THE MIDDLE WAY FROM THE STANDPOINT OF THE DHARMA

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1 The Buddhist Position on Dharma

After his Enlightenment, the Buddha delivered his first preaching to his five disciples. Amongst them, Koṇḍañña first achieved the *dhmma cakkhu* (法眼), which enabled him to see the world free from the dust of illusion, and was Enlightened. Thereupon, the Buddha approvingly said, "You are Enlightened well, Koṇḍañña. You are Enlightened well⁽¹⁾." After that he received the name Aññāta Koṇḍañña, which means the first Enlightened Koṇḍañña. Then he "who had seen the Dhamma, reached the Dhamma, understood the Dhamma and was Enlightened to the Dhamma⁽²⁾" requested, "O Master, I would like to receive ordination under you and wish to be granted the precepts⁽³⁾." The Buddha replied, "Come bhikku, the Dhamma has been preached well. In order to destroy sufferings properly,

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(1) Vinaya-piṭaka, *Mahāvagga* 1. 6. 31, Vol. I, p. 12: *Aññāsi vata bho Koṇḍañño aññāsi vata bho Koṇḍañño*. lit. attained the knowledge.

(2) do 1. 6. 32, p. 12: *Diṭṭhadhammo pathammo viditadhammo pariyogāḥadhammo*.

(3) do: *Labheyyāhaṃ bhante bhagavato santike pabhajjaṃ, labheyyāhaṃ upasampadam*.

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you must lead a holy life⁽⁴⁾.” Thus the first member of the Sangha came into existence. He was followed by six, seven, eleven, and sixty-one other members and the number increased. Finally, with the entrance of the three Kassapa brothers, Sāriputta and Moggallāna into the Order, the number became one thousand-two hundred and fifty. Thus the elements of the Buddhist Sangha consisted of the three treasures (三寶) of ; the Buddha who was Enlightened to the truth, the doctrines (*Dhamma*) which were preached well and the group of individuals who placed their faith in the Buddha and were inspired by the Dhamma.

The objective of the Sangha was to obtain nirvāṇa, which would end the sufferings of reality, to preach this fact to the people, and to obtain complete Buddhahood together with the world. This became very clear in the Buddha’s proclamation of his missionary work :

O Bhikkhu (to various places) go and visit for the benefit of the people, for the happiness of the people, for the compassion of the world, for the sake of the happiness of deva and men. Two members should not go to one place. OBhikkhu, preach the Dharma which has significance and meaning, in which the beginning is good, the middle is good and the end is good. Show them the sacred Brahmachariya which is pure, undiluted and complete. Even among sentient beings who have few hindrances, if they do not learn of the Dhamma, they will be unable to progress. (If they hear) they will be Enlightened to the Dhamma⁽⁵⁾.

From this it is evident that the purpose is to benefit the world. In other words, its great objective was to teach the cessation of suffering by means of the right Dharma and right practice. Right Dharma, right view and

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(4) do : *Ehi bhikkhū’ti bhagavā avoca, svākkhato dhammo, cara brahmacariyaṃ sammā dukkhassa antakiriya’ti.*

(5) do 1. 11. 1, p. 21: *Caratha bhikkhave cārikaṃ bahujaṇahitāya bahujaṇasukhāya lokānukampāya atthāya hitāya sukhāya devamanussānam. Mā ekena dve agamittha. Desetha bhikkhave dhammam adikalyāṇaṃ majjhekalyāṇaṃ pariyoṣāna-kalyāṇaṃ satthanāṃ savyañjanaṃ kevalaparipunnāṃ parisuddhaṃ brahmacariyaṃ pakāsetha. Santi sattā apparajakkhājātikā assavanatā dhammassa parihāyanti, bhavissanti dhammassa aññātaro.*

right practice, consist of truth, wisdom and actual practice. By these, it is possible to obtain nirvāṇa in this world and actually manifest nirvāṇa in this world. This is the very reason why Nāgārjuna in his Chun-lun, 25th chapter on Nirvāṇa, discussed the identical nature of the world and nirvāṇa (世間と涅槃の同一際).

19, There is no difference at all between Nirvāṇa and *Saṃsāra*.

There is no difference at all between *Saṃsāra* and Nirvāṇa.

20, What makes the limit of Nirvāṇa, is also the limit of *Saṃsāra*.

Between the two we cannot find slightest shade of difference⁽⁶⁾.

Here we can observe the continuity of the teachings from Early Buddhism, all of which lead to the Ultimate Vehicle of Enlightenment for all.

2 The Dharma and the Original Form of the Middle Way

What was the content of the Dharma originally preached by the historical Buddha? It was the renunciation of the two extremes of suffering and pleasure (苦樂の中道). Those two extremes are, "one, to engage in the search for pleasure¹, which is the practice of lowly² vulgarity³ and ignorance⁴. This is neither holy⁵ nor associated with the good⁶. The other is to make one's own suffering a goal¹. This is merely painful² and is neither holy (*anariya*, unworthy³) nor associated with good (*anattasaṃhita*, unprofitable⁴)⁽⁷⁾. In this manner he made his view clear and the Buddha achieved the Middle Way which denied these two extremes. His eyes were opened and wisdom arose within him bringing forth serenity, divine wisdom, realization and nirvāṇa. Those items of this renunciation were attachment to the human thirst for joy¹, a lowly² vulgar³ and ignorant⁴ form of behaviour and of asceticism or pain^{1,2} and both of *anariya*^{5,3} and *ana-*

(6) Th, Scherbatsky, *The Conception of Buddhist Nirvāṇa* (Leningrad: Academy of Science, USSR, 1927) p. 205.

(7) Vinaya, *Mahāvagga* 1. 6. 17, p. 10: *Yo cāyam kāmesu kāmasukhallikānuyogo hīno gammo pothujjaniko anariyo anattasaṃhito, yo cāyam attakila-matthānuyogo dukkho anariyo anattasaṃhito, ete kho bhikkhave ubho ante anupagamma majjhimā paṭipadā tathāgatena abhisambuddhā cakkhukaraṇi nāṇakaṇi upasamāya abhiññāya sambodhāya nibbānāya sampvattati.*

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tthasamhita^{6,4} which are common to the two extremes of self-indulgence and self-torture. And those essentials which caused him to open his eyes¹ and obtain wisdom², serenity³, insight⁴, Enlightenment⁵ and nirvāṇa⁶ were the ideal light that enabled him to overcome these extremes.

If we gather together those items which should be renounced and those which are essential, then the contents of the Dharma become completely clear. This standpoint of the Dharma of the Middle Way represents the principle position of Buddhism as preached in the First Sermon (初轉法輪經) (8). Since then it has long remained a consistent position of Buddhism that is proven by practice.

3 Criticism of the Buddhist Life of Comfort

To make clear the above-mentioned Buddhist view, we can note how the Buddha was criticized by non-Buddhists⁽⁹⁾. In the *Pāsādika-Suttanta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya*, the following criticisms were presented by non-Buddhist extremists:

- 1) Those recluses who follow the Sakyan are addicted and devoted to a life of pleasure (安樂行). (§ 23)
- 2) The Sakyan recluses are inconsistent in the doctrines (aṭṭhita-dhammā 不住法) they hold. (§ 26)
- 3) Concerning the past, Gotama the Recluse reveals an infinite knowledge and

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(8) "The Buddha's First Sermon and the Original Patterns of the Middle Way", by Shoson Miyamoto, *Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies*, Vol. XIII, No. 2, March 1965, pp. 845-855.

(9) A detailed and precise explanation concerning the 10 Undetermined Questions (*avyākṛta-vastūni*): (1) whether the universe is eternal or not. (2) Whether the universe is finite or not. (3) Whether that which is the vital principle (*jīva*) is the body or not. (4) Whether after death a *Tathāgata* (a released person) exists or not, whether he exists and does not exist, whether he is neither existent nor non-existent. See Shoson Miyamoto, *Middle Way Thought and Its Development*, in Jap. (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1946), Part VI, "Undetermined Questions, Emptiness (*śūnyatā*) and Middle Way" (無記と空と中道), Chap. 1-9, pp. 199-296; E. J. Thomas, *History of Buddhist Thought*, Chap. X, Release and Nirvāṇa (London: Kegan Paul, 1933) p. 124.

insight, but not so concerning the future, as to the what and why of it. (§ 27)⁽¹⁰⁾

Among these criticisms, the first which means to engage in a life of comfort and pleasure (*sukhallikānuyoga* 安樂行), creates problems in view of religious practice. After Śākyamuni abandoned his asceticism, he partook of a little milk mixed with honey and flour and entered into meditation under the bodhi tree. At this time, his five former friends despised him saying “there stands *bāhullika* (a man of extravagant habits).” The so-called life of pleasure that Śākyamuni practiced consisted of the four *dhyaṇa*. For others it appeared that Śākyamuni had made the life of comfort his objective since he entered this practice after renouncing asceticism. In Śākyamuni’s case, it was clearly a means and he never used it as his goal. If such becomes the final objective, and people cling to it, then it must be criticized and denounced just as Śākyamuni did in the *Brahmajāla Suttanta*, in his discussion on “nirvāṇa in the visible world” (*diṭṭhadhammanibbāna*, 現法涅槃). However, if the first criticism is directed towards some aspect of the faith that makes the life of pleasure a goal, then it is a valid criticism. However, the Buddha himself criticized such a view and was totally free from it.

