# The Relationship between the Mahāyāna Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra and the Mahāsānghika

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The Mahāyāna Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra (MMPS) has several accounts, crucial to the theory of the text, which attests its kinship with the Mahāsāṅghika school (Msn). We will illustrate in this paper these accounts and suggest the close relationship between the MMPS and the Msn.

Before entering that discussion, we must mention the postulate that there are three stages in which the *MMPS* was progressively compiled. That is: (1) the first one third, roughly corresponding to the proto-*MMPS* (*PMMPS*) as reconstructed by the present author; (2) the second one third, the \*Bodhisattvacaturdharmaparyāyaparivarta; (3) the last one third, in which the tathāgatagarbha theory appears<sup>1)</sup>. It is notable that all the accounts treated in the present paper are concentrated in almost the same section of the *MMPS*, ranging from the end of (1) to the beginning of (2).

## [1] Allowance for Armament of the Laity

The MMPS has in the  $Vajr\bar{a}bhedyak\bar{a}yaparivarta$ , a portion of stage (1), a rule to be observed by the laity  $(up\bar{a}saka)$  that seems so unique as to have no parallel in any other  $Mah\bar{a}y\bar{a}na$  scriptures.

[The Blessed one said] "The laity who are to guard the righteous teachings (\*saddharma) should not accept the five precepts (\*pañcaśīla), and should not follow regulations for the laity (\*upāsakavinaya), but should be armed with bow and arrows, swords, and spears to defend the monks observing the good rules of conduct, possessed of good deportment and virtue" [Kāśyapa asked] "Among the monks...those who are accompanied with such guards as mentioned above should be called profane shaveling (\*grhamundika)." [The Blessed one said] "You should not in that way call them profane shaveling... Monks should travel surrounded by the laity armed with weapons. Upāsakas in this Mahāyāna should not accept the five precepts (\*pañcaśīla) but should be armed with weapons to protect monks. ... In a later time, after the Tathāgata has passed away, there will break out civil wars, causing the lands to be destroyed. In the corrupted world suffering from famine, some poeple will renounce home life and become shavelings. They will drive away and kill those monks possessed of \*śīla, \*īryāpatha, \*guna, and \*gocara. When those monks of good conduct travel along passes of villages, towns, and mountain areas, I[=Buddha] allow

them, being worthy of the name  $\bar{a}c\bar{a}rya$  and  $\hat{s}\bar{\imath}lavat$ , to be accompanied by guards armed with weapons in order to assure them of their safety of life."<sup>2)</sup>

This regulation, as I have previously discussed<sup>3)</sup>, shows us the historical background against which the supporters of the MMPS, dharmakathikas, acted. They were interested in going on pilgrimage, instead of settling down in a fixed monastry, and were in need of the help of the laity in order to be protected from dangers while traveling. The MMPS makes an exception for these monks to the rules appearing in Vinaya literature which prohibit monks from preaching to armed laymen. What attracts our attention most, however, is the unique agreement of this account with that of the  $Mah\bar{a}s\bar{a}nghikavinaya$  (MsnV). Only the MsnV permits preaching to the armed laity.

You should not preach to the people armed with swords. ... However in case monks travel along dangerous and dreadful passes with people guarding them, and if asked to preach to the people, monks are permitted to do so without committing any offence, even if the people are armed with swords<sup>4)</sup>.

Similar regulations follow immediately the citation, such as when monks are guarded by laymen armed with bow and arrows, dandas, etc. 5) These paragraphes show that the  $Ms\dot{n}V$  had, at least in a time, a very similar setting and took the same attitude as the MMPS toward the behavior of the laity. Cnsidering the fact that the other Vinayas admit of no exception in the case and the MMPS goes to the trouble of establishing a new regulation, the exception in the  $Ms\dot{n}V$  must not have been known to the composers of the MMPS. They would, otherwise, have avoided making a new law simply by quoting the Buddha's words, saying "yathoktam bhagavatā vinaye" or the like, as is done in other parts of the MMPS. If one would argue that there might be mutual influence between the MMPS and the  $Ms\dot{n}V$  in this phrase, the direction of the influence should, amazingly, be from the MMPS to the  $Ms\dot{n}V$ .

