

THE HISTORICO-SOCIAL BEARINGS OF THE „MIDDLE WAY”

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I. First Stage Aryan Pioneering and the Cradle of Buddhist Art

Seen culturally and historically, an expansion process of three stages can be determined in the pioneering and colonialization of India by the Aryan people.

The first stage is the pioneering period at the beginning of the Aryan invasion into the regions around the five rivers (Punjab) along the upper reaches of the Indus River. This region is contiguous with Central Asia, though the Kashmīr Plateau with its purple mountains and crystal waters along the upper streams of the Indus River, and through Gandhāra, where one finds Taxila (Takshaśilā), a center of culture as well as commerce. Gandhāra, in particular, had always been the passageway for hostile invaders, but it also came to have a free and international being for promoting the exchange, and the co-existence, of politics, economics and culture linking Central Asia and India.

So, in the first stage, the representative city symbolizing the historico-sociality of Ancient India, was Taxila. As examples of the pioneering culture of the Aryans, we have the hymns of the nomadic peoples who celebrated heaven, earth, and Mother Nature; and we can also learn a great deal from the excavated culture of the pre-Aryan areas of the Mohenjo-Dāro and Harappā. Again, consecutive to this stage, there follows the Buddhist culture of the age of Kanishka, which saw the building of a great empire passing through India and Central Asia and centering about Gandhāra. Taxila, which up to that time had been the capital and a famous center of learning, also came under Kanishka's rule, and in Puruṣapura (Peshāwār) which he later made his capital, and where carved

inscriptions of this famous "Great King, Supreme King of Kings, Son of the Gods, the Kushāna,"⁽¹⁾ indicate the majesty of the oriental king, we can still find today stone-images of his sovereignty which more than substantiate this fact. There seems to have been nothing to equal Gandhāra during the reign of Kanishka, not even the culture of the Greek colonies, the thought of the Iranianians, nor the period which saw the co-existence and the fusion of Buddhism with Central Asian culture.⁽²⁾ By the Graeco-Gandhāra-Buddhist Art which was there produced and developed, new fields in Buddhism were opened; and with the vigorous development of Mahāyāna Buddhism beginning with the various countries of Central Asia, Buddhism continued its always eastwardly journey to China, Korea, and Japan in succession, becoming indigenous to Asia and fulfilling the promise of its fountainhead and source. Fa Hsien, who set out from Ch'ang-an in 399, paid his respects to the statue of the Maitreya Bodhisattva in Darel of Northern Kashmir (in 402), and recorded in his "Accounts of the Buddhist Country" (佛國記) that neither Chang Ch'ien, who was dispatched by the Yüeh Chin and the Wu Sun and who traveled along the routes of the western part of the Early Han, nor Kan-Ying of the Later Han who was dispatched to distant Rome, had come to this land, and he also notes "the old men of the land have handed down among themselves that after the statue of the Maitreya Bodhisattva was erected, the monks of India then brought the sūtras and vinaya, and men finally crossed the river. The erection of the statue was about 300 years after Buddha entered Nirvāṇa, and can be calculated back to the period of King P'ing of the Chou People. Because of this, it is said that the propagation of the Great Teaching (Mahāyāna) began from this statue." And Hsuan Tsang recorded (大唐西域記, 卷三) that the statue of the Maitreya Bodhisattva was a work of the Arhat Madhyāntika, and "after this statue came into existence, the transmission of the doc-

(1) *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, *Ancient India*, Chap. XXII., "The Scythian and Parthian Invaders," by E. J. Rapson, p. 582, Cambridge, 1922.

(2) Sir Charles Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, Vol. III, p. 213.

trine has been always towards the East.”. This account later became the canonical authority for Chinese records, and the famous expression of “The Great Doctrine moving gradually to the east,” and the Buddha’s Doctrine moves in a eastwardly direction,” were also thought up. The excavations and research in recent times of Dr. Guiseppe Tucci, published in *East and West, Series of Oriental Rome*, and other IsMEO publications, have contributed greatly to the understanding of the original Buddhist art of those days.

Such a “history of the propagation of Mahāyāna Buddhism,” together with the “history of the promulgation of Early Buddhism,” which further expanded throughout Burma, Tailand, Malaysia, Indonesia, Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam, has a very great significance from the viewpoint of the history of world cultural exchange in a new sense. Its essence is the history of the Asian expansion of Indian culture with Buddhism at its core, and it may be said that its relative importance is no greater nor less than that compared to the history of the Aryan pioneering and colonization.

II. The Aryan Middle Kingdom and the “Middle Way”: Prayāga, the Symbol of the Middle Kingdom

The second stage is the period which saw the construction of the “Aryan Middle Kingdom” (*Madhyadeśa* 中國) at Kuru-Pañchāla. In the *Laws of Manu* (*Mānavadharma-śāstra*, II. 21-22), this Middle Kingdom is considered to be the territory limited to the Himavat (Himālaya) on the north, the Vindhya Mountains of the south, Vinasana on the west, and Prayāga (Allāhābād) on the east. And according to the *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa* (I. 4. 14-16), the god of the sacred fire, Agni-vaiśvānara, started out towards the east from the Middle Kingdom, but ultimately did not cross the Sadānīrā River; later, this land was gradually opened and Aryanized and was called Videha. In more readily understandable terms, going east from the region where the Sarasvatī River, regarded as very sacred, and having a name meaning beautiful goddess of speech, disappears into the Indian Desert, one crosses over to the present Allāhābād, the point where

the Jumnā and the Ganges (Gaṅgā) Rivers flow together. The building of the present capital of the Republic of India, New Delhi, in the vicinity of Indraprastha, the capital of the Kuru Country along the upper reaches of the Jumnā, may have been due to a yearning for the antiquity of the Aryan Homeland. Knowing that Mathurā (Madhurā), the birthplace of the symbol of heroism, Kṛṣṇa, and the home of the Thera Upagupta, the religious teacher of King Aśoka, and Agra (Āgra, Āgravana) the location of the Tāj Mahal Temple, one of the seven wonders of the world, together form the strategic center facing the Jumnā River, we can now understand how the cultural life of the Aryan Middle Kingdom, occupying the territory of Kuru Pañchāra, has been enlarged and nourished by the twin rivers of the Jumnā and Ganges. This is also clear in the case of the Nile River in Egypt, and the Hwang Ho and Yangtze Rivers in China. Of the two Indian rivers, Jumnā is the great artery of Kuru and Ganges is that of Pañchāla. Now, what is noteworthy about Kuru and Pañchāla?

