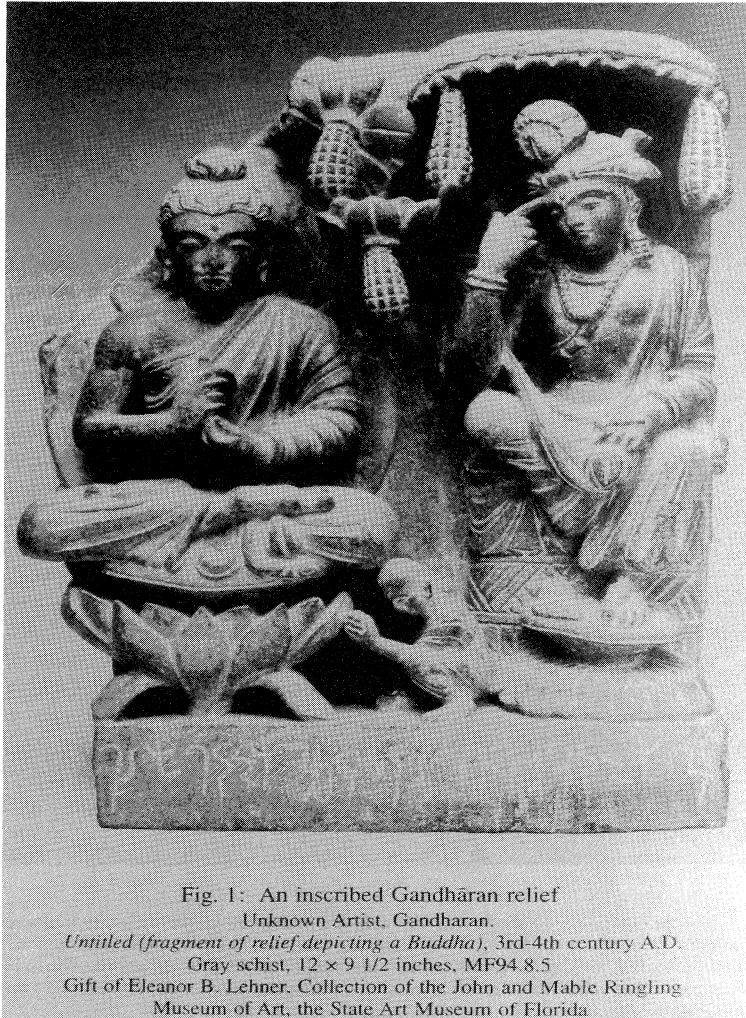


Fig. 1: An inscribed Gandhāran relief
Unknown Artist, Gandharan.
Untitled (fragment of relief depicting a Buddha), 3rd-4th century A.D.
Gray schist, 12 × 9 1/2 inches, MF94 8.5
Gift of Eleanor B. Lehner. Collection of the John and Mable Ringling
Museum of Art, the State Art Museum of Florida

Figure 1: An inscribed Gandhāran relief

JABS. Vol. 25 No. 1-2, 2002, p. 4.

(A sitting Buddha Amṛtābha, a kneeling donator Buddhmitra, and a thinking Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, from left to right, are presumably recognized by the author)

Brough supposed doubtlessly here that these figures are Amitābha [Buddha] and Avalokiteśvara [Bodhisattva], but Mahāsthānaprāpta [*sic.*] [Bodhisattva] has been missing. He identified the figure on the Buddha's left to be Avalokiteśvara, because of the lotus which he holds and the high crest on his headdress.

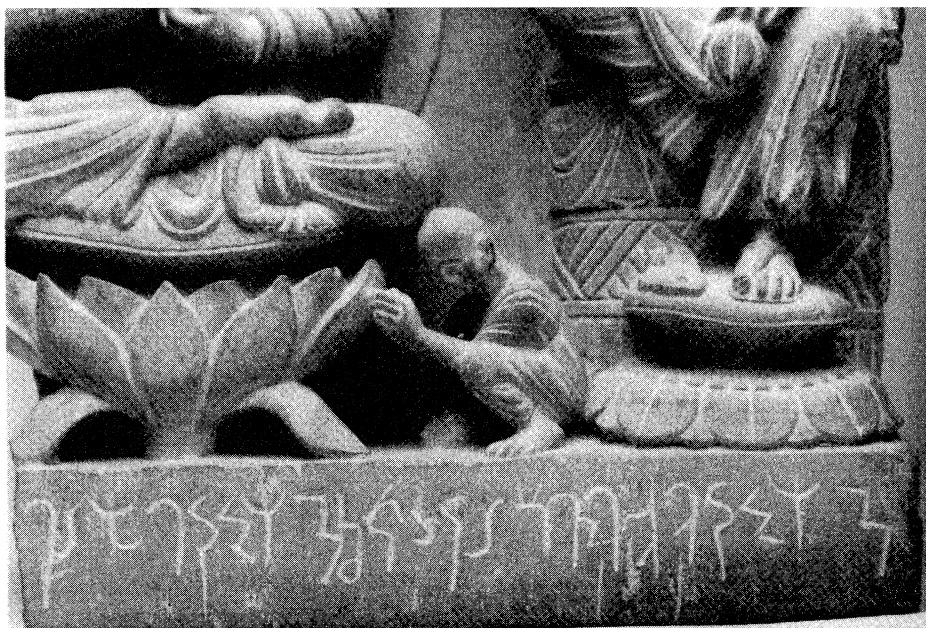


Figure 2: Detail of the inscription on the relief

JIABS. Vol. 25 No. 1-2, p. 7.