# [2] Anupūrvīkathā

The MMPS mentions a gradual instruction (anupūrvīkathā), the type of which is so unique that no concordances have been attested in the Nikāyas or  $\bar{A}gamas$ . In the midst of the account cited above, the MMPS describes

as follows the behavior of immoral monks.

Even though a monk may be able to preach a speech concerning gifts (\*dānakathā), concerning good conduct (\*śīla-), concerning acts of merit (\*punya-), concerning speech of maturing the acts of merit (\*punyavipāka-)..., 60

The common and sole type of the  $anup\bar{u}rv\bar{i}kath\bar{a}$  found in the  $Nik\bar{a}yas$  is, of course, constituted by  $d\bar{a}na-kath\bar{a}$ ,  $\hat{s}\bar{\imath}la-k$ ., svarga-k. But the same type of  $anup\bar{u}rv\bar{\imath}kath\bar{a}$  as appearing in the MMPS is found in the  $Mah\bar{u}vastu(MV)$ .

Then this is a gradual instruction ( $anup\bar{u}rv\bar{\iota}kath\bar{a}$ ), namely  $d\bar{a}nakath\bar{a}$ ,  $\hat{s}ilakath\bar{a}$ ,  $svargakath\bar{a}$ ,  $punyakath\bar{a}$ ,  $punyavip\bar{a}kakth\bar{a}$ .

The last two items are just the same as those in the MMPS, and this again suggests the close association of the MMPS with the Msn, the school to which the MV belongs.

### [3] Prohibition against Eating Meat

Now let us give a brief glance at a notable regulation laid down by the *MMPS* at the beginning of stage (2) of the text, which absolutely prohibits the fourfold assembly (*Catuhparisad*) from eating meat.

[The Blessed one said] "A son of noble family. I never allow from now on my diciples to eat meat. How can I possibly give permission for the eating of meat when the alms is [to be regarded as] equal to the flesh of [your own] son? ... For another reason [than that of the Jain] I will instil a precept into your mind. I have established the regulation of keeping away from eating the meat considered as pure, fit to be eaten, from the three points of view [as not seen, not heard, and not doubted] (trikotipariśuddhamāmsa). I also cast away the ten sorts of inedible meat excluded [from the vinaya of orthodoxy, which generally permits eating meat].... It [=the way of stinking accompanied by meat-eating] is just like the case, for example, where one's mind is not calmed when one eats the  $Asa\ Soetida\ plant\ (Hingu)\ or\ garlic....^{8}$ 

As I have previously explained, what interests us is the coincidence between the apperance of this new regulation and the establishment of the Order of the MMPS, which makes a clearer distinction between the Order and outcastes, e.g. Caṇḍālas, than the PMMPS, which is fairly gentle toward them. Eating meat is of course customary for Caṇḍālas. Here, however, we will not follow the point, but compare the citation above with an account in the MsnV.

[The prohibited kinds of meats are enumarated as] the flesh of man the first, of  $n\bar{a}gas$  the second, of elephants the third, of horses the fourth, of dogs the fifth, of crows the sixth, of hawks or eagles the seventh, of pigs the eighth, of monkeys

the nineth, of lions the tenth. Concerning garlic, any part of the plant is prohibited whether it may be leaves or skins, matured or green. 10)

We can pick up two elements found in common between the two texts: First, the number of prohibited kinds of meats, ten in both texts, and second, both texts group meat-eating with herbs like a garlic. As to the former, only the  $P\bar{a}li\ Vinaya$  and the  $Ms\dot{n}V$  enumarate ten kinds, and as for the latter, only the  $Ms\dot{n}V$  associates the forbidding of eating meat with eating special sorts of herbs. We can consequently assume that this portion of the MMPS was composed under the influence of and for the modification of the  $Ms\dot{n}V$ .