In the Jumnā culture life of Kuru, one may discover the prototype of the Aryan fatherland, while in the Ganges culture of Pañchāra there

(3) To begin with, studies were made on the "peoples nation and the thought of the Middle," as "philosophical considerations on the Middle," then a map was made of the Aryan Middle Kingdom and the Buddhist Middle Kingdom, which classified the common zone of the two Middle Kingdoms, and the area which had been newly opened up as the Buddhist Middle Kingdom. *Konpon Chū to Kū (Fundamental Middle and Voidness, in Jap.)* (Daichi Shobō, 1943), pp. 367-375, and appended map. And in the doctorate dissertation, *Chūdō Shisō oyobi sono hattatsu (The Thought of the Middle Way and Its Development, in Jap.)* (Hozokan, 1946), it was clarified what sparked the new culture of the Aryan invaders and the Middle Way of the Buddha, and it elucidated in the historical development the intellectual construction of the concept of the Middle. Moreover, the historical formulation was made clear of the process in which the new universalism sprang up from the Aryan nationalistic thought: the three stages of the Aryan Middle Kingdom, the Upaniṣads and Buddhism. *Daijō Bukkyō no Seiritsushiteki Kenkyū (Historical Studies on the Formulation of Mahāyāna Buddhism, in Jap.)*, ed. by the present writer, II. 1 "The Aryan and Buddhist Cultural Sphere" (Sanseido, 1954), p. 14.

is the inception of Aryan Universalism. In other words, what commemorates the affectionate, congenial spirit and concerted cooperation of the Aryan motherland is Kuru and Jumnā, and what symbolizes in particular the Aryan Homeland is the river Jumnā. On the other hand, the zone of the Pañchāra and Ganges ranges throughout the whole of Sākiya, Kosalā, Mallā and Videha, and forms the great Natural Background of India which broadens out through the central part of India, watered by the rivers of the Ganges from the base of the Himālaya Range. And the Upaniṣad culture, which comes next, has inherently the early movements towards a still newer Buddhistic cultural concept of the purity and equality of all four castes (catuvaṇṇim suddhim, cattāro vaṇṇo samasamā⁽⁴⁾) of the third period. Thus, the cradle of Aryan Universalism, which went so far as to envelop the co-existence of white and black, rather than the confrontation of caucasian and negroid, occurred after they had adopted this natural background of India.

In the first place, the Jumnā and Ganges flow together, and from that point on, flow under the name of Ganges, gradually gathering in the waters of the Guntī, Gogra and Gandak, and the so-called five Rivers (*pañca-nadī*) flow together and become the Great Ganges—the point where all this occurs is in the neighborhood of Pāṭaliputra of the Magadhā Kingdom. The motivating section, so to speak, which produced out the grand and magnificent culture sufficient to give content to the Indian Natural setting woven out of the Great Himālaya Range and the Great Ganges, may be said to have begun rotating with Magadhā as its central axis.

The Aryan people subjugated the dark indigenous people and made slaves of them. As the victors they were successful in their control and management, secured a labor force served by the black slaves, and set up the system of four caste which is the central social organization of

(4) Majjhima-Nikāya (M.N.) 93, *Assalāyana*, Vol. II, p. 148; M. N. 84, *Madhura* Vol. II, pp. 88-89 and p. 84.

the Aryans. The Aryan Middle Kingdom, constructed in this manner, was truly the *life sphere of the people* (民族の生活圏), which they had won for the first time in the long history of their life. Here they produced the Aryan culture which is the splendour and brilliance of the *Vedas* and *Brahmaṇas*. And this is even more evident, for they named this area "The Sacred Land of the Aryans" (*Ārya-varta*). This sacred land, indeed, was that of the people's cooperative groups who realized for the first time the congenial spirit of affection (*priya*) which had come to pervade their daily lives. Again, it was also the peaceful and secure dwelling place which they had sought after and desired for a long time, as the ancestral home for their spirits. There, the "original intention of the people (初心)" towards a formation of the Aryan nation was deeply engraved and lodged. So much then was this the ideal place which suited the white Aryans who were weak towards the tropics yet compatible to the cold climate.

The Middle Kingdom was the native place of these people, and meant the sphere of their cultural life. The region of the Punjab, which during the first period had been opened up by the Aryan invasions of North India, became the "Northern Region" in comparison with the "Middle Kingdom," as they next advanced on to open up new territory. Then, since this northern region stretches out straight towards the "Western Region" along the mountains of the Himālaya Peaks, the direction of the opening frontier became the "Eastern Region". Consequently, in conformity with the framework of "the three stages in the history of Aryan pioneering and colonialization", the first would be the "Northern Region" (*udīcyā-deśa*), the second would be the "Middle Kingdom" (*madhya-deśa*) and the third would be the "East Region" (*prācyā deśa*). The ancient Northern Region and the Middle Kingdom were Brahmanistic, while the newer Eastern Region was more attuned to the newly risen royalty and rich. Its newness was non-brahmanistic; and broadly speaking, it was also non-aryanistic.

However, because the "Southern Region" had the Vindhya Mountain Range which served as a natural obstacle, the pioneering of the warm

zone became retrogressive. Of course, it says in the Buddhist scriptures that Avanti is the Southern Region (*dakṣiṇa-patha*); however, this southern region, being fertile, was aryanized much faster. It has some relation both to King Aśoka and to Prince Mihinda, who transmitted Buddhism to Ceylon, and in the period of "Ten Points Vinaya Transgression" by the Vajjiputtaka, approximately 100 years after the Buddha's demise, the ones who formed the orthodox school were the Buddhist monks of this region. Later, what was usually called the "Southern Region" (*dakṣiṇa-patha*) referred to the region of the Deccan Plateau, and was the region between the Godāvarī River, and the Kistna (Kṛṣṇā) River, and the region of Andhra and Mahārāṣṭra, the Kings of Sātavāhana, who had extensive relations with Nāgārjuna, were called the "Kings of the Southern Area." The remains of Amarāvātī and Nāgārjunikondā lie along the banks of this Kistna River, and the opening of all of the Southern Region belongs to a later period.

In this way, the Aryan frontier pioneering and colonization were carried out by moving from the northwest to the southeast, so that there is a conspicuous line between the contrast of the Aryans and non-Aryans. Accordingly, the meaning of the "middle (中)" in the Aryan Middle Kingdom has been taken to signify the fertile agricultural living zone covering the middle of the Himālaya Range to the north, the region of the Punjab to the Northwest, and the Vindhya mountains range to the south. The Southern region was regressive, and since what was unopened was the eastern region, the eyes of the Aryans were directed *eastward*, and the frontier was always stretched out moving toward the eastern area. However, in the pioneering, because not only did they proceed to enlarge the area, but as there also was contact, confrontation, exchange and cultural transformation with a different intellect and culture, it can be said to be another cultural opening. It might be more correct to think that one can find, both in the living culture and cultural thought, advancement, enlargement, fluidity, imitation, progress, and originality. Consequently, in the period of "Aryan Middle Kingdom," while there were designations for the living

experience of the Middle Kingdom (中國), the concept of a Middle Way (中道) had not yet been born. For this concept to be born, it was necessary that there be a period of arduous experience continuing the forward advance and opening towards the east of the third period from the Middle Kingdom of the second stage. This stage was a long period of creation which lasted until the new thought, resulting from the confrontation and exchange of the older Northern Region and Middle Kingdom with the newer Eastern Regions, was constructed after fermenting and developing. As with the Sūtra of Lotus Flower, it was a process of seed, maturation and shedding (種熟脫). The period "from the Middle Kingdom to the Middle Way" ought to be placed between the Middle Kingdom Brahmanistic culture period and the transitional period of thought of the Upaniṣadic royalty of the Second stage, and the period of new thought of the Buddha and Six teachers of the Third Stage. However, the construction of thought was born for the first time when the free speculations of *individuals* substantiated the tenacious will to live, and fostered and supported the sentiment of abundant desires. It takes the posture of the "original intention (初心)," and in so far as being original it has its primitiveness. The merits and deeds of culture have always opened unexplored boundaries, and because of this, too, the Buddha's "Enlightenment of the Middle Way" is said to be "An individual enlightenment without teachers (無師獨悟)," and also said to be the way which had not been opened yet, had not been known, and had not been taught. This way was a completely new and original enlightenment.⁽⁵⁾