(We read from right to left:

□ahadirma asartimahdub ehkumanad erap̄siolo asartimahd□)

But Richard Salomon and Gregory Schopen [2002] criticised Brough's reading in detail and transliterated it newly thus:

dhamitrasa oloiṣpare danamukhe budhamitrasa amridae

and translated it:

'Gift of Dhamitra[sic] at Oloiṣpara[?], for the immortality [i.e., nirvāṇa] of Buddhamitra ...'

Salomon and Schopen are very careful and cautious in their translation and interpretation. They do not accept Brough's interpretation and supposition, and they refuse to see in this relief the figures of the Buddha Amitābha or the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara. Nevertheless, I doubt against their opinion. I am rather inclined to pursue the possibility of Brough's interpretation, because their interpretation would hardly make sense. Dhamitra seems to be no perfect name which should be read as Budhamitra or so (because we see the right

end damaged), and 'at Oloiśpara' is also doubtful as is shown by an attached question-mark [?]. They suppose that it is a certain toponym, but their explanation makes little sense, because they do not hint at any reason why such a toponym (at Oloiśpara [?]) is important in this sculpture. They read the last word as 'amridae.' That may be so, but it may also be possible to read *amridaha*, as Brough read.

I think that each of the sculptured images seems to correspond with each of the inscribed names just underneath the images. Following the order of these names which we see in Fig. 2, we can presumably recognize in Fig. 1, from left to right, a sitting Buddha Amṛtābha, a kneeling donator Buddhāmītra in smaller size, and a thinking Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara. Regarding this relation between an inscription (label) and images (scenes), we have some comparable inscribed reliefs of Bharhut. The inscriptions of these reliefs found above or below the corresponding sculptured scenes, consist of only a few words that point to names of persons (Buddhas), trees, etc. For example, underneath the sculptured Bodhi-trees we see the following inscriptions:

'Lord Sakya-muni's Bodhi-tree' (*bhagavato Sakamunino Bodhi*. Cunningham, 1879, Plates XXX.3, LIV, 28, p. 134)

'Lord Vessabhu's Bodhi-tree sāla' (*bhagavato Vesabhuno bodhi sālo*. Cunningham, 1879, Plates XXIX.2, LIII., Pillars S.E. 3, p. 132)

The name of Amritābha (or *Amṛtābha*) is not familiar to us, however, Oskar von Hinüber [1989] found and deciphered rock inscriptions in the Indus valley, one of which reads as follows:

namo amritā(bhya) tathāgatāya (p. 92, Text 99. This inscription is found at Thalpan near Chilas, Northern Pakistan) [Tsukamoto III. p. 169: Talpan 53].

Before this paper, Schopen [2002: 79f.] has already pointed out the peculiar thinking pose of the Gandhāran so-called Avalokiteśvara images whose fingers of the right hand are touching or supporting the right cheek or forehead as we see above. He thinks that this pose shows disappointment, anxiety and melancholy or the like and that these images are not the Bodhisattvas but portraits of rich men or princes who are very anxious and believe in the Buddha. But Prof. Miyaji [2004c] does not agree to Schopen's opinion and discusses rightly that these images represent the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara,

and he pointed out that there are about 15 examples of Gandhāran Avalokiteśvara with the same pose, but few examples of Avalokiteśvara of the same pose in Mathurā (Miyaji [1992: 245-280] [1996: 221f.] [2004c]). I agree with Prof. Miyaji, but I cannot follow Schopen's interpretation, because this looks like a very familiar type of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara (Kuan-yin 觀音, Kuan-tzu-tsai p'u-sa 觀自在菩薩). Brough conjectured the possibility of His existence in the missing part of the above-mentioned Gandhāra relief, however images or inscriptions of Bodhisattva Mahāsthāmaprāpta (勢至菩薩) in the Indian sub-continent are not known to me (Regarding this Tsukamoto I, II, III is silent).

4. Votive Formulas for Transferring One's Own Merit to All People for the Attainment of the Buddha's Supreme Knowledge

The above-mentioned inscription on the pedestal of Amitābha Buddha of Govindnagar tells us that through this root of merit all the living beings may obtain the supreme knowledge of the Buddha. The similar votive formulas were in the 4th century onwards inscribed by the Buddhist monks (*Śākya-bhikṣu*), who wished the transference of their own merit to all other people's attainment of the supreme knowledge of the Buddha, as Shizutani [1953] pointed out briefly and Schopen [1979] demonstrated more in detail. There are many examples but I quote only one as in the following.