#### [4] Lokānuvartanā

The MMPS has a large series of accounts, almost immediately following the parts mentioned above, which indicate that while the Buddha is actually a *dharmakāya* whose attributes should be described as *nitya*, *dhruva* and  $\delta \bar{a} \delta vata$  ( $\delta iva$ ), all the Buddha's appearances were only displayed in conformity with the way of the world  $(lok\bar{a}nuvartn\bar{a})$ . (12)

I [=the Buddha] show [the miracle of] having entering into a womb timely enough for both the parents to have a baby. Both the two [parents] may have an illusion that this is to be their baby. [However,] I have never been born by means of sexual intercourse for innumerable aeons. I am embodied in \*dharmakāya\*, not \*āmiṣakāya\*, for I am transcendent of a body produced by sexual intercourse. [However,] I have manifested a body born from a womb by sexual intercourse. This is conformity with the world. ...In each of the \*Jambūdvīpas\*, I manifest myself as having hair (\*cūdā) and living beings have an illusion that I have hair. [However,] no one in this world along with its gods can cut my hair. ... This is just conformity with the world.  $^{130}$ 

The similar accounts run on and on tracing the biography of the Buddha and the intention lies in making it clear that the appearance of the Buddha is only conformity with the world and that the reality of the Buddha is dharmakāya itself, irreducible to any kind of visible form. These acounts are to be identified with those of the  $Lok\bar{a}nuvartan\bar{a}s\bar{u}tra$  (LAn) in spite of the explanation of the MMPS that they are quoted from the  $S\bar{u}ramgamasam\bar{a}dhis\bar{u}tra$ . The LAn is, as has been shown<sup>14</sup>, extant both as an isolated text in Chinese and Tibetan versions, and as an interpolated portion in the MV. We will cite two verses from the MV.

Though the body of the Sugatas is not produced by sexual intercourse, they make a show of mother and father; this is conformity with the world... They [=the Buddhas] cut off their hair (keśa), yet no razor cuts them; Their hair is like blue-black pigment; this is conformity with the world. 15)

The two verses are clearly identical in form and content with the *MMPS* cited above. The LAn no doubt belongs to the Msn, which is assured not only by the fact that it appears in the MV but by the way  $Candrak\bar{\imath}rti$  quotes the  $s\bar{\imath}tra$  in his works: he cites the  $s\bar{\imath}tra$  as a canonical text of the  $P\bar{\imath}ura\hat{s}ailas^{16}$ , one of the branches of the Msn.

Lastly, we will refer to another account from the LAn in the Catuhstava of  $N\bar{a}g\bar{a}rjuna$  that also affords a close parallel to the MMPS.

Neither disease nor impurity is in your body; it is not subject to hunger or thirst; and still in order to conform with the world, you have shown a worldly behavior. ... Your body is permanent (nitya), imperishable (dhruva), auspicious (śiva). It is the very law; it is the Victorious One. Still in order for the people to be converted [to the path of salvation], you show your passing away into nirvāṇa. 17)

### Compare this with the MMPS.

In the each of the  $Jamb\bar{u}dv\bar{v}pas$ , I manifest myself as passing away to  $nirv\bar{a}na$ . Yet, I never pass away to  $nirv\bar{a}na$  in the way of  $nirv\bar{a}na$ . Though sentient beings take me as passing away, the Tathāgata is always permanent (\*nitya), imperishable (\*dhruva), eternal (\*śāśvata). The way of manifesting passing away to  $nirv\bar{a}na$  is [through] the nature of the Buddha. 18)