When Śākyamuni faced these criticisms of others, he categorized them according to their contents and answered them in the light of truth and from the proper standpoint of the true Dharma. He answered the first criticism in the following manner :

What, brother, is it to be addicted and devoted to pleasure? For there are many and manifold modes in which one may be so addicted and devoted⁽¹¹⁾.

(10) *Dialogues of the Buddha*, part 3, by T. W. Rhys Davids (London: Humphrey Milford, Sacred Books of the Buddhists, Vol. IV, 1921) Chap. 23, p. 122; Chap. 26, p. 125; Chap. 27, p. 126.

(11) do. Chap. 23, p. 122: *Katamo so āvuso sukhallikānuyogo? Sukhallikānuyogā pi hi bahū anekavihitā nānappakārakā ti. Cattāro’me Cunda sukhallikānuyogā hinā gammā pothujjanikā anariyā anatta-samhitā na nibbidāya na virāgāya na nirodhāya na upasamāya na abhiññāya na sambodhāya na nibbānaya samvattanti.* (Pāli Text, p. 130)

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Thus he attempted to present an answer without prejudice by examining the contents in order to discover the universal standpoint of the Dharma.

The life of joy indicates the feeling of joy and pleasure by means of one's own action. In other words, there are those who find joy or pleasure in killing living things, people who take that which has not been given to them, people who find joy in telling lies, and people who enjoy the fulfillment of the desires of the five senses. If the life of joy refers to these four varieties of the life of pleasure, then it is "truly a lowly¹ vulgar² and ignorant³ form of behavior that is neither holy⁴ nor conducive to good⁵. It does not lead to unworldliness⁶, to passionlessness⁷, to cessation⁸, to serenity⁹, to insight¹⁰, to Enlightenment¹¹, to nirvāṇa¹²." There are four modes of the life of pleasure (四安樂行) that can bring unworldliness, passionlessness, cessation, serenity, insight, Enlightenment and Nirvāṇa. These consist of the *four dhyāna* (四禪). In this manner, the Buddha taught how one should differentiate between the contents of the life of pleasure and then face the criticisms of others. Among the *twelve criteria*⁽¹²⁾ in analyzing the life of joy, which consist of the the lowly, vulgar, ignorant, unholy, not conducive to good, unworldliness, passionlessness, cessation, serenity, insight, Enlightenment and nirvāṇa.....all of these with the exception of unworldliness, passionless and cessation are identical to the elements of the Middle Way teaching to avoid the two extremes which was contained in the Buddha's First Sermon. Therefore, the position of the Dharma which seeks the truth by responding to the criticisms of others is identical to the position of the Dharma of the Middle Way.

4 The Dharma which Corresponds to Time

Towards the second criticism, the Buddha answered that in his doctrine he had taught his disciples certain precepts that should not be broken throughout their lives. The one who has attained the wisdom of perfect Enlightenment is incapable of performing these *nine wrong actions* which

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(12) Cf. The author, *Middle Way Thought*, op. cit. Chap. 2-5, pp. 199-222.

consiste of; taking life, theft, sexual impurity, lying, putting aside savings for indulgence, taking a wrong course through partiality, taking a wrong course through hate, taking a wrong course through stupidity and taking a wrong course through fear. These *nine aṭṭhita-dhammā* were the Dharma which Gotama consistently preached.

Towards the third criticism, he answered that the Enlightened one has knowledge of past existences and can remember as far back as he desires. In regard to the future, he has the knowledge born of Enlightenment that reveals to him this is the last birth and there are to be no more (盡智, *kṣaya-jñāna*), (無生智, *anutpāda-jñāna*). Even if he be well aware of the things of the past, if these be untrue (*abhūta*), contrary to fact (*ataccha*) and not conducive to good (*anattahasamhita*), he will not preach them. Even if they be true, factual and if they are not conducive to good, he does not preach them. What he preaches is only that which he considers to be true, factual and conducive to good. Furthermore, he is aware of the proper time to reveal these things. This approach in revealing the contents of the Dharma is not restricted merely to events of the past but it also applies to future affairs. The Enlightened one preaches the Dharma of the three worlds while being well aware of what is true, factual, conducive to good and the proper time. The Enlightened one is thus called the *kāla-vādin* (he who speaks knowing the proper time), *bhūta-vādin* (he who speaks the truth) and *attha-vādin* (one who speaks that which is conducive to good). We can understand the Enlightened one's Dharma more clearly in this manner.

The teaching that he presented between the two nights; that is the night of his Enlightenment and the night of his ultimate Nirvāṇa (death) are all true and thus he is also called the Tathāgata. The Tathāgata furthermore practices as he preaches and preaches as he practices so he is called *yathāvādī-tathākārī* (one who practices as he preaches) and *yathākārī-tathāvādī* (one who preaches as he practices)⁽¹³⁾.

In Buddhism when the Dharma which is true and conducive to the

(13) 中阿含 No. 137, 世間經, Taisho 1, p. 645; A. N. IV, 23, *Loka*, Vol. II, p. 23.

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good is preached, consideration is always made of the time and place as well as the nature of the audience. Therefore, we can say that Buddhism is the Dharma preached according to the audience and depending upon the proper time. The balance between theory and practice is always considered and the Middle Way path of one ultimate vehicle of Enlightenment for all is followed. The expression 'between the two nights' refers to his entire lifetime and in the Nikāyas, we find that the teaching throughout his life was true⁽¹³⁾. In Mahayana Buddhism, this is stated as "between the two nights he consistently preached *prañā* (二夜中間常說般若)" and "between the two nights he consistently preached the Middle Way (常說中道)." If we regard all the Dharma of the three worlds, the position of the Middle which is true and conducive to good has been consistently set forth from his first teaching and this is particularly evident in the *Pasādika-Suttanta* which we have been discussing.

II The Original Form of Enlightenment and Similar Patterns

- 1 The one who sees the Dhamma sees the Buddha: Dhamma-kāya and Rūpa-kāya
- 2 First Enlightenment: Dhamma-cakkhu and Dhammatīṭṭhiñāṇa
- 3 A view of Dharmakāya of the Dharmaskandha and Dharmatā
- 4 The Dharma: Pratītyasamutpāda and the Four Noble Truths
- 5 Buddhānta of the Upaniṣads and Buddha and Bodhi in Buddhism
- 6 Structure of the Dharma of the Four Noble Truths
- 7 Respect of the True Dharma and its Place of Dependence
- 8 Ethical Nature of Dharma: The Victory of Dharma and the Dharma-prayer
- 9 The Bodhisattva Practice of the True Dharma and Ānanda and King Aśoka
- 10 The Ideal of the Nature of True Dharma: Middle Way of Dharma and Satya

- 1 The one who sees the Dhamma sees the Buddha: Dhamma-kāya and Rūpa-kāya

When Śākyamuni once was staying at Veṇuvana monastery in Rājagaha, he visited the monk Vakkali, who was suffering from illness and lying in his sick bed. Vakkali then said to the Buddha, "For a long time I have

been longing to set eyes on the Exalted One, but I had not strength enough in this body to come to see you.” In response to this the Buddha taught him, “What use is there in seeing this decaying body of mine? He who see the Dhamma, Vakkali, sees me: he who sees me, Vakkali, sees the Dhamma. O, Vakkali, seeing the Dhamma one sees me; seeing me one sees the Dhamma⁽¹⁴⁾.” This is Buddha’s teaching for Vakkali which appears in the *Samyutta Nikāya* and sets forth the view that the Buddha’s human body is just as any other human body having a transitory nature. The essence of being Buddha is not found in this *rūpa-kāya*, but it rather found in the *dhmma-kāya*. Furthermore, this same idea can be found in Apadāna no. 529 *Vakkali*, verses 25–27⁽¹⁵⁾:

25. I desired to see the physical body of the Buddha which is filled with everything pure, having distinct blue eyes and composed of all the pāramitas, but my wish was not fulfilled.
26. The Victor made me realize the vainness of enjoying the sight of the Buddha’s physical life and taught me, “O monk, What is wrong with you seeking to enjoy the sight of the physical body, just as an ignorant man?”
27. Those who see the true Dhamma are sages who see me. Those who do not see the true Dhamma, even though they see my physical body fail to see my dhamma body.