Inscription on the pedestal of the image of Buddha, Mathurā (Tsukamoto: Mathurā137; Gupta Period): *deya-dharmo 'yaṃ Śākya-bhikṣor bhadamnta-Brahmasomasya yad atra puṇyaṃ tad bhavatu sarvva-satvānām anuttara-jñānavāptaye* (This [image of Buddha] is the religious gift of a Buddhist monk the venerable Brahmasoma. Whatever merit here is, may that be for the obtaining of the supreme knowledge [of Buddha] by all sentient beings.)

Schopen also pointed out and quoted similar votive formulas that are attached to the colophons of the manuscripts of Mahāyāna sūtras.³

We can add many more examples of votive formulas attached to the colophons of the manuscripts of Mahāyāna sūtras (*Aṣṭasāhasrikā*

³ Sita Ram Roy (ed.), *Suvarṇavarṇāvadāna*, Patna, 1971, p. 315; Akira Yuyama (ed.), *Prajñā-pāramitā-ratna-guṇa-saṃcaya-gāthā*, Cambridge, 1976, p. xxiv; Nalinaksha Dutt (ed.), *Gilgit Manuscripts* Vol. I, Srinagar, 1939, p. 32 (= *Bhaiṣajyaguruvaiḍūryaprabharājasūtra*), p. 136 (= *Ajitasenavyākaraṇa*), etc.

Prajñāpāramitā, *The Larger Sukhāvativyūha*, *Gaṇḍavyūha*, *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, *Jñānālokālaṃkāra*, *Kālacakratantra*, etc.) as well as a Mahāyāna treatise (*Śikṣāsamuccaya*) and an Abhidharma-text (*Abhidharma-Kośa-bhāṣya*).⁴

The colophon of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* (= VKN) reads as follows:

deya-dharmo 'yaṃ pravara-mahāyāna-yāyinaḥ bhikṣu-śīladhvajasya yad atra puṇyaṃ tad bhavatu ācāryōpādhyāya-mātā-pitr-pūrvaṅgamam kṛtvā sakala-satva-rāṣer anuttara-jñāna-phalāvāptaya iti. VKN p. 511 (This [manuscript] is the religious gift of monk Śīladhvaja. Whatever merit here is, may that be for the obtaining of the result of the supreme knowledge [of Buddha] by my teacher, preceptor, mother and father in the first place, up to by all the multitude of sentient beings.)

There are some varieties regarding these votive formulas. Anyhow, this wish to transfer one's own merit to all other people's attainment of the Buddha's supreme knowledge is one of the characteristics of Mahāyāna Buddhism as Shizutani and Schopen thought. However, Schopen [1979] finds difficulties in tracing the idea of these formulas in the literary sources, and he quotes a few passages from the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* (U. Wogihara, *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* p. 329⁴), *Bhadracari-praṇidhāna* vs. 12, etc.

We know the famous Chinese verse on the transference of merit to all the sentient beings' becoming Buddha in Kumārajīva's translation of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* (= SP). It runs as follows:

By transferring these merit to all, we, as well as all sentient beings, may attain supreme enlightenment together (願以此功德 普及於一切 我等與衆生 皆共成佛道 T. 9, No. 262, p. 24c²². Cf. *asmākam anukampārthaṃ paribhuñja vināyaka! vayaṃ ca sarva-sattvāś ca agrāṃ bodhiṃ sprśemahi*. "Out of grace to us, O Leader, make use of the [palace], so that we, as well as all sentient beings, may attain supreme enlightenment." SP. VII.57)

The idea of transference (*pariṇāmanā*) of one's own merit not only to one's own enlightenment but also to all sentient beings' welfare and their obtaining of supreme knowledge of Buddha is elaborated diffusely in the chapter of ten kinds of transference of merit (十迴向品)

⁴ See Introduction to *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* and *Jñānālokālaṃkāra*, ed. by the study group on Buddhist Sanskrit Literature, Taisho University, Tokyo, 2004, pp. 14-16.

in the large *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*.

Prof. L.S. Cousins [2003] proves rightly that the word ‘Śākya-bhikṣu’ has nothing to do with the Mahāyāna [communities] but he thinks wrongly that the above-mentioned votive formulas are not particular to Mahāyāna thought and wants to point out similar votive formulas in Pali literature but in vain (in more detail: Murakami [2004: 15-16]). I think that these formulas prove the existence of Mahāyāna thought but not Mahāyāna Orders (i.e., communities). He remarks rightly:

There is no reason to believe that any institutionally separate form of Mahāyāna existed in Kuṣāṇa or Gupta times. Every ‘Mahāyāna’ monk was certainly supposed to be ordained in one or more of the old Vinaya traditions. (p. 19)

5. Some Characteristics of Mahāyāna Sūtras

(i) Creating and Delivering New Scriptures (*sūtrāntābhinirhāra*, etc.)