In this way, the direction of the frontiers of the Aryan Middle Country was clearly defined to the East, and the *process of development towards the Middle Way* (中道) *from the Middle Country* (中國) is elucidated in the state of development of the pioneer's culture.⁽⁶⁾

Now, what about the "Middle Country" of the Chinese? As indicated

(5) Saṃyutta-Nikāya (S.N.) XII, 58 *Sambuddha*, Vol. III, p. 66; S. N. VIII, 7 *Pavāraṇā*, Vol. I, p. 191; M. N. 108 *Gopaka-moggallāna*, Vol. III, pp. 8, 18.

by the names of the Barbarians of the North (北狄), the East (東夷), the South (南蠻) and the West (西戎), China occupied a special position in the middle, and it is an interesting diametrical opposition that China merely took the position of being onesidely hostile to these four directions.

In the broad view of Indian History, we see that for the Aryans in the period of the Middle Country, there were a great number of rituals and ceremonies, and that these served greatly to enrich the life of the victors. After all, they were not concerned with other peoples and their accounts of different ideas. Much less was there the attempt to adopt the ideals of harmony and co-existence with the other peoples, and they did not have the flexibility to the extent of much self-examination to seek anew further revolutions in freedom. What there was, however, was the building of "a strong middle kingdom," (*dhurvā madhyamā diś*)⁽⁷⁾ as the founding home country in the land of their invasions. The *Ṛg-Veda* (X. 10. 12) has a verse that the priestly Brāhmins were born from the mouth of Puruṣa (Original Man), the warrior Kṣatriya from both its arms, the commoner Vaiśya from both eyes and the labor-slave Śūdras from both legs—this clearly reflects the social order which preserved the autonomy of the priority of the sturdy conquerors.

When the English ruled India, its capital, naturally, was Calcutta on

(6) With a grasp of the developmental process from the Middle Kingdom to the Middle Way during the transition of the second and third stages of Aryan pioneering and colonization, and making a map of the confrontation of thought from the first in India, the standpoint of the Middle Way of the Buddha, which occupies a position between the left and right wings, was clarified. *Bukkyō no Konpon Shinri (The Fundamental Truth in Buddhism, in Jap.)*, ed. by the present writer, Chap. I, "Buddhist Reality: The Middle way and Nirvāṇa" (Sanseidō, 1956.), pp. 55-92. And, "The Logic of Relativity as the Common Ground for the Development of the Middle way," in *Buddhism and Culture, The Commemoration Volume of Dr. Daisetz T. Suzuki's Ninetieth Birthday*, Kyoto: Ōtani University 1960) pp. 67-69.

(7) *Age of the Nandas and Mauryas*, edited by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri (Banaras: Motilal Banarsidass, 1952), Chap. I, 1, "Empire of Magadha," by H. C. Raychaudhuri, p. 9.

the Ganges River which had been invaded by the English and French. However, at the time of winning its independence, free India moved its capital to the homeland of the Aryan Middle Kingdom. That is to say, just as if to restore the capital of Kuru, Indraprastha, they built the capital in New Delhi, not too far from their old capital. For there, the original purity of the blood and culture of the Aryan people dwells, and the original intention to erect a domain (國造りの初心) was engraved. And not without reason, for the consecrated tradition of the very ancient and sacred Aryan Middle Country has influenced the national image of the new India.

However, on the day of the formation the new Indian Independence, the former President, Rajendra Prasad (1884–1963), made clear another great significance to those at home and abroad, by solemnizing at the site of the ceremony, the “Wheel of the Truth” (*Dharmacakra*) of the Aśoka stone pillar which now symbolized the initial turn of the Wheel of the Truth by the Buddha and the Great Wheel of the Truth of Aśoka, and adopting that Dharmacakra for the National Flag of India. Because independent India has been possessed of the original intention to found a nation of the Aryans, along with the oneness and equality of India, its contemporary aspect should be that of an India worthy of pride as a cultured nation.

The cremation ceremony of Mahātma Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi (1869–1948), the hero of Indian Independence, that of Pandit Jawaharlāl Nehru (1889–1964), as well as that of the late Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri (on January 25, 1966), who gave his life in service of his mother country during the recent dangerous climax of the peace negotiations between India and Pakistan—all were performed at the sacred ground of Prayāga, which symbolizes the Aryan Middle Kingdom. The ashes of these heroes who had rendered service to their motherland were streamed into the sacred waters of the eternal Jumnā, and dissolved into the Great Ganges. In this way, the tradition of the Aryan Middle Kingdom lives on and is commemorated in the sacred land of many prideful deeds, Prayāga.

III. The Non-dualistic Mysticism of the Upaniṣads and The Middle-way Pragmatism of Buddhism.

The period of the Upaniṣads occurs between the period of the Aryan Middle Kingdom, and the third stage period of the Buddhist Middle Kingdom (*Majjhima-janapada*⁽⁸⁾), and fulfilled the function of being a transitional intermediary for the intellectual culture. For example, there is the "period of the Ancient Upaniṣads" as represented in the *Chāndogya* and the *Bṛhad-āraṇyaka*.

The Aryan frontier in this period had reached Videha, and its principal area continued on to Sākiya, Kosala, Malla and Videha in the same latitude as Kuru-Pañchāla, the ancient home of the Aryans, and situated on the drainage basin of Gunti, Gogra, Rapti, and the Gandak. As for the colonies of the white Aryans, the clime of the regions of the rivers of the upper reaches of the Ganges along the foot of the Himālaya mountains seems to have agreed with them.

In the new universalism which appears for the first time in the Upaniṣads, the profile appears of new thought, such as the cultivated path, the free spirit, the broad and rich culture, and the concept of oneness and equality, which answered the needs of the period. At that time, the advocacy of the supremacy of rituals alone, by the Brāhmins, did not meet the times, and something which might serve a useful purpose to the society of the period was needed. Outstanding in this respect were the thinkers of the royalty, the owners of the new thought rich in common sense, and the rise of the wealthy class who set into motion the economy. The New Age had not been influenced by colonization by power alone, or the desire of conquest, or the onesided and flat egoism of the Aryans.