When Śākyamuni ascended to the Tāvātimsa to preach to his mother, he resided at the Sudhamma-sabhā hall there. During that time the people on the earth were anxiously awaiting to see him and Kings like Udena were reported to have carved images of the Buddha to venerate. Finally, the Buddha descended to earth at Sankassa and many people from various walks of life gathered there to welcome his return. At that time the nun Uppalavaṇṇā, who was considered to be first in supernatural powers created an image of the Cakravartin King and welcomed him first. Thus she

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(14) S. N. XXII, 87, *Vakkali*, Vol. III, p. 120. “13, *Alaṃ Vakkali kiṃ te iminā pūtikāyena diṭṭhena. Yo kho Vakkali dhammaṃ passati so maṃ passati, Yo maṃ passati so dhammaṃ passati. Dhammaṃ hi Vakkali passanto maṃ ssati maṃ passanto dhammaṃ passati.*”

(15) Apadāna, Vagga LIV, no. 529, *Vakkali*, Vol. Part 2, p. 467.

surpassed King Udena and Pasenadi who also sought to welcome him first. Uppalavaṇṇā then said to the Buddha, "I am the first disciple to welcome you." Gotama taught her that an empty view (*suññatā-vimokkha*) was the true meaning of venerating the Buddha. It so happened that at the same time a monk named Subhūti, who was expert in *araṇa-vihāra* (無諍住, peacefulness) and *suññatā-vimokkha* (Understanding of emptiness) was staying on Mt. Gijjhakūṭa and engaged in the mending of robes. This monk also thought of stopping his work and going out to welcome the Buddha. He remembered however, that the true way to venerate the Buddha was to reside in an empty view so he decided not to go out to worship the Buddha's physical body and instead practiced the void view and venerated the Buddha's Dhamma-body there. Śākyamuni reportedly said that "the one who first welcomed me was not the nun Uppalavaṇṇā but rather was Subhūti⁽¹⁶⁾."

2 First Enlightenment: Dhamma-cakkhu and Dhammatīṭṭhiñāṇa

In this manner the realization of the Buddhist disciples was an Enlightenment to the Dharma of emancipation which was identical between master and disciple. When Gotama delivered his First Sermon to the five monks, Kondaṇṇa was the first to obtain the *dhamma-cakkhu* enabling him to see things as they really are. As mentioned earlier, he was called the 'first Enlightened Kondaṇṇa' by the Buddha. Following him, Vappa, Bhaddiya, Mahānāma and Assaji all obtained the *dhamma-cakkhu* and were Enlightened. Thus, including the Buddha himself, all together six arahats were born and the first Buddhist Sangha came into existence, or so it is recorded in the Vinaya texts. Since Buddhist teaching of Enlightenment is to see things as they are (*yathābhūta-ñāṇa-dassana*), it is also expressed as *dhamma-cakkhu* and this is the original form of Enlightenment. In later periods the concept of the five pairs of physical-eyes, divine-eyes, wisdom-eyes, dharma-eyes and Buddha-eyes⁽¹⁷⁾ came into existence, but the Enlight-

(16) 增一阿含, Vol. 28, Vagga 36, 聽法品, Taisho 2, pp. 702c-708c.

(17) *Pañca-caṅkṣūṃṣi*: 1 *māṃsa-caṅkṣus*, 2 *diviya-ca.*, 3 *prajñā-ca.*, 4 *dharma-ca.*, 5 *Buddha-ca.* 大智度論卷 33, Taisho 25, pp. 305c-306a.

tenment that is common to both master and disciple is found in the concept of dharma-eyes (*dharmā-cakkhu*). This is evident in the Early Buddhist texts.

As I clearly discussed in my articles “*Buddhist Truth: Middle Way and Nirvāṇa*⁽¹⁸⁾” and “*The Study of Emancipation and Nirvāṇa, Commenting on the Studies of Contemporary World Scholars*⁽¹⁹⁾”, this emancipation to see the Dharma (*dharmatitṭhiṇāṇa*) is Dharma-wisdom (法住智). In contrast to this form of wisdom there are occasions when Nirvāṇa-wisdom (涅槃智) is considered some what superior. However, the relationship between emancipation and nirvāṇa is not a relationship in terms of superior and inferior. Just as the Dharma and *satya* are not two but one, so these two wisdoms are mutually dependent. As I mentioned previously elsewhere, “*the process of nirvāṇa is emancipation and ultimate emancipation is nirvāṇa* (過程的な涅槃が解脱であり、究竟的な解脱が涅槃である)⁽²⁰⁾”.

3 A View of the Dharma-kāya of the Dharma-skandha and Dharmatā

The Enlightenment which begins with the Dharma eyes is the Enlightenment which depends upon the Dharma. One aspect of this became the five elements of the dharma-kāya consisting of *śīla*, *samādhi*, wisdom, *prajña* release *vimukti* and the awareness of emancipation *vimukti-jñānadarśana* (五分法身：戒・定・慧・解脱・解脱知見). For Buddha's disciples, who held an esteemed view of wanting to grant homage to the Buddha, a superior view of the *dharmā-kāya* was created. In Mahayana in sutras such as the *Mahāyāna-Mahāparinirvāṇa-Sūtra* and the *Vimalakīrti Nirdeśa*, the following four criteria for homage (四依) were established :

(18) *Buddhist Truth: Middle Way and Nirvāṇa* (佛教の眞實・中道と涅槃) (Tokyo, Sanseido, *Fundamental Truth in Buddhism*, 佛教の根本眞理, 1956) pp. 17-132, pp. 103-104.

(19) *Studies on Mokṣa and Nirvāṇa, which special refrence to the Studies of Modern Scholars of the World* (Tokyo: Waseda University, Bulletin of Graduate Division of Literature, 1960) pp. 8-17.

(20) do p. 16.

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- 1) Take refuge in the meaning and not in the words.
- 2) Depend upon wisdom and not upon consciousness.
- 3) Depend upon the sutra of the complete teachings (nītārtha-sūtra, 了義經) and not upon a sutra of incomplete teachings (neyārtha-sūtra, 不了義經).
- 4) Depend upon the dharma and not upon the man.

Furthermore, the *Mahāyāna-Mahāparinirvāṇa-Sūtra*⁽²¹⁾ presents the following:

- 1) Depend upon the dharma nature of the *Dharma-kāya* of the *Tathāgata* and not on the *Hinayāna śrāvaka*.
- 2) Depend on the meaning of the Mahayana teaching of the unchangeable eternal *Tathāgata* and not on the quibbling words of various texts.
- 3) Understand the *Dharma-kāya* of the eternal *Tathāgata* and depend upon true wisdom to understand the Buddha nature residing in all sentient beings and not without knowing the virtue of the *Tathāgata* to depend upon the knowledge of the *śrāvaka* who are engaged in the speculative analysis of the Dharma.
- 4) Depend upon the ultimate Mahayana sutra of the complete teachings and do not depend upon the incomplete sutra of the *Hinayāna śrāvaka*.

These views of the *Dharma-kāya* developed further with the belief that the great objective of Buddhism was to benefit this society with the *Tathāgata's* vow and thus the *Sambhoga-kāya* came into existence as a saviour Buddha. The view of Buddha did not remain limited to the rūpa-kāya and Dharma-kāya but was extended to the *Trikāya* theory of the *Dharma-kāya* (法身), *Sambhoga-kāya* (報身), and *Nirmaṇa-kāya* (應身). This increased later to many different numbers of Buddha Bodies.

4 The Dharma, Pratītyasamutpāda and the Four Noble Truths.

According to W. Geiger⁽²²⁾, who studies the Dhamma in Pāli, the Dhamma which is described as the Dhamma to be seen and relied upon is the eternal and ultimate truth (*wahrheit*). That Dhamma is the ultimate Being

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(21) 大般涅槃經卷 6, 如來性品 4, 3 (北本), Taisho 12, pp. 401a-402.