Why and how were Mahāyāna-sūtras created? What kind of religious movement and what kind of mentality created these Scriptures? What was their creation called? Regarding these questions, I think, an important key word shall be ‘*abhinirhāra*’ (and also ‘*nirhāra*’: to extract and show, to create and deliver, creation, realization, etc.). A typical example is ‘*sūtrāntābhinirhāra*’ (能演諸經, 善說諸經, creating and delivering scriptures) which we find in the *Samādhirāja-sūtra* (= SR, N. Dutt ed., pp. 19¹², 639¹¹), or ‘*sūtrānta-nirhāra*’ (演說修多羅, 說經 creating and delivering scriptures, SR. pp. 228⁹, 281¹, 550⁶), etc. A prototype of ‘creating and delivering scriptures’ (*sūtrānta-nirhāra*, SR. p. 550⁶) is the Buddha’s sermon itself that is created and delivered by Him. And the Bodhisattvas who are endeavouring to attain to enlightenment (Buddhahood) should create and deliver (*abhinirhāra*, *nirhāra*) scriptures (*sūtrāntas*). At the time when they are going to create and deliver scriptures, they are said to be influenced by the Buddha’s mighty miraculous power (*buddha-anubhāva*).

This data is not very old (about 6th century, CE.), because the Gilgit manuscripts of the SR are said to belong to the 6th-7th century, and its complete Chinese translation was done in 557, though the oldest parts of this sūtra go back to the earliest partial Chinese translation in the early 3rd century and its last enlarged manuscripts

were written in the modern era. Of course we can point out earlier data of this kind. In the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra* (= SP, 法華經 Kern and Nanjio ed.) we find such phrases as Bodhisattvas' 'creating or producing verses' (*gāthā-abhinirhāra*, SP. p. 329⁹), the Tathāgata's 'delivering discourses of the teaching' (*dharmā-deśanā-abhinirhāra*, SP. pp. 186⁸, 317¹²), etc. In the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* (=A, P.L. Vaidya ed.), of which origin is traced back to the 2nd century, we find similarly phrased examples: 'delivering discourses' (*deśanā-abhinirhāra*, A. p. 173⁹) and 'creating the perfection of wisdom' (*prajñāpāramitāyā abhinirhāra*, A. p. 87¹⁶).

From the above examples we can understand that *abhinirhāra* means 'creating and delivering' [sentences of the scriptures]. This *abhinirhāra* (or sometimes *nirhāra*) means at first 'understanding and realizing' the phenomenal elements of sentient beings (*dharmas*), the truths or principles. And then *abhinirhāra* (or *nirhāra*) means 'creating and delivering' sentences, which reveal the truths or principles or the phenomenal elements of sentient beings that have been understood and realized in one's thought in one's deep speculations or meditations. According to these sūtras the Bodhisattvas should be engaged in creating and delivering scriptures. Though the words: *sūtrānta-abhinirhāra* and *sūtrānta-nirhāra* are not very popular except in the SR, I think that the creation or invention of the words and sentences of a new scripture was very popular from early Mahāyāna Buddhism. Because many uses of *abhinirhāra* and *abhinir/hṛ* hint at the creating and inventing of new words and sentences as seen above, these shall become a new scripture (*sūtra*).

In the *Daśabhūmika-sūtra* (= DBh, 華嚴經十地品, R. Kondo ed.) the 'creation' (*abhinirhāra*, creating, or realization, realizing) is used variously in the contexts of knowledge (or wisdom), concentrations, meditations, supernatural powers, and the earnest wishes or vows to become enlightened, and to do the Bodhisattva's practices. For example, creation of wisdom (*jñāna-abhinirhāra*, DBh. pp. 14¹³, 116¹³, 117^{6,7}, 136¹¹, 137^{2,3,4,6,7}), creation of concentration on graciousness, compassion and friendliness (*kṛpā-karuṇā-maitry-abhinirhāra*, DBh. p. 45¹⁻²); also creation of four infinite concentrations, i.e., on friendliness, compassion, joy, and equanimity (*catur-apramāṇa-abhinirhāra*, DBh. p. 114¹⁰). Creating (*abhinirhāra*) is related to the Bodhisattva's supernatural powers, which he might achieve through the religious practices. For example 'creating the appearance of great

magical powers' (*maharddhi-vikurvaṇa-abhinirhāra*, DBh. p. 85³), 'creating the supernatural power of knowledge' (*abhiññā-abhinirhāra*, DBh. p. 187¹⁵); 'formerly having created (i.e., made) an earnest wish (i.e., vow) to do the practices of the Bodhisattvas' (*pūrva-praṇidhāna-abhinirhāra*, DBh. pp. 5¹⁵-6¹, 71², 204³); 'creating the production of his mind to become enlightened' (*cittōtpāda-abhinirhāra*, DBh. p. 20^{3,4}), etc.

These last examples of **abhinirhāra** are akin to the use of the Pāli equivalent *abhinīhāra* (earnest wish or vow especially to become enlightened, Pj. II. pp. 47-48, 50-51 ad Sn.35). The earnest wishes or vows (*praṇidhi*, *praṇidhāna*) to do the Bodhisattvas' practices and to be enlightened are emphasized in the DBh and other chapters of the large *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*. It runs thus:

He (Bodhisattva) creates (i.e., makes) great wishes and vows, great resolutions and great **creations** of vows to do the practices of the Bodhisattvas (*mahā-praṇidhānāni mahā-vyavasāyān mahā-abhinirhārān abhinirharati*, DBh. p. 19⁴).