The Brāhmins of Kuru-Pañchāla had understood the Brahman section-

(8) The Boundaries of the Buddhist Middle Kingdom were: to the east the great forest of the Kajangala village; to the southeast, the Sallavatī River; to the south, the village of Setakannika; to the west, the Brahmanic village of Thūna; and to the north, the Usīraddhaja Mountains. *Vinaya*, Mahāvagga V, Cammakkhandhakam pañcamam 13, 12, Vol. I, p. 197.

ally as words, vital life force, eyes, ears, consciousness and the mind; later, new concepts of the ātman appeared: there was King Janaka of the Videha frontiers, who was able to achieve enlightenment by Yājñavalkya's teachings on the omnipresence of the Brahman, and thus made manifest his sagacity as a thinker of the kingly class. Again, there is the knowledge of the self (universal self, *ātmavaiśvanara*) in all men by King Aśvapati of the Kekāya Clan in Northern India, and the esoteric doctrine (in *Bṛhad. Up.* I. 15-20) that the ātman formed from the consciousness in the state of deep sleep as reached by King Ajātaśatru is the *primaeva* reality (*satyasya satyam*), which gives birth to all things. And further, King Pravāhaṇa Jaivali of Pāñchāla held the new theory of action (*karma*) and transmigration (*samsāra*), i. e., the theory of the two paths and the five fires (in *Chānd. Up.* V. 3-10). All these new concept of liberation of the royal class were the driving force for the enlightened education of the new period. Among these, it says in the *Bṛhad. Up.* I. 4. 14, that:

Truly, *dharma* itself is *satya*. Therefore, the man who speaks *satya* is said to speak *dharma*, and the one who speaks *dharma* is said to speak *satya*. For, both of these are one and the same.

How much did the mystical tradition of the great forest texts and philosophy, together with the new concepts of liberations such as the oneness of the Brahman and the self (*Brahmātmaikyam*) influence and persuade the young thinkers who next appear? Whether it be Shakyamuni the Buddha or Mahāvira Jina the Great Hero, they were guided by these new concepts of liberation, opening up their own paths, and proceeding to produce a new period. There are the achievements of the Buddha who, while being bred in this mystical non-dualistic philosophy, had also endeavoured to convert finally towards a type of mysticism open to the masses, since the former mysticism had been closed to them. And that brought about an advance of a step or two towards the truth and reality for everyday life, tied up the philosophy and religion with the ethics and science of the social period, and brought out the enlightenment in everyday acti-

vities. While the earliest person to give a contemporaneity to religion was the Buddha, he may also be said to have the first to make religion with a modern character.

The Buddha, enlightened to the principle of the Middle Way of non-dualism between *dharma* and *satya*, applied to it the scientific method of medical treatment, and systematized the concept of the reality of the Fourfold Truth and the Middle Way which has the twofold construction of the concepts of suffering and cause (*duḥkha-samudāya*), or the analytical observations of phenomena, and the concepts of extinguishing and the way (*nirodha-mārga*), which are the desire for the realization of religious ideals.

In the enlightenment of the Buddha, the mystical non-dualism of the Upaniṣads and the Middle Way realism of Buddhism are harmoniously blended. It is as if the Himālaya and the Ganges experience and realization had granted to him the power of synthesis. The concept of the Aryan Middle Kingdom, the non-dualism of the Upaniṣads, and the Middle Way concept of Buddhism—these stages are respectively linked and continued on both before and after, and there is also a clearcut distinction between them in the origination, process, and maturation, as well as similarities which connect them. But we must not overlook the fact that there were some *revolutionary distinctions*. The concept of an Aryan Middle Kingdom (中國) was the manifest banner of a particular life experience, and therein lines the primitiveness of its “middle (中).” Again, in the Upaniṣads there was born the concept of non-dualistic liberation which was sublimated and transformed from experience into a principle, and which performed the function of mediation to the next period. And then, in the realism of the Middle Way (中道) of Buddhism, there is the fruition of humanistic philosophy fully matured as well as the movement *from mysticism to common sense*. In this way, one finds in the three stages that there is the bond which caused a close adherence of experience and idea, and there is the distinction which was moving towards opening up a new period,

IV. The Third Stage of Eastern Pioneering and The Historico-social Bearings of Coexistence in the Middle Way.

In the third stage, from the period of management of the Middle Kingdom by the Aryans, there is further the expansion of the area, and the "scope of natural setting in India (インドの大自然)" appearing in the center of the stage, formed from the Great Ganges River joined and watered by the upper reaches of the Five Rivers, and the Himalayas great mountain peaks. In this period, heaven, sky, earth, and man are linked together, and an Indian region becomes distinctly manifest. Already the desire to subjugate and control of that singular people called the White Aryans came to be regarded as something insignificant; it was instead surpassed, the self-awakening that all are equal was born, and a new social concept that the self and others are born together harmoniously, shot forth its realistical buds.

After the numerous black indigenous people who had lived there surrounded by India's natural setting from time on end, came to be included in such a concept of Mother Nature, the white Aryan wavering thread of colonization and pioneering therefore of the period up to that point did not answer the needs of the time.

The areas of farming and animal husbandry were enlarged, great cities appeared in each region, and both the volume and scope of foreign trade which made intercourse possible increased at an accelerated rate, as the wealthy and powerful clans (*śreṣṭhi*, *setṭhi*), who had become the maintainers of the economy, appeared on the scene as the newly arisen mass class which held the power of money and finance. And in the fields of thought and politics, also, they seemed to have something surpassing the warrior class, the leading figures in this new period. In this way, the society became affluent economically, and the charity of donations was abundantly carried out, as cultural undertakings also flourished. Now the period itself tolerated liberally the existence of non-productive cultural men and religious mendicants. And the existence of a great number of religious communities (*Saṅgha*) also, was due to such historico-social

bearing. Even the field was opened that women, regardless of their social standing, could participate freely in social activities. In particular, the great massive existence of religious mendicants (*paribbājaka*, *parivrājaka*), who were free to make pilgrimages to the various lands, has some connection with the *sannyāsin* of the four periods of life (*āśrama*: *brahmacārin*, *grhastha*, *vānaprastha*, and *sannyāsin*) of the Aryan Middle Kingdom, and may have become, moreover, a lubricate for the life of coexistence, so great that we do not know how much it contributed just to liberalize thought. Shakyamuni surely must have been among these free, liberal thinkers, but it must be said that his thought and deeds have long remained, while those of most of the others of his time have long vanished with the passage of time. Crossing the Ganges from the foot of the Himālayas, and then coming down to the south only as far as Buddhagayā, he would have continued his great trip, climbing at least 800 kilometers. The first place he preached, after attaining Satori at Gayā, was Sārṇāth, outside the city of Benares (Bārāṇasī), another 200 kilometers to the north. And, later, since he spent the latter part of his life, 45 years, in making further religious travels and pilgrimages, how high did his footprints really climb after all? As might be expected, at the end he went north in order to be close to his homeland. However, he fell ill on that trip, and entered Nirvāṇa at Kusinārā (Kusīnagara), before reaching his destination. In this way, the Buddha truly endeavoured to bring about the social edification of coexistence in the Middle Way with the objective that *all men can become the Buddha*, by means of the footsteps of his entire life, and he may be said to have spent his entire life in accordance with the law of naturalness (*dharmatā* 自然法爾⁽⁹⁾).