(22) Magdalene und Wilhelm Geiger, *Pāli Dhamma* (München: Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1920) pp. 66-70.

and ultimate existence. This ultimate truth is the same as the Four Noble Truths, which are often expressed as *Pratītya-samutpāda*. In the Pāli *Mahā-Hatthipadopama-Sutta*, which was preached by Sāriputta, a detailed explanation was given of *dukkha satya* among the Four Noble Truths. Here he emphasized the transitory and *anatta* (non-self) nature of the *rūpa-khandha* among the five *khandha*, pointing out that the physical body has a nature of dependent origination (*paṭiccasamuppāna*). It is in this sutra that we find the famous expression "Those who see *paṭicca-samuppāda* see the Dhamma and those who see the Dhamma see *Paṭiccasamuppāda*"⁽²³⁾. When we compare this sutra of Sāriputta's teaching of the Four Noble Truths with Sāriputta's preaching which appears in the *Kalāra Sutta*, we can understand how important Sāriputta is in the study of the Buddhist Dharma. Sāriputta used various terms and also he deepened the meaning, thoroughly discussing the subject of four of the sixteen aspects of the Four Noble Truths (四諦十六行相): *kiṃ-nidāna*, *kiṃ-samudaya*, *kiṃ-jātika* and *kiṃ-pabhava* (因・集・生・緣). Therefore, Buddha praised Sāriputta's understanding of the Dharma (善達法界, *dharmadhātu-suppaṭividdha*)⁽²⁴⁾. The very fact that Sāriputta could freely and thoroughly understand the Dharma of the Four Noble Truths and be praised by the Buddha is largely due to the fact that Sāriputta's master, Sañjaya⁽²⁵⁾, was expert in the logic of the four ens of the view on *śūnyatā*. The outstandingly brilliant man who subsequently came forth in this philosophy of the Dependent Origination of the philosophy of *śūnatā* as set forth by Sañjaya and Sāriputta was Nāgārjuna. In his study of the Four Noble Truths in the *Madhyamaka-kārika*, Nāgārjuna set forth the actual application of the *śūnyatā* view and he initiated the theory of the Middle Way between the ultimate truth

(23) M. N. 28, *Mahāhatthipadopama-sutta*, Vol. I, pp. 190-191. "Yo *paṭiccasamuppādaṃ passati so dhammaṃ passati, yo dhammaṃ passati so paṭiccasamuppādaṃ passati*".

(24) S. N. 2, *Nidāna-vagga* 4, *Kalāra* 32, Vol. II, p. 56.

(25) *The logic of relativity as the common ground for the development of Middle Way* (Kyoto: *Buddhism and Culture*, Commemoration Volume of Dr. Daisetz T. Suzuki's 90th Birthday, 1960) pp. 71-78.

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and conventional truth (眞俗二諦). In his study of the Four Noble Truths, Nāgārjuna said that besides the Middle Way nature of the two truths, “That which dependently originates we call emptiness. It (emptiness) is a conventional designation and is indeed the Middle Way⁽²⁶⁾”. Just as in the case of Sāriputta, Nāgārjuna thus used various skillful interpretations and analyzed the various aspects of Dharma=Satya. In his last verse, no. 40, he concludes, “those who see that law of dependent origination see also suffering, its origin, its cessation and the path⁽²⁷⁾.” When we correlate Sāriputta’s verse of “to see *paṭicca-samuppāda* is to see the Dhamma,” and Nāgārjuna’s “to see *Pratītya-samutpāda* is to see the four satyas,” we can make the equation that *Pratītya-samutpāda*=*Dharma*=*Satya*.

The monastic life of simplicity, celibacy, mendicancy, cooperation and equality, the spirit of mutual sympathy and love of fraternity, and general pity and compassion to all sentient beings, all these were practised in the Sangha or Community under Śākyamuni’s great personality. Besides these holy disciples, Buddha’s brotherhood embraced various kinds of lay disciples with absolute faith who much more took refuge in Buddha’s personality while pursuing their ordinary ways of living. The group of lay disciples composed of many different classes, kings, queens, millionaires, a famous doctor and so on. The ethical character of Buddhism is mainly due to its religious influence upon laymen. Through practice of simple but essential commandments for a good life, enjoying domestic affection purified by this means, fulfilling social virtues and duties, their life is sound enough.

It is significant that later the Four Noble Truths was clearly noted as

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(26) *Madhyama-kārikā*, Chap. 24, *āryasatya-parikṣā*, verse 18: “*yaḥ pratītya-samutpādaḥ śūnyatām tām pracakṣmahe, yā prajñaptir upādāya pratīpat saiva Madhyamā*.” Jacques May, *Prasannapadā*, (Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1959) p. 237. “18. *c’est la production par conditions que nous appelons vacuité. La vacuité est désignation métaphorique. C’est elle qui est la voie moyenne*”; 中論, 觀四諦品, 第18偈:「衆因緣生法, 我說即是無*, 亦爲是假名, 亦是中道義」translated by Kumārajīva, Taisho 30, p. 33b. *我說即是空。

(27) do Chap. 24. verse 40: “*yaḥ pratītyasamutpādaṃ paśyati idaṃ sa paśyati, duḥkhaṃ samudayaṃ caiva nirodhaṃ mārgam eva ca*”.

the First Sermon and that this was re-affirmed by King Aśoka. The Reason is that Four Noble Truths, based upon Middle Way principle of Non-duality, is the first and foremost doctrine which contains a systematic theory concerning the relative and the absolute, phenomena and reality. It is also called "Buddha's sermon on the most superior Dharma", (*Buddhāṇaṃ sāmukkaṃsika dhammadesanā*, 佛陀最勝法説)⁽²⁸⁾. It is meant that "Buddha's sermon on the standard principle of Dharma" is the principle of religion and philosophy in contrast to the lay ethics of *dāna* charity *sīla* upholding morality and *sagga* seeking birth in heaven, which is generally called "the gradual instruction or sermon in the regular order", (*anupubbi-kathā*). The Middle Way of this superior religious aspect and that secular aspect was later to be developed into the Non-duality of double Truth, absolute and relative: *paramārtha-saṃvṛti satya* (眞俗二諦).

When King Aśoka once asked for an one-word explanation of Buddhism, the priests replied: "it is *Vibhajja-vāda*⁽²⁹⁾", or Doctrine of analysis, 分別説. It is the method of "gaining the answer in the rightful place", analyzing a problem from various angles, studying the truth of the matter together, so as to let the conclusion fall where it should. This appealed to reason for its logic, it called forth a response from the heart for its spirit of harmony, and it strengthened the will for the practice of good. Such is the non-exclusive and creative standpoint of "analysis based on the Middle Way"⁽³⁰⁾ This eventually developed into a formal study of truth called the Vibhaṅga, and it helped clarify the concepts of Dharma and *artha*. Its Mahayana developments are to be found in Harivarman's *Satyasiddhi*, Nāgārjuna's *Satya-parīkṣā* based on the Middle Way in *Madhyamaka-kārikā* and among scriptures the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*.

(28) "On the First Sermon" by the author, *Problems of Buddhist Studies*, 佛教學の諸問題, Commemorating the 2500th Anniversary of Buddha's Birth (Tokyo: Iwanami, 1935) pp. 338-342. *Middle Way Thought*, op. cit. pp. 684-697.

(29) "*Kimvādi Sugato?*" "*Vibhajjavādi Sambuddho hoti bhante?*" *Mahāvamsa* V, 271, 272. p. 54. 大王統史, 第5章(第3結集の記事) 271, 272 偈. *Middle Way Thought*, op. cit. pp. 136, 137; pp. 140-147.

(30) *Middle Way Thought* op. cit. pp. 51-58.

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Nāgārjuna was much influenced by the *śūnyatā* emptiness theory based on the *Prajñā-pāramitā-sūtra*, which was the earlier Mahayana doctrine. His *śūnyatā* criticism is clearly noticeable in his revealing the *dharmatā* by negating the realistic view of the people about our ideas, such as going, the gone and the goer in the Chap. II, *Gata-āgata*, the Going and the Coming; seeing, the seen or object and the seer in the Chap. III, *Cakṣur-indriya*, Six Senses and XIV, *Samśarga*, the Union; passion, things exciting passion and the passionate in the Chap. VI, *Rāga-rakta*, the Passion and the Passionate; burning, the burnable and fire in the Chap. X, *Agni-indhana*, the Burning and the Burnable; sense, perception, the object and the agent in the Chap. IX, *Pūrva*, the Person; action, deed and the agent in the Chap. VIII, *Karma-kāraka*, the Act and the Agent; the cause, the result and the cause of the cause in the Chap. VII, *Samskṛta*, Three Attributes of Being; characteristic, the characterised and the characteriser in the Chap. V, *Dhātu*, Six Elements.

Nāgārjuna says in the Chapt. XXIV, *Satya*, Truth, "By this *śūnyatā* emptiness everything can be perfected; if one departs from this *śūnyatā* emptiness, nothing can be perfected"; and also says in the Chap. XIII *Samskāra*, Phenomena, "The Great Sage preached the emptiness for the abandoning of (false) views; if one again holds the view that the emptiness exists, he will be called unteachable." In his commentary on the *Prajñā-pāramitā*, it is said that "Emptiness is the first truth of the reality and the innermost secrecy of the Enlightenment and the only way to Nirvāṇa; there is no other way than this⁽³¹⁾." The *Śūnyatā* theory is not for the sake of *śūnyatā* itself, it is only the method to penetrate into the unceasing reality. It is the process of the dialectic. In the Chap. XVIII, *Mahāyāna* of *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*, 18 kinds of *śūnyatā* (十八空) are explained and every *śūnyatā* is founded in the true nature of reality. The reason why Bodhisattva can hold the firm belief in the truth of reality of things, which

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(31) Emptiness, the 1st Truth: *Mahaprajñāpāramitā-sūtra-śāstra* (Nanjio 1166) Vol. XXXVII, Taisho 25, p. 334c.