The *abhinirhāra* means 'to extract and show wisdom, knowledge, concentration, power, or wish out of one's own heart (or mind).' Or *abhinirhāra* means 'to create something by the power of one's own brain.' To create the sentences of the scriptures could also be possible by the mental powers, i.e., imagination, inspiration and fantasy, etc.

Also *abhinirvḥṛ* is used in the context of the Bodhisattva's 'creating and delivering' words of scriptures. His speech is supported and promoted by the four kinds of penetrating knowledge of eloquence, i.e., on the truth (*dharma*), the object of knowledge (*artha*), the language (*nirukti*), and the uninterrupted eloquence (*pratibhāna*, inspired speech, inspiration)(see DBh. p. 160¹⁵⁻⁶).

And thus the Bodhisattva who is in the ninth stage (*sādhumati bodhisattva-bhūmi*, 善慧地) delivers discourses on the Law freely and miraculously, having heard the Law in the presence of many Buddhas in all the ten directions. He emits a ray of light and lets even all the pores of his skin utter the sounds of discourses on the Law when he wishes (DBh. p. 163).

In the *Gaṇḍa-vyūha-sūtra* (= G., 華嚴經入法界品, P.L. Vaidya ed.) we find many similar uses of *abhinirhāra* (creation, realization) as in the DBh. Most of its uses are related to the earnest wishes or vows (*praṇidhāna*, *praṇidhi*) to do the Bodhisattva's duty and to be

enlightened in the G (pp. 4¹⁶, 67³, 367¹⁻²; 10³⁰, 11²⁷, 64¹, 74^{6,7,16-17}, 87⁴, 110¹¹; 100^{20,25}, 395²¹; 417⁷; 396⁵, 409²³⁻⁴; 368³¹⁻², 369⁵, 403¹⁸, 419⁷; 215²⁻⁴, 100²⁶⁻⁷, 204³⁰; 339²⁵⁻⁶, 340⁴, 341⁴, 361²², 363¹³; 100²⁹, 101^{1-2, 3-4, 5, 8}; 157²³, 160²⁸, 185³, 188¹⁷, 264²⁰⁻¹, 301⁷; 30⁴, 54⁶; 369⁴⁻⁵). The *abhinirhāra* and its cognate words are also concerned with the creating and delivering of scriptures (pp. 40¹¹⁻²; 53¹⁹; 54⁸; 329¹⁸; 100³⁰⁻¹; 101⁷). We see in the G such phrases as 'thinking of delivering a discourse on the Law' (*dharma-deśanām abhinirhṛtya*, G. p. 40¹¹), 'to deliver a discourse on the Law' (*dharma-cakra-pravartana-abhinirharanātā*, p. 54⁸), and 'to deliver a discourse on the Law' (*dharma-cakra-abhinirhāra*, p. 329¹⁸).

The verb *abhinir vhr* (to create, deliver) means to deliver a speech on the Law (DBh. p. 160¹⁶), and *abhinirhāra* means to create a knowledge of eloquence on declaring the Law (DBh. p. 162¹⁴). These passages suggest that the Bodhisattvas should create and deliver the scriptures.

The discourses of the DBh and the G, as well as other chapters of the large *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*, are mainly delivered by the Bodhisattvas who are inspired and influenced by the power of the Buddha (or Buddhas). The Buddha himself seldom speaks, only sitting in deep meditation or sometimes emitting a ray of light all over the universe, though His powers of influence over the Bodhisattvas and His disciples are unthinkable wonderful. The A begins with the dialogue of Śāriputra and Subhūti, the latter of whom confesses that he himself is inspired and influenced by the Buddha's power or might (*Buddhānubhāva*) when he is about to make a discourse on the perfection of wisdom (*prajñāpāramitā*).

Thus regarding the creation of these Mahāyāna scriptures, these authors were believed to be inspired and endowed with the Buddha's supernatural powers (*anubhāva*, *adhiṣṭhāna*). According to the DBh, the Bodhisattva hears the Law from the innumerable Buddhas in all the ten directions and then he delivers the Law freely. This can only be possible in the authors' imagination or meditation. The SR also tells us that the Bodhisattvas, who, with a quiet mind, are influenced (*adhiṣṭhita*) by many Buddhas, declare many millions and billions of scriptures (SR. p. 230⁷⁻⁹), and that this samādhi is the source of many millions and billions of scriptures (*sūtra-koṭī-nayutāna āgamah*, SR. pp. 234¹², 548⁶).

In this way, the authors of Mahāyāna scriptures were communicating in deep meditations and fertile imaginations with the Buddha (or Buddhas), His great disciples, popular gods and famous Bodhisattvas. All of them were solely within the authors' imagination, vision, or deep meditation, but in reality not present and existent there in those days. In order to have the inspirations (*pratibhāna*) or supernatural powers for them to create the sentences of scriptures; learning, training, and religious practices together with contemplation, meditation, and concentration (*dhyāna, samādhi*) are needed (more in detail see Murakami [1998] [2000b] [2000c]). These authors are in each context supposed to be Bodhisattvas, most of them are said to be homeless monks or those who wish to become homeless and wandering monks, although some are supposed to be lay devotee householders, or their sons.