With reference to the ultimate truth for human beings, the Buddha stood in the pioneering spirit of the Aryans, and held that it was not a matter of birth (*jāti*) nor family (*gotta*), but conduct (*caraṇa*, *kamma*).

(9) Dharmatā-yukti, 法爾道理, 自然法爾, ultimate reality or naturalness, *Philosophy and Culture, East and West* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1962), pp. 105-6, 196-7.

In the equality of the four castes, depending on this "conduct," what is the Brahmanistic of the Middle Kingdom (*madhya-deśa*) and the Northern Region (*udīcyā-deśa*), and the nobility and wealthy of the Eastern Region (*prācyā-deśa*), were combined effectively, and a new universalism rose its head.⁽¹⁰⁾ In the religious community (*saṅgha*) of Shakyamuni, there were many men of Brāhmin, noble and wealthy backgrounds, and I further understand that several scores of names of those who entered the Order were listed as being from the śūdra labor class. Furthermore, regionally speaking, those who entered the Order having come from the country of Kosala which is also placed within the area of the home village of Shakyamuni, who had many relatives and friends, were most numerous, followed next by those from Magadha, Vesālī, and so forth. From such a point, there are some who criticize Buddhism for leaning towards the right as a religious community, but since the original community of Shakyamuni always had contact with the masses by going out into the streets to beg once a day, and even went so far as to enter the homes of the masses when invited to give sermons on Buddhism, from our viewpoint of the position of the lay-buddhists, there were few who leaned to the left or right; nearly all were down the middle way. As for the condition of Buddhism during the period of King Aśoka, the base and general headquarters for Aśoka's pilgrimages to the Holy Buddhist Lands, for his distribution of Dharma Edicts throughout the Empire, for the international dispatching of missionary envoys of the world, was Pāṭaliputra, the capital of Magadha Kingdom, which became a world center for politics, economics and culture, and moreover, gave to the Buddhism of Aśoka somewhat more of a cosmopolitan nature. And further, Aśoka pioneered

(10) *Age of the Nandas and Mauryas*, Chap. X, "Language and Literature," by S. J. Chatterji and V. Raghavan, p. 310. The three regions of the North, the Middle Kingdom and the East are classified by a linguistic examination of the Aryans.

(11) Chizen Aaknuma, *Genshi Bukkyō no Kenkyū* (*Studies on Primitive Buddhism*, in Jap.), "The Four Classifications in Shakyamuni's Religious Community," *Hajinkakushobō*, 1939, pp. 392-393.

the way to the Buddhism of Kanishka, who held his capital in Puruṣapura (Peshāwār) of Gandhāra, the famous area of international cultural exchange from ancient times, and who desired racial equality throughout Central and Northern India and Central Asia.

The image of the period during which the Aryan pioneering advanced along the drainage basin of the Great Ganges, has been sketched by the Himālayas and Ganges River. Moreover, the fact that the Ganges flows into and is fused with the Great Indian Ocean, becoming one flavor (*ekarasa*) and the same salty taste (*loṇarasa*) (同一鹹味), was a great wonder (unprecedented, *abbhuta*) for the Aryans who had not known the ocean up to that time. Since even Shakyamuni was drawn by the fascination of the Ganges, coming as far as distant Magadha, it stands to reason that there is some connection with the wish that *all men become the Buddha*. The equality for the four castes and the same flavor and salty taste of the religious community (*saṅgha*) became the new slogans for this period. Of the five rivers, it is said that the Ganges in particular has great happiness and prosperity; and washing away of sin and vice by performing ablutions in its waters has continued to the present from ancient times. Again, at the time when Buddhism was transmitted to the Chinese Middle Kingdom, the legend that Shih Tao-ān⁽¹²⁾ (312-385) became conscious immediately of the spirit of this "Great Ocean of the Sakya Clan (釋氏大海)," and even before the passage had been translated into

(12) In the *Kōsoden (Biographies of High Priests)*, Chap. 5, Part 2, "Interpreters and Commentators," Section on Shih Tao-an, it says: "At the time of the Wei and Tsin Dynasties, a priest generally was named by his teacher, and the surnames were not the same. But Tao-an thinks that the Great Master is the origin and base and that there is no teacher more worthy of respect than Shakyamuni. And that is why he has everyone receive the name of Shakyamuni. And later, when they acquired the *Ekottara Agama*, in that, it says that *four rivers* enter the ocean, and do not retain the name of the original river. So when the *four castes* become priests, all should be called sons of Shakyā. This idea already agreed with the *sūtras* and since then it has become a permanent practice." (TT. L. 353).

the Chinese Buddhist Scriptures, had already anticipated and advocated this spirit to the world, is but one example and testimony that Truth reveals itself in both the East and West in the past and present.

In this way, it came to be taught that just as there are eight mysterious virtues (eight unprecedented Dharmas, or *aṭṭha acchariyā abbhutā dhammā*)⁽¹³⁾ in the Great Ocean, into which the great River Ganges flows, so, too, there are eight virtues in the Saṅgha. Now what is especially required here are the fourth and the sixth of these unprecedented dharmas. When the five rivers, the Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Aciravatī, Sarabhū, and Mahī, flow into the Great River, losing their individual names and become the one taste of the great ocean, so, too, the members of the Saṅgha, by virtue of the Dharma and the Vinaya, lose the original name of their four castes, Kṣatriya, Brāhmaṇa, Vaiśya, and Śūdra, and all become the same priest and son of the Buddha (the fourth unprecedented Dharma). Again, just as the Five Rivers flow into the Great Ocean and become one flavor and the same salty taste, the Saṅgha also becomes the same taste of liberation by virtue of the Dharma and the Vinaya (the sixth unprecedented Dharma). In addition, another metaphor has been given of the five rivers, the Ganges always flowing to the East, heading toward the Great Ocean, there tending toward it, declining, and returning to enter it, so too the Eightfold Noble Path and the Four Noble Truths always tend towards Nirvāṇa, decline, and return to enter it (*nibbāna-poṇa*, *nibbāna-ninna*, *nibbāna-pabbhāra*)⁽¹⁴⁾.

When the image of the equality of humanity had come to be writ large (in the third stage of pioneering), the place (Magadha and the Ganges)

(13) Aṅguttara-Nikāya (A. N.), *Aṭṭhaka-nipāta* 2, Mahāvagga, 19 *paharada*, Vol. IV, pp. 198–199, 202; 20. *Uposatha*, pp. 206–207; *Udāna*, 5 *Soṇatherassa-vagga*, pp. 53, 55. Kogen Mizuno, *Nanden Daizōkyō Sōsakuin (General Index to the Southern Tripiṭaka)*, Part II (Nihon Gakujitsu Shinkōkai, 1961), p. 10. Akira Hirakawa, *Genshi Bukkyō no Kenkyū (Studies on Early Buddhism, in Jap.)*, “The Prototype of the Religious Community System,” (Shunjūsha, 1964), pp. 15–16.