Eighteen Emptiness: do Vol. XLVI, Taisho 25, pp. 393-396.

have non-origination, or *anutpattika-dharma-kṣānti* (無生法忍)⁽³²⁾, is because of the constructive and synthetic nature of *śūnyatā*.

Nāgārjuna gathered three main standpoints: (1) the *śūnyatā* theory of the new *prajñāpāramitā* system, (2) the *prajñāpti* (*paññatti*, 假) theory of the Abhidharma schools, and (3) the *madhyamā pratipad* principle which was the watchword of every Buddhist school. But his school in the name of Mādhyamika treaded the path of emptiness, and thereby came out a new school called the Yogacāra or Vijñāna-vāda, whose doctrine was *viñaptimātratā* (consciousness only). This new school is nothing but the Mahayanistic revival of the Abhidharmists, to be exact, Abhidharma interpreters (*Vaibhāṣika*), resulted from the criticism of Mādhyamika. Consequently their system became quite constructive and they were apparently Mahayana Abhidharmists making such a conspicuous sutra as the *Mahāyāna-Abhidharma-sūtra*. This sutra seems to be an original sutra which contains

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(32) F. Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary*, Vol. II: Dictionary (New Haven: Yale University press, 1953), p. 199. "receptivity to the fact that states-of-being have no origination"; K. Venkata Ramanan, *Nāgārjuna's Philosophy, As Presented in The Mahā-Prajñāpāramitā-śāstra* (大智度論) (Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle; The Harvard-Yenching Institute, 1966) p. 284. "By virtue of his understanding of the true nature of things the Bodhisattva is able to be non-clinging; he is able to keep free from misconstructions (不作分別) in regard to the senses and their different objects. In their mundane nature they are conditioned, non-substantial and in the ultimate comprehension, they enter the non-dual *dharma*. Although they are not two, they are also not one. By this comprehension the mind gives rise to faith in the truth of things and does not revert (心信不轉). This is the Bodhisattva's *dharma-kṣānti* (法忍) capacity to sustain the comprehension of the truth of things. It is this capacity to have faith in the purity and the impregnability of the teachings of the Buddha by banishing all wrong notions and gaining the understanding of the truth of things that is called the endurance for *dharma*. As his heart of faith is great (信心大故), his mind is free from doubt and repentance; as his power of faith is great, his mind can accept and hold firmly the truth of things. This is the endurance for *dharma*; Akira Hirakawa, *Shōki Daijō Bukkyō no Kenkyū*, or Studies on Early Mahāyāna Buddhism (Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1968) pp. 311-330. Detailed explanations are given based on the sources.

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coming up new doctrines in the Vijñāna school and 'three verses and two lines' are existent quoted in Asaṅga's *Mahāyāna-samparigraha*⁽³³⁾. They may be called the "Vijñāna Middle Way school", synthesizing Abhidharma's *prajñapti* system and Mādhyamika's *śūnyatā* system.

In short, in Buddhism there has been a tradition of maintaining two standpoints in presenting the teaching; the first is the transcendent viewpoint for the clergy, and the second, the conventional presentation for the laity. This tradition was reflected in the study of the two truths, *paramārtha satya* and *samvṛti satya*, in Early Buddhism. Nāgārjuna adopted these two truths and systematically elevated them to practical usage in propagating the teachings. Since then, the two truths have received a new direction in the form the philosophy of the "Middle Way of the Two Truths". This view nourished and gave sustenance to Chinese Buddhism through the works of Liang Wu Ti, Chih-i, of T'ien T'ai and Chi-ts'ang of the San Lun. Also by the transmission of this Chinese Buddhist tradition, Japanese Buddhism received nourishment and the continuity of this thought has persisted into contemporary studies of the Middle Way.

At the time of Nāgārjuna, the *Prajñāparamitā sūtra*, a forerunner of Mahāyāna Buddhism, set forth the new point of view that "Dependent Origination is *Śūnyatā*." Nāgārjuna happened to have been raised in Southern India where this new thought was born therefore, he selected this idea and used it in his introductory verse of the *Mādhyamaka Kārika* and in this 18th verse in the chapter on the Four Truths. However, he did not in so doing, neglect to support this new Mahāyāna standpoint with the established Abhidharma view of *parjñapti* (Conventional Designation) and the traditional concept of the Middle Way, which had been transmitted from the Enlightenment of the historical Buddha and had long since influenced the history of Buddhism.

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(33) The author, *Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna or Daijō to Shōjō* (Tokyo: Yakumoshoten, 1944) pp. 87-89. see Footnote 5. *Mahāyāna-samparigraha*, 攝大乘論釋 (Nanjio 1183, 1171) Taisho 31, 133b, 135b, 140c, *Vijñaptimatratā-siddhi*, 成唯識論 (Nanjio 1197) Taisho 31, 8c, 14a, 14b.

In his 18th verse key terminology such as *Pratītya-samutpāda*, *Śūnyatā*, Conventional Designation and the Middle Way (緣起・空・假・中道) are gathered together from various periods and united together. However, the development of this new thought did not merely end with the conceptualization of the theory of *Śūnyatā*. Another new movement arose known as the Yogācāra or (Vijñāna) Middle Way School in which the Mādhyamika concept of *Śūnyatā* and the Abhidharma concept of *prajñapti* were combined in the philosophy of *Madhyamā pratipad*, or the Middle Way which had been the principal position of the Buddha. Thus, Indian Buddhism arrived at the final stage of its development.

We can presume that it might have been sufficient for the young Nāgārjuna to be absorbed in the process of leveling Buddhism with the new philosophy that Dependent Origination is *Śūnyatā*. Such outstanding creative thought as that of Nāgārjuna, however, could not be limited to the collection of essential terms of various Buddhist periods to prove they were synonyms. What we must understand is that his deep underlying motive was to comprehend the power of revival that was inherent in the conception of these terms. This is why his thought has originality and a creative driving force. We thus must recognize as a further contribution of Nāgārjuna, the initiation of the pathway by which individuals can infinitely develop the research and discovery of Buddhist truth. Actually, the historical Buddha who was Enlightened to the Middle Way thought, the Buddha who discovered the new thought which incessantly directed man's progress towards the infinite, and the Buddha who was a pioneer of human science, was the one who invited and called to Nāgārjuna.

When we academically comprehend the above mentioned varieties and continuation of Middle Way thought, we can name this the philosophy of the Fundamental Middle (根本中). In this manner, Nāgārjuna in his study of the Four Truths, left a great imprint upon the history of Buddhism which is almost comparable to the successful work of Śāriputra, who employed varieties of skillful means to present the fact that different aspects of the Dharma equalled *satya*.

5 Buddhānta (覺醒位) of the Upaniṣads and Buddha and Bodhi in Buddhism

In the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* (I, 4, 14), it states “verily, that which is Dharma is *satya*, therefore they say of a man who speaks *satya*, he speaks Dharma or of a man who speaks Dharma that he speaks *satya*. Verily, both these are the same.” Śākyamuni, who transmitted this great esoteric tradition of the Upaniṣads opened its meaning to all. He directed this teaching further by bringing it down to the level of the everyday ethics and morality of the society of his time. The Buddha who was Enlightened to this esoteric Dharma, applied the scientific methodology of medicine to it, and thus he emphasized the phenomenological *satya*, adding religious practice. He thus constructed the Four Noble Truths of suffering, its origin, cessation and the path. Among these Four Noble Truths, *duḥkha* and *samudaya satya* are expressions of an analytical observation of the phenomena and its origin. Combining *mokṣa* or *nirvāṇa*, the ultimate goal and the eightfold path which leads to that goal as a religious practice, these became expressed as *nirodha* and *mārga satya*. Thus the Four Noble Truths have a double nature (二重構造の眞理觀). First, is the analytical observation of the phenomenal world consisting of *duḥkha* and *samudaya*, Second, is the realization of the ideal goal as *nirodha* and *mārga*. Within this structure of the Four Noble Truths we can see the philosophy of the Middle Way (中道哲學) since it consists of the contrast and change of different elements.