(ii) Importance of mind power — *Vyūha* (arrangement by means of imagination, vow, or mental creation)

Though the word '*vyūha*' originally meant an arrangement of words (Pj. II. p. 554 ad Sn. 878) or a military array of four kinds of troops (A.p. 39¹⁶⁻¹⁹, *Kauṭīlyā Artha-śāstra* 10.5.13 ff.), in Mahāyāna Buddhism it means generally 'imaginary arrangement,' and it is frequently used in several Mahāyāna sūtras. Some titles of sūtras end in this word, such as *Sukhāvati-vyūha*, *Gaṇḍa-vyūha*, *Kāraṇḍa-vyūha*, etc. This *vyūha* has often been translated as 'arrangement,' 'marvelous, supernatural, magical arrangement,' 'supernatural manifestation,' etc. In Tibetan '*bkod-pa*' (orderly arrangement), '*rgyan*' (ornament, adornment) and in Chinese 莊嚴 (*chuang yen*, beautiful and marvellous arrangement) are its equivalents. But it is not recognized yet that *vyūha* is a key word for deciphering the import of the creation of Mahāyāna sūtras. Hence, I would like to point out here the importance of *vyūha* concerning the creation of Mahāyāna sūtras as well as the motives behind their creation.

In most of the cases in Mahāyāna sūtras, *vyūha* implies 'arrangement' by means of the mind's power, i.e., imagination, earnest desire, wish, vow, or in other words, mental creation, which is taken to be achieved by magical powers of the Buddha[s] or Bodhisattva[s], often by their power of concentration.

In the first place, it is used for a name of meditational concentration or

deliverance. For example: 'A concentration by the name of **arrangement** of lotus-flowers' (*padma-vyūho nāma samādhiḥ*, A. p. 243²), 'a concentration by the name of **arrangement** of power' (*bala-vyūho nāma samādhiḥ*, P. p. 199⁷⁻⁸), 'a concentration by the name of **arrangement** of ornaments on the place of enlightenment' (*bodhi-maṇḍālaṃkāra-vyūhaś ca nāma samādhir*, DBh. p. 179¹⁻²).

The G consists of a story of a merchant's son Sudhana (善財童子) who was making a long journey to see and learn from 53 true friends in order to seek the right way to enlightenment. Many of these friends (teachers) disclosed to him concentrations that consist of *vyūha* (marvellous arrangement).

'I (a merchant Mukṭaka) come into and come out of Tathāgata's deliverance, i.e., unhindered **marvellous arrangement**' (*asaṅga-vyūhaṃ nāma tathāgata-vimokṣam āyūhāmi niryūhāmi*, G. pp. 65²², 67¹¹).

'There is perfection of wisdom, i.e., achieved by indifference of the all-looking eye, and its illumination is this concentration, i.e., **arrangement** of all-facing purification' (*asti ... samanta-caḥsur-upekṣā-pratilabdhā nāma prajñāpāramitā tad-āloka eṣa samādhiḥ samanta-mukha-viśuddhi-vyūho nāma*, G. p. 77¹³).

'O son of a noble family, look at the **marvellous arrangements** of my house' (*prekṣasva kulaputra mama bhavana-vyūhān*, G. p. 96²⁷).

'I (a girl Maitrāyaṇī) know only the **arrangement** of all-round memories of the discourse on entrance to perfection of wisdom' (*samanta-smṛti-vyūhaṃ prajñāpāramitā-mukha-parivartam jānāmi*, G. p. 98⁷).

'I (Queen Māyā) have attained Bodhisattva's deliverance, i.e., **arrangement** concerning the magical illusions about knowledge of His great vow' (*mahā-praṇidhāna-jñāna-māyā-gata-vyūhasya bodhisattva-vimokṣasya lābhini*, G. p. 345²³⁻²⁴).

At last Sudhana saw Bodhisattva Maitreya (彌勒菩薩), whom he asked how to learn the Bodhisattva's practice. Maitreya let him see Him do all the deeds and practices of the Bodhisattva there. He saw all the magical appearances of marvellous **arrangements** (*sarva-vyūha-vikurvītāni*) under the influence of Maitreya's superintending power (*adhiṣṭhāna*, G. p. 416).

Bodhisattvas are often under the influential power of the Buddha in their meditational concentration, not only in these above-mentioned sūtras but also in the SP (法華經). In the SP, a Bodhisattva who lived very far away in the other Buddha's world expressed before Him his wish to visit Śākya-muni in the Sāhā-world:

O lord, I will go to the Sahā-world by Tathāgata's miraculous protecting (superintending) power, Tathāgata's employment of His might, Tathāgata's supernatural power, Tathāgata's **arrangement**, and Tathāgata's excellent knowledge (*gamiṣyāmy ahaṃ bhagavaṃs tāṃ sahāṃ loka-dhātuṃ tathāgatā-dhiṣṭhānena tathāgata-balādhānena tathāgata-vikrīḍitena tathāgata-vyūhena tathāgatābhyudgata-jñānena*, SP. p. 426⁶⁻⁷)

This arrangement (*vyūha*) must be a kind of supernatural power of the Buddha and it is very influential on this Bodhisattva as seen above. After uttering these words, he entered into concentration without moving from his seat and came to this Sahā-world to the presence of Lord Śākya-muni.