(14) S. N., XLV *Magga-saṃyutta*, 4 *Gaṅgā-peyyāla*, 91–96 *Pācīna*, 97–102 *Samudda*, Vol. V, pp. 38–40.

and the man (Shakyamuni Buddha) grew to become one; and the Magadha culture of the new period, which indicated its eternality, was thus born. Then it was inherited by King Aśoka, relayed to King Kanishka, and Buddhism became Asiatic in its entirety after having been only Indian. In the period of Kanishka, since a great Asian Empire extending from Central and North India to Central Asia was built, in addition to the “metaphor of the *five river* of India (インド的な五河喩),” the “metaphor of the *four rivers* of Asia (アジア的な四河喩)” was also constructed. The metaphor that the Five Rivers, the Ganges, Jumnā, etc., form the Great Ganges and flow into the Great Ocean, is perhaps the ultimate in metaphors, but the one that the four rivers, Gangā, Sindhū, Vakṣū, and Sītā, flow out in four directions from one lake (Anavatapta, Anotatta), and do not lose the same flavor as that “Great Ocean of the Sakya Clan” (釋氏大海)⋯this “four rivers of the same flavor” also arouses our interest. The Ganges and the Indus indicate the boundaries of Central and Northern India, and it is said that the Vakṣū corresponds to the Oxus River which flows into the Aral Ocean, and the Sītā to either the Yaxartes (Sir-Daria) or the Yarkand River (Tarim River). These clearly symbolised the sphere of Kanishka Buddhism. Considered from today’s viewpoint, world geography

(15) *Ekottara-Agama*, Vol. II, *Sukha-duḥkam* (Chapter on Sorrow and Pleasure), 29, No. 9. “When the *four rivers* (Gaṅgā, Sindhu, Vakṣu, Sītā) have entered the great ocean, they lose their original names, and only the name of the ocean is mentioned. This is also like the *four castes*. What are the four? The *kṣatriya*, the *brāhmaṇa*, the *vaiśya* and the *śūdra*. In the abode of the Tathāgata, they shave their beards and the hair of their head. Wearing the three robes of the Dharmas, they leave home to become recluses and to study the way. And they do not return to their original caste name again. They are said to be priests and sons of Shakyas. Why is this? The reason is that the people in the religious community of the Tathāgata are like this great ocean, and the Four Noble Truths are like the four great rivers.” (TT. II. 658 c).

(16) On the cultural spheres of the Aryans and Buddhists, cf. Miyamoto, ed., *Daijō Bukkyō*⋯⋯, *Ibid.*, Chap. I, Sect. 1, “Bukkyō Sekaikan no Kakudai” (The Enlargement of the Buddhist World-view, in Jap.), p. 22.

has expanded, and the sphere of Buddhist culture has likewise broadened; and, therefore, its world-view has also become newly sketched. In Shakyamuni's equality of the four castes, there is the forward-looking posture of the pioneer, and there is the long-cherished desire to link the past with the present. It took on a clearly international character with King Aśoka, and by King Kanishka, it became Asianized, transcending the borders of India. Accordingly, in the stanza "All sentient beings without exception have the Buddha nature," which is found in the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*, the world-view of India is transcended and there was a desire for the remainder of the world to become Buddhist. In the equality of the four castes of primitive Buddhism, the so-called outcastes of society, such as the work-slaves (*śūdra*) and the lowly class (*caṇḍāla*) are the focus of the problem. The *Nirvāṇa-sūtra* called them *icchantika*. Because they are said to be men who do not believe in the causal relations of karma retribution, desire that the pleasure of the present world continue forever, and do not know Nirvāṇa, they are probably close to the materialistic and secular Lokāyata or the present-day men without religion. Again, in the theory of the five types of natures (*pañca-adhisamaya-gotrāṇi*) advocated by the Sarvāstivāda and the Vijñānavāda, which flourished in North India, the fifth nature, that of having no-nature (*agotra*, 無性) is thought to lack the Buddha-nature. This *a-gotra* is clearly a Brahministic cultural expression which brings to mind either the *śūdras* or the *caṇḍāla*⁽¹⁷⁾. Again, in the original vow of Amida Buddha, both the person who has committed the five grave sins and the person who slanders the Correct Dharma are excluded from the objects of salvation. Even if there be, throughout all of these, the difference of being caught by the social framework or of being convalidated by religious ethics, the common element desired here was

(17) See this writer's "Gyō no shutaisei to Busshō chūdō" (The Subjecthood of Action, : Buddha-nature and the Middle Way), in *Commemoration of 1150 years since the Founding of Koyasan*, in *Mikkyōgaku Mikkyōshi Ronbunshū* (*Collection of Essays on the Study and History of Esoteric Buddhism*), pp. 15-16, 1965.

the emancipation, conversion and transference, and the aim to broaden the framework of salvation.

Such being the case, the four-caste equality went beyond the one salty taste of *five rivers* of Magadha Buddhism, and the one salty taste of the *four rivers* of Kanishka Buddhism, and advanced to the “all sentient beings without exception have the Buddha-nature.” of the *Nirvāṇa-sūtra*, as well as “The sentient beings of the ten directions become correctly enlightened” of the *Larger Sukhāvati-vyūha-sūtra* (*Dai-Muryōju-kyō*), and further in China and Japan, emphasized “one and all can become the Buddha”, stepping over the bounds towards a position that even “non-sentient beings can become the Buddha (非情成佛).” In the medieval Tendai Sect, moreover, the great catchphrase was constructed that “the grass and trees, the national land, all without exception become the Buddha”. (草木國土⁽¹⁸⁾悉皆成佛)

The line of demarcation in the Buddhist standpoint tends to expand the freedom of becoming the Buddha; moreover, Honen and Shinran who penetrated to the concept of the ineffectiveness of self-power, advocated that “even evil men can become the Buddha,” while Nichiren made a religious principle out of the doctrine that non-sentient beings can become the Buddha, and Dōgen, penetrating to the impermanency and the non-existence of the Buddha-nature, lived in the Middle Way of the Buddha-nature (佛性中道). All of these men, while engaged in the task of cultivating and broadening the principle that “all men can become the Buddha” of Shakyamuni, has progressed steadfastly along the Highway of the Buddha-nature.

V. The Great Ganges and Pāṭaliputra, Symbol of the New Period

The front line of Aryan pioneering in the Buddhist period may have extended to the village of Kajangala, the eastern boundary of the “Bud-

(18) This writer, “Sōmoku Kokudo Shikkai Jōbutsu no Busshō Ronteki Igi to Sakusha” (“The Significance and Authorship of the Theory of the Buddha-nature, that grass and trees, the national land can all become the Buddha,” in Jap.) in *Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies*, Vol. 9, No. 2, pp. 261-291, 1961.

dhist Central Kingdom" (*Majjhima-janapada*). Then, the central land for the new politics, economics and culture of that time seems to have already been changing to the Magadha Kingdom. In that case, where should we place the cultural and social diametrical opposite points of such countries as the Magadha Kingdom of the frontier, and within the Aryan Kingdom, Sākiya, the home of Shakyamuni, and the neighboring Kosala?