The Upaniṣads present the luminous aspects of poetry and brilliance but they are very weak in the areas of presenting methods for living in actual society and cooperative ethics. It consequently gives the impression of representing the time before the dawn in actual human society. The *Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* emphasizes the process beginning from the awakened stage (*buddhānta* 覺醒位) and dreaming sleep (*svapnānta*) to the world of the ultimate goal (*parama-loka*), which is total serenity (*susṛpta*). In contrast to this, Buddhism maintains the tradition of the ultimate state of

serenity in the concept of nirvāṇa but the historical Buddha pioneered the belief that the awakened stage (*buddhānta*) should be applied to everyday life and social human efforts (日常生活と社會倫理性). He thus opened a new era and this is the characteristic of Buddhism. The Upaniṣad view of the 'buddha' of '*buddhānta*' meant to be awakened, not asleep and to be aware (*jāgrad, jagarita*)⁽³⁴⁾. It did not refer to *buddhi*, which is applied to the dialectical awareness of all human activities. Furthermore, it does not lead to the Buddhist sense of 'buddha' as '*bodhi*', which brings forth an awareness of daily life in actual society as the cooperative social effort to consider *others*, and the religious awareness to seek the infinite world. In this manner, even if we select one term, *buddha*, we can perceive the fact that there was a certain transmission of tradition from the Upaniṣads to Buddhism but also a totally new creative idea.

6 Structure of the Dharma of the Four Noble Truths

The Enlightenment of Śākyamuni is considered to be a "self-enlightenment without any master (無師獨悟)⁽³⁵⁾," but this does not mean that the Buddha did not have any master. No matter how much tradition one may have or how many masters one may have had, Enlightenment is ultimately a subjective self-realization. The very nature of Enlightenment is subjective and non-dependent upon others (*a-para-paccaya*). Even if one receives instruction from a master and is taught by others there is no form of Enlightenment that is not a subjective experience. On the other hand, no matter how free an independent state Enlightenment may be it is the duty and law (*dharmatā*) of human life to transmit this to others

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(34) Naoshiro Tsuji, *Veda and Upaniṣad*, in Jap. (Tokyo: Sōgensha, 1953), p. 167. Radhakrishnan, *The Principal Upaniṣads* (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd, 1953) pp. 695-698. Four quarters of *ātman* in *Maṇḍūkya Uṇ*: (1) *Vaiśvanara* 普遍我 in *jagarita-sthāna* (2) *taijasa* 光明我 in *svapna-sthāna*, (3) *prajña* in *susupta-sthāna*, (4) *advaita ātman*.

(35) op. cit. *Middle Way Thought*, p. 32; Vinaya, *Mahāvagga* 1, 8, Vol. I, p. 8, M. N. 26 *Ariyapariyesana*, Vol. I, p. 171; do 85 *Bodhirājakumāra*, Vol. II, p. 193.

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and to make it benefit others. This was the Aryan law (*ariyañāya*) and Aryan way (*ariya-magga*)⁽³⁶⁾ which they established in India.

Gotama obtained vision (*cakkhu*), knowledge (*ñāṇa*), wisdom (*paññā*), insight (*viññā*) and light (*āloka*) accompanied by the Dharma which had never before been heard⁽³⁷⁾. In the *Dhammacakka-pavattana-Sutta* it states that it was preached by a Tathāgata⁽³⁸⁾ who thoroughly understood the Four Noble Truths, that is the truth of the Aryans, in the light of the Middle Way. From this we can understand how the historical Gotama's Enlightenment was a new light of the era. The Buddha's true Dharma teaches us that it is a law (*dharmatā*, 仕來り) of this world for the various Buddhas of the three worlds to respect the true Dharma and save sentient beings from their sufferings. This so-called law (*dharmatā*) is the ancient path (古道, *purāṇa-magga*)⁽³⁹⁾ which man has followed time and again in the past. This archaic law of the ancient path, the *dharmatā*, is equivalent to the *dharmatā* truth of the reality of the world (諸法實相の眞理). Human customs or law and order became truth. In other words, phenomenological human practice creates truth. In addition, man has been enriched by living in his natural environment (*satya*). Man has been developing and opening his natural environment and in this respect man is a pioneer. In a sense, we can call man an eternal pioneer (永遠の開拓者). At the same time, man bears an infinite gratitude towards this natural environment which has

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(36) A. N. Vol. II, p. 36 “*bahujanahitaya paṭipanno hoti bahujanasukhāya bahu'ssa janatā ariye nāye paṭiṭṭhāpitā yad idam kalyāṇa-dhammatā kusala-dhammatā*.” S. N. VI, Brahma-saṃyutta, 1, 2 *Gāraṇi*, Vol. I, p. 140, “*esā buddhānam dhammatā*”. D. N. 14, *Mahāpadāna-suttanta*, Vol. II, pp. 12-15, “*ayam ettha dhammatā*”. “*dhammatā esā*.”

(37) S. N. XXII, 58 *Sambuddha*, Vol. III, p. 66; do III, 7 *Pavāraṇa*, Vol. I, p. 191; M. N. 108 *Gopaka-moggallāna*, Vol. III, pp. 8, 15. Hakuju Ui, *Studies of Indian Philosophy*, No. 4, in Jap. (Tokyo: Iwanami, 1966 p. 150; op. cit. *Middle Way Thought*, p. 33.

(38) S. N. Mahāvagga, LVI Sacca-saṃyutta, 2 *Dhammacakka-pavattana-vagga*, 11 & 12 *Tathāgatena vutta*, Vol. V, pp. 420, 421; Cf. Vinayapiṭaka, *Mahāvagga*, 1, 6, 17 & 18.

(39) Op. cit. *Middle Way Thought*, Chap. 1, 4, pp. 27-31.

raised him. It was Gotama who discovered and taught the Middle Way nature of Dharma and *satya* in terms of the everyday life of man in his environment. The human world has development just as truth itself develops. There is not a single instance where whole truth manifested itself in one instant. That is the truth of this world. There has been no occasion that truth could exist alone without the existence of experience and life. Without individual efforts and creativity, the truth cannot exist. This is the reason why the truth has a discoverer and civilization has the inventor. The truth is universal, yet truth is attached to the name of its discoverer. This is the reality of human life and the interesting aspect of human society. The community cannot exist where the creativity of the individual is not recognized nor where individual personality is not respected. Without the freedom of the individual, the peace of the community cannot exist. To set forth a plan of action merely considering the community as a whole, is without realizing it, to set forth one ideology for the whole.

The very essence of Buddhism is the Middle Way between the freedom of the individual and the community as a whole (個人の自由と社會協同體との中道義). The Buddhist endeavor is to realize the Middle Way of Dharma and *satya* in everyday life. The view of *duḥkha* and *samudaya* was a very experiential human observation and the final eightfold path (八正道中道) is also a well balanced forward looking code of life for the Aryan gentleman. This consisted of right thought and will, right word, behavior and life, right efforts and right mindfulness and meditation. We can perceive in these the light of Enlightenment freed from the gloomy darkness. The eightfold path is the ideal goal for the ethical human community and by its 'rightness', the Buddha appealed to society.

Śākyamuni, who was raised in the tradition of Indian thought which had always taken pride in the superiority of its profound and esoteric nature, sought to appeal to the daily world of human morality. Such represents the modernistic nature of Buddhism (新時代性). This is one of the keys by which we can discover the new cultural aspects of Buddhism. Perhaps we can say that the new ideal of a cultural religion which the

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frontier society desired, was presented in the form of Aryan Buddhism.

Śākyamuni well understood the relativity of the human worlds limitations and its capability for progress. He thus pioneered the new Buddhism of the Aryan culture. Even though Śākyamuni's Enlightenment is considered a self-enlightenment without a master, the actual practice of the eightfold path is called the ancient path which was followed by many people of the past. The Śākyamuni who followed this ancient path was Enlightened and became the new Buddha (*paṭhama-abhisambuddha*). Following the ancient path and becoming a new man, he was the one who was Enlightened to the Middle Way of old and new (新古の中道). In other words, he was Enlightened to the secret of the Middle Way between the Dharma (law of man) and *satya* (the existence of the universe). This notion of the Middle Way was the Buddha's first realization (佛陀の初心). The *duḥkha satya*, which clearly observed the reality of phenomenal existence as-it-is represents the new attitude of the frontier spirit of the time. Although the reality of relative phenomena is in conflict and turmoil, the Buddha in his search for its cause never turned to fatalism or the notion of a controlling deity. Of course, he did not fall into nihilism⁽⁴⁰⁾, a view that he strongly avoided. The Buddha's motive was not to arrive at a conclusion resulting from one cause but rather was a more actual objective study in order to realize the many direct and indirect elements that were combined as causes (因と縁の複數原因の無限探求の可能と開發). This attitude is very modern and very scientific. To see the cause of suffering in a plural manner promises an infinite search with infinite possibilities of development. Particularly in this space age, it is very important to have these two attitudes; first of seeing reality as-it-is and second, to have a scientific desire to seek and develop infinitely.