The DBh has many examples of *vyūha*, which convey a Bodhisattva's mysterious supernatural power to adorn and purify a Buddha-land. The DBh elucidates the Bodhisattva's ten stages (*bhūmi*) leading to enlightenment. In the first stage Bodhisattva makes ten vows or earnest wishes (*praṇidhāna*) in which he vows to adorn and purify a Buddha-land with ornaments of **arrangements** (*vyūha*) of illuminations. In the tenth stage (*Dharma-meghā bhūmiḥ*, 法雲地) this mysterious supernatural power or its effect, i.e., marvelous **arrangement** (*vyūha*) is very often and extensively displayed by Bodhisattva's meditational concentration. In the first stage (*Pramuditā nāma prathamā bhūmiḥ*, 歡喜地, 極喜地) Bodhisattva's seventh vow is to adorn and purify the Buddha-lands (DBh. p. 20¹⁴).

In each of the ten stages, Bodhisattvas who have their special vows make miracles together with marvelous arrangements of their dwellings and environments (DBh. pp. 30⁷, 47⁵, 61¹⁷, 74¹³, 88³, 106⁸, 126¹³, 147¹⁶-148¹, 167¹⁴, 200⁶).

In the seventh stage a Bodhisattva attains a creation of marvelous arrangement and ornament of his dwelling and environment (DBh. pp. 123¹⁵-124²).

When a Bodhisattva attains the tenth stage many meditational concentrations come forth, then many miraculous appearances happen. Various **marvelous arrangements** (*vyūha*) of jewels, etc. come forth by the power of his meditational concentration (DBh. p. 182⁴⁻⁵).

Bodhisattva Vajragarbha, who expounds most of the DBh, entered into concentration, i.e., 'manifestation of all Buddha-lands in the own nature of one's body' (*sarva-buddha-kṣetra-kāya-svabhāva-saṃdarśana*). When all the assembly knew that they themselves were contained in Bodhisattva Vajragarbha's body, the Buddha-land was

created there. That was very beautiful and wonderful with all **marvelous arrangements** (*vyūha*) of ornaments, etc. (DBh. p. 194¹⁴).

As we have seen above, Buddha's meditational concentration is believed to manifest a **marvelous arrangement** (*vyūha*) or creation of all the environments including palaces adorned with many ornaments and jewels (G. pp. 4³⁰-5¹). Bodhisattva who has attained the highest achievement can manifest the marvelous arrangement to adorn and purify Buddha-lands (DBh, 10D, E, I, J). Lord's might or influence lets bodhisattvas of the other Buddha-lands and gods of heaven and earth come and worship Him with marvelous arrangements of offerings and ornaments (LV, pp. 277, 289-299). In these sūtras, *vyūha* seldom points out any real arrangements of ornaments, treasures, gems, or palaces, gardens, etc. which are made and built by our human labours. Our individual labours are too poor and small to arrange such magnificent ornaments of the palaces, and so far as to arrange and purify the whole Buddha-land. It is a very ideal deed for a Bodhisattva to bring forth the creation, purification, and marvelous arrangement [of good qualities] of Buddha's land, or his own Buddha-land when he becomes Buddha. This idea is traced in the SP (pp. 101¹⁻², 117², 219³⁻⁵, 220²⁻⁵) and in the *Larger Sukhāvati-vyūha* (= SK).

In the SK (*Larger Sukhāvati-vyūha*, 無量壽經) Bodhisattva Dharmākara (法藏) declared his wish to attain supreme and perfect enlightenment before the presence of his teacher, i.e., Lord Lokeśvara-rāja Buddha (世自在王佛), and he entreated Him to show the **marvelous arrangements** (*vyūha*) of good qualities in Buddha-lands. In this way he learned, pondered for a long time and conceived his ideal arrangement of his own Buddha-land, then he proclaimed his vows (*prañidhāna*, *prañidhi*) to create (arrange) his own ideal Buddha-land before the presence of Lord Lokeśvara-rāja. After having fulfilled these vows, this Bodhisattva later became Buddha Amitābha (or Amitāyus) in His own Buddha-land Sukhāvati. The marvelous arrangement of the Buddha-land is the very theme of this SK.

The *Sukhāvati-vyūha* (SK) means the imaginary arrangement and purification of the Buddha's Land *Sukhāvati* that means the land of comfort and happiness. That is due to the earnest wish and vow (*prañidhāna*) of the former Bodhisattva Dharmākara, who became Amitābha-(Amitāyus-)Buddha after having fulfilled this vow. The Smaller *Sukhāvati-vyūha* (= sk, *bde-ba-can-gyi bkod-pa*) speaks of the beautiful

and marvelous scenes of Amitāyus Buddha's Pure Land Sukhāvati and reiterates that this Buddha-land is adorned with such beautiful marvelous arrangements of good qualities of the Buddha-land (*buddha-kṣetra-guṇa-vyūha*).

The *Gaṇḍa-vyūha* (G) means the imaginary arrangement and purification of the existences of the world (*gaṇḍa*, five existences of the transmigrating sentient beings), which seems to indicate the Buddhist way to enlightenment that the young Sudhana had learnt from 53 true friends (*kalyāṇa-mitra*).