First of all, as for cultural resemblances, both Sākiya and Kosala were bordering countries of the same latitude as Kuru-Pañchāla, the Aryan Middle Kingdom, and were within the Aryan cultural sphere from ancient times, while the Kingdom of Magadha was a newly arisen nation which had acquired non-Aryan elements, was situated to the southeast and remotely separated from the Aryan Middle Kingdom. Now, these *non-Aryan elements* of Magadha are held to be related to Vrātya, said to be Aryan outcastes from the Brāhmin culture of the Aryan Central Kingdom. And it has also been said that they might have had some connection with the Arhat religious practice and the Śiva faith.

Secondly, as a cultural geographic point of difference, both Sākiya and Kosala are part of a region which is included in the area of the upper reaches of the Gunti (Gomatī) River, the third tributary continuing the two great rivers of the Jumnā (*Yamunā*) and the Ganges (*Gaṅgā*), which water the Aryan Middle Kingdom (whose point of confluence is near Benares), and the fourth tributary, the Gogra River, i. e. the two rivers of the Gogra (*Sarabhu*, *Sarayū*) and Rapti (*Aciravattī*), which form its upper reaches; while Magadha, on the contrary, not only lies along the mainstream of the Ganges which becomes larger as it gathers in the fifth tributary Gandak (Sadānīrā, Hiraññavatī, *Mahtī*), but further lies along the Sone (Soṇa) River, which forms the western boundary, and extends from these much farther to the south. Its geographical features

(19) Nalinaksha Dutt, *Early History of the Spread of Buddhist and the Buddhist Schools* (London: Luzac, 1925), pp. 32-39, 182-184. B. P. Sinha, *The Decline of the Kingdom of Magadha* (cir. 455-1000 A. D.), *ibid.*, pp. xix-xx. Age of the Nandas and Mauryas, *ibid.*, pp. 9-10.

would appear to be like the heart-section of Central India. Then, it is just as if the motive power for new Indian developments to come had been strongly fomenting and stored there. As for this Pāṭaliputra (Pāṭaliputta, Pāṭaligama, Palibhothra of Megasthenes⁽²⁰⁾), in the latter years of the Buddha, King Ajātasattu (Ajātaśatru) organized the Republic of Vajji of Vesālī (Vaiśālī) and commissioned two ministers, Sunīdha and Vassakāra to construct a castle there, and it seems, he moved to this new city from the old capital of Rājagaha (Rājgir, Girivrajapura). It would appear to have been foreseen that King Aśoka⁽²¹⁾, who ascended to the throne 218 years after the demise of Lord Buddha, would construct the world's largest internationalistic nation since the beginning of history, because King Aśoka built, with futuristic plans, Pāṭaliputra his capital, crossing the point where the five rivers⁽²²⁾ (*Pañca-nadī: Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Aciravati, Sarabhū and Mahī*) collect the underground waters of the Himālaya Range and all join together to form the Great Ganges.

In the first section of the *Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta*, which records the happenings of the Buddha's last years, it notes the circumstances under which Ajātaśatru, then King of Magadha, resisted the strong alliance by the democratic movements in politics, economics and society of the Republic of Vajji on the opposite bank of the Ganges, constructed a castle in the Village of Pāṭaligama-(nagara), the ferry point outside the Capital Rājagaha, and there, besides newly constructing his political

(20) Nundo Lal Dey, *The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India* (London, Luzac, 1927), pp. 151-154. Egaku Maeda, *Genshi Bukkyō Seiten no Seiritsushiteki Kenkyū* (*Historical Studies on the Formation of Early Buddhist Canon*, in Jap.), pp. 150-152. Sankibō Busshorin, 1959.

(21) Hajime Nakamura, *Tōyōshiso no Ayumi* (*Footsteps of Oriental Thought*, in Jap.) p. 86, Kaname-shobō, 1954.

(22) Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Aciravati, Sarabhū, Mahī: S. N. XIII. 3, Vol. 2, p. 135; A. N. VII. 62, Vol. 4, p. 101; *Milindañha*, pp. 70, 80, 114. Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Aciravati, Sarabhū, Mahī, Sindhu, Sarassati, Vetravati, Vitamsā, Candabhaḡā: *Chū Agon* (*Majjhima-āgama*) "*Seken Fuku-kyō*" (TT. I. 428b). "There are the streams of the five rivers (Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Sarabhū, Aciravati, Mahī)."

offices, strove with all his might to construct the new capital of Pāṭaliputta: not only did he build quarters for his warriors and ministers in the capital (Agga-nagara), but many saintly men (Ariya) came to dwell there; even merchants gathered, and it became the chief producing district of foreign trade—the outline of prosperous Pāṭaliputra is thus described in the form of a prophecy. In addition to the foregoing, there was the imperial command that the gate through which Shakyamuni passed should be made the Gate of Gotama (*Gotama-dvāra*) and that the place where he crossed the river, be made the ferry place of Gotama (*Gotama-tittha*); however, only the naming of the Gotama Gate is recorded in the Scriptures. For, in this paragraph, the village of Pāṭaligama, the ferry place of the Ganges, may have flourished as the capital Pāṭaliputra, and the transitional period during which the capital construction was actively undertaken, may have been after the last years of the Buddha.⁽²³⁾

Nothing is so wondrous as this important area of the Great Ganges combining the Five Rivers and facing the Himālayas, being the cultural and geographical origin which became the world's largest capital of "The Kingdom of the Dharma." Yet even more strange is the fact that the Buddha left his homeland which is enveloped in the mysterious atmosphere of the pure Himālayas, purposefully going southward for 800 kilometers, crossing the Great Ganges finally, later going beyond the geographical point of Pāṭaliputra, further going south, coming up to the vicinity of Gayā, to seek out the place of religious practice for *Satori*. Born and raised in an Aryan environment, the Buddha had sufficiently applied himself while young to an Aryan education. Why did he have to undertake his

(23) E. J. Thomas, *The Life of Buddha as Legend and History* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Truber, 1927)", pp. 144-157.

(24) *Daichido-ron (Mahāprajñā-pāramitā-upadeśa-śāstra)*, Vol. II: "After the Buddha entered Nirvāṇa, King Ajātaśatru, abandoned Rājagṛha, because the number of people was gradually diminishing, and built again a small town nearby. One *yojana* in length and breadth, its name was Pāṭaliputra; it seems, moreover, that it became the largest of all the towns." (TT. XXV. 78).

own religious practice, even selecting a non-aryan backdrop, for the sake of a new enlightenment? Shakyamuni sat down under the Bodhi tree, as his final training ground, at Gayā which is placed to the deep south, farther than the capital Rājagaha of Magadha, and there in him vision and wisdom arose “of the Dharma which never before had been heard” (*pubbe ananusuttesu dhammesu*), and for the first time, attained the Correct Enlightenment (*paṭhama-abhisambuddha*—*Vinaya Mahāvagga* I. 1), and became the Buddha. Now this enlightenment itself was, indeed, the illumination of the Middle way.