Even in Buddhism when the Buddha said to seek to eliminate *duḥkha* and seek for *sukha*, he perfectly understood the fact that there is an

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(40) A. N. III, 61, Vol. I, p. 173; *Vidhaṅga*, pp. 367, 368: *pubbekatahetu-vāda*, *issaranimmānahetu-vāda*, *ahetu-appaccaya-vāda*.

unpolluted joy and happiness and a higher degree of enjoyment of good beyond the normal common sense view of joy. Actually this is what the Aryans already had in the form of the *śānti* or *sukha* of *mokṣa*. He further elevated and deepened this concept in a more humanistic manner making it into the joy of *nirvāṇa* (涅槃の寂靜と安樂)⁽⁴¹⁾. In this manner, the double structure of the truth (眞俗二諦) as a phenomenal view (suffering and its cause) and ideal view (cessation and the path), was organized into the Four Noble Truths. These were made into a more humanly subjective practice for man with the philosophy of the Middle Way.

The reason why *mārga satya* can be the link between these two aspects of truth (*satya*) is because *mārga satya* is *saṃskṛta* (worldly created) and at the same time *anāsrava* (freed of desires, ignorance and wrong views). The nature of *mārga satya* represents the crossroad of that which is worldly created yet free of desires (道諦の有爲にして無漏という異質交流の中道性). It is a medium between “*duḥkha* and *samudaya satya*”, which are worldly and bound by desire and “*nirodha*”, which is unworldly and free of desires. In this manner, in the Four Noble Truths *mārga* is as the *medium*, while “*duḥkha* and *samudaya*” are in contrast with “*nirodha*”, yet all are called *satya* (truth). These Four Noble Truths cover natural phenomena, human existence, social structure and the eternal ideal of practice, yet all are called *satya*, since there is a common bond between these four. *Satya* has two natures; first, as-it-isness and second, as it should be. *Satya* is

(41) T. S. Eliot, *Collected Poems*, 1909-1935 (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1936) p. 90; Shoson Miyamoto, *Freedom, Independence and Peace in Buddhism* (Hawaii: Philosophy East and West, Vol. II, No. 3, October 1952) p. 225.

(42) S. N. XII Nidāna-saṃyutta, 70 *Suṣṭhā*, Vol. II, p. 124: “*Pubbe kho Suṣṭhā Dhammatīṭṭhiṇāṇaṃ pacchā nibbāne ṇaṇanti*”. 大乘玄論，卷 4，二智義，Taisho 45, pp. 6 1c, 62a. 「次五智攝入二智者，1 法住智，2 泥洹智，3 無諍智，4 願智，5 邊際智。依小乘法住智者，知苦集相生諸法存立，名法住智。知道及滅，名泥洹智。又云，知苦集道，名法住智，知於滅諦，名泥洹智。The Middle Way, Journal of the Buddhist Society, Vol. XXX, No. 4, 1965, February, Edward Conze, The Heart Sutta Explained (2), pp. 147-153. Issai Funabashi, *Study of the Earlier Buddhist Thought*, in Jap. (Kyoto: Hōzokan, 1952) pp. 214, 222, 223.

combined with the notion of Dharma and thus there are two forms of wisdom; *duḥkha* and *samudaya* representing “Dharma-wisdom”, while *nirrodha* and *mārga* represent “nirvāṇa-wisdom⁽⁴²⁾”. This is the structure of the Dharma of the Four Noble Truths. Next we will demonstrate in a diagram⁽⁴³⁾ how these Four Noble Truths can be observed:

(1) A chart of the Intermediateness of the conditioned and undefiled Truth of the Path (有爲にして無漏である道諦の媒介性), and the Determination to put into practice the Middle Path (Way) (中道行願)

(2) A chart of the Middle Way, Bodhisattva Practice and Society

(43) op. cit. Footnote 18, *Buddhist Truth: Middle Way and Nirvāṇa*, pp. 100-107.

(3) The Four Noble Truths and Sixteen Qualities (ākāra)

Duḥkha	—	anitya, impermanence, 非常……諸行無常
	—	duḥkha, suffering, 苦……諸行苦
	—	sūnya, emptiness, 空……一切皆空
	—	anātmaka, non-self, 非我……諸法無我
Samudaya	—	hetu, cause, 因……種子因性
	—	Samudaya, plurality, 集……複合集起
	—	prabhava, origination, 生……緣起性起
	—	pratyaya, conditions, 緣……衆緣和合
Nirodha	—	nirodha, extinction, 滅……寂滅滅度
	—	śānta, peace & emancipation, 靜……平和寂靜
	—	praṇīta, purity & goodness, 妙……極善清淨
	—	niḥsaraṇa, nirvāṇa pure Land, 離……安樂涅槃
Mārga	—	mārga, Eightfold path, six & 10 pāramitā, 道……八正道, 六度 十波羅蜜
	—	nyāya, right expedient, means, 如……入理契當
	—	pratipad, middle path fulfilment, 行……善巧方便 中道果遂 目的成就
	—	nairyaṇika, transcendence, 出……生死超脫

It is astonishing that the *predominant Buddhist view* of *satya* is gathered together here. In the first half of the Four Noble Truths, *duḥkha* and *samudaya*, the transitory nature of the world, suffering, non-self, void, cause and effect, and dependent origination are included. In contrast to this, in the latter half of the *satya*, *nirodha* and *mārga* are presented as if they were totally different worlds which include the renunciation, practice, *bodhi*, nirvāṇa, the teaching, its application, faith and attainment. This latter half leads to the concept of the bodhisattva and also the practice of the eightfold path, meditation and the pāramitās by the bodhisattva (菩薩の中道行願). This demonstrates the fact an essential factor of Middle Way thought is

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the division into these two aspects which make it applicable to everyday life. This is the basis of the principle truth and very source of Truth.

7 Respect of the True Dharma and its Place of Dependence

The problem of Śākyamuni's physical body as a *rūpa-kāya* and his Enlightenment itself as the *Dharma-kāya* became far more important after his demise. Particularly in the *Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta*, which portrays the death of Śākyamuni, we find it states, "O Ānanda, the Dhamma and Vinaya which I preached will become your master after my death⁽⁴⁴⁾." This was his will and this Dharma finally created the concept of the *Dharma-kāya* or Eternal Dharma Body and hence became the basis for the religious reverence of the Buddhist disciples. According to the *Pāsādikā-suttanta*, soon after the death of Mahāvīra, the Jain master who was a contemporary of Śākyamuni, his order was split into two, exhibiting struggle and conflict⁽⁴⁵⁾. In their terrible turmoil, a dispute even arose regarding his teaching, discipline and practice. Because of this, even the lay followers became confused. In light of this example, the sutra goes on to state that the Buddhist order also made an effort to handle such a problem properly. The *Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta* warned not to consider such a notion as 'the words of the master cease' or 'we do not have a master any longer⁽⁴⁶⁾'. Further in the *Gopaka-moggallāna-sutta*, it states that not long after the death of the Buddha, the brahmin named Gopaka-moggallāna and the Minister of Magadha named Vassakāra sought to know the future of the Buddhist Order. Ānanda answered them by stating that since Gotama had entered nirvāṇa they had no leader who was the founder and discoverer of the truth and

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(44) D. N. 16, *Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta*, Chap. 6, 1, Vol. II, p. 154. "Yo vo Ānanda mayā Dhammo ca Vinayo ca desito paññatto, so vo mam' accayena Sattha.

(45) D. N. 29 *Pasādika-suttanta*, chap. 1, Vol. III, p. 117: "(Tassa kālakiriyāya bhinna Nigaṇṭhā) dvedhika-jāta bhaṇḍana-jāta kalaha-jāta vivādāpanna aññamaññaṃ mukkhā-sattihi vitūdantā viharanti".

(46) op. cit. *Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta*, Vol. II, p. 154, "Attasatthukaṃ pāvaccanaṃ n'atthi no Sattha".

also there was no leader who could be followed and respected by the whole Sangha. Furthermore, there was no monk appointed by Gotama as his successor but this did not mean that nothing remained to rely upon for such did exist. Refuge was to be placed in the Dharma (*dhmma-paṭisaraṇa*)⁽⁴⁷⁾. The peace and unity of the order could be maintained by dependence upon the Dharma. Thus it is recorded. The contents of the actual practice of depending upon the Dharma were the five collections of Dharma universal among the Buddhist disciples such as *sīla* morality, *saṃādhi* concentration, *pañña* wisdom, *vimutti* emancipation and *vimuttiñāṇadassana* awareness of emancipation. These five are the so-called elements of Dharma-kāya (五法蘊, 五分法身). This is precisely the content of the belief in the respect of the true Dharma (*gāraṇa*, 正法尊重)⁽⁴⁸⁾, and this was the Buddhist disciples' notion of the Dharma-kāya.