The [*Avalokiteśvara-guṇa*]-*Kāraṇḍa-vyūha* means the imaginary arrangement and purification of the jewel casket [full] of the virtues of the Bobhisattva Avalokiteśvara, who relieves all the creatures from miseries and misfortunes in all the worlds.

We see often 'the **marvellous arrangements** of good qualities of Buddha-lands' (*buddha-kṣetra-guṇa-vyūha*, Sp. 219⁴, 220⁵, 221¹⁰, SK. 182, sk. 93¹², 94^{7, 16}, 95^{4, 14}, 96³) or 'the **marvelous arrangement** and adornment of good qualities in the Buddha-land' (*buddha-kṣetra-guṇālamkāra*~, SK. 179, 186, 193, 199, 210, 416, 968, 1403), etc. These expressions denote in short a Pure Buddha-land that Kumārajīva translated *buddha-kṣetra-guṇa-vyūha* (marvellous arrangement of Buddha-lands) as 'purification of Buddha-lands' (淨佛國土, this is also liable to be understood as 'the Pure Buddha-land') in his translation of the SP (T. 9. 16b¹⁷, 18b²⁶). The word *vyūha* seems to hint at the Buddhist earnest wish and vow to arrange, construct, and purify the Buddha-land, i.e., a kind of utopia, which seems to be a symbolical manifestation of Buddha's enlightenment, because the imaginary arrangements of the Buddha-land are nothing but an effect of the Lord's enlightenment. It is told traditionally that the pure Buddha-land is beyond the three realms of transmigrating sentient beings according to the *Ta-chih-tu lun* (大智度論 T. 25, No. 1509) which is ascribed to Nāgārjuna and translated by Kumārajīva in the early 5th century, as it runs in the following:

[The pure Buddha-land] is not named as the Desire realm, because there is no desire there, nor is named as the Formless realm, because there is colour and form there. Because of the causes and conditions of great Bodhisattvas' merits and pure deeds, they attain other pure lands which are beyond the three realms of transmigration. (T. 25, 340a¹⁹⁻²¹)

There is a pure Buddha-land which is beyond the three realms of transmigration, and where there is no name of mental defilements. (T. 25, 714a¹²)

Moreover the pure Buddha-land is said to appear from the root of goodness of the great Compassionate Buddha in the *Ching-t'u lun* (淨土論 or 往生論, T. 26, No. 1524) which is ascribed to Vasubandhu and translated by Bodhiruci in the early 6th century, it runs as follows:

We see the scene of the pure [Buddha-]land which is beyond the three realms of transmigration, ultimately vast as the sky, large and spacious without end, and which appear from the transmudane root of goodness of great Compassionate Buddha who has come the right way [to enlightenment]. (T. 26, 230c²¹⁻³)

To sum up the word *vyūha* hints at the Buddhists' (i.e., Bodhisattvas') earnest wish and the vow to arrange and purify the Buddha's world, i.e., a kind of utopia, which seems to be a symbolical manifestation of the Buddha's enlightenment (in more detail Murakami [2003] [2004a] [2006]).

These Bodhisattvas consist of monks and lay devotees, most of them are said to wish to become monks in order to do the practices to arrange and purify their own Buddhlands, i.e., finally to become Buddha.

6. Concluding Remarks: Mahāyāna Buddhism Was not Independent from the Traditional Orders (*Samgha* of the *Nikāya* Buddhism)

According to the above-mentioned data, interpretations and arguments, I think, I can arrive at a conclusion that some of the traditionally ordained monks may be authors of these sūtras, and though they were not so many in number, they must have been very productive as to create scriptures several times as voluminous as all the Pali Canonical texts within a few centuries. But these monks who recited Mahāyāna sūtras and worshipped Bodhisattvas were not independent from the traditional Orders. This conclusion is supported also by a famous report written by I-tsing (義淨) who travelled to India during 671-695 CE. He reported that in India and Southeast Asia there are four Buddhist sects (*nikāya*), i.e., Mahāsāṃghika, Sthavirīya (*Therīya*, or *Theravāda*), Mūlasarvāstivādin, and Saṃmitīya, and that the distinction between the Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna is not settled. He remarked:

Those [monks] who worship [images of] Bodhisattvas and recite Mahāyāna sūtras are called [devotees of the] Mahāyāna; and those who do not these are [devotees of the] Hīnayāna. What is called Mahāyāna is nothing but two

kinds: the Mādhyamika on the one hand, and the Yogācāra on the other hand. The [doctrine of the] Mādhyamika is that [the real is] conventionally existent but truly empty, substantially false like an illusion. The [doctrine of the] Yogācāra is that the external [world] does not exist, the internal exists, every phenomenon is consciousness only. (T. 54, No. 2125, 205c¹¹⁻¹⁵)

He reported on the monks' daily life, religious practices, rites and services, but never wrote about independent Mahāyāna communities. We cannot deny his report.

In this way I can sum up that the authors of Mahāyāna scriptures, just like the authors of later Mahāyāna treatises, were mainly ordained Buddhist monks, who were supported by lay devotees in the Buddhist world.

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