VI. The Middle-Way Principles of Compassion and Wisdom symbolized by the Himālayas and the Ganges

The Buddha, born into a royal family at the foot of the Himālayas and receiving the education and training of a prince of an Aryan royal family up until he left home for a life of religion when he was 29 years of age, must have been born possessed of two things: The mystical absoluteness symbolized by the Himālaya Range capped with everlasting snow; and the pure sacredness which mountains alone have. What is more, he may have also possessed himself of Prajñā wisdom, which ought to be called the mystical wisdom revealed to the philosophical sages of the *Āranyaka-Upanisads*. Just as the generative and infinite figure of the Sacred Ganges flows without ceasing night and day, and as in the allegory of the three herbs and the two trees (三草二木の喩) in the Chapter on Medical Herbs ⁽²⁵⁾ (*Oṣadhi-parivarta*) of the *Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka* (*The Lotus of the True Law*), the *compassionate motherhood of the Great Ganges* which is bound up with the monsoon-like upbringing that all things are raised in the watering of one rain, for him, the Great River of Ganges was a foreign element as he had been born and raised in the mountains. Because of the fact that he left the mountain country, his

(25) Kern and Nanjo, *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* (St. Petersburg, 1908), Chap. V, “*Oṣadhi*,” pp. 125-131; SBE XXI *The Lotus of the True Law* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1909), pp. 126-129; *The Lotus of the Wonderful Law*, by W. E. Soothill (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1930), pp. 124-128.

homeland, and traveled to study at Magadha Kingdom, which embraces the Great Ganges, and there practiced religious austerities, he was finally able to clarify his views on the becoming of all things and their development. The Great Ganges symbolizes that the four castes are equal, that all men can become the Buddha, and that the self and the other are identical (*parātma-samātā*)—any and all of these are included in the theory of the *Middle Way of Co-existence*. That was the forward-looking and progressive theory which was not swayed by the questions of *race*, of *class*, or of *ideology*, but united the self with others, worked for mutual assistance; and the various cooperative groups could look for peace and prosperity. Now, compared to the Aryan culture of the first and second stages in the preceding period, what are the characteristics of the new period of the third stage which points out the differences in each step? First of all, there appeared the early buds of the standpoint for respect of the subjecthood of the *self* (自己の主體性) as well as the subjecthood of the *other* (the self of the one called the other) (他己の主體性). Then, that his self and the other self are equal was the teaching of “selflessness,” and the way which put life into both the self and the other together, was the Middle Way of non-duality of self and other (自他不二の中道).

Next, on such questions as the individual destiny of human beings, suffering in life, and defects in social environment, the people had resigned themselves up to this time, and felt that it was the result of their past lives (*pubbekata-hetu-vāda*), or the discretion of an omnipotent god (*issaranimmāna-hetu-vāda*). Of course, in the frontier of Magadha during the new period, there had also been prevalent the nihilism which abandons the self to nothingness, whether it be the gods, the Buddha or causal relations, i. e., the doctrine of no-cause-no-conditions (*ahetu-appaccaya-vāda*⁽²⁶⁾). Shakyamuni did not believe in such a fatalistic theory

(26) A. N. III. 61, Vol. I, p. 173, *Vibhaṅga*, pp. 367-368; *pubbekata-hetu-vāda*, *issaranimmāna-hetu-vāda*, *ahetu-appaccaya-vāda*.

of previous karma and the doctrine of the volition of the creating deity. Above all, he steadfastly resisted such nihilism. Now, while the cause (*hetu*) forms the basis of scientific investigation and is the essential study of the existence of the individual self, there is a tendency for it to become the treatment of egocentricism which holds fast to one cause alone. Moreover, there is the danger of becoming a closed theory, or even of falling into a compulsion for asserting the supremacy of the absolute. Opposed to this, the one who converted the oneness of the individual self, and constructed and advocated the theory of becoming which gave reality to the great numbers of "the other" (*para*), was none other than Shakyamuni. The fact that a new field was opened, of respect for the "other" and reliance upon the "other," became of great advantage for the social struction of the new period. Particularly, in causality (*hetu*), the appearance of the standpoint of "depending on" or "relation" (*paccaya*, *pratyaya*) which meant also the social reliance and trust, was completely revolutionary. Against the tendency to lock oneself up in the standpoint, viewpoint and assertion only of the self, a new window of society came to be opened by means of the reliance and trust in the other. Then, against the one-cause of the original cause of the self, there was invented the rich and magnanimous democratic theory which led to the resuscitation of *the way of being of a plurality*. By means of that, a great theoretical contribution was also made to the organization and development of the new social cooperative. What is more, against the one-cause, a great duty was fulfilled by means of the causal study of *plurality of "relations"* in the scientific method which opened and clarified the multifarious composition of phenomena. In such a wide, forward looking Buddhist standpoint, it is quite natural that new expressions of dependent origination (*paṭicca-samuppāda*, *pratitya-samutpāda*), as "dependent becoming," and "relational arising" (*asmin sati idam bhavati; asya utpādād idam utpadyate*).

In such a theory which links together in one chain impermanency, suffering, selflessness and dependent origination, there is vividly and

graphically described the aspect of becoming befitting the culture of the new period which is symbolized by the Great Ganges. And Shakyamuni, moreover, originated the theory of the Middle Way⁽²⁷⁾ which revolves and rounds out mutually the free liberation (*mokṣa*) and the peace of *nirvāṇa* ($Mokṣa \rightleftharpoons Nirvāṇa$, that is, $Mokṣa \rightarrow Nirvāṇa$, $Mokṣa = Nirvāṇa$, and $Nirvāṇa \rightarrow Mokṣa$), giving also to Buddhism another face as a religion of salvation, and causing the birth of Buddhism as a "world religion." That is, while inheriting the liberation (*mokṣa*, *vimokṣa*), which is the individual and free *Satori* in the Upaniṣads, not only did he newly open the peace of *Nirvāṇa* and substantiate in the here-and-now the happiness of great numbers, but he also gave repose to the eternal spirit of mankind and peaceful calm to the soul, while pioneering a new phase⁽²⁸⁾ of religion in Buddhism, which is also both a culture and a philosophy. Now its origin was the *Satori* or "*the Middle Way of Compassion and Wisdom*," (悲智の中道) symbolized by the Great Wisdom (*Mahā-prajñā*) of the Himālayas, and the Great Compassion (*Mahā-karuṇā*) of the Ganges.

(27) The three formalities on liberation and *Nirvāṇa*, in Miyamoto, *Bukkyō no Shinjitsu, Chūdō to Nehan* (*Reality for Buddhism, the Middle Way and Nirvāṇa*), pp. 117-122. Miyamoto, "*Studies on Mokṣa and Nirvāṇa, with Special Reference to the studies of Modern Scholars of the World* (In Jap., Waseda University: *Bulletin of Graduate Division of Literature*, 1960), pp. 1-40.

(28) Miyamoto, "*Bukkyō no Ningen Keisei*" ("*Human Nature in Buddhism*," in Jap.), Waseda University, Philosophy Club, *Philosophia*, Vol. 44, October 1962, pp. 1-22.