8 Ethical Nature of Dharma: the Victory of Dharma and the Dharma-Prayer

For the Buddhist disciples, the Buddha's last words to make the Dharma and Vinaya their master after his death had a profound influence. This "Dependency upon the Dharma, (*dhmma-paṭisaraṇa*)" became the basis to support the disciples left behind. The influence of this dependence upon the Dharma was so great that it made King Aśoka a devout Buddhist. For example, in one of his Inscriptions, that is, Shahbazgarhi Text XIII, the Inscription of Aśoka's repentance (*anuśocana*) on account of his violent con-

(47) M. N. 108, *Gopaka-Moggallāna-sutta*, Vol. III, p. 9. "na kho mayaṃ, brāhmaṇa, appaṭisaraṇā; sappaṭisaraṇa mayaṃ, brāhmaṇa, dhmma-paṭisaraṇā ti".

(48) S. N. 6, *Brahma-saṃyutta*, 1, 2 *Gāraṇa* (正法尊重), Vol. I, pp. 138-140. (Cf. Footnote 30)

(49) E. Hultzsch, *Inscriptions of Asoka* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1925) pp. 66-70; Hakuju Ui, *Asoka Inscriptions*, in Jap. (Tokyo: 南傳大藏經, Vol. 65, 1941) pp. 30-36; Radha Kumud Mookerji, *Asoka*, Second Ed. Revised (Delhi: Rajkamal Publications: Ltd, 1955, pp. 159-167; Amulyachandra Sen, *Asoka's Edicts* (Calcutta: The Indian Publicity, 1956) pp. 98-105; D. C. Sircar, *Inscriptions of Asoka* (Delhi: Government of India, 1957) pp. 51-55.

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quest of the Kalingas, it states, "Victory by Dharma (*dharma-vijaya*) is truly the ultimate victory⁽⁴⁹⁾." This everlasting golden inscription of King Aśoka was an idea propagated throughout his land. He himself sought to practice this concept by service to Dharma (*dhamma-śilana*) the respect of the Dharma (*dhammānupaṭṭipatti*), the practice of Dharma (*dhammāpadane*), the love of Dharma (*dhamma-kāmatā*) and the Dharma-vow (*dhamma-maṅgala*). King Aśoka not only propagated this edict to the masses for them to practice but he also made efforts to practice it himself. Therefore it became possible for Buddhism to become the motivating power for everyday life. This is why Buddhism was able to experience a drastic development at this time. The ethical nature of the true Dharma (正法の倫理性) presented by Gotama was able at this period to realize its true value. The very source of this great development was the spirit of the true Dharma of the historical Buddha however, without the rule of King Aśoka it could never have become a national ethic. We can say that King Aśoka's Dharma Vow (*Dharma-maṅgala*, 法の祈願)⁽⁵⁰⁾, represents precisely the full expression of the Buddhist ethic of the true Dharma. This can be observed in the ninth chapter of his fourteen Rock Edicts⁽⁵⁰⁾.

9 The Bodhisattva Practice of the True Dharma and Ānanda and King Aśoka

Ānanda, who accompanied Gotama during his last twenty-five years and spent his youth in service as an assistant, was reported to be not yet wholly from desire when the Buddha entered nirvāṇa and not yet an arahat. However, he visited many monks who were suffering in bed from illness and preached the Dharma to comfort them. On other occasions he preached the Dharma and gave joy to many lay Buddhist followers such as Sudatta

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(50) do E. Hultzsch, pp. 60-62; H. Ui, pp. 21-22; R. K. Mookerji, pp. 151-153; A. Sen, pp. 86-89; D. C. Sircar, pp. 47-48. Cf. *Sutta-nipāta* II, 2, *Mahāmaṅgala-sutta*, 12 verses 258-269; *Sīgalovāda suttanta* (D. N. 31, Vol. III, pp. 180-193; 善生經, Taisho I, 70a-72c; 佛說尸迦羅越六方禮經, Taisho I, pp. 250c-252a; 佛說善生子經, Taisho I, pp. 252b-255a; 善生經, Taisho I, pp. 638c-642a.

(Anāthapiṇḍika), who donated the Jetavana monastery. Ānanda listened to the sincere wishes of Mahā-pajāpatī, who had raised Gotama, and he intermediated, opening the doors of Buddhism to women. Furthermore he created many women Buddhist followers such as Mallikā of Kosala, and elevated the desires of women to longing for the Dharma. We have to praise Ānanda's brave bodhisattva spirit which opened the doors to inspire women. Ānanda, who served Gotama without achieving a total emancipation, can perhaps be called the *first Mahayana bodhisattva*. All through the history of Buddhism the most typical person to practice charity (*dāna*), comforting words (*peyyavācā*), purposeful action (*attha-cariyā*) and a feeling of equality (*samānattatā*)⁽⁵¹⁾ was Ānanda. The other bodhisattva, who made Buddhism the ethic of the nation, was King Aśoka. Both of these men, from the standpoint of the spirit of the Middle Way, made Buddhism a practical Dharma which responded to the time and audience. These were the two model personalities of Buddhism.

10 The Ideal of the Nature of True Dharma: Middle Way of Dharma and Satya

Ānanda was the editor of the Buddhist canon and therefore is the person who should be thanked as long as the Buddhist canon exists for being the venerable guardian of the Dharma treasurer (*dharmā bhaḍḍāgarika therā*)⁽⁵²⁾. From the standpoint of Mahayana Buddhism, the Middle Way Buddhism of *paramārtha* and *samvṛti satya* as practiced by Ānanda and King Aśoka is precisely the application of the essence of the meaning of the Middle Way of Dharma and *satya*, which has been transmitted from the *Bṛhad-*

(51) 4 *sangaha-vatthūni*, Objects of Sympathy, 四攝事: (1) *dāna*, 布施. (2) *peyyavajja*, *priyavākya*, 愛語. (3) *atthacariyā*, *tathārthacariyā*, 利行. (4) *samānattatā*, *samānārtatā*, 同事.

(52) Ānanda as the *Dhamma-bhaḍḍāgarika therā*: Chizen Akanuma, *Dictionary of the Proper Nouns of Indian Buddhism*, in Jap. 印度固有名詞辭典, (Nagoya: Hajinkaku, The First Edition, 1931) p. 31; The Second Edition (Kyoto: Hōzokan, 1964) p. 31; Kogen Mizuno, *The General Index of the Pali Canon*, in Jap. 南傳大藏經總索引, 第1部下卷 (Tokyo: 日本學術振興會, 1960) p. 821.

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āranyaka-Upaniṣad to Gotama. It is this tradition of the Middle Way of Dharma and *satya* which will be transmitted to the future becoming the true Dharma of Buddhism consistent in the three worlds. In the universal Buddhist ethic of King Aśoka's edict, the two-truth Buddhism of the Chinese Wu Ti of the Liang dynasty, the Buddhist equality of the sage and ignorant man⁽⁵³⁾ propagated by the Japanese Prince Shōtoku, and the Japanese notion of *Dharma-rāja*, which was expressed in the construction of the Great Buddha as a result of the devotion of Emperor Shōmu and Empress Kōmyō, the consistent point found in all is the application of the good ancient spirit of the true Dharma which was established by the thinkers of Aryan nobility to daily life. The four dignified images of the lions and the wheel of Dharma which decorate the stone pillar constructed by King Aśoka at Sarnath, where Buddha delivered his First Sermon, today have been selected in the form of the Dharma-cakra of the national flag, to symbolize the ideal of Indian independence. In this manner, the everlasting tradition of man, that is the Middle Way spirit of the Dharma, is alive in today's world as the national ideal of a modern nation. This is the wonder of the Buddhist Dharma. In conclusion, quote Buddha's dying wish: "Be a lamp and refuge to yourselves. Seek no other refuge. Let the Dharma (Truth) be your lamp and refuge; Seek no refuge else where".⁽⁵⁴⁾

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(53) The Seventeen-Article Constitution of Prince Shōtoku: X. Let us cease from wrath, and refrain from angry looks. Nor let us be resentful when others differ from us. For all men have hearts, and each heart has its own leanings. Their right is our wrong, and our right is their wrong. We are not unquestionably sages, nor are they unquestionably fools. Both of us are simply ordinary men. How can any one lay down a rule by which to distinguish right from wrong? For we are all, one with another, wise and foolish, like a ring which has no end. Therefore, although others give way to anger, let us on the contrary dread our own faults, and though we alone may be in the right, let us follow the multitude and act like them: *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, compiled by Ryusaku Tsunda, de Bary, Donald Keene (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958) p. 52.

(54) Sir Charles Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism* (London: Edward Arnold & Co. 1921) Vol. I, p. 163.