We should always take into account the presumption that  $Ms\dot{n}$  should, not exclusively, have much to do with  $Mah\bar{a}y\bar{a}na$  Buddhism despite a contrary opinion offered by some Japanese scholars. Regarding the relationship of some  $Mah\bar{a}y\bar{a}nas\bar{u}tras$ , such as the  $Praj\bar{n}\bar{a}p\bar{a}ramit\bar{a}$  and  $Da\acute{s}abh\bar{u}mik\bar{a}$ , with the  $Ms\dot{n}$ , what Avalokitavrata says should again be noted: he reports that these  $s\bar{u}tras$  are being read in the  $P\bar{u}rva/Apara\acute{s}aila$  schools<sup>19</sup>. Considering the close connection between the LAn and the  $M\bar{a}dhyamika$ , as has been shown<sup>20</sup>, the concordance of the MMPS with the Catuhstava is not at all accidental; on the contrary, it shows us that the MMPS was probably composed by some group associated with the  $Ms\dot{n}$ .

We have attempted a rapid survey of the relationship not only in doctorines but also in historical background between the MMPS and the texts of the  $Ms\dot{n}$ , and this examination shows us that there is mutual

dependence in the composition of the respective texts. This will serve as a good illustration of the situation where traditional and  $Mah\bar{a}y\bar{a}na$  Buddhism developed together, not separately.

<sup>1)</sup> I have previously attempted to prove this hypothesis at length in two papers: "Gennshi-nehangyō no sonnzai (The Urtext of the Mahāyana Mahāparinirvānasūtra)", Tōyō-bunka kenkyū-jo kiyō, No. 113 (Tokyo 1991a), pp. 1-126.; "Daijō nehangyō to hōshakukyō makakashōe (Tathāgatagarbha and Buddhadhātu Used as Synonyms for Stūpa and Šarīradhātu in the Mahāyāna Mahāparinirvānasūtra)", Tōhōgaku, No. 82 (Tokyo 1991b), pp. 129-118(L). I have discussed stages (1) and (2) in these above papers. Concerning the distinction between stages (2) and (3), I will present another paper. 2) Peking ed. (P) Mdo Tu 47b2-4; 49a7-8; b1-5. 3) Shimoda (1991a 19-33). 4) Msn V, Taisho Vol. 22, 410a8-18. 5) *ibid* 410a21-c2. 6) P Mdo Tu 47b6-7. 8) P Mdo Tu 54b7-8; 55a5-8. iii 257. 12-13;408. 15;413. 2. 9) M. Shimoda. "Sanshu no jōniku saikō(Reconsideration of the trikoţipariśuddhamāmsa)", Bukkyō-Bunka, No. 25, (1989 Tokyo), pp. 1-21; Shimoda (1991a 49-50; 104-105, n. 85). 11) Shimoda, "Higasi-ajia bukkyō no kairitu no 10) Msn V 487a23-25. tokushoku (The Origin of Vegitarianism in Buddhism of Far East Asia)", *Tōyō* Gakujutu Kenkyū, 29-4, (1990 Tokyo), pp. 98-110. 12) P Mdo Tu 59bl-66b3. 14) S. Takahara, "Mahāvastu ni 13) P Mdo Tu 61b2-62a7. fukutoku-ron", Fukuoka daigaku sanjūgo-shūnen kinen ronbunshū, Jinbunhen. 1969. pp. 117-141; P. Harrison, "Sanskrit Fragments of a Lokottaravādin Tradtion". Indological and Buddhist Studies, ed. by L.A. Hercus et al., (Canberra 1982), pp. 15) MV i 169.14-15;170.2. This translation follows P. Harrison 211-234. 16) Madyamakāvatāra, ed. by L.de La Vallée Poussin, pp. 134.3-(1982 218).17) G. Tucci, "Two Hymns of the Catuhstava of Nāgārjuna", JRAS, 135 12. 1932, pp. 309-25, especially 318-20. cf. D. S. Ruegg, "Le dharmadhātustava de 18) P Mdo Tu 64a2-4. Nāgārjuna", Étude Tibetaines, (Paris 1971), pp. 448-71. 19) P Dbu ma, Za, 321a3-4. cf. K. Sasaki, "Daijō jōza-bu ni tsuite" Indogaku 20) Harrison (1982). Bukkyōgaku Kenkyū, 12-1, 1964, pp. 150-153.

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